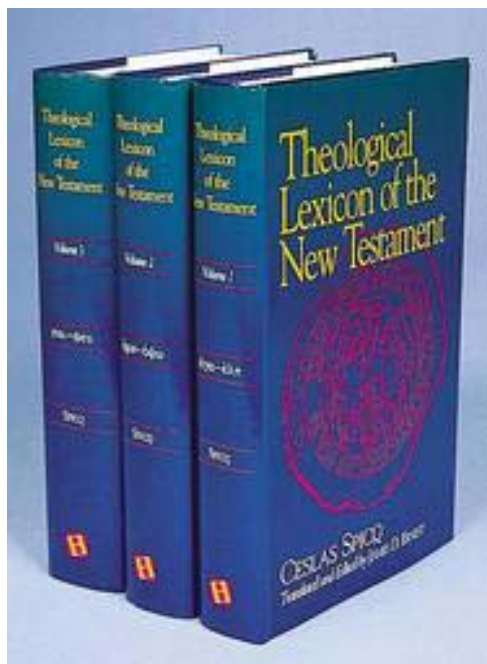
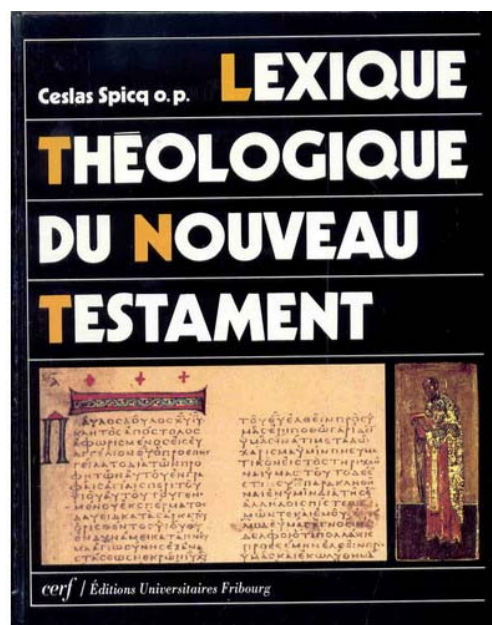


Theological Lexicon of the New Testament

by Ceslas SPICQ



From :



Preface

I have often been asked to bring together in one volume the NT word studies scattered throughout my previous works, especially in the commentaries. I could not simply collect them as they were, even filling in the references and bringing the bibliographies up to date. Still less could I think of producing an exhaustive work, a project so perfectly completed by the dictionaries of W. Bauer or Moulton-Milligan,¹ not to mention the grammars,² some of the articles in the *Theologisches Wörterbuch* of G. Kittel and G. Friedrich,³ and especially A. Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1923; ET *Light from the Ancient East*, New York, 1927), *Bibelstudien*, (Marburg, 1895) and *Neue Bibelstudien* (Marburg, 1897).

Not only do I study a restricted choice of words, but also *my intention is theological*. What interests me is not orthographic novelties, idioms, phonetics, or declensions, but the semantics and the religious and moral sense of the language of the NT.⁴ This language has its own rules and its own vocabulary. One cannot understand it except in light of the usages of the Greek language as it was spoken and written in the *oikoumene* of the first century, which is called "standard Koine," the popular language understood by the hearers and readers of the NT authors.⁵ That is why I have used many references—not only to the classical authors, but to the texts that are closest to the first century BC or AD. These references will undoubtedly be the most useful aspect of this work. Indeed, the many papyrological and epigraphical publications continually bring new findings.⁶ It is my goal to serve students of the Bible by placing conveniently at their disposal the fruit of my studies. "The person who knows the papyri a little meets at every turn in the NT, parallels of subject matter and form that allow him to gain a more vivid grasp of the words of Scripture."⁷

¹W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, 5th ed., Berlin, 1958 (English translation of the fourth edition by W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, Chicago, 1957; second edition, revised and augmented by F. W. Gingrich and F. W. Danker from W. Bauer's fifth edition, Chicago, 1979); J. H. Moulton, G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources*, 2d ed., London, 1949; reprinted Grand Rapids, 1982. Cf. T. Nägeli, *Der Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus*, Göttingen, 1905 (still indispensable, although it needs to be brought up to date).

²Always useful will be E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, multiple volumes; Leipzig, 1906–1934; cf. E. Pax, “Probleme des neutestamentlichen Griechisch,” in *Bib*, 1972, pp. 557–564.

³Excellent translations are available: English by G. W. Bromiley, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids, 1964ff.; and Italian, by F. Mantagnini, G. Scarpatt, O. Soffritti, *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento*, Brescia, 1965ff., and the articles published in French, in separate fascicles, under the title *Dictionnaire biblique Gerhard Kittel*, by Labor et Fides de Genève, under the signature of P. Reymond.

⁴Our model will be R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, 12th ed., London, 1894. But, even though I group related words according to their root, I follow alphabetical order for the convenience of the reader, despite all of the criticism that has been directed against this method from a scientific point of view. Cf. the observations of G. Friedrich, “Das bisher noch fehlende Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament,” in *NTS*, vol. 19, 1973, pp. 127–152; idem, “Pre-History of the Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,” in R. E. Pitkin, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 10, Grand Rapids, 1976, pp. 650–661.

⁵Cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire du grec biblique*, Paris, 1927, pp. v, xl; G. Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament; eine sprachgeschichtliche Studie*, Göttingen, 1906; J. Rouffiac, *Recherches sur les caractères du grec dans le Nouveau Testament d’après les Inscriptions de Priène*, Paris, 1911; H. G. Meechem, *Light from Ancient Letters*, London, 1923; G. Milligan, *Here and There Among the Papyri*, London, 1923; idem, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, Cambridge, 1927; D. Brooke, *Private Letters Pagan and Christian*, 2d ed., London, 1929; J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, Ann Arbor, 1933; E. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*, Turin, 1958; H. Thierfelder, *Unbekannte antike Welt*, Gütersloh, 1963; G. D. Kilpatrick, “Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament,” in *Festschrift für Prof. J. Schmid*, Regensburg, 1963, pp. 125–137; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, Rome, vol. 2, 1969. R. Merkelbach, H. C. Youtie (“Der griechische Wortschatz und die Christen,” dans *ZPE*, vol. 18, 1975, pp. 101–154) have underlined the evolution of the meaning of words according to epochs, cultural conditions, and above all religion; cf. O. Mentevecchi, “Dal Paganesimo al Cristianesimo: aspetti dell’evoluzione della lingua greca nei papiri dell’Egitto,” in *Aeg*, 1957, pp. 41–59.

⁶Among the most important is a tomb inscription of Lower Egypt of the year 5 BC, which testifies that Arsinoè died in bringing forth her πρωτότοκοθ (cf. Luke 2:7. *CII*, n. 1510, 6; idem, “La signification du terme πρωτότοκοθ

d'après une inscription juive," in *Bib*, 1930, pp. 373–390; *C.Pap.Jud.* III, 1510). Only in 1928 was there discovered in an inscription of Gerasa, dating from the time of Trajan, the verb ἑατρίζω, "to play at the theater" (*SEG*, vol. 7, 825, 18), which was until then known only from Heb 10:33; cf. H. J. Cadbury, ἑατρίζω No Longer a NT Hapax Legomenon," in *ZNW*, 1930, pp. 60–63, etc.

⁷U. Wilcken, "Der heutige Stand der Papyrusforschung," in *Jahrbücher für das kl. Altertum*, 1901, p. 688; cf. M. J. Lagrange, "A travers les Papyrus grecs," in *Conférences de Saint Etienne 1909–1910*, Paris, 1910, pp. 55–88; N. Turner, "Philology in New Testament Studies," in *ExpT*, vol. 71, 1960, pp. 104–107.

Translator's Preface

In 1978 the original two volumes of Ceslas Spicq's *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire* were published by Editions Universitaires of Fribourg, Switzerland (in the series *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*), and by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht of Göttingen. These were followed four years later by a third volume, incorporating both newer material on some of the words covered in the original two volumes and also a large number of new entries. In 1991, Editions Universitaires collaborated with Cerf (Paris) in a single-volume reissue of the three-volume set. The reissue had a new title (*Lexique théologique du Nouveau Testament*) and merged the articles of the third volume into alphabetical order with the first two volumes but was otherwise unchanged. Meanwhile, an Italian translation had been published as a supplement to the Italian version of the Kittel-Friedrich *Theologisches Wörterbuch*.¹

For reasons evident from the foregoing, in a certain number of instances the same word is treated in more than one article. We have followed the lead of the French one-volume edition in declining to omit or rearrange any of the material. Readers may find all the places a particular word is discussed by using the index of Greek words provided for this edition and the cross-references supplied at the beginnings of some articles.

English-language versions of Père Spicq's three-volume *Agapè dans le Nouveau Testament* (though without the notes) and of a couple of smaller works have been published. His solid reputation among North American scholars, however, rests largely on his biblical commentaries, especially those on Hebrews and the Pastoral Epistles, which have not been translated into English. As the preface to the first French edition notes, it is from the commentaries that Père Spicq culled the material that makes up the *Theological Lexicon*; he had been asked to bring together

his painstaking word studies in a single collection. When informed that an English translation would be made, he expressed satisfaction that his work would thus be made available to the English-speaking world. We regret that Père Spicq did not live to see the publication of this translation.

The usefulness of Père Spicq's work for New Testament scholars should be evident. Nowadays graduate students are much more likely to have seminars in more recent methodological subdisciplines—various forms of sociological, literary, or ideological criticism—than in epigraphy, papyrology, or lexicography. Practitioners of most of the newer methodologies, however, note the continuing fundamental importance of basic historical-critical work; in most cases, their intention is not to obviate it but rather to note its limitations and build upon it. They will not be spending their own time sorting through the Fuad papyri or the Zeno archive, so they may be glad that Spicq and others have done it for them. This volume gives a summary of his findings plus references to hundreds of studies that today's biblical scholars might not easily find otherwise either because they were published in papyrological or epigraphical journals or *Festschriften* or else because they appeared too soon to be included in the computerized bibliographic databases upon which scholars increasingly rely.

Not only professional scholars in biblical studies and related fields, but also and especially pastors, teachers, and others interested in serious theological study of the Bible will profit from Spicq's work. In fact, Père Spicq's original preface points out that his primary interest was not in orthographical or grammatical details but in the religious or theological meaning of the words used in the biblical text. Obviously knowing some Greek is an advantage in using a work of this sort, but it is by no means an absolute requirement. For readers with little or no Greek, several conveniences have been supplied in the English version. In the main text, all of the Greek has been transliterated and where it seemed helpful translated as well. (The quotations in the footnotes, which are more likely to be helpful to scholars than to general readers, are printed in Greek characters.) Hebrew and Aramaic words are normally transliterated. The article titles are given in Greek characters, as in the original edition, but we have added transliterations; internal cross-references; cross-references to the Strong's word-numbering system used by Strong's *Concordance* and many other standard reference works; and English glosses.

It is important for readers to note that English glosses given with each article title are not original to Père Spicq; they have been added for the convenience of users of this work, especially those who do not know Greek. In a few odd cases a word or phrase has been lifted from Barclay Newman's *Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament*² or from LSJ, but in general the glosses are extracted or otherwise derived from the articles themselves. (This procedure was necessary because

sometimes Spicq disagrees with the commonly given definitions.) The glosses are intended to indicate concisely (not necessarily exhaustively) the range of meanings discussed within the article; thus they do not pretend to lexicographic rigor and should not be used as free-standing definitions. For words of special theological importance, no effort was made to represent in the gloss the semantic richness fully discussed in the article. The reader should consult the article to see which definitions Père Spicq applies to actual NT texts.

For the convenience of scholars, abbreviations for the papyri and inscriptions, as well as for classical works, have been standardized. The various bibliographies and tables of abbreviations are original to this edition. (The completed tables were compared with those in the Italian edition as a way of checking for omissions.)

Readers who know some Greek should be aware that many irregular spellings—especially itacisms, but also others—will be encountered in quotations from the papyri and inscriptions. At times it was not obvious to me whether an odd spelling was original (and should thus be retained) or arose as a typographical error in the French edition. (Naturally, in a work of this complexity, especially since it was prepared in the days before personal computers made possible the elimination of human intervention between author's original notes and final published product, there were many typos, especially in the Greek and Hebrew fonts.) In a relatively small number of egregious cases, I checked the published edition of the papyrus or inscription in question, but time was not available to verify a significant percentage of the large numbers of such citations. When in doubt, I retained the spelling printed in the French edition. There are also dialectal spelling variations (most commonly, alpha instead of eta and xi instead of sigma) that will look like misspellings to readers unfamiliar with the main Greek dialects.

Spicq's studies draw on the whole classical and Hellenistic Greek literary corpus. He appears to have paid special attention to Jewish writers (Philo, Josephus) and later pagan writers (Plutarch). The special value of his work, however, is the extent to which it draws upon the nonliterary papyri and the inscriptions. Many readers will be to some extent familiar with the discovery of many new such sources over the past century and some of the lexicographic and grammatical work that has been done upon them (Deissmann, Moulton-Milligan, etc.).³ These papyri and inscriptions give us the language not as it was written by Plato five centuries before the birth of Christ but as it was used in everyday life by Greek and non-Greek peoples around the eastern Mediterranean during the early centuries of the spread of Christianity. Naturally, the language had changed. Readers of Spicq's articles will find many instances in which these nonliterary sources exemplify usages that make more sense of particular biblical passages than was possible before their discovery.

For readers who become interested in the social, economic, religious, and political institutions and circumstances constantly referred to in the papyri, various resources are available. Tarn and Griffith's *Hellenistic Civilization*⁴ is a recognized classic. An up-to-date and authoritative study of the Egyptian papyri from the third through the fifth centuries of the common era is Roger S. Bagnall's *Egypt in Late Antiquity*.⁵ Readers of Spicq may profitably consult Bagnall's appendices (on time, money and measures, and the nomes), brief glossary, and indexes for quick access to information on technical terms in the papyri. For the language of the papyri, readers may refer to the multivolume grammatical work of Francis Gignac.⁶ A relatively recent work that demonstrates the way in which the nonliterary sources can illuminate and revise our understanding of the world in which ancient Christianity spread, especially with regard to popular religious life, is Robin Lane Fox's *Pagans and Christians*.⁷ This latter work is mentioned by way of noting that although the papyri and inscriptions do not now generate the same excitement among students of the Bible that they did not so many decades ago, neither are they yet "old hat"; in some ways they are still a largely unmined treasure for the study of early Christianity. Spicq's work is one of the best available entrees to this material for readers interested in exploring the theological meaning of the words used in the New Testament.

¹*Note di lessicografia neotestamentaria*, edizione italiana a cura de Franco Luigi Viero (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1988).

²London: United Bible Societies, 1971.

³For titles and bibliographic information, see the general bibliography. Unfortunately Spicq did not have access to the formidable work of *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, edited by G. H. R. Horsley (vols. 1–5) and Stephen Llewelyn (vol. 6) (The Ancient Documentary Research Centre: Macquarie University, 1981–). This work, which includes linguistic essays and reviews of recently published Greek papyri and inscriptions, is indispensable for advanced lexical studies.

⁴W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 3d ed. rev. by the author and G. T. Griffith (Cleveland: World, 1952); reprinted many times.

⁵Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1993.

⁶*A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino-La goliardica, 1976–).

⁷San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986.

ABBREVIATIONS: BIBLE, APOCRYPHA, PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, RABBINIC AND MISHNAIC WRITINGS, QUMRAN

A. OLD TESTAMENT

Gen Genesis
Exod Exodus
Lev Leviticus
Num Numbers
Deut Deuteronomy
Josh Joshua
Judg Judges
Ruth Ruth
1-2 Sam 1-2 Samuel
1-2 Kgs 1-2 Kings
1-2 Chr 1-2 Chronicles
Ezra Ezra
Neh Nehemiah
Esth Esther
Job Job
Ps Psalm(s)
Prov Proverbs
Eccl Ecclesiastes
Cant Canticles
Isa Isaiah
Jer Jeremiah
Lam Lamentations
Ezek Ezekiel
Dan Daniel
Hos Hosea
Joel Joel
Amos Amos
Obad Obadiah
Jonah Jonah
Mic Micah
Nah Nahum
Hab Habakkuk
Zeph Zephaniah
Hag Haggai
Zech Zechariah
Mal Malachi

B. APOCRYPHA

Tob Tobit
Jdt Judith
Add Esth Additions to Esther
Wis Wisdom (Ecclesiasticus)
Sir Sirach
Bar Baruch
Ep Jer Epistle of Jeremiah
Pr Azar Prayer of Azariah
Sus Susanna
Bel Bel and the Dragon
1-2-3-4 Macc 1-2-3-4 Maccabees
1-2 Esdr 1-2 Esdras
Pr Man Prayer of Manasseh
4 Ezra 4 Ezra

C. NEW TESTAMENT

Matt Matthew
Mark Mark
Luke Luke
John John
Acts Acts
Rom Romans
1-2 Cor 1-2 Corinthians
Gal Galatians
Eph Ephesians
Phil Philippians
Col Colossians
1-2 Thess 1-2 Thessalonians
1-2 Tim 1-2 Timothy
Titus Titus
Phlm Philemon
Heb Hebrews
Jas James
1-2 Pet 1-2 Peter
1-2-3 John 1-2-3 John
Jude Jude
Rev Revelation

D. APOCRYPHAL AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHAL WORKS AND EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

Acts John Acts of John
Acts Paul Thec. Acts of Paul and Thecla
Acts Pet. Andr. Acts of Peter and Andrew
Acts Phil. Acts of Philip
Acts Thom. Acts of Thomas
Adam and Eve Life of Adam and Eve
2 Apoc. Bar. Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
3 Apoc. Bar. Greek Apocalypse of Baruch
Apoc. Mos. Apocalypse of Moses
Apoc. Paul Apocalypse of Paul
Apoc. Pet. Apocalypse of Peter
Asc. Isa. Ascension of Isaiah
As. Mos. Assumption of Moses
Barn. Epistle of Barnabas
1 Clem. First Clement
2 Clem. Second Clement
Ep. Arist. Letter of Aristeas
Did. Didache
Gos. 12 App. Gospel of the Twelve Apostles
Gos. Pet. Gospel of Peter
Gos. Thom. Gospel of Thomas
Herm. Man. Hermas, Mandate(s)
Herm. Sim. Hermas, Similitude(s)
Ign. Eph. Ignatius, Letter to the Ephesians
Ign. Magn. Ignatius, Letter to the Magnesians
Ign. Pol. Ignatius, Letter to Polycarp
Ign. Rom. Ignatius, Letter to the Romans
Ign. Smyrn. Ignatius, Letter to the Smyrnaeans
Ign. Trall. Ignatius, Letter to the Trallians
Jos. Asen. Joseph and Aseneth
Jub. Jubilees
Mart. Matt. Martyrdom of Matthew
Mart. Paul Martyrdom of Paul
Mart. Pol. Martyrdom of Polycarp
Odes Sol. Odes of Solomon
Par. Jer. Paraleipomena of Jeremiah (= 4 Baruch)
Pol. Phil. Polycarp, Letter to the Philippians
Prot. Jas. Protevangelium of James
Ps.-Phocylides Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides
Pss. Sol. Psalms of Solomon
Sent. Sextus Sentences of Sextus
Sib. Or. Sibylline Oracles
T. 12 Patr. Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
T. Abr. Testament of Abraham
T. Asher Testament of Asher

<i>T. Benj.</i>	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
<i>T. Dan</i>	<i>Testament of Dan</i>
<i>T. Gad</i>	<i>Testament of Gad</i>
<i>T. Issach.</i>	<i>Testament of Issachar</i>
<i>T. Job</i>	<i>Testament of Job</i>
<i>T. Jos.</i>	<i>Testament of Joseph</i>
<i>T. Jud.</i>	<i>Testament of Judah</i>
<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
<i>T. Moses</i>	<i>Testament of Moses</i>
<i>T. Naph.</i>	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>
<i>T. Reub.</i>	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>
<i>T. Sim.</i>	<i>Testament of Simeon</i>
<i>T. Sol.</i>	<i>Testament of Solomon</i>
<i>T. Zeb.</i>	<i>Testament of Zebulon</i>

E. RABBINIC WRITINGS

m. = Mishna, *t.* = Tosepta, *b.* = Babylonian Talmud, *y.* = Jerusalem Talmud

'Abod. Zar. *'Aboda Zara*
'Arak. *'Arakin*
B. Qam. *Baba Qamma*
B. Bat. *Baba Batra*
Bek. *Bekorot*
Ber. *Berakot*
Besa Besa = *Yom »ob*
B. Mes. *Baba Mesí'a*
Dem. *Demai*
'Ed. *'Eduyyot*
'Erub. *'Erubin*
Git. *Gittin*
Īag. *Īagiga*
Īul. *Īullin*
Qidd. *Qiddusin*
Ketub. *Ketubot*
Kil. *Kil'ayim*
Ma'as. *Ma'aserot*
Mak. *Makkot*
Meg. *Megilla*
Menah. *Menahot*
Nazir *Nazir*
Nid. *Niddah*
Pe'a *Pe'a*

Pesah. *Pesahim*
Ros Has. *Ros Hassana*
sabb. sabbat
Sanh. *Sanhedrin*
seqal. *seqalim*
Sota *Sota*
Sukk. Sukka
Ta'an. *Ta'anit*
Tamid *Tamid*
Yoma *Yoma = Kippurim*

F. OTHER RABBINIC WORKS

'Abot R. Nat. *'Abot de Rabbi Nathan*
Mek. Mekilta
Midr. Midras
Pesiq. R. *Pesiqta Rabbati*
Pirqe 'Abot *Pirqe 'Abot*
Pirqe R. El. *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer*
Rab. Rabbah
Sem. Semahot
Sipre Sipre
Tanh. Midras Tanhuma
Tg. Ps.-J. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*

G. QUMRAN[†]

1Q27 1QMyst = *Book of Mysteries* = "The Triumph of Righteousness" in G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*.

1Q34 1QLitPra = *Collection of Liturgical Prayers*

1QH Thanksgiving Psalms (*Hôdayôt*) = "The Hymns" in G. Vermes, *DSSE*

1QM War Scroll (*Milhamah*) = "The War Rule" in G. Vermes, *DSSE*

1QpHab *Pesher on Habakkuk* = "Commentary on Habakkuk" in G. Vermes, *DSSE*

1QpMic *Pesher on Micah* = 1Q14 = "Commentary on Micah" in G. Vermes, *DSSE*

1QS *Manual of Discipline* = “Community Rule” in G. Vermes, *DSSE*

1QSa= 1Q28a = *Rule for all the Congregation of Israel in the End of Days*
= “The Messianic Rule” in G. Vermes, *DSSE*

1Qsb= 1Q28b = *Collection of Blessings Uttered Over the Faithful, the High Priest, the Priests, the Prince of the Congregation*

4QFlor = 4Q174 = “A Messianic Anthology” in G. Vermes, *DSSE*

4QM *War Scroll* portions from Cave 4

4QMilMik *Words of Michael* (Millê Mîka’el) = Words of the book which Michael addressed to the angels

4QpHos *Pesher on Hosea* = “Commentary on Hosea” in G. Vermes, *DSSE*

4QpNah *Pesher on Nahum* = “Commentary on Nahum” in G. Vermes, *DSSE*

4QpPs *Pesher on Psalms* = “Commentary on Psalm 37” in G. Vermes, *DSSE*

11QPsa *Psalms Scroll*

CD Cairo geniza text of the *Damascus Rule*

†For fuller information, see Joseph A. Fitzmeyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (rev. ed., Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990).

ABBREVIATIONS: ANCIENT GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS

Achilles Tatius

Leuc. et Clit. Τὰ κατὰ Λευκίππην καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα (*The Adventures of Leucippe and Cleitophon*)

Aelian

NA De Natura Animalium
VH Varia Historia
Orat. Orationes
Orat. Rom. Oratio Romana

Aeneas Tacticus

Polior. Πολιορκητικά

Aeschines

Fals. Leg. De Falsa Legatione
In Ctes. Against Ctesiphon
In Tim. Against Timarchus

Aeschylus

Ag. Agamemnon
Cho. Choephoroi
Eum. Eumenides
Pers. Persae
PV Prometheus Vincetus (Prometheus Bound)
Sept. Septem contra Thebas (Seven Against Thebes)
Suppl. Supplices

Aesop

Fab. Fabulae

Albinus

Didask. Διδασκαλικός

Alciphron

Ep. Epistulae

Alexander of Aphrodisias

In Sens. In Librum de Sensu Commentarium
Mixt. De Mixtione
Pr. Problemata

Ambrose

In Luc. *Commentary on Luke*
Off. *De Officiis Ministrorum*
Sacr. *De Sacramentis*

Anacreon

Od. *Odes*

Anaximenes

Rhet. ad Alex. *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum (= Ars rhetorica)*

Andocides

[C. Alcib.] *Against Alcibiades*
Myst. *De Mysteriis*

Andronicus

[Pass.] Περὶ παθῶ—ν (*De Passionibus*)

Anth. Pal.

Palatine Anthology

Anth. Plan.

Planudean Anthology

Antiphon (OCD 1)

1 Tetr. *First Tetralogy*
2 Tetr. *Second Tetralogy*
3 Tetr. *Third Tetralogy*
Murd. Her. *Murder of Herodes*

Antoninus Liberalis

Met. *Metamorphoses*

Apollodorus (OCD 6)

Bibl. Bibliotheca

Apollonius of Tyana

Ep. Epistulae

Apollonius Rhodius

Argon. Argonautica

Apollonius Sophista (OCD 13)

Lex. Lexicon Homericum

Appian

BCiv. Bella Civilia

Hisp. —Ιβηρική

Mith. Μιθριδάτειος

Praef. Praefatio

Apuleius

Met. Metamorphoses

Aratus

Phaen. Phaenomena

Archimedes

Aequil. Περὶ ἰσορροπιῶν (The Equilibriums of Planes)

Aren. Ψαμμίτης (The Sand-reckoner)

Eratosth. Πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην ἔφοδος (To Eratosthenes on the Method of Mechanical Theorems)

Sph. Cyl. Περὶ σφαίρας καὶ κυλίνδρου (On the Sphere and the Cylinder)

Spir. Περὶ ἐλίκων (On Spirals)

Archytas of Tarentum

Antik. Περὶ ἀντικειμένων

Aretaeus

SA Περὶ αἰ—τιω—ν καὶ σημείων ὀξέων παθω—ν (*Sign. Acut. Morb.*)

SD Περὶ αἰ—τιω—ν καὶ σημείων χρονίων παθω—ν (*Sign. Morb. Diuturn.*)

Aristaenetus

Ep. Epistulae

Aristophanes

Ach. Acharnenses

Av. Aves (Birds)

Eccl. Ecclesiazusae

Eq. Equites (Knights)

Lys. Lysistrata

Nub. Nubes (Clouds)

Plut. Plutus

Ran. Ranae (Frogs)

Thesm. Thesmophoriazusae

Vesp. Vespae (Wasps)

Aristotle

An. Pr. Analytica Priora

Ath. Pol. —Αθηναίων πολιτεία (Constitution of Athens)

Cael. De Caelo

De An. De Anima

Eth. Eud. Ethica Eudemia

Eth. Nic. Ethica Nichomachea

Gen. An. De Generatione Animalium

Gen. Cor. De Generatione et Corruptione

HA Historia Animalium

MA De Motu Animalium

[Mag. Mor.] Magna Moralia

Mem. De Memoria

Metaph. Metaphysica

Mete. Meteorologica

[Mir. Ausc.] De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus

[Mund.] De Mundo

[Oec.] Oeconomica

Part. An. De Partibus Animalium

Ph. Physica

Poet. Poetica

Pol. Politica

[Pr.] Problemata

Rh. Rhetorica
[Rh. Al.] Rhetorica ad Alexandrum
Sens. De Sensu
Top. Topica

Arrian

Anab. Anabasis

Artapanus

De Jud. De Judaeis (in Eusebius)

Artemidorus Daldianus

Onir. Onirocriticus

Athanasius

Ep. Serap. Epistles to Serapion

Athenaeus

Deip. Δειπνοσοφιστάί

Athenagoras

Leg. Legatio pro Christianis

Augustine

Civ. De Civitate Dei
En. in Ps. Enarrationes in Psalmos
Op. Mon. De Opere Monachorum
Perf. Just. De Perfectione Justitiae Hominis
Serm. Sermones
Tract. in Ev. Joh. Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelium

Aulus Gellius

NA Noctes Atticae

Autolycus of Pitane

Risings Περὶ ἀνατολῶ—ν καὶ δύνσεων (*Risings and Settings*)

Babrius

Myth. Μυθίαμβοι Αἰ—σώπειοι

Bell. Afr.

Bellum Africum

Bion Adon.

—Αδώνιδος —Επιτάφιος (*Lament for Adonis*)
[*Epith. Achil.*] *Epithalamium to Achilles and Deidamea*

Caesar

BCiv. Bellum Civile
BGall. Bellum Gallicum

Callimachus

Aet. Aetia (in *P.Oxy.* 2079)
Epigr. Epigrammata
Hec. Hecale
Hymn. Hymns
Hymn. Ap. Hymn to Apollo
Hymn. Art. Hymn to Artemis

Callixenus

Alex. Peri Alexandreias

Can. App.

Apostolic Canons

Cato

Agr. De Agricultura

Cebes of Thebes

[*Tabula*] Κέβητος ἠβαίου Πίναξ

Cercidas

Mel. Meliambi

Chariton

Chaer. Chaereas and Callirhoe

Chio

Epist. Epistulae

Cicero

Att. Epistulae ad Atticum

Deiot. Pro Rege Deiotaro

Fam. Epistulae ad Familiares

Fat. De Fato

Fin. De Finibus

Flac. Pro Flacco

Leg. De Legibus

Leg. Man. Pro Lege Manilia (De Imperio Cn. Pompeii)

Lig. Pro Ligario

Marcell. Pro Marcello

Nat. D. De Natura Deorum

Off. De Officiis

Part. Or. Partitiones Oratoriae

Phil. Orationes Philippicae

Rep. De Republica

[Rhet. Her.] Rhetorica ad Herennium

Sen. De Senectute

Sull. Pro Sulla

Tusc. Tusculanae Disputationes

Verr. In Verrem

Clement of Alexandria

Paed. Paedagogus

Quis dives Quis dives salvetur?

Strom. Stromata

Codex Justin.

Codex Justinianus

Columella

Rust. De re rustica

Const. App.

Apostolic Constitutions

Cornutus

Theol. Graec. —Επιδρομή τω—ν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἑσολογίαν
παραδεδομένων (=De Natura Deorum)

Corp. Herm.

Corpus Hermeticum

Cosmas Indicopleustes

Top. Christian Topography

Crates of Thebes

Ep. Epistulae

Cratinus

Dionysalex. *Dionysalexandros*

Demetrius Phalereus

[*Eloc.*] *De Elocutione* (Περὶ ε—ρμηνείας)

Demosthenes

C. Andr. *Against Androtion*

C. Apat. *Against Apaturius*

1–3 *C. Aphob.* *Against Aphobus I–III*

C. Aristocr. *Against Aristocrates*

1–2 *C. Aristog.* *Against Aristogeiton I–II*

C. Boeot. *Against Boeotos I*

C. Call. *Against Callicles*

C. Con. *Against Conon*
C. Dionys. *Against Dionysodorus*
C. Eub. *Against Eubulides*
C. Euerg. *Against Evergus*
C. Lacr. *Against Lacritus*
C. Leoch. *Against Leochares*
C. Lept. *Against Leptines*
C. Macart. *Against Macartatus*
C. Mid. *Against Meidias*
C. Naus. *Against Nausimachus*
[C. Neaer.] *Against Neaera*
C. Nicostr. *Against Nicostratus*
C. Olymp. *Against Olympiodorus*
1–2 *C. Onet.* *Against Onetor I–II*
C. Pant. *Against Pantaenetus*
C. Poly. *Against Polycles*
1–2 *C. Steph.* *Against Stephanus I–II*
C. Theocr. *Against Theocrines*
C. Tim. *Against Timothes*
C. Timocr. *Against Timocrates*
C. Zenoth. *Against Zenothemis*
Chers. *On the Chersonese*
Corona *On the Crown*
Cor. Trier. *On the Trierarchic Crown*
Embassy *On the False Embassy*
Fun. Orat. *Funeral Oration*
Halon. *On the Halonnesus*
1–3 *Olynth.* *Olynthiac I–III*
Org. Fin. *On Organization*
Peace *On the Peace*
P. Phorm. *For Phormio*
1–4 *Philip.* *Philippic I–IV*
Prooem. *Prooemia (= Exordia)*
Treaty Alex. *On the Treaty with Alexander*

Didymus

Trin. *On the Trinity*
Zech. Commentary *on Zechariah*

Dig.

Digesta

Dinarchus

C. Aristog. Against Aristogiton
C. Phil. Against Philocles

Dio Chrysostom

1 Mon. First Discourse, On Kingship
3 Mon. Third Discourse, On Kingship
Olymp. Olympic Discourse
Or. Discourse (See LCL for discourse numbers)

Dionysius of Halicarnassus

Amm. 1 Epistula ad Ammaeum 1
Comp. De Compositione Verborum
Dem. De Demosthene
Din. De Dinarcho
Is. De Isaeo
Orat. De Oratoribus Veteribus
Pomp. Epistula ad Pompeium
Rh. Ars Rhetorica
Th. De Thucydide

Dioscorides

Alex. Alexipharmaca
Mat. Med. De Materia Medica (also cited by author's name alone)

Duris of Samos

Hist. *Historiae* (in Athenaeus)

Epictetus

Diatr. *Diatribai*
Ench. *Enchiridion*

Epicurus

Epist. *Epistulae*
Her. Letter to Herodotus
Men. Letter to Menoecus
Nat. *De Rerum Natura*

Pyth. Letter to Pythocles
Sent. Sententiae

Epiphanius

Pan. Panarion (Refutation of All Heresies)

Etymol. Mag.

Etymologicum Magnum

Euclid

Elem. Elementa

Euripides

Alc. Alcestis

Andr. Andromache

Bacch. Bacchae

Cyc. Cyclops

Dict. Dictys

El. Electra

Hec. Hecuba

Hel. Helena

Heracl. Heraclidae

HF Hercules Furens

Hipp. Hippolytus

Hyps. Hypsipyle

IA Iphigenia Aulidensis

IT Iphigenia Taurica

Med. Medea

Or. Orestes

Phoen. Phoinissae

Rhes. Rhesus

Supp. Supplices

Tro. Troades

C. Marc. Against Marcellus

Eusebius

Dem. Evang. Demonstration of the Gospel

Hist. Eccl. Ecclesiastical History (also cited by author's name alone)

In Isa. Commentary on Isaiah

Mart. Palest. *The Martyrs of Palestine*
Praep. Evang. *Preparation for the Gospel*

Firmicus Maternus

Err. prof. rel. *De errore profanarum religionum*
Math. Mathesis

Fronto

Ep. ad M. Caes. *Letter to Marcus Caesar*

Gaius

Inst. Institutiones

Galen

Aliment. Comm. *In Hippocratis De Alimento Commentarius*
Anim. Pass. *Περὶ ψυχῆς παθῶ—ν κτλ.*
Comm. Hipp. *Galen's Comment. I in Hippocratis lib. I Epidemiorum*
De Plac. Hipp. et Plat. *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*
De simpl. medicam. temp. *De Simplicium Medicamentorum*
Temperamentis
Def. Med. *Definitiones Medicae*
Med. Phil. Ὅτι ὁ ἄριστος ἰ—ατρὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος (= *That the Best Physician is Also a Philosopher*)
Remed. Parab. *De Remediis Parabilibus*

Geminus

Intro. to Astronomy *Εἰ—σαγωγή εἰ—ς τὰ φαινόμενα (Introduction to Astronomy)*

Gorgias

Hel. Helena

Gregory of Nazianzus

Ep. Epistulae
Or. Bas. *Oratio in Laudem Basilii*

Gregory of Nyssa

De Deitate De Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti

Gregory the Great

Moral. Expositio in Librum Iob, sive Moraliu Libri XXV

Heliodorus

Aeth. Aethiopica

Heraclitus

All. Allegoriae (Quaestiones Homericae)

Hero

Spir. Spiritalia (Pneumatica)

Herodian

Hist. Τῆς μετὰ Μάρκον βασιλείας ἱστορία

Hesiod

Op. Opera et Dies (Works and Days)

[Sc.] Scutum (Shield)

Th. Theogonia

Hierax

Met. Metamorphoses

Hippocrates

Acut. Περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων (De Ratione Victus in Morbis Acutis = Regimen in Acute Diseases)

Aff. Περὶ παθῶν (De Affectionibus = Affections)

Alim. Περὶ τροφῆς (De Alimento = Nutrition)

Aph. —Αφορισμοί (Aphorismata = Aphorisms)

Append. Spurious appendix to Acut.

Art. Περὶ τέχνης (De Arte = The Art)

Artic. Περὶ ἄρθρων [ε—μβολῆς] (De Articulis Reponendis = Joints)

Carn. Περὶ σαρκῶν (De Carne = Fleshes or Tissues)

Coac. Κωακαὶ προγνώσεις (*Praenotiones Coacae = Coan Prognoses*)
Decent. Περὶ εὐσχημοσύνης (*De Habitu Decenti = Decorum*)
Dent. Περὶ ὀδοντοφυΐης (*De Dentitione = Teething*)
Epid. —Επιδημῖαι (*Epidemiae = Epidemics*)
Fist. Περὶ συρίγγων (*Fistulae*)
Fract. Περὶ ἀγμω—ν (*De Fracturis = Fractures*)
Genit. Περὶ γονῆς ?
Int. Περὶ τω—ν ε—ντὸς παθω—ν (*De Affectionibus Internis = Internal Affections*)
Jusj. Ὅρκος (*Jus Jurandum = The Oath*)
Lex Νόμος (*Lex = Decree*)
Liqu. Περὶ ὑγρῶ—ν χρήσιος (*De Liquidorum Usu = Use of Fluids*)
Loc. Hom. Περὶ τόπων τω—ν κατὰ ἀνθρώπων (*De Locis in Homine = Places in Man*)
Medic. Περὶ ἰ—ητροῦ (*De Medico = Physician*)
Mochl. Μοχλικόν (*Instruments of Reduction or Nature of Bones*)
Morb. Περὶ νόσων (*De Morbis = Diseases*)
Morb. Sac. Περὶ ἰ—ερῆς νόσου (*De Morbo Sacro = Sacred Disease*)
Mul. Γυναικει—α (*De Morbis Mulierum = Diseases of Women*)
Nat. Hom. Περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου (*De Natura Hominis*)
Nat. Mul. Περὶ γυναικείης φύσιος (*De Natura Muliebri*)
Nat. Puer. Περὶ φύσιος παιδίου (*De Nature Pueri*)
Oct. Περὶ ὀκταμήνου (*De Octimestri Partu = Eight Month's Child*)
Off. Κατ' ἰ—ητρεί—ον (*De Officina Medici = In the Surgery*)
Praec. Παραγγελῖαι (*Praeceptiones = Precepts*)
Prog. Προγνωστικόν (*Prognostic*)
Prorrh. Προρρητικόν (*Prorhetic*)
Septim. Περὶ ε—πταμήνου (*De Septimestri Partu = Seven Month's Child*)
Steril. Περὶ ἀφόρων (*De Sterilitate = Sterile Women*)
Vict. Περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς (*De Ratione Victus Salubris = Regimen in Health*); or Περὶ διαίτης (*Regimen*)
VM Περὶ ἀρχαίας ἰ—ητρικῆς (*De Vetere Medicina = Ancient Medicine*)

Hippolytus

Haer. Refutation of All Heresies
In Dan. Commentary on Daniel
Trad. ap. The Apostolic Tradition

Homer

[*H. Aphr.*] Hymn to Aphrodite

[H. Apol.] Hymn to Apollo
[H. Ares] Hymn to Ares
[H. Cast.] Hymn to Castor
[H. Demet.] Hymn to Demeter
[H. Diosc.] Hymn to the Dioscuri
[H. Hermes] Hymn to Hermes
[H. Pos.] Hymn to Poseidon
Il. Iliad
Od. Odyssey

Horace

Carm. Carmina
Epist. Epistulae
Epod. Epodi
Sat. Satirae

Hyginus

Poet. Astr. Poetica Astronomica

Hyperides

Ath. Adversus Athenogenem
Dem. Adversus Demosthenem
Eux. Pro Euxenippo
Lyc. Pro Lycophrone

Iamblichus

Agr. Letter to Agrippa (in Stobaeus)
Myst. De Mysteriis
Sophr. Letter concerning Prudence (in Stobaeus)
VP De Vita Pythagorica

Ignatius

[Ad Philip.] Letter to the Philippians

Irenaeus

Haer. Against Heresies

Isaeus

Philoct. *On the Estate of Philoctemon*

Isocrates

Ad Nic. *To Nicocles*
Aeginet. *Aegineticus*
Antid. *Antidosis*
Archid. *Archidamus*
Areop. *Areopagiticus*
Big. *De Bigis (= On the Team of Horses)*
Trapez. *Trapeziticus (= On the Banker)*
Bus. *Busiris*
C. Callim. *Against Callimachus*
De Pace *On the Peace*
[Demon.] *To Demonicus*
Ep. *Epistulae*
Evag. *Evagoras*
Hel. *Helen*
Nic. *Nicocles*
Panath. *Panathenaicus*
Paneg. *Panegyricus*
Phil. *Philippus*

Jerome

Epist. *Epistulae*
In Ep. ad Gal. *In Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas*
In Tit. *In Epistolam Pauli ad Titum*
Quaest. hebr. *Quaestiones Hebraicae*

John Chrysostom

Comp. reg. et mon. *Comparatio regis et monachi*
Ep. Theod. *Letter to Theodore*
Hom. *Homilies*
Sacerdot. *De Sacerdotio*

John Malalas

Chron. *Chronography*

John Philoponus

Comm. de An. In Aristotelis De Anima Libros Commentaria

Josephus

Ag. Apion Against Apion

Ant. Antiquities of the Jews

Life Life of Josephus

War The Jewish War

Justin

1 Apol. First Apology

2 Apol. Second Apology

Dial. Dialogue with Trypho

Justinian

Edict. Edicta

Nov. Novellae

Juvenal

Sat. Satirae

Lactantius

Mort. Pers. De Morte Persecutorum

Libanius

Autobiogr. Autobiography (Oration 1)

Longinus

[Subl.] Περὶ ὕψους (On the Sublime)

Longus

Daph. Daphnis and Chloe

Lucian

Alex. Alexander (Pseudomantis)

Am. Amores

Asin. Asinus (Lucius)
Bis Acc. Bis Accusatus
Cal. Calumniae Non Temere Credendum
Char. Charon
Demon. Demonax
Dial. D. Dialogi Deorum
Dial. Meret. Dialogi Meretricii
Dial. Mort. Dialogi Mortuorum
Dom. De Domo
Encom. Demosth. Demosthenous Encomium (= In Praise of Demosthenes)
Fug. Fugitivi
Gall. Gallus
Hermot. Hermotimus (De Sectis)
Icar. Icaromenippus
Im. Imagines
Ind. Adversus Indoctum
JConf. Juppiter Confutatus
JTr. Juppiter Tragoedus
Laps. Pro Lapsu inter Salutandum
Luct. De Luctu
Merc. Cond. De Mercede Conductis
Nav. Navigium
Nec. Necyomantia
Par. De Parasito
Peregr. De Morte Peregrini
Phal. Phalaris
[Philopatr.] Philopatris
Philops. Philopseudes
Pisc. Piscator
Pseudol. Pseudologista
Rh. Pr. Rhetorum praeceptor
Sacr. De Sacrificiis
Salt. De Saltatione
Scyth. Scytha
Somn. Somnium (Vita Luciani)
Symp. Symposium
Syr. D. De Syria Dea
Tim. Timon
Tox. Toxaris
Tyr. Tyrannicida
Ver. Hist. Vera Historia
Vit. Auct. Vitarum Auctio

Lycurgus

Leoc. Against Leocrates

Lysias

[Amat.] Amatorius
C. Agor. Against Agoratus
C. Andoc. Against Andocides
C. Leocr. Against Leocrates
C. Nicom. Against Nocomachus
C. Philo Against Philo
C. Sim. Against Simon
Def. Anon. For an Anonymous Defendant
Inval. For the Cripple
Mantith. Defense of Mantitheus

Macrobius

Sat. Saturnalia

Martial

Epigr. Epigrammaton Libri

Menander

Dysk. Dyskolos
Epit. Epitrepontes
Georg. Georgos
Mis. Misoumenos
Mon. Monostichoi
Phas. Phasma
Pk. Perikeiromene
Sam. Samia
Sik. Sikyonios
Thras. Thrasonidis

Menander of Laodicea

Epidict. Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν

Methodius of Olympus

Symp. Symposium

Minucius Felix

Oct. Octavian

Mon. Anc.

Monumentum Ancyranum

Moschus

Eur. Europa

Nicander

Alex. Alexipharmaca

Ther. Theriaca

Nichomachus of Gerasa

Ar. Arithmetica Introductio

Nicolaus of Damascus

Hist. Univ. Universal History (in Athenaeus)

Vit. Caes. Vita Caesaris

Nonnus

Dion. Dionysiaca

Ocellus of Lucania

Nat. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως

Olympiodorus

In Mete. In Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria

Orac. Chald.

Chaldaean Oracles

Origen

Cels. Against Celsus
In Joh. Commentary on John
Is. Homilies on Isaiah
Prayer On Prayer

Ovid

Am. Amores
Ars am. Ars amatoria
Fast. Fasti
Her. Heroides
Ib. Ibis
Met. Metamorphoses

Pappus

Coll. Collectio (Συναγωγή)

Paulus

Sent. Sententiae

Peripl. M. Rubr.

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea

Persius

Sat. Satirae

Philo

Abraham On Abraham (De Abrahamo)
Alleg. Interp. Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoriae)
[Bib. Antiq.]Biblical Antiquities
Change of Names On the Change of Names (Mut. nom.)
Cherub. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)
Conf. Tongues On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Linguarum)
Contemp. Life On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)
Creation On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)
Decalogue On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)
Dreams On Dreams (De Somniis)
Drunkenness On Sobriety (De Ebrietate)

Etern. World *On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)*
Flacc. *Against Flaccus (In Flaccum)*
Flight *On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)*
Giants *On the Giants (De Gigantibus)*
Good Man Free *Every Good Man Is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit)*
Heir *Who Is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)*
Husbandry *On Husbandry (De Agricultura)*
Hypoth. *Hypothetica (Apologia pro Iudaeis)*
Joseph *On Joseph (De Iosepho)*
Migr. Abr. *On the Migration of Abraham (De Migratione Abrahami)*
Moses *On the Life of Moses (De Vita Mosis)*
Plant. *On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)*
Post. Cain *On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate Caini)*
Prelim. Stud. *On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu Quaerendae Eruditionis Gratia)*
Prov. *On Providence (De Providentia)*
Quest. Exod. *Questions and Answers on Exodus (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)*
Quest. Gen. *Questions and Answers on Genesis (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesis)*
Rewards *On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)*
Sacr. Abel and Cain *On the Sacrifice of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini)*
Sobr. *On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)*
Spec. Laws *On the Special Laws (De Specialibus Legibus)*
To Gaius *On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)*
Unchang. God *On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit)*
Virtues *On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)*
Worse Attacks Better *The Worse Attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Solet)*

Philodemus of Gadara

Adv. Soph. *Adversus Sophistas*
D. *De Diis*
Hom. *De Bono Rege Secundum Homerum*
Ir. *De Ira*
Lib. *De Libertate Dicendi*
Mort. *De Morte*
Mus. *De Musica*
Piet. *De Pietate*
Rh. *Volumina Rhetorica*
Sign. *De Signis*
Vit. *De Vitiis X*

Philostratus

Ep. Epistulae
Gym. De Gymnastica
Imag. Imagines
VA Vita Apollonii
VS Vitae Sophistarum

Photius

Lex. Lexicon

Pindar

Isthm. Isthmian Odes
Nem. Nemean Odes
Ol. Olympian Odes
Paeon. Paeanes
Pyth. Pythian Odes
Thren. Threnoi

Plato

[Alc. Maj.] Alcibiades Major
Ap. Apologia
[Ax.] Axiochus
Chrm. Charmides
Cra. Cratylus
[Def.] Definitiones
Ep. Epistulae (some authentic, some spurious)
[Epin.] Epinomis
Euthd. Euthydemus
Euthphr. Euthyphro
Grg. Gorgias
Hipparch. Hipparchus
Hp. Ma. Hippias Major
Hp. Mi. Hippias Minor
Lach. Laches
Leg. Leges
Menex. Menexenus
[Min.] Minos
Phd. Phaedo
Phdr. Phaedrus

Phlb. Philebus
Plt. Politicus (Statesman)
Prm. Parmenides
Prt. Protagoras
Resp. Respublica
Soph. Sophista
Symp. Symposium
Tht. Theaetetus
Tim. Timaeus

Plautus

Aul. Aulularia
Bacch. Bacchides
Mil. Glor. Miles Gloriosus
Mostell. Mostellaria
Poen. Poenulus
Pseud. Pseudolus
Trin. Trinummus
Truc. Truculentus

Pliny the Elder

HN Natural History

Pliny the Younger

Ep. Epistulae
Pan. Panegyricus

Plotinus

Enn. Enneades

Plutarch

Ad princ. iner. Ad Principem Ineruditum
Adv. Col. Adversus Colotem
Aem. Aemilius Paulus
Ages. Agesilaus
Agric. Agricola
Alc. Alcibiades
Alex. Alexander
Amat. Amatorius

[Amat. nar.] Amatoriae Narrationes
An ignis Aqua an Ignis Utilior
An seni An Seni Respublica Gerenda Sit
Ant. Antonius
An virt. doc. An Virtus Doceri Possit
An vitiositas An Vitiositas ad Infelicitatem Sufficiat
Apoph. lac. Apophthegmata Laconica
Arat. Aratus
Arist. Aristides
Art. Artaxerxes
Brut. Brutus
Caes. Caesar
Cam. Camillus
Cat. Mai. Cato the Elder
Cat. Min. Cato the Younger
C. Gracch. C. Gracchus
Cic. Cicero
Cim. Cimon
Cleom. Cleomenes
Con. praec. Coniugalia Praecepta
[Cons. ad Apoll.] Consolatio ad Apollonium
Cons. ux. Consolatio ad Uxorem
Conv. sept. sap. Septem Sapientium Convivium
Cor. Coriolanus
Crass. Crassus
De adul. et am. De Adulatore et Amico
De Alex. fort. De Alexandri Fortuna
De amic. mult. De Amicorum Multitudine
De am. prol. De Amore Prolis
De audiendo De Audiendo (= De Recta Ratione Audiendi)
De aud. poet. De Audiendis Poetis
De cohib. ira De Cohibenda Ira
De comm. not. De Communibus Notitiis Contra Stoicos
De cupid. divit. De Cupiditate Divitiarum
De curios. De Curiositate
De def. or. De Defectu Oraculorum
De E ap. Delph. De E apud Delphos
De esu carn. De Esu Carnium
De exil. De Exilio
De fac. De Facie in Orbe Lunae
De fort. De Fortuna
De fort. Rom. De Fortuna Romanorum
De frat. amor. De Fraternali Amore
De garr. De Garrulitate
De gen. De Genio Socratis

De glor. Ath. De Gloria Atheniensium
De inv. et ot. De Invidia et Otio
De Is. et Os. De Iside et Osiride
De laude De Laude Ipsius
[De lib. ed.]De Liberis Educandis
Dem. Demosthenes
Demetr. Demetrius
[De mus.] De Musica
[De plac. philos.] De Placita Philosophorum
De prim. frig. De Primo Frigido
De prof. in virt. De Profectibus in Virtute
De Pyth. or. De Pythiae Oraculis
De sera De Sera Numinis Vindicta
De sol. an. De Sollertia Animalium
De Stoic. rep. De Stoicorum Repugnantiis
De superst. De Superstitione
De tranq. anim. De Tranquillitate Animi
De trib. r. p. gen. De Tribus Rei Publicae Generibus
De tu. san. De Tuenda Sanitate Praecepta
De unius in rep. dom. De Unius in Republica Dominatione
De virt. et vit. De Virtute et Vitio
De virt. mor. De Virtute Morali
De vit. aere al. De Vitando Aere Alieno
De vit. et poes. Hom. De Vita et Poesi Homeri
De vit. pud. De Vitioso Pudore
Eum. Eumenes
Fab. Fabius
Flam. Flamininus
Luc. Lucullus
Lyc. Lycurgus
Lys. Lysander
Mar. Marius
Marc. Marcellus
Mor. Moralia
Mulier. virt. Mulierum Virtutes
Nic. Nicias
Num. Numa
Oth. Otho
Pel. Pelopidas
Per. Pericles
Phil. Philopoemen
Phoc. Phocion
Pomp. Pompey
Praec. ger. rei publ. Praecepta Gerendae Rei Publicae
Publ. Publicola

Pyrrh. Pyrrhus
Quaest. conv. Quaestionum Convivialum Libri IX
Quaest. nat. Quaestiones Naturales
Quaest. Plat. Quaestiones Platonicae
Quaest. Rom. Quaestiones Romanae
[Reg. et imp. apoph.] Regum et Imperatorum Apophthegmata
Rom. Romulus
Sert. Sertorius
Sol. Solon
Suav. viv. Non Posse Suaviter Vivi Secundum Epicurum
Sull. Sulla
Them. Themistocles
Thes. Theseus
Ti. Gracch. Tiberius Gracchus
Tim. Timoleon
[X orat.] Vitae decem oratorum

Polemo

Declam. Declamationes

Pollux

Onom. Onomasticon

Polyaenus

Strat. Strategemata

Porphyry

Abst. De Abstinencia
De antr. nymph. De Antro Nympharum
VP Vita Pythagorae

Proclus

Art. sacr. De Arte Sacra

Procopius

Aed. De Aedificiis
Goth. De Bello Gothico

Ps.-Clem. Hom.

Clementine Homilies

Ptolemy (the Gnostic)

Flor. Letter to Flora

Opt. *Optica*

Tetr. *Tetrabiblos* (—Αποτελεσματικά)

Quintilian

Inst. *Instituto oratoria*

Res gest. divi Aug.

Res gestae divi Augusti

Rufus of Ephesus Anat.

—Ανατομή

Rufus of Ephesus

Onom. Περὶ ὀνομασίας

Ren. Ves. *De Renum et Vesicae Affectionibus*

Sallust

Cat. *Bellum Catalinae*

Iug. *Bellum Iugurthinum*

Seneca

Ben. *De Beneficiis*

Clem. *De Clementia*

Dial. *Dialogi*

Ep. *Epistulae Morales*

Helv. *Ad Helviam*

Herc. *Hercules [Furens]*

Ira *De Ira*

Lucil. *Ad Lucilium*

Marc. *Ad Marciam de Consolatione*

Phdr. *Phaedra*

Polyb. *Ad Polybium de Consolatione*

QNat. Quaestiones Naturales
Tranq. De Tranquillitate Animi
Vit. Beat. De Vita Beata

Sextus Empiricus

Math. Adversus Mathematicos
Pyr. Πυρρώνειοι ὑποτυπώσεις (*Outlines of Pyrrhonism*)

Silius Italicus

Pun. Punica

Sophocles

Aj. Ajax
Ant. Antigone
El. Elektra
Ichn. Ichneutae
OC Oedipus Coloneus
OT Oedipus Tyrannus
Phil. Philoctetes
Trach. Trachiniae

Soranus

Gyn. Γυναικει—α

Statius

Silv. *Silvae*

Stobaeus

Ecl. —Εκλογαί
Flor. —Ανθολόγιον

Strattis

Lemn. Λημνομέδα

Suetonius

Aug. *Divus Augustus*

Calig. Gaius Caligula
Claud. Divus Claudius
Iul. Divus Iulius
Rhet. De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus
Tib. Tiberius
Tit. Divus Titus
Vit. Vitellius

Synesius

Epist. ad Paeonium Epistula ad Paeonium
Hymn. Hymni

Tacitus

Ann. Annales
Dial. Dialogus de Oratoribus
Germ. Germania
Hist. Historiae

Terence

Ad. Adelphoe
Eun. Eunuchus
Haut. Hautontimorumenos
Phorm. Phormio

Tertullian

Apol. Apology
Bapt. On Baptism
Coron. De Corona (On the Crown)
Marc. Against Marcion
Praescrip. Prescription of Heretics
Scap. To Scapula

Themistius

Or. Orations

Theocritus

Id. Idylls

Theodoret

Car. De Caritate

Hist. Eccl. Ecclesiastical History

Hist. Syr. Mon. History of the Monks of Syria

Theon of Alexandria

In Alm. Commentary on the Almagest

Theophilus

Ad Autol. Ad Autolyicum

Theophrastus

Caus. Pl. De Causis Plantarum

Char. Characteres (sometimes cited by author alone)

Hist. Pl. Historia Plantarum

Sens. De Sensu

Varro

Rust. De Re Rustica

Virgil

Aen. Aeneid

G. Georgics

Vitruvius

Arch. De Architectura

Xenophon of Ephesus

Ephes. Ephesiaca

Xenophon

Ages. Agesilaus

An. Anab.

Ap. Apologia Socratis

[Ath.] Respublica Atheniensium

Cyn. Cynegeticus
Cyr. Cyropaedia
Eq. De Equitande Ratione
Eq. Mag. De Equitum Magistro
Hell. Hellenica
Hier. Hiero
Lac. Respublica Lacedaemoniorum
Mem. Memorabilia
Oec. Oeconomicus
Symp. Symposium

Zeno

Sign. Περὶ σημείων

ABBREVIATIONS: PAPYRI AND OSTRACA

A. WORKS CITED BY AN ABBREVIATION*

Apokrimata *Apokrimata: Decisions of Septimius Severus on Legal Matters.*
Ed. W. L. Westermann and A. A. Schiller. New York, 1954. (= P.Col. VI)

Berichtigungsliste *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen*
Papyrusurkunden aus fgypten. Ed. F. Preisigke et al. Berlin, 1922-.

BGU Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koniglichen (later Staatlichen)
Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden. 15 vols. Berlin, 1895–1983.

Chrest.Mitt.L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzuge und Chrestomathie der*
Papyruskunde I. Band, Historischer Teil, II. Halfte, Chrestomathie. Leipzig-
Berlin, 1912.

Chrest.Wilck. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzuge und Chrestomathie*
der Papyruskunde II. Band, Juristischer Teil, II. Halfte, Chrestomathie.
Leipzig-Berlin, 1912.

CPR Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. 8 vols. Vienna, 1895–1983.

C.Ord.Ptol. Corpus des ordonnances des ptolemees. Ed. M.-Th. Lenger.
Brussels, 1964; 2d ed., 1980.

C.Pap.Jud. Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum. 3 vols. Ed. V. A. Tcherikover.
Cambridge, Mass., 1957–1964.

C.P.Herm. Corpus Papyrorum Hermopolitanorum. Ed. C. Wessely. Leipzig, 1905. (= Stud.Pal. V)

Jur.Pap. Juristische Papyri. Ed. P. M. Meyer. Berlin, 1920.

MPER Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Ed. J. Karabacek. 6 vols. Vienna, 1887–1897.

MPER N.S. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, Neue Serie. 14 vols. Vienna, 1932–1982.

O.Aberd. See P.Aberd.

O.Amst. Ostraka in Amsterdam Collections. Ed. R. S. Bagnall, P. J. Sijpesteijn, and K. A. Worp. Zutphen, 1976.

O.Bodl. Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Various Other Collections. 3 vols. London, 1930–1964.

O.Bruss.Berl. Ostraka aus Brussel und Berlin. Ed. P. Viereck. Berlin-Leipzig, 1922.

O.Florida The Florida Ostraka: Documents from the Roman Army in Upper Egypt. Ed. R. S. Bagnall. Durham, N.C., 1976.

O.Joach. Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka. Ed. F. Preisigke and W. Spiegelberg. Strassburg, 1914.

O.Mich. Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection. I = Ed. L. Amundsen. Ann Arbor, 1935. II and III = see *P.Mich.* VI and VIII.

O.Ont.Mus. I = Death and Taxes: Ostraka in the Royal Ontario Museum I. Ed. A. E. Samuel et al. Toronto, 1971. II = *Ostraka in the Royal Ontario Museum II.* Ed. R. S. Bagnall and A. E. Samuel. Toronto, 1976.

O.Oslo Ostraca OsloÎnsia: Greek Ostraca in Norwegian Collections. Ed. L. Amundsen. Oslo, 1933.

O.Wilb. Les Ostraca grecs de la collection Charles-Edwin Wilbour au Musee de Brooklyn. Ed. C. Preaux. New York, 1935.

O.Wilck. Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien. 2 vols. Ed. U. Wilcken. Leipzig-Berlin, 1899. Reprint Amsterdam, 1970, with addenda.

Pap.Brux. Papyrologica Bruxellensia. 19 vols. Brussels, 1962–1980.

Pap.Colon. Papyrologica Coloniensia. 9 vols. Cologne/Opladen, 1964–1980.

Pap.Graec.Mag. Papyri Graecae Magicae. Ed. K. Preisendanz. 2 vols. Leipzig-Berlin, 1928–1931.

Pap.Lugd.Bat. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava. 24 vols. Leiden, 1941–1983.

PSI Papyri greci e latine. 15 vols. Florence, 1912–1979.

P.Aberd. Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri and Ostraca in the Possession of the University of Aberdeen. Ed. E. G. Turner. Aberdeen, 1939.

P.Abinn. The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II. Ed. H. I. Bell et al. Oxford, 1962.

P.Achm. Les Papyrus grecs d'Achmim a la Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris. Ed. P. Collart. Cairo, 1930.

P.AdL. The Adler Papyri. Greeks texts ed. E. N. Adler et al. Oxford, 1939.

P.Alex. Papyrus grecs du Musee Greco-Romain d'Alexandrie. Ed. A. Sawiderek and M. Vandoni. Warsaw, 1964.

P.Amh. The Amherst Papyri: Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A. at Didlington Hall, Norfolk. Ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. 2 vols. London, 1900–1901.

P.Amst. Die Amsterdamer Papyri I. Ed. R. P. Salomons et al. Zutphen, 1980.

P.Ant. The Antinoopolis Papyri. 3 vols. London, 1950–1967.

P.Apoll. Papyrus grecs d'Apollonos Ano. Ed. R. Remondon. Cairo, 1953.

P.Athen. *Papyri Societatis Archaeologicae Atheniensis.* Ed. G. A. Petropoulos. Athens, 1939.

P.Bad. *Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen.* 6 vols. Heidelberg, 1923-.

P.Berl.Moller *Griechische Papyri aus dem Berliner Museum.* Ed. S. Moller. Goteborg, 1929.

P.Berl.Zill. *Vierzehn Berliner griechische Papyri.* Ed. H. Zilliacus. Helsingfors, 1941.

P.Bodm. *Papyrus Bodmer.* 26 vols. Cologny-Geneva, 1954–1969. XIV-XV = *Evangelie de Luc* chap. 3-24, *Evangelie de Jean* chap. 1-15. Ed. V. Martin and R. Kasser. 1961.

P.Bon. *Papyri Bononienses.* Ed. O. Montevecchi. Milan, 1953.

P.Bour. *Les Papyrus Bouriant.* Ed. P. Collart. Paris, 1926.

P.Brem. *Die Bremer Papyri.* Ed. U. Wilcken. Berlin, 1936.

P.Bru. *Papyri Bruxellenses Graecae.* Ed. G. Nachtergaeel. Brussels, 1974.

P.Cair.Goodsp. *Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum.* Ed. E. J. Goodspeed. Chicago, 1902.

P.Cair.Isid. *The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, and the University of Michigan.* Ed. A. E. R. Boak and H. C. Youtie. Ann Arbor, 1960.

P.Cair.Masp. *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.* Ed. J. Maspero. 3 vols. Cairo, 1911–1916.

P.Cair.Mich. *A Tax List from Karanis.* Ed. H. Riad and J. C. Shelton. 2 parts. Bonn, 1976–1977.

P.Cair.Preis. *Griechische Urkunden des Aegyptischen Museums zu Kairo.* Ed. F. Preisigke. Strassburg, 1911.

P.Cair.Zen. *Zenon Papyri: Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.* Ed. C. C. Edgar. 5 vols. Cairo, 1925–1940.

P.Catt. See *Chrest.Mitt.* 88 and 372 and SB I, 4284.

P.Charite *Das Aurelia Charite Archiv.* Ed. K. A. Worp. Zutphen, 1981.

P.Coll.Youtie *Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts Published in Honor of H. C. Youtie.* Ed. A. E. Hanson. 2 vols. Bonn, 1976.

P.Col. *Columbia Papyri, Greek Series.* 7 vols. New York, 1929–1954; Missoula, 1979.

P.Col.Zen. *Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. dealing with Palestine and Egypt.* 2 vols. New York, 1934–1940. (= *P.Col.* III-IV)

P.Copenhagen See *P.Haun.*

P.Corn. *Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University.* Ed. W. L. Westermann and C. J. Kraemer, Jr. New York, 1926.

P.Dura *The Excavations at Dura-Europus Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters.* Ed. C. B. Welles, R. O. Fink, and J. F. Gilliam. New Haven, 1959.

P.Edfou *Fouilles Franco-Polonaises.* 3 vols. Cairo, 1937–1950.

P.Egerton *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri.* Ed. H. I. Bell, and T. C. Skeat. London, 1935.

P.Eleph. *Elephantine-Papyri.* Ed. O. Rubensohn. Berlin, 1907.

P.Enteux. —Εντεύξεις: *Requêtes et plaintes adressees au Roi d'...gypte au IIIe siecle avant J.-C.* Ed. O. Gueraud. Cairo, 1931.

P.Erl. *Die Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen.* Ed. W. Schubart. Leipzig, 1942.

P.Fam.Tebt. *A Family Archive from Tebtunis.* Ed. B. A. van Groningen. Leiden, 1950. (= *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI).

P.Fay. *Fay_m Towns and Their Papyri.* Ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth. London, 1900.

P.Flor. *Papiri greco-egizii, Papiri Fiorentini.* 3 vols. Milan, 1906–1915.

- P.Fouad* *Les Papyrus Fouad I*. Ed. A. Bataille et al. Cairo, 1939.
- P.Freib.* *Mitteilungen aus der Freiburger Papyrussammlung*. 3 vols. Heidelberg, 1914–1927.
- P.Fuad I Univ.* *Fuad I University Papyri*. Ed. D. S. Crawford. Alexandria, 1949.
- P.Genova I* = *Papiri dell'Universita di Genova I*. Ed. M. Amelotti and L. Zingale Migliardi. Milan, 1974. II = *Ed. L. Migliardi Zingale*. Florence, 1980.
- P.Gen.* *Les Papyrus de Geneve*. Ed. J. Nicole. Geneva, 1896–1906.
- P.Giss.* *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*. Ed. O. Eger, E. Kornemann, and P. M. Meyer. 3 parts. Leipzig/Berlin, 1910–1922.
- P.Giss.Univ.* *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek*. 6 vols. Giessen, 1924–1938.
- P.Goodsp.* "A Group of Greek Papyrus Texts." Ed. E. J. Goodspeed. *Classical Philology*, vol. 1, 1906, pp. 167–173.
- P.Got.* *Papyrus grecs de la Bibliotheque municipale de Gothembourg*. Ed. H. Frisk. Gothenburg, 1929.
- P.Grad.* *Griechische Papyri der Sammlung Gradenwitz*. Ed. G. Plaumann. Heidelberg, 1914.
- P.Grenf.* I = *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and Other Greek Papyri Chiefly Ptolemaic*. Ed. B. P. Grenfell. Oxford, 1896. II = *New Classical Fragments and Other Greek and Latin Papyri*. Ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. Oxford, 1897.
- P.Gron.* *Papyri Groninganae: Griechische Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek zu Groningen nebst zwei Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek zu Amsterdam*. Ed. A. G. Roos. Amsterdam, 1933.
- P.Gron.Amst.* = the two Amsterdam papyri in *P.Gron.*
- P.Gur.* *Greek Papyri from Gurob*. Ed. J. G. Smylky. Dublin, 1921.

P.Hal. *Dikaionmata: Auszuge aus alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen in einem Papyrus des Philologischen Seminars der Universitat Halle mit einem Anhang weiterer Papyri derselben Sammlung.* Ed. by the Graeca Halensis. Berlin, 1913.

P.Hamb. I = *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek I.* 3 parts. Ed. P. M. Meyer. Leipzig-Berlin, 1911–1924. II = *Griechische Papyri der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek mit einigen Stucken aus der Sammlung Hugo Ibscher.* Ed. B. Snell et al. Hamburg, 1954. III = *Griechische Papyri der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.* Ed. B. Kramer and D. Hagedorn. Bonn, 1984.

P.Harr. *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham.* Ed. J. E. Powell. Cambridge, 1936.

P.Haun. *Papyri Graecae Haunienses. I. Literarische Texte und ptolemäische Urkunden.* Ed. T. Larsen. Copenhagen, 1942. II. Ed. A. Bulow-Jacobsen and S. Ebbesen. Bonn, 1981.

P.Haw. *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe.* Ed. W. M. Flinders Petri. London, 1889.

P.Heid. *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung.* 8 vols. in 2 series. Heidelberg, 1905–1964.

P.Hercul. *Herculanensium voluminum quae supersunt I-VI, VIII-XI.* Naples, 1793–1855. *Herculanensium voluminum quae supersunt collectio altera I-XI.* Naples, 1862–1876. *Fragmenta Herculanensia.* Ed. W. Scott. Oxford, 1885. See *Catalogo dei Papiri Ercolanesi.* Ed. M. Gigante. Naples, 1979.

P.Herm. *Papyri from Hermopolis and Other Documents of the Byzantine Period.* Ed. B. R. Rees. London, 1964.

P.Hib. *The Hibeh Papyri.* 2 vols. London, 1906–1955.

P.Holm. *Papyrus graecus Holmiensis: Recepte für Silber, Steine und Purpur.* Ed. O. Lagercrantz. Uppsala-Leipzig, 1913.

P.Iand. *Papyri Iandanae.* Ed. C. Kalbfleisch and students. 8 vols. Leipzig, 1912–1938.

P.IFAO Papyrus grecs de l'Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale. Cairo. I = Ed. J. Schwartz. 1971. II = Ed. G. Wagner. 1971. III = Ed. J. Schwartz and G. Wagner. 1975.

P.Jena Jenaer Papyrus-Urkunden. Ed. F. Zucker and F. Schneider. Jena, 1926.

P.Kar.Goodsp. Papyri from Karanis. Ed. E. J. Goodspeed. Chicago, 1902.

P.Koln Kolner Papyri. Ed. B. Kramer et al. 4 vols. Cologne/Opladen, 1976–1982.

P.Kroll Eine ptolemaische Konigsurkunde. Ed. L. Koenen. Wiesbaden, 1957.

P.Laur. Dai Papiri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Ed. R. Pintaudi and G. M. Browne. 5 vols. Florence, 1976–1984.

P.Leid. Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Lugduni-Batavi. Ed. C. Leemans. 2 vols. Leiden, 1843–1885.

P.Leit. Leitourgia Papyri. Ed. N. Lewis. Philadelphia, 1963.

P.Lille Papyrus grecs. 2 vols. I = Lille, 1907–1928. II = *Papyrus de Magdola.* Ed. J. Lesquier. Lille, 1912.

P.Lips. Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig. Ed. L. Mitteis. Leipzig, 1906.

P.Lond. Greek Papyri in the British Museum. 7 vols. London, 1893–1974.

P.Lund Aus der Papyrussammlung der Universitätsbibliothek in Lund. 6 parts. Lund, 1934–1952.

P.Magd. Papyrus de Magdola. Ed. J. Lesquier. Lille, 1912. (= *P.Lille* II)

P.Mert. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton. 3 vols. 1948–1967.

P.Meyer Griechische Texte aus Aegypten. Ed. P. M. Meyer. 2 vols. Berlin, 1916.

P.Michael. Papyri Michaelidae, Being a Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri, Tablets and Ostraca in the Library of Mr G. A. Michailidis of Cairo. Ed. D. S. Crawford. Aberdeen, 1955.

P.Mich. Michigan Papyri. 15 vols. 1931–1982.

P.Mich.Zen. = *P.Mich.* I

P.Mil.Papiri Milanesi. Ed. A. Calderini. Milan, 1928. 2d ed., ed. S. Daris, 1967.

P.Mil.Vogl. 7 vols. Milan, 1937–1981. I = *Papiri della R. Università di Milano.* Ed. A. Vogliano. 1937.

P.Monac. Byzantinische Papyri in der Königlichen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München. Ed. A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger.

P.Mur. Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan. 6 vols. Oxford, 1955–1977. All citations in Spicq are from vol. II, *Les Grottes de Murabba'at.* Ed. P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, R. de Vaux. 1961.

P.Ness. Excavations at Nessana. Vols. II-III. Princeton, 1950–1958. All citations in Spicq are from vol. III, *Non-Literary Papyri.* Ed. C. J. Kraemer, Jr.

P.NYU Greek Papyri in the Collection of New York University. Ed. N. Lewis. Leiden, 1967.

P.Oslo Papyri Osloenses. Ed. S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen. 3 vols. Oslo, 1925–1936.

P.Oxf. Some Oxford Papyri. Ed. E. P. Wegener. Leiden, 1942–1948. (= *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* III A and III B)

P.Oxy. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. 51 vols. London, 1898–1984.

P.Oxy.Hels. Fifty Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Ed. H. Zilliacus et al. Helsinki, 1979.

P.Panop. Urkunden aus Panopolis. Ed. L. C. Youtie, D. Hagedorn, and H. C. Youtie. Bonn, 1980.

P.Panop.Beatty Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin. Ed. T. C. Skeat. Dublin, 1964.

P.Paris *Notices et textes des papyrus du Musée du Louvre et de la Bibliothèque Impériale*. Ed. J. A. Letronne, W. Brunet de Presle, and E. Egger. Paris, 1865.

P.Petaus *Das Archiv des Petaus*. Ed. U. Hagedorn et al. Cologne/Opladen, 1969. (= *Pap.Colon.* IV)

P.Petr. *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*. Ed. J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly. 3 vols. Dublin, 1891–1905.

P.Phil. *Papyrus de Philadelphie*. Ed. J. Scherer. Cairo, 1947.

P.Princ. *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*. 3 vols. 1931–1942.

P.Rein. 2 vols. I = *Papyrus grecs et demotiques recueillis en Egypte*. Ed. T. Reinach, W. Spiegelberg, and S. de Ricci. Paris, 1905. II = *Les Papyrus Theodore Reinach*. Ed. P. Collart. Cairo, 1940.

P.Rev. *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*. B. P. Grenfell. Oxford, 1896. Reedited by J. Bingen, in *Sammelbuch, Beiheft 1*, Gottingen, 1952.

P.Ross.Georg. *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*. 5 vols. Tiflis, 1925–1935.

P.Ryl. *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library*. 4 vols. Manchester, 1911–1952.

P.Sakaon *The Archive of Aurelius Sakaon: Papers of an Egyptian Farmer in the Last Century of Theadelphia*. Ed. G. M. Parssoglou. Bonn, 1978.

P.Sarap. *Les Archives de Sarapion et de ses fils: une exploitation agricole aux environs d'Hermoupolis Magna (de 90 a 133 p.C)*. Ed. J. Schwartz. Cairo, 1961.

P.Sorb. *Papyrus de la Sorbonne I*. Ed. H. Cadell. Paris, 1966.

P.Soterichos *Das Archiv von Soterichos*. Ed. S. Omar. Cologne/Opladen, 1979. (= *Pap.Colon.* VIII)

P.Stras. *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*. 8 vols. 1912–1980. (Beginning with III

1948, title is *Papyrus grecs de la Bibliotheque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg*.)

P.Tebt. *The Tebtunis Papyri*. 4 vols. London, 1902–1976.

P.Tebt.Tait Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and Greek. Ed. W. J. Tait. London, 1977.

P.Thead. *Papyrus de Theadelphia*. Ed. P. Jouguet. Paris, 1911.

P.Tor. “*Papiri graeci Regii Taurinensis Musei Aegyptii*,” in *Reale Accademia de Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Memorie*, vol. 31, 1827, pp. 9-188 and vol. 33, 1829, pp. 1-80. Ed. A. Peyron.

P.Turner *Papyri Greek and Egyptian edited by various hands in honour of Eric Gardner Turner on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*. Ed. P. J. Parsons et al. London, 1981.

P.Vars. *Papyri Varsovienses*. Ed. G. Manteuffel, L. Zawadowski, and C. Rozenberg. Warsaw, 1935.

P.Vindob.Bosw. *Einige Wiener Papyri*. Ed. E. Boswinkel. Leiden, 1942. (= *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II)

P.Vindob.Sal. *Einige Wiener Papyri*. Ed. R. P. Salomons. Amsterdam, 1976.

P.Vindob.Tandem *Funfundrei_ig Wiener Papyri*. Ed. P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp. Zutphen, 1976.

P.Vindob.Worp *Einige Wiener Papyri*. Ed. K. A. Worp. Amsterdam, 1972.

P.Warr. *The Warren Papyri*. Ed. M. David, B. A. van Groningen, and J. C. van Oven. Leiden, 1941. (= *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I)

P.Wash.Univ. *Washington University Papyri I*. Ed. V. B. Schuman. Missoula, 1980.

P.Wisc. *The Wisconsin Papyri*. Ed. P. J. Sijpesteijn. I = Leiden, 1967. II = Zutphen, 1977.

P.Wurzb. *Mitteilungen aus der Wurzburger Papyrussammlung*. Ed. U. Wilcken. Berlin, 1934.

P. Yale Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. 2 vols. 1967–1985.

SB *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. 14 vols. 1915–1983.

Sel. Pap. *Select Papyri* (Loeb Classical Library). Ed. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. 3 vols. London and Cambridge, Mass., 1932–1942.

Stud. Pal. *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*. Ed. C. Wessely. 23 vols. Leipzig, 1901–1924.

UPZ *Urkunden der Ptolemaerzeit (altere Funde)*. Ed. U. Wilcken. 2 vols. Berlin-Leipzig, 1927–1957.

B. WORKS CITED BY AUTHOR AND TITLE (OR SHORTENED TITLE)

Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* C. Austin. *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta*. Berlin, 1973.

Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* H. I. Bell. *Jews and Christians in Egypt: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy*. London, 1924. (= P.Lond. VI)

Hohlwein, *Stratege du nome N*. Hohlwein. *Le Stratege du nome*. Brussels, 1969. (= Pap.Brux. IX)

Mason, *Greek Terms* H. J. Mason. *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis*. *American Studies in Papyrology XIII*. Toronto, 1974.

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Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns* V. F. Vanderlip. *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis*. *American Studies in Papyrology XII*. Toronto, 1972.

Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* S. Witkowski. *Epistulae privatae graecae quae in papyris aetatis Lagidarum servantur*. 2d ed. Leipzig, 1911.

Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* H. C. Youtie. *Scriptiunculae*. 3 vols. Amsterdam, 1973–1975.

C. PUBLISHED PROCEEDINGS OF PAPHYROLOGICAL CONGRESSES

Proceedings IV Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale de Papirologia, Firenze, 28 aprile-2 maggio 1935 (Aegyptus, Serie scientifica 5). Milan, 1936.

Proceedings VIII Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses fur Papyrologie, Wien 1955 (29 August-3 September). Vienna, 1956. (= *MPER N.S. V*)

Proceedings IX Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology, Oslo, 19-22 August 1958. Hertford, England, 1961.

Proceedings X Actes du Xe Congres International de Papyrologie, Varsovie-Cracovie, 3-9 septembre 1961. Warsaw, 1964.

Proceedings XI Atti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Milano, 2-8 settembre 1965. Milan, 1966.

Proceedings XII Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor, 13-17 August 1968. Toronto, 1970.

Proceedings XIII Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Marburg/Lahn, 2-6 August 1971. Munich, 1974.

Proceedings XV Actes du XVe Congres International de Papyrologie, Brussels, 19 August-3 September 1977. Brussels, 1978. (= *Pap. Brux. XVI-XIX*)

*Abbreviations generally follow the standard in *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (4th ed.; *BASP Supplements 7*; Atlanta, 1992), ed. John F. Oates, Roger S. Bagnall, William H. Willis, and Klaas A. Worp. In some instances the abbreviations derive from the 3d edition (1985), which occasionally differs slightly. The *Checklist* is an invaluable resource for anyone interested in additional information. (For example, the *Checklist* gives the distribution of inventory references in the papyrological journals for publications from corpora partially published in the volumes cited here; and it tells where some of these have been reprinted.)

ABBREVIATIONS: INSCRIPTIONS

WORKS CITED BY AN ABBREVIATION

CIG Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. Ed. A. Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin, 1828–1877.

CII Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum. Ed. J. B. Frey. 2 vols. Rome, 1936–1952. Vol. 1 reprinted as *Corpus of Jewish Inscriptions: Jewish Inscriptions from the Third Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D.* New York, 1975.

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Berlin, 1862–.

CIRB Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani (Korpus bosporskikh nadpisei). Moscow-Leningrad, 1965.

CIS Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Paris, 1881–.

Dittenberger, *Or. Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.* Ed. W. Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–1905. Reprint Hildesheim-New York, 1970.

Dittenberger, *Syl. Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.* Ed. W. Dittenberger. 4 vols. 3. Ed. Leipzig, 1915. Reprint Hildesheim-New York, 1982.

Fouilles de Delphes Fouilles de Delphes. Vol. 3, Epigraphie. Paris, 1902–.

GDI Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften. Ed. F. Bechtel, H. Collitz, et al. 4 vols. in 7. Göttingen, 1884–1915. Reprint Nendeln-Liechtenstein, 1973–1975.

GIBM The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum. Ed. C. T. Newton. 4 vols. Oxford, 1874–1916. Reprint Milan, 1977–1979.

GVI Griechische Vers-Inschriften. Vol. 1, Grab-Epigramme. Ed. W. Peek. Berlin, 1955.

IG Inscriptiones Graecae. 14 vols. Berlin, 1873–.

IGLAM *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure*. Ed. P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington. 3 vols. Hildesheim-New York, 1968–1972. Originally published in Paris in 1870 as vol. 3, parts 5 and 6 of *Voyage archeologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*

IGLS *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. Ed. L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde. Multiple volumes. Paris, 1929–.

IGRom. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*. Ed. R. Cagnat et al. 4 vols. Paris, 1911–1927. Reprint Rome, 1964.

IGUR *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*. Ed. L. Moretti. 4 vols. Rome, 1968–1990.

ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Ed. H. Dessau. 3. Ed. 3 vols. in 5. Berlin, 1962.

ISE *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche*. Ed. L. Moretti. 2 vols. Florence, 1967–1976.

I.Asok. *Les Inscriptions d'Asoka*. Ed. J. Bloch. Paris, 1950.

I.Assos *Die Inschriften von Assos*. Ed. R. Merkelbach. Bonn, 1976.

I.Bulg. *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*. Ed. G. Mihailov. Many vols. Sofia, 1956–. Revise. Ed. Sofia, 1970–.

I.Car. *La Carie: histoire et geographie historique avec le recueil des inscriptions antiques*. Vol. 2, *Le Plateau de Tabai et ses environs*. Ed. L. and J. Robert. Paris, 1954–.

I.Chalced. *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon*. Ed. R. Merlkelbach. Bonn, 1980.

I.Cor. *Corinth: The Inscriptions*. Ed. J. H. Kent. Princeton, 1966.

I.Cos *The Inscriptions of Cos*. Ed. W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks. Oxford, 1891. Reprint Hildesheim-New York, 1990.

I.Cret. *Inscriptiones Creticae*. Ed. M. Guarducci. 4 vols. Rome, 1935–1950.

I.Cumae *Die Inschriften von Kyme*. Ed. H. Engelmann. Bonn, 1976.

- I.Delos* *Inscriptions de Delos*. Ed. F. Durrbach et al. 4 vols. Paris, 1926-
.
- I.Did. Didyma. Vol. 2, Die Inschriften*. Ed. A. Rehm and R. Harder. Berlin, 1958.
- I.Ephes.* *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. 8 vols. Bonn, 1979–1984.
- I.Erythr.Klaz.* *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*. Ed. H. Engemann and R. Merkelbach. 2 vols. Bonn, 1972–1973.
- I.Gonn.* *Gonnoi. Vol. 2, Les Inscriptions*. Ed. B. Helly. 2 vols in 1. Amsterdam, 1973.
- I.Ilium* *Die Inschriften von Ilion*. Ed. P. Frisch. Bonn, 1975.
- I.Kour.* *The Inscriptions of Kourion*. Ed. T. B. Mitford. Philadelphia, 1971.
- I.Lamps.* *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos*. Ed. P. Frisch. Bonn, 1978.
- I.Lind.* *Lindos: Fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914. Vol. 2, Inscriptions*. Ed. C. Blinkenberg and K. Kinch. Copenhagen, 1941.
- I.Magn.* *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maander*. Ed. O. Kern. Berlin, 1900.
- I.Olymp.* *Olympia: Die Ergebnisse der . . . Ausgrabung: Textband V, Die Inschriften*. Ed. W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold. Berlin, 1896.
- I.Perg.* *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. Ed. M. Fraenkel. Berlin, 1890–1895.
- I.Priene* *Die Inschriften von Priene*. Ed. F. Hiller von Gartringen. Berlin, 1906.
- I.Rhamn.* *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*. Ed. J. Pouilloux. Paris, 1954.
- I.Salam.* *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis*. Ed. T. B. Mitford and I. K. Nicolaou. Nicosia, 1974.
- I.Sard.* *Sardis. Vol. 7, Greek and Latin Inscriptions*. Ed. W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson. Leiden, 1932.

I.Sard.Rob. Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes. Ed. L. Robert. Paris, 1964-.

I.Side "Inscriptions grecques de Side," *Rev. Phil.*, vol. 84, 1958, pp. 15-53.
Cf. *The Inscriptions of Side.* Ed. G. E. Bean. Ankara, 1965.

I.Sinur. *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa.* Vol. 1, *Les Inscriptions grecques.* Ed. L. Robert. Paris, 1945.

I.Thas. *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos.* Ed. J. Pouilloux and C. Dunant. 2 vols. Paris, 1954–1958.

LSAM F. Sokolowski. *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure.* Paris, 1955.

LSCG, LSCGSup F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques.* Paris, 1969. Supplement. Paris, 1962.

Leg.Gort. *Leges Gortynensium* (= GDI 4991).

MAMA *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua.* 9 vols. Manchester-London, 1928–1988.

NCIGNouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques. Ed. Institut Fernand-Courby. Paris, 1971.

RIJG Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques. Ed. R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, and T. Reinach. 2 vols. Paris, 1891–1904. Reprint Rome, 1965.

SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum. Alphen, 1923-.

TAM Tituli Asiae Minoris. Vienna, 1901-.

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A. Bernand, *Koptos* A. Bernand. *De Koptos a Kosseir.* Leiden, 1972.

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A. and E. Bernand, *Philae Les Inscriptions grecques de Philae*. Vol. 1, *Epoque ptolemaïque*. Ed. A. Bernand. Vol. 2 (titled *Les Inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae*), Haut et Bas Empire. Ed. E. Bernand. Paris, 1969.

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A. Bernand, *Pan* A. Bernand. *Pan du Desert*. Leiden, 1977.

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E. Bernand, *Fayoum* E. Bernand. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*. 3 vols. Leiden, 1975-.

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Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europus* F. Cumont. *Fouilles de Doura-Europus* (1922–1923). Paris, 1926.

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Cumont, *Lux Perpetua* F. Cumont. *Lux Perpetua*. Paris, 1949.

Cumont, *Symbolisme funeraire* F. Cumont. *Recherches sur le symbolisme funeraire des Romains*. Paris, 1942. Reprint New York, 1975.

Cumont, *Studia Pontica* F. Cumont. *Studia Pontica*. Brussels, n.d.

des Gagniers, *Laodicee* J. des Gagniers. *Laodicee du Lycos: Le Nymphée*. Quebec-Paris, 1969.

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Firatli & Robert, *StÉles funéraires* N. Firatli and L. Robert. *Les StÉles funéraires de Byzance greco-romaine*. Paris, 1964.

Grandjean, *Aretalogie d'Isis* Y. Grandjean. *Une nouvelle aretalogie d'Isis a Maronee*. Leiden, 1975.

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Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* M. Guarducci. *Epigrafia greca*. 4 vols. Rome, 1967–1978.

Hermann, *Ergebnisse* P. Hermann. *Ergebnisse einer Reiser in Nordostlydien*. Vienna, 1962.

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Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret* R. Hutmacher. *Das Ehrendekret fur den Strategen Kallimachos*. Meisenheim am Glan, 1965.

Kaibel, *Epigrammata* G. Kaibel. *Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus Conlecta*. Berlin, 1878. Reprint Hildesheim, 1965.

Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae* B. Latyshev. *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*. 2. Ed. 2 vols. Hildesheim, 1965.

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Michel, *Recueil* C. Michel. *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*. Paris, 1900. Reprint Hildesheim-New York, 1976. Supplement. 2 vols. Paris, 1912–1927. Reprint Hildesheim-New York, 1976.

Pfohl, *Grabinschriften* G. Pfohl. *Untersuchungen über die attischen Grabinschriften*. Eisenstein, 1953.

Pleket, *Rijksmuseum* H. W. Pleket. *The Greek Inscriptions in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden*. Leiden, 1958.

Pouilloux, *Choix* J. Pouilloux. *Choix d'inscriptions grecques*. Paris, 1960.

L. Robert, *Documents* L. Robert. *Documents de l'Asie mineure meridionale: inscriptions, monnaies et geographie*. Geneva-Paris, 1966.

L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes* L. Robert. *Etudes anatoliennes: inscriptions, monnaies et geographie*. Paris, 1937. Reprint Amsterdam, 1970.

L. Robert, *Etudes epigraphiques* L. Robert. *Etudes epigraphiques et philologiques*. Paris, 1938.

L. Robert, *Gladiateurs* L. Robert. *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*. Paris, 1940. Reprint Amsterdam, 1971.

L. Robert, *Noms indigènes* L. Robert. *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure greco-romaine*. Paris, 1963

L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* L. Robert. *Opera Minora Selecta: Epigraphie et antiquites grecques*. 7 vols. Amsterdam, 1969–1990.

L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* L. Robert. *Villes d'Asie Mineure: Etudes de geographie ancienne*. 2. Ed. Paris, 1962.

Rougement, *Delphes* Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes. Vol. 1, *Lois sacrees et rÈglements religieux*. Ed. G. Rougement. Paris, 1977.

Schwabe, *Beth She'arim* Beth She'arim: Report on the Excavations during 1936–1940. Vol. 2, *The Greek inscriptions*. Ed. M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz. New Brunswick, N.J., 1973-.

Welles, *Royal Correspondence* C. B. Welles. *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*. London, 1934. Reprint Chicago, 1974.

ABBREVIATIONS: GENERAL WORKS

A. WORKS CITED BY AN ABBREVIATION

ANRW H. Temporini and W. Haase. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Many vols. Berlin–New York, 1972–.

Anth. Lyr. Graec. *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*. Ed. E. Diehl. Leipzig, 1954–.

BAGD W. Bauer. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 2d ed. Trans. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich. Revised and edited F. W. Danker. Chicago, 1979.

BDF F. Blass and A. Debrunner. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Trans. and rev. of the 9th–10th German edition incorporating supplementary notes of A. Debrunner by R. W. Funk. Chicago, 1961.

CCAG *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*. 9 vols. Brussels, 1898–1953.

DACL *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*. 29 vols. Paris, 1903–1952.

DAGR *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. Ed. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio. 6 vols. in 10. Graz, 1962–63.

DBSup *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*. Ed. L. Pirot and A. Robert. Paris, 1926–.

Dict.spir. *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*. Ed. M. Viller et al. Paris, 1932–.

DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*. Ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, E. Amann, et al. 16 vols. Paris, 1903–1972.

DKP *Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer. 5 vols. Stuttgart, 1964–1975.

EDNT H. Balz and G. Schneider, eds. *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids, 1990–1993.

F.Gr.H. F. Jacoby. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. 3 vols. in 15. Leiden, 1954–1964.

L&N J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, eds. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*. 2d ed. New York, 1989.

LTGR I. C. T. Ernesti. *Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae*. 1795–1797. Reprint Hildesheim, 1962.

LSJ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Ed. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie. Oxford, 1940.

LSJSup E. A. Barber et al. *H. G. Liddell, Robert Scott, H. Stuart Jones, Greek-English Lexicon: A Supplement*. Oxford, 1968.

LXX Septuagint (Greek Old Testament)

Moulton-Milligan [MM in apparatus] J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan. *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources*. 2 vols. London, 1914–30. Reprint. Grand Rapids, 1985.

MT Masoretic Text

ND G. H. R. Horsley and Stephen Llewelyn, eds. *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. North Ryde, N.S.W. 6 vols. 1981–.

NIDNTT Colin Brown, ed. *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*. Grand Rapids, 1986.

NJB *New Jerusalem Bible*

NT New Testament

OCD *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard. 2d ed. Oxford, 1970.

ODCC *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone. 2d ed., corrected. Oxford, 1983.

OT Old Testament

PG Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca. Ed. J.-P. Migne. 161 vols in 166. Paris, 1857–87.

PL Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina. Ed. J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844–1864.

PO Patrologia Orientalis. Ed. R. Fraffin and F. Nau. Paris, 1903–1922.

Prosop.Ptol. Prosopographia Ptolemaica. Ed. W. Peremans and E. van't Dack. 9 vols. Louvain, 1950–1981.

PW Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. New edition by G. Wissowa et al. 49 vols. in 50. Stuttgart, 1894–1980.

PWSup Paulys Real-Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: Supplement. 15 vols. Stuttgart, 1903–1980.

S J. Strong. Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible. Reprint. Peabody, n.d.

Str-B [H. L. Strack and] P. Billerbeck. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. 6 vols. in 7. Munich, 1922–1961.

SVF H. von Arnim. Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1903–1924. Reprint Stuttgart, 1978–1979.

TDNT G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Trans. G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976.

TDOT G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, 1974–1990.

TWNT G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. 10 vols. Stuttgart, 1932–1979. (References to *TWNT* have been retained only in a few instances in which bibliographies from *TWNT* were not included in *TDNT*. All others have been changed to the corresponding references in *TDNT*.)

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Abel, *Maccabées* F. M. Abel. *Les Livres des Maccabées*. Paris, 1949.

Allo, *Première Epître aux Corinthiens* E. B. Allo. *Saint Paul: Première Epître aux Corinthiens*. Paris, 1934.

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Aujac, *Géminos* G. Aujac. *Géminos: Introduction aux phénomènes*. Paris, 1975

Barclay, *NT Wordbook* W. Barclay. *A New Testament Wordbook*. London, 1955.

Barr, *Semantics* J. Barr. *The Semantics of Biblical Language*. London, 1961.

Barrett, *St. John* C. K. Barrett. *The Gospel According to St. John*. London, 1955.

Barth, *Ephesians* M. Barth. *Ephesians: Introduction, translation, and commentary*. 2 vols. New York, 1974.

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Benoit, *Exégèse et théologie* P. Benoit. *Exégèse et théologie*. 4 vols. Paris, 1961–1983. Selections ET *Jesus and the Gospel*. Trans. B. Weatherhead. 2 vols. New York, 1973–1974.

Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* T. Bergk. *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*. 5th ed. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1900–1914.

Betz, *Lukian von Samosata* H. D. Betz. *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament: Religionsgeschichtliche und paranetische Parallelen*. Berlin, 1961.

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Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers* R. Bogaert. *Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques*. Leiden, 1968.

Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique* E. Boisacq. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes*. 4th ed. Heidelberg, 1950.

Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain* J. Bompaire. *Lucien écrivain: Imitation et création*. Paris, 1958.

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ABBREVIATIONS: PERIODICALS

Aeg Aegyptus

AJP American Journal of Philology

AnBib Analecta Biblica

Ang Angelicum

Anton Antonianum

APF Archiv für Papyrusforschung

ASTI Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute

ATR Anglican Theological Review

BAGB Bulletin de l'association G. Budé

BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

BASP Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists

BCH Bulletin de correspondance hellénique

BerlSitzb Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Bib Biblica

BIFAO Bulletin de l'institute français d'archéologie orientale

BJRL Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester

BSac Bibliotheca Sacra

BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

BZ Biblische Zeitschrift

CBQ Catholic Biblical Quarterly

ChrEg Chronique d'Égypte

ConNT *Coniectanea neotestamentica*

CP *Classical Philology*

CTM *Concordia Theological Monthly*

DHA *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*

DivThom *Divus Thomas*

EPap *Etudes de papyrologie*

EstBib *Estudios bíblicos*

ETL *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*

ETR *Etudes théologiques et religieuses*

EvQ *Evangelical Quarterly*

ExpT *Expository Times*

GRBS *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*

Hellenica *Hellenica: Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*

HibJ *Hibbert Journal*

HTR *Harvard Theological Review*

HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*

ITQ *Irish Theological Quarterly*

JAC *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*

JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*

JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*

JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JJP *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*

JQR Jewish Quarterly Review

JRS Journal of Roman Studies

JSJ Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period

JSS Journal of Semitic Studies

JTS Journal of Theological Studies

LTP Laval théologique et philosophique

MTZ Münchener theologische Zeitschrift

MusHelv Museum Helveticum

*NJahrb Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum (1898–1925);
Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung (1925–1936)*

NKZ Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift

NovT Novum Testamentum

NRT La nouvelle revue théologique

NTS New Testament Studies

OTS Oudtestamentische Studiën

RArch Revue archéologique

RB Revue biblique

REA Revue des études anciennes

RechPap Recherches de papyrologie

REG Revue des études grecques

REJ Revue des études juives

RevistB Revista bíblica

RevPhil *Revue de philologie*

RevQ *Revue de Qumran*

RevThom *Revue thomiste*

RHDFE *Revue historique du droit français et étranger*

RhMus *Rheinisches Museum*

RHPR *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*

RHR *Revue de l'histoire des religions*

RIDA *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*

RQ *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*

RSPT *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*

RSR *Recherches des science religieuses*

RTL *Revue théologique de Louvain*

RTP *Revue de théologie et de philosophie*

RTQR *Revue de théologie et des questions religieuses*

ScEccl *Sciences ecclésiastiques*

ScEs *Science et esprit*

Scr *Scripture*

SE *Studia Evangelica (in Texte und Untersuchungen)*

SEÅ *Svensk exegetisk Årsbok*

Sem *Semitica*

SJT *Scottish Journal of Theology*

SP *Studia Patristica*

SPap Studia Papyrologica

ST Studia Theologica

TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association

TLZ Theologische Literaturzeitung

TQ Theologische Quartalschrift

TS Theological Studies

TSK Theologische Studien und Kritiken

TTZ Trierer theologische Zeitschrift

TZ Theologische Zeitschrift

VC Vigiliae Christianae

VD Verbum Domini

VSpir Vie spirituelle

VT Vetus Testamentum

VTSup Vetus Testamentum Supplements

YCS Yale Classical Studies

ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

ZKT Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie

ZNW Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

ZST Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie

ZTK Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

ZWKL Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben

ἀγαθοποιέω, ἀγαθωσύνη

agathopoieo, to do good; *agathosyne*, goodness

agathopoieo, S 15; *TDNT* 1.17–18; *EDNT* 1.4–5; *NIDNTT* 2.98, 100, 102; L&N 88.3; BAGD 2 | ***agathosyne***, S 19; *TDNT* 1.18; *EDNT* 1.7; *NIDNTT* 2.98, 100–101; MM 1; L&N 57.109, 88.1; BAGD 3

Classical Greek and Koine had different formulas for saying “do something good,”¹ but it was the LXX—translating the hiphil of *yatab* — then the *Letter of Aristeas*² and the NT that were the first to use the combined form *agathopoieo*, unknown in the papyri.

In the OT, it refers to the performance of a good deed toward another,³ either by God or by a human.⁴ Thus Wis 1:12 juxtaposes “do good” and “do evil,” just as the Lord asks whether it is permitted on the Sabbath to do good or to do evil—*agathopoiesai* or *kakopoiesai* —to save a life or to take a life (Luke 6:9). In its first occurrence in the Sermon on the Mount, the verb, used with an object in the accusative, has the same sense: to render good in return for good.⁵ In Luke 6:35, however, it has a theological significance: “Love your enemies, do good,” because *agathopoieite* explicates *agapate* and shows that *agape* love, when seen clearly and in action, manifests itself in doing good; the context proves that this type of love is proper to the sons of God.⁶

On the other hand, if the four usages of *agathopoieo* in 1Peter all have a religious meaning, since they refer the doing of good to the will of God and to God’s grace,⁷ the accent is not so much on the charity that gives and forgives, but on the virtue (cf. Gal 6:9-10), which is the virtue of servants who do well that which they ought to do⁸ or of wives who are faithful to the obligations attaching to their position (1Pet 3:6). Doing good is opposed to doing evil (2:14; 3:17), transgressing (2:20).

In the same way, the noun *agathopoiia* refers to an upright moral life: “Let those who suffer according to the will of God entrust their souls to the faithful Creator in their doing of good.”⁹ Far from losing heart, or being paralyzed by panic, in these last days, Christians will occupy themselves with doing their best (cf. Eccl 9:10), seeking to fulfill the requirements of order and of justice: staying in their place, carrying out the responsibilities appropriate to their gender, their social status, and their function within the community (1Pet 4:10; 5:2), having good morals, doing nothing blameworthy or mean. In short, their manner of life, their conduct (*anastrophe*; 1:15, 18; 2:12; 3:1, 2, 16), should be commendable and appealing to pagans.¹⁰

If Christians are marked by their good conduct, they will be known as an honest persons, *agathopoiioi*: governors are appointed “to punish evildoers (*kakopoiion*) and to praise doers of good” (1Pet 2:14). This

adjective, which places the beneficent or charming woman in contrast to the *poneria* of the man in Sir 42:14, is attested only in three late papyri.¹¹

Closely related to *agathopoïia* is *agathosyne*, a strictly biblical term, unknown in secular Greek and in the papyri.¹² Its meaning is doubtful. Used more than a dozen times in the LXX (*tôb-tobah*), it refers to the beneficence that someone has shown (Judg 8:35; 2Chr 24:16), to kind generosity (Neh 9:25, 35), to moral goodness,¹³ to well-being and happiness.¹⁴ It is used in the New Testament only by St. Paul, who sees it as a gift of God (2Thess 1:11), a fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:22) and of the light.¹⁵ This would be first of all goodwill or the intention to do that which is good, linked with the power of faith to accomplish it (2Thess 1:11); then a right disposition of the soul, which we would call “kind feelings,”¹⁶ and which characterizes the person who is *agathos*, morally correct. This person’s excellence is seen in all areas: “in all goodness, justice, and truth” (Eph 5:9). But in the list of virtues in Gal 5:22, *agathosyne* comes between *chrestotes* and faithfulness; it no longer means moral goodness so much as goodness of heart. St. Jerome made this excellent comment: “Kindness or mellowness—the two senses of the Greek *chrestotes* —is a sweet, caressing, quiet virtue, disposed to sharing all of its goods; it invites familiarity; it is sweet in its words, steady in its ways. The Stoics briefly define it as a virtue naturally given to doing good. Goodness per se (*agathosyne*) is not far removed from kindness, because it also is given to doing good. The difference is that goodness can be a bit somber and have knitted brows and an austere moral tone, doubtless doing good and giving what is asked of it, but without being mellow in its dealings or drawing everyone in with its sweetness.”¹⁷ Thus *agathosyne* will always take care to obtain for others that which is useful or beneficial, but it can have a stern side and apply itself to correcting and punishing; kindness adds to this basic and active goodness a shading of cordiality and sweetness (cf. Eph 4:32; Col 3:12).

¹ —Αγαθὸν ποιει—ν (Matt 19:16), καλὸν ποιει—ν (Jas 4:17), καλω—ς ποιει—ν (Luke 6:27), εὖ ποιει—ν (Mark 14:7), ἔργον ἀγαθόν (2Cor 9:8); cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 2, pp. 676ff.

² *Ep. Arist.* 242: He must pray God to shower them with all good things, πάντα ἀγαθοποιει—ν.

³ Num 10:32; Judg 17:13; Tob 12:13 Wis 1:12 1Macc 11:33 2Macc 1:2 cf. *T. Benj.* 5.2—ε—ὰν ἀγαθοποιούντες καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα φεύξονται ἀφ’ ὑμῶ—ν.

⁴ At Lystra, St. Paul refers to divine Providence as ἀγαθουργῶ—ν (Acts 14:17), and in writing to Timothy he asks him to exhort the rich to do good

(ἀγαθοεργει—ν; 1Tim 6:18). Unlike Attic, Koine, heedless of euphony, does not avoid hiatus in compound words (BDF §124.)

⁵ Luke 6:33—“If you do good to those who do good to you, what credit do you earn for that?”; cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, p. 108; W. Grundmann, “Die Bergpredigt nach der Lukafassung,” in K. Aland, F. L. Cross, *SE*, 1959, pp. 180–189; H. W. Bartsch, “Feldrede und Bergpredigt: Redaktionsarbeit in Luk. VI,” in *TZ*, 1960, pp. 5–18; H. Kahlefeld, *Der Jünger. Eine Auslegung der Rede Lk VI, 20–49*, Frankfurt, 1962; B. Rigaux, *Témoignage de l’Evangile de Luc*, Desclée De Brouwer, 1970, pp. 168ff.

⁶ 3John 11 restates this concept, contrasting ὁ ἀγαθοποιω—ν and ὁ κακοποιω—ν: “Beloved one, do not imitate the evil, but the good. The one who does good is of God. The one who does evil has not seen God.”

⁷ 1Pet 2:15, 20; 3:6, 17; cf. 4:19; this is a key word of the epistle, cf. W. C. van Unnik, “The Teaching of Good Works,” in *NTS*, vol. 1, 1954, pp. 92–110; idem, “A Classical Parallel to I Petr. II, 14 and 20,” *ibid.*, vol. 2, 1956, pp. 198–202 (making reference to Diodorus Siculus, 15.1.1; cf. 11.46.1; for 1Pet 2:15, G. Mussies, *Dio Chrysostom*, p. 236 gives as parallels Dio Chrysostom 4.58; 13.13; 69.7); C. Crowther, “Works, Work and Good Works,” in *ExpT*, vol. 81, 1970, pp. 166–172.

⁸ 1Pet 2:20; cf. S. Daris, *Un Nuovo Frammento della Prima Lettera di Pietro* (1Pet 2:20-3:12), Barcelona, 1967.

⁹ 1Pet 4:19. Because verse 18 has touched on the perfection of the judgment of God, one may include in ἀγαθοποιΐα the works of mercy, according to Matt 25:31-46; Acts 9:36; Heb 13:16. Cf. *T. Jos.* 18.2—καὶ ε—άν τις θέλει κακοποιῆσαι ὑμα—ς ἡμει—ς τῇ ἀγαθοεργείᾳ εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ; Epictetus 4.1.122: “It is human nature to do good, to be useful to others.”

¹⁰ Cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres de saint Pierre*, pp. 11, 27f. In Clement of Rome, *agathopoiia* sums up morality, *1Clem.* 2.2; 2.7; 33.1: “What shall we do? Become idle in doing good and forsake *agape* ?”; 34.2: “We must be eager to do good.” *Agathopoiia* in 1Pet could be cited as a NT acknowledgement of natural law ethics.

¹¹ Two magical papyri of the fourth century AD, where ἀγαθοποιός is anastrological term meaning “auguring good, favorable”; *P.Lond.* 46, 48: μετὰ ἀγαθοποιω—ν (referring to stars whose influence is favorable); 122, 16 qualifying Hermes: ἀγαθοποιεῖ τῆς οἰ—κομένης. *Stud.Pal.* XX, 293, II, 8, which opposes ἀγαθ. to κακοποιός, is from the Byzantine era. According

to Plutarch, Osiris is εὐεργέτης and ἀγαθοποιός (*Isis and Osiris* 12 and 42; commented on by H. Preisker, *Die urchristliche Botschaft von der Liebe Gottes*, Gießen, 1930, pp. 11ff.). Proclus describes Jupiter and Venus similarly.

¹² It is a derivative of ἀγαθός, like ἀγαθότης, which is unknown in the New Testament, cf. *P.Ryl.* 619, 6; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 27.

¹³ Ps 52:3—“You prefer the evil to the good”; cf. Neh 13:31.

¹⁴ Eccl 4:8; 5:10, 17; 6:3, 6; 7:14; 9:18.

¹⁵ Eph 5:9, where some manuscripts, including P46, read πνεύματος instead of φωτός.

¹⁶ Rom 15:14. The variant of F, G, and the Latin manuscripts, ἀγαπῆς, does not deserve to be considered.

¹⁷ Jerome, *In Ep. ad Gal.* 5.22; *PL* 26, 420. The distinction that J. B. Lightfoot wanted to establish between these terms, corresponding to that between *benevolentia* and *beneficentia* (with ἀγαθωσύνη connoting more realization) doesn't account for actual usage (*Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 8th ed., London, 1884, p. 213). The only possible NT translation in English is “goodness” (cf. E. De Witt Burton, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 2d ed., Edinburgh, 1948, p. 316).

ἀγανακτέω, ἀγανάκτησις

aganakteo, to be indignant; *aganaktēsis*, indignation

aganakteo, S 23; *EDNT* 1.8; MM 1; L&N 88.187; BDF §229(2); BAGD 4 | ***aganaktēsis***, S 24; *EDNT* 1.8; MM 1; L&N 88.186; BAGD 4

The etymology of these “emotional” terms has not been established.¹ Common in the Hellenistic period, especially in literary Greek, they are rare in the classics, where they express the idea of bubbling and fermenting, first in the physical sense,² then with respect to the soul that “is seething and irritated” like the gums of a person who is cutting teeth (Plato, *Phdr.* 251 c); “wailing with grief and roaring with anger”;³ “I am outraged at this encounter; my intestines are seething because I have to reply to this man” (Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1006; cf. *Vesp.* 287). Sometimes it is a case of mere discontent (Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.3.11), usually of indignation (Plato, *Ep.*

7.349d; Plutarch, *Cam.* 28.5; Diodorus Siculus 4.63.3), and especially anger.⁴

The three occurrences of the verb in the LXX have a stronger meaning. Expressing God's punishment of his enemies: "the waves of the sea rage (or boil) against them" (Wis 5:22); "in their suffering they became incensed at those whom they had taken for gods."⁵ The connotations are quite varied in Philo and Josephus, first of all with respect to the subjects of the indignation: everyone, the people, even servants and slaves.⁶ But this emotion is often personalized: Laban is irritated (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.20), as are a seer (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.204), the leading people of Daphne (*War* 1.245), members of the Sanhedrin (*Ant.* 14.179) and of the senate (*P.Oxy.* 1119, 8), the king (Philo, *Moses* 1.236, 292, 328; cf. *Rewards* 77; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.284; *War* 1.564), Tiberias (2.180), Titus (5.554; 6.352), Vespasian (4.189), etc. God himself is angry at the outrages committed by the Sodomites (*Ant.* 1.202) and "when people scorn the gifts that he gives them."⁷ There is, after all, such a thing as legitimate indignation (Philo, *Decalogue* 112; *Moses* 1.244; *Spec. Laws* 3.42), as against an inhumane proceeding (Josephus, *War* 2.415), "violation of the holy places, pillage, and murder" (4.162), indignation "on behalf of the temple at Jerusalem" (*Ant.* 13.77), assaults (Philo, *Husbandry* 117) and murders (*Moses* 1.45), curses (*Decalogue* 75), defamation (*Flacc.* 35), and insulting behavior (*To Gaius* 361).

As the subject of and reason for the emotion varies, *aganakteo* and *aganaktesis* take on varying connotations. An individual can be merely displeased⁸ or peeved (Josephus, *War* 1.564), but usually anger and rage are meant;⁹ indignation "that a person would claim for himself the honor due to God" (Philo, *Dreams* 2.99, 197), fury.¹⁰ Once a person's emotions are stirred up (Josephus, *War* 1.471) and he is seething with indignation (1.438) or upset (6.203), he is unable to master his irritation (1.449), explodes (2.604), and—like Tiron "in his excessive fury" (1.544)—goes mad.

In the Gospels, *aganakteo* never means indignation or displeasure¹¹ but anger. When the mother of Zebedee's two sons asks that they be seated at Jesus' left and right, "the ten, when they heard, were angry at the two brothers" (Matt 20:24, *eganaktesan peri*; Mark 10:41). The leading priests and scribes, seeing the wonders worked by Jesus and the way in which the children were praising him, "became irritated" (Matt 21:15), as the ruler of the synagogue was angry at Jesus' violation of the law of Sabbath rest (Luke 13:14, *aganakton hoti*) and as Jesus himself "became angry" when his disciples forbade parents to bring their children to him.¹²

The substantive *aganaktesis* appears only once in the NT, regarding the repentance of the Corinthians who had rebelled against the apostle's authority but whose regret was reported by Titus. *Alla aganaktessin* is usually translated "what indignation" (2Cor 7:11), referring to their feeling

about their offense; but we are to understand that they felt horror at what they had done. Today we would say “they were distraught” at their blindness.

¹ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 7; cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, n. 892; J. Holt, *Les Noms d'action en -ΣΙΣ (-ΤΙΣ)*, Aarhus, 1940.

² Hippocrates, *Liqu.* 2.5: “the chest and the stomach, when penetrated by cold, become irritated and cause fatal accidents”; with respect to wine, Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 8.10.734 e.

³ Plato, *Phd.* 117 d; 63 b–c: irritated at death; 64; Plato, *Euthd.* 283 d.

⁴ Plato, *Lach.* 194 a: “I am angry” (ἀγανακτω—); Thucydides 8.43.4; “Tissaphernes was indignant and left them in anger”; *P.Lond.* 1367, 3 (eighth century).

⁵ Wis 12:27; Bel 28 (Theodotion): “the Babylonians were terribly indignant.” In the papyri, where the verb is sometimes used with ὅτι (*P.Bon.* 15, 11, edict of Caracalla; *P.Ryl.* 625, 3), περί (*P.Berl.Zill.* 8, 11), κατά (*P.Fouad* 87, 17), and especially ἐ—πί (*P.Alex.* 2, 14; *P.Lond.* 44, 20; vol. 1, p. 34; *SB* 6711, 21; 7464, 14), the meaning is sometimes weakened: “do not be troubled” (*P.Mich.* 107, 7: Zeno’s correspondence; *BGU* 1881, 6); sometimes it becomes rather official: in a rescript of Augustus in 6 BC, Asinius Gallus, governor of the province of Asia, seems to detest crime in an unnatural way, “becoming angry, as you did, not against these men who deserved it all . . . but against people who may have been unfortunate in their defense, but who had done no wrong” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 780, 35; cf. *P.Thead.* 15, 10; *P.Oxy.* 1119, 8). It is pretty much a stock expression among lawyers: Antiphon, 3 *Tetr.* 2.1: “I have the right, it seems to me, to be angry”; Andocides, *C. Alcib.* 4.18: “I am incensed when I think that . . .”; Lysias, *C. Sim.* 3.3: “Most of all, I resent Simon’s forcing me to speak on so delicate a topic”; Isocrates, *Big.* 16.49: “I am especially incensed if I am to be punished by the very one whom I myself should be punishing.” On the other hand, when an Egyptian woman poured water into the street where Heracleides was walking, he was “irritated” and reproached her (*P.Magd.* 24, 5; second century BC). The count John, hearing the complaints of three brothers of the monastery of Stratonikis against their superior Jeremias “flew into a rage against the same Jeremias” (*P.Fouad* 87, 17). For the substantive ἀγανάκτησις, an erroneous variant in A and B at Esth 8:12 *i* and a NT hapax (2Cor 7:11), the only parallel cited by Moulton-Milligan is *P.Grenf.* II, 81, 17 (fifth century; cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* 202, 2); hardly anything else can be added apart from *P.Michael.* 32, 5 (Byzantine period).

⁶ Philo, *Husbandry* 117; *Spec. Laws* 2.80; 3.119: “We must be angry against those who take the lives of newborns”; Philo, *Flacc.* 141: “everyone was unhappy”; *To Gaius* 361; Josephus, *War* 2.20: “the people, incensed at this conduct”; 2.42, 170, 175, 225, 293; 4.342: “everyone was irritated at the judges”; *Ant.* 13.368; 20.120; in *Gos. Pet.* 14, when Jesus’ executioners heard the repentant thief confess Jesus as Savior, they “were irritated at him.”

⁷ Josephus, *War* 3.371; *Ant.* 8.360; *Ag. Apion* 1.306: the god Ammon was angry at impure and impious people; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.11: “God himself would be irritated to hear such things uttered”; 4Macc 4:21—“divine justice, irritated at these crimes.” Andocides, *Myst.* 1.139: “I think that the gods would be quite irritated and indignant to see humans trying to lose those whom they had saved.”

⁸ Josephus, *War* 1.471, 508, 546; 2.526, 598; *Ant.* 7.212; 16.386; 20.126.

⁹ Philo, *Unchang. God* 68; *Worse Attacks Better* 69; *Decalogue* 75; *Moses* 1.45; Marcus Aurelius 7.66: without becoming angry. When they become irritated, princes prepare to make war (Josephus, *War* 1.133, 137), to kill (2.631), to imprison (2.180). Private individuals exchange insults and come to blows (3.439; 6.108, 203, 302; *Ag. Apion* 1.204). Cf. Thucydides 2.41.3: “Only our city never provoked the irritation of the enemies that attacked it.”

¹⁰ Josephus, *Ant.* 4.126: Balak was furious at not being blessed by the Israelites; 6.97: the Philistines were furious at the affront; 6.177: David was furious at the Philistines and wanted to do battle; 7.120, 206; 10.173; 13.292; 14.182; *Ant.* 20.193; *War* 4.541: “in his excessive fury, it would not have taken much for him to taste the flesh of his victims”; Numenius, frag. 26.62: the owner, fooled by his slaves, “became furious.”

¹¹ The only exception is Matt 26:8—when Mary of Bethany anointed Jesus, the disciples expressed their displeasure (“Why this waste?” cf. Mark 14:4).

¹² Mark 10:14. Cf. S. Légasse, *Jésus et l’enfant*, Paris, 1969, pp. 187ff.

ἀγάπη

agape, love

agape, S 26; *TDNT* 1.21–55; *EDNT* 1.8–12; *NIDNTT* 2.538–551; MM 2; L&N 23.28, 25.43; BDF §163; BAGD 5–6; ND 4.258–259

The etymology of *agapao* is obscure. E. Boisacq and E. Stauffer offer no verdict,¹ Blass and Debrunner say not a word,² E. Risch and H. J. Mette admit their ignorance, as does P. Chantraine.³ A. Ceresa-Gastaldo suggests a link to the Sanskrit *pa* with the sense of shelter or protect, and an analogy with the Greek *posis*.⁴ A. Carnoy posits the primitive meaning “greet in a friendly manner” and goes back to the Indo-European *ghabh*, in Sanskrit *gabhasti*, “hand,” with reference to the Homeric Greeks, who took each other’s hand as a sign of friendship.⁵ I myself would be tempted to trace this verb to the root *aga*, “very”; we know that the Greek *age* means “admiration, astonishment.”⁶ Hence, no doubt, the first usages of this term in the sense of welcome: the surprise of the host who receives a stranger. At any rate, the only adequate translation is “love in the sense of charity”; in Latin, *caritas* or *dilectio*.⁷

The Greeks had four terms for expressing the major senses of love.⁸ First, *storge* (*stergo*) refers either to the tender feelings that parents naturally feel toward their children⁹ or children toward their siblings and parents, or to the bond that unites husband and wife,¹⁰ and also takes in sympathy for friends and compatriots.¹¹ *Eros* (*erao*), no doubt derived from an ancient neuter *eras*,¹² is not found in the New Testament; it expresses above all unreasoning passion and desire (an *alogos orexis*), the desire of the wolf for the sheep.¹³ Although it is often used with no negative connotation, this word for a type of covetousness can hardly express a love that is specifically divine, if only because it does not inspire respect.¹⁴

Friendship or amity (*philia*, *phileo*) moves on an entirely different plane,¹⁵ even though it often refers to affection pure and simple, attachment, sympathy, always marked by a kindly attitude, and good will. But the Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle, turned it into a very elaborate concept. Strictly speaking, friendship wants reciprocity, does not take root except within a defined group of persons—thus we refer to “a pair of friends”—and above all between persons of the same standing: *amicitia pares aut invenit aut facit*.¹⁶ If, then, in certain usages *phileo* is very close to *agapao*,¹⁷ the former verb was hardly appropriate for expressing a love that unites God and humans and extends even to enemies,¹⁸ especially since the noun *agape* did not enter literary usage, except in the LXX, before the first century.

So what does *agape* mean in the NT?¹⁹ It is the most rational kind of love, inasmuch as it involves recognition and judgment of value, whence its frequent nuance of “preference.”²⁰ The verb *agapao* most often means “value, set great store by, hold in high esteem”;²¹ it is a love with deep respect (1Pet 2:17), which often goes along with admiration and can become adoration.²² This esteem and goodwill tend to be expressed in appropriate words and deeds.²³ Unlike other loves, which can remain

hidden in the heart, it is essential to charity to manifest itself, to demonstrate itself, to provide proofs, to put itself on display;²⁴ so much so that in the NT it would almost always be necessary to translate *agape* as “demonstration of love.”²⁵ This affection—unlike *eros*, which in the literature brings endless suffering and disaster²⁶—is accompanied by contentment, since the ordinary meaning of *agapao* is to be happy, satisfied.²⁷ But in Christian usage, since it is a divine love, coming from heaven (Rom 5:5), it will be joyful and already a foretaste of blessedness.²⁸

Finally, and perhaps above all, while friendship is properly used only of a relationship between equals, *agape* links persons of different conditions: with rulers, benefactors, and fathers; it is a disinterested and generous love, full of thoughtfulness and concern. It is in this sense that God is *agape* and loves the world.²⁹ With those who are indebted, for inferiors, for subjects, this *agape*, which is first of all consent, welcome, acceptance,³⁰ is expressed in gratitude:³¹ it is the love inspired in turn by generous love—which is the meaning in 1John 4:10—and it is translated into acclaim, applause, tokens of respect, congratulations, praises,³² and even veneration,³³ so that Christian *agape* is expressed in liturgy and worship: “To the one who loves us . . . to him be the glory and the power for ever and ever” (*To agaponti hemas . . . auto he doxa kai to kratos eis tous aionas ton aionon*, Rev 1:5-6).

The verb *agapao* makes its first appearance in Homer, and *agapesis* is used in the classical period, but the noun *agape* is unknown before its usage in the LXX. When it is attested before the Christian era,³⁴ it is almost exclusively in Hellenic Judaism, and in each case it has a religious meaning.³⁵ One is inclined to think that it is not a biblical neologism but was borrowed by the inspired writers from the popular language of Egypt. In any case, contrary to what is often written, no certain attestation is available in any papyrus from the pre-Christian era.

P.Berlin 9869, an unintelligible fragment,³⁶ has often been cited: *en tois malista agapes*. But not only do the editors point the final sigma as doubtful, but they also put a question mark both after their restoration³⁷ and after the word *agape* in the index. Actually, the papyrus is mutilated; several letters have to be restored, and one could just as easily read the noun *agapeseos*, the participle *agapesas*, or the future *agapeseis*.³⁸ These verbal forms seem all the more likely since this is a philosophical dialogue, and Aristotle frequently uses *mallon* or *malista agapao*.³⁹ Moreover, the date of this papyrus is unknown, and no positive data concerning its date are given.⁴⁰

To this text, which is doubtful, to say the least, E. Stauffer⁴¹ adds *P.Paris* 49, 3, dated by its editor W. Brunet de Presle to 164–58 BC.⁴² But this citation should be challenged, because after F. Blass aired his doubts on this reading,⁴³ A. Deissmann consulted M. Pierret, conservator of

Egyptian antiquities at the Louvre. The latter, after examining the papyrus, concluded, "One finds in papyrus no. 49 not a trace of the word *agape*, but only on line 6 something that looks like it reads *tarachen*."⁴⁴ On the authority of U. Wilcken, I shall adopt this reading: *dia te t[on] Sarapin kai ten sen eleuthe_ria Ón kai pepeiramai*.⁴⁵

The other texts brought forward are either suspect or of unverifiable date, and E. Peterson has shown that none of them are admissible.⁴⁶ An inscription from Tefeny in Pisidia, from the time of the empire, though the date can be narrowed down no further, reads: *penpsei d' eis aga[pe]n se philommeides Apphodeite*,⁴⁷ but A. Deissmann has proved that the word must be restored *aga[tho]n*, not *agapen*.⁴⁸ In *Lib.* 13a.3, Philodemus of Gadara (first century BC) wrote *philesei kai di' a[g]apes*;⁴⁹ but W. Crönert, who had not cited the text without caution in his new edition of F. Passow's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (2d ed., 1912), finally rejects it⁵⁰ in adopting the reading *di' agapeseos*.⁵¹

P.Oxy. XI, 1380, from the beginning of the second century AD, preserves a list of cultic names attributed in different places to the goddess Isis Polyonymos. In the Egyptian villae of Thonis, she was invoked: *e_n Thoni agap[en] . . . Jo*.⁵² E. Peterson finds the conjecture unconvincing and reads *agap[jeten]*. At line 109, the first editors, Grenfell-Hunt (1915) read *A[...]*THN Á-OAON = *en Italia agapen theon*.⁵³ But G. de Manteuffel, in making a more attentive collation of this papyrus, which is conserved at the Bodleian, observed: "The epithet *agape theon* is very curious. The word *theon* does not exist in the manuscript. τ instead of θ is a frequent enough mistake in the papyri. The greatest difficulty is in the division of the word *atholos*, but perhaps it can be explained in terms of the continuous script."⁵⁴ So the proper restoration is: *en Italia a[ga]then atholon*.⁵⁵

We must therefore conclude that the term *agape*, derived from *agapao* (and not from *agapesis*) is proper to the Koine. If the LXX gave the word its theological density, it also existed in the pagan language, but it is not attested before the first century AD.⁵⁶ It is nevertheless worth noting the names formed on this root, such as in the second century BC *Agapenor*, a name similar to that of the founder of the city of Paphos,⁵⁷ *Agapomenos* at Lindos,⁵⁸ *Agapis* son of Annianos Neuthenos, near the city of Carthage,⁵⁹ and *Agapios*.⁶⁰ Among women, we note *Agapema*⁶¹ and of course *Agape*, which is common but which seems to have been used especially among the higher social classes, as in the second century AD in Phrygia: *he kratiste Domna Agape*.⁶²

It is important to bring up to date H. Riesenfeld's excellent bibliography on *agape*⁶³ and to complete the one that I myself began almost twenty years ago:⁶⁴

A. H. Armstrong, "Platonic 'Eros' and Christian Agape," in *The Downside Review*, 1961, pp. 105–121; T. Barrosse, "The Relationship of Love to Faith in St. John," in *TS*, 1957, pp. 538–559; idem, "Christianity:

Mystery of Love,” in *CBQ*, 1958, pp. 137–172; idem, *Christianity: Mystery of Love*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1964; D. Barsotti, *La Révélation de l’amour*, Paris, 1957; J. B. Bauer, “. . . ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΑΠΩΣΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΟΝ,” *Röm. VIII, 28* (I Cor. II, 9; ICor. VIII, 3),” in *ZNW*, 1959, pp. 106–112; K. Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu*, Neukirchen, 1972, pp. 56–257; M. Black, “The Interpretation of Romans VIII, 28,” in *Freundesgabe O. Cullmann*, Leiden, 1962, pp. 166–172; G. Bornkamm, “Das Doppelgebot der Liebe,” in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. 3, Munich, 1968, pp. 37–45; J. W. Bowman, “The Three Imperishables,” in *Int*, 1959, pp. 433–443; P. I. Bratsiôtis, “Τὸ νόημα τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀγάπης,” in *Epistemonikè Epeteris t. Theol. Scholès*, Athens, 1955, pp. 1–3; C. Burchard, “Das doppelte Leibesgebot in der frühen Überlieferung,” in *Festschrift J. Jeremias*, Göttingen, 1970, pp. 39–62; J. Chmiel, *Lumière et charité d’après la première Epître de saint Jean*, Rome, 1971; S. Cipriani, “Dio è amore. La dottrina della carità in san Giovanni,” in *La Scuola cattolica*, 1966, pp. 214–231; A. Colunga, “El amor y la misericordia hacia el prójimo,” in *Teologia Espiritual*, 1959, pp. 445–462; J. Coppens, “La Doctrine biblique sur l’amour de Dieu et du prochain,” in *ETL*, 1964, pp. 252–299; idem, “Agapè et Agapan dans les lettres johanniques,” *ETL*, 1969, pp. 125–127; K.R.J. Cripps, “‘Love Your Neighbor as Yourself’ (Mt. XXII, 39),” in *ExpT*, vol. 76, 1964, p. 26; J. Deák, *Die Gottesliebe in den alten semitischen Religionen*, Eperjes, 1914; A. Dihle, *Die goldene Regel*, Göttingen, 1962; J. Egermann, *La charité dans la Bible*, Mulhouse, 1963 (popularization); F. Dreyfus, “‘Maintenant, la foi, l’espérance et la charité demeurent toutes les trois’ (I Cor. XIII, 13),” in *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus*, Rome, 1963, pp. 403–412; E. Evans, “The Verb ΑΓΑΠΑΝ in the Fourth Gospel,” in F. L. Cross, *Studies in the Fourth Gospel*, London, 1957, pp. 64–71; A. Feuillet, *Le Mystère de l’amour divin dans la théologie johannique*, Paris, 1972; E. Fischer, *Amor und Eros. Eine Untersuchung des Wortfeldes “Liebe” im Lateinischen und Griechischen*, Hildesheim, 1973; A. Fitzgerald, “Hebrew *yd* = ‘Love’ and ‘Beloved,’” in *CBQ*, 1967, pp. 368–374; P. Foresi, *L’agape in S. Paolo e la carità in S. Tommaso d’Aquino*, Rome, 1965; G. Friedrich, *Was heißt das: Liebe?*, Stuttgart, 1972; R.H. Fuller, “Das Doppelgebot der Liebe,” in G. Strecker, *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie* (Festschrift H. Conzelmann), Tübingen, 1975, pp. 317–329; V. P. Furnish, *The Love Command in the New Testament*, London, 1973; B. Gerhardsson, “I. Cor. 13. Om Paulus och hans rabbiniska bakgrund,” in *SEÅ*, vol. 39, 1974, pp. 121–144; G. Gilleman, “Charité théologique et vie morale,” in *Lumen Vitae*, vol. 16, 1961, pp. 9–27; W. Grundmann, “Das Doppelgebot der Liebe,” in *Die Zeichen der Zeit*, vol. 11, 1957, pp. 449–455; A. Guillaumont, “Le Nom des agapètes,” in *VC*, 1969, pp. 30–37; A. J. Hultgren, “The Double Commandment of Love in Mt. XXII, 34–40: The Sources of Compositions,” in *CBQ*, 1974, pp. 373–378; J.-P. Hyatt, “The God of Love in the O.T.,” in *To Do and To Teach: Essays in Honor of C. L. Pyatt*, Lexington, 1953, pp.

15–26; J. Jeffrey, “The Love of God in Christ—Romans VIII, 38–39,” in *ExpT*, vol. 69, 1958, pp. 359–361; R. Joly, *Le vocabulaire chrétien de l’amour est-il original? Φίλει—ν et —Αγαπα—ν*, Brussels, 1968; J. Kahmann, *Die Offenbarung der Liebe Gottes im Alten Testament*, Witten, 1959; R. E. Ker, “Fear or Love?,” in *ExpT*, vol. 72, 1961, pp. 195–196; R. Kieffer, *Le primat de l’amour: Commentaire épistémologique de I Corinthiens 13*, Paris, 1975; W. Klassen, “Love Your Enemy: A Study of N.T. Teaching on Coping with an Enemy,” in *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 1963, pp. 147–171; M. J. Lagrange, *La Morale de l’Evangile*, Paris, 1931 (the last chapter); idem, “L’Amour de Dieu, loi suprême de la morale de l’Evangile,” in *VSpir, Supplément*, vol. 26, 1931, pp. 1–16; M. Landfester, “Philos”; M. Lattke, *Einheit im Wort: Die spezifische Bedeutung von “agape,” “agapan” und “filein” im Johannes-Evangelium*, Munich, 1975; M. M. Laurent, *Réalisme et richesse de l’amour chrétien: Essai sur Eros et Agapè*, Issy-les-Moulineaux, 1962; N. Lazure, *Les Valeurs morales de la théologie johannique*, Paris, 1965, pp. 207–250; E. H. van Leeuwen, “—Αγαπητοί,” in *Theologische Studien*, 1903, pp. 139–151; S. Légasse, “L’étendue de l’amour interhumain d’après le Nouveau Testament: Limites et promesses,” in *RTL*, 1977, pp. 137–159; O. Linton, “S. Matthew V, 43,” in *ST*, 1964, pp. 66–79; D. Muñoz Lion, “La Nouveauté du commandement de l’amour dans les écrits de S. Jean,” in *La etica biblica* (vol. 29, *Semana biblica española*), Madrid, 1969, pp. 193–231; N. M. Loss, “Amore d’amicizia nel Nuovo Testamento,” in *Salesianum*, 1977, pp. 3–55; J. B. Lotz, *Die Stufen der Liebe: Eros, Philia, Agapè*, Frankfurt, 1971; D. Lührmann, “Liebet eure Feinde (Lk. VI, 27–36; Mt. V, 39–48),” in *ZTK*, 1972, pp. 412–438; S. Lyonnet, *La carità pienezza della lege, secondo san Paolo*, 2d ed., Rome, 1971; F. Maas, “Die Selbstliebe nach Leviticus XIX, 18,” in *Festschrift F. Baumgärtel*, Erlangen, 1959, pp. 109–113; D. J. McCarthy, “Notes on the Love of God in Deuteronomy,” in *CBQ*, 1965, pp. 144–147; T. W. Manson, *On Paul and John*, London, 1963, pp. 104–127; H. Montefiore, “Thou Shalt Love Thy Neighbour as Thyself,” in *NovT*, 1962, pp. 157–170; W. L. Moran, “The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy,” in *CBQ*, 1963, pp. 77–87; J. Moss, “I Cor. XIII, 13,” in *ExpT*, vol. 73, 1962, p. 253; D. Müller, “Das frühchristliche Verständnis der Liebe,” in *Festschrift A. Alt*, Leipzig, 1953–1954, vol. 3, pp. 131–137; P. L. Naumann, “The Presence of Love in John’s Gospel,” in *Worship*, 1965, pp. 363–371; K. Niederwimmer, “Erkennen und Lieben: Gedanken zum Verhältnis von Gnosis und Agape im ersten Korintherbrief,” in *KD*, 1965, pp. 75–102; A. Nissen, *Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum*, Tübingen, 1974; M. Oesterreicher, *The Bridge: A Yearbook of Judaeo-Christian Studies IV*, New York, 1962; C. Oggioni, *La dottrina della carità nel IV Vangelo e nella la<^> Lettera di Giovanni*, Milan, 1953; G. Outha, *Agapè: An Ethical Analysis*, New Haven–London, 1972; A. Penna, *Amore nella Bibbia*, Brescia, 1972; C. Perini, “Amicizia e carità fraterna

nella vita della Chiesa,” in *DivThom*, 1970, pp. 369–407; G. Quispel, “Love Thy Brother,” in *Ancient Society*, Louvain, vol. 1, pp. 83–93; L. Ramlot, “Le Nouveau Commandement de la nouvelle alliance ou Alliance et commandement,” in *Lumière et vie*, vol. 44, 1959, pp. 9–36; J. W. Rausch, *Agape and Amicitia: A Comparison Between St. Paul and St. Thomas*, Rome, 1958; C. C. Richardson, “Love: Greek and Christian,” in *JR*, 1943, pp. 173–185; K. Romaniuk, *L’Amour du Père et du Fils dans la sotériologie de saint Paul*, Rome, 1961; G. Rotureau, *Amour de Dieu: Amour des hommes*, Tournai, 1958 (popularization); G. Schille, “Die Liebe Gottes in Christus: Beobachtungen zu Rm. VIII, 31–39,” in *ZNW*, 1968, pp. 230–244; H. Schlier, *Die Zeit der Kirche*, Freiburg, 1956, pp. 186–193; idem, “Die Bruderliebe nach dem Evangelium und den Briefen des Johannes,” in *Mélanges Rigaux*, pp. 235–245; G. Schneider, “Die Neuheit der christlichen Nächstenliebe,” in *TTZ*, 1973, pp. 257–275; O.J.F. Seitz, “Love Your Enemies,” in *NTS*, vol. 16, 1969, pp. 39–54; W. W. Sikes, “A Note on Agape in Johannine Literature,” in *Shane Quart.*, vol. 16, 1955, pp. 139–143; B. Snell, H. J. Mette, *Lexikon*, col. 45–46 (with the report of B. Marzullo, in *Philologus*, 1957, p. 205); M. Spanneut, “L’Amour, de l’hellénisme au christianisme,” in *Mélanges de science religieuse*, 1964, pp. 5–19; C. Spicq, “Le Verbe ἀγάπῃ et ses dérivés dans le grec classique,” in *RB*, 1953, pp. 372–397; idem, “Die Liebe als Gestaltungsprinzip der Moral in den synoptischen Evangelien,” in *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 1954, pp. 394–410; idem, “Le Lexique de l’amour dans les papyrus et dans quelques inscriptions de l’époque hellénistique,” in *Mnemosyne*, 1955, pp. 25–33; idem, “Notes d’exégèse johannique: la charité est amour manifeste,” in *RB*, 1958, pp. 358–370; idem, *Agapè*; idem, “La Justification du charitable (I Jo. III, 19–21),” in *Studia Biblica et Orientalia*, Rome, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 347–359; idem, “Les Composantes de la notion d’agapè dans le Nouveau Testament,” in *Sacra Pagina*, Paris-Gembloux, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 440–455; idem, *Charité et liberté*; idem, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 481–566; D. M. Stanley, “God So Loved the World,” in *Worship*, 1957, pp. 16–23; K. Stendahl, “Hate, Non-retaliation, and Love,” in *HTR*, 1962, pp. 343–355; J. B. Stern, “Jesus’ Citation of Dt. VI, 5 and Lv. XIX, 18 in the Light of Jewish Tradition,” in *CBQ*, 1966, pp. 312–316; T. Stramare, “La carità secondo S. Giovanni,” in *Tabor*, 1965, pp. 47–58; D. W. Thomas, “The Root bħa ‘Love’ in Hebrew,” in *ZAW*, 1939, pp. 57–64; G. Torralba, “La Caridad en S. Pablo,” in *EstBib*, 1965, pp. 295–318; J. G. Trapiello, “El amor de Dios en los escritos de S. Juan,” in *Verdad y vida*, 1963, pp. 257–279; W. C. van Unnik, “Die Motivierung der Feindesliebe in Lukas, VI, 32–35,” in *Sparsa Collecta*, Leiden, 1973, vol. 1, pp. 111–128; F. Urtiz de Urtaran, “Esperanza y caridad en el N. T.,” in *Scriptorium Victorense* (Vitoria), 1954, vol. 1, pp. 1–50; A. G. Vella, “Agape in I Corinthians XIII,” in *Melita Theologica*, vol. 18, 1966, pp. 22–31, 57–66; vol. 19, 1967, pp. 44–54; R. Völkl, *Die Selbstliebe*

in der heiligen Schrift und bei Thomas von Aquin, Munich, 1956; idem, *Botschaft und Gebot der Liebe nach der Bibel*, Freiburg, 1964; V. Warnach, "Liebe," in J. B. Bauer, *Bibeltheologisches Wörterbuch*, Grass-Vienna, 1959, pp. 502–542; C. Wiéner, *Recherches sur l'amour pour Dieu dans l'Ancien Testament: Etude d'une racine*, Paris, 1957; S. K. Wuest, "Four Greek Words for Love," in *BibSac*, 1959, pp. 241–248.

¹ E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 2d ed., Heidelberg, 1923, p. 6; E. Stauffer, ἀγαπάω, in *TDNT*, vol. 1, p. 36.

² BDF.

³ E. Risch, H. J. Mette, ἀγαπάω, in B. Snell, *Lexikon*; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*.

⁴ Cf. the root *pô*, keep; A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, "ΑΓΑΠΗ nei documenti anteriori al Nuovo Testamento," in *Aeg*, 1951, pp. 302–303.

⁵ A. Carnoy, *Dictionnaire étymologique du Proto-Indo-Européen*, Louvain, 1955, p. 3. He cites Homer, *Il.* 23.384: ε—ν τ ἄρα οἰ— φῦ χειρί.

⁶ Ἀγαμαί: to admire, to be astonished (cf. H. Cremer, J. Kögel, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch*, 10th ed., p. 9). J. Pollux associates ἀγαπῶ— and ἄγαμαι (*Onom.* 5.20.113).

⁷ H. Pétré, *Caritas. Etude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*, Louvain, 1948; W. Thiele, *Wortschatzuntersuchungen zu den lateinischen Texten der Johannesbriefe*, Freiburg, 1958; P. Agaesse, *Saint Augustin: Commentaire de la première Epître de S. Jean*, Paris, 1961, pp. 31ff.; R. Völkl, *Frühchristliche Zeugnisse zu Wesen und Gestalt der christlichen Liebe*, Freiburg, 1963, pp. 91–95; R. T. Otten, "Amor, Caritas and Dilectio: Some Observations on the Vocabulary of Love in the Exegetical Works of St. Ambrose," in *Mélanges Chr. Mohrmann*, Utrecht-Anvers, 1963, pp. 73–83.

⁸ C. Spicq, *Agapè: Prolégomènes*, pp. 2ff. S. K. Wuest, "Four Greek Works for Love," in *BSac*, 1959, pp. 241–248; and the modern transposition by C. S. Lewis, *The Four Loves*, London, 1960.

⁹ Cf. M. Raoss, "Iscrizione cristiana-greca di Roma anteriore al Terzo secolo?" in *Aevum*, 1963, pp. 11–30. Because of the propensity of the Koine to use compound words, *philostorgia* came to be used more and more for *storge* (cf. Rom 12:10; C. Spicq, ΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΟΣ, in *RB* 1955,

pp. 497–510); cf. Plutarch: “Does tenderness for one’s children come naturally for humans?—Εἰ— φυσικὴ πρὸς τὰ ἔκγονα φιλοστοργία;” (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 3); *P.Oxy.* 1381, 104: ἡ μήτηρ ὡς ἐ—πὶ παιδί, καὶ φύσει φιλόστοργος; Ps.-Aristotle: “It is φιλοστοργία toward their children that inspires parents to draw up a will in their favor. . . . Children are so loved (ἀγαπωμένων) as being lovable objects per se” (cited by Stobaeus, II, 7, 13 = vol. 2, p. 120); a decree of Chersonesus for Thrasymedes of Heraclea: πατέρων ἀγαθω—ν πρὸς υἱ—οὺς φιλοστόργους (cited by L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, p. 311, n. 2).

¹⁰ Cf. *MAMA*, vol. 8, 367, 373, 374, 391, 392, 394; Menander: “I am ready to accept her without dowry and add an oath to cherish her always— διατελει—ν στέργων” (*Dysk.* 309, cf. P. Flury, *Liebe und Liebessprache bei Meinander, Plautus und Terenz*, Heidelberg, 1968). Alphaeus of Mitylene would take στέργω—ε—ράω as synonyms (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 110).

¹¹ Cf. the letter of Panechotes in the second century: φθάνω μὲν σοι δεδηλωκῶς ἦν ἔχω πρὸς σὲ στοργήν = I have already shown the affection that I have for you (*P.Oxy.* 2726, 5–8). This instinctive attraction was attributed also to animals (Aristotle, *HA* 9.4.611a12). The absence of this innate feeling (ἄστοργος, Rom 1:31; 2Tim 3:3) is as noteworthy in humans as in cruel beasts (ἄστόργου θηρός; *GVI*, vol. 1, n. 1078,4).

¹² A. Ernout, “Venus, Venia, Cupido,” in *RevPhil*, 1956, p. 7.

¹³ Epicurus defines *eros* thus: “a strong appetite for sexual pleasures, accompanied by furor and agony” (H. Usener, *Epicurea*, Frag. 483, Leipzig, 1887); cf. Alexis, in Stobaeus 63.13 (=4.20a13H); Archilochus, *Epodes* 8.245: “So violent was the desire for love that welled up in my heart, pouring out an opaque fog upon by eyes”; D. M. Robinson, E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-names, including a Discussion of Paederasty and a Prosopographia*, Baltimore, 1937; F. Lasserre, *La Figure d’Eros dans la poésie grecque*, Lausanne, 1946; H. Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, 8th ed., London, 1956; M. F. Galizno, J. S. Lasso de la Vega, F. R. Adrados, *El descubrimiento del amor en Grecia*, Madrid, 1959; M. M. Laurent, *Réalisme et richesse de l’amour chrétien: Essai sur eros et agapè*, Issy-les-Moulineaux, 1962; J. Fürstauer, *Eros im alten Orient*, Stuttgart, 1965.

¹⁴ Musaeus, *Hero and Leander* 98. On Eros as a warrior and fighter, cf. A. Spies, *Militat omnis amans. Ein Beitrag zur Bildersprache der antiken Erotik*, Tübingen, 1930; on Eros as a mythic power, cf. G. Bornkamm, *Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum*, Munich, 1959, vol. 2, p. 31. The

stoics give *eros* a noble sense, cf. A. J. Festugière, *Le Dieu cosmique*, Paris, 1949, pp. 271ff.

¹⁵ The first meaning of φίλος would have been possessive, “my,” and by a semantic evolution it would have come to mean “dear,” so that its opposite would have been ξένος, “stranger,” meaning “one who does not belong to us” (H. I. Kakride, *Notion de l’amitié*. “Φίλος, regardless of the etymological details, literally expresses not an emotional attachment, but belonging to a social group, and this usage is linked to the use of the word as a possessive in Homer,” P. Chantraine, *Etudes sur le vocabulaire grec*, Paris, 1956, p. 15). Cf. F. Dirlmeier, ΦΙΛΟΣ und ΦΙΛΙΑ im vorhellenistischen Griechentum, Munich, 1931; M. Landfester, “Philos”; Stählin, φιλέω-φίλος, in *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 115–116. On φιλέω in the inscriptions, cf. G. Pfohl, *Grabinschriften*, pp. 41, 44, 46, 101, etc.

¹⁶ [Friendship either finds or makes equals.—Tr.] It is often said that charity is friendship, but St. Thomas Aquinas wrote *quasi-amicitia*, and he was making reference to the Aristotelian terminology concerning “friendships of superabundance,” like those that link parents to their children.

¹⁷ Cf. Menander, *Mis.* 307–308: Πρω—τος ἠγάπησά σε, ἀγαπω—, φιλω—, Κράτεια φιλιτάτη (in *P.Oxy.* 2656, 20–21); Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 8: in marriage, reasoning leads to a strengthening of affection and love, τὸ φιλει—ν καὶ τὸ ἀγαπα—ν; *Conv. sept. sap.* 2: one guest engages the others in friendship and mutual affection, πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ ἀγάπησιν ἀλλήλων; Dio Cassius 60.18: Messalina loved and favored (ε—φίλει καὶ ἠγάπα) indulgent husbands. Cf. John 3:35 and 5:20; 14:21b and 16:27; 11:3 and 5, 36; above all 21:15–17 (where P. S. Minear, *Images of the Church in the New Testament*, Philadelphia, 1960, p. 159, translates well, “Simon, are you my friend?”); Cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 219–245. The Pauline salutation “Greet those who love us in the faith” (Titus 3:15) and the Johannine salutation “The friends greet you. Greet the friends, each one individually” (3John 15; cf. T. Y. Mullins, “Greeting as a New Testament Form,” in *JBL*, 1968, pp. 418–426) use φιλέω in exactly the same sense as the contemporary protocol for letters (*P.Mert.* 83, 13–14): ἄσπασαι τοὺς φιλοῦντάς σε πάντας; 82, 16–19; *P.Abinn.* 6, 23–24: ἀσπάζομαι πάντες τὰ ε—ν τῇ οι—κίᾳ κατ’ ὄνομα; 25, 9–18; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 4, 25–28; A. Bernand, *Philae*, n. 65; *P.IFAO* II, n. 40, 11; other papyrological citations in C. Spicq, *Agapè*, pp. 87ff., idem, “Le Lexique de l’amour dans les papyrus,” in *Mnemosyné*, 1955, pp. 27–28). Συγγενής (literally “congener” or “fellow,” used as an aulic title, cf. L. Mooren, “Über die ptol. Hofrangtitel,” in *Antidorum W. Peremans*, Louvain, 1968, pp. 161ff.), is associated with ἀναγκαί—ος φίλος in Acts 10:24, in accord with contemporary usage (on these terms, cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, pp.

92ff.; *I.Magn.*, 38, 52; *IG*, vol. 9, 2, n. 583, 58; *SB* 9415, 17; *SEG*, vol. 19, 468, 32; vol. 23, 547, 2; *P.Herm.* 1; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 59, 13; *IGLS*, vol. 6, 2859, 7; A. Bernand, *Philae*, n.30; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 56; Plutarch, *Agric.* 3.1 and 3.5; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vols. 11–12, Paris, 1960, p. 205; idem, *Opera minora selecta*, Amsterdam, 1960, p. 220; Michaelis, συγγενής, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 736–742. On the *necessarii regis*, cf. *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 2, p. xix). As for the formula φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος (John 19:12; cf. *Agapè* vol. 3, pp. 239ff.), it should be considered together with the title “friend of the king,” which seems to be of Egyptian origin (C. De Witt, “Enquête sur le titre de *smr pr*,” in *ChrEg*, 1956, pp. 89–104; H. Donner, “Der ‘Freund des Königs,’” in *ZAW*, 1961, pp. 269–277; J. Gaudemet, *Institutions de l’antiquité*, Paris, 1967, pp. 227ff.), but used among the Persians, the Seleucids, and the Romans, referring to courtiers, courtesans, and royal favorites, the staff officers at headquarters, the ministers in charge, the councillors, and the personal couriers of the sovereign (*Ep. Arist.* 41, 45, 228, 268, 318). These dignitaries ranked after the “relatives of the king, συγγενει—ς” and there was a hierarchy among them, such that some were distinguished as “friends of the first order” (Dittenberger, *Or.*, vol. 1, 119; vol. 2, 754; *Syl.* 685, 121; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 14, 4th col.; *P.Dura*, 18, 10; 19, 18; 20, 3; *SEG*, vol. 8, 573; vol. 13, 552–557, 568–591; vol. 20, 208; *SB* 1078, 8876, 9963, 9986, 10122; Strabo 13.2.3; E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, pp. 40–50, 66, 188–189; M. Hollaux, *Etudes d’épigraphie*, vol. 3, pp. 220–225; E. Bammel, “Φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος,” in *TLZ*, 1952, col. 205–210; A. Pelletier, *Josèphe adaptateur*, p. 107; B. Lifshitz, “Sur le culte dynastique des Séleucides,” in *RB*, 1963, pp. 76–81; G. Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l’économie politique de l’Égypte*, 2d ed., Amsterdam, 1967, pp. 191ff.; *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 6., pp. 21ff., 85; A. Bernand, *Philae*, n. 13, 2; C. Spicq, *Prolégomènes*, p. 165, *Agapè*, vol. 3, p. 167, 240).

¹⁸ Matt 5:44. R. Joly (*Le Vocabulaire chrétien de l’amour est-il original? Φιλει—ν et —Αγαπα—ν*, Brussels, 1968) challenges my semantics and quite often my exegesis. I will merely observe that from Plato to St. John Chrysostom and Basil of Ancyra, and in Philo along the way, it is ε—ράω, much more than φιλέω, that is used in preference to the classical ἀγαπάω, “to be content with, be satisfied.” Moreover, it is the vocabulary of the LXX—in which this verb occurs much more often (268 times, as opposed to around 30 for φιλέω) and with an affective sense—that determined that of the NT. Cf. B. Botte, in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 1969, p. 235; J. Giblet, “Le Lexique chrétien de l’amour,” in *RTL*, 1970, pp. 333–337.

¹⁹ Cf. C. Spicq, *Prolégomènes*, pp. 65ff.; idem, “Les Composantes de la notion d’agapè dans le Nouveau Testament,” in *Sacra Pagina*, Paris-

Gembloux, 1959, pp.440–455 (reprinted in *Charité et liberté*; developed in *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 481ff.); cf. N. Lazure, *Les valeurs morales de la théologie johannique*, Paris, 1965, pp. 207–250.

²⁰ Rev 12:11; cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 824; *Sam.* 272; *P.Herc.* 1018, col. XII, 5; Plutarch, *Sol.* 6, 1; *Conv. sept. sap.* 2; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.7.7; Dio Cassius 60.18; 61.7.

²¹ 1Thess 5:13; cf. Plato, *Resp.* 10.600c; Plutarch, *Rom.* 17.3; *Phoc.* 6.4; *Sert.* 14.1; *Conv. sept. sap.* 6; Dio Cassius 44.39; 59.20; 54.31; 71.31. Hence its opposition to καταφρονει—ν, “despise, scorn” (Matt 6:24; cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, Paris, 1958, pp. 31, 101); cf. Isocrates, *Antid.* 15.151.

²² Cf. Phil 1:9-11; the precept “You shall love the Lord your God” can also be translated “You shall adore” (Matt 22:37); cf. Plutarch, *Arist.* 6.3: the people should love and venerate the gods. Cyrus, wishing to express his enthusiasm for the beauty of Milto, changed her name to Aspasia, the most “adorable” woman imaginable (*Per.* 24.12).

²³ 1John 3:18—ε—ν ἔργω καὶ ἀληθείᾳ (2John 3; *Ep. Arist.* 260; *Pss. Sol.* 6.9; 10.4; 14.1; 15.3; *T. Jud.* 24.3; *T. Levi* 18.8; cf. I. de la Potterie, “La verità in S. Giovanni,” in *RivistB*, 1963, pp. 3–24; N. Lazure, *Valeurs morales*, p. 87); ἔργω is opposed to λόγω as reality is opposed to appearances (Philo, *Cherub.* 41; Thucydides 2.65: “The democracy was such in name [λόγω], but in reality [ἔργω δέ] it was government by the first citizen”; cf. 8.78, nothing but words, without reality). In a personal letter of the first century, the writer complains about a certain Keramos who talks much and does nothing (*P.Alex.* 25, 19–20: πολλὰ λέγειν. . . οὐδὲν ε—ποιεῖ; *P.Alex.*, pp. 68ff.); *P.NYU* 1 a 8: ἔργω δὲ ἀληθει— καὶ δυνάμει; *I.Olymp.*, 356, 7: C. Asinius Quadratus τειμήσαντα τὴν —Ολυμπίαν καὶ λόγω καὶ ἔργω; other references in *Agapè*, vol. 3, p. 263.

²⁴ Rom 5:8 (συνίστημι, cf. *Agapè*, vol. 2, p. 180); 1John 4:9 (φανερῶω; cf. 2Tim 1:10); 2Cor 8:24 (ε—νδείκνυμαι; cf. Heb 6:10); Titus 3:4 (ε—πιφαίνεν).

²⁵ It is clear, for example, that the authenticity of the followers of Jesus will be discernible only to the extent that they give proof of their mutual love (John 13:35; cf. likewise 15:13; 1John 3:16, etc.; cf. C. Spicq, “Notes d’exégèse johannique: la charité est amour manifeste,” in *RB*, 1958, pp. 358–370). Under the New Covenant, the keeping of commandments has no value except as a proof of love (John 14: 21). In an analogous use of the word, Ptolemy asks his very dear Apollonius to write him regularly so that he may know how much he loves him: Δι ὅπερ παρακληθεῖς γράφε μοι

συνεχω—ς ἵνα διαγνω— σε οὕτως με ἠγαπηκότα (*P.Mert.* 22, 8); cf. *SB* 7804, 5: μνησθεῖς τῆς ἀ[γάπης], ἦν εἰ—ς συνόμαιμον ἔδειξα (second century AD); *P.Oxy.* 11, 6: “You shall prove your love . . .”; *P.Berl.Zill.* 14, 12, 14; *P.Fouad* 86, 5: “Show me your love by saying . . .” etc.

²⁶ *Ps.-Lysias, Amat.* 233 b: “Those who love deserve more pity than envy”; *Anth. Pal.* 9.157: “Who said that Eros is a god? We never see a god do evil, and Eros smilingly spills human blood.”

²⁷ Plato, *Lysis* 218c: “I was joyful like a hunter, entirely happy (ἀγαπητω—ς) to have at last that which I was pursuing”; Isocrates, *Ep.* 6.6: “I would be quite happy if . . . ἀγαπῶν ἄν εἰ—”; Menander, *Dysk.* 745; “Each one would be content with his modest part”; *Sam.* 557; Synesius: “Ptolemy and his successors would be content to use only . . .” (*Epist. ad Paeonium* 311 B; edited by Terazghi, vol. 2, p. 138, 18); Plutarch, *Thes.* 17.2: The Athenians “were enchanted by the devotion that Theseus demonstrated toward the people”; *Crass.* 19.3: “Crassus rejoiced greatly”; *De gen.* 4 = 577d: “all too happy that their lives had been spared”; Dio Cassius 1.185, 307; 42.7; 61.4; Philo, *Post. Cain* 171; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 37; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 6, 148: ἀγαπητω—ς ἔχειν = to hold oneself to be satisfied, to account oneself happy.

²⁸ 1Pet 1:8; cf. 1Cor 2:9 (cf. *Agapè*, vol. 1, pp. 219ff.; P. Prigent, “Ce que l’œil n’a point vu,” in *TZ*, 1958, pp. 416–429; M. Philonenko, “Quod oculus non vidit,” *ibid.*, 1959, pp. 51–56; J. B. Bauer, “ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΑΠΩΣΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΩΝ,” in *ZNW*, 1959, pp. 108–112; A. Feuillet, *Le Christ sagesse de Dieu*, Paris, 1966, pp. 37ff.); 1Cor 13:6 (συγχάριμαι); Gal 5:22; Rom 12:12, 15; Phil 2:2; John 14:28; 15:10-11. In the secular language, ἀγαπάω and χαίρω are already often synonyms (Epictetus 4.4.45; Plutarch, *Thes.* 17.2).

²⁹ John 3:16; 1John 4:16; 5:1; Eph 2:4 (cf. *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 127ff., 288ff.; A. Feuillet, *Le Mystère de l’amour divin dans la théologie johannique*, Paris, 1972, pp. 179ff.). Caesar declared to his troops, “I love you as a father loves his children, ἀγαπω— . . . ὡς πατήρ παι—δας” (Dio Cassius 12.27; cf. 57; 53.18: the title of “father” given to emperors is “an invitation for them to love their subjects as their children”; 56.9; Stobaeus 2.7.13 = vol. 2, p. 120).

³⁰ Plutarch, *Num.* 4.3; 14.9; *Cor.* 39.13; *De frat. amor.* 6; Onasander 1.21.

³¹ Cf. the exhortation of Antony to the Roman people at Caesar’s funeral: ε—φιλήσατε αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα, καὶ ἠγαπήσατε ὡς εὐεργέτην (Dio Cassius 44.48, 1; cf. 43.18: Caesar’s soldiers were grateful to those who gave to

them; 49.20: “Pacorus, because of his justice and mildness, was surrounded in Syria by more love [ὑπερηγάπων] than any king ever was.” Compare Polybius 9.29.12; 5.11.6: διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν καὶ φιλάνθρωπίαν ἀγαπώμενον); Plutarch, *Alc.* 4.4; *Arist.* 23.6: “They bade him give thanks to Fortuna”; *Luc.* 20.6: “Lucullus was loved [with gratitude_ by the peoples whom he had treated well”; 29.5: “. . . as a benefactor and a founder”; Cant 1:3; John 16:27; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 9.3.3: διὰ ταῦτα ἀγαπηθῆναι; Theopompus of Chios: διὰ ταῦτα καὶ μα—λλον αὐτὸν ἠγάπα τω—ν πολιτῶ—ν (in *F.Gr.H.*, II B, p. 580, 30). On this return of affection, cf. the Athenian poet Cantharus, frag. 6: καὶ πρότερον οὔσα παρθένος ἀμφηγάπαζες αὐτόν (in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 1, p. 450).

³² Heraclitus, *All.* 6; Ps.-Lysias, *Amat.* 233e: “When one gives a dinner at one’s own home, one should invite not one’s friends, but beggars and starving folk. These are the people who will salute (ἀγαπήσουσιν) you, who will escort you, who will sit at your gate, who will be the most joyful, who will be the most grateful, who will wish you the greatest happiness”; Plutarch, *Publ.* 10.5; 19.3; Dio Cassius 45.4; the Pythagorean Diotogenes: the majesty of the king can draw the admiration and fear of the crowds, while his kindness provokes their love and applause, ἃ δὲ χρηστότας φιλούμενον καὶ ἀγαπαζόμενον (*On Kingship*, in Stobaeus, 7.62 = vol. 4, p. 267, 14).

³³ Dio Cassius 44.48; 52.32: “It is natural for all people to rejoice when a superior deems them worthy to be addressed as if they were his equals; it is natural for them to approve all his decrees as if they were their own doing, to applaud them as if they themselves had thought of them first, καὶ ἀγαπα—ν ὡς αὐθαίρετα”; Polybius 9.29.12; 5.11.6. Cf. Theophilus: “Shall I depart, and betray my venerated master—τὸν ἀγαπητὸν δεσπότην?” (in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 568).

³⁴ It is often difficult to date our documents with precision. For example, a tomb inscription preserved in the museum at Alexandria—μνησθεὶς τῆς ἀ[γάπη]ς εἰ—ς συνόμαιμον ἔδειξα, μὴ παρίδης πέτρην οἶκον ὁμοφροσύνης—dated to 27 BC by A. Ceresa-Gastaldo (*ΑΓΑΠΗ nei documenti estranei all’ influsso biblico*, in *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*, 1953, pp. 347–356, taken up in like manner by SB 7804; *SEG*, vol. 8, 374; C. Spicq, “Le Lexique de l’amour dans les papyrus,” in *Mnemosyne*, 1955, p. 32) is republished by W. Peek (*GVI*, vol. 1, n. 1143, 5), who not only dates it to the second century AD but also reads τῆς φιλίας instead of ἀγάπης (cf. *SEG*, vol. 14, 852). The truth is that “with the exception of the two first words, the line is totally effaced” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 69 = p. 279). The inscription praising Amandos for his love of his country, τίς ὑπὸ πάτρης τόσσην ἔσχ’ ἀγάπην (*SEG*, vol.

8, 11, 6) is from the third century (A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, “—Αγάπη nei documenti anteriori al Nuovo Testamento,” in *Aeg*, 1951, p. 289). The inscription of Rhosos—ὕπερ μνήμης καὶ εὐχαριστίας καὶ ἀγάπης (*IGLS*, 727, 1–2)—is Christian and Byzantine (as *SB* 5314, 15) etc. In the third and fourth centuries, the formula of Ignatius of Antioch—ἀγάπην ποιει—ν, meaning “celebrate the *agape*” (*Ign. Smyrn.* 8.2; cf. *SB* 1029, 6: εἰ—ς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ ἁγίου —Αἴπ —Απολλῶ— πάντως ἔρχομε, “I shall certainly come for the feast of Saint Abbot Apollon,” republished and commented on by H. C. Youtie, in *ZPE*, vol. 16, 1975, pp. 259–264)—came to be used commonly to mean “give alms” (*P.Lond.* 1914, 28; cf. 1916, 28; C. Spicq, *Mnemosyne*, 1955, pp. 30ff.).

³⁵ *Ep. Arist.* 229 (with the note of the editor, A. Pelletier, Paris, 1962, p. 204); *Pss. Sol.* 18.4; Philo, *Unchang. God* 69; *Quest. Exod.* 23.27a, frag. 21 (edited by R. Marcus, pp. 60, 247; the *T. 12 Patr.* contains too many Christian glosses to be used here.) The absence of the noun in the secular literature (Josephus, Epictetus, Musonius, Julius Pollux, etc.) is notable (its first use would be a late scholium on Thucydides 1.51.5, glossing ἀρετῆς: φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγάπης; cf. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 2d ed., Edinburgh, 1909, p. 200), as is its abundant usage in Christian language (cf. the papyri cited by N. Naldini, *Cristianesimo in Egitto*, pp. 16ff., 128, 130, 133, 140, 151, 154, 162, 174, 182, 189, 192, 196, 199, 210, 213, 220, 223, 226, 238, 278, 324, 331, 340, 362, 365). The magical papyrus from the end of the third century AD (Codex Paris 2316, fol. 436r), edited by R. Reitzenstein (*Poimandrès*, 1904, pp. 297ff.) is probably of Christian origin: Γαβριὲλ ε—πὶ τῆς χαρα—ς . . . —Αφαμαῆλ ε—πὶ τῆς ἀγάπης . . . ου—τοι εἰ—σιν οἱ— ἄγγελοι οἱ— προηγούμενοι ε—νώπιον τοῦ εοῦ (cf. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, in *Aeg*, 1951, pp. 291–292). But the scholium on the *Tetrabiblos* of Ptolemaeus, where ἀγάπη expresses the mutual love of a man and a woman, and which I cited in my *Prolégomènes*, p. 32, n. 5, is by the Arab astrologer Abou Mas’ aschar Apomasar (d.885) whose work was translated into Greek in the eleventh century (cf. Charles E. Ruelle, “Deux identifications,” in *Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1910, pp. 32–39).

³⁶ Edited by H. Diels, W. Schubart, *Berliner Klassikertexte*, 2, Berlin, 1905, p. 55. It is no longer possible to refer to the document itself, because Professor P. Moraux tells us that *P.Berlin* 9869 disappeared in the turmoil of 1945, and officially no one knows where it is. Both he and M. Vogliano, having examined it several times, cast no doubt on Schubart’s reading, but they cannot specify whether ΑΓΑΠΗΣ is the genitive singular of the noun or something like the first part of a verbal form whose end was obliterated (letter from Berlin dated 13 January 1952).

³⁷ Because of the -γμα that begins the following line, the editors restore “ἀγάπης [πρα—]γμα?”; cf. the analogy with *P.Erl.* 88, 13–14: μάλιστα . . . ἄμα, whose composition on the *Logos* seems close to this one.

³⁸ Professor Hombert of the Queen Elizabeth Egyptological Foundation of Brussels writes to me: “The Berlin papyrus is an extremely doubtful witness to the use of ἀγάπη in the second century BC, and ἀγάπησις seems to me to be just as possible” (letter dated 19 November 1951). This is also the opinion of A. Ceresa-Gastaldo in *Aeg.*, 1951, p. 293, who points out the oddity of the insertion from the popular Koine in a text of philosophical character.

³⁹ Cf. *GVI*, n. 1436: ἔπινον πίστεος, εὐνοίης, ἀρετῆς; ἀγάπης τε μάλιστα (funerary inscription of Padua from the second or third century); cf. 2090; Drimachos: ε—γώ σε πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἠγάπησα μάλιστα (*F.Gr.H.*, pp. 671, 10).

⁴⁰ The editors say that it is from the ptolemaic era, around the second century BC. It should be noted that F. Preisigke (*Wörterbuch*) and the supplement of E. Kiessling (1944) do not cite any usage of ἀγάπη in the papyri before the third century AD. Finally, cf. *P.Oxy.* 3004, 4: δίκαιον εὐθύς ε—στιν ἀγαπα—ν μητέρα (first century).

⁴¹ E. Stauffer, ἀγάπη, in *TDNT*, vol. 1, p. 38, n. 87. The citation is probably borrowed from A. Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, p. 198 or from T. Nägeli (*Wortschatz*, pp. 38, 60).

⁴² Letter from a certain Dionysius (commander at Memphis?) to Ptolemy, son of Slauchias; cf. W. Brunet de Presle (*Notices et extraits des manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque impériale*, Paris, 1865, vol. 18, 2, p. 319) who read the text as follows: διά τε τὴν ἀγά[π]ην καὶ τὴν σὴν ε—λευθερίαν καταπεπέραμαι.

⁴³ A. Deissmann’s summary of the work in *TLZ*, 1895, p. 488.

⁴⁴ Cited by A. Deissmann in his *Neue Bibelstudien* (pp. 26ff.) and the English translation *Bible Studies* by A. Grieve (Edinburgh, 1901, pp. 198–199). It is only more surprising to see the initial error taken up again (cf. again J. S. Banks, in *ExpT*, vol. 9, 1898, p. 501), because it was denounced by W. M. Ramsay (*ibid.*, pp. 567–568) as by E. Buonaiuti, “I vocaboli d’amore nel N. T.,” in *Rivista Storico-critica delle scienze teologiche*, 1909, pp. 261–262; E. Jacquier, in *RB* 1915, p. 262; F. Prat, *La Théologie de saint Paul*, 2d ed., Paris, 1923, vol. 2, p. 562; E. B. Allo, *Première Épître aux Corinthiens*, p. 206.

⁴⁵ U. Wilcken edited *P.Paris* 49, which he believes to be earlier than 160, as number 62 in his *UPZ* I, p. 308.

⁴⁶ Article —*Ἀγάπη*, in *BZ*, 1932, pp. 378–382. E. Peterson analyzes all the references supplied by W. Crönert, in F. Passow, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, 2d ed., 1912, p. 25, and H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther*, 3d ed., Tübingen, 1931, p. 68.

⁴⁷ *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Boston, 1888, vol. 2, pp. 88, 87–88; again read in the same fashion by W.H.P. Hatch (“Some Illustrations of New Testament Usage from Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor,” in *JBL*, 1980, pp. 134–136), who underlines its pagan origin—Aphrodite is given her Homeric epithet.

⁴⁸ A. Deissmann, *Light*, p. 75, n. 3. He relies on the dissertation of F. Heinevetter, *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Breslau, 1912, pp. 10 and 25.

⁴⁹ *P.Herc.* 1471, edited by A. Oliviere, Leipzig, 1914. Reading accepted by C. Jan Vooyoys, *Lexicon Philodemeum*, Purmerend, 1934, p. 2. Compare God’s words to Abraham: τὸν ἠγαπημένον μου φίλον (*T. Abr.* A 1).

⁵⁰ Recension of the *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, vol. 4, of J. von Arnim, in *Gnomon*, 1930, p. 148. W. C. concludes his note 2: “Thus for the present ἀγάπη remains a Judeo-Christian word, commonly used in the language of the Byzantine epoch, as Preisigke has shown”; cf. *SB* 8705, 3.

⁵¹ The reading that A. Ceresa-Gastaldo also reckons as the most probably, in *Aeg.*, 1951, p. 297.

⁵² Lines 27–28 (cf. G. Lafaye, “Litanie grecque d’Isis,” in *RevPhil*, 1916, pp. 55ff.; F. Cumont, *Isis latina*, *ibid.*, pp. 133–134; A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *loc. cit.*, pp. 293–294). At line 94 one sees ε—ν Δώροις φιλίαν and at line 137 the appellation μισεχθής. Cf. the proscenium from the imperial period: ὄν ἀγαπα— ἡ Φαρία ΘΙσις (*SB* 8542, 7). Reitzenstein (*Nachr. Götting. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, 1917, pp. 130ff.) compares *CIG*, vol. 12, 5,217: ε—γὼ (Isis) γυναι—κα καὶ ἄνδρα συνήγαγα. . . ε—γὼ στέργεσθαι γυναι—κας ὑπ’ἀνδρῶ—νήνάγκασα. One might compare the hymns to Mandoulis: “the holy Talmis whom Mandoulis the sun loves, ὁ ἥλιος Μανδοῦλις ἀγαπα—” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 166, 20; cf. 167, 1: “Mandoulis beloved of Athena, —*Ἀθηνα—ς ἀγάπημα*”); cf. the invocation to the divinity: Ἄδων ἀγαπατέ (*Theocritus* 15.149), ὦ Πᾶν φίλε (*ibid.* 7.106), φίλα Σελάννα (*ibid.* 2.142); A. Bernand, *El-Kanaïs*, Leiden, 1972, n. viii, 9, 11.

⁵⁸ S. Charitôniadou, *ΑΙ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΣΒΟΥ*, Athens, 1968, n. 102; cf. N.A. Bees, *Corpus der griech. Inschriften von Hellas*, Athens, 1941, n. 15.

⁵⁹ *SEG*, vol. 18, 775, 10.

⁶⁰ *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 59, 1 (fourth century AD). Of the same date, a tomb inscription of Tarsus, cf. H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, Princeton, 1950, vol. 1, p. 385, n. ix, 4. Eusebius tells of the martyrdom of “Agapios and Thecla, our contemporary” (*Mart. Palest.* 3.1 and 4; 6.3).

⁶¹ N. Firatle, L. Robert, *Stèles funéraires*, p. 150. *CIRB*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1965, n. 337, 2–3: —Αγάπημα γυνή εοφιλίσκου; F. Bechtel, *Die attischen Frauennamen*, Göttingen, 1902.

⁶² *SEG*, vol. 6, 91 (B. Lavagnini, in *Aeg*, 1925, p. 339 reads otherwise). On a first-century stele of Alyzia in Acarnania this was added in the fourth century: καὶ ὑπὲρ μνήμης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ —Αγάπης (*IG*, vol. 9, 2, n. 446 *b*). According to Sulpicius Severus (*Chronicles* 2.46), the origin of the Priscillian heresy was the preaching of an Egyptian of Memphis named Marcus, who had as a student a certain Agape: *non ignobilis mulier* (likewise St. Jerome, *Epist.* 133). But *Caritas* is rare as a proper name (cf. the references given by H. I. Marrou, “Dame Sagesse et ses trois filles,” in *Mélanges . . . Christ. Morhmann*, Utrecht-Anvers, 1963, pp. 181–183).

⁶³ “Etude bibliographique sur la notion biblique d’ΑΓΑΠΗ, surtout dans I Cor. 13,” in *ConNT*, vol. 5, Leipzig-Uppsala, 1941, pp. 1–27; idem, “Note bibliographique sur I Cor. XIII,” in *Nuntius*, vol. 6, Uppsala, 1952, col. 47–48; cf. BAGD, pp. 5–6. This translation of the fourth edition of the *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Berlin, 1952) of W. Bauer could not take into account the clarification accomplished by G. Zuntz in his report in *Gnomon*, 1958, p. 23.

⁶⁴ C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, pp. 317–324; as in that work, I shall here alphabetize according to the names of the authors.

ἀγγαρεύω

angareuo, to requisition

angareuo, S 29; *EDNT* 1.12; MM 2–3; L&N 37.34; BDF §§6, 42(2), 392(1e); BAGD 6; ND 2.77

This verb of oriental, probably Iranian, origin¹ comes from *angaros*, which in Persian refers to the post riders who carried royal dispatches from relay post to relay post.² As this official delivery service involved requiring people to provide services and enlisting people as well as provisions, draft animals, or lodging, it came to mean “to requisition” and in general to make someone do something against his will. This explains its pejorative flavor from Menander³ to modern times,⁴ and well attested in the NT: the soldiers requisition Simon of Cyrene to carry the cross of Jesus.⁵

The Egyptian papyri give examples of the many requisitions that were made for pack animals and drivers, farm animals, wheat and the barges that carried it, work, and provisions.⁶ Normally, it was by public authority that individuals were coerced,⁷ but many requisitions were arbitrary or illegitimate. This accounts for the numerous claims of individuals who complained that they had been wronged,⁸ and hence the numerous interventions of sovereigns and prefects from the second century BC onward forbidding royal officers and soldiers to make requisitions for their personal interests. In 118, a decree (*prostagma*) of King Euergetes II and Queens Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III ordered: “Generals and other functionaries do not have the right to require the inhabitants of the country to work for their private interests, nor to use their beasts for their own purposes . . . nor to make them supply geese, fowl, wine, or grain, whether for money as a bribe for the renewal of their appointment, nor in short to make them work for free on any pretext.”⁹

These facts and the number of documents that exhibit them show how frequent and burdensome these *angareiai* were. They show precisely the significance of the precept of the Sermon of the Mount: “If anyone requisitions you for a mile, go with him two miles.”¹⁰

The case is so classic that it had perhaps become a topic of popular philosophy and of diatribe. At any rate, Epictetus also takes it up; but he advises only to comply for fear of suffering greater evils: “If an unforeseen requisition arises and a soldier takes your young ass, let it go. Do not resist, do not murmur, lest you receive blows as well as lose the ass” (4.1.79). For the sake of love, our Lord says to acquiesce¹¹ just as he said to bless persecutors. This attitude of acceptance toward impudent and vexatious people becomes a major theme of New Testament ethics: one must overcome evil with good.¹² The paradox of going two miles when only one was demanded puts the emphasis on interior good will, on its promptness and sincerity—or rather on the authentic *agape* that is manifested in deed and in truth (1John 3:18), in the most costly fashion (John 15:13). According to the principle of John 3:21, “The one who does the truth comes to the light,” it was because Simon of Cyrene freely accepted his *angareia* that he and his children received the grace of faith.

¹ A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 2d ed., Edinburgh, 1909, pp. 86, 182; W. Barclay, *NT Wordbook*, pp. 15ff.; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 8. F. Tailliez is inclined toward Akkadian (“Βασιλική ὁδός,” in *Miscellanea G. de Jarphanion*, Rome, 1947, pp. 346–348). It is also written ε—γγαρεύω, cf. BDF §42, 2.

² Hence ἀγγαρήιον, the royal postal service; cf. Herodotus 8.98 [here presented in the English of Aubrey de Selincourt—Tr.]: “Xerxes dispatched a courier to Persia with the news of his defeat. There is nothing in the world which travels faster than these Persian couriers. The whole idea is a Persian invention, and works like this: riders are stationed along the road, equal in number to the number of days the journey takes—a man and a horse for each day. Nothing stops these couriers from covering their allotted stage in the quickest possible time—neither snow, rain, heat, nor darkness. The first, at the end of his stage, passes the dispatch to the second, the second to the third, and so on along the line, as in the Greek torch-race which is held in honour of Hephaestus. The Persian word for this form of post is angarium.” Cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.6–7; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 282; “like couriers of fire—ἀπὸ ἀγγάρου πυρός—each light in turn hurried its signal toward us.” At the beginning of the third century AD, this term again designated the *cursus publicus* (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 880, 54); cf. U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1912, vol. 1, pp. 372–376; H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 19; D. B. Durham, *Vocabulary of Menander*, p. 37; the note of A. J. Festugière on Artemidorus Daldianus, *La Clef des Songes* 5.16 (Paris, 1975, p. 268).

³ Menander, *Sik.*, frag. 440 (J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 B, p. 726); cf. A. Blanchard, A. Bataille, “Fragments sur papyrus du ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΣ de Ménandre,” in *RechPap*, vol. 3, Paris, 1964, p. 155.

⁴ In modern Greek, ε—γγαρεία means “drudgery” (A. Mirambel, *Dictionnaire français-grec moderne*, Paris, 1960, p. 102).

⁵ Matt 28:32 (M. J. Lagrange, *Matthieu*, pp. 113–114); Mark 15:21 (M. J. Lagrange, *Marc*, p. 425).

⁶ *P.Tebt.* 5, 248–251; 703–704; 750 etc. (cf. Cl Préaux, *Economie royale*, pp. 139–144, 344–347, 529). *P.Stras.* 93 is a requisition order.

⁷ Cf. in 252 BC the requisition of a boat for the postal service: τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος λέμβου ἀγγαρευθέντος ὑπό σου . . . ἀγγαρεύσας τὸν —Αντικλέους λάμβον (*P.Paris* 2,20).

⁸ *P.Cair.Zen.* 59467; 59509, 5: Somoelis, warden at Philadelphia, ἀγγαρεύων διὰ παντός, asks Zeno to intervene; *P.Mich.Zen.* 29; *P.Enteux.* 88; *P.Cair.Isid.* 72, 32; 123, 5 (editor's note); *BGU* 21, col. III, 16; *PSI* 1333, 15: μὴ ἀγγαρευθω—σι = *SB* 7993, 15.

⁹ *P.Tebt.* 5, 178–187; cf. line 252 (with the correction of U. Wilcken, in *APF*, vol. 3, p. 325, adopted by M. T. Lenger, *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53; cf. 55 = *PSI* 1401, 9: προστετάχασι δὲ μηθένα ἀγγαρεύειν πλοι—α κατὰ μηδεμίαν παρεύρεσιν ει—ς τὰς ι—δίας χρείας). On 17 August 163, in a series of amnesty proclamations, Ptolemy VI Philometor condemned private and unpaid requisitions of boats: “He decreed that no one should requisition boats for a personal move, προστέταχεν δὲ μηδένα ἀγγαρεύειν πλοι—α” (M. T. Lenger, *C.Ord.Ptol.*, n. 34, 5; *SB* 9316, col. II, 5; cf. L. Koenen, *Eine ptolemäische Königsurkunde* [*P.Kroll*], Wiesbaden, 1957). Before 150, Demetrius I Soter forbade anyone to requisition for his service animals belonging to Jews: κελεύω δὲ μηδὲ ἀγγαρεύεσθαι τὰ —Ιουδαίων ὑποζύγια (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.52). On 1 February AD 49, an edict of the prefect C.Vergilius Capito forbade his soldiers to make requisitions, at least without written authorization from him: μηδὲν λαμβάνειν μηδὲ ἀγγαρεύειν ει— μή τινες ε—μὰ διπλώματα ἔχουσιν (Dittenberger, *Or.*, 665, 24–25; *SEG*, vol. 8, 794; *SB* 8248, 24). In the year 19, Germanicus ordered that for his παρουσία no boat or beast of transport should be requisitioned without an order, and then only upon delivery of a receipt (*SB* 3924; A. S. Hunt, C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri*, London, 1934, n. 211; W.Ehrenberg, A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, Oxford, 1955, n. 320). The edict of L. Aemilius Rectus of 29 April 42, prohibits the exactions on pain of very severe sanctions and orders the soldiers to make no requisition without making payment: μηδενὶ ε—ξέστω ε—νγαρεύειν τοὺς ε—πιτήης χώρας . . . ἄτερ ε—μού διπλώματος (*P.Lond.* III, 1171; *Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 439). An identical prohibition from about 133–137 by the prefect Petronius Mamertinus (*PSI* 446; *Sel.Pap.* 221).

¹⁰ Matt. 5:41. “In our case, one may imagine a soldier or a police officer arrogating to himself, without official mandate, the right of requiring someone to transport or carry something, for example” (M. J. Lagrange, on this verse, p. 113). For references to the Talmudic literature, cf. P. Fiebig, “ἀγγαρεύω,” in *ZNW*, 1918, pp. 64–72.

¹¹ “It goes without saying that the lesson still applies when the first person who happens along lays claim to our services on some more or less plausible pretext. Give way, like good, defenseless folk. St. Thomas Aquinas let himself be led off to the marketplace by a lay brother” (M. J. Lagrange, *Matthieu*, p. 114).

¹² Rom 12:21. Cf. 15:1-7; 1Cor 6:7—“Why not rather suffer wrong? Why not rather let yourself be defrauded?”; 13:7—“love bears all things”; Gal 5:14-15; 6:2; 1Pet 2:13, 19: “It is meritorious to endure pains inflicted unjustly in order to please God”; 3:9, 17; 4:14; 1John 3:16, etc.

ἀγοράζω

agorazo, to buy

agorazo, S 59; TDNT 1.124–128; EDNT 1.23; NIDNTT 1.267–268; MM 6; L&N 37.131, 57.188; BDF §179(1); BAGD 12–13

This utterly commonplace verb originally meant “to go to market,” then “to buy, make purchases,”¹ the counterpart of “to sell.”² The NT uses it to designate redemption, emphasizing that there has been a transfer of property (Rev 14:3-4) and noting that the price has been paid: “You are no longer your own, because you have been bought and paid for” (*egorasthete gar times*, 1Cor 6:20). This mention of payment is significant; for, in the Hellenistic era, the contract of sale is not completed by the mere exchange of agreements; the seller must have received the *time*, at least the partial down payment that guarantees good faith and excludes the possibility of retraction.³ Only the payment of the price accomplishes the purchase of the property; so much so that the seller maintains his right to the item until he has received payment for it. This is why so many contracts mention that the payment has in fact been made.⁴ In accord with these usages, Rev 5:9 specifies that the purchase has been accomplished by the blood of Christ; 1Pet 1:19 that the price of the ransom was the precious blood, and this—according to Eph 1:7—was the means of redemption (*apolytrosis*).

2Pet 2:1 stigmatizes the false prophets who deny the Master (*despotes* is the normal term for the owner of a slave, cf. 1Tim 6:1-2) who purchased them, and 1Cor 7:23 comments: “You have been bought and paid for! Do not become slaves of humans.” As a result, the purchase-redemption by Christ is a metaphor that evokes the freeing of slaves⁵ who gained their liberty through a fictive sale to the divinity, notably to the Pythian Apollo of Delphi; the owner, accompanied by his slave, whom he is leading to the god, presents himself at the sanctuary; the priest remits to the master the agreed price, which has been paid to him beforehand either by the slave himself or by his friends. The act of emancipation was inscribed on the walls of the temple: the master has sold his slave (*apedoto*) so that he is free; the god accepts the abandoned one, purchases him, and guarantees his protection.⁶ Henceforth the emancipated one is known as “sacred, slave of the goddess, being the god’s” (*hieros, douletheas, tou theou on*)⁷

considering himself as consecrated to the service of the deity. That which was only a legal fiction in paganism is precisely the truth in Christianity. “Those who are in Christ”⁸ cannot revert to their former servitude. The one who has paid the price of their emancipation requires that they be faithful to his worship and his service.⁹

¹ Luke 14:18; John 13:29. This is one of the ways of coming into possession (1Cor 7:30) and of getting rich (Rev 3:18).

² Πωλέω; Matt 21:12; Luke 17:28; Rev 13:17. Cf. M.-J. Bry, *Essai sur la vente dans les papyrus gréco-égyptiens*, Paris, 1909.

³ *I. Cor.*, vol. 8, 3, n. 530 (= *SEG*, vol. 9, 154): Euplous has bought the tomb at Anastasios (ἀγοράσας παρά) for one and a half pieces of gold: I gave him the price (καὶ δούς τὰς τιμὰς) and I received from him the property (καὶ λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν παρ αὐτοῦ); *P. Oxy.* 2951, 25 and 31; Theophrastus: “The purchase has no obligatory force (κυρία), and likewise the sale, in the matter of acquisition, until the price has been given and the parties have observed the legal procedures” (in Stobaeus 4.2.20; ed. Wachsmuth, vol. 4, p. 129, 19ff.). “When the seller has given the *amphourion* (the tax) and received the price, he will no longer be permitted to bring an action against the purchaser” (*P. Hal.* 1, 253, p. 140). One must pay the price to become the owner; cf. C. Appleton, “A l’époque classique, le transfert de propriété de la chose vendue et livrée était-il subordonné, en règle, au paiement du prix?” in *RHDFE*, 1928, pp. 11–12; P. Meylan, “Le paiement du prix et transfert de propriété de la chose vendue en droit romain classique,” in *Studi in onore di P. Bonfante*, Milan, 1930, pp. 441–491; idem, “L’Origine de la vente consensuelle,” in *RHDFE*, 1931, pp. 787–788; idem, “Le rôle de la ‘bona fides’ dans le passage de la vente au comptant à la vente consensuelle à Rome,” in *Festgabe A. Simonius*, Basel, 1955, pp. 247–257.

⁴ Cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, pp. 527ff. L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 71ff. C. Préaux, “La Preuve,” in *Recueils de la Société J. Bodin*, Brussels, 1965, pp. 197, 200. *P. Dura* 26, 13–14, moreover, associates the receiving of the *time* and the transfer of possession (*paradosis*; cf. *Jur. Pap.*, n. 37, 13–16). On this mode of the structuring of consensual sale, cf. J. Demeyere, “La Formation de la vente et le transfert de la propriété in droit grec classique,” in *RIDA*, 1952, pp. 215–266; idem, “Le Contrat de vente en droit classique: Les Obligations des parties,” *ibid.*, 1953, pp. 216–228; L. Gernet, “Sur l’obligation contractuelle dans la vente hellénique,” *ibid.*, p. 229–247; idem, *Droit et société dans la Grèce ancienne*, Paris, 1955, pp. 201–236.

⁵ For Epictetus, the person who is in servitude to his passions is a “great slave” (μεγαλοδούλος), much more in subjection than the slave of any owner (4.1.55; cf. A. Pelletier, “Les Passions à l’assaut de l’âme d’après Philon,” in *REG*, 1965, pp. 52–60). St. Paul declares himself “sold to the service of sin” (Rom 7:14; cf. Dio Cassius 62.3: “How much better it would be to be sold once—ἅπαξ πεπρα—σθαί—than to be free in name only and have to buy ourselves back every year”). The verb *πιπράσκω* has here the pejorative sense which it has in the LXX and which is its first meaning in the secular language: to transport prisoners and slaves for sale (Deut 28:68; Lev 25:39, 42; Jer 34:14; 2Macc 5:14; Matt 18:25), like Joseph (Ps 105:17) or the elect people (Esth 7:4; cf. S. Lyonnet, “Péché dans le Nouveau Testament,” in *DBSup*, vol. 7, 506, 524, 551). But ἀγοράζειν is the most specific verb for the purchase-sale of slaves as merchandise that one buys like clothing, grain, wine, or fish (*P.Mich.* 657, 5; cf. M. P. Hervagault, M. M. Mactoux, “Esclaves et société d’après Démosthène,” in *Actes du Colloque 1972 sur l’esclavage*, Paris, 1974, p. 62). On the slave markets and their sales, *C.Ord.Ptol.* 22 and 25; *IGLS* 4028, 37–39; Josephus, *War* 3.541; Plutarch, *Cat.* 21.1: “Cato used to buy especially prisoners of war who were still small so that he could raise them, train them like puppies or colts”; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 23; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 834ff.

⁶ Delphi, 165/4 BC, in J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 42; cf. P. Foucart, *Mémoire sur l’affranchissement des esclaves*, Paris, 1867; *RIJG*, vol. 2, pp. 251ff.; G. Daux, *Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle*, Paris, 1936, p. 46–69, 615ff. Idem, “Note sur l’intérêt historique des affranchissements de Delphes,” in *Proceedings IX*, pp. 286–292; A. Kränzlein, “Zu den Freilassungsinschriften aus Delphi,” dans *Mélanges V. Arangio-Ruiz*, Naples, 1964, vol. 2, pp. 820–827. —At Butrini in Epirus, twenty-nine acts of emancipation by consecration to Asclepius have been recovered (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1967, p. 503, n. 336; cf. 1969, p. 425, n. 1). Two slaves were emancipated at the sanctuary of Phisto (second century BC; cf. *IG*, vol. 9, 12, 99; L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, p. 32). An analogous consecration to Sarapis (C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 1393; P.M. Fraser, “Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis,” in *Opuscula Atheniensa*, Lund, 1960, pp. 43ff.), to Artemis Gazoria (*SEG*, vol. 2, 396). The Jews emancipated their slaves in the synagogue (*CII*, Vatican City, 1936, vol. 1, n. 690; sometimes to pagan gods, n. 711–712), just as Christians carried out this manumission in the church (St. Augustine, *Serm.* 21.6; cf. F. Fabrini, *La manumission in ecclesia*, Milan, 1965), etc.

⁷ *SEG*, vol. 14, 529, 4: ε—λεύτερον ι—ερόν τα—ς θεοῦ; cf. H. W. Pleket, *Rijksmuseum*, pp. 19ff.; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 6, Paris, 1948, pp. 9, 46, 49.

⁸ Οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ (possessive genitive), 1Cor 15:23; Gal 5:24; cf. “Ce que signifie le nom de Chrétien” in C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 407ff.

⁹ St. Paul twice uses the compound form ε—ξαγοράζω for “redeem the time” (Eph 5:16; Col 4:5; cited in a Christian letter of the fourth century, *P.Lond.* 1927, 45; cf. H.I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, pp. 110ff.; the only occurrence in the papyri. On the meaning of this expression, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 511; B. Häring, “La Théologie morale et la sociologie pastorale dans la perspective de l’histoire du salut: La Notion biblique de ‘kairos,’” in *ScEccl*, 1964, pp. 209–224) and twice in Gal 3:13—“Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law” (cf. W. Elert, “Redemptio ab Hostibus,” in *TLZ*, 1947, pp. 265–270; E. Pax, “Der Loskauf: Zur Geschichte eines neutestamentlichen Begriffes,” in *Anton*, 1962, pp. 239–278; S. Lyonnet, L. Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption and Sacrifice*, Rome, 1970, pp. 104ff.). It is clear that the compound form ε—ξαγ. has the same meaning as the simple verb ἀγ. and that it is understood to involve redemption ε—π̄ ε—λευθερία (cf. Gal 5:1). S. Lyonnet, “L’Emploi paulinien de ε—ξαγοράζειν au sens de ‘redimere’ est-il attesté dans la littérature grecque?” in *Bib*, 1961, pp. 85–89, shows that the references often made to Diodorus Siculus 36.2.2; Polybius 3.43.2; Plutarch, *Crass.* 2.5; Dicaearchus 1.22 have the sense of purchasing and not of redeeming. But he cites Diodorus Siculus 15.7, where Plato, who has been sold on the slave market, is “redeemed” by his friends who thus restore his liberty. Of course, there is no question of a prisoner, or of the paying of ransom, but it is indeed a matter of emancipation from servitude ε—π̄ λύσει.

ἀγωγή

agoge, conduct

agoge, S 72; *TDNT* 1.128–129; *EDNT* 1.25; *NIDNTT* 3.935; MM 8; L&N 41.3; BAGD 14–15

St. Paul praises Timothy for having followed him “in teaching, *conduct*, purpose, faith, patience . . .” (2Tim 3:10). Clearly, the NT hapax *agoge*, here used in a figurative sense, should be translated “conduct, manner of life.”¹ It is sometimes used in a derogatory sense, for foul schemes,² but for the most part it expresses either the culture³ or the conduct or manner of life peculiar to a given race or a given individual (Diodorus Siculus 5.26), such as Esther, who changed nothing of her ways (Esth 2:20), or the Jews who preferred their particular way of life,⁴ or Herod

entreating, “Let everyone consider my age, the life that I lead (*ten agogen tou biou*) and my piety” (Josephus, *War* 1.462).

Frequently—and this nuance is discernible in 2Tim 3:10—this conduct is adopted in imitation of a master, of a model, of ancestors.⁵ This is what St. Paul called “my ways in Christ” (*tas hodous mou tas en Christo*).⁶ The subject for imitation, then, is not the conduct of the person but the manner of life of the apostle. It has to do with conforming to the requirements of the faith that are transmitted in the *didaskalia* and bear upon customs and specific mores:⁷ practical, observable applications.⁸ In the Pastorals, which develop a theology of beauty, this *agoge* of the apostle seems to involve a sense of the brilliance or splendor (cf. Phil 3:17; 4:9) that this term can connote in the first century,⁹ and which is at the same time a characteristic of virtue and a grace of the apostle (2Cor 4:6).

¹ *BGU* 1247, 14 (second century BC); letter of Antiochus II Soter to the Erythraeans, after 261 BC, φαίνεσθε γὰρ καθόλου ἀγωγῆ ταύτη χρῆσθαι (C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 15, 15). The word can be transitive or intransitive, designating education per se or its result (Polybius 6.2.13: ἡ ε—κ παίδων ἀγωγή). The philosophical schools distinguished themselves by their *agoge* (Diogenes Laertius 1.19); cf. “the disciplines that belong to Hellenic education” (Marcus Aurelius 1.6); the “organization” of the Roman army (Josephus, *War* 3.109). The one who leads—the instructor—is ὁ παιδαγωγός; the instruction, ἡ παιδαγωγία; see K. L. Schmidt on this word in *TDNT*, vol. 1, p. 128, where he cites the *Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς* of Plutarch. Plutarch uses *agoge* in the sense of “reasoning” (*Cons. ad Apoll.* 9 [but this is a spurious work—Tr.]) as does Chrysippus (cf. *SVF*, vol. 2, 84; cf. “method” in Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.15.1375b12), but also with respect to “education” or the spartiate “discipline,” a “hard and painful regimen, but one that teaches the young obedience” (*Ages.* 1.2; 3.5; *Lyc.* 16–23; *Cleom.* 11.3; 37.14) and also with respect to simplicity and philanthropy (*Ages.* 1.5).

² *P.Tebt.* 24, 57 (117 BC); cf. A. Pelletier, *Josèphe adaptateur*, pp. 301ff.

³ *Ep. Arist.* 8: ἡ παιδείας ἀγωγή, the training that the culture gives; 124, 125: the culture and the eloquence of the philosophers (in the plural).

⁴ 2Macc 11:24; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.195: every question about the Jews’ way of life; *P.Paris* 61, 12 (156 BC): πάντα ε—στὶν ἀλλότρια τῆς τε ἡμῶ—ν ἀγωγῆς; cf. Polybius 1.32.1: “a Lacedaemonian who had received the Spartiate education.” This education has as its goal “the training of the hoplites, the heavy infantry who had been responsible for Sparta’s military superiority. . . . To have received the ἀγωγή, to have been educated in the

proper fashion, was a necessary, if not a sufficient condition for the exercise of civic rights” (H. I. Marrou, *History of Education*, p. 42).

⁵ 2Macc 4:16—“In the very same people whose manner of life they wished to imitate and whom they wanted to be like in every respect they met their enemies and their executioners”; *Ep. Arist.* 43: Aristaeus a worthy representative of your own culture; 280: τὴν ἀγωγὴν μιμούμενοι; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.10: “determined to preserve their fathers’ type of life”; 14.247: the Romans continuing their ancestors’ way of life. In mathematics, *agoge* would be the carrying out of a proof, the direction of an argument; hence: to follow out a line that one is drawing from a point (C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, p. 41). In law, *agoge* is the “proceedings” (cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 225, 331, 340, 381); in music, it isn’t the tempo (*P.Oxy.* 2687, 5, 15) but a succession of elements following in a certain order (cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *De mus.* 29), “a rhythmic series” (W. J. W. Koster, “Quelques remarques sur l’étude de rythmique, *P. Oxy.* 2687,” in *REG*, 1972, pp. 551–556).

⁶ 1Cor 4:17. Cf. *1Clem.* 47.6: “It is shameful and unworthy of Christian conduct”; 48.1: “the noble and holy conduct of brotherly love.” Cf., in the first century BC, the *Περὶ θεο—ν ἀγωγῆς* of Philodemus of Gadara (ed. H. Diels, 1916).

⁷ *I.Magn.* 164, 3: ἄνδρα φιλότιμον καὶ ε—νάρετον καὶ ἀπὸ προγόνων εὐσχήμονα καὶ ἔθει καὶ κόσμιον (edited anew by Dittenberger, *Or.* 485); *I.Car.* 70, A 9, an honorific decree in favor of Euneikos, a physician of Heraclea, whose good behavior is praised: διὰ τε τὴν ι—δίαν αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην καὶ εὐταξίαν καὶ κοσμίαν ἀγωγὴν; *MAMA*, vol. 8, 408, 6: ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας νεικήσας πάντας ἠθω—ν τε σεμνότητι καὶ ε—ναρέτου ἀγωγῆς; *P.Princ.* 75, 5: τὸν περὶ ἠθους καὶ ἀγωγῆς τρόπον (horoscope from the second century AD); *P.Ant.* 153, fr. 2, 17; whence the equivalence made by Hesychius: ἀγωγῆ = τρόπος, ἀναστροφῆ.

⁸ 2Macc 6:8; *Ep. Arist.* 246; 3Macc 4:10; *SB* 9763, 35; *P.Oxy.* 2420, 7; 2478, 7; *P.Stras.* 229, 6. In the inscriptions and in numerous papyri, *agoge* refers to the carrying capacity of the freight of a ship. Cf. *I.Did.*, 39 a 39–40; 40, 26; 41, 28, 483, 7; *BGU* 1925, 21 (before 131 BC); *P.Stras.* 519, 3; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 121; a load (*C.P.Herm.* 24, 7).

⁹ Dittenberger, *Or.* 474, 9: διὰ τὴν κοσμιωτάτην αὐτῆς ἀγωγὴν; cf. 223, 15. An honorific decree of AD 58 praises Ermadorus and his son Ermocrates, athletes who have distinguished themselves at the Pythian Games: πεποίηνται τὰν ἀναστροφὰν καλὰν καὶ εὐσχήμονα καὶ ἀξίαν τα—ς ι—δίας πατρίδος . . . ἀπόδειξιν διδόντες καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸν βίον

ἀγωγα—ς (Syl. 740, 2–6). An honorific decree of Plutarch son of Hermogenes in the first century BC, διὰ . . . τὴν παρ ὅλον τὸν βίον ἀγωγὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας ε—κτένεια καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν (P.Hermann, *Ergebnisse*, n. 3).

ἀδιαλείπτως

adialeiptos, unceasingly

adialeiptos, S 88; *EDNT* 1.31; *NIDNTT* 3.229–230; L&N 68.55; BAGD 179

This adverb, which means “without interruption, incessantly,” presents no difficulties. It is peculiar to the Koine and is not used in the Old Testament except in the books of the Maccabees.¹ But twice it qualifies continual prayer,² just as according to the *Letter of Aristeas* the priests maintain religious services without interruption.³ This is the only sense in which the word is used by St. Paul, who is the only NT writer to use it;⁴ hence it has a theological value, but one that is hard to pin down precisely.

The expression “make mention” of someone in prayer is traditional.⁵ In general, people did one *proskynema* each day;⁶ but it was not extraordinary for this remembering before the deity to be referred to as perpetual.⁷ Not only did St. Paul give thanks always (*pantote*) and on every occasion (*en panti kairo*), day and night,⁸ but he agreed to register in the order of widows only women who had persevered night and day in prayer (1Tim 5:5), and he instructed all Christians to “pray continually.”⁹ How is this to be understood? This precept should be linked to that of the Master when he bade his disciples to “pray under all circumstances and never give up,”¹⁰ and understood in light of the tireless diligence of the primitive church in supplication.¹¹

But does the choice of the adverb *adialeiptos* have some special significance? The papyri shed hardly any light, except that they corroborate the sense “continual, uninterrupted”¹² and several times the nuance “without giving in to weakness.”¹³ A single pagan inscription mentions perseverance in prayer in this way: “I, Isio, son of Kallimachos, kinsman of the king, came and passed my time adoring our lady Isis.”¹⁴ Indeed, only the Christian religion gives this term for prayer its correct meaning. Certainly the point is not the counting of verbal invocations, which would run afoul of the prohibition against *battalogia*;¹⁵ and at any rate, even prayer day and night assumes some breaks.¹⁶ Taken therefore in a qualitative sense, *adialeiptos* is hyperbolic. It expresses the positive aspect of the attitude of watchfulness that characterizes the servant of God in the end times, when it is necessary to go without sleep (Luke 21:36; Eph 6:18). It would not be adequate to make an equation with what we call today “the

spirit of prayer,” a readiness to place oneself in the presence of God. It would be better to see it as “a spiritual life dominated by the presence of God”¹⁷ and as a perpetual communion with God, after the fashion of a shoot vitally connected to the vine stock. If it is true that, according to the NT, the Christian life consists in the living out of the theological virtues,¹⁸ then the believer’s connection with the three divine Persons is continual, first of all as a creature who is radically and permanently dependent on the Almighty and then as a child of God in a dynamic relationship of love with the One who has predestined him to “exist in love.”¹⁹ We may speak of prayer without ceasing when the heart does not cease to be oriented toward God, just as love never stops or slackens when one’s attention is temporarily diverted away from the beloved: everything is seen with reference to the beloved.²⁰

¹ 2Macc 3:26—two young men “whipped Heliodorus without respite”; 9:4—Antiochus Epiphanes “ordered the driver to drive his chariot without stopping”; 13:12—Maccabaeus maintained an unchangeable and unshakeable confidence.

² Onias declares: “We, then, at no time cease to make mention of you . . . in our prayers” (1Macc 12:11); the Jews implore the Lord “prostrated for three days straight” (2Macc 13:12); cf. 3Macc 6:33—the king gave thanks to heaven without ceasing.

³ *Ep. Arist.* 92; cf. *SB* 5156, 11: τυγχάνομεν ἀδιαλείπτως τάς τε θυσίας καὶ σπονδάς (inscription of Theadelphia, 57 BC); 7746, 14.

⁴ 1Thess 1:2; 2:13; 5:16; Rom 1:9; we might add the adjective ἀδιάλειπτος in 2Tim 1:3—“I am full of gratitude toward God . . . when I ceaselessly make mention of you in my prayers, night and day.”

⁵ Μνεΐαν ποιούμαι (Plato, *Phaedrus* 254 a); 1Thess 1:2; Rom 1:9; Eph 1:16; Phlm 4; cf. Phil 1:3; 2Tim 1:3; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59076, 3; 59093, 3; *P.Lond.* 42, 6: “all members of the household remember you continually, οἱ—ε—ν οἴκῳ πάντες σου διαπαντὸς μνεΐαν ποιούμενοι” (24 July 172 BC); 1658, 6; *BGU* 632, 5: μνΐαν σου ποιούμενος παρὰ τοι—ς ε—νθάδε θεοι—ς ε—κομισάμεν ε—ν ε—πιστόλιον (second century BC); *I.Priene*, 50, 10: in the second century BC, the inhabitants of Erythrae decide to reward a judge, “so that it will be seen that the people remember good men, ὅπως οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται μνεΐαν ποιούμενος τῶ—ν καλῶ—ν καὶ ἀγαθῶ—ν ἀνδρῶν.”

⁶ *P.Alex.* 28, 2–3: τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ— καθ ε—κάστην ἡμέραν; 30, 3; *P.Hamb.* 89, 3; *PSI* 206, 4; cf. *P.Stras.* 268: “Each day, I prostrate

myself on your behalf before all the gods of the place I am in” (published by F. Dunand, “Les noms théophores en -ammon,” in *ChrEg*, 1963, p. 135).

⁷ *P.Mich.* VIII, 502, 4: εὐχομαι καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ἀδιαλείπτως ποιούμενος (second century BC); cf. a “perpetual institution” of lamps in the temple of Heracleopolis (*BGU* 1854, 4ff.). “Not only did they mention names in prayer, but they also inscribed them in the sanctuaries . . . as a perpetual prayer” (M. J. Lagrange, *Romains*, p. 14).

⁸ 1Thess 3:10, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 358ff.

⁹ 1Thess 5:17—ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε (present imperative).

¹⁰ Luke 18:1 (C. Spicq, “La parabole de la veuve obstinée et du juge inerte aux décisions impromptues,” in *RB* 1961, pp. 68ff.), cf. the intense prayer (ε—κτενω—ς, Luke 22:44) that requires sustained effort.

¹¹ Acts 1:14; 2:42; 6:4; Col 4:2; cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie Morale*, p. 359.

¹² *Ep. Arist.* 86: the material of the veil was animated with a continual motion; *BGU* 180, 10: ε—ν λειτουργία ει—μι ἀδιαλείπτως; *P.Mert.* 98, 3 and *P.Oxy.* 2420, 13: a stipulation that has perpetual validity; *P.Lond.* 122, 32: a continuous gift of food (magical papyrus of the fourth century; cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* VIII, 32). Cf. Marcus Aurelius 6.15: the incessant flight of time.

¹³ Notably in oaths (cf. *P.Oxy.* 2764, 20; 2765, 11; 2767, 12). One takes watchful care of a tree so that it will live and prosper (*P.Oxy.* 2969, 10; 2994, 5). Diogenes of the village of Psoaphre pledges to see that a boat is guarded night and day, without absence and without negligence, παραφυλάξειν νυκτός καὶ ἡμέρας . . . ἀδιαλείπτως καὶ ἀμέμπτως (*P.Oxy.* 2876, 18–20; third century); ἀμένπτως καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως (*PSI* 1229, 14); *T. Levi* 13.2—ἀναγινώσκοντες ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ. There is then a psychological or mental note; cf. the joy of the king who has not let himself down (*Ep. Arist.* 294); *P.Tebt.* 27, 45: τὴν ἀδιαλίπτως προσφερομένην σπουδὴν (AD 113); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1104, 35.

¹⁴ The duration of the act of adoration is expressed by the perfect διαγέωχα (A. Bernard, *Philae*, Paris, 1969, n. 61), 10 March 44.

¹⁵ Matt 6:7–8; cf. C. Spicq, *Dieu et l’homme*, p. 64; F. Bussby, “A Note on . . . βαπταλογέω in the Light of Qumran,” in *ExpT*, vol. 74, 1964, p. 26; P. Gaechter, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium*, Innsbruck, 1963, pp. 205–209.

¹⁶ Josephus uses the adjective ἀδ. with respect to continuous slaughter, renewed attacks (*War* 1.252; 2.489; 3.157; 5.31), which in every instance suppose some reprieves or lulls in even the most intense and constant action. By the same token, the “unceasing sorrow” felt by St. Paul (Rom 9:2) need not be actually experienced at every moment. Cf. ἀδιαλείπτως παραμει—ναι (*SB* 10944, 12).

¹⁷ E. Delay, “ΑΔΙΑΛΕΙΠΤΟΣ,” in *RTP*, 1950, p. 73.

¹⁸ 1Thess 1:3; cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 10ff.

¹⁹ Eph 1:4; cf. C. Spicq, *ibid.*, pp. 208ff.; K. Romaniuk, *L’Amour du Père et du Fils dans la sotériologie de saint Paul*, Rome, 1961, pp. 203ff.; J. Cambier, “La bénédiction d’Eph. I, 3–14,” in *ZNW*, 1963, pp. 58–103; J. Winandy, “Le Cantique des cantiques et le N.T.,” in *RB*, 1964, p. 163. I. Hausheer, *Prière de vie: Vie de prière*, Paris, 1964, pp. 16ff., 67ff., 307ff.

²⁰ Cf. Eph 6:24—“All those who love our Lord Jesus Christ with an imperishable love”; ἀφθαρσία means not just immortality, but indestructibility; cf. Philo, *Dreams* 1.181; Plutarch, *Aristides* 6.3; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, pp. 294ff.

ἀδύνατον

adynaton, impossible

adynaton, S 102; *TDNT* 2.284–317; *EDNT* 1.33–34; *NIDNTT* 2.601, 606; *MM* 10; *L&N* 71.3, 74.22; *BDF* §127(2); *BAGD* 19

The impossibility of the conversion of the apostate (Heb 6:4) is a difficult theological problem.¹ What kind of *adynaton* is this? In the OT, the term sometimes points to an absolute impossibility, like that of escaping the hand of God (Wis 16:15), but usually it denotes a relative or conditional impossibility, like the possibility that Onias could achieve a peaceful settlement without the intervention of the king.² In Jer 13:3, it is a rhetorical figure for expressing an absurd supposition, an event considered impossible because it is contrary to the laws of nature.³

Clearly context is everything.⁴ In the NT, almost all the occurrences are religious, and we should compare our text closely with the response of Jesus to the problem of the salvation of the rich and of everyone: “with humans this is impossible, but with God all things are possible” (*para anthropois touto adynaton estin, para de theo panta dynata*).⁵ Or again: “It is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should obliterate sins” (Heb

10:4) or that one could be pleasing to God without faith (11.6), because such is the providential disposition of the economy of salvation.⁶ In the case of apostates, it is not stated that they will not be pardoned, but they are denied the possibility of reforming themselves and repenting, given their spiritual bearing and the nature of their sin: having rejected God, after having seen the light of the faith, they are psychologically incapable of making another about-face; that would be contradictory to their apostate condition.⁷ The best parallel is perhaps Philo: “It is not easy, and perhaps even impossible, for a defiant spirit to be educated.”⁸

Certainly, that which is impossible for humans is possible for God,⁹ and the whole gospel bears witness that divine initiative can change the spiritual condition of apostates, bring to them to a light and a power that will destroy the aforementioned impossibility.¹⁰ But on the one hand the context emphasizes the seriousness of the crime—“crucifying for themselves the Son of God and holding him up for public ridicule”—in order to conclude that such a soul is “rejected and close to destruction; its end is to be burned” (verse 8); on the other hand, it seems that this sin of apostasy can be assimilated to the sin against the light and the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, which is forgiven neither in this world nor in the one to come.¹¹

¹ Cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, pp. 167ff.; J. Héring, *Hébreux*, pp. 59ff. = ET pp. 45ff. It has been taken in the softened sense of a great difficulty (Nicolas of Lyra, Erasmus); in the Middle Ages, theologians set aside the possibility of pardon after death (Peter Lombard, Hugh of Saint Victor, Robert of Melun). Almost all the Fathers, and recently A. Richardson (*An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament*, London, 1958, pp. 33, 348ff.) take this verse as a reference to the impossibility of receiving baptism again.

² 2Macc 4:5 (cf. Thucydides 6.86.3: “We cannot remain in Sicily without your concurrence”). Josephus, *War* 5.57: “It was impossible for him to continue his advance, because the land was crisscrossed with trenches”; 3.172; cf. Alcimus declaring to Demetrius that as long as Judas is alive it will be impossible to restore peace to the state (2Macc 14:10). The examples from Prov 30:18—to understand the course of the eagle in the sky or of the serpent on the rock—prove that *adynaton* is to be taken in its strict sense, even though it corresponds to the niph'al of *pala'*, “to be arduous, difficult.”

³ “Can a Cushite change his skin or a leopard its spots? And can you, who are addicted to doing evil, do good?” (cf. Dio Cassius 41.33: “Without obeying the laws of nature, nothing can last, not even for an instant”). To represent an impossible or implausible fact or action, one juxtaposes it with

one or several natural impossibilities; this is comparison ε—κ or ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου (E. Dutoit, *Le Thème de l'adynaton dans la poésie antique*, Paris, 1936, pp. ix, 50, 167ff.), which lived on in the examples cited by Roman jurists of materially impossible conditions with respect to wills and stipulations, cf. J. Michel, “Quelques formules primitives de serment promissoire et l'origine de la comparaison par adynaton,” in *RIDA*, 1957, pp. 139–150.

⁴ St. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orations* 30; *PG* 36.113–116) distinguishes six kinds of impossibility, based on (1) *powerlessness*: a child cannot fight (cf. *P.Lond.* 971, 4: ἀδύνατος γὰρ ε—στιν ἡ γυνὴ διὰ ἀσθένειαν τῆς φύσεως, third-fourth century); (2) a condition *ut in pluribus*: a city locate on a mountain cannot be invisible; (3) *reason and propriety*: the friends of the groom cannot fast while the groom is with them (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.423: he saw the incapacity of his brother, who was supposed to succeed to the throne; *War* 7.144); (4) *the disposition of the will*: at Nazareth, Jesus could not perform many miracles because of the unbelief of the people; he did not want to perform miracles; (5) *nature* —but God can change nature: a camel entering through the eye of a needle (cf. Herodotus 1.32.39: “It isn’t possible, so long as one is a human, to bring together all of the advantages of which I have spoken”; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.196); (6) *that which absolutely cannot be*: that God should be evil, that two times two plus four should equal ten. We have to add *scientific impossibility*, as with a method that would not cover actual results (Hippocrates, *De Vetere Medicina* 2.6; cf. Archimedes, *On Spirals* 16.9; 17.27; *The Equilibriums of Planes* 6; *The Sand-reckoner* 1, etc.; numerous examples in C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, pp. 41ff.).

⁵ Matt 19:26; cf. Mark 10:27; Luke 18:27. Salvation is beyond the power of humans; the inability of the creature is radical; God must intervene; cf. Rom 8:3—that which was impossible for the law, because it was without power, God has accomplished. Josephus, *War* 2.390: without God’s help, it is impossible that such a vast empire could have been established.

⁶ On the other hand, “it is impossible for God to lie” (Heb 6:18) is an absolute impossibility which allows of no exception; cf. Philo, *Etern. World* 46: “It is impossible that the gods should lose their incorruptibility”; cf. 104: “In pairs of opposites, it is impossible for one term to exist without the other”; Herodotus 1.91.3: “it is impossible, even for a god, to escape destiny.”

⁷ —Αδύνατον in the sense of “not powerful,” “unable,” “there is no means,” is common in secular Greek, cf. Thucydides 1.32.5; 1.73.4.; 1.141.6.; 6.85.1; 6.102.2; 7.44; 7.64.1. Dio Cassius 1.114: “It is [psychologically]

impossible for those who have not been raised with the same mores and who do not have the same ideas concerning evil and good to be united in friendship”; 45.26: “It is morally impossible that a person raised in such disorder and in such shamelessness should not ruin his life altogether”; 5.27; 55.14: “It is impossible to satisfy the passions of the wicked”; 61.2, Domitius, father of Nero, talking about his wife Agrippina: “It is impossible for an honest man to be born to me and her.” Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.4: without allegory, the exegete cannot discover a valid meaning in the letter of a text; 3.10: humans are incapable of praising and thanking God adequately; *Spec. Laws* 1.32: of understanding God; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.34: “for some people doing good is impossible”; *Change of Names* 49: “It is not possible to wash and completely clean away the stains that soil the soul” (cf. *Spec. Laws* 1.103); Josephus, *Ant.* 3.230: those who are incapable of offering perfect sacrifices; *Ag. Apion* 5.442; *P.Oxy.* 2479, 19: “I cannot pay on that which I have not sown.” J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme*, p. 69.

⁸ *Rewards* 49: δύσκολον γάρ, μα—λλον δ ἀδύνατον ἀπιστοῦντα παιδεύεσθαι. Cf. the rigor of the Qumranians, who definitively excluded from the community those who transgressed the law in a plainly culpable manner (1QS 8.21–23, 1QM 1.6), and particularly their horror of apostasy (CD 2.17–18; 7.13; 8.1–13), which was especially accursed (cf. R. E. Brown, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles,” in K. Stendahl, *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, New York, 1957, pp.200ff.; A. M. Denis, *Les Thèmes de connaissance dans le Document de Damas*, Louvain, 1967, pp. 23, 140, 146). These “transgressors of the law” are opposed to “those who hold firm.”

⁹ Philo, *Moses* 1.174: τὰ ἀδύνατα παντὶ γενητω— μόνω δυνατὰ καὶ κατὰ χειρός; cf. Gen 18:14; Matt 19:28; Luke 1:37. Even the pagans confess that the gods are capable of carrying out that which is ἀδύνατον for humans, cf. A. Cameron, “An Epigram of the Fifth Century B.C.,” in *HTR*, 1940, pp. 118ff.

¹⁰ A. J. Festugière has shown that the power of the soul in the order of salvation has to do with the will, with a basic disposition. If God saves only those who want to be saved, how will the apostate have this fundamental desire? (*Hermès Trismégiste*, Paris, 1953, vol. 3, pp. 110–115).

¹¹ Matt 12:31–32; Mark 3:28–30; Luke 12:10; cf. 2Pet 2:20–22; 1John 5:16; cf. B.B. Warfield, “Misconception of Jesus and Blasphemy of the Son of Man,” in *Biblical and Theological Studies*, Philadelphia, 1952, pp. 196–237; A. Michel, “Péché contre le Saint-Esprit?” in *Ami du clergé*, 1955, pp. 123–124; O. E. Evans, “The Unforgiveable Sin,” in *ExpT*, vol. 58, 1957, pp. 240–244; G. Fitzer, “Die Sünde wider den Heiligen Geist,” in *TZ*, 1957, pp. 161–

182; R. Scroggs, “The Exaltation of the Spirit,” in *JBL*, 1965, pp. 360ff.; C. Colpe, “Die Spruch von der Lästerung des Geistes,” in *Festschrift J. Jeremias*, Göttingen, 1970, pp. 63–79.

ἀθετέω, ἀθέτησις

atheteo, to set aside, abrogate, reject; *athetesis*, abrogation, rejection

atheteo, S 114; *TDNT* 8.158–159; *EDNT* 1.35; *NIDNTT* 1.74; MM 12; L&N 31.100, 76.24; BAGD 21 | ***athetesis***, S 115; *TDNT* 8.158–159; *EDNT* 1.35; MM 12; L&N 13.36, 76.24; BAGD 21; ND 2.77

The etymology of this verb (*tithemi* with alpha-privative), literally “set aside,” hardly provides a precise statement of its meaning in the language of the New Testament, but its use is varied as well as precise. First, there is the legal sense, “to abrogate, abolish, declare invalid”; thus the institution of the Aaronic priesthood has been abolished (Heb 7:18) and Christ has been manifested to destroy the reign of sin by his own sacrifice (9:26). In both cases, *athetesis* is chosen to express a judicial and official annulment;¹ the hereditary priesthood is radically abolished; sin can never regain its power, since it has been conquered by the blood of Christ. *Athetesis* is synonymous with *akyrosis*, “annulment.”²

In common usage, this “destruction” is only a repudiation, a refusal, or a withdrawal;³ one challenges an authority: “The one who rejects you rejects me, and the one who rejects me rejects the one who sent me”;⁴ one goes back on one’s word or perjures oneself.⁵ Hence, *athetesis* smacks of perfidy.⁶ This sense is the one that attaches to *atheteo*, used sixty times in the LXX, where it translates seventeen Hebrew words, but most frequently *bagad*, “deceive, be unfaithful, betray,” and *pasha*’, “defect, revolt,” with the result that in biblical usage this verb almost always means “be unfaithful,”⁷ to revolt,⁸ or to betray,⁹ with the sense of “deceive” or “scorn.”¹⁰ Hence the comparison in Jer 3:20—“As a woman betrays her lover, so have you betrayed me, house of Israel.” It is not just a matter of violating an agreement, or even of breaking with a person (cf. Polybius 11.36.10), but of going back on one’s decision and lying to most holy God.

It is in light of these texts that we must read 1Tim 5:12, where the young widows, when their desires are stirred up against Christ, want to remarry, “having [their] condemnation, because they have rejected their former faith.”¹¹ This *pistis* is not theological faith but the commitment of the widow to serve Christ and the poor, and doubtless also not to remarry. To revoke an agreement is to be unfaithful and to perjure oneself, to act toward God like a woman who betrays her lover.

¹ —Αθετέω is used for the rejection of a law (Isa 24:16; Ezek 22:26; Heb 10:28—τὸν νόμον), of a commandment (Mark 6:9—τὴν ἐντολήν), of a covenant (Gal 3:15—διαθήκην; 2Macc 14:28—τὰ διεσταλμένα), of an agreement (2Macc 13:25—περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν). Cf. 1Macc 15:27—“He revoked all that he had agreed with Simon.”

² Cf. *BGU* 44, 16: διδόντα ἡμῶν ἀποχὴν καὶ ἀνδιδούντα τὴν διαγραφὴν εἰς ἀθέτησιν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν (14 July AD 102; cf. 196, 21; 281, 18; 394, 14); *PSI* 1131, 43 (28 August 44); *P.Warr.* 9, 22 (23 August 109); *P.Fam.Tebt.* 9, 15 (22 November 107); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 225, 15; *P.Lips.* 27, 20; *P.Ryl.* 174, 14: εἰς ἀθέτησιν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν (AD 112); *P.Tebt.* 397, 13; *SB* 7465, 8; 9839, 16. The invalidation of a document is the opposite of its confirmation, εἰς βεβαίωσιν (Heb 6:16; cf. Lev 25:23).

³ Cf. the withdrawal of a lawsuit: οὕτως ἐξείσχυσεν τὰ βιβλίδια ἀθετηθῆναι (*P.Oxy.* 1120, 8), the liquidation of an account that is to be erased from a list (*P.Tebt.* 74, 59; 75, 77), the refusal of grain not fit for consumption (*P.Lond.* 237, 23). Cf. the rejection of the wisdom of the wise (1Cor 1:19), the Pharisees and doctors of the law annulling the purpose of God (Luke 7:30; cf. Ps 33:10—ἀθετεῖ βουλάς ἀρχόντων; Jdt 16:5). Esther rejects none of Hegai’s instructions (Esth 2:15, LXX). Cf. 1Macc 11:36—“Not one of these favors shall be cancelled, from this time forth for ever”; 14:44—“No one will be permitted . . . to reject one of these points”; Heb 10:28—“Does someone reject the law of Moses?”

⁴ Luke 10:16; cf. John 12:48; 1Thess 4:8.

⁵ Mark 6:26 (cf. Ps 15:4; Polybius 8.2.5; Dittenberger, *Or.* 444, 18: εἰάν τις ἐάν τις τῶν πόλεων ἀθετῶσι τὸ σύμφωνον). God never fails, doesn’t change that which he has spoken (Ps 89:35; 132:11), he doesn’t revoke his words (Isa 31:2); even though men break their oaths (1Macc 6:62; cf. *BGU* 1123, 11: μηδενὶ ἡμῶν ἐξόντος ἀθετεῖν τῶν ὁμολογημένων—from the Augustan era).

⁶ Jdt 14:18; Isa 48:8; 1Sam 24:12—“I bear no malice, no perfidy.”

⁷ Judg 9:23; 1Chr 2:7; 5:25; 2Chr 10:19 (= 1Kgs 12:19); 36:14 (the leaders of Judah, the priests, and the people have multiplied their acts of faithlessness, ἀθετήσαι ἀθετήματα); Isa 1:2; Ezek 39:23; Dan 9:7 (Theod.).

⁸ 2Kgs 1:1; 18:7, 20; 24:1, 20 = 2Chr 36:13. Cf. Jude 8: the false teachers, “rejecting the sovereignty (κυριότητα δὲ αἰετοῦσιν).” This revolt is not so

much against the leaders of the community of the civil magistrates, nor against the elders or angels, but against the divine authority (verse 4), not taking into account the ordinances of God or the law of Christ.

⁹ 1Kgs 8:50; Isa 21:2—the traitor betrays (ὁ ἄθετω—ν ἄθετει—); 24:16; 33:1; Jer 5:11—“The house of Israel and the house of Judah have betrayed me”; 12:1—the instigators of treachery (οἱ— ἄετοῦντεθ ἄετήματα).

¹⁰ 1Sam 2:17—men who scorned the offering to Yahweh; Isa 63:8; Wis 5:1. —Αθετει—ν = act faithlessly, cf. Exod 21:8; Deut 21:14. Compare the apostates who trample on the Son of God and treat as common the blood that he shed (Heb 10:28-29), as opposed to Paul who does not treat the grace of God as nothing (Gal 2:21).

¹¹ Τὴν πρώτην πίστιν ἤετησαν = *fidem irritam faciens* (cf. Polybius 8.36.5; 22.16.1; 22.17.5; 23.8.7). Cf. Rev 2:4—“You have relaxed your first love,” which could also be translated, “You have deserted your first love” (on the sense of ἀφιέναι, cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 114ff.). Cf. 2:5—τὰ πρω—τα ἔργα ποιήσον; 2:19; Jer 2:2). Cf. *I. Bulg.* 13, 25–26: ε—ν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ φιλίᾳ; Philodemus of Gadara, *Adv. Soph.*, frag. Y, col. XV, 8: τὴν πρώτην ὑπομονήν.

αι—δῶς, ἀναίδεια

aidos, modesty; *anaideia*, shamelessness

aidos, S 127; *TDNT* 1.169–171; *EDNT* 1.37; *NIDNTT* 3.826–827, 829; MM 13; L&N 88.49; BDF §47(4), 126(1b); BAGD 22 | ***anaideia***, S 335; *EDNT* 1.81; MM 33; L&N 66.12; BDF §23; BAGD 54

After the manner of the pagan cults, which often regulated the grooming of their participants—clothing, jewelry, hair¹—St. Paul instructs the Ephesian women, when they pray at church, to adorn themselves with decency and sobriety (*meta aidous kai sophrosynes kosmein heautas*, 1Tim 2:9), because the right way for a woman to arrange or accouter herself is to observe the rules of modesty and decency.²

Aidos (from *aidomai*, to fear, respect) is a very old Greek concept³ expressing the respectful and secret fear that one feels toward oneself (Democritus, frag. 264, Diels). With the Stoics it became a leading virtue.⁴ Plutarch distinguishes *aidos*, “which often allows itself to be led by reason and places itself under the same laws,” from an unhealthy shame whose hesitations and delays are contrary to reason.⁵ In the first century AD, this sentiment is sometimes that of shame, notably the shame of soldiers who

are in flight and know that they are defeated,⁶ hence awareness of guilt;⁷ it is sometimes that of respect for others,⁸ the consideration owed others. It is then a restraint, a dignity,⁹ a modesty, or a discretion that keeps one from excess;¹⁰ thus a self-respect¹¹ and a sense of honor that is often identified with modesty.¹²

This virtue finds its highest expression in women. Philo explains why there was a wall of separation between Therapeutai and Therapeutrides, “to respect the modesty appropriate to the feminine nature,”¹³ and he personifies the virtue as a woman who has “colors which are those of modesty . . . simple clothing, but more precious than gold, wisdom and virtue for her finery” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 26). This is the closest parallel to 1Tim 2:9.

If *aidos* is sometimes associated with the agreeable equilibrium that is *epieikeia*,¹⁴ it much more frequently connotes fear¹⁵ and even *eulabeia*, the feeling of reverence that one experiences in the presence of majesty, whether of the emperor¹⁶ or of God himself. It is in this sense that Christians offer worship to God (*Iatreuein meta aidous kai eulabeias*, cf. Heb 12:28).

If *aidos* (Latin *verecundia*) keeps one from committing an act unworthy of oneself, makes one avoid that which is base, *anaideia* (NT hapax) is effrontery or impudence that shrinks from no means of achieving its goals.¹⁷ It is the *anaideia* of the importunate friend who gets the three loaves that he asks for in the middle of the night.¹⁸ This noun is rare in the papyri: it is found in a list of words (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59534, 21); in the complaint of Kronion, priest of Tebtunis in the second century, victim of the extreme insolence of Kronios;¹⁹ in the complaint of Aurelius, attacked in the third century by a basely impudent woman;²⁰ and finally in an elegiac poem on Meleager.²¹ If the Lord praises this boldness, it is because he has just instructed his disciples to pray to the heavenly Father and ask that his name be sanctified. But in accordance with *aidos*—the religious fear that one experiences in the presence of the sacred—believers would be careful about being too free with their demands, would be hesitant to hail the holy God in an impetuous fashion, with too little concern for propriety. In truth, a child knows nothing of this timidity, but “pours out her heart” (1Sam 1:15) before her Father, and the tradition of Israel validates this importunity.²² It is a form of *parrhesia*.

¹ Cf. *LSAM*, n. 14 (Pergamum), 16 (Gambreion), 69 (Stratonicea), 77, 79; idem, *LSCG*, n. 56 (Delos), 106 (Camiros); idem, *LSCG*, vol. 2, n. 68 (Lykosoura); C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, pp. 419ff.

² The αἰ—δῶξ̄σ̄ω̄φ̄ρο̄σ̄ύ̄νη association is constant from Xenophon on (*Cyr.* 8.1.31; *Symp.* 1.8; Thucydides, 1.84.3; Diotogenes: “When, in his

appearance, his thoughts, his sentences, his character, his deeds, his walk, and his carriage, the king enfolds himself in such decorum and pomp that he has a psychological effect on those who behold him, affected as they are by his dignity and his moderation” in Stobaeus 48.7.62; p. 268, 11); *GVI*, n. 1575 (first-second century); *MAMA*, vol. 7, 258, 5; Philo, *Who Is the Heir* 128: “the special task of human science is to give birth in the soul to restraint and moderation, virtues whose clearest manifestation is that one blushes when the occasion arises”; *Prelim. Stud.* 124: virtue manifests “a beauty remarkable for its modesty and propriety, beauty . . . truly virginal”; *Flight* 5; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 27; notably in connection with κοσμεῖ—ν—κοσμιότης (*Change of Names* 217: “If with an older companion at his side a young man adorns himself with modesty and restraint”; *Spec. Laws* 3.51).

³ Cf. B. Snell, *Lexikon*, on this word; C. E. von Erffa, “*Αἰ—δῶς* und verwandete Begriffe in ihrer Entwicklund von Homer bis Demokrit,” in *Philologus*, Suppl. 30, 1937.

⁴ Musonius Rufus: “*Aidos* is the greatest good” (*That Women Too Should Study Philosophy*, frag. 3, p. 42, l. 24; ed. C. E. Lutz); “a feeling of shame toward all that is base” (*Should Daughters Receive the Same Education as Sons?*, frag. 4, p. 48, l. 3); the study of philosophy leads the king to have a sense of shame (frag. 8, p. 62, l. 18); a man who has many children has the respect of his neighbors (frag. 15, p. 98, l. 3); cf. Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 27: virtue is accompanied by modesty.

⁵ Plutarch, *On Ethical Virtue* 8; cf. Epictetus, *Against Epicurus*, in Stobaeus 6.57 (vol. 3, p. 300).

⁶ Josephus, *War* 3.19, 156; 4.285; 5.118; 6.20; Plutarch, *Tim.* 7.1: “Timoleon was ashamed before his mother.”

⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 2.52; cf. *War* 2.351.

⁸ Toward guests (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.201), parents (2.23), ancestral laws (5.108), age (6.262), dignity (19.102); old men (*War* 2.496), suppliants (2.317), the temple (4.311), neighbors (5.33), the prince (5.87; 6.263; *Ant.* 19.97); Plutarch, *Cleom.* 32.4; *Ti. Gracch.* 5.2; 11.3; *C. Gracch.* 16.1.

⁹ Cf. the association with σεμνότης in Plutarch (*Con. praec.* 26) and Philo: the educators of Moses showed only restraint and seriousness, αἰ—δῶ—καὶ σεμνότητα (Philo, *Moses* 1.20).

¹⁰ Flaccus sojourning at Alexandria, μετὰ τοσθύτης αι—δοῦς (Philo, *Flacc.* 28).

¹¹ Epictetus 1.3.4; 3.14.13; 4.4.7: “It is no small thing that you are guarding; it is respect for yourself and good faith.”

¹² Cf. Marcus Aurelius 3.7.1; 5.33.3; 10.13.2. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.44: Adam and Eve cover themselves out of modesty; *PSI* 1178, 6 (second century).

¹³ Philo, *Contemp. Life* 33; cf. *Flacc.* 89: “Young girls who stay in their rooms out of modesty to avoid being seen by men”; *Flight* 5; *Spec. Laws* 3.51: “The republic of Moses has no room for the prostitute, to whom decency, chastity, modesty, and the other virtues are foreign”; *Moses* 2.234: The daughters of Salpaad “go to find the governor with the reserve appropriate to young girls”; Josephus, *War* 2.465: women from whom even the last veil of modesty has been taken away; cf. the “unspeakable shame” of Helen (Quintus of Smyrna, *Posthomerica* 9.144) and modesty in conjugal relations (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 65); ζήσαντα κοσμίως καὶ αι—δημόνως (*MAMA*, vol. 8, 490; cf. 414, 9: βίος αι—δήμων καὶ κόσμιος); “I hesitate to speak an indecent word in the presence of a matron” (Terence, *Haut.* 1042; cf. Propertius 2.6.18).

¹⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* 13.319: Timagenes, φύσει δ ε—πεικει—ε—κέχρητο καὶ σφόδρα ἦν αι—δοῦς ἥττων; Plutarch, *De vit. pud.* 2.529 c: “In shaking up false shame, one must fear taking along also its neighbors modesty, moderation, and mildness, τῆς αι—δοῦς καὶ τῆς ε—πεικειίας καὶ τῆς ἡμερότητος”; 3.530a; Dittenberger, *Or.* 507, 8 (second century AD).

¹⁵ Philo, *Rewards* 97 (φόβος).

¹⁶ When the Jews are brought into the presence of Caesar, they regard him with modesty and timidity, stretching out their hands toward him (Philo, *To Gaius* 352), cf. Diogenes Laertius 7.116.

¹⁷ Josephus, *War* 1.224: “Malichos succeeded by effrontery in getting the better of Antipater’s sons”; 1.504: “Pheroras, despairing of saving himself by honest means, sought deliverance through effrontery”; 1.616; Plutarch, *De vit. pud.* 11.533d: “feeling disgust and revulsion at the impudence (τὴν ἀναίδειαν) that upsets and assaults our reasoning”; 13.534b: “disagreeable folk lacking in modesty and without shame, ἀναιδω—ς καὶ ἀδυσωπήτως”; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* 2.407: “insolent eyes.” Theognis associates it with hubris (291).

¹⁸ Luke 11:8—διὰ τὴν ἀναιδείαν. The beggar breaks all the rules of politeness and discretion; his audacity knows no modesty (cf. Sir 25:22—shame and insolence, when it is the woman who supports her husband; 60:30—the lazy person, laying aside all pride, would rather live by begging than work).

¹⁹ In *EPap*, vol. 8, 1957, p. 104, 11.

²⁰ Γυνή ἀναιδεία μεγίστη καὶ θράσει κεχορηγημένη, *P.Oslo* inv. 1482, published by S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen, in *JEA*, 1954, p. 30; also in *SB* 9421, 12. In the first century, in the *Ninopedia* (ed. Wilcken, in *Hermes*, 1895, pp. 161ff.), lines 111, 113, 118, ἀναιδής means something close to rude in speech, crude and impudent in deed.

²¹ Edited by M. Papathomopoulos, in *RechPap*, vol. 2, Paris, 1962, p. 101. There are two good parallels in Archilochus: “Drinking large amounts of pure wine and neglecting to pay your share of the tab . . . , without even being invited you came looking for us like someone finding himself among friends. In truth, your belly, taking away your reason, made you lose all modesty (εἰ—ς ἀναιδείην)” (Frag. 94; ed. Laserre) and *P.Cair.Isid.* 55, 16: six villagers, drunk and emboldened by their luck to think that they would get away with it, forcibly entered and pillaged the house of Isidorus, and furthermore they impudently pretend that the law is on their side—ὄθεν τῆς τηλικαύτης αὐτῶ—ν ἀναιδίας δεομένης κτλ. Cf. the impudence of a drunk (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.46), *P.Ryl.* 141; refusing impudently to pay (AD 37) and the *incipit* of the edict of Cn. V. Capito, prefect of Emperor Claudius in Egypt, 7 December 48: “I have long since been informed of unjust charges caused by the exactions of persons abusing their powers with greed and impudence, πλεονεκτικῶ—ς καὶ ἀναιδῶ—ς” (*SB* 8248, 15–17; cf. the commentary of P. Jouguet, *Observations sur les inscriptions grecques de Khargeh*, in *Proceedings IV*, p. 8). Heraclitus, *All.* 70.11 includes among the “thousand faces of impudence” gluttony, brashness, and covetousness.

²² Isa 62:7—“Give him no rest”; Ps 10:12—“Arise, Yahweh”; 44:27; 74:22; 44:24—“Wake up! Why are you sleeping, Lord? Arise from your slumbers”; cf. the fight between Jacob and the angel (Gen 32:24ff.; S. H. Blank, “Men against God,” in *JBL*, 1953, pp. 1–14; J. L. McKenzie, “Jacob at Peniel,” in *CBQ*, 1963, pp. 71–76).

αι—σχροκερδής, ἀφιλάργυρος

aischrokerdes, eager for shameful gain; *aphilargyros*, free of the love of money

see also ἀφιλάργυρος; φιλαργυρία, φιλάργυρος

aischrokerdes, S 146; *EDNT* 1.41; *NIDNTT* 3.564; L&N 25.26; BAGD 25 | ***aphilargyros***, S 866; *EDNT* 1.183; MM 98; L&N 25.109; BAGD 126

The Pharisees are stigmatized as “loving money,”¹ and according to 2Tim 3:2 people in the last days will be *philargyroi*; ² which can mean miserliness—often associated with meanness³—as well as covetousness. This is a vice of priests (*T. Levi* 17.1), above all of sophists, “vendors of words”⁴ who shamefully hawk wisdom, and of false teachers (Titus 1:11). This *philargyria* is the “root of all evils.”⁵

Thus we can see the message of Heb 13:5 to its readers as being “Let your ways, or conduct, be free of all greed (*aphilargyros ho tropos*); be content with what you have.”⁶ The Greek Fathers supposed that the Hebrews had suffered or been threatened with the loss of their goods (10:34) and must have been trying too eagerly to rebuild their resources or guarantee their material security.⁷ At any rate, trusting in Providence excludes any preoccupation with tomorrow, and one must be self-sufficient (*arkeo*, Matt 25:9; Luke 3:14; John 6:7; 1Tim 6:8) with that which one currently has at one’s disposal. In moral theology, *aphilargyria* and *tharreo theo* are linked.

St. Paul requires that the candidate for overseer at Ephesus be *aphilargyros* (1Tim 3:3), that the Cretan overseer not be eager for shameful gain, *me aischrokerde* (Titus 1:7), and similarly the deacons (1Tim 3:8). St. Peter urges the presbyters to shepherd the flock of God “not for sordid gain (*aischrokerdos*), but out of devotion.” The office of the presbyter is above all pastoral⁸ and is not a sinecure: watchfulness and continual care for the sheep, providing food, guiding the movements of the flock (Num 27:17; Ps 80:2), leading them to pasture (2Sam 5:2; Isa 40:11; Ezek 34:15; Ps 23; 95:7), keeping the sheep from dispersing and bringing back the strays (1Kgs 22:17; Isa 53:6; Zech 11:16; 13:7; Ps 119:176), defending them against savage beasts (Exod 22:13; 1Sam 17:34; Amos 3:12; Isa 31:4) and thieves (Gen 31:39; Job 1:17). Much courage and self-denial is therefore necessary in a “good shepherd” who seeks only the good of the flock and does not exploit them to his own profit.⁹ All shepherds are susceptible to the degeneration of the hireling who is transformed by the spirit of lucre into a shameless profiteer.¹⁰

This probably explains why, in discussing ministers of the church, St. Paul and St. Peter substitute for the simple *aphilargyros* the highly pejorative *aischrokerdes*.¹¹ A “steward” in the household of God has a subordinate function. He will have to turn over his accounts to his *Kyrios* (Luke 12:42-48); his uprightness, which must be beyond suspicion, is an essential element of the “ethic of the *oikonomos*” prescribed by the Lord to his servants.¹² This ethic opposes the service of mammon to the service of

God (Luke 16:10-13). Xenophon had already defined it: “a good manager must not touch the goods of his master or steal them.”¹³ The Christian steward will be disinterested, no doubt in accord with *agape* (1Cor 13:5), but first of all in the name of honesty. His freedom from lust for money will guarantee not only his uprightness in the management of material goods but also his compassion toward all the miseries of his neighbors, because it is avarice that hardens the heart.¹⁴

¹ Luke 16:14—φιλάργυροι. Ordinarily poor, Pharisees readily became spongers, soliciting gifts, asking for payment in kind for their services, abusing hospitality. Herod becomes irritated at the wife of Pheroras, who subsidized the Pharisees (Josephus, *War* 1.571), Alexander Jannaeus warns his wife against religious frauds, who on the outside resemble Pharisees (idem, *Ant.* 13.400–402) and who are eager for gain (*b.Sota* 22b; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, pp. 114ff.). The scribes “devour the resources of widows” (Mark 12:40), concerning which M. J. Lagrange (on this verse) comments thus: “taking advantage of their knowledge of the law to despoil them. In societies where the rights of women depend in large measure on the protection of male relatives, widows are natural targets of greed.”

² In the imperial era, Philargyrus is frequently used as a proper name, both among the slaves and freed slaves and also among the higher classes of society; cf. the citations brought forward by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, Paris, 1965, p. 260.

³ Epictetus 2.9.12; 2.16.45; cf. Choricus of Gaza, *Apol. Min.* 73: Σμικρίνης δὲ φιλαργύρους ὁ δεδιώς, μή τι τω—ν ἔνδον ὁ καπνὸς οἴχοιτο φέρων (Förster-Richsteig, pp. 360–361).

⁴ Λογοπω—λοι; Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 53 (*Quest. Gen.* 3.31), 127; cf. *Giants* 37, 39; *Moses* 2.212: “the sophists who sell, like any other commodity on the market, their principles and reasonings.”

⁵ 1Tim 6:10. This might be a citation from a comic author (S. T. Byington, “1Tim. VI, 10,” in *ExpT*, 1944, p. 54), but the sentence is traditional from the time of Plato: “The power that money has to give beget a thousand and one furies of insatiable greed, infinite . . . , this adoration of riches is the first and greatest source of the greatest cases of willful murder” (*Leg.* 9.870a). Preserved in the Jewish tradition (*Sir* 27:1–3; *T. Jud.* 19.1; Philo, *Post. Cain* 116; *Spec. Laws* 4.65: “the love of riches, a goad [or spur—ὄρμητήριο] of the greatest iniquities.” *Sib. Or.* 2.115: χρυσέ, κακω—ν ἀρχηγέ, βιοφθόρε, πάντα χαλέπτων; cf. 3.235) and attested in the secular literature: to love money is a supreme vice (Plutarch, *Aem.* 8.10); “The cause of all these evils was the desire for power arising from greed and

ambition” (Thucydides 3.82.8; cf. Sir 10:8). Stobaeus attributes to Democritus the saying: πλοῦτος ἀπὸ κακῆς ἐργασίης περιγινόμενος ἐπιφανέστερον τὸ ὄνειδος κέκτηται, and to Bion: τὴν φιλαργυρίαν μητρόπολιν ἔλεγε πάσης κακίας εἶναι (10.36–37; vol. 3, p. 417; cf. Diogenes Laertius 6.50; Diodorus Siculus, *Exc.* 21.1); “inde fere scelerum causae” (Juvenal, *Sat.* 14.173); “Pecunia . . . semina curarum de capite orta tuo” (Propertius 3.7.4; 3.13.48ff.); τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν κακῶν: ἐν φιλαργυρίᾳ γὰρ πάντ’ ἐνι (Apollodorus of Gela, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 16.12; vol. 3, p. 482). The image of the root implies the ideas of cause, principle, source, equally permanent and invisible. A. Plummer notes that all the other vices have their times of satiety, but cupidity has none; even its sleep is uneasy!

⁶ The compound form ἀφιλάργυρος is well attested between the second century BC and the second century AD (*I.Priene* 137, 5; cf. the adverb ἀφιλαργύρως, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 708, 17; 1104, 26), notably *P.Oxy.* 33, col. II, 11: The emperor Antoninus Pius was “first of all the friend of wisdom, secondly he was no friend of money, thirdly he was the friend of the good” (cf. R. MacMullen, “The Roman Concept Robber-Pretender,” in *RIDA*, 1963, pp. 224ff.). Cf. A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 85–86. Onasander declares that *aphilargyria* should receive the highest ranking as a chief virtue, because it makes him incorruptible and objective in the handling of business(1.8).

⁷ We know the extent to which political troubles breed uncertainty and worry about tomorrow, and thus foster an awareness of provisions. Christians are exhorted to confide in Providence, which never fails (Heb 13:5-6). This Scripture citation, identical to that of Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 166, is not from Josh 1:5 but from Gen 28:15, supplemented with Deut 31:6, 8 (cf. P. Katz, “Hebr. 13, 5. The Biblical Source of the Quotation,” in *Bib*, 1952, pp. 523–525).

⁸ Acts 20:28; cf. J. Dupont, *Discours de Milet*.

⁹ Isa 56:11; Jer 12:10; 23:1; Ezek 34:1-10. Cf. J. Jeremias, ποιμήν, in *TDNT*, vol. 6, pp. 485–502.

¹⁰ Notably the deacons who distribute the church’s welfare provisions (Acts 6:3), manage funds, receive gifts, and are exposed to the corrupting power of “unrighteous mammon” (Luke 16: 9, 11). After defining αἰσχροκέρδεια as “the pursuit of sordid gain,” Theophrastus gives this example: “He serves to his guests skimpy morsels of bread. . . . Charged with distributing meats, he pretends that the one who distributes has a right to a double portion and pays himself off immediately” (*Char.* 30.1–2). Certainly the

worker is worthy of his food (Matt 10:10; Luke 10:7) and the cultivator of crops deserves part of the harvest (2Tim 2:5). The first ministers of the gospel lived at the expense of the communities (1Cor 9:4-14; 2Cor 12:13-17) and received “honoraria” (1Tim 5:17-18). But they had to remain disinterested (Acts 20:33). St. Jerome specifies: “Qui altario servierint, de altario vivant [1Cor 4:13-14]. Vivant, inquit, non divites fiant” (“Let those who serve at the altar live by the altar. Let them live, it says, not let them become rich,” *In Tit.* 1.7). Nothing is as shameful as the spirit of lucre in the service of souls, which demands total devotion of oneself (2Cor 12:14-15).

¹¹ This sordid greed is associated with villainy in Demosthenes (3 *C. Aphob.* 4). Aristotle makes it a vice against honor and moral beauty (*Eth. Nic.* 4.33.1121b7ff.). The emphasis is less on grasping greed (Josephus, *Life* 75) than on the baseness of this covetousness and its consequences: an attack on human and religious dignity (cf. 1Tim 3:8—σεμνούς); thus it is a literally “ignoble” passion (cf. Simon the Sorcerer, Acts 8:18ff.). Plautus designates in the same way the basely greedy man (*turpilucricupidus*) or “Mr. Vulture” (*Trin.* 100); cf. P. Monteil, *Beau et laid*, Paris, 1964, pp. 262ff. D. B. Durham, *Vocabulary of Menander*, p. 39. The adjective αι—σχροκερδής is not attested in the papyri before the fourth century (*P. Vindob. Tandem*, n. 4, 18), and similarly the noun (*P. Oxy.* 2267, 7).

¹² Cf. C. Spicq, “L’Origine évangélique des vertus épiscopales,” in *RB*, 1946, pp. 36–46; D. Webster, “The Primary Stewardship,” in *ExpT*, vol. 62, 1961, p. 274.

¹³ *Oec.* 14.2; cf. P. Landvogt, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen über den OIKONOMOS*, Strasbourg, 1908.

¹⁴ “Obduratio contra misericordiam” (St. Gregory the Great, *Moral.* 31.45).

αι—φνίδιος, αι—φνιδίως, ε—ξάιφνης

aiphnidios, sudden; *aiphnidios*, *exaiphnes*, suddenly

aiphnidios, S 160; *EDNT* 1.44; MM 16; L&N 67.113; BAGD 26 | ***exaiphnes***, S 1810; *EDNT* 2.1; MM 221; L&N 67.113; BDF §25; BAGD 272

Derived from *aiphnes-aipsa*, the adjective *aiphnidios* (“sudden, unforeseeable”) is used for an unexpected arrival (Thucydides 8.14.1), but usually for a development that causes fear.¹ The courage of the optimist is seen in his remaining “unruffled and imperturbable when some cause for fear unexpectedly appears” (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 3.11.1117a18), such as an

epidemic (“pride is overcome by the sudden and unexpected [*to aiphnidion kai aprosdoketon*], that which does not conform to expectations,” Thucydides 2.61.3) or especially death: “an unexpected death suddenly took his life” (Aeschylus, *PV* 680); “God who is responsible for sudden deaths”;² especially in decrees of consolation, as at Cyzicus,³ at Sebaste in Phrygia (*SEG VI*, 189, 4), etc.

The LXX uses the adjective only twice: for a sudden and unexpected fear (*aiphnidios kai aprosdoketos phobos*, Wis 17:14), and for the sudden and terrifying arrival of enemies.⁴ Philo uses it a few times in a positive sense (the sudden light of wisdom, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 78; *Migr. Abr.* 156, 184; *Dreams* 2.137) or in the neutral sense of a sudden change (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.17; *Flacc.* 154), but the other occurrences are all pejorative: the wind and the storm that capsize ships (*Cherub.* 38; *Husbandry* 174–176; *Spec. Laws* 4.201), sudden floods (*Dreams* 2.125), the rising tide and waves that cause disasters (*Moses* 1.179; 2.254), a cloud of dust that causes a cruelly painful ulceration (*ibid.* 1.127), lightning that annihilates with one strike (*ibid.* 2.154, 283), the sudden collapse of a wall (*Etern. World* 129), the sudden attacks of criminals (*Spec. Laws* 1.75), the sudden death of animals as the prelude to pestilential epidemics (*Moses* 1.133). This suddenness is also a characteristic of evil: the sudden inability to grasp the idea of the good and keep it in oneself (*Giants* 20); errors attack the soul all at once and besmirch it (*Flight* 115); the sudden loss of moral precepts (*Unchang. God* 89; cf. 26); a sudden dissoluteness (*Spec. Laws* 3.126; *Rewards* 146); “a sudden and unexpected trouble seized them” (*aiphnidios kai aprosdoketos tarache*, *Joseph* 211); “a blind and sudden onset of folly and rage” (*Flacc.* 140).

In Josephus, reference is also made to disasters that strike terror (*War* 5.472), to shakings of the earth (*Ant.* 4.51), to sudden death and sickness (7.325; 12.413; *Life* 48), to sudden reversals of fortune (18.197), and thus sudden fear (9.199). Suddenness is often neutral, however: the wind changes suddenly (*War* 7.318), a cloud descends suddenly (*Ant.* 4.326), flame suddenly bursts out (3.207; *War* 4.180), someone shows up unexpectedly (*Life* 253), guards wake up suddenly (*War* 6.69), defenders suddenly open the gates (4.553; *Ant.* 7.139); but especially attacks by soldiers are so described.⁵

In his warnings concerning the last days, the Lord urges vigilance, as at the prospect of a cataclysm. This is not the time for spiritual lethargy: “Watch yourselves, lest your hearts be weighed down with excessive eating and drinking and the preoccupation of life, lest that day come upon you unawares (*episte eph’ hymas aiphnidios he hemera ekeine*) like a snare” (Luke 21:34). The unexpectedness of the coming of the divine Judge is supposed to inspire fear and thus wakefulness—a meaning of *aiphnidios* that conforms completely with classical Greek, the LXX, and Philo and is comparable to *en tachei* in the parable of the Widow and the

Judge.⁶ Thus the word here has a technical sense, almost equivalent to “formidable.” St. Paul retains it: “When they say, ‘Peace and security,’ then ruin will suddenly befall them (*tote aiphnidios autois ephistatai olethros*), like the pains of a woman in labor” (1Thess 5:3); the unforeseen character of the distress makes it all the harder to bear.

With the same meaning: “Watch, for you do not know when the master of the house is coming . . . lest coming suddenly (*me elthon exaiphnes*) he find you sleeping” (Mark 13:36). The compound form *exaiphnes*, referring to an unforeseen arrival, one that is not announced, for which there was no warning, is almost synonymous with the simple *aiphnidios* and could be translated “instantaneously, all at once.”⁷ In the LXX, with a single exception,⁸ it is used only in the context of disaster (Prov 24:22; Isa 47:11—*apoleia*); the desert wind striking the house, which collapses, burying the children (Job 1:19); suddenly falling prey to creditors (Hab 2:7); “in an instant, in a single day, the loss of children and widowhood” (Isa 47:9); “suddenly devastation comes to us” (Jer 6:26); “on the mother I have made sudden sleeplessness and terror to fall” (Jer 15:8). Philo, who gives this adverb the meaning “rapidly,” uses it sometimes in a positive, even a religious sense,⁹ or in a neutral context: to appear suddenly (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 26), to burst in suddenly (*Flacc.* 113; *To Gaius* 217), a statue set up unexpectedly (*To Gaius* 337). By far the commonest use, however, is with woes: lightning that destroys everything (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.227), a torrent that overflows (*Post. Cain* 113), a ship that suddenly wrecks at port after a safe voyage (*Dreams* 2.143; cf. *Virtues* 49), bad weather and disasters (*Abraham* 138; *Moses* 1.118; *Etern. World* 141), human misery.¹⁰

Like *aiphnidios*, the adverb *exaiphnes* means “suddenly, all at once,” like the light that shone around Paul on the Damascus road (Acts 9:3; 22:6), as well as “immediately, immediately afterward, forthwith.” When the angel had announced the birth of a Savior to the shepherds of Bethlehem, “suddenly” there was with the angel “a large number of the host of heaven praising God” (Luke 2:13); “a spirit seizes him (the epileptic), and suddenly he screams” (Luke 9:39); this meaning is entirely classical: “as soon as he heard their sudden bitter cry, . . . he said” (Sophocles, *OC* 1610); the judge sees each soul “immediately after death” (Plato, *Grg.* 523 e; cf. *Cra.* 396 b). The LXX has this usage: “these woes, from which you will not quickly extricate yourselves” (Mic 2:3), as do Philo (*Creation* 113) and Josephus (*Ant.* 7.225).

¹ Plutarch, *Crass.* 9.3: “The Romans, dismayed by the suddenness of the attack, took flight.” The adjective is unknown in the papyri, but the adverb αἰ—φινιδίως means “immediately, at once”: “Before there was time to asked him when he wanted to leave, he told me at once, ‘Today’” (*P.Fay.*

123, 21); a condemned man immediately asks that his remaining property be sold (*P.Stras.* 334 b 3). Numa had had a very simple meal served, but announcing that the goddess had arrived, he suddenly (αι—φνίδιον) had a magnificent table prepared for his guests (Plutarch, *Num.* 15.2); on the tombstone of a young woman who died at the age of twenty: “suddenly I was ravished by Hades” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 84, 8 = SB 6178; SEG 8.484; CII 1508); on the tombstone of Politta, dead at age five: “I rest in Hades, to which I was suddenly carried off” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques* 96, 7).

² Heraclitus, *All.* 8.4: τοι—ς αι—φνιδίοις θανάτοις; Thucydides 2.53.1: “prosperous men died suddenly.”

³ Κτανθείς αι—φνιδίως λαθρίου ἀνδρὸς ἄρε, W. Peek, in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 1931, p. 129, n. 14. L. Robert (“Enterrements et épitaphes,” in *L’Antiquité classique*, 1968, pp. 418ff.) cites an honorific decree from Olbia: When Nikratos was killed in an ambush, the people were suddenly thrown into distress (αι—φνίδιος συμφορὰν θεασάμενος, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 730, 20; cf. 709, 9; *Or.* 339, 18), the epitaph of Arkesine, or of Philostorgus, dead at age twenty, ἀρπασμ̄ ε—γενήθην αι—φνιδίου Μοίρης (*GVI*, n. 1097, 4), that of Amorgus or the young Bryto, who died suddenly at the peak of her youth and beauty (*IG XII*, 7, 239; cf. 52, 394, 395, 397, 399, 401).

⁴ 2Macc 14.17; cf. 3Macc 3:24. αι—φνιδίως: a surprise attack on Jerusalem (2Macc 5:5); fear of sudden treachery on the part of enemies (14:22).

⁵ *War* 5.75; *Ant.* 6.79, 362; 7.73; 8.377; 9.82, 113; cf. the meaning “right away, immediately afterward” (*War* 4.420). Dionysius of Halicarnassus: “Caesar frightened Ariovistus by the suddenness of his attack” (τω— αι—φνιδίω τῆς ε—φόδου, 38.47).

⁶ Luke 18:7-8 contrasts the slowness or patience of God—who delays (μακροθυμει—), takes a long time to do justice for his people—with his sudden and rapid (ε—ν τάχει = speedily) intervention. The emphasis is on prompt execution (cf. Rev 22:12; Plutarch, *Tim.* 21.7). We may interpret “suddenly, all at once, at one stroke” or better “like lightning”; swiftness is a sign of diligence, of a resolute and sovereign will, cf. C. Spicq, “La Parole de la Veuve obstinée et du Juge inique aux décisions impromptues,” in *RB*, 1961, pp. 68–90; H. Riesenfeld, “Zu μακροθυμει—ν (Lk XVIII, 7),” in J. Blinzler, *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift J. Schmid*, Regensburg, 1963, pp. 214–217.

⁷ Homer, *Il.* 17.738: “the fire that instantly flared up”; 21.14; Pindar, *Ol.* 9.52: “suddenly this tide went down”; Aeschylus, *PV* 1077: “it is not suddenly, unexpectedly, that you will find yourself caught in the inescapable net of woe”; Hierocles: διὰ τὰς ε—ξαιφνιδίους καὶ ἀπροσδοκίτους ε—πιδρομάς τῆς τύχης (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 84.27.20; vol. 4, p. 664, 2; cf. Plato, *Cra.* 414 a). Plato defines the instantaneous (τὸ ε—ξαιφνης) as “the point of departure for two inverse changes” (*Prm.* 156 d); likewise Aristotle: “the instantaneous is a change that happens in a time that is so quick that it cannot be noticed” (*Ph.* 4.13.222b15); Iamblichus: “The one (superior, perfect) can do everything at once and uniformly; the other (deficient, less perfect) cannot act all at once or suddenly (οὔτε ε—ξαιφνης) or indivisibly” (*Myst.* 1.7 = 21.4); “the gods in an instant (ε—ξαιφνης), so to speak, made a clean cut” (5.4 = 203.12). Suddenness is characteristic of miraculous manifestations (Plutarch, *De def. or.* 17) and dream images: “Suddenly I opened my eyes and saw the Twins” (*UPZ* 78, 7). In the papyri, ε—ξαιφνης refers to the instantaneousness of a departure (*P.Giss.* 86; *P.Flor.* 175, 7; *SB* 9558, 10; cf. 8858, 48), to hearing news quickly (*P.Lond.* 1914, 3), “I warned you that very soon we would have no more hay for the horses” (*P.Mich.* 21, 2). Zoilus wanted to prepare for the feast of Arsinoè, καὶ μὴ ε—ξαιφνης ἀπαράσκευοι καταληφθω—μεν (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59096, 4); a Libyan marauder broke in “suddenly at dawn” (ε—ξαιφνης ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθον, *P.Oxy.* 3292, 15; cf. Acts 5:21).

⁸ Mal 3:1—“Suddenly the Lord whom you seek will arrive in his temple, the king of the covenant.” —Εξαιφνης translates the Hebrew *pith'om* or *petha'*, which may well come from the Akkadian *pitta*, *pittimma*, *ina pitta* = instantaneous; cf. D. Daube, *The Sudden in the Scripture*, Leiden, 1964, p. 3.

⁹ *Unchang. God* 37: “the young plants quickly spring up”; 92: “all at once we find the treasury of faithfulness complete”; 97; *Migr. Abr.* 35; *Change of Names* 165; *Moses* 1.65, 283: “suddenly seized with a divine rapture”; *Rewards* 15: “suddenly seized by ardor and love for the better”; *Cherub.* 100.

¹⁰ *Moses* 2.271: “the people were suddenly blinded”; *Spec. Laws* 1.57: the burning of rage; 3.96: of implacable torments; 107; *Joseph* 23, 238: of tears; 214: “Sorrow and fear, the bitterest of evils, fell suddenly upon them”; *Husbandry* 176: “involuntary offenses swoop down suddenly, thoughtlessly”; *To Gaius* 123: “suddenly to find oneself without shelter or hearth, expelled and banished.” In Josephus, ε—ξαιφνης is used for an unexpected arrival (*War* 1.87; 2.13; *Ant.* 7.218, 299, 333; 13.391), an abrupt about-face (*War* 1.101), a fire (2.49), a tower that collapses (2.436;

4.65), the shaking of the earth (*Ant.* 10.269), a sudden attack or violence (13.337; *War* 5.71).

ἄκακος

akakos, good, beneficent, innocent

akakos, S 172; *TDNT* 3.482; *EDNT* 1.48; *NIDNTT* 1.561, 563; MM 17; L&N 31.34, 88.2; BAGD 29

This adjective is used only twice in the NT (Rom 16:18; Heb 7:26) and is rather rare in classical Greek, where *kakos* (“bad, of bad quality”) is quite plentiful.¹ The alpha privative (“non-bad”) should not throw us off the track. The first meaning of *akakos* is “positively good”; Aeschylus, *Pers.* 662: “Come, beneficent father Darius”; but there is also Demosthenes, *C. Euerg.* 47.46: “his pretended innocence made an impression on the judges”; Plato, *Tim.* 91 d: “these men who are devoid of evil but light-minded, with their thoughts turned toward the heavens”; Polybius 3.98.5: the Carthaginian general Bostar “was a man without malice (*akakon onta ton andra*) and by nature mild,”² like the Lacedaemonian general Callicratides, “of a mild character and a simple soul” (*akakos kai ten psychen haplous*, Diodorus Siculus 13.76); Menander, *Dysk.* 222: “you who leave an innocent young woman (*akakon koren*) all alone, with no more precaution than if the house were empty.”³ Childlike innocence, meaning ignorance of error, of moral evil, of vice, is often mentioned in the funerary epigrams,⁴ as at Olympus: “Here lies Pisidis Hermaios, son of Hermas, an innocent child.”⁵

This double meaning “perfect, whole,” and “innocent, without malice” is also found in the fifteen occurrences in the LXX. It means the former when it translates the Hebrew *tam*, *tamîm*, “whole, without defect”: “Job was a perfect and upright man” (*anthropos akakos alethinos amemptos*, Job 2:3, cf. 8:20; 36:5; Prov 2:21; 13:6). On the other hand, the meaning “simple, without malice” is clear in Jer 11:19—“I, like an innocent lamb (*hos arnion akakon*) that is led to the slaughter.” The Hebrew *‘alûph*, “tame,” was understood to mean “without malice, naive,” not suspecting that it was being led to its death. *Akakos* is linked with uprightness (Ps 25:21). But the LXX created a new type of “simple” (Hebrew *pethî*), something like “ingenuous,” almost foolishly simple,⁶ as opposed to the crafty, the clever, the astute, the sly, the deceitful. The Book of Proverbs is addressed to those who are inexperienced and simple (*akakois*) to teach them discernment (Prov 1:4; 8:5); they need to be educated (15:10, *paideia akakou*) because they are ignorant and will only learn prudence little by little (21:11, *panourgotos ginetai ho akakos*); they are considered

simpletons and derided (1:22). They believe everything that they are told (14:15), and their ignorance of all malice leaves them incapable of resisting the temptations of concupiscence, so they let themselves be perverted (Wis 4:12). They are a bit dim.

This candor is a function of age (“the perfect innocence of newborns”)⁷ and of virtue (Diodorus Siculus 5.66). The high priests must not keep company with any but “totally innocent and upright folk” (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.105), but this naiveté or simplemindedness is dangerous, because it makes a person credulous, and astute and hypocritical people take advantage. Charlatans link up with “simple and ingenuous souls (*aplastous kai akakotatois ethesi*) whom they lure and deceive.”⁸

These are the credulous simpletons who are in view in Rom 16:18, which warns against “those people,” Judaizers or Gnostics who instigate dissension and scandal through their teaching (verse 17); “they seduce the hearts of the simple,”⁹ i.e., of naive people who are easily duped. In contrast, when Heb 7:26 writes of Christ the heavenly high priest, “Such is the high priest that we needed, holy, innocent, undefiled” (*hosios, akakos, amiantos*),¹⁰ this means absolute perfection in the sense of the Book of Job, with an extreme insistence on the absence of any stain, for in heaven he is even “separated from sinners.” Hence the redundancy of these adjectives, which amounts to a superlative. *Hosios* implies (1) consecrated to God as a priest; (2) holy in the cultic sense, possessing the qualities necessary for the accomplishment of the sacred functions;¹¹ (3) holy in the moral sense, possessing a perfection that is lacking in nothing, carrying God’s will completely. *Akakos* means that like an innocent lamb (Jer 11:19), Christ is the spotless victim, acceptable to God (Job 8:20). *Amiantos* means without stain, pure, is the adjective used for the chaste (Heb 13:4), for a consecrated temple (2Macc 14:36; 15:34), for authentically religious acts (Jas 1:27). The perfection of the Christ-Priest is thus consummate, absolute, religious, and moral.

¹ Cf. W. Grundmann, “κακός, ἄκακος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 469–487. Having no known etymology, κακός expresses a lack, an incapacity, a weakness; the substantive κακόν, κακά: woe, suffering, ruin; κάκωσις: mistreatment (Acts 7:34); the denominative verb κακώω = mistreat, do evil, destroy (Acts 7:6, 19; 12:1; 14:2; 18:10; 1Pet 3:13). The philosophers reflected on evil, its origin, nature, and consequences. On the moral level, κακός is the opposite of ἀγαθός and ἀρετή (Rom 7:19-21; 12:21; 13:3-4; 16:19; Philo, *Post. Cain* 32; *Good Man Free* 84; *Spec. Laws* 2.53; *Flight* 62, 79; Epictetus 2.4.4; 4.1.42; Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.7.5; [Zeno, vol. 2, p. 57, 19; p. 70, 14: κατὰ τὰ περὶ ψυχῆν, 1.1.12; Cleanthes, vol. 1, p. 26, 6]; Plutarch, *De comm. not.* 17, 34; *De Stoic. rep.* 35), especially in the LXX, where the term is found ninety-five times in Proverbs alone. In the NT,

(Mark 7:21, 23; 1Tim 6:10; Jas 1:13; 3:8; 1Pet 3:10, quoting Ps 31:13-17), κακός is replaced especially by ἀμαρτία and πονηρός; cf. Col 3:5—επιθυμίαν κακὴν (like Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.84) and Luke 16:25—τὰ κακά, ruin, woe.

² Cf. Plutarch, *De aud. poet.* 7, contrasting θαυμαστικοὶ καὶ ἄκακοι with καταφρονητικοὶ καὶ θρασει—ς.

³ Cf. Anaxilas, regarding flatterers: εἰ—ς ἄκακον τὸν ἀνθρώπου τρόπον (Athenaeus 6.254 c; cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 344, 9 A).

⁴ Cf. H. Herter, “Das unschuldige Kind,” in *JAC*, 1961, pp. 146–162; L. Robert, “Enterrements et épitaphes,” in *L’Antiquité classique*, Brussels, 1968, pp. 430–433.

⁵ Πισίδης Ἑρμαι—ος, υἱ—ὸς Ἑρμοῦ, ἄκακον παιδεῖν (= παιδίον) ε—νθάδε κει—ται, *TAM* II, 3, n. 1147. The papyri provide only two occurrences of ἄκακος, which are cited by Moulton-Milligan: a rental contract on a house, λ[άχαν]ον νέον νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολ(ον) . . . ἄκακον, i.e., not damaged, intact (*BGU* IV, 1015, 1; third century AD); a receipt for the payment for a shipment of 1,485 1/4 *artabai* of grain: σίτου ... καθαροῦ ἀκάκου (*P. Oxy.* 142, 5; sixth century).

⁶ Ps.-Plato, *Il Alc.* 140 c: “People share unreason (ἀφροσύνην). Those who have the most of it we call madmen (μαινομένους); those who have somewhat less we call fools and nuts . . . some are fanatics, some are simple; others are people without malice (ἀκάκους), without experience (ἀπείρους), simpletons (ε—νεούς).”

⁷ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.119; *Virtues* 43: “They spared the young women out of pity for their innocent youth” (ἄκακον ἡλικίαν); *Flacc.* 68: these men burned people without pity for innocent youth (ἄκακον ἡλικίαν); *To Gaius* 234: τὴν ἄκακον ἡλικίαν; Plutarch, *Mulier. virt.* 23: παιδίσκη νέα καὶ ἄκακος; cf. Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.12.1389b9. Josephus does not use this adjective.

⁸ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.101; *Husbandry* 96: “a serpent who speaks with a human voice, who insinuates himself into the most innocent ways of life (ἀκακωτάτοις ἤθεσιν), who deceives a woman through the false splendor of his seduction”; *Joseph* 6: “in his innocence (ἀκάκοις τοι—ς ἤθεσιν), Joseph did not perceive his brothers’ secret enmity”; *Pss. Sol.* 4.6—the judge who lives in iniquity “is ready to enter any house with a smile, like an innocent person” (ὡς ἄκακον); 4.25—“They deceived innocent souls

(ψυχὰς ἀκακῶ—ν) through their sophistry”; 12.4—“May God save the innocent from the tongue of the godless.”

⁹ —Εξαπατω—σι τὰς καρδίας τῶ—ν ἀκάκων. O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, Göttingen, 1955) translates “die Arglosen”; E. Käsemann (*An die Römer*, Tübingen, 1973), “die Arglosen” = “the simple” (ET *Commentary on Romans*, trans. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, 1980). Cf. W. Schmithals, “Die Irrlehrer von Rm XVI, 17–20,” in *ST*, vol. 13, 1959, pp. 51–69 (mentions the νήπιοι ε—ν Χριστῶ— of 1Cor 2:6ff.; 3:1ff); R. Devreesse, “La deuxième aux Corinthiens et la seconde finale aux Romains,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, pp. 146–161; R. Trvijano, “Ἐὐλογία in St. Paul and the Text of Rom. XVI, 18,” in *SE*, vol. 6, Berlin, 1973, pp. 537–540.

¹⁰ Cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, pp. 199ff. R. A. Stewart, “The Sinless High-Priest,” in *NTS*, vol. 14, 1967, pp. 126–135.

¹¹ S. Meinke, “Der Platonische und neutestamentliche Begriff der ὁσιότης,” in *TSK*, 1884, pp. 743–768; H. van der Walk, “Zum Worte ὁσιος,” in *Mnemosyne*, 1942, p. 118; H. Jeanmaire, “Le Substantif Hosia et sa signification comme terme technique dans le vocabulaire religieux,” in *REG*, 1945, pp. 66–89; L. Moulinier, *Le Pur et l’impur dans la pensée des Grecs*, Paris, 1952.

ἄκαρπος

akarpos, fruitless, barren

akarpos, S 175; *TDNT* 3.616; *EDNT* 2.251–252; *NIDNTT* 1.721, 723; *MM* 17; *L&N* 23.202, 65.34; *BAGD* 29

Sterility or barrenness—the incapacity for generation, the condition of that which does not produce anything—is a term that applies literally to unproductive land,¹ of trees that bear no fruit,² and of unmarried persons with no children.³ It is also used figuratively for a fruitless labor (Wis 15:4), a profitless work,⁴ such as the *erga akarpa* of darkness which produce nothing good or valuable (Eph 5:11), as opposed to the fruit of the light (verse 9); and above all it is used of the word of God smothered in the hearts of some by the cares of the world.⁵

It is more difficult to say exactly what the meaning is in Titus 3:14—“Our people⁶ must also learn to be first in good works . . . so that they will not be without fruit” (*hina me osin akarpoi*).⁷ It could refer to growth in virtue⁸ or to the gaining of a reward.⁹ Most likely, however, this is a reference to a law of fruitbearing, which is a major urgency of New

Testament ethics.¹⁰ It appears in the Synoptics, from the Sermon on the Mount, where the plant is judged by its fruit (Matt 7:16-20), and the parable of the Sower (13:3-8) to the incident involving the barren fig tree (Luke 13:6-9); in St. Paul (Rom 7:4; Eph 2:10), who prescribes the bearing of fruit;¹¹ and in St. John, where the branch is judged by its productivity (John 15:2, 4-8; cf. 12:24). Hence *akarpōs* gains a theological significance in the language of the New Testament: if every Christian is supposed to engage in fruitful activity,¹² the false teachers are without fruit (Jude 12), and the bad Christian is one who produces no fine and noble works. His barrenness is the proof that he is a counterfeit; he is not vitally connected to Christ.

¹ Jer 2:6 (the desert without water); Polybius 12.3.2; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.300 (cf. *War* 4.452: a bare and arid mountain); *P.land.* 142, col. II, 24–25, second century AD (unproductive soil).

² Jude 12; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 900, 30 (first century AD). In AD 316, Aurelius Irenaeus, president of the carpenters' guild, relates his evaluation of a tree that has been sterile for years and is still incapable of producing any fruit (*P.Oxy.* 53, 9). In the papyri, this phrase constantly recurs with respect to the transfer of fields: "with the trees [or plants] that bear fruit and those that do not bear fruit" (*P.Dura* 26, 11; *P.Michael.* 42 A 18; *P.Hamb.* 23, 19; 68, 7; *P.Avroman* 1; ed. E. H. Minns, in *JHS*, vol. 35, 1915, pp. 22–65); cf. Epictetus 1.17.9–10: "The bushel is made of wood, it is sterile.... Logic is also sterile."

³ Dedicated epigram at Philoxenos: ὀρφανὸς ἐ—κ προγόνων, ἄγονοθ^α ανεν, ὦ τὸν ἄκαρπον βλαστόν (*I.Thas.*, 332, 10); cf. the adverbial usage from the fourth century BC in this epitaph of Elpis: "I have twice endured the pains of childbirth, not without fruit, οὐδ ἐ—ς ἄκαρπον" (*I.Sard.*, 104, 3). Cf. 4Macc 16:7—"Futile these seven fattenings! Useless these seven gestations . . . barren (ἄκαρποι) the first care that I gave them." According to Josephus, Abraham returned thanks to God that Sarah, at first sterile (ἀκάρπως) was then made fecund (*Ant.* 2.213).

⁴ 1Cor 14:14 (cf. P. Bonnard, "L'Intelligence chez saint Paul," in *Mélanges F. J. Leenhardt*, Geneva, 1968, pp. 13–14); cf. the irascible athletes with dry and passionate dispositions who bring no returns for their trainers—ἄκαρποι τοι—ς γυμνάζουσι—like the hot sand for the seedings of farmers (Philostratus, *Gym.* 42).

⁵ Matt 13:22—ἄκαρπος γίνεται; cf. Luke 8:14—οὐ τελεσφοροῦσιν; Mark 4:7—καρπὸν οὐκ ἔδωκεν.

⁶ Οἱ— ἡμέτεροι designates a definite plurality (the suffix *-tero* added to ἡμεῖς has a differentiating function, cf. E. Benveniste, *Noms d'agent*, Paris, 1948, p. 119): members of the same family (Plato, *Menex.* 248b; Strabo 6.3.3), clients (*P.Oxy.* 37, col. I, 16; from AD 49 *P.Fam.Tebt.* 24, 99, *P.Oslo* 80, 5), “our people” as belonging to a restricted group (*P.Oxy.* 787, a letter of recommendation from the year 16: ὡς ἔστιν ἡμέτερος = as he is one of ours; cf. in 116, at the time of the Jewish insurrection in Egypt: οἱ— ἡμέτεροι ἠττήθησαν, *C.Pap.Jud.* 438, 7; *P.Ryl.* 696, 4; *P.Oslo* 127, 14). Here the group is Christians on Crete, as opposed to “those outside” (1Thess 4:12; 1Cor 5:12; Col 4:5; 1Tim 3:7), Jews or pagans (cf. Titus 1:10).

⁷ Several commentators see here a proleptic response to the accusations of the Romans that the Christians are useless citizens, “infructuosi in negociis” (“unproductive in business”), as Tertullian puts it; he responds: “Navigamus nos vobiscum et militamus et rusticamur et mercamur: proinde miscemus artes nostras, operas nostras publicamus usui vestro” (*Apol.* 42: “We sail, fight, farm, and trade with you; so also we will share our arts; we publish our works for your use”).

⁸ Cf. 2Pet 1:8—These virtues “when you possess them and they abound keep you from being either inactive or without fruit—οὐκ ἀργοὺς οὐδὲ ἀκάρπους—in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.” —Ἀργός is used for a worker who is doing nothing (Matt 20:3, 6), for goods or properties that bring no return (*P.Flor.* 1, 4, 13), deeds or works that do not succeed (1Tim 5:13; Jas 2:20).

⁹ Titus proclaims, “noble deeds should not go unrewarded” (Josephus, *War* 6.36).

¹⁰ J. Bommer, *Die Idee der Fruchtbarkeit in den Evangelien*, Pfullingen, 1950(dissertation); C. Spicq, “Le Chrétien doit porter du fruit,” in *VSpir*, 363, 1951, pp. 605–615; F. Böckle, *Die Idee der Fruchtbarkeit in den Paulusbriefen*, Fribourg, 1953; A. Lozeron, *La Notion de fruit dans le N.T.*, Lausanne, 1957. Cf. H. Riesenfeld, “Le Langage parabolique dans les épîtres de saint Paul,” in *Recherches bibliques*, vol. 5, Bruges, 1960, pp. 53ff.

¹¹ Cf. Col 1:6, 10, καρποφορεῖ—ν; cf. Heb 6:7-8; 12:11. Origen, commenting on the parable of the talents (Luke 19:11-27) in terms of Gen 1:28 and Wis 14:4, explains that God does not want his gifts to humankind to remain unproductive: θέλει δὲ μὴ ἀργὰ εἶναι μηδὲ ἄκαρπα μήτε ἀτελεσφόρητα τὰ δοθέντα τῷ— ἀνθρώπῳ (*P.Giss.* 17,22).

¹² Ἔργα = καρπός; cf. Phil 1:22—καρπὸς ἔργου; Rom 6:22—ἔχετε τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶ—ν (subjective genitive: your personal fruit).

ἀκατάγνωστος

akatagnostos, unobjectionable, irreproachable

akatagnostos, S 176; *TDNT* 1.714–715; *EDNT* 1.48; MM 17; L&N 33.415; BAGD 29

In his preaching, Titus is to speak only “unattackable” words, so that the adversaries¹ will be disarmed, finding nothing blameworthy or unseemly to denounce (Titus 2:8). That is to say, in the church, which is a column or buttress of the truth (1Tim 3:15), one proclaims only the truth, that to which no one can raise any objection (cf. 2Cor 13:8).

The NT hapax *akatagnostos*, literally “nothing known against,” is a juridical term expressing the innocence of one acquitted in a trial.² It does not appear in the papyri except in the Byzantine period, with respect to an unimpeachable contract or an irreproachable person. Thus it has a moral value, often associated with *amemptos*,³ *deontos*,⁴ and *spoudeos*:⁵ the contractor agrees to work or to render his services, promising that he will be “without reproach” or irreproachable. Titus 2:8 is thus one of many cases where St. Paul seems to be ahead of his time with respect to linguistic usages.

¹ Ὁ ἐ—ξ ἐ—ναντίας is the one facing (Mark 15:39), hence opposing; the one who is against (Acts 28:17; *P.Ryl.* 144, 15). Here, it is pagan criticism in general (cf. Titus 2:5, 10; 1Pet 2:12; ὁ ἀντικείμενος, 1Tim 5:14), but above all the false teachers, the opposition by definition (Titus 1:9; 2Tim 2:25), lying in wait for any possible grounds for dispute.

² 2Macc 4:47—Antiochus IV “sent back Menelaus, the author of all this evil, absolved of the accusations brought against him and condemned to death some unfortunates who, if they had been able to defend their cause even before the Scythians [the cruelest of barbarians], would have been acquitted (ἀκατάγνωστοι).” The word, unknown in the literary language before the third century, is attested in the inscriptions, cf. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 200; εοδώρα δούλη θεοῦ ἀκατάγνωστος (A. C. Bandy, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete*, Athens, 1970, n.8).

³ *P.Michael.* 41, 41; *PSI* 932, 10; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XI, 7, 15; *P.Oxy.* 2478, 19. Cf. *P.Grenf.1.58*, 11: τρεφομένων παρ ε—μοῦ ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως.

⁴ *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 51, 19; *SB* 9293, 16: ε—νδέξασθαι ε—ν αὐται—ς δεόντως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; *P.Lond.* 113 (4), 15. Cf. *Stud.Pal.*, vol. 20, 219, 17.

⁵ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XI, 10, 4; cf. *P.Oxy.* 140, 15: ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀόκνως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς; *P.Giss.* 56, 14; cf. *P.Mil.* 48, 6; *SB* 9011, 6; 9152, 10.

ἀκλινής

aklines, stable, unchanging, firm

aklines, S 186; *EDNT* 1.49; MM 18; L&N 31.80; BAGD 30

Unknown in Josephus, attested by one late occurrence in the papyri,¹ *aklines*, literally “which does not bend, is straight,” signifies “stable, set,” then “unmoving, at rest”; it is a synonym of *bebaios*.² It is used of an enduring friendship (*Anth. Pal.* 12.158.4) and above all to unshakable reason or judgment.³ The emphasis is on immutability.⁴ It is Philo who gave this adjective its religious and moral sense by attributing stability on the one hand to God, as opposed to creatures,⁵ and on the other hand to the perfectly regenerated human.⁶ From that point one can see how the term made it into the vocabulary of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which exhorts us to hold fast the *homologia* of our hope (Heb 10:23). This hope, which is “firmly founded” on the promise of God,⁷ must be guarded without wavering. Note that the content of faith is identical to its hope (cf. Heb 11:1), just as in 1Pet 3:15.

¹ A fifth-century petition, ε—υχαριστήσω ται—ς ἀκλεινει—ς ἀκοαι—ς τῆς ὑμετέρας ε—ξουσίας: I will give thanks to the impartial ears of your Authority (*P.Oxy.* 904, 9).

² Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.2, of an oath: ὄρκος ἔστω βέβαιος, ἀκλινής; cf. Heb 6:19.

³ 4Macc 6:7 contrasts the body of Eleazer, which has become feeble, to his reason, which remains sound and unshakable; cf. Philo, *Giants* 54: “Moses establishes his judgment immutably”; Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.2: “There exists

only one intelligence, which is unique, identical, always the same, unshakable (νοῦς ἀκλινης), and imitates her father as much as possible.” Cf. Lucian, *Encom. Demosth.* 33, ἄ. τῆς ψυχῆς.

⁴ 4Macc 17:3—“You stood up to the upheaval of the tortures without giving ground”; Philo, *Moses* 1.30: “as if one had arranged for oneself an immutable and perfectly sealed success, when perhaps the following day will no longer find us in the same situation”; *Virtues* 158: “the trunk [of the tree_ based on a firm foundation.”

⁵ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.83: “God explains the difference between himself and the creature; he himself remains always unmoving (ἀκλινης ἔστηκεν ἀεί) and the creature wavers and vacillates between opposite directions”; 2.89: “How can one believe in God? By learning that all else changes and he alone remains immutable (ἄτρεπτος)”; *Giants* 49: “Stability and immutable repose, these are what one finds with God, who always stands unmoving.”

⁶ Cf. A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 2, p. 214, who cites *Quest. Exod.* 2.96 (*immutabilitas*).

⁷ Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, pp. 330ff.

ἀκρασία, ε—γκράτεια

akrasia, lack of self-control; *enkrateia*, self-control

akrasia, S 192; *TDNT* 2.339–342; *EDNT* 1.54; *NIDNTT* 1.494–496; L&N 88.91; BAGD 33 | ***enkrateia***, S 1466; *TDNT* 2.339–342; *EDNT* 1.377–378; *NIDNTT* 1.494–496; MM 180; L&N 88.83; BAGD 216

Both of these terms derive from *kratos*, “force”; the *enkrates* is the person who is master of himself; the *a-krates* is the one who cannot contain himself, who is lacking in power. From the time of Socrates, who made *enkrateia* the basis and foundation of all the virtues,¹ and Aristotle, who distinguished between the perfectly chaste person who knows no impure desires (*sophron*) and the continent person (*enkrates*) who feels their power but resists them (*Eth. Nic.* 7.1–11; pp. 1145a–1152a), this control over impulses and this tempering of the passions are considered among the Greeks as an element of prudence-temperance (*sophrosyne*), and consequently an essential virtue for the honest person.

In the OT, it appears only in the books influenced by Hellenism and has no distinctive meaning,² as opposed to the *Letter of Aristeas*.³ In the

NT, it is associated with righteousness,⁴ with gentleness (Gal 5:23), or inserted between *gnosis* and *hypomone* (2Pet 1:6), receiving no particular emphasis in these “catalogs of virtues.” It seems that it is mentioned only because of the influence of Stoic ethics, which gave it its greatest prominence.⁵ The fact is that Philo considers conversion to be a passing “from incontinence to self-control” (*ex akrasias eis enkrateian*, *Rewards* 116), the latter being the most useful of virtues,⁶ allowing the courageous to triumph over the obstacles along the way and arrive at last in heaven (*Spec. Laws* 4.112); it is opposed to impure desire (1.149: *epithymia*), to the love of pleasure (*Abraham* 24: *philedonia*), to gastronomic and sexual delights, and even to intemperance in language.⁷ It is in this sense that 1Cor 9:25 compares the Christian to an athlete, observing: “Whoever contends—*ho agonizomenos* —submits to every kind of abstinence.”⁸ We know how rigorous the training of Greek athletes was,⁹ and the self-mastery cited here as an example applies to all arenas. The people of the end-times will not have it (2Tim 3:3, *akrateis*); it is not so much that they lead a dissolute life, but rather that they cannot control themselves, and so they no longer act as human beings—they are amoral beings.¹⁰ In the first century AD, self-control is especially a virtue of the religious, who master their passions,¹¹ and of the leader, who cannot direct others unless he is *sui compos*. According to Onasander 1.2–3, the first quality of a good general is to be *sophron* (so as not to be distracted from duty by sensual pleasures) and *enkrates*, because slavery to the passions would cause him to lose all authority. For Ecphantus, the king who would govern in accord with virtue will be *enkrates*.¹² The tradition lived on with Emperor Julian, who presented himself as an example to all his governors in that he administered the affairs of the empire “with such decorum and prudence and self-control” (*meta tosautes kosmiotetos kai sophrosynes kai enkrateias*).¹³ It is clear that we must interpret against this literary background the virtue demanded of candidates for overseer: that they be *enkrates*, that is to say, self-controlled.¹⁴ But with Christians, this virtue is a gift of the Holy Spirit (Gal 5:23).

¹ According to Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.5.4 (cf. T. Camelot, “Egkratéia,” in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 4, col. 358; O. Gogon, *Kommentar zum zweiten Buch von Xenophons Memorabilien*, Basel, 1959, p. 9), implicitly followed by Philo: “On the basis of self-control, the *Therapeutai* build up the other virtues of the soul” (*Contemp. Life* 34). This became a commonplace since Panetius defined *temperamentia* in similar terms (Cicero, *Part. Or.* 76–78).

² Notably in Sir 18:15, 30, evoking the soul that is master of itself: ε—γκράτεια ψυχῆς; cf. 26:15.

³ “By nature, all men are *akrateis* and have a natural inclination to seek pleasure. . . . The state of virtue, on the other hand, restrains those who are being pulled away by the love of pleasure and invites them to give priority to *enkrateia* and justice” (*Ep. Arist.* 277–278).

⁴ Acts 24:25; same association in *Acts John* 84. This theme of Paul’s preaching is taken up in *Acts Paul Thec.* 5: λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ε—γκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως. . . . Μακάριοι οἱ—ε—γκρατεῖ—ς; cf. Eleazer: “I will never abandon you, beloved temperance” (4Macc 5:34).

⁵ Cf. Musonius Rufus, frag. 5 (ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 50, 22), frag. 12 (p. 88, 3–4), frag. 16 (p. 104, 20). Cleanthes (in Plutarch, *De Stoic. rep.* 7); Galen, *De Plac. Hipp. et Plat.*, pp. 467, 5–468, 4, etc.

⁶ *Spec. Laws* 1.173: ὀφηλιμωτάτη τω—ν ἀρετω—ν, guaranteeing the victory of healthy reason over the attacks of incontinence and cupidity (cf. 149–150; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.319; 2.244, where ἀκρασία is a sort of drunkenness which bogs down one’s reasoning ability). When the Scribes and the Pharisees, in their carefulness about external purity, wash the outsides of vessels, they do not dream that “the contents of the cup and the plate are the products of theft and intemperance, ε—ξ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας” (Matt 23:25); cf. *Pss. Sol.* 4.3—ἔνοχος ε—ν ποικιλία ἁμαρτιω—ν, ε—ν ἀκρασίαις.

⁷ *Prelim. Stud.* 80: “Philosophy teaches mastery of the stomach (ε—γκράτειαν γαστρός), mastery of the guts (ε—γκράτειαν τω—ν μετὰ γαστέρα), mastery also of the tongue (ε—γκράτειαν καὶ γλώττης)”; cf. *Worse Attacks Better* 102–103; *Good Man Free* 84; *Spec. Laws* 2.195. Cf. a votive epigram of the third century BC, found in Afghanistan: “As a child, be on your good behavior; as a young man, be master of yourself (ε—γκρατής); in midlife, be just; as an old man, be wise; at your death, do not be grieved” (in *NCIG*, n. 37).

⁸ The scholia on Demosthenes in Codex Bavaricus mention an Orphic work, the *Steliteutica*, of which the only known fragment furnishes a parallel to 1Cor 9:25; cf. A. Erhardt, “An Unknown Orphic Writing in the Demosthenes Scholia and St. Paul,” *ZNW*, 1957, pp. 101–110.

⁹ Philostratus, *Gym.* 25: The trainer must know whether or not the young athlete is self-controlled or not, εἰ—ε—γκρατῆς ἢ ἀκρατῆς, if he is a drinker or a glutton; 52: “If athletes have just yielded to the pleasures of Venus, it is better not to exercise them. Are they perhaps men who will take shameful pleasure rather than wreaths and the proclamations of heralds?”;

C. Spicq, *Epîtres aux Corinthiens*, p. 235. The only occurrence of ε—γκρατεύεσθαι in the NT is 1Cor 7:9—“If they cannot remain continent, then let them marry”; cf. the ἀκρασία of spouses separated from one another, 1Cor 7:5.

¹⁰ Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 222–223; 227–278; Epictetus 2.21.3, 7; 3.1.8.

¹¹ Among the Essenes, the candidate had to supply evidence of his temperance during a trial period (Josephus, *War* 2.138; cf. 120: “These men hold temperance and restraint of the passions to be virtues”). It is through temperance that the worshipers of Isis reached God (Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 2), as also the magi and Brahmins (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 49.7; cf. Hippolytus, *Haer.* 1.24.1–4) or the Egyptian priests after the model of Cheremon (Porphyry, *Abst.* 4.6–8; cf. A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 1, pp. 30ff.).

¹² Cf. Stobaeus 7.66; vol. 4, p. 279, 6–19; likewise Diotogenes, in Stobaeus 7.62, vol. 4, p. 266, 11 (cf. L. Delatte, *Les Traités de la royauté d’Ecphante, Diotogène et Sthénidas*, Liège-Paris, 1942, p. 258); Musonius Rufus, frag. 8 (ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 62, 10ff.).

¹³ *P.Fay.* 20.21. By way of contrast, Antiochus was carried away by the violence of his passions (ὕπὸ δὲ ἀκρασίας παθω—ν, Josephus, *War* 1.34), and the sons of Herod did not control their tongues (ἀκρατει—ς λέγειν, idem, *Ant.* 16.399).

¹⁴ Titus 1:8; cf. the tomb inscription of a martyr, around AD 300, Βερέκων ε—γκρατὸς μαρτυρήσας ε—κοιμή (*SB* 7315, 9).

ἀλαζονεία, ἀλαζών

alazoneia, boastful arrogance; *alazon*, boaster

alazoneia, S 212; *TDNT* 1.226–227; *EDNT* 1.56; *NIDNTT* 3.28–32; MM 20; L&N 88.219; BAGD 34 | ***alazon***, S 213; *TDNT* 1.226–227; *EDNT* 1.56; *NIDNTT* 2.435; L&N 88.219; BAGD 34

It is not easy to define precisely the nature of this vice. It is denounced in the pagan literature¹ as well as in the Bible; but each author has his own conception of what it is. Sometimes it has to do with bombastic braggarts of the sort so thoroughly caricatured in Greco-Roman comedy,² especially for the extravagance of their talk; sometimes it has to do with the boastful and presumptuous, whose chatter is tinged with insolence.³

Alazoneia is a vice of the rich and of those in the public eye (Wis 5:8; Philo, *Virtues* 162), of the man of politics (*T. Job* 21.3) and of the ruler (2Macc 15:6; Philo, *Virtues* 161; *Spec. Laws* 4.170), of the orator, the philosopher, the poet, the magician, the doctor,⁴ that is, of all those who lay claim to intelligence (Wis 17:7), but also of superiors who abuse their authority vis-à-vis their inferiors.⁵ *Alazon* is thus a term of the wisdom vocabulary that associates arrogance, presumption,⁶ and above all pride.⁷ The *alazon* takes himself for a god or boasts that God is his father (Wis 2:16). Thus he is an impostor and an ungodly person, after the fashion of Antiochus who “in his superhuman conceit thought that he could give orders to the waves of the sea” (2Macc 9:8).

All of these nuances are found in the NT, especially the most ridiculous form of *alazoneia*: “Now you glory in your boastings; all vainglory of this sort is iniquitous” (Jas 4:16). At issue are presumptuous merchants and those “business travelers” who are puffed up in their imagination and in their speech,⁸ considering themselves rich in intelligence, ease, and savoir-faire, proud of the importance of their enterprise and their profits, multiplying fine projects for the future. All of this is inane, vain presumption, ignorance of creaturely limitations. To pride oneself on one’s own abilities is, religiously speaking, a sin.

This vice will be much more serious among the people of the end times, “impostors and arrogant,” who are simultaneously proud and blasphemers: *alazones*, *hyperephanoi*, *blasphemoi*,⁹ thus creatures in rebellion against divine authority who confine themselves to their own sufficiency, setting themselves up as their own standard for life. Henceforth, according to Rom 1:30, it is the province of the pagans to be “proud, blustery, inventors of evil.” These are not vain people who exalt themselves thoughtlessly, but people who go to the extreme excess of abolishing their Creator in their thoughts and in their lives. God abhors this conceit (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.265).

This nuance seems necessary in interpreting 1John 2:16—“All that is in the world—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, *he alazonia tou biou* —is not of the Father.”¹⁰ If St. John did not mention as a third *epithymia* “the lust for riches or money,” it is precisely because he had his sights set on a more serious vice than the ostentation of the wealthy or their arrogance toward the poor. He contrasts with God the creaturely pride, the mastery of one’s own existence, of the person who decides and directs the course of his life without taking God into account.¹¹ This “sufficiency” is the exact opposite of the absolute duty of worshiping God and serving God devoutly; it follows that this is something altogether different from the classical and profane *alazoneia*.

¹ For Aristotle, the boaster sins against truthfulness, “he loves to seem to possess claims to glory that are not really his, or to exaggerate those that he does have. . . . His entire being is vile (because if it wasn’t, he would derive no pleasure from lies), but he is apparently more vain than wicked. . . . Those who boast out of a desire for glory pretend to possess all that inspires praise and congratulations” (*Eth. Nic.* 4.13, pp. 1127a21ff.); cf. Cyrus: “ὁ ἀλαζών seems to me to apply to people who are richer or braver than they are and who promise to do things that are beyond their capabilities” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.2.12; cf. 1.6.22). “Boasting, it seems to me, is pretending to have advantages that one does not have” (Theophrastus, *Char.* 23.1). Numerous texts in O. Ribbeck, *Alazon*, Leipzig, 1882, which outlines a portrait of the *alazon* and gives synonyms (cf. J. Pollux, *Onom.*, vol. 1, 195; vol. 9, 146). Cf. the commentary of H. Lloyd-Jones on Menander, *Perikeromene*, 268, in *ZPE*, vol. 15, 1974, p. 209.

² Cf. the “empty-talking boasters” (Athenaeus 1.52 = 29c), bullies vaunting their exploits (the *miles gloriosus* of Plautus, or of Lucian in *Dial. Meret.* 1, 9, 13, 15; the soldier Thrason in Terence, *Eun.*, or Polemon in Menander, *Pk.*; cf. J. P. Cèbe, *La caricature et la parodie*, Paris, 1966, pp. 50ff.); boastfulness, associated with exaggeration (περιττολογία; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.111) is synonymous with tall tales (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Hell.* 7.1.38); but is always severely judged, as is Isokos ἀλαζών ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνοήτος (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.264), “because *alazoneia* and haughtiness are characteristic of the limited soul,” *Spec. Laws* 4.165). At banquets one should at least place “near the boaster, the modest,” Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.2.6). “The prattle of those who get puffed up about themselves and their accomplishments” (Polybius 5.33.8).

³ Prov 21:24—αὐθάδης καὶ ἀλαζών. *Moses* 2.240: “Step forward, now, you boasters, you who puff up your chests . . . who straighten your necks and raise your eyebrows, . . . you for whom the lot of widows is a joke and the condition of orphans a subject for mocking”; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.179; 4Macc 1:26; 2:15; 8:19; *Jos. Asen.* 4.16: “his daughter had answered him with insolence and anger.” Cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* 4.9.20: “Jactatio est voluptas gestiens et se offerens insolentius.”

⁴ Lucian, *Rh. Pr.*, *Dial. Mort.* 1; 10.8; *Tim.* 54; *Merc. Cond.* 35–36; *Ind.* 29 (cf. J. Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain*, p. 205; H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata*, p. 198). *Alazon* is thus a term of insult, defined by Suetonius: παρὰ τὸ ἀλώμενος ζῆν (J. Taillardat, *Suétone, Des Termes injurieux*, Paris, 1967, pp. 56, 86). According to Strabo (4.4.5) and Arrian (*Anab.* 1.4), *alazoneia* is a flaw of the Celts and Gauls.

⁵ *Spec. Laws* 3.137: “Masters should not prove their arrogance, pride, and frightful cruelty by abusing their power over servants.” In Job 28:18, υι—οὐ ἀλαζόνων (Theodotion) are savage beasts. But Philo observes that “*alazoneia* exists also among unimportant people . . . like each of the other passions and moral disorders and weaknesses” *Virtues* 162; cf. 172); such is the one who vaunts himself before the king (Prov 25:6; this could be the flatterer, κόλαξ).

⁶ *Virtues* 161, 165; *Flight* 33–34; *Spec. Laws* 4.88; 2.18–19.

⁷ Hab 2:5—“ἀνὴρ ἀλαζών (*yahîr*): the proud man . . . is never satisfied.” *Prelim. Stud.* 41; *Virtues* 171–172, citing Pindar (Frag. 280): “every *alazon* considers himself neither a human nor a demigod but an entirely divine being.” *T. Jos.* 17.8: καὶ ὕψωσα ε—μαυτὸν ε—ν αὐτοί—ς ε—ν ἀλαζονείᾳ διὰ τὴν κοσμικὴν μου δόξαν, ἀλλ’ ἤμην ε—ν αὐτοί—ς ὡς εἷς τω—ν ε—λαχίστων; *T. Dan* 1.6. The Pythagorean Callicratidas: ἀνάγκα γὰρ τὼς πολλὰ ἔχοντας τετυφω—σθαι πρα—τον, τετυφωμένως δὲ ἀλαζόνας γίνεσθαι, ἀλαζόνας δὲ γενομένως ὑπερηφάνως ἡμεν (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 85.16; vol. 4, p. 684, 3–5). This is why Philo declares that to repress and destroy *alazoneia* it is necessary to remember God in one’s heart (*Virtues* 165). He opposes these boasters to the humble (*Moses* 2.240–241), as Clement of Rome also does constantly, *1Clem.* 2.1: “You were all humble, free of conceit, more ready to obey than to command”; 13.1: “Let us be humble in heart, let us set aside all feelings of conceit, of vanity, of foolish pride”; 16.2: “The Lord Jesus Christ did not follow after conceit and pride . . . but with a humble heart”; cf. 35.5.

⁸ Cf. *1Clem.* 21.5: “Greeks all proud of their arrogant talk.”

⁹ 2Tim 3:2. In a sin list, comparable with that of Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 32, which juxtaposes ἀλαζών δοκησίσοφος αὐθάδης.

¹⁰ On the basis of Polybius 6.57.6—ἡ περὶ τοὺς βίους ἀλαζονεία—and especially Wis 5:8—πλοῦτος μετὰ ἀλαζονείας—βίος is often understood as referring to riches (cf. 1John 3:17; Mark 12:44; Luke 15:12, 30). The point would have to do with audacious confidence placed in worldly goods (P. Joüon, “I Jo. II, 16, la présomption des richesses,” in *RSR*, 1938, pp. 479–481). Cf. J. Bonsirven: “The splendor of fortune, following the meaning of the two Greek words, ostentation, the display of all of one’s possessions (St. Cyprian translates: *ambitio saeculi, jactantia hujus vitae*), splendid luxury, in short, all the pursuits of vanity, one of the grossest forms of pride” (*Epîtres de saint Jean*, 2d ed., Paris, 1954, p. 118). C. H. Lensky, *The Epistles of St. Peter, St. John*, Columbus, 1945, p. 426, F. M. Braun, *Jean le théologien*, vol. 3, 2, p. 208: “ἀλαζονεία τοῦ βιοῦ, which we have

rendered by ‘pride of riches,’ would be the appeal of the power conferred by the possession of material goods.”

¹¹ This is the interpretation of J. Chaine, *Les Epîtres catholiques*, Paris, 1939, p. 164; R. Schnackenburg, *Die Johannesbriefe*, Freiburg, 1953, p. 114. —Αλαζών does not occur in the papyri, but cf. *P.Lond.* 1927, 32 (Christian, mid-fourth century, H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 111): τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ἀλαζονίαν ἀπεκήρυξας καὶ τὴν τῶ—ν κενοδόξων μεγαλαυχίαν ε—βδέλυξας.

ἀλήθεια, ἀληθεύω, ἀληθής, ἀληθινός, ἀληθω—ς

aletheia, truth; *aletheuo*, to speak the truth; *alethes*, true, truthful; *alethinος*, authentic, genuine; *alethos*, truly

aletheia, S 225; TDNT 1.232–247; EDNT 1.57–60; NIDNTT 3.874–878, 882–893; MM 21; L&N 70.4, 72.2; BDF §§234(7), 397(3); BAGD 35–36 | ***aletheuo***, S 226; TDNT 1.251; EDNT 1.57–60; NIDNTT 3.874, 877, 886–888; MM 21; L&N 33.251; BDF §101; BAGD 36 | ***alethes***, S 227; TDNT 1.247–249; EDNT 1.57–60; NIDNTT 3.874–877, 882–884, 888–891, 893; MM 21; L&N 70.3, 72.1, 88.39; BAGD 36 | ***alethinος***, S 228; TDNT 1.249–250; EDNT 1.57–60; NIDNTT 3.874, 877, 883–884, 888–889, 891–893; MM 21–22; L&N 70.3, 72.1, 73.2; BDF §263(a); BAGD 37 | ***alethos***, S 230; EDNT 1.57–60; NIDNTT 3.874, 877, 883, 888, 893; L&N 70.3; BDF §243; BAGD 37

All of these terms derive from *lanthano*, “go unnoticed, be unknown,” and in the middle and passive, “forget.” These compound forms with the alpha prefix mean “not hidden.” *Aletheia* is that which is not concealed, a fact or a condition that can be seen or expressed as it really is. To speak the whole truth¹ is to conceal nothing, and *aletheia* is the opposite of lying or forgetfulness.² An event is true (*alethes*) when it is unveiled; a hidden reality becomes explicit. A person who is true or sincere is one who conceals nothing and does not try to deceive.

Greek philosophy and religious strivings were dominated by the search for truth (*he zetesis tes aletheias*, Thucydides 1.20.3), as Plato explicates it: “By searching for truth I strive to make myself as perfect as possible in life and, when the time comes to die, in death.”³ The truth not only gives life; it gives the good life (Epictetus 1.4.31; 3.24.40), because it orients action: “If you knew the truth, you would necessarily act rightly.”⁴ It is a question of an ascent of the soul toward the “plane of truth” where it is possible to contemplate the Ideas, the veritable, authentic realities.⁵ Finally *aletheia* as a metaphysical concept refers to the nature or essence of

things—Being insofar as it is intelligible—and is contrasted to the terrestrial world of sensible phenomena. Not only is the true identical to being, the real;⁶ but it is the divine reality as revealed to humans. Truth is God (especially in Gnosticism, cf. *Corp. Herm.*, chapters 7 and 13).

In the LXX, *aletheia* never expresses a metaphysical concept. It almost always translates *‘emeth*, from the root *‘aman*, “be firm,” and thus refers to that which is solid, firm, valid, durable. A “true” path is one that ends where it is supposed to go (Gen 24:48; cf. Ps 25:10). The true is that which is real;⁷ “truly” relying on Yahweh means “actually” doing so (Isa 10:20). In a moral sense, truth is synonymous with sincerity and loyalty⁸ and the opposite of lying, falsehood, and counterfeiting (Prov 8:7; 22:21; 26:28). The Wisdom writings warn against hiding secrets (Wis 6:22) or speaking against the truth (Sir 4:25). Intentions are revealed (2Macc 3:9—*epynthaneto de ei tais aletheiais*); the exhortation is given to fight to the death for truth (Sir 4:28). This is in conformity with secular Greek,⁹ but, in accord with the underlying Hebrew, *aletheia* in the LXX suggests consistency and solidity and therefore fidelity. Hence Yahweh is called “God of truth”¹⁰ on the basis of his unchangeableness, the solidity or stability of his works, the certainty that his promises will be fulfilled: what he says always comes to pass. His utterances and actual events coincide.¹¹ God does not lie and never fails (Ps 132:11); the principle of his speech is truth (119:160). All his gifts are characterized by stability, fixity, perseverance, continuity;¹² to say that he does the truth (*aletheian epoiesas*, Neh 9:33; cf. Tob 4:6) is to say not only that his conduct is coherent but also that it corresponds to his prior declarations. Likewise, what is asked of the just is steadfast loyalty to the Lord: “If your sons watch their way, walking before me in truth with all their heart and all their soul.”¹³ Faithfulness and piety go together (Prov 14:22; 20:22). Not only is God near to all those who love truth-sincerity (Ps 145:18; Zech 8:19), he also showers blessings upon them.¹⁴

The usages of *aletheia* in Philo derive more from the word’s etymology and the Greek tradition than from the Greek Bible, although a religious meaning is retained. The Alexandrian philosopher constantly contrasts authentic divine revelation (the truth) with philosophers and lawmakers who, “wrapping their thought in superfluous bombast, have deceived the masses with the smoke of illusion, masking the truth under mythic fictions.”¹⁵ He means the pure, naked, unadorned truth (*Creation* 45; *Drunkenness* 6, 34), unchanged, with nothing added and nothing taken away (*Creation* 170); thus a revealing, the light shed by revelation. “There is no light for actions more brilliant than the truth” (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.45; cf. *Unchang. God* 96), and “it is God’s will to reveal the secrets of things to those who wish to know the truth” (*Joseph* 90). “Truth” is associated with clarity (*sapheneia*, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.124, 128, 140), with revealing¹⁶ and

light;¹⁷ it is “the knowledge of the true God” (*Rewards* 58; cf. *Contemp. Life* 89).

But Philo Platonizes by contrasting truth and appearance (*Migr. Abr.* 158; *Moses* 1.48); the study of intelligible essences, which yields truth, with the study of sensible objects, which yields opinion (*Rewards* 28). God is “Being, the one who is in truth,”¹⁸ “the one who is truth” (*Dreams* 1.60; *Abraham* 121), “truly existing” (*tou pros aletheian ontos theou, Decalogue* 81; *Spec. Laws* 1.313, 344). Truth basically means “reality”; “in truth” means “according to being” or “in reality”;¹⁹ true goods are real goods (*Creation* 21; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 99; *Giants* 15; *Virtues* 17: *tou pros aletheian biou*; cf. *Ep. Arist.* 260, 306); “Do you believe that among mortal realities there is found one that has true being, true substance?” (*Unchang. God* 172). It is God alone who is “the sole Artisan of the true human being, that is, the spirit in all its purity” (*Flight* 71); “God placed the true human, that is, the Spirit, in us, among the most sacred shoots and plants of moral worth” (*Plant.* 42; *Dreams* 1.215; *Virtues* 20). Consequently, “true life is to walk according to the orders and commandments of God” (*Prelim. Stud.* 87), “to grasp the truth” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 13), to be “well in tune with it” (*Post. Cain* 88), to revere it (*Spec. Laws* 4.33, 43). That is what is most honorable (*ibid.* 69, 71) and most profitable.²⁰ In any event, Philo is far removed from the cult of truth in the Psalms and at Qumran.²¹

On the grammatical level, note that apart from the plural,²² most of the occurrences of *aletheia* with the preposition *pros* (cf. *epi, ek, en*) conform to the language of the papyri.²³ These provide no new data. They give this noun the meaning “sincerity, objectivity.” In his edict in AD 68, Tiberius Julius Alexander writes, “As for the most important questions, I will make them known to him in all truth” (*auto deloso meta pases aletheias, BGU* 1563, 24 = *SB* 8444). One tells the truth, especially in judicial settings;²⁴ it is revealed: “since the whole truth concerning the matters previously written about will hardly be made known” (*ex hou deesei gnosthenai pasan ten periton progegrammenon aletheian, P.Oxy.* 283, 13); one is faithful to the facts (*C.P.Herm.* 18, 16). “That by all means the actual sum disbursed maybe known” (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 17). *Aletheia* is the real (“Let them not address us as people who have really been wronged”—*entynchanousin kat’aletheian plemmeloumenoi, C.Ord.Ptol.* 35, 9; second century BC) and is the opposite of falsehood and lying (“hating deviousness but honoring truth”).²⁵

This same meaning, truth-reality, appears in the Synoptic Gospels and in Acts, where *aletheia* never has a theological meaning.²⁶ Sometimes it has to do with questions of noting or identifying facts,²⁷ but usually *en* or *ep’ aletheias* is used with the verbs *didasko, eipon, lego*²⁸ to point to an utterance that is true, exactly correct, trustworthy—the opposite of false or ambiguous.

St. Paul uses the term *aletheia* in a way that agrees with its Greek etymology (that which may be seen in the open, as it is) but also takes account of OT usage; in various texts, one or the other element predominates. If people are lost, it is because “they did not accept the love of truth in order to be saved. . . . they did not believe the truth.”²⁹ Salvation depends first of all on the adherence and submission of the heart to the objective truth; these responses make it possible to recognize and accept it when it is revealed in the preaching of the gospel (verse 13, *pistis aletheias*). By being resistant toward God’s commands (Rom 2:8), humans “held the truth captive through their unrighteousness” (Rom 1:18). In other words, when salvation and righteousness were revealed (1:16-17), humans refused to accept them; they shackled or gagged the revelation, as it were, through their impiety and their sins.³⁰ This opposing force is next identified as the lie.³¹

This “truth” of revelation is the correct knowledge of reality (Hebrew *‘emeth*). The Jews possess in the Torah the *morphosis*, the form or expression of knowledge and truth (Rom 2:20); they are sure of the divine will respecting them. It has to be obeyed, after the fashion of submitting to a rule (Gal 5:7), with nothing added and nothing taken away (Gal 2:5); we must walk straight or firmly, according to the solidity of the gospel.³² Preaching and teaching in the church are “conformable to the truth that is in Jesus” (Eph 4:21), and every baptized Christian puts on “the new humanity, created according to God in the righteousness and holiness of truth.”³³ The Passover is to be celebrated “not with the old leaven, nor with the leaven of vice and perversity, but with the unleavened loaves of purity and truth” (*en azymois eilikrineias kai aletheias*, 1Cor 1:8); here “truth” is sincerity, honesty,³⁴ with a nuance of firmness as well (cf. Gal 5:7-9). This meaning, “truth-honesty,” is constant in the apostle.³⁵

The most numerous occurrences are those that give *aletheia* its Greek sense of true teaching, the expression or manifestation of the truth (and in a religious sense). “We have put aside the deceits of [false_ shame (*ta krypta tes aischynes*), we who do not walk in shrewdness (*en panourgia*) or falsify the word of God (*me dolountes ton logon tou theou*) but who, through the manifesting of the truth (*te phanerosei tes aletheias*), commend ourselves to every human conscience” (2Cor 4:2). This is the preaching-proclaiming of the unabridged kerygma, out in the light, under God’s watchful eye. Second Corinthians 6:4, 7: “recommending ourselves as ministers of God ... in the word of truth” (*en logo tes aletheias*), which is the gospel (Col 1:5), the good news of salvation (Eph 1:30), the divine revelation³⁶ that admits of no distortion or falsification.³⁷ Ultimately, Christianity is “the truth”;³⁸ a person accepts it and submits to it through the profession of faith³⁹ and sets out to follow “the way of truth” (2Pet 2:2). The church is a “pillar and supporting structure of the truth,” which is unchanging.⁴⁰ The heterodox who deviate from the faith (1Tim 2:4; 2Tim

2:25; 3:7) are “without the truth” (1Tim 6:5); heretics “turn their ears away from the truth” (2Tim 4:4), turn their back on it (Titus 1:14, *apostrophomenon ten aletheian*), deviate or walk away from the truth (2Tim 2:18, *estochesan*), wander away from it and get lost (Jas 5:19) and end up opposing it.⁴¹ In a word, the Christian religion is a cult of the truth; to be converted is to “come to the knowledge of the truth” (*eis epignosin aletheias elthein*, 1Tim 2:4). This stereotyped formula, which appears in the later writings of the NT,⁴² refers to the correct knowledge of the true religion; the truth is the object of faith. The Christian profession is to adhere to it, to come to this knowledge, to receive it from God, and to keep it; this is salvation.⁴³ *Epignosis* is not a deepened knowledge, but a precise, determinate knowledge, built on revelation, the gospel discerned as being real and not a myth; hence it is an orthodox knowledge, received from God, opposed to heretical deviations.⁴⁴

In St. John, *aletheia* (twenty-five occurrences in the Fourth Gospel, twenty in the epistles) becomes a distinctively Christian term, belonging to the vocabulary of the revelation of *epigeia* and *epourania* (earthly things and heavenly things).⁴⁵ In the prologue, which summarizes the theology of his Gospel, John sets out to provide an unshakeable basis for the doctrine of the Revealer par excellence and presents him as “full of grace and truth.”⁴⁶ This is the Word that was made flesh and dwelt among us. In this human condition, and on the level of history, *aletheia* is not the essential truth of the Logos but a divine gift: the knowledge of the truth communicated to human nature. Hence it is in the first place the beatific vision, then that quality which permits “bearing witness to the truth” (John 18:37), and finally the truth of the teachings of Jesus both regarding God (the Father) and regarding his own sonship and the salvation of humans. It is a truthful and sure teaching, worthy of trust. Jesus possesses this truth in its fullness and reveals, transmits, and explicates it.⁴⁷ He is the supreme Revealer, unveiling and manifesting to the fullest the divine secrets.

He specifies that he alone gives access to God: “I am the way and the truth and the life.”⁴⁸ The emphasis is on the way,⁴⁹ an image explicated by the two ideas of truth and life. Jesus is the only way because he communicates the fullness of revelation and even the very life of God. He is the instrument of the truth that comes from God; it is inherent in him, and he affirms it unfailingly: “I, a man who spoke to you the truth that I heard from God.”⁵⁰ After all, one testifies concerning that which one has seen and heard (3:11). The legal idea of testimony takes on a theological meaning (cf. Jer 42:5; Prov 14:25) when John the Baptist identifies Jesus as God’s Chosen One and reveals him as such (John 5:33; cf. 1:7, 15, 19, 31, 34) and when the incarnate Christ makes known what he has heard in heaven, whence he has come “to bear witness to the truth,”⁵¹ to manifest it. His life’s work is to make this revelation so as to inspire faith (1:7; 19:35; 1John 5:6).

To accept this testimony means not only being teachable and sincere, but also being in spiritual relationship with the truth and the words of Jesus, like sheep that recognize the voice of their true shepherd (John 10:16, 27). Better yet, it is to be “of the truth” (*ho on ek tes aletheias*): “Whoever is of the truth hears my voice.”⁵² The concrete meaning of the expression is to be originally from a certain place, to have been born there; but it is synonymous with “son of” and means “depend on, abide in.” Consequently, being “of the truth” means being permanently under God’s influence, being obedient to revelation. This is what explains the way of life and the bearing of the believer who abides in the radiance of the truth of Christ. Hence the biblicism “do the truth”,⁵³ “the one who does the truth (*ho poion ten aletheian*) comes from the light, so that his works are clearly seen (*hina phanerothe*) as being done in God.”⁵⁴ In the genesis of faith, orthopraxy makes it possible to attain to the knowledge of revealed truth; it presupposes an interior choice—a right action and a true thought realized—that orients a person toward Christ. Thus a person becomes obedient to the Father’s drawing, unconsciously submits to his will, and thus proves to be in communion with him.

“If you abide in my word, you will truly be my disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will deliver you” (John 8:32). *Aletheia* is the content of Jesus’ utterance, the full revelation concerning God and humanity, concerning their relationship (verses 40, 44, 45). To know this truth, a person must abide faithfully in this word and adhere to it (10:38; 2Tim 3:14) firmly (2Pet 1:12; *T. Jos.* 1.3). Then come (*a*) progress in becoming a true disciple through a more intimate attachment to Christ; (*b*) deeper penetration into the truth that is revelation and the Christian mystery;⁵⁵ (*c*) and finally liberation, because every sinner is considered a slave of error or vice;⁵⁶ but here it is a question of enslavement to the devil and of the sin of unbelief (1John 3:4). There is thus a change of masters; for the former tyranny is substituted by the Lord’s sovereignty (1John 2:13-14; 5:18), then virtuous conduct characterized as service to God, and then finally and above all filiation takes the place of servitude. True liberty belongs to the one who lives in the household. It is a stable condition, characterized especially by a loving relationship with God; one is freed in order to be able to love. This is the noblest fruit of truth.⁵⁷

As of Christ’s advent, there are “true” worshipers (i.e., “real,” or better, “perfect” worshipers) who worship the Father *en pneumati kai aletheia* (“in spirit and in truth”).⁵⁸ In spirit (the highest faculty of the human person), which allows being united with God, who is Spirit (John 4:24; no longer by material deeds or achievements). In truth means not as at Samaria and Jerusalem, but through the worship of the true God as revealed by Jesus, as children revering their heavenly Father. When Jesus prays to his father asking him to sanctify-consecrate the apostles *en te aletheia*, as he himself is sanctified-consecrated *en aletheia*,⁵⁹ we may

understand him to mean “really, actually” (Theodore of Mopsuestia), but since through this consecration the subject is not only set apart for a sacred office but prepared and adapted for it, *en* can have an instrumental meaning. Thus truth would be the instrument of sanctification (cf. 2Thess 2:13; John 16:13). The disciples are invaded by it and transformed within. Finally, this consecration is conformable to that of Jesus and derives from it; they are devoted and reserved for the exclusive service of God.⁶⁰

The Holy Spirit is described as the “Spirit of Truth.” He continues the presence and action of Jesus on earth. He indwells the apostles, to whom he reveals the work of the Father and the Son, provided that their love is authentic (John 14:17). This divine being proceeds from the Father;⁶¹ given to the disciples, he “will guide them into the entire truth . . . he will repeat all that he hears and will make future things known to you . . . he takes what is mine and makes it known to you” (John 16:13-15). An infallible teacher and guide,⁶² worthy of trust, the Holy Spirit leads believers to understand better the truth that is Christ so that they may better fathom; he does not complete it, but on the one hand he makes an exhaustive inventory of the data of the gospel, and on the other hand he illuminates to provide better understanding (cf. the Fourth Gospel vis-à-vis the Synoptics). He unveils its riches, progressively explicates its content, and in this way proclaims (*anangelei*); in this sense he is a teacher. But like Jesus (John 12:49; 14:10), he invents nothing, does not speak on his own; he only repeats what he has heard from God (cf. 8:26) and, through prophetic charisms, also unveils future things (1Cor 12:29-30; Rev 19:10) and thus strengthens faith. Thus the Spirit is indeed a revealer.

Aletheuo. — Incontestably, this verb has only one meaning in secular Greek, “speak the truth,”⁶³ and that is its meaning in Gal 4:16—“Have I become your enemy because I told you the truth?” Nevertheless, there are shades of meaning. In Plato, *Resp.* 3.413 *a* and *Tht.* 202 *c*, *aletheuein* means “being right.” Philo (*Etern. World* 48) contrasts the lover of truth (*aletheuontos*) to the concocter of paradoxes. The LXX puts these words in the mouth of Abimelech, addressing Sarah: “speak the truth in all things” (*panta aletheuson*, Gen 20:16; but the corresponding Hebrew verb is the niphal of *yajah*, meaning that Sarah will be entirely justified in the sight of everyone). The LXX also contrasts telling the truth with lying (Sir 34:4); but when Joseph explains to his brothers that he is putting them in prison “to find out whether the truth is with you” (*ei aletheuete e ou*, Gen 42:16, Hebrew *‘emeth*), that is, whether they are spies or not, the verb has the sense “be sincere.”⁶⁴ The meaning is “realize, carry out” in Prov 21:3 (the one who pleases God) and Isa 44:26—“I carry out the words of my messengers” (Hebrew hiphil of *shalam*). These usages allow a somewhat original interpretation of Eph 4:15, *aletheuontes de en agape*, which could be translated either “live by the truth and in love” (*NJB*) or, in line with the context, which denounces error and deceitfulness, “remaining in the truth,

in love.”⁶⁵ In any event, the emphasis is on remaining attached to the truth (of the gospel), holding fast to it, with the Johannine connotations of being of the truth, loving it, professing it, carrying it out; in other words, conforming one’s conduct to it.⁶⁶

Alethes. — This adjective, attested late, appears in the third century BC from the pen of Zeno: “if that is true (or correct)”;⁶⁷ and it recurs in one form or another to modify something that has been said or written. It is the opposite of “false, lying”;⁶⁸ this is in agreement with Wis 2:17 (“let us see if his words are true”)⁶⁹ and with a goodly number of NT occurrences. In stating that she had no husband, the Samaritan woman spoke the truth, was correct and straightforward (John 4:18); John the Baptist and the evangelist spoke the truth (10:41; 19:35; cf. 2Pet 2:22). This formula is used when security is posted or an obligation is taken on: “The note concerning this is true.”⁷⁰ This adjective constantly occurs in oaths⁷¹ and with testimony (John 5:31-32; 8:13, 14, 17; 21:24; Titus 1:13; 3John 12; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.219). The nuance is then “authentic”⁷² or “sincere, truthful”;⁷³ it is used to describe reliable men (Neh 7:2; Hebrew *‘emeth*), for Jesus and his candor (Matt 22:16 = Mark 12:14; John 7:18), especially for the true God and his word.⁷⁴ Finally, *alethes* often means “real” as opposed to imaginary or metaphorical,⁷⁵ as in Acts 12:9 where Peter, once freed from prison, “did not know that this was real but thought that he was having a vision,” or in John 6:55—Jesus’ flesh is truly (really) food and his blood is truly drink (the Textus Receptus substitutes the adverb *alethos*).

Alethinós.⁷⁶ — Less common than *alethes*, but having pretty nearly the same meaning, this adjective is used relatively little in the papyri, where it is contrasted with lying;⁷⁷ but its precise meaning is “authentic,” with respect to either things⁷⁸ or persons: “true Egyptians (*hoi alethinói Aigyptíoi*), easily recognizable by their speech” (*P.Giss.* 40, col. II, 27; edict of Caracalla). The LXX uses it with the nuance “perfect,” sometimes with respect to people,⁷⁹ but with religious connotations. Usually it is applied to God (2Chr 15:3; Isa 65:16; cf. *P.Oxy.* 925, 2; *BGU* 954, 28), his benevolence (Exod 34:6; Num 14:18; Ps 86:15; 103:8), his perfect works (Deut 32:4, Hebrew *tam*; Dan 3:27 [Theodotion]; 4:34), his words (2Sam 7:28, Hebrew *‘emeth*; 1Kgs 17:24), his commands and judgments (Ps 119:9; Tob 3:2, 5). Philo retained this meaning—“the one true God” (*Spec. Laws* 1.332; *To Gaius* 366)—but kept especially the nuance “authentic,” referring to the essence, the deep truth. For example, false money is contrasted with “true value, that which exists really” (*ontosontos*).⁸⁰

The NT is faithful to this semantic tradition. The true good (*to alethinon*) is the authentic good, that of the soul (Luke 16:11). This adjective is applied almost exclusively to God and Christ,⁸¹ but the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews give it a special meaning: “The Word was the true light” (*to phos to alethinon*, John 1:9; 1John 2:8), meaning spiritual and divine, authentic or genuine. The opposite is not

imperfect, veiled; *alethinós* implies the idea of an ideal or a perfect model,⁸² so that “the true” can properly mean only divine or heavenly realities; the earthly world is only a degraded participation in those realities. Hence Christ is not so much the “only and true” light as the “perfect” light, the source and model for all other light, the Revealer, the Illuminator par excellence. Likewise John 6:32—“The Father gives you true bread from heaven” (*ton arton ton alethinon*). This is not only “real” bread, bread of heavenly origin, but divine bread in its very essence. John 7:28—“The One who sent me is true”; *alethinós* means neither “authentic” nor “real” but the only Sender worthy of the name, having the power to send. The relations between the Father and Jesus are the ideal type for every human mission. John 15:1—“I am the true vine” (*ego eimi he ampelos he alethine*), not only by comparison with the degenerate vine that is Israel,⁸³ but the vine absolutely worthy of the name, the vine par excellence, doing in the highest degree “that which is proper to vines, bearing fruit that is very sweet and very wholesome” (M.J. Lagrange); the article before the adjective makes for a strong emphasis, a kind of superlative in apposition. Thus “true worshipers” (John 4:23) are authentic and perfect worshipers who actualize the precise concept of worship directed toward the true God. The tabernacle or sanctuary in which the high priest of the new covenant officiates in heaven (Heb 8:2; 9:24) is not “fabricated, an antitype of the true tabernacle,” imperfect and transitory, but is authentic and divine.

Alethos. — In secular Greek this adverb means sometimes “truly, sincerely” as opposed to “falsely,”⁸⁴ sometimes “really” (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.17; *Post. Cain* 27; *Proceedings* XV, p. 94, line 16). Often the two meanings cannot be distinguished. The latter meaning surfaces in the LXX in questions: “Will I really give birth, now that I am old?” (Gen 18:13); “Will God really dwell on earth?” (1Kgs 8:27 = 2Chr 6:18; cf. Ps 58:1). But the adverb is used especially to give weight to an affirmation: “Truly, it is I who have sinned” (Josh 7:20; cf. 2Macc 3:38). Hence its use in confessions of faith in the NT.⁸⁵ It expresses certitude in knowledge (John 17:8; Acts 12:11; cf. Exod 33:16), the reality of a fact (Matt 26:73 = Mark 14:70; John 7:46; cf. Dan 3:24) or of a condition, its authenticity—“You are really my disciples”⁸⁶—and can be translated “actually.”

¹ Cf. Homer, *Il.* 24.407: “Tell me all the truth; is my son still near the boats?” Herodotus 6.69: “Then do not accept any other story concerning your birth: the final word of the truth is what you have heard me speak with my own mouth”; Thucydides 4.120: “He had to consider them in truth as the Lacedaemonians’ most faithful friends.” R. Bultmann, “Untersuchungen zum Johannes-Evangelium: A. II. Aletheia in der griechischen und hellenistischen Literatur,” in *ZNW*, 1928, pp. 134–163.

² Λήθη. Cf. W. Luther, *“Wahrheit” und “Lüge” im ältesten Griechentum*, Borna-Leipzig, 1935; H. Frisk, *“Wahrheit” und “Lüge” in den indogermanischen Sprachen*, Göteborg, 1936.

³ Plato, *Grg.* 526 d; cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 2: “To aspire to the truth is to incline toward divinity—especially the truth concerning the gods. This type of study and research is like an ascent toward the holy things, a more religious task than any ritual or priestly function”; Diogenes Laertius 9.10: ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντοτε ζητεῖ—ν τὴν ἀλήθειαν; Marcus Aurelius 6.21.2: ζητῶ—γὰρ τὴν ἀλήθειαν; Philo, *Moses* 1.24: the search for truth should be the great human preoccupation (τὴν ἀλήθειαν ζητεῖ—ν); *Spec. Laws* 3.181; 4.5; *Good Man Free* 12; *Etern. World* 1: πόθος ἀληθείας; *Joseph* 90; *Contemp. Life* 63; *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 19.6.6.

⁴ Epictetus 1.17.14: σὺ δὲ κατεμεμάθηκας τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀνάγκη σε ἤδη κατορθοῦν; 1.24.4; 2.26.1–5. Cf. Plato, *Soph.* 228 c–d; *Prt.* 345 d–e; *Resp.* 3.413 a.

⁵ *Phdr.* 248 b, τὸ ἀληθείας πεδῖον. Cf. P. Courcelle, “La Plaine de la vérité: Platon, Phèdre 248 b,” in *MusHelv*, 1969, pp. 199–203.

⁶ Plato, *Tht.* 186 c: “Can that attain to the truth which does not even attain to being? —Impossible”; *Symp.* 211 b; 212 a; *Resp.* 6.508 d; 9.585 d; 10.596 d–605 c; Aristotle, *Ph.* 1.8.191a25: ζητουντες . . . τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν φύσιν τὴν τῶ—ν ὄντων. Cf. R. Herbertz, *Das Wahrheitsproblem in der griechischen Philosophie*, Berlin, 1913; P. Wilpert, “Zum aristotelischen Wahrheitsbegriff,” in *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, 1940, p. 3–16; M. Heidegger, *Platos Lehre von der Wahrheit*, Bern, 1947; M. Detienne, “La Notion mythique d’—Αλήθεια,” in *REG*, 1960, pp. 27–36; E. Heitsch, “Die nicht-philosophische ἀλήθεια,” in *Hermes*, 1962, pp. 24–33; H. D. Rankin, “—Αλήθεια in Plato,” in *Glotta*, 1963, pp. 51–54; G. Stammer, “Die Bedeutung des Wortes Wahrheit,” in *Kerygma und Dogma*, vol. 2, 1965, pp. 234–243; E. des Places, *Platon: Lexique*, Paris, 1964, vol. 1, pp.27ff.

⁷ Deut 22:20—“if the matter is true, if (the signs of) her virginity are not found in the young woman” (ε—άν δὲ ε—π̄ ἀληθείας γένηται); Judg 9:15—“If you truly want to anoint me as king”; 2Kgs 19:17—“It is true, Yahweh, that the kings of Assyria have laid waste the nations”; Job 9:2—“In truth [ε—π̄ ἀληθείας], I know that it is so”; 19.4; 36:4; Dan 2:8 (Theodotion).

⁸ Judg 9:16—“Have you acted in truth and in sincerity?” 2Chr 32:1—“After these acts of loyalty by Hezekiah, Sennacherib came to invade Judah”; Tob 8:7—“It is not in lust that I take this my sister, but in truth” (ε—π̄ ἀληθείας); Hos 4:1; Dan 9:13 (Theodotion); Wis 5:6; 1Macc 7:18; Eccl

12:10—"The Preacher set himself to . . . writing words of truth in uprightness." To make an oath "in truth" (μετὰ ἀληθείας) is to make it sincerely (Jer 4:2), hence honestly (Sir 7:20). One "speaks the truth according to one's heart" (Ps 15:3; cf. 5:9; 119:43—λόγον ἀληθείας). Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 205 .

⁹ Notably the revelation of the truth, ὑποδείξω σοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν (Tob 7:10); Jdt 5:5; 10:13; Ps 30:9; 88:11; Dan 11:2 (Theodotion). Ahab to Micaiah: "How many times do I have to adjure you to tell me only the truth" (2Chr 18:15). Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, London, 1935, pp. 65–75; J. Guillet, *Thèmes bibliques*, Paris, 1954, pp. 38–46; E. T. Ramsdall, "The Old Testament Understanding of Truth," in *Journal of Religion*, 1951, pp. 264–273; Y. Alanen, "Das Wahrheitsproblem in der Bibel und in der griechischen Philosophie," in *Kerygma und Dogma*, 1957, pp. 230–239; K. Koch, "Der hebräische Wahrheitsbegriff im griechischen Sprachraum," in H. R. Müller-Schwefe, *Was ist Wahrheit?*, Göttingen, 1965, pp. 47–65; P. Benoit "La Vérité dans la Sainte Ecriture," in *Exégèse et théologie*, pp. 143–156; J. Barr, *Semantics*, pp. 187–200.

¹⁰ Ps 31:5; cf. 89:8—"your faithfulness envelops you"; 146:6—"Yahweh keeps faith forever"; 36:6—"Yahweh, your grace is in the heavens, your truth rises to the clouds"; 57:10; 89:2; 108:4.

¹¹ Isa 45:19—"I am Yahweh; I utter truth"; Jer 23:28; Zech 8:8—"I will be their God in truth and in justice"; Sir 41:19—"before the truth of God and the covenant"; Ps 25:5; 40:11—"I told of your faithfulness and your help; I did not hide your grace and your truth"; 57:4—"May Elohim send his grace and his truth"; 43:3; 66:8; 89:14, 25; 100:5; 69:13—"In your great grace, answer me, through the truth of your salvation"; 71:22—"I will give you thanks for your faithfulness, my God"; 89:1, 5; 92:2; 115:1; 117:2; 138:2; 89:50—"Where, O Adonai, are your former mercies which, in your faithfulness, you swore to David?" 98:3—"He remembered his grace and his faithfulness." Note the frequent link between faithfulness and benevolence, Gen 24:27; 32:10; 47:29; Josh 2:14; 2Sam 2:6; 15:20; Tob 3:2; Ps 45:4; Mic 7:20. Cf. F. Asensio, "Misericordia et Veritas: El *hèsed* y *'Emet* divinos: Su influjo religio-social en la historia de Israel," in *Analecta Gregoriana*, Rome, 1949.

¹² God's laws and commands are immutable truth (Neh 9:13; Ps 111:7; 119:86, 142, 151; Mal 2:6; *Midr. Ps.* 25 11: the Torah is *'emeth*) as are his judgments (Isa 42:3; Ps 96:13; cf. *Pirqe 'Abot* 3.26; *Mek.* on Exod 14:18; *Exod. Rab.* on 6:2; 29:1; *b. Ber.* 46b).

¹³ 1Kgs 2:4; 3:6; 2Kgs 20:3; Tob 1:3—“I, Tobit, have walked in the ways of truth and of justice” (ὁδοί—ς ἀληθείας); 13:6—“If you practice truth before him with all your soul” (ποιήσαι ε—νώπιον αὐτοῦ ἀλήθειαν); Ps 26:3; 86:11; 119:30—“I have chosen the way of truth”; Sir 37:15; Isa 38:3.

¹⁴ Sir 27:9—“Truth returns to those who practice it.” It is a shield (Ps 91:40) and a belt (Isa 11:5). “All those who love the Lord with faithfulness and justice will have joy” (Tob 14:7).

¹⁵ *Creation* 1. This contrast between the truth and myths, inventions and falsifications recurs at *Alleg. Interp.* 3.36, 232; *Cherub.* 94; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 12; *Worse Attacks Better* 125; *Post. Cain* 52, 101; *Giants* 58; *Prelim. Stud.* 61; *Joseph* 106; *Spec. Laws* 1.28, 51, 319; 4.50; *Virtues* 102, 178; *Rewards* 8, 162; *Contemp. Life* 63; *Etern. World* 56, 68; *To Gaius* 77.

¹⁶ Δήλωσις, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.24, 143; *Spec. Laws* 1.88; 4.69; *Moses* 2.113, 128–129. Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 77: τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔμφασιν.

¹⁷ *Dreams* 1.218: “the unclouded light and brilliance of the truth”; 2.106, 133; *Joseph* 68; *Migr. Abr.* 76; *Spec. Laws* 1.63; 4.52, 178; *Flight* 139; *Moses* 2.271; *Rewards* 25: “smoke is the enemy of truth”; 27, 58.

¹⁸ *Change of Names* 7: ὁ ε—στι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν; he cannot be perceived by a human: “It is impossible for anyone to grasp true Being” (πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν, *Abraham* 80; cf. *Moses* 2.67, 100); *Post. Cain* 167: “Being, which exists in reality” (τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν); *Giants* 45: “I am the truly good being” (ε—γὼ τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθόν); *Spec. Laws* 4.178: “going to dwell with the truth and with the veneration of the only venerable Being”; *Virtues* 65, 219, 221; *Rewards* 46; *Moses* 2.270: “the God of truth”; 2.177: “truth is God’s handmaid”; *Unchang. God* 61: “truth initiates into the authentic mysteries of Being”; cf. *Conf. Tongues* 190: the meanings of the words of the oracles “are subsistent realities.” Cf. Arius Didymus: “God has a vision of the truth” (θεὸς οἶδε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.1.17, vol. 2, n. 6). In *Pap. Graec. Mag.*, ἀλήθεια represents a divine entity (II, 156; IV, 1014; vol. 1, pp. 38 and 106); “I am the truth, the one who hates the injustices of the world” (V, 148; vol. 1, p. 186). The supreme God “possesses the truth unmixed with falsehood” (ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἄψευστον ἀλήθειαν, XII, 257; vol. 2, p. 75). A magical papyrus of the third century: “Great God, you who alone keep the truth on your head” (μόνος ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔχων ε—πὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, *P. Warr.* 21, 25). Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 140: σέβεται τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν θεόν.

¹⁹ *Worse Attacks Better* 162; *Creation* 136; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.10, 20; 3.63, 174, 178, 191; *Cherub.* 50; *Post. Cain* 12, 42, 119, 147; *Plant.* 164; *Sobr.*

11; *Heir* 20; *Change of Names* 94; *Abraham* 179; *Moses* 2.48; *Spec. Laws* 1.287, 3.155, 186; *Virtues* 56; *Rewards* 123; *Good Man Free* 41; cf. *Post. Cain* 136: “those who are the judges of reality”; 164: “the beautiful in its reality”; *Flacc.* 164: “it was a hallucination; it was not reality” (οὐκ ἀλήθεια); *To Gaius* 20, 60, 248, 279, 359; *Decalogue* 128: when a woman commits adultery, the identity (authenticity) of the child’s father is unknown; *Joseph* 38: “in deed and in truth” (ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταί—ς ἀληθείαις).

²⁰ *Drunkennes* 39, 70; *Dreams* 1.179. “Enamored of this most sacred good that is truth” (*Good Man Free* 158), following “the paths of truth” (*Contemp. Life* 27, cf. 39), seeking “undocored truth” (*Spec. Laws* 3.53, 141; *Virtues* 6); just the opposite of the wicked person, the “enemy of truth, defender of lies” (*Conf. Tongues* 48; cf. *Migr. Abr.* 110; *Flacc.* 156; *Dreams* 2.97; *Moses* 1.235; 2.167; *Decalogue* 138; *Spec. Laws* 1.89; *Etern. World* 69).

²¹ The sect’s goal was “to carry out faithfulness [*emeth*], justice, and uprightness” (1QS 1.5) in contrast with impiety and perversity (1.19; 3.7, 19; 4.2, 17, 19, 23–25; 5.3; 6.15; 8.2–6; 1QH 16.7), “with regard to an eternal faithfulness” (1QS 9.3). Its members are “volunteers for his faithfulness” (1.11–12; 5.10), “the party of faithfulness” (4QM 13.12, 15), the sons of faithfulness (= the faithful, 1QS 4.5–6; 4QM 17.8; 1QH 6.69; 7.30; 9.35; 11.1), “men of faithfulness who practice the law . . . in the service of faithfulness” (1QpHab 7.10–12; cf. 8.9: the first name of the impious priest was “Faithfulness”); in fact, the congregation was called the “faithful house” (1QS 5.6; 8.9; CD A, 3.19). All the elect are faithful (1QH 14.15) and rely on God’s faithfulness (6.25–26; 7.20; 9.32; 10.17; frag 2.15). God is faithful (1QS 4.20–21; 1QH 1.30; 3.34; 4.40; 6.9–12; 7.28; 9.10; 11.27, 29; 15.25; 16.40); “Faithfulness of God” is the inscription on the banners (4QM 4.6; cf. 11.14; 13.1–2, 9–10). The angel of faithfulness is the one who is in submission to God’s will (1QS 3.24). *Emeth* also signifies the divine knowledge that the Teacher of Righteousness inculcates in the disciples (1QS 9.17; cf. CD 2.13: the seers of truth; 1QH 1.27; 10.4; 11.4, 9: the secret of truth). Cf. O. Betz, “Gottes ‘Wahrheit’ (*emeth*),” in *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*, Tübingen, 1960, pp. 53–60; F. Nötscher, “‘Wahrheit’ als theologischer Terminus in den Qumran-Texten,” in *Vom Alten zum Neuen Testament*, Bonn, 1962, pp. 112–125; P. Benoit, “Qumrân et le Nouveau Testament,” in *NTS*, vol. 7, 1961, pp. 276–296; J. Murphy-O’Connor, “La ‘Vérité’ chez saint Paul et à Qumrân,” in *RB*, 1965, pp. 29–76.

²² Ταί—ς ἀληθείαις (Philo, *Joseph* 38), as at 2Macc 3:9; 7:6; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.59; 14.291; 16.235; *Life* 401; frequent in the papyri: *P.Oxy.* 2562, 13: the sums will actually be paid; *P.Petr.* 6, 14: “if the above-named is actually

dead”; 7, 18; 8, 21; 9, 20; *P.Ryl.* 105, 26; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 98, 26; *PSI* 1064, 22; 1433, 3; *SB* 1114, 14; *Proceedings XV*, p. 81, line 76 (in AD 80).

²³ With (a) ε—πί, especially in traditional oath formulas: “we swear that we have soundly and faithfully presented the preceding account” (ε—ξ ὑγιούς καὶ ε—πί ἀληθείας ε—πιδεδωκέναι, *P.Amh.* 68, 33; *P.Bon.* 17, 8; *P.Brem.* 32, 25; *P.Oslo* 98, 29; *P.Stras.* 207, 5; *P.BruX.* 20, 22; *P.Oxy.* 480, 9; 2277, 4, 8, 12 [AD 13]; 2472, 18; *SB* 7365, 159; 9360, 22; 10633; 10638, 11; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59384, 7; 59484, 4); *P.Flor.* 112, 67: τὸν γέροντα ε—πί ἀληθείας τύπτουσιν (Aristophanes); (b) ε—κ; cf. *P.Flor.* 32, 14: ε—ξόμνυμι . . . ε—ξ ἀληθείας καὶ πίστεως; *P.Oxy.* 1032, 33; *P.Stras.* 152, 14 (= *SB* 8942, 14); *P.Yale* 80, 11: ἀσπασάντας τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμα—ς ε—ξ ἀληθείας; *P.Mich.* 477, 41: οἱ— φιλοῦντές σε ε—ξ ἀληθείας παντελω—ς; (c) κατὰ, cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59202, 7: ε—ὰν φαίνεται κατ’ ἀλήθειαν (= *SB* 6739); *P.Oxy.* 2429, frag 1 (b), col. II, 41; frag. 7, 133: κατ’ ἀλήθειαν (Epicharmus); (d) περί, cf. *P.Oxy.* 1860, 8: φιλογνωρίσαι αὐτὴν τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας; (e) πρὸς, cf. *Ep. Arist.* 161; the letters of Gemellus, *P.Fay.* 118, 26: ἀσπάζου τοὺς φιλοῦντές πάντες πρὸς ἀλήθειαν; 119, 26 (cf. 2John 1; 3John 1). On the very common use of πρὸς with the accusative case in the papyri, cf. the index of E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, 2, p. 620; with other prepositions, II, 1, pp. 13ff.

²⁴ *P.Ant.* 87, 13 (transcript of a trial): “tell the truth” (λέγε τὴν ἀλήθειαν); *UPZ* 70, verso 2; *P.Oxy.* 2419, 5: εἰ—πέ μετὰ ἀληθείας; *P.Giss.* 84, 14. Cf. ἡ τω—ν νόμων ἀλήθεια (*P.Lond.* 412, 5; vol. 2, p. 280; 897, 3, vol. 3, p. 206). *UPZ* 162, col. VI, 12: εἴπερ γε δὴ ε—νόμιζεν ε—κ τῆς ἀληθείας τῆ κατὰ νόμους ὁδω— πορευόμενος, the *epistates* will attempt to bring out the truth by following the legal procedure; *SB* 8248, 54 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 665.

²⁵ Τὰ πανοῦργα μισω—ν, τὴν δ ἀλήθειαν σέβων, C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 307, 5. Cf. *P.Apoll.* 31, 4: τῇ ἀληθείᾳ θέλω = “to tell the truth, I want the boat to be repaired.”

²⁶ Mark 5:33—the woman with the hemorrhage “fell down before Jesus and told him the whole truth” (εἶπεν αὐτῷ— πα—σαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν); Acts 26:25, Paul to Festus: “I am not mad . . . I am speaking words of truth and good sense” (ἀληθείας ῥήματα).

²⁷ Luke 22:59—“In truth (ε—πί ἀληθείας) he (Peter) was with him (Jesus)” (the parallels, Matt 26:73; Mark 14:70, use the adverb ἀληθῶ—ς, “assuredly”); Acts 4:27—“Truly they joined together against your holy servant Jesus . . .”; 10:34—“In truth, I understand that God is no respecter of persons.”

²⁸ Matt 22:16—“You teach the way of God in truth” (τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐ—ν ἀληθείᾳ διδάσκεις = Mark 12:14; Luke 20:21); Mark 12:32—“you have spoken truly” (ἐ—π ἀληθείας εἶπες, which Lagrange translates “vraiment très bien”); Luke 4:25—“I tell you truly” (ἐ—π ἀληθείας λέγω ὑμι—ν). This expression corresponds to —Αμὴν λέγω ὑμι—ν (Mark 9:1, 41; Luke 18:29; cf. Rev 5:14; 7:12; 19:4). The Hebrew *amen* means “yes” (cf. Rev 1:7—ναί, ἀμήν; 22:20; 2Cor 1:20). In this context, it is intended to support or emphasize a statement, make it stand out—especially when it is repeated, as in John (1:51, etc.) where Jesus wants to focus attention and inspire certainty: “this is absolutely true”; cf. G. Stählin, “Zum Gebrauch von Beteuerungsformeln im Neuen Testament,” in *NovT*, 1926, pp. 122–130. Likewise Rom 9:1—ἀλήθειαν λέγω ἐ—ν Χριστῷ, οὐ ψεύδομαι; 1Tim 2:7.

²⁹ 2Thess 2:10-12, τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας; cf. Ps 50:8; 83:12; Zech 8:9; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.296: “To you, Eraphroditus, who love the truth above all things . . . I dedicate this book” (μάλιστα τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπῶ—ντι); *War* 1.30: τοι—ς γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπῶ—σιν. C. Spicq, *Agarè*, vol. 2, pp. 32–39.

³⁰ G. R. Castellino, “Il paganesimo de Romani I, Sapienza 13–14 e la storia delle religioni,” in *AnBib*, vol. 18, Rome, 1963, pp. 255–263.

³¹ Rom 1:25—“They exchanged the truth of God for the lie,” i.e., they exchanged the only true, real, existing God for false conceptions, “gods who are not” (C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, London, 1935, p. 74); Rom 3:7—“If my lying enhances God’s truthfulness and so redounds to his greater glory . . .”; the ψεῦσμα is the unbelief and faithlessness of the Jew; 15:8—“Christ was minister of the circumcision (in the service of the circumcised, i.e., Israel) to show God’s truthfulness in carrying out his promises to the Fathers”; the realization of these promises proves God’s veracity (*emeth*, that which can be relied on). Cf. the judgment of God κατὰ ἀλήθειαν, in accord with real facts (2:2).

³² Gal 2:14—οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. The truth is the certain reality, the objective rule of conduct (cf. verse 5). —Ὀρθοποδέω, unknown in secular and biblical Greek before the Christian era, was understood by the church fathers to mean “walk straight” (G. D. Kilpatrick, “Gal. II, 14,” in *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann*, Berlin, 1954, pp. 269–274), but it seems rather to mean “to have clean conduct, a steady stride” according to *P.Mil.* XXIV, 8: νῆ τὴν σὴν μοι σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ τεκνίου μου καὶ ὀρθοποδίαν (AD 117; cf. C. H. Roberts, “A Note on Galatians II, 14,” in *JTS*, 1939, pp. 55–56); a University of Michigan papyrus (inv. 337): τὸ πεδεῖον ὀρθοποδεῖ— ἐ—ν ἐ—μοὶ εἶνα (published by J. G. Winter, “Another Instance of ὀρθοποδεῖ—ν,”

in *HTR*, 1941, pp. 161–162); Nicander, *Alex.* 419: ὀρθόποδες βαίνοντες ἄνις σμυγεροι—ον τιθήνης. In these three instances (*P.Phil.* XXXV, 4–6 is not clear), the topic is children who are beginning to walk on their own, without having to hold a nurse’s hand to keep from falling. Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Matt.* 17.17, ὁ ἄπιστος ἔσται που καὶ διεστραμμένος καὶ κατ’ οὐδένα τρόπον ὀρθοποδεῖ—ν ει—δω—ς (in J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, Berlin, 1957, p. 220).

³³ Eph 4:24; this *aletheia* is almost “authenticity,” as opposed to the “deceitful desires” of the old self (verse 22); cf. 1Tim 2:7.

³⁴ The Targum calls Abraham “the totally unleavened one,” i.e., “pure, sincere” (R. Le Déaut, *Nuit Pascale*, p. 173, n. 110); a connotation confirmed by the link with ει—λικρινία. —Ειλικρινῆ, from εἶλη (the sun’s heat or light) means “purified in the sunlight”; the soul is purified when it is open to the light. The *a-zymoi* are freed from the old lying fermentation, i.e., the community’s lack of straightforwardness and firmness toward those guilty of incest.

³⁵ 2Cor 7:14—“We spoke truthfully to you in everything”; 12:6—“I would be speaking the truth” (J. Cambier, “Le Critère paulinien de l’apostolat en II Cor. XII, 6,” in *Bib*, 1962, pp. 481–518; idem, “Une lecture de II Cor. XII, 6–7 a: Essai d’interprétation nouvelle,” in *AnBib*, vol. 17, Rome, 1963, pp. 475–485); 11:10—“the truth of Christ is in me” (guaranteeing what I say); Phil 1:18—“In one way or another, whether hypocritically or honestly (εἴτε προφάσει εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ), Christ is proclaimed” (C. Spicq, *Agarè*, vol. 2, pp. 244–252); Eph 4:25—“No more lying; let each one speak the truth to his neighbor” (cf. Zech 8:16); 5:9—“the fruit of the light in all goodness, righteousness, and truth” (cf. 1QS 1.5; 2.24–25; 4.5; 5.3–4, 25; 8.2); Eph 6:14—“Stand fast, with truth as your belt, righteousness as your breastplate” (Isa 11:5; 59:17; M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 2, pp. 767ff.); cf. Jas 3:14—“Do not lie against the truth” (μὴ ψεύδεσθε κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας). A characteristic of love is that it applauds the truth (1Cor 13:6), i.e., the good, with virtue, righteousness, moral rectitude; it rejoices in it and pours out praise upon it; cf. the proselytes who are ἀληθείας ε—ρασταί (Philo, *Virtues* 182; cf. *T. Dan* 5.2; *T. Reub.* 6.9).

³⁶ Cf. Jas 1:18—“The father of lights . . . has brought us forth by a word of truth”; cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 89ff.

³⁷ Timothy must rightly dispense the word of truth (ὀρθοτομοῦντα τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, 2Tim 2:15). The rare verb ὀρθοτομέω corresponds to the vocabulary of rhetoric: ὀρθὸν λέγειν means to express oneself correctly (Aristotle, *Gen. Cor.* 1.314b13; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 1.3 = 7.13). The rule of

Greek dialectic was ὀρθοέπεια, expressing oneself correctly and precisely, without error or flaw (Plato, *Phdr.* 267 c), the opposite of the work of bad exegetes who twist texts (2Pet 3:16). Cf. the apology of Quadratus, who showed ἀποστολική ὀρθοτομία, “apostolic correctness,” i.e., orthodoxy, according to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.3.1.

³⁸ 2Pet 1:12; cf. A. Vögtle, “Die Schriftwertung der apostolischen Paradosis nach II Petr. I, 12–15,” in *Neues Testament und Geschichte* (Festschrift O. Cullmann), Zurich, 1972, pp. 297–306.

³⁹ 1Pet 1:22—“Having perfectly sanctified your souls by obeying the truth.” In this ancient allusion to baptism, *aletheia* is the unveiling of what was hidden or unknown, the opposite of the times of ignorance or error in verses 14 and 18.

⁴⁰ 1Tim 3:15; ε—δραῖωμα (biblical hapax, unknown in secular Greek literature) is sometimes translated “rampart, buttress, flying buttress, support, post.” It corresponds to the Latin *firmamentum* (Vulgate) and derives from the adjective ε—δραί—ος, “firmly seated, solid.” It suggests robustness, stability, and unshakeable permanence of the building-church, built on rock and capable of resisting the gates of hell (Matt 16:18). Cf. J. Murphy-O’Connor, “La ‘Vérité’ chez saint Paul et à Qumrân,” in 67ff.

⁴¹ Cf. 2Tim 3:8; cf. K. Berger, “Die königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments,” in *NTS*, vol. 20, 1, 1973, p. 10, n. 38; cf. p. 12, n. 40.

⁴² 1Tim 4:3—“believers and those who know the truth”; Titus 1:1—“the faith of God’s elect and the knowledge of the truth that accords with piety”; 2Tim 2:25—God may grant to opponents “conversion to the knowledge of the truth”; 3:7—women who are “always learning but never attaining to knowledge of the truth”; Heb 10:26—at baptism, the Christian receives from God a knowledge of the truth, which is correct and unchanging; 2John 1 addresses “all who have known the truth” and remain in it (verb in the perfect, οί—ε—γνώκότες; cf. R. Schnackenburg, “Zum Begriff der ‘Wahrheit’ in den beiden kleinen Johannesbriefen,” in *BZ*, 1967, pp. 253–258). —Cf. M. Dibelius, “—Επίγνωσις ἀληθείας,” in *Neutestamentliche Studien für G. Heinrici*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 178–189 (reprinted in *Botschaft und Geschichte*, Tübingen, 1953, vol. 2, pp. 1–13); C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, 3d ed., Excursus XVI, pp. 362–365; H. von Lips, *Glaube, Gemeinde, Amt*, Göttingen, 1979, pp. 33–40.

⁴³ The few pagan parallels are thus merely verbal: “The magi search the works of nature to learn the truth (πρὸς ε—πίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας) . . . and they receive and transmit the revelation of the divine virtues” (Philo, *Good*

Man Free 74; cf. *Spec. Laws* 4.178, μεταναστὰς εἰς ἀλήθειαν, going to dwell with truth); Josephus, *Ant.* 8.33: recognize the truth of someone's sentiments; 20.128: know the truth more exactly; Epictetus 2.20.21: "Is there a faculty that permits discernment of the truth?" On ε—πίγνωσις—discernment and identification—cf. Matt 11:27; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.48; Plutarch, *Cor.* 34.3; *Ages.* 21. —K. Sullivan, "Epignosis in the Epistles of St. Paul," in *AnBib*, vol. 18, Rome, 1963, II, pp. 405–416; H. Clavier, "Recherche exégétique et théologique sur la notion paulinienne d'épignosis," in E. A. Livingstone, *SE*, vol. 6, Berlin, 1973, pp. 37–52.

⁴⁴ There was probably some influence from Qumran: the "volunteers of the truth of God" (1QS 1.11–12; 5.10) were converted to *emeth* (6.15), which is what distinguished them from those perverted in heart (4.24–25). They drew upon the "knowledge of the truth" (9.17–18; 1QH 7.26–27; 10.20–29). The "knowers" were God's faithful, those who held firm (CD 2.13). Cf. H. Kosmala, *Hebräer—Essener—Christen*, Leiden, 1959, pp. 155ff. J. Murphy-O'Connor, *RB*, 1965, pp. 61ff. A. M. Denis, *Les Thèmes de la connaissance dans le Document de Damas*, Louvain, 1967, pp. 51ff., 78ff., 200ff.

⁴⁵ John 3:12. F. Büchsel, *Der Begriff der Wahrheit in dem Evangelium und in den Briefen des Johannes*, Gütersloh, 1911; A. AugustinoviĀ, "ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ nel IV Vangelo," in *Studii biblici Franciscani liber annuus I*, 1950–51, pp. 161–190; H. von Soden, "Was ist Wahrheit?" in *Urchristentum und Geschichte*, Tübingen, 1951, pp. 1–29; O. Betz, "Die 'Wahrheit' in den johanneischen Schriften," in *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*, Tübingen, 1960, pp. 60–61; S. Aalen, "'Truth' a Key Word in St John's Gospel," in *SE*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1964, pp. 3–24; N. Lazure, *Les Valeurs morales de la théologie johannique*, Paris, 1965, pp. 70–92; R. Schnackenburg, "The Johannine Concept of Truth" (Excursus 10), in *John*, vol. 2, pp. 225–237. The major books are Yu Ibuki, *Die Wahrheit im Johannesevangelium*, Bonn, 1972, and I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, 2 vols., Rome, 1977. Cf. idem, "Storia e verità," in R. Latourelle, G. O'Collins, *Problemi e prospettive de teologia fondamentale*, Brescia, 1980, pp. 115–139.

⁴⁶ Πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας, John 1:14; cf. verse 17: "From his fullness we have all received. . . . Grace and truth came through Jesus Christ." The pairing χάρις-ἀλήθεια recalls "mercy and truth" in the OT (Gen 24:27, 49; 32:11; 47:29; Exod 34:6; Josh 2:14; 2Sam 2:6; 15:20; Hos 4:1; Mic 7:20; Ps 40:11; 85:11; 89:15; Tob 3:2); cf. I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, vol. 1, pp. 76–78, 158–176.

47 John 1:18—ε—ξηγήσατο; the object of exegesis is τὰ θει—α (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.23.6), the exegete interprets περὶ ι—ερείων (Hesychius); cf. Sir 18:5; 43:31.

48 —Εγώ ει—μι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή, John 14:6 (I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, vol. 1, pp. 241–278). As the incarnate Son of God, Jesus is identical with the truth, is the living revelation of the Father (14:9–11). Cf. M. Comeau, “Le Christ, chemin et terme de l’ascension spirituelle d’après saint Augustin,” in *Mélanges J. Lebreton* (RSR, 1952, pp. 80–89); T. Camelot, “Le Christ, sacrement de Dieu,” in *Mélanges H. de Lubac*, Paris, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 355–363.

49 The OT links way and truth (Ps 25:10; 26:3; 86:11; 119:30; Wis 5:6; Tob 1:3; Sir 24:18), but in the sense of moral rectitude (cf. *Odes Sol.* 41.11–12; 4 Ezra 5:1; 1QS 4.16–20). Cf. B. Couroyer, “Le Chemin et la vie en Egypte et en Israël,” in *RB*, 1949, pp. 412–432; P. Courcelle, “Trames veritatis’: La Fortune patristique d’une métaphore platonicienne (Phédon 66 b),” in *Mélanges E. Gilson*, Toronto-Paris, 1959, pp. 203–210.

50 John 8:40, 45, 46 (or taught by God, verses 26, 28); cf. I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, vol. 1, pp. 39–75. If Jesus makes a strange or paradoxical statement (“it is good for you that I go away”), he appeals to his perfect knowledge of things and of the future, as well as to his own veracity (16:7). If the Jews do not believe him, it is because their heart is dominated by the lie, because their father is the devil, a liar who has no truth in him (8:44; 1John 1:8; 2:4).

51 John 18:37 (I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, pp. 79–116; cf. the “good confession before Pontius Pilate,” 1Tim 6:13). The members of the Qumran sect were “witnesses of truth,” i.e., truthful witnesses (cf. F. M. Braun, “L’Arrière-fond judaïque du quatrième Evangile et la communauté de l’Alliance,” in *RB*, 1955, pp. 5–44). 3John 3: “Many brothers have given testimony of your truth” (your doctrinal fidelity and your Christian conduct).

52 John 18:37; cf. 1John 2:21; 3:19 (I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, vol. 2, pp. 593–635). Compare being of God (John 8:47), of the devil (John 8:44; 1John 3:8), of the world (John 7:14; 1John 4:6), of our own (1John 2:19). Knowing the truth (1John 2:21; NT hapax; cf. Plato, *Phdr.* 262 c; *Resp.* 9.581 b; Lycurgus, *Leoc.* 22; Polybius 15.26.6; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.60) is a firm knowledge, a conviction (of the faith). Cf. loving in truth (1John 3:18; 2John 1; 3John 1) = loving sincerely, really, but also according to the gospel, i.e., loving from the heart and showing it. Likewise “walking in the truth” (2John 4; 3John 3–4). Cf. R. Schnackenburg, “The Johannine Concept of Truth” (Excursus 10), in *John*, vol. 2, pp. 225–237.

⁵³ Gen 32:10; 47:29; Neh 9:33; Isa 26:10, referring to firm and persevering conduct (1QS 1.5; 5.3; *T. Benj.* 10.3).

⁵⁴ John 3:21; 1John 1:6; M. Zerwick, “Veritatem facere, Joh. III, 21; I Joh. II, 6,” in *VD*, 1938, pp. 338–341, 373–377; I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, vol. 2, pp. 479ff.

⁵⁵ Cf. 2John 1: “to all those who have known the (unveiled) truth” (cf. Tob 5:14; recension S); one learns it better and better, discovers it more clearly (*Enoch* 106.7, 12; 1QS 9.17–19; 1QH 11.9–10), assimilates it more completely (1Tim 2:4). This is the progress in faith (1John 4:16; Wis 3:9) that is built on God but also and especially on Christ, his divine Sonship and his teaching.

⁵⁶ This was a Stoic doctrine (Epictetus 2.1.23; 4.1.113; Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 67; Seneca, *Ep.* 88.2; etc. Cf. O. Schmitz, *Der Freiheitsgedanke bei Epiktet und das Freiheitszeugnis des Paulus*, Gütersloh, 1923; M. Pohlenz, *La Liberté grecque*, Paris, 1956; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 623–664, 828–849). Philo wrote a book to prove that the wise person is free, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* (*Every Good Man is Free*). Only submission to God secures freedom for those in servitude: “They have an invincible love of liberty, because they judge that God is the only leader and master” (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.23, cf. *War* 7.410; 2Macc 1:27). “You will not find a free man other than the one who devotes himself to the study of Torah” (*Pirqe ‘Abot* 6.2). The Messiah brings liberation to the people (*Tg.* Lam 2:22; 4:22; Shemoneh Esreh [the “Eighteen Benedictions”], number 10). Cf. D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, London, 1956, pp. 272–278.

⁵⁷ Cf. C. Spicq, *Charité et liberté*; L. Goppelt, “Wahrheit als Befreiung: Das neutestamentliche Zeugnis von der Wahrheit nach dem Johannesevangelium,” in H.R. Müller-Schwefe, *Was ist Wahrheit?*, Göttingen, 1965, pp. 80–93; D. Atal, “Die Wahrheit wird euch freimachen (Jo. VII, 32),” in H. Merklein, *Biblische Randbemerkungen: Schülerfestschrift für R. Schnackenburg*, Würzburg, 1974, pp. 283–299; I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, vol. 2, pp. 551ff., 789–866.

⁵⁸ John 4:23–24. Cf. F. M. Braun, “In Spiritu et Veritate,” in *RevThom*, 1952, pp. 245–274; 485–507; R. Schnackenburg, “Die ‘Anbetung in Geist und Wahrheit’ (Joh. IV, 23) im Lichte von Qumrân-Texten,” in *BZ*, 1959, pp. 88–94 (reworked and developed in *Christliche Existenz nach dem Neuen Testament*, Munich, 1968, vol. 2, pp. 75–96); D. Muñoz Leon, “Adoración en espíritu y verdad: Aportación targúmica a la inteligencia de Jn. IV, 23–24,” in L. A. Verdes, E. J. A. Hernandez, *Homenaje a Juan Prado*, Madrid,

1075, pp. 387–403; I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, vol. 2, pp. 673–705.

⁵⁹ John 17:17, 19. Cf. J. Giblet, “La sainteté de la vérité,” in A. Dondeyne, J. Giblet, *Christianisme et vérité*, Brussels, 1959, pp. 7–42; I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, vol. 2, pp. 706–787.

⁶⁰ God is most holy and is the only one who sanctifies (Exod 31:13; Lev 20:8; 21:8, 15; Ezek 20:12; 37:28; 1Thess 5:23), sets people apart for himself alone (Num 3:13; Sir 33:12). This is an exclusive setting apart for a religious function (Exod 40:13; Lev 22:2-3; Matt 23:17).

⁶¹ John 15:26—ε—κπορεύεται (present indicative): “flows from,” as a river flows from its source (Rev 22:1). Historically, at a given moment, the Holy Spirit—who emanates (essentially, eternally) from the Father (eternal procession from deep within the Trinity)—is sent and given to the disciples. In other words, the historic acts of salvation rest on the eternal relationships of both the Son and the Spirit. The latter, “that one” (ε—κει—νος), “bears witness regarding me” (περὶ ε—μου). He has the authority of a divine witness. Knowing Jesus from all eternity, he alone, with the Father, knows perfectly who he is.

⁶² Ὁδηγέω: show the way, lead someone in an unknown region (Rev 7:17). Cf. I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, vol. 1, pp. 329–466. 1John 4:6—“This is how we know the spirit of truth and the spirit of error” (τῆς πλάνης). In the trial between Jesus (who is innocent) and the world (which condemned him as guilty), the Holy Spirit appears as a lawyer in the court of appeals and “will convict the world” (John 16:8). Every human being is called upon to take sides regarding this “sign spoken against” (Luke 2:34). Cf. T. Preiss, “La Justification dans la pensée johannique,” in *Hommage et reconnaissance* (Mélanges K. Barth), Neuchâtel, 1946, pp. 100–118.

⁶³ Plato, *Cra.* 431 *b*: ἀληθεύειν . . . ψεύδεσθαι, “speak truthfully . . . speak falsehoods”; Xenophon, *An.* 4.4.15: “having spoken the truth . . . giving out as true that which was true and as false that which was not true”; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.124: hardly anyone who is angry speaks the truth, being dominated by a drunkenness of the soul; *Cherub.* 15: a physician does not tell the truth to (hides it from) his patient, and the wise person fears speaking it (unveiling it) to his adversaries; but “good faith speaks the truth” (*Drunkenness* 40; *Abraham* 107) and “interpreters of dreams have the obligation to speak the truth” (*Joseph* 95; *Moses* 2.177; *Spec. Laws* 4.60). Josephus, *Life* 132: “even the inhabitants of Tarichaeae came to believe that the young men were speaking the truth”; 338: the historian Justus “has

said nothing true (correct) concerning his native city”; 339: “When writing history, one must tell the truth”; *War* 3.322: “was this man speaking the truth?”; *Ant.* 10.105: “Sacchias accepted as true what the prophet was saying”; *Ag. Apion* 1.223: “Certain authors do not tell the truth about how our ancestors came out of Egypt.” Moulton-Milligan could only produce one weak attestation of this verb in the papyri: α]ληθευοντ (followed by a lacuna), *P.Amh.* II, 142, 1; but it has since been attested in the second century in a petition to the prefect: a mother, influenced by her depraved sons, did not tell the truth (*P.Oxy.* 232, 12); *P.Oxf.* 6, 15: “The villagers of Ogou did not tell the truth”; *P.Oxy.* 3129, 7: “if you find that he spoke the truth” (ει— ἀληθεύοντα εὔροις). In *P.Hercul.* 1065, VIII, 12 (= Philodemus of Gadara, *Sign.*) this restoration has been made correctly: τὸ δόγμα [ἀληθεύεσθαι ν]ομίζομεν, “if we consider our philosophical doctrine to express the truth . . .”; cf. XI, 17.

⁶⁴ This would seem to the nuance of *aletheuo* in Josephus, *War* 7.220: Caesennius Paetus “wrote to Caesar, either sincerely or out or hatred”; cf. *Ant.* 14.267: “make a sincere statement.”

⁶⁵ N. Hugedé, *L’Épître aux Ephésiens*, Geneva, 1973, on this word. Cf. “being sincere in love” (M. Dibelius, *An die Kolosser, Epheser*, 3d ed., 1953, pp. 82ff.).

⁶⁶ Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 540, n. 1; J. D. Dubois, “Ephésiens IV, 15: ἀληθεύοντες δὲ οὐ ἀλήθειαν δὲ ποιοῦντες,” in *NovT*, 1974, pp. 30–34.

⁶⁷ *SB* 6744, 4: κὰν ἦ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ; 6764, 4; *P.Yale* 46, col. I, 17; cf. *P.Tebt.* 782, 23; *SB* 7446, 7: ἂ ἦ ἀληθῆ; 7520, 6; 9801, 19; 10044, 19.

⁶⁸ *P.Stras.* 41, 18: δει— γὰρ τὰ ἀληθῆ λέγειν; *P.Oxy.* 2419, 5: τὸ ἀληθὲς λέγω; *SB* 6097, 13: ἀληθὲς ε—στιν τὸν λόγον; *PSI* 816, 8: ε—ὰν ἦ ἂ γράφω ἀληθῆ; *P.Tebt.* 775, 14; *P.Magd.* I, 16; XI, 13; XII, 11; XIII, 10, etc. *P.Tebt.* 782, 23; *SB* 9605, 9: γράφω ὑμι—ν, ἴν ι—δῆ ἀληθὲς; 7258, 6.

⁶⁹ Cf. Job 42:7-8: speak the truth (niph'al of *kûn*); *I.Thas.* XVIII, 1: “Anyone who informs on an insurrectionist movement . . . whose words prove to be correct”; *CII* 86: the praises of the deceased are true; Josephus, *War* 4.154.

⁷⁰ Χειρογραφίαν περὶ τοῦ ἀληθῆ εἶναι, *BGU* 1573, 22; 1583, 23; 1756, 5; *Pap.Lugd. Bat.* VI, 29, 18; *PSI* 1064, 18; 1141, 13; 1225, 14; 1237, 20; 1328, 20; *P.Oslo* 99, 19; 111, 299; *SB* 7333, 32; 7599, 33; 7602, 12; 7817,

20; *P.Oxy.* 2186, 11: ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα; 2564, 15; 2837, 22 (AD 50); 3034, 6; cf. *P.Oslo* 17, 14; τὸ ἀληθὲς ε—ξομολογήσασθε.

71 —Ορκὸν ἀληθῆ, *P.Corn.* 19, 12 and 17; 20, 18; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 33, 16; *P.Cair.Isid.* 2, 20; 3, 24; 4, 12; etc; *P.Mich.* 176, 22; *PSI* 1328, 69; *P.Oxy.* 2345, 8; *SB* 7602, 16; 7623, 20; 7672, 5; 7673, 13; 9317, a 35; 10726, 12, 17; *P.Hal.*, p. 227; Philo, *Cherub.* 108, 124; *Spec. Laws* 2.10; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.219.

72 *Wis* 6:17; *1Pet* 5:12. With respect to legitimate children (Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 69: τὸν ἀληθῆ πατέρα; *Spec. Laws* 1.326, 332; *P.Tebt.* 285, 3), civic rights (*Prelim. Stud.* 6), a circumcised child who is truly of a priestly family, ἀληθῆ εἶναι ι—ερατικοῦ γένου (*P.Tebt.* 293, 17). Philo several times links ἀληθὲς καὶ γνήσιον (*Conf. Tongues* 72; *Post. Cain* 102; *Joseph* 258), several times uses the comparative ἀληθέστερον (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 65; *Moses* 1.274; *Etern. World* 15), and nine times uses the superlative ἀληθέστατος (*Creation* 72; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.51; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 26; *Unchang. God* 107, 123; *Migr. Abr.* 171; *Heir* 243; *Abraham* 60, 261). True is contrasted with false (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.229; *Cherub.* 127; *Dreams* 2.47, 64, 162; *Virtues* 205; *Contemp. Life* 10; etc.).

73 *P.Ant.* 188, 16: τὸ δὲ ἀληθέστερον εἰ—πει—ν: “I urge you to express yourself quite frankly”; *2Cor* 6:8—ὡς πλάνοι καὶ ἀληθει—ς; taken as imposters, but nevertheless truthful. *1John* 2:27; cf. I. de la Potterie, S. Lyonnet, *La Vie selon l’Esprit*, Paris, 1965, pp. 126–143.

74 *Gen* 41:32; *Dan* 2:47; 10:1; *Wis* 1:6; 12:27; 15:1; *John* 3:33; 8:26; *Rom* 3:34; Philo, *Post. Cain* 115; *Drunkenness* 45; *Dreams* 1.238; *Abraham* 50, 68; *Joseph* 254; *Moses* 2.171; *Decalogue* 8; *Spec. Laws* 1.36; *To Gaius* 290, 347; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.337, 343; 10.268; *War* 7.323.

75 *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 89: so that the true facts may be elucidated; *P.Phil.* I, 23: the estimation will be made “not according to a declaration with no official character, but according to their true circumstances” (ε—κ ἀληθοῦς αὐτῶ—ν ὑποστάσεως); *SB* 8444, 57: “the tax charges will be made according to the true [state_ of the grape crop and of the unflooded land”; *P.Tebt.* 739, 29. Cf. *Job* 5:12—“their hands do not the truth”—i.e., do not accomplish their plans. *Alethes* also has the psychological or moral connotation “honest, reasonable”; cf. *Isa* 41:26—“so that we may say that it was right” (ὅτι ἀληθῆ ε—στιν, Hebrew *ʾadîq*); *43:9* (Hebrew *ʾemeth*); *Phil* 4:8—“whatever is true (honest), whatever is worthy . . . let this be what counts for you.”

76 This is the right spelling (Herodian 2.473.7), as opposed to *aletheinos* (ἀληθινός) in certain papyri, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, p. 92, n. 7; I, 3, p. 100, 38.

77 Moulton-Milligan (on this word) cite *P.Petr.* II, 19 (l. a) 6; (2) 3 (third century BC); cf. a death certificate: ἀληθινὰ εἶναι τὰ γεγραμμένα (*P.Phil.* 6, 24; from the second century AD); *P.Apoll.* 61, 10: “I made him swear that these were not lies but the truth”; 68, 2. A letter from the third century is addressed Σαραπίωνι τω— ἀληθινω— μωρω— (*SB* 10557, 1); *BGU* 1141, 12: δέδωκα ἀποδείξεις ἀληθινάς (seventeenth year of Augustus; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 684, 17).

78 Autolycus of Pitane, *Risings*, intro. 4: “There are two types of sunrises and sunsets: true (ἀληθιναί = real) and apparent”; cf. 1.1 et passim. — Xenophon, *Oec.* 10.3: “If I passed off badly died fabric on you as authentic purple (πορφυρίδας ἀληθινάς)”; ἀληθινῆς μικτῆς πορφύρας (*SB* 11075, 8); the compound form ἀληθινοπόρφυρος (*P.Oxy.* 114, 7; *SB* 11075, 11). The verb ἀληθίζω means “die with purple,” in *P.Holm.*, p. 28 = n. 18, 6; third-fourth century); ἀληθινός = purple, in John Malalas, *Chron.* 2.33.12; 17.413.14 (*PG*, vol. 97, 101 and 612).

79 Job 1:1; 2:3; 4:7, 23; straightforward speech, 6:25; Prov 12:19; cf. the queen of Sheba: “Then what I heard about you is true” (1Kgs 10:6; 2Chr 9:5).

80 *Prelim. Stud.* 159, 101: “true and just measure”; *Heir* 162: “let your weights be correct and just” (Deut 25:15) = *Dreams* 2.193. True wealth does not deceive (*Flight* 17) but is found in the heavens (*Rewards* 104). True goods are the object of divine benediction (*Virtues* 78). The “true man” is the one who corresponds to his spiritual nature (*Worse Attacks Better* 10; *Giants* 33; *Flight* 131; cf. *Moses* 1.289). “True life” is that of the religious soul (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.32, 35; 3.52); cf. authentic wisdom and virtue (*Flight* 82).

81 John 17:3—“You, the only true God” (σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν); 1Thess 1:9—“to serve the living and true God” (as opposed to idols); 1John 5:20; Rev 3:7, 14; 6:10; 19:11; his words (Rev 19:9; 21:5; 22:6), his judgments (16:7; 19:2), his ways are true (15:3). In a secular sense: the proverb spoke truly (John 4:37); in a moral sense: “let us draw near with a true heart,” meaning upright and firm (Heb 10:22); in the OT sense: Christ’s judgment (John 8:16) and the testimony of the evangelist (19:35) are true or perfect because well-founded.

82 This suggests the Platonic theory of the Ideas, cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, pp. 27ff. J. H. Bernard, *Gospel According to St. John*, Edinburgh, 1928, vol. 1, p. 11.

83 R. Borig, *Der wahre Weinstock, Untersuchungen zu Jo XV, 1–10*, Munich, 1967.

84 Menander, *Dysk.* 915, 929; Dittenberger, *Or.* 223, 17; *C.P.Herm.* 6, 2, 32; 8, 18; *SB* 7635, 1: τω— δεσπότη μου ὡς ἀληθω—ς τιμιοτάτω; 8262, 1; 9444, 3; 9683, 1 (*P.Vindob.Sal.*, n. XXII, 1 and p. 195); Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.81: πάνυ ἀληθω—ς = quite true; 3.58; Philo uses the formula ὡς ἀληθω—ς (= in truth) almost sixty times (*Cherub.* 76, 93; *Unchang. God* 125; *Rewards* 30, 43; *Etern. World* 10, 69; *Flacc.* 72; etc.).

85 Christ is truly (the) son of God (Matt 14:33; 27:54; Mark 15:39), Savior of the world (John 4:42), the prophet who was to come (John 6:14; 7:40).

86 John 8:31; cf. 1:47. 1Thess 2:13—The Thessalonians received Paul’s preaching “not as a human message, but as it really is, a message from God”; 1John 2:5—“The one who keeps his word, the love of God is truly (actually) perfected in him.”

ἀμελέω, ε—πιμελέομαι

ameleo, to not matter; *epimeleomai*, to busy oneself with, see to

ameleo, S 272; *EDNT* 1.69; MM 26; L&N 30.50; BDF §176(2); BAGD 44–45 | ***epimeleomai***, S 1959; *EDNT* 2.31; MM 242; L&N 30.40, 35.44; BDF §§101, 176(2); BAGD 296

The verb *melei* (construed with *moi tinos, peri tinos, hoti*) means: to care for someone with respect to something, to take an interest in or busy oneself with a matter;¹ hence *meletao* is not only “think about, meditate on” but also “to be busy about, to exert oneself” and even “to practice.”² More frequent is *ameleo*, “to be careless, negligent, not put oneself out.” This indifference is that of the ones first invited to the marriage feast of the kingdom of God (Matt 22:5); it is cursed by Jer 48:10 and receives almost the same treatment in Heb 2:3—“How shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation?”³—and Heb 8:9—“Since they have not remained in my covenant, I myself have also lost interest in them, says the Lord.”⁴ After asking Timothy to apply himself (*proseche*) to reading, to exhortation, and the like, St. Paul instructs him: “Do not neglect the spiritual gift that is in you.”⁵ The litotes *me amelei* occurs frequently in the papyrological

literature to express a psychological orientation of zeal and urgency⁶ or application to a task;⁷ *me ameleseis*, synonymous with *me okneseis* (*P.Harr.* 107, 15; *P.Mich.* III, 221, 12, 13); and opposed to *spoudason* (*SB* 9754, 3–4 = *P.Mil. Vogl.* 255), to *prothymos* (cf. *PSI* 621, 7), and to *epimeleo* (cf. *P.Eleph.* 13, 7; *P.Hib.* 253, 3 and 8).

Ameleo is used in medicine for neglected patients, who are lost for lack of care,⁸ but especially for functionaries in the public administration who default on their obligations as *epimeletes* (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 215; 2, 6, 74; Plutarch, *Tim.* 18.3: *argos* and *amelos*). *Ameleia* is typical offense of a proxy or of one responsible for carrying out a function, but who shirks his obligations.⁹ It is obvious that we should understand 1Tim 4:14 in this sense—Timothy should not lose sight of the fact that he was supernaturally equipped to carry out his duty, and he should take his stand on this divine gift in facing up to his responsibilities as model pastor and teacher.

In this pastoral context, it is natural that St. Paul uses *epimeleomai* with respect to the Ephesian overseers: “If anyone does not know how to rule his own household, how will he look after a church of God?” (*pos ekklesias theou epimelesetai*, 1Tim 3:5). This compound verb, meaning “busy oneself, take care, direct,” suggestive of the public function carried out by the community minister and of the devotion that this function requires, is copiously attested in secular Greek, especially in epigraphy (see the index in Dittenberger, *Syl.* 4.345ff.), with respect to every occupation,¹⁰ and it could be used here of any job or position of oversight in the *ekklesia*. But the emphasis is on morality, because the term is used of a task that requires personal devotion, of effective leadership, of diligent application.¹¹ In this sense it has a role in the medical vocabulary from the classical period,¹² where *epimelesthai*=*epimeleian poieisthai* means “care for medically.” It is in this sense that, according to Doctor Luke, the good Samaritan, having taken the injured traveler to the inn “took care of him” (Luke 10:34) and instructed the innkeeper, *epimeletheti autou*.¹³

From Aristotle on, this verb has a political sense: to busy oneself with public affairs.¹⁴ *Epimeletes* designated especially the high magistrates who governed the city and whose dedicatory inscriptions praise their merit and their justice,¹⁵ so much so that the holder of such a title was addressed in a letter as “Your Diligence”—*Epimeleia* (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 76, 85–86, 103). Clearly this political-moral sense applies well to the overseer called to guide a Christian community,¹⁶ but it works even better in light of the cultic usages of *epimeleia*, *epimeleomai* in the first century. In Israel, the *epimeleia tou hierou* or *ton hieron* is entrusted to the priests and to the king:¹⁷ they oversee the cultic celebrations, the organization of processions, the offering of sacrifices, and are responsible for the liturgy. In pagan cultic rules, the phrase *epimeleisthai tes thysias* recurs frequently,¹⁸ and the inscriptions provide *epimeletai ton mysterion*.¹⁹ In other words, the Christian minister does not necessarily have a financial role to play, as

some have claimed, but is a leader who carries out a religious function and must apply himself to it with the greatest diligence.

¹ In the Gospels, the construction is always negative: οὐ μέλει = the Lord doesn't care (Matt 22:16; Mark 4:38; Luke 10:40); the hireling thinks only of his own interests and does not bother himself about the sheep (John 10:13), nor Judas about the poor (John 12:6); nor does Gallio care that Sosthenes is being beaten before his tribunal (Acts 18:17). The nuance "busy oneself with, take care" is present in 1Cor 7:21; 9:9; above all 1Pet 5:7—"Unload all your cares upon God (Ps 55:23), for he is engaged on your behalf." Cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *De mus.* 26: "The ancient Greeks were right to devote the greatest care to musical education"; *P. Tebt.* 703, 174.

² Cf. Acts 4:25—the peoples have planned vain things (cf. Luke 21:14—προμελετα—ν); 1Tim 4:15—Timothy is to meditate on the Paul's exhortations to virtue and on preaching—exert himself on, go to the trouble of putting into practice.

³ Τηλικαῦτος (for τοσοῦτος), literally, of this age (2Cor 1:10; Jas 3:4; Rev 16:18; *P. Oxy.* 900, 12; *P. Flor.* 58, 14), highlights the incomparable value of Christian salvation; cf. Diodorus Siculus 2.4.1: "Semiramis, a woman of modest estate, was exalted to just great renown, εἰ—ς τηλικαύτην . . . δόξαν"; Heraclitus, *All.* 25.11: "How can one heal such (τηλικαῦτα) sicknesses?"; Polybius 3.1.10: "such momentous developments"; cf. P. Chantraine, *Etudes sur le vocabulaire grec*, Paris, 1956, p. 153.

⁴ Citing Jer 31:32 (a text exploited by the Qumran community, cf. J. T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Judah*, Paris, 1957, p. 75). On this reciprocity, cf. the letter of Aurelius Sarapion to Aurelius Patas (third to fourth century): "Do not be negligent, knowing that I for my part do not neglect your affairs, μὴ ἀμαλήσης εἰ—δὼς ὅτι κἀγὼ οὐκ ἀμελω— εἰ—ς σε" (B. Boyaval, "Le prologue du Misouménos de Ménandre et quelques autres papyrus grecs inédits," in *ZPE*, vol. 6, 1, 1970, p. 30; n. 14, 9–11), cf. *P. Rein.* 117, 11: "Do not neglect to write me a letter, taking into account that if you do something, you will receive it back quadruple." *P. Phil.* 32, 16: "If through negligence you send nothing, it is yourself that you will wrong" (end of the first century?).

⁵ 1Tim 4:14; ἀμελει—ν is the opposite of προσέχειν, "fix one's attention, attach oneself" (as in Heb 2:1, 3); cf. Hippocrates, *Acut.* 4.1; Demosthenes, *C. Poly.* 50.1; *C. Call.* 55.9). The verb plays a role in the vocabulary of Stoic ethics (*Prelim. Stud.* 65; Epictetus 4.12.7) and of the Christian pastoral writings (1Tim 1:4; 3:8; 4:1, 3; 2Pet 1:19; cf. J. Dupont, *Discours de Milet*,

pp. 136ff.), where the sense of applying oneself and devoting oneself has a moral value. In a Christian papyrus of the third century, μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσητε, ἀδελφοί, διὰ ταχέων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι (SB 9557, 53) corresponds to καλω—ς οὖν ποιήσαντες (line 37); one even specifies: νῦν οὖν μὴ ἀμελήσης, δέσποτα, διὰ τὸν θεόν (*P.Herm.* 7, 15).

⁶ *P.Mert.* 85, 6: “Do not neglect to write, brother, concerning your health”; 112, 11; *P.Princ.* 186, 16 (AD 28); SB 10724, 18; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 19, 8; XI, 26, 19; *P.Oxy.* 113, 16: μὴ δόξης με ἡμεληκότα τῆς κλειδός; 1929, 4: μὴ ἀμελήσης τοῦ ζητῆσαι τουτό; 2982, 12; 2985, 9; *P.Sorb.* 62, 5: “Don’t fail to see to that, because I absolutely need it”; *P.Cair.Isid.* 134, 8; *P.Mich.* VIII, 464, 15ff.: “Don’t worry about us, take care of yourself” (first century AD).

⁷ *P.Yale* 77, 8 (AD 100): “I ask you not to be negligent about the gold bracelet”; *P.Mil.* 74, 8; *P.Oxy.* 2149, 11: “Do it, do not neglect it”; 2781, 6 and 10; *P.Harr.* 107, 18: “Do not neglect to send me the coat”; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 18, 36; *C.Pap.Jud.* 424, 14: letter from Joanna to Epagathos, 15 December 87: “Do not neglect to take us”; *P.Tebt.* 315, 32: “Do not neglect yourself or that which I wrote you to buy for me”; 417, 31: “You shall not neglect any of these tasks”; *P.Abinn.* 43, 8: “Do not neglect to pay what you owe”; SB 10567, 53: τοῦτο μὴ ἀμελήσης ἀλλὰ ποίσον γυμνασθῆναι (third century, Antinoe); *P.Vars.* 26, 33: τοίνυν μὴ ἀμελήσης συντελει—ν τοῦτο. The exhortation is repeated at the beginning and the end of the letter (*P.Oxy.* 3199, 3, 10). Often the formula is ὄρα μὴ ἀμελήσης = See to it that you do not neglect (*ibid.* 42, 16; *P.Ant.* 192, 14; *PSI* 318, 7–8; *P.IFAO* II, n. 18, 8–9), and this exhortation concludes the letter, before the salutation: Μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσις. Ἐρρωσο (*ibid.* 19, 17–18, first century AD; cf. SB 9535, 12; *P.Fay.* 125, 3–4). —Αμελω—ς is used of a negligent sentinel (Thucydides 1.100).

⁸ Hippocrates, *Epid.* 3.72.3; Thucydides 2.51.2: people were dying for lack of care (ἀμέλεια). The use of μελέτη for “treatment” is known (Hippocrates, *Artic.* 50; *Fract.* 31, 35; *Int.* 44, 52). Hence the honorific inscription on behalf of Archelaos, doctor at Heraclea: διὰ τῆς ι—ατρικῆς τέχνης ει—ς τὴν τω—ν ἀπόρων ὄνησιν πλείστην μελέτην ποιούμενον (*MAMA*, vol. 6, 114, 12–13 = *I.Car.*, n. 70, p. 177).

⁹ *P.Hamb.* 192, 5: οὐκ ἡμέλησά σου τοῦ ε—ντολίου; *PSI* 425, 13; *P.Oxy.* 62, 9; 1775, 15; *P.Princ.* 163, 7; 167, 9: μὴ ἀμελήσης περὶ ὧν σοι ε—νετελάμην; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 34, 9 and 14; *P.Cair.Isid.* 77, 20; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 167, 13 “because of the carelessness of Mario, the inspector of seeds” (17 March 110); *P.Mich.* 591, 3 (ed. G. M. Browne).

¹⁰ On the Sabbath, the Jews do not take care of any business, don't do any chores, μήτε ἄλλης ε—πιμελει—σται λειτουργίας (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.209). Simon made an inspection round, “taking care of matters related to the administration of the cities” (1Macc 16:14). Used for the labor of architects (*CIRB*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1965, n. 1122; 1242, 1243, 1245, 1246). In its legal sense, ε—πιμελέομαι means “to be in charge of managing, to administrate, to watch over the interest of” (L. Gernet, *Démosthène: Plaidoyers civils*, vol. 4, Paris, 1960, p. 156; V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Lineamenti del sistema contrattuale nel diritto dei papyri*, Milan, 1928, pp. 22ff.).

¹¹ Cf. *P.Tebt.* 703, 183: ε—πιμέλου δὲ ε—πισκοπει—ν (third century BC); line 191: ε—πιμελές τέ σοι ἔστω (cf. line 70, 80, 149, 191, 215, 224, 241). A decree awarding public hospitality to Chairias, an adjunct official, mentions that “he demonstrates great care and devotion in his work and in all that he does for Antipatros” (P. Cabanes, “Les inscriptions de théâtre de Bouthôtos,” in *Actes de Colloque 1972 sur l'esclavage*, Paris, 1974, p. 165, n. 32). Menander, *Dysk.* 213: “Look after your father”; 240: “take care of my sister”; 618: “See to his needs.” *C.Pap.Jud.* 424, 27: “above all take good care of yourself, so that you may be well”; *P.Ross.Georg.* 2, 4; 18, 321; *UPZ* 1, 61, 29ff.; 59, 39; *PSI* 1312, 10; *P.Oxy.* 1479, 13: “take good care of yourself, so that you may be well,” end of the first century BC; *P.Mert.* 62, 13, from AD 6). Cf. the funerary inscription of New Caesarea: “All the other gods who watch over good souls and take care of them” (in J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 52, 13). Ζητει—ε—πιμελω—ς (Luke 15:8) = search diligently, carefully. This adverb is used for education (Prov 13:24) and worship (Menander, *Dysk.* 37: the young girl “honors the nymphs diligently”).

¹² Numerous examples not given in LSJ, mentioned by W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 269ff., and N. van Brock, *Vocabulaire médical*, pp. 237ff. “The lesions get worse if left alone, but if cared for (ε—πιμεληθέντα) they get better” Hippocrates, *Mochl.* 21; cf. *Art.* 8); “In the eyes of the common people, those who are not themselves in good bodily condition would not be able to take care of others either, οὐδ' ἄν ε—τέρων ε—πιμεληθῆναι καλω—ς” Hippocrates, *Medic.* 1); Soranus, *Gyn.* 3.48.1. Honorific decree for a doctor of Cos (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 943, 30ff.), for the doctor Hermias at Gortyn (*I.Cret.*, vol. 4, p. 230, n. 168, 8ff.).

¹³ Luke 10:35. At Sidon, the centurion Julius to be cared for by his friends, ε—πιμελείας τυχει—ν (Acts 27:3). —Επιμελεία, treatment, care provided for a sick person, cf. Prov 3:8; Sir 30:25.

¹⁴ *Ath. Pol.* 16.3: ε—πιμελει—σθαι τω—ν κοινω—ν; cf. *Pol.* 3.5.10: “the man of state is master of the administration of common affairs, κύριος

τω—ν κοινω—ν ε—πιμελείας;” 7(6).8.1321b. In the technical usage, the Epimeletes at Athens were the twenty officials of the twenty *symmoriae*, with responsibility for overseeing the apportionment of charges, the enrolling of the members of the *symmoriae*, and the defense of the state; they could be compared to magistrates (cf. Glotz, *Epimélètes*, in *DAGR* p. 666). At Rome, the *epimeletes* was the *curator* (cf. H. G. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 46).

¹⁵ Cf. P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne*, Paris, 1916, pp. 97–125; F. Durrbach, *Choix*, n. 77, 83, 95; P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, Cairo, 1931, pp. 80ff. *I.Rhamn.*, pp. 84ff., 115ff., 118–120, 124ff. 129ff., 139. In an inscription of the port of Ostia, Valerius Serenus is ὁ ε—πιμελητής παντὸς τοῦ —Αλεξανδρεινοῦ στόλου (*IG* vol. 14, 917). Aeneas Tacticus requires the leader and official (ἡγεμω—ν καὶ ε—πιμελητής) to be prudent and dynamic (*Polior.* 1.7). Demetrius of Phalerum, who showed much benevolence and humaneness toward his fellow citizens, is ε—πιμελητής τῆς πόλεως (Diodorus Siculus 18.74.3; 20.45; cf. the ε—πιμελητής Καύδου in an inscription of Sparta, L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 1, Limoges, 1940, pp. 109ff.). In Israel, two sorts of overseers and magistrates (ε—πιμελητὰς καὶ ἄρχοντα) maintained public security and good order (*Spec. Laws* 4.21); Moses was ὁ τοῦ ἔθνους ε—πιμελητής καὶ προστάτης (*Rewards* 77; cf. *Virtues* 57). On the *epimeletes* of the city and the governor, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1974, pp. 202, n. 108; 291, n. 553.

¹⁶ 1Tim 3:15. We should note the analogous political meaning of the Greek —Επισκόποι, especially at Ephesus; cf. the references in *DKP*, vol. 2, col. 323.

¹⁷ Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.188; *Ant.* 20.222; *Ep. Arist.* 93; cf. *Husbandry* 51: the Logos, firstborn son of God, will receive the responsibility for caring for the sacred flock. AtDelos, there were officials in charge of the sacrifices: ε—πιμελητὰς τῆς θυσίας (F.Durrbach, *Choix*, n. 21); at Ostia, Claudius Papirius is ε—πιμελητής τοῦ ι—εροῦ (*IG*, vol. 14, 926); at Oxyrhynchus, Sarapion is *epimeletes* of the tribes of priests of the Serapeion and of other temples (*P.Oxy.* 2563, 5), like Demetrius at the temple of Artemis (*P.Thead.* 34, 14), —Επιμελητής, ναοῦ θεα—ς —Αρτέμιδος (P. Hermann, *Ergebnisse*, n. 23, 2–3).

¹⁸ *LSCG*, n. 93, 35 (Eretria, fourth–third century); 96, 19 (Mykonos, 200 BC); 103, 11 (Minoa of Amorgos, first century BC); 136, 5 (Ialysos, 300 BC); 171, 6, 9, 12 (Isthmos, second century BC); 177, 6, etc.

¹⁹ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 384, 9 (Athens); 540, 11, 43 (Athens); 1029, 10; *SEG*, vol. 16, 92, 7 (Eleusis); 162, 10, 24 (Athens); vol. 21, 494, 19 (Eleusis, first century BC), etc.

ἀμεταμέλητος

ametameletos, leaving no room for regret, irrevocable

ametameletos, S 278; *TDNT* 4.626–629; *EDNT* 1.69; *NIDNTT* 1.356–357; L&N 25.271; BAGD 45

Unknown in the OT, this adjective is used only twice in the NT,¹ notably in Rom 11:29, where it has a theological significance; with respect to the final salvation of Israel,² the apostle affirms: “The gifts and the calling of God are irrevocable.” If we insist on an etymological definition (*a-meta-melomai*), we will see this as meaning that God does not change his mind;³ once God has chosen his people, he will not go back on the decision; God never breaks his word after making a promise (Ps 110:4 = Heb 8:21). Hence our adjective, a synonym of *ametanoetos*,⁴ will express simply the absence of variation in the divine will. God is *am atabletos* (Aristotle, *Cael.* 1.9.279a).

But we must look at usage, which shows two partially overlapping semantics, one literary, the other legal.⁵ Following Socrates’ definition of happiness as “a pleasure that leaves no regret,”⁶ Plato (*Tim.* 59d), Crates of Thebes,⁷ Plutarch (*De tu. san.* 26), Porphyry (*VP* 39; ed. A. Nauck, *Porphyrii opuscula*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 37), and the Neoplatonist Hierocles of Alexandria (ed. F. Jullach, *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*, Paris, 1875, vol. 1, p. 453) frequently modify *hedone* with the epithet *ametameletos*. It is a scholastic tradition. But these same authors add that these pleasures are not vain but profitable (*opheleiai*), are not diluted with any sorrow (*alypon*), that nothing disturbs or diminishes their charm (*hedeia*), and finally that they are characterized by permanence or fixity (*monimos*). This ensemble of subsidiary qualifiers tends to give to *ametameletos* the sense “absolute, whole, unobscured.”

Meanwhile, another series of texts gives this adjective the meaning “total” or “definitive,” whether with respect to feelings, decisions, or personal resolutions.⁸ Here and there appears a psychological or moral nuance of simplicity, good faith, or candor, which is the sense of the adverb *ameletetos*. This meaning is predominant around the time of Christ, being used precisely with respect to benefits, to devotion, and—for the first time—to gifts. An honorific decree of Priene expresses the recognition of the city for the good grace and indefectible devotion of Zosimus toward it (*I.Priene*, 114, 8; end of the first century BC). According to Diodorus

Siculus, “every benevolent act, done without afterthought, bears the good fruit of praise from those who are its beneficiaries” (10.15.3). The sure and definitive character of a donation in the first century AD is seen in the *Tabula* of Ps.-Cebes of Thebes: When an old man exhorts his interlocutor not to trust goods given by Fortune, who takes back what she gives, the stranger asks what characterizes gifts given by *alethine Paideia*. The rejoinder: “True knowledge of useful things, a sure and stable gift.”⁹

This sense of *ametameletos* —“irrevocable”—is exactly its meaning in the few papyri that use the adjective. On 10 November 41, Emperor Claudius wrote to the Alexandrians: “I shall now address the disturbances and the anti-Jewish riots . . . reserving the right to bring an inflexible anger to bear against any who would start up again (reading *arxomenon* for *arxamenon*). I flatly declare to you that if you do not put an end to this murderous reciprocal furor, I shall be forced to give you a harsh demonstration of what the righteous anger of a philanthropic prince is.”¹⁰ Three other attestations are of juridical actions: writers of wills or parties to contracts declaring their decisions unchangeable and irrevocable,¹¹ such as Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis, at the end of the fourth century: *hothen eis tauten hormesa ten engraphon ametameleton eschaten diathekemiaian asphaleian*.¹² The sense “immutable, unalterable” is confirmed by *P.Lond.* V, 1660, 37 (c. 353), if the restitution of C. Wessely is accepted:¹³ *asaleuton kai ametameleton kai ametanatrepton einai*;¹⁴ and by *P.Cair.Masp.* 314, 3, 11, from the sixth century. These are late documents, but they provide good parallels to Rom 11:29, which has the value of a legal axiom.

The revelation will thus be this: The conduct of the beneficiaries of the covenant will have led God to abrogate it. Now God’s faithfulness is not made false by the unfaithfulness of men (2Tim 2:13); not only does God not repent of his generous gifts and his promises,¹⁵ but they are irremissible by their very nature (1Thess 5:24; 1Cor 1:9; 2Cor 1:19-22, etc.). Consequently, God will never go back on his choice and his gifts of grace.¹⁶

¹ 2Cor 7:10—“The sorrow that is according to God works a repentance unto salvation that leaves no room for regret.” Most commentators connect ἀμεταμέλητον to μετάνοιαν and not to σωτηρίαν. A conversion that will not change is without turning back, definitive (Vulg. *stabilem*); cf. μεταμέλει, regret (Menander, *Dysk.* 12; E. G. Thomson, *Μετανοέω and μεταμέλει in Greek Literature until 100 A.D.*, Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the N.T., second series, vol. 1, Chicago, 1909, p. 366).

² D. Judant, *Les deux Israël*, Paris, 1960 (with the review of P. Benoit, in *RB*, 1961, pp. 458–462); idem, *Judaïsme et Christianisme*, Paris, 1969, pp.

261ff. L. Goppelt, *Les Origines de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1961, pp. 116ff. The great majority of commentators have seen the Jewish people as the subject of this verse, but about half have not understood it to mean that this people as a whole would necessarily be converted (F. J. Caubet Iturbe, "Et sic omnis Israel salvus fieret' [Rom. XI, 26]," in *EstBib*, 1963, pp. 127–150); cf. S. Légasse, "Jésus a-t-il annoncé la conversion finale d'Israël (à propos de Mc. X, 23–27)?" in *NTS*, vol. 10, 1964, pp. 480–487; B. Noack, "Current and Backwater in the Epistle to the Romans," in *ST*, vol. 19, 1965, pp. 155–166.

³ As opposed to men, Matt 21:30, 32; 27:3; *1Clem.* 2.7: "You never regretted having done good"; 54.4: "they will not regret their conduct"; 58.2: "Accept our recommendations and you will not be sorry."

⁴ This adjective occurs frequently in the papyri (wills, deeds of sale, of endowment, of gift) to express the irrevocable character of the decision, *P.Grenf.* 2.68, 4–5; *P.Cair.Preis.* 42, 3; *P.Flor.* 47, 4, 25; R. Taubenschlag, "Das babylonische Recht in den griechischen Papyri," in *JJP*, 1954, p. 179, n. 5; A. Bonhöffer, *Epiktet*, pp. 106ff. Cf. the *Inscription de Nazareth*, line 5: τούτους μένειν ἀμετακινήτους τὸν αἰ—ω—να.

⁵ Cf. the references supplied by H. Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief*, 9th ed., Göttingen, 1924, p. 232.

⁶ Ἡδονὴ ἀμεταμέλητος, in Stobaeus 103, 39, 18; ed. Wachsmuth, vol. 5, p. 906.

⁷ *Ep.* 10, ed. R. Hercher, *Epistolographi*, Paris, 1873, p. 210.

⁸ For example, there are those irrepressible fits of anger so blinding that one kills without hesitation and without a twinge of regret (Plato, *Leg.* 9.866c); but there are also those serious characters who embark on an undertaking and never look back (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 9.4.1166a29). If they make promises or offer a treaty, they can be taken at their word; those who trust them will not be sorry (Polybius 23.16; 21.11.11; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 11.13).

⁹ 32.12: ἀσφαλῆς δόσις καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἀμεταμέλητως (ed. C. Praechter, Leipzig, 1893, p. 26).

¹⁰ *P.Lond.* 1912, 78 = H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 25.

¹¹ R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 236ff. In the contract for the sale of some real estate in the Fayum on 8 September 512, "the

said seller declares that it is his firm, freely arrived at, and irrevocable decision to sell from this time forth and forever” (A. Sayce, “Deux contrats grecs du Fayoum,” in *Rev. des études grecques*, 1890, p. 131, A 3).

¹² *P.Lond.* I, 77, republished by *Chrest.Mitt.*, Leipzig-Berlin; 1912, vol. 2, n. 319; cf. *P.Harr.* 74, 25, from AD 99: διαθήκη, ε—φ η— ἀμεταθέτω ε—τελεύτησεν.

¹³ Cf. *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 3, Leiden, 1958, p. 97.

¹⁴ Cf. *P.Michael.* 45, 11; *P.Berl.Zill.*, n. 4, 14.

¹⁵ Cf. the texts cited by A. Vaccari, “Irrevocabilità dei favori divini: Nota a commento di Rom. XI, 29,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, pp. 437–442; cf. nevertheless the times that God had regrets under the Old Covenant, A. W. Argyle, “God’s Repentance and the LXX,” in *ExpT*, vol. 75, 1964, p. 367.

¹⁶ The reason is not only that God is immutable (Mal 3:6), but that his election and his gifts are inspired by an *agape* that is by definition an eternal love (cf. Phocylides 17.4: “Those who I respect, I love from the beginning to the end, τούτους ε—ξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους ἀγαπω—”; ed. E. Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Graec.*, 3d ed., Leipzig, 1949, p. 60). A. Vaccari (loc. cit., p. 437) prefers to attach this immutability to the *hesed* that would be characterized by its durability and permanence. Obviously these are not mutually exclusive options.

ἀμοιβή

amoibe, recompense, return

amoibe, S 287; MM 27; L&N 57.168; BAGD 46

The church takes charge only of those widows who have no family to support them. The children and grandchildren of a widow should learn to “give back [that which they owe_ to their parents” (*amoibas apodidonai tois progonois*). ¹ Solon imposed this obligation on sons on pain of dishonor.² In Egypt, it was the daughters who were bound to provide for their parents, sons being dispensed, at least unless they had agreed by contract to do so.³ But in year 26 of Euergetes I and in the year 1 of Philopator, Pappos and Ctesicles, aged and infirm, complain that their son and daughter, respectively, have refused or ceased to pay a food pension (*P.Enteux.* 25 and 26); while the children and grandchildren of the general Diazelmis

surround his old age with honor and care, in the second to third century BC.⁴

It is a question of natural law⁵ and of filial devotion,⁶ because it is a repayment or a just compensation of the part of children who after a fashion return to their parents from all that they have received from them.⁷ To be precise, *amoibe* (a biblical hapax) expresses exchange⁸ or substitution (*P.Oxy.* 1930, 2 and 4), a return gift, a recompense;⁹ hence its constant usage as a sign of acknowledgement in expressions of gratitude.¹⁰ In 84 BC, Zosimus, having received the title of citizen, felt no sterile gratitude (*ouk akarpon ten tes times dedeichen amoiben*), for he loved the city as his homeland and poured benefits upon it.¹¹ Pagans and Christians often ask God to return benefit for benefit, like this black slave of the centurion Pallas at Antioch: “In return, my God give my master a long life to live, and with it glory.”¹²

¹ 1Tim 5:4. It is not certain that ἀμοιβάς is an accusative plural of intensity, because it is found often enough as an equivalent to the singular. Cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 798, 5: εὐρει—ν ἴσας ἀμοιβὰς οἷς εὐηργέτηνται νῆ δυναμένων (AD 37); Cagnat-Lafaye, *Inscriptions graecae*, vol. 4, col. II, 39: κομιζόμενος τω—ν εὐεργεσιω—ν ἀξίας τὰς ἀμοιβάς.

² —Εάν τις μὴ τρέφῃ τοὺς γονέας ἄτιμος ἔστω (Diogenes Laertius 1.55); Plutarch, *Sol.* 22.1, 22.4.

³ According to Herodotus 2.35; cf. E. Seidl, “Die Unterhaltspflicht der Töchter,” in *Proceedings XI*, pp. 149–155. According to *P.Cair.Masp.* 67314, the sons, upon inheriting from their fathers, owe to their widowed mothers to γηροβοσκει—σθαι and νοσοκομει—σθαι (on γηροβοσκία, γηροτροφία, γηροκομία, the feeding, care, and lodging of aged and sick persons, cf. *P.Oxy.* 889, 19; 1210, 9; *BGU* 1578, 17; *P.Flor.* 382, 39; R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, pp. 339–345, 539–555).

⁴ *SEG* vol. 8, 497, 11ff. In the sixth century, a son cares for his sick, aged father, *P.Lond.* 1708, 51ff.

⁵ *P.Ryl.* 624, 16. Cf. Hierocles of Alexandria: “Children ought to regard themselves in the household of their parents as being in a temple where nature has placed them and made them priests and ministers, so that they should constantly look after the worship of these divinities who gave them life. . . . Children should supply to their fathers all necessary things, and, lest they should forget anything, should anticipate their desires and often go so far as to guess things that they cannot explain for themselves; for they have often guessed for us, when we could express our needs only through our cries, stammerings, and complaints” (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 79.53,

vol. 4, p. 640); cf. line 13: προθυμία πρὸς τὸ ἀμείβεσθαι τὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτῶ—ν). Cf. the parallels cited by C. Mussies, *Dio Chrysostom*, pp. 208–209.

⁶ Cf. Antiochus I of Commagene, giving as a τύπος εὐσεβείας the respect of ἔκγονα toward their προγόνου (IGLS, Paris, 1929, n. 1, 212ff.). One puts one's "religion" into practice (1Tim 2:2) when one honors one's mother (Exod 20:12) and sustains her in her old age, cf. Sir 3:2, 14; 7:27–28; Prov 19:26; 28:24; 30:17.

⁷ Cf. *P. Enteux*. 43, 5: "Let him restore [the sum] to me that I may have what I need for my old age: ἀποδο—ι μοι καὶ ἔχω [ει—ς τὸ] γῆρας τὰ ἀνάγκαια." On this value of iteration, cf. μέλλουσιν ὑπάτοιθ δευτέρα ἀμοιβῆ (L. C. Youtie, D. Hagedorn, H.C. Youtie, "Urkunden aus Panopolis III," n. 26, 19, in *ZPE*, vol. 10, 1973, p. 125; reprinted in *P. Panop.*).

⁸ *Etern. World* 108; Josephus, *War* 1.520: "He came to give him life as the price of his good deeds, the light of day in exchange for his hospitality"; cf. *I. Olymp.* 57, 56.

⁹ *P. Oxy.* 705, 61 (AD 200–2); *P. Ryl.* 624, 3; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.13; *War* 3.445; 7.365: "their throats slit . . . that's the recompense the Jews received for their alliance"; *MAMA*, vol. 8, 418, 36; G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 31, B, 7: τὴν ε—κ τούτων ε—λογίζοντο φιλοτιμίαν εἰ—ς ἀμοιβῆν.

¹⁰ Cf. Josephus, *War* 1.293: certain ones attached themselves to Herod in return for the benefits that they had received from him and his father; *P. Brem.* 8, 3; *P. Oxy.* 2474, 37; *SB* 8026, 3.

¹¹ *I. Priene* 112, 17; cf. 113, 32; 119, 27; *I. Car.* 185, 9; the dedication by Menandros of an architectural work, in recognition: ἀμοιβῆς καὶ εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν.

¹² *SB* 8071, 19 (= E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 26): τούτων δ'ἀμοιβῆν δεσπότην δοίη θεὸς βίου τε μακρὸν οἶμον; *MAMA* vol. 7, 566, 11 (cf. N. Firatli, L. Robert, *Stèles funéraires*, p. 177); *P. Lond.* 1729, 22: only the Lord will be able to recompense you; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.266.

ἀναγκαι—ος

anankaios, urgently necessary

anankaios, S 316; TDNT 1.344–347; EDNT 1.77–79; NIDNTT 2.663; MM 31; L&N 34.14, 71.39; BAGD 52

The Epistle to Titus concludes with an exhortation to brotherly love: “Let our people¹ also learn to be first in good works, in the face of the urgent needs” (*eis tas anankaias chreias*, 3:14); which is parallel to Rom 12:13 on authentic *agape*: “Take your part in the needs of the saints, practicing hospitality zealously.” In the NT, the necessities of daily life—food, drink, clothing, shelter—are expressed by *chreia*,² which in the classical language often has the nuance of destitution, indigence, privation, distress.³

But here these “needs” are accentuated with the adjective *anankaios* —“pressing need”—in conformity with the usage of literature,⁴ epigraphy,⁵ and above all the papyri of the Hellenistic period.⁶ Reference is sometimes made to repayment of cash advances (*P.Oxy.* 1891, 6; 1970, 20; *PSI* 964, 6), sometimes to services (*UPZ* 106, 11; 107, 13; 108, 11; *chrias pleious kai anankaias parechomenos*; October 99; cf. the “indispensable secretary” of Palmyra, in *IGLS*, 1859, 7), sometimes to necessary food supplies (*UPZ* 110, 104; 144, 33; *SB* 7758, 15; cf. 7205, 18; *P.Mert.* 91, 17). Thus St. Paul has in mind the several forms of aid that Christians should supply to those whom we still call “the needy.”⁷

Curiously, *anankaios*, “constraining, necessary, indispensable,”⁸ is used for blood relatives, literally the son or the daughter who cannot refuse the obligations of an inheritance;⁹ for friends (*P.Oxy.* 2407, 36): *anankaioi philoi* are the most intimate friends.¹⁰ In this sense, Cornelius, while awaiting the arrival of Peter from Caesarea, “had gathered his relatives and close friends.”¹¹

From Euripides on, the expression *philos anankaios* is commonly used.¹² In *Resp.* 9.574bc, Plato contrasts the mother (*phile anankaia*) with the courtesan that someone wants to marry (*phile ouk anankaia*); then the father, the closest relative and relative of longest standing (*philos anankaios*) with the adolescent born yesterday (*philos ouk anankaios*). Josephus mentions “intimate friends” about ten times, but he is almost always talking about confidants of the king.¹³ The son of Nebuchadnezzar, for example, releases Jechonias and retains him as one of his closest friends.¹⁴ In the letters among the papyri, the emphasis is always on confidence and affection, notably in letters of recommendation: “Ptolemaeus, the bearer of this letter, is my friend and an intimate” (*P.Col.Zen.* 7, 3; from March 257 BC); “Dioscoros, bearer of the letter, is my very close friend” (*estin mou leian anankaios philos*).¹⁵ Sometimes a writer amplifies the effect by using the superlative: *philos anankaiotatos*.¹⁶

These examples, to which many more could be added, allow us to place the Lucan vocabulary against its background in the contemporary language. The “intimate friends” shared Cornelius’s frame of mind and

probably awaited with the same fervor as he the joyful message that St. Peter would bring them. In pointing out their presence, St. Luke intends to express more fully the social importance of the centurion of Caesarea; not only does he worship God “with all his house” (Acts 10:2), have devout soldiers in his service (verse 7), and enjoy a perfect reputation among “the whole nation of the Jews” (verse 22) but also he has numerous associates of quality (verse 27), including first of all some very dear friends. This pagan is a grand personage whose conversion should receive as much fanfare as possible in the church.

¹ Οἱ—ἡμέτεροι designates a definite plurality (the suffix *-tero* added to ἡμεῖς has a differentiating function, cf. E. Benveniste, *Noms d'agent*, Paris, 1948, p. 119): members of the same family (Plato, *Menex.* 248b; Strabo 6.3.3), clients (*P.Oxy.* 37, col. I, 16; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 24, 99), “our people” as constituting a distinct group (*P.Oxy.* 787, 1, a letter of recommendation from the year AD 16: ὡς ἐστὶν ἡμέτερος = as he is one of ours; cf. *P.Brem.* 1.7). Here, it is a matter of Cretan Christians, as opposed to “those outside” (1Tim 3:7; 1Thess 4:12), pagan or Jewish (cf. Titus 1:10), οἱ—λοιποῖ (1Thess 4:13).

² Reference is sometimes to that which is indispensable (Acts 20:34; Eph 4:28; 1John 3:17), sometimes to supplies and services (Acts 28:10), even generous charitable giving (Phil 4:16). Cf. *SB* 9844, 3: πρὸς χρείαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν (Palestinian letter from the second century AD).

³ Cf. G. Redard, *Recherches sur XPH, XPHΣAI*, Paris, 1953, p. 82.

⁴ It probably comes from Homer, *Il.* 8, 57: “Necessity forces them, χρεῖοι—ἀναγκαίη”; cf. Wettstein; Diodorus Siculus 1.34; Philo, *Good Man Free* 76; *Decalogue* 99: “Man, inasmuch as he depends upon a thousand things that the necessities of life require—πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίαις τοῦ βίου χρείαις—has the obligation of taking care of acquiring the necessities as long as he lives.”

⁵ In 129 BC, Moschion is the object of gratitude because he has provided for some urgent expenses, εἰς χρείαις ἀναγκαίαις (*I.Priene* 108, 80). We may compare ἀνάγκη, “distress, calamity” (Luke 21:23; 1Thess 3:17; 1Cor 7:26; 2Cor 6:4; 12:10) and ἐν καιροῖς ἀναγκαίοις (*I.Assos*, n. 11, 6; from the first century BC), ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις καιροῖς (*P.Paris* 46, 7; second century BC).

⁶ *P.Grenf.* 2, 14 (c) 1: χρείαν ἔχομεν ἀναγκαίαν; *P.Oxy.* 56, 6; 1068, 16; *P.Stras.* 264, 10. Sometimes there is a simple formula: ἐπιτόμως ἔχομεν

τῆ σῆ ἀρετῆ εἰ—ς τὰς ἀναγκαίαις σοῦ χραΐας (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XI, 11, 20): “You will do well to pay me for my pressing necessities four talents of silver” (*P.Oxy.* 2600, 11; cf. *P.Michael.* 35 B 1; *PSI* 1122, 8). More often, the formula is developed: “I acknowledge having received for my personal and pressing necessity—εἰ—ς ἰ—δίαν μου καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρεία—six pieces of imperial gold” (*P.Oxy.* 2237, cf. *PSI* 1340, 7; 1427, 9; *P.Harr.* 86, 2; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 10, 12; *P.Ant.* 102, 6; 103, 15; *P.Fouad* 53, 2; *SB* 9191, 4–5; 9270, 4–5; *American Studies in Papyrology*, vol. 9, 607, 14).

⁷ [French *nécessiteux*. —Tr.] Cf. ἀναγκαι—ος = that which is essential (*P.Fay.* 111, 19, from 95–96; *P.Oxy.* 2838, 7), the needs of orphans (*P.Mich.* IX, 532, 2).

⁸ Cf. H. Schreckenberg, *Anankè*, Munich, 1964.

⁹ Οἱ—ἀναγκαι—οι, used absolutely, refers to parents and close relatives (Xenophon, *An.* 2.4.1: “At the home of Ariaeus arrived his brothers with other relatives, οἱ—ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαι—οι”; Demosthenes, *Embassy* 19.290: ὑπὲρ συγγενω—ν καὶ ἀναγκαίων). These blood relationships are distinguished from relationships established with strangers (Lysias, *C. Philo* 31.23: τοὺς ἀναγκαίους is contrasted with τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους; Lysias, *Property of Aristophanes* 19.38: “Is this any reason for wanting his parents—τοὺς ἀναγκαίους—to be stripped of all their belongings?” Josephus, *Ant.* 7.121: the close relatives—οἱ τε ἀναγκαι—οι—and the chiefs of the Ammonite king realize that they have broken the treaty); the closest relatives are designated by the superlative οἱ—ἀναγκαιότατοι (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.362); Epicharmus, frag. 186: ε—πιηρέστερον καὶ ἀναγκαιέστατον καὶ ὠραιέστατον; ed. G. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. 125). G. D. Kypke offered the following definition: “*Necessarii* vocantur (1) consanguini, (2) adfinitate juncti, (3) familiaritatis et amicitiae connexe vinculis. Interdum vocabulum haec tria simul complectitur” (*Observationes Sacrae in Novi Foederis Libros*, Wratislavia, 1755, vol. 2, p. 49).

¹⁰ “The notion that could justify this dual semantic development is that of linkage: it must be sought in ἀνάγκη. Nevertheless Schwyzer’s idea (*Griechische Grammatik*) that ἀν—άγκη (with ἀν— from ἀνα—) expresses the idea ‘take in one’s arms’ (cf. ἀγκών, perhaps ἀγκή in Hesychius), where ‘grip, constraint’ finds some support; cf. Sophocles, *Trach.* 831–832. The impossible Semitic etymology of Schreckenberg, *Anankè*, pp. 165–176” (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, vol. 1, p. 83 b).

¹¹ Acts 10:24 συγκαλεσάμενος τοὺς συγγενει—ς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους. Συγγενής is literally “of common origin” (cf. Michaelis,

συγγενής, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 736–742.). Συγγένεια is the name for a subdivision of a tribe (φυλή) or of a city (πόλις), so the members of these units are called συγγενει—ς (*I.Sinur.*, pp. 26–28, 96). Συγγενει—ς can mean the relatives of an individual when a modifier is used (αὐτοῦ, τοῦ δει—νος); it can mean relations (Plutarch, *Publ.* 3.5: συγγενει—ς ὄντα ἅμα καὶ συνήθεις) and literal friends: φίλον ὄντα καὶ συγγενῆ καὶ σύμμαχον (*SEG*, vol. 19, 468, 32); φίλους καὶ συγγενει—ς τῆς πόλεως (Decree of Lebedos, in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, Paris, 1960, p. 205; cf. *SEG*, vol. 23, 547, 2); τοι—ς συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις καὶ εὐνοίοις (*I.Magn.*, 38, 52; other texts in L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1969, p. 220). —It is also an aulic title; at the court of the Ptolemies, the rank of “king’s relative—*syngeneis*” is the highest (Dittenberger, *Or.* 104, 2; 135, 5; A. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 1, n. 30; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 5, 5); cf. W. Peremans, “Sur la titulature aulique en Egypte,” in *Symbolae . . . J. C. Van Oven*, Leiden, 1946, p. 157; Stählin, φίλος, in *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 148, 154–155; L. Mooren, “Über die ptolemäischen Hofrangtitel,” in *Antidorum W. Peremans*, Louvain, 1968, pp. 161–180. The general is also qualified by this honorific title, N. Hohlwein, *Stratège du nome*, p. 135. —In Latin, the *necessarii* are friends. Legal *necessitudo*, equivalent to *cognatio*, is a designation of *adfinitas* (*Digesta*, vol. 42, 4, 5; Ulpian, 59 *ad ed.*: the burden of defending a minor reverts to the *cognati*, the *adfines*, the *libertus*; the following reason is provided: Quod verisimile est defensionem pupilli pupillaeve non omissuros vel *propter necessitatem vel propter caritatem* vel qua aliter ratione). Festus borrows from Aelius Gallus his definition of *necessarii* as those *qui aut cognati aut adfines sunt, in quos necessaria officia conferuntur praeter ceteros* (cited by Klebs, in *RE*, vol. 1, 2 col. 492–493, under the word *necessitas*). Aulus Gellius defines: “Necessitas autem dicatur jus quoddam et vinculum religiosae conjunctionis . . . Necessitas sane pro jure officioque observantiae adfinitatisque infrequens est: Quamquam, *qui ob hoc ipsum jus adfinitatis familiaritatisque conjuncti sunt, necessariae dicuntur*” (*NA* 13.3). *Necessitudo* = affection in St. Jerome, *Ep.* 53.1; 68.11; etc.

¹² Euripides, *Andr.* 671: “You cry against your natural friends, τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους,” who are natural relatives; cf. Athenaeus 4.154c.

¹³ Φίλος is a court title (cf. *P.Dura* 18.10; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, pp. 13ff. *I.Cret.*, vol. 3, p. 100; Dittenberger, *Or.* 119; E. Bammel, “Φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος,” in *TLZ*, 1952, col. 205–210; C. Spicq, *Agape: Prolégomènes*, p. 165; R. Huttmacher, *Ehrendekret*, p. 32; *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 4, p. XIX; Stählin, “φίλος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 9, p. 160, n. 114). In 167–166, for example, the Ionian cities greet the king of Pergamum, Eumenes II, congratulating him both on his good health and on the friends who accompanied him on his journey: συνησθῆναι ἐ—πι τω— ἐ—μέ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους

ε—ρρω—σθαι (Dittenberger, *Or.* 763, 31; cf. M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 2, pp. 153–178). Attalus II traveled in similar company: συναγαγόντος μου οὐ νόνον —Αθήναιον καὶ Σώσανδρον καὶ Μηνογένην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ε—τέρους πλείονας τω—ν ἀναγκαίων (Dittenberger, *Or.* 315, 47 = C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 61, 5).

¹⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* 10.229: ε—ν τοι—ς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τω—ν φίλων εἶχε; cf. 10.5, 10.59; 11.208, 11.254; 13.224; 15.252.

¹⁵ *P.Herm.* 1, 6–7 (first century AD); cf. *P.Oslo* 60, 5 (second century); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 59, 13 (second century); *BGU* 625, 26: ἔχω ε—ν —Αλεξανδρεία ἀναγκαι—ον φίλον; *P.Flor.* 142, 2: ε—ποιδήπερ ε—ντολικὸν ἔχω ἀναγκαίου φίλου (AD 264); *SB* 9415, 17, 11.

¹⁶ *P.Brem.* 50, 4; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 233, 2. Cf. the ἀληθινοὶ φίλοι of Musonius, frags. 7 and 9 (ed. C. E. Lutz, pp. 56, 68), and the ἀεὶ φίλοι of Delos (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1970, p. 418, n. 410).

ἀνάγνωσις

anagnosis, reading (aloud, in public)

anagnosis, S 320; *TDNT* 1.343–344; *EDNT* 1.79; *NIDNTT* 1.245; *MM* 32; *L&N* 33.68; *BAGD* 52–53

On the Sabbath day, the Jews congregate at the synagogue (*bêt seper*) to hear the reading of and a commentary on a text from the Law and the Prophets.¹ The Christian church took up this tradition and turned “readers” into liturgical ministers.² But the reading of papyri and parchments was difficult, and it was necessary for the reader to know the text before reading it publicly.³ “When you say, ‘Come listen to a reading that I am going to do,’ make sure that you do not grope your way through.”⁴ This is the *anagnosis* that St. Paul enjoins upon Timothy: “Apply yourself to *reading*, to exhorting, to teaching” (1Tim 4:13).

Thus the letter to the Colossians would be read in the Laodicean community (*anaginosko*, Col 4:16); public reading, which assured the maximum disclosure of the word of God,⁵ was used from the first days of the apostolic writings and the prophetic revelations (Rev 1:3). In the second century, the duty of the “lector” is entrusted to a competent minister,⁶ meaning on the one hand one who can produce an intelligible reading: *anagnostes kathistastho euekoos* (*Can. App.* 19; *Const. App.* 2.5: *polys en anagnosmasin, hina tas graphas epimelos hermeneue* [“much given to

reading, so that he may interpret the Scriptures carefully”]; cf. Ambrose, *Off.* 1.44.215); and on the other one who is intelligent: *ho anaginoskon noeito* (Mark 13:14; cf. Eph 3:4); since he must not only make an informed choice of the passages to read, but also comment on them. He does not have the right to be boring or esoteric (Ambrose, *Off.* 1.22.100–101; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.8).

¹ Neh 8:7-8 (with the commentary of R. Le Déaut, *Introduction à la littérature targumique*, Rome, 1966, vol. 1, pp. 23ff.); Philo, *Dreams* 2.127; *Heir* 253; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.93–94; Luke 4:16; Acts 13:15 (cf. J. W. Bowker, “Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form,” in *NTS*, vol. 14, pp. 96–111); cf. 2Cor 3:14. In the first third of the first century, Theodotus had a synagogue built at Jerusalem, εἰς ἀνάγνωσιν νόμου καὶ εἰς διδαχὴν ἐντολῶν (*CII* 1404). At Qumran, where a priest had the job of explaining clearly all the words of the prophets (1QpHab 2.6–9; cf. 1QS 8.11–12; 9.12–14), the monks met “to read in the Book,” to examine the law, and pray together (1QS 6.6–8). Cf. A. Guilding, *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship*, Oxford, 1960; J. R. Porter, “The Pentateuch and the Triennial Lectionary Cycle,” in F. F. Bruce, *Promise and Fulfillment* (S. H. Hooke Festschrift), Edinburgh, 1963, pp. 163–174; R. Le Déaut, *Nuit pascale*, p. 219.

² St. Justin, *1 Apol.* 67; Tertullian, *Praescrip.* 41.8; *P.Apoll.* 99, 5; *P.Cair.Masp.* 67088. *IG*, vol. 10, 2, n. 1030, a tomb inscription of Aristeia, ἀναγνώστῃς καὶ πακτωτῆς (administrator) γενόμενος τῆς ἐσσαλονικέων ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας; *I.Cor.*, 548; H. Grégoire, *Asie Mineure*, n. 131 bis (Lindos); 148 (Samos); 226 *quater* (Didyma); G. Lefebvre, *Receuil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d’Egypte*, Cairo, 1907, n. 112 (Fayum), 350 (Akhmin), 581 (Aswan); *IGLS*, 1394 (region of Apamea). Cf. H. Leclercq, “Lecteur,” in *DACL*, vol. 8, 2, col. 2242ff. J. M. Nielen, *Gebet und Gottesdienst im Neuen Testament*, Freiburg, 1937, pp. 182ff.

³ Cf. H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l’éducation*, pp. 230ff., 365ff. = ET, pp. 230ff., 375ff. Apprenticeship began in the school (Plato, *Leg.* 810b; O. Guéraud, P. Jouguet, *Un livre d’écolier du IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ*, Cairo, 1938), and if the pupil stumbled over a syllable, his skin became more colorful than a nurse’s apron (Plautus, *Bacch.* 423ff.; cf. Herondas, *Schoolmaster* 89–90); it then became an essential element in rhetorical education, exercising the intelligence and the memory, because in the recitation-declamation that was part of the official examination, commentary on and criticism of the text that was sight-read were included (Plutarch, *De aud. poet.*; cf. I. Bruns, *De Schola Epicteti*, Kiel, 1897, pp. 3ff. J. Bompaigne, *Lucien écrivain*, Paris, 1958, pp. 37ff. *P.Lips.* 32, 12: μετὰ τὴν

ἀνάγνωσιν —Ωριγένης νεώτερος ῥήτωρ; A. C. Bandy, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete*, Athens, 1970, n. 6, 5: μνήμην —Ἰωάννης ἀναγνώστης καὶ χαρτουλάριος; 37, 4; 104, 1). If the *anagnostes* is sometimes a specialist (Demosthenes, *C. Poly.* 1.65: the law will be read to you; *C. Tim.* 49.43: read me the testimony; cf. 1Macc 14:19; *Ep. Arist.* 310; *P.Oxy.* 237, 5, 13; 7.33, 35; 2562, 4; 2963, 14; *BGU* 2244: the opening and public reading of a will, ἡνοίγη καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 785, 1. T. C. Skeat, *The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production*, London, 1956, pp. 179ff.; R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri*, Brussels, 1966, p. 47), it is also “someone who is studying a book” (Cicero, *Att.* 1.12; *Fam.* 5.9). Cf. *I.Magn.*, 100, 81.

⁴ Epictetus 3.23.6; Pliny, *Ep.* 2.19; 5.12; 7.17; Plutarch, *Alex.* 1.1; 23.3; *P.Lond.* 1973, 1: “As soon as you read this letter—ὡς ἂν ἀναγνώ—ις τὴν ἐπιστολήν—send it to Ptolemais. . . .”

⁵ 1Thess 5:27 (with the commentary of B. Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, on this verse); cf. 2Cor 1:13; Eph 3:4. Justin, *1 Apol.* 67. On a literary level, cf. *P.Ant.* 93, 5: ἐ—δήλωσα . . . διὰ Σερήνου ἀναγνώστου (fourth century).

⁶ Hippolytus, *Trad. ap.* 12; cf. *Const. App.* 8.22.2. The qualities of a lector had to do not only with voice quality and elocution, but also with intelligence for understanding the text of a papyrus or a codex in *scriptio continua*. The reader had to divide the words and make out the different elements of the sentence, which were not marked by any punctuation. (Cf. Plutarch, *An virt. doc.* 1: ἀναγινώσκειν γράμματα = decipher letters.) Even by the time of St. Augustine, there was no punctuated text of the Scriptures. Cassiodorus and Isidorus of Seville rightly insisted on the technical education of lectors. Cf. in the *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage in 411*, vol. 3, 255 (ed. S. Lancel), the criticisms aimed at the clerk: “He can’t read, he doesn’t separate the sentences (or: he doesn’t distinguish the meaning of the words). . . . It is not the good faith of the clerk that is being criticized, but his pronunciation.”

ἀνάδειξις

anadeixis, distinct demonstration, revelation, proclamation

anadeixis, S 323; *TDNT* 2.31; *EDNT* 1.80; *NIDNTT* 3.569; L&N 28.54; BAGD 53

This substantive makes a late appearance in the Koine and remains rather rare, unknown in the papyri, Philo, Josephus, etc. It retains the basic

meaning of the verb *deiknymi* —“show something distinctly”¹—and especially the meaning of the compound *anadeiknymi*: “make something visible by lifting it up,”² for example on the point of a spear (Plutarch, *Crass.* 26.4; cf. *De def. or.* 14), and is used for a shield (Herodotus 7.128; cf. 6.121, 124; Dio Cassius 77.13.5) and for the door of a house or of a sanctuary that is opened.³ Hence the meaning “be revealed,” “be uncovered” (Plutarch, *Them.* 25.2), “make oneself known” (idem, *Caes.* 38.5), “appear” (*Conf. Tongues* 103; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 30). On the religious level, *anadeiknymi* often has God as its subject and means “reveal”: “I have revealed initiations to men.”⁴ It is in this sense that the substantive *anadeixis* is used by Diodorus Siculus 1.85.4 regarding the cult of the Apis-bull: “When Osiris died, his soul passed into an animal of this species and . . . every time this god makes an *appearance* on earth, this soul passes successively . . . into the body of a bull.”

The verb *anadeiknymi* also means “proclaim” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.7.23), “declare” (2Macc 9:14); “the God of victories proclaimed Abraham master of trophies” (Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 93). It is used especially for the designation of a sovereign through investiture (“I have designated my son to be king”)⁵ or of a high official in his office. It is in this sense that the substantive *anadeixis* is used for the first time by Polybius for “the coronations of the Lagids” (*kai tas anadeixeis ton basileon*, 15.25.11), then by Plutarch: the colleagues of Caius proclaim the results of his election to a third tribunate (Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 12.7); “the day of the election” (of candidates to the magistracies, *he kyria tes anadeixeos*, *Cat. Min.* 44.10); Metellus “did not let Marius leave until twelve days before the election of consuls” (*ten ton hypaton anadeixin*).⁶

Curiously, the two biblical occurrences of *anadeixis* suggest both nuances, “show” and “institute.” According to Sir 43:6, the moon is *anadeixin chronon*,⁷ that is, it indicates feasts and determines months; hence in the calendar it has the double function of announcing and ruling. According to Luke 1:80, John the Baptist was in the desert until the day of his manifesting to Israel (*heos hemeras anadeixeos autou*). The solemnity of this “appearing” of the precursor, inaugurating his ministry, is noteworthy. The evangelist contrasts John’s long, solitary, silent sojourn in the Judean desert east of Hebron to his official manifesting by God; it is like a revelation. The Vulgate translates well, “usque ad diem ostensionis.” We may interpret, “He appeared publicly.” But this is also the coming of a hero who heralds the king and prepares his way, his presentation before the whole nation. It was at this point that John, then about thirty years old, received his investiture as announcer of the messianic era.

¹ J. Gonda, *ΔΕΙΚΝΥΜΙ*, Amsterdam, 1929, pp. 58–67; H. Schlier, “δείκνυμι,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, p. 25.

² E. Bickerman, “ΑΝΑΔΕΙΞΙΣ,” in *Mélanges E. Boisacq*, Brussels, 1937, vol. 1, pp. 117–124; cf. the index in C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, p. 311.

³ Sophocles, *El.* 1458: “Let your doors open so that the inhabitants may see well”; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 304: opening a sanctuary; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 663, 15; *Or.* 234, 84.

⁴ Aretalogy of Isis (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1267, 28); *I. Magn.* 98, 21 (= *Syl.* 589); Acts 1:24—“Lord, show which of these two you have chosen”; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 35; *Worse Attacks Better* 39, 44; *Conf. Tongues* 179; 3Macc 2:14; *Sib. Or.* 3.15: “God has revealed himself as an eternal being.”

⁵ 2Macc 9:25; 10:11—“the prince promoted Lysias governor general”; 14:26; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.113; 14.280; 20.227: designation of a high priest; Polybius 15.25.5; *I. Magn.* 100 a 24 and 37; C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 55, 20; 57, 27. Cf. Luke 10:1—“The Lord designated seventy-two” disciples.

⁶ Plutarch, *Mar.* 8.7. E. Bickerman, defines *anadeixis* as “the act of the solemn presentation of a prince to the people” (“ΑΝΑΔΕΙΞΙΣ,” p. 123), which was part of the ceremonial investiture of Hellenistic sovereigns; but it is also used for the dedication of a temple. Lucullus’s intention in asking Mummius to loan him statues was “to decorate the temple until its dedication” (μέχρι ἀναδείξεως, Strabo 8.6.23). Likewise the verb: a sanctuary is “dedicated” by the Gauls to Caesar Augustus (Strabo 4.3.2); cf. a declaration of war (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 742, 12; *Or.* 441, 49).

⁷ The Greek would suggest nothing more than “indication” (cf. Philo, *Rewards* 153), but the Hebrew manuscript discovered at Cairo has *memshalah* (in the construct), which means “dominion, rule” (the Hebrew manuscript from Masada has only the initial *mem*, followed by a lacuna; cf. Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada*, Jerusalem, 1965; J. Le Moyne, *Les Sadducéens*, Paris, 1972, p. 68). Cf. the astrological meaning of *anadeiknymi* in Vettius Valens, p. 119, 25; *CPR* VII, 4, n. 24, 2: ἀναδεχομένου τὴν ἡμέραν.

ἀναδέχομαι

anadechomai, to welcome, accept; to accept responsibility for

anadechomai, S 324; *EDNT* 1.80; MM 32; L&N 34.53, 90.75; BAGD 53

The four biblical occurrences of this verb¹ are all of the first aorist middle participle *anadexamenos*. If the Bible gives it the well-attested sense of hospitality, “to welcome someone as a guest,”² it shows no trace of the common sense of accepting or receiving an object or a sum of money or of being subjected to an action.³ At least in the case of Eleazer’s “accepting” a glorious death in preference to an infamous existence (2Macc 6:19), a voluntary and fervent consent is involved.

This verb is therefore not synonymous with *lambano*. It very often means “take upon oneself, take on a burden or obligation”; one answers to someone for something. This was the case with Nicanor, who undertook to gain tribute money for the Romans by taking hostages from Jerusalem;⁴ and it is said in Egypt concerning the son of Jason, who only lived five years, that he “accomplished all that he agreed to” (*SEG*, vol. 8, 799, 2). When one takes on a task, one agrees to carry it through to completion (*P.Cair.Isid.* 82, 5 and 8). Finally, *anadechomai* expresses someone’s standing surety,⁵ as attests the constant, albeit late, association *engyasthai kai anadechesthai*.⁶

This verb consequently has a legal meaning—to take on a responsibility⁷—which is almost certainly the sense in Heb 11:17—“By faith Abraham, when put to the test, offered Isaac—truly it was his only son that he was offering—he who had received the responsibility for the promises.”⁸ The “temptation” of Abraham was a trial of his faith, his love, and his obedience. All the commentators mention the nuance of the tense: the perfect *prosenenochen* points to the sacrifice as completely accepted and, as it were, already accomplished in the heart of Abraham,⁹ even as the imperfect *prosepheren* evokes the progressive realization of this offering without weakening throughout the preparations to the immolation on Moriah: “Having offered . . . he was in the process of offering”; while—as the recipient and agent of the promises of a posterity—he appeared to be nullifying this promise forever.

¹ Cf. the doctoral thesis of S. Vitalini, *La notion d'accueil dans le Nouveau Testament*, Fribourg, 1961 (published in part as *La nozione d'accoglienza nel Nuovo Testamento*, Fribourg, 1963).

² “Publius received us and showed us hospitality” (Acts 28:7); cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 339, 20: τὰς τε πρεσβείας ἀνεδέχετο προθύμως (second century BC); 441, 9; *SB* 8029, 7.

³ Josephus, *War* 1.338: “Those who escaped were received at sword-point”; 3.14: “Antonius received the first assaults with firmness”; 3.173: cattle hides to receive the stone projectiles; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 962, 65 (333 BC); *P.Tebt.* 329, 19 (AD 139); *P.Eleph.* 29, 13; Diodorus Siculus 4.29. A

senatus consultum of Sulla: “undergo numerous dangers” (*I.Thas.*, 174 C 8).

⁴ 2Macc 8:36—ὁ τοι—ς Ῥωμαίοις ἀναδεξάμενος φόρον; cf. Epictetus 3.24.64: “Diogenes joyfully took on so much bodily fatigue and misery”; Josephus, *War* 3.4: Vespasian able to assume the burden of so heavy a war; *Ant.* 14.315; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 685, 30: πα—σαν ἀναδεχόμενοι κακοπαθίαν (139 BC); *SB* 7473, 6, 7738, 13: ἀναδεξάμενος πόνον ε—κ νυκτὸς καὶ μεθ ἡμέραν, ἄχρι συνετέλεσεν (honorific decree for a general, from AD 22–23); 7996, 24: ἀναδεχομένου τὸν κίνδυνον τῆς πράσεως (18 September AD 430). *P.Oxy.* 71, 16; 1418, 18: ἀναδέξομαι τω— παιδὶ τετραμήνιον γύμνασιάρχίαν; *P.Ryl.* 77, 38; *PSI* 1239 24; *BGU* 1762, 11. An honorific decree is voted for Eirenias who “has taken responsibility for the costs entailed by the realization of these honors, τὰς δαπάνας τὰς εἰ—ς τὴν συντέλειαν τω—ν τιμω—ν ἀναδέξασθαι παρ αὐτοῦ” (*NCIG*, n. 7, 12).

⁵ Thucydides 8.81.3: “Tisaphernes would not entrust himself to the Athenians unless Alcibiades personally stood surety to him”; Polybius 5.16.8.

⁶ *P.Oxy.* 1972, 6; 2238, 9; 2420, 10; 2478, 12; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 34, 5; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 127, 9; 128, 8; *SB* 9146, 8–9; 9152, 7; 9592, 11–12; *PSI* 932, 5; *P.Stras.* 40, 18; *P.Lips.* 55, 8

⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 14.247; 17.304; *P.Oxy.* 513, 59: ε—γὼ αὐτὸς τοῦτο ἀναδέξομαι = I myself will take the responsibility (AD 184).

⁸ Ὁ τὰς ε—παγγελίας ἀναδεξάμενος. On Abraham and the sacrifice of Isaac, cf. R. Le Déaut, *La Nuit pascale*, Rome, 1963, pp. 131ff. 163, 206–207, 259ff. Idem, *La Présentation targumique du sacrifice d’Isaac et la sotériologie paulinienne*, in *AnBib* 18; Rome, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 563–574; M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, Rome, 1966, pp. 164ff. R. de Vaux, *Les Sacrifices de l’Ancien Testament*, Paris, 1964, p. 61; H. Cazelles, *DBSup*, vol. 7, 128ff. D. Lerch, *Isaaks Opferung christlich gedeutet*, Tübingen, 1950; F. M. Braun, *Jean le Théologien*, Paris, 1966, vol. 3, 1, p. 159. J. L. Vesco, “Abraham,” in *RSPT*, 1971, pp. 33–80.

⁹ “In certain cases, the perfect tense has considerable psychological significance; this aspect of ‘dramatic past time’ appears in passages where the perfect stands out from a background of aorists (2Cor 11:25—πεποίηκα; Heb 11:17⁷προσενήνοχεν; Heb 11:28—πεποίηκεν)” (E. Osty,

“Pour une traduction plus fidèle du Nouveau Testament,” in *Ecole des Langues orientales . . . Méorial de Cinquantenaire*, Paris, 1964, p. 88).

ἀναπέμπω

anapempo, to send, conduct, bring back, send up

anapempo, S 375; *EDNT* 1.87; MM 37; L&N 15.70, 15.71; BAGD 59

During the Hellenistic period, this compound verb, unknown in the LXX, often has the same meaning as the simple form *pempo*, “send, conduct.” “Herod sent subsidies to Antony’s partisans” (Josephus, *War* 1.358, cf. 2.605; *Ant.* 18.313); “She sent us our provisions at the city of Antinous” (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 37, 8); “Accept all that I send you.”¹ It is used constantly in shipping orders: “Order from Ischyron to Heroninos to load four camels with vetch (*orobos*) and send them into the city.”² Documents are sent,³ as are people.⁴ Prayers are sent up to heaven.⁵ Although there is this variety of connotations, the basic meaning is moving a person or thing from the place where it is to another place, as is clear from the numerous “summonses” preserved among the papyri: “Immediately send Emes . . . who is accused by Aurelius Nilus. . . .”⁶ The meaning “bring back, cause to return,” is very common in literary Greek⁷ and in the papyri: “I sent you a bag of sesame . . . send it back with Achilles” (*P.Oxy.* 3066, 4); a deceased woman’s dowry was not restored to the heirs (*UPZ* 123, 22); “If there is some rupture between us, I agree to return the estate to Heracleia.”⁸ It is in this sense that we should understand Phlm 12, where St. Paul sent the slave Onesimus back to his legal owner: “I am sending him back to you” (*hon anepempsa* [epistolary aorist] *soi*).⁹

Anapempo often has a legal meaning: to send up an accused person or to refer a matter to the competent authorities.¹⁰ This is the case in Luke 23:7, 11, 15: Pilate “sent Jesus up to Herod (*anepempsen pros*) . . . Herod sent him back to Pilate (*anepempsen to*) . . . Herod sent him up to us (*anepempsen auton pros hemas*).”¹¹ These variations of venue and jurisdiction are mentioned constantly.¹² Sometimes plaintiffs who are up against a scheming adversary and are unable to obtain a judgment before an easily influenced jury, appeal to a higher authority;¹³ sometimes the highest authority decides on jurisdiction. Thus a *prostagma* of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Soter II rules that only the *dioiketes* Eirenaios will have jurisdiction to judge state agents: “they shall refer (*anapempein*) complaints against agents and their trials to Eirenaios the kinsman (of the king) and *dioiketes*” (*P.Tebt.* 7, 7 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 61; from 144 BC). According to an inscription from Metropolis, the legate P. Ranius Castus received from the governor the assignment of taking on a case that his

predecessors could not bring to a conclusion: “Having read Sosthenes’ petition . . . which was sent (*anapemphthenai*) to me by the proconsul Stertinius Quartus, I am quite amazed that after so many letters from governors . . .”¹⁴

Thus Festus’s language is perfectly adequate when he presents to Agrippa the case of the prisoner Paul: “I asked him if he wished to go to Jerusalem to be judged there, but when Paul appealed for his case to be reserved for the judgment of Augustus (the emperor Nero), I ordered that he be kept until I could send him up to Caesar” (*anapempro pros Kaisara*, aorist subjunctive, Acts 25:21). This referral to the highest jurisdiction has numerous parallels. Herod had three Arabs arrested who “were yet examined by Saturninus, governor of Syria, and sent to Rome” (*anakrithentes ... anapemphthesan eis Rhomen*, Josephus, *War* 1.577; cf. *Ant.* 14.97). Quadratus promises to examine in detail matters submitted to him (*diereunesein hekasta*), hears the complaints of the Samaritans, and sends to Caesar (*anepemprosen epi Kaisara*) two high priests, various eminent persons, and others (*War* 2.243; cf. 246, 253; 3.398; *Ant.* 20.131, 134). Felix rids Judea of brigands, arrests Eleazar, who pillaged the region for twenty years, and sends him to Rome in chains (*desas anepemprosen eis Rhomen*, *Ant.* 20.161). According to an inscription from Priene, the *strategos* writes and defers to the Senate: “concerning whom the *strategos* Lucius Lucilius wrote and sent to the Senate” (*peri hon ho strategos Leukios Leukilios egrapsen kai anepemprosen pros ten synkleton*, *I.Priene*, 111, 147; first century BC; cf. Josephus, *War* 2.207).

¹ *P.Oxy.* 2273, 19 (H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, p. 262), κομίσου πάντα ὅσα ε—άν ἀναπέμπω σοι; *P.Yale* 84, 7: “As soon as you have received my letter, send the cakes”; *P.Hib.* 57, 1; *P.Warr.* 13, 5, 9; 14, 32: “send me the signed note immediately”; *P.Mich.* 500, 10: ἄν ε—θέλης ἀναπέμψασθαι; *P.Stras.* 171, 6; Philostratus, *Gym.* 31, “send the javelin”; Philo, *Unchang. God* 84: “the wind exhaled (ἀναπεμπόμενον) by the trachea”; Philo, *Dreams* 1.29; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 74.

² *SB* 9058, 4: ἀνάπεμψον ει—ς τὸν πόλιν; 9076, 7; 9077, 8; 9081, 5; 9408 [2], 67, 69, 73; 9409 [3], 98; 9415 [9], 5; 11129, 3: Βαυθλα—ν μοι ἀνάπεμψον μετὰ τω—ν ὄνων; *P.Oxy.* 2153, 24: “I am sending the small boat with Isidorus”; 2784, 5: “For this reason, until today, have have not sent the cattle”; 2985, 13: “Send me six *keramia* of wine”; *P.Brem.* 20, 10.

³ The summary of taxes sent by the *eklogistes* of the nome (*P.Princ.* 126, 4); *P.Harr.* 75, 21: “I am sending the certificate for the act” (addressed to the keeper of archives). After a concluded agreement is registered, it is sent to the local authorities (*P.Oxy.* 2349, 3); a petition is addressed to the

strategos with “a copy of the συγχώρησις, which has been sent to the keepers of the property registers” (τὸν ἀναπεμφέντα πρὸς τοὺς . . . βιβλιοφύλακας, 2473, 27); ὥστε ἀναπέμψαι τὰ βιβλίδια (1653, 11).

⁴ *P.Oxy.* 2182, 27; *SB* 9468, 6: ἀναπέμψαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰ—ς τὸν ἄέρα.

⁵ Josephus, commenting on 1Kgs 8:23, 27: σοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναπέμψωμεν εἰ—ς τὸν ἄέρα (*Ant.* 8.108); *C.P.Herm.* 8, 12: ε—ν αἷς ἀναπέμψεις καὶ μεθ ἡμέραν εὐχαι—ς τω— Κυρίῳ σωτήρει ἡμω—ν = prayers that you send up each day to our Lord Savior; *P.Oxy.* 2479, 17; *PSI* 1425, 6; *P.Alex.* 216 (p. 44): οὐ παύομε εὐχὰς ἀναπεμπόμενος ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς ὑμετέρας μεγαλοπρεποῦς (sixth century); *SB* 8728, 23: τὴν δόξαν ἰἀναπέμψομεν τω— πατρὶ καὶ τω— υἱ—ω— καὶ τω— ἁγίῳ πνεύματι (seventh century); 8334, 23: τω—ν εἰ—ς τὸν θεῖ—ον ἀναπέμψομένων πάντων (cf. R. Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret*). We conclude that the verbal prefix ἀνα— specifies sending *up*, hence raising someone to a higher position, like the prophetess Martha, who was sent to the consul Marius by his wife and stirred his admiration (Plutarch, *Mar.* 17.3); cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 329, 51: ἀναπέμψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς στρατηγούς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα; *SB* 8728, 23.

⁶ *P.Fay.* 37, 1: ἀνάπεμψον Έμην ε—νκαλούμενον ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Νείλου βουλευτοῦ ε—ξαυτῆς (with the correction by H. C. Youtie, “P. Fay. 37,” in *ZPE* 33, 1979, pp. 211–212); cf. *BGU* 1569, 2082–2083; *P.Tebt.* 594; *P.Oslo* 20; *P.Oxy.* 3035; *P.Grenf.* II, 66; *P.Aberd.* 60, 1; *SB* 9352, 11034; *P.Ryl.* 681 (with the corrections of H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, p. 25); *P.Mich.* 589 (the editor, G. M. Browne, lists the fifty-five known arrest warrants). *P.Oxy.* 169 (published by S. Daris, in *SPap*, 1980, pp. 5–7). Often the verb ἀναπέμψω is replaced by ε—κπέμψω (B. Boyaval, in *ZPE*, vol. 6, 1970, p. 11; cf. Ursula Hagedorn, “Das Formular der Überstellungsbefehle im römischen Ägypten,” in *BASP*, 1970, pp. 61–74).

⁷ Josephus, *War* 1.666: “The king ordered that all these men be sent back home”; 5.84; *Ant.* 3.72; Plutarch, *Sol.* 4.6: “The tripod came back to Thebes.”

⁸ *P.Mich.* 341, 4 (from AD 47); cf. a grain shipment in 49/48 BC, ἀναπεπέμφθαι ε—κ τῆς πόλεως (*SB* 8754, 7 and 24); ἀναπέμψω τὸ πρα—γμα ε—πὶ τὴν δι αὐτοῦ διάγνωσιν (7601, 12; cf. 7338, 8). In 131 BC, τὸν αὐτόγραφον σὺν τῇ ε—πιστολῇ ταύτῃ ἀναπέμψας: “returning the original (of the bank account to me) with this letter” (*UPZ* 199, 14); in 127/126: ἀναπέμψαι ἡμω—ν τὴν ἔντευξιν ε—πὶ τοὺς χρηματιστάς (ibid. 170 A 34; cf. B 33); *P.Oxy.* 1032, 50.

⁹ This restoration of a runaway slave to his master is contrary to Deut 23:16—“You shall not hand over to his master a slave who takes refuge with you from his master” (cf. Str-B, vol. 3, pp. 668ff.), an arrangement without parallel in ancient laws (R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, p. 87; cf. M. Robert, *La Lettera de S. Paolo a Filemone e la condizione giuridica dello schiavo fuggitivo*, Milan, 1933, pp. 39–49), but here neither the Mosaic law nor Greek or Roman law governs the case: Onesimus is a brother in the faith; cf. P. J. Verdam, “St. Paul et un serf fugitif,” in *Symbolae van Oven*, Leiden, 1946, pp. 211–230.

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* 2712, 15: ὁ κύριος μου ἡγεμῶν ἀνέπεμψεν ἐ—πὶ σὲ τὸ πρα—γμα.

¹¹ Pilate expected the tetrarch to acquit Jesus, since Jesus was his subject (*forum domicilii*); cf. J. Blinzler, *Trial of Jesus*, pp. 196ff.; 200, n. 17; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society*, p. 65; H. W. Hoehner, “Why did Pilate hand Jesus over to Antipas?” in E. Bammel, *The Trial of Jesus: Cambridge Studies in Honour of C. F. D. Moule*, London, 1970, pp. 84–90 (supplies the variants on verse 15, pp. 89–90).

¹² Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.190: “The pretender, since he found that his perceptions were blurred by the obscurity . . . had to stand down and send the matter back before more perspicacious judges (the priests)” (ἀναπεμπέτω πρὸς ἀκριβεστέρους δικαστάς); Josephus, *War* 2.571: in each city, Joseph designated seven elders to judge small cases; “As for important matters and capital trials, he ordered them transferred to himself and to the Seventy” (τὰ γὰρ μείζω πράγματα καὶ τὰς φονικὰς δίκας, ἐ—φ ἐ—αυτὸν ἀναπέμπειν ἐ—κέλευσεν καὶ τοῦθ ἐ—βδομήκοντα); *Ant.* 4.218: If the judges do not see how they should rule in the matter that is before them, let them send the case up to Jerusalem (ἀναπεμπέτωσαν τὴν δίκην εἰ—ς τὴν ἰ—ερὰν πόλιν); 15.351, Marcus Agrippa sends the Gadarene prisoners back without even hearing them (ἀναπέμπει τω— βασιλει— δεσμίους); *BGU* 5, col. II, 19: ἐ—αυτὸν δὲ ἐ—ν νόσῳ γενόμενον ἀναπεπόμφθαι ἀναφόριον τω— δικαιοδέτη; *idem* 15, col. I, 17; 168, 25: ἀναπέμπω οὖν τὸ πρα—γμα ἐ—πὶ τὸν κράτιστον ἐ—πιστράτηγον.

¹³ *P.Fouad* 26, 7. Hermias, having been unable to get anything from the magistrate, appealed to the highest official in the Thebaid, the *epistrategos* Demetrius; this new suit also gets nowhere. He then appeals to the *strategos*, who reserves judgment for himself (ἀναπεμφθὲν δὲ ἐ—φ ἡμα—ς, οὗ ἐ—στιν ἀντίγραφον, *UPZ* 162, col. I, 13). This referral conforms to the law of the land (ἐ—κ τω—ν τῆς χώρας νόμων; col. VII, 1ff.). Cf. an accused official who falls under the prefect’s jurisdiction (*P.Mil.Vogl.* 98, 3).

¹⁴ Th. Drew-Bear, *Phrygie*, p. 20. It is apparent from this text that ἀναπέμπω does not always imply referral to a higher-up; cf. likewise the edict of the proconsul of Asia, Gaius Gabinius Barbarus Pompeianus: “Whereas the city of Euhippe, having had recourse to the great Fortune of our master Emperor Antoninus with regard to the wrongs that they have suffered at the hands of those soldiers and officials who have left the royal routes and great highways and come into their cities (requisitions, exactions, violence), was referred to the governor of the province” (ἀνεπέμφθησαν ε—πὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον τοῦ ἔθνους, published and translated by L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, p. 592). The inspector Maximus, having been accused of embezzlement, was referred by the prefect to the *epistrategos* (ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ε—πὶ Κράσσον τὸν κράτιστον ε—πιστράτηγον, *P.Tebt.* 287, 6); cf. *P.Stras.* 188, 1.

ἀναστροφή

anastrophe, conduct

anastrophe, S 391; *TDNT* 7.715–717; *EDNT* 1.93; *NIDNTT* 3.933, 935; *MM* 38; *L&N* 41.3; *BAGD* 61

The most banal sense of *anastrepho* —“return, come back from one place to another,”¹ hence “retrace one’s steps” (1Sam 25:12; 2Sam 3:16; Jdt 1:13)—sometimes retains the etymological nuance “to return upside down,”² like runaways thrown back on top of each other (1Macc 7:46; cf. Jdt 1:11); sometimes it has the sense of coming and going, “living.”³ Hence its metaphorical usage: “walk in virtue.”⁴

Only this moral nuance is retained in the noun *anastrophe*, designating a mode of existence, a way of behaving.⁵ This became a technical term in NT spirituality. Just as the way of life of the pagans is stigmatized,⁶ so also is “perfect conduct from childhood” praised (2Macc 6:23, *kalliste*). When St. Paul testifies concerning his conscience (“It is with simplicity and the purity of God—not in fleshly wisdom, but in the grace of God—that we have conducted ourselves in the world, particularly in our dealings with you,” 2Cor 1:12), he contrasts two modes of existence and already gives *anastrophe* the exemplary sense that will be required especially of ministers of the church;⁷ the model, who is particularly visible, ought to be inspiring. Life lived in the faith is a persuasive testimony.

It is above all St. Peter who demands of all Christians an unassailable comportment. Whether with respect to bearing, dress, or behavior in family and social relations, every action and reaction in the context of the community, that is, the concrete life of the believer, should be noble and radiant:⁸ “Let your behavior among the nations be noble”

(1Pet 2:12; *kale*), apt as a result to disarm criticisms (3:16), notably those of husbands won over by the chaste and quiet deportment of their wives (3:1-2).

It used to be claimed that these moral and religious meanings derived from the OT, but they are attested in the secular literature,⁹ in the papyri,¹⁰ and especially by epigraphy, notably in the honorific decrees that give particular honor to magistrates and functionaries whose conduct has been irreproachable: “Menander, in the magistracies to which he has elected, has shown himself irreproachable by his noble and splendid conduct.”¹¹ “I respect this man, who conducts himself so generously in all things.”¹² This *en hapasin anastrephomenon* is already attested in the first century AD in *I.Priene*,¹³ in *I.Car.*: “In all his embassies, he has conducted himself properly and managed affairs justly,”¹⁴ and in inscriptions from Pergamum.¹⁵ There is a wealth of parallels to the formula in Heb 13:18 (*en pasin kalos telontes anastrephesthai*) and to 1Pet 1:15 (*en pase anastrophe*).

If the extension of “good conduct” to all areas is emphasized, its quality or distinguishing marks become even clearer. Just as the NT writers qualify conduct with noble, good, pure, holy, devout, the inscriptions praise it for its nobility, glory, and piety.¹⁶

¹ Gen 8:9 (*shûb*); 18:14; 22:5; Judg 18:26; 1Sam 3:5-6; Acts 5:22; 15:16.

² [The French phrase *sens dessus dessous*, literally upside down, can mean “in utter disorder, in a state of distress”—Tr.] But in a favorable sense, one “sets the situation aright” (Josephus, *Life* 273), one “reverts” (*P.Mich.* 24, 55, 7). In optical jargon, ἀναστρέφειν means “the reversing of images in mirrors with respect to the actual objects” (C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 33). In geometry, ἀναστροφή expresses the conversion of a ratio (idem, *Terminologie géométrique* , p. 61).

³ Ezek 3:15; 19:6. —Αναστρέφειν is then synonymous with περιπατει—ν, cf. Epictetus 1.2.26: “pass his life”; 3.15.5: “You are behaving like a child” (cf. A. Bonhöffer, *Epiktet*, pp. 52, 201). Hence “busy oneself” (*P.Sarap.* 80, 11; *SB* 9779, 4), dedicate oneself to one’s duty (*Ep. Arist.* 252). C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 382ff.

⁴ 1Kgs 6:12 (*halak*); Prov 8:20; 20:7; Zech 3:7. Hence the favored meaning of conversion: return to God (Jer 3:7; 8:4; 15:19; 22:10-11; Sir 8:8; 39:3; 50:28). Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 216: during sleep, one’s thoughts *return* to the same matters that one was busy about when awake.

⁵ Tob 4:14; Gal 1:13—“You have heard about my conduct when I was in Judaism”; cf. Eph 2:3; *1Clem.* 63.3: ἀπὸ μεότητος ἀναστρέφοντας ἕως γήρους ἀμέμπτως ε—νήμι—ν.

⁶ 2Macc 5:8 (κακῆς ἀναστροφῆς); Eph 4:22—“You were instructed to have done with your former way of life, that of the old man corrupted by lusts”; 1Pet 1:18—“You have been freed from the senseless (μάταιος) way of life that you inherited from your fathers” (cf. W. C. van Unnik, “The Critique of Paganism in I Petr. I, 18,” in *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of M. Black*, Edinburgh, 1969, pp. 129–142); 2Pet 2:7—just Lot is “distracted at the behavior of these people who are crazy in their debauchery”; 2:18—neophytes, fragile and unstable, “barely distanced from those who live aberrant lives—τοὺς ε—ν πλάνῃ ἀναστρεφόμενους” barely resist such distractions. Cf. Heb 10:33, where Christians are in solidarity with those who are maltreated, “in a similar situation” (cf. *P. Tebt.* 703, 271: τῆς καθ ἡμα—ς ἀναστροφῆς καὶ ἀγωνίας; third century BC).

⁷ 1Tim 3:15—“I write to you . . . that you may know how one must conduct oneself in a house of God”; 4:12—“Become a model for the believers in speech, in conduct, in love . . .”; Heb 13:7—“Remember your leaders. . . and meditate carefully on the outcome of their manner of life, imitate their faith”; the *didaskalos* who wrote this letter certifies that he himself wishes to conduct himself well in all things: καλω—ς θέλοντες ἀναστρέφεσθαι (Heb 13:18). Jas 3:13—“Who is wise and experienced among you? Let him manifest his works by a noble comportment—ε—κ τῆς καλῆς ἀναστροφῆς—with an amiable wisdom.” Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 130: “You see the influence of conduct and company.”

⁸ 1Pet 1:15—αὐτοὶ ἅγιοι ε—ν πάσῃ ἀναστροφῇ γενήθητε; 1:17—“Conduct yourselves with a devout fear during the time of your sojourn”; 2Pet 3:11—“Since all these things are thus to be dissolved, how ought you not to live with a devout comportment and with piety, ε—ν ἀγίαις ἀναστροφαι—ς καὶ εὐσεβείαις” (cf. W. Brandt, “Wandel als Zeugnis nach dem I. Petrusbrief,” in *Verbum Dei Manet in Aeternum*, Witten, 1953, pp. 10–25; C. Spicq, *Epîtres de saint Pierre*, on this verse). Philodemus of Gadara, *Mus.* 4, p. 76 (ed. J. Kemke): Certain melodies incline the soul “to conversation and good relations—πρὸς τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν ἀναστροφήν”; Epictetus 1.22.13; *1Clem.* 21.8: ὁσίως ἀναστρεφόμενους ε—ν καθαρά—διανοίᾳ.

⁹ Polybius 4.81.1: “Philip attracted admiration beyond his years for his conduct in general”; Epictetus 1.9.24: “God has established for us a line of conduct”; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.190.

¹⁰ In the second-third century BC, the formula “if your conduct is not better—οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου ἀναστρεφομένου” is often used (*BGU* 1756, 12; 1769, 4; *P.Tebt.* 786, 15; 904, 10; cf. *P.Michael.* 20, 5: εἰ—ε—νδεω—ς περὶ τοῦτο ἀναστραφείης). In 5 BC, ἔν τε τοι—ς καιρὸν δείπνοις μεγαλοπόρως καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ἀναστραφεῖς (*SB* 8267, 31). In AD 276, a husband establishes his will in favor of his wife, who has conducted herself appropriately in his home: πρεπόντως περὶ τὴν συμβίωσιν ἀναστραφείση, καταλείπω (*P.Oxy.* 907, 17); but a widow complains in 303 to the prefect that his assistant and his business agent have acted dishonestly toward her: οἱ τινες μὴ ὀρθω—ς ἀναστραφέντες (*P.Oxy.* 71, col. II, 12), after the fashion of Diocles and others in 103: ἀναστρεφομένων ἀδικήματα εἶς με (*P.Fay.* 12, 7).

¹¹ *I.Delos*, 1498, 7 (between 159 and 151); cf. *SEG*, vol. 23, 447, 15: “the generosity and diligence that they showed toward those who conducted themselves well in their magistracies” (second century BC). The judges “in the course of their term put on a comportment worthy of themselves, of the city that sent them, and of ourselves” (second century BC, *NCIG*, n. 12, 17); in the second century BC, the judges of Scotoussa “acted in their bearing and in their judicial functions in a manner worthy of themselves, of the city that sent them, and of those who had cases before them” (*I.Gonn.*, 91, 12); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 738 B 4: “Lykinos conducted himself during his term in a manner worthy of his people and of our city” (Delphi, 86 BC); *I.Olymp.* 52, 24. In an honorific decree of Cheronea, the chiliarch Amatokos, leader of a Thracian troop, is praised: τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ε—ποιήσατο εὐσχήμονα, and we learn that his good conduct consisted of his taking care of the interests of the Cheroneans, in enforcing equity between them and his soldiers, and in the soldiers’ causing no harm to the territory (published by M. Holleaux, *Etudes d’épigraphie*, vol. 1, p. 144, lines 5, 13, 26).

¹² *I.Cor.*, vol. 8, n. 306, 8 (second century AD); cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, Limoges, 1940, vol. 1, pp. 43–53).

¹³ *I.Priene*, 115, 5: ἀναστρεφόμενος ε—ν πάσιν φιλανθρώπως; cf. 108, 284: πεποιήται δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν πρέπουσιν ἀναστροφὴν. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 19.72: εὐπρεπω—ς ἀναστραφισομένου.

¹⁴ *I.Car.*, 167, 16: ε—μ πάσαις δεόντως ἀναστραφεῖς καὶ ὀρθω—ς χρησάμενος τοι—ς πράγμασιν; cf. 70, 10: τῇ παρ ὄλον τὸν βίον ἀναστροφῇ διαφέροντα (= *MAMA*, vol. 6, 114).

¹⁵ *I.Perg.*, 470, 4: ε—ν πα—σιν ἀνεστραμμένον ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως; cf. 224 A 5; *I.Priene*, 108, 223: τῇ πόλει συμπερόντως ἀνεστράφη; cf. *P.Brem.* 53,

35–36. *MAMA*, vol. 8, 412 b, 4: Καλλίαν . . . νεανίαν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἀναστροφὴν πεπονημένον ε—νάρετον; cf. line 12; 414, 13: τὰς ε—πὶ τῇ κοσμίῳ ἀναστροφῇ μαρτυρίας καὶ τειμὰς ἀποδιδόναι.

¹⁶ *I.Perg.*, 459, 5: καλω—ς καὶ ε—νδόξως ἀναστραφῆναι; 496, 5: ἀναστρεφομένην καλω—ς καὶ εὐσεβω—ς; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 598c7; 717, 95; *I.Magn.* 85, 11: τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποιησάμενοι μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας. 179, 5: κόσμιον ἀναστροφὴν φιλοτειμησάμενον; 165, 6; *I.Bulg.* 43, 15: τὴν ἀναστροφὴν εὐσχήνομα καὶ ἀξίαν τοῦ τε βασιλέως κτλ. At Patara ε—πὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου αι—δήμονι καὶ κοσμίῳ ἀναστροφῇ (cited by L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, 2d ed., Amsterdam, 1970, p. 89, n. 1); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 800, 21 (ὀσίως), *Or.* 323, 5 (ἀμέμπτως). In case of indecent conduct, the rules of the mysteries of Andania provide for punishments, in 92 BC, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα ἢ ἀπρεπω—ς ἀναστρεφόμενον εἰ—ς τὸ θεῖ—ον μαστιγούντω οἰ—ι—εροί (*LSCG*, n. 65, 40 and 43); cf. *SB* 8852, 9: μὴ ὀρθω—ς ἀναστρεφόμενους.

ἀνατρέφω

anatrepho, to nurture, raise
see also τρέφω, ἀνατρέφω

anatrepho, S 397; *EDNT* 1.94; MM 39; L&N 33.232, 35.51; BAGD 62

This verb, which means “nurture” a child so that it will grow, then “raise” it, is only used once in the OT, with respect to Solomon: “I was nurtured, surrounded with swaddling clothes and with care” (Wis 7:4). In the NT, it is perhaps used concerning Jesus, who “came to Nazareth, where he had been raised”;¹ it is clearly used concerning Moses, “nurtured for three months in the house of his father,”² and St. Paul, who received his rabbinic education at Jerusalem.³ Because of this range of uses, *anatrepho* encompasses the entire life of the child until his maturity, including feeding and physical care,⁴ the formation of the mind and character;⁵ in which case it is synonymous with *paideuo*.⁶

We must note, however, that *anatrepho* designates by preference the education received at home, almost always in relation with family members—natural or adoptive—that is, with brothers and sisters.⁷ Specifically, L. Robert, in his epigraphical studies, has noted that “the verb *anatrephesthai* denotes education by the foster father, and is an important term for anyone interested in studying family relations and, for example, the status of the *threptoi*.”⁸ He cites the tomb of Kladaios at Aphrodisias where *Aurelia Glypte he anathrepsamene auton* (“who raised him”) is also buried (*MAMA*, vol. 8, 560, 4), or in Caria the tomb of a certain Zeno, buried

together with *M. Aur. Eutychos ho anathrepsamenos auton*.⁹ Soterichos gives some vines, etc., to a certain Lucius, his pupil (*Loukio ho anethrepsamen*).¹⁰

¹ Luke 4:16—ου— ἦν ἀνατεθραμμένος (S, W, Θ, several miniscules); but the other authorities (including B, A) have τεθραμμένος, which has been adopted by all editors. H. Schürmann (*Das Lukasevangelium*, Freiburg-Basel, 1969, vol. 1, p. 226) translates well: *wo er aufgewachsen war*.

² Acts 7:20. Cf. *Moses* 1.11: “We nursed him for three full months” (ἀνεθρέψαμεν), but the verb τρέφειν is used for his nurture and education (1.5, 17; cf. τροφή, 8, 15, 20). Josephus, *Ant.* 2.232: Thermuthis carried the baby Moses to his father to raise him, ἀναθρεψαμένη παι—δα; education (ἀνατροφή) was regarded with suspicion by the Egyptians (2.237); cf. in the sense of “nurture” (7.149) and educate (4.261).

³ Acts 22:3—“I was raised (ἀνατεθραμμένος) in this city.” For the discussion of this verse and this verb, cf. W. C. van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem*, London, 1962, pp.9ff.

⁴ *P.Lips.* 28, 12: πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ἀνατρέφεσθαι εὐγενω—ς καὶ γνησίως (an act of adoption, AD 381); *P.Cair.Zen.* 59379, 1–2; *P.Oxy.* 1873, 9: θυγάτριον νήπιον εὐγενω—ς ἀνατεθραμμένον; 2479, 47: “That I might return to the same farm and raise my unhappy children.” Hence the medical definition, cf. the numerous references to Hippocrates and Galen given by W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 207.

⁵ 4Macc 10:2—“In the same doctrines that we were raised in”; 11:15.

⁶ According to Porphyry, Ammonius was “raised by his parents in the Christian doctrines” (ἀνατραφεῖς), while “Origen, on the other hand, was raised in Greek studies” (παιδευθείς) cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.19.7.

⁷ Epictetus, 2.22.26: “Do not investigate . . . whether these people have the same parents, whether they were raised together (καὶ ὁμοῦ ἀνατεθραμμένοι) and by the same tutor”; 3.1.35: “That is the type of young people that we should hope to see born and raised in our homes” (ἡμι—ν φύεσθαι καὶ ἀνατρέφεσθαι); 3.22.68: “his children shall be raised in the same manner.” Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.14.1: “I am the one who took in the exposed infant and secretly raised him.”

⁸ L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, Paris, 1965, p. 222; cf. *Hellenica*, vol. 3, p. 11: ἀνεθρέψατο υι—οὺς δύο (inscription at Heraclea).

⁹ *IGLAM*, n. 1641 a.

¹⁰ L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 345. Other inscriptions in “Bulletin épigraphique” in *REG*, 1948, p. 202, n. 229; 1959, p. 254, n. 447: ὑπατον τὰ οἰ—κετικὰ παιδία [= θρεπτοί] τὰ ὑπ αὐτοῦ ἀνατρεφόμενα.

ἀναφέρω

anaphero, to cause to ascend, offer up, remove

anaphero, S 399; *TDNT* 9.60–61; *EDNT* 1.94; MM 39; L&N 15.176, 15.206, 53.17; BAGD 63

In the classical language, this verb means “to carry up” or “back” (*Ep. Arist.* 268; Josephus, *War* 4.404; *Ant.* 1.16; *Ag. Apion* 2.162). In biblical Greek, it is used for everything that ascends, physically or metaphorically, from the flower of the vine (Gen 40:10), incense (Exod 30:9), or smoke (Judg 20:38), to anger (1Macc 2:24) and hymns (2Macc 10:7). Hence: to ascend or to carry from one place to another.¹ Thus before the transfiguration Jesus made Peter, James, and John ascend a high mountain (Matt 17:1; Mark 9:2); and after the resurrection he himself “ascended into the sky.”²

A good many OT meanings are unknown in the NT: “raise a levy” (1Kgs 5:27), “to dress up a garment with jewelry” (2Sam 1:24), “to bring something,”³ “present” a matter to Moses (Deut 1:17) or to God.⁴ But in both testaments,⁵ *ascend* or cause to ascend has above all a sacrificial usage and figures in the cultic vocabulary. The priests carry and transport the victim, raise it to place it on the altar, and offer it as a sacrifice (1Macc 4:53). In this sense, the high priest of the new covenant offered himself once to take away the sins of the many (Heb 9:28) and has no need to offer himself anew (Heb 7:27). Abraham offered his son Isaac on the altar (Jas 2:21), and Christians, “a holy company of priests,” offer spiritual sacrifices (1Pet 2:5), their continual praise, to God (Heb 13:15); *anaphero* is in this sense synonymous with *prosphero*,⁶ meaning “to offer.”

There remains 1Pet 2:24—“He bore our sins in his body on the cross,”⁷ where most commentators see a reference to the LXX of Isa 53:12 and understand 1Pet in the same sense: bear sins = undergo punishment for sins. But A. Deissmann objects that quotations do not often have the same sense in their new context as in the original,⁸ and that to undergo punishment on the cross would have been expressed by *epi to xylo* (the dative case), while the accusative in 1Pet, *epi to xylon*, evokes the idea of removal. He cites *P.Petr.* I, 16, 2 (vol. 1, p. 47) from 230 BC, in which the litigant protests against the debts that have been transferred upon him⁹

and submits his case to Asclepiades. It is true that, in the papyri and the inscriptions, *anaphero* often signifies “transfer, pay money”¹⁰ and that one can here get some idea of substitution. But Moulton-Milligan (on this word) rightly observe that nothing turns our thoughts in this direction in 1Pet 2:24, where the accusative that follows *epi* is a person, which weakens considerably the parallel cited by A. Deissmann.

¹ Deut 14:24; Judg 15:13; 16:3; 20:26; 1Sam 2:19; 1Kgs 8:1; 10:22; 17:19; 2Kgs 4:21; 1Chr 15:3, 12; 2Chr 1:4; 4:2, 5; Neh 12:31; Tob 6:3; 2Macc 6:10. *P.Lille* 7, 17: “Now he has transferred me to the prison of Crocodilopolis”; *BGU* 1500, 15: 1511, 5; *SB* 9080, 6; Philo, *Etern. World* 64: “The fragrant breezes carried their perfumes to the flowers.” Josephus, *War* 5.432: the starved “snatched the morsels of food almost from their throats.”

² Luke 24:51. Cf. V. Larrañaga, *L’Ascension de Notre-Seigneur*, Rome-Paris, 1938, pp. 145ff., 368ff., 417ff.; P. Benoit, *Exégèse et théologie*, pp. 363–411 = ET, vol. 1, pp. 209–253; cf. *Gos. Pet.* 56: “He has left for the place from which he was sent”; Plutarch, *Num.* 2.4: “Proclus . . . swore that he had seen Romulus ascend to heaven, εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναφερόμενον.”

³ 1Sam 18:27; 2Sam 21:13; Neh 10:38; Isa 18:7; Sir 8:19. *P.Ant.* 93, 41: “That I might bring it with me when I come”; *P.Mich.* VIII, 511, 19; *SB* 7376, 28 (11 October AD 3); 9188; *P.Sorb.* 18, 7.

⁴ Exod 18:19, 22; 19, 8. —*Ἀναφέρω* in the sense of “bring to the attention of, inform, communicate” is very frequent in Josephus, whether concerning a desire (*Ag. Apion* 1.232), an utterance (*Ant.* 16.10, 218, 223, 225, 306–307; 17.40; 20.40; cf. *LSCG*, n.85, 10), or a decree (*dogma*, *Ant.* 14.198, 221; *LSCG*, n. 73 A 24); and in the papyri: the production of a contract *P.Rein.* 8, 8; 26, 15; 31, 9); “communicate this writing to our lord the duke, for it is for him to pass judgment on such attacks” (*P.Thead.* 22, 16; 23, 15; *P.Abinn.* 3, 17; 18, 14; 44, 15); “the copy of the petition that I presented to my lord the prefect” (*P.Mert.* 91, 2; cf. 5, 17); hence: make a report, a notification (*P.Ryl.* 163, 13; *P.Sorb.* 63, 3; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 37, 1; *P.Princ.* 119, 24; *P.Oslo* 126, 15; *P.Oxy.* 1380, 17; 2407, 5, 8, 42; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 229, 28; *BGU* 1669; *PSI* 823, 2; 1433, 9), an agreement (*BGU* 2097, 13 from AD 83; *SB* 7404, 46; 7438, 4); to register (a death) on an official list (*P.Lond.* 281, 15; from AD 66); cf. C. Préaux, *Economie royale*, p. 320); and hence to affect (*P.Thead.* 4, 1; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.31), attribute (*P.Mich.* 620, 271, 307, 314; *P.Brem.* 68, 23, 32; 69, 7; *P.Oxy.* 2119, 8; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.285; 6.9; 14.312; 15.6; 16.167; *War* 4.179, 391). Note further: recover one’s health (Philostratus, *Gym.* 42), come to, come around (Josephus, *War*

1.234, 658), recover serenity (1.662); recall a memory (5.182; *Ant.* 18.188; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 736, 112).

⁵ —Ἀναφέρειν most often translates the hiphil of *ʿalâh* from its first occurrence in Gen 8:20, where Noah offers up holocausts on the altar, and means offer a sacrifice or an oblation; cf. Gen 22:2, 13; Exod 24:5; Lev 14:20; Num 23:30; Deut 12:13; 27:6; Judg 13:16, 19; 21:4; 1Sam 6:14; 7:9-10; 2Sam 24:25; 1Kgs 10:5; 2Chr 1:6; 14:14; Isa 57:6; 60:7; 56:3; Ps 66:15; Bar 1:10 (S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante*, Paris, 1966, pp. 240–255). This sense retained by Josephus, *Ant.* 7.86; 8.104; 11.76, 124; likewise in the second century AD, in a ruling relative to the cult of Sarapis in Magnesia (*LSAM*, n. 34, 26).

⁶ Cf. John 16:2; Heb 11:17; C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 1, p. 303; *LSAM*, p. 100. On the “offering of the lips” (unknown in the OT, but cf. “the fruit of the lips,” Hos 14:3), cf. 1QS 9.3–5; A. Jaubert, *La notion d’alliance dans le Judaïsme*, Paris, 1963, pp. 168ff. B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 86ff.; H. J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult: Zur “Spiritualisierung” der Kultbegriffe im A.T.*, Neukirchen, 1965; I. Lévy, *Recherches esséniennes et pythagoriciennes*, Geneva-Paris, 1965, pp. 19ff.; R. Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christus-Hymnus in der frühen Christenheit*, Göttingen, 1967, pp. 117ff.; G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im N.T.*, Göttingen, 1971, pp. 93ff., 158, 218ff.

⁷ H. Patsch, “Zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund von Römer IV, 25 und I Petrus II, 24,” in *ZNW*, 1969, pp. 273–278; C.F.D. Moule “Death ‘to Sin,’ ‘to Law,’ and ‘to the World’: A Note on Certain Datives,” in *Mélanges Rigaux*, pp. 367–375.

⁸ A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 88ff.

⁹ —Οφειλήματα ἀναφερόμενα (cf. *P.Hib.* 212, 2). It would be better to cite the complaint of a vintner of the third century BC: The agents of the bank “enter to my credit the payment of the tax by writing it in for the thirty-seventh year; while I owe nothing, but I paid everything in full” (ἀναφέρουσίν μοι τὴν καταβολὴν τοῦ τέλους, *PSI* 383, 9–10). To transfer the debts of a debtor to a third party is to free the original debtor from paying off the debt (cf. 1Sam 20:13; Aeschines 3.215; Isocrates 5.32). Hence the forensic meaning: the sins are no longer imputed to the person. A. Deissmann cites Col 2:14, where the “handwriting” (= bond) is annulled on the cross (*Light*, pp. 332f.).

¹⁰ *P.Kar.Goodsp.* 554, 43; *P.Yale* 49, 14; *P.Mich.* 601, 21; *P.Petr.* II, 38 (b) 5: ὅπως ἀνεύγκωμεν ε—πὶ εὐγένην = that we may transfer this to Theogenes; *SB* 10444, 1, 3, 4, 9; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.71: the owners must pay to the priests a shekel and a half; *War* 1.605; pay off a tax (*SEG*, vol. 3, 378 C 1; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 204, 42; 736, 94). The legal equivalent of ἀναφέρειν is *referre*, cf. H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 21.

ἀναψύχω

anapsycho, to refresh

anapsycho, *S* 404; *TDNT* 9.663–664; *EDNT* 1.95; *NIDNTT* 3.686; *MM* 40; *L&N* 25.149; *BAGD* 63

St. Peter exhorts the Jerusalemites to be converted “so that the times of refreshing [or relief] may come.”¹ These times are linked with the Parousia and coincide with the *apokatastasis*: the perfect restoring, the complete restoration of the creation. St. Paul for his part, while a prisoner at Rome, declares that Onesiphorus has often comforted him or relieved him by his visits (2Tim 1:16).

The verb *anapsycho*, which suggests the idea of refreshing² and thus of invigorating, is used first for physical health,³ then for spiritual fortification, the relieving of anxiety,⁴ then of well-being experienced after pain or exertion. This is the meaning of this verb that is found among the papyri only in private letters. In the second century AD, a child writes to his parents: “when I found out, I was delivered from my uneasiness” (*P.Osl.* 153, 10). Another, in the third century, assures his parents of his academic progress: “I worked very hard and am relaxing.”⁵ But the best parallel to 2Tim 1:16, cited in a Christian letter from the time of Constantine (*SB* 7872, 12), is in the double appeal made to Hephaistios, who is cloistered in the Serapeum of Memphis (*en katoche en to Sarapoeio*) on the one hand from his wife Isias, presently very distressed and incapable of being comforted except by the return of her husband to the house,⁶ and on the other hand from Dionysius, brother of Hephaistios, who writes to him along the same lines.⁷ This calming or relieving can blossom into joy.⁸ It is in any case rest,⁹ relaxation,¹⁰ in which the soul expands (cf. *platyno*; 2Cor 6:11; 4QPs 8.14), is not constrained;¹¹ it is like an enlarging,¹² which—thanks to the brotherly love shown by Onesiphorus—presents a fine contrast with the apostle’s incarceration.

¹Acts 3:20—καίροὶ ἀναψύξεως (cf. O. Bauernfeind, “Tradition und Komposition in dem Apokatastasissspruch Apostelgeschichte,” in *Abraham*

unser Vater: Festschrift O. Michel, Leiden, 1963, pp. 13–23). Ψύχειν, in the compound form ἀναψύχειν, is more closely related to the idea of wind (ψυχή) than that of cold (ψύχος); thus in Homer (exposing a wound to the air by taking off a bandage, *Il.* 5.795; hence ἀναψύχεσθαι, get one's breath back, 10.575; 13.84) and in the medical writers: leave a wound open to the air (Hippocrates, *Fract.* chapters 25 and 27); then “get one's wind back (between two painful operations),” “catch one's breath” (Hippocrates, *Steril.* chapter 222; cf. J. Jouanna, *Hippocrate: La Nature de l'homme*, Berlin, 1975, pp. 304ff.). —Ανάψυξις (OT hapax; Exod 8:15 [= 8:11 MT]—Pharaoh saw that there was a respite, *rewahâh*) suggests recreation and relaxation (Philo, *Abraham* 152), frequently used by physicians (cf. the numerous references to Hippocrates and Galen in W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 166), is not attested in the papyri (*P.Ness.* 96, 5) and the tomb inscriptions except in a very late period and in Christian prayers asking God to place the deceased in repose (*anapausis*) and ε—ν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως = a place of refreshing; cf. *SB* 6035, 10; 7428, 11; 7429, 7; 7430, 8; 8235, 9; 8723, 10; 8728, 10; 8765, 10.

²Josephus, *Ant.* 15.54: ἀνέψυχον τὸ θερμότατον τῆς μεσημβρίας; *War* 2.155: a gentle west wind, blowing from the ocean, continually refreshes the place to which just souls have traveled; 2Macc 4:46: Ptolemy leads King Antiochus IV under the peristyle “as if to take a breath of cool air, ὡς ἀναψύξονται”; *Jos. Asen.* 3.3: “It is noon . . . great is the heat of the sun, and I shall take a breath of cool air beneath your roof”; cf. Luke 16:24—Let Lazarus “dip the end of his finger in the water and refresh my tongue (καταψύξη).”

³The sabbath rest allows the son of the servant and the guest to catch their breath (Exod 23:12, niph'al of *napas*). When Samson has taken a drink of water, “his spirit returned, and he revived” (Judg 15:18, *hayâh*). When they arrived at the stopping place, the king and the people caught their breath (2Sam 16:14; niph'al of *napas*).

⁴When David plays the harp, Saul finds relief and gets better (1Sam 16:23, *rawah*; cf. Ps 39:14). A respite in the war allows the people to catch their breath (2Macc 13:11). Cf. the episode that “revived the courage of the allies of the Lacedaemonians” (Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.19).

⁵*P.Oxy.* 1296, 7: φιλιππονοῦμεν καὶ ἀναψύχομεν (republished by A. S. Hunt, C. C. Edgar, *Sel.Pap.*, vol. 1, n. 137).

⁶*P.Lond.* 42, 18: δοκοῦσα νῦν γε σοῦ παραγενομένου τεύξεσθαί τινος ἀναψυχῆς (second century), republished in *UPZ* 59 and by A. S. Hunt, C. C. Edgar, *Sel.Pap.*, n.97.

⁷S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 36, 14–15: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοιούτους καιροῦς ἀνηντληκυ—α νῦν γε τύχη τινὸς ἀναψυχῆς; republished in *UPZ* 60.

⁸*P.Yale* 80, 3: ὥστε τότε ἰ—λαροῦς εἶναι κἀγὼ ἀναψύχω (second century).—Ανάψυξις brought to Paul by Mark and Jesus Justus during his first captivity (Col 4:11) is thus more “reinvigorating” than the “calming” (*paregoria*) brought to Paul by Mark and Jesus Justus during his first captivity (Col 4:11).

⁹Cf. κατάπαυσις, Acts 7:49; Heb 3:11, 18; 4:1, 3, 5, 10, 11 (O. Hofius, *Katapausis: Die Vorstellung vom endzeitlichen Ruheort im Hebräerbrief*, Tübingen, 1970).

¹⁰Cf. ἄνεσις, Acts 24:23; 2Cor 2:13; 7:5; 8:13; 2Thess 1:7; Philo *Plant.* 170; *To Gaius* 12 (with the note of the editor, A. Pelletier, Paris, 1972, p. 323); Strabo, 5.4.7; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 301, n. 1; 338, n. 1.

¹¹The Hebrew *rawah* means “to have room, be unconstrained.” In the NT, ease, the feeling of well-being and of breathing easily, as it were, is characteristic of the “pneumatic,” cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 772; J.F.A. Sawyer, “Spaciousness,” in *ASTI*, vol. 6, Leiden, 1968, pp. 20–34; R. R. Niebuhr, “The Widened Heart,” in *HTR*, 1969, pp. 127–154; M. Philonenko, “L’Ame à l’étroit,” in *Hommages A. Dupont-Sommer*, Paris, 1971, pp. 421–428.

¹²[French: to enlarge (*dilater*) the heart or the soul means to fill it with joy.—Tr.]

ἀνθ ὧν

anth' hon (*anti* + *hon*), in place of, in exchange

anth' hon, S 475, 3739; *TDNT* 1.372; BDF §§17, 208(1), 294(4); MM 46, 47; *EDNT* 108, 109; BAGD 73, 74

In the papyri, this expression,¹ used very often in business documents, means above all “in place of,”² “in return, in exchange, in compensation.” For example, the farmer Idomeneus complains to King Ptolemy that his field, already sown, was flooded by Petobastis and Horos. He asks that he be indemnified, that the guilty parties “be forced to buy

back my land at their own expense and pay the fees arising from the transaction, and that I be given in place of the one that they flooded (*anth' hon*) a spread equal to the land that they themselves cultivate.”³ The substitute (*BGU* 2128, 4) is the equivalent; in contracts for work⁴ and in transfers of land, the boss or the seller certifies that he has received such and such a sum of money from the buyer, or that he has undertaken certain obligations “in return” for the labor of the worker.⁵ There is an exact correspondence between the work and the salary (cf. *SB* 10526, 8).

Making compensation is the very basis of exchange, as Philo observes: “Those who give (*hoi didontes*) wish to receive honor in exchange, seeking a recompense in return for their favor (*antidosin*), and under the guise of flattering with a gift (*doreas*), they in fact execute a sale; those who are in the habit of accepting something in exchange for (*anth' hon*) that which they supply are in fact sellers.”⁶ From this developed a logical sense for *anth' hon* —“because, consequently”⁷—and a moral sense, emphasizing exact repayment.⁸ This double nuance is preponderant in the biblical texts.

Often enough, the expression *anth' hon* is used in a legal sense, “in compensation.” A young girl who has been violated must become the wife of her seducer, “since he has violated her, and he cannot repudiate her as long as he lives” (*Deut* 22:29); “Joab and his brother Abishai killed Abner, because he had put their brother to death” (*2Sam* 3:30); “He shall pay back the sheep fourfold, since he has committed this deed and has not shown pity.”⁹ There is a strict reciprocity: “I will do you no more evil, since my life has been precious in your eyes on this day” (*1Sam* 26:21). Most frequently, this correspondence occurs in relations between God and humans. Sometimes, when people are faithful God rewards them and blesses them: “In your race (Abraham’s) will all the nations of the earth be blessed, because you have obeyed my voice” (*Gen* 22:18; cf. 26:5); “My covenant will be for Phineas and his descendants after him a covenant of eternal priesthood, because he has shown himself jealous for his God” (*Num* 25:13); “Since you have asked for yourself discernment for understanding justice, behold, I shall act according to your word; I give you a wise and intelligent heart” (*1Kgs* 3:11; *2Chr* 1:11; *2Kgs* 10:30; 22:19; *Jdt* 13:20; *Ezek* 36:13; *Zech* 4:15).

Most of the biblical usages of *anth' hon* underline the justice of punishments, the exact repayment by God for people’s sins; the penalties are at the same time the necessary consequence of and the just payment for the fault: “The land will become desolate . . . they will pay for their sin, since and because (double conjunction in Hebrew) they have despised by judgment” (*Lev* 26:43); “Because you have not served Yahweh your God with joy and gladness of heart when you had everything in abundance, you will serve in hunger, thirst, nudity, and privation the enemy that God will send against you.”¹⁰ It is worth noting that of the five occurrences of *anth'*

hon in the NT, four express a punishment, the sanction for a trespass; the archangel Gabriel punished the unbelief of Zacharias: “You will remain silent . . . since you have not believed my words” (Luke 1:20). Jerusalem will be destroyed, “because you have not known the time or your visitation” (Luke 19:44); Herod Agrippa is struck dead “because he did not give the glory to God” (Acts 12:23). If certain people are given over to perdition, it is “because they have not accepted the love of the truth in order to be saved.”¹¹

In contrast, Philo and Josephus use *anth' hon* most often in a favorable context. Not only do they evoke the equity of the recompense,¹² but they emphasize that gratitude is a gift in return for benefits received.¹³ There is an exact correspondence between the action of thanksgiving and the divine favor,¹⁴ for example the celebration of the Passover in grateful tribute for deliverance from servitude in Egypt (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.110).

In Hellenistic piety, as expressed notably in dedications, the Greek is seen giving gifts to his god, whom he knows to be close and powerful and whose protection and benefits he expects in exchange (*anth' hon*). The *doron* is a “tribute of friendship” (*Anth. Pal.* 6.325), which counts on winning the favors of the divinity (6.340), because the person who needs protection thinks on the one hand of pleasing the god and on the other hand of receiving a benevolent reciprocity. It is an exchange of friendly services.¹⁵ For example, three brothers dedicate their nets to Pan, and ask “Send to them in return (*anth' hon*) a good hunt” (Leonidas of Tarentum, in *Anth. Pal.* 6.13; cf. 154). Selene asks Cybele for her daughter that she may grow in beauty and find a husband, a just favor “in return (*anth' hon*) for the child’s having often let her hair hang down in your *pronaos* and before your altar” (ibid., 281); some sailors call upon Phoebus, “Be favorable to us and send us a good wind.”¹⁶

¹ Cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, 35e, 46j, k. E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, pp. 374ff.; vol. 2, 3, pp. 101ff.

² Cf. the successor to an obligation (*P.Cair.Isid.* 125, 18); the substitute (*P.Lond.* 1913, 8; *P.Petaus* 14, 10; *P.Oxy.* 3095, 12); the representative (*P.Mur.* 116, 11; *P.Bru.* 21, 34). But Ἐρμίας ἀνθ ου— Ἐρμῆς (*BGU* 1062, 1; cf. *P.Lond.* 1170, 727) is only the statement of a surname.

³ *P.Enteux.* 60, 10; cf. *P.Oslo* 40, 37, *P.Ant.* 89, 12; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 11, 18; *P.Mich.* 605, 5. In records of disbursements, cf. *P.Oxy.* 1914, 2; 2029, 15; *P.Tebt.* 120, 43.

⁴ *P.Mich.* 355, 4 (first century AD; the hiring of a weaver); *P.Lond.* 1994, 222 (third century BC); 2002, 39; *BGU* 2175, 4: δέξασθαι τὸ ἄλλο ἥμισο. μέρος ἀνθ ὧν ποιούμεθα καμάτων; *P.Stras.* 286, 10.

⁵ *P.Mich.* 427, 15 (second century AD): sale of land and of part of a house by a veteran who acknowledges having received two hundred drachmas in exchange; 564, 11; 609, 17; *PSI* 1050, 2, (third century); *BGU* 1731, 8 (first century BC); 1732, 8; 1733, 10; 1734, 8; 1739, 13; 2346, 4; *P.Ryl.* 159, 19 (AD 31): ἀνθ ὧν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῆς Ταχόιτος. *P.Coll.Youtie* II, n. 80, 15 (= *P.Oxy.* 3255); 89, 17: “in recompense for the pains that I took”; 90, 19. Cf. Atticus, frag. 6.2: “if the corps do not receive any compensation for their losses.”

⁶ Philo, *Cherub.* 122, cf. *Spec. Laws* 3.82; *Migr. Abr.* 173. E. Benveniste (“Don et échange dans le vocabulaire indo-européen,” in *L’Année sociologique*, 3d series, 1948–49; 1951, pp. 7–20) noticed this functional relationship between gift and exchange: the spontaneity and unwarranted nature of the gift (δω—ρον, present) oblige the beneficiary to make a compensatory counter-gift (*antidoron*; δῶρων χάριν), a gift in exchange (δωτίνῃ; Homer, *Il.* 9.155, 297; *Od.* 9.267; 11. 351; Herodotus 6.62; cf. 1.61.69). 1Macc 10:27, Demetrius to the Jews: “Continue even now to preserve your fidelity toward us, and we will provide you with benefits in exchange for what you do for us, καὶ ἀνταποδώσομεν ὑμῖν—ν ἀγαθὰ ἀνθ ὧν ποιει—τε μεθ ἡμῶν.” *P.Lond.* 1941, 9, letter of Hierocles to Zeno: “Ptolemy hopes to gain you the crown in return for the benefits that you have voluntarily provided for him” (third century BC).

⁷ Cf. Luke 12:3—“There is nothing hidden that ought not to be revealed . . . consequently (ἀνθ ὧν) everything that you hear spoken in darkness will be heard in the light.” The gospel must be proclaimed with the maximum degree of publicity *since* all must be revealed on the great day. E. Delebecque (*Evangile de Luc*) translates “Moyennant quoi tout ce que l’on a dit dans les ténèbres sera entendu dans la lumière” (“In return [or consideration] for which all that has been spoken in the darkness will be heard in the light”).

⁸ The collections that need to cover the expenses of worship (*UPZ* 175a42; *PSI* 1159, 6; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 1, 6); a decree in honor of Samos (405 BC): the decree praises the Samian delegates “taking into account their benefits (ἀντὶ ὧν εἶπεποιήκασιν) with regard to the Athenians” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 23, 11); a foundation for distributions of oil (AD 210): “Flaviana Philokrateia, in honor of her husband Julianus Alexandros and herself, in return for numerous honors (ἀνθ ὧν) issued by the most powerful Council . . . makes a gift (ε—πέδωκεν) of 10,000 Attic drachmas . . .” (*NCIG*, n. 34, 6); 4Macc 12:12—“Sacrilegious tyrant . . . you were not ashamed to torture those who practice piety. *Because of this*, Divine Justice reserves you for an intense, eternal fire”; 18:3—the seven brothers know that pious reason

is master of sufferings; “*that is why* they offer their bodies to suffer for piety.”

⁹ 2Sam 12:6; cf. Amos 5:11; Joel 4:19; Isa 53:12; Ps 109:16—“Since he loved cursing, let it fall upon him!”

¹⁰ Deut 28:47; cf. 62; Judg 2:20; 2Sam 12:10; 1Kgs 9:9—“Because they have forsaken Yahweh their God . . . that is why Yahweh has brought upon them all this evil”; 11:20; 20:36; 2Kgs 21:11, 15; 22:17; 2Chr 34:25; Hos 8:1; Amos 1:3, 9, 13; 2:1, 6; Mic 3:4; Mal 2:9; Jer 5:14, 19; 7:13; 16:11; 19:4; 22:9; 23:38; Ezek 5:7, 11; 13:8, 10; 15:8; 16:36, 43; 20:16, 24; 21:29; 22:19; 23:35; 25:3, 6; 29:7; 31:10; 39:23. Cf. *Pss. Sol.* 2.3—“Because the sons of Jerusalem have defiled the worship of the Lord . . . for this reason God has said, ‘Cast them out from my presence.’”

¹¹ 2Thess 2:10 (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 32–39); cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.197: “The master shall suffer double punishment for his actions”; 4.227; Josephus, *War* 4.264: “As a result (of the crimes of the enemy), the best course of action is to destroy these criminals and punish them.”

¹² Philo, *Joseph* 46: “Does he deserve the reward that you advise me to give him? A fine gift (δωρεάς) I would give him, a suitable return for favors received!”; *Moses* 2.242; Josephus, *War* 5.530: “Matthias asked this favor in exchange for his having opened the gates of the city to Simon.” Peter of Rosetta: King Ptolemy V has the zeal of a benevolent god, he has built sanctuaries for him and restored their temples, “in recompense for which the gods have given him health, victory, might, and all other good things” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 110.35 = *SB* 8232, 3). “May this come to pass for you in recompense for your holy deeds for the divinity” (*UPZ* 34, 12; second century BC, 35, 25; 36, 21; 46, 13).

¹³ Philo, *Virtues* 72: “Give thanks to God for benefits received (εὐχαριστίαν ἀποδιδούς ἀνθ ὧν) from birth to old age,” like Moses, (*Moses* 1.33; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.318).

¹⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* 1.229; 6.338; 17.48, 201.

¹⁵ Δῶρων χάριν, *Anth. Pal.* 6.188; cf. ἀντιδιδούς δός, 42, 91, 280; χάριν ἀντιδίδου, 138, 184, 185. A. J. Festugière, “—AN̄ —ΩN: La Formule ‘En échange de quoi’ dans la prière grecque hellénistique,” in *RSPT*, 1976, pp. 389–418.

¹⁶ From Philip, *Anth. Pal.* 6.251; cf. 17: in exchange for an offering, Cypris is asked to send profits; 63; 68; 99: may Pan grant that the goatherd’s

goats will give birth twice; 105: may the fisherman's net always be full; 154; 187; 278; 332; 346.

ἀντιβάλλω

antiballo, to exchange

antiballo, S 474; *EDNT* 1.109; MM 47; L&N 33.160; BAGD 74

The primitive sense of this verb is “to retaliate, return fire.”¹ It is used figuratively in 2Macc 11:13, in the sense of “reflect upon”;² this English expression translates well the nuance of the Greek, “a return of the mind upon itself so as to examine and deepen a spontaneous deliverance of consciousness”;³ the subject returns upon itself and after a fashion is refracted. Hence the sense “dispute” or simply “converse with each other,” like the pilgrims of Emmaus: “What then are these matters that you were discussing among yourselves along the way?”⁴

Literary and papyrological attestations are rare;⁵ not one corroborates the meaning of the two biblical texts.⁶ The clearest meaning is the comparison of two exemplars, for example of a copy and its original (Strabo 13.609; 17. 790), as in the annotation to the will of Antonius Silvanus in AD 142: *Antonis Silbanos ho progegrammenos antebalon ten prokimenen mou diatheken.*⁷

¹ The Syracusans, “crushed under stones . . . returned the volley with javelins and arrows” (Plutarch, *Nic.* 25.4); cf. Thucydides 7.25.6: “The Syracusans took aim at them, but they retaliated from their large ship”; Polybius 6.22.4.

² “Lysias, who was not lacking in intelligence, reflected on the reverse that he had just suffered” at Beth-zur (cf. 1Macc 4:35). “—Αντιβάλλειν is a metaphor drawn from tax-collecting. Lysias confronts the reality that he has just experienced with the advantages that he had been counting on. With these evaporated, he imagines an acceptable outcome, namely peace. The use of this verb with πρὸς ε—αυτόν, *secum reputare* from the old Latin for ‘reflect on’ is very rare if not unique in literature” (F.M. Abel, *Maccabées*, p. 425).

³ P. Robert, *Dictionnaire . . . de la langue française*, Paris, 1964, vol. 6, p. 21a.

⁴ Luke 24:17. M. J. Lagrange comments: ἀντιβάλλειν is the word used for the collation of manuscripts. Field concludes that this is a latinism, *conferre*

sermones. But ἀντιβάλλειν used in the sense of exchanging blows could have come to mean “exchange views” (*Luc*, p. 603).

⁵ Moulton-Milligan cite only the substantive ἀντιβλήματα, meaning the small stones inserted to fill in chinks (*P.Oxy.* 498, 16, from the second century; a contract with a stone-cutter). The meaning of the verb in *P.Oxy.* 2177, 27 (third century) can not be precisely determined because the papyrus is badly mutilated.

⁶ *P.Mert.* 24, 15 (business letter, around AD 200): καλω—ς ποιήσεις ἀντιβαλὼν Σεμπρωνίῳ τὸ λογαρίδιον (verify and settle the account?).

⁷ R. Cavenaille, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinorum*, Wiesbaden, 1958, n. 221, 9. “This is probably the only well-preserved original of a will *per aes et libram*” (O. Guéraud, P. Jouguet, “Un Testament latin per aes et libram,” in *EPap*, vol. 6, 1940, p. 8). These two authors, after mentioning the glossing of ἀντιβάλλει as διορθοί— by Hesychius and as “dictate” by Harpocration (ἀντιβλητέντος, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπαγαρευθέντος, Δείναρχος ε—ν τῇ κατὰ Πυθέου ε—ισαγγελία p. 19), but having difficulty seeing how ἀντιβάλλειν could have taken on this meaning, and the discourse of Deinarchos being lost, they conclude: “Thus we do not dare take a stand on the the exact meaning that should be given this verb here” (loc. cit., p. 20). In addition, *PSI* 1443, 8 (third century); *P.Oxy.* 1479, 4: “I did not receive the documents, but there is a collation—τὰ βυβλία . . . κει—ται ἀντιβεβλημένα”; cf. *BGU* 970, 4. —Cf. Josephus asking, in order to identify the author of the best laws and most just rulings on religion, to compare the laws themselves: τω—ν νόμων ἀντιπαραβάλλοντας (*Ag. Apion* 2.163).

ἀντιδιατίθημι, ἀντικαθίστημι

antidiatithemi, *antikathistemi*, to oppose, resist

antidiatithemi, S 475; *EDNT* 1.109; MM 47; L&N 39.1; BAGD 74 | ***antikathistemi***, S 478; *EDNT* 1.109; MM 47; L&N 39.18; BAGD 74

The first of these verbs appears only in the Koine; but, unknown in the papyri, it is attested in good literature.¹ Occurring in the Bible only in 2Tim 2:25, the present middle participle *tous antidiatithemenous* refers to “those who oppose or resist” the preaching of the gospel.²

Antikathistemi can have the sense of “put in place of, exchange” (Josh 5:7; cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59278, 4: *antikatastesome eis ta nea*), “establish, position opposite” with a nuance of hostility (Mic 2:8) and usually against an adversary in justice (Deut 31:21) or in a plea to higher

authorities. This is the constant and frequent meaning in the papyri.³ In observing that the Christians have not yet “resisted to the point of shedding blood,” Heb 12:4 uses a sports metaphor,⁴ that of two boxers or pancratists facing each other; their blows were often lethal.⁵ There is also a judicial nuance, because the persecuted Christians have not given the supreme testimony, shed blood.⁶ This usage of *antikathistemi*, which agrees well with the language of the period, confirms the culture of the author of Heb as well as his familiarity with the language of the LXX.

Antikeimai, “to be situated facing, confronted” (Josephus, *War* 4.454; 5.70; Strabo 2.5.15), usually⁷—and always in the Bible—has the sense of “be against”: the flesh and the spirit are opposed to each other as two irreducible principles (Gal 5:17), as the sinful life on the one hand and the rectitude and integrity of the gospel on the other (1Tim 1:10). It occurs mostly in the form of the present participle: *ho antikeimenos*, “the opponent, the enemy, the adversary,”⁸ sometimes without a complement (1Cor 16:9; Phil 1:28), sometimes with the dative.⁹ The term is common and characteristic in Christian language, applied sometimes to the antichrist, the adversary par excellence, “the one who is opposed and set himself up against all that bears the name of God” (2Thess 2:4), sometimes to the devil, *ho antidikos*,¹⁰ the one who attacks *kat’ exochen* against the church (Matt 16:18), its ministers (1Tim 3:6-7), and its faithful.¹¹ His aggression is directed against the most vulnerable, for example young widows (1Tim 5:14), who go astray by following him.¹²

¹ Ps.-Longinus, *Subl.* 17.1: to rebel against persuasive speech; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.103: it is not appropriate for victims to “repay [their persecutors] in like coinage”; cf. T. Nägeli, *Wortschatz*, pp. 30, 41, 87.

² It is synonymous with ἀντιλέγοντες in Titus 1:9, literally the contra-speakers, the protesters, those who “hold out against others” (Luke 10:27, probable reading), like the Jews who oppose what Paul says (Acts 13:34; cf. 28.19, 22). But to declare oneself against Caesar is to set up an opposition (John 19:12), and ἀντιλέγω has a nuance of insubordination (Rom 10:21; Titus 2:9). In its frequent usages in the papyri (*P.Hib.* 205, 32; *P.Tebt.* 734, 8, 13; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 14, 24; *SB* 6263, 23; 6720, 15; etc.), this contesting is often tantamount to refusal: “If he opposes, after having supplied guarantees, let him be doubly condemned” (*P.Sorb.* 10, 3); “if he contests, let him be judged with me after a hearing of all parties” (*P.Enteux.* 14, 8; cf. 25, 15, *P.Abinn.* 42, 10); “If anyone raised an objection on this topic, he should advise me of it” (letter of a governor of Achaëa, *I.Cor.* vol. 8, 3, n. 306, 15); “I do not contest the [part that reverts to you]” *P.Phil.* 11, 42, = *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIV, p. 116; *P.Mich.Zen.* 66, 10, 32). On this sort of legal challenge, cf. A. Würstle, “Untersuchungen zu Cair. Zén. III, 59355,” in *JJP*, vol. 5, 1951, p. 54; cf. C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, New

Haven, 1934, n.3, 28, 50, 107. Cf. also the ἀντικείμενοι (1Cor 16:9; Phil 1:28; see below), and the “oppositions (ἀντιθέσεις) of a self-proclaimed gnostic” (1Tim 6:20), evoking the dialectical methodology of the controversialists (C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, p. 113, n.1). But these have a spirit of contradiction (Titus 3:9—ἔριν καὶ μάχας; C. T. Ernesti, *LTGR*, 2d ed., Hildesheim, 1962, p. 67 gives as quasi-synonymns ἀντίθεσις and ἀντικειμένη), having an appetite for objections and for polemic (λογομαχει—ν, 2Tim 2:14; λογομαχίας, 1Tim 6:4; μάχεσθαι, 2Tim 2:24) and oppose the teaching of the apostles (1Tim 1:10, ἀντίκειται), the truth (ἀνθίστανται τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, 2Tim 3:8). Their counterpropositions are contrary to the orthodoxy of the church (2Tim 2:25;3:8).

³ *P.Oxy.* 260, 8 (from AD 59); cf. 97, 9; in the division of a father’s estate between two brothers, Lysias and Heliodorus: if anyone contests the will, the first brother will take the opposition and clearly establish the title of the second (*P.Dura* 25, 10 and 31); *BGU* 168, 11, 21; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 98, 26; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 21, 10; *SB* 7472, 18 (taken up *P.Warr.* 1, 18; cf. P. R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos*, Toronto, 1970, p. 99). Boulagoras “having opposed during his embassy the most illustrious friends of Antiochus” (*SEG*, vol. 1, 366, 12).

⁴ Μέχρις αἵματος = μέχρι θανάτου (2Macc 13:14; Phil 2:8; cf. Rev 12:11).

⁵ The blood flowed (Homer, *Il.* 23.651ff.; Artemidorus of Daldis 12.11; Theocritus, *Id.* 22.119–133; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* 2.1–98; Pausanias 8.40; Virgil, *Aen.* 5.360ff.). Cf. the epigram of Dorokleidas of Thera: Ἄ νικά πύκταισι δι αἵματος. ἀλλ ἔτι θερμὸν | πνεῦμα φέρων σκληρα—σ παι—σ ἀπὸ πυγμαχίας | ἔστα παγκρατίου βαρὺν ε—σ πόνον. ἅ μία δ ἄως | δις Δωροκλείδαν εἶδεν ἀεθλοφόρον (*IG*, vol. 12, 3, 390; cited by L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, p. 20); cf. R. Lattimore, *Epitaphs*, p. 145.

⁶ Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 8.4.4: In undertaking the purification of the pagan army, Veturius, “the one who was carrying out the operation, did it with moderation and did not go so far as to shed blood—μέχρις αἵματος—except in a few cases.”

⁷ Dio Cassius 39.8: “Claudius combatted (ἀντέλεγε) them, but Milo stood up to him (ἀντέκειτο)”; *Ep. Arist.* 266: “The goal of eloquence . . . is to succeed in persuading the adversary (τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα) . . . without seeming to contradict him (οὐκ ἀντικείμενος)”; 1Macc 14:7—“No one was found to resist him.” This verb is used in astronomy for the opposition of planets (Vettius Valens, cited by O. Neugebauer, H.B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, Philadelphia, 1959, p. 191, under this word). In the vocabulary of geometry, the participle ἀντικείμενος, “opposed,” is used notably for the

two branches of a hyperbola (C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, pp. 65–66).

⁸ Exod 23:22—“I will be the enemy of your enemies and the adversary of your adversaries” = 2Macc 10:26; cf. Esth 9:2—οι—ἀντικείμενοι τοι—ς—Ιουδαίοις; 8:11; Isa 41:11; 45:16; 66:6. In Job 13:24, the adversary is ὑπεναντίον σου; in 1Kgs 11:14, Satan. The participle is a traditional term in rhetoric, cf. Archytas of Tarentum, *Antik.* (in H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts*, Abo, 1965, pp. 14ff.); Aristotle, *Rh.* 1409b35; 1401a5; 1410b29.

⁹ Luke 13:17—“All his adversaries were confounded, οι—ἀντικείμενοι ἀπότω—”; 21:15. In the only text from the papyri, the complement is in the accusative: Μενέδημον ἀντικείμενον ἡμι—ν (3 August 152; S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* n. 46, 6; republished in *UPZ* 69, 6).

¹⁰ 1Pet 5:8; cf. S. V. McCasland, “The Black One,” in *Studies in Honor of H. R. Willoughby*, Chicago, 1961, p. 77.

¹¹ Matt 13:38-39; 1John 3:8; cf. 1Clem. 51.1: “All the sins that we have committed as a result of the snares of the adversary, τοῦ ἀντικειμένου.”

¹² 1Tim 5:15. In *TDNT*, vol. 3, p. 655, n. 3, Büchsel concludes that ὁ ἀντικείμενος (verse 14) is generic and does not refer to Satan, who is not mentioned until verse 15. But it is precisely this latter verse that identifies “the adversary” who has just been referred to in the singular and with the article, and who is in fact the “devil,” the author of λοιδορία. Neither does this formulation support the identification of the ἀντικείμενος with some anonymous pagan or Jew of the future.

ἀντλέω, ἀντλημα

antleo, to draw (water), *antlema*, bucket

antleo, S 501; *EDNT* 1.112; MM 49; BAGD 76 | ***antlema***, S 502; *EDNT* 1.112; MM 49; BAGD 76

The verb *antleo* is derived from the noun *antlos*, “ship’s hold,”¹ and literally refers to bilge water that is bailed out.² Hence it means “to empty water from the hull” and, by extension, “to draw.” Cf. “empty the water that the sea casts on board” (Theognis 673); “you draw straight from the cask” (Theocritus 10.13); “to draw water with a sieve, or what is proverbially called a pierced cask” (Ps.-Aristotle, *Oec.* 1.6.1); “they draw the liquid off

with a bascule to which is attached a half of a wineskin instead of a bucket.”³ Hence the figurative sense “to drain, exhaust”: a life of woe (Euripides, *Hipp.* 898), destiny (Aeschylus, *PV* 375).

In the papyri, the verb is used sometimes in accounts for the pay of workers who pump water (usually in a vineyard): *antlousan eis ampelon* (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XII, 20, 7); “for the pay of two water-drawers”;⁴ sometimes it is used for the hydraulic irrigation machine: “so that the machine may draw” (*hopos antlese he mechane*, *SB* 9654, *b* 9); a machine for drawing water for a vineyard.⁵

In the LXX, water is drawn from a well (Gen 24:13, 20, 43; Hebrew *sha’ab*; Exod 2:16, 19; Hebrew *dalâh*), and Abraham’s servant asks Rebekah, “Please give me a little water from your jar”;⁶ but in a figurative sense: “You shall draw water with joy from the springs of salvation” (Isa 2:3).

The substantive *antlema*, which is much rarer,⁷ is still represented by only three attestations in the papyri. In a petition (from the first century AD) to a police chief regarding the “irrigating machine” (*epantlion*, line 21) of a vineyard at Theogonis, irrigation became impossible “with the water-drawing machine.”⁸ In the second century AD, in an account of workers and pay, each worker receives a drachma a day: “two workers building the waterwheel, two drachmas.”⁹ In the fifth century, in a contract for a bath house, the text is less certain: *to on en [toj [ant]lemati tou autou loutrou mechanostasion*.

This group of texts, in addition to the immediate context, leaves no room for doubt regarding the meaning of the biblical hapax *antlema* in John 4:11, where the Samaritan woman says to Jesus, *oute antlema echeis*, which has to mean, “Lord, you do not have a container for drawing water”; but since *antlema* “actually serves as a name for an instrument” (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*), the correct English would be “You have nothing to draw water with,” no vessel of any sort, no rope, etc., and the well is deep.

¹ Homer, *Od.* 12.411: “the storm collapsed all the running gear into the hold”; 15.479: the Sidonian woman “fell into the hull’s bilge.” Cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 93.

² Cf. ἀντλία, “bilge, water from the hull”; Aristophanes, *Eq.* 434: “watch over the bilge.” The bilge is the part of the hull where water collects and is thus a symbol of corruption.

³ Herodotus 6.119; Euripides, *Hyps.*: ἀνηλώματος Φαύστῳ ἀντλοῦντι μηχανὴν (in *P.Oxy.* 985; cf. 147, 1); Plato, *Tim.* 79 a: in the watered body, food and drink are “drawn as from a fountain to be poured out in the

channels of the veins”; Xenophon, *Oec.* 7.40: “people who pour into a bottomless jar” (futile toil); Diogenes Laertius 7.5.168–169: Cleanthes “by night drew water in the gardens”; Josephus, *War* 4.472: “water drawn before sunrise.”

⁴ Ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ ε—ργατω—ν β ἀντλούντων, *P.Oxy.* 1732, 12; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 69, 45: ἀντλούντες ει—ς τὸ νεόφυτον; 64: ἀντλούντες ε—ργάται; 97; B 6, 45, 64, 74, 88, 93; *P.Lond.* 131, 40; 1177, 66 (vol. 2, p. 183); *P.Tebt.* 120, 142; *BGU* 1732, 6 = *SB* 7420; cf. 9379, col. II, 15; 9699, 25 (accounts from AD 78/79). Cf. the scribal error ἀτλητός for ἀντλητός in a papyrus from Medinet Madi (W. Clarysse, “ΑΤΛΗΤΟΣ, Athlete or Irrigation?” in *ZPE*, vol. 27, 1977, p. 192).

⁵ Μηχανὴν τοῦ καινοῦ καλουμένην ἀντλοῦσαν ει—ς ἄμπελον, *P.Mil.* 64, 6 (= *SB* 9503); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 308, 99: ἀντληθείσης τῆς μηχανῆς (cf. 5, 30, 35, 61, 94); *P.Oxy.* 2244, 82 and 85; 2779, 11; *SB* 11231, 5.

⁶ Ὑδωρ ε—κ τῆς ὑδρίας σου (Gen 24:17). Philo only uses the verb twice commenting on Scripture; both uses are figurative. On Gen 24:20, Rebekah empties the contents of her jar (τὴν ὑδρίαν) in the trough, which means that “all that she knew had been poured out by virtue in the container that is the mind of the disciple” (*Post. Cain* 151). On Exod 2:16, the perceptions of the intellect “in a way draw sensible external data until they fill the soul’s reservoirs” (*Change of Names* 111).

⁷ Plutarch, *De sol. an.* 974 e: a kind of bucket for drawing water; this is in connection with the cattle of Susa, which could count: ει—σὶ γὰρ αὐτόθι τὸν βασιλικὸν παράδεισον ἄρδουσαι περιάκτοις ἀντλήμασιν, ὧν ὄρισται τὸ πλῆθος. ἕκαστον γὰρ ε—κάστη βοῦς ἀναφέρει καθ ἡμέραν ε—κάστην ἀντλήματα; Dioscorides 4.64, water poured on a wound.

⁸ Διακωλύων ε—παντλει—ν ει—ς τὸν ἀμπελω—να δι ου— συνεχώρει ἀντλήματος, line 10; J. R. Rea, “Petition to a Chief of Police,” in *Scritti in onore di O. Montevercchi*, Bologna, 1981, pp. 317–321. J. R. Rea cites a scholium on Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1332, which seems to refer to a container of constant size, all the more so since a version of the story in Aelian, *NA* 7.1 speaks of a hundred jars. The scholiast on Aristophanes mentions the ropes (σχοινίον) of the ἀντλήματα. Finally, J. R. Rea concludes that *antlema* is a generic term for “the machine for drawing water,” especially the simplest machines such as a beam on a pivot or the winch from which a bucket is dropped into a well. Finally, the word is used for the container itself.

⁹ Οι—κοδομῆς ἀντλήματος ε—ργάται β δρ., *BGU* 2354, 2; cf. line 4: ἀντλούντες; line 10: for pumping: ἀντλήσεως καινοῦ μὲν τόπου; cf.

workers on the spillways, ἀνοικοδομοῦντες ἀντλητήρια ἐργάται (*P.Mil.Vogl.* 305, 14).

ἀνυπόκριτος, γνήσιος

anypokritos, upright, unfeigned, authentic; *gnesios*, authentic, dear, legitimate

see also ὑποκρίνομαι, ὑπόκρισις, ὑποκριτής, ἀνυπόκριτος

anypokritos, S 505; *TDNT* 8.570–571; *EDNT* 1.112; MM 50; L&N 73.8; BAGD 76 | ***gnesios***, S 1103; *TDNT* 1.727; *EDNT* 1.255; MM 128–129; L&N 73.1; BAGD 162–163

Because it is unknown in the papyri and in the secular language prior to its NT occurrences,¹ *anypokritos* can be said to be a specifically biblical word. If it is used only twice in the OT, in the sense of “upright, straightforward” (Wis 5:18; 18:16), it is found six times in the epistolary corpus of the NT, qualifying wisdom (Jas 3:17), faith (1Tim 1:5; 2Tim 1:5), and brotherly love (Rom 12:9; 2Cor 6:6; 1Pet 1:22).

In accord with its etymology² and with the synonyms offered by Hesychius—*adolos*, *aprosopoleptos*—it is usually translated “without hypocrisy,” that is, without sham or dissimulation. It is indeed true that this sense of sincerity or rectitude is implied in all these occurrences, especially in Jas 3:17, where wisdom is first of all qualified by pure (*hagne*) and finally by *adiakritos* (without partiality) and *anypokritos*, which forms an *inclusio* and expresses a purity without mixture, an absolute sincerity. But this text contrasts the wisdom that comes from above with wisdom that is terrestrial, animal, diabolical (verse 15), and the eight characteristics listed are intended to define the true *sophia* in terms of its essential components so that it can be distinguished from counterfeits. Similarly the “unfeigned faith” of 1Tim 1:5 and 2Tim 1:5 evokes the *pistis* whose exterior profession in words and deeds translates the allegiance of the heart and the convictions of the spirit;³ a “sincere” faith is faith that includes intellectual orthodoxy, pious conduct, faithfulness, and loyalty in keeping obligations. But this “truth” then amounts to conformity with the very nature of the virtue, and *anypokritos* must be translated “authentic.”

This emerges more clearly with the expression *agape* (*philadelphia*) *anypokritos*, which is probably a “love without hypocrisy,” such that the manifestations of affection match the sincerity of the attachment: one does not play-act in brotherly relationships.⁴ But this meaning does not account for Rom 12:9, where this independent noun phrase governs the whole section on charity (verses 9–21) and serves as a kind of chapter title.⁵ St. Paul lists the specific characteristics of *agape*, which is neither *eros*, nor

philia, nor *philostorgia*, although it takes on their values; it is a completely original, godly love, revealed by Jesus Christ, poured out in the heart by the Holy Spirit, a love of nobility and beauty whose first mark is a horror of evil. In other words, *agape anypokritos* is specifically Christian love, characteristic of the baptized.⁶ It is also the mark of the true apostle; St. Paul recommends himself as a minister of God *en agapei anypokritoi* (2Cor 6:6), not by a show of affection but by the authentic charity which is divine in origin and has all of the traits that can be pondered in the example in Jesus Christ. It is like a certificate of origin that proves that Paul is truly sent by God and is thus a qualified apostle whose authority cannot be contested, in contrast to the *pseudapostoloi* (2Cor 11:13). This meaning is confirmed by 2Cor 8:8, where the Corinthians are in a position to prove that their love is authentic (*to tes hymeteras agapes gnesion dokimazon*), in that their urgency to participate in the collection authenticates their invisible love for God.⁷ Similarly Marcus Aurelius writes that “goodwill is invincible, if it is candid, without a mocking smile, without hypocrisy” (*to eumenes aniketon ean gnesion e kai me seseros mede hypokrisis*, 11.18.15).

The adjective *gnesios*, distinctively Pauline in the NT, is applied to three persons: *Timotheo gnesio tekno en pistei* (1Tim 1:2), which must be translated “dear and authentic child in the faith”; to Titus (Titus 1:4); and to Syzygos, on whose name Paul makes a pun, “dear and authentic companion.”⁸ In secular usage, it is used for a son,⁹ a wife,¹⁰ a brother and sister,¹¹ a friend, and a citizen.¹² These usages show that in the Hellenistic period *gnesios* goes beyond the legal definition whereby it describes the legitimate son, as opposed to the bastard.¹³

(a) It is an emotionally freighted term. Like Isaac, whom Abraham sired by his wife, *huios . . . gnesios, atapetos kai monos* (Philo, *Abraham* 168), or the decree of Cersonesos for a certain Heracleotes: “he shows authentic love” (*agapan gnasian endeiknytai*).¹⁴

(b) It is used in the first century in a religious sense for those who pass on a revelation.¹⁵

(c) In an even broader sense, for the authorized interpreters of a teaching, like Aristotle, “the most authentic disciple of Plato.”¹⁶ “Legitimate sons,” natural heirs of their father, are especially qualified to pass on his commandments (Philo, *Virtues* 59) and to be named sole governors of his empire (*To Gaius* 24). The additional observation that the adverb *gnesios*, “sincerely,” is used in the sense of “efficaciously”¹⁷ will enhance by this density of usages the meaning of *gnesios* as applied to Timothy and Titus in order to boost their credibility with the Ephesians and Cretans: true children of the apostle, they are his most authentic representatives, interpreters of his teachings, faithful echoes of his own voice. Furthermore, they should be treated with reverence, because they are not simple “brothers” (1Thess 3:2) or collaborators (Rom 16:21), but men who have lived with Paul in a profound intimacy like that between sons and their

father; thus they are very dear to him (2Tim 2:1). These are credentials that will inspire Christians to obedience and filial piety toward them.

¹ Cf. T. Nägeli, *Wortschatz*, pp. 43, 70, 79, 85.

² Ὑποκριτής refers to the Greek actor, the comic player (A. Lesky, “Hypokrites,” in *Studi in onore U. E. Paoli*, Florence, 1956, pp. 469–476; H. Koller, “Hypokrisis und Hypokrites,” in *MusHelv*, 1957, pp. 100–107; cf. P. Joüon, “ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ dans l’Evangile et l’hébreu hanéf,” in *RSR*, 1930, pp. 312–316); hence Hippocrates: “Comedians and deceivers—ὕποκριται καὶ ἐ-ξάπαται—say, in front of people who know them, certain things and have other things in mind; they go out the same and come back not the same” (*Acut.* 1.24). The first meaning of ἀνυπόκριτος is thus “not good at acting on stage” (cf. Ps.-Demetrius Phalereus, *Eloc.* 194), then “without dissimulation” (Iamblichus, *VP* 31.188). Cf. the adverb ἀνυποκρίτως: “One must be an honest person ... without pretense” (Marcus Aurelius 8.5).

³ Cf. Rom 10:10. Pelagius commented, “Fides enim ficta est quae solo ore promittitur et actu negatur” (“For that faith is a fiction that is only promised with the mouth and denied in practice.”)

⁴ Cf. 1John 3:18—ἀγαπα—ν ε—ν ἀληθεία; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 1.2.9: a sincere love (ἔρωσ ἀκραιφής); Marcus Aurelius 6.39: τούτους (ἀνθρώπους) φίλει, ἀλλ ἀληθινω—ς”; Dio Cassius 53.17: “as we begin to love one another, without mental reservation (ἀνυπόπτως).” C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 291.

⁵ P. F. Regard, *La Phrase nominale dans la langue du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1919, pp. 61–62, 210–211. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, pp. 141ff. C.E.B. Cranfield, *A Commentary on Romans 12–13*, Edinburgh, 1965, pp. 38ff.; C. H. Talbert, “Tradition and Redaction in Romans XII, 9–21,” in *NTS*, vol. 16, 1969, pp. 83–93.

⁶ 1Pet 1:22—“Having perfectly sanctified your souls by obedience to the truth, in order to have an authentic brotherly love, love one another from the bottom of your heart.” This latter expression insists that love be true, but the former makes it the peculiar possession of the baptized (a primitive baptismal formula), who alone are capable of loving one another like children of the same heavenly Father (cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres de saint Pierre*, p. 73). The pagans can recognize its originality (cf. John 13:35). Compare with 1Pet 1:22 the decree of Tenos in the first century BC, γνησίαν ἔχοντι πρὸς πάντα φιλοστοργίαν (C. Michel, *Recueil d’Inscriptions grecques*, Paris, 1900, n. 394, 49).

⁷ Cf. “who loves authentic worship, ὁ γνησίους μὲν θεραπείας ἀσπάζεται” (Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 21; cf. *Unchang. God* 116). For the organizing of a collection, *P.Mert.* 63: on 18 January 57, Herennia writes to her father Pompeius to tell him about a collection to benefit the sanctuary of Souchos and to say that a contribution from him is desired, and furthermore that contributions are expected from everyone, even Romans, Alexandrians, and the colonists at Arsinoë. —On the theology of the collection, cf. E. B. Allo, *Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens*, pp. 204–210; C. H. Buck, “The Collection for the Saints,” in *HTR*, 1950, pp. 1–19; *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 2, pp. 390–413; K. Prümm, *Theologie des zweiten Korintherbriefes*, Rome-Fribourg, 1962, vol. 2, pp. 17ff. A. Ambrosiano, “La ‘Colletta paolina’ in una recente interpretazione,” in *AnBib* 18, Rome, 1963, pp. 591–600; D. Georgi, *Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem*, Hamburg, 1965; K. F. Nickle, *The Collection: A Study in Paul’s Strategy*, London, 1966. It was a gesture of gratitude to the mother church, the center of catholicity, just as Jerusalem was the center of Israel (J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, p. 51) and . . . the center of poverty (ibid., p. 169). For J. Jervell, St. Paul wrote Romans to justify his theology and his conduct before the mother church (“Der Brief nach Jerusalem,” in *ST*, 1971, pp. 61–73).

⁸ Phil 4:3. Σύζυγος means “bearing the same yoke.” On this verse, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 587, n. 5; 786, n. 2. According to J. Fleury, σύζυγε-συνεργός is Lydia, who is charged with reestablishing peace between Euodia and Syntyche (“Une Société de fait dans l’Eglise apostolique,” in *Mélanges Ph. Maylan*, Lausanne, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 58–59). Cf. Delling, art. σύζυγος, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 748–750.

⁹ Menander, *Dysk.* 842: “I send back my daughter to you to beget legitimate children”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.184; *Good Man Free* 87; *Contemp. Life* 72; *P.Oxy.* 1267, 15 (cf. Boswinkel’s note on *P.Vindob.Bosw.* 5, 11), *MAMA*, vol. 6, 358, 10: μόνοις γνησίους ἦνω—ν τέκνοις; 7.427, 565; 8.595: τὰ γνήσιά μου παιδιά; of the father: τὸν γλυκύτετον καὶ γνήσιον πατέρα (*BCH*, 1883, p. 274, n. 15; cf. *MAMA*, vol. 1, 365, 4); Philo, *To Gaius* 62, 71.

¹⁰ *MAMA*, vol. 4, 305: τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ τεκούσῃ Μελτίνη καὶ γνησία γυναικὶ—Αμμία; *SEG*, vol. 6, 232: —Αγελαίδι γυναικὶ μνείας ἔνεκεν.

¹¹ Sir 7:18; *P.Gronig.* 10, 9: ἡ ε—μὴ γνησιοτάτη ἀδελφὴ Σενεπόνυχος; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 24, 4; *P.Oslo* 132, 8; *P.Michael.* 45, 3: Κολλοῦθος γνήσιος αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸς ε—κ τω—ν αὐτῶ—ν γονέων; *SEG*, vol. 8, 621, 19; *P.Oxy.* 2584, 30; 2761, 5; ὁ ὁμογνήσιος ἀδελφός = my legitimate brother.

¹² “Eleazer . . . to King Ptolemy, his true friend, φίλω γνησίῳ” (*Ep. Arist.* 41; with the commentary of A. Pelletier, *Josèphe adaptateur*, p. 112). Callisthenes to Onesimus: τῷ—ι—δίῳ γνησίῳ φίλω (B. Latyschev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, vol. 3, p. 425); *P.Fouad* 54, 34: “Let them not forget their true friends”; *P.Apoll.* 24, 1: ἔγραψα τῇ περιβλέπτῳ σου γνησίᾳ φιλίᾳ (= *PSI* 1267, 1). In a letter of the eighth century, the vocative Γνήσιε = my true friend (*ibid.* 37, 12); cf. 70, 9; γνήσιος ε—ραστής in a Roman inscription from the imperial period (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 4, Paris, 1948, p. 33); *BGU* 547, 7.

¹³ Cf. Heb 12:8 (νόθος). Demosthenes defines γνήσιος: “the title of legitimate child belongs to the one that is son by blood” (Demosthenes, *C. Leoch.* 44.49). Cf. Philo, *Dreams* 2.47: “Vainglory always adds the illegitimate to the authentic, προστίθησιν ἀεὶ γνησίῳ μὲν τὸ νόθον.” With respect to things, γνήσιος is equivalent to “in line with the rule, regular, usual” (*P.Amh.* 86, 10 and 15; *P.Stras.* 2, 13; *P.Ryl.* 341, 2; *P.Oslo* 154, 12; *BGU* 747, 14; *SB* 7337, 19), hence “proper.” Cf. the adverb—τὰ ἔργα τῷ—ν ἀμπέλων ι—δίῳ γνησίῳ γενέσθω (second century)—adapted or appropriate to its end.

¹⁴ B. Latyschev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, vol. 1, n. 359, 6 (cited by L. Robert, *Opera Selecta Minora*, vol. 1, p. 311, n. 2); cf. *MAMA*, vol. 8, 220: λούκιος —Ιωάνη ἀναγνώστη φιλτάτῳ καὶ γνησίῳ υἱ—ῶ—. *P.Lond.* 1917, 5, 14: ἀταπηταί, γνησιώταται καὶ ἀξιώταται παρὰ κυρίῳ θεῶ—; *SB* 7655, 9 and 34; 7871, 19: “the good Philhermes was for me an affectionate and true brother—ἀδελφὸν ὄντα μοι καὶ γνήσιον—not according to nature, but according to his tenderness (στοργῇ).” L.Robert (*Hellenica*, vol. 13, Paris, 1965, pp. 218ff.) cites many examples of this emotional meaning of γνήσιος, “a sentimental epithet on the same order as γλυκύτατος, φίλτατος.” This is obviously the sense of the term in the Pastorals. St. John Chrysostom recognized this, since he commented on 1Tim 1:2—ἀπὸ πολλῆς φιλοστοργίας.

¹⁵ Isis to Horus: “He made me swear not to pass on the revelation, εἰ— μὴ μόνον τέκνῳ καὶ φίλῳ γνησίῳ” (in M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 2d ed., London, 1963, p. 34, 6); cf. A. J. Festugière, “L’Expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos,” in *RB*, 1939, p. 51; J. Bidez, F. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, Paris, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 119, 127.

¹⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp.* 1. Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians: “My brother Germanicus addressed himself to you γνησιωτέραις ὑμᾶ—ς φωναί—ς” (*P.Lond.* 1912, 27; with the note of H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 31). Cf. Philodemus of Gadara, *Adv.*

Soph. frag. Y.3.15: γνήσιος ἀναγνώστης = a faithful interpreter; Atticus, frag. 44: οἱ— γνήσιοι φιλόσοφοι, authentic philosophers.

¹⁷ 2Macc 14:8; Phil 2:20—“I really have no one who like Timothy effectively involves himself (γνησίως μεριμνα—ν) on your behalf”; M. Naldini, // *Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 58, 5: μετὰ τὸν θεὸν ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἔχω οὔτε φίλος γνήσιον οὔτε εὐπροαίρετον ἄνθρωπον εἰ— μὴ σὺ μόνος; *P.Tebt.* 326, 11: “He will protect the child effectively—προστήσεσθαι γνησίως τοῦ παιδίου”; *SEG*, vol. 15, 849, 2: “Soades . . . having efficaciously and generously—γνησίως καὶ φιλοτείμνως—assisted the merchants, the caravans, and citizens established at Vologesias in a number of critical situations”; *P.Berl.Zill.* 14, 18; *P.Lond.* 130, 3: γνησίως φιλοπονήσαντες; *P.Apoll.* 46, 10: “So that my master may be up to date, I announce it to him faithfully”; Dittenberger, *Or.* 308, 9: μετὰ πάσης ὁμοιοῦσας γνησίως.

ἅπαξ, ε—φάπαξ

hapax, ephapax, once

hapax, S 530; *TDNT* 1.381–383; *EDNT* 1.115–116; *NIDNTT* 2.716–719, 725; MM 53; L&N 60.67, 60.68, 60.70; BAGD 80 | **ephapax**, S 2178; *TDNT* 1.383–384; *EDNT* 2.91–92; *NIDNTT* 2.716–718; MM 269; L&N 60.67, 60.68, 67.34; BDF §§12(3), 203; BAGD 330

In a listing, the adverb *hapax* has an arithmetic significance—*epirrHEMA arithmetikon* (Hesychius)—the opposite of “several times.” Thus 2Cor 11:25—“once I was stoned, three times I was shipwrecked”; a constant usage in the literature.¹ The literature often uses the formula *hapax kai dis*, “a first and a second time,” which can be translated “various times.”² The same usage appears in St. Paul: “We have wanted to come to you a first time and a second time, but Satan has hindered us” (1Thess 2:18); “When I was at Thessalonica you sent what I needed a first time and a second time” (Phil 4:16). Needless to say, uniqueness is the opposite of multiplicity, “one time” of “often”³ and “another time,”⁴ but not of “once again,” which is a repetition, even with significant changes, and with the nuance of a first time which contrasts with the last time (Heb 12:26–27 = Hag 2:5; cf. Judg 16:20, 28; 20:30–31; 1Sam 3:10; 20:25; 2Macc 3:37; *T. Abr.* A 8, 9, 15).

Often *hapax* has the meaning “one single time, unique.”⁵ “Only (and without exception) man gives orders to all other living beings that are mortal” (Philo, *Husbandry* 8; *Moses* 2.65), “a single bite inevitably brings death” (*Dreams* 2.88; cf. *Spec. Laws* 1.59). This uniqueness can be

periodic: “Once a year, propitiation is made”;⁶ thus the high priest only enters the holy of holies once a year.⁷ But many other texts emphasize that what is done is not repeatable, and these give *hapax* its definitive meaning: “Once for all Christ was manifested at the consummation of the ages” (Heb 9:26); “humans are destined to die only once” (Heb 9:27). “The faith is passed down to the saints once for all.”⁸

This meaning occurs frequently in Philo and the papyri: “The parricide would not die at one stroke (*me hapax*); he finished dying only with continual suffering, sorrow, and distress” (*Rewards* 72); “It would be better to take nothing away, to add nothing . . . and to leave alone that which was done once for all (*hapax* = definitively) at the beginning” (*Etern. World* 42); “Leave all the rest aside once for all.”⁹ The expression *pros hapax* at the end of a receipt (*P.Oxy.* 1138, 13; *BGU* 1020, 15; *PSI* 1040, 26; *P.Erl.* 79, 4) or a dossier (*P.Bour.* 20, 14) seems to mean that the item in question is complete and thus valid and definitive (cf. *P.Lips.* 34, 20; 35, 19; 39, 6). This would correspond to the Hebrew *pa’am*, often translated by *hapax* in the LXX, which means “anvil, step or pace, time or occurrence”; cf. Abishai to David: “let me pin him to the ground with a single throw of the spear” (1Sam 26:8; cf. 1Chr 1:11; Judg 16:18); “May sinners perish far from the face of the Lord, all together.”¹⁰

Hapax usually is given the sense of “once for all” in Heb 9:28; 1Pet 3:18—Christ offered himself and died one single time for sins, and it is indeed true that this oblation was perfect and unique, so that there is no need for it to be renewed. But if this translation suggests the definitive quality of Christ’s sacrifice, it does not sufficiently emphasize that it is absolute,¹¹ complete; it takes *hapax* too exclusively as an adverb of quantity and inadequately reflects the word’s etymology. *Hapax* may be an old nominative¹² whose root is found in *peg-ny-mi*, “to fasten by driving well in, to drive into the ground, fasten by assembling, fix by compacting, solidifying, crystallizing, jelling, being congealed.”¹³ This quality of “compactness” seems to be retained in Josephus, *Ant.* 12.109: *hapax* . . . *eis aei diamene*; 18.172; and the papyri where an initial act includes its effects. In AD 54, when the prefect of Egypt, L. Lucius Geta, wrote that his orders and decisions had been formulated “once,” he means that they always remain binding and must be applied by everyone everywhere just as on the first day.¹⁴ In a contract for a nurse, dating to 21 May 26: “When the year is up Paapis will pay her once for all 60 silver drachmas for the second year” (*P.Rein.* 103, 14; republished *SB* 7619). Here *eis hapax* means not just “one time only” but “entirely, completely”; the sum will be paid in full. On the theological plane, to say that the sacrifice of Christ is “compact” would mean that it includes all of its effects (and its commemorations?), like the spring which contains potentially the whole river.

As for *ephapax* = *ha-pax epi* [*pasin*], unknown in the LXX, in Philo, in Josephus, and in the papyri before the sixth century,¹⁵ it is used five times in the epistolary corpus. Four of these occurrences¹⁶ have the same meaning as *hapax* in the last sense discussed above. In Rom 6:10, the death of Christ was a unique event that objectively included the death of all. In Heb 7:27, *ephapax* is opposed to *kath' hemeran*: Christ does not have to renew his sacrifice daily; its value is absolute and definitive, complete; thus he enters the heavenly sanctuary and does not come out again; his one and only entrance is made in order to remain there forever (9:12). To say that we are sanctified by the sacrifice of the body of Jesus (*hegiasmenoï esmen . . . ephapax*) means that this sanctification is not only definitive (note the perfect participle) but collective, thanks to this unique offering which contains his body.

¹ Philo, *Unchang. God* 82 (citation of Ps 62:11; cf. Job 33:14—"God speaks once and does not repeat twice"); *Dreams* 1.62: "The word *place* can have three meanings: first of all (ἄπαξ) . . . , according to a second meaning (κατὰ δεύτερον τρόπον) ..., thirdly (κατὰ τρίτον)"; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.54; 3.51; *To Gaius* 58: "not once but three times"; 356; *Moses* 1.183; 2.258; Josephus, *Life* 82: "Four times I took Tiberias by force, once Gabara."

² David, burdened with armor, "tried to walk once and twice, because he had never tried it" (1Sam 17:39); Neh 13:20; 1Macc 3:30; Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 4: "animals and plants bear fruit only once or twice a year, ἄπαξ ἢ δις" (cf. *P.Oxy.* XI, 37: ἄπαξ ποτὶ ἢ δις, republished by C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 254; inscription of Silko: ἄπαξ δύο = δις, in Dittenberger, *Or.* 201, 2 = SB 8536); Diogenes Laertius 7.13: "Zeno rarely used boys, once or twice a girl"; *P.Oxy.* 2731, 9: ἄπαξ καὶ δις καὶ τρις ε—δήλωσά σου; 2596, 12. The papyri nevertheless prefer the expression ἄπαξ καὶ δεύτερον, cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 54, 112: to order or to give instructions a first and a second time; *P.Lund* II, 4, 6: "I wrote you a first time, a second time, and often" (republished SB 8091); *P.Cair.Isid.* 63, 17 (republished SB 9185); *P.Mil.* 83, 4 (republished *ibid.* 9013); *P.Oslo* 64, 4; *P.Oxy.* 2996, 7.

³ Πολλάκις; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.85: "eros is not content with a single catastrophe (ἄπαξ) but has frequently (πολλάκις) inundated the civilized world with innumerable evils" (cf. *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 127: μὴ ἄπαξ ἀλλὰ διὰ παντός); Josephus, *Ant.* 4.314, οὐχ ἄπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 175; *P.Mich.* 213, 5: "I wrote you often, but you did not write even once . . ."; *P.Giss.* 48, 10.

⁴ Ἄλλο ἅπαξ, *P.Ryl.* 435; *P.Mich.* 482, 5; *O.Bodl.* 2471, 9.

⁵ Gen 18:32; Judg 6:39; 2Sam 17:7—Ahithophel erred only once; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59028: περι τοῦ ὀψωνίου ὅλως οὐκ εἰ—λήφασμεν ἀλλ ἢ ἅπαξ; 59218, 27; *P.Oxy.* 2151, 5: ὑμεῖς—δὲ μοι οὐδὲ ἅπαξ ε—δηλώσατε περι τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν—ν; *P.Tebt.* 760, 8. Eupolis, frag. 128 D, 2: “οὐκ ἀνεβίων οὐδ ἥπαξ; once dead, I shall not live again, even once” (republished by J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 1, p. 364; C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 94, 4; cf. 92, 8). On the occasion of a soldier’s desertion, the priest of the village of Hermopolis pleads: “συνχωρήσε αὐτοῦ τοῦτω τὸ ἅπαξ, forgive him for this one time” (*P.Lond.* 416, 8; vol. 2, p. 299 = *P.Abinn.* 32 = *P.Berl.Zill.* 8, 15).

⁶ Exod 30:10; Lev 16:34; 2Chr 9:21—“Once every three years the ships of Tarshish would arrive”; Philo *Spec. Laws* 2.146.

⁷ Heb 9:7, ἅπαξ τοῦ ε—νιαυτοῦ; similarly Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.72; *Drunkenness* 136; *To Gaius* 306; *Giants* 306 (opposed to πάντα καιρόν, on every occasion); Josephus, *War* 5.236; cf. *m. Yoma* 5.

⁸ Jude 3: τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείση τοῖς—ἀγίοις πίστει; verse 5: “You who know all things once for all”; Heb 6:4—“Those who were illuminated once for all and tasted the heavenly gift”; cf. Philo, *Drunkenness* 198: πιστεύει τοῖς—ἅπαξ παραδοθει—σι; Josephus, *War* 2.158: “Those who have once tasted the wisdom of the Essenes”; *Ant.* 4.140: the young man who has only once tasted foreign customs is intoxicated and insatiable; cf. *P.Oxy.* 471, 77: once accustomed to his shame, ἅπαξ γὰρ ε—ν ἔθει τῆς αἰ—σχύνης γενόμενον; 1102, 8: “ε—πεὶ ἅπαξ προσῆλθε τῇ κληρονομίᾳ, having once entered into definitive possession of the inheritance”; *T. Abr.* A 20: “Stop questioning me once and for all.”

⁹ Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 137; 40: “the words that concern God are all at once put to rout”; *Husbandry* 104: “once for all indifferent to all the rest”; 105; *Change of Names* 247: “Once something has been said it cannot come back”; Xenophon, *An.* 1.9.10: “He never betrayed them since he had once granted them his friendship”; *Jos. Asen.* 25.6: “Have you not sold Joseph once for all, οὐχ ἅπαξ πεπράκατε?”

¹⁰ *Pss. Sol.* 12.8; Philo, *Moses* 1.46: “At one stroke, the people in their places seized the opportunity”; *Flight* 101: “The divine Word, the most venerable of the whole lot of intelligences, τῶν—νοητῶν—ἅπαξ ἀπάντων”; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.192: “she had not once obeyed”; Xenophon, *Oec.* 10.1: “I have only to say one word for her to obey me immediately.”

¹¹ *P.Phil.* 35, 26: “ἀλλὰ ἅπαξ οὐ μέλι ἡμι—ν περὶ ε—μοῦ, you care absolutely nothing for me” (second century); *P.Oxy.* 3006, 9: ἅπαξ ἀκοῦσαι.

¹² Cf. P. Chantraine, *Morphologie historique du grec*, 2d ed., Paris, 1964, 132. Only the prefix ἅ corresponds to *sem-el*, *sim-plex*.

¹³ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, under πῆγνυμι.

¹⁴ Τὰ ὑπὲρ ε—μοῦ ἅπαξ κεκριμένα ἢ προσταχθέντα (Dittenberger, *Or.* 664, 14 = *SB* 8900); cf. *Ps* 89:35—“I have sworn once = for all time.” Philo, *To Gaius* 218: “He intends that what he has once decided shall be carried out”; Menander, *Dysk.* 392: “since once I have set myself to the task, that isn’t the moment to weaken”; Josephus, *Life* 314: “Tiberias had ἅπαξ gone over to them,” i.e. validly and definitively; the attribution remains forever effective.

¹⁵ *P.Lond.* 1708, 242 (sixth century); 483, 88 (seventh century). In *P.Flor.* 158, 10 (third century), ἀφάπαξ should be read ε—φ ἅπαξ (Vitelli, in *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 1, p. 150).

¹⁶ In 1Cor 15:6, Christ resurrected “was seen by more than five hundred brothers at one time, all at once, ὅφθῃ ε—φάπαξ”; but “compact” is also a possible meaning (cf. *Enoch* [Greek] 16.1—“the great time will come to an end all at once”); the vision is collective; cf. C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 43: “ἅπαξ = *semel*, at one time. Adverb expressing the synthetic character of the act of vision which the school of Aristotle defied the atomists to explain. Alexander (of Aphrodisias): δοκεῖ— . . . ὡς ἅπαξ . . . καὶ ὡς ἓν ὁρα—ν (sc. ἡ ὄψις) τὸ ὁρώμενον; vision seems to take in the object in a single act and perceive it as a unity, *In Sens.* 60.5.”

ἀπαράβατος

aparabatos, inviolable, nontransferable

aparabatos, S 531; *TDNT* 5.742–743; *EDNT* 1.116; *NIDNTT* 3.583–585; *MM* 53; *L&N* 13.61; *BAGD* 80

How should we translate this biblical hapax in Heb 7:24—“Jesus, inasmuch as he remains for eternity, *aparabaton echei ten hierosynen* ”?¹ This rather rare verb is only found in late Greek; it is used only once in Philo and twice in Josephus. Etymologically speaking, (*parabaino*: pass along or pass beyond, violate) a *parabates* is a transgressor, a violator, or

a denigrator,² so *aparabatos* should be that which ought not be transgressed, “inviolable,” and that is the meaning—usually in a legal context—that is well attested in the papyri and even in literary writings, notably with the verb *meno*.³ But this meaning does not fit in Heb 7:24.

One might be tempted to give our adjective the otherwise well-attested meaning of “permanent, perpetual,”⁴ “unchangeable”⁵ as the word was understood by the Vulgate (*sempiternum*) and the Peshitta, and as it is most often used in literature.⁶ But this would produce a tautology with the first part of the verse, even a banality; and in any case this notion of a priesthood unchangeable in character or quality is not in evidence elsewhere in the epistle.⁷

Alternatively, we can posit a derivative meaning, one for which no attestation has yet been found: “not passing from one to another” (= *me parabainousan eis allon*). This was the interpretation of St. John Chrysostom (*adiadochon*) and Theodoret, followed by Bengel—“that cannot pass to successors”—and it is the meaning that flows out of the context. As opposed to the levitical priesthood, whose mortal ministers had to transmit their power to their descendants, an eternal priest remains unique and will never have to pass his priesthood on to any other minister (cf. the *hoi men . . . ho de* antithesis in verses 23–24). The term was apparently chosen because of its legal connotations and to justify the priestly “institution” of the new covenant—which was identified with a single person! So we translate: “He possesses the priesthood which is nontransferable.”⁸

¹ There are almost as many translations as translators: “priesthood which is not transmitted” (A. Loisy, *Les Livres du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1912; A. Tricot, in *La Sainte Bible* of C. Crampon, Paris-Tournai, 1952); “intransmissible” (M. Goguel, H. Monnier, *Le Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1929); “inalienable” (Médebielle, in L. Pirot’s *La Sainte Bible*, Paris, 1938; C.F.D. Moule, *Idiom Book*, 109); “the absolute priesthood” (J.-S. Javet, *Dieu nous parla*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1945); “priesthood is . . . not transferable” (J. Héring, *Hébreux* = ET, p. 62); “perpetual” (*NJB*); “unsurpassable priesthood” (A. Vanhoye, *Traduction structurelle de l’Épître aux Hébreux*, Rome, 1963); etc.

² Cf. Hos 6:7; Ps 17:4; Rom 2:25, 27; Gal 2:18; Jas 2:11.

³ The conclusion of a legal sentence of AD 67: μένειν κύρια καὶ ἀπαράβατα (*P.Ryl.* 65, 18); *SB* 9152, 10: παραμένοντα ἀπαραβάρως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως; *P.Grenf.* 1.60, 7: βεβαίᾳ καὶ ἀπαραβάτῳ . . . πράσει. The Jews placed their confidence in God, protesting εἰς νῦν ἀπαραβάτοι μεμνηκότες, i.e., that up to the present they have remained pure of any transgression, or better, that they have not changed, they have remained

unalterable (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.266). “This sovereign equality keeps itself constantly, unceasingly sheltered from any transgression” (Philo, *Etern. World* 112); “I shall make a mysterious machine, linked to an infallible and inviolable doctrine, ἀπλανοῦς καὶ ἀπαραβάτου” (Stobaeus 1.49.44; vol. 1, p. 401, 20; [French] translation by A. J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, Paris, 1954, vol. 4, p. 16, n. 18, 20); “In the Whole there are four places, which are under an inviolable law and authority, ἀπαραβάτω νόμῳ” (Stobaeus 1.49.45; vol. 1, p. 407, 21; [French] translation by A. J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, p. 52); cf. Epictetus, *Ench.* 51.2: νόμος ἀπαραβάτος.

⁴ *P.Lond.* 1015, 12: ἄτροπα καὶ ἀσάλευτα καὶ ἀπαραγάτα; *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 372, col. V, 19: ἔνια ἀπαραβατά ε—στιν = There are some things for which nothing has changed. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.293: “What finer thing than undeviating piety.”

⁵ The meaning retained by J. Schneider (in his excellent article on this word in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp. 742–743), O. Michel (*Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 10th ed., Göttingen, 1957, p. 175), G. W. Buchanan (*To the Hebrews*, New York, 1972).

⁶ Epictetus 2.15.1: “They imagine that they must always remain unshakeable”; Plutarch, *De def. or.* 3: “The sun maintains its accustomed course unchangeably, according to the received tradition.” It is worth noting that it is used for the course of the stars, which cannot be changed (F. Cumont, *L’Egypte des astrologues*, p. 17, n. 2) and for destiny or unyielding fate (Plutarch, *De fato* 1; Marcus Aurelius 12.14.1–2).

⁷ W. L. Lorimer, “Hebrews VII, 23 f,” in *NTS*, vol. 13, 1967, pp. 386–387, taking note of these problems, suggests that the author of the epistle wrote (or meant to write) ἀμετάβατον, “not passing to another”; the mistake resulted from the παραμένειν of verse 23.

⁸ Obviously ἔχειν retains its strong sense “possess, hold, keep.”

ἀπαρχή

aparche, firstfruit

aparche, S 536; *TDNT* 1.484–486; *EDNT* 1.116; *NIDNTT* 3.415–417; MM 54; L&N 53.23, 57.171, 61.8; BAGD 81

Most of the peoples of antiquity had the custom of offering to the deity, the master of nature and source of fertility, the firstfruits of their fields and the firstborn of their domestic animals.¹ This usage is well attested in Greece, not only by the first literary text to employ the term *aparche*,² but by many inscriptions in which it can be seen that the *aparchai* are not only levies but personal gifts, and more precisely offerings to the deity:³ “Firstfruits to the goddess Artemis.”⁴ An Athenian decree pertaining to the offering of the firstfruits of grain and to the Eleusinian feasts celebrated on this occasion modifies the payment of a certain otherwise unknown Chairemonid: *kata ton Chairemonido nomon ton peri tes aparches*.⁵ Similarly, a decree probably found on the two steles at Eleusis and at Athens calls upon the Athenians to pay the *aparche* used for the sacrifices.⁶ This religious act takes quite different forms; it may be carried out at the beginning of a meal⁷ or before the departure of an army (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.1.1; *Hier.* 4.2); but it is always an opening ritual.⁸

We know how insistent Moses was about making this custom obligatory, how one had to present the firstfruits at the sanctuary with a word of dedication and a prayer (Deut 26:1-4) and the portion reserved for the priests (Num 5:9; 18:11; 31:29).⁹ The firstfruits are the levy (Hebrew *terûmah*) assessed¹⁰ on the firstfruits of the soil, considered as the best.¹¹ The consecration to God of the firstfruits that sanctifies the whole harvest is a “sacred levy” (Lev 22:12; Ezek 48:10; Sir 7:31). At the return from captivity, this levy, which is reserved either for the priests or for the prince as part of their emolument (Ezek 45:16; 48:12, 18, 20, 21; cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.151: *semnoteron phoron kai hagioteran*; 2.120, 222), strongly resembles a tax; this meaning of *aparche* becomes common in the papyri and the equivalent is found in Josephus.¹² Dio Cassius tells of when Emperor Commodus “ordered for his birthday that he be paid two gold denarii as firstfruits”; the term is also used in the inscriptions.¹³

Philo commented copiously on the texts of Scripture relative to the *aparchai*.¹⁴ He most often gives these latter the meaning “offering” (*Joseph* 194; *Spec. Laws* 2.167, 184, 186) and emphasizes their value as the first portion, an initial offering (*Heir* 253; *Abraham* 196; cf. *Prelim. Stud.* 89: *archas, tas aparchas* [that which is original, first]), but above all he insists on their religious meaning as an expression of gratitude toward God, a basic way of honoring him: “The *aparchai* are offerings of thanks (*charisterious*) to God” (*Spec. Laws* 1.152; cf. 1.138). The sacred obligation to offer the firstfruits (*Spec. Laws* 2.168; 4.99) is an act of religious virtue that honors the deity (*Virtues* 95; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 74, 117); virtue “returns in thank offerings the firstfruits of goods received” (*Prelim. Stud.* 7).¹⁵ If it is necessary to consecrate to God the firstfruits of all plunder (*Moses* 1.316),¹⁶ it is because of the knowledge that the victory was given by God. These levies are so plentiful that they constitute a treasure in almost all the cities (*Spec. Laws* 1.77–78, 133, 153), as a

benefice for the priests, for the priests' servants, or for a priest's daughter who has been widowed or divorced and is childless (*Spec. Laws* 1.117, 126, 128, 129); so much so that it is evaluated as a sum of money (*timatai ten aparchen argyrio rheto*, *Spec. Laws* 1.139; cf. *m. Bek.* 8.7–8), and thus the Jews “gathered together the sacred funds (*chremata hiera*; cf. *Syl.* 416, 9), those of the firstfruits, which they sent to Jerusalem” (*To Gaius* 156, 157, 216, 291, 311, 312, 316).

In the usage of the papyri, *aparche* hardly ever has the religious meaning,¹⁷ but it retains its basic meaning of “beginning, first, initial” and most often designates the birth certificate, the identification document for free men,¹⁸ corresponding to the *hypomnema epigenneseos*; and for Roman citizens it refers to the *professio liberorum natorum*.¹⁹ According to the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*: “A female citizen (of Alexandria) who by mistake married an Egyptian man, thinking that he was of the same estate as herself, is not held responsible. If the two spouses together present the birth certificates of their children (*hypo amphoteron aparche teknon tethe*), these latter will retain the right of (Alexandrian) citizenship” (*tereitai he politeia*) from their mother (47, line 131). In a list of inscriptions of minors as new citizens in AD 133, the document itself is called the *aparche*. It proves that the child of a citizen was inscribed for the first time on an official list of citizens, with sponsors (*gnosteres*, line 8) guaranteeing not that the child was born but that he has the right to be called a citizen of Antinoöpolis (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 30, 18).²⁰ At the beginning of the third century, Ermias and his wife Helen address a petition to the senate of Antioch that their five-year-old son Castor be inscribed as a citizen (βουλόμενοι θέσθαι ἀπαρχὴν υἱοῦ Καστορος ε—τω—ν ε? . . . ἀξιούμεν συντάξαι τω— γραμματεῖ— θέσθαι τὴν τοῦ Καστορος ἀπαρχὴν ὡς καθήκει, *P.Stras.* 634, 9 and 14). The editor, J. Schwartz, explains the procedure followed: “The father first addresses a petition to the *boule*; then he presents his child, probably accompanied by two sponsors (*gnosteres*) and pays perhaps . . . a tax (*aparche*); then the child is inscribed in the register; and finally a certificate (likewise called an *aparche*) is delivered to the father by the *prytaneis*.”²¹ Under Hadrian's reign, the tutor of a certain child born to a soldier had to prove that this child was a citizen by producing his birth certificate, but he seems to have been unable to do so: “that which is sought concerning the child's *aparche* . . . to seek out the birth *aparche*.”²² In the third century, *PSI* 1067, 11 contains the request for a child's birth certificate: “desiring the *aparche* that we had from our mutual daughter Eudaimonis.”²³

Requests for enrollment as an ephebe are rather common,²⁴ and as with the birth certificate *aparchai*,²⁵ the payment of a monetary tax is mentioned (*omnyo tassesthai aparchen*),²⁶ and the *aparche* can mean a sum of money,²⁷ notably that put up as a guarantee²⁸ or the tax on Jews.²⁹

These usages, which despite their diversity retain the same fundamental meaning, help us better understand the NT usages of *aparche*, which are almost all metaphorical. Most of these point to some beginning, a newness or even a birth. First of all, Jas 1:18—“He begot us by the word of truth so that we might be as it were the firstfruits of his creatures.”³⁰ Christians are the new Israel, constituting the “assembly of the firstborn” (*ekklesia prototokon*, Heb 12:23). Newly born, they are like the firstfruits of the harvest and belong to God, and are described in terms of their precedence in regard to generations to follow. The best parallel is Philo: Israel, an orphan-people that stirs God’s compassion, is “like a sort of firstfruits of the whole human race” (*Spec. Laws* 4.180). In the same sense, Christ resurrects the dead, “the firstfruits of those who sleep” (1Cor 15:20); this is put in necessary relation with the mass of the other dead, who cannot *not* be “awakened” in their turn by God. Jesus is “at the avant-garde of those who have passed on,”³¹ part of the same company; his own resurrection cannot be an isolated event but precedes and guarantees the resurrection of the other deceased.

If Epenetus is greeted as “firstfruits of Asia [offered] to Christ” (Rom 16:5) and “the household of Stephanas, firstfruits of Achaëa” (1Cor 16:15), this is a title of honor or dignity attributed to an elite, to the “firstfruits” of those who consecrated themselves to Christ in a certain region,³² the “firstborn” begotten to the divine life, but constituting a unity with those who will be converted in the future and stirred up by their example. The “firstfruits,” in accord with the usage of the LXX, are always the best. If the virgins “follow the Lamb wherever he goes, they have been redeemed (and separated) from humankind as a firstfruits for God and for the Lamb” (Rev 14:4); there has been a transfer of ownership.³³ The reference is to the redemption of slaves (*agorazo*), who have a new standing and become the property of the deity. In the case at hand, it is the best part of redeemed humanity, that which is specially consecrated to God and to God’s service, but they are “firstfruits” with regard to the universal harvest of the elect.³⁴ If all Christians have the firstfruits of the Spirit (*ten aparchen tou pneumatou echontes*), groaning inwardly and longing for adoption, the deliverance of the body (Rom 8:23), this *aparche* is not a first participation as compared to a second that would be more abundant; it is an anticipation. The Holy Spirit is the pledge of the gift of glory. By his very presence he guarantees that the condition of the sons of God in this world will not remain precarious, imperfect, and threatened, or merely inchoative. They aspire intensely, for their standing as adoptive children should not only be recognized, but should also bring along all its rights and results, notable among which is the transformation of the physical body into a body that is spiritual and glorious. The Holy Spirit in the heart of the believer gives much greater certitude than any *prytaneis* of their birthright in the heavenly world.³⁵ This integral fullness of adoption is a marvelous *novum*.

More delicate is the interpretation of Rom 11:16, where St. Paul wishes to prove by a reference to Num 15:20-21 that the Jews are a people consecrated to God: "If the firstfruits are holy, the rest of the dough is also, and if the root is holy, the branches are as well." It matters little here whether the *aparchai* are the first Jewish converts or rather the patriarchs, notably Abraham (11:25), who constitutes "the holy root." On first reading, one understands that the consecration of the firstfruits profits the ensemble, that it has the effect of consecrating the rest. But Fr. Lagrange observes that this theology is not found in the Bible, nor in Philo, nor in Josephus; the goal of the firstfruits is "rather to give the people free usage of the whole after a small part has been set aside for Yahweh (Lev 23:14). . . . This offering thus has as its result that it confers [on plants and fruits] a sort of legal purity,"³⁶ making the loaf edible for the people of God; its initial "impurity" is removed. In the case at hand, the descendants of Israel, though unbelievers at present, still benefit from the blessing granted their ancestors; they remain called to salvation by virtue of the very firstfruits: "the root is holy." Now, the first NT meaning of the word is "non-impure" and it is thus in a marriage between a Christian husband and a pagan wife, or conversely "the unbelieving husband is found sanctified in the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified in the brother; since otherwise we would have to conclude that your children are impure, whereas in fact they are holy" (1Cor 7:14). This latter case is explained by the "incorporating personality" of the Christian parent, who passes on qualities and privileges to his descendant.³⁷ But for the firstfruits, it seems that rabbinic theology granted it a value analogous to "sanctification" with regard to the whole harvest: the best part served for the whole (cf. 1Cor 15:20, 23). The first includes the aggregate, and that is why the offering of the former is beneficial for the latter. This is the teaching of R. Josue ben Kabsai: "All my life I read this verse (Num 19:19), 'The pure man sprinkles the impure' and I believed that an individual could only annul the impurity of one person, until I learned that a sprinkling suffices for many" (*b. Dem.* 3.4); "The Mishna (*m. shabb.* 21.2) permits the transporting of a pure oblation together with a part that is profane. If it is allowed to take away what is impure, it is thanks to the pure part which is the majority" (*b. Dem.* 7.2).³⁸

Thus all the NT usages of *aparche*, while referring to OT texts and theology, apply only to humans. Under the influence of Philo, and, it would seem, the rabbis, they emphasize less the offering to God than the link between the firstfruits and the whole of the harvest; the former represent the latter and in some way contain it. Conformably to contemporary papyrological usage, the sense of newness, beginning, and birth is strongly emphasized; but according to the Pauline parallels, the nuance of "pledge, guarantee" comes to the surface. If the OT insists on the setting apart of the firstfruits, the NT makes the most of their unity with the rest of the harvest: "the branches are also holy."

¹ Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 8.9 (1160a): “Still today we see sacrifices and assemblies of ancient origin after the harvest as a feast of firstfruits”; cf. Stengel, s.v. “—Απαρχαί,” PW, vol. 1/2, 2666–68. On the ἀπαρχαὶ ἀνθρώπων, cf. Aristotle, *Constitution of the Boeotians* (cited by Plutarch, *Thes.* 16.2): “The Cretans, in discharge of an ancient vow, the firstfruits of their offspring”; Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 16: “I approve of the people of Eretria and Magnesia who offered the firstfruits of their population to the god as the dispenser of all fruit, to the father, author, and friend of humankind”; *Quaest. Graec.* 35; cf. Solon 6.1.6.

² Herodotus 1.92: “The offerings that Croesus made at Delphi and at the sanctuary of Amphiaraus came from his own property; they were levied on the wealth inherited from his father” (τω—ν πατρῴων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν); cf. Euripides, *Or.* 96; Euripides, *Phoen.* 1525; Plato, *Leg.* 7.806 D. In his speech in praise of agriculture, Xenophon (*Oec.* 5.10) cries, “What art supplies to the gods better firstfruits” (ἀπαρχάς); and Theophrastus justifies the offering made to the gods on the grounds of the importance of cereals for civilization (cited by Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.6). Thucydides 3.58.4: “All the ritual offerings with all the fruits of our land, the firstfruits of which we bring (to the tombs of your fathers), levied by friends on a friendly land.”

³ Cf. ἀπάρχεσθαι: one offers to the god the firstfruits of one’s art (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 711.12; 795 A; Dittenberger, *Or.* 352.42), or the firstfruits of wisdom (Plato, *Prt.* 343 B; Dio Chrysostom 72.12), of a discourse (Euripides, *Ion* 402). *Pss. Sol.* 15.5—“a new psalm . . . firstfruits of the lips, from a holy and righteous heart.” Cf. L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques*, 40–45.

⁴ —Απαρχήν τῆ θεα— —Αρτέμιδι (*I. Magn.* 83.12–13); Νέαρχος ἀνέθεκεν ὁ κεραμεὺς ἔργον ἀπαρχὴν τάθENAΙΑ, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1139 (vol. 3, 294–95, fifth century BC); cf. *Syl.* 731.23 (vol. 2, 395): δοθῆναι δὲ αὐτοί—ς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ εἰ—ς ἀπαρχήν καὶ σύνοδον χρυσοῦς τέσσαρας (first century); Dittenberger, *Or.* 179, 12 (vol. 1, 261): Aniketo, οἰ—κονόμος σιτικῶ—ν of the merits of Herakleides, decides in 96 BC “to give in his own name and the name of those who work under his orders to the office of circumscription each year as firstfruits, to the sanctuary of the very great god Soknopaios, 182| *artabai* of wheat” (= *SB* 8888, 12; E. Bernard, *Fayoum*, n. 71, 12). Dedication to a goddess in the fifth century BC: ἀπαρχήν θεα— (*I. Rhamn.* 150, n. 36). Cf. Hans Beer, *—Απαρχή und verwandte Ausdrücke in griechischen Weilinschriften, Würzburg, 1914.*

⁵ F. Sokolowski, *LSCGSup*, n. 13, 10. Cf. *LSAM*, n. 10, 39 = decree of the Ilian confederation regarding the *panegyris* of Athena in 77 BC, τὰς δὲ ἀπαρχὰς διοικεῖ—σθαι καθότι καὶ πρότερον = *I.Ilium*, 10, 39, which cites the response of Attalisl to the Magnesians: ἀπαρχὴν ε—γώ τε ἔταξα δοῦναι; Dittenberger, *Or.* 282, 17 (vol. 1, 458) = C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 34, 18; *I.Thas.*, n. 379, 2–3. —Απαρχαί for the Delian Pythiads, J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1946–47, 322, n.96.

⁶ *LSCG*, n. 43, 47 = Dittenberger, *Syl.* 83, 43, 37; around 422–23 BC; *LSCG*, n. 155 B 5: ἀπαρχαὶ ε—μβάλλωνται τω— θεω—.

⁷ Χφ. Τ. Ηομολιε, σ., “Δαμαριυμ,” *ΔΑΓΡ*, ολ. 21, 36382.

⁸ Α νυανχε στρονγλψ εμπηασιζεδ βψ ἔαν Ρυδηαρδτ, *Νοτιονσ φονδαμενταλεσ δε λα πενσ᾽ε ρελιγιενυσε ετ αχτεσ χονστιτυτιφσ δυ χυλτε δανσ λα Γρ□χε χλασσιθυε· Ετυδε πρ᾽λιμιναιρε πουρ αιδερ □ λα χομπρ᾽ηενσιον δε λα πι᾽τ᾽ ατη᾽νιεννε αν Ιμε σι□χλε*, Γενῆα, 1958, 21922: “Ἴτ ωασ νοτ αφτερ τηε ἰχτορψ, αφτερ τηε ηαρῆστ, τηατ τηισ ριτε ωασ χαρριεδ ουτ, βυτ βεφορε τηε σταρτ οφ τηε ηαρῆστ ορ τηε πλυνδερινγ. Τηεσε τωο μομεντσ χοινχιδε. . . . Τηε φιστφρριιτσ, ωηετηερ σάεδ ορ δεστροψεδ, ωερε λῆιεδ ον α χολλεχτιον οφ γοοδσ ιν χονσιδερατιον οφ ωηιχη τηειρ χονσεχρατιον δεριεδ αλλ ιτσ ἄλυε”; ανδ ηε χιτεσ Πηιλοχηορυσ, *Τρεσπ.* 35· πάσας τε τὰς ἀρχὰς προσῆθαν αὐτοί—ς (τοι—ς θεοί—ς), ὀρθω—ς ποιοῦντες. τοὺς γὰρ ἀπάντων ἄρχοντας τοί—ς ὁμοίοις χρῆ γεραίρειν.

⁹ Cf. tractate *Ma’aserot*; Ezek 44:30—“The choice firstfruits of everything and all levies whatsoever among your levies shall be for the priests”; Sir 45:20—“God allotted to Aaron the first of the firstfruits.” Cf. J de Fraine, s.v. “Premices,” *DBSup* 8, 446–61; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 2, pp. 379, 404; O. Eissfeldt, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Kultus* (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft von Alten Testament 22; Leipzig, 1917).

¹⁰ Exod 25:2-5; 35:5; 36:6; 2Sam 1:21; mountains of Gilboah, “mountains of firstfruits,” i.e., fertile; 2Chr 31:10; Mal 3:8; Ezek 20:40; 45:1, 6, 7, 13. Cf. the Mishnah tractate *Terumot*.

¹¹ Exod 23:19 (Hebrew *reshith*; commented on by the tractate *Bikkurim*); Lev 2:12; 23:10; Num 15:20 (applications in tractate *Ἰαλλη*); 18:12; Deut 18:4; 26:2, 10; 33:21 (Gad “appropriated the firstfruits; he saw that a ruler’s portion was reserved for himself”); 1Sam 2:29, “making yourselves fat with the best (the firstfruits) of all the offerings of my people”); 2Chr 31:5; Ezek 44:30. Cf. Hebrew *heleb*, “the fat,” meaning “the best” (Num 18:12, 29-32). In Ps 78:51; 105:36, the firstborn is “the firstfruits of vigor.”

¹² Josephus, *War* 5.21: the party of Eleazar kept the sacred firstfruits (τὰς ἰ—εράς ἀπαρχάς); *Ant.* 7.378: out of his own purse (τῆς ἰ—δίας ἀπαρχῆς) Solomon gives 3,000 talents of gold to the Temple; so also Ptolemy sends offerings as ἀπαρχάς for the Temple (*Ant.* 12.50), and Caesar Augustus and Agrippa allow the Jews to carry their ἀπαρχάς to Jerusalem as an act of piety toward God (εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα, *Ant.* 16.172). Otherwise, if the firstfruits are given in homage to God, the source of plenty (*Ant.* 3.250), they provide a living for the priests and assure their office (*Ant.* 9.273); and the firstfruits of plunder are reserved for God (*Ant.* 5.26). According to a rabbinic prescription that is not found in Scripture, the firstborn are redeemed for five shekels (*Ant.* 4.71; cf. the tractate *sheqalim*).

¹³ The treasures kept in the temples were made up of money “coming from gifts, fines, ἀπαρχαί, property revenues, tithes of booty, confiscated goods” (R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, p. 91). The state bank, at Delos, paid an annual contribution—ἀπαρχή—of 200 drachmas to the god Apollo (*IG* 22 2336, lines 179 and 267; cf. Bogaert, *Banques*, 185, 187, 191, 213, 238). Cf. *IG* 2.985 (first century BC).

¹⁴ Philo considered that Abel offered firstfruits not only of the firstborn, but also of their fat (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 136), while Cain kept for himself the firstfruits of his farming labors and did not present his produce to God until much later (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 72; *Conf. Tongues* 124).

¹⁵ Cf. *Prelim. Stud.* 98: “It is right to offer the firstfruits (of all the faculties related to reason) to God, the giver of fertile intelligence”; *Dreams* 2.272. Collaborating in the making of the bronze basin, the women “offered their mirrors as most worthy firstfruits of their wisdom, of their chastity in marriage, and, in sum, of the beauty of their souls” (*Moses* 2.137); “firstfruits always keep the remembrance of God present” (*Spec. Laws* 1.133), “thanksgiving memorial” (*Moses* 1.317); *Virtues* 159. The feast of the sacred sheaf, the firstfruits of the grain, is an act of gratitude (*Spec. Laws* 2.167, 171, 175), because the levy is made on an abundant harvest that is a gift and favor from God (*Spec. Laws* 2.216, 219).

¹⁶ Cf. *Moses* 1.252, 254; cf. Sophocles, *Trach.* 183, 761; Euripides, *Phoen.* 857; Ps.-Plato, *Alc.* 2.151 B.

¹⁷ Cf. *BGU* 30, 1, P. 6815, n. 30 (second-third century): ἡ ἀπαρχὴ Μάκρου —Αντωνίου Διασκόρου.

¹⁸ *Jur.Pap.*, 54.

¹⁹ Cf. T. Reinach, “Un code fiscal de l’Egypte romaine: Le Gnomon de l’Idiologue,” *Nouvelle revue historique de droit française et étranger*, 3d series, 44 (1920), 31.

²⁰ = Preisigke, *SB* 7603.

²¹ *P.IFAO* I, pp. 50–51.

²² *P.Oxy.* 2199, 19 and 21: τὸ ζητούμενον περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδίου ἀπαρχῆς. This has to do with an inheritance; cf. the inheritance tax: τὴν ἀπαρχῆς κληρονομίαν ἀπογράψασθαι, *UPZ* I, p. 162, col. VII, 10; *O.Wilck.* I, p. 345). *P.Catt.*: ἡμελήθη ἀπαρχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεθῆναι (*Chrest.Mitt.*, p. 421, n. 372, col. IV, 7); perhaps *P.Flor.* 57, 81: τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπαρχή: but the meaning is obscure (cf. the γραφὴ παίδων in *Chrest.Wilck.*, p. 168, n. 143, 81). The heir, who had to make known his right and the value of his inheritance within a set period of time, did not actually inherit until paying the tax (*P.Amh.* 2, 72). Cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustine to Diocletian* (Princeton Univ. Studies in Papyrology 2, 1938), p. 234.

²³ G. Vitelli, et al., eds., *Pubblicazioni della Società italiana: Papiri greci et latini* (=PSI) 1067, 11.

²⁴ *P.Tebt.* 316, 10 (AD 99); *PSI* 1225, 16: χρηματίζειν ἡμι—ν τελοῦσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν καὶ ε—φηβείαν τοῦ προγεγραμμένου μου υι—οῦ Μηνοδώρου (second century AD); *P.Ant.* 37, 4: τάσσεσθαι ἀπαρχὴν (cf. τάξασθαι, *Berichtigungsliste* 4, 2). Cf. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 277.

²⁵ Cf. the *oikogeneia* of *PSI* 690, 14 (first-second century): Flavius Longus paid the ἀπαρχή of the slave Juliana Philotera: ε—τάξατο τῆς ὑπερθέσμου ε—βδομαίας ἡμέρας θεα—ς Βερνίκης Εὐεργέτιδος τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπαρχὴν (= *SB* 6995–96); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 33, 8: “the tax whereby I paid my son’s ἀπαρχή” (= *SB* 7602, 8).

²⁶ *PSI* 464, 7.

²⁷ *P.Mert.* 5, 28: “He paid to the god Soter the ἀπαρχή according to the custom in violation of my contract of sale, which is in the public archives” (second century BC).

²⁸ *BGU* 1150, 11 (from 19 BC), with the observations of O. Gradenwitz, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 34 (1914), col. 134–135.

²⁹ Ostraca from the year AD 85, *C.Pap.Jud.* 183a. On the —Ιουδαίων τέλεσμα, cf. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 170–176.

³⁰ Εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμαρσ ἀπαρχὴν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων. Cf. Carl-Martin Edsman, “Schöpferwille und Geburt Jac 1, 18: Eine Studie zur altchristlichen Kosmologie,” *ZNW* 38 (1939), 11–44; L. Elliott-Binns, “James 1.18: Creation or Redemption?” *NTS* 3 (1956–1957), 148–161. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 89–91.

³¹ “A l’avant-garde de trépassés,” the translation of J. Héring, *La Première Epître de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, 2d ed., p. 138.

³² Cf. *1Clem.* 42.4—“The apostles preached in the countryside and in the cities and established their firstfruits” (καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν).

³³ C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 557, n. 2; p. 835, n. 4, 5; R. Devine, “The Virgin Followers of the Lamb (Apoc. 14, 4),” *Scr* 16, 1964, pp. 1–5; C. H. Lindijer, “Die Jungfrauen in der Offenbarung des Johannes XIV 4,” *Studies in John, Presented to Professor Dr. J. N. Sevenster on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, No_TSup 24, Leiden, 1970, pp. 124–142.

³⁴ E. B. Allo, *L’Apocalypse*, 3d ed., Paris, 1933, p. 217. Cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.134: “The firstfruits of those who were of the first rank among our children were offered to God the Savior”; *Good Man Free* 15: “It is good that all young people of all lands dedicate the firstfruits of the springtime of their age to the sole pursuit with which it is good to pass both youth and old age.”

³⁵ H. S. Jones (“—Απαρχὴ πνεύματος,” *JTS* 23, 1922, 282–283) precisely situated this expression in the language of the papyri, giving ἀπαρχή its technical sense of a birth certificate of a free person; as the οἰκογένεια was the birth certificate of a slave.

³⁶ M.-J. Lagrange, *Saint Paul: Epître aux Romains*, p. 279.

³⁷ Cf. J. de Fraine, *Adam et son lignage: Etudes sur la notion de “personnalité corporative” dans la Bible*, Museum Lessianum, Section Biblique 2, Bruges, 1959.

³⁸ Cf. *b. Ter.* 2.1: “A levy is not placed on pure produce to liberate the impure; but if it has been done, it is valid. . . . According to R. Eliezer, one can levy the pure for the impure.” Cf. 1QS 3.4—“He shall not be cleansed by purifying waters,” with the commentary of J. Schmitt, “La Pureté sacerdotale d’après 1QS 3, 4–9,” *RSR* 33, 1970, 214–224.

ἀπάτη

apate, deception, trickery, pleasure

apate, S 539; *TDNT* 1.385; *EDNT* 1.117; *NIDNTT* 2.457–459; MM 54; L&N 31.12; BAGD 82

The classical meaning “deception, seduction, trickery” is the meaning in the LXX, which has only four occurrences, all in Jdt.¹ It is the only meaning in St. Paul,² and in the papyri, from the law of Cyrene in the second-third century BC³ and an imperial rescript of the second century⁴ to the quasi-stereotyped formula reproduced in various forms in the sixth and seventh centuries: “I confess without any guile or fear or force or deceit or compulsion” (*homologo dica dolou kai phobou kai bias kai apates kai anankes pases*).⁵

But in 1903, A. Deissmann announced another meaning of the term: “pleasure, delight.”⁶ In 1911, J. Rouffiac mentioned that several Italia manuscripts (codd. Corbeiensis, Bobbiensis) translate *apate* with *delectationes*, *voluptas*, *delectamentum*, and he located this sense in *I.Priene* 113, 64 (84 BC): Euergetes Zosimus gave a banquet for the city, hired artists, “did not only that which was pleasant, but desiring moreover to delight the spectators, (he hired [a flute-player?] and a pantomime).”⁷ Finally, with immense epigraphical erudition, L. Robert showed that in the popular Hellenistic language *apate* was often synonymous with *hedone*, *tryphe*, *terpsis* (a species of sensual pleasure, pleasure in spectacles). Apart from the Latin-Greek glossaries of the third century, he cites the *Lexeis Attikon kai Hellenon kata stoicheion* of the lexicographer Moeris in the second century: “*apate*: deceit among the Attics; pleasure among the Greeks.”⁸ The examples are numerous, from Polybius 2.56.12: tragedy is modeled on reality “for the pleasure of the spectators”; to 4.20.5: music was not brought to humans as a charlatan’s pleasure (or illusion?); to Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32.4–5: spectacles are a delight for the city (cf. 4.114). According to Artemidorus of Ephesus, dreaming about peaches, apricots, plums, and cherries “signifies pleasures and sensual delights if these are seasonable.”⁹

These attestations provide a framework for translating *he apate tou ploutou* in the explanation of the parable of the sower (Matt 13:22; Mark 4:19). Commentators usually say “the seductions of wealth stifle the word.” But we should probably follow M. J. Lagrange, who in his commentary on St. Mark relies on A. Deissmann and translates “the pleasures of wealth.” The parallel in Luke 8:14 is almost conclusive: *hedonai tou biou*.¹⁰

The two meanings are brought together in Strabo 11.2.10, which explains the epithet *Apatouros* given to the Aphrodite of Phanagoria:

Attacked by giants, “she called on Heracles for help and hid him in a cave, then, receiving each of the giants in turn in her home, she turned them over one at a time to Heracles to be killed, thanks to this ruse whereby she served as bait, *ex apates*.”¹¹

¹ Jdt 9:10, 13; 16:8. In 9:3, the text is difficult because of a play on words and corruption of the manuscripts; it could mean that the bed of the rulers, “stained with their deception” or “their sensual pleasure,” was soaked with blood. In Eccl 9:6, ἀγάπη should be read in place of ἀπάτη; in 4Macc 18:8—ἀπάτης ὄφις (the devil). The verb ἀπατα—ν occurs very often in the OT: in Gen 3:13, Eve is duped by the serpent (cf. 1Tim 2:14), and Hezekiah misleads the people (2Kgs 18:32; cf. 2Chr 32:11, 15; Isa 36:14, 18; 37:10). But in both occurrences in Sir (14:16; 30:23; in the latter text, ἀπάτα must be read in place of ἀγαπα—), the verb surely has the sense of “rejoice”—“delight your soul.” In the NT, cf. Eph 5:6; Jas 1:26.

² 2Thess 2:10—the Antichrist is known for all sorts of evil deceptions = numerous seductions; Col 2:8; philosophy is an illusion, a hollow deceit; Eph 4:22—the old man is corrupted by deceitful lusts. According to Heb 3:13, sin is a seducer that does not keep its promises, that deceives, and it is sensible to speak of the ἀπάτη τῆς ἀμαρτίας (on this verse, cf. W. L. Lorimar, in *NTS*, vol. 12, 1966, pp. 390–391). In 2Pet 2:13, ἀγάπαις must be read rather than ἀπάταις (cf. E. M. Paperrousaz, “Le Testament de Moïse,” in *Sem*, vol. 19, p. 65).

³ *SB* 9949, 11: μηθενὶ δόλω τινὶ ἢ ἀπάτη. The word is attested in *P.Tebt.* 801, 29 (142–141 BC), which is mutilated.

⁴ *P.Oxy.* 1020, 8: τὸν ἀγω—να τῆς ἀπάτης ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ ἔθνους ε—κδικήσει; cf. *P.Princ.* 119, 40: τὴν ε—ξ ἀπάτης εὐρήκασιν (a petition of the fourth century AD).

⁵ *C.P.Herm.* 31, 7; 32, 23; *P.Michael.* 40, 50; 41, 67; 45, 60; 52, 28; 55, 10; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 269, 5; *SB* 8987, 10; 8988, 51; 9463, 3; cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 37, 15: χωρὶς ἀπάτης.

⁶ A. Deissmann, “Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus,” in *NJahrb.*, 1903, p. 165. If we confined ourselves to biblical semantics, we could explain the evolution beginning with certain uses of ἀπάτη—ἀπατα—ν: “seduce a woman” (Exod 22:16; Judg 14:15; 16:5; Sus 56; Jdt 12:16). In Philo, *Joseph* 56, the γυναικω—ν ἀπάτας could just as well be the deceptions as the pleasures of women (cf. *Creation* 165; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 26; *Good Man Free* 151: ἔρωτος ἀπάτης). In any event, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.64 sets forward the principle: πα—σα οὖν ἀπάτη οἰ—κειοτάτη

ἡδονῆ! According to *Drunkenness* 217, the method of preparation and the form of pastries “are made not only for the pleasure of taste, but also for that of the eyes.”

⁷ [French] translation of J. Rouffiac, *Caractères du grec*, p. 38.

⁸ —Ἀπάτη· ἡ πλάνη παῖ —Αττικοί—ς . . . ἡ τέρψις παῖ Ἑλλησιν. The edition of J. Pierson, 1759, p. 65; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11, Paris, 1960, pp. 5–15; Oepke, in *TDNT*, vol. 1, p. 385.

⁹ Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 1.73: προσκαίρους ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀπάτας σημαίνει. Cf. Plutarch, *Sol.* 21.4: Solon put on the same level “deception (ἀπάτην), constraint, sensual pleasure (ἡδονήν), suffering.” —Ἀπάτη is attested several times as a proper name of a woman (*P.Petr.* III, 11, 21) or a place (*BGU* 1665, 6); does it suggest deception or delight?

¹⁰ J. Dupont, “La Parabole du Semeur dans la version de Luc,” in *Arophoreta: Festschrift für E. Haenchen*, Berlin, 1964, pp. 97–108; cf. H. J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, London, 1958, p. 179.

¹¹ Cf. W. Kastner, “ἀπάτη,” in *MusHelv*, 1977, pp. 199–202.

ἀπελπίζω

apelpizo, to hope for something in return

apelpizo, S 560; *TDNT* 2.533–534; *EDNT* 1.437–441; *NIDNTT* 2.238, 241; MM 56–57; L&N 30.54; BAGD 83–84

In the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord, wishing to emphasize the disinterested quality of *agape*, commanded “Love your enemies, do good, and lend *meden apelpizontes*.”¹ If this were a matter of making interest-free loans, it would be an illustration of the gratuitousness of benevolence (*agathopoieo*), not as a profitable financial operation for the lender, even at the lowest rates, but as a brotherly service.² But if the righteous person lent money to his countrymen without charging interest,³ debtors often abused his generosity (cf. Sir 29:1–7), so that the lender, defrauded of his capital, was tempted to refuse to make new advances. Hence the exhortation in Matt 5:42—“Do not turn away from one who wants to borrow”; note the continued action implied by the present imperative *danizete* —“lend habitually” (Luke 6:35)—and the clear instruction *meden apelpizontes* —“without expecting anything in return.” Lend with the willingness never to be repaid.

But this translation, which is an interpretation—the difficulty is well known⁴—does not match the unique and well-attested meaning of *apelpizo*: not to hope that something will happen, to despair.⁵ Furthermore, it seems to contradict the motive given later in the verse for heeding the exhortation: “and your recompense will be great.” Some have suggested a mistake in the text,⁶ or else exploited the reading of certain manuscripts (a, Ξ, Π 489) supported by the Syriac versions (*medena apelpizontes*) taking the neuter plural *medena* as referring to rebuffed would-be borrowers, “not forcing anyone to despair.”⁷ But this reading is clearly a dittography (*meden a-apelpizontes*). Finally, one could follow the Old Latin, *nihil desperantes*, not despairing of someday recovering your capital or of being repaid a hundredfold by God (cf. the thought in Eccl 11:1—the sea returns that which is given it). But M. J. Lagrange rightly rebels against the meaning, which he says is “absolutely repugnant in this heroic context” (*RB*, 1895, p. 196).

So we must follow the Clementine Vulgate (*nihil inde sperantes*), which takes the verb in the sense clearly demanded by the context,⁸ specifying the practical consequences of *agape* in the abrupt manner of Semitic formulations. Jesus is not entering the spheres of business or of the virtues of prudence or justice. He is pointing out the nature of Christian love: complete forgetfulness of oneself and absolute gratuitousness. “Lend without expecting anything in return.”⁹

¹ Luke 6:35. Hebrew has several terms for lending. The verb *lawâh*, “borrow” (in the qal), “lend” (in the hiphil; LXX δανείζειν, κίχρα—v); the verb *nashâ*, “lend, charge interest,” and in the hiphil “oppress” (*foenerari, foenum imponere*); or the noun *mashsheh*, “usury, interest.” The verb *nashak*, “bite, oppress, exact interest,” which yielded *neshek*, one of the proper names for usury (in the versions: τόκος and *usura*). From the verb *rabâh*, “increase, multiply,” are derived two other kinds of interest, *marbit* and *tarbit* (πλεονασμός, *superabundantia*).

² Exod 22:25; Lev 25:46-47; Deut 23:19-20 require lending to a fellow-countryman without charging interest (cf. C. van Leeuwen. *Le développement du sens social en Israël avant l'ère chrétienne*, Assen, 1955, pp. 42–58). “The one who practices mercy lends to his neighbor” (Sir 29:1); “Happy is the man who is compassionate and lends” (Ps 112:5). The ungodly “lends today and insists on collecting tomorrow” (Sir 20:15). On loans in the OT, cf. J. Hejcl, “Das alttestamentliche Zinsverbot im Lichte der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz,” in *BZ*, vol. 12, 4, Fribourg, 1907; C. Spicq, *Les Péchés d'injustice*, Paris, 1935, vol. 2, pp. 444–450 (bibliography, pp. 488ff.); S. Stein, “The Laws on Interest in the Old Testament,” in *JTS*, 1953, pp. 161–170; R. North, *Sociology of the Biblical Jubilee*, Rome 1954, pp. 176–190; E. Neufeld, “The Rate of Interest and the Text of Nehemiah

V, 11,” in *JQR*, 1954, pp. 194–204; idem, “The Prohibitions against Loans at Interest in Ancient Hebrew Laws,” in *HUCA*, 26, 1955, pp. 355–412; E. Szlechter, “Le Prêt dans l’Ancien Testament et dans les codes mésopotamiens d’avant Hammourabi,” in *La Bible et l’orient*, Paris, 1953, pp. 16–25; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, p. 170; H. A. Rupprecht, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri der Ptoläerzeit*, Munich, 1967; R. P. Maloney, “Usury in Greek, Roman and Rabbinic Thought,” in *Traditio*, 1971, pp. 79–109; P. W. Pestman, “Loans Bearing No Interest?” in *JJP*, 1971, pp. 7–29; B. Menu, “Le Prêt en droit égyptien,” in *Etudes sur l’Égypte et le Soudan anciens*, Lille-Paris, 1973, pp. 59–141.

³ Ps 15:5; Ezek 18:17; cf. ἄτοκος: *P.Fouad* 44, 19, “Lucius will repay the loan to Didymus without interest” (28 August 44); *P.Rein.* 31, 10: “Dionysos will return this grain without interest to Hermias” (109 BC); *P.Amh.* 50, 10; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 6, 21; *P.Tebt.* 342, 30; *C.Pap.Jud.* 143, 25.

⁴ The best discussion is that of M. Lagrange, *Luc*, cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, p.111.

⁵ God “the Savior of those who despair” (Jdt 9:11); “those who are without hope among humans” (Isa 29:19); “If you have drawn the sword against a friend, do not despair; a return is possible” (Sir 22:21); “The one who has revealed the secrets (of his friend) can hope no more” (Sir 27:21); Lucillius “Diaphantus who took away all hope from others” (*Anth. Pal.* 11.114). In Josephus, it is always a matter of giving up hope of surviving (*War* 1.462), of receiving pardon (4.193; 5.354), the pity of the Romans (6.368), security (4.397); thus it means renouncing any future good, given present circumstances. Likewise Polybius, “Hannibal despaired of his situation” (1.19.12) and Diodorus Siculus: “These monsters had made them despair of saving their lives” (17.106.7; cf. 19.50). Unknown in Philo, this verb, attested for the first time by Hyperides 5.35, is also found in a number of inscriptions (cf. R. Bultmann, in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 533–544), is used in Galen for illnesses without hope of cure, desperate cases, and—with negation—for not doubting, having confidence (cf. W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 118–119); finally, in two papyri (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59642, 4, mutilated; *BGU* 1844, 13, from AD 130) and an ostrakon from 260 BC (*SB* 8266, 10b and 20). On the Theban stele on which is inscribed the honorific decree for the general Callimachus in 42 BC, τοι—ς ἀπελπίζουσιν refers to the Egyptians reduced to a critical state by the insufficient rise in the Nile (Dittenberger, *Or.* 194, 19 = *SB* 8334), but this restored verb was not retained by R. Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret*, p. 22.

⁶ —Αντελπίζοντες. T. Reinach, “Mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes,” in *REG*, 1894, p. 52; the restoration refused by M. J. Lagrange, in *RB*, 1895, p. 116. The variant ἀπηλπικότες (D, G, Lat., Peshitta, read ἀπηλγηκότες) at Eph 4:19 is too poorly attested to be retained.

⁷ F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 59.

⁸ Opposition to παρ ὧν ε—λπίζετε λαβει—ν (verse 34); cf. E. Klostermann, *Das Lukas-Evangelium*, 2d ed., Tübingen, 1929, p. 82, who cites the parallel text of *Exod. Rab.* 31 (91c): “The one who lends money without demanding interest, God esteems this so highly in him that it is as if he had kept all the commandments.” “The Gentiles lend in hope of a return; lend without hoping for a return, without hoping to receive. —Απελπίζω never has this meaning, it is true, but it could have been invented by Luke as a parallel to ἀπολανβάνειν, which also has both senses, receiving and giving up. In the Middle Ages this verse was understood to refer to lending for interest, but there is no exegetical tradition for that meaning. . . . Merely to forego interest would be hardly be to live up to the ideal of total renunciation that is set forth in this passage. This is not an order, it is a counsel. The objection that lending is then tantamount to giving misses a fine distinction. Often a person who borrows would be embarrassed to accept a gift. So one lends to him, being open to receiving repayment if it is offered, but also with a willingness sometimes to sacrifice the whole amount, *nihil sperantes*, μηδὲν ε—λπίζοντες ἀπολαβει—ν (Field)” (M. J. Lagrange, *RB*, 1895, pp. 196–197).

⁹ What follows in the verse—καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν—πολύς—agrees with the supernatural *lex talionis* operative everywhere in the Synoptics: whatever is sacrificed on earth is compensated a hundredfold in supernatural value. Is it permissible to cite the discourse of Nero to the Corinthians in 67: “From my greatness of heart one may have all hope, παρὰ τῆς ε—μῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀνέλπιστον” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 814,11)?

ἀπέραντος

aperantos, endless, interminable, vain

aperantos, S 562; *EDNT* 1.120; L&N 61.19; BAGD 84

The heterodox Ephesians are fond of “fables and endless genealogies,” i.e., never completed and inconsequential (1Tim 1:4). The adjective *aperantos* (NT hapax), unknown in the papyri (cf. *P. Tebt.* 847, 21,

aperamenou) has these two connotations.¹ But in the first century it took on a technical rhetorical significance in the Stoic vocabulary, qualifying “reasonings that do not result in proof, arguments that do not conclude,”² sterile conversations (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.131). Cicero complains to the son of Amyntas, an intolerable babbler (*aperantologias aedous*, *Att.* 12.9; cf. Strabo 13.1.41). One of the best parallels is in the satirical poet Timon of Phlius: the philosophers “dispute endlessly [and vainly] (*apeirita derioontes*) in the aviary of the muses [meaning the Museum of Alexandria] . . . until these table speakers are unburdened of their flow of words [literally, logodiarrhea]” (Athenaeus 1.22*d*). The other is in Philo: the happiness of the skeptics rides entirely upon the endless and fruitless (*aperanto kai anenyto*) criticism of names and words (*Prelim. Stud.* 53). Minds of this sort know neither measure nor limit in their discourse, they speak indiscriminately, bringing chaos and confusion in all matters, mixing the true and the false, the sacred and the profane. Prattlers of this type, already exposed at Alexandria,³ have taken up exegesis and theology at Ephesus and pose a threat to the faith (cf. Titus 3:9).

¹ Without limit, infinite. *Ep. Arist.* 156: an infinity of appetudes; Polybius 1.57.3: the historian cannot enumerate an infinity of events; Philo (*Prelim. Stud.* 53) expressing his disdain for tricks of logic: “the endless and pointless minute examination of nouns and verbs”; *Corp. Herm.* 1.11.4: εἰ—ς ἀπέραντον τέλος; without issue, inextricable, without effect, without result (Job 36:26—the number of God’s years is endless and unfathomable); Josephus, *Ant.* 17.131: Varus realizing that the affair was endless and without effect; *1Clem.* 20.8—the ocean impassable by men; *Corp. Herm.* 9.8: “The Good is unsurpassable, limitless, and endless, ἀδιάβατον γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀπέραντον καὶ ἀτελές.”

² Λόγοι ἀπέραντοι (Philodemus of Gadara, *Ir.*, p. 97; cf. Diogenes Laertius 7.78; Strabo 2.4.8).

³ Philo, *Abraham* 20: πρὸς ἄμετρον καὶ ἀπέραντον καὶ ἄκριτον διήγησιν.

ἀπερισπᾶστος

aperispastos, without hindrance or distraction

aperispastos, S 563; *EDNT* 1.120; MM 57; L&N 30.33; BAGD 84

The Corinthians are exhorted to virginity, which would firmly position them near the Lord, without distraction (*euparedron to Kyrio aperispastos*,

1Cor 7:35). This adverb is a biblical hapax and is relatively rare in the Hellenistic period.¹ Apart from errors, it is found only twice in the papyri,² but its meaning is clear. Derived from *perispao*, “pull from another direction, pull against,” *aperispastos* means “without hindrance, without distraction”; which agrees with the meaning of the adjective *aperispastos*, “not drawn hither and thither,” known in the OT³ and very common in our papyri. The oldest attestation is from the third century BC,⁴ and it is multiplied in the first and second centuries AD, so that it could be said that the word becomes common coinage.⁵ Now a general orders, “see to it that he is left in peace until he has finished his sowing” (*P.Rein.* 18, 40; 12 October 108 BC); now the weavers of Philadelphia remark that they “have until now been left in peace to practice our trade” and ask not to be disturbed and to remain exempt from other public services (*P.Phil.* 10, 16; from AD 139); or someone requires “that the carrier not be bothered” (*ho diagon aperispastos estai*, *UPZ* 226, 6). In AD 46, 48, and 52 the *homologia aperispastou* is a guarantee of immunity to any constraint, penalty, or disagreement that a contracting party might incur.⁶

In all these occurrences, the adjective emphasized the absence of troubles, bothers, inconveniences, freedom from worries; in other literary texts, the focus is on steadiness, attention, and refusal of any digression.⁷ All of these nuances converge perfectly in the *aperispastos* of the virgins in 1Cor 7:15, who are spared the *perispasmoi* of the married life.⁸ With good reason, the exegetes bring in Luke 10:38-42, where Mary of Bethany is seated, at rest, at the feet of the Lord,⁹ all her attention focused on him; while Martha busies herself here and there (*periespato*), pulled between divergent concerns. Thus virginity allows exclusive concentration on God.¹⁰

¹ Polybius 2.20.10: When the Romans had conquered the Gauls, nothing remained to distract them from the war against Pyrrhus; 4.18.6: They could not run without hindrance against those who were rushing through the gate; Epictetus 1.29.59: in contemplation (*θεωρει—ν*), “one must settle in well, not letting oneself be distracted . . . be very attentive” (cf. 3.22.69: The Cynic who remains free of all that could distract him, *ἀπερίσπαστον εἶναι*); cf. J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 10th ed., Göttingen, 1925, p. 205.

² *P.Tebt.* 895, 57 (from 175 BC): *ἀπερισπάστως γενέσθαι*; D. Foraboschi, *L'Archivio de Kronion*, Milan, 1971, n. 38, 16: *παρέξομεν δὲ τὸν Σασω—πιν ἀπαρανοχλήτως καὶ ἀνισπράκτως καὶ ἀπερισπάστως κατὰ πάντα τρόπον*; cf. the decree of Euergetes II in 124 BC, *ἀπερισπάστους γεννηθέντας* (*P.Tebt.* 700, 36; taken up again in *C.Ord.Ptol.* 50, 15); *P.Grenf.* 1, n. 11, col. II, 4: *τούτου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἀπερίσπαστος ὢν* (discussion concerning a field, from 157 BC); Polybius 2.67.7: “Freed by

this maneuver (ἀπερίσπαστον γινόμενον), the division of the Illyrians . . . threw themselves valiantly against the enemy.”

³ Sir 41:1—“O death, how bitter is the memory of you . . . to the man who has no cares—ἀνδρὶ ἀπερισπάστῳ—and is successful at everything”; Wis 16:11—“For fear lest they become careless of your benefits.”

⁴ *BGU* 1243, 13. In the second and third centuries BC, cf. 1057, 22; 1756, 5: παρασχοῦσάυτους ἀπερισπάστους; *UPZ* 145, 23. Cf. Diodorus Siculus 17.9.4: “Alexander would like to have a free hand (ἀπερίσπαστον ἔχειν) in the war against the Persians.”

⁵ So much so that T. Nägeli (*Wortschatz*, p. 30) mentions this word as one of those which identify St. Paul as an authentic Hellenist.

⁶ *P.Mich.* V, 238, 35 and 177; 353, 4; 354, 19; cf. *P.Oxy.* 286, 17 (from AD 82): ὅπως παρέχωνται ἡμα—ς ἀπερισπάστους καὶ ἀπαρενοχλήτους ὑπὲρ προκειμένης ὀφειλῆς καὶ ἀποδώσειν ταῦτα = so that he can be free from any responsibility or trouble in connection with the aforementioned debt and may repay it; 898, 15 (AD 123), which the editors translate [into English]: “to mortgage all my property in the Oasis in return for a deed of release received from Dioscorus.” The editors further explain γράμματα ἀπερισπάστου as “a deed of indemnification.” Cf. A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden*, 2d ed., Aalen, 1965, pp. 203ff.

⁷ Polybius 4.32.6: “The Lacedaemonians, without allowing themselves to be distracted, set out to harm them”; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Th.* 9: “In historical writing, everything should be connected and contribute to unity, ἀπερίσταστον εἶναι.” This nuance of uninterruptedness is that of Plutarch, *Arist.* 5.3: “The authority of Miltiades was reinforced by the continuity of his command.”

⁸ Cf. Hierocles the Stoic, *Marriage*, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 67.22.24 (vol. 4, p. 504).

⁹ Παρακαθεσθει—σα, cf. εὐπάρεδρον—perhaps a neologism coined by St. Paul—to be well situated near someone; the meaning is someone “with an attentive demeanor toward a venerable or sacred object” (E. B. Allo, *Première Epître aux Corinthiens*, p.184).

¹⁰ Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 564–565; L. Legrand, *La Virginité dans la Bible*, Paris, 1964, pp. 83ff.

ἀπέχω

apecho, to hold, collect, acknowledge receipt of payment in full; remain distant; abstain

apecho, S 568; TDNT 2.828; EDNT 1.120–121; MM 57–58; L&N 57.137, 59.47, 85.16, 90.67; BDF §§ 129, 180(3), 180(5), 308, 322; BAGD 84–85; ND 6.3

This verb, which has several very different meanings, is a compound of *echo*, “to have,” which expresses a relationship of possession: “to hold, keep,” hence “collect.” Thus after Asclepius has healed Demodike, Akeson’s wife, Akeson writes on a tablet, “You have received the debt of Akeson.”¹ According to Marcus Aurelius 9.42.12–13, when a person does something good, it is enough to have acted in accord with nature; no reward is to be sought (*misthon zeteis*) any more than that the eye should receive a reward (*apechei to idion*) for seeing. In fulfilling its role, it possesses that which belongs to it (*echei to heautou*).

Hence the commercial meaning of *apecho*, “acknowledge receipt of payment in full,”² which is copiously attested in the papyri and is highlighted by A. Deissmann:³ to have something from someone’s hand is to receive one’s due. There are two types of receipts: some note the act of a person who has paid, with the verb in the perfect (for the abiding result of the action); others express the acknowledgment of the one who receives, with the verb in the present (*echo*, “I have”; *apecho*, “I have my due”).⁴ The oldest papyrological attestation of the verb is from 276 BC: *homologeîn apechein* K . . . (*P.Hib.* 97, 5; republished as *P.Yale* 27; cf. *P.Alex.* 9, 10). Usually it is specified that the “price” (*ten timen*) of some land, a house, an ass, etc., has been received: “C. Anthistius Valens has received the price of these lands (*to auton teimas apeschekenai*) as stipulated in the papers” (*P.Phil.* 11, 13); “Sarapion acknowledges having received from the buyer the full price agreed upon, amounting to fifty-four thousand drachmas.”⁵ Also quite often, however, only the sum of money is mentioned: “I have received the prescribed drachmas of silver”;⁶ “I acknowledge (having from you) twelve staters and two denarii which I received (*apeschon*) and which were charged to my account, and which I will repay” (*P.Mur.* 114, 12); sometimes obols (*P.Genova* 88, 2), as with this new officer (*principalis*) who has drawn some money (*chalkon apeschon*) and would have liked to send a gift to his mother (*P.Mich.* 465, 7). Sometimes a dowry is in question (*pherne*, *P.Fam.Tebt.* 13, 38; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 185, 21, 36), sometimes expenditures (*dapanemata*, *P.Fouad* 64, 5; *P.Hamb.* 69, 6), *artabai* of grain,⁷ of straw (*SB* 9782, 3), a cargo or load,⁸ food⁹ and fruit (*karpon*, *BGU* 1587, 7); on occasion, “what is due to me.”¹⁰ A rental or lease that is paid in kind (*to ekphorion*)¹¹ and a lease paid in cash (*phoros*)¹² are

mentioned either together or separately; but for the latter it is often specified that it is a loan or rent (*misthosis*).¹³ In contracts for service, receipt of the agreed-upon wage is acknowledged (*apeschekenai . . . to symphonethen salarion, P.Harr. 64, 25; SB 10205, 16*). In AD 24, “He acknowledges . . . receiving from him the price and the wages” (*homologeï . . . apeschekenai par’ autou ten timen kai tous misthous, P.Mich. 337, 7*); in the second century, “I have received the wage from Phaophi” (*apecho de ton tou Phaophi misthon, BGU 1647, 13; cf. 1663, 1, 16; P.Oxy. 1992, 19*).

These usages shed light on Matt 6:2, 5, 16, where—with respect of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting—the Lord denounces the ostentation of the hypocrites who seek to be seen and praised by other people. He repeats three times, “Truly, I tell you, they have received their reward” (*apechousin ton misthon auton*). The verb in the present indicative means that these apparently pious people have nothing more to expect in the beyond. They already have now that which is due them. They have in hand the receipt for what they have supplied . . . so much wind! The irony is plain. In the same sense, the rich are told in Luke 6:24, *apechete ten paraklesin hymon*; they have had their portion of joy on earth and must not expect “consolation” in heaven! In contrast, Philemon, whose runaway slave was temporarily separated from him (*echoristhe*), will recover him (*apeches*) for good in heaven as a brother for eternity (Phlm 15). The same bookkeeping nuance appears in Phil 4:18, in a section where the apostle uses several expressions borrowed from the language of business.¹⁴ He acknowledges receiving the help sent by the Philippians: “I have received everything and more than enough” (*apecho de panta kai perisseuo*); “through Epaphroditus, I received what you sent” (*dexamenos . . . ta par’ hymon*). We could translate, “I give a receipt for everything, and I have plenty.”¹⁵

The verbal prefix *ap-* retains its full force when *apecho* means “be distant,” first of all in a geographical sense: “Jesus was not far from the house” (Luke 7:6); the prodigal son was still far from his father (15:20); Emmaus is “a town about sixty stadia away from Jerusalem” (*apechousan stadious hexekonta, 24:13*). The usage is classical¹⁶ and is particularly common in the LXX: Joseph’s brothers, having left the city, “had not gone far” (Hebrew *hiphil* of *rahaq*, Gen 44:4); “They were far from the Sidonians.”¹⁷ It is common even in the papyri.¹⁸ From this spatial meaning comes the definition “remain apart, stay distant,”¹⁹ especially in a figurative and psychological sense: “You are much farther than we from saying things worthy to be believed.”²⁰ This meaning is common in the LXX, where Job begs God to remove his hand (Job 13:21) and Yahweh is far from the wicked (Prov 15:29); as a reproach, “He has removed his heart far from me” (*apechei ap’ emou, Isa 29:13*; the opposite of *engizeï*, draw near). It is commanded to “stay away from a man who has the power to put to death” (Sir 9:13), from quarreling (28:8), from violence (Isa 54:14), from the snares that lie in the path of the perverse (Prov 22:5; cf. Wis 2:16). Matt 15:8

quotes Isa 29:13—“This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me” (*apechei ap’ emou*, cf. Mark 7:6).

To keep one’s distance can be a sign of respect: “When the Lacedaemonians ravaged the rest of Attica, they respected Decelea” (Herodotus 9.13; cf. Thucydides 4.97.3); “certain people do not even respect corpses.”²¹ To be far from means to be unable to touch,²² a negative connotation that can be translated either “hinder” (“In all of these parts [thorax, the head, the back], with their numerous clefts, nothing hinders [*ouden apechei*] the vessels from carrying various materials”)²³ or “spare.” Aristobulus gives the order to “spare Antigonus if he is unarmed.”²⁴

In the language of NT ethics, *apecho* (in the middle voice), as in classical Greek,²⁵ always has the nuance of prohibition: “to abstain.” At the Jerusalem Council, St. James proposes, “Let us write to the Gentiles to abstain from the pollution of idols and fornication.”²⁶ St. Paul gives this definition: “This is the will of God, namely, your sanctification, abstaining (*apechesthai hymas*) from sexual immorality” (1Thess 4:3), from every kind of evil.²⁷ St. Peter writes, “I exhort you to abstain from fleshly desires that make war on the soul.”²⁸ This means not just keeping one’s distance, but refusing to have even the slightest contact; at least this is the ethical nuance given this verb by the LXX²⁹ and especially by Philo: “It is commanded to abstain from wickedness” (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.102; cf. 3.104), from injustice (*Husbandry* 113), offenses (*ton hamartematon apechou*, *Change of Names* 47; *Virtues* 163), from doing evil (*Spec. Laws* 2.15), “from returning to each other the wrongs that are done us” (*Virtues* 140; cf. *Moses* 1.308). Likewise, in Josephus God commands Adam and Eve to abstain from the tree of knowledge (*Ant.* 1.40), and commands Noah to abstain from shedding blood.³⁰

There remains the difficult task of translating Mark 14:41—“Sleep now and rest. It’s all up (*apechei*)! The hour has come; the Son of Man will be handed over.”³¹ The Vulgate translates “sufficit,” but what does “it is enough” mean?³² F. Field noted³³ that apart from the [pseudo-] attestation in Hesychius, the translation “sufficit” can be supported only with a text of Ps.-Anacreon (*Od.* 28.23): the poet, having given his instructions to the painter for a portrait of his mistress, concludes, “Enough! For now I see the young woman herself” (*apechei. blepo gar auten*). This would perhaps be a sufficient attestation, but it can be corroborated by *P. Stras.* 4, 19, from the sixth century,³⁴ and by the chorus in Aeschylus, *PV* 687—“Oh! Oh! Far from me! Enough!” (*ea, ea, apeche, pheu*)—and probably by other equivalent usages.³⁵ We have to remember that a word may commonly have a meaning in the spoken language that is not attested in written documents. In any event, this meaning is in harmony with “abstain” and “be distant.” We may imagine that the apostles, already asleep, have risen, and that after a few minutes Jesus, referring to all that has happened at

Gethsemane, utters the word *apechei* either meaning “You’ve had it”³⁶ or pointing out that the time has come: “The hour is now.” They would have to leave the garden and prepare to go.

¹ Callimachus, *Epigr.* 54.1; cf. 50.4: “The old woman, in exchange for the milk of her breasts, received thanks” (ἀπέχει χάριτας); Plutarch, *Them.* 17.4: “Themistocles reaped the fruit of the labors (τὸν καρπὸν ἀπέχειν) that he had expended for Greece”; *Sol.* 22.4: τὸν τε μισθὸν ἀπέχει; *Mor.* 2.124 c; Josephus, *War* 1.179: “Pompey had not touched the temple gold”; 596: “I receive the price of my impiety” (ἀπέχω τὸ ε—πιτίμιον). A Jewish epitaph, for Horaia and her family: “Stranger, you have all the information about us” (ἀπέχειθ, ὦ ξει—νε, σαφω—θ τὰ ἅπαντα παρῆμω—ν).

² A contract to hire a nurse, in AD 26: “The declarer and her husband and guarantor Petseiris hereby acknowledge receipt (ἀπέχειν) from Paapis of sixty drachmas of silver” (*P.Rein.* 103, 12); 104, 5; *P.Ryl.* 588, 9 (78 BC). —Αποχή is the “receipt” (*P.Oxy.* 91, 25; 296, col. II, 8; *P.Princ.* 181, 16; *P.Mich.* 596, 9, etc.); “Draw up the model and the receipt” (τὸν τύπον καὶ τὴν ἀποχὴν, *P.IFAO* II, n. 9, 4); ἡ ἀποχὴ κυρία καὶ ε—περωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα (*P.Charite*, n. 13, 7; cf. 8, 8 and 18).

³ A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 110–112. Idem, *Bible Studies*, p. 229.

⁴ *O.Bodl.* 690–693. C. Préaux, “Aspect verbal et préverbe: L’Usage de ἀπέχω dans les ostraca,” in *ChrEg*, 1954, pp. 139–146. Presents, according to the place and time, alternate with the aorists ἔσχον, ἔλαβον (*O.Bodl.* 670–737; *O.Wilck.* I, pp. 86, 109; II, n. 1081–1090, 1616). This nuance of the aorist has been described as “Aorist-präsens” (A. Thumb, “Prinzipienfragen der Koine-Forschung,” in *NJahrb*, 1906, pp. 246–263); the added prefix reinforces the aorist (referring to an outcome) to express the perfect idea. With good reason, this aoristic role of the verbal prefix was rejected by E. Mayser (*Grammatik*, II, 1, pp. 132–133), who places ἀπέχω among the presents with perfect meaning, and by H. Erman (“Die Habe-Quittung bei den Griechen,” in *APF*, 1901, pp. 77–84) who translates “have in return.” C. Préaux (*ChrEg*, 1954, p. 146) concludes “thus we cannot call upon the ostraca as testimony to the function of the prefix in expressing aspect with regard to the verb ἀπέχω.” Cf. the index prepared for the Bodleian ostraca by J. Bingen and M. Wittek, *O.Bodl.* III, p. 245.

⁵ *P.Thead.* 2, 8; 3, 10: “I have sold a white adult ass for the agreed price of . . . talents of silver, and I have received the aforesaid money”; 12, 24, *P.Tebt.* 109, 17: this sum “has been received by the above-names parties from Petesuchos, hand to hand, apart from the house” (93 BC); *PSI* 39, 8;

P.Princ. 19, 7 (second century BC), 149, 9; *P.Köln* 146, 2 (10 BC); 54, 5 (4 BC); 155, 17 (AD 6); *P.Mich.* 241, 15 (AD 16); 251, 33 (AD 19); 254, 4 (AD 30/31); 428, 6, 14, 17; 583, 12; 621, 6; *P.Fouad* 40, 19 (AD 35); *P.Athen.* 25, 10 (AD 61); *P.Alex.* 15, col. II, 3: Heracles acknowledges having received the agreed price (first century); *BGU* 1643, 20; 2036, 21; 2049, 12, 18; 2335, 8 (AD 42/43); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 6, 20: ἀπέσχον τὴν τιμὴν; *P.Corn.* 13, 29; *P.Dura* 26, 13; *P.Erl.* 106, 25; *P.Harr.* 146, 5; *P.Cair.Isid.* 83, 16; *P.Mert.* 19, 7; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 78, 27; 161, col. I, 23; 239, 13; *P.Oslo* 45, 2; *P.Oxy.* 2138, 5; 2270, 16; 2951, 25; 3143, 27; *P.Wisc.* 59, 21; *P.Soterichos* 5, 40; *SB* 6001, 6; 6016, 28.

⁶ *BGU* 2119, 8 (first century); 2338, 15; 2342, 10; *P.Fouad* 56, 8; *P.Athen.* 29, 16; *P.Fam.Tebt.* VI, 3, 17; 7, 6; 9, 10; 10, 7; XIII, 17, 21; *P.Cair.Isid.* 80, 8; 81, 17; *P.Mil.* 7, 11, 37 (AD 38); *P.Mich.* 189, 23; 194, 8 (AD 61); 252, 5 (AD 25/26); 256, 4 (AD 29/30); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 159, 8; 186, 8, 18; 225, 11; *P.Princ.* 141, 2 (AD 23); *P.Yale* 63, 19 (AD 64); *P.Soterichos* 22, 15; 25, 12; *P.Oxy.* 3254, 24; *SB* 7533, 23, 53; 7664, 12; 8053, 4; *O.Mich.* 138, 4: ἀπέχω παρὰ σου δραχμὰς ζ?; 146, 2. In AD 43: ἀπέχω τὰς τριάκοντα δύο δραχμὰς Ἀρμύσιος (*P.IFAO* I, n. 17, 2); cf. pieces of meat, 56, 2: ἄ. τὰ δύο κρεάδια.

⁷ *P.Mich.* 195, 6, 19; *P.Oslo* 38, 17; *P.Princ.* 181, 10; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 158, 11, 27; 226, 9; that which has been sent: ἀπέχομεν παρῶν ὑμῶν—τὰς ε—πισταλείσας (*BGU* 2269, 5; 2270, 3; 2271, a 5; b 6; c 3; *SB* 7515, 33, 112, 133; 10889, 4); cf. *P.Mich.* 531, 2: ε—πει—χον τὴν ε—πιστολήν; *P.Oxy.* 2964, 5; 2965, 5; 2968, 7.

⁸ Γόμον; *O.Brüss.Berl.* 67.

⁹ *P.Fam.Tebt.* 53, A 5: ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ τὰ τροφι—α; B 5: τὰ ὠψώνια; *P.Wisc.* 68, 12; *P.Amst.* 41, 53 and 77.

¹⁰ —Απέχω παρὰ σου ἄς ὠφιλές μοι, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 146, 2; *P.Oxy.* 2587, 5: ὁμολογῶ—ἀπεσχηκέναι παρὰ σου ἀφ᾽ ὧν μου ὀφείλεις ἀργυρίου; 2834, 2; *P.Princ.* 34, 14; 35, 3; *P.Soterichos* 23, 5; *BGU* 1656, 3; 1657, 4; 2047, 5; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 11, 4; *P.IFAO* III, 22, 4; *SB* 9201, 8; 9406 b 6; 9485, 2; 10723, 12; cf. 8307, 8, a tomb inscription from Doris: “The one who is good also receives at last an easy death.”

¹¹ *BGU* 2038, 3: ἀπέχω παρὰ σοῦ τὸ ε—κφόριον; 2039, 2; *P.Corn.* 41, 13; *P.Aberd.* 63, 3; 64, 3; *P.Cair.Isid.* 108, 6; 109, 4, 10; 122, 3; *P.Mich.* 196, 7, 20; 197, 7; 198, 6; 199, 7; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 54, 4: ἀπέχομεν παρὰ σου τὰ ε—κφόρια καὶ τοὺς φόρους; 105, 23; 161, col. II, 15; 168, 4; 169, 3; *P.Princ.* 37, 5, 18; *P.Oxy.* 2836, 4; *P.Wisc.* 57, 5; *P.Col.* VIII, 185, 6;

P.Soterichos 8, 2; 10, 2; 11, 4; 12, 4; *SB* 7624, 5; 7677, 6; 9175, 3; 9650, 4; 10332, 2.

¹² *P.Soterichos* 6, 10; 7, 11; *P.Warr.* 12, 4; *P.Yale* 67, 15; *SB* 8014, 5; 9357, 6; 9833, 8; 10423, 2; cf. τὸ γενόμενον τέλος, 7580, 4, 8; 9552, 2, 4; *O.Brüss.Berl.* 25, 27. On the βαλανευτικόν tax paid to the collectors of the treasury, cf. *O.Wilb.* 44–48.

¹³ *BGU* 612, 2; 1647, 13; 1663, 1, 16; 2344, 5; *P.Athen.* 20, 29; *P.Mich.* 337, 7; *P.Oxy.* 1992, 19; *P.Corn.* 45, 7, 20; *P.Gron.* 9, 15, 23; *P.Princ.* 146, 18; *SB* 6766, 39; 7607, 30.

¹⁴ Phil 4:15—λόγος δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως, “account of giving and receiving”; ε—κοινώησεν, was associated, having a common account in community property.

¹⁵ J. Fleury, “Une société de fait dans l’Eglise apostolique,” in *Mélanges P. Meylan*, Lausanne, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 41–59. Cf. Gen 43:23—“your money came to me” (Hebrew *bō’*); Num 32:19—“our inheritance has come to us across the Jordan.”

¹⁶ Herodotus 1.179: “There is another city, about an eight days’ journey away from (ἀπέχουσα) Babylon, called Is”; Thucydides 6.97.1: “Leon is six or seven stadia away from Epipolae”; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.1.3: “Cyrus thought that he was obeyed by peoples who were several days’ journey away”; 3.3.28: “the armies were no longer more than about a parasang away”; Aristotle, *Gen. An.* 5.1.781a: the more distant objects are, the more distinct they appear; cf. *Part. An.* 2.9.655a: τὰ ἀπέχοντα; Xenophon, *An.* 4.3.5; Euphron, frag. 11.3: ἀπὸ θαλάττης Νικομήδει δεσποτῆ ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντι δώδεχ ἡμερῶν (third century BC; cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3A, p. 278); Diodorus Siculus 5.42; 12.33; Philostratus, *Gym.* 5: “the runners were placed at a distance of one *stadion*.”

¹⁷ Judg 18:7; Deut 12:21; Ezek 8:6; 22:5; Ps 103:12—“as the east is far from the west”; Isa 55:9—the heavens above the earth; 1Macc 8:4—“the place (ὁ τόπος) was very far from them”; 2Macc 11:5—“Beth-zur was about five leagues from Jerusalem”; 12:29; cf. Philo, *Joseph* 256: his father was not far from the border; *Dreams* 2.257; Josephus, *War* 2.516, 636; 3.10; 4.474; 5.70, 133, 7.217; *Ant.* 7.34, 243; 10.169; *Life* 64, 115, 214.

¹⁸ —Απέχον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, *P.Princ.* 116, 15; *P.Lille* 1, 5: “nine transverse levees running from west to east, each separated from the next by a distance of ten *schoinoi*”; 2, 2: “distance from this land to the town: fifteen stadia”; *P.Stras.* 57, 6: “the two towns are not more than a mile apart”; cf.

the decree at lasos relative to the divisions of the *ekklesiastikon*: ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ε—φ ὅσον ποδω—ν ε—πτά (C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 466,9).

¹⁹ Homer, *Il.* 6.96: “Remove the son of Tydeus from Ilium”; *Od.* 15.33: separate a ship from the isles; 20.263, Telemachus: “It is my task to keep you away from the abuse and blows of those claiming the lordship”; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.1.2: “the flocks stray far from (ἀπέχονται) places from which they are pushed away.” Ps.-Homer, *H.Aphr.* 230: “Venerable Dawn leaves her bed behind.”

²⁰ Isocrates, *Bus.* 11.32; cf. *Archid.* 6.70: “I am so far from carrying out any of these obligations” (ἀπέχω τοῦ ποιῆσαι).

²¹ Philo, *To Gaius* ; *Spec. Laws* 2.94; 4.202; 3.12: “The law requires respect not only for married women but for single women as well”; 21; *Abraham* 253: Abraham “stayed away (ἀποσχέσθαι) from Sarah out of a continent nature and the respect he had for his spouse”; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.88: “the serpent of pleasure does not even respect the one much beloved of God, Moses”; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.98: Ramesses ordered his brother to “respect the royal concubines.”

²² Aeschylus, *Eum.* 350: “the immortals must not lay a hand upon us.” Cf. Deut 18:22—when the prophet speaks presumptuously, he is not to be respected (οὐκ ἀπείχοντο αὐτοῦ), be feared (Hebrew *gûr*).

²³ Hippocrates, *Art.* 10; cf. Plato, *Cra.* 407 *b*; *Resp.* 1.354 *b*: “I was not able to keep myself from leaving the previous subject for this one”; Plutarch, *De def. or.* 41.433 *a*.

²⁴ Josephus, *War* 1.75, 637; 2.307; 4.262; 7.265; *Ant.* 6.318; 16.404. The temple is spared (1.400); the wealth of Hyrcanus (1.268); a city (2.69; *Ant.* 17.289); carnage (*Ant.* 3.54); cf. *P.Mich.* 43, 7: μηθενὸς ἀπόσχῃ, “Do not spare any efforts!”

²⁵ Homer, *Il.* 8.35: “we will keep ourselves far from battle”; 12.248; 14.206: “They both abstain from bed and love”; Herodotus 1.66: “They refrained from attacking”; Plato charges the citizens not to abstain from geometry (*Resp.* 7.527 *c*), and Xenophon urges the most influential people not to abstain from agriculture (*Oec.* 5.1); cf. *Cyr.* 1.6.32: they did not refrain from exploiting even their own friends. Thucydides 1.20.2: refrain from attacking; 5.25.3; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 4 and 7; *De sera* 22; *Ep. Arist.* 115, 143; Josephus, *War* 2.142: abstain from brigandage; 581; 3.461; from wine (2.313), from all scandalmongering (*Ag. Apion* 1.164). *P.Panop.Beatty* 2,

235 orders tax collectors to refrain entirely from such actions (τω—ν τοιούτων παντελω—ς ἀπέχεσθαι).

²⁶ Acts 15:20—ἀπέχεσθαι (middle infinitive); cf. D. R. Catchpole, “Paul, James and the Apostolic Decree,” in *NTS*, vol. 23, 1977, pp. 428–444. In the first century, this is a technical meaning; cf. the six occurrences in Ps.-Phocylides 6, 31, 35, 76, 145, 149; Plutarch, *De gen.* 15: abstaining from shameful pleasures, etc.

²⁷ 1Thess 5:22; cf. 1Tim 4:3—impostors commanded abstinence from foods that God created to be taken with thanksgiving by believers.

²⁸ 1Pet 2:11; cf. N. Lazure, “La Convoitise de la chair en I Jo. II, 16,” in *RB*, 1969, pp. 161–205.

²⁹ 1Sam 21:6—David’s soldiers do not approach (Hebrew *asar*, hold back) a woman during the campaign and are in a state of holiness; Job (1:1, 8) refrains from every evil action (Hebrew *sûr*, 2:3; 28:28; cf. Mal 3:6); like the wise person (Prov 3:7; 14:6; 14:16), who turns away from riches (23:4; Hebrew *hadal*) but does not abstain from doing good (*mana’*) to whom good is due (3:27) or from receiving instruction (23:13); Joel 1:13; 4Macc 1:34.

³⁰ *Ant.* 1.102, 334; 2.237; 3.92; 6.117; the sons of Eli: οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο παρανομήματος (5.339; cf. 19.150); abstinence from certain animals (3.259–260; 7.155; 10.190; 11.228; *Ag. Apion* 1.239, 261; 2.141, 174), from things consecrated to God (*Ant.* 5.32; 12.250; cf. 11.101).

³¹ The translation of M. J. Lagrange (“C’en est fait!”); R. Schnackenburg (*L’Evangile selon saint Marc*, Paris, 1973): “continuez à dormir et reposez-vous! C’est passé” (the agony, the conflict in prayer, the anguish has been overcome); manuscripts ψ and k omit ἀπέχει; D, W, Θ , Φ add τὸ τέλος, “the end has arrived; the hour has come”; this is also the interpretation of the Sahidic version (“the work has been finished”) and the Syriac version (“the end has come”). M. Black (*Aramaic Approach*, pp. 225–226) postulates an error in the Aramaic original, reading qyjđ instead of qyjr, “urge, press.”

³² Sometimes Hesychius is cited: ἀπέχει ἀπόχρη, ε—ξάρκει (not found in the edition by K. Latte, 1953). Taking up the hypothesis formulated by J. de Zwaan (“The Text and Exegesis of Mark XIV, 41 and the papyri,” in *The Expositor*, 1905, pp. 459–472), H. Boobyer (“ἀπέχει in Mark XIV, 41,” in *NTS*, vol. 2, 1955, pp. 44–48) and W. Barclay (“The New Testament and the Papyri,” in H. Anderson, W. Barclay, *The New Testament in Historical*

and Contemporary Perspective: Essays in Memory of G. H. C. Macgregor, Oxford, 1965, pp. 75ff.) suggest that this is a reference to Judas (cf. verse 43), who has received the money that was the price of his betrayal—he has been paid and can now arrest Jesus. This, however, is to make a great deal of a simple verb without an object.

³³ F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 39.

³⁴ Καὶ μεθ ὃν ᾧ ἀπέσχε χρόνον ἔχειν; the editor, F. Preisigke, writes “ἀπέσχε steht hier unpersönlich im Sinne von ‘satis est’: καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον, ᾧ ἀπέσχε ἔχειν”; cf. *P.Lond.* 1343, 38 (eighth century).

³⁵ Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1125: “Careful! Away from the cow”; Homer, *Il.* 12.321: “Let us leave the flocks”; Philo, *Husbandry* 91: to halt in an undertaking; Josephus, *Life* 80: give in to the passions.

³⁶ Cf. the conclusion of *Ep. Arist.* (322): ἀπέχεις τὴν διήγησιν—“There you have the whole story, Philostratus, just as I promised.”

ἀπλότης, ἀπλοῦς

haplotes, simplicity, singleness, sincerity; *haplous*, morally whole, faithful

haplotes, S 572; *TDNT* 1.386–387; *EDNT* 1.123–124; *NIDNTT* 3.571–572; MM 58; L&N 57.106, 88.44; BAGD 85–86 | ***haplous***, S 573; *TDNT* 1.386; *EDNT* 1.123–124; *NIDNTT* 3.571; MM 58; L&N 23.132, 57.107; BDF §§45, 60(1), 61(2); BAGD 86

These are two terms that cannot be well understood in the NT except in light of the LXX. In classical Greek, “*haplous* is the opposite of *diplous*, meaning simple or single rather than double . . . sometimes in the moral sense of straight, without turning aside.”¹ But in the OT, this adjective translates the Hebrew *tam*, signifying all that is whole (hence upright [French *intègre* —Tr.], perfect); then well made; and finally peaceful, and hence innocent. *Tamîm* refers to all that is complete, finished, done; hence intact or undefiled, without fault; and finally irreproachable, exemplary, impeccable.² This perfection, which the Vulgate calls *simplicitas*, is frequently associated with *yasar*, expressing rectitude: that which corresponds to an objective norm; thus, in a physical sense, that which is straight, direct, unified; and in a moral sense that which is loyal, just, right.³ This union (Ps 25:21; 37:37) points out that the perfection-integrity of the just is characterized by an absolute rectitude of conscience and life. Furthermore, the models of the pious person, like Noah and Job (Gen 5:9;

Job 1:1, 8) are presented as “perfect and upright,” they are seasoned, lacking in nothing, innocent and irreproachable.

This is not just a dictionary entry but an entire spirituality. This faultless innocence, this uncompromising rectitude, is blessed by God (Prov 2:7; 10:29; 11:20; 28:10) and is the way of salvation (Prov 28:18). It is the virtue of the servants of God (Deut 18:13; Ps 19:24; 25:21; Prov 13:6), or better, a deep-seated purpose, a condition of the soul. As opposed to duplicitous people, those with divided hearts, those who are simple have no other concern than to do the will of God, to observe his precepts; their whole existence is an expression of this disposition of heart, this rectitude: “Let us all die in our simplicity” (1Macc 2:37). In the first century BC, *haplotes*, so exalted in the Wisdom writings, is considered the supreme virtue of the patriarchs.⁴

It is not easy to define precisely the meaning of *haplous* in the outline of the logion of the two lights,⁵ which calls for checking the condition of this “lamp of the body,” the eye,⁶ because if it is “evil” (dark) it is unable to make out the exterior light of Christ; this would be blindness indeed, like that of a blind person facing the sun.⁷ If we take *haplous* and *poneros* in a physical sense, they would mean respectively “healthy or normal” and “sick.” Thus Socrates called myopia a “defect of the eyes, *poneria ophthalmon*” (Plato, *Hp. Mi.* 374d), but this meaning is not biblical, and in secular Greek a healthy eye is normally called *ophthalmos agathos*; consequently, what we are dealing with is a Septuagintism. It is best to take the logion as a whole in a moral sense—the “darkened eye” in the sense of *T. Issach.* 4.6 (cf. *T. Benj.* 4.2), a clouded eye or depraved will. The eye is the organ for recognizing divinity: *ho ophthalmos sou = to phos to en soi* (cf. Prov 20:27) = *tous ophthalmous tes kardias* (Eph 1:18). The point here is probably unclouded loyalty,⁸ in the sense in which pure hearts will see God (Matt 5:8), but the deepest meaning is that of a simple soul, not parceled out, like that of a small child,⁹ oriented exclusively toward God. This integrity, this rigorousness of basic purpose, introduces one to the light, the world of God.¹⁰ The light is total and perfect; but if one’s outlook is evil, deficient because the heart is pulled in different directions (cf. Matt 6:21), the whole person abides in darkness (the world of Satan?). Simplicity is thus total involvement and the unreserved giving of the self.

These same connotations of generosity or liberality are to be understood in the verses about the gifts of the Macedonians and the Corinthians to the community at Jerusalem (2Cor 8:2; 11:11, 13), and about gifts given by the charismatic, who gives not grudgingly but generously (*ho metadidous en haploteti*, Rom 12:8). On the other hand, the nuance of integrity and uprightness come to the fore in 2Cor 11:3—“I fear that just as the serpent lured Eve through his wiliness (*en te panourgia*; cf. Gen 3:1) your thoughts might be corrupted (and abased) from the simplicity and purity that are fitting with respect to Christ.”¹¹ But if slaves must obey

their masters “in simplicity of heart” (Col 3:22; Eph 6:5), purity of intention and wholehearted devotion cannot be separated in their service. The Christian slave will want to obey orders faithfully and not balk at his duties. He works as a person in a position of trust and with real nobility.¹²

The meaning of the adverb *haplos* (NT hapax) in Jas 1:5 cannot be determined with certainty: “God gives to all *haplos* and does not reproach.”¹³ Given the last part of the sentence, it is tempting to translate *haplos* “sincerely, without reservation or restriction.”¹⁴ But the meaning of the Vulgate, supported by the Peshitta, agrees better with the language of the LXX: God gives perfectly, i.e., with abandon. The papyri shed hardly any light,¹⁵ or rather they most often use *haplos*, especially in the first century, to affirm a statement: “absolutely, quite plainly.”¹⁶ Contracting parties agree not to file any complaints whatsoever concerning debts, payments, stipulations, or “anything else at all.”¹⁷ Thus, in an act establishing ownership, “the declarer and his successors will not initiate any legal proceedings concerning the above-mentioned goods, nor for anything else, *absolutely*, in any manner. . . . For his part, Anthistia Cronous will not start legal proceedings against the declarer concerning any of the above stipulations (*peri medenos haplos pragmatos*) . . . in any fashion (*tropo medeni*)” (*P.Phil.* 11.16, 21). In AD 38, *emou methen haplos lambanontos* means “without receiving absolutely anything.”¹⁸ Consequently, the best translation of Jas 1:5 would appear to be “purely and simply,”¹⁹ without emphasizing one nuance or another, except that of pure gift.

¹ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 97; cf. Bauernfeind on this word in *TDNT*, vol. 1, pp. 386–387.

² Whence the corresponding terms ἀληθινός, ἄμωμος, ὅσιος, εἰ—ρηνικός, καθαρὰ καρδία, τέλειος. J. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu*, Paris, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 137ff. Cf. C. Spicq, “La vertu de simplicité dans l’Ancien et le Nouveau Testament,” in *RSPT*, 1933, pp. 5–26.

³ Cf. “simplicity of heart,” Gen 20:5; Josh 24:14; 1Kgs 9:4; 1Chr 29:17; Wis 1:1.

⁴ In *T. 12 Patr.* the exhortation recurs endlessly to “walk in *haplotes* according to the law” (*T. Levi* 13.1; cf. *T. Reub.* 4.1; *T. Sim.* 4.5) or “in simplicity of heart” (*T. Issach.* 4.1; cf. 3.8; 7.7) or “of soul” (*T. Issach.* 4.6), “before God” (*T. Issach.* 3.2; cf. 5.8). *Haplotes*, the subject of joy (*T. Issach.* 3.6), is parallel to *akakia* (*T. Issach.* 5.1). In the last days, your sons will abandon *haplotes*. (*T. Issach.* 6.1; cf. 7.7; *T. Benj.* 6.7) and will have “double vision” (*T. Asher* 4.1, διπρόσωπον). A. Jaubert (*La notion d’alliance*

dans le Judaïsme, Paris, 1963, p. 274) sees an anti-Pharisee point in these texts.

⁵ “The light of the body is the eye. If then your eye is simple, your whole body will be full of light; but if your eye is evil, your whole body will be darkened.” Recorded similarly by Matt 6:22 and Luke 11:34, but in totally different contexts; inserted by Matt in the Sermon on the Mount (devotion to wealth produces blindness of heart); by Luke among other fragments without any definite connection, after the passage about Martha at home, where it serves as a warning that purity of outlook is necessary for recognizing the teaching of Jesus, or better the light on Jesus (H. J. Cadbury, “The Single Eye,” in *HTR*, 1954, pp. 69–74. L. Vaganay, “L’Etude d’un doublet dans la Parabole de la Lampe,” in *Le Problème synoptique*, Paris-Tournai, 1954, pp. 426–442). Cf. C. Edlund, *Das Auge der Einfalt*, Copenhagen-Lund, 1952 (cf. the summary by P. Benoit, in *RB*, 1953, pp. 603–605); E. Sjöberg, “Das Licht in dir: Zur Deutung von Matth. VI, 22 f Par.,” in *ST*, vol. 5, 1952, pp. 89–105; J. Amstutz, *ΑΠΛΟΤΗΣ*, Bonn, 1968.

⁶ For the Greeks, the eye emits visual rays which travel outward in a straight line (Plato, *Tim.* 45c; Archimedes, fragments edited by C. Mugler, vol. 4, p. 207; cf. J. Itard, “Optique et perspective,” in *La Science antique et médiévale*, Paris, 1957, vol. 1, pp. 341ff.) Empedocles, frag. 84.3 (Diels, 7th ed.) compares it to a lantern with a flaxen veil (cf. *REG*, 1959, pp. xi, 58). There is a movement (flow) from the eye toward its object (Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 99; *Unchang. God* 78). Cf. the texts in C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, pp. 293ff. A. Lejeune, *Recherches sur la catoptrique grecque*, Brussels, 1957.

⁷ To put it another way, seeing requires both the objective light (the sun) and the subjective light (the eye). It is the same in the spiritual order: the subjective light of the body or soul is necessary, and the whole practical issue is making sure that it is in good order for receiving the objective light of the revelation of Jesus Christ. The union of both lights is required. Only the “simple eye” sees things exactly as they are. We must remember that in the Hellenistic period, φω—ς—φωτίζειν refer to the light from the beyond, and that it was in this period that the religious use of candles developed; cf. S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe Licht und Finsternis im A. T., im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus*, Oslo, 1952; F. N. Klein, *Die Lichtterminologie bei Philon von Alexandrien und in den Hermetischen Schriften*, Leiden, 1962; J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Law in the NT*, pp. 188–207.

⁸ C. Edlund, *Das Auge der Einfalt*, Copenhagen-Lund, 1952, p. 67, is right in understanding this logion as aimed against the legalists and scribes. The most intelligent rabbis cannot see (understand) anything of the Savior’s

manifestation so long as they claim to be φω—ς τω—ν ε—ν σκότει (Rom 2:19).

⁹ Mark 10:15; cf. S. Légasse, *Jésus et l'enfant*, Paris, 1969.

¹⁰ In biblical anthropology, *body* is not opposed to *soul* but designates the whole person.

¹¹ 2Cor 11:3, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ τῆς ἀγνότητος; cf. Philo, *Creation* 156: the eating the fruit “suddenly conveyed them from innocence and simplicity in their way of life to deceitfulness—ε—ξ ἀκακίας καὶ ἀπλότητος ἠθω—ν εἰ—ς πανουργίαν μετέβαλεν.”

¹² In Philo (*Moses* 1.172) goodwill (ἀπλότης) is opposed to recrimination, hardness, and a spiteful personality (τὴν πικρίαν καὶ τὸ βαρύμηνι); cf. “the natural uprightness of Titus” (Josephus, *War* 5.319; cf. 529).

¹³ Cf. H. Riesenfeld, “ΑΠΛΩΣ: Zu Jak. I, 5,” in *ConNT*, vol. 9, 1941, pp. 33–41, where several occurrences of this adverb with δίδωμι are cited (Plutarch, *Sol.* 21.4; *Demetr.* 19.10); *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 95. W. C. van Unnik (*De ἀφθονία van God in de oudchristelijke Literatuur, Amsterdam-London, 1973, pp. 12ff.*) juxtaposes *Jas* 1:5 and *Odes Sol.* 7.3.

¹⁴ Cf. Dio Chrysostom 51.1: οὐχ ἀπλω—ς ἀλλὰ μετὰ φροντίδος; Marcus Aurelius 5.7.2: “One must either not pray at all or pray naively, candidly”; Philo, *Drunkenness* 76: “serving loyally and candidly, ἀψευδω—ς καὶ ἀπλω—ς θεραπεύων.” In Prov 10:9, “the one who walks in uprightness” is in antithetical parallel with “devious.” Hence my earlier translation, “without mental reservation or ulterior motive” (C. Spicq, “AMETAMEΛΗΤΟΣ in Rom. XI, 29,” in *RB*, 1960, pp. 217).

¹⁵ With respect to coins, ἀπλω—ς means “genuine” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 901, 9; *P.Ryl.* 709, 6; *P.Fouad* 53, 3; *P.Oxy.* 2237, 8; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 1, 7; cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1960, p. 142, n. 59). In legal language: “the written contract in a single exemplar (without duplicates) is valid” (*P.Rein.* 105, 10; 108, 14; *P.Warr.* 10, 30; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 4, 8; 20, 22; *PSI* 1427, 23; cf. *P.Fouad* 20, 11; *P.Mert.* 36, 17; 98, 19; *P.Harr.* 66, 4 and 13; 81, 7; 83, 14; 141, 6; 145, 4; *BGU* 2117, 10; *C.P.Herm.* 32, 22; *P.Oxy.* 2237, 19; 2270, 14; 2350, col. III, 19; 2587, 9; etc.).

¹⁶ Cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 507: “I said plainly to everyone around. . . .”

¹⁷ The formula *περὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἀπλω—ς* (*P.Yale* 63, 15, from 7 July 64; cf. 65, 31; *UPZ* 218, col., 1, 24; 223, col, 1, 18) or *περὶ ε—τέρου ἀπλω—ς πράγματος* (*P.Fouad* 56, 19, from 11 February 79; *P.Ryl.* 588, 23; 20 September 78 BC) recurs constantly: *P.Mich.* 337, 15 (AD 24); 345, 15 (AD 7); 351, 14 (AD 44); 352, 10 (AD 46); *P.Mert.* 111, 15; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 9, 18; 13, 23, 44, 58; 20, 30; 21, 15, 27; *P.Oxy.* 2185, 27 (AD 95); *P.Tebt.* 45, 25; 395, 10, 18; in two acts of divorce, *P.Dura* 31, 15; 32, 11; cf. Philo, *Drunkennes* 78; *Post. Cain* 114; Epictetus 3.13.10; 3.22.96; 4.1.172.

¹⁸ *P.Mich.* 266, 15; 276, 10, 24, 25, 32, 40 (AD 47); cf. 603, 18 “with nothing more”; *P.Mert.* 115, 16; *P.Tebt.* 392, 26, 35; *P.Sarap.* 36, 10.

¹⁹ Cf. 2Macc 6:6—“It wasn’t even allowed to celebrate the Sabbath, nor to keep the festivals of our ancestors, nor *simply* to admit that one was Jewish”; Wis 16:27—“That which was not destroyed by the fire melted, simply heated by a brief ray of sunlight.” Epictetus 2.2.13: “Do not let yourself be pulled in all directions, sometimes ready to serve, sometimes refusing, but serve simply and with all your heart, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπλω—ς καὶ ε—ξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας.”

ἀποβλέπω

apoblepo, to look, observe, pay close attention
see also ἀφοράω

apoblepo, S 578; *EDNT* 1.125; MM 59; L&N 30.31; BAGD 89

To describe the character of the faith whereby Moses, in the midst of his trials, took the promised reward into account, Heb 11:26 uses the verb *apoblepo*, “look, observe, pay attention.” Faith “looks from a distance,” or better, “considers steadfastly” and as it were exclusively. In the OT, *apoblepo* sometimes connotes lying in wait or scrutinizing (Ps 10:8; 11:5), or making a profitable observation (Prov 24:32); but when it translates the verb *pānāh* (Hos 3:1; Cant 6:1), which means turn to look (Exod 2:12) or to leave (Isa 13:14), it takes on the sense of turning away, of detaching oneself from other concerns to devote one’s attention to one thing only. This meaning, which is the one that applies in Heb 11:26, is confirmed by Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.293; Moses keeps his eyes fixed on the greatness of God. Cf. *P.Stras.* 305, 6: *apoblepon kai eis ta mellonta*; *PSI* 414, 9, a letter from the vine-grower Meno claiming his pay from Zeno: *eis to opsonion apoblepo*.

In secular Greek, *apoblepo* expresses the activity of the astronomer who “observes the heavenly motions,”¹ or that of a painter who fixes his

gaze on a model, constantly checking in order to take in every detail.² The use of the word is extended from simple eyesight³ to a “become aware of” (Epictetus 1.6.37) and especially to “take into consideration, take into account”⁴ in order to pattern one’s conduct accordingly.⁵ This is exactly what Moses did in reckoning that there was no comparison between the treasures of Egypt and the divine “recompense.”

¹ Plato, *Resp.* 7.530a; cf. C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 44: “ἀπ. Verbal expression designating the contemplation, out of curiosity or scientific interest, of an optical phenomenon.”

² Plato, *Resp.* 6.484c. Cf. Philo, *Virtues* 70: Moses is contemplated as a model and example; cf. B. Snell, H. Ersbe, *Lexikon*, vol. 1, col. 1090ff.

³ Josephus, *War* 7.200: “the place where he was best seen by the spectators”; 7.338: “they looked at each other”; *Ant.* 8.344; 9.14.

⁴ Josephus, *Life* 135: “take your ancestral laws into consideration”; *Ag. Apion* 1.31: “without taking into consideration fortune or other distinctions”; *War* 2.311: “Florus, considering neither the number of the dead nor the high birth of the suppliant”; *Ant.* 20.61: “Izates took into consideration . . . the fact that changes of fortune are the dowry of all people (ἀποβλέπων is parallel to λογισμῶ— διδούς).” In a Christian letter of consolation to a friend who has lost his son: ἀπόβλεψον ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐ—ν ἀνθρώποις ἀθάνατος (*P.Princ.* 102, 13–14; from the fourth century).

⁵ Josephus, *Ant.* 4.39: the companions of Dathan come with their wives and their children “to see what Moses would decide to do, τί καὶ μέλλοι ποιει—ν.” Moulton-Milligan cite the edict of Ephesus, around AD 160, ἀποβλέπων εἰς τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ εἰ—ς τὴν τῆς λαμπροτάτης —Ἐφεσίων πόλεως τειμήν.

ἀποδοχή

apodoche, acceptance, enthusiastic reception, respect

apodoche, S 594; *TDNT* 2.55–56; *EDNT* 1.129; *NIDNTT* 3.744, 746; *MM* 62; *L&N* 31.52; *BAGD* 91

“This saying is sure and worthy of all approbation” (*pases apodoches axios*, 1Tim 1:15; 4:9). This kerygma formula, influenced by Hellenism, and abundantly commented upon by exegetes,¹ can be clarified when

apodoche is given its proper value. This noun, which only appears in late Koine (except for Thucydides 4.81.2), normally means “a good welcome, favorable reception,”² and it is thus that it is attested in *Ep. Arist.* 257: “How can one find a good welcome among strangers?” and in Josephus, *Ant.* 18.274: “their insuperable objection to receiving the statue” of the emperor.

But already in the last century F. Field pointed out that the connotation of approval and admiration stood out in numerous texts,³ and in 1911 J. Rouffiac tracked it down in two inscriptions of Priene.⁴ We could add *Ep. Arist.* 308—when Demetrius undertook a reading and a translation in the presence of the translators, “these were received with enthusiasm by the crowd”⁵—and Diodorus Siculus 1.69; 9.40; 15.35.

What is more, the expression *axios apodoches*, already used by Philo (“He alone is worthy of approval who has placed his hope in God,” Philo, *Rewards* 13; likewise *Flight* 129), is current in the literature: “Strato himself was a man worthy of much acceptance” (*autos de ho Straton aner gegone polles tes apodoches axios*, Diogenes Laertius 5.64); “If the starting point is unknown . . . all that follows can in no way deserve assent and confidence” (Polybius 1.5.5); with respect to the tomb of the king Osymandyas, “not only was this work praiseworthy on account of its immense size (*to megethos apodoches axios*), but it was also admirable from an artistic point of view” (Diodorus Siculus 1.47.4; cf. 5.31: *apodoches megales axiountes autous*; 12.15: this law is “perfectly just and worthy of the greatest praise”); *andros ergon kai polles axion apodoches* (Hierocles, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 4.27.20; vol. 4, p. 662, 2). It is especially with respect to people that the meaning “consideration, high esteem” predominates in the inscriptions;⁶ for example inhonorific decrees. One of these from the village of Odessa, around 45 BC, in honor of Menogenes, a *kaloskagathos* who had bestowed many benefits on the city and its region: “with the king he was reckoned worthy of great esteem” (*para to basilei megales apodoches axioutai*, *I. Bulg.*, 43, 13); another honors Menas of Sestos: “being considered worthy of the noblest esteem” (*tes kallistes apodoches axioumenos par’ auto*, Dittenberger, *Or.* 339, 13–14). Similarly, a second-century inscription from Ephesus honoring the *agonothetes* Priscus: “a most respected man and worthy of all honor and esteem” (*andros dokimotatou kai pases teimes kai apodoches axiou*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 867, 20).

Consequently, the apostolic preaching not only deserves to be accepted by all but also deserves the highest credit (*pas* is intensive; cf. 1Tim 6:1). It is worthy of devout respect, the respect that everyone owes to the Truth.⁷

¹ H. B. Swete, “The Faithful Sayings,” in *JTS*, 1917, pp. 1–7; J. M. Bover, “Fidelis sermo,” in *Bib*, 1938, pp. 74–79; G. W. Knight, *The Faithful Sayings in the Pastoral Letters*, Kampen, 1968, pp. 22ff. C. Spicq, *Epîtres*

Pastorales, vol. 1, p. 277; C.F.D. Moule, *Birth of the NT*, pp. 283–284; Grundmann, on this word in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 55–56.

² Cf. ἀποδέχομαι (Acts 2:41). A. Calderini (*ΗΣΑΥΡΟΙ*, 2d ed., Milan, 1972, p. 97) relates it to ἀποδοχία, “the reserve, the place where one keeps things.”

³ F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 203. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.347: “It is right that they should receive approval.”

⁴ J. Rouffiac, *Caractères du grec*, p. 39. After 129 BC, ε—ν ἀποδοχῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ γινομένους = enjoying the highest esteem (*I.Priene* 108, 312; likewise 109, 234; around 120 BC). Cf. *I.Magn.* 113, 21: εἶναι ε—ν ἀποδοχῇ τῷ— δῆμῳ; *CIRB* 432 B: ε—παίνου καὶ πλείστης ἀποδοχῆς ὑποστῆναι; J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 8, 7: ἀποδοχαί = favors. Polybius associates ἀποδοχή and πίστις several times: “Alexo enjoyed their favor and confidence” (1.43.4; cf. 1.5.5).

⁵ Οἵτινες μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔτυχον.

⁶ —Αποδοχή, unknown in the papyri, belongs to cultivated language. In Greek rhetoric, one uses ἄξιος ἀποδοχῆς to qualify an utterance, a discourse based on argumentation and in which one may place confidence, cf. I.C.T. Ernesti, *LTGR*, 2d ed. Hildesheim, 1982, p. 226.

⁷ W. A. Oldfather, L. W. Daly (“A Quotation from Menander in the Pastoral Epistles?” in *CP*, 1943, pp. 202–204) mention this saying in Terence: “It is a universal defect that in old age we are too attached to things,” followed by the sentence, “the saying is true and must be put into practice—et dictum est vere et re ipsa fieri oportet” (Terence, *Ad.* 954); and since Terence is transposing Menander, these writers suppose that the latter wrote πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, which the Pastorals preserved more precisely.

ἀποκυέω

apokyeo, to deliver, give birth

apokyeo, S 616; *EDNT* 1.134; MM 65; L&N 13.12, 13.87; BDF §101; BAGD 94

“Desire, when it has conceived (*syllambano*), gives birth to sin (*tikto*), and sin, when it has come to term, gives birth to death (*apokyo*).”¹ The Father

of lights “by his own will gave birth to us (*apekyesen*) by a word of truth, so that we should be something of a firstfruits of his creatures.”² The verb *apokyeo* (biblical hapax), unknown even in Josephus, belongs to cultivated Hellenistic Greek.³ It is much used by Philo, who gives it its precise, objective meaning as the last stage of begetting—“deliver” or “give birth”—even when the usage is metaphorical.⁴ After the conception (*syllambano*) and the gestation (*en gastri echo, kyo*), the woman brings her child into the world; the prefix *apo-* precisely emphasizes the “delivery.” Although the compound verb under discussion sometimes includes the two preceding phases, it must normally be distinguished from the simple *kyo* (“carry in the womb, be or become pregnant,”⁵ the opposite of *tikto*, Isa 61:4) and even more from the very general *gennao*,⁶ because it refers to the moment when the mother, at the end of the period of gestation, brings forth into the world a fully formed child now capable of an independent existence.⁷ The *genuit* of the Vulgate must therefore be eliminated in favor of the *peperit* of the Old Latin (ed. Beuron, vol. 26, p.17). In choosing this verb, St. James wanted to point out the efficaciousness of the divine action and the reality of baptismal generation. Christians had taken on a spiritual mode of existence by virtue of which they were capable of leading a really new life.

¹ Jas 1:15. The metaphor is attested several times in the OT: “The one who carries sin in the womb, who conceives a misdeed and gives birth to a lie” (Ps 7:15; cf. G. J. Thierry, “Remarks on Various Passages of the Psalms,” in *OTS*, vol. 13, 1963, pp. 77ff.); “They conceive mischief and bring forth iniquity” (Isa 59:4); Job 15:35. It is loved by Philo: “We speak of corruption and of the birthing of the virtues . . .” (Philo, *Cherub.* 42–46; cf. 57); “The proper name of imprudence is She Who Gives Birth, because the intelligence of the insane . . . is always suffering the pangs of child-bearing, when it desires riches, glory, pleasure, of some other object” (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.75); the soul, which conceives thoughts, vices, and passions, has a reproductive capacity comparable to that of a woman who conceives and gives birth to a child (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 103); all the virtues are fertile and can be compared to a productive field or to a mother who gives birth (*Worse Attacks Better* 114), especially justice, “which brings into the world a male offspring (*ἀποκεκύηκε*), right reasoning” (121); and “prudence, which, like a mother, brings into the world (*ἀποκυήσασα*) the race capable of receiving her instruction” (*Change of Names* 137). “The one who beholds God . . . brought into the world (*ἀποκυηθέν*) by virtue” (*Post. Cain* 63). Cf. *T. Benj.* 7.2—“The *dianoia* is pregnant with the works of Beliar.”

² Jas 1:18. Cf. Deut 32:18—“You despise the Rock that gave birth to you and you forget the God who brought you into the world”; Isa 66:7–11; the metaphorical and collective birthing of the people Israel. O. Michel, O. Betz

(“Von Gott gezeugt,” in *Festschrift J. Jeremias*, Berlin, 1960, p. 22, and in *NTS*, vol. 9, 1963, pp. 129–130) point out parallels at Qumran. C. M. Edsman (“Schöpferwille und Geburt, Jk. I, 18: Eine Studie zur altchristlichen Kosmologie,” in *ZNW*, 1939, pp. 11–44; idem, “Schöpfung und Wiedergeburt: Nochmals Jac. I, 18,” in *Spiritus et Veritas: Mélanges Kundzinu*, Auseklis, 1953, pp. 43–55) provides references to ecclesiastical writers who use this term to designate the begetting of the Word by the Father or of Jesus by the Virgin Mary (Justin, *1 Apol.* 32.14; *2 Apol.* 6.5; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.1.1; Origen, *Cels.* 5.52; 5.58; Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* 3.2; 3.50; etc.). A. v. Harnack knows only two authors (Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.45.1, and Methodius of Olympus, *Symp.* 3.8) who use this verb to speak of baptismal generation (*Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche: Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. 42, 3; Leipzig, 1918, p. 109, n. 2; p. 120, n. 2). Cf. L. E. Elliott-Binns, “James I, 18: Creation or Redemption?” in *NTS*, vol. 3, 1957, pp. 148–161; above all J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology*, pp. 108, 126, 139ff., 150.

³ It is very rare in the papyri: *BGU* 665, col. II, 19 (first century AD); *SB* 6611, 15, 20 (a notarial act of divorce, AD 120), always meaning specifically “bring into the world”; cf. 4Macc 15:7—“O woman, the only one who has brought into the world perfect piety.”

⁴ Philo, *Flight* 208: “Through an easy birthing (πραῦτόκοις ὠδι—σιν), you will bring forth a male child (ἄρρενα γενεὰν ἀποκυήσεις);” Philo, *Post. Cain* 114: “This shadow, these ambiguous hallucinations, give birth to (ἀποκυει—ται) a son.”

⁵ *Κυέω*, *concipio*, is said of the mother: “be great with child”; cf. an inscription of Delphi: οὔτε κύουσα γυνή (*SEG*, vol. 16, 341, 7; R. Ferwerda, *La signification des images et des métaphores dans la pensée de Plotin*, Groningen, 1965, pp. 82ff.); “all the pregnant women (πα—σαι αι—κυούσαι γυναι—κες) brought malformed children into the world” (Plutarch, *Publ.* 21.2); “They saw that his brother’s wife was pregnant (κύουσαν)” (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 3.1; cf. *Alex.* 2.5; 77.6); “The seventh day . . . was brought into the world without gestation, γεννηθει—σαν ἄνευ κύσεως” (Philo, *Moses* 2.210); Abraham had relations with Hagar “until she conceived a child (ἄχρι τοῦ παιδοποιήσασθαι) and—as the most trustworthy narrators tell us—only until she was pregnant (ἄχρι τοῦ μόνον ε—γκύμονα γενέσθαι)” *Abraham* 253. “The essence of God is to inseminate (τὸ κύειν) and produce all things” *Corp. Herm.* 5.9. Obviously the term is sometimes used more broadly (cf. Philo, *Moses* 1.16: “A Jewish woman who had recently given birth, κυήσαντι”); according to Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* 22, the inhabitants of the moon carry their children (κύουσι) in the

paunchy part of the leg. Otherwise, κύος = fetus; κυΐσκω = inseminate (E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, under this word). Among the Gnostics, κύημα referred to spiritual or pneumatic generation.

⁶ Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 100ff.; A. Schlatter, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, Stuttgart, 1956, p. 136.

⁷ Cf. Philo: “With women, and with all females, when the time of parturition (ἀποκυΐσκω) draws near, their sources of milk can be seen to begin to form so that their bodies may supply the newborn offspring with needed and appropriate food” (*Plant.*); “The Pythagoreans compare the number seven to a woman of perpetual virginity and without a mother, because it was not born and does not beget, ὅτι οὔτε ἀπεκνήθη οὔτε ἀποτέξεται” (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.15); God is the father of this world, and one could call its mother the knowledge with which he begot it, “this knowledge, having received the divine seed, after conceiving and bringing to term her only and well-beloved son, she then gave birth to our sensible universe (ἀπεκύησε)” (*Drunkenness* 30); “It is one and the same soul that carries both of these conceptions. Once they are brought forth into the world (ὅταν ἀποκηθῶ—σι), they must necessarily be separated” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 3). Plutarch: “Valeria gave birth to a daughter (ἀπεκύησεν)” (*Sull.* 37.7); “In the middle of her dinner . . . she brought a boy into the world (ἀποκηθὲν ἄρρεν)” (idem, *Lyc.* 3.5); *Corp. Herm.*: Mind-God, being male-and-female . . . gave birth by a word (ἀπεκύησε λόγῳ) to a second Mind demiurge” (1.9); “He gave virth to a Man like himself, whom he loved as his own child” (1.12).

ἀπόλαυσις

apolausis, enjoyment, happiness

apolausis, S 619; *EDNT* 1.135; MM 65–66; L&N 25.115; BAGD 94

This noun, unknown in the papyri before the sixth century (cf. *P.Flor.* 296, 11), is only used twice in the NT, and in accord with the double meaning that it has in the secular language. God provides us with “all things richly for our enjoyment, *eis apolausin*” (1Tim 6:17). As opposed to the ascetic Manichaeism of the heterodox teachers, St. Paul affirms the optimism of revelation with respect to the earthly goods that divine providence obtains for us.¹ The end purpose *eis apolausin* had already been expressed by Philo and Josephus in reference to food, subsistence, and everyday necessities of life.² In 68, the prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Julius Alexander, promulgated an edict to the effect that his subjects should wait

upon the “safety and material happiness” of the benevolent emperor Galba.³ The meaning is “to derive benefit, to enjoy personally, to make the most of a possession.”⁴

This enjoyment, well-being, and pleasure is extended to happiness in all its forms, whether culinary delights (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.98), marital *koinonia* (2.52), the love of a woman,⁵ the joys of youth (*I. Thas.* 334, 18), the diversion of activities,⁶ the satisfaction of ownership,⁷ or the present and lasting enjoyment of good things.⁸ It is in light of these usages that we must understand Heb 11:25—Moses chose to be “mistreated with the people of God rather than to enjoy for a time the pleasure of sin.”⁹

¹ Acts 14:17. A Stoic theme, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 236.

² Philo, *Moses* 2.70: Moses remained on the mountain, “having brought no provisions for necessary food, εἰς ἀναγκαίαν ἀπόλαυσιν τροφῆς”; *Rewards* 135: prosperous people find life desirable for the enjoyment of good things, εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν”; cf. God’s words to Adam: thanks to Providence, all things contribute to “well-being and pleasure, πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ἡδονήν” (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.46); *Ant.* 8.153: “those goods conveniently arranged for pleasure and joy, εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τρυφήν”; 16.13: Herod entertains Marcus Agrippa and his friends with all sorts of pleasures and food. *1Clem.* 20.10: “inexhaustible springs, created for pleasure and health, πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ὑγείαν.”

³ Τά τε πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν (*SB* 8444, 8; cf. G. Chalon, *T. Julius Alexander*).

⁴ Cf. enjoyment of succession to the throne or the benefits of royalty (Josephus, *War* 1.111, 1.587), and the verb ἀπολαύω, which occurs frequently in the papyri (*P.Herm.* 5, 10: ἀπολαύειν τῆς ε—πὶ σοὶ μεγίστης εὐφροσύνης) and the inscriptions, cf. the discourse of Nero at Corinth in 67: “a larger number of people enjoyed my favors, ἵνα μου πλείονες ἀπολαύωσι τῆς χάριτος”; (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 814, 18; cf. *Or.* 666, 10); an inscription on a ring from Homs: “—Ἀπόλαυε χέρων—Enjoy with pleasure” (*IGLS* 2482).

⁵ —Ἀπόλαυσις represented in the form of an elegant young woman (*IGLS* 871). The Hebrews did not try to flee the enchantment of the beauty of the daughters of the Midianites and the intimacy of relations with them (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.131).

⁶ *Inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene* (*IGLS* 1.150; cf. 12 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 383, 12). Cf. the technical meaning of *voluptas*: ε—πίτροπος ἀπὸ τῶ—ν ἄ. (*ILS* 8849; Suetonius, *Tib.* 42).

⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 5.95: τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν ἀγαθῶν; cf. 14.160.

⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* 2.48; 2.161; 4.178; every sort of satisfaction (*War* 7.388). Diodorus Siculus 17.67.3; 17.75.1; 17.75.6; 17.110.5: the pleasures of existence.

⁹ Josephus, *Ant.* 4.42: ἀφείς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπέδωκα ταῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων ταλαιπωρίαις; cf. 2.174: God's words to Jacob—"This son whom you believe to be lost (Joseph) has been preserved by my Providence, and I have led him into a greater happiness, hardly different from that of a king." Demetrius and Antonius gave themselves up to debauchery (ἀπολαύσεις), Plutarch, *Ant.* 90(3).1; cf. 91(4), 5.

ἀπολείπω

apoleipo, to leave behind

apoleipo, S 620; *EDNT* 1.135; MM 66; L&N 13.140, 15.59, 85.65; BDF §393(6); BAGD 94

After a quick visit to Crete, St. Paul left Titus there, and when he reached Rome as a prisoner, he had left Trophimus behind sick at Miletus (2Tim 4:20). As parallels to this meaning of *apoleipo* ("leave behind") one could cite 1Macc 9:65, "Jonathan left his brother Simon in the city"; 2Macc 4:29, "Menelaus left his own brother Lysimachus to replace him as high priest."¹ Not only people are left behind but also objects, just as the apostle left behind his cloak at the home of Carpos at Troas.²

This nuance of losing and missing, an extremely frequent usage, is pejorative;³ it refers to any sort of failure or deficiency,⁴ from lateness or absence⁵ to renunciation and abandonment, with connotations of disorder and betrayal.⁶ It is certainly with this connotation of "desertion" that the angels, whose natural habitation is heaven, are said to have "left their proper abode."⁷

The idea of leaving⁸ and perhaps the use of *apoleipo* to communicate that a deceased person leaves surviving progeny or leaves possessions behind⁹ coincide with the technical usage of this verb in wills, as is attested in the papyri and the inscriptions:¹⁰ the testator "leaves" his goods to his heirs. Thus, around 200 BC, Epicteta: "I leave as follows (*apoleipo kata tan gegenemenan*) in accord with the recommendation of my husband Phoenix";¹¹ in the second century AD, the will of Taptollion

(*P.Wisc.* 13, 6, 7, 11, 13) or *P.Oxy.* 105, 3–4: “If I die with this will unchanged, I leave as heir my daughter Ammonous . . . objects, furnishings, buildings, and all other property that I leave.”¹²

This meaning of “survival” or of “things left,” of definitive acquisition, is the meaning in Heb 4:6, 9, where participation in God’s rest is still bestowed upon or granted to believers,¹³ because God’s promise is as unalterable as a *diatheke*; it does not expire. But, on the other hand, “there remains no further sacrifice for the sins” of the apostates (10:26), because the divine economy has made no provision for their pardon.

¹ Cf. 2Macc 10:19; 1Macc 10:79; Judg 9:5—“Only Jotham was left”; 2Kgs 10:21; Josephus, *War* 2.108: “Aristobulus was intentionally left behind on Cyprus so that he would not be ambushed”; 4.107: “women and children were left behind”; *Ant.* 7.218; *P.Athen.* 1, 4 (letter of Amyntas to Zeno, from 16 March 257 BC): ἀξιολογοῦντες δὲ ἐν Μιέμφει ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐργάζεσθαι; Lucian, *Nav.* 32: “We easily took possession of the open cities, where we left governors behind.”

² 2Tim 4:13 (on the *paenula*, a long, heavy, and thick cloak, cf. C. Spicq, “Pèlerine et vêtements,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, pp. 389–417); Josephus, *War* 1.667: “Ptolemy read a letter left by Herod for the benefit of his soldiers”; 3.452: “they left their mounts”; *Ant.* 18.38: the city; 14.354: the country; *SB* 6775, 2 (list of objects, from 257 BC): ἐν Ἑρμοῦπόλει ἀπολελοίπαμεν; hence, in an abstract and figurative sense: leave behind an opinion (Philo, *Etern. World* 7), a subject for criticism (vision of Maximus, in E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 168, 21), a souvenir (Wis 8:13; 10:8; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.298: Herod left for posterity a monument to his philanthropy), a job to finish (Josephus, *War* 7.303).

³ Sir 3:13—“If he has lost his understanding, be patient”; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.13: “Herod left out nothing that might please Marcus Agrippa”; 1.115; 1.215; 3.102; 9.236: “the king did not lack any virtue”; 1.75; 12.96; *War* 3.91: “no one should be missing from the ranks”; 3.250: “nothing that could terrify the eyes or ears was missing”; 4.382: “they left the bodies to rot in the sun”; 5.200; 5.222; 7.169; 7.186: “springs of water not lacking in sweetness.” Hence the connotation of inferiority (*Ant.* 14.129; *Ag. Apion* 2.39: a period of a little less than three thousand years). In some post-Euclidean mathematicians, ἀπολείπω, as a synonym of καταλείπω and ὑπολείπω refers to “the effect of a subtraction carried out on geometrical figures” (C.Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, p. 77).

⁴ *P.Tebt.* 10, 5; 72, 110; *P.Rein.* 109, 1: ε—ἀν ἀπολίπη = in case of default (second century BC); *P.Oslo* 85, 17; *P.Mert.* 70, 32: if it is still due (28 August AD 159).

⁵ Menander, *Dysk.* 402: “Getas, my boy, you are quite late”; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.135: “He would punish with death any absent priest”; 6.236: “the son of Jesse had been absent from the meal.”

⁶ *Prov* 2:17 (‘*azab*’); 19:27 (*hadal*); *Sir* 17:25; *Isa* 55:7; *UPZ* 19, 6: “our father deserted the community” (164 BC); *P.Oxy.* 1881, 19: not abandoning a lawsuit just because it has come to a conclusion; 2711, 6; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.136: they left him to fight alone; *War* 4.393: “many dissidents abandoned him”; *Ant.* 14.346: Phasaël did not think it right to abandon Hyrcanus; 8.335: they abandoned the true God; 8.296 (his worship); 6.231—Jonathan’s words to David: “God will not abandon you”; *1Clem.* 3.4: “each one has abandoned the fear of God”; 7.2: “then let us leave behind vain and useless preoccupations.”

⁷ *Jude* 6: ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰ—κητήριον. In the Greek fragments of the book of *Enoch* found at Akhmim, Enoch receives this command: “Go say to the Watchers of heaven that, having left high heaven . . . they are unclean” (12.4); “why have you left high heaven?” (15.3). In *2Enoch* 11, “the devil became Satan when he fled heaven” (ed. A. Vaillant, p. 103).

⁸ Polybius 2.1.6; Josephus, *War* 2.13.

⁹ Josephus, *Ant.* 8.285: Abias left twenty-two daughters behind; 8.272; 12.282; *War* 1.572; 588: Herod would take care not to leave any of his children alive. In AD 36: “My husband died, leaving me with three children” (*P.Mich.* 236, 5 = *SB* 7568, 5); *BGU* 1833, 5 (50 BC), τὰ ἀπολελειμμένα = things left by the deceased, inheritance (*P.Mert.* 26, 9; *P.Harr.* 68, 8; *SB* 9790, 7; 10500, 13, 16, 24, 27; 10756, 13); cf. *P.Oxy.* 2111, 22–24; 2583, 4.

¹⁰ It is set forth especially by J. H. Moulton, G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, 2d ed., London, 1949, under this word.

¹¹ C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 1001, col. I, 7; col. II, 3: “I leave (ἀπολείπω) the museum with the enclosure” (*RIJG*, vol. 2, p. 78); *P.Rein.* 96, 5; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 79, 14; 161, col. II, 7.

¹² *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 371, col. IV, 9 (the time of Nero): κληρονόμον γὰρ αὐτὸν τω—ν ι—δίων ἀπολελοιπέναι; cf. n. 100, 17; *BGU* 1098, 49; 1148, 22; 1164, 18; Josephus, *War* 1.71: “John had left everything to Aristobulus.”

¹³ Cf. Polybius 6.58.9: ε—λπίς ἀπολείπεται σωτηρίας.

ἀπόστολος

apostolos, apostle

apostolos, S 652; *TDNT* 1.407–445; *EDNT* 1.142; *NIDNTT* 1.126–130, 133–134, 136; MM 70; L&N 33.194, 53.74; BAGD 99–100

This adjective (Plato, *Ep.* 7.346 a) and noun derives from the verb *apostello*, “send, dispatch,”¹ and like this verb it has a large variety of nuances that flow from the context.²

From Herodotus on, *apostolos* refers to the bearer of a message, such as the herald sent by Alyattes to Miletus (1.21). Varus authorizes a “delegation” (*ton apostolon*) of Jews to Rome (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.300, the only occurrence; 1.146 is very poorly attested). The word means someone sent on a mission out of the country, or an “expedition,”³ or a group of colonists (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 9.5). Beginning in the fourth century, however, *apostolos* almost always refers to a naval expedition, a fleet,⁴ a transport ship (*P.Oxy.* 522, 1; *P.Tebt.* 486: *logos apostolou Triadelphou*; *PSI* 1229, 13). In the papyri, it is a technical term⁵ for the *naulotikai syngraphai*, the official papers ordering the shipment of grain by boat on the Nile from the public granaries to Alexandria.⁶ The *apostolos* is a passport, a safe-conduct, or, if the bearer wished to leave, an exit authorization (*prostagma*, *P.Oxy.* 1271; cf. Strabo 2.3.5), an export license. *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* 162 prescribes: “Legal proceeding against persons who have embarked (at Alexandria) without a passport (*choris apostolou*) now fall under the jurisdiction of the prefects.”⁷

None of these meanings from everyday or legal parlance, except for the basic meaning “envoy, emissary,”⁸ can explain the extreme theological density of this term in the NT, especially in St. Paul. Paul’s usage presupposes a Semitic substrate, namely that of the *shaliah*,⁹ an institution apparently going back to Jehoshaphat.¹⁰ This person is not a mere envoy but a chargé d’affaires, a person’s authorized representative; his acts are binding upon the “sender.”¹¹ At this point the principal and the proxy are equivalent: “A person’s *shaliah* is as the person himself.”¹² This rule carries over into the religious sphere: when the *shaliah* acts on God’s orders, it is God himself who acts (*b. B. Mes.* 86b), as in the case of Abraham, Elijah, or Elisha (*Midr. Ps.* 78 5; 173b). The rabbis considered the priest who offered the sacrifice to be God’s *shaliah*, “doing more than we can do” (*b. Qidd.* 23b ; cf. Rengstorf, “ἀπόστολος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 1, pp. 407, 419, 424), and on the Day of Atonement they called the high priest

“the people’s representative before God” (*m. Yoma* 1.5; *m. Git.* 3.6). On the other hand, in the Mishnah and the Talmud, the *shaliah* represents the community (*m. Rosh Hash.* 4.9), invested with the power given him by his constituents. These data were little by little transposed into the Christian tradition.

“Jesus spent the night praying to God. When it was day he called his disciples, and having chosen twelve from among them, he named them apostles” (*kai apostolous onomasen*).¹³ Among the *mathetai* who followed him, shared his life, and belonged to him (cf. *talmidim*, students of a master), Christ marked out twelve who would represent him in a special way, would be more closely associated with him,¹⁴ and would therefore have special authority. For the moment nothing is said concerning their function, except that the word *shaliah* in itself indicates that they would be envoys and proxies with appropriate powers.¹⁵ This is what Mark 6:7 says on the occasion of the temporary mission in Galilee: “He called the Twelve to himself and began to send them (*apostellein*) two by two, giving them power over unclean spirits” (cf. Matt 10:1-2). With Jesus’ *exousia* at their disposal, the apostles are prepared to carry out their mission. Here we already see the essential character of Christian apostleship.

1. — The apostle is a religious person, one set apart,¹⁶ *chosen* from among others and *called* by Christ; which implies that the apostle will share Christ’s condition, abandon his property, his trade, his family, will drink his cup (Matt 20:23), receiving the baptism with which the Master was baptized (Mark 10:39). St. Luke insists, “Jesus, having through the Holy Spirit given his orders to the apostles whom he had chosen (*hous exelexato*), he was taken away” (Acts 1:2; cf. John 15:16, 19). St. Paul always justifies his authority as a proxy: *kletos apostolos*, apostle by (God’s) call (Rom 1:1), i.e., by virtue of a vocation. The recurrent formula is “apostle of Christ Jesus by God’s will” (1Cor 1:1; 2Cor 1:1; Col 1:1; Eph 1:1). The genitive *Christou Iesou* (1Pet 1:1) is a genitive of possession and of origin (cf. Rom 1:5), as clarified by the reference to the appearance of the resurrected Christ (1Cor 9:1; 15:3-9) and reinforced by the divine will (*thelema*).¹⁷ No surer basis can be given for the legitimacy of the apostolic mission: the mandate comes from God. “An apostle not in the name of humans, nor [appointed] by a human, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father” (Gal 1:1). This investiture is official and stable.¹⁸

2. — The apostle is essentially a person *sent* by someone to someone else. The purpose can be more or less secular;¹⁹ as a delegate or representative, this “*apostolos* is not greater than the one who sent him” (John 13:16); nevertheless, “whoever receives the one whom I have sent receives me, and whoever receives me receives the one who sent me.”²⁰ The attitude that a person takes toward the *shaliah* is in reality directed toward the person of the sender. The apostle’s mission is first of all that of preaching,²¹ but also founding churches (1Cor 9:2), forgiving sins (John

20:23), passing on the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:18), ordaining deacons (Acts 6:6), instituting presbyters (Titus 1:5). If need be, different audiences are specified: Peter is sent to the circumcised (Gal 2:7), Paul to the pagans (Rom 11:13; cf. 2Cor 10:13-16).

3. — Such a role in God's plan of salvation requires that the apostle be invested with *power* and authority (Luke 24:49; 1Thess 1:5). The Lord gave them the Holy Spirit and *exousia* over the demons. As heirs or proxies of Christ, the apostles live not only as itinerant missionaries but as heads of communities, repositories of Jesus' authority: "many wonders and signs were done by the apostles,"²² or more precisely, "by the power of God" (2Cor 6:7). This is what gives so much credibility to the teaching and the promises of the apostles (2Pet 3:2; Jude 17), since in reality they only pass on the word that they have received from their Master (1Thess 2:13—"The word that you heard from us is not the word of men but the word of God"). They are aware of this (Paul's message was with "a demonstration of the Spirit's power")²³ and conduct themselves as befits leaders,²⁴ even if they are considered the *peripsema* ("offscouring") of the universe (1Cor 4:13). They do not claim special privileges; they are servants (John 13:12-17; Luke 22:25-27), but they are at the top of the hierarchy of the kingdom of God. *Apostolos* is a title of honor ("I do not deserve to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God" [1Cor 15:9]; "As apostles of Christ, we could have looked down on you" [1Thess 2:7]), because the "holy apostles" (Eph 3:5; Rev 18:20) are entirely consecrated to God (John 17:19).

4. — Since the Bible is neither a law code nor a theological handbook, words gain richer theological meaning from day to day and do not have a definite meaning that is fixed once and for all. In the NT, there are the high apostles, and there are second-order apostles. St. Luke knows only the Twelve as apostles: *hoi dodeka*. Matt 10:2 specifies *hoi dodeka apostoloi*. The Semitism *epoiesen tous dodeka* (literally, "he made the twelve") in Mark 3:13-19 confirms that Jesus did indeed himself establish the college of the Twelve to govern the new Israel.²⁵ These *shelûhîm* are proxies, representatives, plenipotentiaries, granted his own powers: "The one who listens to you listens to me, and the one who rejects you rejects me; but the one who rejects me rejects the One who sent me" (Luke 10:16; cf. Matt 10:14). In governing the church (cf. Matt 19:28; Luke 22:28-30), better than the "twelve men and three priests" who presided over the Qumran community, these apostles are "pillars" (Gal 2:9), "VIPs" (Gal 2:2, 6), judges and guarantors of orthodoxy, established to abide forever, forever united with Christ. They are the "twelve apostles of the Lamb" (Rev 21:14).

In a text whose importance cannot be overestimated, the resurrected Lord is said to have appeared first of all to Cephas, then to the Twelve, and then to "all the apostles, and after all them to me (Paul)" (1Cor 15:5-8). These *apostoloi* named after the twelve could be divinely appointed

missionary preachers, charismatics who are listed first among the official ministers of the church (1Cor 12:28-31; Eph 4:11), which shows that there is no conflict between institutions and charisms. Their anonymity is like that of the “apostles and presbyters” who are associated in an indeterminate group in Acts 15:4, 6, 22, 23; 16:4. Nevertheless, we know of Barnabas, Paul’s collaborator (Acts 14:4, 14; 2Cor 12:7) and of particularly zealous missionaries like Andronicus and Junias, “outstanding among the apostles.”²⁶ Just as there are always unfaithful stewards, there were Jewish-Christian missionaries, hardened in their prejudices, who took pride in the title of apostle and played up their prestige, *hoi hyperlian apostoloi* (2Cor 12:11); these “super-apostles” (2Cor 11:5) are “false apostles.”²⁷ The church at Ephesus is congratulated for having identified them: “You have tested those who call themselves apostles but are not, and you have found them to be liars” (Rev 2:2).

5. — “Consider the apostle (Peshitta: *shliho*) and high priest of our faith, Jesus” (Heb 3:1). This is the only time that Christ is described as *apostolos* (before Justin, *1 Apol.* 1.12). Perhaps there is a reference to the angel of Yahweh (Hebrew *mal’aj*), messenger and guide who led Israel during their wanderings in the wilderness (Exod 14:19; 23:20, 23; 32:34; 33:2; Num 20:16), God’s help personified for his people.²⁸ We might also think of a contrast with Moses, chosen from among the Israelites to lead them, but not coming from heaven like the Son;²⁹ more likely, however, the author of Hebrews is showing the influence of the Johannine tradition,³⁰ in which Christ is first and foremost the one “sent” from God.³¹ Note John 9:7—“Siloam, which is translated Sent” (*Siloam, ho hermeneuetai Apestalmenos*). The Evangelist treats the substantive *shiloah*, referring to a canal leading or “sending” water, as a passive participle and considers it a proper name (cf. Isa 8:6ff.; Gen 49:10, Hebrew *shiloh*; given a messianic interpretation at *Gen. Rab.* 98.13; 99.10; *Tg. Onq.*), which he applies to Jesus, “the Sent One,” by antonomasia (John 3:17, 34; 5:36; 7:29). Moreover, in Heb 3:1 the connection of “apostle” and “high priest” indicates that Jesus’ divine mission is to “represent” humankind before God, to be the *shaliah*, the one delegated by believers to plead their cause, a paraclete (1John 2:1), interceding unceasingly on their behalf in the heavenly sanctuary (John 14:13-14). His “apostolate” is his permanent priestly office.

¹ Herodotus 5.32: “Artaphernes sent the army to Aristagoras”; 4.150: Grinnus “did not dare to send out colonists to an uncertain destination”; 1.123: Harpagus “sent (a message)” to Persia; Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.7.2.1306b: “They were sent to colonize Tarentum”; Xenophon, *An.* 2.1.5: “Clearchus sent messengers” (ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους); Thucydides 3.89.5: “with the tidal waves, the earth shook and the sea retreated”; 3.28.1 (an embassy); Sophocles, *Phil.* 125: “I am going to send him back to the ship”

(πρὸς ναῦν ἀποστελω— πάλιν); 1297; *El.* 71; Euripides, *Phoen.* 485: “send the army away” from the land. In the sense of “banish” (idem, *Med.* 281; Plato, *Resp.* 10.607 *b*). In the Hellenistic period, Vespasian “had dispatched (ἀπεσταλμένος) his son Titus to Syria” (Josephus, *War* 4.32); “Diogenes was sent as a scout and brought us other news” (Epictetus 1.24.6); with a religious meaning: “the cynic must know that he has been sent to humans by Zeus as a messenger” (ἄγγελος, idem 3.22.23), “as an example sent by God” (4.8.31); Joseph “was not sent (ἀπεστάλθαι) by humans but was chosen by God to govern the body and the outside world legitimately” (Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 22). We may recall Hecataeus of Abdera, in the third century AD, according to whom the Jews considered the high priest “the messenger of God’s commands” (ἄγγελον γίνεσθαι τω—ν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων, cited by Diodorus Siculus 40.3; cf. T. Reinach, *Textes d’auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, 2d ed., Hildesheim, 1963, p. 17; F. R. Walton, “The Messenger of God in Hecataeus of Abdera,” in *HTR*, 1955, pp. 25–257). —Αποστέλλειν, “emit,” express the shining out of light (C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 53). — The bibliography, which is considerable, is given in *TWNT*, vol. 10, pp. 986–989. In *P.Grenf.* I, 43, 5 (letter from the second century BC), where all that remains is the ending of the perfect active infinitive -κέναι, we must read not ἡγορακέναι—“you wrote me that you had bought a mare” (*Chrest. Wilck.*, n. 57; S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 58)—but ἀπεσταλκέναι “had sent” (*C.Pap.Jud.*, n. 135). The writer of the letter is letting his brother know that he has “received neither the mare nor the wagon”; the agent has not yet had time to carry out his mission (cf. J. M. Modrzejewski, “Sur l’antisémitisme païen,” in *Pour Léon Poliakov: Le Racisme, mythes et sciences*, Brussels, 1981, p. 415).

² It is difficult to say exactly what the difference is between ἀποστέλλω and πέμπω, since each author has his own vocabulary and is not even always consistent with himself. (Cf. J. Rademakers, “Mission et apostolat dans l’Evangile johannique,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, II, Berlin, 1964, pp. 100–121; J. Seynaeve, “Les Verbes ἀποστέλλω et πέμπω dans le vocabulaire théologique de saint Jean,” in M. de Jonge, *L’Evangile de Jean*, Gembloux-Louvain, 1977, pp. 385–389). In principle, this latter verb means simply to pass something on (Herodotus 1.123: send gifts) or send a person (a herald, idem 1.21), an intermediary. In the third century AD, *P.Hal.* I, 124, 147, 154 (cf. *P.Hal.*, p. 84) disallows lawsuits against the king’s envoys (ἀπεσταλμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως); this perfect passive participle indicates that the mission with which they are entrusted is linked to the persons of these officers, these “representatives” who act with the monarch’s authority; cf. K. H. Rengstorff, “ἀπόστολος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 1, pp. 407–445.

³ Demosthenes, 3 *Olynth.* 3.5: “You have given up the expedition” (τὸν ἀπόστολον; cf. the inscription from Cyprus in J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1961, p. 257, n. 824). This is often the meaning of ἀποστολή: the mission of the sacred ambassadors to Alexandria (*SEG* I, 366, 25); “How shall we justify our mission?” (*Ep. Arist.* 15); the sending or departure of people (*P. Tebt.* 703, 22; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.50; *Life* 268); “an expedition of angels of woe” (Ps 78:49; cited by Philo, *Giants* 17); “Your shoots (ἀποστολαί σου) are a garden of pomegranates” (Cant 4:13); Philo translates Methuselah ἀποστολή θανάτου, expedition of death (*Post. Cain* 73). In 256 BC, Panakestor is superintendent of expeditions or shipments: ὁ πρὸς ται—ς ἀποστολαι—ς (*P.Lond.* 1964, 6 and 18; cf. Pelops as ἀποστελεύς, *ibid.* 1940, 3). Frequently enough, ἀποστολή means “gift, present” (1Macc 2:18; 2Macc 3:12; 1Esdr 9:51, 54; *P.Hamb.* 191, 8); it translates the Hebrew *shiluhîm* (from the verb *shalah* in the piel, “dismiss”) in 1Kgs 9:16—the dowry given by Pharaoh to his daughter, who took leave of him to marry.

⁴ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 305, 50; Demosthenes, *Corona* 80: “I dispatched all the expeditions (τοὺς ἀποστόλους) that saved the Chersonese, Byzantium, and all the allies”; Lysias, *Property of Aristophanes* 19.21: “the envoys (πρέσβεις) from Cyprus ... lacked money for the departure of the fleet” (ει—ς τὸν ἀπόστολον). Hesychius, taking up Demosthenes 18.107, defines the *apostolos* as an admiral: στρατηγὸς κατὰ πλοῦν πεμπόμενος. The *apostoleis* in Aeschines are maritime quartermasters (*Fals. Leg.* 2.177). T. Nägeli, *Wortschatz*, p. 23, quotes a lexicon: ὁ ε—κπεμπόμενος μετὰ στρατια—ς καὶ παρασκευῆς ἀπόστολος καλεῖ—ται.

⁵ With the exception of late and Christian texts: the living expenses of a messenger during his sojourn and his voyage (*P.Apoll.* 89, 7; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 1, 7 and 31; 11, 3); Μααμετ ἀπόστολος θεοῦ (*SB* 7240, 5; seventh–eighth century); the apostle Paul (*P.Lond.* 1915, 14; 1927, 35; *SB* 8176; an inscription at Cappadocia, in J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1939, p. 518, n. 451), Peter (*SB* 6087, 18), James (6206), Andrew (8179), the intercession of the apostles (*IGLS* 1587). The Latin epitaph of Faustina, a Jew who died at age fourteen, in the fifth–sixth century at Venosa in Apulia, states that “her funeral oration was done by two apostles and two rabbis” (*CII*, n. 611; gives the bibliography on *apostoli*, who date to the fourth century in Judaism; cf. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.11; Eusebius, *In Isa.* 18.11); cf. J. Jeremias, “Paarweise Sendung im Neuen Testament,” in A. J. B. Higgins, *New Testament Essays*, pp. 136–143.

⁶ The *naukleros*, commanding eight transport ships, receives and measures his shipment “conformably to the message” of the *epitropos*

(*P.Oxy.* 1259, 10). The formula ε—ξ ἀποστόλου is constant (*P.Stras.* 205, 4–5; 202, 6; *P.Princ.* 26, 14; *SB* 9088, 8). In 64/63 BC, ναυκλήρων Ἴπποδροματῶ—ν ἀποστόλου ἀντίγραφον (*BGU* 1741, 6); in AD 15, *P.Lond.* 256 recto a 10 (*Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 443). Cf. A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht*, Zutphen, 1978, pp. 6, 24; U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 379ff. *Chrest.Wilck.* (p. 21) compares *Dig.* 49.6.1: “litteras dimissorias sive apostolos.”

⁷ Cf. *P.Amh.* 138, 10 (cf. *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 342); *P.Oxy.* 1197, 13; 1259, 10; *P.Princ.* 26, 14; *P.Stras.* 202, 6; 205, 4–5; 206, 4; *SB* 7405, 6; 8754, 9; 9088, 8.

⁸ In the first century, *apostolos* is rare in literary Greek; unknown in Philo, used only once in Josephus, it is a LXX hapax: The prophet Ahijah was warned by God concerning the visit of Jereboam’s wife, who was coming to consult him concerning her son’s illness. When she arrived, he said, “I have been sent (ε—γώ ει—μι ἀπόστολος; Hebrew *shalah*) to you with bad news” (1Kgs 14:6). But ἀποστέλλω is used for a prophet’s mission, cf. D. Müller, “Apostle,” in *NIDNTT*, Grand Rapids, 1975.

⁹ Cf. Rengstorf, “ἀπόστολος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 1, pp. 407–445; H. Mosbech, “Apostolos in the New Testament,” in *ST*, 1950, pp. 166–200; G. Dix, *Jurisdiction in the Early Church: Episcopal and Papal*, London, 1938; J. C. Margot, “L’Apostolat dans le Nouveau Testament et la succession apostolique,” in *Verbum Caro*, 1957, pp. 213–225; J. Colson, *Les Fonctions ecclésiales aux deux premier siècles*, Paris, 1956, pp. 11ff.; J. Dauvillier, *Les Temps apostoliques: I^{er} siècle*, Paris, 1970, pp. 139ff., 151–156, 175ff., 225ff. M. Delcor, E. Jenni, article jlv, in *Theol. Handwörterbuch zum A. T.*, vol. 2, 909–916. The most nuanced studies are C. K. Barrett, “Shaliah and Apostle” (in *Donum Gentilicium . . . in honour D. Daube*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 88–102) and A. L. Descamps, “Paul, apôtre de Jésus-Christ,” in Lorenzo de Lorenzi, *Paul de Tarse apôtre de notre temps*, Rome, 1979, pp. 25–60. The *shaliah* was not a missionary but a member of the Jewish community; the title was not applied to prophets; whereas the title of the Christian apostle emphasizes the official status and especially the divine origin and authority of the envoy; the apostle has a religious character. Cf. E. M. Kredel, “Der Apostelbegriff in der neueren Exegese,” in *ZKT*, 1959, pp. 169–193; 257–305.

¹⁰ 2Chr 17:7-9: “In the third year of his reign, he sent his officials Ben-Hail, Obadiah, Zechariah, Nethanel, and Micaiah to teach in the towns of Judah. He sent with them the Levites. . . .”

¹¹ We may recall Eliezer, Abraham's *shaliah*, sent to Laban and Bethuel to arrange Isaac's marriage with Rebekah (Gen 24). According to *m. Qidd.* 2.1 (41*b*), a man or a woman can marry through the agency of a *shaliah*.

¹² *M. Ber.* 5.5. The *shaliah* is an agent (*b. Git.* 14*b*; *t. Git.* 1.4); a minor cannot appoint a proxy (*m. Git.* 6.3). A mission to take someone something that belongs to him cannot be withdrawn (*t. Git.* 1.8–9). Cf. Str-B, vol. 3, pp. 2ff., citing *Mek.* on Exod 12:4 (5*a*); 12:6 (7*a*); *b. Īag.* 10*b*; *b. Nazir* 12*b*.

¹³ Luke 6:13. J. Dupont (*Le Nom d'Apôtres a-t-il été donné aux Douze par Jésus?*, Louvain, 1956), L. Cerfaux ("Pour l'histoire du titre Apostolos dans le Nouveau Testament," in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 3, Gembloux, 1962, pp. 186–200) and others consider this title to be redactional and not given by Jesus, but (with Rengstorf, Descamps, A. Médebielle, "Apostolat," in *DBSup*, vol. 1, pp. 533–588) we must insist that Jesus could very well have used the word *shaliah* to designate disciples given a special charge to represent him and participate in his ministry.

¹⁴ Mark 3:14 specifies: "He appointed twelve *to be with him*," so as to train them better. In fact, we see them join together as *apostoloi* around Jesus (Mark 6:30), returning to him after their mission to report to him all that they had done (Luke 9:10). They ask him to increase their faith (Luke 17:5). It is to them alone that the Lord speaks confidentially at the Last Supper (Luke 22:14); he places his testament in their hands; they are his heirs (John 13:17); he will remain with them always (Matt 28:20), cf. Phil 3:12.

¹⁵ Cf. L. Cerfaux, "La mission apostolique de Douze et sa portée eschatologique," in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, pp. 4–66; A. L. Descamps, "Aux origines du ministère: La Pensée de Jésus," in *RTL*, 1971, pp. 3–45; 1972, pp. 121–159; F. Agnew, "On the Origin of the Term Apostolos," in *CBQ*, 1976, pp. 49–53.

¹⁶ Rom 1:1, ἄφωρισμένος; cf. A. M. Denis, "Investiture de la fonction apostolique par 'apocalypse': Etude thématique de Gal. I, 16," in *RB*, 1957, pp. 335–362; 492–515; A. Satake, "Apostolat und Gnade bei Paulus," in *NTS*, vol. 15, 1968–1969, pp. 96–107.

¹⁷ Cf. 2Tim 1:1; θέλημα is replaced by ε—πιταγή (in 1Tim 1:1; Titus 1:3), which expresses a particularly imperative command, notwithstanding any custom or order to the contrary, an irrevocable decree that is carried out.

¹⁸ Cf. τίθημι, "install in a function" (1Tim 2:7; cf. Acts 20:28; 1Cor 12:28), and πιστευθῆναι (1Tim 1:11–13; Titus 1:3). A. M. Denis, "L'Apôtre Paul

prophète ‘messianique’ des Gentils,” in *ETL*, 1957, pp. 300ff. G. Klein, *Die Zwölf Apostel: Ursprung und Gehalt einer Idee*, Göttingen, 1961.

¹⁹ Paul left for Damascus as the *shaliah* of the Sanhedrin, armed with letters of requisition (Acts 9:2; 22:5; 26:10, 12). The Jews of Rome had not received any *shaliah* speaking ill of Paul (Acts 28:21); the church at Antioch sends Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem (Acts 11:30; 13:3-4; 15:2); the church at Jerusalem sends Barsabbas and Silas to Antioch (Acts 15:23). The Philippians send Epaphroditus to help Paul (Phil 2:5). Titus and other brothers who receive gifts for the collection are ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν (2Cor 8:23), sent and authorized by the churches.

²⁰ John 13:20, the only occurrence of ἀπόστολος in John, who uses the verbs ἀποστέλλω and πέμπω. The mission of Jesus in the world (John 3:17, 34; 5:36-38; 6:29; 7:29; 8:42; 10:36; 11:42; 17:3, 8, 23) will be carried on by his own apostles (Matt 10:5; Luke 9:2; 11:49; John 4:38). “Just as you sent me into the world, so also have I sent them into the world” (John 17:18; cf. 20:21). Cf. J. Seynaeve, “Les Verbes ἀποστέλλω et πέμπω,” pp. 385–389; F. Klostermann, *Das christliche Apostolat*, Innsbruck, 1962; Y. Congar, “Définition de l’apostolat par son contenu,” in *ÔSpir*, n. 535, 1967, pp. 130–160; cf. L. M. Dewailly, “Note sur l’histoire de l’adjectif ‘apostolique,’” in *Envoyés du Père*, 2d ed., Paris, 1960, pp. 114–140.

²¹ Mark 3:14; Matt 28:20; 1Cor 1:17, cf. proclaiming the gospel or Christ as Savior (1Thess 2:2, 4; Rom 11:13-14; 1Cor 1:17; Gal 1:16; Eph 3:8), bearing witness to him (Acts 1:22; 4:33; 1Cor 1:6; 1Tim 2:6), etc. The responsibility of Judas, which was a ministry (διακονία), is defined by St. Peter: an ἀποστολή (Acts 1:25), as Paul had “received χάριν καὶ ἀποστολήν” (Rom 1:5; cf. 1Cor 9:2) and Peter, the apostle to the Jews (Gal 2:8); but its content is never specified. Cf. A. M. Denis, “La fonction apostolique et la liturgie nouvelle en esprit,” in *RSPT*, 1958, pp. 401–436; 617–656; A. Ródenas, “El apostolado, ministerio de salvación en el Nuevo Testamento,” in *Analecta Calasanctiana*, 1966, pp. 5–29.

²² Acts 2:43; 4:33, 37; 5:12; Christians come to lay the proceeds from the sale of their property at the apostles’ feet, as the holy women returning from the sepulcher announced what they had seen to the apostles (Luke 24:10); but Peter tries and convicts Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:2, 9). Miracles are signs that accredit the *apostolos* (2Cor 12:12).

²³ 1Cor 2:4-5; cf. Acts 4:7-33. St. Paul insisted more than anyone else on the *dynamis* of God as underlying the apostle’s effectiveness, cf. 2Cor 4:7; 6:7; 10:6; 13:9; Eph 3:7; Col 1:29.

²⁴ Cf. F. Giblet, “Les Douze: Histoire et théologie,” in *Recherches bibliques*, vol. 7, Desclée De Brouwer, 1965, pp. 51–64A; reprinted in L. Descamps, *Le Prêtre, Foi et Contestation*, Gembloux-Paris, 1970, pp. 44–76.

²⁵ B. Rigaux, “Die ‘Zwölf’ in Geschichte und Kerygma,” in H. Ristow, K. Matthiae, *Der historische Jesus und der kerygmatische Christus*, Berlin, 1961, pp. 468–486; cf. J. Giblet, “Les Douze: Histoire et théologie.” “The Twelve” is a closed group. Judas is still referred to as εἰς τῶ—ν δώδεκα (Mark 14:10, 20; Matt 26:14, 17; Luke 22:47; John 6:71). Since the Scripture required that the number of the Twelve be reconstituted in its totality (Ps 69:26; 109:8), Matthias was elected to replace the traitor (Acts 1:15-26), although he does not appear again and plays no role in the book of Acts. If the integrity of the college of the Twelve is so important, it is because it has a specific mission in the history of salvation and will be the guarantor of the Christian tradition (P. H. Menoud, “Les Additions au groupe des Douze Apôtres dans le Livre des Actes,” in idem, *Jésus-Christ et la foi*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1975, pp. 91–100). If Paul of Tarsus can claim the title of *apostolos* in its full meaning (Acts 22:15; 26:16) it is because on the one hand he has seen the resurrected Christ and been given this charge by him, and on the other hand because he is the missionary par excellence (cf. 2Cor 5:20—“We are ambassadors for Christ, seeing that it is God who urges you through us”). He is the only one to go “to the ends of the earth” (Acts 1:8), traveling as far as Spain (cf. C. Spicq, “Saint Paul est venu en Espagne,” in *Helmantica*, 1964, pp. 45–70; idem, *Les Epîtres Pastorales*, pp. 129–138). “Paul in himself is another circle, outside of and parallel to the circle of the Twelve. They are envoys to Israel and its proselytes; he goes to the pagans” (P. H. Menoud, *Jésus-Christ et la foi*, p. 100); cf. J. Munck, “La Vocation de l’Apôtre Paul,” in *ST*, 1947, pp. 131–145; idem, “Paul, the Apostle, and the Twelve,” *ST*, 1950, pp. 96–110; J. Cambier, “Paul, apôtre du Christ et prédicateur de l’Evangile,” in *NRT*, 1959, pp. 1,009–1,028; idem, “Le Critère paulinien de l’apostolat en II Cor. XII, 6ff.,” in *Bib*, 1962, pp. 481–518; F. Bovon, *Luc le théologien*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1978, pp. 370–389.

²⁶ Rom 16:7. Cf. E. Lohse, *Ursprung und Prägung des christlichen Apostolates*, in *TZ*, 1953, pp. 259–257; J. Dauvillier, *Les Temps apostoliques: Ier siècle*, pp. 322ff. On the different meanings of the word *apostle* in the Pauline churches, cf. P. Grelot, “Les Epîtres de Paul, la mission apostolique,” in J. Delorme, *Le Ministère et les ministères selon le Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1973, pp. 48ff.

²⁷ 2Cor 11:13. It is not easy to identify these enemies of Paul’s ministry; were they Jewish Christians? false teachers (cf. ψευδοπροφήται, Matt 7:15; Luke 6:26; Acts 13:6; 2Pet 1:1)? uncommissioned missionaries? Cf.

C. K. Barrett, “ψευδαπόστολοι (II Cor. XI, 13),” in *Mélanges Rigaux*, pp. 377–396. J. Dupont, “L’Apôtre comme intermédiaire du salut dans les Actes des Apôtres,” in *RTP*, 1980, pp. 342–358; J. Zumstein, “L’Apôtre comme martyr dans les Actes de Luc,” *RTP*, 1980, pp. 371–390.

²⁸ “A sort of mediator of the covenant” and even of God’s own appearance in human form (cf. Judg 6:17ff.); cf. G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, vol. 1, pp. 287ff.

²⁹ Cf. P. Borgen, “God’s Agent in the Fourth Gospel,” in J. Neusner, *Religions in Antiquity*, Leiden, 1970, pp. 137–148.

³⁰ Cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 1, pp. 109–131. Moderns consider this Johannine tradition very old, cf. *ibid.*, p. 132, n. 2; A. Gyllenberg, “Die Anfänge der johanneischen Tradition,” in *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann*, Berlin, 1954, pp. 144–147; B.P. W. Stather Hunt, *Some Johannine Problems*, London, 1958, pp. 105–123.

³¹ Cf. John 17:3, 18; 20:21; 1John 4:10—ἀπέστειλεν . . . ἰ—λασμόν. In the discourse after the Last Supper, “the Teacher becomes the Intercessor; the Prophet, the High Priest” (H. B. Swete, *The Last Discourse and Prayer of Our Lord*, London, 1914, p. 159).

ἀργός

argos, inactive, inoperative

argos, S 692; TDNT 1.452; EDNT 1.150; MM 74; L&N 30.44, 42.46, 65.36, 72.21, 88.248; BDF §59(1); BAGD 104

A contracted form of *aergos*, the adjective *argos* is the opposite of *energos*, “active, effective” (cf. *synergos*: one who helps; *euergetes*, benefactor), and means “inactive, idle, not working” when it is used to describe people (cf. Diodorus Siculus 17.79.3) and “ineffectual, incapable of doing something, sterile, inoperative, ineffective, unfruitful” when it is used to describe things. These meanings occur constantly throughout classical Greek¹ and in the Koine. Menander: “He will call you a pest, a loafer” (*Dysk.* 366); “they reduce me to inaction”;² Plutarch: “Marius did not spend this period in idleness” (*Cor.* 31.4); “a lazy and idle crowd” (*argon de kai scholasten ochlon*, *Sol.* 22.3; cf. 31.5, Pisistratus promulgates the law on idleness, *ton tes argias nomon*; cf. *Ti. Gracch.* 1.3). In Philo, the dozen occurrences of *argos* refer to a lazy and indolent life (Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 43; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.101), “the idlest (*argotate*) and least formed soul

has been allotted to the fish” (*Creation* 65; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.32), brute, unformed matter (*Flacc.* 148; *Moses* 2.136; *Spec. Laws* 1.21), idle land, meaning land lying fallow (*Spec. Laws* 2.86, 2.88). Likewise in Josephus: at the time for sowing “the people spent fifty days doing nothing” (*War* 2.200); David decided to march against the Philistines “being neither idle nor slack in his conduct of affairs” (*meden argon mede rhathymon en tois pragmasin*).³

In the vocabulary of the papyri, *argos* almost always means “not busy, unused,” whether describing persons⁴ or things: a house or a place (*P.Mil.* 67, col. 1.7: *oikos protos argos*; *P.Mich.* 620, 58, 60, 73, 83, 90, 107, 108, *arge kella*), a chest that is empty or out of service (*P.Oxy.* 1269, 22), land that has not been sown (*P.Stras.* 144, 5; cf. *PSI* 837, 7; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 884, 23), an oil press that is not in working order,⁵ unproductive money: “they say that their gold is sitting idle and that they are greatly wronged” (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59021, 25: *SB* 6711; cf. 10257, 18). Finally, the *onos argos* is a beast that is good for nothing, as opposed to others that carry loads (*P.Lond.* 1170 verso, 474, 483; *SB* 9150, 38).

The three occurrences of *argos* in the OT are rather in the sense of “inert, unproductive.” God does not want for the works of wisdom to be ineffectual, *erga arga*, i.e., created in vain, remaining sterile, unexploited, unproductive (*Wis* 14:5); the feet of the idols are useless for walking (*Wis* 15:15); the idle or lazy servant is not consulted concerning a great labor (*Sir* 37:11), he must be put to work lest he remain idle (*Sir* 33:28, *hina me arge*).

At least seven of the eight NT occurrences retain the meaning “not busy, idle, inactive.” In the parable of the workers sent to the vineyard, certain ones have not yet been hired and wait around “not doing anything” (*Matt* 20:3, 6). Young widows who no longer have a household to manage, have no child to raise, and do not devote their time to prayer become idle (*argai manthanousin*), and not only idle but gossips and busybodies (*1Tim* 5:13). Epimenides of Cnossos, in calling the Cretans “do-nothing bellies,” means that they are gluttons who get fat doing nothing.⁶ According to *Jas* 2:20 “faith without works is sterile,”⁷ i.e., useless for salvation; but *2Pet* 1:8 recognizes “you are not inactive and without fruit (*ouk argous oude akarpous*) toward the exact knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

On *Matt* 12:36 all the commentators take different tacks:⁸ “For every idle word that one speaks one will give account on the day of judgment.” How should we take *pan rhema argon*? As E. Stauffer has pointed out, it seems to be true that this warning must be assessed alongside the *paideai stomatos* of *Sir* 23 and the *disciplina oris* of Qumran, where there was a cult of silence.⁹ In fact, the expression *logon argon* is found in Josephus, *Ant.* 15.224, where it refers to an inconsequential utterance or bit of advice, one that is not taken into account, that has no effect. In Philo, *Dreams* 1.29, sound issues from thought, and “it is in the mouth that it is articulated”; the

tongue serves as the herald and interpreter of the intelligence and “does not produce a sound that is not just that, that is ineffectual (*argen*)”; cf. the ban on hasty speech (*Spec. Laws* 1.53); *Sent. Sextus* 154: “words without thought are mere noise” (*rhemata aneu nou psophos*). Pythagoras had instructed “It is better to throw a stone with no goal than to utter an idle word” (*e logon argon*, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 3.34.11; vol. 3, p. 684); cf. Pindar, frag. 58: “Take care not to utter useless words (*ton achreion logon*) in front of everyone.”¹⁰ Finally, this expression was used for the fatalistic argument posed by Chrysippus, the conclusion of which was the rejection of any initiative at all,¹¹ which is the *argos logos* theorem taken up by Plutarch (*De fato* 11) and Cicero.¹² Thus, not only is *argos* commonly linked with *logos* in the first century, but it always has the meaning “ineffective, inactive.” Therefore this meaning must be applied in Matt 12:36, where it fits the meaning of the context (bearing good or bad fruit, verse 33) and of all the other biblical occurrences, especially since it accords with the theology of the word in the Old and New Testaments: the word of God is never ineffectual (Isa 55:11), because it is by definition *energes* (Heb 4:12). Similarly the word of the Christian must issue in *ergon* (1John 3:18; cf. Phlm 6); it would be out of line with its dynamism for it to be inoperative, without effect. Thus it seems to have been understood by *Did.* 2.5: “Your word shall not be empty (*ou kenos logos*), but fulfilled in action.”¹³

¹ Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1498: διατριβὴν ἀργόν; numerous references in LSJ under this word.

² *Dysk.* 443: ποιούσιν γέ με ἀργόν; “he isn’t a person to walk around all day doing nothing, ἀργὸς περιπατεῖ—ν” (ibid. 755); Philostratus, *Gym.* 44: “instead of being active, they are lazy, ἀργοὶ δὲ ε—ξ ε—νεργω—ν”; 58: “older athletes should be exposed to the sun, for they lie resting (ἀργοὶ κείμενοι)” while others are full of vigor (ε—νεργοί); cf. 34, 35.

³ *Ant.* 7.96; *War* 6.44: “if you remain idle with such powerful arms”; 4.309, a vain clamor opposed to an effective rescue; *Ant.* 12.378, land that hasn’t been sown is *argen*. The Sabbath and the sabbatical year are times of rest, of the cessation of all activity, *War* 1.60; 2.517; 4.100; 7.53; cf. 2Macc 5:25.

⁴ *P.Lond.* 915, 8 (vol. 3, p. 27); *BGU* 833, 5; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XI, 24, 19; *SB* 9604, 24, 7: Ἀμμωνος ἄργου. —*P.Brem.* 13, 5: “καθήμεθα ἀργοί, we are here without work”; *BGU* 1078, 6: οὐ γὰρ ἀργὸν δεῖ— με καθῆσθαι (letter of AD 39); *SB* 8247, 22: πορόεσθε ἕκαστος εἰ—ς τὰ εἶδια καὶ μὴ γείνεσθε ἀργοί (around AD 63).

⁵ —Ελαιουργίου ἀργοῦ (*P.Amh.* 97, 9; *P.Flor.* 1, 4; cf. *SB* 10278, 10–12). In the third century, a *dioiketes* writes to a subordinate: “if you are unable to find the available material” (*P.Tebt.* 703, 159).

⁶ Titus 1:12; cf. Theopompus (in Athenaeus 12.527a): the laziest inhabitants of Pharsalus and the most luxurious of all people, ἀργότατοι καὶ πολυτελέστατοι.

⁷ The reading of B, whereas a, A, Peshitta have νεκρά.

⁸ Cf. J. Viteau, “La ‘Parole oiseuse’: Sur saint Matthieu XII, 36,” in *ÔSpir, Supplément*, 1931, pp. 16–28; E. Stauffer, “Von jedem unnützen Wort?” in *Gott und die Götter* (Festgabe E. Fascher), Berlin, 1958, pp. 94–102; L.-M. Dewayly, “La Parole sans œuvre (Mt. XII, 36),” in *Mélanges M.-D. Chenu*, Paris, 1967, pp. 203–219. —It isn’t certain that this logion is in its true location and fits in with the polemical pericope against the Pharisees.

⁹ Cf. 1QS 6.11: “In the Assembly of the Congregation no one should speak a word without the permission of the Congregation”; 7.9, a penalty “for the one who utters with his mouth a profane word (*nbl*) and for interrupting his neighbor’s speech”; 10.21–24: “no profanity will be heard in my mouth”; CD 10.17: “on the Sabbath day, no one must use any profane (*nbl*) or scornful language.” —A number of the church fathers understood Matt 12:36 to refer to foul, blameworthy, shameful, or slanderous language (cf. J. Viteau, L.-M. Desailly); but the rabbis understood *debarîm betalîm* as referring to language that was superfluous, lacking in substance, trivial, vain (cf. Str-B, vol. 1, p. 640). It would be necessary to give an accounting even for the negative, for that which did not exist.

¹⁰ *SVF*, vol. 2, 278, 19.

¹¹ Cf. the ἀχρει—ος slave (Matt 25:30; Luke 18:10), i.e., the one who does not work. “The adjective ἀχρει—ος . . . is hard to translate. It is used of men who are no good, or no longer good, for service; for soldiers not fit for duty because of their age or their injuries; and figuratively of persons from whom nothing can be had, or from whom one no longer has anything to get” (E. Delebecque, *Etudes grecques*, p. 106).

¹² Cicero, *Fat.* 12.28–29: “We do not burden ourselves with what is called the ‘idle argument;’ philosophers apply the label *argos logos* to an argument that would lead us to lead lives of total inactivity. This is how the question is posed: If it is your fate to recover from this illness, then whether you go to the doctor or not you will recover. Likewise, if it is your fate not to be cured of this disease, then whether you go to the doctor or not you will

not recover. And one of the two is your fate. Thus it is useless to go to the doctor.”

¹³ Cf. Plutarch, *De garr.* 2: “the speech of prattlers is infertile and leads to nothing”; Lyc. 19.3: “an intemperate tongue makes discourse empty and senseless.”

ἀρνέομαι, ἀπαρνέομαι

arneomai, *aparneomai*, to say no, deny, repudiate

arneomai, S 720; *TDNT* 1.469–471; *EDNT* 1.153–155; *NIDNTT* 1.454–56; MM 78; L&N 30.52, 31.25, 33.277, 34.48, 36.43, 88.231; BDF §§78, 311(2), 392(1a), 397(3), 420(2), 429; BAGD 107–108 | ***aparneomai***, S 533; *TDNT* 1.471; *EDNT* 1.153–155; *NIDNTT* 1.454–455; MM 53; L&N 30.52, 33.277, 34.49; BAGD 81

The grammarians point out that the Koine prefers the aorist middle of *arneomai* to the aorist passive form of the classical period;¹ furthermore, verbs expressing will, desire, or hindrance are rather commonly construed with the infinitive (without an article) or with the conjunctions *hina*, *hoste*, *hoti*. In the NT, however, only the infinitive follows *arneomai*.² Moreover, after “negative” verbs like *arneomai* (“deny”), *antilego* (“object”), and *amphisbeteo* (“question”), the complementary clause takes the negative *ou* with *hoti* (1John 2:22) and the negative *me* with infinitive (Luke 22:34; cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, 75 *i*). Finally, of the *arneomai* compounds with the verbal prefixes *ap-*, *ex-*, *kat-*, the NT has only *aparneomai* and uses it with exactly the same meaning as the simple form, as is proved by the use of these two verbs in strictly parallel texts in the Synoptic Gospels.³

The simplest meaning of *arneomai* is “say no,” in an oral context: “Sara denied it, saying, ‘I did not laugh’” (Gen 18:15; cf. Philo, *Abraham* 112, 206; *Spec. Laws* 2.54); Leah is “the one refused by every madman and sent back with a denial.”⁴ Petronius vacillates between two options: “to the crowd he said neither yes nor no.”⁵ Thus when Jesus asked who had touched him “they all denied it” (*arnoumenon de panton*, Luke 8:45); Moses “refused to be called (*ernesato legesthai*) son of Pharaoh’s daughter.”⁶ This meaning—spoken denial—is the commonest meaning in the papyri. Just as today we say, “The accused denied that he was guilty” or “The accused denied everything,” *arneomai* is in a way a legal or judicial verb. It shows up in petitions and in transcripts of trials, where it often has connotations of lying,⁷ as it does also at 1John 2:22. For example, on July 18, 142, the prefect of Egypt, Valerius Eudaemon, reacting against blackmail by debtors and denouncing their fraudulent maneuvering

(*panourgia*), sets forth the legal means whereby they can resist: “If someone is being pursued for a debt and does not immediately state that he does not owe it (*me parautika arnesamenos opheilein*), that is, if he does not try to prove—by saying that the documents are falsified and filing charges—the falsification of the documents or fraud or inveigling, then either such a maneuver will be pointless for him . . . or he will not be shielded from punishment but will be liable for the statutory fines.”⁸ In 6 BC, Asinius Gallus, governor of the province of Asia, questioned some slaves who had been implicated in a murder during the course of a nocturnal row. Here is what happened: Philinus came three nights in a row, hurling insults, to besiege, as it were, the house of Eubulus and Tryphera. The third time he brought with him his brother Eubulus. So the masters of the house “ordered a slave not to kill him . . . but to chase him off by throwing their waste on him. But in pouring it out, the slave, whether intentionally or not—for he persists in denying it (*autos men gar enemeinen arnoumenos*)—let the vase fall on Eubulus, who was killed.”⁹

To say no is to deny consent, to refuse, to protest, sometimes to revolt. The nuances are numerous. One can simply refuse to take a meal (Homer, *Il.* 19.304) or to sing (Polybius 4.20.11), decline an invitation to dinner (Josephus, *Life* 222), or a favor, or honors.¹⁰ Or one can refuse to admit something: the healing of the lame man at Jerusalem was so obvious that “we can not deny it.”¹¹ There are friendly refusals,¹² sometimes mere omissions (Wis 18:9), or the results of ignorance (Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 23: *me agnoun arne*; cf. 79); usually, however, a resolute refusal is meant. According to St. Stephen, the Israelites rebuffed Moses, “saying, ‘Who set you up as a leader and judge?’” (Acts 7:35). Pilate refused to remove the standards from Jerusalem (Josephus, *War* 2.171); when Vespasian declines imperial honors, his officers become more insistent.¹³ *Arneomai* can also mean “renounce,” that is, to desist, detach oneself, and voluntarily forsake a person to whom one has been attached. Aseneth states, “My father and my mother have forsaken me, because I destroyed and shattered their gods.”¹⁴

These usages are secular. It is the Wisdom of Solomon that gives this verb a religious meaning, with respect to the impious: refusing to know God.¹⁵ Philo uses it to mean “repudiate, apostasize”: “Whoever renounces the truly real God (*ho ton ontos onta theon arnoumenos*)—what punishment does such a person deserve!” (*Spec. Laws* 2.255). These texts are few and late. Perhaps it could be suggested that it was the Lord who coined the idea of “repudiation” that would be preserved and exploited in the NT. The most important statement is, “Whoever confesses (*homologesei*) me before men, him will I also confess (*homologeso*) before my Father who is in heaven; but whoever denies me (*arnesetai me*) before men, him will I also deny (*arnesomai*) before my Father who is in heaven.”¹⁶ A strong contrast is made between confessing the faith and

repudiating it;¹⁷ the content, the object, and the publicness are the same. The reference is to a disciple who publicly professes that he knows Jesus as Savior and God, adheres to his teaching, and submits his life to his Master's will. If this "Christian" later says *no* to this *Amen*, that is, if he officially renounces Jesus, declaring before other people that he is freeing himself from his dependence on the Lord, then the Lord in turn will abandon him and will not exercise his role as advocate and paraclete on his behalf (1John 2:1). In other words, the baptized person, and especially the apostle, must bear witness publicly to Jesus; their renunciation of Jesus would prompt his official renunciation of them.

Seven times the Gospels use the verb *arneomai* for Peter's "denial" in the courtyard of the high priest.¹⁸ The apostle actually denies knowing Jesus (Luke 22:57) and being one of his disciples (John 18:25), and this renunciation takes place "in front of everyone" (Matt 26:70). This abandonment seems to fulfill perfectly the prediction recorded in Matt 10:32-33, at least in terms of the apparent events; but Peter wept bitterly after his sin, and the Lord, who had predicted it (John 13:38), had also prayed for him that his faith would not fail (Luke 22:32), and afterward he rehabilitated him, giving him the charge to feed his sheep (John 21:15-17). In other words, Peter denied Jesus with his lips, but in his heart he remained constantly faithful to his Lord and Master. The use of the word "denial" for this charade intended to get people to leave him alone is thus problematic. Theodoret commented well: Peter denied Jesus through weakness, but "was held fast by the bonds of love" (*tois tou philtrou desmois katechomenos*, Theodoret, *Car.* 31.10). On the other hand, when the members of the chosen people cry, "We recognize no king but Caesar" (John 19:15), they hand over and "deny Jesus . . . the holy and just one" before Pilate,¹⁹ denying his messianic identity. Through their perjury (their violation of sworn loyalty) they exclude themselves from the covenant and abdicate their privileges along with their obligation to be in submission. This about-face is the same as that of the false teachers and heretics who "in denying the Master who redeemed them bring swift perdition upon themselves."²⁰ They refuse to submit their thought to the only teacher of truth, Christ (John 14:6; 2Cor 10:5), to whom they have promised unconditional obedience (1Pet 1:2, 18, 22). They are like slaves whose master has paid the price for their emancipation but who respond with insolence and ingratitude. Their perdition is sure.

Another series of texts gives *arneomai* the meaning "to renounce," referring to self-sacrifice, the giving up of one's own stake: "Anyone who wishes to come after me must deny himself (aorist imperative, *arnesastho*), take up his cross each day, and follow me."²¹ To say no to oneself firmly and radically is to treat oneself as a negligible quantity that should never enter into consideration, to suppress oneself, in a way; a meaning reinforced by the image of bearing the cross, which leads to death.

Conversion to Christianity is a categorical refusal to be in servitude to worldly desires, the goal being to live freely, “with self-control and piety.”²² Faith implies faithfulness, a living adherence to Christ; it requires living in conformity to his teachings. Heretics profess (*homologousin*) to know God, but through their deeds they deny him (*tois de ergois arnountai*).²³ This is repudiation in the most serious sense of the word: “If anyone does not care for his own people, and especially the members of his own household, he has denied the faith (*ten pistin ernetai*) and is worse than an infidel” (1Tim 5:8). This violation of sworn loyalty means breaking the initial baptismal commitment to live a life of the brotherly love that characterizes the disciple (John 13:35). To fail here is worse than being an unbeliever, who at least is not breaking a promise.²⁴ Without brotherly *agape*, the Christian is not only failing to keep his word to the Lord Christ but also stooping beneath common morality. “Melior est canis vivus leone mortuo (Eccl 9:4), id est paganus christiano impio” (“Better a living dog than a dead lion, i.e., better a pagan than an impious Christian,” Hugh of St.-Cher).

¹ F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, 18 m; B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, n. 315.

² F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, 69 m R.

³ Cf. C. K. Barrett, “Is There a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?” in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the N. T. Presented to M. Black*, Cambridge, 1979, p. 23, n. 3; H. Riesenfeld, “The Meaning of the Verb ἀρνεί—σθαι,” in *ConNT*, vol. 11, 1947, pp. 207–219; H. Schlier, “ἀρνέομαι,” in *TDNT*, vol. 1, pp. 469–471.

⁴ Philo, *Cherub*. 41. —Αρνέομαι is used constantly from Homer on for the refusal of a marriage proposal: “refuse a marriage (ἀρ. γάμον) abhorrent to her” (Homer, *Od.* 1.249); Amasius “was afraid and could bring himself neither to give his daughter nor to refuse her” (Herodotus 3.1); Abraham does not refuse the marriage with Rebekah (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.245); Samson’s parents refuse his marriage with Thamna (5.286). “King Ptolemy asked for Cornelia’s hand in marriage; she said no” (Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 1.7).

⁵ Philo, *To Gaius* 247; cf. Malichos, who appeases the people by his denials (Josephus, *War* 1.227; *Ant.* 14.278, 282); Ladice protested (Herodotus 2.181).

⁶ Heb 11:24. The formula used concerning John the Baptist’s response when asked about his identity (“He acknowledged and did not deny . . . ‘I am not the Christ,’” John 1:20) has analogies in Greek (Euripides, *El.* 1057:

“I say it and do not deny”; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.151) and in Hebrew; cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, Stuttgart, 1948, p. 38.

⁷ This usage is found already in Ps.-Homer: “this rascal of a child denies so artfully and with such sophistication in this bogus tale” (*H. Hermes* 3.390); Herodotus 1.24: “they were convicted of their crimes and could deny them no longer”; 3.74; 4.68; 6.69; Plutarch, *Amat.* 5 (752 a): “the love of boys denies sensual pleasure” because it is ashamed and afraid.

⁸ *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VIII, 14—P. Collinet, “L’Edit du préfet d’Egypte Valerius Eudaemon (*P. Oxy.* II, 237, 7–8) (138 ap. J.-C.): Une hypothèse sur la ‘Querela non numeratae pecuniae,’” in *Proceedings IV*, pp. 89–100).

⁹ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 780, 25 (rescript of Augustus to the city of Cnidos); cf. J. Colin, *Les Villes libres de l’Orient gréco-romain*, Brussels, 1965, p. 88; cf. *P.Flor.* 61, 49: ἠρνήσατο οὐ—τος τὴν κληρονομίαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐ—γὼ τὴν τοῦ ἰ—δίου πατρὸς (first century AD); *BGU* 195, 22–23; *SB* 8945, 26; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 229, 12: ἠρνήσατο ἃ παρεθέμην αὐτῇ (cf. N. Lewis, “On Paternal Authority in Roman Egypt,” in *RIDA*, 1970, pp. 251–258); Thucydides 6.60.3: “He will be safer if he confesses his crimes under a guaranty of impunity than if he is handed over for judgment while denying them” (ἀρνηθέντι); Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.32: to contest the reality of a deposit that has been entrusted to us is to renege on a twofold deposit (διττὰς ἀρνεῖ—σθαι παρακαταθήκας); 4.40: “the thief denies and lies (ἀρνεῖ—ται καὶ ψεύδεται) out of fear of the punishment that will follow his confession. The person who denies (ὁ τε ἀρνούμενος) does his best to shift the blame to someone else through slander”; 1.235: “He blames himself for his denials and perjury”; 1.278: refuse to restore; *Plant.* 107; Josephus, *War* 1.548: Tiron and his son, when put to the question, denied everything; 2.303, 603; *Ant.* 7.226: the woman did not deny having seen him; 11.341: the Samaritans, when they are in a difficult spot, deny the truth; 15.173: Hyrcanus denied having given his consent; 15.288; 17.135.

¹⁰ Plato, *Soph.* 217 c. *Anth. Pal.* 6.47. Οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι = I do not deny it (Euripides, *Hec.* 303; cf. Aeschylus, *PV* 266). In AD 41, the emperor Claudius refuses two gold statues that his very good friend Barbillus, ambassador of the Alexandrians, wished to dedicate to *Pax Augusta Claudiana* and declines to introduce a Claudian tribe (*P.Lond.* 1912, 36 and 41; cf. A. Kasher, “Les Circonstances de la promulgation de l’édit de l’empereur Claude et de sa lettre aux Alexandrins,” in *Sem*, vol. 26, 1976, pp. 99–108).

¹¹ Οὐ δύναμεθα ἀρνεῖ—σθαι. Acts 4:16; cf. Plato, *Symp.* 192 e: “No one on earth would refuse such an offer”; *Grg.* 461 c: “who then would deny

being . . . able to teach”; Epictetus 3.24.81: “you will not deny knowing”; Philo, *Dreams* 1.49; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.150: it is impossible to deny Herod’s very generous nature; *Life* 255: “I produced the letter, so that no one could deny anything, since the text refuted their objections”; 385: “It was impossible to deny that the Tiberians had written to the king.”

¹² The refusal to loan a bow (Homer, *Il.* 21.345) or to give tools (Hesiod, *Op.* 408). Longinus was quite willing to carry a letter, but he refused to deliver objects, “saying (ἤρνήσατο λέγων) that he was unable to take anything” (*P.Mich.* 466, 14); but to refuse to serve the city is a kind of treason (Demosthenes, *Corona* 18.282).

¹³ Josephus, *War* 4.603; cf. 5.425: the refusal of the occupants of a house to hand over foodstuffs; *Ant.* 1.275: Isaac’s refusal to bless Esau; 4.86: the king of the Ammonites refuses to allow Israel to pass through; 18.159: refusal of a loan; 20.222, or a request.

¹⁴ *Jos. Asen.* 12.11 (cf. Ps 27:10); 4Macc 8:7—speaking to the Maccabee brothers, the tyrant states, “You will get prominent posts in my administration if you renounce the ancestral law that governs you”; the fourth brother rejects this proposition: “I will not renounce our noble brotherhood”; cf. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.191: to renounce ancestral customs. *P.Phil.* 2, 6, in a transcript of an audience: after as agreement has been concluded for the restoration of an inheritance to some children, a woman interrupts; contradicting her earlier commitments (ὁμολογήσασα), she reneges (ἤρνήσατο) and causes problems.

¹⁵ Wis 12:27; 16:16. “To know” is to be understood in its Semitic sense as an existential relationship.

¹⁶ Matt 10:32-33 (cf. Luke 12:9—ἀπαρνεῖ—σθαι); Epictetus 4.1.146: “Slaves, do not run away from your masters, do not repudiate them (μηδ ἀπαρνοῦ), and do not have the audacity to produce your emancipator, when the proofs of your slavery are so numerous.” Jesus’ prophecy found its way into a liturgical hymn at Jerusalem, quoted at 2Tim 2:12—“If we deny [him], he will also deny us.”

¹⁷ The ὁμολογέω-ἀρνέομαι antithesis is constant, cf. Plato, *Tht.* 165 a; Thucydides 6.603; Epicurus, *Nat.* 29; Aelian, *NA* 2.43; Philo, *Drunkenness* 188, 192; *Spec. Laws* 1.235; *To Gaius* 247; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.151; *P.Phil.* 2, 6; John 1:20; Titus 1:16; 1John 2:23; etc. Cf. H. F. von Soden, *Untersuchungen zur Homologie in den griechischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian*, Cologne-Vienna, 1973; W. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*, London, 1966, pp. 15ff.

¹⁸ Matt 26:70; Mark 14:68, 70; Luke 22:57; John 13:38; 18:25, 27. Cf. M. Goguel, “Did Peter Deny His Lord?” in *HTR*, 1932, pp. 1–27; C. Masson, “Le Reniement de Pierre: Quelques aspects de la formation d’une tradition,” in *RHPR*, 1957, pp. 24–35; B. Schwank, “Petrus verleugnet Jesus (XVIII, 12–27),” in *Sein und Sendung*, 1964, pp. 51–65; P. Benoit, *Passion et résurrection du Seigneur*, Paris, 1966, pp. 61–86; R. Pesch, “Die Verleugnung des Petrus,” in *Neues Testament und Kirche, für R. Schnackenburg*, Freiburg, 1974, pp. 42–62. G. Klein and E. Linnemann rejected the historicity of Peter’s denial (cf. R. E. Brown, *Peter in the New Testament*, Minneapolis, 1973, p. 63, n. 139; cf. pp. 112, 121, 133), but H. Merkel (“Peter’s Curse,” in E. Bammel, *The Trial of Jesus*, London, 1970, pp. 66–71) shows that it is unthinkable that the Christian community would have forged this story if Peter had not really denied Jesus.

¹⁹ Acts 3:13-14. Cf. Demosthenes 36.34: ὅταν τὴν διάηκην ἀρνῆται. M. Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts*, Oxford, 1965, pp. 139ff.

²⁰ 2Pet 2:1. Cf. 1John 2:22—“Who is the liar, if not the one who denies the Jesus is the Christ? He is the Antichrist who denies the Father and the Son,” and hence the Incarnation and the Trinity (2Tim 2:13 says that Christ cannot deny himself; he remains faithful under all circumstances, incapable of any denial whatsoever). 1John 2:23—“Whoever denies the son does not have the Father either; the one who confesses the Son (*homologon*) has the Father”; in true faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ there is communion with the Father (John 12:44; 14:6); Jude 4: the impious “deny our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ.”

²¹ Luke 9:23 (cf. ἀπαρνησάσθω, Matt 16:24; Mark 8:34); cf. Luke 14:26—μισει—ν τὴν ε—αυτοῦ ψυχὴν; Aristodicus: “they renounced life” (*Anth. Pal.* 7.473). R. Völkl, *Die Selbstliebe in der Heiligen Schrift*, 1956, p. 160; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 264, n. 3; vol. 2, p. 529; S. Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke*, Rome, 1969.

²² Titus 2:12 (A. Fridrichsen, “Zu ἀρνει—σθαῖ im N.T. insonderheit in den Pastoralbriefen,” in *ConNT*, 1942, pp. 94–96). To live a holy life, i.e., a life that belongs to God, implies not just separation and leaving, but a rejection, a form of violence. Faithfulness is perseverance in this attitude. Christ directs this praise to the church at Pergamum: “You hold fast to my name, and you have not denied my faith” (Rev 2:13), and similarly to the church at Philadelphia: “You have kept my word and not denied my name” (3:8).

²³ Titus 1:16. The impious people of the end times, among their other vices, will maintain the forms of piety but deny its power (2Tim 3:5). These

are impostors. They rob the gospel of its *dynamis*, so that their profession of faith is empty.

²⁴ Cf. *b. shabb.* 116a : “These know and deny, while those deny without knowing”; *b. B. Mes.* 71a : Lending for interest is a serious sin, but “to gather a witness, a notary, and ink and sign a document is to deny the God of Israel.” Cf. Str-B, vol. 1, p. 585.

ἀρχιποίμην

archipoimen, chief shepherd

archipoimen, S 750; TDNT 6.485–499; EDNT 1.165; NIDNTT 3.564, 568; MM 82; L&N 44.5; BDF §118(2); BAGD 113

“The shepherd’s mission is so lofty that it is rightly attributed not only to kings, sages, and souls of perfect purity, but even to the Lord God.”¹ In the East, “pastor” is actually used to describe the function and the office of a sovereign;² it is also used for Moses, who led Israel in its wanderings;³ for David;⁴ and above all for God.⁵ Jesus claimed the designation,⁶ and the faith of the disciple recognized him as the *archegos* of the new People of God: “the God of peace who brought again from the dead the Shepherd of the sheep, the great one.”⁷

If the salvation of all Christians lies in following the “guardian Shepherd” of their souls,⁸ the presbyters of the churches of Asia Minor are motivated to behave as models by the thought that “when the Chief Shepherd appears you will receive an unfading crown of glory” (1Pet 2:4). The term *archipoimen* is not a Christian coinage, even though it is unknown in the OT (cf. nevertheless its use by Symmachus to translate *noqed* in 2Kgs 3:4). It appears for the first time in *T. Jud.* 8.1—“I had many cattle, and my chief herdsman was Hiram and Adullamite” (*esan de moi ktene polla, kai eichon archipoimena Hieram ton Odolometen*).⁹ It is found again in an inscription of the imperial era on an Egyptian mummy—“Plenis the younger, chief shepherd’s, lived . . . years,”¹⁰—and rather often in rent receipts and transfer orders. Around AD 270: “Aurelius Abous, son of Asemis, of the village of Philadelphia, chief shepherd of Antonius Philoxenos, the most powerful former procurator . . . to Aurelius Kalamos. . . I have received from you, from those that you hold that belong to the noteworthy (Antonius Philoxenos), twelve goats that I will record among those entered in my accounts”;¹¹ “Aurelius Abous . . . chief shepherd of the livestock of Antonius Philoxenos . . . to Aurelius Neliammon . . . I have received from you from the livestock that you have on location for the account of the noteworthy (Antonius Philoxenos) twenty-eight goats that I

will record among the entries of the account of the noteworthy (Antonius Philoxenos) as having been handed over by you.”¹² On 21 May 270, Dionysius writes to Neilammon, small livestock tenant: “Hand over to Pekysis, the chief shepherd, the small livestock in your keeping that formerly belonged to Kyrilla—fifty sheep, males and females in equal numbers, and five goats—and get an acknowledgement of receipt from him.”¹³

The point of these texts is to underline the authority, the competence, and the responsibility of the chief shepherd. He exercises a high level of oversight over the shepherds and the flocks. It is up to him to see to it that the flocks are grazed in the best pastures, that the shepherds are remunerated, that the rent is paid, that the animals entrusted to his care are returned. Thus St. Peter, addressing presbyter-shepherds, suggests that they are only vicars, that they must carry out their duty in union with Christ, the “chief of pastors,” in conformity with his instructions and his example.

¹ Philo, *Husbandry* 50. After defining the true shepherd as an overseer, guide, and leader (41ff.), Philo argues that God is the supreme shepherd (49–66). Elsewhere he compares the shepherd and the king, *Moses* 1.60ff.; *Joseph* 2; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 49ff. Cf. the Mebaqqer at Qumran (CD 13.9).

² Cf. M. J. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, Paris, 1967, pp. 244ff. D. Müller, “Der Gute Hirte,” in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, vol. 86, 1961, pp. 126ff. In the prologue to his code, Hammurabi calls himself pastor (col. 1, 50–51), and he repeats the designation in the epilogue: “I am the pastor, the bearer of salvation. . . . In my bosom I have held the peoples of Sumer and Akkad” (col. 24, 42–43, 49–52). J. Jeremias, ποιμήν, in *TDNT*, vol. 6, pp. 485–502; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, 1959, pp. 235ff. (on John 21:15–17); J. Dauvillier, *Les Temps apostoliques*, Paris, 1970, pp. 147ff.

³ Cf. H. Kosmala, *Hebräer—Essener—Christen*, Leiden, 1959, pp. 415ff. R. Le Déaut, *Nuit Pascale*, p. 268; Str-B, vol. 2, p. 209.

⁴ *Les Paroles des luminaires*, col. IV, 6 (cf. ed. M. Baillet, in *RB* 1961, pp. 205, 222); A. Dupont-Sommer, “Le Psaume CLI et son origine essénienne,” in *Sem*, vol. 14, 1964, p. 45.

⁵ Isa 40:11; Ezek 34:12ff.; Ps 23. The metaphor suggests watchfulness, care, benevolence, and devotion, cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè: Prolégomènes*, Louvain-Leiden, 1955, p. 110; W. H. Brownlee, *Ezekiel's Poetic Indictment*

of the Shepherds, in *HTR*, 1958, pp. 191–204; G. M. Behler, “Le Bon Pasteur: Psaume XXIII,” in *VSpir*, 526; 2966, pp. 442–467; J. Dupont, *Le Discours de Milet (Actes, XX, 18, 36)*, Paris, 1962, pp. 143ff.; 149ff.; 167.

⁶ John 10:14; cf. Ezek 37:26; Zech 11:14ff.; Matt 25:32; 26:31. L. Sabourin, *Les Noms et les titres de Jésus*, Bruges-Paris, 1963, pp. 71ff. W. Tooley, “The Shepherd and Sheep Image in the Teaching of Jesus,” in *NovT*, vol. 7, 1964, pp. 15–25.

⁷ Heb 13:20. In Hebrew, the attributive adjective follows the noun (cf. Sir 39:6—Κύριος ὁ μέγας; Heb 4:14—ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν; G. D. Kilpatrick, “The Order of Some Noun and Adjective Phrases in the New Testament,” in *Donum Gratulatorium Eth. Stauffer*, Leiden, 1962, pp. 111ff.). Here, this modifier, commonly used in antiquity for sovereigns and divinities (cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, pp. 249, 269) exalts the King-Priest above Moses and all the *hegoumenoi* who have died and not yet been resurrected (cf. H. Kosmala, *Hebräer—Essener—Christen*, Leiden, 1959, pp. 415–417). On the participial construction, which is common in the Hellenistic preaching (ὁ ε—γείρας . . .), cf. Isa 64:11 (A. Feuillet, “Le Baptême de Jésus,” in *CBQ*, 1959, p. 472); J. Dellings, “Partizipiale Gottesprädikationen in den Briefen des Neuen Testaments,” in *ST*, vol. 17, 1963, pp. 23ff.

⁸ 1Pet 2:25—ε—πὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ε—πίσκοπον τω—ν ψυχω—ν ὑμω—ν is a hendiadys. Cf. A. Rose, “Jésus-Christ, Pasteur de l’Eglise,” in *VSpir*, 1965, pp. 501–515.

⁹ Manuscript A has ἦν ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρχιποιέμενος μου.

¹⁰ SB 3507: Πλῆνις νεώτερος ἀρχιποιέμενος ε—βίωσεν ε—τω—ν . . . (according to A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 100ff.); in the third-fourth century, *PSI* 286, 6; in 338: Καμήτι ἀρχιποιέμενι (*P.Lips.* 97, col. XI, 4).

¹¹ J. Schwartz, “Une Famille de chepteliers au IIIe s. p. C.,” in *RechPap*, vol. 3, 1964, p. 56.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 66 = SB 8087, 7–8 (cf. P. Collomp, “Un bail de troupeau,” in *Mélanges Maspéro*, Paris, 1955–57, vol. 2, p. 343). Cf. again “Pekynis, the chief shepherd . . . Aurelius Sabinus, the chief shepherd,” in an acknowledgement of transfer (J. Schwartz, *loc. cit.*, p. 67, lines 2 and 13).

ἀρχιτέκτων

architekton, master builder

architekton, S 753; *EDNT* 1.165; *NIDNTT* 1.279; MM 82; L&N 45.10; BDF §118(2); BAGD 113

St. Paul, having laid the foundation of the church at Corinth,¹ compares himself to a master architect who is within his rights in requiring his successors to adapt their labors to his own structure.² There is nothing to say philologically about the NT hapax *architekton*, except that its English transliteration is hardly to be defined in terms of our contemporary architects. This is already suggested here by the *architekton*'s job of laying the foundation; and it is confirmed by Sir 38:27—"Every craftsman and every master worker who works day and night"³—and by the papyri and inscriptions.⁴

At the beginning of the second century AD, Tesenouphos is an engineer or mechanic who complains about the lack of maintenance of the machines (*P.Tebt.* 725, 1, 12, 25). Some hundred years later, Apollonius is a naval engineer;⁵ Onasander uses this term for builders of siege engines (42.3). In the second century AD, the declaration of an "architect" who is in charge on the building site is registered (*P.Tebt.* 286, 19). But there are also architects in the literal sense of the word who are summoned when someone wants to build a house (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59233, 2, 7; 59302, 3), who propose changes in the plan that has been proposed to them (59193, 3, 8), and who take care that the dwelling is well outfitted (59200, 3, *kataskeuazetai*). Not only do the Greeks vote them honorific decrees,⁶ but they also endlessly praise their concern and devotion.⁷

The architect proper has both speculative and practical capabilities. He works together with the commission set up by the city and he serves as the technical adviser.⁸ He establishes the estimates. He goes to the quarries to select the materials,⁹ oversees the manner in which they are rough-hewn and prepared for installation, according to the models or mock-ups (*typoi*) that he has prepared. He is in charge at the work site and manages the execution of all of the jobs, even the lowliest of them. He recruits, gives instructions to, and oversees a multitude of specialized workers: quarriers, masons, inscribers, marble masons, smiths, carpenters, joiners, marqueteurs,¹⁰ etc., whose salaries he pays (cf. *I.Lind.*, 419, 141); and as he is often in charge of the ongoing maintenance of the edifices, he remains on the job for years.

This description allows us to understand better how the apostle can compare himself to an *architekton*, which should probably be translated "builder":¹¹ being in charge of *ergon*, he is within his rights to require of preachers who come to labor on his work site and "add to his

construction”¹² that they be strictly faithful to the “canon” that he has determined once for all.¹³ “The architect (*ho oikodomos*) . . . the painter . . . the shipbuilder . . . allocate all their materials such that when they are arranged and connected they give the whole work solidity, beauty, and utility” (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.2.5).

¹ 1Cor 3:10 (cf. V. P. Furnish, “Fellow Workers in God’s Service,” in *JBL*, 1961, pp. 364–370; J. Pfammatter, *Die Kirche als Bau*, Rome, 1960, pp. 19–35). The metaphor of founding was common in the *diatribe*, cf. Heb 6:1; Philo, *Dreams* 2.8: “These preliminary considerations will serve as a foundation, but to build the rest, the building itself, let us follow the directives of Allegory, the expert architect, σοφῆς ἀρχιτέκτονος”; (same modifier: σοφὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα, Isa 3:3); *Giants* 30; *Change of Names* 211; Epictetus 2.15.8–9: “Don’t you want to establish the principles and the foundation . . . then establish on this foundation the firmness and stability of this decision? But if you put at the base a rotting and crumbling foundation, you must not build”; cf. J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 10th ed., Göttingen, 1925, p. 79; H. MuszyĔski, *Fundament, Bild und Metapher in den Handschriften aus Qumran: Studien zur Vorgeschichte des ntl. Begriffs θεμέλιος*, Rome, 1975.

² Cf. 2Macc 2:29—“The architect of a house must concern himself with the whole structure,” τῆς ὅλης καταβολῆς = the foundation, in the sense of masonry (cf. F. M. Abel, *Maccabées*, on this text). The architect is distinguished from the painter or the decorator who ornaments the structure after it is built.

³ Πα—ς τέκτων καὶ ἀρχιτέκτων. The τέκτων is the simple laborer, worker, or artisan working with wood, the joiner or carpenter (*P.Mil.Vogl.* 255, 5; *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 5, n. 13234–13294; a papyrus from Strassburg, in *ChrEg*, 1963; p. 135, line 30; A. Orlandos, *Technique architecturale*, pp. 26ff. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 378, n. 2; vol. 2, p. 525). The ἀρχιτέκτων could be the foreman, the entrepreneur, whoever directs a work, hence the architect, but here the mechanic or machinist (*P.Lond.* 2074, 2; 2173, 4, 8). Similarly, Strabo associates carpenters and smiths, who have “no conception of beauty or nobility,” whereas the poet is a person of quality (Prolegomena, 1.2.5). Cf. A. Bernand, *Pan du désert*, p. 192.

⁴ Cf. *Prosop.Ptol.*, n. 182–185, 528–542 (mentions some hyparchitects); 1953, pp. 52–54. On the architect Pathemis (*P.Petr.* III, 43), cf. idem, *Prosopographica* (Studia Hellenistica 9), Louvain, 1953, pp. 52–54: in an adjudication by the *oikonomos* Hermaphilos in the presence of the royal

scribe and the architect; the latter comes after the royal scribe but has precedence over the representative of the royal scribe. J. Coupry, *Inscriptions de Délos: Période de l'amphictyonie attico-délienne*, Paris, 1972, n. 104, 4 (notebook of charges, technical conditions imposed, various costs, the assistant architect's remuneration, etc.).

⁵ A. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 1, n. 39 (with the editor's note); B. Boyaval, "Correspondance administrative de l'ingénieur Théodoros," in *Etudes sur l'Égypte et la Soudan anciens*, Lille-Paris, 1973, p. 195, SB 8322, 8323 (with the commentary of D. Meredith in *ChrEg*, 1954, pp. 110ff.). M. Guarducci (*Epigrafia Greca*, Rome 1969, vol. 2, pp. 192, 198, 214, 261) translates ἀρχιτέκτων by *ingegnere*; the corresponding Latin term is *faber* (H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 26); cf. R. Martin, in *Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Etudes* (4th section), 1973–1974, pp. 221ff.

⁶ For Epicratus, at Olbia (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 707, 8, 26), cf. *Syl.* 494, 3; SB 8580, 5,16.

⁷ *Epimeleia*, cf. *SEG* vol. 2, 480, 3 = *CIRB*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1965, n. 1112: ἀνεκτίσθη τὸ τει—χος ε—κ θεμελείων διὰ ε—πιμελείας Εὐτύχους ἀρχιτέκτονος; 1245, 17 (cf. 1249, 11; 1250, 17; 1252, 10; 1258); Dittenberger, *Syl.*, 736, 90, 115. These honors are explained by the architect's having contributed to the embellishment of the city and having built a temple (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 695, 72; 972, 160), but they contrast with the modest honorarium—one drachma per day: "Theodotus, architect, receives an annual salary of 352 drachmas" (C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 584, 9; with the commentary of the *NCIG*, pp. 131ff.)

⁸ *P.Lille* 1, 24. "Harpalos was the most industrious in the science, which requires competency" (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 23, 2). For the rebuilding of a temple of Demeter and of Kora, at Tanagra (third century BC), "the commission (elected for three years) will build the sanctuary in the city, consulting on this matter with the polemarchs and the architect" (*RIJG*, vol. 2, n. 36, 14); cf. the treatise on archaeology of Vitruvius; *LSAMSup*, n. 107, 25; idem, *LSCG*, n. 5, 11–12; 41, 29, 42, 21; R. Martin, *Architecture grecque*, pp. 172–179; idem, *L'Urbanisme dans la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1956, pp. 69–71.

⁹ Cf. J. A. Letronne, *Égypte*, vol. 2, pp. 117–119, 231. A. Bernand, *Koptos*, n. 41, 19 (with the editor's commentary, pp. 89ff.).

¹⁰ Cf. F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, p. 106; L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, pp. 86ff.

¹¹ Cf. *MAMA*, vol. 8, 564, 3: σοφιστῆς κτίστης τω—ν μεγίστων ἔργων ε—ν τῇ πόλει.

¹² 2Cor 10:12-18; cf. R. Devreesse, “La Deuxième aux Corinthiens,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, pp. 143ff. C. K. Barrett, “Paul’s Opponents in II Corinthians,” in *NTS*, vol. 17, 1971, pp. 237ff.

¹³ In architecture the κανών is “the rule.” Cf. H. Opperl, *KANON*, Leipzig, 1937, L. Wenger, *Canon in den römischen Rechtsquellen und in den Papyri*, Vienna, 1941.

ἀσφάλεια, ἀσφαλής, ἀσφαλίζομαι, ἀσφαλω—ς

asphaleia, stability, safety, assurance, guarantee; *asphales*, safe, sure; *asphalizomai*, to secure, make sure, *asphalos*, without slipping, securely, safely

asphaleia, S 803; *TDNT* 1.506; *EDNT* 1.175–176; *NIDNTT* 1.663–664; MM 88; L&N 21.9, 31.41; BAGD 118 | ***asphales***, S 804; *TDNT* 1.506; *EDNT* 1.175–176; *NIDNTT* 1.663; MM 88; L&N 21.10, 31.42; BAGD 119 | ***asphalizomai***, S 805; *TDNT* 1.506; *EDNT* 1.175–176; *NIDNTT* 1.663; MM 88; L&N 18.12, 21.11; BDF §126; BAGD 119 | ***asphalos***, S 806; *TDNT* 1.506; *EDNT* 1.175–176; *NIDNTT* 1.663; L&N 21.10, 31.42; BAGD 119; ND 3.9

These words are formed from the alpha-privative and *sphallo*, which means “stumble, fall,” and by extension “fail, be foiled.”¹ They are particularly common in the literary (Philo, Josephus) and popular (the papyri) Koine. In the fifteen NT occurrences, St. Luke (eight occurrences) alone uses the substantive, the adjective, the verb, and the adverb; this is probably because these terms belonged to the medical vocabulary,² but their use is so widespread that their meanings are considerably nuanced, both in classical Greek and in Hellenistic Greek.

Asphaleia —the condition of not slipping, a firm step³—means first of all stability,⁴ and then especially security and safety,⁵ certainty or assurance: “by far the most surely true answer” (*makro pros aletheian asphalestaton*, Plato, *Tim.* 50 *b*). Finally, it is a legal term, meaning security in the sense of a guarantee: “Otherwise he does not affix his seal on an act or sign a guarantee” (*e asphaleian graphej*, Epictetus 2.13.7; cf. 2Macc 3:22—keeping deposits safe; Prov 11:15; *BGU* 1149, 24); Polybius 2.11.5: a guarantee against Illyrian violations. The LXX retains especially the meaning security and solidity,⁶ as does the *Letter of Aristeas*,⁷ which also notes that the translation of the Law had to be done *meta asphaleias*,

meaning with care and precision (45; cf. 28; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.56). Philo mentions the security of persons, of property, and of places,⁸ notably of the altar and of places of refuge,⁹ but also in the intellectual order: stability and balance (*asphaleian kai eukosmian*) in the refutation of sophistry (*Heir* 125; cf. *Spec. Laws* 4.21; *To Gaius* 42); the reasoning faculty with its “sureness and good order” (*asphaleian kai kosmon, Change of Names* 111). The meaning personal or military security is predominant in Josephus,¹⁰ who also knows the meanings “holding someone under tight guard,”¹¹ “assurance, certitude,” “victory” (*War* 1.375), “hope” (*Ant.* 15.166), “safety” (17.3). “He reckoned that God would certainly make sure that nothing that he had uttered would prove false” (*Ant.* 2.220; cf. 2.280; 4.31; 6.157). Also present is the legal meaning, a guarantee, security (*Ant.* 17.346): “the principal guarantee of secure peace (*pros asphaleian eirenes*) is the legitimate succession of princes” (*War* 4.596).

The adjective *asphales*, “not slipping, not falling,” means first of all “firm, solid,” whether with respect to things (Homer, *Od.* 6.42: Olympus) or persons;¹² then “safe”¹³ or “making safe.”¹⁴ God has firmly fixed the clouds above (Prov 8:28) and opened a sure path through the sea (Wis 14:3); the ungodly do not lay solid foundations (4:3). But immutable Wisdom never changes in her designs, is of firm, sure, and tranquil mind (*bebaion, asphales, amerimnon*, 7:23). For Philo, “safety lies in staying at home” (*Husbandry* 162); “the safest option is to remain calm.”¹⁵ If the adjective usually modifies a route or a journey,¹⁶ it is also used to define knowledge: “a comprehensive, firm, and solid grasp that reason cannot shake” (*Prelim. Stud.* 141); “to speak more truly (or precisely)” (*to ge asphalesteron eipein, Etern. World* 74); “the sustenance, the support, the strength, the firmness (*bebaiotes*) of all is the immutable God” (*ho asphales theos, Dreams* 1.158). Most of the occurrences in Josephus have to do with security,¹⁷ sometimes in the legal sense;¹⁸ some have to do with prudence,¹⁹ which is very close to the idea of certitude (*Ant.* 1.106; cf. 15.67: uncertain hopes).

The verb *asphalizo*, “to secure, fortify,”²⁰ is used for the solidity of a building (Neh 3:15; hiphil of Hebrew *hazaq*, “make firm”), for the fastening of an image with iron (Wis 13:15), for putting something in a safe or sheltered place (10:12; cf. 4:17), for supporting with might (Isa 41:10, Hebrew *tamaḥ*). In Josephus, it means especially to secure the defense of a country or a city, to take measures to ensure its security,²¹ especially with a nuance of prudence: the Tiberians “took the precaution (*asphalistenai*) of fortifying their walls” (*Life* 317); “being on guard against the appearing of enemies” (*asphalisamenoi periemenon autous, Ant.* 4.160). Josephus also uses the word, however, to describe how he safeguarded himself against those who might criticize his narrative (*Ant.* 10.218), and in a legal sense: “those who read these letters, which are guaranteed by the royal seal—*tas hypo tou basilikou semanteros*

esphalismenas epistolas —shall not oppose what is written herein” (11.271).

The adverb *asphalos*, “without slipping, solidly, firmly,” takes on all of the meanings of the adjective.²² In the LXX, it always translates the Hebrew *betah*, referring to a safe place (Tob 6:4), a journey made in safety,²³ but we may understand *asphalos eidotes* to mean knowledge free of any doubt: “knowing with certitude what oaths they trusted in” (Wis 18:6).

All of this would be superfluous except that it helps determine the significance of *asphaleia* at the end of the prologue to the Third Gospel, which is written in purest Greek style, and in which Luke sets out to specify the goal of his work:²⁴ *heos an epignos peri hon katechethes logon ten asphaleian* (Luke 1:4). First of all, we must point out the emphatic position of the last term which is thus spotlighted: *epignos . . . ten asphaleian*.²⁵ Thus we should not hesitate to translate, along with most moderns, “absolute certainty”²⁶—the Philonian definition²⁷—but at the same time recognizing that it means not just intellectual conviction but also safety, firmness, and stability. Xenophon had already used the word with respect to the certainty of an argument (Xenophon, *Mem.* 4.6.15, *asphaleia logou*); the meaning is identical in the synonym *to asphales*, in *P.Amh.* 131, 3: “until he has certain knowledge of the matter” (*hina to asphales epigno tou pragmatos*, second century); 132, 5; *P.Giss.* 27, 8: “so that I may know with certainty” (*hina to asphales epigno kai stephanephorian axo*). Finally, we should note the custom of supplying a guarantee or a written assurance.²⁸

On the other hand, in 1Thess 5:3 it is a question of stability and safety, which is one of the most common meanings in the papyri:²⁹ “When they say, ‘Peace and safety’ (*eirene kai asphaleia*), then sudden destruction will fall upon them.”³⁰ When the officers from the Sanhedrin go to find the imprisoned apostles, they find the prison “locked and secure (*en pase asphaleia*) and the guards standing before the gates.”³¹

The adjective *asphales* is used three times by St. Luke in the sense of certain, precise, or exact knowledge (Acts 21:34; 22:30; 25:26), for which there is no parallel in the papyri (except for *P.Lond.* 1916, 26, from the fourth century AD, *hina to asphales methomen kai pisthomen*; *SB* 11017, 5: *ten asphalen phasin gnous*), which use it only with the meaning “sure,”³² which corresponds better to Phil 3:1—“It does not hurt me to write the same things to you, and for you it is a guarantee” (*hymen de asphales*, it is safer for you); and especially to Heb 6:19—“We have a soul’s anchor that is sure and firm” (*asphale te kai bebaian*). These metaphors of land or sea routes and anchors were traditional,³³ like the union of the two adjectives.³⁴

The four occurrences of the verb *asphalizo* in the NT are all in the middle voice and have to do either with the guard at Jesus’ tomb³⁵ or the Philippian jailer, who “secured the feet (*tous podas esphalisato*) of Paul and Silas in stocks” (Acts 16:24; cf. Wis 13:15; *P.Tebt.* 283, 19). This latter

meaning is the most common in the papyri where a suspect is captured or secured³⁶ or where the body of a deceased person is guarded (*P.Princ.* 166,5), but in addition products are seized (*P.Tebt.* 53, 29) and property is secured (407, 4).

The adverb *asphalos* has the same meaning in Mark 14:44, where Judas asks the soldiers to hold Jesus securely when leading him away, and in Acts 16:23, where the Philippian jailer is ordered to guard Paul and Silas closely (*asphalos terein autous*). Similarly *P.Giss.* 19, 14, “so I enjoin you to (guard) yourself closely” (*parakalo se oun asphalos seauton [terein]*); and *P.Oxy.* 742, 5: “put them in a secure place” (*thes autas eis topon asphalos*). But at Pentecost Peter affirms, “Let the whole house of Israel know with certainty (*asphalos oun ginosteto hoti*) that God made this Jesus Lord and Christ . . .”;³⁷ a meaning that accords well with Luke 1:4.

¹ Cf. Plato, *Resp.* 3.396 d: “faltering (ε—σφαλμένον) because of sickness, love, or even drunkenness”; 404 a: “a habit dangerous (σφαλήν) to the health.”

² Summarized by W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 199–201 (gives the references to Hippocrates, Galen, Aretaeus) and N. van Brock, *Vocabulaire médicale*, p. 184. Cf. Hippocrates, *Aph.* 2.19: “with acute illnesses, predictions either of death or of health are not absolutely certain”; *Epid.* 1.5: “Digestion signals that the turning point is imminent and [return to] health is certain” (ἀσφαλίην = certainty); 1.11: “the semi-tertian fever, the most dangerous of all”; *Nat. Hom.* 13: “the safest diagnosis” (illnesses whose outcome can be predicted with the most certainty, cf. J. Jouanna, *Hippocrate: La Nature de l’homme*, Berlin, 1975, p. 290); *Acut.* 9: “Medicine can do much to preserve the health of the healthy” (τοι—σιν ὑγιαίνουσιν ε—ς ἀσφάλειαν); 58.2: a regular diet is safer for the health and sudden, major changes; 62.1; *Append.* 4.2: “purgation after bleeding requires security and moderation”; 31.4; 54: “foods are not to be prescribed except when completely safe, when the patient is well beyond the spike of the fever”; 57.1; *Liqu.* 6.5: “the greatest sign of recovery” (μέγιστον σεμήϊον ε—ς ἀσφάλειαν); *Vict.* 3.76.2: “the safest treatment”; 4.90.1: “a sign of health: a firm step” (ὁδοιπορεῖ—ν τε ἀσφαλω—ς); *Oct.* 11.1: “those who are born without risk”; 10.2: “the ones that come head first come out better than the ones that come feet first”; *Dent.* 18: “ulcerations of the tonsils that come without a fever are less troublesome.”

³ Thucydides 3.22.2: “with only the left foot shod for the sake of surefootedness” (ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα).

⁴ Aristotle, *Pol.* 6.5.2: to provide for the stability of constitutions against unsettling elements; Sophocles, *OT* 51: the rescue of a city; Epictetus 2.15.9: “the firmness and stability of this decision.”

⁵ Plato, *Resp.* 5.467 c: “providing for their safety”; Demosthenes, *1 C. On.* 24; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 495: an escort of guards “to guarantee our safety”; Thucydides 1.17: the administration of cities by tyrants δι’ ἀσφαλείας; 1.120.5: “When a plan is being formed you are safe, but when the time comes for execution fear intervenes”; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 4.5.28: “It is not those who remain seated near their friends who protect them the best” (τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρέχουσιν); *Hell.* 2.2.2: Lysander gives safe-conducts to the Athenians for their security; Polybius 1.57; 3.97.7: a place of refuge that provides shelter from enemies; Dio Cassius 44.33: “for security reasons, the conspirators retired to . . .”; 45.9.38; 47.11; 55.15; *P. Mich.* XIV, 683, 3: the payment provides a guarantee, εἰς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

⁶ Lev 26:5; Deut 21:10—“You shall dwell in security” (Hebrew *betah*); 1Macc 14:37; 2Macc 4:21—Antiochus takes security measures, πραγμάτων τῆς ἀσφαλείας; 9:21; 15:1—Nicanor attacks without risk; 15:11; Ps 104:5—the earth has foundations that are unshakable (Hebrew *majōn*). In Prov 8:14, ἀσφάλεια (Hebrew *tūshiyâh*) is associated with counsel (βουλή); cf. Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 36, 37, 42: “safety lies in keeping quiet.”

⁷ *Ep. Arist.* 115, 118, 172, 230: “gratitude, which is stronger than any argument, assures the greatest safety”; cf. 61: the gems “were fastened with gold pins that crossed them for greater security” (πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν); 85: “the solidity of the lintel.”

⁸ Philo, *Joseph* 63 (σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας); 251; *Spec. Laws* 4.58; *Moses* 1.178; *Flacc.* 41; *Cherub.* 126: “a house is built for security and protection”; *Creation* 142; *Husbandry* 149, 167; *Plant.* 146: “the security of those most dear”; *Decalogue* 178; *Spec. Laws* 1.75; *Contemp. Life* 22–23; *Conf. Tongues* 103: the solidity of asphalt.

⁹ Philo, *Flight* 80; *Spec. Laws* 1.69, 159; 3.130, 132; *Good Man Free* 151; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.13; Dittenberger, *Or.* 81, 16.

¹⁰ *War* 1.567, 623; 2.466, 572, 606, 620; 3.33, 85; *Ant.* 13.263, 266, 307; 14.151, 161; 15.60, 167; *Life* 45, 113, 126, 330; *Ag. Apion* 2.157.

¹¹ *War* 3.398: “Vespasian commanded that Josephus be guarded most carefully (φρουρεῖ—ν αὐτὸν μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας), intending to send

him to Nero as soon as possible”; *Life* 163: “the mission of guarding closely (φυλάξοντασ μετ̄ ἀσφαλείασ) anyone who wished to leave.”

¹² Sophocles, *OT* 617: “deciding too quickly is not without risk”; Euripides, *Phoen.* 599: “a prudent general is more sure than a fearful general”; Plato, *Soph.* 231 a; Euripides, *IT* 1062: “we can count on each other”; Thucydides 1.69.5: “They used to say that you could be counted on!”

¹³ Herodotus 1.109: “for the sake of my security this child must die”; Aristophanes, *Av.* 1489: “at this time, it is more secure to be with them”; Sophocles, *Aj.* 1251: “big strapping fellows . . . the most solid”; Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.4.51: “the route of Potniae is the most secure”; Xenophon, *An.* 3.2.19: “it is safer for them to flee than for us”; 8.39.4: “judging themselves to be safe.” For Hippocrates: ἀσφαλή εἶναι (or ε—ν ἀσφαλεία εἶναι) is to be out of danger, on the road to recovery; cf. *Acut.* Suppl. 6: “give barley water when the crisis is past and the patient is out of danger (ε—ν ἀσφαλείη ἤδη ἦ)”; 11: “next, if the patient seems to be out of danger (ἀσφαλὴσ φαίνηται), give him barley water mixed with honey.”

¹⁴ Xenophon, *An.* 1.8.22: “That is the safest place for them”; 3.2.19; *Cyr.* 7.1.21: “You will be much safer once you are outside than shut up inside”; *Eq. Mag.* 4.18: “retiring to safety” (εἰ—σ τὸ ἀσφαλὲσ); 5.5: “distance provides the greatest safety and increases the illusion”; Thucydides 1.39.1: “Someone who proceeds in all safety.”

¹⁵ *Dreams* 2.92; hence the link with prudence (*Giants* 46; *Flight* 136, 206; *Change of Names* 242); *Drunkenness* 203: “the safest thing is to suspend judgment”; *Moses* 1.15: Pharaoh’s daughter “judged that it was not safe to take the child to the palace right away.”

¹⁶ *Abraham* 269: “going straight ahead on a safe route (one free of danger) where the ground is not shifting”; *Moses* 2.247; *Spec. Laws* 4.159; *Flacc.* 31, 115; *To Gaius* 247, 361; cf. *Conf. Tongues* 104: “asphalt is solid and sure.”

¹⁷ *War* 1.303; 3.174, 457; 4.31, 44, 368, 615; *Ant.* 13.41, 165 (safe-conduct); 20.85; *Life* 108, 118, 269; cf. *War* 3.402: “I ask for a more secure prison (ἀσφαλέστερον) if I have spoken the name of God flippantly.”

¹⁸ *Ant.* 17.156: a security deposit; *Life* 347: “to secure themselves against me, they duped me.”

¹⁹ *War* 4.143; *Ant.* 3.41; 6.59; 16.327 (examine carefully); *Ag. Apion* 2.224: “It would not be prudent to divulge God’s truth to the ignorant mob.”

²⁰ Polybius 1.22.10: “those who came after secured their flanks”; 1.42.7: “a city well defended by its walls”; intransitive: to secure oneself, to be on guard: “Molon secured the support of the neighboring satrapies” (5.43.6); Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.77: “Salitis fortified the eastern regions.”

²¹ *War* 2.609; 4.120; 6.15; *Ant.* 13.22, 175, 183, 202; 14.178.

²² Homer, *Il.* 13.141: “the stone unflinching follows its fixed course”; *Od.* 13.86: “The ship ran on steadily, unwavering.” Herodotus 1.86: “In human affairs, nothing is certain”; 2.161: “to reign with greater security over the rest of the population”; Plato, *Phd.* 85 d: “the possibility of going on with more security and less risk”; Xenophon, *Eq. Mag.* 6.2: This leader “provides for their safety in retreat”; 7.11; 8.1, 3: “to descend the hillocks in safety” (without the risk of slipping); *I.Priene* 44, 33: an escort seeing to the safety of a judge returning to his country: ἵνα δὲ ἀσφαλῶς παραπεμφθῆ.

²³ Gen 34:25; Bar 5:7; 1Macc 6:40—the soldiers “advanced steadily and in good order” (ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τεταγμένως); cf. this epitaph from Sosibios: “Depart in all safety.”

²⁴ Cf. Cajetan: “Lucas causam finalem scribendi a se Evangelium, assignat certitudinem rerum Evangelicarum”; C. F. D. Moule, “The Intention of the Evangelists,” in A. J. B. Higgins, *New Testament Essays*, pp. 165–179.

²⁵ E. Delebecque (*Etudes grecques*, p. 8) notes: “It is clear that Luke has detached ἀσφάλεια from the rest of the prologue by separating it from the verb (‘certitude’ being the direct object of ἐπιγνώσκω) with the relative clause.” He translates “afin que tu découvres à propos des instructions que tu as entendues, la certitude,” and comments, “The certitude, in short, that will be revealed to Theophilus is the certitude of revelation” (p. 9).

²⁶ Cf. Acts 2:36; 1Macc 7:3. J. H. Ropes, “St. Luke’s Preface, ἀσφάλεια and παρακολουθεῖν,” in *JTS*, 1924, pp. 67–71. W. den Boer (“Some Remarks on the Beginnings of Christian Historiography,” in *SP*, vol. 4, Berlin, pp. 348–362) prefers to translate: “precise information.”

²⁷ Cf. above. An intellectual meaning, *Tabula of Cebes* 32.2: the science that confers παιδεία is ἀσφαλῆς δόσις καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἀμετάβλητος; *P.Giss.* 27, 8: ἵνα τὸ ἀσφαλῆς ἐπιγνώσκω.

²⁸ *P.Berl.Zill.* VI, 3: τήνδε τὴν ἔνγραφον ἀσφάλειαν; VIII, 16: δέξασθαι παρ ἐμοῦ ταύτην τὴν ἔγγραφον παρακλητικὴν ἀσφάλειαν; *P.Mich.* 322 a, 33 (AD 46): katveῖngraphpton aÓsfaleiaß; 607, 13; διὰ τῆς παρούσης

ε—γγράφου ἀσφαλείας; *P.Flor.* 25, 28; 293, 9; *P.Wash.Univ.* 46, 13: πρὸς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν τούτου; *P.Ant.* 42, 13; *P.Amh.* 78, 16: ἀσφάλειαν γραπτὴν; *P.Princ.* 34, 17; *P.Soterichos* 22, 23, 33; 24, 11, 27; *P.Bour.* 15, 9; *P.Köln* 153, 4; *C.P.Herm.* 32, 26: πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν εἰ—ς πάντα τὰ ε—γγεγραμμένα καὶ εἰ—ς τὴν βεβαίωσιν; *P.Erl.* 67, 10: διὰ ταύτης ἡμῶν τῆς ε—γγράφου ἀσφαλείας ε—σχηκέναι; 81, 47; *P.Oxy.* 1891, 5: ὁμολογῶ— διὰ ταύτης μου τῆς ε—γγράφου ἀσφαλείας; 1896, 14; 2975, 19; 3365, 11; *SB* 6704, 7; 10781, 8; etc.

²⁹ Edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander: “The gods have reserved the safety of the world for this most sacred moment” (*BGU* 1563, 26; AD 68). An honorific decree of Rhamnus for the *strategos* Theotimus, who “provided for the safety of the countryside, so that the inhabitants might enjoy safety” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 20, 6–7; cf. 22, 44); honorific decree of Phalanna for the judges from Metropolis, granting them “safety in wartime and in peacetime, for them and for their descendants” (*NCIG*, n. 12, 36; second century BC). With the meaning “guarantee”: Thaesis gives full authority to her husband Ptollion to act on her behalf in a lawsuit, “the rights of Thaesis being fully reserved in the recovery of eighty drachmas loaned by her with guarantee (κατὰ ἀσφάλειαν) to Petsiris” (*P.Fouad* 35, 14; from AD 48); “the guarantee is valid and secure” (ἡ δὲ ἀσφάλεια κυρία καὶ βεβαία, *P.Rein.* 107, 4; cf. 6, 7). A receipt delivered to an *epimeletes* “for more certainty, I have made out this receipt, valid in one copy” (*P.Got.* 9, 19); *C.P.Herm.* 18, 17; 19, 8; 29, 5; 40, 4; *P.Erl.* 79, 9; *P.Oxy.* 1865, 11–12; 1880, 17; 2411, 34; 2666, col. II, 8; 2780, 23; 2951, 26; *PSI* 823, 3; *P.Ant.* 91, 11; 104, 4, 6; *P.Mert.* 97, 17; *P.Mich.* 282, 8; 283, 19; *P.Amst.* 96, 3: so that you may act with all assurance; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 9, 13: κατὰ ἀσφάλειαν τετελειομένην; 29, 49; *P.Aberd.* 19, 23; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 7, 31; *BGU* 1659, 7; *SB* 7201, 22; 10256, 6; 10289, col. I, a 9; 10539, 26; 10810, 5–6; 11215, 7; *P.Köln* 153, 7. Guarantee in the commercial sense: αἰ—ῶναὶ καὶ ἀσφάλειαὶ = contracts and property titles (*P.Tebt.* 407, 10; *P.Oxy.* 3240, 6).

³⁰ Cf. Philo, *Rewards* 147: “When they think that they are in safety (ε—ν ἀσφαλει—) in the cities—an illusion born of false hope—they will perish in their prime, falling into the enemy’s snares.”

³¹ Acts 5:23; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 547, 30: ὅπως μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλαίας συντελεσθῆι—; *P.Fay.* 107, 11: “guard those found guilty in a secure place” (τοὺς φανέντας αἰ—τίους ἔχιν ε—ν ἀσφαλείᾳ); *SB* 8881, 9. Josephus, *War* 6.116; *Ant.* 15.178.

³² *P.Phil.* 35, 7: “I sent you a letter through Valerianus . . . a trustworthy man (ἀνθρώπου ἀσφαλοῦς), and I cannot believe that he would not have

given you my letter”; *P.Oxy.* 2598, b 6: “Let me know the price through a trustworthy person (διάσφαλοῦς ἀνθρώπου) so that I can reimburse you”; 2983, 13; 2984, 12; 3357, 17; *P.Ryl.* 92, 19; *P.Mich.* 657, 11: “you will give the dates to someone who will ship them as safely as possible” (τω—ἀσφαλέστερον φέροντι); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XX, 25, 4; *BGU* 909, 24; *P.Köln* 161, 10; *SB* 6717, 11: ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα = the most reliable; Dittenberger, *Or.* 701, 10: route “across safe and flat terrain along the Red Sea”; *P.Oslo* 128, 12: ε—ν ἀσφαλει— εἶναι; *P.Oxy.* 2228, 29; 2268, 7; *I.Priene* 114, 10: τὴν δὲ πίστιν καὶ φυλακὴν τω—ν παραδοθέντων αὐτω— γραμμάτων ε—ποιήσατο ἀσφαλή; 118, 8: ἀσφαλέστατα πρὸς πάντα τὸν χρόνον γενηθῆναι τὰ βραβει—α; *ZPE*, vol. 10, 1973, p. 105, n. 21, n. 22, 7; *P.Cair.Isid.* 94, 4. Of an arrested suspect, “under close guard” (*P.Oxy.* 1886, 14; *P.Mert.* 29, 6; 66, 9).

³³ —*Ἀσφαλω—ς*: the security of a mooring (Strabo 5.4.6; Philo, *Rewards* 58); *ἀσφαλει—ς*: the security of a route (Strabo 4.6.6). “What security (ἀσφάλεια) can those who navigate have if the sailors do not listen to the pilots?” (Dio Cassius 41.33). For the anchor, cf. Herondas 1.41; Pindar, *Ol.* 6.100; Plato, *Leg.* 12.961 c; Philemon, frag. 213, 10: ε—βάλεῖ ἄγκυραν καθάψας ἀσφαλείας εἵνεκα (in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 30.4.10, vol. 3, p. 664); Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.52: “to cast an anchor of security in an existence free of danger”; Plutarch, *Sol.* 19; *De virt. mor.* 6: “my heart is ready to yield and resists no longer, like the point of an anchor in the sand that is disturbed by the sea”; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 8.6.9: “cast the anchor of salvation”; 4.19.9. Cf. C. Spicq, “Ἀγκυρα et Πρόδρομος dans Hébr. VI, 19–20,” in *ST*, 1949, pp. 185–187; same symbolism in Rabbinic Judaism, cf. R. Mach, *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch*, Leiden, 1957, pp. 223–241.

³⁴ To the references given by C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, p. 164, add Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 141: ἀσφαλῆς καὶ βέβαιος; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.164; *Cherub.* 103; *Conf. Tongues* 106; *Heir* 314; *Prelim. Stud.* 141; Plutarch, *Cat. Mai.* 21.5: “He invested his capital in solid and sure ventures”; Polybius 12.25.2; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 8.16.1: a troop is sent on ahead to clear the route (τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τῆς ὁδοιπορίας) and through their explorations to secure (βεβαιώσοντες) the march of the bulk of the army.

³⁵ Matt 27:64, 65, 66. Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 104: “a forward post that guarantees the protection” of the citadel. In the sense of reinforcing a house (*P.Fouad* 30, 24).

³⁶ *P.Ryl.* 68, 19 (first century BC); *P.Tebt.* 283, 19; 798, 25; 800, 35; 960, 7; *P.Mich.* XIII, 660, 13: “after arresting my husband”; 661, 2; *P.Bour.* 10, 20: if these persons take part in an uprising, “you will do well to secure their persons until we have arrived.” —*Ἀσφαλίζομαι* also means “certify”;

P.Oxy. 2407, 13, 31, 48, 52; 2956, 22: “guaranteeing at your own risk”; 3289, 14; *BGU* 1576, 10; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 273; *P.Ryl.* 77, 40; *SB* 6002, 18; 6643, 20; 7558, 26; 10253, 3; 10801, 4.

³⁷ Acts 2:36; cf. γράψον μοι ἀσπαλω—ς, “write me without fail” (*P.Oxy.* 3312, 6; *SB* 10529, A 23); ἵνα ἀσφαλω—ς ἀναλεύσης (*SB* 10557, 9); nuances of security (*P.Hib.* 53, 3: ἀσφαλω—ς διεγγυα—ν); *Ep. Arist.* 46: that the books (of the Law), once translated, “return to us with certainty,” become our property again; defense of a territory against any attack (*NCIG*, n. VI, 44).

ἄσωτία, ἀσώτως

asotia, incurable dissoluteness; *asotos*, prodigally

asotia, S 810; *TDNT* 1.506–507; *EDNT* 1.176; MM 89; L&N 88.96; BAGD 119 | ***asotos***, S 811; *EDNT* 1.176; L&N 88.97; BAGD 119

Made up of the alpha-privative and *soo*, *asotos* normally means “incapable of being saved,” and thus “incurable,”¹ and the adverb *asotos* “in a hopeless state.” With the philosophers and in usage, *asotia*, literally “lost life,” can have two meanings, which are so closely linked that it is not easy to distinguish them:² sometimes it means prodigality, sometimes a dissolute life. The transition from the one to the other is explained perfectly by Aristotle: “We label as prodigal those who are incontinent and those who become spendthrifts to satisfy their intemperance. That is why prodigals have such a bad reputation: they have several vices all at once. . . . Properly speaking, the word *prodigal* refers to the one who has only the sole vicious tendency to destroy his means of subsistence.”³

Asotia, dissipation of wealth and debauchery, is very often associated with drinking binges during festivals: “the temple was filled with debaucheries and orgies by dissolute Gentiles and prostitutes” (2Macc 6:4); “Do not be drunk with wine, which only amounts to licentiousness.”⁴ Athenaeus (4.59–67) showed by many examples that the *asotos* not only wastes his goods, but loses his time, degrades his faculties and abilities, and consumes him. So much did *asotia* become synonymous with dissoluteness and immorality, and opposed to virtue (*arete*), that it became a literary topos and is even found in symbolic monuments.⁵ It is in this general sense that *asotia* designates the pagan lifestyle in 1Pet 4:4—the pagans often find it strange that Christian converts “no longer run with them to the same torrent of licentiousness.”

The prodigal spending, these dissolute ways, this flashy existence is often denounced as the vice of the sons of the family, of the younger set,

starting with Prov 28:7—“The one whose companions are the debauched (Hebrew *zalal*) brings dishonor to his father.” It is in this sense that admission to the presbyterate is allowed only for the father of a family in which the children “are not accused of bad conduct or undisciplined.”⁶

We should hesitate to be specific about the conduct of the young man in Luke 15:13—“he wasted all his substance by living *asotos* ” (*dieskorpisen ten ousian autou zon asotos*).⁷ Because the older brother maligns the younger in verse 30—“this son of yours has consumed your wealth with prostitutes”—we get the idea that the prodigal has lived lasciviously. But our Lord is much more delicate and discreet, and we must translate, with Fr. Lagrange: “He wasted all his substance through a life of foolish spending.”⁸ The tradition has precisely designated him as “the prodigal son.”⁹

¹ Plutarch, *Quaest. nat.* 26; cf. *Alc.* 3.1: The child Alciabiades having fled, Pericles announces “If he is safe (σω—ς), the rest of his life will be lost (ἄσωτον).” R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 54; Foerster, in *TDNT*, vol. 1, p. 506.

² According to Plato, false opinions in the soul of the young man introduce “insolence, anarchy, prodigality (ἄσωτία) . . . and prodigality is called magnificence” (*Resp.* 8.560 <l+>e); but in the *Laws*: the totally perverted man who usually lives in debauchery (or prodigality? ὡς ἄσωτος), is altogether impoverished” *Leg.* 5.743 b).

³ Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 4.1.1120b31ff. Cf. frag. 56 (Rose), cited by Plutarch, *Pel.* 3.2; *De cupid. divit.* 527 a; *Eum.* 13.11: “They transform the camp into a place of debauchery”; *Ant.* 10.4.

⁴ Eph 5:18; *T. Jud.* 16.1: φυλάξασθε . . . τὸν ὄρον τοῦ οἴνου· ἔστιν γὰρ ε—ν ἀύτῳ— . . . ε—πιθυμίας, πυρώσεως, ἄσωτίας καὶ αι—σχροκερδίας. Cf. Philo: “The secret desire of gluttons . . . devotees of a decadent and dissolute way of life who take pleasure in drinking bouts and wild parties” (*Spec. Laws* 4.91). Drinkers pass their life far from home and hearth; they are enemies of their parents, of their wives, of their children, enemies also of their country, they are also their own enemies. A life spent on drink and licentiousness (ἄσωτος βίος) is a menace for everyone” (*Contemp. Life* 47). “Vitellius left the palace drunk after the most lascivious dinner ever (τῆς ἀσώτου τραπέζης)” (Josephus, *War* 4.651). “Charybdis is a good name for the insatiable, spendthrift debauchery of drinking bouts” (Heraclitus, *All.* 70.10). “Athens offered scarce resources for his intemperance (*asotia*), so he stocked up in Macedonia” (Plutarch, *De cupid. divit.* 5.525 c). “Everyone berated and reproached him for, among other things, his *asotia*, since he had a large belly” (Dio Cassius 65.20.3).

“Plautianus became the most intemperate of men (ἄσωτότατος), to the point of abandoning himself to good eating and then making himself vomit, since his stomach could no longer digest meats and wine, so much had he loaded it” (ibid. 75.15.7). “He is a good companion, capable of drinking with him and the right one to carouse in the company of a flute girl” (Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 12).

⁵ On the opposition of —Αρετή and —Ασωτία, see F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funeraire*, p. 423. In the *Tabula of Cebes* 7, one of the hetaerae, —Ασωτία, is accompanied by —Ακρασία, —Απληστία, Κολακεία.

⁶ Titus 1:6—μὴ ἐ—ν κατηγορίᾳ ἀσωτίαθ ἢ ἀνυπότακτα; cf. the rebellious (*sarar*) prostitute of Prov 7:11.

⁷ Cf. Philo, *Prov.* 2.4: “Parents do not stand aloof from their prodigal sons, τω—ν ἀσώτων υἱ—έων; they take pity on their misfortune, surround them with care, shower attention upon them” (according to Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 8.14).

⁸ M. J. Lagrange cites as a good parallel Josephus, *Ant.* 12.203: ὡς ἀσώτως ζῆν διεγνωκότες = having chosen to live in a foolish manner (a financial contract). This is also the common meaning in the papyri: a cloak guaranteed 2,700 copper drachmas πρὸς ἀσωτείαν (*P.Fay.* 12, 24; from 103 BC); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 9, 6 (edict of Praeses of the Thebaïis on maximum interest rates; fourth century AD); likewise the verb ἀσωτεύεσθαι, “dissipate all one’s resources”; *P.Flor.* 99, 7 (first-second century AD): ἐ—πεὶ ὁ υἱ—ὸς Κάστωρ μεθ ἐ—τέρων ἀσωτευόμενος ἐ—σπάνισε τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἐ—πὶ τὰ ἡμω—ν μεταβάς βούλεται ἀπολέσαι κτλ.; *PSI* 41, 12 (fourth century), a woman complains that her husband is squandering their goods: ἀσαυτεύων [lit. ἀσαυδεύων] καὶ πράττων ἃ μὴ τοι—ς εὐγενέσι πρέπι.

⁹ Verse 32 corresponds to verse 13: “He was lost, ἀπολωλώς.” It remains true that the common title of the parable of the prodigal son does not exactly express its content, because it is the parable of both sons, the one a sinner and the other faithful, and reveals the love of God for the one as for the other, although in two different ways.

ἀτακτέω, ἄτακτος, ἀτάκτως

atakteo, to be disorderly; *ataktos*, undisciplined, disorderly, rebellious; *ataktos*, in disorder

atakteo, S 812; TDNT 8.47–48; EDNT 1.176; MM 89; L&N 88.246; BAGD 119 | **ataktos**, S 813; TDNT 8.47–48; EDNT 1.176; MM 89; L&N 88.247; BAGD 119 | **ataktos**, S 814; TDNT 8.47–78; EDNT 1.177; L&N 88.247; BAGD 119

In 1Thess 5:14, St. Paul asks the community to take back the brothers who are living in a dissolute manner (*noutheteite tous ataktous*). In his second letter, he more severely prescribes keeping away every brother who is leading a dissolute life (*ataktos peripatountos*, 2Thess 3:6, 11), giving himself as an example: “We ourselves did not lead a disorderly life in your midst.”¹ It would not be necessary to insist on the meaning of *ataktos* —“not remaining in his/her/its place, out of order, undisciplined”—if a certain number of exegetes did not suggest translating it “idle, lazy.”² But the usage of the verb, the adjective, and the adverb in the Koine, notably in the first century AD, confirms that the word covers any breach of obligation or convention, disorders of life in general; and the usage is decisive.

On the cosmic level, matter was “disorderly and confused,” then God takes it from disorder to order.³ In military parlance especially, the word is used with respect to negligent officers (*P.Hib.* 198, 149; from the third century BC), an army in disarray, undisciplined or insubordinate soldiers.⁴ In addition, “disorderly” modifies “multitude, crowd.”⁵ In a political context, Josephus compares people who live unencumbered by laws and rules (“those who live in a lawless and disorderly fashion,” *ton anomos kai ataktos biounton*) to those who observe order and common law.⁶ In the social realm, if sons do not meet the financial needs of their parents when necessity arises, they become subject to a penalty of a thousand drachmas, according to testamentary convention.⁷ In apprenticeship agreements, it is provided that if the apprentice is guilty of misconduct or has been absent for one reason or another, he must work additional makeup days.⁸

The moral sense is constant from *T. Naph.* 2.9, which prescribes doing everything “in order and with good intentions, in the fear of God, doing nothing disorderly (*meden atakton poiesete*), out of due season,” to Iamblichus, who calls passion “disorderly, culpable, unstable” (*Myst.* 1.10 = 1.36.13). Morality lies in not letting reason follow its course with disorderly haste.⁹ *Ataktoi andres* (Philodemus of Gadara, *D.* 1.7.6) are *apaideutoi*.¹⁰ Diodorus Siculus goes so far as to equate the life unshackled by moral norms to the life of wild beasts: “settling down into an *ataktos* and beastlike life and go out to various pastures at random” (*en atakto kai theriodei bio kathestotas sporaden epi tas nomas exienai* 1.8.1). Finally, the *ataktoi* are rebels, the disobedient, or insurgents,¹¹ even impious troublemakers; a regulation from Delos covers the possibility that pilgrims may conduct themselves improperly in the sacred places.¹²

In sum, the *ataktos* is the who is defective in action, irregular, against the rule; and since in the Christian life the “order” is established by God or the leaders of the church, disorder can mean sometimes a shortcoming or a discordant note, sometimes law-breaking and moral dissoluteness. The *ataktoi* Thessalonians free themselves from the rule of community life. One thinks of sins against brotherly love, a propensity to favor discord, a refusal to accept the customs or discipline of the church. Certain “troubled” ones seem particularly stormy, befuddled types who disturb the peace (1Thess 4:11-12). At any rate, “their walk is not in line” (Gal 2:14). They are “culpable” and probably stubborn.

¹ 2Thess 3:7; cf. W. P. De Boer, *The Imitation of Paul*, Kampen, 1962, p. 126ff. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 720ff. M. F. Wiles, *The Divine Apostle*, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 24ff.

² The semantics of this word group has been outlined excellently by B. Rigaux, *Saint Paul: Les Epîtres aux Thessaloniens*, Paris-Gembloux, 1956, pp. 582ff. Cf. C. Spicq, “Les Thessaloniens ‘inquiets’ étaient-ils des paresseux?” in *ST*, vol. 10, 1956, pp. 1–13.

³ Philo, *Plant.* 3; *Creation* 22: “Matter was on its own without order (ἄτακτος), without quality, without life, without homogeneity, but full of heterogeneity, disharmony, and discord”; *Etern. World* 75: “The nature of the world is order from the disorderly (τὴν τάξιν τῶ—ν ἀτάκτων), accord from the discordant, harmony from the unharmonious, union from the disparate . . .”; *Spec. Laws* 1.48. Cf. Ps.-Archytas, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.41.2 (vol. 1, p. 278); Numenius, in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 15.17.

⁴ In the third century BC, the inhabitants of Soloe in Cilicia complain: “the city is occupied by soldiers who are encamped in disorder, ὑπὸ τῶ—ν στρατιωτῶ—ν ἀτάκτως κατεσκηνωκότων” (C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 30, 4; reproduced in *C.Ord.Ptol.*, n. 84); Thucydides 3.108.3: “They charged without order and with no discipline”; Aeneas Tacticus, *Polior.* 15.5; 16.2–4; Onasander 10.7; 10.20; 21.7; 27; Josephus, *War* 1.101: “the army of Antiochus in disorder”; 1.382; 2.517; 3.77; *Ant.* 15.150; 17.296; Plutarch, *Phoc.* 12.3; Diodorus Siculus 17.48.4: dispersed, scattered soldiers. In contrast, the ephebes carried out sorties in the countryside with discipline, εὐτάκτως (*IG* vol. 2, 2, 1011, 15); cf. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 2, p. 1076; idem, *I.Car.*, p. 289, n. 166.

⁵ Herodian 4.14.7: ἄτακτον πλῆθος. Philo, *Rewards* 20: “All that is disorderly (ἄτακτον), unseemly, dissolute, questionable, that is what the crowd is, and keeping company with them is worthless for one who has just

passed into virtue”; Josephus, *War* 2.649; *Ant.* 15.152; 3Macc 1:19. Cf. the confusion of a tumult, θόρυβος ἄτακτος (Philodemus of Gadara, *Hom.*, col. IX, 27).

⁶ Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.151; cf. Plutarch, *Cat. Mai.* 16.3: the censors have the right to expel from the senate one whose life is licentious and disorderly; Plutarch, *Cim.* 4.4.

⁷ *P.Eleph.* 2.13 (285–284 BC): ἡ πρα—ξις ἔστω ε—κ τοῦ ἄτακτοῦντος καὶ μὴ ποιῶντος κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα (new edition by *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 311; commentary in *Jur.Pap.*, pp. 56–60).

⁸ *P.Oxy.* 275, 24 (from AD 66); 725, 39 (AD 183); cf. *P.Oslo* 159, 9; *SB* 10236, 33 (AD 36). The formula ε—άν τις ἄτακτῆσι is characteristic of corrections or amendments that become effective in case of default on contractual agreements or disobedience, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59596, 18; *BGU* 1125, 8; *P.Wisc.* 4, 22; *SB* 9841, 7; (cf. *P.Oxf.* 10, 23).

⁹ Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 85; cf. 45: the νοῦς does not let irrational forces “proceed in disorder or discord, without master or guide.” The fool does not know how to act, after the fashion of a coachman who is not in control of his horses; the latter take off on a crazy course (*Husbandry* 74; cf. *Worse Attacks Better* 141; *To Gaius* 344). Philo modifies ἄτακτος with ἄφρων (*Husbandry* 74), the complete opposite of the εὔτακτος, who is σώφρων (*IG*, vol. 9, 750, 18; H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica*, vol.2, n. 3, 43; B. 48). This quality is commonly praised in the *neoi* (*MAMA*, vol. 6, 112, 4; 114 A 8; N. Firatli, L. Robert, *Stèles funéraires*, pp. 161–162), and especially inephebes (*SEG*, vol. 19, 86; 4: πάντες εὔτακτοῦντες καὶ πειθαρχοῦντες; 96, 5; 116, 2; cf. vol. 21, 252, 11; 452, 8; 525, 20; C. Pélékidis, *Ephébie attique*, pp. 38, 181, 235). So the accent is on discipline (cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1970, p. 453, n. 553). The inhabitants of Rhamnus vote an honorific decree for Dikaiarchos, who “has correctly and zealously provided for the defense of the citadel and its residents, showing himself to be disciplined (εὔτακτον παρέχων), himself and the soldiers placed under the command of his father” (*I.Rhamn.*, n. 15, p. 130). In sports: “If one of the leaders does not present his runners in good order, the city may fine him ten silver staters” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 11, 12). More broadly: “Teachers’ stipends should be paid regularly” (ibid. 13, 10); “awarding me a citation for my orderly life, my spirit, and my wisdom” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 114, col. III, 5).

¹⁰ Herodian 7.9.5; cf. Plutarch, *Apoph. Iac.* 54. The Stoics used the noun *ataktema* in the sense of a moral fault, a lapse of discipline, an infraction (cf. *SEG*, vol. 13, 521–59 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 483; complete French

translation in R. Martin, *L'Urbanisme dans la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1956, pp. 58ff.).

¹¹ An edict of the prefect of Egypt, Petronius Quadratus (*P.Haw.* 73, verso; edited by J. G. Milne, in *APF*, vol. 5, 1913, p. 324); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 305, 80. *Atakteo* = to disturb or shirk one's obligation to the the public order, to free oneself from a regulation, to undertake a revolt (Dittenberger, *Or.* 200, 6).

¹² —Ατάκτως ἀναστραφει— (F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées: Supplément*, n. 51, 4). Cf. *SB* 6152, 14: "By their assaults and worse acts of violence *they enter tumultuously* into the temple and commit sacrilegious acts"; *P.Fay.* 337 (second century). Philo, listing the vices of the φιλήδονος, places the ἄτακτος between the seditious and the impious (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 32).

ἀτενίζω

atenizo, to look attentively, stare

atenizo, S 816; *EDNT* 1.177; *NIDNTT* 3.520; MM 89; L&N 24.49; BAGD 119

Among the numerous verbs of seeing in the NT (*blepo*, *theoreo*, *eidon*, *horaō*, etc.), the denominative verb *atenizo* merits special attention.¹ It refers to "attentive and prolonged visual observation of an object,"² an insistent fixing of the attention. Thus certain fixed stars "take on a tail . . . in fact, one of the stars, in the constellation of the Dog, had a tail, though a dim one; those who looked at it intently (*atenizousin*) saw only a faint glow" (Aristotle, *Mete.* 343 b 9); "Why do we feel ill at ease when we fix our gaze on other objects (*ta all' atenizontes*), but very comfortable when we look at objects that have the green color of grass, cabbage and other plants? It is because we cannot fix our gaze for long (*atenizein*) on white and black."³ In the medical writers, the verb is used especially with *omma* for a particularly fixed gaze.⁴ Moulton-Milligan cite only one papyrus,⁵ to which we can add only *BGU* 1816, 25 (*axio atenisai eis to megethos ton proexerithmemenon*, a letter from 60/59 BC) and *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 556 ("You will see the gods staring at you and rushing upon you," *opse de atenizontas soi tous theous kai epi se hormomemous*) and 711 (with eyes fixed on God, not giving in to any distraction).

This verb is used twelve times by St. Luke (in Luke and in Acts) and twice by St. Paul.⁶ In Luke 4:20, it expresses curiosity and extreme attentiveness: in the synagogue at Nazareth, "all eyes were riveted on Jesus." The high priest's servant saw Peter (*idoussa*) sitting near the fire,

and “after examining him closely (*kai atenisasa auto*) she said, ‘This person also was with him’” (Luke 22:56). It was with intensity and a certain amount of anxiety that the apostles, on the day of the ascension, as Jesus disappeared behind a cloud, continued to stare into the sky.⁷ When Peter stopped and fixed his gaze on the paralytic who was asking for alms,⁸ and when St. Paul looked piercingly at Elymas,⁹ this look was both an examination¹⁰ and the point of departure for mental reflection. Several times it connotes an emotional reaction. Thus it is possible to stare in a way that conveys awe, as when the Jews gazed at St. Peter, stupefied that he could perform a miracle (Acts 3:12) and when Cornelius beheld the angel and trembled (10:4). When Herod Agrippa, at the theater of Caesarea, appeared in his luxurious finery, glimmering in the early rays of sunlight, the spectators were seized with holy fright and could not take their eyes off of him (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.344). During the siege of Jerusalem, the Jews, agonizing under the cruelty of the brigands, “breathed their last with their gaze fixed determinedly on the temple” (*War* 5.517). Thecla was not only attentive to Paul’s teaching but beside herself with joy (*atenizousa hos pros euphrasian*, *Acts Paul Thec.* 8).

¹ Unknown in the LXX (cf. 1Esdr 6:28; 3Macc 2:26) and Philo, having only two occurrences, in Josephus, rare in the papyri, ἀτενίζω derives from ἀτενής “all of whose usages can be related to an original meaning ‘stretched out,’ especially when speaking of eyes or a gaze that are fixed (Aristotle, Lucian, etc.); hence ‘straight’ (Euripides, frag. 65); intense, excessive (Aeschylus, Callimachus); in speaking of a person’s mind ‘strained, serious’ (Hesiod, Pindar, Plato); ‘obstinate’ (Arrian, etc.)” (P.Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 133).

² C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 63: “l’observation attentive et prolongée d’un objet par la vue.”

³ Ps.-Aristotle, *Pr.* 959 a 24. C. Mugler (*Terminologie optique*) cites also Theon of Alexandria, *In. Alm.*, p. 148, 7: “As for those who attentively peruse books (τω—ν ἀτενιζόντων τοι—ς βιβλίοις) . . . even they cannot see (ὄρα—ν) all the letters contained in a page”; Olympiodorus, *In Mete.* 223.11: “So if we gaze intently (ἀτενιζόντων), the phenomenon of the halo appears; if we do not gaze intently (μὴ ἀτενιζόντων), it disappears”; “the multicolored halo that appears around lamps . . . if we do not stare right at the lamp” (μὴ ἀκριβω—ς ἀτενίσωμεν, *ibid.* 235.15); John Philoponus, *Comm. de An.* 335.11: “Why do we see neither the sky nor any of the objects of sight, or at least fix our regard toward them?” (ἀτενίζοντες πρὸς αὐτά).

⁴ Hippocrates, *Epid.* 7.10: “the gaze of the dying man became fixed”; cf. 7.6: the eyes do not blink; 7.30; Galen, *Remed. Parab.* 1.4: ἀτενίζειν εἰς τὴν χύτραν; Aretaeus, *SA* 5; *SD* 33; W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 76.

⁵ *P.Leid.* W, 16, 8: εἰ—σελθόντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ε—νατένιζε τῇ ὄψει, ἀλλὰ τῆς (Ι.τοι—ς) ποσί.

⁶ 2Cor 3:7, 13—the Israelites could not keep their eyes fixed on Moses’ face because of the shining brilliance (literally δόξα) of his face.

⁷ Acts 1:10; cf. 7:55—St. Stephen keeps his eyes fixed on the heavens; 6:15—the members of the Sanhedrin fixed their gaze on Stephen (ἀτενίσαντες) and saw (εἶδον) his face, which looked like an angel’s. Paul was particularly attentive when, before beginning his speech, he kept his eyes fixed on the Sanhedrin (23:1).

⁸ Acts 3:4—“Peter fixed his eyes on him (ἀτενίσας) . . . and said, ‘Look (βλέψον) at us.’”

⁹ Acts 13:9; cf. 14:9—Paul fixed his gaze (ἀτενίσας) on the lame man at Lystra and saw (ἰ—δών) that he had faith.

¹⁰ Peter fixed his eyes on—stared intently at—the sheet descending from heaven and examined all that it carried (ἀτενίσας κατενόουν, Acts 11:6).

αὐθάδης

authades, presumptuous, arrogant, ill-bred

authades, S 829; *TDNT* 1.508–509; *EDNT* 1.178; MM 91; L&N 88.206; BAGD 120–121

The first quality required in a candidate for the *episkope* is that he be *me authade* (Titus 1:7). False teachers, on the other hand, come across as *tolmetai authadeis*.¹ It is quite difficult to specify the meaning of a word that is not illuminated by its context, especially since English happens not to have a term that corresponds exactly to *authades*. Etymologically (*autos* + *handano*) the word would refer to the person who delights in himself (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 5.39) and is thus self-sufficient and presumptuous. This infatuation and self-centeredness lead to arrogance and even insolence.² The *authades* is constantly characterized as hard (*skleros*, Gen 49:3, 7; Polybius 4.21.3; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 11.6) and violent.³

Thus it is not simply a matter of self-satisfaction, but of prickly pride, a haughty character who, refusing to hear what is said to him, persists stubbornly in his own opinion;⁴ such as Pharaoh and Herod, inflexible and mulish (Philo, *Moses* 1.139; *To Gaius* 301). Not only does this *authades* do only what he wants but he is unfriendly, he is brutal⁵ and aggressive,⁶ at the least a quarreler and quibbler;⁷ in sum, ill-bred. In addition, in the catalog of vices in *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 32, Philo places *authades* between vainglorious and vulgar. In fact, Josephus attributes this sort of behavior to prisoners (*War* 4.96), the young (*Ant.* 4.263; 16.399), and slaves (*War* 2.356), for example, to Hagar, expecting a child and showing arrogant and insolent pride toward Sarah (*Ant.* 1.189). In Lucian and in the literature, it is a constant trait of the “misanthrope,”⁸ who is strictly insufferable.

So it is evident that “presumptuous” and “arrogant”⁹ do not convey the depth of meaning of *authades*, but it is clear that “God’s steward” cannot have this sufficiency, this infatuation, this bad character, these base sentiments, which would confine him to a conspicuous isolation. Someone so unsociable¹⁰ would not be able to carry out the responsibilities of a pastor.

¹ 2Pet 2:10. These *τολμηταί* are brassy, insolent, going so far as to insult “the glories,” meaning “the glorious ones,” i.e., the angels (cf. J. Starcky, “Psaumes apocryphes de la grotte 4 de Qumran, 4 Q Psf VIII, 12,” in *RB*, 1966, pp. 363–364; the designation *Κύριοι ἄγγελοι*, in *P.Princ.* 159, 9; *P.Oslo* 1, 44 and 246). Often *αὐθάδης* (*αὐθάδεια*) is associated with *τόλμη* (*P.Mich.* 174, 9; *P.Oslo* 22, 6; *SB* 9458, 11; 9527, 6).

² Prov 21:24—one despises and mocks others; Josephus, *War* 6.172: “Jonathan, a braggart by nature, full of disdain for his adversaries”; Plutarch, *Luc.* 7.2. Cf. Bauernfeind, in *TDNT*, vol. 1, p. 508; *BGU* 2240, 7 and 11.

³ *Βίαιος*, *PSI* 1323, 6; cf. *P.Fouad* 26, 13: “Through his insolence and violence, he exerts a strong influence on the region”; *P.Mich.* 426, 10: *τῆ ε—αυτω—ν βία καὶ αὐθαδία χρῆσάμενοι*. This latter expression appears constantly in complaints against aggressors (*P.Cair.Isid.* 74, 11; *P.Mert.* 91, 12; *P.Gen.* 31, 9; *P.Mich.* 231, 10; 426, 10; *BGU* 1904, 12); *SB* 4284; 10218, 21: *ἀρπαγῆ αὐθάδως ἀναστραφέντες* (first-second century); it is glossed (*P.Tebt.* 16, 10) by *η—ν ὕβρισμένος οὐ μετρίως* (line 7; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 19.236). Cf. *1Clem.* 30.8: “Impudence, arrogance, temerity for those cursed by God; benevolence, humility, mildness for those blessed by God”; Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.9, line 55: “Great is the *αὐθάδεια* of humans, even if they were previously humble, modest (*μέτριος*), simple and profane.”

⁴ “The general must be neither indecisive (ἄστατος) nor obstinate (αὐθάδης), as if he thought that no one could have a better idea than his own” (Onasander, 3.3); cf. M. Guilmot, “Une lettre de remontrances,” in *ChrEg*, 1965, p. 239.

⁵ Theophrastus, *Char.* 15.1–2: to the simplest question he replies “Leave me alone”; cf. Plutarch, *Cim.* 6.2: Pausanias treated his allies τραχέως καὶ αὐθάδως; Plutarch, *De gen.* 9.

⁶ *P.Oxy.* 2563, 43; *Dai papiri della Società Italiana*, Florence, 1965, n. 10, 11; *P.Lond.* 358, 12 (vol. 2, p. 171). P. J. Sijpesteijn, “Einige Papyri aus der Gießener Papyrussammlung,” in *Aeg*, 1966, p. 18, l 21: ὁ τρέφω μέρος προβάτων ἀρπαγῆ αὐθάδως ἀναστραφέντες κτλ. Strabo 11.2.16: “ὕπὸ αὐθαδείας καὶ ἀγριότητος, because of their arrogance and ferocity.” Cf. *1Clem.* 1.1: a revolt “fanned to flame by several rash and self-willed persons.”

⁷ Philo, *Abraham* 213: The servants of Lot “take liberties, in their *authadeia*, and constantly have disagreements with the most eminent children of the wise Abraham,” whose temperament is marked by *πραῦπάθεια*. In *Heir* 21, Moses’ freedom of speech vis-à-vis God is justified, φιλία μα—λλον ἢ αὐθαδεία. This nuance must be emphasized in Titus 1:7, given the prescription that follows immediately: not quick-tempered or rash (μὴ ο]ργίλον).

⁸ Cf. J. Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain*, p. 171.

⁹ F. Field, (*Notes on the Translation*, p. 219) justifies this translation on etymological grounds—*arrogans, qui sibi aliquid arrogat*—and cites Aristotle: σεμνότης ε—στὶν αὐθαδείας ἀναμέσον τε καὶ ἀρεσκειίας (*Mag. Mor.* 1.29). R. C. Trench (*Synonyms*, p. 349) groups this term with φίλαντος and αὐτάρεσκος, as opposed to εὐπροσήγορος—approachable, affable (Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 31), and cites Aristotle, *Eth. Eud.* 3.7.4: μηδὲν πρὸς ἕτερον ζῶ—ν.

¹⁰ Cf. Strabo 3.4.5: “By *authadeia*, the Greeks refuse to take on mutual obligations.... With the Iberians this *authadeia* reaches extreme proportions, being added to a naturally treacherous and deceitful character.” Plutarch (*Praec. ger. rei publ.* 13.808 d) cites Plato (*Ep.* 4.321, 321 b): in heads of state, “arrogance mingles with solitude”; *Cat. Min.* 55.6: “the unseasonable pride and arrogance of the son of Pompey”; 58.7: “Scipio presumptuously scorned the opinion of Cato”; *Agis* 5.3: “Epitades,

of an arrogant character”; *Cic.* 28.1: “Clodius, of daring and presumptuous character.”

αὐτόματος

automatos, spontaneous, self-moving

automatos, S 844; *EDNT* 1.179; MM 93; L&N 89.21; BDF §§59(1), 117(2), 243; BAGD 122

In writing that the iron door of the prison at Jerusalem “opened itself” for the angel and Peter, not only does St. Luke show his Hellenistic culture once again—the expression being a common one—but he also points to the miraculous character of the event.¹

More delicate is the exegesis of *automatos* —spontaneous, moving of its own accord²—in the parable of the grain that comes up without any tending, without the help of the sower. The earth acts alone:³ the man sleeps night and day “and the seed sprouts and grows, he knows not how.”⁴ By itself (*automate*), the ground produces first the stalk, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear” (Mark 4:27-28). The Lord did not give an explanation of this parable, and the interpretations that have been suggested are widely divergent,⁵ but the emphatic position of *automate* (not translated by the Peshitta) at the beginning of the sentence indicates that it is the most important word and that the interpretation of this teaching depends on understanding it.⁶ So what does it mean? That the earth produces, on its own, independently of the activity of the farmer, without any human cooperation? Or that it produces without visible cause, in an undiscernible fashion?⁷

We should recall first of all the belief that in the golden age “the soil would produce on its own (*automate*) an abundant and generous crop,”⁸ then the constant use of *automatos* to describe the spontaneous production of uncultivated land, the natural growth of seed, its own energy.⁹ Thus this word describes the second crop in Lev 25:5, 11 (*sephîah*); and Josephus, comparing the sacrifices of Abel and Cain, observes: “God is honored by things that grow spontaneously and according to nature” (*tois automatois kai kata physin*) and not by products fashioned by human ingenuity (*Ant.* 1.54). This word is used when Judas Maccabeus finds the temple at Jerusalem wasted and “plants growing on their own in the sanctuary” (*Ant.* 12.317). Philo similarly contrasts spontaneous growth and the art of agriculture.¹⁰ Given this commonplace, contemporary agricultural usage, it indeed seems that in the Markan parable Jesus is insisting on the wonder of a grain that grows without anyone’s tending it; being alive, it accomplishes on its own its germination,

growth, and fruit-bearing through mysterious exchanges between itself and the soil that has received it: they are linked—“it is the earth alone that produces.” Just so the kingdom of God on earth has its own dynamism, an immanent energy, a vital force. Since humans have nothing to do with it, we can conclude that this innate vitality comes from God.¹ In fact this is what is indicated by the fact that the vitality is not easily perceptible; but this invisibility is not mentioned for its own sake; it is a secondary trait.

¹ Acts 12:10—ἤτις αὐτομάτη ἠνοίγη αὐτοί—ς. “This aorist passive indicates that the door opened automatically, but at the instance of a supernatural force” (E.Jacquier, *Actes*, p. 364). More precisely, this spontaneous opening of doors is traditionally seen as a prodigy, as much in Greek literature as in Israel; cf. *b. Yoma* 39b : “Our rabbis teach: Forty years before the destruction of the temple . . . the doors of the sanctuary opened themselves, until Yohanan ben Zakkai reproached them, saying, Sanctuary, sanctuary, why are you frightened?”; Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.4.7: “News came to them from their city that the doors of all the temples had opened themselves, πάντες αὐτόματα ἀνεώγοντο”; Plutarch, *Tim.* 12.9: “At the moment when battle was joined, the holy door of the temple opened itself, αὐτόματα διανοιχθει—εν”; Dio Chrysostom 44.17; Caesar’s dream of warning, “the doors of the room where he was sleeping opened themselves, αὐτόμαται ἠνεώχθησαν”; *ibid.* 60.35: at the death of Claudius, the doors of the temple of Jupiter the Conqueror opened themselves (αὐτόματος); Josephus, *War* 6.293: “They saw the door of the temple . . . even though it was bronze and so heavy that twenty men could not easily close it at dusk, and it was held in place by bolts fitted with iron chains and with bars . . . open itself (αὐτομάτως ἀνοιγμένη) . . . this portent seemed very favorable to the ignorant”; Artapanus, *De Jud.*, τάς τε θύρας πάσας αὐτομάτως ἀνοιχθῆναι τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου καὶ τῶν φυλάκων (in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 9.27.23), etc.

² Cf. Josh 6:15—“The walls of the city fell of their own accord” (cf. Josephus, *War* 5.292); Wis 17:6—the shining pillar, “By itself shined for them an *automate* (i.e., lighting and fueling itself) and terrifying fire” (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 3.207); cf. 2Kgs 19:29; Diodorus Siculus 1.8: “a calamity that was not sent by the gods but came by itself” (Josephus, *War* 1.373: natural disasters); Menander, *Dysk.* 545: “by itself the affair brought me back to this place”; *idem*: “He will present himself on his own, αὐτόματος οὐ—τος παρέσται” (in Plutarch, *Alex.* 17.7; cf. 34.2: πολιτεύειν αὐτόνομους, govern themselves according to their own laws; 35.11; 77.7); Philostratus, *Gym.* 53: “Spontaneous fatigue (of athletes) is the beginning of sickness” (citation of Hippocrates, *Aph.* 2.5; ed. Littré, vol. 4, p. 470); Onasander 10.3: soldiers trained well to place themselves rapidly in

formation, “so to speak, automatically, ὡς εἰ—πει—ν αὐτόματα.” The adverb αὐτομάτως, for spontaneous action (Josephus, *War* 3.386). Αὐτόματος is rare in the papyri; *Stud.Pal.* V, n. 119, l, 16 (third century AD) is too badly damaged to yield any meaning; the other known occurrence is from the sixth century, *P.Stras.* 4, 13: οἰ—κία μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ . . . χρηστηρίου καὶ δικαίου . . . αὐτομάτου = naturally, it goes without saying. In an epitaph (*SEG*, vol. 8, 474, 9): δ αὐτομάτης . . . μελίσσης is translated “The Spring sends hither the product of the hard-working bee” by E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 351.

³ This is not an allegory, but a parable, peculiar to Mark, the point being “the action of the soil without the help of the sower” (M. J. Lagrange, *Marc*, p. 116).

⁴ Mark 4:27—ὡς οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτός, cf. H. Sahlin, “Zum Verständnis von drei Stellen des Markus-Evangeliums,” in *Bib*, 1952, pp. 56–57; A. Suhl, *Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen im Markusevangelium*, Gütersloh, 1965, pp. 154 and preceding.

⁵ For N. A. Dahl (“The Parables of Growth,” in *ST*, vol. 5, 1951, pp. 149–150) and J. Jeremias (*Parables*, p. 151), this is the “Parable of the Patient Husbandman,” but the passivity of the man is there only to show in relief the immanent activity of nature. According to H. Baltensweiler (“Das Gleichnis von der selbstwachsenden Saats,” in *Oikonomia: Festschrift O. Cullmann*, Hamburg, 1967, pp. 69–75), this is “the Parable of the Unbelieving Farmer,” the “grotesque” story of a sower who sows without any concern for germination and harvest. K. Weiss (“Mk IV, 26 bis 29—dennoch die Parabel vom zuversichtlichen Sämann,” in *BZ*, 1929, pp. 50ff.) does a good job of showing that the farmer’s inactivity is only a secondary element of the parable. On ὅταν δὲ παραδοί—ὁ καρπός, cf. T. W. Manson, “A Note on Mark IV, 28 f,” in *JTS*, 1937, pp. 399–400. For the bibliography, cf. J. Dupont, “La Parabole de la semence qui pousse toute seule,” in *RSR*, 1967, pp. 367–392. W. G. Kümmel, “Noch einmal: Das Gleichnis von der selbstwachsenden Saat,” in *Festschrift J. Schmid*, Freiburg, 1973, pp. 220–237; J. Dupont, “Encore la parabole de la semence qui pousse toute seule,” in *Festschrift W. G. Kümmel*, Göttingen, 1975, pp. 96–108 (defending the unity of the parable).

⁶ R. Stuhlmann saw this quite well in “Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu Markus IV, 26–29,” in *NTS*, vol. 19, 1973, pp. 153–162, as did D. Buzy, *Les Paraboles*, Paris, 1932, p. 49: “it is the earth alone that produces in the listing of all the phases of the growth of the grain. . . . The main lesson is that it is the kingdom alone, by its own virtue, by its divine energy, that will develop until the last phase of its perfection.” Cf. Plutarch, *An virt. doc.* 1:

“excellence that nature produces spontaneously (ἀυτομάτως)”; Diodorus Siculus 17.50.6: “the carriers of the god’s image proceed randomly, wherever the god directs their steps by a nod of the head.”

⁷ Cf. Philo, *Flight* 171: “In the spontaneous products of nature that we encounter, we discover neither origins nor ends that could be causes in themselves; thus the origin is the sowing, and the term is the harvest.” The secret of growth is imperceptible, like the mystery of life (2Macc 7:22; Eccl 11:5; Ps 139:13-18) and the nature of the *pneuma* (John 3:8).

⁸ Hesiod, *Op.* 118; cf. Heraclitus, *All.* 6.5: “The first humans fed on . . . fruits that grew spontaneously on trees.”

⁹ Josephus, *Life* 11: Bannus contented himself “for food with that which the land produced spontaneously, τὴν ἀυτομάτως φυομένην”; *Ant.* 1.49; 3.281. Philemon, frag. 103: οὐδὲ φύεται ἀυτόματον ἀνθρώποισιν . . . μοῦς ὡσπερ ἐ—ν ἀγρω— θύμος (in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.31.17, vol. 2, p. 204).

¹⁰ Philo, *Creation* 81: “One could hope that God . . . would supply the human race through the spontaneous production of goods all prepared . . . without the art of agriculture, ἄνευ τέχνης γεωργικῆς”; 167: “man deprived of the spontaneous goods that the earth had learned to produce without the art of agriculture”; Philo, *Change of Names* 260: In the seventh sacred season (the sabbatical year), “there will be a growth of spontaneous goods (τω—ν ἀυτομάτων ἀγαθω—ν); they will not be the products of an established art; they will germinate by virtue of a nature capable of begetting itself, sufficient to its ends, and they will bear their natural fruits.” Cf. Diphilus, frag. 14: ἦκει φερόμεν ἀυτόματα πάντα τὰγαθά (in Athenaeus 9.370 e).

¹¹ This is what Philo says, *Flight* 170: “Third definition of spontaneous knowledge: it is that which grows by itself, τὸ ἀναβαι—νον ἀυτόματον (here he cites Lev 25:11). Natural products require no art, *because it is God who sows them; thanks to his agriculture*, he causes to develop, as if they were growing on their own, products that do not grow on their own, except in the sense that they have no need at all for human attention”; cf. 168: that which one gets from nature is received from God. It is he who causes fecundity (*Rewards* 9, 63, 160; *Abraham* 52–54) and growth (1Cor 3:6; 2Cor 9:10; cf. Matt 6:28). Philo loves to exploit metaphorically the “automatism” of knowledge (*Flight* 166ff., *Abraham* 6; *Dreams* 1.68) or of the virtues, which are like seeds innate in the soil of the soul (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.92) and rich in potentiality. At any rate, all that grows spontaneously is supplied or commanded by Providence (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.46), so that “nothing happens by chance” (4.47), and if the walls of Jericho fall by

themselves, it is God who makes them fall (5.24). This must indeed be the case, if an event does not fall out “either from natural causes, nor from the activity of others” (*War* 1.378).

αὐτόπτης

autoptes, eyewitness
see also μάρτυς

autoptes, S 845; *TDNT* 5.373; *EDNT* 1.179; MM 93–94; L&N 24.46; BAGD 122

Luke the historian calls upon the authority of eyewitnesses of the gospel message preached by Jesus from the beginning of his ministry: *hoi ap' arches autoptai kai hyperetai genomenoi tou logou*.¹ The noun *autoptes* (a biblical hapax, unknown in Philo), formed from *opsis* (J. Pollux, *Onom.* 2.57–58), often has the banal meaning of a spectator who sees with his own eyes, as opposed to the “hearer” of a reputation or a bit of news.² In the magical papyri, it designates the immediate vision of the divinity.³ It is often used by medical writers⁴ and can have a juridical meaning⁵ after the fashion of *autopsia*, personal inspection.⁶

In Luke 1:2, the *autoptes*, as opposed to a simple informer who mediates between the sender of a message and its recipient, is a qualified witness who personally affirms both that which he has seen and his conviction, thus making certainty possible. He himself guarantees the truth of the gospel. This term must therefore be understood in its technical sense as a major component in the documentation or factual report that the historian sets out to describe. The eyewitness, who has participated in the events, provides an account that is in accord with reality.⁷ From Herodotus on, Greek historians make a distinction in their sources of information between that which they have heard and that which they have seen personally.⁸ Only their presence in the theater of action makes their account believable: “As for the history of the war, I wrote it after having been a participant in many of the events (*pollon autourgōs praxeōn*), a witness of a large number of them (*pleiston d' autoptes genomenos*); in short, without being unaware of anything that was said or done.”⁹ The Jewish historian is here plagiarizing Polybius: “On account of the fact that I was not only the witness of the events (*me monon autoptes*) but in some a collaborator (*synergōs*), in others the architect (*cheiristes*), I have undertaken to write so to speak a new history from a new point of departure (*archen allen*).”¹⁰ According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the value of Theopompus of Chios, author of historical works, lay in his having been “eyewitness of most of the events, *pollon men autoptes*

gegenemenos.¹¹ Finally, in the first century, Diodorus Siculus, in describing the Arabian Gulf, distinguishes between the two categories of sources: that which he derived from the Royal Annals kept at Alexandria, and observations that were communicated to him by eyewitnesses, *ta de para ton autopton peposmenoi*.¹² Luke 1:2 clearly is in line with this historiographical hermeneutic. Its *autoptai* have all the trustworthiness of persons who have been present at occurrences, of witnesses who merit belief.¹³

¹ Luke 1:2 (cf. A. Feuillet, “Témoins oculaires et serviteurs de la Parole,” *Lc. I, 2b*,” in *NovT*, vol. 15, 1973, pp. 241–259). *Αὐτόπται* has to do with facts (*πραγμάτων*), as in Vettius Valens 260.30: *πολλὰ δὲ κακῶν καὶ παθῶ—ν αὐτόπτης γενόμενος τῶ—ν πραγμάτων δοκιμάσας συνέγραψα*. Cf. Polybius 4.2.2: “We ourselves were present at certain events, and we learned of the others from those who saw them. To extend the account further back in time by setting down hearsay based on hearsay would not, it seems to us, provide a basis either for judgments or even for solid (*ἀσφαλει—ς*) statements.”

² Plato, *Leg.* 10.900a: “Whether you know of these spectacles through hearsay (*δι ἀκοῆς*) or you have seen the sight yourself with your own eyes (*αὐτόπτης*); Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.2.31: “Since he had not learned from an eyewitness concerning Mnasippos, he feared that it was to deceive him that they made all this fuss . . . but when he received clear reports . . .”; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.342: “Anilaios had heard of the woman’s reputation for beauty from the Parthian general (*ἀκοῆ τῆς εὐπρεπείας*), but when he saw her with his own eyes (*αὐτόπτης γενόμενος*), he fell in love with her”; 19.125: “Anteios was drawn by the pleasure of seeing Gaius with his own eyes, *ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς τοῦ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος Γαΐου*”; *War* 6.134: Caesar claimed to be eyewitness and arbiter of all the actions of his soldiers, *γέννηται δ αὐτόπτης καὶ μάρτυς ἀπάντων*. At the end of the first century AD, Theo writes his sister not to be disturbed during his absence: “*αὐτόπτης γὰρ εἰ—μὶ τῶ—ν τόπων καὶ οὐκ εἰ—μὶ ξένος τῶ—ν ε—νθάδε*, because I am familiar with the places and I am not a stranger here” (*P.Oxy.* 1154, 9).

³ *P.Lond.* 122, 85 (vol. 1, p. 119 = *Pap.Graec.Mag.* II, p. 49): *ε—άν θέλης καὶ αὐτοψαν(πτον) αὐτὸν ε—κάλεσε*; cf. *αὐτοπτική, αὐτοπτικός* (*ibid.*, 121, 319; vol. 1, p. 94; K. Preisendanz, vol. 1, p. 14), line 335: *αὐτοπτική ε—άν βούλης σεαυτὸν ι—δει—ν*; also line 727 (other references in F. Cumont, *L’Égypte des Astrologues*, Brussels, 1937, p. 165, n. 1; LSJ on this word). For *αὐτόπτως*, cf. *PSI* 1345, 7: *χαίρομαι ὡς ἵνα αὐτοπτω—ς προσεκύουν τὸν δεσπότην μου* (sixth-seventh century).

⁴ W. K. Hobart, (*Medical Language*, pp. 89–90) gives a dozen references to Galen (cf. our modern “autopsy”). Xenophon, *Cyr.* 5.4.18: “Cyrus either examined the wounded with his own eyes (αὐτόπτης) or if he could not do so himself he sent people to care for them.”

⁵ *PSI* 1314, 9 (*episkepsis*, report; first century BC): αὐτόπτην μάχιμον ε—ῥ ἡμα—ς ἀποστείλας. Cf. H. Sahlin, *Der Messias und das Gottesvolk: Studien zur protolukanischen Theologie*, Uppsala, 1943, pp. 40–42. The meaning is very close to μάρτυς; cf. John 1:34; 15:27; 19:35; Acts 1:8; 1John 1:1-2.

⁶ *P.Mil.Vogl.* 24, 20: ὡς νῦν οὖν Δημήτριος γενόμενος παρ ε—μέ ε—ξ αὐτοψίας (second century AD); *P.Tebt.* 286, 20: ε—κ τῆς αὐτοψίας ἦν ε—γὼ ε—πει—δον (same date); *P.Oxy.* 1272, 19: ἄξιω— ε—ἄν δόξη σοι παραγενέσθαι ε—πὶ τὴν αὐτοψίαν (same date); *P.Stras.* 259, 7 (business letter, from the third century. Go to perform an on-site verification); *P.Cair.Isid.* 66, 6 and 10; 67, 8 (third century, I am sending someone to do an inspection); *P.Oxy.* 2233, 9 (fourth century), ὥστε ε—κει—σαι παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοψίαν; *P.Amh.* 142, 12; *P.Mil.* 41, 6: ὅθεν ε—πὶ τὴν αὐτοψίαν παραγενόμενοι; the formula is technical.

⁷ Cf. ἀκριβω—ς (Luke 1:3; Polybius 12.4d). D. Kurz, *AKPIBEIA: Das Ideal der Exaktheit bei den Griechen bis Aristoteles*, dissertation, Tübingen, 1970.

⁸ Herodotus 2.99: “To this point what I have said is drawn from what I have seen (ὄψις), from my reflections (γνώμη), from accounts (ἱ—στορίη) that I have received. From now on, I will recount what the Egyptians say, as I heard it; some things will also be added from what I saw for myself (τῆς ε—μῆς ὄψιος)”; 2.5.106, 122, 131: “Certain people tell (τινες λέγουσι) the following story. . . . This whole account is nothing but rubbish. . . . We have seen for ourselves (ἡμεῖ—ς ὥρω—μεν)”; 3.12; 7.129. With respect to the formation of the earth in Egypt: “In the sphere of human matters, the priests tell me unanimously . . . What they said seemed to me to be correct . . . I readily trust those who told me what I have reported and I am personally convinced that it is so when I see (ἱ—δών) . . .” (2.4–14); with respect to the origin of the Colchidians: “What I am saying was my personal opinion before I heard it expressed by others (ἀκούσας ἄλλων)” (2.104–105); description of Lake Moeris: “The people of the country told me (ἔλεγον) . . . Since I nowhere saw . . . (οὐκ ὥρων) . . . I asked . . . they told me . . . I had no difficulty believing what they said; for I had heard that something similar had happened at Ninevah” (2.149–150); Thucydides 1.22.1–2: οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τω—ν ἄλλων. The two ways of getting information are complementary. Cf. G. Nenci, “Il motive dell’ autopsia nella storiografia

greca,” in *Studi classici e orientali* 3, 1955, pp. 14–46; H. Verdin, “L’Importance des recherches sur le méthode critique des historiens grecs et latins,” in *Antidorum W. Peremans sexagenario ab alumnis oblatum* (Studia Hellenistica 16), Louvain, 1968, pp. 298–308; idem, “Notes sur l’attitude des historiens grecs à l’égard de la tradition locale,” in *Ancient Society* 1, 1970, pp. 183–200; idem, *De historisch-kritische methode van Herodotus*, Brussels, 1971, pp. 107–154; G. Schepens, “L’Idéal de l’information complète chez les historiens grecs,” in *REG*, 1975, pp. 81–93.

⁹ Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.55; cf. *War* 3.432: “When the news of the catastrophe at Jotapata came to Jerusalem, most people would not at the outset believe it . . . because no eyewitness was available to confirm the report, διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν λεγομένων αὐτόπτην παρει—ναι.”

¹⁰ Polybius 3.4.13. In 12.25–28, Polybius criticizes the fabrications of Timaeus of Tauromenion, “a historian without culture,” and his bookish accounts. Timaeus saw nothing (12.25g4). It isn’t enough that he resorted to “the works of his predecessors, spent his time in libraries, and stocked up on scholarship” (12.25e4); “sight is much more of an instrument of observation than hearing” (12.27.1). “Timaeus entirely neglected visual information” (12.27.3). Cf. Marie Laffranque, “L’Ouille et l’oreille: Polybe et les problèmes de l’information à l’époque hellénistique,” in *Revue philosophique*, vol. 93, 1968, pp. 263–272.

¹¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp.* 6.3. Cf. Dio Chrysostom 7.1: τόδε μὴν αὐτὸς ἰ—δών, οὐ παρ᾽ ε—τέρων ἀκούσας, διηγῆσομαι.

¹² Diodorus Siculus 3.38.1. These *autoptai* could be travelers, merchants, sailors, soldiers, elephant-hunters, indigenous folk, or explorers; cf. W. Peremans, “Diodore de Sicile et Agatharchide de Cnide,” in *Historia*, vol. 16, 1967, pp. 432–455.

¹³ E. Delebecque, *Etudes grecques*, pp. 66ff.

ἄφεσις

aphesis, a sending out, point of departure, discharge, settlement, forgiveness, dispensation, acquittal, liberation

aphesis, S 859; *TDNT* 1.509–512; *EDNT* 1.181–183; *NIDNTT* 1.697, 700–703; MM 96; L&N 37.132, 40.8; BAGD 125

This noun, derived from the verb *aphiemi*, “send out, let go” (Matt 8:22; *P.Amh.* 37, 10), has multiple shades of meaning, some of them quite everyday, like the sending out of ships (Demosthenes, *Corona* 18.77–78); but there are also technical applications, for example in architecture, and in sports, where it refers to the starting line for the athletes in the *diaulos*; ¹ in astrology, it refers to the point of departure, the beginning.² In Aristotle, it refers to the emission or expulsion of fish roe,³ and in Hippocrates it becomes a medical term, the emission of gas being a symptom of illness.⁴

Aphesis is used especially for persons, usually as a legal term for a layoff, for the release of slaves or prisoners (Polybius 1.79.12; Plato, *Plt.* 273c), the repudiation of a spouse,⁵ an exemption from military service (Plutarch, *Ages.* 24.3), a dispensation from an obligation: “A councillor who does not come to the meeting chamber at the appointed time shall pay one drachma for each day’s absence unless the council grants him a dispensation” (*ean me heuriskomenos aphasis tes boules ape*, Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 30.6). In Demosthenes, *aphesis* is usually a “discharge” in the technical sense of freeing someone from an obligation,⁶ but also a “settlement” (“My father was able to recover the debt after the settlement,” *C. Naus.* 38.14) and a “remission” (“This remission of interest did not wrong the creditors”).⁷ On rare occasions it refers to the forgiveness of an offense: “What we have said concerning forgiveness of a parricide by a father shall be valid for similar cases” (Plato, *Leg.* 9.869 d). The term does not seem to have been used by the moralists, however.

In the papyri, *aphesis* refers especially to the draining of water from pools (*P.Oxy.* 3167, 10; *P.Petr.* II, 13, 2: *aphesis tou hydatos*; *P.Flor.* 388, 44) and especially to sluice gates (“the sluice gates at Phoboou,” *P.Oxy.* 3268, 11; 918, verso 20; *P.Ryl.* 583, 16, 63) or the conduits from which water flows out into the fields.⁸ It is difficult to determine the meaning of *ge en aphesei*; ⁹ scholars disagree.¹⁰ Indeed, it seems that the expression had several meanings, but the very word *aphesis* suggests land “in remission,” recalling the *fundi derelecti* of the empire,¹¹ i.e., either uncultivated land, fallow land (*P.Got.* 20, col. II, 2, 6, 7, 8; *P.Yale* 1674, 57); or land exempted from certain taxes.¹² It seems that *aphesis* also had the meaning “expense” or “disbursement,” for example, in the phrase *logos apheseos stateron*, expenses of 130 staters (*P.Tebt.* 404, 1); *apheseos chomatos* (*O.Bodl.* 1827: an accounting for the repair of a dike; *P.Tebt.* 706, 11); payment for a route (*P.Tebt.* 815, col. IV, 26); or expenses for the considerable work projects throughout a *nomarchia* (*SB* 8243, 9, *tas apheseis*).

“Dispensations” from *leitourgiai* are well attested. According to a transcript of an audience before a *strategos*, a weaver wrongly chosen for a *leitourgia* asks for an exemption (*tes leitourgias aphasis*, *P.Phil.* 3, 5; second century AD). In the third century, this exemption is a privilege of the artists of Dionysus (*P.Oxy.Hels.* 25, 17). An imperial prescript provides that the

prefect of the province shall be able to release a petitioner from a legal obligation (*P.Oxy.* 1020, 6). *Aphesis* is also debt remission: according to a judgment at Cnidos in the second century BC on behalf of Calymna, “a deduction made from the talent that the Calumnians claim was forgiven them by Pausimachus and Cleumedes.”¹³ Finally, *aphesis* refers to the liberation of a prisoner: *homologia apheseos* (*SB* 9463, 12–13). A decree at Athens, for the poet Philippides, who used his influence on behalf of his compatriots after the battle of Ipsos, “for all those who were prisoners, after making his case to the king and obtaining their liberation . . . he sent them on their way to their chosen destinations” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 374, 21). An Iranian act emancipating slaves by consecrating them to the god Sarapis uses the words *ten aphesin autou*.¹⁴ In a dream in the Serapeum, a vision gives Ptolemy confidence that he will be delivered soon (*aphesis moi ginetai tachy*, *UPZ* 78, 39).

Apart from several occurrences with no original meaning,¹⁵ the LXX gives *aphesis* at least two special meanings. First, the sabbatical “remission”: “You shall give the earth release and let it lie fallow” (*aphesin poieseis*, Hebrew *shamam*, Exod 23:11; Lev 25:2-7). This sabbatical year is also the occasion of the liberation of Israelite slaves and the return of security held for debts: “At the end of seven years, you shall make a remission . . . a remission of what he has loaned to his neighbor” (*shemitâh*, Deut 15:1, 9; 31:10). Similarly, the jubilee every fiftieth year is the occasion for the freeing (Hebrew *deror*) of all the inhabitants of the land; and the ground lies fallow.¹⁶ Elsewhere, *aphesis* takes on a metaphorical meaning—and for the first time, a religious, messianic meaning—in Isa 58:6—“to send back free(*en aphesei*, Hebrew *haphshîm*) those who have been mistreated.”¹⁷ It enters into the vocabulary of instruction in Jer 34:15—“You were converted today . . . and each of you proclaimed freedom to his neighbor” (cf. verse^o7).

It is in Jewish literature that *aphesis* receives its full, if not definitive, meaning. For Philo, the term is constantly associated with *eleutheria* and understood to mean complete liberty.¹⁸ Allegorical exegesis takes the sabbatical years and jubilees as referring to “the emancipation and liberation of souls that call upon God” (*Heir* 273) and reject their former errors (*Prelim. Stud.* 108). When Abraham pleads for Sodom, “at first he sets forth the number of the liberation (*tes apheseos*) at fifty (righteous), but he stops at ten, the limit of redemption (*ten apolytrosin*)” (ibid. 109), i.e., liberation in exchange for ransom (cf. *Spec. Laws* 2.121). Moses offers a goat “as a sacrifice for the remission of our sins” (*thyse peri apheseos hamartematon*, *Moses* 2.147; *Spec. Laws* 1.190; cf. 215, 237).

Josephus, who usually uses *aphesis* in its secular literary meaning,¹⁹ also recognizes the meaning “acquittal”²⁰ and even pardon: Herod “promised to pardon past offenses” (*War* 1.481). *Didous aphesin* could be translated “give absolution.”

It is remarkable that the NT writers use *aphesis* thirty-six times, always meaning pardon for sins; there is never a secular meaning, as if this were a technical term reserved for religious use. Its first occurrence is on the lips of Zechariah in his description of the goal of John the Baptist's ministry: namely, to prepare the Messiah's ways "so as to give to his people the knowledge of salvation through the forgiveness of their sins" (*en aphesei hamartion auton*)²¹ on account of God's tender mercy (verse 78). The remark that salvation consists of forgiveness of sins shows that the messianic *soteria* is spiritual and will not be a political liberation. In effect, Mark 1:4 and Luke 3:3 characterize the ministry of the precursor in the region of the Jordan as a bath of conversion "for the forgiveness of sins" (*eis aphesin hamartion*) so as to prepare sinners for the coming of the Messiah. This involves sorrow for offenses committed, penitence, upright intentions; without these things God could not grant pardon. Water baptism is a means of realizing this conversion, and its goal—something altogether new—is a washing, "the remission of sins."²² In the blood covenant sealed by Jesus with the institution of the Eucharist, the blood is not poured out on the people but drunk by the participants: "This is my blood, the new covenant, shed for the many for the remission of sins."²³ Henceforth it is clear that *aphesis* is the basic element of the redemptive work accomplished on the cross; it is connected with pardon, sanctification, and salvation. Speaking to the disciples at Emmaus, Jesus reminded them of "what was written ... that in his name repentance for the forgiveness of sins (*eis aphesin hamartion*) should be preached to all nations," but he specified that first the Christ had to suffer, die, and be resurrected (Luke 24:47). This point is of the highest importance, because it implies that forgiveness of sins is due to the sufferings of Jesus.

This is what St. Peter keeps teaching to the crowd at Pentecost (Acts 2:38), to the Sanhedrin,²⁴ and to the centurion Cornelius: concerning Christ, "all the prophets bear witness that whoever believes in him receives remission of sins through his Name" (Acts 10:43). This forgiveness depends on faith in the person and the power of Jesus; it is universal, so that everyone can benefit from it. St. Paul said the same thing at Pisidian Antioch,²⁵ before King Agrippa,²⁶ and to the Colossians (Col 1:14; *aphesis ton hamartion* is linked with *apolytroisis*, "redemption").

There remain five texts where *aphesis* is used without a complement or in the variant expression *aphesis ton paraptomaton*, "the remission of trespasses," associated with redemption (*apolytroisis*, Eph 1:7), the two terms being almost equivalent. In Mark 3:29 the Lord states, "Whoever blasphemes the Holy Spirit will never have forgiveness" (*ouk echei aphesin eis to aiona*; the last three words are omitted in D and in numerous Latin manuscripts). This unpardonable blasphemy is a willful blindness and hardening.²⁷ At Nazareth, identifying himself as the Messiah, Jesus cites Isa 58:6, which announces the deliverance (*en aphesei*) of the chosen

people (Luke 4:18). The Epistle to the Hebrews uses *aphesis* without a complement for forgiveness, declaring that the absolution of offenses depends on the sacrificial efficacy of the blood: “Without the shedding of blood there is no remission” (*ou ginetai aphasis*).²⁸ Glossing Jer 31:34 (“I will remember their sins and iniquities no longer”), Hebrews adds, “Now, where there is remission of these (*hopou de aphasis touton*), there is no more offering for sin” (Heb 10:18). In fact, since sin has been “remitted” because of the sacrifice on the cross, we could say that when Jesus died sin died as well, so that a new offering in the future would be nonsensical;²⁹ “fieret enim injuria hostiae Christi.”³⁰ All these NT usages, which are so perfectly homogeneous, presuppose a catechesis—whose scope and evolution are unknown to us—that added the term *aphesis* to the Christian vocabulary with a precise and exclusive theological meaning.

¹ Diodorus Siculus 4.73; Pausanias 5.15.5; 6.20.9. Cf. J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*, Paris, 1960, pp. 106, 151, 290–291.

² Vettius Valens: *χρῆται—λοιπαι—τω—ν ἀστέρων ἀφέσει καὶ μαρτυρίαις καὶ ἀκτινοβολίαις προσέχειν* (p. 225, 16). Cf. O. Neugebauer, M. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, Philadelphia, 1959, pp. 87ff., 105ff.

³ Aristotle, *Gen. An.* 3.5.756a10; *HA* 8.30.68a1; cf. 9.40.626a25: bees release their excrement; 6.22.576a25: a mare remains standing at the moment of delivery; *Part. An.* 4.13.697a24: “the spiracle of cetaceans is for expelling water.”

⁴ Hippocrates, *Coac.* 3.485 (other references in Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 101–102). *Aphasis* can also mean “exhaustion, prostration”: “forgetfulness and prostration, loss of voice . . . signs of illness” (*Epid.* 3.6).

⁵ Plutarch, *Pomp.* 42.13: “Pompey sent his wife a bill of divorce” (ἔπεμψεν αὐτῇ τὴν ἄφεσιν).

⁶ Demosthenes, *C. Apat.* 33.3: “If he had had a release and discharge from all the obligations existing between us”; *P. Phorm.* 26.23: “There was a settling of accounts and a release relative to the bank lease”; *C. Naus.* 28.5: “In every instance where he was given a release and discharge, there was no action. And precisely when there was a discharge, in the presence of numerous witnesses . . .”; 9: “You have been sufficiently informed on that matter by the discharge.”

⁷ *C. Dionys.* 56.28, 34; remission of a debt, Isocrates, *Phil.* 5.127.

⁸ *P.Brem.* 14, 6; *P.Mich.* 92, 5; 103, 6: the sluice gates were open and water flowed out everywhere; 233 (AD 25), the oath of a sluice gate guard (ἀφροφυλάκεις): “the sluice gate of the priests west of the bridge” (line 8), “the sluice gate of the priests to the east” (line 10), “each one guards his sluice” (line 15); 645 (= *SB* 7174).

⁹ *P.Tebt.* 5, 37, 112, 201 (= *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53); 705, 7; *P.Oxy.* 2134, 16; *P.Kroll* col. I, 14 (ed. L. Koenen, *Eine ptolemäische Königsurkunde*, Wiesbaden, 1957, p. 10 = *SB* 9316); *UPZ* 110, 177.

¹⁰ Cf. J. Hermann, “Zum Begriff γῆ ἐ—ν ἀφέσει,” in *ChrEg*, 1955, pp. 95–106. J. C. Shelton (“Ptolemaic Land ἐ—ν ἀφέσει: An Observation on the Terminology,” *ChrEg*, 1971, pp. 113–119) cites *P.Tebt.* 81, 3: “other land ἐ—ν ἀφέσει”; 141, 3 and denounces the restorations of γῆ in many editions of the texts. In the Ptolemaic period, we never find γῆ ἐ—ν ἀφέσει but only ἡ ἐ—ν ἀφέσει γῆ or ἡ ἐ—ν ἀφέσει. As opposed to βασιλικὴ γῆ, land ἐ—ν ἀφέσει is often understood as “ceded, conceded, left” for cultivation by private persons; some see a determination of fiscal status: a land whose produce is freed by the royal administration.

¹¹ Cf. G. Lumbrose, *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, 2d ed., Amsterdam, 1967, p. 90.

¹² Cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* XC, 12: εἰ—ς τέλος ἀφῆκεν; *P.Petr.* II, 2, 1: ὅταν ἡ ἄφροσις δοθῆ; H. A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, Munich, 1971, p. 60.

¹³ *RIJG*, vol. 1, n. X, B 7 = C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 1340; *I.Magn.* 93 c 16; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 495, 166: τοι—ς μὲν ἀφέσεις ἐ—ποιήσατο τω—ν χρημάτων, not requiring interest for the other debtors.

¹⁴ Ed. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11, Paris, 1960, p. 85, 8–9.

¹⁵ Exod 18:2—Jethro receives Zipporah back from Moses after her repudiation (Hebrew *shilûhîm*); Jdt 11:14—“the people with the task of passing on the senate’s permission to them”; Lev 16:26—the scapegoat (*aphesis* translates the Hebrew ‘a<^>za’zel).

¹⁶ Lev 25:10-13; 25:28, 30: property leaves people hands at the Jubilee (ἐ—ξέρχασθαι); 27:17-24; Num 36:4; Ezek 46:17 (R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, pp. 175ff.). The translation of the Hebrew *yôbel* by the substantive σημασία (Lev 25:15) or ἐ—νιαυτός or ἔτος ἀφέσεως σημασίας (verses 10–13) is elliptical: a sign of the year of liberation, the Jubilee year. Cf. the *h<∅>a<^>nahâh*, the day of rest and relief of debts, in

Esth 2:18—“the king gave relief to the provinces”; 1Macc 10:34—Demetrius writes to the Jews: “All the holy days and Sabbaths . . . shall be days of immunity and release (ἡμέραι ἀτελαίας καὶ ἀφέσεως) for all the Jews who are in the kingdom”; 13:34. —Elsewhere, ἀφέσεις ὑδάτων are “watercourses” (Joel 1:20; Hebrew *‘aphîq*; Ezek 47:3) or “rivers of tears” (Lam 3:48; Hebrew *peleg*). A. Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, pp. 98ff.) well noted that this meaning derives from Egyptian usage with respect to irrigation and the pouring out of water and that the translation of the Hebrew *‘aphîqê* by ἀφέσεις in 2Sam 22:16 might have been suggested by the initial *aph-*.

¹⁷ Isa 61:1—“Yahweh has anointed me . . . to proclaim liberation to the captives” (Hebrew *derôr*); Jer 34:8—Jeremiah’s mission is to “proclaim emancipation to the captives” (Hebrew *derôr*).

¹⁸ Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 122; *Worse Attacks Better* 63, 144; *Change of Names* 228; *Spec. Laws* 2.67; *Flacc.* 84. “The harvest of fruits that came all alone is called the harvest of liberty” (*Migr. Abr.* 32).

¹⁹ Freeing slaves (*Ant.* 12.40) or prisoners (17.233), letting them go free (*War* 3.533; 7.192), especially the launching of projectiles (2.423, 3.256, 4.580, 5.10, 7.403), and also the discharge of lightning (*Ant.* 5.60).

²⁰ “Called before the court, he must rejoice at his acquittal” (περὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως εὐχαριστω—ν, *War* 1.214; cf. *Ant.* 14.182; 17.185). Compare the formulations of Herodotus (6.30, with respect to the possible pardon by Darius at Histiaeus) and Antiphon (*1 Tetr.* 2, “We have not let the guilty escape,” οὐ ἀφέντες).

²¹ Luke 1:77; ε—ν ἀφείσει attaches to σωτηρίας or γνω—σιν σωτηρίας, not to δοῦναι.

²² Ps 51:4, 9, 11, 14; Ezek 36:25-27 (H. Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, p. 157). Cf. J. Gnllka, “Die messianischen Tauchbäder und die Johannestaufe,” in *RevQ*, vol. 3, 1961, pp. 186—207.

²³ Matt 26:28. Mark 14:24 says simply: “poured out ὑπὲρ πολλῶ—ν”; Luke 22:20—“poured out for you” (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶ—ν); “εἰ—ς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶ—ν is probably an addition—correct in its substance—by Matthew” (J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, p. 114; cf. idem, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu*, 3d ed., Göttingen, 1960), apparently inspired by Isa 58:6; 61:1 (cf. Luke 4:18). This means a permanent physical presence of Jesus among his own to communicate the divine life to them, cf. P. Benoit, *Exégèse et théologie*, vol. 1, pp. 163—254.

²⁴ Acts 5:31—"God raised Jesus to his right hand as leader and Savior so as to grant repentance and forgiveness of sins to Israel."

²⁵ Acts 13:38—"It is through him that forgiveness of sins is announced to you (καταγγέλλεται)"; this forgiveness is identified with justification (v. 39) and salvation.

²⁶ Acts 26:18—The glorified Christ sent Paul to the Jews and the Gentiles "that they might receive (λαβει—ν) by faith in me the forgiveness of sins and the heritage of the saints." Cf. L. Hartman, "Baptism 'into the Name of Jesus' and Early Christology," in *ST*, vol. 28, 1974, pp. 21–48.

²⁷ Cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 1; "Excursus IV: Hébr. VI, 4–6: L'Impossible Pénitence," pp. 167–178; O. E. Evans, "The Unforgivable Sin," in *ExpT*, vol. 68, 1957, pp. 240–244; G. Fitzler, "Die Sünde wider den Heiligen Geist," in *TZ*, 1957, pp. 161–182; J.G. Williams, "A Note on the 'Unforgivable Sin' Logion," in *NTS*, vol. 12, 1965, pp.75–77.

²⁸ Heb 9:22. Cf. T. C. G. Thornton, "The Meaning of αι—ματεκχυσία," in *JTS*, vol. 15, 1964, pp. 63–64; L. Morris, "The Biblical Use of the Term 'Blood,'" *JTS*, 1952, pp. 216–227; 1955, pp. 77–82; J. Dupont, "La Réconciliation dans la théologie de saint Paul," in *EstBib*, 1952, pp. 291ff. L. Sabourin, *Rédemption sacrificielle*, Desclée De Brouwer, 1961, pp. 179, 316; C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, "Excursus VIII: La Théologie et la liturgie du Précieux Sang," pp. 277–285; E. F. Siegman, "The Blood of Christ in St. Paul's Soteriology," in *Precious Blood Study Week*, Carthage, 1962, pp. 11–35; D. J. McCarthy, "The Symbolism of Blood and Sacrifice," in *JBL*, 1968, pp. 166–176; N. Snaith, "The Sprinkling of Blood," in *ExpT*, vol. 82, 1970, pp. 23–24; S. Lyonnet, L. Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption, and Sacrifice*, Rome, 1970, pp. 167ff.; J. M. Grintz, "'Do Not Eat of the Blood,'" in *ASTI*, vol. 8, 1970–71, pp. 78–105.

²⁹ Cf. W. Stott, "The Conception of 'Offering' in the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *NTS*, vol. 9, 1962, p. 66.

³⁰ For it would be an affront to the sacrifice of Christ," Thomas Aquinas, on this text. Christian theology has correctly understood that Hebrews does not thus exclude the permanent oblation of the earthly church in the sacrifice of the Mass, for just as St. Paul completes that which is lacking in the passion of Christ (Col 1:24), the heavenly High Priest continues to intercede for believers; and the Mass is nothing other than this union of the faithful with the oblation and intercession of the Savior then and now (C. F. D. Moule, *The Sacrifice of Christ*, London, 1956). Cajetan already

commented: “Do not think it strange, novice, that the sacrifice of the altar is offered daily in Christ’s church; because it is not a new sacrifice, but a commemoration of the very same sacrifice that Christ offered; he himself commanded: Do this in memory of me. So also all the sacraments are nothing other than applications of Christ’s passion to those who receive them. Moreover, it is one thing to repeat Christ’s passion, but another to repeat the commemoration and application of Christ’s passion” (“Nec propterea, novitie, mireris quotidie offerri sacrificium altaris in Christi ecclesia; quoniam non est novum sacrificium, sed illudmet quod Christus obtulit commemoratur; praecipiente ipso: Hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Sacramenta quoque omnia nihil aliud sunt quam applicationes passionis Christi ad suscipientes. Aliud autem est iterare passionem Christi, at aliud iterare commemorationem et applicationem passionis Christi,” *Epistolae Pauli et aliorum Apostolorum ad graecam veritatem castigatae*, Venice, 1531, on this text).

ἀφιλάργυρος

aphilargyros, free of the love of money

see also αι—σχροκερδής, ἀφιλάργυρος; φιλαργυρία, φιλάργυρος

aphilargyros, S 866; *EDNT* 1.183; MM 98; L&N 25.109; BAGD 126

Since the love of money is one of the signs of belonging to the world, Heb 13:5 addresses to persecuted Christians the charge “that your way of life be *aphilargyros*. ” This is an echo of Matt 6:24: “You cannot serve God and money.” The same virtue is among the qualities required of the candidate for the *episkope* (1Tim 3:3). There is not much of significance to add to the citations of this term supplied by T. Nägeli and A. Deissmann¹ unless perhaps from the honorific decrees and in speeches in praise of virtue. The first mention is an honorific decree of Priene, from the second century BC. Unfortunately it is mutilated, but J. Rouffiac finds reason to classify it among “expressions of piety and of the moral ideal” which are common to the vocabulary of the inscriptions and of the NT.² More developed is the inscription of the Egyptian delta of 3 May 5 BC, “let *arete* and *philagathia* and *aphilargyria* be manifest” (*arete te kai philagathia kai aphilargyria prodelos geinetai*, SB 8267, 44).

That this absence of avarice was a highly prized virtue is already known from Diodorus Siculus, who emphasizes that Bias never used his oratorical prowess to gain wealth (9.11, *aphilargyria*), but especially from the listing of the qualities of Antoninus Pius: “Hear! In the first place, he had a love of wisdom; in the second place, he did not love money, and in the third place, he loved virtue.”³ But the best parallel to 1Tim 3:3 is in

Onasander (1.8), in a list of qualities required in a general: he must be *aphilargyros* because *aphilargyria* guarantees that the leader will be incorruptible in his management of affairs. After all, many who demonstrate courage are blinded by money. The conclusion is that detachment from money will guarantee the probity of the bishop in the administration of material goods and probably also in the handling of spiritual things. One cannot be too strict (*dokimasthesetai kai prote*, Onasander, loc. cit.); hence, similarly, *me aischrokerde* (Titus 1:7). It is enough to recall that Judas loved money (John 12:6) as did the Pharisees (Luke 16:14, *philargyroi*) and that Simon Magus expected “to gain the gift of God by paying money” (Acts 8:20).

¹ T. Nägeli, *Wortschatz*, p. 31; A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 85–86.

² *I.Priene*, 137, 5 (J. Rouffiac, *Caractères du grec*, p. 84). Similarly the adverb ἀφιλαργύρως in the honorific decrees of Istropolis (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 708, 17; first century BC) and of the region around Athens (ibid. 1104, 25, from 37/36 BC).

³ *P.Oxy.* 33, col. II, 11 (interview with the emperor Marcus Aurelius): ἄκουε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦν φιλόσοφος, τὸ δεύτερον ἀφιλάργυρος, τὸ τρίτον φιλάγαθος (second century AD).

ἀφοράω

aphorao, to look from a distance, gaze fixedly
see also ἀποβλέπω

aphorao, S 872; *EDNT* 1.183; MM 98; L&N 27.6, 30.31; BDF §74(1); BAGD 127

Christians are like athletes who compete together in the arena, where all the believers of the OT cheer them on like “supporters” (Heb 11–12:1). Once the race is begun, the athlete must not allow himself to be distracted by anything. Not only so, but he does not look back (Luke 9:62), nor to left or right, but keeps his attention fixed on the goal, concentrating only on it; and this exclusive attachment is the secret of his endurance and perseverance. Thus Heb 12:2 asks the disciples to “fix their gaze” on Jesus (*aphorontes eis*).

It does not do justice to this biblical hapax to translate it simply “look at,” especially in a letter where the verbs of seeing and considering are so numerous, so varied, and used with careful attention to their particular

nuance.¹ The first meaning of *aphorao* is “look at from a distance,”² so it is very close to *apoblepo* (Heb 11:26): just as Moses fixed his eyes on his reward, the believer under the New Covenant thinks only of the heavenly high priest (3:1, *katanoeo*), to whom every step here below in some way brings him closer (12:22-24, *proselelythate*). But with the particle *eis*, this verb signals the turning of eyes from different points on the same object, in which one faces it³ and finally fixes one’s attention on it.⁴ Thus people look at a model,⁵ a guide or leader,⁶ and above all God himself.⁷ The multitude of citations having to do with looking to God show that a spiritual attitude is intended—whether in a Jewish or a pagan context—the attitude of every human creature face to face with their Creator and Lord.

This attitude entails first and foremost a selectivity, even exclusivity, in attention, as when, for example, the priests refuse to hear the high priests and prominent persons urging them to offer sacrifices for the emperors. They rely on the large numbers and the assistance of the revolutionaries; above all they look to the authority of Eleazar.⁸ When Josephus says that “each of the victims died gazing resolutely toward the temple” (*War* 5.517; cf. 6.123) or that “the army had its eyes on Titus” (7.67, *eis auton apheora*), or that “when he had to render judgment, he considered only the truth” (*Ant.* 7.110), it is understood that these contemplatives have turned away from other considerations and focused only on one thing. It is precisely in this sense that believers turn and keep their gaze fixed on their *archegos*, who “in place of the joy that lay before him endured a cross, despising the shame thereof” (Heb 12:2).

In addition, *aphorao* means “consider, reflect,”⁹ because faith, the evidence of things invisible (Heb 11:1), is a faculty of perception—it “takes in” (verse 3, *noeo*)—but this “observing” is not here purely speculative; *aphorao* is used for a spectacle that affects the feelings¹⁰ and gives rise to a practical response,¹¹ notably in the papyri where in its rare occurrences it has the sense of “take into account”: “but if you take into account that they are slandering you” (*ean de aphides hoti diaballousi se, P.Fouad* 54, 29, from the second century; *P.Oxy.* 1682, 14 from the fourth century); “considering the absolute necessity of this task (= in taking into consideration, *aphoron to aparaiteton tes chreias*), bring your zeal to bear . . .” (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 46; third century). Such is the point of the exhortation in Heb 12:2—believers, in meditating on the passion of Jesus, find the model for their own conduct, the source of their *hypomone* (endurance). They have only to follow the *archegos*. The best parallel is Plutarch’s: “Cato says that in critical circumstances, the senators would turn their eyes toward him (*aphoran . . . pros auton*), as the passengers on a ship turn toward the pilot” (*Cat. Mai.* 19.7).

¹ C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, pp. 377ff.

² Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.335: the two wives of Jacob are sent to watch from afar the actions of the combatants; 11.329; *War* 5.160: from the high tower of Psephinus at Jerusalem, one could espy Arabia in the distance; 5.445; 15.398.

³ Josephus, *Ant.* 11.55; 15.401; Lucian, *Philops.* 30: ὁ —Αρίγνωτος δριμὺ ἀπιδὼν εἰ—ς ε—πέ; *P.Oxy.* 2111, 17: Petronius Mamertinus ἀπιδὼν εἰ—ς τὴν Ζωσίμην εἶπεν; *PSI* 76, 7; ἀφορὰν πρὸς τὴν σὴν λαμπρότητα.

⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* 3.36: the people's eyes were fixed on Moses, εἰ—ς αὐτὸν ἀφορω—ντα; *War* 5.352: the old wall of Jerusalem is ornamented with spectators so attentive that they lean forward to see better. Cf. Plutarch, *Agis* 1.4: those who keep watch from the prow see better than the pilots what is coming up ahead.

⁵ Epictetus 4.1.170: εἰ—ς ταῦτα ἀφόρα τὰ παραδείγματα.

⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* 12.431: the soldiers of Judas Maccabeus, after the death of their leader, think of nothing else . . . ; this στρατηγοῦ τοιούτου στερηθέντες should be compared with the *archegos* of Christians (Heb 12:2).

⁷ Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.166: “Moses urged them all to turn their eyes toward God as the source of all blessings”; *Ant.* 8.290: “Asanos, the king of Jerusalem, was a person of excellent character, keeping his eyes fixed on the divinity (πρὸς τὸν θεῖ—ον ἀφορω—ν),” he thought nothing and did nothing that did not orient him to piety and the observance of the laws; 4Macc 17:10, the epitaph of some Maccabean martyrs: “They avenged our people while looking to God (εἰ—ς τὸν θεὸν ἀφορω—ντες) and enduring all torments even unto death”; Epictetus 3.24.16: “looking steadfastly to Zeus, he carried out all his deeds.”

⁸ Josephus, *War* 2.410 (μάλιστα δ ἀφορω—ντες εἰ—ς τὸν —Ελεάζαρον); Epictetus 2.19.29: “It is my intention to free you from every constraint and every fetter . . . directing your gaze toward God in all matters, large and small”; 3.26.11: “Is that also your custom . . . to look to others and hope for nothing from yourself?”

⁹ To behold a spectacle (Josephus, *War* 1.97; 6.233), to consider a situation in its entirety (4.279; cf. *Ant.* 2.42; 2.141; 2.336; 7.350; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 7.4; cf. ἀφίδω, Phil 2:23).

¹⁰ Josephus, *War* 1.142: “the sight of the Romans’ perfect order” inspires fear.

¹¹ Cf. ἀφίδω; Jonah 4:5—Jonah, sitting outside the city, waited to see what would happen; 4Macc 17:23—the tyrant Antiochus had observed the courage and patience of the martyrs.

βαθμός

bathmos, threshold, step, stage, rank

bathmos, S 898; *EDNT* 1.189–190; MM 101; L&N 87.3; BDF §34(5); BAGD 130

Formed from *baino*, “stand or lean on,” the NT hapax *bathmos* is an architectural technical term meaning a (raised) threshold of a door or of a temple,¹ a stair step;² hence “degree” or “step,” whether of the zodiac or a sundial,³ of a genealogy (*P.Cair.Masp.* 169, 10, from the sixth century; Dio Chrysostom, 41.6), or of time: “Nature has produced stages of life, like steps, as it were, by which people ascend and descend” (Philo, *Etern. World* 58). Hence, in a metaphorical sense, *bathmos* refers to any step of progress toward a goal, levels of vice or of virtue,⁴ a stage along the soul’s journey.

Thus we may approach 1Tim 3:13, where deacons “who serve well gain an excellent rank, *bathmon heautois kalon*, ” a sentence that is something of a *crux interpretum*. It can be understood as saying that deacons, after the fashion of candidates for the *episkope* (3:1), will not have to be embarrassed at their duties, that they will serve without an inferiority complex;⁵ but also that they are in a position to be promoted to a higher level. T. Nägeli, (*Wortschatz*, p. 26) cites an inscription from Mitylene: “kept up to the degrees (*basmoi*) of his rank” (*tois tas axias basmois aneloge*, *IG*, vol. 2, 243, 16); P. N. Harrison cites the *Sententiae* of Hadrian, where the emperor asks a soldier who wants to join the praetorian guard first of all to prove himself “in political service, and if you become a good soldier, you will be able to pass on to the praetorium as a third *bathmos*. ”⁶ In any event, the term is used in honorific designations, as seen in the formula used in inscriptions at Sardis and at Side: “*ho lamprotatos komes protou bathmou*, vir clarissimus, comes primi ordinis.”⁷

The best context is probably Qumran, where the stages of approach to the various offices and the rules determining precedence and hierarchical order (*sereq*) are so detailed: “the priests shall go first, in order according to their spirit, one after the other. The Levites shall go behind them, and all the people third, in order.”⁸ “In accord with his intelligence

and the perfection of his conduct, each one shall keep to his place to carry out the service with which he is charged with respect to a more or less extended group of his brothers. Thus shall be recognized in some *a higher dignity than in others.*"⁹

The diaconal *bathmos kalos* seems to derive from the Lord's teaching on the steward faithful in small things, who carries out a lower duty conscientiously and will also be faithful in higher functions. The Master will place him over his whole household and all his goods, and he will entrust to him the government of ten cities, the managing or dispensation of spiritual riches (Luke 7:44f.; 16:10ff.; 19:17). It is at least with this meaning that our text is understood when it is cited by the first Roman ordination ritual (Hippolytus, *Trad. ap.*) and by the ordination ritual of the patriarchate of Antioch (*Const. App.*).

¹ 1Sam 5:5—"The priests of Dagon and all who enter the temple of Dagon do not step on the threshold of Dagon at Ashdod . . . but they jump over it"; Sir 6:36—"If you know an intelligent man, visit him at dawn. Let your foot be familiar with the threshold of his door." At Laodicea, Apollonia had steps built above the pavements (*IGLS* 1259, 7; cf. 4034: "had the pavement built with steps"; *RB* 1895, p. 76). At Cyzicus, it is the base on which a tower is built (C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 596, 10); at Didyma, cf. *SEG*, vol. 4, 453, 14. Βαθμοί are bases of stone (*SB* 3919, 8; R. Martin, *Architecture grecque*, p. 207). Cf. the tax on thresholds (*P.Oxy.* 574; second century AD).

² Josephus, *War* 1.420: "a stairway of two hundred steps"; 5.195, 5.206: "fifteen steps leading from the women's wall to the great gate"; *Ant.* 8.140 (or ἀναβαθμός); cf. A. Orlandos, *Technique architecturale*, p. 62.

³ 2Kgs 20:9-11; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.29; Vettius Valens 31.2; O. Neugebauer, H. B. Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, Philadelphia, 1959, p. 152, n. 12.

⁴ Josephus, *War* 4.171: "levels of audacity"; *Corp. Herm.* 13.9: "This stage, my child, is the seat of justice." Cf. Athenaeus 1.1c: "surpassing himself . . . he jumps from level to level."

⁵ Cf. P. Dornier, *Les Epîtres Pastorales*, Paris, 1969, p. 65.

⁶ —Εν τῇ πολιτικῇ στρατείᾳ, καὶ ε—άν καλὸς στρατιώτης γένη, τρίτῳ βαθμῷ— δυνήσῃ εἰ—ς πραιτώριον μεταβῆναι. Cf. *SEG*, vol. 21, 505, 7; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.21; *P.Tebt.* 703, 276: "If your conduct is above reproach, you will be taken to be worthy of advancement" (third century BC).

⁷ Cf. the texts cited by J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1968, p.518, n. 478.

⁸ 1QS 2.20; cf. 2.23: “his allotted place.” “They shall be enrolled in order, one after the other, each one in proportion to his intelligence and his works, so that they may obey one another, the lower obeying the higher, . . . that each one may be advanced . . . or demoted” (5.23–24). The progression has to do not only with knowledge (9.18; 1QH 14.13) but also honor (cf. 1Tim 5:17).

⁹ 1QSa 1.17, 18; cf. 2.14–18 (ed. D. Barthélemy, J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, Oxford, 1955, p. 112). The parallel is pointed out by W. Nauck, “Probleme des frühchristlichen Amtsverständnisses,” in *ZNW*, 1957, pp. 216ff.; but H. Braun is skeptical (*Qumran und das N. T.*, Tübingen, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 199, 336).

βαρύς

barys, important, serious, burdensome, grave, dangerous

barys, S 926; *TDNT* 1.556–558; *EDNT* 1.199; *NIDNTT* 1.260–262; *MM* 104; *L&N* 22.4, 65.56, 78.23; *BAGD* 133

The meaning of this adjective varies according to context and may be either favorable or pejorative.¹ Sometimes it means “worthy, important,” like certain commandments of the law, as opposed to those which are “secondary”;² or the letters of Paul, serious, powerful, impressive;³ sometimes—most often, in fact—the connotations are negative, as with “heavy burdens,” burdensome responsibilities, difficult undertakings,⁴ even “grave accusations” (Acts 25:7).

It is in this sense that the scribes and the Pharisees place heavy burdens on people’s shoulders (Matt 23:4, *phortia barea*), burdens that are crushing and literally unbearable,⁵ after the fashion of sins that weigh on the conscience more than a heavy burden (*hosei phortion bary ebarynthesan ep’ eme*, Ps 38:4), or of a tax collector who oppresses the taxpayers (*P.Mich.* 529, 28, 35–36; *P.Ant.* 100, 11, *enochlein hymin eti peri toutou moi bary*), or of the “unjust” person who carries very heavy burdens, *pherousa barytata* (Philo, *Husbandry* 20). This constraint is so linked to the person that at times it becomes one with him, as in the case of this man of the second-third century who “wears the yoke of Judaism” (*houtos pheron loudaikon phortion*, *C.Pap.Jud.* 519, 18; cf. *t. Ber.* 2.7).

Jesus stated that his yoke is easy and his burden light (Matt 11:30), and 1John 5:3 repeats: “his commands are not *bareiai* (*hai entolai autou bareiai ouk eisin*).”⁶ This can be understood as meaning that his precepts are not crushing or oppressive,⁷ or that they are not difficult to carry out.⁸ The best commentary is Philo’s: “God doesn’t ask anything burdensome, complicated, or difficult, but something that is simple and easy: to love him as benefactor, or at least fear him as master and lord.”⁹ It seems that this is a traditional description of laws or commands: “the precepts are neither excessive nor too burdensome (*ou hyperonkoi kai baryterai*) for the abilities of those who conform to them” (Philo, *Rewards* 80). More precisely, it is the ideal voiced by Israelite and pagan rulers, but too often contradicted by actual deeds. The assembly of Israel at Shechem stated to Rehoboam: “Your father made our yoke heavy (*ebarynen*); but now you should lighten the harsh servitude of your father and the heavy yoke that he placed on us.”¹⁰ The Gadarenes denounced Herod, whose orders were too severe and tyrannical.¹¹ Pharaoh published ordinances that made demands beyond the abilities of the Jews (Philo, *Moses* 1.37), just as Tarquin had “become hateful and unbearable to the people.”¹² But Vespasian forbids burdening the provinces (*IGLS*, 1998, 12, *barynesthai*), and Tiberius Julius Alexander refuses to “weigh down Egypt with new and unjust burdens” (*SB* 8444, 5, *barynomenen kainais kai adikois eispraxesi*). If the “weight of business” rests on rulers,¹³ they acquit themselves honorably when they do not impose overly heavy burdens on their subjects (Acts 15:28; 1Thess 2:7; Rev 2:24).

When St. Paul preaches to the Ephesian elders, “Grievous wolves (*lykoi bareis*, literally heavy wolves) will enter in among you and will not spare the flock,”¹⁴ he depicts the heretic as a fierce and ravenous animal,¹⁵ a type of the tyrants who exploit the people in Ezek 22:27; Wis 3:3; Prov 28:15 (bear in the Hebrew). Jesus had called them *lykoi harpages* (Matt 7:15; cf. John 10:12) that ravage the flock; the same modifier is used of the wolves in Gen 49:27, Ezek 22:27, corresponding to the Hebrew *tarap*, “tear to pieces”: Benjamin is a wolf who tears up his prey, but no parallel is known to the “heavy wolf,” which evokes the ideas of violence and of irritation,¹⁶ and which could just as well be translated “dangerous, formidable, voracious, ferocious, rapacious, or cruel.”

¹ The noun βάρος denotes first of all weight (Philo, *Joseph* 140: unequal weights; *Heir* 146; *P.Oxy.* 3008, 12: “the weight is equal”), that which is heavy, like baggage (Judg 18:21; cf. Jdt 7:4; Xenophon, *Oec.* 17.9; *Cyr.* 3.3, 3.42); the adjective means “heavy, weighty”; cf. stone (Prov 27:3), the hands (Homer, *Il.* 1.89; Exod 17:12; Job 23:2; 33:7), an old man (1Sam 4:18; Job 15:10), a burden carried by camels (Philo, *Post. Cain* 148).

² Matt 23:23, τὰ βαρύτερα (ε—ντολή βαρει—α—ε—λαφρά); cf. Str-B, vol. 1, pp. 900–905; J. Bonsirven, *Judaïsme palestinien*, pp. 73–80. In the LXX, βαρὺς often means “considerable, numerous,” describing a people or an army (Num 20:20; 1Kgs 3:9; 2Kgs 6:14; 18:17; 2Chr 9:1; 1Macc 1:17, 20, 29; 4Macc 4:5; Ps 35:18; Nah 3:3); cf. Polybius 1.17.3; heavy infantry is distinguished from light infantry (ibid. 1.76.3); Xenophon, *Cyr.* 5.3.37.

³ 2Cor 10:10, αἰ—ε—πιστολαὶ βαρει—αι καὶ ἰ—σχυραὶ as opposed to his weak physical presence and his speech, which is ineffectual (cf. P. E. Hughes, *Paul’s Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 4th ed., Grand Rapids, 1973, pp. 361ff.); cf. nobility of character (Plutarch, *Cat.* 1.6; 20.2), consideration (*Ages.* 7.1). “Heavy words” can be serious (Job 6:3) or strong-voiced (Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.1.29; cf. 1Sam 5:11; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.14; 3.51), or painful: ε—δεξάμην βαρέα ῥήματα (*P.Princ.* 120, 3; *SB* 9616, verso 31); cf. 6263, 26: ἀλλὰ μὴ βαρέως ἔχε μου τὰ γράμματα νουθετοῦντα σε.

⁴ Exod 18:12—“The thing is too heavy for you, you cannot do it alone”; Neh 5:18—“the task weighed heavy on this people” (cf. *SB* 6263, 20); Sir 31:2, a grave illness (cf. *P.Tebt.* 52, 11; Philo, *Creation* 125; Diodorus Siculus 17.31.4). In the papyri, βαρὺς describes notably onerous public service (*BGU* 159, 3; *P.Oxy.* 2110, 9, 18, 33, 36; cf. *P.Mich.* 529, 18, λειτουργίας βάρος; *PSI* 1103, 6; 1243, 20; *BGU* 159, 5), urgent necessities (*P.Oxy.* 2131, 12), or the condition of a pregnant woman who miscarries because of blows that she has received, τὴν μὲν Τάησιν βαρέαν οὔσαν ε—κ τῶ—ν πληγῶ—ν αὐτῶ—ν ε—ξέτρωσεν τὸ βρέφος (*P.Cair.Goodsp.* 15, 15). Τὸ βάρος, “the burden,” commonly describes the child carried in its mother’s womb, *P.Brem.* 63, 4 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 442; *SEG*, vol. 8, 802: “she bore the fruit of her womb, and put down her burden in pain”; vol. 15, 876, 1: ἔσχατον ὠδίνων βάρος = the final burden of pains (of childbirth); cf. Philo, *Unchang. God* 15; but also “the burden of the day and of the heat” (Matt 20:12), and all that weighs one down (Gal 6:2; *P.Oxy.* 1062, 14; 2596, 10; *PSI* 27, 7); cf. burden of care (Philo, *Moses* 1.14; *Migr. Abr.* 14).

⁵ Cf. Polybius 1.10.6: “They feared that there were troublesome and fearsome neighbors, λίαν βαρει—ς καὶ φορεβοί”; *Anth. Pal.* 11.326: “Do not try to make yourself unbearable, μὴ πάντα βαρὺς θέλε”; Plutarch, *De frat. amor.* 16: older brothers can make themselves unbearable and disagreeable to their juniors, βαρει—ς καὶ ἀηδει—ς.

⁶ Cf. G. Lambert, “Mon joug est aisé et mon fardeau léger,” in *NRT*, 1955, pp. 963–969; N. Lazure, *Les Valeurs morales de la théologie johannique*, Paris, 1965, pp. 134ff.; H. D. Betz, “The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest (Mt. XI, 28–30),” in *JBL*, 1967, pp. 10–24.

⁷ Sir 40:1—“A heavy yoke was created for the sons of Adam”; cf. 17:21—“a heavy night”; 13:2—βάρος ὑπὲρ σὲ μὴ ἄρης; 2Macc 9:10—“the unbearable weight of his odor”; an epitaph from Doris, from the imperial period: “Death is not equally heavy for all, but the one who is good receives also at the end an easy death” (SB 8307, 6): in the sixth century, ὡς βαρυτέρου ὄντος τοῦ ζυγίου (9400, 5).

⁸ Dan 2:11—“The thing that the king asks is difficult” (*yaqqîrâh*); Sir 29:28—a hard-to-take insult; Judg 20:34—“the battle was tough”; Philo, *Husbandry* 120, athletes knock to the ground “difficult and heavy adversaries.”

⁹ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.299, οὐδὲν βαρὺ καὶ ποικίλον ἢ δύσεργον, ἀλλὰ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ῥάδιον.

¹⁰ 1Kgs 12:4, 11 (and the whole pericope, 12:1-14, retold in 2Chr 10:1-14 and Josephus, *Ant.* 8.213); cf. Num 11:14—“I cannot carry this whole people by myself, because they are too heavy a burden for me” (*kabed*); Josephus, *Ant.* 19.362: a kingdom is a heavy responsibility, εἶναι βαρὺ βίασταγμα βασιλείαν.

¹¹ Josephus, *Ant.* 15.354, βαρὺν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι καὶ τυραννικὸν εἶναι.

¹² Plutarch, *Publ.* 1.3: μισω—ν καὶ βαρυνόμενος; cf. 2.4. Βαρύς modifies tyranny, “an unbearable burden of excessive constraint” (Philo, *Moses* 1.39; cf. *Conf. Tongues* 92: iron discipline), but also anything that one may suffer (Gen 48:17; Wis 2:15).

¹³ Philo, *Plant.* 45: “the heavy burden of the cares of government”; Josephus, *War* 1.461: τὸ βάρος τῶν πραγμάτων; 4.616: τὸ βάρος τῆς ἡγεμονίας; Plutarch, *Per.* 37.1; cf. *UPZ* 110, 176; *P.Ryl.* 659, 4: Let each one stand up under his own burden, ἕκαστον ὑπαντα—ν πρὸς τὰ ἴδια βάρη.

¹⁴ Acts 20:29; cf. G. W. H. Lampe, “‘Grievous Wolves’ (Act. XX, 29),” in B. Lindars, S. S. Smalley, *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament* (in honor of C. F. D. Moule), Cambridge, 1973, pp. 253–268; J. Dupont, *Discours de Milet*, p. 209ff.

¹⁵ Cf. Homer, *Il.* 16.352–355: the Achaean chiefs are like wolves that ravage the flocks.

¹⁶ J. Pollux, *Onom.* 5.164, defines ὁ δὲ βίαιος · καλοῖ—τῆ ἄν βαρὺς, ἀλαζῶν, φορτικός; cf. 3Macc 5:1, ὀργὴ βαρεῖ—α; Philo, *Giants* 51, “the violent storm”; Philo, *Moses* 1.119: “pelted by the weight of the hailstones”; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1394: death, the cruelest of evils, βαρύτερον κακόν; Plutarch, *De cupid. divit.* 5: “an oppressive and cruel mistress of the house”; *De sera* 12: “burdensome old age”; *Demetr.* 10.2: “made unbearable and hateful by the extravagance of the honors that the Athenians voted him”; 28.4: Antigone “hard by nature and scornful”; 19.4: “the heaviness of the body”; *Ant.* 2.5: “heavy debt”; *SEG* 18, 194: “a heavy chain,” which is contrasted with freedom; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* 1.272: “a painful life”; 2.1008: “a hard task,” etc.

βασιλεία, βασιλείος, βασιλεύς, βασιλεύω, βασιλικός, βασιλίτσα

basileia, kingdom, reign; *basileios*, royal; *basileus*, king; *basileuo*, to be king, rule, reign; *basilikos*, royal; *basilissa*, queen

basileia, S 932; *TDNT* 1.564–593; *EDNT* 1.201–205; *NIDNTT* 2.372–382, 386–388; MM 104; L&N 1.82, 11.13, 37.64, 37.65, 37.105; BDF §163; BAGD 134–135 | ***basileios***, S 934; *TDNT* 1.564–593; *EDNT* 1.205; *NIDNTT* 2.372–373; MM 104; L&N 37.69; BDF §50; BAGD 136 | ***basileus***, S 935; *TDNT* 1.564–593; *EDNT* 1.205–208; *NIDNTT* 1.372–373, 377–378, 389; MM 104–105; L&N 37.67; BDF §§46(2), 146(3), 147(3); BAGD 136 | ***basileuo***, S 936; *TDNT* 1.564–593; *EDNT* 1.207–208; *NIDNTT* 2.372–373, 377–378, 380–381; MM 105; L&N 37.22, 37.64; BDF §§177, 234(5), 309(1); BAGD 136 | ***basilikos***, S 937; *TDNT* 1.564–593; *EDNT* 1.208; *NIDNTT* 3.372–373; MM 105; L&N 37.69; BAGD 136 | ***basilissa***, S 938; *TDNT* 1.564–593; *EDNT* 1.208; *NIDNTT* 2.372–373, 381; MM 105; L&N 37.68; BDF §§34(1), 111(1); BAGD 137

In every language, a “king” is a head of state, a sovereign, a monarch; by extension, a head or representative of a group, one who reigns or presides at an event. A “kingdom” is the land or state governed by a king, and by extension a collective or persons or things ruled by a common principle (cf. the animal kingdom, the plant kingdom). “Reign” is the exercise of royal power, domination, either absolute personal power or dominating influence.

From Homer on, the ideal king fears the gods and lives justly (Homer, *Od.* 19.109); his power and honor come from Zeus,¹ who is kindly disposed toward him (*Il.* 2.196; cf. Hesiod, *Th.* 80–101; 886; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1014, 110: *Dios basileos*). In the classical period, Aristotle distinguishes five types of government (*arche*, *Pol.* 3.14.1284b35ff.): (1)

Spartan monarchy, law-based (Plato, *Leg.* 3.691 d –692 b) but not entirely sovereign (*ouk esti de kyria panton*). (2) Barbarian monarchy, especially in Asia Minor, is law-based and hereditary, and thus stable, but despotic and quite close to tyranny, because it favors the sovereign and does not have the consent of the subjects, as with Hieron of Syracuse (Pindar, *Ol.* 1.23; *Pyth.* 3.70, 85); it is a perversion of monarchy (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 8.12.1160b3). (3) Elective tyranny, as it existed among the ancient Greeks, was called *aisymneteia*; *aisymnetai* were lawmakers chosen (for a given term or for life) to put an end to civil discord and given extensive powers; such was Pittacus, one of the Seven Sages (Plato, *Hp. Ma.* 281 c; *Prt.* 343 a; *Resp.* 1.335 e; *P.Oxy.* 2506, frag 77). (4) The monarchy of the heroic age, the period of Heracles and Priam, was based on general consent and heredity but regulated by law. The founders of the dynasty were benefactors of the people;² their descendants inherited their power, led military operations, judged lawsuits, and presided over sacrifices that were not reserved for the priests. (5) Finally, there was absolute monarchy, under which “one person has authority over everything,” as in the domestic government, which is a kind of household monarchy (cf. *Rh.* 1.8.1365b37ff.). But it is more advantageous to be governed by the best laws than by the best person (cf. democracy).

During the Hellenistic period, Xenophon mentions the identification of the good shepherd and the good king (*Cyr.* 8.2.14), which is emphasized by Philo³ and many others. They are only repeating the image of the shepherd-king from the Code of Hammurabi⁴ and the designation of the sovereign as shepherd in Akkadian (*ré'u*) and in Sumerian (*sipa*), a royal and divine title in Egypt⁵ and in the Mediterranean world.⁶ Hence the abundant literature on the good king, beginning with the edicts of Asoka in third-century BC India (“king, friend of the gods, with a friendly look”),⁷ the Stoics Zeno, Cleanthes, Sphaerus, and Perseus, who wrote treatises *Peri basileias*,⁸ and also Diotogenes, Ecphantus, and Sthenidas, whose fragments are preserved in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus.⁹ Two main themes are expounded: monarchy is an institution of divine law, and the king is an image of God’s rule over the world. The king conforms to God, and the subjects imitate the king.

The papyri and the inscriptions exalt the title of *basileus* adopted around 334 by Alexander the Great (*I.Priene* I, 1) and preserved in the Antiochian and Egyptian monarchies. Antiochus I of Commagene was called “great king Antiochus the just god” (*basileos megas Antiochos theos dikaios*, *IGLS* I, 1–2) and even “king of kings” (*basileus basileon* III, 12–13; cf. A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 356, 363ff.). Not only is a king called “great” (*P.Oxy.* 2554, col. I, 13: *ho basileus megas*) but also “very great” (*P.Fouad* 16, 10: *hyper tou megistou basileos*; *BGU* 1816, 23), “eternal” (*PSI* 1314, 17), “most pious” (*P.Oxy.* 2267, 9), the “divinized”;¹⁰ oaths are sworn by him (*BGU* 1735–1740); furthermore, Zeus is venerated as *basileus*.¹¹ So

the friendship of kings is a grounds for pride,¹² and those who seek justice resort to them (*P.Yale* 46, col. I, 19; *P.Mert.* 5, 4; *P.Sorb.* 13, 1). It is the king who hears suits (*P.Yale* 42, 30) and gives verdicts (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 21, 14). He commands, and his *prostagmata* are “edicts.”¹³ If he is enriched by the collection of taxes,¹⁴ he is also a benefactor who gives generously.¹⁵ In return, places of prayer, an altar, a front hall in a temple, etc. are dedicated to him.¹⁶

Basilissa is a title of the goddess Isis (E. Bernand, *Fayoum*, n. 167, 3; 169, 6), but it is the ordinary term for the wife of a reigning sovereign.¹⁷ She is described as *kyria* (*SB* 7746, 33: *hyper tes kyrias basilisses*; 7944, 3), as a priestess (ibid. 8035 a 5–6: *hiereias basilisses Kleopatras theas*; 10763, 3; *hierateuouses basilisses*), and as a goddess (*te thea basilisse*, ibid. 6033, 2; 6156, 3; 6157, 1). Oaths are sworn by her as by the king (ibid. 6261, 13, *P.Sorb.* 32, 6; *P.Eleph.* 23, 10), and Antiochus III orders that worship be offered to “our sister, Queen Laodice.”¹⁸

It is common practice for a document to be dated by the year of the reign of the sovereign or “under the reign of” (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 9, 1), usually with the present participle of the verb *basileuo*, for example: “the twentieth year of Ptolemy’s reign.”¹⁹ But there is also the figurative statement that Nemesis became queen or began to reign over the world (*basileouosa tou kosmou*).²⁰

Basileia is sometimes “kingdom,”²¹ sometimes “reign,” “government” (“having received from his father the rule over Egypt and Libya,” *paralabon para tou patros ten basileian Aigyptou kai Libyes*, *SB* 8545, A 6; cf. 6003, 14; 8232, 3; 8858, 6; *P.Oxy.* 2899, 3; 2903, 7), sometimes described as “very happy.”²² Βασιλεία (as our word is accented, with an acute on the penult) should not be confused with βασιλία (accent on the antepenult).²³

The adjective *basileios*, “royal” (*Wis* 5:16), is rather rare,²⁴ *basilikos* on the other hand is extremely common, used especially with reference to the land belonging to the Lagids (*basilike ge*),²⁵ leased out to renters (*P.Rev.*, col. 26, 13; 33, 9–18), cultivated by royal farmers (*basilikos georgos*);²⁶ hence the “royal grain” (*P.Sorb.* 17 a 7, b 8) and the royal linens (*P.Rein.* 120, 3; 121, 3); *othonia* were a royal monopoly.²⁷ Everything pertaining to the sovereign was modified by this adjective,²⁸ notably the royal clerk or scribe (*basilikos grammateus*), who collaborated with the *strategos* and was an important official in the financial administration;²⁹ the royal law (*nomosbasilikos*, *Jas* 2:8), enacted by the sovereign;³⁰ the oath by the king (*basilikos horkos*, *P.Ryl.* 572, 55; 585, 43; *P.Lond.* 2188, 145; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 21, 23); the royal treasury (*to basilikon*, *P.Yale* 57, 13; *P.Lille* 14, 6–7; *C.Ord. Ptol.* 71, 10), made up of the revenues of the royal domains and taxes; or the royal stores, a grain warehouse (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59015); the royal bank or banker (*trapeza, trapezites basilike*) that receives all the money due the treasury.³¹ Finally, there is the praise implied in the designation of a person as *basilikotatos*.

The OT uses *melej* for king. The primitive meaning of this root is “to deliberate,” then “to decide”:³³ the king is the one who governs, who wields supreme power. The first mention of a king is religious: “Yahweh is King.” After the crossing of the Red Sea, Moses and the Israelites sing a victory chant: “He is King, Lord forever and ever.”³⁴ This is not a reference to some monarchical government, but rather to the exercise of absolute power³⁵ to protect and guide the chosen people (Mic 2:13; Ps 74:12); thus Yahweh is King of Israel.³⁶ Gideon proclaimed “It is the Lord that should be your sovereign” (Judg 8:23), meaning that Israel is the domain or kingdom over which God reigns and in the midst of which he resides (Ps 59:14), Zion being the “city of the great King” (Ps 48:3). As the object of the psalmists’ faith, adoration, and supplication, God is called “my King and my God” (Ps 5:2; 44:5; 68:25; 84:4; 145:1), “my Lord, our King” (Add Esth 14:3). The transcendence of this royalty is elaborated over the centuries. Yahweh is an *eternal* king, “for ever and ever,”³⁷ whose universal reign will have no end (Ps 66:7; 102:13; Dan 6:27). God is also called King of heaven³⁸ and of ages (Deut 9:26, LXX; Tob 13:7; 14:15). He is clothed in majesty (Ps 93:1), the King of glory (Ps 24:7, 10; 1Chr 29:11), sitting enthroned amid a court (Ps 29:10; 93:2; 103:19); so he alone is king (2Macc 1:24–25), King of kings (Dan 4:34), above all the gods (Ps 95:3–4) and king of the nations, which he rules (Jer 10:7; Ps 22:29; Pss 96–98). He directs the history of the world (Ps 33:13) because “all things are in his power” (Add Esth 13:9, 15; Ps 48:3ff.). As Lord of heaven and earth, he is “King of all things” (Tob 10:13, a). In his special role as King of the chosen people, whom he rewards for their faithfulness, Yahweh has an eschatological kingdom: “The Lord will reign over them forever and ever” (Wis 3:8); “the King of the world will resurrect us to a new life.”³⁹ We can see how the proclamation of this reign would cause the earth to rejoice (Ps 97:1) and how Rabbi Yochanan said “any blessing that is not contained in the kingdom is no real blessing” (*b.Ber.* 12a).

As for human royalty in Israel, certain texts that present it as the product of agitation by the people are unfavorable toward it (1Sam 8:1–22; 10:18–25; 12:15); but others that attribute the initiative to God are favorable.⁴⁰ In any event, this monarchy has a religious character.⁴¹ First of all, the king is enthroned in the sanctuary, where he is anointed (Ps 89:21, 39, 40); this anointing is the essential rite of coronation.⁴² Next, at the royal palace, where he is given the kingly insignia, he is acclaimed and the ranking officials pay him homage. From there the messengers depart, the “evangelists of joy”⁴³ who carry the news of the investiture into the countryside, where “the earth resounds with their shouts” (1Kgs 1:40). The Israelite king is essentially a proxy and representative of God, chosen by God to be his people’s leader and his own earthly assistant, the mediator of his gifts (2Sam 16:18; 2Chr 13:8). Obviously, the king must remain dependent on and obedient to God, not becoming puffed up with pride over

his brothers (Deut 17:20). He carries out justice (Jer 22:16). He needs his subjects' prayers (Ps 72:15), but he puts all his trust in Yahweh, who grants him his favor (Ps 21:8).

The NT mentions "the kings of the earth" (*hoi basileis tes ges*)⁴⁴ and "kings of the nations" (*hoi basileis ton ethnon*, Luke 22:25), who hold sway over their peoples and govern them.⁴⁵ It is commanded to honor them (1Pet 2:17), to obey them as sovereigns (2:13), and to pray for them and for all who hold authority,⁴⁶ for this authority is from God (John 19:11; Rom 13:1). The only true God is acclaimed late as "King of the ages, incorruptible, invisible,"⁴⁷ and in a doxology as "the blessed God . . . King of those who reign and Lord of those who have sovereignty."⁴⁸ On the other hand, Jesus at his birth is described by the magi as "King of the Jews" (Matt 2:2; cf. 27:11), that is, as Messiah. Nathaniel confesses him as "King of Israel" (John 1:49). After the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves, the crowd wanted "to take him and make him king" (John 6:15), and he was acclaimed as such on the occasion of his messianic entry at Jerusalem: "Your king comes to you" (Matt 21:5; Luke 19:38; John 12:13 = Zech 9:9). In the course of his trial before Pilate, Christ, accused of being King of the Jews, admits "I am a king" (John 18:37), but he adds that his kingdom is not of this world.⁴⁹ In fact, he will appear as a glorious king at his Parousia (Matt 25:34), "Lord of lords and King of kings" (Rev 17:14; 19:16). This is the belief of the primitive church, since at Thessalonica the Jews accuse the Christians of contravening "Caesar's edicts by saying that there is another king, Jesus" (Acts 17:7).

The expression "kingdom of God" (*basileia tou theou*) appears more than 130 times in the NT, and in a new way, especially in Matthew (50 times), whose theology as a whole is summed up by the phrase.⁵⁰ It is relatively rare in the Pauline epistles, where it is very close to the concept of justification; this evolution already suggests the variety of meaning of the formula. Jesus begins his preaching with these words: "The time is fulfilled (*pleroo*) and the reign of God has drawn near (*engiken*); repent and believe the gospel" (Mark 1:15). As the first phrase of this saying indicates, the proximity is temporal; but inasmuch as this reign comes in the person and the ministry of Jesus, the proximity is also spatial (cf. *P.Oxy.* 1202, 8; *P.Gen.* 74, 17; *P.Theod.* 17, 12) and we may also translate it as "is coming."⁵¹ Since the verb is in the perfect indicative, it means an extreme closeness, immediate imminence (J. Schlosser), even a presence ("It is here"), because the moment of this coming is at the actual beginning of the ministry of Jesus. The reign of God has thus indeed come at this point. This is confirmed by Luke 11:20; Matt 12:28, where the Lord concludes, "If I cast out demons by the finger of God, then the reign of God has come" (*ephthasen*). The verb *phthano*, which means "come before, precede" in classical Greek (cf. again 1Thess 4:15), in the Koine has the sense "arrive, come upon";⁵² here, given the aorist tense and the context, it can mean

only the actualization of a past fact whose consequences may be observed; “it expresses not proximity, however great, but effective contact, a presence that has become a reality,”⁵³ or better, a continued present. This curious link between coming, being close, and being present occurs in John 4:23; 5:25—“The hour is coming and now is.”⁵⁴ Finally, the *basileia entos hymon estin* (Luke 17:20-21), which can be taken either as “among you, in your midst,” meaning that the reign of God is present in Israel; or “in you,” meaning in each person who acts spiritually.⁵⁵

In any event, the reign is progressive and dynamic, like seed sown and growing on its own (Mark 4:26), or a mustard seed that becomes a large tree (Mark 4:30-32; Matt 13:31-32; Luke 13:18-19), or again leavening whose action is mysterious and independent of human action (Matt 13:33). It is given⁵⁶ as a demonstration of the Father’s love (*eudokesen*); and Jesus’ disciples are taught to pray that this reign, already inaugurated by him, might “come” to its full, universal blossoming;⁵⁷ it then becomes the kingdom of God on earth, a place that one *enters* to take possession of it (*eiserchesthai*, Matt 5:20; 7:21; 18:3; 19:23; 23:13). It is prepared from the creation (25:34), people are called to it (22:10), as to a wedding feast.⁵⁸

It is each person’s responsibility to respond to the invitation, to prepare, like the wise virgins (Matt 25:1-13); for “not everyone who says ‘Lord, Lord’ will enter into the kingdom of heaven” (Matt 7:21; Luke 6:46). A person does not enter the kingdom, does not receive the gospel, without having a little child’s qualities of openness and receptivity,⁵⁹ without being poor in spirit, that is, aware of one’s poverty.⁶⁰ These requirements are otherwise expressed as not looking back (Luke 9:62), as renunciation (Mark 9:43-47; Luke 18:29)—just as a person sells everything in order to purchase a pearl or gain possession of a treasure (Matt 13:44-46)—as becoming a eunuch if need be,⁶¹ as doing oneself violence and forcing one’s way (Luke 16:16; Matt 11:12-13). In essence, this amounts to being converted and believing (Mark 1:15), possessing a higher righteousness than that of the Pharisees (Matt 5:20; 6:25-33), that is, practicing brotherly love (Matt 18:23-25; cf. Jas 2:5) and being born from above (John 3:3, 5). In a word, it is not enough to wait expectantly for the reign or the kingdom; a total giving of oneself to the divine sovereign is required.

As a wheat field also has tares, so the kingdom of God on earth is composed of good and bad persons (Matt 13:24-30, 36-43, 47-50) and there is a hierarchy in its membership. Because of the excellence of the new dispensation, “the one who is least in the kingdom of God is greater than John the Baptist” (Luke 7:28; Matt 11:11). Publicans and prostitutes precede, enter ahead of (*proagousin*) the heirs of the old covenant.⁶² There are the small and the great (Matt 5:19-20). The keys of the kingdom are entrusted to Peter (Matt 16:17), the apostles are taught the mysteries of the *basileia*⁶³ that they must proclaim to all the world (Matt 10:6-8;

24:14), but the scribes and Pharisees shut up the way into these mysteries (Luke 11:52; Matt 23:13).

This reign of God, this kingdom of Christ, a place of blessedness (Luke^o4:15), is also eschatological and will have no end (Luke 1:33), is an unshakable kingdom (Heb 12:28), paradise (Luke 23:42), or heavenly glory (Matt 20:21; Mark 10:37). Inaugurated by the resurrection of Jesus, this life in the kingdom is comparable to an eternal banquet where guests beyond number from East and West (Matt 13:11) celebrate at Christ's table.⁶⁴

According to Acts 1:3 (cf. 1:6) Jesus discussed the reign of God with his apostles between the resurrection and the ascension, and this kingdom is also the theme of Philip's preaching (8:12) and of Paul's (19:8; 20:25; 28:23, 31). The latter points out that "it is through many tribulations that we must enter the kingdom of God." His epistles add nothing to the Synoptic theology, but they insist forcefully on the holiness of the members of the *basileia*, which cannot be inherited by the unjust.⁶⁵ A person must be worthy of this reward (2Thess 1:5), even though it is absolutely certain (2Pet 1:11). The emphasis is on the eschatological royalty of Christ (1Cor 15:24-25; 1Tim 4:1) as well as on the power of the reign of God.⁶⁶ Hence the acclamations in Revelation. Not only is Christ the "ruler of the kings of the earth" (Rev 1:5), and not only is he thanked for becoming king (11:17), but "he has made of us a kingdom, priests for God his Father" (1:6; 5:10), and his own "will reign as kings forever" (22:5; cf. 1:9). "The reign of our Lord and of his Christ has been established over the world, and he will reign forever and ever."⁶⁷

Basileuo, basileios. — The verb *basileuo*, "be king, reign" (Matt 2:22) has no special meaning in the NT, but it can have the nuance "become king, begin to reign"⁶⁸ and is used especially for Christ (Luke 1:33; 14:14, 27) and his victorious domination over his enemies (1Cor 15:25); for God (Rev 11:15); and for Christians (Rev 5:10; 20:4, 6).

As an adjective in the singular, *basileios* describes the "royal priesthood,"⁶⁹ but used as a substantive in the plural, it refers to a royal palace (Luke 7:25), beginning in Herodotus: Croesus lodges Solon *en toisi basileioisi*.⁷⁰ The adjective *basilikos*, much commoner in secular Greek, is applied to an official in the court of Antipas. The description "royal officer" (John 4:46, 49; D and several manuscripts have *basiliskos*) suggests that this is a ranking dignitary (cf. Plutarch, *Sol.* 27.3; Josephus, *Life* 149), as the Old Latin and the Vulgate interpret it (*regulus*, a king of a small country or person of royal blood). In Acts 12:20—"the land drew its subsistence from the king's land" (*apo tes basilikes*). An interesting usage is in Jas 2:8, which describes the precept concerning loving one's neighbor as the "royal law"; Jesus had called this the "great commandment" (*entole megale*, Matt 22:36). The expression is already used in Xenophon, *Oec.* 14.7 (*basilikoi nomoi* = laws enacted by the king) and Ps.-Plato, *Min.* 317 (*nomos esti basilikos* = all that is correct is royal law, i.e., is worthy of a statesman),⁷¹

but Philo is the one who gives it its theological elaboration: “the king is a living law” (*ton basilea nomon empsychon*, *Moses* 2.4); “piety is the queen of virtues” (*te basilidi ton areton*, *Spec. Laws* 4.147); “the sky is the king of the sensible realm . . . astronomy is the queen of the sciences” (*Prelim. Stud.* 50); the “royal road” is the way of perfection, of the word of God (*Post. Cain* 101–102; *Giants* 64; *Unchang. God* 144–145; 159–160; cf. Num 20:17), leading to the truth (*Migr. Abr.* 146). Consequently, if *basilike* refers to all that comes from the king (Josephus, *Ant.* 9.25), belongs to him, and concerns him (Philo, *Flight* 95, 100, 103; *Dreams* 1.163; *Moses* 2.99), then the “royal law” in Jas 2:8 will mean a precept enunciated by God (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.130) and imposing an absolute obligation. But we might also interpret it as prescribing the highest virtue, *agape*, the queen of all the others, or even as being addressed to the members, the heirs, of the kingdom of God.⁷² Finally, we cannot rule out a connotation of excellence;⁷³ “royal,” a synonym of “august,” is an excellent description of the king of commandments!

¹ The king is called “offspring of Zeus” (διογενής), *Il.* 1.279; 2.196, 205; 9.98–99. Cf. W. Westrup, “Le Roi de l’Odyssée,” in *Mélanges Fournier*, Paris, 1929, pp. 767–786; E. Janssens, “Royauté mycénienne et olympienne,” in *Le Pouvoir et le sacré*, Brussels, 1962, pp. 87–102. Cf. E. Peruzzi, “L’Origine minoenne du mot βασιλεύς,” in *Onomastica*, 1948, pp. 48–74; *Actes du Colloque international sur l’Idéologie monarchique dans l’Antiquité: Cracovie-Mogilany, du 23 au 26 octobre 1967*, Warsaw-Krakow, 1980.

² Cf. J. Bielawsky, M. Plezia, *Lettre d’Aristote à Alexandre sur la politique envers les cités*, Wrocław, 1970, pp. 67–70; R. Monier, G. Cardascia, J. Imbert, *Histoire des institutions et des faits sociaux*, Paris, 1955; J. Gaudemet, *Institutions de l’antiquité*, Paris, 1967.

³ *Joseph* 2: “The one who has learned the shepherd’s art well can be an excellent king, because he has been trained to guide the noblest flock of living beings, namely humans, on a subject matter worthy of less zeal”; *Moses* 1.60–61: “Moses, after he was married, led flocks out to pasture, thus also carrying out an apprenticeship in government, because the care of flocks is a preparatory exercise for the monarchy.... So kings are called ‘shepherds of flocks’ . . . a sublime honor”; *Husbandry* 41–48; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 49–51; *To Gaius* 44: Caligula “like a shepherd has charge of a flock.” Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, “Le Psaume 151,” in *Sem*, vol. 14, 1961, pp. 45ff. P. Bogaert, *Apocalypse syr. de Baruch*, Paris, 1969, vol. 2, p. 153; O. Betz, “Die Frage nach dem messianischen Bewußtsein Jesu,” in *NovT*, 1963, p. 39, n. 1; W. Tooley, “The Shepherd and Sheep Image in the

Teaching of Jesus,” *ibid.*, 1964, pp. 15–25; L. Sabourin, *Les Noms et les titres de Jésus*, Bruges-Paris, 1963, pp. 71ff.; A. J. Simonis, *Die Hirtenrede im Johannes-Evangelium*, Rome, 1967; F. Martin, “The Image of Shepherd in the Gospel of Saint Matthew,” in *ScEs*, 1975, pp. 261–301; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 235ff. J. Dauvillier, *Les Temps apostoliques*, Paris, 1970, pp. 147ff. — God is “shepherd and king” (Philo, *Husbandry* 49–54; R. Le Déaut, *Nuit Pascale*, p. 100, n. 84).

⁴ Code of Hammurabi, col. 1.50–51; 24.42–43: “I am the shepherd who brings salvation . . . I have held the peoples of Sumer and Akkad in my bosom”; 24.49–52.

⁵ M. J. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, Paris, 1967, pp. 244ff., 441ff. D. Müller, “Der Gute Hirte,” in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 1961, pp. 126ff.

⁶ βασιλεύς (J.-L. Perpillou, *Les Substantifs grecs en -εύς*, Paris, 1973, n. 3.15.49). According to Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* 3.1089, “Deucalion was the first to be king over men,” but cf. Plutarch, *Dem.* 10.3: “The Athenians were the first of all men to confer on Demetrius and Antigonus the title of king, but they had scruples about accepting, because of all the royal titles that the descendants of Alexander and Philip seemed to possess, this was the only one that remained inaccessible and incapable of being passed on to others”; cf. 18.1–7; A. Aymard, “L’Usage du titre royal dans la Grèce classique et hellénistique,” in *RHDFE*, 1949, pp. 579–590; C. Préaux, *Le Monde hellénistique*, Paris, 1978, pp. 181–294; the articles of R. Turcan, J. C. Richard, D. Fishwick, in *ANRW*, vol. 16, 2.

⁷ *I.Asok.*

⁸ The *Letter of Aristeas* draws inspiration from Stoic ideology (D. Mendels, “‘On Kingship’ in the ‘Temple Scroll’ and the Ideological *Vorlage* of the Seven Banquets in the ‘Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates,’” in *Aeg*, 1979, pp. 127–136); cf. Plutarch, *Ad princ. iner.*; Aelius Aristides, *Orat.* 9; Synesius, *De Regno*, an address by the bishop of Ptolemais to Emperor Arcadius (C. Lacombrade, *Le Discours sur la royauté de Synésios de Cyrène*, Paris, 1951). Cf. L. François, “Julien et Dion Chrysostome: Les Περὶ βασιλείας et le second panégyrique de Constance,” in *REG*, 1915, pp. 467ff. V. Vademberg, “La Théorie monarchique de Dion Chrysostome,” *REG*, 1927, pp. 142ff. E. Goodenough, “The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship,” in *YCS*, vol. 1, 1928, pp. 65ff.

⁹ *Flor.*, vol. 4, chapters 6–7, pp. 238–295. Cf. L. Delatte, *Les Traités de la royauté d’Ecphante, Diotogène et Sthénidas*, Paris, 1942. Demetrius of

Alexandria (275–194 BC) wrote a work on the kings of Judah (cf. C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. 3, 214, 224; B. Z. Wacholder, “Biblical Chronology in the Hellenistic World Chronicles,” in *HTR*, 1968, pp. 451–481). Musonius states that kings must philosophize (frag. 8), i.e., in the language of the period, must be both virtuous and intelligent.

¹⁰ *BGU* 1764, 8: the *tyche* of the god and lord king; 1767, 1; 1768, 9; 1789; 1834, 7; 1845, 6; *P.Dura* 18, 1, 12, 13: an act of donation “under the reign of the king of kings Arsaces, the beneficent, the just, a manifest god and friend of the Greeks”; 19, 1; 20, 1; 22, 1–2; *P.Oxy.* 2478, 1: τοῦ θειοτάτου; *SB* 10697, 7: τοῦ θιοτάτου βασιλέως ἡμῶ—ν; H. Engelmann, *I.Ephes.*, IV, 1333, 12. Chronology is a function of the royal reign (*P.Hib.* 198, 199, 201, 202, 205, 209, etc.; *P.Lond.* 1912, 59, 67; 1913, 4; 1914, 30; *P.Mil.* 29, 2, 8, 14). A. Aymard, “Le Protocole royal et son évolution,” in *REA*, 1948, pp. 232–263.

¹¹ At Lebadaia; cf. *NCIG*, n. 22, A 30.

¹² Apollonius is “a benefactor who has been honored by the friendship of kings” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. VI, 25); “Diazelmis, honored by kings” (ibid. X, 15). Cf. “Alexander, king of Macedonia, begotten by Ammon” (LXXI, 27); “There is only one Caesar, one great emperor, only one master, only one sovereign (εἷς βασιλεύς)” (LXXI, 27); “Mandoulis, sovereign over all” (CLXVI, 18); “the lion, the king of the animals” (CXXX, 5).

¹³ *P.Genova* 54, 6; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 1, 1; 2, 6; 5, 1; 6, 1; 8, 1; 11, 1; etc. *BGU* 1730, 1. King Antigonus entrusts to Epinicus the guard of the citadel of Rhamnus (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, XIX, 5–6). The councillors of king Eumenes II of Pergamum send him a copy of the decree inscribed on the base of his statue (ibid. XI, 22). Taxes are paid to the king (*P.Mich.* 200, recto 27). Cf. C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*.

¹⁴ According to Diodorus Siculus 17.52, he received more than six thousand talents from Alexandria; cf. Appian, *Praef.* 10.

¹⁵ *NCIG*, VII, col. I, 4, 9, 14. He gives tax exemptions (ibid. col. II, 2); he provides for defense against enemies (ibid. VI, 16, 17, 46); founds many institutions; grants *proxenia* (E. Bernand, *Philae*, n. 128, 17, etc.). An archon-king, assisted by four *epimeleteis*, supervises the celebration of the mysteries (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 57.1). An eponymous official can be called *basileus* (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 57, 22; 1011, 13; 1037, 6; *I.Chalced.* 7, 1; 19, 2; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 2, Paris, 1946, pp. 51, 53, 63; vol. 8, pp. 76–77). At Miletus, a college of *basileis* worked with the treasurer to sell

priesthoods (*NCIG*, VII, col. III, 16); at Chios, it protects the property around the sanctuary (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 986, 8).

¹⁶ E. Bernand, *Fayoum*, n. 1, 2, 3, 4, 83, 84.

¹⁷ *P.Berl.Zill.* I, 38, 57, 64; *BGU* 1730; 1735, 3; 1736, 3; 1738, 4; 1739, 3; *P.Tebt.* 43, 1; 78, 13; 86, 39; 106, 3; 124, 1; *P.Köln* 81, 3, 9, 12; *SB* 6668, 2; 7172, 32; 7783, 1; 7879, 3; *SEG XXVII*, 1206. *Basilissa* describes the sister of King Ptolemy II, hence a nonreigning member of the royal family (Dittenberger, *Or.* 35, 1; third century BC).

¹⁸ L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 7, Paris, 1949, pp. 7–29.

¹⁹ *P.Sorb.* 14 a 1; 17 a 1; 21, 1, 10; 32, 1; *P.Köln* 50, 17; 51, 1; 81, 1; *P.Corn.* 2, 1; *P.Dura* 18, 1; 19, 1; 20, 1; 22, 1; 24, 1; *P.Mert.* 6, 3; *P.Mich.* 190, 1; *P.Oslo* 16, 1; *PSI* 1016, 16; 1018, 5; 1822, 9; 1824, 1; 1825, 9; *SB* 10859, 1; 11053, 1; 11054; *MAMA VI*, 154, 1; *CII*, n. 683, 1; 690, 2–3; 691, 1. Cf. *Stud.Pal.* V, 125, col. II, 3: ε—πὶ μὲν διατρίβοντός σου ε—πὶ τῆς βασιλευούσης Ῥώμης; *PSI* 965, 4 (cf. Rev 18:7).

²⁰ *IGUR*, n. 182. In this sense, an *agraphon* of an utterance of Jesus: “surprised, he will reign, and having gotten the royal power, he will rest” (θαμβηθεὶς βασιλεύσει καὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαήσεται, *P.Oxy.* 654, 8); this *logion* derives from *Gos. Thom.* 3: “He who seeks must not stop seeking until he finds; and when he finds, he will be bewildered; and if he is bewildered, he will marvel, and will be king over the All”; cf. R. Kasser, *L’Evangile selon Thomas*, Neuchâtel, 1961, pp. 29ff.

²¹ “Let none of the subjects of the kingdom be subjected to annoyances contrary to the order” (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 45, 8; cf. 53, 3). Decree of Antiochus III: “Let high priests be appointed for us throughout the whole empire” (κατὰ βασιλείαν, J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XXX, 21).

²² *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 132, 396; *P.Oxy.* 1257, 7; *SB* 7634, 31; 8699, 3. Beginning with the fifth century, *basileia* is usually used for chronological notes: βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶ—ν δεσπότης Φλαουίου Ἡρακλείου (*P.Alex.* 35, 2; 37, 2; *P.Mich.* 607, 1; *P.Warr.* 10, 2; *P.Ant.* 42, 1; *BGU* 1764, 5; *P.Athen.* 40, 3; *P.Berl.Zill.* 7, 1; *P.Erl.* 73, 4; 87, 2; *C.P.Herm.* 65, 2; *P.Princ.* 87, 3; *P.Stras.* 190, 2; 247, 1; 328, 2; 484, 3; *SB* 6271, 2; etc.). In the Rosetta Stone (Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 43) the *basileiai* are crowns or ornaments: “let the lavatory be crowned with ten headdresses of the king’s gold” (τὰς τοὺς βασιλέως χρυσα—ς βασιλείας δέκα, cf. Diodorus Siculus 1.48).

²³ At Lebadaia, εἰς τὰ βασιλεία refers to a Boeotian athletic meet: “the report of the *taxiarchoi* sent to the βασιλεία concerning the sacrifice that they offered” (*NCIG*, n. II, 10), a feast in honor of Zeus Basileus in memory of the victory of Leuctra in 371 (cf. M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 1, pp. 131–142); n. XXII a 20: “Xenarchus . . . *agonothetes* of the *basileia*”; c 47: “the judges of admission to the *basileia*”; cf. *SEG XXVII*, 1114. But Isis is “queen of the gods” (E. Bernard, *Fayoum*, n. 175, col. I, 1; II, 12).

²⁴ *SB* 8246, 48; 8299, 45; 10453, 3: βασιλείω διοικητῆ; it refers to a type of fig in *P.Fouad* 77, 17 and a royal residence at Philadelphia (*P.Lond.* 1974, 9: ε—ν τοι—ς βασιλείοις; cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59664, 1–2: καὶνὰ βασιλει—α), the palace of the satrap Saitaphernes (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 495, 45), the scepter (*P.Lond.* 46, 448; vol. 1, p. 79).

²⁵ *CIG* III, 4860; *P.Athen.* 44, 5; *P.Berl.Zill.* 1, 37; 2, 20; *P.Brem.* 36, 6; *P.Yale* 53, 9; *P.Köln* 137, 33; *P.Mich.* 555, 6, 8, 13; 557, 7; 564, 9; *P.Mert.* 5, 22, 25, 27; 11, 7; *P.Aberd.* 49, 4; 50, 5; *P.Got.* 2, 5; *P.Phil.* 1, 38; 15, 9; *P.Oxy.* 2410, 10; 3205, 13; *P.Lond.* 2188, 209, 335; *P.NYU* 20, 9, 10, 16; 21, 19; *SB* 10880, 7; 10881, 8; 10891, col. I, 13, etc. Cf. C. Préaux, *Economie royale*, p. 68.

²⁶ *P.Yale* 53, 4; *P.Tebt.* 786, 3–4; 788, 21 (C. Préaux, *Economie royale*, pp. 438, 553). Cf. γεωργία βασιλική, *P.Oxy.* 2134, 23; 2722, 32; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 9, 25; *SB* 11233, 44.

²⁷ Cf. βασιλικὸς ἔλαιον, *Papyrus* 23, 28 (in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, Paris, 1865, XVIII, p. 269); C. Préaux, *Economie royale*, p. 76. Royal lodgings (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 1, 4), royal public sales (22, 15), “sacred and royal affairs” (*SEG* I, 363, 33); arrangements (βασιλικά διατάξεις, *SB* 10797, 4).

²⁸ Cf. a royal favor, κατὰ χάριν βασιλικήν (*IGUR*, n. 240, 14).

²⁹ *P.Laur.* 66, 2; 63, 1; *P.Köln* 86, 2; 94, 15; *BGU* 1626, 8; *P.Oxy.* 1219, 15; 2409, 6; *P.Mich.* 526, 1; *P.Bon.* 12 g verso 2; *P.Brem.* 2, 9; 28, 23; 41, 26; *P.Phil.* 6, 1; 8, 3; *P.Sorb.* 43, 2; *P.Mur.* 117, 11; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 18, 2; 36, 2; *P.Oxy.* 5 a 12. A. Bernard, *Philae*, n. 19, 24; cf. *P.Vindob.Worp*, p. 19.

³⁰ A. Deissmann (*Light*, p. 362, n. 5) cites a law from Pergamum on the *astynomia*: τὸν βασιλικὸν νόμον ε—κ τω—ν ι—δίωιν ἀνέθηκεν.

³¹ *P.Giss.*, col. III, 18; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 577, 17 (C. Préaux, *Economie royale*, pp. 280ff.; R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, pp. 39, 89–90); cf. the “Royal Street” (ῥύμη βασιλική, *P.Lond.* 2191, 44).

³² *IGUR*, n. 166, 4. Cf. E. Bernand, *Fayoum*, n. 71, 17: βασιλικὴν τιμὴν, “royal dignity.”

³³ M. J. Lagrange, “Le Règne de Dieu dans l’Ancien Testament,” in *RB*, 1908, pp. 36–51; P. Haupt, “The Hebrew Word *melek*: Counsel,” in *JBL*, 1915, pp. 54ff. J. Bonsirven, *Le Règne de Dieu*, Paris, 1957, pp. 11ff. R. Schnackenburg, *God’s Rule*; J. Coppens, “Règne de Dieu: Ancien Testament,” in *DBSup*, vol. 10, col. 1–58. J. Carmignac, *Le Mirage de l’eschatologie*, Paris, 1979, pp. 13ff. (gives the bibliography). *Maljût* is the reign, *mamlajâh* the kingdom, *melûjah* the monarchy but also the kingdom and sometimes the reign. Likewise, the Greek βασιλεία sometimes means royalty (the dignity of the king; cf. Josephus, *War* 1.19, 74), sometimes the exercise of royal power (reign; cf. *War* 1.70, 72), and even the land or people over whom the king’s authority is exercised, i.e., the kingdom. See also E. LipiĚski, *La Royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l’ancien Israël*, Brussels, 1965.

³⁴ Exod 15:18; cf. Ps 22:23; 99:1, 4; Mal 1:14—“I am a great king, says Yahweh of Hosts.” The bibliography is immense; apart from the works already cited, see especially O. Eissfeldt, *Jahwe als König*, in *ZAW*, 1928, pp. 81–105; H. J. Kraus, *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im A. T.*, Tübingen, 1951; E. LipiĚski, “Yahweh mâlak,” in *Bib*, 1963, pp. 405–460; idem, *La Royauté de Yahwé*, Brussels, 1965; G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, pp. 291ff. F. Beisser, *Das Reich Gottes*, Göttingen, 1976; B. D. Chilton, “Regnum Dei Deus Est,” in *SJT*, 1978, pp. 261–270; J. Gray, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Reign of God*, Edinburgh, 1979.

³⁵ Num 23:21; Deut 33:5. Cf. P. Biard, *La Puissance de Dieu*, Paris, 1960; C. H. Powell, *The Biblical Concept of Power*, London, 1963.

³⁶ Isa 24:23; 33:22; 41:21; 43:15; 44:6; Zech 14:9, 16; Ps 149:2; cf. “your God reigns” (Isa 52:7; Obad 21).

³⁷ Exod 15:18; Isa 41:21; Ps 10:16; 29:10; 145:12–13; 146:10; 2Kgs 19:15; 2Chr 20:6; Add Esth 14:12; Jer 10:10; Wis 3:7; Dan 2:44; 7:14; 2Macc 3:24; 7:9; 12:15.

³⁸ Dan 4:34; Tob 1:18 (a); 13:6, 11; Isa 6:5—“my eyes have seen the King, Yahweh of Hosts”; 44:6; 52:7.

³⁹ 2Macc 7:9; Prov 9:6 (LXX). Cf. J. Coppens, *La Relève apocalyptique du Messianisme royal: I. La Royauté, le Règne, le Royaume de Dieu cadre de la relève apocalyptique*, Louvain, 1979; J. Gray, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Reign of God*, pp. 182ff., 225ff.

⁴⁰ 1Sam 9:1-10:16; 11:1-11, 15; 13:14. (R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, pp. 94ff. P. Gibert, *La Bible à la naissance de l'histoire: Au temps de Saül, David et Salomon*, Paris, 1979). If Nathan's prophecy gives sacral legitimacy to the throne of David (H. van den Bussche, "Le Texte de la prophétie de Nathan sur la dynastie davadique," in *ETL*, 1948, pp. 354–394), the institution of the monarchy was still in an embryonic stage in Saul's time (*melej*, 1Sam 11:15); Saul was hardly more than the chief of a clan, having no defined territory, although he had a "king's rights" (1Sam 8:11-17; his rights were put in writing, 10:25).

⁴¹ J. de Fraine, *L'Aspect religieux de la Royauté israélite*, Rome, 1954; E. Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament*, trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock, New York, 1958, pp. 234–239; G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, vol. 1, pp. 38ff. Cf. R. Labat, *Le Caractère religieux de la Royauté assyro-babylonienne*, Paris, 1939. N. D. Mettinger, *The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings*, Lund, 1976.

⁴² Once anointed, the king is called "son of God" (2Sam 7:14; Ps 2:7), adopted by Yahweh (cf. G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, vol. 1, pp. 320ff., vol. 2, pp. 169ff., 312ff.). This unction establishes a special relationship between the king and God, a participation of the king in the holiness of the one whose Spirit he has received (1Sam 10:10); thus the king becomes inviolable (1Sam 24:7, 11; 26:9, 11, 16, 23; 2Sam 1:14-16; 19:22). So it could be said that this unction, which confers a grace, is a sacrament that establishes the king of Israel as God's vassal (R. de Vaux, "Le Roi d'Israël, vassal de Iahvé," in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, pp. 119–133). The anointing becomes a characteristic of the messianic King (Jer 23:5; Ezek 37:25; Zech 9:9ff.), "Servant" of God par excellence, or Son of Man (Dan 7:13), causing the rights of Yahweh to triumph on earth, bringing peace through his reign (Isa 7:10-17; 11:1-8; 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-11; 52:13-53:12; Mic 5:1; Ps 72:12-14). To express the extent to which "Yahweh's anointing" is a source of life, Lam 4:20 calls it "the breath of our nostrils"!

⁴³ Isa 52:7; 40:9; Zech 9:9; cf. 2Sam 15:10; 2Kgs 9:13.

⁴⁴ Matt 17:25; Acts 4:26; 9:15; Rev 1:5; 6:15; 17:2; such as Pharaoh, king of Egypt (Acts 7:10) and Aretas (2Cor 11:32); cf. Rev 16:14—"the kings of the whole world." The *basilissa* of Sheba or of the South (Matt 12:42; Luke

11:31), the Candace (= “queen”) of Ethiopia (Acts 8:27). Babylon: “I am seated as queen” (Rev 18:7).

⁴⁵ Luke 22:25; Rev 17:12. As administrators (Matt 18:23; cf. R. Sugranyes de Franch, *Etudes sur le droit palestinien à l’époque évangélique*, Fribourg, 1946), kings execute justice (Matt 10:18; Mark 13:9; Luke 21:12), collect taxes (Matt 17:25), wage war (Luke 14:31), and live in luxury (Matt 11:8; 22:2, 7, 11, 13). The holy kings of Israel, like David (Matt 1:6; Acts 13:22), are linked with the prophets in their messianic hope (Luke 10:24).

⁴⁶ 1Tim 2:1-2: “Let supplication be made . . . for kings.” These *basileis* are all territorial rulers, whether of lands, towns, large cities, or kingdoms (cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, p. 359) and can include the emperor (inscriptions from Argos and Ephesus, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1951, n. 32, 65; 1952, n. 137; *GVI*, n. 514; L. Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich*, Paderborn, 1937). Acts 8:27 uses Candace as a proper name for the *basilisse* of the Ethiopians, but it is actually a title of the Ethiopian sovereigns (*ka[n]take* or *ka[n]dakit*), like Pharaoh in Egypt. This queen might be the same as the one who reigned at Meroë under Nero (Pliny, *HN* 6.186). In a lease from Olymos, there is a βασιλεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶ—ν Καρῶ—ν, king of the Carian confederation (L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 571, n. 2); the city of Istros is under the protection of the *basileus* Rhemaxus (D. M. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora*, Budapest-Amsterdam, 1975, pp. 33, 124, 153, 169, 175, 197). Cf. the kings of Thrace (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 762, 22–25), Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia (Plutarch, *Ant.* 61.1–2), Mithridates king of Pontus (*REG*, 1936, pp. 17–37; cf. Plutarch, *Ant.* 38.3), Pharnaces king of the Bosphorus (*CIRB*, n. 28), Burebistas king of Dacia (Strabo 7.3.11; cf. 7.5.2), Voccio king of Norica (Caesar, *BGall.* 1.53.4; *BCiv.* 1.18.5), the Celtic kings Balanos and Catmelus (Livy 44.14.1; cf. 41.1.8; 43.5; cf. P. W. A. Immink, “Gouvernés et gouvernants dans la société germanique,” in *Gouvernés et gouvernants*, Recueils J. Bodin, vol. 23, Brussels, 1968, pp. 365ff.). J. Dobias, “King Marobodius as a Politician,” in *Klio*, 1959, pp. 155–166. In Spain, cf. R. Etienne, *Le Culte impérial dans la Péninsule Ibérique d’Auguste à Dioclétien*, Paris, 1958, pp. 51ff., 75ff., 88, etc. In the inscriptions, cf. J. Marcillet-Jaubert, A. M. Vérilhac, *Index du Bulletin Epigraphique de J. et L. Robert*, 1966–1973, Paris, 1979, p. 39.

⁴⁷ 1Tim 1:17 (cf. Tob 13:7; Sir 36:17; C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, p. 346). Jerusalem is “the city of the Great King” (Ps 47:3). Cf. P. Brunner, “Elemente einer dogmatischen Lehre von Gottes Basileia,” in *Die Zeit Jesu: Festschrift H. Schlier*, Freiburg, 1970, pp. 228, 256.

⁴⁸ 1Tim 6:15; Rev 15:3—Almighty God is “King of the nations.” On the other hand, the grasshoppers (images of demons) have over them as their king the Angel of the Pit (Rev 9:11).

⁴⁹ John 18:36; cf. verses 33, 37; 19:12, 14: “Behold your king”; verse 15: “Shall I crucify your king?” (J. Blank, “Die Verhandlung vor Pilatus Joh. XVIII, 28–XIX, 16 im Lichte johan. Theologie,” in *BZ*, 1959, pp. 60–81; A. George, “La Royauté de Jésus selon l’Evangile de saint Luc,” in *Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, 1962, pp. 57–70; J. Bosc, *L’Office royal du Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, Geneva, 1957). This proclamation of royalty was official and would be inscribed as the *titulus* on the cross (Matt 27:37; Mark 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26; Luke 23:3, 37–38; John 18:39; 19:3, 15, 19, 21); the soldiers make mockery of it (Matt 27:29), and at Calvary the high priests ridicule it: “He is the king of Israel!” (Matt 27:42; Mark 15:32).

⁵⁰ This *basileia* basically refers to God’s rights as sovereign over his creatures. The formula “kingdom of heaven” does not mean a kingdom that is in heaven but results from Jewish scruples about uttering the divine name (cf. Dan 4:23; 1Macc 3:18–19; Luke 15:18, 21; Str-B, vol. 1, pp. 172–184). J. Carmignac and R. Schnackenburg give the bibliography; especially worth mention are H. Schlier, “Reich Gottes und Kirche,” in *Studia Catholica*, Nijmegen, 1957, pp. 178–189; F. C. Grant, “The Idea of the Kingdom of God in the New Testament,” in *The Sacral Kingship* (Supplements to *Numen*, vol. 4), Leiden, 1959, pp. 437–446; W. Dantine, “Regnum Christi—Gubernatio Dei,” in *TZ*, 1959, pp. 195–208; S. Aalen, “‘Reign’ and ‘House’ in the Kingdom of God in the Gospels,” in *NTS*, vol. 8, 1961, pp. 215–240; G. Lundström, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, Richmond, 1963; N. Perrin, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, London, 1963; H. Merklein, *Die Gottesherrschaft als Handlungsprinzip: Untersuchungen zur Ethik Jesu*; Würzburg, 1978; B. D. Chilton, *God in Strength: Jesus’s Announcement of the Kingdom*, Freistadt, 1979; K. Koch, “Offenbaren wird sich das Reich Gottes,” in *NTS*, vol. 25, 1979, pp. 158–165; S. Ruager, “Das Reich Gottes und die Person Jesu,” in *Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum*, vol. 3, Frankfurt, 1979; Margaret Pamment, “The Kingdom of God According to the First Gospel,” in *NTS*, 1981, pp. 211–232; especially J. Schlosser, *Le Règne dans les dits de Jésus*, vols. 1–2, Paris, 1980; A. Feuillet, “Règne de Dieu, III: Evangiles synoptiques,” in *DBSup*, vol. 10, col. 61–165.

⁵¹ R. F. Berkey, “ε—γγίζειν, φθάνειν and Realized Eschatology,” in *JBL*, 1963, pp. 177–187. In the LXX, the verb ε—γγίζω sometimes translates the Hebrew *naga’* or the Aramaic *meta’*, meaning “reach, attain to” (Jer 51:9; Jonah 3:6; Ps 32:6; 88:3; 107:18; Dan 4:11, 22), but usually it translates the Hebrew *qarab* in the sense “arrive” (1Kgs 8:59; Lam 4:18; Ps 118:169;

1Macc 9:10); P. Joüon, “Notes philologiques sur les Evangiles,” in *RSR*, 1927, pp. 537–540; C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, London, 1935, pp. 44ff. J. Gray, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Reign of God*, pp. 317ff.

⁵² LXX, Philo, *T. 12 Patr.*, *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VI, 30; VII, 42; 935, 20; 1666, 3; *P.Tebt.* 417, 10; *P.Flor.* 9, 9. In NT usage, φθάνω means to come upon someone, to come at a set time (1Thess 2:16; Rom 9:31; 2Cor 10:14; Phil 3:16).

⁵³ J. Schlosser, *Le Règne dans les dits de Jésus*, p. 138. The actual coming is not visible, cannot be observed: οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως (NT hapax, Luke 17:20; cf. R. Le Déaut, *Nuit Pascale*, pp. 272ff.), like an astronomical phenomenon; we cannot be on the lookout for it, because it is spiritual and is not within our reach. Sometimes it is interpreted “the kingdom comes unawares,” cf. *Gos. Thom.* 113: “The kingdom does not come when expected.”

⁵⁴ Ἐρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐ—στιν; John 16:32: ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ ἐ—λήλυθεν (cf. Rom 13:11-12; 1John 2:18). This is not a Semitism, cf. Polybius 4.40.10: ἔσται δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν Πόντον παραπλήσιον· καὶ γίνεται νῦν.

⁵⁵ Cf. A. Rüston, “ἐ—ντός ὑμῶ—ν ἐ—στίν: Zur Deutung von Lukas XVII, 20–21,” in *ZNW*, 1960, pp. 197–224; R. Sneed, “The Kingdom of God is Within You (Lc. XVII, 21),” in *CBQ*, 1962, pp. 363–382. J. Schlosser (*Le Règne dans les dits de Jésus*, p. 201ff.) notes that ἐ—ντός followed by the genitive can mean (1) “within, inside” in a temporal sense (a time period not to be exceeded, *P.Oxy.* 724, 11; 728, 18; 1278, 26) or in a local sense (inside a wall, Josephus, *War* 2.531, 632; 4.8, 564), inside a person (Ps 39:3; 109:22), like entrails (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.304; 4.80); within the reach of, in the power of (*P.Oxy.* 1274, 13; 2342, 1, 7, 8; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 1, 8–9). Finally “in the midst of” (analogous to ἐ—ν μέσῳ), cf. Herodotus 7.100.3; Thucydides 8.5.3; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.315; (2) as an attribute of *basileia*: deep down inside (E. Delebecque, *Evangile de Luc*, on this text); “in you” as a reality that is imminent and already present.

⁵⁶ Luke 12:32—δοῦναι ὑμῖ—ν; Matt 21:43. W. Pesch, “Zur Formgeschichte und Exegese von Lk XII,” in *Bib*, 1960, pp. 25–40.

⁵⁷ Luke 11:2—ἐ—λθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου. Manuscript D introduces this petition with ἐ—φ ἡμα—ς (“that upon us may come”), which must be a liturgical addition, since it loses the focus on the wishes on God; it breaks the symmetry with “Hallowed be thy name” and “thy will be done” (cf. J. Carmignac, *Recherches sur le ‘Notre Père’*, Paris, 1969, pp. 90ff.). This monarchy over souls, triumphing over hostile powers, is a coming of God

(Isa 35:4; 40:9; 66:15, 18; Zech 14:5; Mal 3:1-2), the more and more stable and universal establishing of his sovereignty; cf. J. Jeremias, *Abba*, pp. 151–171. — The destruction of Jerusalem, freeing Israel's gospel to bring salvation to the Gentiles, will be a triumphant coming of the reign (Matt 16:28; Mark 9:1; Luke 9:27), one of its "advents" (cf. M. Künzi, *Das Naherwartungslogion Markus IX, 1 par.*, Tübingen, 1977).

⁵⁸ Matt 22:2ff.; 25:10ff. Cf. M. J. Lagrange, *Matthieu*, pp. CLff.

⁵⁹ Mark 10:14-15; Matt 19:14; Luke 18:17-17. Cf. S. Légasse, *Jésus et l'enfant*, Paris, 1969, pp. 187ff. J. Dupont, "Matthieu XIII, 3: ε—άν μὴ στραφῆτε καὶ γένησθε ὡς τὰ παιδιά," in *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of M. Black*, Edinburgh, 1969, pp. 50–60; J. I. H. McDonald, "Receiving and Entering the Kingdom: A Study of Mark X, 15," in E. A. Livingstone, *SE*, vol. 6, Berlin, 1973, pp. 328–332.

⁶⁰ Matt 5:3; Luke 6:20. The rich have difficulty entering the kingdom because they do not feel their need of God (Mark 10:23-25; Matt 19:23-24; Luke 18:24-25).

⁶¹ Matt 19:12. Cf. "—Εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι," in *ZNW*, 1957, pp. 254–270.

⁶² Matt 21:31, 43. Cf. S. Légasse, "Jésus et les prostituées," in *RTL*, 1976, pp. 137–154.

⁶³ Mark 4:11; Matt 13:11; Luke 8:10. These "secrets" are those of the divine economy, of the making up of a new people, of the forgiveness of sins, of the sharing in the very life of God. These divine intentions can only be known through revelation.

⁶⁴ Mark 14:25; Matt 26:29; Luke 22:16, 18, 29, 30. Jesus, in announcing his imminent death, uses this eschatological logion to express the certainty of his triumph over death and his exaltation, perhaps also "the new paschal rite, i.e., the Church" (P. Benoit, *Exégèse et théologie*, p. 198). Cf. M. Rese, "Zur Problematik von Kurz- und Langtext in Luk. XXII, 17ff.," in *NTS*, vol. 22, 1975, pp. 15–31. On the characteristics that permit to a certain extent equating the church and the kingdom of Christ, cf. J. Bonsirven, *Le Règne de Dieu*, pp. 187–200; H. Schlier, "Reich Gottes und Kirche"; R. Schnackenburg, *God's Rule*, pp. 259–270 (urges caution); J. Gray, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Reign of God*, pp. 369ff.; B. Gloege, *Reich Gottes und Kirche im N.T.*, Gütersloh, 1929.

⁶⁵ 1Cor 4:9-10; Gal 5:21; Eph 5:5; cf. Col 1:13. The kingdom is completely spiritual: God reigns in our midst through the virtues and his gifts (Rom

14:17); 1Cor 15:50, cf. J. Jeremias, “Flesh and Blood Cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God,” in *NTS*, vol. 2, 1956, pp. 151–159. Christ’s scepter is a scepter of righteousness (Heb 1:8). E. Cothenet, “Règne de Dieu, IV: Epîtres pauliennes,” in *DBSup*, vol. 10, col. 165–187.

⁶⁶ 1Cor 4:20—οὐ ἐ—ν λόγῳ . . . ἀλλ’ ἐ—ν δυνάμει: the virtues of the faithful as well as the community’s progress are present realizations of the power of God. 2Tim 4:18—God saves by bringing his faithful one into his eternal kingdom; cf. R. Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus*, Göttingen, 1967, p. 33.

⁶⁷ Rev 11:15; cf. 12:10. P. Prigent, “Le Temps et le Royaume dans l’Apocalypse,” in J. Lambrecht, *L’Apocalypse johannique et l’Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, Gembloux-Louvain, 1980, pp. 231–245.

⁶⁸ Rev 11:17; 19:5. It is used metaphorically when it is said that sin and death reign (Rom 5:14, 17, 21; 6:12), i.e., establish their dominion, wielding power and commanding obedience. It is also used for the image of complete fulfillment. St. Paul ironically declares to the Corinthians: “Without us, you have become kings (ἐ—βασιλεύσατε, ingressive aorist); how I wish that you had really become kings, so that we might be kings with you (συμβασιλεύσωμεν)” (1Cor 4:8). The verb συμβασιλεύω is used elsewhere only in 2Tim 2:12—“If we endure, we shall also reign with him.”

⁶⁹ 1Pet 2:9 (cf. Exod 19:6, Hebrew *mamlajâh*); 2Macc 2:17; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.142; *Abraham* 56; C. Spicq, *Epîtres de saint Pierre*, pp. 90ff.; P. Sandevour, “Un Royaume de prêtres,” in C. Perrot, *Etudes sur la première Lettre de Pierre*, Paris, 1980, pp. 219–229; cf. J. H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 149–154.

⁷⁰ Herodotus 1.30; Esth 1:9—Queen Vashti gave a feast in the royal house of King Ahasuerus; Philo, *Flacc.* 92: “the space separating the gates of the arsenal from the royal palace” (ἐ—ν τοι—ς βασιλείοις); Josephus, *Ant.* 13.138; cf. Deut 3:10, the royal cities = the cities of the kingdom; Wis 18:15—the royal thrones. — Beginning with Xenophon, the noun in the singular also refers to the king’s tent (*Cyr.* 2.4.3; 4Macc 3:8; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.251), and Philo gives the equation “the palace (βασίλειον) is certainly the house of the king (βασιλέος οἶκος)” (*Sobr.* 66), cf. Prov 18:19 (= citadel).

⁷¹ Cf. Ps.-Plato, *Ep.* 8.354 c: “royal power”; 2Macc 3:13—βασιλικὰς ἐ—ντολὰς = orders received from the king; A. Deissmann (*Light*, p. 362, n. 5) noticed this in an inscription from Pergamum: τὸν βασιλικὸν νόμον ἐ—κ τῶ—ν ἰ—δίῳ ἀνέθηκεν (a law from the royal period on *astynomoi*, published by Dittenberger, *Or.* 483, 2; cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin

épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1952, p. 171, n. 137; 1955, p. 255, n. 188). The expression is also found in a letter of the imperial musicians to the Dionysiac *technitai*, under Aurelian (*SB* 5225, 15). Cf. M. Gigante, *Νόμος βασιλεύς*, Naples, 1956; M. Treu, “Νόμος βασιλεύς: alte und neue Probleme,” in *RhMus*, 1963, pp. 193–214; O. J. F. Seitz, “James and the Law,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1964, pp. 472–487.

⁷² Cf. J. Marty, *L’Épître de Jacques*, Paris, 1935, pp. 81ff. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 36, n. 2; vol. 2, p. 505, n. 2. On the absence of the definite article, cf. J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, 3d ed., London, 1910, pp. 90ff.

⁷³ Cf. *Jos. Asen.* 5.6; 14.8 (royal scepter); 10.14, 13.2 (royal robe); 13.7 (royal dinner); Josephus, *Ant.* 8.356 (royal authority); 11.277 (royal honors); *Ag. Apion* 1.98; Philo, *Cherub.* 63 and *Plant.* 68; *Virtues* 216; *Good Man Free* 123, 126, 154 (the soul of a king contrasted with a commoner); *Moses* 1.153; *To Gaius* 54; 4Macc 14:2—reason, royal and free; Polybius 8.24; *SEG* 1.363.3: “sacred and royal business,” etc.

βασκαίνω

baskaino, to bewitch, cast a spell, regard enviously
see also φθόνος

baskaino, *S* 940; *TDNT* 1.594–595; *EDNT* 1.208; *NIDNTT* 2.552, 559; *MM* 106; *L&N* 53.98, 88.159; *BDF* §§72, 152(1); *BAGD* 137

Paul’s exclamation to the Galatians is not easy to translate: “O foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you (*tis hymas ebaskanen*), before whose eyes Jesus Christ was portrayed crucified?”¹ An NT hapax, the verb *baskaino*² is a denominative formed from *baskanos*, “one who casts a spell”;³ a *baskania* is an evil spell,⁴ and the verb, meaning “cast a spell, wish evil, speak ill of,” “emphasizes the magical value of the group, which relates properly to an evil spell.”⁵ Hence the modern translations: “Who has bewitched you, cast a spell on you?”⁶ But doesn’t this notion of a verbal incantation overplay the metaphorical sense of the word? —for surely the sense is metaphorical here. The best approach is to take into account the actual usage of this verb, which is unknown in the papyri.

Baskaino (and related words) is constantly associated with *phthoneo*, “to envy” (cf. Gal 5:26). Callimachus wrote this as his own epitaph: “He sang louder songs than Envy” (*Epigr.* 21), and Stobaeus collected fifty-nine sayings *peri phthonou*, of which the fifty-second goes “They were exceeding *baskanos* and *phthoneros*.”⁷ In the LXX, in times of famine, “a

man will have an evil eye toward (that is, will look askance at, will envy, *sphodra baskanej*, Hebrew *ra'a'*) his brother, the wife of his bosom, his children" (Deut 28:54), and even his wife will jealously spy on her husband and her children (28:56). Moreover, if the miser does not profit from his property, the envious person never has enough and is consumed with the desire to have more, "is grudging to himself" (Sir 14:6). In his insatiability, he commits the grossest injustices to increase his wealth: "The person with the jealous eye is evil" (*poneros ho baskainon ophthalmo*, Sir 14:8). This same psychology is evoked by Philo: adversaries, who ought naturally to be jealous of the conqueror, feel no envy toward him" (*baskainein, me phthoneisthai, Husbandry* 112); "he always looks at happy people with an evil eye (*baskainon*)."⁸ This is also in the vocabulary of Josephus: "Daniel was envied (*ephthonethe*) because people are jealous (*baskainousi*) of those who are more honored than they themselves by the king" (*Ant.* 10.250; 257); "people made jealous by my fortune invented accusations against me" (*Life* 425); "to remove from those envious of us the last pretext for chicanery" (*Ag. Apion* 1.72). This meaning of *baskaino*, "look at with an evil eye, be envious of," fits with Demosthenes, *C. Lept.* 20.24: "If the possessor of a great fortune did not acquire it at your expense, then there is no room for regarding him with hostility (*baskainein*)."

This envious regard is often considered harmful and injurious; it is described as "the evil eye"⁹ and is connected with the magical notion of the casting of an evil spell: "I do not wish to seem to cast an evil spell on (*baskainein en*) the general prosperity" (Lucian, *Nav.* 17; cf. *Philops.* 35). A lead bracelet bears the inscription "Spell-caster begone" (*exo baskanos*);¹⁰ "May Envy and the Evil Eye be far from this happy art."¹¹ The influence of this *oculus invidiosus*, the symbol of *baskania*, was even attributed to demons, for example, to the she-devil *Baskosyne*.¹² Plutarch, in *Quaestionum convivialum*,¹³ tries to explain how "a look can do harm, even though the causal link is difficult to grasp" (680 f); he uses the terms "effluence," "emanation," "current," "fascination."¹⁴ Heliodorus draws on this: in the course of a procession, Charicleia "attracted the evil eye (*ophthalmon tina baskanon*). 'You also, like the rabble, believe in the bewitching power of the eyes (*baskanian*).' 'Yes; I say nothing is more real'" (*Aeth.* 3.7.2); "the sickness comes from envy (*ho phthonos*), which is properly called bewitchment (*baskanian*)" (3.7.3; cf. 3.19.2; 4.5.4).

It was difficult to escape the evil eye (Stobaeus 3.38.10), especially when its fascination was worked on the eye of the person to whom harm was wished.¹⁵ Magicians, however, used incantations, talismans, and especially amulets for protection against this sort of influence; "their strange appearance distracts the gaze of the *baskanos* and thus keeps him from fixating on his victim."¹⁶ The epistolary papyri constantly use *abaskantos* with respect to the health of humans, especially children, and

even of horses (*O. Florida* 15, 2; 17, 4; *SB* 1022, 6). The writer prays for the health of the recipient and for his preservation from the evil eye.¹⁷

In view of these data, it seems best to translate *tis hymas ebaskanen* “Who put a spell on you?” meaning “Who beclouded your mind?”¹⁸ The Galatians have lost their minds (*anoetoi*); it is not as if they had made some easily explainable mistake in a secular matter, but rather as if their freedom has been put in bondage by the mysterious maneuverings of parties unknown (*tis ?*)—*baskania* is often personified (*SEG* XV, 853, 6)—behind whom the working of the devil may be detected; by the jealousy (*phthono diabolou*) whereby death entered into the world.¹⁹ This would mean Paul’s enemies in Galatia, moved by envy, like those Roman preachers who sought to ruin the apostle’s authority and prestige by taking advantage of the powerlessness to which he was reduced by his captivity. They acted *dia phthonon kai erin*, through envious, partisan malice.²⁰ These jealous folk must have somehow cast an evil eye on Christians, even though they had the wherewithal to conjure against this seduction: “You, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was portrayed crucified.”²¹ Keeping the eyes fixed on the Crucified One would have been the antidote par excellence.²²

¹ Gal 3:1. After ε—βάσκανεν, C, D, K, L, and P add τῆ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι. The description ἀνόητοι, “unthinking” (cf. verse 3; Luke 24:25; Rom 1:14; 1Tim 6:9; Titus 3:3) expresses incomprehension in the realm of faith, a lack of discernment, an ignorance of one’s own limits. Cf. Ps.-Aristotle, *Mund.* 1.391 a 10: the Aloadae, in their folly (οἱ—ἀνόητοι), formed the plan to explore the sacred regions of philosophy, when the body is incapable of exploring the heavenly places.

² Aorist formed with α, usually with accusative object, cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, 17 h; 43 e.

³ A sorcerer, one with the evil eye; cf. E. Kuhnert, in *PW*, vol. 6, 2009ff.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Phd.* 95 b: “Beware lest some evil eye turn our argument around backward.”

⁵ C. Bonner, *Magical Amulets*, pp. 97ff. P. Chantraine (*Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 167) rejects the etymology given by Hesychius, who seems to derive the verb from βάζω, βάσκω (φάσκω), “talk.”

⁶ Cf. A. Oepke (*Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater*, Leipzig, 1937); H. Schlier (*Der Brief an die Galater*, Göttingen, 1951); F. Mussner (*Der Galaterbrief*, Freiburg, Basel, 1974): “wer hat euch bezaubert.” Cf. the bucolic singers of Theocritus 6.39: “In order not to be bewitched (ὥς μὴ

βασκανθω—), I spat three times in my bosom, as old Cotyttaris taught me.” There is no room here for the definition of βασκαίνω as “disparage, denigrate”; cf. Demosthenes, *Chers.* 8.19: “do not disparage this army”; *Corona* 189: “He basely disparages”; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.285: “Let them cease disparaging us”; Heraclitus, *All.* 6.3: “envy that always seeks to sully and disparage.”

⁷ Βάσκανοι τε σφόδρα ἦσαν καὶ φθονεροί. Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 4.38, vol. 3, pp. 708–721. Cf. P. Walcot, *Envy and the Greeks: A Study of Human Behaviour*, Warminster, 1978, pp. 77–84.

⁸ *Flacc.* 143; cf. 29: the Alexandrians, “stirred to jealousy (φθόνου)—for Egyptian means spiteful (βάσκανον)”; cf. Plutarch, *De inv. et ot.* 7: “People are even more jealous (βασκαίνουσι μα—λλον) of those who are considered good because of the thought that they possess the greatest property of all, which is virtue.”

⁹ —Οφθαλμὸς πονηρός. This does not mean that there is anything wrong with the eye itself (Matt 6:23; Luke 11:34) but that the eye translates the feelings of the heart or soul, in this case envy, cf. Mark 7:22; Matt 20:15; Prov 23:6; 28:22; Sir 14:10. Cf. Plutarch, *De inv. et ot.* 2: envy is like a disease of the eyes.

¹⁰ *SEG XXV*, 1199 = *SB* 10702; cf. 6295: ὀφθαλμὸν ἀπετρύπησα τὸν τοῦ βασκάνου; 6584, 4–5. The decree of association of the athletes of the empire: “Because of all these qualities, malignant Envy (ὁ βάσκανος φθόνος) . . . took from us this common good, of which she was jealous, coming to press on the parts of the body that are most useful to pancratists, namely, the shoulders” (*MAMA VIII*, 417, 19–20; republished, corrected and translated, by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, Paris, 1965, pp. 145ff.). On the linking of βάσκανοι, magicians, evil persons, cf. Strabo 14.2.7; Diodorus Siculus 5.55.3; Callimachus, *Aet.*, in *P.Oxy.* 2079, 17.

¹¹ Τὸν Φθόνον ε—κ μέσσου καὶ ὄμματα Βασκανίης τῆς ι—λαρῆς τέχνης, *SEG XXV*, 1197 c (cf. E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 122), IX, 818.

¹² In funerary epigrams, Hades is described as βάσκανος (*Anth. Pal.* 7.328, 712; cf. G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata* 345, 379; E. Peterson, *EIS' EOUS*, Göttingen, 1926, p. 230; J. Geffcken, “βάσκανος δαίμων,” in *Charisteria A. RZACH . . . dargebracht*, Reichenberg, 1930, pp. 36–40). Cf. P. Perdrizet, *Negotium perambulans in tenebris*, Strasbourg, 1922, p. 24: “Envy, jealousy, being the essential nature of evil spirits, and fascination, the evil eye, being their more fearsome weapon of harm.” The owl of Athena sometimes sometimes conjured up fascination, sometimes was auxiliary to

it. Baskania (Envy) is a chthonic divinity, along with Tartarus, Charon, etc., in *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 1451; cf. I, 1400; VIII, 34 (ed. K. Preisendanz, vol. 1, p. 120). In epitaphs, Ἔδης (or Ἔιδης) is described as βάσκανος (*CIRB*, n. 193, 141; cf. *GVI*, n. 949). On the evil eye, cf. W. Déonna, *Le symbolisme de l'œil*, Berne, 1965, pp. 153–158, who cites an abundant bibliography, especially Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895; Seligmann, *Der Böse Blick und Verwandtes*, 2 vols., 1910.

¹³ Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 5.7.1.680 c: Περὶ τῶν καταβασκαίνειν λεγομένων καὶ βάσκανον ἔχειν ὀφθαλμόν, “On those who are said to cast spells.”

¹⁴ Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 2.25.1, writes that the eye captures its object like a net.

¹⁵ J. B. Lightfoot (*Epistle to the Galatians*, 8th ed., London, 1884) and M. J. Lagrange (*Épître aux Galates*) cite Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Pr.* 2.53: ὥσπερ ἰ—ώδη τινὰ καὶ φθοροποιὸν ἀκτι—να ε—ξια—σιν ἀπὸ τῆς κόρης αὐτῶ—ν καὶ αὕτη εἰ—σιοῦσα διὰ τῶ—ν ὀφθαλμῶ—ν τοῦ φρονουμένου τρέψει τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν φύσιν; Sir 18:18—δώσις βασκάνου ε—κτῆκει ὀφθαλμούς.

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 681 f. In Syria, a drawing to ward off *phthonos* has been found (F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris, 1926, p. 138). U. Wilcken has published a Christian amulet from the sixth century: τὸν δαίμονα προβασκανίας (*APF*, 1901, p. 431); cf. Ep Jer 69: “a scarecrow in a field of cucumbers preserves nothing” (βασκάνιον οὐ προβασκάνιον). Definition of amulet by C. Bonner, *Magical Amulets*, p. 2.

¹⁷ *P.Oxy.* 292, 12 (AD 25); 930, 23; 2679, 2; 2981, 24, 30; 3312, 3; 3313, 23; *P.Fay.* 126, 10; *P.Lips.* 108, 9: ἄσπασε τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου παιδία; *P.Ryl.* 604, 25; *P.Oxy.Hels.* 50, 21; *BGU* 811, 4; *P.Wisc.* 72, 5–6; 74, 16; 76, 26; *P.Stras.* 187, 4; *P.Mil.* 80, 6; *P.Giss.* 23, 10; 24, 7; 25, 3; *P.Mich.* 473, 14. The proper name Abaskantos (“of good omen”) is quite widespread in the imperial period: a freedman (*SB* 7515, 390), an archon from Thera (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, in *RevPhil*, 1944, pp. 40–42); T. Drew-Bear, *Phrygie*, Zutphen, 1978, p. 79.

¹⁸ P. Robert’s *Dictionnaire . . . de la langue française* cites the expression “Il faut qu’on l’ait ensorcelé” and notes “se dit de quelqu’un dont la conduite paraît inexplicable” and almost diabolical.

¹⁹ Wis 2:24. A. M. Dubarle (“La Tentation diabolique dans le Livre de la Sagesse, II, 24,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, pp. 187–195) compares

1QS 3.23–24, where the angel of darkness misleads the sons of righteousness and “all the spirits of his sort trip up the sons of light”; 1QM 13.11–12; *Enoch* 54.6: the servants of Satan have misled the inhabitants of the earth; *T. Jud.* 23.1, the demons of misleading. The devil’s “jealousy” was probably stirred up by God’s benevolence toward humankind, whose prerogatives go so far as to include even “dominating the universe” (*Wis* 10:2, 9ff.).

²⁰ Phil 3:15; cf. 17, ε—ξ ε—ριθείας. Cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 244–252; J. Gnllka, “Die antipaulinische Mission in Philippi,” in *BZ*, 1965, pp. 258–276; A. F. J. Klijn, “Paul’s Opponents in Philippians III,” in *NovT*, 1965, pp. 278–284; A. E. Harvey, “The Opposition to Paul,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 4, pp. 319–332.

²¹ Προγράφω expresses an official publicness that no one could ignore, a posting, a public notice on a placard; Aristophanes, *Av.* 450: “Let them note what we post on the boards”; Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 29: the inscriptions due to the wise; *Dem.* 46.10: “a soldier inscribed before his tent the beginning of the *Oedipus*. ”

²² Cf. A. J. Festugière, *Hermétisme et mystique païenne*, Paris, 1967, pp. 188–199, n. 47–48.

βατταλογέω

battalogo, to babble

battalogo, S 945; *TDNT* 1.597; *EDNT* 1.209; MM 107; L&N 33.88, 33.89; BDF §40; BAGD 137

Before teaching his disciples the Our Father, our Lord instructed them: “In your prayers, do not babble as the gentiles do,¹ for they think that by using many words they will make themselves heard.”² This advice seems to recall *Eccl* 5:1, “Do not be hasty to speak in God’s presence . . . let your words be few,”³ and *Sir* 7:14—“do not repeat words in your prayer”; but no sure etymology can be given for *battalogo*.⁴ A. Schlatter, pointing out that *lego* can mean “gather, collect” (cf. *poelogo*, *blastologo*, *botanologo*, *krithologo*) and that *batos* (Syriac *bata*) means “bramble,” relies on Philo (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.253; *Dreams* 2.161; cf. *Moses* 1.65) to arrive at the forced sense of “give oneself over to painful and sterile work.”⁵ Furthermore, most modern scholars see in this verb a hybrid of the Aramaic *battalta* and the Greek *logos* (in a pejorative sense, cf. *spermologos*, *koprologos*, *sykologeo*) and draw support from the

Palestinian Syriac and Sinaitic Syriac versions, “do not be saying (mouthing) *battalata* = vain things.”⁶ So what is in view is verbiage or constant repetition, as verse 8 specifies—“They think that their prayer will be answered thanks to their torrent of words.”⁷ Quality matters more than quantity; but above all verbosity and prattling are here denounced.⁸ Moulton-Milligan (on this word) cite the nickname given Demosthenes (*battalos*, pouring out torrents of words). *Battalogia* would then be “logorrhea, an endless torrent of prayers and litanies,”⁹ which reminds us of the *prophasei makra proseuchomenoi* (making long prayers for show) of the scribes (Mark 12:40). It is not the length of the prayer in terms of time that is denounced, because Jesus spent whole nights in prayer and tarried in prayer (Luke 6:12; 22:14) and his church persevered in prayer (Acts 1:14; 12:5; 1Tim 5:5; etc.), but abuse and redundancy and canned formulas, in which the cry of the heart becomes mere words.

Liddell-Scott-Jones (*Lexicon*) and M. J. Lagrange (*Evangile selon saint Matthieu*, 3d ed., Paris, 1927) prefer to see this word as onomatopoeic, like *battarizo* (stammer);¹⁰ which should be compared to the “muddling up” of tongues at Babel (Gen 11:7-9), the “babbling” of Isaiah,¹¹ and the “gurgling” water of Ezek 47:2. By way of an example of the meaningless litanies, cf. the magical incantation of the third century, to which we might compare our *abracadabra*: “Demon, whoever you are, I adjure you by the god Sabarbarbathioth, Sabarbarbathiouth, Sabarbarbathioneth, Sabarbarbaphai . . . ,”¹² or “the secret name Thoathoethathoouthaethoouthioaithithethointho.”¹³ Whether we are talking about unintelligible muttering and stammering or of prattling on unreflectively, the play on words and the results are similar (cf. Herodotus 7.35: “to speak *barbara* and recklessly,” *legein barbara te kai atasthala*). “We should see this as a useless spate of words such as that produced by uncultivated people telling their business to lawyers . . . a reference to the eloquence expended by the pagans to persuade the gods” (M. J. Lagrange) and to “tire them out,” as the Latins said.¹⁴

The followers of Jesus Christ have only to say “Our Father” to be heard.¹⁵

¹ The term *ethnikoi* is pejorative, cf. A. Pelletier, *Josèphe adaptateur*, pp. 79ff.

² Matt 6:7, *NJB*; M. J. Lagrange translates, “When you pray, do not stammer on (*bredouillez*) like the Gentiles, because it seems to them that their prayer will be answered thanks to their spate of words” (*Evangile selon saint Matthieu*, 3d ed., Paris, 1927, p. 123); E. Bonnard: “Do not multiply vain words” (*Evangile selon saint Matthieu*, Neuchâtel, 1963, p. 79); the New English Bible: “Do not go babbling on like the heathen”; cf. F. W. Beare, “Speaking with Tongues,” *JBL* 1964, pp. 229ff.

³ Cf. A. Barucq, *Ecclésiaste*, Paris, 1968, pp. 101–102.

⁴ Unknown in the Greek language before the *Life of Aesop* (ε—ν οἴνω μὴ βατταλόγει σοφίαν ε—πιδεικνύμενος, ed. A. Westermann, *Vita Aesopi*, Brunswick, 1845, p. 47) and the commentary on Epictetus by Simplicius in the sixth century (cited by J. J. Wettstein, on this text); cf. G. Delling, in *TDNT*, vol. 1, p. 597.

⁵ A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, Stuttgart, 1948, p. 206; cf. H. Huber, *Die Bergpredigt*, Göttingen, 1932, pp. 113ff.

⁶ Cf. *bata'*, Lev 5:4; Ps 106:33. Cf. BDF §40; BAGD, p. 137; but cf. the summary by G. Zuntz in *Gnomon*, 1958, pp. 20–21.

⁷ —Εν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ (Prov 10:19; Job 11:2; cf. 1Kgs 18:26-29; Isa 1:15; Sir 7:14; Maurer, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 6, pp. 545–546).

⁸ Cf. περιττολογία, superfluous or excessive exposition, linked with ἄμετρον (in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp.* 2), with ἀλαζονεία (in Josephus, *Ant.* 14.111). Cf. πολυλογία, βραχυλογία, μακρολογία, in *Sent. Sextus*, n. 155–157. With good reason, E. J. Bickerman draws a contrast with the simplicity of improvised prayers in Israel (“Bénédiction et prière,” in *RB*, 1962, pp. 524ff.). We might think of the custom of shouting acclamations forty or fifty times (cf. Acts 19:34; J. V. Le Clerc, *Des Journaux chez les Romains*, Paris, 1838, p. 420).

⁹ D. Buzy, *Evangile selon saint Matthieu*, Paris, 1935, p. 75.

¹⁰ Herodotus 4.155: “The child’s speech was confused and stuttering . . . the name Battos was given to him, παι—ς ι—σχνόφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τω— οὔνομα ε—τέθη Βάττος” (cf. F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*, Paris, 1953, pp. 93–98); Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 22: “It is not possible to give clear pronunciation to a stutterer or a beautiful voice to one whose organ of speech is weak. It is for this reason, I believe, that Battos, who came here on account of his voice, received from the god the order to go found a colony in Libya, because, if he was a stutterer and had a weak voice, the quality of his spirit was that of a king and a statesman.” Cf. the nickname βάτταρος (the stutterer) (*I.Did.*, 425, 4; cf. O. Masson, “En marge du Mime II d’Héronidas: Les surnoms ioniens BATTΑΡΟΣ et BATTΑΡΑΣ,” in *REG*, 1970, pp. 356–361; L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l’Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris, 1963, p. 193, n. 5).

¹¹ Isa 28:10-11 (W. H. Hallo, “Isaiah XXVIII, 9–13 and the Ugaritic Abecedaries,” *JBL* 1958, pp. 324–338).

¹² G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, Cambridge, 1927, n. 47; cf. C. Bonner, *Magical Amulets*, pp. 68, 117, *passim*; cf. the medical-magic prescriptions of *P.Ant.* 66, 45–46 or the Arab amulet (*P.Mur.*, vol. 2, pp. 289–290).

¹³ *P.Mert.* 58, 12–14 and the references given by the editors (p. 24). St. Paul preferred to “speak five words intelligently rather than ten thousand ‘in tongues’” (1Cor 14:19).

¹⁴ *Fatigare deos*, cf. Horace, *Carm.* 1.2.26ff.; Livy 1.11.2; Seneca, *Lucil.* 4.2.5; Apuleius, *Met.* 10.26; Martial 7.60.3. Cf. Pherecrates, frag. 137 a: τί δ αὐτὸ λῖαν ὦδε λιπαρεῖ—ς θεόν (in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 1, p. 258).

¹⁵ F. Bussby (“A Note on . . . βαπτολογέω in the Light of Qumran,” *ExpT*, vol. 76, 1964, p. 26) mentions the meaning of the Aramaic *bâthal* in Ezra 4:24—“the work on the house of God was stopped,” and its use in a bill of sale (*P.Mur.*, n. 26, 5; cf. ε—γκόπτω in 1Pet 3:7) where it means “without legal effect,” and comments: “Don’t use long prayers—like the pagans—prayers that are *without effect*, so long as you have not called upon God the Father in the right way.”

βέβαιος, βεβαιόω, βεβαίωσις

bebaios, solid, durable, sure, valid, guaranteed; *bebaioo*, to make sure, confirm, authenticate, guarantee, carry out; *bebaiosis*, firmness, juridical definiteness

see also ἀσφάλεια

bebaios, S 949; *TDNT* 1.600–603; *EDNT* 1.210–211; *NIDNTT* 1.658–660; MM 107; L&N 28.43, 31.90, 71.15; BDF §59(2); BAGD 138 | ***bebaioo***, S 950; *TDNT* 1.600–603; *EDNT* 1.210–211; *NIDNTT* 1.658–659; MM 108; L&N 28.44, 31.91; BAGD 138 | ***bebaiosis***, S 951; *TDNT* 1.600–603; *EDNT* 1.210–211; *NIDNTT* 1.658–659; MM 108; L&N 28.44; BAGD 138

Bebaios —“that on which one can walk,” hence “solid, firm, durable” and finally “sure, certain”—often modifies *logos*: an utterance that is well-founded, authorized, and thus convincing.¹ This firmness-solidity implies immutability when the topic is a promise, an institution, or the word of God.² Thus we arrive at the legal meaning, “valid” and even “guaranteed,”

copiously attested in the papyri and the inscriptions for *bebaios*, the denominative verb *bebaioo*, and *bebaiosis*.³ It is in this strong sense that we should understand Rom 4:16: *bebaian ten epangelian*; the divine promise is not only firm and immutable, not only assured for all posterity, but it is guaranteed to them. Similarly, in Mark 16:20—*ton logon bebaiountos*—the Lord does more than confirm the word of the apostles by the miracles that accompany him; he also authenticates and guarantees it. Inasmuch as the law of Moses was promulgated by angels, this “word” is valid and authentically divine (*logos bebaios*, Heb 2:2). At the transfiguration, the appearance of Moses and Elijah evokes the messianic prophecies of the OT; these prophecies become more sure, their veracity is guaranteed by the transfiguration of Jesus (*bebaioteron . . . logon*, 2Pet 1:19).

It is indeed legal language that is used in Heb 9:17, an exceptional scriptural use of the word *diatheke* in the sense of a will, in order to express our ability to inherit these heavenly goods: it was necessary for Christ, the only Son and heir of God, to die so that we might gain possession of his inheritance; *diatheke epi nekrois bebaia*, a provision of a will is not valid, has no legal force (*ischuei*) and cannot become operative, until after the demise of the testator.⁴

As for the verb *bebaioo*, it can mean “carry out, realize,”⁵ and it is in this sense that we should take Rom 15:8, *eis to bebaiosai tas epangelias*: Christ “demonstrated God’s truthfulness by carrying out the promises made to the fathers”; Heb 2:3—“The salvation that was announced by the Lord ... was confirmed to us by those who heard him.”⁶

When Heb 6:16 appeals to the oath as the juridical proof that nullifies any dispute between adversaries⁷—*eis bebaiosin ho horkos*—the sense of *eis bebaiosin* is “definitive, without opposition, with no reconsideration or challenge possible,” recalling Lev 25:23, where once Yahweh has affirmed that the Holy Land belongs to him “the land shall not be sold *eis bebaiosin*” (Hebrew *lismitut*); God remains the owner, so the ceding of absolute ownership is forbidden.⁸

Finally, the moral applications of the words of this group are frequent, usually in the sense of firmness, fixity, solidity (1Cor 1:8; 2Cor 1:21; Heb 3:14; 13:9; 2Pet 1:10), notably with respect to faith⁹ or hope that is well founded¹⁰ and solidly attached, like an anchor in the heavenly holy of holies: *asphale te kai bebaian*.¹¹

¹ Βέβαιος is therefore often associated with πιστός (Plato, *Tim.* 49 b) and ἀληθής (*Phdr.* 90 c). In the third century AD, Sotas writes to Satyros: “Believe it, it is sure, because it can be seen—πίστευε τὸ βεβαία, ε—πεὶ ἰ—δι—ν ε—στίν” (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 19, 7). SB 5114, 20: ε—πὶ βεβαίῳ καὶ ἀμεταθέτῳ λόγῳ. Cf. Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 93: “the simple words of God, in their certitude, differ not at all from oaths . . . it is because of God

that an oath itself is sure, ὁ ὄρκος βέβαιος”; Philo, *Dreams* 1.12: “There is nothing about which we can be so sure as the unlimited and infinite nature of wisdom.”

² The Mosaic constitution is “firm, unshakable, unchanging (βέβαια, ἀσάλευτα, ἀκράδαντα), . . . solidly planted . . . it will endure throughout the future as if immortal” (Philo, *Moses* 2.14). Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.156: the law of Moses unshakable for eternity; *War* 4.154: a law solidly established. The formula κυρία καὶ βεβαία is used of an ε—γγύη (*P.Stras.* 50, 8), a διαθήκη (*P.Lond.* 77, 66), an ἀποχή (*P.Flor.* 95, 25; *P.Lips.* 38, 6); cf. *P.Gron.* 10, 20: καὶ ἔστω ἡ χάρις κυρία καὶ βεβαία πανταχοῦ προφερομένη.

³ This meaning is forcefully supported by A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 104–109. Cf. L. Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1912, vol. 2, 1, pp. 188ff. R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, New York, 1944, pp. 253–254. Cf. the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians: “I guarantee to the ephebes the right to the Alexandrine city” (*P.Lond.* 1912, 54); Wis 6:18—“observing the laws is the guarantee of incorruptibility”; a bill of sale, *P.Rein.* 42, 5 (guarantee that the object sold or bequeathed is clear of tax obligations, first-second century AD), *BGU* 87, 18; 153, 23; *P.Vindob.Worp* 9, 12–13: “I will guarantee to you with all of the guarantees specified below”; a rental contract: “the administrators of the Kytherians guarantee (βεβαιώω) the location to Eucrates” (*RIJG*, vol. 1, n. 134 A, 13; 7, 108: “Guarantors and confirmers of the sale of the lands and the house.”) A lease, *P.Mich.* 633, 29, 40; 634, 13. In a sale, the guarantee protects the buyer against the danger of eviction (cf. *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 259); J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 42, 10: “βέβαιον παρεχόντων οι—βεβιωτήρες, the guarantors furnishing the guarantee of the sale in the name of the god, conformably to law” (an act emancipating a slave; Delphi, second century BC); *P.Köln* 55, 9. The formula βεβαιώσω πάση βεβαιώσι is normal in contracts, cf. *PSI* 1130, 25 (AD 25); *SB* 9109, 14 (AD 31); *P.Fam.Tebt.* 27, 17–18; *P.Mich.* 188, 23; 189, 30; 259, 32 (AD 33); *P.Princ.* 146, 18 (AD 36); *P.Fay.* 92, 19 (second century); *P.Oslo* 40, 45; etc. up to the sixth century (*P.Michael.* 40, 44; 45, 55; 52, 22, 43, etc.).

⁴ We may cite the testament of St. Gregory of Nazianzus: “This is my will, which I want to be firm and valid, τὴν διαθήκην κυρίαν καὶ βεβαίαν” (*PG*, vol. 37, 394). Herod designates Caesar as the guarantor of his will (Josephus, *War* 1.669).

⁵ Epictetus 2.11.24: “philosophy consists of examining and establishing these norms.” J. Rouffiac (*Caractères du grec*, p. 48) noted this from *I.Priene* 123, 9: a magistrate who had promised to give out beef when he

entered into office carried out his promise by making a sacrifice to the gods and giving out the meat to those who were on the list, ε—βεβαίωσεν δὲ τὴν ε—παγγαλίαν παραστήσαθ μὲν τοι—θ ε—ντεμενίοιθ εοι—θ τὴν ὑσίαν.

⁶ Ει—ς ἡμα—ς ε—βεβαιώθη: having been inaugurated by Christ, salvation is effectively carried out, applied by the apostles to the converted. But given συνεπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ (verse 4), the nuance of “guarantee” should be preserved. Through their vigor in certifying the facts for which they bear the guarantees, in communicating grace and performing miracles, the apostles sanction the truth of the message; their proclamation inspires confidence. The twofold sense—“guarantee” and “accomplish”—is also found in 1Cor 1:6—“the testimony of Christ was established (or accomplished) among you”; Phil 1:7—“you associate yourselves with my grace in the defense and the establishing (or realization) of the gospel.” *P.Mil.Vogl.* 26, 13: the seller guarantees that the fields purchased by the buyer are free of all taxes; *P.Mich.* 635, 13; cf. H. H. Hobbes, *Preaching Values from the Papyri*, Grand Rapids, 1964, pp. 33–36.

⁷ Cf. C. Préaux, “La Preuve à l’époque hellénistique,” in *La Preuve* (Recueils de la Société J. Bodin, XVI), Brussels, 1965, pp. 161–222. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 17.42: βεβαιώσαντος δι’ ὄρκων; Philo, *Abraham* 273: God gives Abraham a guarantee by an oath, τὴν δι’ ὄρκου βεβαίωσιν; Philo, *Plant.* 82.

⁸ Cf. G. Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l’économie politique de l’Egypte*, 2d ed., Amsterdam, 1967, p. 78. A “solid conversion” (Philo, *Moses* 1.298) is a decisive conversion.

⁹ Col 2:7—βεβαιούμενοι τῇ πίστει. This firmness derives from Ps 41:12; 119:28; it is exalted by Philo (*Rewards* 30: “The one who has . . . an unbending and unshakable faith: happy is such a one in truth, and three times blessed”), who demonstrates that βεβαίωσις characterizes the laws of nature, as opposed to positive legislation (*Good Man Free* 37); the soul of the friend of God receives fixity, solidity, and consistency (πῆξις καὶ βεβαίωσιν καὶ ἴδρυσιν; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.55; cf. *Cherub.* 13). If the divine appearances in the realm of becoming dissipate, those produced by unbegotten being can remain stable, firm, eternal (μόνιμοι καὶ βέβαιοι καὶ αἰδίοι, 3.101). There is on earth no stable place, where the security of fortune is assured (τὸ ἀκλινὲς τῆς εὐπραγίας ε—ν βεβαίῳ, *Moses* 1.30; cf. *Drunkness* 170). Βέβαιος is used to describe the true and the good (*Moses* 1.95, 1.220; 2.108; *Spec. Laws* 1.70, 1.77, 1.291; 2.2, etc.), and of friendship (Josephus, *Ant.* 7.203; 14.185; 15.193; 19.317). Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 1.3: “a character firm in all respects.” According to an epigram from Nicomedia, spouses reunited in the same tomb choose to love each other

constantly even among the dead, στοργὴν βεβαίαν κὰν αἰ—ρούμενοι (S. Sahin, in *ZPE*, 1975, p. 42, n. 125; 1976, p. 189). Cf. Diodorus Siculus 17.51.2: the god grants firmly (βεβαίως) that which is asked of him.

¹⁰ 2Cor 1:7; cf. 4Macc 17:4. Josephus, *Ant.* 5.176, 8.8, 8.280, 15.153, 16.238; *War* 7.165, 7.413: βεβαίαν ε—λπίδα σωτηρίας.

¹¹ —Ἀσφαλῆς, “that does not slip,” used in medicine for a sick person who is out of danger and on the way to a cure (*P.Oxy.* 939, 5; cf. Thucydides 1.80.1; N. van Brock, *Vocabulaire médicale*, pp. 184ff.), for the security of a route (Strabo 4.6.6; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 8.16.1); ἀσφαλω—ς used for the security of a mooring (Strabo 5.4.6) or of a naval escort (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 581, 84); ἀσφάλεια used for the security of sailors who heed their pilots (Dio Cassius 41.33). There is a proverb: “If the vessel does not hold to its anchor, the mooring is not sure” (Herondas, *Pimp* 1.41; cf. Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 6; *Sol.* 19.2; Philemon, frag. 213—ε—βάλετ ἄγκυραν καθάψας ἀσφαλείας εἶνεκα—in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 30.4; vol. 3, p. 664, 2); hence “drop the anchor of safety” (Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 8.6.9).—The βέβαιον-ἀσφαλές linkage is constant from Wis 7:23 on; Philo, *Virtues* 216; *Rewards* 30; *Prelim. Stud.* 141; *Conf. Tongues* 106; *Heir* 314; cf. Plutarch, *Cat. Mai.* 21.5: “He invested his capital in solid and sure businesses”; Polybius 12.25a2: “There will be nothing solid or sure in the sayings of our author”; *P.Rein.* 107, 5: ἡ ἀσφάλεια κυρία καὶ βεβαία; *P.Lips.* 4, 18: ἀνέδωκεν . . . πρὸς τὴν κυρίαν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀσφάλειαν καὶ βεβαίωσιν.

βέβηλος, βεβηλόω

bebelos, accessible, profane, impure, impious; *bebeloo*, to profane, besmirch

bebelos, S 952; *TDNT* 1.604–605; *EDNT* 1.211; MM 108; L&N 88.115; BAGD 138 | ***bebeloo***, S 953; *TDNT* 1.605; *EDNT* 1.21; L&N 53.33; BAGD 138

Derived from *baino*, “go, come,” the adjective *bebelos*, “accessible, profane,” unknown in the papyri, is the opposite of *abatos*, *hieros*, *hagnos*, “inaccessible, sacred,” and is used for places that are not consecrated, where it is permitted to set foot; hence, accessible to everybody (cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.62; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.181; *War* 4.182; Thucydides 4.97.3). The exact equivalent would be “profane” (*pro-fano*): that which is opposite or outside of the sacred. When used of persons it means “uninitiated, profane, impure”¹ and takes on a moral value (Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 138).

In the language of the Bible, it is highly pejorative (Ezek 21:30—*bebele anome!*, profane and lawless one); and it is often associated with *anosios* (unholy, 1Tim 1:9; 3Macc 2:2), with *pornos* (sexually impure, Heb 12:6), *anieros* (unholy, Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 138; *Spec. Laws* 4.40); *akathartos* (unclean, *Spec. Laws* 1.150), *amyetos* (uninitiated, Plutarch, *De def. or.* 16). It takes on a technical meaning: the profane is opposed to the sacred as the impure to the pure.² The verb *bebeloo*, translating the Hebrew piel *hilel*, in the sense of “profane, besmirch,” speaks of a sort of sacrilege.³ In fact, the profaner is an impious person, after the manner of Esau, who renounced the sacred prerogatives which were his as the firstborn and which made him the fully entitled heir of the messianic promises; thus he was faithless.⁴

In the Pastorals, *bebelos* is an adjective for heterodox and heretical teaching: “impious fables, old wives’ tales.”⁵ So myth is gratuitous invention (2Pet 1:16), opposed to true history,⁶ against which so many first-century authors protest: Moses urges “putting away the fiction of myths ... which provoke endless errors” (Philo, *Virtues* 178); “the sophists of Egypt give myths . . . more attention than the evidence for the truth” (*Migr. Abr.* 76); “The ones who spread this idea sacrificed to mythological invention more than to history.”⁷ When St. Paul calls myth profane, he denounces its incompatibility with the sacred; it is a profanation and an impiety to introduce into gospel teaching these human, fictive elements, which do not mix with religion (cf. Heb 13:9—*didachais xenais*), and which do not encourage true *eusebeia*.⁸

This inanity is again expressed in the prohibition against crude and profane chatter—*tas bebelous kenophonias* (1Tim 6:20; 2Tim 2:16)—which, under the guise of doctrine, secularize and besmirch the divine truth entrusted to the church. Literally, *kenophonia* (attested by the best manuscripts instead of *kainophonia*, empty chatter rather than novel chatter) means: “sounds with no meaning” (cf. 1Cor 14:7-11), unintelligible words, like those of a baby; hence hazy and vain discourse, inane and empty;⁹ called *mataiologia* (1Tim 1:6; Titus 1:10), they are stigmatized by Plutarch as vain rantings against all that one says (*De tranq. anim.* 468a; *De aud. poet.* 39c). Similarly, Archimedes protests, “I wanted to avoid appearing to somepeople to have set forth vain words (*kenen phonen*)” (Archimedes, *Eratosth.*, intro.).

This is how the first Christians assessed the “profane” in religious instruction.

¹ Cf. E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 112; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 172. In Josephus, *War* 5.18, 6.271, this word designates lay people, as opposed to priests. In *I.Thas.* 18, 4, μήτε ι—ρη μήτε βεβήλη can mean an “action sacred or profane” or “private or public.”

² Lev 10:10; Ezek 22:26 (Philo, *Moses* 2.158). In 1Sam 21:4—profane loaves as opposed to the sacred loaves. Antiochus Epiphanes “takes with his impure hands (ται—ς μιαραι—ς χερσίν) the sacred vessels and gathers up with his profane hands (ται—ς βεβήλοις χερσίν) the offerings” of the temple in Jerusalem (2Macc 5:16).

³ One profanes the Sabbath (Isa 56:2, 6; Ezek 20:13, 16, 21; 22:8; 1Macc 1:43, 45; 2:34; Matt 12:5); the name of God (Lev 18:21; 19:12; 20:3; 21:6; Isa 48:11; Ezek 20:9; 36:20-21; 39:7; Amos 2:7; Mal 1:12); the holiness of Yahweh (Lev 19:8); the sanctuary (Acts 24:6; Lev 21:23; 22:2, 15, 32; Num 18:32; Ezek 23:29; 1Macc 1:48; 2:12; 2Macc 8:2; 10:5); that which is holy (Ezek 22:26; Mal 2:11; Zeph 3:4); the altar (1Macc 4:38, 44, 54); the covenant (Ps 55:20; Mal 2:10; 1Macc 1:63); the land (Jer 16:18; Ezek 7:21-22); posterity (Sir 47:20). A profane woman is prostituted (Lev 21:7, 14) or besmirched (Sir 42:10; cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.102; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.90). Cf. a cultic regulation of Cyrene (fourth century BC): ε—ς ι—αρὰ καὶ ε—ς βάβαλα καὶ ε—ς μιάρὰ (SEG, vol. 9, 72, 9; cf. line 21: ὀσία παντὶ καὶ ἀγνώ— καὶ βαβάλω).

⁴ Heb 12:16—τις πόρνος ἢ βέβηλος (cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.102). Esau is the type of the φαῦλος, whose concubines are ruinous (*Prelim. Stud.* 54). The Jewish tradition attributed the worst vices to Esau (cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, p. 401); J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the NT*, p. 120). Codex Neophiti I, on Gen 25:34, glosses: “Esau despised his birthright, he denied the resurrection of the dead, and he denied the life of the world to come.” Philo called him senseless (*Prelim. Stud.* 175; cf. 61), “eponym of insanity” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 17), “savage and violent, full of fire and passion” (*Rewards* 53). Why was he so criminal? According to *Jubilees*, it was because he broke the oath that his parents made him swear to love Jacob and to do him no harm (*Jub.* 35.24; 36.7–9; 37.1–21; cf. A. Jaubert, *La Notion d’alliance dans le Judaïsme*, Paris, 1963, pp. 109ff.). We know well how legends grow, whether for good as in the case of Rahab (cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, pp. 361ff.) or for evil (M. S. Enslin, “How the Story Grew: Judas in Fact and Fiction,” in *Festschrift F. W. Gingrich*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 123–141).

⁵ 1Tim 4:7. St. Thomas Aquinas comments precisely “ineptae et inanes.” At root, these are tales or twaddle that grandmothers or nurses tell to small children: monster stories or Aesop’s fables (Philo attributes to the mythologers the tradition that ascribes a common language to all animals, *Conf. Tongues* 6); the expression then became a rhetorical characterization and a polemical insult: that which flies in the face of reason and presupposes an incredulity unworthy of an honest person

(Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 4.5.3), for example, with respect to the life of separated souls on the moon: “That’s a good one to tell women, because it is so fabulous” (Plutarch, *De aud. poet.* 16e; Strabo 1.3; Lucian, *Philops.* 9). “The stories that circulate are for the most part fables dreamed up by women and magicians” (Aristotle, *HA* 8.24.605a5). According to Strabo, Eratosthenes called the poetry of Homer old wives’ tales (Strabo, *Prolegomena* 1.2.3). “These marvelous phenomena sometimes appear to people. These . . . have been related not only by those who might be suspected of making up fables but also by those who have long shown philosophical rigor” (Numenius, frag. 29; ed. Des Places, p. 80). Listening to such nonsense is appropriate for women (Philo, *Post. Cain* 166). “In his own explanations, he is full of visions, prodigies, and incredible fables, in a word, of low trickery and the sort of fantastic tales appropriate for women” (Polybius 12.24.5). Galen heaps scorn on a certain Pampylos who prescribed certain incantations during the gathering of medicinal herbs, “this person was given to old wives’ tales and the practices of Egyptian drivelers” (Galen, *De simpl. medicam. temp.* 6, proem., in C. G. Kühn, *Medic. Graec. opera*, vol. 11, 971; cf. Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. et Clit.* 1.8.4). “This senile foolishness that one readily calls drivel” (Cicero, *Sen.* 36; cf. Horace, *Sat.* 2.6.77: *garrit anilis ex re fabellas*; Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.8); Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 11.2: *aniles fabulas adstruunt*; Origen, *Cels.* 6.34: “What old woman, given to wine, spinning out a fable to put a baby to sleep, would not be ashamed to whisper such twaddle?”

⁶ Cf. the texts cited in C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, pp. 93ff.

⁷ Strabo 10.3.20; cf. 22–23; Polybius 3.38.3: “Those who speak or write of it know nothing and are only passing fables along.” Plutarch hesitates to retell the myth of Thespesios, because of the thought that his account (*logos*) could pass for a fable (*mythos*) (Plutarch, *De sera* 561b); “this tale is more like a fable . . . than a sensible account” (Plutarch, *De gen.* 21). — The converted pagan Firmicus Maternus wrote a work titled *Against the Error of the Profane Religions*.

⁸ 1Tim 4:7. The piety of the Essenes was thus distinguished: “before sunrise they did not utter a single profane word” (Josephus, *War* 2.128).

⁹ Cf. the ἄδολον milk of 1Pet 2:2 and the οὐ καθαρὸν of Hippocrates (*Aff.* 4.55.1). Ἄδολον is nearly synonymous with καθαρὸν in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 7, 33.

βιάζομαι

biazomai, to use violence or force

biazomai, S 971; TDNT 1.609–613; EDNT 1.216–217; NIDNTT 3.712; MM 109–110; L&N 20.9, 20.10; BDF §311(1); BAGD 140; ND 6.98–99

Matt 11:12—*he basileia ton ouranon biazetai, kai biastai harpazousin auten*; Luke 16:16—*he basileia tou theou euangelizetai kai pas eis auten biazetai*. These verses are among the most enigmatic of the NT, and any proposed interpretation can be only a hypothesis. Neither the rabbinic texts¹ nor the papyri² provide direction for exegesis. The exegesis depends on whether *biazetai* is passive or middle voice and whether it should be taken in a favorable or an unfavorable sense; but these decisions are determined by the interpretation that one chooses.

We must emphasize that these two texts are not real parallels; each evangelist has not only inserted this logion in a different context but has understood it in a particular way.³ Matthew seems more primitive and Palestinian; Luke fits with a later stage in the propagation of the gospel. So we cannot use one text to explain the other; each has its own particular significance.⁴

Predominant in Matt 11:12 is the idea of violence against the reign and of effort or aggression on the part of people.⁵ All the old versions took *biazetai* as a passive; but is it transitive or intransitive? In the papyri of the third-fourth century BC, it is used for the violation of a law, as with this woman, who is seeking to have construction banned: “The above-named person coming upon this land in violation of my rights brought in bricks and dug a foundation to build” (*P. Enteux.* 69, 4; *P. Tebt.* 779, 5). It is also used when an orphan complains about the encroachments of a neighbor who despises him (*P. Enteux.* 68, 11). Sometimes what is at issue is the right of the stronger, the compelling of an adversary in spite of himself, without his permission; hence an abuse of power that gives rise to a tort.⁶ Sometimes it is a matter of violence as such and a stroke of force; the owner who calls upon a centurion in AD 31 because he has suffered great violence at the hands of his aggressors (*epei de kata polla biazontai me*) explains: *katabiazomenos de kai synarpozomenos* (*P. Oxy.* 2234, 8, 19; cf. *P. Fouad* 26, 33). In several papyri, and constantly in literary texts, the verb is used for forced entry into a house (*P. Tebt.* 804, 9), a route, or a city.⁷

In view of these usages, we may understand Matt 11:12 as follows. From the time of John the Baptist to the present, the reign of God has been the object of violence, and violent or fanatical people assault it or attempt to take it by force. The logion would be about violence that is detrimental to the reign on the part of the Pharisees, the Zealots, members of the Sanhedrin, demonic powers, any Jewish or pagan adversary whatsoever, all persecutors (Acts 5:26; 21:35, *bia*; cf. Gal 1:13). Christ is a “sign spoken against” (Luke 2:34); John the Baptist is in prison (Matt 11:2), and it is a

characteristic of the kingdom of God on earth to be oppressed by the violent, just as the church is attacked violently by the gates of hell.⁸ It would be just as possible to take the passive *biazetai* in a favorable sense as an allusion to the power inherent in the reign of God, which “forces a way for itself” and deploys itself in force,⁹ but this interpretation loses sight of the meaning of “violent people,” who would then appear to be opponents of this power and would “seize” the reign rather than “receive” it (cf. nevertheless Josephus, *Ant.* 4.121: do violence to the divine will; *War* 6.108: “I strive to save people condemned by God”).

The Lucan recension is altogether different. Not only have the *biastai* disappeared, so that it is no longer a question of seizing or ravishing the kingdom in order to plunder it (*harpazo*), but the main clause is controlled by the verb *euangelizetai*,¹⁰ which has its technical biblical sense, “announce glad tidings, good news”; for example, the granting of a favor, or a victory. The Hebrew *basar* (piel *bissar*) carries the idea of joy; here, it is the joy of deliverance and salvation, which John the Baptist was the first to announce (Luke 3:18). The Acts of the Apostles will then show that when the preaching of the gospel opens the gates of the kingdom, believers receive the good news with joy. So then, how should we take the second part of the verse—*pas eis auten biazetai*? It is difficult to think of a person entering the kingdom of God as being under compulsion or suffering violence.¹¹ Commentators just as easily take *biazetai* as a middle, as is often the case in the papyri, either in a positive sense (“everyone strives to get in”) or in a negative sense (“everyone uses violence in his own interest”); this last meaning does not yield any sense, because it is too universal.

P. H. Menoud considers the verb to be a passive and suggests translating “each one is expressly invited to enter.” He justifies this sense, which harmonizes perfectly with the preceding clause, on the basis of the weakened meaning that *biazomai* has taken on over the centuries.¹² Actually, *biazomai* in the LXX often translates the Hebrew *pasar*, “urge someone through words or prayers” and has the sense of “insist,” with the interlocutor “accepting” the demand made of him of his own free will, having the freedom to refuse (Gen 33:11; Judg 19:7; 2Sam 13:25, 27; 2Kgs 5:23); a meaning well attested in the literature¹³ and confirmed by a papyrus from AD 22, in which Serapion confesses that he is the object of friendly persuasion by friends: “I was pressed by my friends to enter the service of Apollonios” (*ego de biazomai hypo philon genesthai oikakos tou archistatoros Apolloniou*).¹⁴ This weakened sense seems to apply also in a rule relating to the Lycian sanctuary of Men Tyrannos in the second century AD, where *biazomai* has an absolute and reflexive meaning: having detailed the preliminary purification rituals (garlic, pork, sexual abstinence), the founder forbids the offering of any sacrifice out of his presence or without his permission (*aneu tou katheidrysamenou to hieron*),

immediately adding: *eande tis biasetai* (and if anyone violates), his offering will not be pleasing to the god.¹⁵ There is no question of a violator's forcing entrance into the temple, but simply of his transgressing the rule and sacrificing anyway.¹⁶

If we add that *biazomai* expresses not only obstinate determination (Judg 13:15-16) but the firmness of a decision and zeal in carrying it out,¹⁷ we can understand Luke 16:16 in terms of the *dynamis* inherent in the apostolic preaching: the reign of God is announced with power and absolutely every person—with no categories whatsoever—is in a hurry to follow the way and enter in; “each one forces his entrance.”¹⁸

¹ D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, London, 1956, pp. 285–300.

² Moulton-Milligan, p. 109.

³ Cf. M. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, p. 84, n. 2; p. 264, n. 3.

⁴ On the exegesis of the first proposition of each verse, cf. W. G. Kümmel, “Das Gesetz und die Propheten gehen bis Johannes’—Lukas XVI, 16 im Zusammenhang der heilsgeschichtlichen Theologie der Lukasschriften,” in *Verborum Veritas: Festschrift G. Stählin*, Wuppertal, 1980, pp. 89–102.

⁵ Βιάζεται, βιασταί, ἀρπάζουσιν. The pair βιάζομαι–ἀρπάζω is also found at least five times in Plutarch (H. Almqvist, *Plutarch und das Neue Testament*, Uppsala, 1946, p. 38). Cf. A. H. M’Neile, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, London, 1952, p. 155ff. In Josephus, cf. the precise and thorough study of W. E. Moore, “Βιάζω, Ἀρπάζω and Cognates in Josephus,” (in *NTS*, vol. 21, 1975, pp. 519–543) = those who had the first claim on the kingdom of God made themselves unworthy of it by their violence; violence is contrary to the nature of the kingdom, which cannot be established by the force of arms. Cf. Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 15.4: “It is through violence and steel that proceedings are settled.”

⁶ *P.Tebt.* 6, 20 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* n. 47: “Certain ones are seizing land without contracts, not paying the revenues due from them” (a circular of Ptolemy Euergetes II, from 140/139 BC); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 888, 24; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59451, 6: the chief of police Leontiskos forced us to go make bricks; *P.Tebt.* 780, 6; *P.Ryl.* 659, 9: the tax collectors want to compel me; *P.Fay.* 20, 2; *P.Flor.* 296, 24: βιάσασθαί με παρὰ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον (sixth century AD); *SB* 8033, 15: παρὰ τὸ καθήκον βιαζόμενος; 7657, 15; 9328, 13: βιάζεται ἡμα—ς παρὰ τὸ ἔθος. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.143: βιάζεται τοὺς νόμους; 14.173: β. τὸ δίκαιον; Menander, *Dysk.* 253: “It is the law that defends him against compulsion, and his character that defends him

against persuasion”; Plutarch, *De garr.* 2: “Garrulous people take the floor by force”; *Phoc.* 2.9: “God governs the world without using violence”; 9.7: “you can indeed force me to do what I do not want to do”; *Cat. Min.* 18.4: “those whom one was trying to compel”; *Ti. Gracch.* 19.4; *C. Gracch.* 8.6: “The eminent ones invited Livius Drusus to join them, but without violence, without clashing with the crowd”; 12.7.

⁷ 2Macc 14:41; Philo, *Moses* 1.108, 1.215; Epictetus 4.7.20: “no closed door for me, but for those who want to force it”; Josephus, *War* 2.262: take Jerusalem by force; 4.554: “Vespasian entered Hebron by main force”; 5.59: “Titus forced a way through to his own”; 5.112: force entrance; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.253: he had attempted to take their fortresses by force, etc.; Thucydides 7.83.5; Diodorus Siculus 2.19.7; 17. 68. 2: the Macedonians forced their way, were obliged to withdraw; Polybius 5.4.9: force passage. Often, in the OT and the writers who draw their inspiration from it, βιάζομαι means “do violence to a woman,” Deut 22:25 (*hazaq*), 28 (*taphas*); Esth 7:8 (*kabash*); Josephus, *Ant.* 2.58, 4.252, 7.152, 7.168, 11.265; *Ag. Apion* 2.201, 2.215; Josephus, *War* 1.439. The verb is frequently used with respect to surgery (cf. W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 179). On the meaning of ἀποβιάζομαι, “seize” or “appropriate by force,” cf. M.-T. Lenger, “Le Fragment de loi ptolémaïque P. Petrie III, 26,” in *Studi in onore U. E. Paoli*, Florence, 1956, pp. 459–467, and M. Jager, M. Reinsma, “Ein mißverständenes Gesetz aus ptolemäischer Zeit,” in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIV, pp. 114–115; but also Prov 22:22; 28:24 (*gazal*) = steal, appropriate unjustly.

⁸ Matt 16:18—we might cite Heb 12:3—Jesus suffered a violent assault by sinners against his person. In favor of this exegesis, cf. Schrenk, in *TDNT*, vol. 1, pp. 609–614; A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, Stuttgart, 1948, pp. 368ff.; J. Bonsirven, *Le Règne de Dieu*, Paris, 1957, pp. 44ff.; O. Betz, “Jesu Heiliger Krieg,” in *NovT*, 1958, pp. 116–137 (comparing our text to the Qumranian eschatological war and identifying the *biastai* with the *‘arûsîm*, hostile demoniac powers and their earthly henchmen: state authorities who presume to preserve the empire of the world and who oppose the blossoming of the reign of God, making it “suffer violence”); M. Brunec, “De legatione Joannis Baptistae, Mt. XI, 2–24,” in *VD*, 1957, pp. 321–331; F. W. Danker, “Luke XVI, 16: An Opposition Logion,” in *JBL*, 1958, pp. 231–243 (the kingdom suffers violence in a real sense; it is as if it were the victim of forced entry by sinners; the Pharisees murmured against the salvation given to publicans and against soteriological universalism. The rabbis thought that the kingdom of God was vulnerable to violence; they used the verb *kabash* of a prophet who “does violence” to his message by keeping silent, as Jonah tried to do; of a rabbi who did violence to the halakah by misinterpreting it or rejecting it; of judges who

showed favoritism to the powerful; cf. Str-B, vol. 1, pp. 599ff.); L. Ligier, *Péché d'Adam et péché du monde*, Paris, 1961, pp. 87ff.; G. Braumann, “Dem Himmerleich wird Gewalt angetan’ (Mt. XI, 12 par.),” in *ZNW*, 1961, pp. 104–109; J. Héring, “Remarques sur les bases araméennes et hébraïques des Evangiles synoptiques,” in *RHPR*, 1966, p. 28 (proposing the translation “the kingdom of heaven is oppressed and violent people try to plunder it”).

⁹ M. J. Lagrange, *Matthieu*, p. 221; M. Black, in *ExpT*, vol. 63, 1952, p. 290; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, p. 165; R. Schnackenburg, *God’s Rule*, pp. 85f., 129–131.

¹⁰ The formula εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ is peculiar to Luke (4:43; 8:1; Acts 8:12). This evangelization is not aimed at “adversaries,” but at the poor (Luke 7:22).

¹¹ I will at least mention the “compel them to come in” of the parable of the impolite guests (Luke 14:23); but on the one hand the purely parabolic expression must not be taken literally; and on the other hand, ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῖν can just as well be translated “invite them to enter.”

¹² P. H. Menoud, “Le sens du verbe BIAZETAΙ dans Lc. XVI, 16,” in *Mélanges Rigaux*, pp. 207–212 (reprinted in P. Menoud, *Jésus-Christ et la Foi*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1975, pp. 125–130). He takes up the exegetical position of F. Godet, *Commentaire sur l’Evangile de saint Luc*, 3d ed., Neuchâtel, 1889, vol. 2, p. 259. [ET *A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, Edinburgh, 1881–1890, vol. 2, pp. 172–173. It should also be noted that functionaries used violent compulsion (*P. Tebt.* 61b, second century BC), for example, for carrying out an assignation (*UPZ* 110). Cf. W. Dahlmann, *Ἡ βία im Recht der Papyri*, Cologne, 1968; R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 446ff.

¹³ Josephus, *War* 1.83: “The king insists on knowing”; 3.393: “Certain ones insisted on seeing him at closer range”; psychological or moral pressure, as when Eli compels the prophet by oath (*Ant.* 5.351), Herod “did not cease trying to force Pheroras to separate from his wife” (1.578), certain Romans “strive to have sacrifices offered to God” (6.101); “if one may do this violence to the language” (*Ag. Apion* 2.165; cf. 150). Circumstances can force you to make a certain decision without taking away your freedom: a storm forced them to encamp in the neighboring villages (*War* 1.330; cf. *Ant.* 7.141; 12.429); “I will compel Pharaoh to order the exodus” (*Ant.* 2.271); Titus asks Simon and John not to force the destruction of the city (*War* 5.456); the remedies that the sickness forced him to take (*Ant.* 15.246); the force of fear (13.316); do violence to one’s

nature or to fate (4Macc 2:8; 8:24); Xenophon, *Symp.* 2.26; Menander, *Dysk.* 371: “Why are you so bent on mistreating yourself, τί κακοπαθει—ν σαυτὸν βιάζει?” Agathocles, negotiating with the Thracians, convinces them to do no harm to the city, μὴ βιάσασθαι τὴν πόλιν (*NCIG*, n. 6, 19–20; around 200 BC).

¹⁴ *P.Oxy.* 294, 16; cf. *P.Giss.* 19, 13: my father forced me to take food (second century AD). Aseneth compels Joseph to allow her to wash his feet (*Jos. Asen.* 20.3) = a sweet violence! Cf. the insistence of the disciples of Emmaus, παρεβιάσαντο αὐτὸν λέγοντες (Luke 24:29).

¹⁵ Dittenberger, *Syl.*, 1042, 8 (commented on by A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 258); cf. *SEG*, vol. 23, 76, 8: ε—ἀν δέ τις βιαζόμενος πίνη (around 400 BC).

¹⁶ Cf. *P.Wisc.* 14, 14, from AD 131: Pannonios the *epitropos* violated his responsibilities, βιάσηται τὸν ληγα—τον; 47, 38.

¹⁷ Cf. Exod 19:24—“Let the priests and the people not rush out to ascend to Yahweh” (Hebrew *haras*, break out); Polybius 1.74.5: “the elephants threw themselves against the encampment, βιασαμένων εἰ—ς τὴν παρεμβολήν.” With εἰ—ς, β. is often hostile or pejorative; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.429: “he forced them to flee, εἰ—ς φυγὴν”; *War* 3.423: “they strove to get into the open”; Thucydides 1.63.1: “Aristeus decided to force entry into Potidaea, βιάσασθαι ε—ς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν”; 7.69.4; *P.Hib.* 265, 3: βιάζονται εἰ—ς τὸν —Αρσινοίτην.

¹⁸ French “chacun y force son entrée,” the translation of E. Delebecque (*Evangile de Luc*, p. 105), who cites Black’s translation: “everyone oppresses it,” thus harmonizing the verse with Matt 11:12. Delebecque also observes “βία denotes obligation as well as violence”: one is legally or morally compelled (*Etudes grecques*, p. 74). Cf. Διὸς βία, οἶ εοῦ βία, an expression of extreme compulsion, *P.Laur.*, n. 6.

βλαβερός

blaberos, harmful

blaberos, S 983; *EDNT* 1.219; MM 112; L&N 20.13; BAGD 142

Derived from *blabe*, “damage, harmfulness” (Wis 11:19), the adjective *blaberos* describes that which does harm, like vinegar to the teeth or smoke to the eyes (Prov 10:26). People who seek to get rich fall prey to

“senseless and baneful desires” (*epithymias pollas anoetous kai blaberas*, 1Tim 6:9). In various contexts, *blaberos* can refer to simple inconveniences,¹ that which is injurious,² and even that which is disastrous (Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.15.13; 1286*b*). Rare in the papyri, it is used for the deterioration of a machine³ or a person’s health.⁴

In 1Tim 6:9, the strong sense of the word is to be understood, because “terror and violence will lay riches waste” (Sir 21:4): instead of the expected multiplication of profits, covetousness that is never satisfied hastens losses that lead to ruin.⁵ Otherwise, the adjective has the judicial and penal sense so often attached to the noun *blabe*: penalty, pecuniary compensation.⁶ Eternal perdition (cf. *eis olethron kai apoleian*) would be the compensation, as it were, for the greedy person who prospered here below; that at least is Abraham’s verdict (Luke 16:25).

¹ *Ep. Arist.* 255: “good counsel in its reflections takes account of the inconveniences associated with the opposed solution.”

² Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.16.2; 1287*a*: “it is injurious to the body to give unequal beings equal food or clothing”; *Ep. Arist.* 192: “God shows to those whose prayers he does not answer that which would have been harmful to them”; Plutarch, *An vitiositas* 4: the Parthian poison is injurious and harmful only to those who are sensitized to it; *Phoc.* 12.3: undisciplined soldiers are injurious for the combatants.

³ *P.Tebt.* 725, 5; a communication from an engineer of the second century BC, *μεγάλων βλαβερῶν—ν ε—πιγεγενημένων*.

⁴ *P.Cair.Goodsp.* II, col. I, 6; medical fragment of the second century AD, *ὡς βλαβερωτερόν*; Plutarch, *De curios.* 1: “unhealthy and baneful passions.”

⁵ This annihilation of hope allows the qualification of *epithymiai* by “senseless” (*ἀνοήτους*), the epithet for the rich person who trusts his fortune to guarantee his future (Luke 12:20, *ἄφρων*).

⁶ *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 13, 13: “in addition to damages and expenses”; *P.Lips.* 3, col. I, 14; 4, 29; 6, col. II, 15; *P.Flor.* 16, 18. Cf. A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden*, 2d ed., Aalen, 1965, pp. 26ff., 133, 186. D. Hennig, “Die Arbeitsverpflichtungen der Pächter,” in *ZPE*, 1972, p. 115.

γαστήρ

gaster, belly, womb

gaster, S 1064; *EDNT* 1.239; MM 121; L&N 8.68, 23.19, 23.50; BAGD 152

The “belly” is an organ of the body distinct from the stomach (*stomachos*) and the intestines (*koilia*), making up one of its internal parts.¹ “The great blood vessels pass above the belly” (Hippocrates, *Nat. Hom.* 11; 196.4). Its functions, changes, and diseases are described.² In the OT, the Hebrew *beten*, related to the Akkadian *bântu*, “eminence, prominent part,” can refer to a protuberance in a pillar;³ but usually it refers to the inside of a person, especially in contradistinction to the lips, the organ of externalization.⁴ If the seat of wisdom is in the belly (Job 32:18-19; Prov 20:27), it is because certain words, spoken of as if they were delicacies, descend “into the chambers of the belly,” to the depths (Prov 18:8; 26:22).

“Belly” is substituted for the mother’s womb.⁵ The expression “to have in the belly” (*echein en gastri*) as a way of saying that a woman is pregnant is first attested in Herodotus 3.32 with respect to the wife of Cambyses; the LXX uses this expression to translate the Hebrew *harâh*.⁶ It is used almost constantly in the NT,⁷ notably for the Virgin Mary (*heurethe en gastri echousa*, Matt 1:18), fulfilling the prophecy of Isa 7:14.

But “to conceive” was also expressed *syllambanein en gastri* (Gen 25:21), especially in the medical writings.⁸ It is therefore not surprising that Doctor Luke put the angel’s announcement to Mary this way: *kai idou syllepse en gastri kai texe huion*.⁹

Gaster is often used with a pejorative nuance, for example in Philo,¹⁰ who denounces its desires (*Creation* 158; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.149; *Spec. Laws* 1.192; 4.96) and its pleasures.¹¹ It is insatiable (*Dreams* 2.147, 208) and must be mastered (*Prelim. Stud.* 80; *Spec. Laws* 2.195; 4.127). It is with this meaning that Titus 1:12 cites Epimenides of Cnossos, who calls the Cretans “idle bellies” (*gasteres argai*). Already in Homer, Melantheus insults the swineherd by saying that he would rather “fill his belly” than work.¹² The insult became traditional; cf. the disdain of the Muses: “Shepherds . . . who are nothing but bellies” (Hesiod, *Th.* 26). At Rome, L. Veturius was drummed out of the equestrian order because “from neck to groin he was nothing but a belly” (Plutarch, *Cat. Mai.* 9.6); the materialistic turncoats of Alexandria apostasized “for the love of their belly” (3Macc 7:11; cf. Phil 3:19); “rebels against the divine law, incapable of restraint . . . in the quest for pleasures of the belly and the entrails” (Philo, *Virtues* 182); whereas Socrates considered humans as related to the gods, “we, on the other hand, regard them as bellies, as guts, as sexual organs” (Epictetus 1.9.26). J. M. Edmonds quotes an anonymous writer: “the whole body is a belly.”¹³

¹ Philo, *Creation* 118; *Post. Cain* 8. But man is said to “throw himself on his belly” (*Flight* 31 = position himself at table), and the serpent, “an animal without feet, is slumped on its belly” (*Creation* 157; *Migr. Abr.* 65; *Spec. Laws* 4.113); Josephus, *Ant.* 20.18; *P.Oxy.* 2810, 14.

² “The belly has no intelligence, but through it we are aware of thirst or hunger” (*Vict.* 12.2). It is made to feed and strengthen the body, not as an organ for pleasure, like the root of a plant (Musonius, frag. 18 b; ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 118, 9). It has a “prodigious function” (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.83); tortured by hunger (*Moses* 1.195), it is “filled” with food (*Contemp. Life* 55; cf. *Alleg. Interp.* 3.145; Jer 51:34, Hebrew *keres*) and satisfied (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.82; *Virtues* 126, 135), but it can be overloaded (Philostratus, *Gym.* 48): “Greeks measure their food by the capacity of their belly” (Xenophon, *Lac.* 2.1). If a person changes habits, “the belly is thrown off” (Hippocrates, *Acut.*, Appendix 42.1); “a walk after dinner dries it out” (*Vict.* 4.49.2; 4.54.2). There can be “pain in the belly” (*Loc. Hom.* 20; 47.4). Agrippa dies after five days of abdominal pain (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.350). The belly is shrunken (Philostratus, *Gym.* 34–35), or swollen (Num 5:22; Hippocrates, *Acut.* 51.1; *Nat. Hom.* 21.214.16; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.148–150; *Spec. Laws* 3.62) and produces colic (Hippocrates, *Nat. Hom.* 20.212.7); “dropsy can concern the belly alone” (*Aff.* 4.57.2). Philo often identifies or associates the belly with sexual functions (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.157; *Worse Attacks Better* 113; *Post. Cain* 155; *Giants* 15; *Dreams* 1.122; *Moses* 1.160).

³ 1Kgs 7:20; cf. P. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, pp. 107, 133–134. Compare γαστήρ, the rounded part of a shield (Tyrtæus 11.24); γάστρα, the belly of a vase (Dioscorides 5.103, 144); a swollen pouch of processed meat: a sausage (Aristophanes, *Nub.* 409).

⁴ The interior of an object is called “the belly.” Jonah (Jonah 2:3-4) was in “the belly of Sheol . . . in the depths of the sea.” Cf. *Flight* 204: “that which is hidden in the belly.”

⁵ Hebrew *rehem*. Cf. “the mother’s belly” (Judg 16:17), a child described as “son of the belly” or “fruit of the belly” (Gen 30:2; Ps 127:3). Cf. Hippocrates, *Carn.* 6.3: “the child in the belly” (ε—ν τῇ γαστρῷ); *P.Lond.* 1713, 30; *SB* 7288, 2: γαστρὸς ἔχουσα ὄγκον; Philo, *Moses* 1.19. The epitaph for Heroïs, dead at eighteen years: γαστρὸς ἔχουσα ὄγκον (*SB* 5718); cf. Euripides, *Ion* 15. Ps.-Phocylides 184 prescribes: “a woman shall not destroy the fetus in her belly”; likewise *Sib. Or.* 2.281.

⁶ With respect to Hagar (Gen 16:4, 5, 11), Samson's mother (Judg 13:3, 5, 7); cf. Gen 38:24-25; Exod 21:22; 2Kgs 8:12; 15:16; Isa 40:11; Hos 14:1; Job 21:10. It is also a secular usage, Hippocrates, *Nat. Puer.* 15.1; 18.4; 21.3; 30.3-5; *Mul.* 1.1, 3; Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.18; 3.32; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59328, 21; *P.Wisc.* 78, 21; *P.Lond.* 2053, 3; *P.Magd.* 4, 6 (the complaint of a *klerouchos* concerning the theft of eight pigs, not counting the piglets and a pregnant white sow that was killed by the criminals, τὴν ε—τέραν ἀπέκτειναν λευκὴν, ε—ν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν); *P.Tebt.* 800, 29 (142 BC); *P.Ryl.* 68, 13 (89 BC); *PSI* 1440, 1 (second-third century AD); *P.Flor.* 130, 3 (third century).

⁷ Matt 24:19—"Woe to the women who are with child" (ταί—ς ε—ν γαστρὶ ε—χούσαις, Mark 13:17; Luke 21:23). At the Parousia, the woes of humanity are analogous to those of a woman who is going to give birth (ὡσπερ ἡ ὠδὶν τῇ γαστρὶ ε—χούση, 1Thess 5:3). In Rev 12:2, the Christian community, facing the dragon, "is pregnant (γυνὴ . . . ε—ν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα) and cries out in her labor pains." — The NT does not use the expression λαβεῖ—ν ε—ν γαστρὶ, "receive in the womb," i.e., "conceive, carry young" (Hippocrates, *Nat. Puer.* 13.1; *Carn.* 19.1; Aristotle, *HA* 9.50.8; Gen 30:41; 38:18; Exod 2:2, 22; Num 11:12; 2Sam 11:5; 2Kgs 4:17; 1Chr 7:23; Isa 8:3; 26:18; Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 131, 135, 138), also written λαμβάνειν ε—ν γαστρὶ (Hippocrates, *Nat. Puer.* 15.4; Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 130, 135).

⁸ Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Galen. Numerous references given in Hobart, *Medical Language*, 1882, pp. 91-92.

⁹ Luke 1:31. The formula is apparently pleonastic (for Elizabeth, we have only συνέλαβεν, Luke 1:24, 36). R. Laurentin (*Structure et théologie de Luc I-II*, Paris, 1957, p. 68) thinks that Luke wanted to emphasize the dwelling of Yahweh in the womb (Hebrew *beqerem*) of the Daughter of Zion, in the ark of the covenant (according to Zeph 3:15 *b*, 17 *a*; Isa 12:6). Cf. H. Quecke, "Lukas I, 31 in den alten Übersetzungen," in *Bib*, 1965, pp. 333-348; R. Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium*, Freiburg, Basel, Vienna, 1969, p. 46.

¹⁰ *Joseph* 154; *Moses* 2.156; *Spec. Laws* 1.174; *Good Man Free* 156; *To Gaius* 275

¹¹ *Alleg. Interp.* 1.86; 2.26, 76; 3.62, 114, 138, 141, 144; *Cherub.* 93; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 33, 49; *Flight* 35; *Joseph* 61; *Moses* 2.23; *Spec. Laws* 1.150; 2.163; 3.43; *Virtues* 208

¹² *Od.* 17.228. P. Chantraine, "Remarques sur la langue et le vocabulaire du Corpus hippocratique," in *La Collection hippocratique* (Colloque de

Strasbourg, 1972), Leiden, 1975, pp. 37–39. Cf. Jer 51:34—Nebuchadnezzar “has filled his belly.”

¹³ Γαστήρ ὅλον τὸ σω—μα . . . ἔρπον τοι—θ ὀδοῦσί ηρίον, J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 A, p. 418, n. 392 a. For the Latin writers, cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, p. 610; J. Taillardat, *Suétone: Des Terms injurieux*, Paris, 1967, pp. 62, 87.

γνήσιος

gnesios, authentic, dear, legitimate

see also ἀνυπόκριτος, γνήσιος; ὑποκρίνομαι, ὑπόκρισις, ὑποκριτής

gnesios, S 1103; TDNT 1.727; EDNT 1.225; MM 128–129; L&N 73.1; BAGD 162–163

As opposed to the adopted son or to the illegitimate child (*nothos*, Heb 12:8; Menander, *Sam.* 236–237; Philo, *Dreams* 2.47), *gnesios* modifies the child born of a legitimate marriage: “the title of legitimate child belongs to the one who is a son by blood.”¹ In practice, this juridical meaning becomes synonymous with “authentic, true, real,” and it is with this meaning that Paul addresses Timothy as “*gnesios* child in (the) faith” (*gnesio tekno en pistei*, 1Tim 1:2) and Titus as “*gnesios* child according to a common faith” (*gnesio tekno kata koinen pistin*).² In the Hellenistic period, this term takes on an emotional density attested notably in the papyri and the inscriptions, where it means “dear” or “much beloved.”³

I. — It is used for children, with a very affectionate nuance; Isaac is “son . . . *gnesios*, beloved, and only” (*huios . . . gnesios, agapetos, kai monos*);⁴ Meltinianos reserves a place in his tomb for “my dear children” (*ta gnesia mou paidia*, MAMA, VIII, 595; CII 739). It is used for women—mothers or wives—with a clear nuance of love: “in memory of my dear wife Agelais” (*Agelaïdi gynaikei gnesia mneias heneken*);⁵ for parents, “my sweetest and most *gnesios* father” (*ton glykytaton kai gnesion patera*, BCH, 1883, p. 274, n. 15; cf. Philo, *To Gaius* 62, 71; MAMA, I, 361, 365); for brothers and sisters: “do not trade a true brother for gold from Ophir”;⁶ and finally for friends, compatriots, companions, and “dear colleagues”: *gnesios erastes*; ⁷ “let them not forget their true friends.”⁸ This is the meaning when St. Paul writes, “For your part, Syzygos, true yokefellow, I ask you to come to the aid” of Euodia and Syntyche.⁹ In addition to the word-play, the designation is affectionate.¹⁰ To convey this nuance, 1Tim 1:2 and Titus 1:4 should be translated “dear and true child.”

II. — In addition, *gnesios* is used in a religious sense for the transmitters of revelation. Isis to Horus: “He made me swear not to pass on

the revelation, except only to my child and dear friend” (*ei me monon tekno kai philo gnesio*).¹¹ More generally, it modifies the authorized interpreter of a teaching: Aristotle is “the most authentic disciple of Plato”;¹² in a more specialized sense, it refers to the legitimate heir to whom a father passes on his authority and command (Philo, *Virtues* 59; *To Gaius* 24; cf. *Spec. Laws* 4.184; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.45). It may stand comparison to the position at court of the “king’s friend”; for Eleazer, for example, King Ptolemy is a sincere friend.¹³ These latter nuances fit well with the case of the apostle’s representatives at Ephesus and Crete. Not only does their spiritual father show tender affection for them that will gain honor for them among Christians,¹⁴ but they are representatives vested with a legitimate authority that cannot rightly be contested; they are, in the final analysis, authentic interpreters of his doctrine, the faithful echo, as it were, of Paul’s voice (cf. Philo, *Contemp. Life* 72, and 2Tim 3:10).

III. — When modifying things, *gnesios* refers to those which are appropriate, well suited for their purpose;¹⁵ with respect to a service, rendering a service sincerely means rendering it effectively;¹⁶ thus should be understood the exhortation to the Corinthians to be generous toward the saints at Jerusalem (*to tes hymeteras agapes gnesion dokimazon*, 2Cor 8:8; cf. *P.Ant.* 188, 16: *to gnesion endeixesthai*; *P.Lond.* 1041, 2: *gnesion agapen*). They must prove the authenticity of their love, to be sure; but their alms are “normal.”¹⁷ The external, material gesture only gives “proper” expression to the internal urgency of love. But there is beauty and honor in showing oneself “true” (cf. Philo, *Post. Cain* 102), in demonstrating one’s intimate feelings: *gnesios kai endoxos*.¹⁸

¹ Demosthenes, *C. Leoch.* 44.49: τὸ μὲν γὰρ γνήσιόν ἐ—στιν, ὅταν ἡ γόνῳ γεγονός. The natural father is the πατήρ γόνῳ, the adoptive father ποιητός (Lysias, *C. Agor.* 13.91). *P.Vindob.Bosw.* 5, 11: πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν τέκνων γνησίων σπορα—ς ἔνεκεν (with the note of the editor); *P.Oxy.* 1267, 15; cf. F. Schulz, “Roman Registers of Births and Birth Certificates,” in *JRS*, 1942, pp. 78–91; 1943, pp. 55–64. M. Scheller, “Griech. γνήσιος, altind. *játya* und Verwandtes,” in *Festschrift Debrunner*, Berne, 1954, pp. 399–407.

² Titus 1:4. On spiritual begetting and the designation “son” as implying disciple and successor, cf. P. Gutierrez, *Paternité spirituelle*, pp. 225ff. et passim.

³ This meaning was noted and strongly emphasized by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, Paris, 1966, pp. 218ff.

⁴ Philo, *Abraham* 168; cf. *Moses* 1.15: the daughter of Pharaoh takes pity on the infant Moses, “her heart full of maternal affection, as if he were her

own child, ὡς ἐ—πὶ γνησίῳ παιδί”; *Spec. Laws* 4.203: “the sweet hope of begetting legitimate children”; *Good Man Free* 87; *CII* 2, 739; *MAMA* 8, 220: Λούκιος —Ιωάννη ἀναγνώστη φιλτάτῳ καὶ γνησίῳ υἱ—ῶ—; cf. 6, 358; 368; 7, 427: τοῦ γνησίου μου τέκνου; 565; H. Gregoire, *Asie Mineure*, n. 74, 310.

⁵ *SEG* 6, 232; cf. *P.Eleph.* 1, 3; *MAMA* 4, 305: τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ τεκούσῃ Μελτίνῃ καὶ γνησίᾳ γυναικί —Αμμία; 1, 358. The superlative *glykytatos*, synonymous with *philtatos*, “dearest,” recurs constantly as a feminine epithet (7, 162, 272, 274, 382, 390, 548; 8, 252; *I.Side*, 120; cf. H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes*, Helsinki, 1956, pp. 97ff.)

⁶ *Sir* 7:18. Cf. *P.Gron.* 10, 9: ἡ ἐ—μὴ γνεσιωτάτῃ ἀδελφῇ Σενεπόνυχος; *P.Osl.* 132, 8; *P.Lond.* 992, 5; 1007, 10; 1244, 5; *P.Michael* 45, 3: Κολλοῦθος γνήσιος αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸς ἐ—κ τῶ—ν αὐτῶ—ν γονέων; *P.Oxy.* 48, 12: τοῦ μετηλλαχότος αὐτῆς γνησίου ἀδελφοῦ (AD 86); 2584, 30: πρὸς τὸν ὁμογνήσιόν μου ἀδελφόν; *SB* 9395, 12; 9770, 10; *SEG* 8, 621, 19: “dear Philhermes, who was an affectionate and true brother to me, not according to nature—for by nature he was my cousin—but by his tenderness”; *C.P.Herm.* 49,3.

⁷ “Dear lover,” an inscription from the area of Rome (published by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 4, Paris, 1948, p. 33); *BGU* 86, 19: τὸν γνήσιον αὐτοῦ φίλον. F. Cumont, *Pontica*, n. 20, 26: ἐ—ν πα—σιν εὖστοργον καὶ γνήσιον φίλον . . . μνημονεύω.

⁸ *P.Fouad* 54, 34. M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 58, 5: φίλον γνήσιον; B. Latyschev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, vol. 4, n. 425: Callisthenes to Onesimos, τῶ— εἰ—δίῳ γνησίῳ φίλῳ; *P.Apoll.* 24, 1: “I have already written to your remarkable and noble Friendship, τῇ περιβλέπτῳ σου γνησία φιλία”; *P.Ness.* 47, 2: ἀσπάζω σε τὸν ἐ—μοῦ γνήσιων φίλων ὄντα, δέσποτα; 68, 2, 7.

⁹ *Phil* 4:3. On this text, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 587, n. 5. For the name Syntyche, cf. *P.IFAO* II, n. 7, 1.

¹⁰ Γνήσιος is a common term of affinity; cf. a decree of Tenos: γνησίαν ἔχοντι πρὸς πάντας φιλοστοργίαν (C. Michel, *Recueil*, 394, 49; middle of the first century BC); a decree of Sestos: πρὸ πλείστου θέμενος τὸ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα γνήσιον καὶ ἐ—κτενές (ibid., 327, 7); a decree of Chersonese: ἀγάπαν γνασίαν ἐ—νδείκνυται, (B.Latyschev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, vol. 1, 359, 6 = L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, p. 311, n. 2); letter of Herakleotes to Hadrian: πάσαι σπουδα—ι καὶ πάσα φιλοστοργία

κεχραμένοι γνασῖαι (L. Robert, *ibid.*); *P.Lond.* 1917, 14: ἀγαπητὰ ἡ γνησιώταται καὶ ἀξιώταται; *I.Delos*, 1512: γνησίως καὶ προθύμως.

¹¹ In M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 2d ed., London, 1963, p. 34, 6; cf. A. J. Festugière, *L'Expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos*, in *RB*, 1939, p. 51; *Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 1, p. 259.

¹² Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp.* 1: ὁ γνησιώτατος αὐτοῦ μαθητής; Claudius to the Alexandrians: “My brother Germanicus, addressing you γνησιωτέρας ὑμα—ς φωναί—ς” (*P.Lond.* 1912, 27; with the note of H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 31); Philodemus of Gadara, *Adv. Soph.*, frag. γ III, 5: γνήσιος ἀναγνώστης; cf. i3, 11–12.

¹³ *Ep. Arist.* 41: φίλω γνησίω (with the commentary of A. Pelletier, *Josèphe adaptateur*, p. 112; *idem*, *Philon in Flaccum*, Paris, 1967, p. 159); Dittenberger, *Or.* 308, 7–8, 13–15: the Attalid queen Apollonis and her sons.

¹⁴ Cf. this inscription of Palmyra: γνησίως καὶ φιλοτείμως παράσταντα, published by C. Dunant, *Le Sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre*, Rome, 1971, n. 45 A, 3, and J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par les dieux*, Paris, 1972, p. 74.

¹⁵ *P.Giss.* 47, 4: ε—πὶ τω— κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς γνήσια καὶ λείαν ἄξια εὐρήσθαι; 15: παραζώνιον γὰρ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν γνήσιον οὐκ εὐρέθη; cf. Philo, *Prov.* 2.24: “and who with the thought of the genuine [γνησίω] before them would not disregard the spurious for its sake” (LCL)

¹⁶ Philo, *Unchang. God* 116; *Worse Attacks Better* 21; 3Macc 3:19— γνήσιον βούλονται φέρειν. This is very often the meaning of the adverb γνήσιως; cf. 2Macc 14:8: “sincere (effective) care for the interests of the king”; Phil. 2:20—“I really have no one like him to take a sincere (effective) interest in your situation”; *P.Tebt.* 326, 11: προστήσεσθαι γνησίως τοῦ παιδίου = he will effectively protect the child; hence the meaning “regularly, conformably to the rule” (*P.Fouad* 6, 10); *SB* 7655, 33; 9935, 15: οἷς ἀπ ἀρχῆς τὴν τε φιλίαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν γνησίως συντητήρηκα; *Pap. Lugd.Bat.* XI, 7, 15.

¹⁷ Cf. *BGU* 248, 21: τὰ ἔργα τω—ν ἀμπέλων ι—δίω γνησίως γενέσθω; *I.Magn.* 188, 9: ε—ν πάσαις ται—ς τῆς πατρίδος χρεῖαις γνησίως προνοήσαντα; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 708, 10: τειχοποιὸς ἀνδρηότατα μὲν καὶ γνησιώτατα τῆς ε—πιμελήας τω—ν ἔργων προέστη; *SEG*, vol. 4, 600, 11.

¹⁸ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 721, 42; *SEG*, vol. 15, 849, 3: “Having aided with nobility and generosity (γνησίως καὶ φιλοτείμως) the merchants, the caravans, and the citizens”; cf. Polybius 4.30.4: οἱ— γνήσιοι τῶ—ν ἀνδρῶ—ν = well-born men. In the sixth-seventh century, Γνήσιε = Your Brotherliness, a title of respect (*P.Apoll.* 37, 12; cf. *P.Ant.* 188, 1; *P.Ness.* 75, 1).

δειλία, δειλιάω, δειλός

deilia, faintheartedness, cowardice, fear; *deiliao*, to be fearful; *deilos*, fearful

deilia, S 1167; *EDNT* 1.281; MM 138; L&N 25.266; BAGD 173 | ***deiliao***, S 1168; *EDNT* 1.281; MM 138; L&N 25.267; BAGD 173 | ***deilos***, S 1169; *EDNT* 1.281; MM 138; L&N 25.268; BAGD 173

Associated with *phobos* (Wis 4:17), *eklysis* (2Macc 3:24), *anandria* (cf. 4Macc 6:20), *atolmia* (Philo, *Virtues* 25; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.298; 15.142; Aeneas Tacticus, *Polior.* 16.20), faintheartedness or cowardice can be defined as “a failure of spirit caused by fear.”¹ Rarely mentioned in the papyri, it is used for mere reserve or abstention,² a lack of courage and of reaction, a sort of torpor,³ and finally fright (*tarasso*, Ps 55:4; John 14:27; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.216) which can become panic and terror⁴ in the face of extreme danger.

I. — Jesus reproaches the apostles for this psychological fear when they are terrified by the storm (Matt 8:26; Mark 4:40), because it involves a moral deficiency:⁵ they no longer have faith, or they have but little faith in the presence of the Savior, who has to reassure them. Reference is made to the wisdom literature: when one relies on God, there is nothing to fear.⁶

II. — When Rev 21:8 places the fainthearted and the unbelieving in the lake of fire, it has in view Christians during times of persecution who, out of a fear of suffering, renounce their faith. It is a commonplace that human courage and cowardice are revealed in the face of death;⁷ the latter is expressed in flight before danger,⁸ but it also lays hold of the lazy farmer (Josephus, *War* 3.42; *P.Tebt.* 58, 27) and the athlete⁹ and every human heart that weakens (literally “melts,” Isa 13:7, Hebrew *masas*), even the hearts of apostles facing eschatological trials (John 14:27). Cowardice can then be defined as “a more serious disease than those which afflict the body, because it destroys the faculties of the soul” (Philo, *Virtues* 26) and seen as a major vice, characteristic of base souls.¹⁰

III. — “God has given us a spirit not of faintheartedness but of strength and love” (2Tim 1:7). St. Paul encourages his young and timid

disciple not to be frightened at the difficulties of his post; more precisely, he stirs up “the good soldier of Jesus Christ” (2Tim 2:3) to undertake and pursue combat (1Tim 1:18) according to the traditional military maxim, dating back to Deuteronomy: “Conquer . . . fear not and be not disheartened.”¹¹ The fainthearted are excluded from the army;¹² cravenness was the vice most opposed to courage in combat (Sir 37:11; Philo, *Moses* 1.233; 1.235). It goes without saying that strength and hardiness are required above all in a leader: “faintheartedness and cravenness in private life bring dishonor to those afflicted by them, but in a general charged with responsibilities, they become a public calamity and a great disaster” (Polybius 3.81.7).

¹ Theophrastus, *Char.* 25.1.

² A prisoner condemned to die writes to the emperor: “I shall not be afraid to tell you the truth” (*P.Paris* 68 c 4); *P.Giss.* 40, 11; Philo, *Good Man Free* 21, 159; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.5: “Out of cowardice, he did not come himself but sent three of his friends.”

³ Lev 26:36—“I will cause them to have weakness of heart, . . . the noise of a falling leaf will put them to flight, they will flee as one flees the sword, and they will fall even when no one is pursuing them”; Prov 19:15; 2Macc 3:24. Menander, *Sam.* 125: “I am losing heart, now that the matter is at hand” (synonym of weakling, coward, ἀνδρόγυνος; 128). Plutarch, *Fab.* 17.5: “the cowardice and apathy of Fabius (δειλία καὶ ψυχρότης)”; *Cleom.* 33.7: the cravenness of Ptolemy. Cf. Plutarch, *Ant.* 93.4.

⁴ 1Macc 4:32—“Sow panic in their ranks, dissolve their confidence in their might, and let them be distressed by their defeat” (prayer of Judas Maccabeus in the face of the invasion of Lysias); Josephus, *War* 6.212: “Terrified in this circumstance alone” (an account of cannibalism); Quintus of Smyrna, *Posthomerica* 5.187. “Cowardice and faintheartedness” of the soldiers (Polybius 5.85.13).

⁵ For the textual variants, cf. V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St Mark*, London, 1952, p. 276. The Palestinian and Curetonian Syriac suppress the reproach; Jesus simply says “Fear not” and says nothing about faith (cf. G. Gander, *L’Evangile de l’église*, Geneva, 1970, vol. 1, p. 57). According to Ben Sirach, the heart of the sage, set firmly upon thought-out convictions, will be fearless when the time comes (Sir 22:16); on the other hand, the timid heart, with its foolish convictions, will not stand firm before any fear whatsoever (22:18); cf. J. Hadot, *Penchant mauvais et volonté libre dans la Sagesse de Ben Sira*, Brussels, 1970, p. 117); 2:12—“Unhappy are the

faint hearts and the limp hands,” which have no strength for combat. Cf. 2Chr 13:7—“Rehoboam, who was young and weak of heart [literally ‘slight,’ Hebrew *raq*) could not stand up to them.”

⁶ Hebrew *pahad*; Ps 14:5—“They shall tremble with fear where there is nothing to be afraid of”; 27:1—“Yahweh is the refuge of my life, of whom shall I be afraid?”; 78:53—“Yahweh leads them in safety, they do not tremble”; Sir 34:14—“The one who fears the Lord dreads nothing, he will not be weakhearted, for he is his hope”; *T. Sim.* 2.3; on the fear of the pilot in the storm, cf. Josephus, *War* 3.368.

⁷ Ps 55:4—“My heart is troubled within me, the fear of death is upon me”; 2Macc 15:8—Judas Maccabeus “urged those who were with him not to dread the attack of the Gentiles”; 4Macc 6:20–21—“It would be a shameful thing for us to prolong our lives for a few days during which our cowardice would make us a general laughingstock . . . if we incur through our faintheartness the scorn of the tyrant”; 14:4—“None of the seven young men trembled, none hesitated in the face of death”; Josephus, *War* 3.365: “it is cowardice to be unwilling to die when necessary”; 7.382; *Ant.* 6.215: Melcha fears for the life of her husband; Plutarch, *De sera* 11; associated with softness (19); with cravenness (*De laude* 13); *Alex.* 50.10–11; 58.4; *Phoc.* 9.2–3 (as a synonym of ἀνανδρος and the opposite of θαρσαλέος); *Cat. Min.* 22.3; 58.8; Diodorus Siculus 17.15.2: “Those who were not willing to die to save the city Phocion reproached for their lack of manliness and their cowardliness.”

⁸ Menander, *Dysk.* 123: “I beg you, flee! That would be faintheartedness (δειλία)”; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 37: “Our enemies treat this evasion (ὄκνον) as cowardliness; for our friends it’s prudence.”

⁹ Philostratus, *Gym.* 25: εἰ— θαρσαλέος ἢ δειλός.

¹⁰ Wis 9:14; 17:10; Philo, *Husbandry* 17; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 15; Epictetus 4.1.109. Zeno (in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.7.5a; vol. 2, pp. 57–58); an anonymous author of the first century comments: δειλός τὸν πόνον φεύγων (in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 A, p. 368, n. 115f.). Cf. Lucian, *Nav.* 33: “I am too fainthearted and I would not able to bear being far from home.”

¹¹ The word of Yahweh to Moses before the conquest of the Promised Land (Deut 1:21); Moses to the people: “Be strong and courageous. Fear not, and tremble not before them” (Deut 31:6); to Joshua (Deut 31:8; Josh 1:9; 8:1); Joshua to the people (Josh 10:25).

¹² Deut 20:8; Judg 7:3; 1Macc 3:56—“He told those who were afraid to return home.” Disqualifying cowardice, Philo, *Virtues* 22, 25; *Husbandry* 154; Plutarch, *Fab.* 7.6: “Soldiers weakhearted enough to let themselves be taken by the enemy”; *Aem.* 19.4: “Heracles does not receive fainthearted sacrifices offered by the fainthearted”; cf. Onasander 14.1.

δειπνέω

deipneo, to dine

deipneo, S 1172; *TDNT* 2.34–35; *EDNT* 1.281–282; *NIDNTT* 2.520–521, 536; *MM* 138; *L&N* 23.20; *BAGD* 173

In instituting the Eucharist, the Lord blessed the cup *meta to deipnesai* (Luke 22:20; 1Cor 11:25), and he promised the church at Laodicea, “If anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in with him and dine with him (*deipneso*) and he with me” (Rev 3:20).

Among the papyri are preserved a certain number of invitations to dinner either in a private home, or in a temple,¹ or above all at the *kline* of Sarapis,² to which have been compared the NT texts cited above and participation “at the Lord’s table” (1Cor 10:21). In effect, the pagan sacrifice was a meal offered to the god;³ sometimes the god was received at table, sometimes the god invited people to table in the *Heraion* to rejoice in the divine presence.⁴ For example, at the mystery of Panamara, the priest of Zeus writes to the Rhodians: “Although the god invites all men to his feast and to all he offers a common table and equally honorable roles, nevertheless, as he considers your city worthy of special honors . . . and on account of our having shared together in the same holy things, I invite you to come to the god, I urge all citizens of your city to take part in the joy that he offers you.”⁵ It is the god who offers the meal and presides; one responds to his call; the believer is closely united to his god.

These parallels are interesting from the point of view of linguistics and the history of religions, but the Pauline formulation may be more directly inspired by Mal 1:7, 12; Ezek 39:20; 44:16.

¹ *P.Oxy.* 111: “Heraïs asks you to dinner on the occasion of the marriage of his children, tomorrow the fifth, at nine o’clock”; *P.Oxy.* 2678 (in the temple of Sabazios).

² *P.Oxy.* 110, 523, 1484, 1755, 2592; *P.Oslo* 157; *P.Yale* 85: —Ερωτα— σε Διονύσιος δειπνήσαι τῇ κα ει—ς κλείνην Ἡλίου μεγάλου Σαράπιδος ἀπὸ ὥρας θ? ε—ν τῇ πατρικῇ ε—αυτοῦ οι—κία (cf. M. Vandoni, *Feste*

pubbliche e private nei Documenti greci, Milan, 1964, n. 138, 140–143, 145); *P.Fouad 76*: “Sarapous invites you to dinner for the sacrifice in honor of Lady Isis, in his house, tomorrow, that is, the twenty-ninth, at the ninth hour”; *P.Köln 57*; *SB 11049*. Cf. J. F. Gilliam, “Invitations to the *Kline* of Sarapis,” in *P.Coll.Youtie I*, pp. 315–324.

³ A. J. Festugière, *Monde gréco-romain*, vol. 2, pp. 92ff. *P.Oxy. 3164*, 3: τ—ερά κλίνη.

⁴ Cf. *Pap.Colon. inv. 2555*: καλει— σε ό θεός ει—ς κλείνην γεινομένην ε—ν τω— θοηρείω αύριον άπό ώρας θ? (edited with commentary by I. Koenen, “Eine Einladung zur Klinedes Sarapis,” in *ZPE*, vol. 1, 1967, pp. 121–126). On the εὐφροσύνη of these communions, cf. A. Laumonier, *Les Cultes indigènes en Carie*, pp. 258, 315ff.; properly speaking, the joy of the dinner parties, cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 10, p. 199, n. 7; vol. 11–12, p. 13, n. 1.

⁵ *BCH*, 1927, pp. 73–74, n. 11; cited and translated by A. J. Festugière, *Monde gréco-romain*, vol. p. 2, 173; cf. A. Deissmann, *Light*, p. 351. A. Bernand, *El-Kanaïs*, n. 59 bis. On the Theodaisia, the Proixenia, the xenika, the Theoxenia, cf. D. M. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora*, Bucharest-Amsterdam, 1975, pp. 139ff.

δεισιδαίμων, δεισιδαιμονία

deisidaimon, superstitious, religious; *deisidaimonia*, superstition, religion, reverence

deisidaimon, *TDNT* 2.20; *EDNT* 1.282–283; *NIDNTT* 1.450, 453; *MM* 139; *L&N* 53.3; *BDF* § 244(2); *BAGD* 173 | ***deisidaimonia***, *S* 1175; *EDNT* 1.282–283; *NIDNTT* 1.450, 453; *MM* 139; *L&N* 53.2; *BAGD* 173

This adjective and this substantive, unknown in the LXX and the papyri, are among the numerous compounds featuring *daimon* as the second component.¹ Both have favorable and pejorative usages. Religious fear is always involved;² Theophrastus gives the best definition: “Superstition would seem to be a feeling of fear (*deilia*) toward the divine power (*pros to daimonion*)” (*Char.* 16.1).

The favorable meaning—religion and reverence toward the deity—is well attested: “The sovereign will be very zealous toward the gods, because the citizens are less likely to fear that they will suffer from illegal acts when they perceive that the one in authority is religious (*deisidaimona*) and solicitous toward the gods” (Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.11.25.1315a); “Those who fear the gods (*hoi deisidaimones*) are less afraid of men.”³ In the first

century, calling punishment down on the guilty inspired “in the king a religious fear and a respect for the deity” (Diodorus Siculus 1.70.8). The repentant Manasseh wanted to show the utmost reverence toward God (*peri auton deisidaimonia*, Josephus, *Ant.* 10.42); when the Jews were not able to tolerate the emperor’s ensigns in the temple, Pilate was astonished at such zeal (*to tes deisidaimonias akraton*).⁴ *Deisidaimonia* refers to the Jewish religion. In 49 BC, the consul Lentulus Crus exempted Jewish Roman citizens from military service “on account of their religion.”⁵

The pejorative meaning—superstitious and punctilious—is much more commonly attested. It can be seen in Menander’s *Deisidaimon* (The Bigot), in Theophrastus’ *Deisidaimon* (*Char.* 16), and Plutarch’s *Peri deisidaimonias* (On superstition). Theophrastus portrays the *deisidaimon* as very attentive to omens and dreams, careful to avoid defilement, carrying out multiple purifications, reciting prayers suited for the given circumstances, going overboard with the worship of images. Plutarch denounces superstition as an excessive fear of divine signs: “just as unbelief (*apistia*) and disdain of divine signs is a terrible evil, so also is superstition, which, like water, always filters down to the lower levels” (*Alex.* 75.3). “Thanks to Anaxagoras, Pericles raised himself above superstition. Superstition is inspired by celestial phenomena in people who do not know their causes and because of their ignorance are disturbed and frightened regarding religion. Natural science, which banishes this ignorance, replaces timid and feverish superstition with solid piety” (*Per.* 6.1). This terror, which is passed on in traditions⁶ and stirred up by accidents (*Marc.* 6.11), bad omens (*Tim.* 26.1), wonders (*Cleom.* 39.3; *Sol.* 12.5), an eclipse,⁷ etc., is a product of human weakness (*Cam.* 6.6); it is a characteristic of barbarians (*Sert.* 11.6), women, and children.⁸ So superstition must be driven out from piety⁹ and from philosophy, which “Pythagoras (who attached great importance to divination through dreams) and his disciples filled with phantoms, fables, and superstitions” (*De gen.* 9). Upon the death of one of his daughters, Plutarch exhorts his wife to avoid exaggerated mourning and not to have recourse to superstition (*Cons. ux.* 1).

Philo sees “the crushing burden of superstition” (*Giants* 16) as a deviation that mars healthy piety (*Rewards* 40), “the queen of virtues...; adding to it, or on the other hand taking from it, in any way . . . deforms and distorts its appearance . . . because additions breed superstition, and suppression breeds impiety” (*Spec. Laws* 4.147). *Eusebeia* occupies an intermediate position between superstition and impiety (*Unchang. God* 164); *deisidaimonia* is a false respect for God (*ibid.* 103), an evil parasite that grafts itself onto worship and sacrifice (*Plant.* 107); it spreads in waves and “has submerged souls lacking in virility and nobility” (*Change of Names* 138). It is “a sister of impiety” (*asebeia*, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 15).

With these two series of texts fresh in our minds, it is easy to see a favorable sense in *desidaimon* in Acts 17:22, the praise with which St. Paul begins his discourse on the Areopagus: “O Athenians, I see that in all things you are very religious” (*kata panta hos deisidaimonesterous hymas theoro*). No judgment for good or for ill is made of this piety; “the fear of the deity can according to its nature be either piety or superstition; this term—a *vox anceps* — . . . is quite fitting for a sentiment that is praiseworthy but directed toward an object that one does not approve.”¹⁰ The “very” alludes not only to the altar erected “to an unknown god” (Acts 17:25) but to all the representations of deities that abounded in this city (Acts 17:16), where Plautus’s *bon mot* is especially applicable: “It is easier to meet a god there than a mortal” (Plautus, *Satir.* 17). Besides, it was a commonplace to praise the Athenians as surpassing all other nations in the honors they rendered to the gods.¹¹

Deisidaimonia has almost the same meaning when Festus uses it in his explanation to King Agrippa of Paul’s situation: “His accusers were disputing with him regarding their religion and on the subject of a certain Jesus, who had died but whom Paul affirmed to be alive” (*zetemata . . . peri tes idias deisidaimonias eichon*, Acts 25:19). The word could not have meant “superstition,” for that would have been an affront to the Jewish king; coming from the Roman prefect, however, it seems to have some pejorative nuance, either like our word “sect” or like the Greek *threskeia*, which is used for aberrant cults¹² as well as for worship of the true God (Jas 1:26-27). This ambiguous meaning (suggested by *idias deisidaimonias*) is common.¹³

¹ Here, compounded with the verb δαίδω-. In Homer, δαίμων refers to “a divine power that one cannot name or does not want to name; hence the meanings of divinity and on the other hand destiny; a δαίμων is not the object of worship” (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, on this word; idem, “Le Divin et les dieux chez Homère,” in *Entretiens sur l’antiquité classique*, Fondation Hardt, vol. 1, Vandoeuvre-Geneva, 1952, pp. 50ff.); G. François, *Le Polythéisme et l’emploi au singulier des mots ΕΟΣ, ΔΑΙΜΩΝ dans la littérature grecque*, Paris, 1957. The documentation is assembled by P. J. Koets, *Δεισιδαιμονία*, Purmerend, 1929; C. Spicq, “Religion (vertu de),” in *DBSup*, vol. 10, col. 129ff. For the evolution of the meaning of δαίμων, which in part controls that of δεισιδαίμων, E. des Places, “Quasi superstiosiores’ (Actes XVII, 22),” in *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus* (AnBib, vol. 18), Rome, 1963, pp. 183–191; idem, *La Religion grecque*, Paris, 1969, pp. 330–333.

² Hesychius explains the word δεισιδαιμονία as φοβοθεΐα and continues: δεισιδαίμων· ὁ τὰ εἰδῶλα σέβων, εἰ—δωλολάτρης. Ὁ εὐσεβῆς καὶ δειλὸς περὶ εὐός. The Suda: δεισιδαίμων· θεοσεβῆς· ἢ ἀμφίβολος περὶ τὴν πίστιν,

καὶ οἱ—ονεὶ δεδοικώς. According to St. Augustine, Varro (frag. 29 a) “distinguishes the religious person from the superstitious person in that he says that the superstitious person fears the gods, whereas the religious person only reveres them as a father or mother rather than fears them as enemies” (*Civ.* 6.9).

³ Xenophon, *Cyr.* 3.3.58; “Agesilaus was always a religious man; for him, those who were living well were not yet blessed, but those who had died gloriously had attained to felicity” (*Ages.* 11.8).

⁴ Josephus, *War* 2.174. When a Roman soldier tore up and burned a copy of the Torah, “the Jews, being drawn together by their religion as by a spring, ran to Cumanus” (2.230); 1.113; *Ant.* 15.277.

⁵ Josephus, *Ant.* 14.228: δεισιδαιμονίας ἔνεκεν; cf. 237, 240. The edict of Claudius authorized Jews to observe their customs on the condition that they did not “vilify the religions of other peoples” (19.290); cf. the enclosure of a temple of Aphrodite that is declared to be “of the same right and the same religion” as the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (ἄσυλος ἔστω ταύτω—δικαίω ταύτῃ τε δεισιδαιμονία, 39 BC, Dittenberger, *Or.* 455, 11); the epitaph of a mime: πα—σι φίλος θνητοι—ς εἷς τᾶθανάτους δεισιδαίμων (G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 607, 3).

⁶ Cf. Strabo 5.4.5, the steep slopes of the Avernus used to be covered with forests, which, “according to the superstition, plunged the whole bay in darkness”; Plutarch, *Arat.* 53.2: “an ancient law, fortified further by superstitious fear, forbade burying anyone within the walls.”

⁷ Plutarch, *Nic.* 23.1. Thus the general Nicias lost the Athenian army when he was slow to lift the siege of Syracuse because of an eclipse of the moon (Thucydides 7.50; Diodorus Siculus 14.76.4; 14.77.4). Cf. Samaritan Sabbath-observance (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.259), lucky and unlucky days (Plutarch, *Cam.* 19.12), unclean foods (*Ep. Arist.* 129); superstition does not stop at forbidding the killing of animals but extends also to the destruction of plants (Polybius, *Abst.* 1.6.3). In Egypt, there are superstitions related to sacred animals (Diodorus Siculus 1.83.8); the dress and jewelry of kings are “an object of terror and superstitious veneration for the people” (*ibid.* 1.62.4); 4.51.1 and 3; 17.41.6; 18.61.3; 19.108.2; 20.43.1; etc. Superstition borders on magic (cf. sidereal fatalism). Riess, “Aberglaube,” in *PW*, vol. 1, col. 29–93.

⁸ Plutarch, *Dio* 2.4: “Only small children, women, and men whose minds are disturbed by illness . . . have superstition within themselves like an evil genius”; *Caes.* 63.11: “Calpurnia, like so many women, was superstitious”;

δεισιδαμονία is synonymous with ἄλογον and μυθω—δες (*De gen.* 9.580 C; cf. H. D. Betz, *Plutarch's Theological Writings and Early Christian Literature*, Leiden, 1975, pp. 1–7, 44); Strabo 1.2.8: “A crowd made up of women and all sorts of uneducated people cannot be persuaded by philosophical logic or by this means led to piety, holiness, and faith; but only by the fear of the gods (διὰ δεισιδαμονίας), which is inseparable from legendary creations and recourse to the miraculous”; Polybius 12.24.5: “He is full of visions, prodigies, and incredible fables, in a word, of base superstition and womanish fantasies.” Agatharchides of Cnidos derides Stratonice’s superstition, which he cites as an example of weakness (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.208).

⁹ Plutarch, *De superst.* 10–15; *De aud. poet.* 12; *Cor.* 24.2; *Fab.* 4.4; Marcus Aurelius 1.16.15: “With respect to the gods, no superstitious fear”; an example is Antoninus, θεοσεβῆς χωρὶς δεισιδαμονίας (6.30.14); Philo: “It is best not to mingle superstition with piety” (*Worse Attacks Better* 18). Cf. G. Schepens, “Polybius on Timaeus’ Account of Phalaris’ Bull: A Case of δεισιδαμονία,” in *Ancient Society*, 1978, pp. 117–148.

¹⁰ E. Jacquier, *Actes* (following A. Loisy).

¹¹ Sophocles, *OC* 258: “Athens, most religious of cities” (θεοσεβεστάτας; cf. θεοσεβῆς, Exod 18:21; Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; Jdt 11:17; Acts 2:5; 8:2); Josephus, *Ag. Apion*: “the Athenians, the most pious of the Greeks”; Philostratus, *VA* 4.19; Pausanias 1.17.1; 1.24.3: —Αθηναίοις περισσώτερόν τι ἢ τοι—ς ἄλλοις ε—ς τὰ θει—ά ε—στι σπουδῆς. At Athens there was an altar to Piety.

¹² Col 2:18; Wis 11:16; 14:17, 18, 27. Chariton, *Chaer. et Call.* 7.6.6: a sort of religious scruple naturally took hold of the barbarians, θρησκευία τω—ν βαρβάρων.

¹³ Plutarch, *Lys.* 25.2; Lysander wanted to make an impression on the citizens through the fear of the gods and superstition (φόβῳ θεοῦ τινὶ καὶ δεισιδαμονία); *Num.* 8.5: Numa hoped to humble the pride of the Romans through the fear of the gods (*deisidaimonia*), but using apparitions of demons, threatening voices, and the motive of fear; Diodorus Siculus 5.63.3, the wealth of a temple consecrated to Hemithea was protected by “a sort of religious superstition that had been transformed into a custom”; 11.89.6 and 8.

διαλάσσω

dialasso, to reconcile

see also καταλλαγή, καταλλάσσω

dialasso, S 1259; *TDNT* 1.253–254; *EDNT* 1.307; MM 151; L&N 40.2; BDF §193(4); BAGD 186

“If you are presenting your offering (to *doron*) at the altar and you remember that your brother has something against you (*echei ti kata sou*), leave your offering there and go first to be reconciled with your brother” (*hypage proton diallagethi to adelpho sou*, Matt 5:23-24). Even though the verb is an imperative (aorist passive, with dative of accompaniment), this is not a cultic rule or a liturgical law but a moral obligation incumbent on a person appearing before God to offer a sacrifice.¹ Apparently, a person who is the object of a brother or sister’s animosity must take the initiative in reconciliation; the offended party takes the first step. But J. Jeremias notes that “has something against you” (*echei ti kata sou*) corresponds to the Aramaic adjective *‘aketânâ* (= the Greek *mnesikakos*) and refers to a brother who holds on to the memory of an offense of which he has been the victim.² Thus it is not surprising that the true offender should go to him and ask him not to hold a grudge and “gain reconciliation” (*diallagethi*).

Beginning with Moulton-Milligan, two papyri have been cited that use this verb with the same meaning. In the second century, a prodigal son writes to his mother, “I have written to thee that I am naked (*hoti gymnos eimei* = that I have nothing to wear). I beseech thee, mother, be reconciled to me (*dialagethi moi*). . . . I know that I have sinned.”³ A runaway slave begs his owner to be reconciled (*hoste diallagethi hemein*).⁴ We may add *P.Mich.* 502, 8, a letter from Valerius Gemellus, a soldier stationed at Coptus who seeks to end his quarrel with his brother: “I urge you to be reconciled to me, brother (*parakletheis, adelphe, diallagethi moi*), so that I may have your confidence while I am in the army.” Then there is the case of the concubine of the Levite from Ephraim, who had run away from him and been gone four months. Her husband “went to speak to her and persuade her to be reconciled.”⁵

The verb *diallatto* was used often in private law for the reconciliation of persons; *diallaktai* had the job of bringing about *diallagai*.⁶ Augustus urged Herod to be reconciled with his children (Josephus, *Ant.* 16.125; cf. 16.267, 269; 7.192); the reconciliation of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus took place in the temple (*War* 1.122). Conciliation also played a role in ending civil wars but was particularly common in international life between cities⁷ and warring states: the four hundred send heralds to Agis, king of Sparta, “to say that they wished to come to terms with him” (*Iegontes diallagenai boulesthai*).⁸ Titus said concerning the Jews, “Let us not wait for agreement to be re-established between our enemies; necessity will reconcile them all too quickly” (Josephus, *War* 3.496). Herod states, “We

have learned from messengers of God to reconcile enemies to each other” (*Ant.* 15.136), which entails changing feelings and attitudes (11.54). It is thus that God takes pity on David and is reconciled with him (7.153); so reconciliation is then pardon (6.551).

¹ Cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.167: when approaching the altar and offering a victim, one must bring a soul “in a state of absolutely perfect purity, so that when God sees he will not turn away”; *m. Yoma* 8.9: “For offenses between a person and the Place, the Day of Atonement expiates them; but for those between a person and his neighbor, the Day of Atonement does not expiate them as long as the parties are not reconciled to each other.”

² J. Jeremias, “Laß allda deine Gabe,” in *ZNW*, 1937, pp. 150–154; republished in *Abba*, pp. 103–107.

³ *BGU* 846, 10 (cf. A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 187–188); cf. 665, col. II, 11: —Εγὼ τῷ πατρί μου γράψω . . . περὶ τῆς διαλλαγῆς (first century).

⁴ *P.Giss.* 17, 13 (republished by *Chrest. Wilck.* n. 481); cf. 1Esdr 4:31—κολακεύει αὐτὴν ὅπως διαλλαγῆ αὐτῷ—.

⁵ Judg 19:3 (Hebrew *shûb*); cf. 1Sam 29:4—the Philistines fear that David will turn traitor, for otherwise how could he be reconciled to his master? (ε—ν τίνι διαλλαγῆσεται [Hebrew *rasâh*] ου—τος τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ); 1Esdr 4:31. *Diallage* can always be obtained: “If you have spoken up against your friend, do not worry, reconciliation is possible” (Sir 22:22); “for the offense, there is reconciliation” (27:21). The LXX usually gives the verb *diallasso* the meaning “change, give in exchange, modify” (Wis 19:18; 2Macc 6:27—“If I exchange life for death”; cf. Job 5:12, Hebrew *parar*); the only meaning in Philo is “be different” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 137; *Worse Attacks Better* 164; *Drunkennes* 8; etc.); cf. a testamentary foundation at Thea: “None of the figures that are in the museum . . . shall be pawned or exchanged (μήτε διαλλάξασθαι) or alienated” (C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 1001, col. II, 14).

⁶ Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1091; Euripides, *Phoen.* 431; Euripides, *Med.* 896; Plato, *Prt.* 346 *b.* A very common meaning in Josephus: Cassius “reconciled Bassus with Murcus and the separated legions” (*War* 1.219; cf. 454, 510, 530, 591; *Ant.* 16.26, 270, 335, 352, 356; 19.334); Machaeras, “having reflected on his offenses . . . succeeded in reconciling with Herod” (*War* 1.320; *Ant.* 14.438); certain wrongdoers “must think that the penitence of the wrongdoers should be followed immediately by the reconciliation of the victims” (*War* 4.221); even death could not easily

reconcile the Jews with Alexander Jannaeus after all the evil that he had done (1.92). Cf. L. Gernet, *Droit et société dans la Grèce ancienne*, Paris, 1955, pp. 103–119, 134; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 437, n. 4.

⁷ Aristophanes, *Pax* 540, 1049; Isocrates, *Paneg.* 129, 157, 188; *Phil.* 5.30, 41, 45, 83, 88: Athens and Salamis, regarding cultic matters (F. Sokolowski, *LSCGSup*, n. XIX, 3, 80, 82).

⁸ Thucydides 8.70.2; cf. 4.20.2 and 3: “We must be reconciled (Athens and Sparta) by a moderate resolution of our misfortune . . . and bind ourselves with a firm friendship”; 4.59.4; 4.61.2. Y. Garlan (“Etudes d’histoire militaire et diplomatique,” in *BCH*, 1978, pp. 97–103) prefers the translation “conciliation” rather than “reconciliation,” because diplomatic, not legal, matters are involved, and the adversaries are under no compulsion.

διερμηνεύω, ε—ρμηνεία, ε—ρμηνεύω

diermeneuo, to translate, interpret, explain; *hermeneia*, interpretation; *hermeneuo*, to translate, interpret

diermeneuo, S 1329; *TDNT* 2.661–666; *EDNT* 2.53–55; *NIDNTT* 1.579–581; MM 160; L&N 33.145, 33.148; BAGD 194 | ***hermeneia***, S 2058; *TDNT* 2.661–666; *EDNT* 2.53–55; *NIDNTT* 1.579–582; MM 254; L&N 11.147; BAGD 310 | ***hermeneuo***, S 2059; *TDNT* 2.661–666; *EDNT* 2.53–55; *NIDNTT* 1.579–581; MM 254; L&N 33.145; BAGD 310

According to Luke 24:27, Christ “explained [to the disciples of Emmaus], in all the Scriptures, that which concerned him.”¹ This is the only use of the verb *diermeneuo* in the Gospels. In earlier secular texts, it normally has the sense of “translate” from one language to another,² but Luke clearly intends it to mean “interpret,” as in 1Macc 1:36—“Nehemiah called the liquid *nephtar*, which is interpreted as purification (*ho diermeneuetai katharismos*), but most call it naphtha.” This usage is clearly attested by Philo, who knows the strict sense “translation,”³ but more often gives the word a broader meaning: “He will translate your thoughts” (*Migr. Abr.* 81); “that which language expresses” (*Conf. Tongues* 53; cf. *Migr. Abr.* 12). So *diermeneuo* means “express one’s thought in words.”⁴ Thus it is not permitted to express the name of God in literal terms (Philo, *To Gaius* 353; cf. *m.Meg.* 3.41); the precision of thought of a person well-versed in doctrine is expressed in his explications (Philo, *Contemp. Life* 31). To explain the genesis of light is to give its intelligence or to discover the unknown (Philo, *Creation* 31). Finally, for Philo, as for St.

Luke, this verb means “interpret,” and thus it is that Jesus, like Moses, is an interpreter of the holy books.⁵

In Acts 9:36 we have “a disciple named Tabitha, which translated (*he diermeneuomene*) means Dorcas.” In other NT texts, this idea—which could be put “that is” or “which means”—is expressed by the simple verb *hermeneuo*,⁶ which Philo uses extensively for the transcribing into Greek of the meaning of a Hebrew word.⁷

In the papyri, *hermeneuo* usually means the translation of an original text into another language. Thus the will of C. Longinus Castor, written in Latin, was translated into Greek: “I translated the preceding copy” (*hermeneusa to prokeimenon antigraphon*, BGU 326, col. II, 22 = SB 9298, 26); “copy translated into Greek” (*antigraphon hermeneuthen Ellenikois grammasi*, P.Oxy. 2231, 26–27); “to translate the letter you sent to me” (*ta hermeneuthenai to grammation ho diepempante moi*, P.Stras. 260, 1); “I translated from Latin” (*hermeneusa apo Rhomaikon*, P.Ryl. 62, 30); which presupposes a strict correspondence between the two texts. But the correspondence is broader when an attorney pleads for his client through an interpreter (*di’ Anoubionos hermeneuontos eipen*, SB 8246, 38, 46), and especially in the case of an explanation, as with Isidorus: “Having been given firm information by men who summed up what they knew, and having myself transcribed all these events, I explained to the Greeks the power of the god and of the prince.”⁸ Finally, to translate feelings is to express them.⁹

So there are translators. Joseph’s brother “did not know that Joseph understood, because they were speaking through an interpreter.”¹⁰ In a country like Egypt, where many races met,¹¹ the *hermeneis* (cf. *Ep. Arist.* 310, 318) were not merely multilingual, but seem to have been charged with official duties,¹² such as a certain Apollonius, interpreter for the Ethiopians in Egypt. They could be appointed either by private individuals (SB 10743, from the first century) or by the state,¹³ because in the first century interpretation was a public function.¹⁴ Furthermore, the papyri often attest to the presence and activity of a *hermeneus tes komes*.¹⁵ They are employed by individuals—not only a general (SB 9046, 308) but also private persons.¹⁶ They write (*Stud.Pal.* XXII, 101, 11), are associated with notaries (P.Oslo 183, 6, 8), translate from Greek to Latin or from Latin to Greek (BGU 140, 326; P.Stras. 253, 4; P.Ryl. 62, 30; P.Harr. 67, col. II, 11), and later from Coptic to Greek (P.Lond. 77, 69; vol. 1, p. 235; eighth century). They seem to be entrusted with fairly extensive authority, because they serve as intermediaries: “and we have written also to Apollonius the *hermeneus* concerning these things” (*gegraphamen de kai Apollonio to hermenei peri touton*, SB 7647, 7; cf. P.Ryl. 563, 7; P.Cair.Zen. 59065, 2; PSI 409, 15). They become parties to lawsuits. For example, to learn if a woman has the right to remain with her husband against the will of her father, the judge prescribes: *ekeleusen di’*

hermeneos autem (the Egyptian woman) *enechthenai ti bouletai, eipouses para to andri menein . . .* (*P.Oxy.* 237, col. VII, 37). In another case, the judge prescribes that the testimony of Ammonios, Antoninos, and the priest of Sarapis shall be examined *di'hermeneos*.¹⁷ Thus interpreters are numerous, influential, competent, having certain prerogatives, and indispensable in a cosmopolitan¹⁸ and multilingual¹⁹ society.

The special duty of the *hermeneus* is *hermeneia*. If the latter has an almost sacred character in Jewish writings when it designates the Greek version of the Scriptures (the Septuagint, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.39, 87, 104, 106, 107, 108), it also suggests the “explications” supplied by the translator, who thus becomes an interpreter.²⁰ It is not that he could express his own thoughts:²¹ “the soothsayer said nothing personal, he only interpreted someone else’s words, when the divine presence seized him” (Philo, *Moses* 1.286); “interpreters of dreams are obligated to tell the truth, because they explain and proclaim divine oracles” (*Joseph* 95). Philo elaborated a theology of the *hermeneus* who carries out a religious function related to prophecy: “The prophets are God’s interpreters.”²² In fact, God equips “the perfect interpreter by making the springs of language gush forth for him and by revealing them to him” (*Worse Attacks Better* 44; cf. 68). “The wicked are not permitted to be God’s interpreters, so that any evil man is not inspired by God.”²³ Only the virtuous “are able to interpret the meaning of the Holy Scriptures” (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.264).

In summary, then, “interpreters” were numerous and important in the secular world of the first century, and they were especially so in Jewish theology. Signal honor was given to the translators of the Hebrew Bible, which had become unintelligible for their contemporaries, and Moses was seen as the outstanding interpreter of the divine revelation. Indeed, prophecy and interpretation were closely associated. With all this in mind, we can better understand 1Cor 12:30, where St. Paul makes the interpreter a charismatic, and 14:5, 13, 27, where he requires that speech in incomprehensible tongues be translated for the hearers and clearly explained by an interpreter, who transposes the divine revelation into accessible language.²⁴ If there is no *diermeneutes* (verse 28) in the assembly, the one speaking in tongues must be silent or pray for the ability to interpret (verse 13)—which presupposes that the ecstatic discourse has an internal meaning. In any event, it is the Holy Spirit who gives the gift of interpretation of tongues (1Cor 12:10, *hermeneia glosson*), and very likely the *diermeneutes*, did not stop at giving a pure and simple translation of that which was spoken by the glossalaliac; if necessary, he added explanations and timely clarifications so that the charism might bear all of its fruit for edification (1Cor 14:26).

¹ E. Delebecque translates: “He clarified for them, by means of all the Scriptures, the things that related to him” (*Evangile de Luc*, Paris, 1976).

² *Ep. Arist.* 15: “The code that we intend . . . to translate”; 308: “in the presence of the translators, παρόντων τω—ν διερμηνευσάντων”; 310: “Now that the translation has been done correctly, with piety, and with a rigorous attitude.” A single papyrological attestation: copies of Egyptian reports on the trial of Hermas were translated into Greek, ἀντίγραφα συγγραφο—ν Αι—γυπτίων, διερμηνευμένων δε—λληνιστί (*UPZ* 162, col. V, 4; from 116 BC). The verb does not occur in Josephus.

³ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.87: “*Isaac* is translated: laughter of the soul, joy and happiness” (cf. Philo, *Unchang. God* 144); an “impeccable translation” (*Migr. Abr.* 73, τοῦ διερμηνεύοντες ἀπταίστως); “The high priest was busy choosing translators for the Law” (*Moses* 2.31).

⁴ This meaning is unknown in the NT. Cf. Philo, *Change of Names* 56: the word “incapable of expressing the least reality”; 208: the word was instructed to express in a holy manner “holy things in a manner worthy of God.”

⁵ Philo, *Post. Cain* 1; *Spec. Laws* 4.132. Cf. *Change of Names* 126: “Moses received a considerable gift: the interpretation (ε—ρμενείαν) and preaching of the holy laws”; *Moses* 1.1: “Moses, the interpreter of the holy laws”; *Decalogue* 175; *Change of Names* 125; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.87: Moses the hermeneut of God. The διερμενευτής of 1Cor 14:26 is the translator-interpreter for the charismatic who speaks an unintelligible language.

⁶ John 1:42—“You shall be called Cephas, which is translated Peter, ὁ ε—ρμηνεύεται Πέτρος”; 9:7—“The pool of Siloam, which is translated Sent”; Heb 7:2—“Melchizedek is translated (ε—ρμηνευόμενος) ‘king of justice.’” Cf. Ezra 4:7—the text of the letter to King Artaxerxes was written in Aramaic and translated (καὶ ἠρμηνευμένην); Job 42:18 (apocryphal verse): the text claims to be a translation from a Syriac (Aramaic) book—ου—τος ε—ρμηνεύεται ε—κ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου; *Ep. Arist.* 39: “elders who know their law well and are capable of translating it.” C. F. D. Moule (*Birth of the NT*, pp. 276–280) points to Papias: “Matthew joined together the *logia* [of Jesus] in the Hebrew language and each one interpreted them as he was able” (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.16). Cf. Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 4.11.4: “having him read the strip, which I translated scrupulously as we went along.” Often the verb μεθερμηνεύω is used: Matt 1:23; Mark 5:41; 15:22, 34; John 1:38, 41; Acts 4:36; 8:8 (unknown in Philo).

⁷ Nearly 150 times; cf. *Moses* 2.40; *Migr. Abr.* 20: “Hebrew is translated emigrant”; *Prelim. Stud.* 51: “Israel means ‘seeing God’” (= *Dreams* 2.173; *Abraham* 57; *To Gaius* 4). But there are translations that are free (*Migr. Abr.* 169) or broad (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.90), where the interpretation conveys a spiritual exegesis; cf. *Prelim. Stud.* 20. Likewise Josephus, *Ant.* 12.11: Ptolemy Philadelphos translated the Law; 114; *Ag. Apion* 2.46: He asks the Jews to send him men to translate the Law; *War* 7.455: “As to how this was rendered I leave to my readers to assess”; *Ant.* 6.156; but also *Ant.* 6.230: “I express my thought in words”; *War* 5.182: “It is impossible to give an adequate description of the palace”; 5.393: “I would be able to give an adequate account of your extravagances.”

⁸ —Εγὼ πάντῃ ἀναγραψάμενος ἡρμῆνησδ —Ελλησι θεοῦ δύναμιν τε ἄνακτος (*Hymn to Isis*; *SEG*, vol. 8, 51, 39 = *SB* 8141, 39; V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 74, who understands the middle ἡρμῆνησσα as meaning that the author explains himself in his own language). Cf. line 33: “Interpreting his name, the Egyptians call him Porramanres.”

⁹ *BGU* 140, 20: cf. φιλανθρωπότερον ε—ρμηνεύω. Antinous replies with the aid of an interpreter (*P. Vindob. Tandem*, n. VIII, 2–4); cf. *SB* 10288, II, 15.

¹⁰ *Gen* 42:23 (ε—ρμηνευτής; the hiphil of the Hebrew verb *lūs*). Ἐρμηνεύς is unknown in the OT. Neither term appears in the NT. Philo never uses the first noun, and Moulton-Milligan cannot supply an example from the Koine, but cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.72; Papias: Μάρκος ε—ρμηνευτής Πέτρον γενόμενος (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15).

¹¹ Ptolemy Euergetes II decided that there should be different tribunals for hearing cases of Egyptians against Greeks, Greeks against Egyptians, and Egyptians against Egyptians (*P. Tebt.* 5, 207–220); cf. A. Theodorides, “A propos de la loi dans l’Egypte pharaonique,” in *RIDA*, 1967, pp. 107–156.

¹² Cf. *CIRB*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1965, n. 698: Παιρίσαλος Σαυρόφου ε—ρμηνεύς. There is even a “chief interpreter,” δι ε—πιμελείας Ἡρακα—Ποντικοῦ ἀρχερμηνέως (*CIRB* 1053).

¹³ Like the ε—ρμηνεύς τω—ν Τρυγοδυτω—ν, a Berlin papyrus in G. Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l’économie politique de l’Egypte sous les Lagides*, 2d ed., Amsterdam, 1967, p.256.

¹⁴ Cf. *IGUR*, n. 567: Ἀσπουργος ε—ρμηνεύς Σαρματω—ν Βωσπορανός. R. Taubenschlag, “The Interpreters in the Papyri,” in *Opera Minora*, Warsaw, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 167–170 (citing Plutarch, *Ant.* 27.2); W. Peremans, “Über

die Zweisprachigkeit im ptolemäischen Ägypten,” in *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. Festschrift Oertel, Bonn, 1964, pp. 58ff. On royal interpreters paid from the treasury, cf. U. Wilcken, *Actenstücke aus der königlichen Bank zu Theben* (Abhand. der kgl. Preuß. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, 1886, n. 9). On translators in synagogues, cf. *m. Meg.* 2.1; 4.4; *b. shabb.* 115a; S. Safrai, *The Jewish People in the First Century*, Assen-Amsterdam, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 930ff.

¹⁵ *P.Tebt.* 450; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 42, 4; ε—ρμενεύς Καρανίδος (*P.Athen.* 21, 11; *P.Mich.* 567, 15; *BGU* 985, 10); ε—ρ. Βακχιάδος (*PSI* 879, 12).

¹⁶ *P.Mich.* IV, 1841: Μύσθης ε—ρμηνεύς; V, 321, 20: ε—ν Ταλι ε—ρμηνέως; *P.Stras.* 41, 36: δι ε—ρμηνέως —Αμμώνιον καὶ —Αντωνίνον κτλ. *P.Oxy.* 1517, 6: έων ε—ρ.

¹⁷ *P.Stras.* 41, 3 (AD 25); cf. *P.Thead.* 14, 23: ύδροφύλακες άπεκρείναντο διε—ρμηνέως; *PSI* 1326, 4; *SB* 8246, 39–40. Cf. F. Cumont, *L’Egypte des Astrologues*, Brussels, 1937, p. 46, n. 3; cf. p. 177, n. 3, on ε—ρμηνεία γάμων.

¹⁸ We should keep in mind that ε—ρμηνεία in music refers to the execution (what we would call the interpretation) of a sung tune or a melody played on the flute or the cithara, cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *De mus.* 32 and 36. In Philo, ε—ρμηνεία is sometimes a verbal expression (του λόγου τας ε—ρμηνείας, *Heir* 108; *Prelim. Stud.* 17, 13; *Dreams* 2.262, 2.274; *Virtues* 193; *Worse Attacks Better* 39, 68, 79, etc.), sometimes a translation from one language into another (*Moses* 2.27; *Post. Cain* 74, 120; *Dreams* 2.242), like *Ep. Arist.* 3, 120, 308. This meaning recurs constantly in the papyri, notably for the translation of wills: ε—ρμηνεία διαθήκης (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 14, 1; *BGU* 326, col. I, 1; 2, 15: ε—ρμηνεία κωδικίλλων διπτύχων; *P.Oxf.* 7, 12: ε—ρμηνείας αντίγραφον; *SB* 7640, 8); of receipts (ύπερ ε—ρμηνείας, *SB* 9355, col. I, 3; 2, 2; 10288, n. 2, 15), of a document: Διοσκουδίδου χάρτην η— ε—νεγράφη τά τε ρωμαϊκά καὶ ή τούτων ε—ρμηνεία (*P.Oxy.* 2276, 7; cf. 1466, 3: ε—ρμηνεία τω—ν Ρωμαϊκω—ν; 2472, 3; *PSI* 1364 A and B; *P.Lund* III, 9, 7, published in *SB* 8749, 7); of a letter like that of Diocletian to the inhabitants of the island of Elephantine: τω—ν γραμμάτων ε—ρμηνεία (*SB* 8393, 20); or of a hearing before a magistrate (*P.Thead.* 13, col. II, 1). In this sense, Sirach Prologue 20: “You are invited to read with care and . . . to show indulgence where we may seem—despite our laborious care in translation—to render certain expressions poorly.”

¹⁹ In Palestine, very diverse languages were spoken in the first century. Not only were Hebrew and Aramaic in use (cf. C. Rabin, “Hebrew and

Aramaic in the First Century,” in S. Safrai, M. Stern, *The Jewish People in the First Century*, Assen-Amsterdam, vol. 2, pp. 1007–1040), but Greek was common: texts of Murabba’at, and inscriptions from Nazareth, tombs, ossuaries, and coins, the inscription on the cross; “Hellenists” have Greek names and speak Greek; more than 450 Jewish inscriptions written in Greek have been found in Palestine, etc. Cf. G. Mussie, “Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora,” *ibid.*, pp. 1040–1064.

²⁰ Cf. the interpretation of visions: Mane, thekel, phares—ε—στι δὲ ἡ ε—ρμηνεία αὐτω—ν (Dan 5:1, LXX [title to Old Greek of Dan 5] = 5:7 NRSV); of Solomon: “For his songs, proverbs, parables, and interpretations the nations admired him” (Sir 47:17); cf. *Ep. Arist.* 32: “a precise interpretation of the text of the Law”; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.29: “I offer this explanation on this point.”

²¹ Philo, *Moses* 2.34: “What an immense matter, to give a complete translation of the laws dictated by the oracles, without being able to subtract, add, or change anything at all.”

²² Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.65; 2.189. 3.7; 4.49; *Rewards* 55; *Unchang. God* 138; *Moses* 2.188, 191, 40: the translators of the Law are above all hierophants and prophets; cf. *To Gaius* 99; *Worse Attacks Better* 39–40; *Migr. Abr.* 84.

²³ Philo, *Heir* 259; cf. *Worse Attacks Better* 133. “Evil interpreters” (*Migr. Abr.* 72) are not always truthful (*Spec. Laws* 4.90); “the spirit of the hearers cannot follow explanations spouted forth at high speed and without pauses for breath” (*Contemp. Life* 76).

²⁴ Cf. J. G. Davies, “Pentecost and Glossalalia,” in *JTS*, 1952, pp. 228–231.

δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοῶ, δικαίωμα, δικαίωσις, δικαστής, δίκη

dikaïos, conforming to law or custom, right, virtuous; *dikaïosyne*, justice, righteousness; *dikaïoo*, to justify, pronounce just; *dikaïoma*, justification, righteousness, righteous decree, just requirement; *dikaïosis*, justification; *dikastes*, judge; *dike*, custom, justice, punishment
see also λάθρα

dikaïos, S 1342; *TDNT* 2.174–178, 224–225; *EDNT* 1.324–325; *NIDNTT* 3.352–355, 358, 360–363, 365–370; MM 162; L&N 34.47, 66.5, 88.12;

BDF §263(a, b); BAGD 195–196 | **dikaiosyne**, S 1343; *TDNT* 2.174–178, 192–210; *EDNT* 1.325–330; *NIDNTT* 3.352–354, 358, 360–365, 369–372; MM 162; L&N 34.46, 53.4, 57.111, 88.13; BDF §§163, 219(4), 275(3); BAGD 196–197 | **dikaioo**, S 1344; *TDNT* 2.174–178, 211–219; *EDNT* 1.330–334; *NIDNTT* 3.352, 354–355, 358, 360–363, 365, 369–370, 372; MM 162–163; L&N 34.46, 36.22, 37.138, 56.34, 88.16; BDF §§148(4), 195(1e); BAGD 197–198 | **dikaïoma**, S 1345; *TDNT* 2.174–178, 219–223; *EDNT* 1.334–335; *NIDNTT* 3.352, 354, 361–363, 365, 371–372; MM 163; L&N 33.334, 56.34, 88.14; BAGD 198 | **dikaïosis**, S 1347; *TDNT* 2.174–178, 223–224; *EDNT* 1.335; *NIDNTT* 3.352, 354, 363, 371–372; L&N 34.46, 56.34; BAGD 198 | **dikastes**, S 1348; *EDNT* 1.336; MM 163; L&N 56.28; BAGD 198 | **dike**, S 1349; *TDNT* 2.174–182; *EDNT* 1.336; *NIDNTT* 3.92–93, 96; MM 163; L&N 12.27, 38.8; BAGD 198; ND 6.90

I. *Dike*. — It is generally agreed that *dike*, the basic term in this group, is related to *deiknymi*, “show, indicate.”¹ Thus its root meaning would be “that which is indicated, is in usage, is customary,”² and it is from this starting point that it ends up meaning “justice.” The first appearance of this meaning is as a mythical divine being: “There is a virgin, Dike, daughter of Zeus, honored and revered by the gods, inhabitants of Olympia,” who denounces the unjust deeds of humans before her father and calls for their punishment.³ But already in Homer, *dike* refers to a person’s due or share, what he has a right to (*Il.* 19.180; *Od.* 24.255) and also to just actions toward someone else (*Od.* 14.84), giving another person his due (*Il.* 23.542; *Od.* 9.215). Aristotle emphasizes mutuality and reciprocity (*Eth. Nic.* 5.7.1131b).

Meaning “right” (Homer, *Il.* 16.388; Hesiod, *Op.* 219) and “justice” (Josephus, *War* 5.2), *dike* is introduced in legal language, where it refers sometimes to a trial, a legal decision,⁴ sometimes to the result of a trial, namely, the execution of sentence, the penalty or punishment:⁵ “pursued by your justice” (*Wis* 11:20); “the slave and the master were stricken with the same punishment” (*Wis* 18:11). This latter meaning predominates in the LXX: “the avenging sword of vengeance” (*Lev* 26:25; cf. *Exod* 21:20); “punishment by fire” (*Amos* 7:14; cf. *2Macc* 8:11, 13); “the punishment reserved for sinners.”⁶ The NT knows only this meaning: when St. Paul was bitten by the snake after escaping the shipwreck, the Maltese concluded, “Surely this man is a murderer, since after he has been saved from the sea, Dike (the avenging goddess) does not allow him to live” (*Acts* 28:4); those who do not obey the gospel “will in punishment suffer eternal loss” (*2Thess* 1:9); Sodom and Gomorrah have “suffered the punishment (the consequence of just judgment) of eternal fire” (*Jude* ¶¶).

II. *Dikaïos*. — This adjective modifies persons who conform to custom or law (Homer, *Od.* 6.120) and things that are “normal,” i.e., that are as they ought to be (a just judgment, *Deut* 16:18; *John* 5:30; Josephus, *Ant.*

9.4; just ways arrive at their goal, Rev 15:3; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.290). Aristotle defines the *dikaios* as “one who conforms to the law (*nomimos*) and is equal (*isos*).”⁷ But all of Greek literature includes in the obligations of the just not only their responsibilities toward humans⁸ but also toward the gods; the just are so only if they are pious.⁹ So if the just person has a political “virtue,” it is conceived as the virtue of establishing order and harmony among men (Plato, *Resp.* 4.443 c–e). *To dikaion* is an innate idea that belongs to human nature, like the beautiful, the good, and the fitting.¹⁰ Under Stoic influence, Philo makes it a cardinal virtue, but one whose role goes far beyond the legal realm.¹¹ Depending on the LXX, Josephus has a religious concept of the just person, who is not only faithful to divine commands,¹² but a person of honesty, rectitude,¹³ keeping to his place and acting according to the divine will. Thus it is the faithful Jew who is just (*Ant.* 9.33), “all the Jews among the Hebrews” (10.38; cf. 14.172). They illustrate the conception of Theognis (“All the virtues are included in justice. If you are just, you are a good person” (1.147–148) or of Isocrates (the best person is the just person, *Nic.* 20; cf. *Hel.* 1). “No sin is the result of justice” (Philo, *Quest. Gen.* 4.64); “Just ways do not know how to do wrong” (*dikaios adikein ouk epistatai trophos*, Menander, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 9.8, vol. 3, p. 438; *T. Gad* 5.3).

The LXX affirms and reaffirms that God is “just and upright” (Deut 32:4; Ps 11:7); a “just judge” (Jer 12:1; Ps 7:12; Tob 3:2), acting justly (Gen. 18:25; Judg 5:11; Ps. 145:17), rewarding or punishing with justice (Ps. 62:13); but this justice is linked with goodness: “Yahweh is merciful and just; our God is compassionate” (Ps 116:5). The Messiah is described as just, not only because he carries out God’s will, but because he possesses this attribute, which is proper to good sovereigns, and because he establishes justice on earth: “I will raise up from David a justseed. . . . He will practice judgment and justice in the land. . . . He will be called ‘Yahweh-our-Justice.’”¹⁴ As for the just person in the OT, he is first of all innocent, in contrast to the impious transgressor (Exod 23:6-8; Ezek 23:45); he is “the one who does the will of the Lord”(Sir 16:3). So he is essentially a religious and perfect person (Gen 6:9), especially impartial (Deut 16:19) and generous (2Kgs 10:9; 1Sam 24:18). Not only is he “just before God” (Gen 7:1), he is also a “son of God” (Wis 2:18), and “the souls of the just are in God’s hands” (Wis 3:1; 5:1, 15). Even when persecuted (Wis 2:10–18), the just are beloved of God (Ps 146:7) and living (Isa 26:2), and they will be exalted: “Glory to the just!”¹⁵

In the NT, several usages of *dikaios* match secular usage,¹⁶ especially the neuter *to dikaion*.¹⁷ The master of the vineyard promises the workers that he will give “whatever is just” (*ho ean e dikaion*) after the work is done (Matt 20:4). Each one can judge what is right (*krinein to dikaion*, Luke 12:57). Masters must give their slaves what is just and equitable (*to dikaion kai ten isoteta*, Col 4:1), and St. Peter considers it his

responsibility (literally, considers it just, *dikaion hegeomai*) to keep Christians watchful.¹⁸ But our authors sometimes feel the need to Christianize this obligation, which has its source in God; Peter and John ask their judges “if it is just in God’s sight (*ei dikaion estin enopion tou theou*) to obey you rather than God.”¹⁹ Nevertheless, in the great majority of cases, *dikaios* retains its LXX meaning. First of all, in describing God as just in carrying out his promises of salvation, “God shows his justice . . . so that he may be just himself (*eis to einai auton dikaion*) and also make just those who have believed in Jesus.”²⁰ God is always just in his judgments, punishing the godless and rewarding the faithful.²¹ It follows that the law, which comes from God, expresses his will, and binds people to God and their neighbor, “is holy, and the commandment is holy, just, and good” (*hagia kai dikaia kai agathe*, Rom 7:12). This justice clearly goes beyond the realm of the legal or even the equitable; it is almost synonymous with perfection or integrity! Taking up the messianic designation in Isa 53:11; Jer 23:5, St. Peter says to the Sanhedrin, “You disowned the Holy and Just One” (*ton hagion kai dikaion*).²² Again, the modifier *dikaios* is used for a person of perfect rectitude, one who carries out the will of God;²³ a person set apart, contrasted with the breaker of the law.²⁴ This person is promised the highest reward: the resurrection of the just (*anastasis ton dikaion*, Luke 14:14; cf. Acts 24:15). *Dikaios* became a term for a Christian, first of all because Christians are purified from sin (Matt 13:43, 49) and acceptable to God (Jas 5:6); they are irreproachable, and their prayers are very powerful (Jas 5:16; 1Pet 3:12); they are also merciful (Matt 25:37, 46). If they are “saved with difficulty” (1Pet 4:18; a quotation from Prov 11:31) through many trials, they are sure of receiving “the recompense of the just” (Matt 10:41) and reaching God (Heb 12:23).

St. Paul enriched this OT idea of justice/righteousness. Whereas Ps 14:1 says, “There is no just person, not even one” (quoted Rom 3:10; cf. Eccl 7:20), the apostle adds on the one hand that it is not mere knowledge of the law that makes a person just, but putting it into practice, actualizing it in works.²⁵ And on the other hand he declares that a new form of justice/righteousness has appeared, no longer a legal or sacrificial justice, nor even moral, but a religious and internal righteousness. Whereas Adam’s transgression brought a death sentence for all humans (Rom 5:18), Christ instituted (*kathistemi*) a dispensation of justifying, life-giving grace: “Through one person’s obedience, all will be constituted just” (*dikaioi katastathesontai hoi polloi*, Rom 5:19); it is no longer Adam’s sin that is inherited, but Christ’s righteousness. Thus Christ establishes a new humanity of just people, antithetical to sinful humanity.²⁶ To be clothed with this righteousness, it is enough to believe: “The just will live by faith.”²⁷ It is the gift or the sharing of God’s justice/righteousness that makes the believer just, not so much on the moral plane of virtues as in the theological order: the *dikaios* is a new creation (2Cor 5:17), enters into communion

with God, is a new being. So it is indeed faith that is the principle of the religious life (Rom 3:26; Gal 3:7-9) and justification that gives life (*dikaiosis zoes*, Rom 5:18; *to pneuma zoe dia dikaiosynen*, 8:10). This dynamic and life-giving principle indwells the Christian, who, led by the Holy Spirit (Gal 5:18)—whose role is to lead the children of God (Rom 8:14)—and by faith (Gal 3:11), knows how to discern between good and evil and wants what God wants, just as a child instinctively knows its father's desires and seeks to please him. The law, on the other hand, was established to set rules for sinners and to punish them. Thus "the law was instituted not for the just (those justified by Christ) but for the lawless and rebellious, the godless and sinful."²⁸

III. *Dikaiosyne*. — This substantive, unknown in Homer and Hesiod, first appears in Herodotus (1.96), and in the Koine it substituted more and more for *dike*. Certainly it retains a legal sense,²⁹ but its meaning is considerably broadened. Not only is it a virtue,³⁰ notably in sovereigns, lawmakers, and leaders,³¹ that sums up all other virtues;³² it seems to consist most of all in properly fulfilling one's role in society, at least beginning with Plato (*Phd.* 82 a: *demotike kai politike arete*). Little by little, it becomes a synonym of perfection³³ and an attribute of every honest person,³⁴ of good comportment (Josephus, *Ant.* 3.67; 4.223; 19.154). Hence its association with *semnos* (Isocrates, *Panath.* 249; Josephus, *War* 4.319), referring to a sort of nobility or at least dignity (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.217; 12.160). *Dikaiosyne*, which implies measure and moderation, goes along with leniency (*praos*, Dio Cassius 49.20) and *epieikeia* (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.13); so it is inclined to forgive (3Macc 7:6-7; *I.Sard.* 20.1-6). In addition, it is with increasing frequency characterized as being ready to serve³⁵ and dedicated to serving everyone; doctors who devote themselves to the service of all are praised for their *dikaiosyne*.³⁶ Finally, *dikaiosyne* is linked with beneficence and philanthropy. In the second century BC, Theodorus is praised "for his beneficence and his justice toward all" (*euergesias heneken kai dikaiosynes tes pros hapantas*, SB 9974, 7), as is Callicles,³⁷ and Musonius defines virtue thus: "Virtue (*arete*) is brotherly love and goodness and *dikaiosyne* and beneficence" (frag. 14, ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 92, 32; frag. 16, p. 104, 33; frag. 17, p. 108, 2; frag. 38, p. 136, 3; cf. frag. 11, p. 82, 33; frag. 13 b, p. 90, 13; cf. Philo, *Quest. Gen.* 4.66). *Dikaiosyne* had all of these characteristics when personified, honored, and even divinied,³⁸ worshiped,³⁹ given altars.⁴⁰

In the LXX, *dikaiosyne* translates the Hebrew *seʿaqâh*, the exact meaning of which is not discoverable but which seems to express fullness and abundance.⁴¹ The justice/righteousness of God, which in itself is indefinable, is always expressed in his relations with the world; it is a relational concept, one that has to do with activities. The believer confesses that on Yahweh's side, all is perfect: "his work is perfect, all his ways are justice" (Deut 32:4); "Justice belongs to the Lord our God" (Bar

1:15; 2:6; Ezra 9:15); “You are just with regard to all that has happened to us.”⁴² On rare occasions this legislative and retributive divine justice is purely judicial;⁴³ it is the attribute of an all-powerful sovereign: “You sit enthroned as a just judge” (Ps 9:5; 51:16; 96:13; 111:3; 129:3). He brings to pass exactly what he has announced,⁴⁴ but above all, his actions, which are so perfectly just, are always accompanied by goodness and mercy: “Yahweh will do justice to his people and will take pity on his servants” (Deut 32:36; Ps 88:13; 103:17; 116:5; Jer 9:23). He betroths himself to his people in justice, grace, and affection (Hos 2:21); “your great goodness will be remembered and your justice will be proclaimed” (Ps 145:7, 17). The “justices” of Yahweh are his divine favors (Judg 5:11; 1Sam 12:6ff.; Mic 6:3), a fullness of gifts (Deut 33:21; Amos 5:24), help (Isa 41:10—“I have upheld you by the right hand of my justice”; 42:6),⁴⁵ and above all, salvation (“a righteous God and Savior; there is none but me,” Isa 45:21; 46:13); “my salvation will soon come, and my justice will appear”;⁴⁶ “In your justice deliver me, free me, . . . save me” (Ps 71:2). Thus the Messiah, raised up by God’s justice and under his protection (Zech 9:9), will execute righteousness and justice (Isa 9:6; 11:4ff.; 32:1). He is the “Just One” who is to come (Jer 23:5) and will be called “Yahweh our Justice” (Jer 32:15).

Human justice/righteousness, which is contrasted with iniquity (*anomia*, Isa 5:7), is defined in relation to God (Zech 8:8, cf. Wis 5:6) and concretely as faithfulness to the law,⁴⁷ the proof of total dependence on and submission to the Lord, guaranteeing innocence (Ps 18:21, 25) and perfection (Ps 15:1ff.; 24:3). It is also a cardinal virtue, however (Wis 8:7) and a correct attitude in all human relationships, including, for example, the giving of alms.⁴⁸ There are constant appeals to seek (1Macc 7:12), pursue (Prov 15:9; 21:21; Sir 27:8), practice righteousness and justice (Hos 10:12; Jer 22:3; Ezek 45:9ff.; 2Sam 8:15). Also quite common are the mentions of the fruits of this justice: pardon for sins (Tob 12:8; 14:9), the way of life (Prov 12:28), and promises of reward: “The one who sows justice will have a guaranteed reward,”⁴⁹ for “when one lives with justice, one finds grace with God” (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.77).

In the NT, we must immediately distinguish between the *dikaiosyne* taught by St. Paul and that of the evangelists and the non-Pauline epistles.⁵⁰ In this last category of writings, all the occurrences are conformable to the LXX,⁵¹ always with a nuance befitting the “ethics” of the new covenant. When John the Baptist objected to baptizing Jesus with a baptism of repentance, the Master replied, “It is appropriate for us to fulfill all righteousness,”⁵² that is, to conform to God’s plan, what God has decided, what is pleasing to God. The beatitude of those who hunger after righteousness⁵³ is the blessedness of moral integrity, the desire for spiritual goods; it is analogous to the beatitude of those “persecuted for the sake of righteousness” (Matt 5:10; 1Pet 3:14), religious persecution of the disciples, whose moral conduct condemned pagan depravity. But there are

different righteousnesses: “If your righteousness does not go beyond that of the scribes and Pharisees you will not enter the kingdom of heaven.”⁵⁴ For them, righteousness was embodied in spectacular displays; but in the new covenant, it is the heart that counts: right intentions, and especially love. So there is a qualitative change. justice/righteousness in the new kingdom means fulfilling God’s will freely and joyfully, which goes beyond (*perisseuo*) material obedience. This is even clearer in Matt 21:32—“John came to you in the way of righteousness and you did not believe in him,”⁵⁵ whereas the publicans and the prostitutes came to be purified. Great sinners were made righteous by believing in the message of the prophet sent by God.

To say that “human wrath does not accomplish the justice/righteousness of God” (Jas 1:20, *dikaiosyne theou*; cf. Rom 10:3) means that it is foreign to the divine will and hence cannot be justice. The quotation of Gen 15:6—“Abraham believed God and this was imputed to him as righteousness”⁵⁶—remains on the Jewish plane: the patriarch is judged by God as being holy in his conduct, so that a nuance of reward is conveyed. Likewise Heb 11:7—Noah “became an heir of righteousness according to faith” (cf. Rom 4:11, 13) and not according to works or through a legal system. Similarly, training through correction (*paideia*), which procures the “peaceable fruit of righteousness,”⁵⁷ seems to internalize *dikaiosyne*; the “trainee” acquires this or that virtue as evidence of eternal salvation. This original nuance in the new covenant is found also at 1Pet 2:24—Christ was crucified “so that we might live for righteousness/justice.” Life is transformed by faith and baptism, which make the Christian ready to do God’s will, able to serve him, and thus to be genuinely just/righteous, for “whoever fulfills righteousness is born of him” (1John 2:29). In the new heavens and new earth “the justice/righteousness will dwell for which we wait as the fulfillment of his promise” (2Pet 3:13). This eschatological righteousness is a perfection in which nothing is lacking; here it is almost synonymous with glory, God’s gift if not God himself.

There remain the Johannine usages of *dikaiosyne*, first in the sense of “trial”: the Paraclete “will convict the world of guilt with respect to righteousness/justice.”⁵⁸ Like an advocate in an appeals court, the Holy Spirit will ask each person to make an individual assessment of the original judgment against Jesus: was he guilty or innocent? Everyone must take sides. The Paraclete will convict the original judges of injustice and will exalt the innocence of their convict. As for 1John 2:29, this verse presupposes the Pauline theology: “Since you know that God is just/righteous, you know also that whoever practices justice/righteousness is born of him.” This practice is the whole of Christian ethics (cf. Rev 22:11) and means above all the exercise of brotherly love (1John 3:10). But the way in which God’s righteousness is related to that of his children is remarkable: it is as divinely born ones that Christians resemble their

Father. Those who are born of a righteous/just God cannot be other than truly righteous/just (cf. 1John 3:7).

For St. Paul, *dikaiosyne* is a new and crucial chapter in soteriology.⁵⁹ The former Pharisee eliminates the self-proclaimed righteousness obtained through observance of the law (*dikaiosyne ek nomou*),⁶⁰ by the “works” that it prescribes (Gal 2:16; Rom 3:20; 4:2; Titus 3:5). This righteousness, after all, would be purely legal, a personal victory and the rightful property of the obedient person;⁶¹ but this *dikaiosyne* cannot give life (Gal 3:21) and is therefore worthless, no longer valid, because in the divine plan the law was intended to be no more than a pedagogue, a transitory institution (Gal 3:15-26). Otherwise “Christ died in vain” (Gal 2:21). But in fact Christ is “the end of the law (*telos nomou*) that righteousness might be given to whoever believes” (Rom 10:4). So a new dispensation is substituted,⁶² that of a life-giving justice/righteousness, a participation in God’s righteousness (the antithesis of personal human righteousness, Rom 10:3; 2Cor 5:21). This righteousness is based on faith and is valid for all humanity (Rom 9:30ff.). In its very essence, therefore, this is no longer a human way of justification but justification through divine intervention. What then is this *dikaiosyne theou*?⁶³ It is known by its manifestations, because it is essentially active, dynamic,⁶⁴ communicating benefits proper to God, making, as it were, a new creation (2Cor 5:17); and its goal is the justification of humans (Rom 3:25-26). This “righteousness/justice of God” is first of all a divine attribute (Rom 8:33, “it is God who justifies,” *theos ho dikaion*), notably with respect to his role in retributive justice;⁶⁵ but it is seen especially as a merciful will that is gracious and forgiving (Titus 3:5). It is revealed in the cross of Christ, the source of salvation for all who believe.⁶⁶ “Christ has become our righteousness” (*Christos egenethe dikaiosyne*, 1Cor 1:30; Rom 10:4). Sin is abolished (Gal 2:17; Rom 4:7). This is not a simple acquittal, a verdict of justification (Rom 8:33); this is the merciful justice of God, “who gives life to the dead and calls the nonexistent into existence” (Rom 4:17) and transforms the one who participates in Christ’s death and resurrection. He infuses the believer with a *dikaiosis zoes* (Rom 5:18), the infusion of a *pneuma zoe dia dikaiosynen* (Rom 8:10; Gal 3:2, 5). It is consequently a gift received (*dorea*, Rom 5:17), a real justice/righteousness (4:4-5) that a person possesses beginning in the present,⁶⁷ thanks to Christ. “God made him who knew no sin to be sinforus, so that we might become the righteousness of God in him” (2Cor 5:21).

Saving faith is precisely this acceptance and this confidence in God acting in the mystery of Christ, in whom the future of salvation is summed up (Rom 3:22). justice/righteousness and faith are not identical; for it is not faith that justifies, but God who justifies through faith (cf. Lagrange, “La Justification selon saint Paul,” p. 140). In faith, a person appropriates Christ’s righteousness (Gal 2:17, the efficient cause of our own righteousness, thus becoming the “righteousness of God,” 2Cor 5:21).

Righteousness proceeds from faith, which is like a title for obtaining this gift from God. To talk about this relationship between faith and justice/righteousness, St. Paul uses the phrase *ek pisteos* (“from or of faith,” Rom 5:1; Gal 3:24; this is man’s part; cf. Gal 3:8); *dia pisteos* (“through faith,” Rom 3:30; with the genitive, *dia* refers to the active role of faith as used by God, Rom 3:22; 9:30; cf. Lagrange, *ibid.*); finally, the instrumental dative *pistei* (Rom 3:28; 5:2; cf. 5:20; Phil 1:27): a person is justified by means of faith, but the principal agent is God.

Understood thus, justice/righteousness by faith cannot be forensic. The sinner is transformed within, is prepared to life with God, prepared for eternal life (Rom 5:21; 8:10), granted a power (5:17) that allows him to triumph over sin (6:18ff.; 2Cor 6:4), outfitted with the “weapons of justice/righteousness” (Rom 6:13; 2Cor 6:7; Eph 6:14). Since the object of this initial justification is a living being, it must continue as an unending process;⁶⁸ so in concrete terms it is identified with the Christian life (1Pet 2:24; 1John 3:10) and with sanctification.⁶⁹

IV. *Dikaioo*. — The occurrences of this (relatively rare) verb in the secular literature shed no light on the biblical texts. In the literary documents, the predominant meaning is “judge to be good, appreciate, reckon to be just” and hence “pronounce personal judgment.”⁷⁰ The ten or so occurrences in the papyri have the same meaning,⁷¹ but almost all have a legal sense: “the court’s verdict was that we should reimburse the capital.”⁷²

In the LXX, the passive of *dikaioo*, translating the qal stem of the Hebrew verb *sadaq*, almost always means “be just,” as at Gen 38:26—“Tamar has been more in the right than I.”⁷³ Good judges “pronounce the just just”⁷⁴ and do not justify the guilty (Exod 23:7). This justice/righteousness consists in being in order, as by carrying out a vow (Sir 18:22); in being within one’s right (niphil of the Hebrew verb *shaphath*, Tob 6:12, 14; cf. Add Esth 10:9); and especially in being “innocent, beyond reproach.”⁷⁵ It is a gift given by God.⁷⁶ Often *dikaioo* means “defend, excuse,”⁷⁷ but this declaratory sense (2Sam 15:4)—which is rather often legal—is purely literary, because it presupposes that no one can effectively justify the sinner⁷⁸—except the Messiah: “My servant, the Just One, will justify the many (hiphil of *sadaq*); he will take on their iniquities” (Isa 53:11). Here the death of the servant expiates the sins of the people; to justify means to destroy sin, so that sinners recover a real innocence of soul.⁷⁹ This heralds Pauline justification.

The Gospels use the aorist passive *edikaiothe* in the same meaning as the LXX. In the parable about the recalcitrant children—representing people who refused to believe God’s message as communicated either by Jesus or John the Baptist—the Master concludes: “Wisdom has been justified by her works” (Matt 11:19) or “by all her children” (Luke 7:35). Far from blaming the precursor for his austerity or Jesus for his open-

mindedness, the people and the publicans showed themselves to be teachable and conformed to the dispositions of divine wisdom. Thus they avenged and “justified” this wisdom, proclaiming the excellence and the authenticity of its providential interventions.⁸⁰ The “children of wisdom,” truly wise people, prove through their adherence that the means used by God to carry out his merciful plan of salvation were effective, well adapted to their goal. The justification in Matt 12:37, which is declaratory (but with cause), is perfectly traditional,⁸¹ as is Matt 16:15, which denounces “those who pass themselves off as just before people” (*hoi dikaiontes heautous*) but whose assessment is at variance with God’s.⁸²

The conclusion of the parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector, addressed to certain people who thought of themselves as just (*hoti eisin dikαιοi*, Luke 18:9), uses the perfect passive participle *dedikaiomenos* to express that the tax collector “went down to his house justified rather than the other (the Pharisee)” (verse 14) upon his return from the temple, thanks to his prayer and his humility.⁸³ Here it is a question of interior justification, which is much more than a verdict of acquittal: God grants that this “sinner” becomes just, he makes him just. This is already the Pauline sense attested in the discourse at Pisidian Antioch: “Through him (Jesus), everyone who believes is justified (*en touto pas ho pisteuon dikaioutai*) from everything that you could not be justified from (aorist passive, *dikaiothenai*) by the law of Moses.”⁸⁴

Several times St. Paul uses *dikaioo* in its forensic OT sense, “declare or acknowledge to be just,” especially when he is quoting the OT,⁸⁵ but it would be wrong to extend this meaning to all the texts. In the first place, this would be to forget that “verbs in -oo mean to make whatever the root indicates. Thus *dikaioo* should properly mean ‘make just.’ This meaning is not found in secular Greek for rather natural reasons.”⁸⁶ In the second place, it would overlook the fact that St. Paul, as a converted Pharisee, perceived as no one else did the opposition between the new covenant and the old covenant, law and grace, circumcision and baptism, and perhaps especially the inefficacy of the old legal dispensation compared to the efficacy and realism of the dispensation of salvation centered on the cross of Jesus. The consequence is a radical change in ideas concerning righteousness/justification, as is seen in the frequent linking of the verb “justify” with faith in Christ and in the explicit contrast between justification and works of the law; there is a different scheme or process for attributing justice/righteousness in the new covenant than in the old covenant. The apostle gives *dikaioo* a causative sense, as appears from Rom 3:24—“All have sinned and come short of the glory of God (cf. Rom 8:30; 2Cor 3:18; 5:21); (henceforth) they are justified (present passive participle, *dikaioumenoι*) freely by his grace, through the redemption (*apolytrosis*) that is in Jesus Christ.” God has shown his mercy, but not by pronouncing acquittal pure and simple; through Christ a price was paid, a ransom (*lytron*

) with expiatory value (cf. verse 25: *hilasterion*), so that “sinners” have become just, have been made truly righteous.⁸⁷ Another clear text is Rom 3:26—“to show his justice/righteousness (his salvific action), so that (it might be established that) he himself is just and that he justifies (present active participle, *dikaionta*) the one who has faith in Jesus”: the just God communicates his justice/righteousness and makes just.⁸⁸ Again: “We hold that a person is justified (present passive infinitive, *dikaiousthai*) by faith without works of the law”;⁸⁹ “There is only one God, who will justify (future active indicative, *dikaiosei* = will make just) the circumcised on the basis of faith and the uncircumcised by means of that same faith” (Rom 3:30).

The realism in this Christian justification is made explicit at Rom 5:1—“Having therefore been justified by faith (aorist passive participle, *dikaiothentes*), let us maintain peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.”⁹⁰ Whereas sinners were enemies of God, they have now “become righteous/just,” i.e., reconciled with God (5:10) in an enduring way (5:2) and have a loving relationship with a holy God in the peace of a purified heart. Such is the standing of the present Christian life. Believers are made so thoroughly just that they are sure of their future glorification: “Those whom God has called he has also justified (aorist active indicative, *edikaiosen*), those whom he has justified he has also glorified (aorist, anticipating something that is certain, according to Lagrange)” (Rom 8:30). All these verbs are causative; all these acts of God connect to each other and are called by each other’s names. Justification is as real and as personal a gift as the gift of faith; the present state is as certain as the future glory.⁹¹ Finally, 1Cor 6:11 is decisive: “You have been washed (at baptism), you have been sanctified, you have been justified (aorist passive indicative, *edikaiothete*) in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.” The three aorist verbs show that the events coincide; the two latter verbs in the passive express the reality of the interior change. E. B. Allo notes, “This is a classic passage against imputed righteousness.”

V. *Dikaïoma*. — Schrenk (*TDNT*, vol. 2, p. 219) correctly observes that the ending *-ma* indicates the result of an action, in this case the action expressed by *dikaïoo*, “to justify.” Thus *dikaïoma* will mean “justification” in Rom 5:16, 18, where St. Paul contrasts the death sentence (*katakrima*) that followed Adam’s transgression (*di’ henos paraptomatos*) with justification through Christ (*di’ henos dikaïomatos*), justification that gives life (*eis dikaïosin zoes*)⁹² and is valid for all humankind. Humankind takes on a new religious “status,”⁹³ not simply on the basis of God’s declaration, but because this justice/righteousness has become the property of former sinners who can take advantage of it.⁹⁴

On the other hand, “God’s righteous decree” (*to dikaïoma tou theou*, Rom 1:32), “the requirements of the law” (*ta dikaïomata tou nomou*, Rom 2:26, cf. 8:4), and “worship regulations” (*dikaïomata latreias*, Heb 9:1, 10) have the common OT meaning “ordinance, regulation.”⁹⁵ In accord with the

ideal of Jewish piety, Zechariah and Elizabeth, “both just (*dikaioi*) before God, walked in all the commandments and regulations of the Lord” (Luke 1:6). It is more difficult to understand Rev 15:4—“All the people will see and bow down before you, because your justifications are manifest” (*hoti ta dikaiomata sou ephanerotheresan*). This could refer to the punishment of the ungodly,⁹⁶ but more likely it refers to brilliant manifestations of divine sovereignty (cf. Bar 2:17—in Hades the dead do not return “glory and justice to the Lord”; verse 19).

VI. *Dikaiosis*. — This rather rare substantive (unknown in Philo, Epictetus, and the papyri) normally means “that which is in accord with the right, the act of establishing justice,”⁹⁷ but none of the secular usages shed light on “conferring of justice, act of justification” in Rom 4:25 and 5:18. In the first text: “Jesus our Lord was delivered because of our sins (to do away with them) and raised because of our justification (to obtain it for us, *dia ten dikaiosin hemon*);”⁹⁸ *dia* indicates the goal, the instrumental cause, “with a view to our salvation”; Christ’s resurrection is the efficient cause of our justification, for if at baptism the Christian dies with Christ on the cross (Rom 6:4), he enters the new life with Christ emerging from the tomb. Our life is a participation in his, the “life-giving spirit.”⁹⁹ In Rom 5:18—“As through the trespass of one, condemnation fell on all people, so also the righteousness worked by one man (*di’ henos dikaiomatos*, the state or work of righteousness) procures for all people (in solidarity with him) the justification that gives life (*eis dikaiosin zoes*).” This can be understood either as participation in the very life of God or as the existence that concretely carries out justice¹⁰⁰ but necessarily depends on the infusion of grace; justification already means life, as with a fruit seed.

VII. *Dikastes*. — This substantive is used only by St. Stephen in the NT (Acts 7:27, 35), and it is a quotation from Exod 2:14—“Who set you up as a chief and judge over us?” (*archonta kai dikasten*, Hebrew *shophet*). This association suggests that *dikastes* is not exactly synonymous with *krites*: there are different kinds of judges. *Dikastes* may refer to a magistrate who sits at a tribunal to pass judgment,¹⁰¹ but also to “elected judges” (Philo, *Unchang. God* 112; *Husbandry* 116), delegates,¹⁰² arbiters chosen to settle disputes,¹⁰³ such as priests, whose duties include settling contested matters;¹⁰⁴ and finally the conscience, and God, the heavenly judge.¹⁰⁵

The office of judge is treated with the highest consideration.¹⁰⁶ There are “royal judges,” like Dionysius, “king’s friend become *politikon strategon*” (*SEG XXIII*, 617, 4; cf. *P.Dura* 18, 10, 31; 19, 18; from AD 87/88). There are above all those eminent persons who have a top-level role in the city administration,¹⁰⁷ who are members of a board or of commissions of the assembly charged with preparing for a festival or managing funds.¹⁰⁸ Cities invite foreign judges to “settle disputed contracts”¹⁰⁹ and honor them not only for the fairness of their decisions but also for their behavior.¹¹⁰

Here we may mention the biblical use of *dikastes* for a person of high rank, a ruler,¹¹¹ a leader of Israel (1Sam 7:1-2), having official authority and the required powers. Artisans are incapable of these functions (Sir 38:33).

¹ Cf. E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique*; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, p. 98; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 284.

² Homer, *Od.* 11.218; 14.59: “my custom is to honor guests.” *Dike* is “that which is established, set, fixed”; δίκη ε—στιν = it is customary (*Od.* 4.691; 19.43); Pindar, *Ol.* 2.18: “what is fitting (just) and what is not” (ε—ν δίκᾱ, παρὰ δίκᾱν); 2Macc 8:26—“the custom of the eve of the Sabbath” (Aquila); *P.Hamb.* 37, 8 (second century AD): τῇ δίκῃ parallel to τοῦ ἡθους σου; *P.Flor.* 295, 2: “the custom of strangers.” The greatest number of secular references are due to G. Quell, G. Schrenk, “δίκη,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 174–182; cf. V. Ehrenberg, *Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum*, Leipzig, 1921.

³ Hesiod, *Op.* 256; cf. 279–280: “Zeus has given humans the gift of justice (δίκην), which is by far the best of goods.” In Solon, δίκη always has a divine character (frag. 1.8; 3.14ff., ed. Diehl, I, 17 and 23); but Sophocles demythologizes it, representing *Dike* seated next to the infernal gods, “but the laws were not established for men by these gods. No one knows the day when they appeared; they are unwritten and unshakable” (*Ant.* 450–467). If the Erinyes are *Dike*’s auxiliaries and bring punishment (Heraclitus, frag. 94 = I, 96, ed. Diels), *dike* becomes the universal law, an immanent norm that is obligatory for all people and determines the conduct of each. In Philo, punitive justice is still associated with God: “Justice, seated next to God” (ἡ πάρεδρος θεοῦ δίκη, *Change of Names* 194; cf. *Joseph* 48), his follower or companion (*Conf. Tongues* 118: ἡ ὀπαδὸς τοῦ θεοῦ δίκη), judge or overseer of human affairs (ἔφορος, *Joseph* 170), unshakable and inflexible (*Decalogue* 95); “the only father of all things wields his power according to justice and the law over each of his creatures” (*Spec. Laws* 1.14). Cf. the gnostic amulet of the fourth-fifth century, πλήρος οὐρανὸς καὶ δίκης ἅγιος ὁ δόξης ανιααδα . . . Μιγαήλ (*P.Princ.* 107, 17).

⁴ Homer, *Il.* 18.508; *Od.* 11.570; Hesiod, *Op.* 225; Philo, *Moses* 1.46: “He kills without judgment (without trial).” Cf. δικίδιον, “minor case” (Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 511; *Eq.* 347). Cf. “the Day of Yahweh” (Joel 4:14; cf. judgment day in a Christian inscription: δίκης μετὰ λοίσθιον ἡμᾶρ, in G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, n. 173, 17). This meaning, trial-judgment, is constant in the inscriptions (*I.Gonn.* 77–81, 87, 90, 01; *I.Lamps.*, 3, 4; 6, 5; 7, 41; *I.Cumae*, 1, 3; 4, 13; 5, 11; 7, 6; 8, 3; *I.Ilium*: a law against tyranny and oligarchy, 25, 90, 95, 102, 157, 164, 165) and is the most common

meaning in the papyri. Cf. this summons in a civil suit in the fourth-third century: ἡ δίκη σοι ἀναγραφῆσεται ἐ—ν τω— ἐ—ν Ἡρακλέους πόλει δικαστηρίῳ, *P.Hib.* 30, 24; “my mother died before the trial” (*P.Achm.* 8, 26; cf. *P.Oxy.* 486, 28; *P.Princ.* 82, 14); *P.Lille* 29, 2 (fragment of a law code, third century AD): “If anyone because of a tort has filed suit against another person’s slave . . .”; line 7: “if he loses his case, let him pay a fine.” In an act of emancipation of three Jews at Delphi (second century BC): “They shall fear no trial nor any fine nor any punishment whatsoever” (*CII* 709); a borrower shall return what he owes “without lawsuit, contest, or chicanery of any sort” (ἀνευ δίκης καὶ κρίσεως καὶ πάσης εὐρεσιλογίας, *P.Rein.* 15, 21; cf. *P.Lond.* 298, 16; vol. 2, p. 206). At the time of the Jewish revolt at Alexandria, the insurgents “seek justice (δίκην ἐ—παιτοῦντες) violently and unjustly” (*C.Pap.Jud.*, n. 435, col. III, 23; *SB* 5357, 15; *P.Hal.* 1, 38: ἡ δίκη ἔστω; 124; *P.Rev.* 33, 16; 97, 4; *P.Mich.* 530, 30; 531, 7; R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 15, 189ff., 330ff., 416; idem, *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, pp. 397ff.). A constantly used legal formula is καθάπερ ἐ—γ δίκης, “as if there had been a judgment (preceding writs of execution), as if there had been a formal court decision,” *P.Ryl.* 582, 20 (42 BC); 585, 38; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 2, 19; 4, 23; *P.Bon.* 25, 24; *P.Oslo* 37, 15; 39, 20; *P.Mert.* 6, 28; 10, 25; *P.Sakaon* 63–66; 72, 14; 74, 17; 96, 18; cf. H. Meyer-Laurin, “Zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der καθάπερ ἐ—κ δίκης—Klausel in den griechischen Papyri Ägyptens,” in *RIDA*, 1974, pp. 349–350; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 743; H. J. Wolff, *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer*, Munich, 1962, idem, “Some Observations on Praxis,” in *Proceedings XII*, pp. 527–535.

⁵ Dike is the goddess who avenges without pity (Hesiod, *Th.* 901; *Op.* 220ff., 256); she pursues the criminal (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1176); Sophocles, *El.* 528: “justice has condemned him”; *Ant.* 538; Aeschylus (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 125, 6; vol. 5, p. 1138); *SB* 5103, 13 (third century BC): ὁ θεὸς ἀντω—τὴν δίκην ἐ—πιθείη; Josephus, *War* 1.84; 7.34; *Ant.* 6.305; 14.28: punishment for an offense; 4Macc 4:13—“divine justice, angered at these crimes, drew upon them the hostility of Antiochus”; 9:9; 12:12—“Divine justice holds a more lively fire in reserve for you”; 18:22 (but 8:14, 22, this justice pardons a transgression blamed on compulsion). Cf. E. Gerner, “Zum Begriff δίκη im attischen Recht,” in *Festschrift für Leopold Wenger*, Munich, 1945, pp. 242–268.

⁶ Wis 14:31; Philo, *Creation* 80: “a punishment was instituted to punish impious conduct”; Josephus, *War* 7.453: God punishes the wicked; *Ant.* 6.288; 18.255: he inflicts punishments. *P.Fay.* 21, 24: a proclamation of the prefect Marcus Petronius Mamertinus, “that creditors might pay the penalties due to their disobedience” (ὅπως τῆς ἀπειθείας ἐ—κι—νοι τὴν προσήκουσαν δίκην ὑπόσχωσι). In the fourth century, δίκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς

ἀμελίας ὑποσχει—ν (*Chrest. Wilck.*, n. 469, 10). Cf. τίμημα τῆς δίκης θάνατος (H. Wankel, *I. Ephes.*, Bonn, 1949, n. II, 11).

⁷ Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.2.1129a33 (cf. this edict of Germanicus: ε—άν γάρ δέη, αὐτὸς Βαίβιος ε—κ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ δικαίου τὰς ξενίας διαδώσει, *SB* 3924, 17). For Demosthenes (3.21), the δίκαιος πολίτης is the citizen who carries out his obligations toward the state; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.46; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.293: “What is more just than obeying the laws?”

⁸ Cf. Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1604; Aegisthus declares: “I was marked out (κὰ γὼ δίκαιος) to plan this murder.”

⁹ Δίκαιος is constantly linked with ὅσιος, cf. Plato, *Resp.* 1.331 a; *Grg.* 507 b; *Euthphr.* 12 c–d: “all that is pious is just”; *ibid.* 12 e: “Here is the part of justice that seems to me to be pious and religious”; Polybius 22.10.8; Philo, *Moses* 2.108; *Flight* 63; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.295; 12.43: “the high priest Onias was surnamed the Just (ὁ δίκαιος) because of his piety toward God and his benevolence toward his compatriots”; 15.138. Aeschylus, *Sept.* 598: “What presage here links a just person with the impious?”

¹⁰ Epictetus 1.22.1; 2.17.6. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.158: Abraham was a δίκαιος ἀνὴρ (cf. 6.93), like David (7.110), Uzziah (9.216), and Hezekiah: φύσις δ ἦν αὐτῷ— χρηστὴ καὶ δικαία καὶ εὐσεβής (9.260). Cf. Aeschylus, *Sept.* 610. Δίκαιος is constantly linked with εὐσεβής (Euripides, *Alc.* 1147–1148; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.10; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.265; 8.121, 394; 15.182; *Ag. Apion* 2.170ff. *I. Did.* 218, 1–2; *I. Priene* 46, 12, etc.). Cf. ἀληθω—ς δικαιοτάτου ἡγεμόνος (H. Wankel, *I. Ephes.*, n. XVIII, 13).

¹¹ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.18: “A person described in terms of the virtues is called, according to the virtues, prudent, temperate, just, courageous”; *Sobr.* 38; *Migr. Abr.* 219; cf. *ibid.* 121: “The just person (ὁ δίκαιος) is the stay of the human race; he brings his personal property to the community and gives unstintingly for the good of those who find a use for it. He then seeks from God, who alone possesses all wealth, that which he does not have”; *ibid.* 124: “the just among the human race remain in place to push sicknesses away.” *Worse Attacks Better* 121, 123; a man of faith (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.228); “he discovers that absolutely everything is a gift from God” (*ibid.* 3.78). God alone is just in the highest degree (*Dreams* 2.194; *Moses* 2.279; *Flight* 82; cf. Josephus, *War* 7.223; *Ant.* 2.108; 11.55).

¹² When Samuel anoints David, he exhorts him to be just and to obey the commandments (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.165; cf. Solomon, *Ant.* 8.208). One can become just through repentance (6.210) and merit a reward (18.18). More particularly, *dikaïos* means “correct, punctual” (5.197; 15.106; 16.212),

notably with respect to things that are well balanced, according to measure, like balances and weights (Lev 19:36; Deut 25:15; Ezek 45:10; Philo, *Heir* 162), a measuring (*P.Hib.* 90, 11; 91, 2; *P.Oxy.* 1126, 7; *P.Lille* 24, 9; *P.Yale* 51, 10; *O.Amst.* 91, 9), prices (*SB* 5175, 15: τιμὴν δικαίην; *P.Tebt.* 389, 17), the rising of the Nile as needed (δικαία ἀνάβασις, Dittenberger, *Or.* 666, 11), well-founded suspicions (ὑποψίας δικαίας, *Life* 93), “proper” benevolence of spouses (εὖνοια δικαία, *Ant.* 1.318), things that are appropriate (*Ant.* 2.272), conformable to the right (δικαία αἰ—τία, *P.Stras.* 22, 3; *BGU* 267, 8; *SB* 5174, 4).

¹³ Δικαίως, as opposed to ἀδόλως (Thucydides 5.18.9; 5.23.2; 5.47.8) means “loyally, without deceit”; cf. ε—πιμελω—ς καὶ πιστω—ς καὶ δικαίως (B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, I, n. 43, 10–11); ε—ποιήσαντο ὀρθω—ς καὶ δικαίως (*SEG* XIX, 327, 22); δικαιοσύνης καὶ πίστεως = justice and loyalty (Plutarch, *Aem.* 2.6).

¹⁴ Jer 23:5-6; 33:15; cf. Isa 53:11; Zech 9:9; *Pss. Sol.* 17.35—“He is a just king, taught by God, placed over them.” Cf. H. Dechent, “Der ‘Gerechte’: Eine Bezeichnung für den Messias,” in *TSK*, vol. 100, 1927–28, pp. 439ff.

¹⁵ Isa 24:16. God rewards this justice (Deut 6:24ff.; 24:13), while the one who turns aside from justice will die (Ezek 3:20; 18:5-26). “The justice of the just will be upon him” (Ezek 18:20) suggests this reward but also hints that this justice is a virtue immanent in the faithful. Cf. Philo, *Sobr.* 38–40; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 54; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.18; *Prelim. Stud.* 90: “in the soul, that which is just (τὸ δίκαιον) is the perfection and true goal of the acts of Life.”

¹⁶ In the mouth of pagans: Pilate’s wife calls Jesus “the just” (Matt 27:19; cf. E. Fascher, *Das Weib des Pilatus*, Halle, 1951), and Pilate repeats the description (27:24), meaning that he is innocent. The centurion at the foot of the cross says “This was a just man” (Luke 23:47)—not guilty, a martyr bringing glory to God. Herod is more influenced by the OT when he respects John the Baptist “knowing that he was a just and holy man” (ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ἅγιον, Mark 6:20); but altogether Greek are Phil 4:8—“whatever is true, honorable, just, pure . . . whatever is good and virtuous . . . think on these things”; and Titus 2:12—“Let us live σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβω—ς in this present age” (cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 2, p. 638). The adverb δικαίως is used for judging with equity (Deut 1:16; Prov 31:9; Sir 35:18), sinners justly punished (*Wis* 19:13; *T. Sim.* 4.3); legitimately, according to deserts (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.140), equitably, justly (Epictetus 2.1.3); acting correctly (*P.Tebt.* 702, 21; cf. 19, 14; *P.Oxy.* 653, 23; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 19, 4); legally in possession (*P.Tebt.* 335, 12); money justly due (*P.Fouad* 26, 54). Rather than translate ε—κνήψατε

δικαίως (1Cor 15:34) “return to state of just sobriety,” we should understand “sober up rightly” or better “as is fitting, adopting right conduct.”

¹⁷ Cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.2.1129a34: “the right (τὸ δίκαιον) is that which is conformable to the law and that which is equal”; Polybius 3.21.10; Job 8:3—“Does God pervert what is right?”; Prov 18:5; 21:7; Josephus, *War* 1.507: natural right; *Ant.* 12.121: citizenship rights; 8.296: legal obligation. Xenophon’s guests wish for the opportunity for moral conduct: τὰ δίκαια δύνασθαι πρήσσειν (frag. 1.15; ed. J. Defradas, *Les Elégiaques grecs*, Paris, 1962, p. 76).

¹⁸ 2Pet 1:13; cf. Sir 10:23; 2Macc 9:12 = it is fitting; Phil 1:7—“It is only just (legitimate, καθὼς ἐστὶν δίκαιον) for me to feel this way”; Philo, *Husbandry* 80: δίκαιον εἶναι = it is reasonable; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 74; Menander, *Dysk.* 293, 763; *IG IX*, 1, 582, 22; *C.Pap.Jud.* 4, 3; *P.Tebt.* 50, 25; *P.Oxy.* 1117, 29; cf. 717, 10.

¹⁹ Acts 4:19; cf. 2Thess 1:6—“It is a just thing with God (δίκαιον παρὰ θεῶν) to return trouble to those who trouble us” (retribution at God’s judgment seat, cf. Isa 66:6; Col 3:25; cf. Elisha: “It is just to kill those who have been captured according to the laws of warfare,” in Josephus, *Ant.* 9.58); Eph 6:1—“Children, obey your parents in the Lord; this is just,” i.e., conformable to the divine will.

²⁰ Rom 3:26. Cf. 1John 1:9—“He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.” In pardoning the guilty who repent, the just God is faithful to his promises of mercy.

²¹ The angel of the waters proclaims: “You are just, you who are and who were, the Holy One (ὁ ὅσιος)” (Rev 16:5); “true and just are your judgments” (16:7; 19:2); 1Pet 2:23—when Christ suffered violence he entrusted himself to “the One who judges with justice” (δικαίως, cf. Jer 11:20; John 8:50; Rom 12:19). Hence Πατήρ δίκαιε! (John 17:25; 2Tim 4:8).

²² Acts 3:14 (cf. 7:52—“the coming of the Just One”; 22:14; 1Pet 3:18—“Christ died . . . the just for the unjust.” 1John 2:1—“We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Just”; *Enoch* 46.3—“the Son of Man who possesses justice and with whom justice dwells”). Christ is a “saint,” a “holy one,” i.e., one consecrated to God (Ps 16:10; Mark 1:24; Luke 4:34; John 6:69). If he is “just,” he is so inasmuch as he fulfills the divine will, and also because he is totally innocent; but this designation also means that he is perfect to an absolute, limitless degree that belongs to the divine realm (cf. τελειώω in Heb 2:10; 5:9; 7:28; τελειωτής, 12:2).

²³ “Just Abel” (Matt 23:35; Heb 11:4); “just Lot” (2Pet 2:7-8; probably borrowed from a midrashic tradition, *b. Ber.* 54*b* ; cf. R. Le Déaut, *Liturgie juive et Nouveau Testament*, Rome, 1965, p. 52, n. 56; cf. S. Rappaport, “Der gerechte Lot,” in *ZNW*, 1930, pp. 299–304); “prophets and just ones” (Matt 13:17; cf. 10:41; 23:29; cf. 2*Apoc. Bar.* 85.1, 3, 12; D. Hill, “ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ as a Quasi-Technical Term,” in *NTS*, vol. 11, 1965, pp. 297–302); Zechariah and Elizabeth, “just before God” (Luke 1:6), Simeon, δίκαιος καὶ εὐλαβής (Luke 2:25), Joseph (Matt 1:19—δίκαιος ὢν; cf. C. Spicq, “Joseph, son mari, étant juste . . . ,” in *RB*, 1964, pp. 206–211; A. Tosato, “Joseph, Being a Just Man,” in *CBQ*, 1979, pp. 547–551; cf. the graffito on a Hermes of Roman origin: χαί—ρε δίκαιος ὢν, cf. G. Susini, “Le iscrizioni greche di Bologna,” in *Atti e memorie*, Bologna, 1963, p. 76), the centurion Cornelius (Acts 10:22). Epitaph of Eleazar, “holy, just, loving his children, loving his brothers, loving the community” (*CII*, n. 321); Plutarch, *Rom.* 23.3. R. Mach, *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch*, Leiden, 1957.

²⁴ Δίκαιος as opposed to: ἁμαρτωλός (Matt 9:13; Mark 2:17; Luke 5:32; 15:7; Rom 5:19), ἄδικος (Matt 5:45; Acts 24:15), ἀπειθής (Luke 1:17), ἀσεβής (Rom 5:6-7; 1Tim 1:9; 1Pet 4:18), ἄνομος (Matt 13:41; 1Tim 1:9), πονηρός (Matt 13:49), ὑποκριτής (Matt 23:28; Luke 20:20).

²⁵ Rom 2:13—“It is not those who hear a law read that are just before God (δίκαιοι παρὰ θεω—), but those who put it into practice are recognized as just (δικαιωθήσονται)”; it is these latter who at judgment will be recognized and declared to be in effect the just, “that which they ought to be,” in conformity with what God willed.

²⁶ This means that this received justice is a gift of God. It is not acquired by individual effort; good “works” are only its manifestation and its fruit. Everything depends on the connection with Christ, like the connection of members to the head or branches to a vine. Cf. J. Coppens, “Le Saddiq-‘Juste,’ dans le Psautier,” in *Mélanges H. Cazelles*, Paris, 1981, pp. 299–306.

²⁷ Hab 2:4, quoted in Rom 1:17; Gal 3:11; Heb 10:38, in varied terms (cf. the commentaries). A. Feuillet (“La Citation d’Habacuc II, 4 et les huit premiers chapitres de l’Épître aux Romains,” in *NTS*, vol. 6, 1959, pp. 52–80) translates, “The one who is just by virtue of faith shall live” (“Celui qui est juste en vertu de la foi vivra”) and explains: the text shows “with what justice man must be clothed in order to live.” Cf. D. M. Smith, “ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐ—κ πίστεως ζήσεται,” in B. L. Daniels, M. J. Suggs, *Studies in the History and Text of the N.T.*, Salt Lake City, 1967, pp. 13–25; G. von Rad, ‘Gerechtigkeit’ und ‘Leben’ in der Kultsprache der Psalmen, Göttingen, 1950.

²⁸ 1Tim 1:9 (cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, p. 332). The two other Pauline texts agree with the usage of the LXX and secular usage: “Our bearing among you believers was holy, just, beyond reproach” (ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀμέμπτως, 1Thess 2:10; cf. P. E. Langevin, “Le Seigneur Jésus selon un texte prépaulinien, I Th. I, 9–10,” in *ScEccl*, 1965, pp. 263–282; the linking of δίκαιος and ἄμεμπτος, as at Job 1:1; 9:10—ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως; *SEG* XIV, 676, 9; *LSCG*, n. 65, 8). The *episkopos* must be “sober, just, holy, self-controlled” (σώφρονα, δίκαιον, ὄσιον, ε—γκρατῆ, Titus 1:8); “just and holy” as at Deut 32:4; Ps 145:17; 1Thess 2:10; Eph 4:24; Philo, *Good Man Free* 83. In both cases it is a matter of irreproachable conduct (cf. ὁ βίος δίκαιος, Sallustius, *De Deis et Mundo* 10.2), but “holiness” is recognized in conformity to the will of God. For Antonius Liberalis, the just person is the balanced and proper person or, as we would say, “comme il faut”: Hierax, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ ε—πιφανής (*Met.* 3.1; same link, *P.Dura* XVIII, 1; *I GLS* I, pp. 13–41); Cragaleus, δίκαιος εἶναι καὶ φρόνιμος (IV, 2); Aegyptios ἦν μεγάλῳφρων καὶ δίκαιος (V, 1); Periphas “was just, rich, and pious” (VI, 1); Mounichos, “a just man” (XIV, 1); his children were all “ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους, and the gods loved them” (XIV, 2). Δίκαιος is constantly linked with καλός (Philo, *Drunkness* 197; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.431; Epictetus 1.22.1; 2.17.6; Musonius, frag. 3, ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 40; frag. 7, p. 58; frag. 11, p. 80; *I.Priene* 58, 12; 63, 21; 112, 6; *I GLS* 2740: “Martinus carried out καλω—ς καὶ δικαίως the service of lord Cronos and the gods”); with ἀγαθός (ibid. 14, p. 94); Luke 23:50; *SEG* XVII, 711, 15–18; *I.Priene* 58, 12; 63, 21; 112, 6 and 144; *I.Bulg.*, n. 316, 7); with χρηστός (*IG*, II2, 12034; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.149; 6.294; 9.166; 11.183; Plutarch, *De frat. amor.* 6; *Publ.* 21.6).

²⁹ Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.9.1366b9ff.: “Justice is the virtue thanks to which each person possesses his property in accord with the law” (καὶ ὡς ὁ νόμος); cf. “the legal and just,” (τὸ νομικὸν δίκαιον, *Eth. Nic.* 5.12.1136a12). This is the dominant meaning in the papyri, where plaintiffs appeal to the justice of the *strategos* (*BGU* 1138, 4; 1824, 30; *P.Oslo* 128, 10; *P.Oxy.* 1873, 15) and mention their “rights” (*P.Köln* 100, 11, and 23; *P.Petaus* 11, 15; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.403). “In the manner of a brigand and contrary to all justice, he fell upon my sheep and stole eighty-two of them” (*P.Thead.* 23, 9; republished *P.Abinn.* 44). The Christian papyri, which are late, are of no interest here; *SB* 6035, 17; 8763, 15; 8728, 18; 10522, 4: placing Δικαιοσύνη between —Αγάπη and Ει—ρήνη.

³⁰ Philo, *Change of Names* 197; *Heir* 243; *Abraham* 27, 56, 103, 104; *Creation* 80; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.63; 3.77. Josephus, *Ant.* 9.182; 14.176. An innate virtue (6.36) that is practiced from youth (1.53) and is the beauty of the soul (6.160) and confers prestige (*Life* 7).

³¹ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.56, 143, *Prelim. Stud.* 179; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.214; *I.Did.* 487, 5. In 111 BC, Queen Cleopatra III is described as “Thea, Philometor, Savior, Justice, Victory-Bringer” (*P.Rein.* 10, 9). Hence its frequent mention in the inscriptions, in honorific decrees. Cf. at Athens, in the fourth century BC, the praise for the commissioners of the Amphiaraiion of Oropus “for their justice and their zeal toward god and the people of Athens” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 298, 31). At Delos in the second century, Aglaos of Cos is praised “for the integrity and justice that he shows in his life on all occasions” (F. Durrbach, *Choix*, n. 92, 18). Cf. R. Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret*, 1965, pp. 43ff. The Romans made justice into one of the four imperial virtues, along with virtue, piety, and clemency (cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.18.1–2; Diotogenes, *On Kingship*, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 48; vol. 4, pp. 263ff.; *Mon. Anc.* 34). Cf. B. Lichocka, *Justitia sur les monnaies impériales romaines*, Warsaw, 1974.

³² Theognis 1.147: “Justice holds in itself all other virtues,” cited by Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.3.1129b30, who calls it the perfect virtue; it lacks nothing, and nothing surpasses it. Plato, *Euthphr.* 12 e: justice is concerned with relations between humans as well as with the gods; *Prt.* 330 bff. Epictetus 3.26.32; Plutarch, *De fort.* 2; Dittenberger, *Or.* 438, 8. Stobaeus cites Hermes Trismegistus: justice is a harmony in psychic equilibrium (*Ecl.* 1.49.4, vol. 1, p. 322, 10); Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.72, a remedy for all ills (*Worse Attacks Better* 123), justice produces repose (*ibid.* 122), joy (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.247), and prosperity (Job 8:6; Joel 2:23). The just person is blessed (Ps 69:29; 112:4, 6).

³³ Philo, *Quest. Gen.* 1.97; *Abraham* 33; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.158. It is wisdom put into practice (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.72).

³⁴ Cf. Pollux in Lycia, in the second century AD: ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ πάση ἀρετῇ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαπρέποντα (*SEG XVII*, 711, 15–18); διὰ τὴν τω—ν ἀνδρῶ—ν δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν (Dittenberger, *Or.* 339, 48); διενένκαντα πίστει καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ περὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος (*ibid.* 438,8).

³⁵ It acts in the interest of others (Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 11; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.183; *War* 7.263; Diotogenes, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 3.9.46, vol. 3, p. 360; Diogenes Laertius 10.150; *I.Priene* 63, 20). H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*, Utrecht, 1939, pp. 102ff.

³⁶ *I.Thas.* 180, 7: δικαίως καὶ φιλαγάθως καὶ ι—ατρεύοντα ε—πὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ πάντων; *I.Car.* 70 B, 9; *I.Did.* 391B, 1, 13–14: δικαίως καὶ

φιλαγάθως; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 193, 19. Aristotle wrote that friendship “is the fullest realization of justice” (*Eth. Nic.* 8.1.1155a22).

³⁷ *SB* 10113. Cf. the epitaph of an anonymous person deceased at age eighteen: δίκαιος θεοσεβής, φιλόανθρωπος (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, Paris, n. 71, 8); Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.146; *Ant.* 11.139; cf. *Wis* 12:19—“It is fitting that the just should be philanthropic.”

³⁸ At Gerasa: “Diogenes dedicated a statue of Justice” (*SEG* 7.487; L. Vidman, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, Berlin, 1969, n. 6 and 365; *NCIG*, n. 32; L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, p. 603; vol. 3, p. 1507); at Delos (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1958, p. 289, n. 356); at Athens (*IG*, IV2, 407), at Alexandria (Dittenberger, *Or.* 83); cf. *P.Lond.* 46, 403 (vol. 1, p. 78: a magical papyrus, a hymn to Hermes). Justice is sometimes identified with Nemesis (a dedication on Cyprus, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1949, p. 152, n. 203), but more often with Isis: “At Hermopolis the first of the Muses is called both Isis and Justice” (Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 3; hymn to Isis in E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques* 175, IV, 6; *I.Delos* 2079, 2103).

³⁹ At Iasos (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1964, p. 222, n. 461); at Termessos: ι—ερεὺς Δικαιοσύνης (ibid., 1939, p. 526, n. 501).

⁴⁰ In Lycia (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1939, p. 505, n. 384), at Byblos and at Pinara (L. Robert, *Documents*, pp. 25ff.); at Ephesus, on the agora, as was fitting, cf. C. Börker, R. Merkelbach, *I.Ephes.*, Bonn, 1979, n. 503. — H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*, Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1971; J. Duchemin, “La Justice de Zeus et le destin d’Io,” in *REG*, 1979, pp. 1–54.

⁴¹ Cf. K. H. Fahlgren, *Sedaqa*, Uppsala, 1932; A. Descamps, “La Justice de Dieu dans la Bible grecque,” in *Studia Hellenistica*, vol. 5, Paris-Leiden, 1948, pp. 69–92; F. Nötscher, *Die Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei den vorexilischen Propheten*, Münster, 1915, ; F. Rosenthal, *Sedaqa Charity*, in *HUCA*, vol. 33, 1950–51; pp. 411–430; P. Wernberg-Møller, “Tsedeq, Tsadiq, Tsadoq, in the Zadokite Fragments, the Manual of Discipline and the Habakkuk Commentary,” in *VT*, 1953, pp. 310–315; J. P. Justesen, “On the Meaning of Sadaq,” *AUSS* 2, 1964, pp. 53–61; R. A. Rosenberg, “The Good Sadeq,” in *HUCA*, 1965, pp. 161–177; A. Descamps, L. Cerfaux, “Justice et justification,” in *DBSup*, vol. 4, col. 1417–1510; K. Koch, qdx. *Theolog. Handwörterbuch zum A.T.*, vol. 2, pp. 507–530; J. M. Baumgarten, “The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of £edeq in Jewish Apocalyptic,” in *ANRW* 2, 19, 1, pp. 219–239; J. W. Olley,

“Righteousness” in the Septuagint of Isaiah, Missoula, 1979; H. Cazelles, “Amore-Giustizia nella Bibbia,” in Giuseppe de Gennaro, *Amore-Giustizia: Analisi semantica dei due termini*, Aquila: Studio Biblico theological aquilano, 1980, pp. 577–590.

⁴² Neh 9:33; Dan 9:14; Ps 7:18; cf. Philo, *Moses* 2.237: God shows truth and justice (cf. Rom 3:25ff.); *Unchang. God* 79.

⁴³ Cf. Isa 43:6—to Israel, God says, “let us come together in trial”; cf. 50:8—“Who will be my opponent at trial?”; 1Sam 12:7—“Let me go to trial with you before Yahweh”; Isa 20:22—the destruction is “a surge of justice.” Josephus, *Ant.* 11.268: God punishes Haman’s wickedness.

⁴⁴ Neh 9:8—“You have brought your words to pass, for you are just”; Isa 45:19—“I am Yahweh, who says what is just, who announces true things.”

⁴⁵ Ps 119:40—“In your justice give me life,” pardon for sins (Ps 51:16); “Justice and peace will kiss” (85:11-14; cf. 36:6ff.; 145:7); “I am Yahweh, who does mercy, right, and justice on the earth” (Jer 9:23; cf. 23:6; Job 36:2ff.; Zech 8:8); the “sacrifices of justice” (Deut 33:19) assure the success of an undertaking (cf. Ps 4:6; Mal 3:3). P. Benoit describes the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in the OT correctly as “compassionate justice” (*Exégèse et théologie*, vol. 2, p. 37 = ET, vol. 2, p. 137); confirmed by H. Cazelles, “A propos de quelques textes relatifs à la justice de Dieu dans l’Ancien Testament,” in *RB*, pp. 169–188.

⁴⁶ Isa 56:1; cf. 42:6, 21—“Yahweh wanted, for the sake of his justice, to make his law magnificent and glorious”; Ps 65:6—“You will answer us with wonders of justice, God of our salvation”; 71:15—“My mouth will tell of your justice and your salvation all the day.” For a Greek ear, in the first century, salvation is a benevolent manifestation of the deity whose providence preserves and guides the universe (cf. H. Haerens, “Σωτήρ et σωτηρία,” in *Studia Hellenistica*, vol. 5, Paris-Leiden, 1948, p. 68). It is always mentioned that the LXX often translates the Hebrew *hesed*, “benevolence, grace,” as *dikaiosyne* (Gen 19:19; 20:13; 21:23; 24:27; 32:11; Exod 15:13; 34:17; Ps 40:11-12; 88:12; cf. at Qumran the pairing *hesed*, *seʔaqâh*; 1QS 2.24; 5.4; 8.2; 10.28) and that *seʔaqâh* is translated ἔλεον (Isa 56:1; Ezek 18:19, 21), ε—λεημοσύνη (Deut 6:25; 24:13; Ps 24:5; 33:5; 35:24; 103:6; Sir 3:14; 40:17; Isa 1:27; 28:17; 59:16; Dan 9:6. Cf. Tob 9:6—the just person gives alms). W. Nagel, “Gerechtigkeit oder Almosen?” in *VC*, 1961, pp. 141–145; H. H. Schmid, “Gerechtigkeit und Barmherzigkeit im A. T.,” in *Wort und Dienst*, 1973, pp. 31–41; at Qumran, justice is in parallel with goodness (Hebrew *tôb*), 1QH 9.11–12; 11.14. In rabbinic Judaism,

seʿaqâh means justice, then the leniency of the just, and finally alms; cf. J. Bonsirven, *Judaïsme palestinien*, vol. 1, pp. 198ff.

⁴⁷ Deut 6:25; 24:13; Prov 11:5ff.; 21:3; Tob 1:3; 14:7; Wis 14:7; Ps 119:21; Ezek 3:10; 18:5-21; 33:14-19; Zeph 2:3; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.21, 120; 12.291.

⁴⁸ Sir 3:30; cf. Matt 25:46. Justice consists in giving each his due (Amos 5:7; Isa 5:7, 23; Jer 22:13); in the city, it is the special responsibility of the judges (Deut 1:16; 16:18-20; Lev 19:15; Ezek 45:9) and of the king (Prov 16:13; 25:5), who must judge disagreements (Deut 25:15); for each person has a “right” (Deut 25:1; Prov 17:15; Isa 5:7, 23).

⁴⁹ Prov 11:18; Hos 10:12. justice/righteousness delivers from death (Prov 11:4) and saves (11:6), gives joy (Tob 14:7), gives a claim on prosperity and honor (Prov 21:21; Ps 112:3, 9). It is in this sense of reward that Abraham, who was acceptable to God because of his complete abandon, was credited with justice/righteousness (Gen 15:6); in a way, Yahweh created it (Hebrew *hashab*) in the soul of the patriarch. As commentary, cf. at least *Hermes Trismegistus* 13.9: “This level, my child, is the seat of justice. See how, without a trial, it has removed injustice. We have been made just (ε—δικαιώθημεν), child, now that injustice is no longer there.”

⁵⁰ Cf. A. Descamps, “Le Christianisme comme justice dans le premier Evangile,” in *ETL*, 1946, pp. 5–33; idem, *Les Justes et la justice dans les évangiles et le Christianisme primitif hormis la doctrine proprement paulinienne*, Louvain-Gembloux, 1950 (gives the bibliography). F. F. Bruce, “Justification by Faith in the Non-Pauline Writings of the New Testament,” in *EvQ*, 1952, pp. 66–77. B. Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew and his World of Thought*, Cambridge-London, 1980.

⁵¹ God and Christ judge the world as sovereigns (cf. Heb 7:2—Melchizedek, king of justice/righteousness; 11:33—judges and prophets) who distribute their benefits (2Pet 1:1), punishment, and rewards (Acts 17:31; 2Tim 4:8; Heb 1:9; F. Pfister, “Der Wendung ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος,” in *ZNW*, 1914, pp. 94–96). It is difficult to specify the content of the λόγος δικαιοσύνης in Heb 5:13—“Whoever drinks milk has no experience of a doctrine of justice/righteousness, for he is a baby.” This *logos* is parallel to the “oracles of God” (verse 12); thus *dikaio-syne* would be synonymous with *theos* (cf. 1QM 3.5–6, transforming the enemies of God in Num 10:35 into adversaries of justice), but we could also understand this substantive as the equivalent of *dikaio-s*: “good, perfect, proper.” At Caesarea, Paul “discoursed on justice/righteousness” (Acts 24:25), the rules of natural law and moral prescriptions violated by his

hearers (Festus and Agrippa); Noah, the “preacher of justice/righteousness” (2Pet 2:5), opposed to the godless, by building the ark proclaimed the immunity granted to virtue and could be compared to the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness (cf. G. Vermès, “La Communauté de la nouvelle Alliance,” in *ETL*, 1951, pp. 72ff.). On the notion of justice at Qumran, cf. *Words of the Heavenly Lights* 6.2–4 (*RB*, 1961, p. 211), 1QS 11.14–15; S. E. Johnson, “Paul and the Manual of Discipline,” in *HTR*, 1955, pp. 160ff.; W. Grundmann, “Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit von Qumrân und die Frage der Glaubensgerechtigkeit in der Theologie des Apostels Paulus,” in *RevQ*, vol. 6, 1960, pp. 237–259 (reprinted in J. Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul and Qumran*, London, 1968, pp. 85–114). S. Schulz, “Der Rechtfertigung aus Gnaden in Qumrân und bei Paulus,” in *ZTK*, 1959, pp. 155–185; O. Betz, “Rechtfertigung in Qumrân,” in J. Friedrich, W. Pöhlmann, *Rechtfertigung* (Festschrift E. Käsemann), Tübingen-Göttingen, 1976, pp. 17–36.

⁵² Matt 3:15 (cf. A. Fridrichsen, “Accomplir toute justice,” in *RHPR*, 1927, pp. 245–252). This refers not to a legal obligation, nor to “fulfilling the ancient legal justice,” observing it to perfect it (A. Descamps, in *DBSup*, vol. 4, col. 1464), nor to the Pauline nuance: founding Christian baptism “according to the Spirit” (John 1:33; cf. H. Ljungman, *Das Gesetz erfüllen*, Lund, 1954, p. 97). Still less does it mean “It is appropriate for us to conform to the custom” (R. de Langhe, “Judaïsme ou Hellénisme en rapport avec le N.T.,” in *Recherches Bibliques: L’Attente du Messie*, Bruges, 1954, pp. 173–174). justice/righteousness is doing what God wants.

⁵³ Matt 5:6. Cf. J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, pp. 341ff. A. Descamps, *Les Justes et la justice*, pp. 164–179.

⁵⁴ Matt 5:20. Cf. A. Descamps, *Les Justes et la justice*, pp. 180–186; idem, “Le Christianisme comme justice,” pp. 15ff.; J. Seynave, “‘La Justice nouvelle,’ (Matthieu V, 17–20,” in *Message et mission*, Publications de l’Université Lovanium de Kinshasa 23, Louvain-Paris, 1968, pp. 53–75); Matt 6:1—“Take heed not to carry out your righteousness (τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὑμῶν—ν ποιει—ν) before people to be seen by them.” This righteousness, which includes all good works and religious obligations (prayer, alms-giving, fasting) is worthless unless it is done to please God and not to require a reputation for holiness; hence very pure intentions and internal rectitude are required: A. George, “La Justice à faire dans le secret (Mt. VI, 1–6 et 16–18),” in *Bib*, 1959, pp. 590–598; B. Gerhardsson, “Geistiger Opferdienst nach Matth. VI, 1–6; 16–21,” in *Neues Testament und Geschichte* (Festschrift O. Cullmann), Zurich-Tübingen, 1972, pp. 69–77. “The reign of God and his righteousness” (Matt 6:33) that are to be

sought mean both submission to God's sovereignty and also the collection of virtues implied by that submission; so this could be called an "institutional righteousness/justice," since it is coextensive with the kingdom and specific to its members—F. Nötscher, "Das Reich (Gottes) und seine Gerechtigkeit," in *Bib*, 1950, pp. 237–241; reprinted in *Vom Alten zum Neuen Testament*, Bonn, 1962, pp. 226–230; J. M. Fiedler, *Der Begriff der δικαιοσύνη im Evangelium des Matthäus, auf seine Grundlagen untersucht*, Halle, 1957.

⁵⁵ —Εν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης (cf. 2Pet 2:21). In the OT, the "way of justice" (Job 24:13; Prov 8:20; 12:28; 16:31; 17:23; 21:16, 21; cf. Rev 15:3; 19:2) was the observance of the law or conduct fixed by God; here it is John's teaching that is willed and guaranteed by God. Thus it was necessary to believe in this prophet, who was preparing and heralding the perfect righteousness given by Christ (cf. G. Strecker, *Die Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, Göttingen, 1962, p. 157: true righteousness leads to receiving God's gift). — The Lucan writings retain the OT meaning even more strictly: the coming of the Messiah will make it possible to serve God "in holiness and righteousness in his presence" (Luke 1:75; cf. Wis 9:3; Eph 4:24), i.e., to fulfill moral and religious perfection. Elymas, the "enemy of all righteousness," was a godless man (Acts 13:10); the one who fears God and practices justice/righteousness (εργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην), i.e., who is loyal and virtuous, is pleasing to God (Acts 10:35).

⁵⁶ Jas 2:23; cf. Ps 106:3—"This was counted to him as righteousness"; 1Macc 2:52; Philo, *Heir* 90, 94; *Abraham* 262.

⁵⁷ Heb 12:1—καρπός δικαιοσύνης, cf. Amos 6:12; Isa 32:17; Prov 11:30; Phil 1:11; Jas 3:18; Philo, *Post. Cain* 118. T. C. de Kruijf, "Justice and Peace in the New Testament," in *Bijdragen*, 1971, pp. 367–383; E. Grässer, "Rechtfertigung im Hebräerbrief," in J. Friedrich, W. Pöhlmann, *Rechtfertigung* (Festschrift E. Käsemann), pp. 79–93.

⁵⁸ John 16:8, 10. Cf. M. F. Berrouard, "Le Paraclet défenseur du Christ devant la conscience du croyant (Jo. XVI, 8–11)," in *RSPT*, 1949, pp. 361–389; B. Lindars, "Δικαιοσύνη in Jn. XVI, 8 and 10," in *Mélanges Rigaux*, pp. 275–285; W. Stenger, "Δικαιοσύνη in Jo. XVI, 8, 10," in *NovT*, 1979, pp. 2–12.

⁵⁹ M. J. Lagrange, "La Justification selon saint Paul," in *RB*, 1914, pp. 321–343; 481–503; idem, "Note sur la justice de Dieu et la justification," in *Épître aux Romains*, pp. 119–141. E. Tobac, *Le Problème de la justification dans saint Paul*, 2d ed., Gembloux, 1941; K. Kertelge, *Rechtfertigung bei Paulus*, Münster, 1967; idem, "Zur Deutung des Rechtfertigungsbegriffs im

Galaterbrief,” in *BZ*, 1968, pp. 211–222; P. Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus*, Göttingen, 1965; E. Käsemann, “La Justice de Dieu chez Paul,” in *Essais exégétiques*, Neuchâtel, 1972, pp. 242–255; J. A. Ziesler, *The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul: A Linguistic and Theological Enquiry*, Cambridge, 1972 (with the critique by N. M. Watson, in *NTS*, vol. 20, 1974, pp. 217–228); L. de Lorenzi, *Battesimo e giustizia in Rom. VI e VIII*, Rome, 1974; A. Lamonnier, “Justification,” in *DTC*, vol. 8, 2, col. 2043–2077; A. Lemonnier, L. Cerfaux, *Théologie du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1963, pp. 95–108; R. Y. K. Fung, “Justification by Faith in I and II Corinthians,” in *Pauline Studies: Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce*, Exeter, 1980, pp. 246–261.

⁶⁰ Rom 9:31; 10:3—ἡ ἰ—δία δικαιοσύνη; 10:5; Gal 2:21—διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη; 3:11, 20–21; Phil 3:6—δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐ—ν νόμῳ.

⁶¹ Phil 3:9—“to be found . . . not having my own righteousness, but the righteousness through faith in Christ, the righteousness that comes from God”; cf. Rom 3:21—χωρὶς νόμου.

⁶² The Scripture had pointed out a new righteousness in the case of Abraham (Gen 15:6, quoted at Rom 4:3; Gal 3:6—God reckoned Abraham’s faith as righteousness). The LXX translated this with an aorist passive, ἐ—λογίσθη. The verb λογίζομαι, “credit to someone’s account,” expresses a real equivalency (1Sam 1:13; Ps 106:31; Isa 29:17; 32:15; 40:17; Hos 8:12; Rom 2:26; 9:8; cf. Acts 19:17).

⁶³ Rom 1:17; θεοῦ could be a attributive genitive (righteousness as a divine attribute) or a genitive of author or source (the righteousness that comes from God, which God confers on humans). Better yet: God attributes righteousness to the believer because God himself is righteousness, cf. A. Lemonnier, in *DTC*, vol. 8, col. 2058ff. J. Drummond, “On the Meaning of ‘Righteousness of God’ in the Theology of St Paul,” in *HibJ*, 1902, pp. 83–95; 272–293; A. Richardson, “δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ,” in *JBL*, 1964, pp. 12–16; A. Oepke, “Δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ bei Paulus in neuer Beleuchtung,” in *TLZ*, 1953, pp. 257–264; P. Bonnard, *Anamnèsis*, Geneva-Lausanne-Neuchâtel, 1980., pp. 169–176; D. H. van Daalen, “The Revelation of God’s Righteousness in Romans 1:17,” in E. A. Livingstone, *Studia Biblica 1978* (VI Intern. Congress on Biblical Studies, Oxford, 1978, Sheffield, 1980, pp. 383–389).

⁶⁴ It is revealed (ἀποκαλύπτεται, Rom 1:17), manifested (πεφανέρωται, Rom 3:21), demonstrated (ἔνδειξις, Rom 3:25ff.), confirmed (συνίστησις, Rom 3:5), always as *agape* (5:8). A. Feuillet comments: “In the Pauline perspective, human sin spotlights first of all not the exactitude, but the

exactitude of a God of love in the fulfillment of his promises of salvation” (“Le Plan salvifique de Dieu d’après l’Épître aux Romains,” in *RB*, p. 349, n. 1).

⁶⁵ Rom 3:5; Acts 17:31. Cf. J. Piper, “The Righteousness of God in Romans III, 1–8,” in *TZ*, 1980, pp. 3–16; K. Romaniuk, “La Justice de Dieu dans l’Épître de saint Paul aux Romains,” in *Collectanea Theologica*, vol. 47, Warsaw, 1977, pp. 139–148.

⁶⁶ Rom 3:25; 5:9; cf. “reconciliation” (2Cor 5:18; Gal 3:13). S. Lyonnet (“De notione ‘Justitiae Dei’ apud Paulum,” in *VD*, 1964, pp. 121–152); the justice/righteousness of God is his salvific action (p. 139). Cf. E. Beaucamp, “Justice divine et pardon,” in *A la rencontre de Dieu: Mémorial A. Gelin*, Le Puy–Lyon–Paris, 1961, pp. 129–144; J. Cambier, “Justice de Dieu, salut de tous les hommes et foi,” in *RB*, 1964, pp. 537–583; H. Hübner, “Existenziale Interpretation der paulinischen ‘Gerechtigkeit Gottes,’” in *NTS*, vol. 21, 1975, pp. 462–488; G. Strecker, *Eschaton und Historie*, Göttingen, 1979, pp. 229–259.

⁶⁷ Rom 3:26—“in the present time”; 5:1, 9: “now that we have been justified”; 9:30; 1Cor 6:11. But this immanent righteousness is a grounds for hope in heavenly glory (Rom 8:30), hence Gal 5:5—“We await the hope of righteousness”; texts that make earth and heaven continuous: those who have been justified will be glorified. W. H. Cadman, “Δικαιοσύνη in Romans III, 21–26,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1964, pp. 532–534; W. Thüsing, “Rechtfertigungsgedanke und Christologie in den Korintherbriefen,” in J. Gnllka, *Neues Testament und Kirche* (Festschrift R. Schnackenburg), Freiburg-Basel, 1974, pp. 301–324.

⁶⁸ Rev 22:11. As the fruit of the light (Eph 5:9), righteousness encompasses all the Christian virtues (Phil 1:11). The pastors of the church are “ministers of righteousness” (2Cor 11:15) and use the inspired Scriptures “for training in righteousness” (2Tim 3:16). They are themselves models of righteousness and piety (1Tim 6:11) and “pursue” it tirelessly (2Tim 2:22).

⁶⁹ Cf. the places where δικαιοσύνη is made the equivalent of ἁγιασμός (Rom 6:19; 1Cor 1:30; 6:11), ὁσιότης (Eph 4:24), peace and joy in the Holy Spirit (Rom 14:17), salvation (Rom 1:16–17), eternal glory (3:23; 8:30).

⁷⁰ Herodotus 1.89: “I think it just”; Thucydides 2.71: “Pausanias thought it right to leave us to live autonomously”; 4.122.6; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.187; 12.124: “he did not think it right to deprive the Jews of the rights that they possessed”; Philo, *Abraham* 142: the man “did not think it right to go into

this place”; 171: Abraham “thought it good that the victim should be laden with objects intended for the sacrifice”; *Moses* 1.44: Moses killed the Egyptian and thought that this was a just action and a pious deed. — The nuance “decide” or “wish” is rather common (Herodotus 2.172; 3.118; Thucydides 5.103.1; Philo, *Drunkennes* 51; *Unchang. God* 9, 159); more common are the nuances “pronounce judgment” in a trial (Dio Cassius 52.24; *P.Oxy.* 653 end) and “condemn, punish,” because “to do justice” is to treat in conformity with justice; cf. Herodotus 1.100: “He inflicted on him a punishment proportional to the offense”; 5.92: “A rolling stone . . . will punish Corinth”; Thucydides 3.40.4; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.206; 18.178; Dio Cassius 37.41: “they were handed over for punishment”; 41.28: “punished on the spot”; 49.12: “treated severely”; 54.15.19; 38.11: “Caesar had many to punish”; Plutarch, *Cat. Mai.* 21.4. — This meaning, “to give someone his due” (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.10.1136a18 and 22; Polybius 3.31.9), tends to take on a realistic sense when the subject of the verb is God or the law: “God expects to be called Lord and absolute master” (Philo, *Change of Names* 19); “by natural law it is right (τοῦ φύσει δικαιοῦντος) for each one to be master of his own place” (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.305). — Ἐδικαίωσεν ὁ νόμος (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.180; cf. 1.67, 109, 140; 2.72; 113; 3.172; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.278) can be translated “the law has judged to be good, has reckoned to be right” but means “the law has established the right, that which should be done.” — In the religious sense, *Corp. Herm.* 13.9: “We have been made just (ε—δικαιώθημεν; cf. Rom 3:21-24), child (the initiate), now that the injustice is no longer there” (following the French of A. J. Festugière); but this language about being rid of injustice (or unrighteousness) is probably polemic against Christian justification (cf. G. Schrenk, in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 211–212).

⁷¹ *P.Giss.* 47, 16: “I do not think that it is good to acquire this belt” (second century AD); *P.Ryl.* 654, 8 (minutes of a trial): the masons think that it is always right to consider only their own interests, despite the urgency and magnitude of the needs (cf. the republication by H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, pp. 397–401).

⁷² *P.Ryl.* 119, 14 (first century); *PSI* 768, 9 (the decision of the tribunal); *SB* 9861b9 (third century BC); 7033, 30; 10285, 5; *P.Mich.* XIII, 659, 98: it was decided by the public arbiter; *BGU* 1849, 23 (first century BC), a widow writes to the *strategos* to obtain τὸ δίκαιον for herself and her child: οἱ—ι—ερεῖ—ς καὶ —Απίων ὁ γυμνασιαρχέσας δεδικαίωκαν, ε—άν φαίνεται προνοῆσαι ἡμω—ν; *P.Tebt.* 444 (first century): “the sums agreed upon by contract” (δεδικαιωμένα, fixed, declared right); *P.Oxy.* 2265, 7, a prefect asks the *strategos* to come to the aid of the collector of the *vicesima libertatis*, ε—ν οἷς ε—άν δικαίωσετε.

73 Cf. the demonstration by M. J. Lagrange, “La Justification selon saint Paul,” pp. 123ff. and N. M. Watson, “Some Observations of the Use of δικαίω in the Septuagint,” in *JBL*, 1960, pp. 255–266. Ps 19:9—“the judgments of Yahweh are true, they are just”; 51:4 (quoted at Rom 3:4); 143:2—“not one living being is just in your presence”; cf. Isa 42:21; Sir 18:2—“the Lord alone proves to be just” (δικαιωθήσεται).

74 Deut 25:1 (hiphil of *sadaq*); 1Kgs 8:32; 2Chr 6:23; Ezek 16:51-52: “You have made your sisters appear just by all the abominations that you have committed. . . . They are more just than you.” Bad judges justify (acquit) the wicked for a bribe (Isa 5:23).

75 Δικαιοῦν = Hebrew *zajâh*; Mic 6:11—“Shall I declare innocent deceitful balances and the bag of false scales?”; Ps 73:13—“I have kept my heart pure” (M. J. Lagrange, p. 121, sees this as “the only incontestable OT example of the meaning ‘make pure’”). Cf. *najâh*, Sir 9:12—“the godless will not be justified”; *T. Sim.* 6.1—ὅπως δικαιωθῶ—ἀπὸ ἀμαρτίας.

76 Isa 45:26—“In Yahweh the whole race of Israel will obtain justice (ἀπὸ κυρίου δικαιωθήσονται) and be glorified”; 50:8—“The one who justifies me is near at hand.”

77 Gen 44:16—“How shall we speak to justify ourselves?” (hithpael of the Hebrew *sadaq*); Jer 3:11—“faithless Israel is justified” (in the piel; in the same stem in Job 33:32—“I want you to be justified”); Sir 1:21; 7:5, cf. Isa 1:17—“defend the widow” (δικαιώσατε χήραν, the niphal of *rib*).

78 Sir 10:29—“Who will justify the one who sins against his soul?”; 12:22; 23:11; 26:29; 31:5; 42:2—“Do not be ashamed (before the pagans) of the law of the Most High and his covenant, the decree that justifies the ungodly”; it would be possible to interpret δικαιο—σαι τὸν ἀσεβῆ as meaning “condemn the ungodly,” but this would be the only instance in the OT. The Hebrew text discovered at Masada has the hiphil of *sadaq*: “When justice (asks) to justify the wicked.” Whether the accused is a pagan or a corrupt person, he has the same right to be rendered justice as the unfortunate or the poor (Ps 82:3). This impartiality must not be a cause for embarrassment or scandal.

79 Exactly as *agape* —which is in the first place a horror of evil (Rom 12:9)—covers (effaces) a multitude of sins (1Pet 4:8; cf. Jas 5:20).

80 Matt 11:19; Luke 7:29, 35. Same meaning in Philo, *Change of Names* 136: “The disposition of the soul that acknowledges God . . . is justified for the reason that I have not given it to any mortal.” Cf. *Pss. Sol.* 2.16—“I

acknowledge you to be just, O God, in the uprightness of my heart, because your justice shines forth from your judgments"; 3.5—"the just person has proclaimed the Lord just"; 4.9; 8.7, 23. H. Ljungman ("Un texte de Sifrè éclairant Mt. XI, 18 sv.," in *SEÅ*, vol. 22–23, 1958, pp. 33–35) cites *Sipre Deut.* on Deut 1:12, representing Moses as being exposed to contradictory criticisms. Cf. A. Feuillet, "Jésus et la Sagesse divine d'après les Evangiles synoptiques," in *RB*, 1955, pp. 164–168. — We might compare the hymn or liturgical confession of faith in the risen Christ in 1Tim 3:16—ε—δικαιώθη ε—ν πνεύνατι (G. Richter, "Ist ε—ν ein strukturbildendes Element im Logoshymnus Joh. I, 1ff.?" in *Bib*, 1970, p. 543, also compares *Odes Sol.* 19.10–11). The exaltation of Christ in glory manifests his divine nature or power (Rom 1:4; 8:11; Heb 9:14; 1Pet 3:18) and is also a proof of the justice of Jesus' cause: he is recognized and acclaimed as just. "The return to the Father is God's imprimatur on the justice/righteousness manifested in the life and death of his Son" (E. C. Hoskyns, quoted by R. E. Brown, *John*, vol. 2, p. 713). Cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, pp. 468ff. M. J. Fiedler, "Δικαιοσύνη in der diaspora-jüdischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur," in *JSJ*, 1970, pp. 120–143; R. H. Gundry, "The Form, Meaning and Background of the Hymn Quoted in I Timothy III, 16," in W. W. Gasque, R. Martin, *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (presented to F. F. Bruce), Exeter, 1970, pp. 203–222; K. Berger, "Zum traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund christologischer Hoheitstitel," in *NTS*, vol. 17, 1941, p. 405; J. T. Sanders, *The New Testament Christological Hymns*, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 15–94; R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-existent Wisdom and the Son of Man*, Cambridge, 1973, pp. 187ff.

⁸¹ "It is from your words that you will be declared just (future passive δικαιωθήση) and from your words that you will be condemned (καταδικασθήση)"; God examines, evaluates, and reveals people's words (and deeds) at the last judgment.

⁸² The Sadducees were precisely the "party of justice" and the Pharisees "pretended to be just" (Luke 20:20). As for the teacher of the law, who asked a question any child in catechism class could answer and was upset at the answer, he wanted to defend himself, justify himself (δικαιω—σαι ε—αυτόν; Luke 10:29; cf. the hithpael of *sadaq*, Gen 44:16).

⁸³ Cf. *Prot. Jas.* 10.15—Joachim "went down from the temple of the Lord justified" (δεδικαιωμένος).

⁸⁴ Acts 13:38, 39 (cf. Rom 3:20; 10:4; Gal 3:11). The present indicative passive δικαιούται, as opposed to δικαιωθήναι, proves that this justice/righteousness is already acquired by the believer, who is in a new state; not only do believers have a peaceful and loving relationship with

God, but their conduct produces new “works,” because doing follows being: “let the righteous continue doing right” (Rev 22:11), or we might say “to be sanctified.” From an entirely different point of view, Jas 2:21, 24, 25 writes that “man is justified (δικαιοῦται) by works and not by faith alone,” and gives Abraham and Rahab as examples. This no longer means the initial justification, but remaining in that original state of righteousness which not only excludes sin but requires practicing the virtues so as to remain just before God (cf. Rom 2:13).

⁸⁵ Rom 3:4 (Ps 51:6); 3:20 (Ps 143:2); 4:2 (Gen 15:6). Cf. 1Cor 4:4—“I am aware of nothing against myself, but that does not mean that I am justified” (δεδικαίωμαι, acquitted, as by a legal verdict; or better, exonerated of any fault in my ministry). — There have been quite a few differing interpretations of Rom 6:7—ὁ γὰρ ἀπαθανὼν δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, “the one who has died is free (?) from sin.” What death does this mean? Can δικαίω be translated “liberate”? These comments have been offered: (1) The one who is dead (to sin) through baptism is justified, since his sins have been forgiven; (2) A sacrificial death (of a martyr) expiates offenses (K. G. Kuhn, “Röm. VI, 7,” in *ZNW*, 1931, pp. 305–310). (3) A general axiom: “Whoever is dead (meaning by natural death) is declared absolved from sin,” in the sense that sin can no longer get at him and claim him as its slave (J. Huby, S. Lyonnet, *Saint Paul: L’Épître aux Romains*, 2d ed., Paris, 1957, pp. 211–591, who cite analogous rabbinic pronouncements: “When a man is dead, he is free of the law and its commandments,” *b. Nid. 61b* ; *b. shabb. 30a* ; Str-B, vol. 3, p. 232). (4) The one who has died is first of all Christ (ὁ ἀπαθανὼν; C. Kearns, “The Interpretation of Romans VI, 7,” in *AnBib 17*, Rome, 1968, vol. 1, pp. 301–307; R. Scroggs, “Romans VI, 7,” in *NTS*, vol. 10, 1963, pp. 104–108). (5) It follows that the Christian, united to Christ in baptism, has stripped off his “body of death” (7:24), the body of sin (6:5), and must sin no more (verse 1); cf. 1Pet 4:1—“The one who has suffered in the flesh has ceased sinning”; 1John 5:18. M. J. Lagrange understands the perfect passive δεδικαίωται in the sense of “exonerated,” as at *T. Sim. 6.1*—ὅπως δικαιοθῶ—ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶ—v. A. B. du Toit, “Dikaiosynè in Röm. 6,” in *ZTK*, 1979, pp. 261–291.

⁸⁶ M. J. Lagrange, “La Justification selon saint Paul,” p. 123; cf. A. Lemonnyer, “Justification,” in *DTC*, vol. 8, col. 2067ff. We might add that verbs in -όω denote abundance and plenty.

⁸⁷ “The sacrifice of Christ has satisfied once and for all the demands for outward justice which God had deposited in the Law, and at the same time it has brought the positive gift of life and inward justice which the latter was unable to give” (P. Benoit, *Exégèse et théologie*, vol. 2, p. 39, n. 2 = ET,

vol. 2, p. 39, n. 1); cf. Rom 5:18—“justification gives life.” The best commentary is the Trinitarian baptismal text on the “bath of regeneration and renewal” (Titus 3:7), “so that having been justified by the grace of this (Jesus Christ) our Savior (ἵνα δικαιώεντες τῇ ε—κείνου χάριτι), we might become . . . heirs . . . of eternal life”; the aorist passive participle denotes the present state of this new and internal righteousness that permits entry into heaven, where nothing impure may go in. Cf. H. Rosman, “Iustificare (δικαιοῦν) est verbum causalitatis,” in *VD*, 1941, pp. 144–147.

⁸⁸ Cf. Rom 4:5—“The one who has no works, but who believes in the One who justifies (δικαιοῦντα) the ungodly, will have his faith counted as righteousness.” M.J. Lagrange (on this verse) comments: “δικαιόω in the active cannot mean ‘forgive’: it has to be ‘declare just’ or ‘make just.’ That God should declare the ungodly righteous is a blasphemous proposition. But in addition, when would this declaration be made?” H. W. Heidland (*TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 288–292) explains λογίζεσθαι: “Justification is not a fiction alongside the reality. If God counts faith as righteousness, man is wholly righteous in God’s eyes. . . . He becomes a new creature through God’s λογίζεσθαι.”

⁸⁹ Rom 3:28; cf. Gal 2:16-17; 3:8, 11, 24; 5:4. W. G. Kümmel, “‘Individualgeschichte’ und ‘Weltgeschichte’ in Gal. 2:15-21,” in B. Lindars, S. S. Smalley, *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament* (in honor of C. F. D. Moule), Cambridge, 1973, pp. 157–173.

⁹⁰ Cf. Rom 5:9—“How much more, then, having been justified (δικαιωθέντες νῦν) in his blood, shall we be saved by him from wrath.” Through the efficacy of the Redeemer’s blood, the Christian possesses here and now a real righteousness that assures him of definitive salvation at the Last Judgment. M. Wolter, *Rechtfertigung und zukünftiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu Römer V, 1–11*, Berlin, 1978.

⁹¹ Cf. Rom 8:33—“Who will stand to accuse God’s elect? It is God who justifies them” (present active participle, *dikaion*). M. J. Lagrange quotes Isa 50:7-8 and interprets thus: “God presents himself as the defender, as the one who comes to make the righteousness of the accused shine out. . . . God takes up the cause” of the elect person, who is truly just. He can do so because he is the one who made him just.

⁹² On the death-life antithesis, solidarity with Adam and with Christ, the latter being the source of life, cf. A. Feuillet, “Le Règne de la mort et le règne de la vie (Rom V, 12–21),” in *RB*, 1970, pp. 481–521; a causality of grace (J. de Fraine, *Adam et son lignage*, Bruges, 1959, pp. 222ff.).

⁹³ This is the meaning of *dikaioma* in Exod 21:9—“the status of the daughters”; 1Sam 2:13—“the status of the priest”; 8:9—“of the king.” Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 17.108: τὰ τῆς φύσεως δικαιώματα (J. Modrzejewski, “La Règle de droit dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque,” in *Essays in Honor of C. B. Welles*, American Studies in Papyrology, vol. 1, New Haven, 1966, p. 142). — In the secular literature and the papyri, δικαίωμα usually means a “right” to something; Josephus, *War* 7.110: the Antiochenes ask Titus to “destroy the bronze tablets on which the rights of the Jews were written”; *Ant.* 19.285: the edict of Claudius confirms the ancient rights of the Alexandrian Jews; *Ag. Apion* 2.37: “the stele that was erected at Alexandria contains the rights granted to the Jews by Caesar the Great” (actually by Augustus); Thucydides 1.41.1: “Such are our *dikaionata*, and according to the Greek rule, they are decisive”; Dio Cassius 37.51—“Clodius renounced his patrician title and entered the class of plebeians in order to share in their rights (or statutes),” (πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους δικαιώματα); 55.2.6—when a man or a woman has not had three children, a law—formerly by the senate, now by the emperor—sometimes grants them the rights of those who have had three children (τὰ τω—ν τρις γεγεννηκότων δικαιώματα). Cf. 2Sam 19:29—“What right would I still have to make claims with the king?”; Jer 11:20; *P.Oxy.* 1119, 15: “the exceptional rights (the status) claimed by our native city” (τω—ν ε—ξαιρέτων τῆς ἡμετέρας πατρίδος δικαιομάτων); 1890, 9; *P.Grenf.* 60, 23; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 1, 5 (first century AD), περὶ τούτων δικαιώματι; *CPR* I, 20, 20 (republished as *Stud.Pal.* XX, 54); *P.Mich.* XIII, 659, 49; *SB* 9154, 13; 9228, 11; 9462, 16.

⁹⁴ Rev 19:8—“Fine linen is the righteous acts of the saints” (τὰ δικαιώματα τω—ν ἁγίων ε—στίν); we are to understand that this garment of innocence is proof of the virtue of the faithful. Quite often δικαίωμα means “supporting document” (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1959, p. 226, n. 323). Litigants have to appear before the court armed with documents that support their claims (*P.Enteux.* Appendix D 5, p. 248). Archelaus sends Augustus τὰ δικαιώματα, the papers legitimating his royalty, including his father’s will (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.228; cf. 17.130: “without other means of justification”). The inhabitants of Priene prove their possession from time immemorial of a certain territory ε—κ τω—ν ἄλλων μαρτυριω—ν καὶ δικαιομάτων (Dittenberger, *Or.* XIII, 14; third century BC); *SEG* XVII, 415, 4. A code from the third century AD prescribes that judges should use torture on slaves if the trial documents (δικαιώματα) do not allow them to judge (*P.Lille* 29, 25). Stotoëtis has no property title on a slave who belongs to his mother (*P.Lond.* 360, 8; vol. 2, p. 216); *Stud.Pal.* XXII, 43, 32; *BGU* 113, 265, 847 (= *Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 458–460); 1654, 1: notarized copy of a document: ε—κ κλημφθείσης ε—κ δικαιομάτων παρατεθέντων; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59368, 6; *P.Oxy.* 3023, col. II, 10; *UPZ* 162,

col. III, 21 and 23; col. V, 25; SB 3925, 5; 7696, 57: δικαίωμα ἔχουσιν οἱ—
τρι—ς; 9339, 26; 10254, 14; 10288, 1 a 12; b 17.

⁹⁵ Gen 26:5—Abraham “observed by regulation, my orders, my precepts, and my laws”; Deut 4:1, 5, 8; 6:1; 7:11; 30:16; 1Kgs 2:3; Ps 119:8; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 67–68 (quotes Deut 33:10); *Heir* 8 (quotes Gen 26:3–5); *Prelim. Stud.* 163 (quotes Exod 15:23–25). The collection of laws and ordinances of *P.Hal.* 1 was published with the title *P.Hal.* (Berlin, 1913; cf. pp. 25ff.).

⁹⁶ Δικαίωμα in the sense of a just decree of condemnation; 1Kgs 3:28—All the Israelites saw in Solomon “a divine wisdom to pass judgment” (ποιει—ν δικαίωμα); 2Chr 6:35; Plato, *Leg.* 9.864 e: “he will be exempt from all other punishments.” A Jewish epitaph at Rome: “Lord, (grant that) according to your just judgment (ε—ν δικαίωματί σου) the repose of Justus, an innocent child, may be peaceful” (*CII* 361). A δικαίωμα is reparation for an unjust act and is the opposite of an ἀδίκημα (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.10.1135a9–14; *Rh.* 1.3.1359a24ff. Cf. *Cael.* 1.10.279b9).

⁹⁷ This legal meaning is that of the OT hapax at Lev 24:22 (Hebrew *mishpat*): the same legal statute (literaly, sentence) for the guest as for the native (the *lex talionis*). Cf. Lysias 9.8: “I want to submit legal texts and grounds for rights to you” (νόμους καὶ ἄλλας δικαίωσεις παρασχέσομαι); Thucydides 1.141.1: “every act of claiming a right”; Plutarch, *Demetr.* 18.6. — More common is the meaning “condemnation, punishment”; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.14: the Pharisees believe that there are punishments for vices and rewards for virtue; 18.315; Plutarch, *Art.* 14.3: “He took care to punish those who were at fault”; *De sera* 22; Dio Cassius 40.43: Caesar inflicted punishments. Finally, there is “justification” in our sense of the word: “that which serves to justify, to present as just”; cf. Thucydides 3.82.4: “They changed the ordinary relationship of words to acts in the justifications that they gave”; Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 9: “In their wording they seem to fabricate justifications and evasions”; Dio Cassius 41.54.3: “wrapping themselves in numerous pretexts.”

⁹⁸ Cf. F. X. Durrwell, *La Résurrection de Jésus mystère de salut*, 2d ed., Le Puy–Paris, 1954; D. M. Stanley, “Ad historiam exegeseos Rom. IV, 25,” in *VD*, 1951, pp. 257–274; S. Lyonnet, “La Valeur sotériologique de la Résurrection du Christ selon saint Paul,” in *Gregorianum*, 1958, pp. 294–318; J. M. González Ruiz, “Muerto por nuestros pecados y resucitado por nuestra justificación” (Rom 4:25), in *Bib*, 1959, pp. 837–858; A. Scrima, “La Résurrection comme centre de l’économie du salut,” in E. Dhanis, *Resurrexit*, Vatican City, 1974, pp. 546–553.

⁹⁹ 1Cor 15:45; “He justifies by sending us his Spirit and himself working within us as a spirit” (J. Huby, S. Lyonnet, *Saint Paul: L’Épître aux Romains*, p. 179); “this passage proves that in justification there is an internal element consisting of a life of which the resurrection is the cause” (M. J. Lagrange, on this verse, citing St. Thomas: “dicit esse causam justificationis nostrae, per quam redimus ad novitatem justitiae”).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Rom 6:11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23; F. J. Leenhardt, *Romans*, pp. 147–148; cf. D. G. Lafont, “Sur l’interprétations de Romains, VI, 15–21,” in *RSR*, 1957, pp. 481–513.

¹⁰¹ Sir 38:33; Philo, *Cherub.* 11: the accused faces the judge; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.87; *Decalogue* 140; *Spec. Laws* 1.121, 277; 3.53, 69; Josephus, *War* 1.452, 618, 622; 2.571; *Ant.* 4.216; 9.3; *Life* 258, *P.Oxy.* 67, 17; 653; 3285, 5, 20, 35; *P.Stras.* 370, 3; *P.Lond.* 971, 19 (vol. 3, p. 129); *P.Hamb.* 168 a 13; b 2; *C.P.Herm.* 10, 14; *P.Princ.* 118, 8; *PSI* 1310, 15; *SB* 7033, 19; 9225, 3; 10494, 10; Dittenberger, *Or.* 499, 3; 528, 7. In the Ephesian law from 297 BC, the activities of judges are summed up: they go to the site, rectify distributions of property, evaluate, decide in the company of experts, commit their judgment to writing, etc.; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 364; H. Wankel, *I.Ephes.*, Bonn, 1979, n. IV.

¹⁰² *Apokrimata* 51: the praetorian prefect will be delegated as judge; 60; *SB* 7338, 8; 7264, 4: ἔδωκε Ἡρώνα δικαστὴν καὶ μεσεῖτην τοῦ πράγματος (a private letter from the second century AD).

¹⁰³ Philo, *Abraham* 168; *Flacc.* 106; Josephus, *War* 1.458: arbiter of my succession; 2.26; 4.265, 274; Diodorus Siculus 4.33.4: “a dispute in which Phylaeus was named judge.”

¹⁰⁴ Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.187 (citing Deut 17:8); cf. the parents, who have the authority to judge their son (*Ant.* 4.260; 6.318).

¹⁰⁵ “The conscience is established in the soul as a judge” (Philo, *Creation* 128), “sometimes chief and king, sometimes judge and arbiter in the conflicts of life” (*Worse Attacks Better* 23; *Unchang. God* 50, 128, 183; *Flight* 118; *Decalogue* 87). — God, the supreme judge, cf. 1Sam 24:16; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.205; *Cherub.* 72; *Conf. Tongues* 25; *Heir* 271; *Abraham* 133; *Moses* 2.217, 228; Josephus, *War* 1.630; 5.400; *Ant.* 4.46; 9.169; 18.268; *Acts of Diogenes* 21 (*P.Oxy.* 2664; republished by H. A. Musurillo, *Pagan Martyrs*, p. 27).

¹⁰⁶ *C.P.Herm.* 19, 13: ε—πὶ τὴν σὴν λαμπρότητα, φιλάνθρωπε τω—ν δικαστω—ν.

¹⁰⁷ Philo, *Creation* 11: “A city without ephors, or arbiters, or judges, upon whom the whole burden of administering and governing rests”; *Joseph* 63: “the magistrates, councillors, or judges who seek to safeguard the common good and security”; *Spec. Laws* 1.55: “councillors, judges, magistrates, members of the assembly.” At Sidon, an epigram for a winner in the Nemean games (200 BC): “Diotimius, judge, winner in the chariot race” is the city’s first magistrate (*NCIG*, n. XXXV, A 1).

¹⁰⁸ At Athens in the fifth century BC, a regulation concerning the Hephaistia (*LSCG*, n. XIII, 20); at Andonia (92 BC), the judges are part of a commission that manages the revenues of the mysteries (*ibid.* LXV, 52 and 62 = Dittenberger, *Syl.* 736); *SEG* II, 710, 4. L. Robert (*Documents*, pp. 53–57) studies the *δικασταί* and the *κριταί* in decrees from the Hellenistic period in Caria, at Thessalonica, at Temessos, etc.

¹⁰⁹ At Samos, a decree for judges from Myndos, in the third century BC (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XXI, 3).

¹¹⁰ A decree of Phalanna for judges from Metropolis (*NCIG*, n. XII, 12 and 25); J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1969, p. 463, n. 266; 1971, p. 477, n. 497. The physician Diodorus “spared himself no trouble to care for” the judges invited to Samos who fell ill (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XIV, 24).

¹¹¹ Josh 8:33—“All Israel, with its elders, scribes, and judges, were standing on both sides of the ark, facing the priests and Levites”; 23:2; 24:1; Isa 3:2—the Lord deprives Jerusalem and Judah of “hero and man of war, judge and prophet, diviner and elder”; Bar 2:1—the word of the Lord “against our judges . . . against our kings, against our princes”; Wis 6:1—“Hear, O kings . . . learn, O judges of the ends of the earth”; 9:7. On the judges raised up by God to deliver Israel, cf. R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, pp. 93, 111, 215; vol. 2, pp. 277, 467. The *δικασταί* instituted at Tyre after the conquest of Nebuchadnezzar are not judges but governors (Menander of Ephesus, in Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.156–157), cf. J. Teixidor, “Les Fonctions de rab et de suffète en Phénicie,” in *Sem* 1979, pp. 12ff.

δίστομος

distomos, having two mouths or two edges

distomos, S 1366; *EDNT* 1.337; MM 165; L&N 79.94; BAGD 200

This adjective, which literally means “with two mouths” or “with two openings,” is applied to a cave with two entries (*distomos petra*, a rock pierced right through, Sophocles, *Phil.* 16), a road that splits (*distoi hodoi*, the point where two travelers’ routes meet, Sophocles, *OC* 900), the post of a door with two entries,¹ a river or canal with a “double mouth” (Polybius 34.10.5); “so that the canal also has two mouths” (*hoste kai distomon einai ten dioryga*, Strabo 17.4.35). In a letter of September 19, 251, the *dioiketes* Apollonius asks his steward Zeno to have four hundred birds sent to him to fatten, and one hundred chickens to Ptolemais, “which is on the double mouth.”²

Euripides speaks of thrusting in a “two-edged sword.”³ The OT uses *distomos* with either the *machaira* or the *rhomphaia*⁴ as a way of emphasizing its penetrating force.⁵ The NT uses the term only metaphorically: the word of God is “sharper than any two-edged sword” (*tomoteris hyper pasan machairan distomon*, Heb 4:12). The comparison is self-evident in Hebrew, first of all because a “word” is “what comes out of the mouth”;⁶ and secondly because the word is an offensive weapon,⁷ and God’s is irresistible.⁸ The qualification “two-edged,” meaning “sharpened on both sides,” emphasizes its piercing quality.

Rev 1:16; 2:12; 19:15, in order to symbolize the power of the divine word, have a sword coming out of Christ’s mouth and add that this *rhomphaia* is *oxeia*, that is, “sharp, penetrating.”⁹ No clearer expression for its force could be devised.

¹ *P.IFAO* II, n. 31, 8.

² Εις Πτολεμαίδα τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ διστόμου, *P.Mich.Zen.* 48, 4; cf. D. Bonneau, “La Terre ‘arrosée par le Nil’: Neilobrochos,” in *BASP*, vol. 16, 1–2; 1979, p. 20. Cf. the double port: δίστομος οὕτως ἢ —Επίδαυρος ἐ—καλει—το, ἐ—πεὶ ἀμφιστόμῳ λιμένι ἐ—κέχρητο . . . συγγραφή (Hesychius). There is also τρίστομον (*P.Tebt.* 112, 3; 121 = p. 502; 208; cf. *BGU* 802, col. II, 8). The Nile delta is called “the mouth of the Nile” in Hebrew (Isa 19:7); today we refer to the “mouths of the Rhone.”

³ Euripides, *Hel.* 983: δίστομον ξίφος; Plutarch, *Cleom.* 26.1: “striking with large staffs in the shape of two-edged swords”; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 13, 92 (vol. 2, p. 91): ἔχε ... μαχαί—ριν ὀλοσίδηρον δίστομον; in the sixth century, Nonnus of Panopolis applies the same term to an ax (30.141).

⁴ There is not too precise a distinction between these two slightly turned back swords or sabers (as opposed to the straight sword, the ξίφος), which were often confused by scribes (cf. the manuscript variants on Luke 21:24). The *machaira* is a soldier’s weapon (Polybius 3.114.2–3) but also a

sacrificial knife (Gen 22:6, 10; Plutarch, *De def. or.* 41). Cf. the sharp sword of the cherubim (Philo, *Cherub.* 31) or the “sword of fire” (ibid. 20, 21, 25), a shortening of Gen 3:24—“the turning flame of the sword,” i.e., double-branched lightning.

⁵ Judg 3:16—“Ehud had a two-edged sword made for himself” (μάχαιραν δίστομον); Ps 149:6—“a two-edged sword in their hands” (ρόμφαι—αι δίστομοι); Prov 5:4—“sharper than a two-edged sword”; Sir 21:3—“iniquity is like ‘a two-edged sword (ὡς ρομφαία δίστομος); for its wound there is no remedy.’”

⁶ Deut 8:3; Matt 4:4. “Mouth” in Hebrew is *peh*; “word” or “utterance” is “opening of the mouth” (*pit pi*). “It is because the sword devours the flesh of the enemies (Deut 32:42; cf. 2Sam 2:26) that it is called a mouth and that a blow is struck ‘with the mouth of the sword.’ To represent the two edges, the plural *piôt* was used. The vocalization of this form varies in Judg 3:16 and Prov 5:4. Again, the word *pi* is doubled to produce *pîphiyôth*, ‘two-mouthed, two-edged’ (Ps 149:6)” (P. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, pp. 83–89).

⁷ Isa 49:2—“He made my mouth like a sharp sword”; Hos 6:5; Wis 18:5; Philo, *Cherub.* 28; *Wisdom of Ahikar* 7.100. Cf. Sophocles, *Aj.* 584: “words so cutting do not please me”; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 19.1–15.

⁸ Deut 33:29 compares Yahweh’s intervention to a sword that gives the victory to his people; Eph 6:17—“the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God” (cf. M. Barth, *Ephesians*, pp. 799–800). It is through this weapon that Peter’s hearers at Pentecost were “smitten to the heart” and persuaded to be converted (Acts 2:37). Cf. P. Benoit, “‘Et toi-même, un glaive te transpercera l’âme’ (Lc. II, 35),” in *CBQ*, 1963, pp. 251–261, reprinted in *Exégèse et théologie*, vol. 3, pp. 216–227.

⁹ —Οξύς, Isa 49:2; Ezek 5:1; Ps 58:5; cf. Wis 5:20; 18:15.

διχοτομέω

dichotomeo, to cut in two

dichotomeo, S 1371; *TDNT* 2.225–226; *EDNT* 1.337; MM 165; L&N 19.19, 37.12; BAGD 200

In a collection of “parables of the Parousia,” the responsible parties—who have the keys to the kingdom of heaven—are warned that they will be

judged with particular rigor. Actually, the steward or servant who mistreats the household staff and carouses with his master's property will be severely punished by the master when he returns: *dichotomesei auton*.¹ Must we translate literally ("He will cut him in two") or figuratively ("He will remove him" from his service, will show him the door)?

Derived from *temno*, "to cut, cleave, slice," and hence "smite," the compound *dichotomeo* (unknown in the papyri and in Philo) literally means "cut or divide in two."² It is used for the moon (*he selene dichotomousa*), which divides the months into two equal parts.³ In geometry, it means "to bisect a figure into equal parts by bisecting lines, medians."⁴ But the meaning "to separate, to remove from a group or a person" is attested in the fourth century AD in a tomb inscription, probably Christian, at Lycaonia, in which Gordian is separated from his eldest son, Ambrose: "to my firstborn son Ambrose, who has cut me off from long life" (*to hueio mou to prototoko Ambrosio to dichotomesanti me tou poloetion zen*, MAMA VIII, 252).

These usages hardly correspond to the usage in the two Synoptics. On the other hand, Josephus, commenting on the judgment of Solomon (1Kgs 3:25), has the king say *amphotera dichotomesai ta paidia* ("cut both children in two," *Ant.* 8.31). The only occurrence of the verb in the OT has to do with sacrificial victims: "You shall cut the ram in pieces";⁵ and in 3Apoc. Bar. 16.3, the Lord commands, "and you shall cut them off with the sword and with death, and their children with demons" (*kai dichotomesate autous en machaira kai en thanato, kai ta tekna auton en daimoniois*). This is the best parallel to the NT texts.

This form of torture is already mentioned by Odysseus to Melantho: "I will tell Telemachus, so that he will carve you (*tamesin*) limb from limb" (Homer, *Od.* 18.339). According to Herodotus 2.139.2, an Ethiopian received in a vision the advice that he should "cut in two (*diatamein*) across the middle of the body all the priests of Egypt." The prophet Daniel threatens, "The angel of God will cleave you down the middle" (Sus 55, *schisei sou*, LXX). "When the master of the house comes and sees the steward insolently handing out orders, he drags him outside and cuts him" (*helkysas etemen*, Epictetus 3.22.3); Pyrrhus, with his sword, "cleaved the body of the barbarian in two parts that fell simultaneously on each side."⁶

Such a punishment for the servant in the Gospels is extremely severe, and already St. Jerome explained, "This does not mean that he will cut him in two with the sword, but only that he will cut him off from the society of the saints and will consign him with the hypocrites."⁷ So it is possible to treat the text in a more or less softened manner, theologically and morally speaking. But this is not a place for sensitivity. Cut off from the household of God, the unworthy one can only be in Gehenna, as Matt 24:51 notes: "where there is wailing and grinding of teeth" (cf. 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 25:30). This is the punishment reserved for the "worthless

servant” in the parable of the Talents (Matt 25:30; cf. the parable of the Minas: “As for my enemies . . . slaughter them before me,” Luke 19:27) and is analogous to the fate of the sterile fig tree (Luke 13:9, *ekkopseis auten*). The verb *dichotomeo* seems to suggest God’s absolute rights and the requirements attached to his gifts.

O. Betz has shown a correspondence to the disciplinary formulations at Qumran,⁸ especially 1QS 2.16–17, which formulates a twofold curse: “God will separate him for evil and he will be cut off from the midst of all the sons of light . . . the error that led him astray will win him a place in the midst of those eternally accursed.”⁹ The dramatic death of Judas (“his body burst open,” *elakesen mesos*, Acts 1:18) could well be a reference to the punishment in Matt 24:51. Finally, the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira, hypocrites who lied to the Holy Spirit (Acts 5:1-11), show that the punishments of unworthy believers are not purely metaphorical.

¹ Matt 24:51; Luke 12:46. Cf. D. Buzy, “Y a-t-il fusion des paraboles évangéliques?” in *RB*, 1932, pp. 32–35; A. Feuillet, “La Synthèse eschatologique de saint Matthieu (XXIV–XXV),” *RB*, 1950, pp. 78–91.

² Plato, *Plt.* 302 e: “Legality and illegality are a principle of dichotomy”; Aristotle, *Part. An.* 1.3.1: “this is how those who practice dichotomy divide” (οι— διχοτομοῦντες); 1.4.9: “Dichotomy is sometimes impossible, sometimes not useful”; Polybius 6.28.2: “cut a line.”

³ Plutarch, *De fac.* 17.929 f; *Dio* 23.3; cf. Sir 39:12; διχότομος, the first and last quarter of the moon (Philo, *Creation* 101; *Spec. Laws* 1.178); διχότης, the half-moon (*P. Mich.* 149, col. XI, 34–35; second century AD).

⁴ C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, p. 147, cites the paradox of Achilles and the tortoise (the faster runner cannot catch the slower), which Aristotle (*Ph.* 6.9.239b18) compares to dichotomous reasoning.

⁵ Exod 29:17—cf. διχοτόμημα, parts of animals cut in two (Gen 15:11; Philo, *Heir* 215, 311); Herodotus 2.39.5: the Egyptians slit the throat and cut off the head (ἀποτάμνουσι) of animals that they sacrifice.

⁶ Διχοτομηθέντος, Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 24.5. We might mention the “torture with saws” applied by David to the vanquished, according to the LXX (2Sam 12:31; 1Chr 20:3). At the time of the uprising of 115, the Jews of Cyrene “sawed [Romans and Greeks] from top to bottom down the middle of the body” (Dio Cassius 58.32). At the time of the Jewish War, a certain Jose Meshita was sawed by the Romans on a sawhorse (*Gen. Rab.* 65.22). Among other torments, the heroes of the faith “were sawn asunder”

(ε—πρίσθησαν, Heb 11:37), as Isaiah was by King Manasseh, according to Mart Isa 5:1, 11; *Apoc. Paul* 49 (cf. A. Caquot, “Bref commentaire du ‘Martyre d’Isaïe,’” in *Sem*, vol. 23, 1973, pp. 85ff.). The story of the martyrdom of St. Apa Sarapamon specifies that it was “with a saw of olive wood” (H. Hyvernat, *Les Actes des martyrs d’Egypte*, 2d ed., Hildesheim, New York, 1977, p. 309; fol. 175). This belief (cf. St. Justin, *Dial.* 120.5; Origen, *Is.* 1.5) figures in a marginal gloss on Codex Reuchlin on Isa 66:1 (cf. A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, Leiden, 1962, vol. 3, pp. 129ff.) and probably originates with the Iranian tradition of the prophet sawn in two (G. Widengren, “Juifs et Iraniens à l’époque des Parthes,” in *VTSup*, vol. 4, 1957, p. 224; A. M. Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs de l’Ancien Testament*, Leiden, 1970, p. 171). P. Grelot (“Deux Tosephtas targoumiques inédits sur Isaïe LXVI,” in *RB*, 1972, pp. 510ff., 526, 534) found this legend attested in Codex Vatican. Ebr. Urbin. 1, which contains a targum on Chronicles (cf. R. Le Déaut, J. Robert, *Targum des Chroniques*, Rome, 1971), including a midrash on the martyrdom of Isaiah: the prophet took refuge in a carob tree, but “with iron saws the servants of Manasseh cut down the tree, so that Isaiah’s blood flowed like water.”

⁷ *PL*, vol. 26, p. 183. J. Jeremias (*Parables*, p. 57, n. 31) thinks that the Aramaic meaning underlying διχοτομήσει was “he will give him blows and treat him as a profligate.” E. Delebecque (*Évangile de Luc*) translates: “Il le réduira de moitié” and takes this to mean that the servant’s “ration” will be reduced by half, “cut in two.”

⁸ O. Betz, “The Dichotomized Servant and the End of Judas Iscariot (Light on the Dark Passages: Matthew 24, 51 and parallel; Acts 1, 18)” in *RevQ*, vol. 17, 1964, pp. 43–58.

⁹ Being cut off, separated, is mentioned constantly: “They must separate from all those who are not included in his covenant. . . . He will blot them out of the world; all their works are only defilement before him” (1QS 5.18); 6.24 excludes for one year from the purification of the “congregation” those who lie concerning their property; 7.1, 16 one who has slandered his neighbor; 8.13, 22: “Whoever transgresses one word of the law of Moses deliberately or through negligence shall be excluded from the deliberations of the community”; CD 8.8; 4QpPs 37, col. II, 12; col. III, 11 and 18.

δοκιμάζω, δοκιμασία, δοκιμή, δοκίμιον, δόκιμος, ἀδόκιμος

dokimazo, to prove, test, verify, examine prior to approval, judge, evaluate, discern; *dokimasia*, verification, testing, authenticity; *dokime*, proof, trial;

dokimion, testing, proven worth; *dokimos*, proved, acceptable; *adokimos*, worthless

dokimazo, S 1381; *TDNT* 2.255–260; *EDNT* 1.341–343; *NIDNTT* 3.808–810; MM 167; L&N 27.45, 30.98, 30.114; BDF §§392(3), 405(2), 416(2); BAGD 202 | ***dokimasia***, *TDNT* 2.255–260; *EDNT* 1.343; *NIDNTT* 3.808; MM 167; L&N 27.45; BAGD 202 | ***dokime***, S 1382; *TDNT* 2.255–260; *EDNT* 1.341–343; *NIDNTT* 3.808–809; MM 167; L&N 27.45, 65.12, 72.7; BDF §110(2); BAGD 202 | ***dokimion***, S 1383; *TDNT* 2.255–260; *EDNT* 1.343; *NIDNTT* 3.808–809; MM 167–168; L&N 27.45, 73.3; BDF §§23, 263(2); BAGD 203 | ***dokimos***, S 1384; *TDNT* 2.255–260; *EDNT* 1.341–343; *NIDNTT* 3.808; MM 168; L&N 30.115, 73.4, 87.7; BDF §§23, 263(2); BAGD 203 | ***adokimos***, S 96; *TDNT* 2.255–260; *EDNT* 1.33; *NIDNTT* 3.808–810; L&N 65.13, 88.111; BAGD 18

The exact meaning of these terms is subject to dispute because they are used in so many ways in literary, epigraphic, and papyrological texts. Even their etymology is unsure, although derivation from *dokeo* (*dokao* is not attested) is the best option and accounts for the intellectual value of the verb *dokimazo*: “put to the proof, test, discern, verify, examine before giving approval.”¹

In the inscriptions and the papyri, beginning with the third century BC, the verb’s first meaning is “examine, verify.” In a Samian law concerning the distribution of grain: “Let the *chiliasteis* examine mortgage guarantees and the personalities of the guarantors”;² a *nomarchos* is to examine a petition (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 43, 52; *P.Ryl.* 114, 35; *P.Gen.* 32, 8); an architect “shall visit the site, make an estimate (*dokimasanta*), and set the amount of the rent” (*P.Bour.* 20, 9). Similarly, private individuals estimate prices (*P.Hib.* 207, 8), verify the value of staters (*P.Yale* 79, 10), or evaluate an opportunity (*P.Oxy.* 2760, 17; Philo, *Moses* 1.263, 306; 2.177). Someone makes an examination in order to be able to judge and decide. This is why the formula “if your majesty approves him” (*ean to megaleion sou dokimase touton*) comes up so often in petitions to the prefect of Egypt;³ thus this mother from Theadelphia writes: “I take refuge at your feet, beseeching you on behalf of my minor children to order . . . either the *strategos* or whomever your majesty shall decide to force Annous to pay regular rent on the land” (*P.Thead.* 18, 17). When someone submits a case to an authority for examination, it is in order that the authority may evaluate it, decide, and finally approve (*ean dokimazes*).⁴ In a Macedonian law concerning the use of public land, “the councillors approved (*edokimasan*) that those who did the planting . . . should have a share in the harvest.”⁵ The verb has a religious meaning when a divinity tests, sanctions, and guarantees the virtue of a king and thus qualifies him in his functioning.⁶

In the LXX, the nuance of approbation is attested only once,⁷ as is the nuance “discern” (Job 34:3); but “put to the proof, examine” is quite common, especially with respect to metals,⁸ and is used for God’s examining, sounding, scrutinizing, and testing human hearts, which are purified by “testing”⁹—as silver is purified (Ps 66:10)—and emerge perfect (Sir 31:10). The meaning “verify” (Wis 2:19; 2Macc 1:34) is also a component of the meaning “test God” (Ps 95:9; Wis 1:3). Philo retains for this verb the meaning “put to the test,”¹⁰ an examining whose goal is to judge and verify;¹¹ but he especially emphasizes “evaluate”¹² and “discern values.”¹³ Josephus was apparently the first to give the word a moral meaning: the character of an Essene novice is put to the test (*to ethos dokimazetai*) for two years, and only then is he received into the community.¹⁴ God put Abraham’s attitude to the test (*Ant.* 1.233) and approved just laws (4.295; cf. 8.380; 14.195); virtue is tested (3.15); the correctness of the lawmaker’s conceptions is verified (1.15; 11.94); tribal chiefs are approved by the people as honest and just (3.71; cf. 13.183); Alexander “put to the test the virtue and faithfulness of all the peoples” (*Ag. Apion* 2.42). The meaning “judge, esteem” is also well attested.¹⁵

The first NT use of *dokimazo* is meteorological. With respect to the impending crisis, Jesus says to his contemporaries, “Hypocrites, you know how to evaluate (*oidate dokimazein*) the appearance of the earth and of the sky; how is it that you do not evaluate this present time?” (Luke 12:56). *Kairos* is the time when a decision is to be made, ought to be made. The Israelites do not “discern” the times and the person of the Messiah; the Master invites them to “verify” his coming and draw out its meaning.¹⁶ When 1Pet 1:7 specifies that faith is more precious “than perishable gold, which is nevertheless tried by fire” (*dia pyros de dikomazomenou*), not only does this mean that the fire selects, purifies, refines the material and gives the metal greater value; the text also uses the verb *dokimazo* in the sense that *dokimasia* is constantly given in the papyri (cf. below, *dokimos*), where gold, silver, or pewter is tested by fire to prove its authenticity and to remove impurities.¹⁷ This meaning—“verify, test”—also appears in 1Cor 3:13, where each apostle’s work “will be made manifest by fire” (at the Last Judgment) and “the fire will prove its value (quality).” Fire is the means of verification and control, as with precious metals: that which is worthless is destroyed, but that which is solid and eternal remains.¹⁸ It is through their generosity—and thus by concrete acts, by their behavior—that the Corinthians will verify, test, and prove their love to be genuine, of good alloy (2Cor 8:8).

Dokimazo means “discern” what it is important to do, the best course to follow, the decision to make,¹⁹ and especially to discern what is pleasing to the Lord (Eph 5:10), which presupposes spiritual renewal and the possession of love, which consequently gives a religious sense, a kind of spiritual instinct that allows a person to recognize true values (Rom 12:2).

The Pauline innovation is to apply this verb, with a moral and religious meaning, to Christians themselves: "Examine yourselves."²⁰ The authenticity of charismatic manifestations must be tested, put to the proof, verified: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good" (*panta de dokimazete, to kalon katechete*),²¹ and thus reject whatever is suspect. St. Paul valued the zeal of the brother (St. Luke?) who accompanied the bearers of the collection; he has had many proofs of his zeal (2Cor 8:22, *hon edokimasamen*), just as the Corinthians have judged these bearers qualified (*hous ean dokimasete*, 1Cor 16:3). God himself had examined the apostle, tested his heart, and pronounced him qualified to preach the gospel (1Thess 2:4). Finally, candidates for the diaconate are to be examined before being installed in their function: "Let them be tested first (*houtoi dikomazesthosan proton*); then, if they are without reproach, let them carry out their office" (1Tim 3:10). If this *dokimasia* is not explicitly demanded for *episkopoi*, the criteria of discernment are enumerated at length (1Tim 3:1-7). The "proving" mentioned in these texts is in absolute conformity to Greek custom, whereby before entering upon the duties of public service (a magistrate, a *strategos*, a senator), a person was subjected to an examination (inquest, proof, trial period?) to determine if he met the conditions required for the office in question.²²

Dokimasia. — This word occurs only once in the NT (Heb 3:9), and there it is a quotation from Ps 95:7-11, where the Israelites are so bold as to put Yahweh to the test, and it is also a hapax in the LXX.²³ In Philo, the word means verification, control (*Spec. Laws* 4.106, 157), a testing (*Flight* 155), experience (149; *Flacc.* 130), criterion (Philo, *Virtues* 68: *logia tes dokimantias*, ritual formulas for testing); "the test of the soul is that of trouble and bitterness" (*Prelim. Stud.* 164). In the papyri, "six guaranteed gold *solidi*" (*P.Ness.* 18, 14), testing of gold to see if it is pure (*P.Leid.* X, 42-43) testing of bullion for fraud (*ibid.* X, 62), testing and approval for an office (*P.Mert.* 26, 11; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 972, 29), judged and examined by a common arbiter (*P.Mil.* 659, 55; *PSI* 1105, 20; *SB* 7201, 11).

Dokimos. — This adjective, "proved, acceptable, tried," is abundant in the papyri, but is used almost exclusively for silver, gold, or coins;²⁴ often there occurs the phrase "three gold *solidi* of imperial coinage, checked for good minting" (*P.Rein.* 105, 1; *SB* 7996, 12, 22, 26; 9193, 18; 11239, 7) or "of imperial minting, authentic and legal."²⁵ Similarly, in the LXX, it is almost always a question of refined or purified gold or silver (1Kgs 10:18 = 2Chr 9:17; 1Chr 28:18; 29:4; cf. Zech 11:13); but also "four hundred silver shekels of merchants' currency" (Gen 23:16).

Philo was familiar with the use of the word for coinage of good alloy,²⁶ pure and tested metal (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 137), but he uses this adjective so frequently that it is often impossible to specify its meaning. Often it is a case of something that after examination has been proven, recognized as authentic, and thus acceptable;²⁷ sometimes it is objects

that are of good quality (*Heir* 180), well-reputed islands (*To Gaius*), a well-bred flock (*Dreams* 1.255), but especially souls that live according to the laws of nature and are accepted into God's circle of friends.²⁸ With regard to people, *dokimos* means qualified or competent: *en pasi dokimon* (*Joseph* 114), physicians (*Unchang. God* 65; *Spec. Laws* 3.117), scholars (*Creation* 128), artisans (*Heir* 158), priests who are particularly expert at examining animals (*Spec. Laws* 1.166), hence the best (*Plant.* 81) and the noteworthy (*Spec. Laws* 1.78). We could translate "distinguished," with the additional connotation "deserving the respect and esteem of all,"²⁹ with a nuance of honorableness and celebrity.³⁰ So Philo considerably enriched the idea of the *dokimos*, and these nuances are found also in Josephus: "the most eminent ones (*hoi dokimotatoi*) were slaughtered" (*War* 1.35); "the most eminent citizens by birth and intelligence" (2.482; 4.160); the most eminent Jews of Alexandria and of Rome (7.447; *Ant.* 14.21, 43; *Life* 55); Tiberius Alexander, "the most respected of the friends of Titus."³¹

The nuances of honor and celebrity are also found in St. Paul: "Greet Apelles, *ton dokimon en Christo*" (Rom 16:10), which is correctly translated "who has proved himself as a Christian" but must also be understood as praise for an illustrious believer, one of good repute. Likewise 2Tim 2:15—"Work to present yourself to God as an approved person (*seauton dokimon*), a worker who does not need to be ashamed" (cf. G. Therrien, *Le Discernement dans les écrits pauliniens*, pp. 218–259), tested by his excellent achievements in the gospel ministry but as a result excellent and recognized as such by all. For a Christian who serves Christ in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit is not only pleasing to God but "approved of men," recognized by other people as a true or valuable disciple (Rom 14:18). Obviously these praises presuppose preliminary testing: *hoi dokimoi* are "qualified" Christians,³² not through their words, but demonstrably, through their deeds (2Cor 10:18; 2Cor 13:7). Thus tested, they receive the crown of life.

Dokime. — "Proof, trial" appears only in the Hellenistic period (Symmachus, Ps 68:11; Dioscorides 4.184 [but LSJ says the word is interpolated here—Tr.] and is used only by St. Paul in the NT. In an active sense, the testing of the Macedonian churches through multiple afflictions gives them abundant joy (2Cor 8:2). The Corinthians seek proof that Christ is speaking through St. Paul (13:3); they could verify his apostolic authenticity by the manifestations of power in their community, a proof that the Lord would approve. The other texts have a passive sense: "proven character" (Rom 5:4), a quality of one who has been put to the test (2Cor 2:9; Phil 2:22), proof (2Cor 9:13).

*Dokimion, dokimios.*³³ — In the papyri, the adjective is only used to describe refined gold or silver: "six minas of pure gold according to the Alexandrian standard."³⁴ Similarly the four occurrences in the LXX: "the words of Yahweh are pure words of refined gold";³⁵ but in Jas 1:3—"the

testing (*to dokimion*) of your faith produces endurance”; faith that has been put to the test is purified, strengthened, verified, and on this account has become precious. In 1Pet 1:7, the neuter adjective used as a noun also shows the proven character of faith; when it has proved itself, it is worthy of praise; its worth is recognized after examination.

Adokimos. — This word, which means “worthless,” seems to have only one occurrence in the papyri, this in the Zeno correspondence: *kai adokimou* in an account of receipts and disbursements seems to mean “not taken into account, not included in the sum total” (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59176, 64). The LXX has only two usages: “dross” (Hebrew *sîg*) to be purged from silver (Prov 25:4); which in Isa 1:22 means “worthless” (“your silver has become dross”). This is the predominant meaning in Philo: the worthless words, desires, and deeds of the fool (*Conf. Tongues* 198); it could even be translated “void, of no account.”³⁶ This nuance is to be retained in many NT texts. In contrast to a fertile field, one that bears “thorns and thistles is worthless (*adokimos*) and in danger of being cursed” (Heb 6:8). Since it is void as far as fertility is concerned, it is not fit for the intended use; it is rejected, abandoned, since one is judged by one’s works. After asking “Test yourselves . . . examine yourselves,” St. Paul adds “at least unless you should be void” (*ei meti adokimoi este*, 2Cor 13:5), meaning that there would be no good to verify. This “incapacity” is that of the mind (*adokimon noun*) of the pagan philosophers, who cannot discern truth and virtue (Rom 1:28) or of latter-day heretics robbed by their corrupt intelligence of the capacity for sound judgment in anything concerning the faith and moral values (2Tim 3:8). Warped and disordered minds are radically incapable of any good work (Titus 1:16), whereas the apostle is not incapable of proving himself (2Cor 13:7). In the athletic context of 1Cor 9:27, the nuance is more precise: St. Paul beats his body and trains it as a slave “for fear lest after preaching to others I myself should be disqualified.” He is alluding to the preliminary test at athletic competitions, where the judge, after an examination, “eliminated” certain contestants who were “not acceptable,” or in the case of defeat, refused to award them a prize.

¹ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 291.

² Dittenberger, *Syl.* 976, A 12–13; cf. 958, 14; 807, 9 (first century AD); *SB* 6734, 7 and 9; 6817, 6. In a receipt for military garments, a *chlamys* is δεδοκιμασμένη (*P.Ant.* 40, 6; cf. *P.Tebt.* 703, 86).

³ *P.Oxy.* 2133, 26; 2407, 5; *P.Ryl.* 659, 13; 701, 14; *P.Col.* VII, 169, 15; *PSI* 767, 50; 769, 4; *P.Cair.Isid.* 74, 18; 76, 18; *P.Mert.* 18, 31; 91, 18; *P.Mich.* 40, 5; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 25, col. V, 5; *SB* 9187, 15; 9188, 21; 11221, 10; cf. 9827 *b* 14; 10800, 19; 11223, 20; *P.Oslo* 148, 9–10.

⁴ *BGU* 1787, 11; H. Kling, *P.Giss.Univ.* 20, 38; *P.Mert.* 26, 12; *P.Oxy.* 2726, 22; *SB* 9467, 4: ὅπως δικιμάσας ἀντιγράψης μοι; *P.Oxy.* 3253, 8.

⁵ *NCIG*, n. 28, 17; cf. *SB* 9016, col. I, 7: ἡ βουλή δοκιμάζειν εἴωθεν τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας; *P.Fay.* 106, 23: the physicians who made an examination approve an exemption from public service; *P.Eleph.* I, 8 and 10: witnesses approve or confirm; cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 138: approve plans for marriage.

⁶ In 196 BC, Ptolemy Epiphanes was approved by Hephaestus, the Greek god of fire: ὃν ὁ Ἡφαιστος ἐδοκίμασεν (Rosetta Stone; Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 3 = *SB* 8299); likewise Ptolemy IV Philopator (*Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 109, 10 = *SEG* XVIII, 633, 5 = *SB* 10039).

⁷ 2Macc 4:3—“One of those who acted with Simon” (τινος τῶν δεδοκιμασμένων).

⁸ Gold and silver, Prov 8:10; 17:3; 27:21; Wis 3:6; Sir 2:5—“It is in fire that gold is proved” (δοκιμάζεται χρυσός); Zech 13:9; the potter’s vessels (Sir 27:5); cf. the “reckoned price” (Zech 11:13); Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.77: “gold, a trusty substance, pure, purified in the fire, proved (δεδοκιμασμένη) and precious”; 3.168; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 80; cf. *Heir* 308.

⁹ Judg 7:4; Jer 6:27; 9:6; Ps 17:3; 26:2 (cf. Jer 11:20; 17:10; 20:22); 81:8; 139:1, 23; Jer 12:3; Wis 11:10.

¹⁰ Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 142; *Moses* 1.164: in the desert, God wanted to test his people “to know how they would keep up obedience.”

¹¹ *Post. Cain* 96; *Unchang. God* 128; *Moses* 1.226, 327: after the victory, “the combatants were judged to be without reproach”; 2.34; *Virtues* 32: to choose officers and soldiers, test is made of their state of health and mental balance; 60, 63, 66, 208: the rights of an heir are verified. Likewise Josephus (*War* 5.516; *Ant.* 9.261), a proven friend (*War* 1.516).

¹² *Alleg. Interp.* 2.7: “flavors are evaluated with the aid of the sense of taste”; *Drunkenness* 190; *Migr. Abr.* 48, 51.

¹³ *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 77; *Post. Cain* 62; *Drunkenness* 186; *Joseph* 118: “great natures do not take long to be discerned”; *Virtues* 54, 227; *Spec. Laws* 4.153: physicians are discerned through contact with experience; *Good Man Free* 24: it is through practice that a slave is discerned; *To Gaius* 220. A person is judged worthy (*Abraham* 253); athletes are

disqualified (μὴ δοκιμασθέντες) and banned from the competition (*Joseph* 138).

¹⁴ *War* 2.138; cf. 161: the Essenes put women who are to be married to the test (δοκιμάζοντες) for three years and marry them only when they have shown their ability to conceive.

¹⁵ *Ant.* 2.176; 5.51: the Gabaonites sent ambassadors to Joshua, choosing those whom they esteemed most capable of acting in their people's interests; 7.321; 11.258: "he deems worthy of honor" (τιμῆς ἄξιον δοκιμάσει); 12.18: deem the moment favorable for presenting a petition; 13.51; *Life* 161. Cf. the meanings "prove" (*War* 4.153); "decide" (*Ant.* 1.177; 4.73; 14.209), "verify"; "the priests reconstitute genealogies and scrutinize the remaining women" (*Ag. Apion* 1.35).

¹⁶ The parallel text at Matt 16:3 has διακρίνειν. In the parable of the Great Banquet, one of those invited has bought five yoke of oxen and makes the excuse that "I am going to try them out" (Luke 14:19). Cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 816: "You want to make a friend? *Try* —and good luck."

¹⁷ *P.Leid.* X, 43, 42, 52; R. Helleux, *Les Alchimistes grecs*, Paris, 1981, vol. 1, pp. 52 et passim.

¹⁸ Cf. Rom 1:28—the pagan philosophers did not think it good to retain the knowledge of God; they tested it and rejected it.

¹⁹ Rom 2:18; 14:22; Phil 1:10; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 233ff.

²⁰ 2Cor 13:5—to examine oneself *to find out* if one is in the faith and if Christ dwells within; Gal 6:4—each one must examine, getting behind deceptive appearances, what he has personally accomplished; this clarity will make for a well-founded evaluation; 1Cor 11:28—before taking communion, people must examine their conscience in order not to partake unworthily (ἀναξίως); they must discern the true nature of this sacred meal, which is entirely different from an ordinary repast. Cf. the only study (and a good one) on this notion, G. Therrien, *Le Discernement dans les écrits pauliniens*, Paris, 1973 (analyzes all the texts and gives the bibliography).

²¹ 1Thess 5:21; 1John 4:1. Cf. J. Guillet, "Discernement des esprits," in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 3, col. 1222–1267.

²² Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 59.4; 55.2–5; 56.1; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 838, 13 (L. Gernet, *Lysias*, 2d ed., Paris, 1955, pp. 3ff., 288; cf. E. Caillemer,

“Dokimasia,” in *DAGR*, vol. 2, pp. 324–328); the examination is for a life free of reproach (Aeschines, *In Ctes.* 14, 15; Dinarchus, *C. Aristog.* 17; Lysias, *Mantith.* 9), and so also with orators, who are not allowed in court if they have a bad reputation (Aeschines, *In Tim.* 28ff.), the attribution of the rights of citizenship (δοκιμασία δημοποιήτων); ephebes are enrolled on the registers of the deme only after examination by their fellow demesmen, then by the Council of Fifty-Five (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 42, 1; 49, 1; Demosthenes, *C. Eub.* 9–14); the ι—σοτελει—ς at Rhamnus (*SEG* III, 122, 11; C. Pelekidis, *Ephébie attique*, Paris, 1962, pp. 65, 88ff.), the ὄργεω—νες, and the ε—ρανισταί: “No one may enter into the most venerable meeting of the ε—ρανισταί before being examined for piety, purity, and goodness; this examination must be conducted by the president, the ἀρχερανιστής, the secretary, the treasurers, and the syndics” (P. Foucart, *Les Associations religieuses des Grecs*, Paris, 1873, pp. 10, 146; *LSCG*, n. 59, 32, 34). There are examinations for professional capacity (*P.Fay.* 106, 26; *PSI* 1105, 4, 20; G. Zalateo, “Un nuovo significato della parola δοκιμασία,” in *Aeg*, 1957, pp. 32–40). The athlete’s constitution is submitted to examination (Philostratus, *Gym.* 26); Moses commanded that priests should be examined for office (τὴν τω—ν ι—ερέων δοκιμασίαν, Josephus, *Ant.* 4.54; cf. J. Martha, *Les Sacerdotes athéniens*, Paris, 1882, pp. 39ff.). At Qumran, the *mebaqqer*, the *paqid*, and the full assembly examine the postulant several times concerning “his works, his intelligence, his strength, his courage, his possessions” (CD 13.11; cf. 1QS 6.14–21; Josephus, *War* 2.137–138; M. Delcor, “Le Vocabulaire juridique, cultuel et mystique de ‘l’initiation’ dans la secte de Qumrân,” in H. Bardtke, *Qumrân-Probleme*, Berlin, 1963, pp. 117ff.).

²³ Sir 6:21—ὡς λίθος δοκιμασίας. The “stone of testing” is a large stone moved by athletes in contests (Zech 12:3); thus wisdom is a heavy burden for the ignorant and those lacking courage.

²⁴ Τὸ ἀργύριον δόκιμον (*Stud.Pal.* XX, 63, 17; 85 verso 7 and 10); *P.Dura* 29, 7: ἀργυρίου κάλου δοκίμου δηνάρια; *P.Alex.* 358 (p. 36): χρυσοῦ δοκίμου; *SB* 7816, 20; 8986, 19; 9566, 3 (C. Préaux, “Prêt d’or byzantin du Brooklyn Museum,” in *ChrEg*, 1961, p. 354); *P.Tebt.* 815; frag. IV, recto 25: χαλκοῦ δοκίμου; 970, 9.

²⁵ *P.Fouad* 53, 3: χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια ἀπλὰ δεσποτικὰ δόκιμα; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 1, 8; *P.Mil.* 56, 9; *P.Michael.* 40, 14; *P.Oxy.* 1891, 7; 1973, 11; 2237, 8; *PSI* 1239, 22; 1263, 20; 1340, 8; *P.Charite* 3, 14; *P.Köln* 102, 7; 151, 10; 155, 2; *P.Rein.* 105, 1. In the metaphorical sense: δεξιὸς ἀνὴρ ἀεὶ δόκιμος παιδείᾳ (*SB* 8542, 5; cf. 8211, 13); a paeon at Ptolemais: “Grant that we, joyful and approved (δοκίμους), may see the light of the sun” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 176, 16).

²⁶ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.95; 2.104; 3.168; *Conf. Tongues* 159; *Flight* 19; *Change of Names* 208; *Spec. Laws* 1.104; *Contemp. Life* 41. Hence, the “good imprint” of modesty (*Spec. Laws* 3.176) or of constitution (4.47).

²⁷ *Post. Cain* 96; *Heir* 252; *Spec. Laws* 1.61, 214; 3.119, 120; 4.137; *Dreams* 1.202; *Virtues* 65; *Flacc.* 163: the proven worth of soldiers.

²⁸ *Husbandry* 66; *Change of Names* 124; *Spec. Laws* 4.196; *Good Man Free* 98; *Plant.* 18; *Sobr.* 20.

²⁹ *Flight* 63: a well-thought-of man; *Moses* 2.234: respected; *Joseph* 161, 201: qualified by wisdom; *Abraham* 180: the particularly respected Greeks; *Conf. Tongues* 4: “Homer, the greatest and most respected of the poets”; *Change of Names* 179; *Etern. World* 48: Chrysippus the most esteemed of the Stoics; *Moses* 2.28: the most esteemed of kings; 2.29: the Hebrews of highest repute; 2.187: the most highly respected of the prophets; *Good Man Free* 140: the most distinguished of the ephebes; *Abraham* 189: the child most worthy of respect.

³⁰ Cf. *Dreams* 2.20: the deeds most worthy of praise; *Moses* 1.221: Moses chooses a leader in each tribe, “those whom he judged the most dependable in order of merit”; 267; *Spec. Laws* 4.174; 2.125: choice of a spouse of real merit, enjoying the respect of all; *Virtues* 201: Noah, one of the truly remarkable people of that period (σφόδρα δοκίμων); *Rewards* 111: “the first grace is to show oneself worthy of respect and honorable”; *To Gaius* 107: “all that was honorable in each city”; 173: “of the most distinguished and most brilliant”; 144: “for leaders the most illustrious of the Romans”; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.66: prudence, the most estimable of the virtues.

³¹ *War* 5.45; *Ant.* 12.255: the most worthy of the people and the noblest souls; *Ag. Apion* 1.18: “the most competent (οι—δοκιμώτατοι) historians contradict each other”; *Life* 228: “the Galileans of highest repute”; 293: “two of the most reputable guards” because of their bravery and trustworthiness.

³² 1Cor 11:19—the divisions, oppositions, and schisms in the Corinthian community give “perfect” Christians the opportunity to manifest their love and patience and to overcome evil with good: they are *doikmoi* because they have been purified, strengthened, made better by their trials.

³³ Cf. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 259ff.; P. Chantraine, *La Formation des noms*, Paris, 1933, p. 53; N. Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament*, Edinburgh, 1965, pp. 168ff.

³⁴ *P.Mich.* 262, 13 (in AD 35/36); 343, 3 (in 54/55); 662, 30; 664, 15; *P.Tebt.* 392, 22; *BGU* 1065, 6 (AD 97); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 71, 22 and 28; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 2, 6; *P.Stras.* 237, 15; *SB* 6951, 48; 9264, 7, 22, 28.

³⁵ Ps 12:6; Prov 27, 21; 1Chr 29:4; Zech 11:13. The term is unknown in Josephus; it occurs once in Philo: “the divine Word, having tested us . . . , gives us distinction (τὸ δοκίμιον), fame, and brilliance” (*Dreams* 1.226).

³⁶ *Dreams* 1.227: “acts that cannot be purified, worthlessness (τὸ ἀδόκιμον), nothing but works of darkness”; a false tetradrachma is worthless (*Worse Attacks Better* 162), like certain doctrines (*Conf. Tongues* 34; *Dreams* 2.284). “The word of the oracle spoken without judgment is *adokimos* (to be rejected), but tested by judgment is acceptable (*dokimos*)” (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.119). Cf. the hapax in Josephus: “Lysimachuses, Molons . . . worthless sophists (ἀδόκιμοι σοφισταί) who deceive the young” (*Ag. Apion* 2.236).

δόξα, δοξάζω, συνδοξάζω

doxa, expectation, opinion, reputation, honor, glory; *doxazo*, to think, hold an opinion, imagine, praise, glorify; *syndoxazo*, to sanction, agree to, glorify with

doxa, S 1391; *TDNT* 2.233–253; *EDNT* 1.344–348; *NIDNTT* 2.44–52; MM 168–169; L&N 1.15, 12.49, 14.49, 25.205, 33.357, 76.13, 79.18, 87.4, 87.23; BAGD 203–204 | ***doxazo***, S 1392; *TDNT* 2.253–254; *EDNT* 1.348–349; *NIDNTT* 2.44–45, 874; MM 169; L&N 33.357, 87.8, 87.24; BDF §§235(2), 392(3); BAGD 204 | ***syndoxazo***, S 4888; *TDNT* 2.253–254, 7.766–797; *EDNT* 3.299; *NIDNTT* 2.44; L&N 87.10; BAGD 785

The noun *doxa* derives from *dokeo* (future *doxo*, aorist *edoxa*), “think, admit, claim.” It means a subjective appraisal, an internal mental judgment, made by an individual or an assembly.¹ But, beginning with its first usages, *doxa* means “expectation, what is thought possible”; “In accord with our expectation, she goes straight to the mark”;² hence by far the most widespread meaning in secular Greek, “opinion, thought, sentiment,”³ as distinct from *noesis* (Plato, *Resp.* 7.534.a) and *episteme*.⁴ There are both true and false opinions,⁵ especially among the *axiomata*, the maxims of the philosophers (*Resp.* 3.413 a), the *kyriai doxai*,⁶ and also illusions produced by the imagination or a miscalculation.⁷

This “opinion” can also be that held by others concerning a person; so *doxa* is renown, reputation. Usually this is favorable: “Philip is in love with fame, he has a passion for it.”⁸ Hence in the Koine, especially in the

inscriptions and the papyri, the meaning “esteem, honor” (expressed by the Latin *gloria* and our word *glory*), is often linked with *time* (*Pap. Graec. Mag.* 4, 1616), *arete*, *epainos*. In an honorific decree of Ptolemy IV for the Cretan auxiliaries (around 150 BC), Aglaos of Cos, through his deeds and his excellent counsel, showed himself “worthy of his country and of the glory (good reputation) that he enjoys.”⁹ Around the same period, in a decree at Miletus, “Eirenias has shown the finest zeal for the interests of the city and gives his cooperation to all that pertains to the renown and the glory of our country.”¹⁰ According to his epitaph, the officer Apollonius received from the benefactors “the garland, the sacred allotment of the glory that belongs to the king’s ‘kinsmen.’”¹¹ A *prytanis* is acclaimed as “glory of the city” (*doxa poleos*, *P. Oxy.* 41, 4).

The semantic evolution of *doxa* is probably the most extraordinary in the Bible. Not once in the LXX (except for Eccl 10:1) or the NT does this noun mean “opinion.” It translates most often the Hebrew *kabôd*, but also *hôd*, *pe’er*, *tiph’ereth*. *Kabôd*, from the root *kbd*, “be heavy,” evokes the idea of weight or that which confers weightiness (cf. 2Cor 4:17, an eternal weight of glory) and hence esteem or respect, especially power and wealth.¹² In this secular meaning, *doxa* can be translated sometimes “majesty” (2Macc 15:13) or “dignity,”¹³ sometimes “renown.”¹⁴

Because Yahweh is the supreme sovereign, he is described as the “king of glory.”¹⁵ The whole universe is full of his *doxa*,¹⁶ that is, the splendor of his majesty.¹⁷ We should understand this to mean his mighty deeds, his glorious interventions (Exod 14:18; 16:7) both in overturning his adversaries (Exod 15:7) and in saving his people.¹⁸ In fact, more than once it is said that “the glory of Yahweh appeared,”¹⁹ conceived sometimes as a manifestation of the deity (Isa 40:5), sometimes as an image of Yahweh;²⁰ it is visible.²¹ “The spirit of the glory of Yahweh was like a raging fire on the peak of the mountain in the eyes of the children of Israel” (Exod 24:17; Deut 5:24), a sparking of light (Ezek 1) that flames out (Isa 60:1-3). This is how biblical *doxa*, the manifestation of the presence and activity of the invisible and transcendent God answers to sense experience: even though its brilliance cannot be perceived by the eyes of the flesh (Ezek 33:22; Acts 22:11; *Asc. Isa.* 9.37), it is contemplated by the spirit.²² Biblical *doxa* therefore has a touch of luminescence.²³

It is worth noting that Hellenistic Jewish writers know nothing of the religious meaning of *doxa*. Nevertheless, the *Letter of Aristeas* has the word in the sense of splendor and brilliance.²⁴ Philo (in 180 occurrences) has only the meaning “opinion,” in accord with the classical tradition, whether true or false opinion (Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 2–3; *Worse Attacks Better* 32). This latter²⁵ is described as vicious (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 5), atheistic (*Alleg. Interp.* 23; *Post. Cain* 42), and especially as vain or empty;²⁶ it is over against the truth.²⁷ *Doxa* (often synonymous with *dogma*) refers also to philosophical opinions²⁸ and especially to wealth,

power, honor, and pleasure.²⁹ These are images and shifting shadows (*Spec. Laws* 1.28), they are uncertain (*Rewards* 29), intoxicating vapors and lies (*Rewards* 21).

For Josephus, *doxa* is opinion, conception, judgment,³⁰ but especially reputation, renown.³¹ In contrast to Philo, he almost always uses *doxa* in a favorable sense (“esteem”), linking it to piety and virtue;³² but neither of them seem to have been influenced by the LXX.

The NT writers are familiar with almost all of the above-mentioned secular and religious meanings. The Synoptics already attest the meaning “honor, distinction, reputation” for the guest placed by the host in the best place, resulting in “honor before all” (*doxa enopion panton*, Luke 14:10). The devil promises the Messiah royal glory—that attaching to domination, magnificence, splendor (Matt 4:8; Luke 4:6). This was the kind of glory Solomon had (Matt 6:29; Luke 12:27). This glory is luminous,³³ like that of Moses and Elijah at Tabor,³⁴ signaling a heavenly appearance, a divine manifestation. Peter and his companions, awakened by the dazzling light, “saw his (Christ’s) glory” (Luke 9:32). This is a divine state, a condition of honor, of preeminent dignity, of splendor; it belongs especially to Jesus (Mark 10:37), and contrasts with his earthly *morphe* and his passion (Luke 24:26). When the Son of Man appears at the end time as judge and sovereign, his glory will fill the heavens from one end to the other, instantaneously, like lightning.³⁵ Finally, God’s glory (*kabôd*) manifests his presence and his intervention, bathing the shepherds of Bethlehem in light.³⁶ Also, the angels who praise God (Luke 2:13) acclaim the intervention of God’s mercy and might to save humans: “Glory in the highest to God” (*doxa in hypsistois theo*).³⁷

St. Paul is the writer who uses the word *glory* most often. As a part of his largely Septuagint-based vocabulary, *doxa* has a depth of meaning that cannot be expressed by a simple translation. Certainly there is the quite basic sense of honor and repute,³⁸ even beauty and splendor: “If a woman wears her hair long, it is a glory for her”;³⁹ but there is also a religious nuance with those who “seek glory, honor (*doxan kai timen*) and immortality.”⁴⁰ To the Israelites “belong the adoption and the glory and the alliances and the temple worship and the promises” (Rom 9:4). There is the light of this *doxa*, like the shining forth of luminous rays, like the stars, which each have their brilliance and thus a variety of beauty.⁴¹ Thus Moses’ face, when he returned from speaking with God, shone brilliantly, even though the light was dissipating (Exod 34:29-35); but the administration of the new covenant according to the Spirit prevails with a preeminent and definitive glory (*tes hyperballouses doxes*),⁴² because its light comes from “the knowledge of God’s glory (shining) on the face of Christ.”⁴³ The two splendors are not comparable. There is so much variety in luminousness: “man is the image and glory of God, but woman is the glory of man.”⁴⁴ If Adam and Eve are both the image of God, then the man

manifests the royal authority of his Creator and the honor of God (cf. *Num. Rab.* 3.15—“the honor [*kabôd*] of God ascends from men”) and the woman “procures honor [i.e., for her husband]” (Prov 11:17). These latter texts can be understood well only as a function of OT *kabôd*. “All have sinned and are deprived of the glory of God” (Rom 3:23) cannot refer to the good opinion that God would have of the righteous (Cajetan), nor to the grace that would be inaugurated glory (a later theological distinction), but to the splendor and beauty that shine out from the divine splendor and holiness.⁴⁵ The idolatrous pagans “exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images representing a mortal man.”⁴⁶

This glory is God in the splendor of his majesty and the omnipotence of his interventions,⁴⁷ “the Father of glory” (*ho pater tes doxes*).⁴⁸ But this predicate *doxa*, which is peculiar to God, is attributed also to Christ, the “Lord of glory.”⁴⁹ Heb 1:3 adds the description: “the Son (of God), the effulgence of his (the Father’s) glory (*apaugasma tes doxes autou*) and the image of his substance.”⁵⁰ If Christ is the refulgence of God’s *doxa*, it is because his origin is divine; he has the same nature as the Father while having his personal independence. The Council of Nicea would give the definition “light from light” (*phos ek photos*). In proclaiming Jesus as his Son at Tabor, God conferred honor and glory upon him (2Pet 1:17, *timen kai doxan*); but as a human, Jesus—after the shame of his passion—was glorified by his resurrection,⁵¹ and at the end of time he will appear as an almighty sovereign and in blinding light. His disciples await “the appearing of the glory of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ,”⁵² for they will participate in it (2Thess 2:14).

Actually, the great innovation of the new covenant is that it calls all believers to share the “eternal glory (of God) in Christ” (1Pet 5:10). The economy of salvation is order “for our glory” (*eis doxan hemon*, 1Cor 2:7). God calls us “to his kingdom and his glory” (1Thess 2:12; Rom 5:2; 8:18, 21), and the goal of Jesus’ advent on earth was “to lead many sons to glory” (Heb 2:10). Beginning in the present, these contemplate Christ’s glory and are metamorphosed in his image “from glory to glory,”⁵³ the objects of increasing illumination. The life-giving glory of Christ becomes ours and emphasizes our spiritual likeness to the Lord; through this refraction we resemble his image more and more “with unveiled faces.” Furthermore, “when Christ, our life, is manifested, then you will be manifested with him *en doxe*,”⁵⁴ that is, in splendor and in the greatest dignity (2Cor 4:17), symbolized as an incorruptible crown.⁵⁵ If *doxa* became almost synonymous with the heavenly state, the emphasis is on the nobility of this state and the light received from God. This insistence on dignity and eternity—whereas we think especially of “beatitude”—contrasts with the imperfections of earthly, mortal existence but also refers to the glorious condition of the first human being, clothed with God’s glory.

Finally, it is part of the light mysticism characteristic of inhabitants of the Orient and the Mediterranean.

There is nothing to do but give glory to God, after the fashion of Abraham (Rom 4:20), do everything for God's glory (1Cor 10:31; 2Cor 8:19), as an expression of our gratitude and adoration,⁵⁶ homage to the almighty and faithful God (2Cor 1:20; Phil 1:11; 2:11). The fact is that the whole economy of salvation in God's intention has as its goal to draw from the saved a hymn "to the praise of the glory of his grace."⁵⁷ Hence more or less developed doxologies acclaim either God's excellence, nature, and activity,⁵⁸ or Christ as king, heavenly priest, *archegos*, shepherd: "Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory for ever and ever."⁵⁹

In the Fourth Gospel, the term *doxa* is almost always placed in the mouth of Jesus, notably in the sense of honor, praise, repute, and to contrast honors given by humans with those that come from God.⁶⁰ But St. John worked out a theological concept of glory, Christianized it, attributing it to Jesus Christ, while setting it in relation to the glory of God. It was actually in order to reveal his *doxa* that God sent his Son here below,⁶¹ and because Jesus never failed to glorify God, God in turn glorifies him (8:50, 54; 17:5). In the "Prologue," which sketches a portrait of the person of Christ and the character of his mission, the evangelist first states that "the Word was God" (verse 1); then he was "the true light that illuminates every man, coming into the world" (verse 9); "he sojourned among us."⁶² All of this leads up to "We beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son of his Father."⁶³ Just as in the LXX, the apostles saw⁶⁴ the *doxa*, the luminous manifestation of the Word incarnate, that is, his divine stature, for this glory is precisely that of the Father.⁶⁵ Jesus possesses it by right in his capacity as only Son, that is, by virtue of his eternal filiation (cf. 2Pet 1:16-17).

This divine glory or power in Jesus was manifested perceptibly in the miracles⁶⁶ and first of all in the one at Cana: "He manifested his glory and his disciples believed in him" (*ephanerosen ten doxan autou kai episteusan eis auton hoi mathetai autou*, John 2:11). This *doxa* comprises three elements: (a) a manifestation (*phanerosis*), a light (*phos*); (b) the seeing (*theoria*) of this manifestation; (c) the faith and praise (*time*) of the witnesses.⁶⁷ *Doxa* is the outcome for Jesus of the faith of the disciples, who recognize him as Messiah or Son of God.⁶⁸ Through the miracle, Jesus accomplished a self-revelation; in this sign, the disciples discerned his very nature, his "glory," namely, that he was the Messiah (the Word incarnate).

For St. John, it is especially in his passion that Jesus is glorified, because his death is not only that of a martyr showing his patience, faith, and confidence in God, but is also the manifestation of God present and acting in him to save the world (2Cor 5:19) and ratifying the accomplishment of his mission: "Father, the hour is come; glorify your Son so that your Son may glorify you"⁶⁹ through the redemption of humanity, a

common labor manifesting the love of the Father and of the Son. In carrying out the Father's *thelema*, Jesus glorifies him through his obedience and his love (John 17:4). Jesus wants his disciples to behold this heavenly glory openly, to see (*theorosin*, present subjunctive) the brilliance and splendor of his divine nature (John 17:24; Heb 12:14). Christ's last will is that his own may see and hence share his *doxa*, which he possesses in common with the Father; for in this order of reality, it is not possible to behold without in some way becoming a participant (2Cor 3:18). So Jesus asks that his disciples be made capable of receiving this vision face to face with his divinity, "as he is" (1John 3:2), which they have not seen here below except through the veil of his flesh (1:14). As St. Augustine says concerning spiritual realities, "to see them is to have them" ("videre est ea habere").

Jesus makes believers sharers in precisely this divine *doxa*, which in the OT was incommunicable: "I have given (*dedoka*) to them the glory that you gave me, so that they may be one as we are one" (John 17:22, both verbs in the perfect). This is a reference to divine filiation (1:2), high nobility. This participation in the divine nature (1Pet 1:23; 2:2; 2Pet 1:4) and thus in eternal life, this communion in Christ, imparts to all members the same life that belongs to him; obtained through Christ's passion and his Eucharist, it is the principle that unites all Christians with each other and with the three divine persons. Believers are ushered into the presence of the Holy Trinity, receive its splendor, and share in its glory.

So we understand that Jesus continues in heaven the ministry that he carried out on earth; he "finds himself glorified by his disciples" (John 17:10; *dedoxasmai*, perfect passive), as much through their faith as through their fruitful ministry (verse 8; 1Thess 2:20; Phil 4:1). Similarly, the Father is glorified by their spiritual fruit (John 15:8), after the fashion of a proud vineyard owner who derives honor from the fruitfulness of his vines. Moreover, in the time of the church, the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, will glorify Christ (John 16:14) by making his teachings ever better known, by illuminating them. He never stops re-announcing them, re-proclaiming them (*anangelo*). This manifestation will be simultaneously an interior light and a power of visible radiance. Finally, so that the Father may be glorified in the Son, Jesus promises to do whatever his own ask in his name (14:13). Thus the heavenly Christ continues to act as he did on earth, for the glory of his Father.⁷⁰

Doxazo. — In classical Greek this denominative verb expresses both meanings of *doxa*: "think, hold an opinion, imagine,"⁷¹ and "honor, exalt, praise, celebrate."⁷² This latter meaning is the only one in the LXX: human honors are offered to the king of Israel (2Sam 6:20; 10:3; 1Chr 17:18; 19:3) as well as to a slave (Jdt 12:13), to a father, a mother, a priest, a judge, the rich, etc.⁷³ But in the song of Moses after the crossing of the Red Sea, Yahweh is said to be clothed in glory (Hebrew *ga'âh*) and is exalted (hiphil

of *nawâh*); he wins fame and demonstrates his magnificence by his might (niph'al of 'adar). "Who is like him, majestic in holiness?" (Exod 15:1, 2, 6, 11; cf. 1Macc 3:14). Since God manifests his glory in Israel⁷⁴ and glorifies his own,⁷⁵ it follows that his people will exalt and praise him.⁷⁶ This gratitude is the elect people's *raison d'être*.

In the NT, *doxazo* sometimes retains its secular meaning, "praise, acclaim,"⁷⁷ while here and there a shade of OT *doxa* is present.⁷⁸ But the meaning of "glorifying God" is exactly as in the LXX: like lights that shine and give forth light, the good works of the disciples "glorify the Father who is in heaven" (Matt 5:16). God is exalted and praised in view of the manifestations of his sovereignty and power,⁷⁹ especially in the miracles whose brilliance draws adoration and thankfulness.⁸⁰ If Christians are commanded to "glorify God in your bodies" (1Cor 6:20; imperative, *doxasate*), it is because the body is the temple of God; not only must it be preserved pure and holy, it is also the locus of sacred acts, of worship that praises and glorifies God (cf. Rom 12:1). All the faithful are joined together in this thanksgiving liturgy.⁸¹ "In everything let God be glorified (acclaimed) through Jesus Christ" (1Pet 4:11; a doxology follows).

As for St. John, he uses *doxazo* almost exclusively⁸² for Christ's glory and his relationship with the Father,⁸³ exactly as with *doxa*. If "the Spirit was not yet, because Jesus had not yet been glorified" (7:39, passive of *doxazo*, as at 12:16, 23), this must be understood as a reference to the reintegration into eternal glory after the passion and the resurrection, i.e., in the splendor of his majesty and sovereign omnipotence.

Syndxazo. — This extremely rare verb,⁸⁴ a biblical hapax, is only attested three or four times and in each case in a different meaning. Aristotle understands it to mean common approbation: "No profit will be had from the most beneficent laws, even if they are sanctioned by the unanimity of the citizens (*syndedoxasmenon hypo panton ton politeuomenon*), if these latter . . ." (*Pol.* 5.9.12). In Porphyry, it means "agree, consent to."⁸⁵ According to Rom 8:17, it is a matter of being "glorified with," together in heaven: "we will suffer with him (Christ) so that we may be glorified with him,"⁸⁶ united to him, eternally in his presence, participants in his honor, his joy, and the riches of his kingdom.

¹ Demosthenes, *Fun. Orat.* 60.5: "it seems to me that" (δοκει— μοι); Herodotus 7.103: "for myself, I think that"; Plato, *Menex.* 241 *b*: "The Persians seemed to be invincible by sea"; Sophocles, *Trach.* 718: "Yes, I feel that he will kill him"; Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.5.21: "He gave the enemy the impression that he did not want to join battle that day"; *An.* 2.1.17: "the advice that seems best to you"; Thucydides 2.11.3: "even if we seem (δοκοῦμεν) to be about to attack, having numbers on our side"; A. Bernand, *Philae*, n. 12 bis, 11: "we ask you, if it please you, to order"

(δεόμεθά σου, εἰ—δοκεῖ—). A. Bernand, *Fayoum*, n. 112, 18; 113, 20; 114, 33; etc. Cf. Matt 3:9; 6:7; 17:25; Luke 1:3; Acts 15:22.

² Homer, *Od.* 11.344; cf. *Il.* 10.324: “I will not be a vain scout for you, nor will I fall short of your expectation”; Herodotus 1.79: “Croesus found himself in a very awkward position, his affairs having taken an unexpected turn, altogether different from what he had supposed”; 7.203: “whoever came to attack them had to risk being disappointed.” Josephus constantly uses *παρὰ δόξαν*, “contrary to all expectation,” for a surprising, unexpected happening: “having escaped alive, by some miracle, from the royal palace at Jerusalem” (*Life* 46; cf. 96; *War* 1.95, 614; 3.289, 518; 4.529; *Ant.* 2.280; 3.210; 5.40; 15.255, 316, 388; 17.330; 18.129, 219; 19.243). Cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, pp. 290ff. J. Schneider, *Doxa: Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie*, Gütersloh, 1932.

³ Plato, *Plt.* 260 b: “Have we made a just division? Yes, in my opinion at least”; Pindar, *Nem.* 11.30; Aeschylus, *Pers.* 29; Philostratus, *Gym.* 17: “following the opinion of certain people (ὥς μὲν δόξα ε—νίων), the Eleans tested during the summer to see if the gymnasts could resist vigorously and burn themselves in the sun”; *P.Mich.* XIII, 666, 27: ε—ν καιρω— τοῦ δημοσίου πρὸς τὰ δόξαν = as that seems good; *Stud.Pal.* XXII, 87, 12: ἀξιω— τὸ δόξαν σοι; *SB* 7558, 11: τὸ δόξαν σοι κελεῦσαι γενέσθαι; 9066, 23: τὸ δόξαν σταθῆναι.

⁴ Plato, *Tht.* 187 b. Cf. J. Sprute, *Der Begriff der DOXA in der platonischen Philosophie*, Göttingen, 1962, pp. 90ff., 109ff. H. D. Voigtländer, *Der Philosoph und die Vielen*, Wiesbaden, 1980, pp. 177–183; Y. Lafrance, *La Théorie platonicienne de la doxa*, Montreal, 1981.

⁵ Plato, *Phlb.* 36 c; *Grg.* 458 a: δόξα ψευδής; *Resp.* 4.423 a; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.6.22; *Mem.* 1.7.4.

⁶ Of Epicurus (Cicero, *Fin.* 2.7); cf. αἰ—κοινὰ δόξαι (Aristotle, *Metaph.* 2.2.996b28; 3.3.1005b29; K. Held, *Heraklit, Parmenides und der Anfang von Philosophie und Wissenschaft*, Berlin–New York, 1980, pp. 72, 469–471).

⁷ Herodotus 8.132; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 275; Thucydides 1.32.4–5: what formerly seemed to be wisdom appeared definitively as folly and weakness. Plato, *Symp.* 218 e; G. Kittel, “Δόξα,” in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, vol. 7, 1931, pp. 457–458. On preSocratic δόξα, cf. M. Heidegger, *Einführung in die Metaphysik*, Tübingen, 1953, pp. 79ff. = ET, *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, trans. R. Manheim, New Haven, 1959, pp. 103ff. Parmenides used this word for the world of appearance as grasped

by the senses, cf. E. Pax, “Ex Parmenide ad Septuaginta: De notione vocabuli doxa,” in *VD*, 1960, pp. 92–102.

⁸ Demosthenes, *2 Olynth.* 2.15; cf. *3 Olynth.* 3.24: “The Athenians through their actions have left a renown that defies the envious”; *C. Lept.* 20.10: “the present law deprives our city of this glorious fame”; Euripides, *HF* 157: Heracles has a reputation of bravery for his fights with wild animals; cf. *Hec.* 295: well-known or famous men (τω—ν δοκούντων) contrasted to obscure folk (ἀδοκούντων); *Tro.* 613; Diodorus Siculus 15.61.5; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.14: Korah thought that he had a greater right to honor than Moses himself; 19.307; *Life* 274: “They said that the esteem in which I was held was an honor to themselves.” Cf. G. Steinkopf, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Ruhmes bei den Griechen*, Halle, 1937, pp. 60ff.

⁹ *I.Delos* 1517, 17 = J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 17. The end of an (imperial) decree refers to a dispute concerning the names or rank of cities (πρωτεία). Certain ones are puffed up with a glory that is recent, new (καινή δόξη, *MAMA* VI, 6, 2) “because a title has been granted them” (L. Robert, “Les Inscriptions,” in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, p. 287).

¹⁰ *NCIG*, n. 7, col. I, 3. Dittenberger, *Or.* 244, 20: “In the future he shall benefit from all the advantages that confer honor and glory (ει—ς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν); this will be our concern” (= *IGLS* 992); *Syl.* 700, 35; 724 E 20; 796, 28; *I.Priene* 53, 15: ἀξίως ε—παίνου καὶ τιμω—ν (= C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 468); 119, 9: μεγίστου τέτευχεν ε—παίνου καὶ δόξης ἀταράκτου; *I.Olymp.* 472, 12: ἀρετῆς καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ παιδείας ἔνεκεν καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν δόξης; *I.Magn.* 53, 48; 131, 3: γένει καὶ δόξη καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ; 138, 5: ε—πὶ τε τῇ περισσῇ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ δόξη καὶ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ.

¹¹ E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 5, 5: συγγενικῆς δόξης ι—ερόν γέρας. According to Aphrodisia’s epitaph, her husband Ptolemaeus “raised to the heavens the glory of being king’s kinsman” (ibid. 35, 10). In the vision of Maximus, the god Mandoulis is “glad for the glory of the Romans,” i.e., rejoices in the temple that the imperial government built for him (ibid. 168, 27). “At Elea, the sacred olive tree retains its ancient glory free of profanation” (τὴν ε—κ παλαιοῦ δόξαν, Philostratus, *Gym.* 45). The *gymnastai* dream only of their profits and “do not care for the glory of the athletes” (τῆς μὲν τω—ν ἀθλητω—ν δόξης, ibid.). The winner in a chariot race notes that he “won a share of glory in life” (τῆς ε—ν βίῳ δόξης μετείληφα νεικήσας, *P.Oxy.* 3116, 5); cf. *P.Oslo* 85, 13; *SB* 8542, 2: μεγίστη δόξα διὰ βίου; 8639, 2; 9286, 5; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 26, 2: ε—ν μείζονι δόξη; *CIRB* 57, 7: μεγάλης δόξης ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔτυχεν; 121, 1; 992, 8; *P.Alex.* 216 (p. 44); τῆς ὑμετέρας μεγαλοπρεποῦς δόξης; *C.P.Herm.* 2,26.

¹² Beginning with the first occurrence, Gen 31:1—Jacob “gained all this fortune from what was our father’s”; verse 6; 45:13—Joseph says, “You shall tell my father about all my power in Egypt”; Exod 28:2—“Aaron your brother in glory and in majesty” (same link between δόξα and τιμή, Ps 8:5—“You have crowned man with glory and honor” [cf. the Hebrew text of Sir 49:16—“Above every living thing is the glory of Adam”; *T. Abr.* A 11; 1QS 4.23; CD 3.20; 1QH 17.15]; Ps 21:6; Job 40:10; 1Macc 14:21; 2Macc 5:16); Num 27:20—Moses will confer on Joshua “a little of his majesty”; 1Kgs 3:13; 1Chr 29:12, 28; 2Chr 1:11-12; 17:5; 18:1; 32:27; Esth 6:3; 10:2; Ps 112:3; Prov 3:16; 8:18; 11:16; 22:4; Eccl 6:2; Sir 24:17; 1Macc 14:4, 9; 15:32, 36, “the wise shall have a share of honor” (Prov 3:35); “the beauty of heaven is the glory of the stars” (Sir 43:9, 12). There is “the glory of the great Raphael” (Tob 3:17), “the glory of athletes” (2Macc 4:15), and “Yahweh, you are my glory (my pride, my honor)” (Ps 3:3, 46:2; 106:20). Glory is like a garment (Job 19:9; 40:10; Sir 6:31; 27:8; 45:7; 50:11; Isa 52:1; Bar 5:1) or an adornment. So there is mention of a crown of glory (Jer 13:18; Bar 5:2) and of a throne of glory (1Sam 2:8; Isa 22:23; Jer 14:21; 17:12; Bar 5:6; Esth 5:1; Wis 9:10; Sir 7:4; 40:3; 47:11). Glory is preeminently a royal attribute: Solomon is clothed with royal majesty (δόξαν βασιλέως, 1Chr 29:25; cf. the liturgical acclamation Δόξα σοι οὐράνιε βασιλεῦ, *SB* 6584, 10; 7512, 2; 7906, 13; *IGLS* 294, 1; 318, 1; 426, 1; 587; 598); cf. Isa 8:7; 17:4; 21:16; 33:17; Dan 2:37; 4:26-33; 7:14; 11:20; Esth 1:4; Ps 45:13; Prov 14:28; 25:2.

¹³ Hos 4:7; Hab 2:16; Isa 16:14; 1Macc 1:40; 10:58, 64, 86; 11:42; 2Macc 14:7; Esth 4:17; Job 29:20; Wis 15:9; Sir 1:11, 19; 3:10-11; 8:14; 35:12; 45:2, 20, 23. In the plural, the ε-ξουσίαι καὶ δόξαι are high offices (Diodorus Siculus 15.58.1; cf. *PSI* 158, 24 and 41: πάντων ἄλλων δόξας ποιει-ς; 1422, 6), those high dignitaries of the heavenly court that angels are; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.45: “Your glory, I mean the Powers that stand guard around you”; *T. Jud.* 25.2—αι— δυνάμεις τῆς δόξης; Jude 8; 2Pet 2:10; *P.Princ.* 159, 10: κύριοι ἄγγελοι (= *P.Oslo* 1, 44 and 246), “the cherubim of glory” (Heb 9:5); Ezek 10:4; Sir 49:8), whose spread wings over the place of propitiation symbolize the presence of Yahweh and his powerful interventions on behalf of his people (J. Trinquet, “Gloires,” in *Catholicisme*, vol. 5, col. 55). Some have also understood the false teachers of 2Pet 2:10, who slander the “glorious ones” as those who reject the risen Christ, his extraordinary deeds (2:1—δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι) or his teachings (κυριότητος καταφρονοῦντας); δόξας would then have its classical meaning “opinion, verdict, axiom, philosophical doctrine,” but the plural here would be obscure indeed.

¹⁴ 1Macc 2:51; 3:3; 9:10; 14:10, 29; 15:9; in all lands (1Chr 22:5), among the multitudes (Wis 8:10). The forest of cedars is the glory of Lebanon (Isa

35:1ff.; 60:13), Yahwh is the glory of Israel (Ps 3:4; 106:20; Jer 2:2); so also the ark (1Sam 4:22).

¹⁵ Ps 24:7-10; Isa 24:14; 26:10; 30:30. The glory of Yahweh “is above the heavens” (Ps 113:4); “great is the glory of Yahweh” (Ps 145:5, 11, 12); “Ascribe to Yahweh glory and power” (Ps 29:1-3, 9).

¹⁶ Isa 6:3; 59:19. Not only does God act for his glory (Isa 43:7; 48:11), but his faithful ones “tell of Yahweh’s glory to all the nations” (1Chr 16:24-28; Isa 42:12; 66:19; Ps 96:3, 7-8). Cf. H. Kittel, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes*, Giessen, 1934; B. Stein, *Der Begriff Kebod Jahwe*, Emsdetten i. W., 1939; A. Plé, “La Gloire de Dieu,” in *VSpir*, n. 306, 1946, pp. 479–490; L. Brockington, “The Greek Translator of Isaiah and His Interest in δόξα,” in *VT*, 1951, pp. 23ff. P. Deseille, “Gloire de Dieu dans l’Ancien et le Nouveau Testament,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 6, col. 422–436; J. Duplacy, “Gloire,” in *Catholicisme*, vol. 5, col. 47–54.

¹⁷ Isa 2:10, 19, 21; 4:2, 5; 40:1; cf. Bar 4:24—“The splendor of the Eternal.”

¹⁸ Isa 12:2; 35:1-4; 44:23; 46:13; Ezek 39:21-29.

¹⁹ Exod 16:10; Lev 9:6, 23; Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6.

²⁰ Num 12:8 (Hebrew *temûnâh*); Ps 17:15; cf. Ezek 1:28—“the vision of the surrounding brightness was the vision of the image of the glory of Yahweh. I saw and fell on my face.” In this epigram from Gofna, on the tomb of an old woman: εἰ—κόνα δόξης (GVI, n. 1185, 3).

²¹ Exod 16:7—“You shall see the glory of Yahweh” (who will save you); Exod 33:18-22: Moses asks, “Let me see your glory,” and God answers, “I will make all my goodness pass before you”; Deut 5:24—“Yahweh our God made us see his glory and his greatness”; Tob 13:16; Isa 40:5; 60:2; 66:18; Ezek 3:23; Ps 63:2—“I beheld your power and your glory”; 97:6; Sir 17:13; 42:25; 49:8.

²² Cf. Ezek 1:3; 2:2; 11:24; 2Cor 3:7; John 1:14—“We have contemplated his glory, glory like that belonging to a Father’s only Son”; 2:11—“He manifested his glory, and his disciples believed in him.” This *doxa*, which fills the earth (Isa 6:3; Ps 72:19) and the heavens (Ps 8:2; 19:2; 24:7), is manifested especially in the temple (1Kgs 8:11; Ps 26:8; 2Chr 5:13-14; 7:1-3; Isa 6:1; Ezek 10:4, 18; 43:4-5).

²³ Cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 13, 189: τὴν δόξαν τοῦ φωτός; 298ff. Cf. C. Mohrmann, “Note sur doxa,” in *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung: Festschrift A. Debrunner*, Bern, 1954, pp. 321–328.

²⁴ *Ep. Arist.* 96, 98; or dazzling (196); the other occurrences have to do with reputation (3, 37, 226, 234, 242, 269, 283), honor (39, 45), dignity (218, 282, 290). Among all, kings are illustrious and glorious (79, 223, 224).

²⁵ Ψευδὴς δόξα, *Cherub.* 9, 66, 71; *Post. Cain* 52; *Drunkenness* 70, 76, 162; *Unchang. God* 172; *Conf. Tongues* 106; *Heir* 71; *Dreams* 1.218; *Joseph* 147; *Spec. Laws* 1.59; 4.53, 188.

²⁶ Κενὰ δόξαι, *Unchang. God* 172; *Husbandry* 56; *Drunkenness* 36, 38, 144; *Sobr.* 57; *Migr. Abr.* 21; *Prelim. Stud.* 6, 15; *Flight* 47, 128; *Change of Names* 92–94; *Dreams* 1.82; 2.95, 155; *Decalogue* 4; *Spec. Laws* 1.27; *Good Man Free* 66, 158; *Contemp. Life* 17.

²⁷ *Alleg. Interp.* 2.56–57; *Cherub.* 83; *Post. Cain* 13; *Joseph* 59; *Spec. Laws* 2.244; 3.164; 4.71; *Rewards* 28; *To Gaius* 279.

²⁸ Cf. *Post. Cain* 34; *Giants* 39, 62; *Sobr.* 67; *Migr. Abr.* 184; *Heir* 169; *Abraham* 70; *Decalogue* 65; *Spec. Laws* 1.328; *Virtues* 65, 214; *Rewards* 162; *Good Man Free* 3; *Etern. World* 7, 12, 47. The religious meaning is found only in the quotation of Exod 33:18 (*Spec. Laws* 1.45). There is a single instance in Josephus also (*Ant.* 1.155).

²⁹ Philo, *Creation* 79; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.75; 3.86; *Cherub.* 117; *Worse Attacks Better* 33, 122, 136, 157; *Post. Cain* 112, 117; *Giants* 15; *Drunkenness* 52, 57, 75; *Sobr.* 3, 61; *Conf. Tongues* 112; *Prelim. Stud.* 27; *Flight* 25, 33, 35, 39; *Abraham* 184; *Moses* 2.53; *Decalogue* 153; *Spec. Laws* 1.311; 2.208; 3.1.

³⁰ *War* 1.375; 2.154, 160; 4.288; 6.264; *Ant.* 2.286; 4.147; etc. (δόξαν παρασκευή—ν, cf. *PSI* 1422, 6), the doctrine of the philosophers (*Ag. Apion* 1.165; 2.169) and religious belief (2.179, 221, 224, 239, 254–256, 258).

³¹ *War* 1.108, 331; 3.358; 6.260, 267, 442; *Ant.* 1.2, 165, 275, 280; 2.78; 5.290, 351; 7.44, 52 (20.205; *Life* 193, 274); *Ant.* 8.43; 10.59, 272; 11.158; 12.350; 13.63; 17.226; etc. There is the glory of the Olympic games (*War* 1.426), of a victory (4.372; 5.498; *Ant.* 7.304; 8.24), of a success (*Ant.* 5.267; 12.49), of domination (2.175; 7.195), of past glories (1.121).

³² *Ant.* 2.205; 6.18, 80, 343; 8.196; 9.16; 10.264, 268; 11.121; 12.160; 18.297; 19.211; cf. δόξα καὶ τιμή, 2.268; 6.200; 10.266; 11.217; 12.118.

³³ Cf. Luke 2:32 (relying on Isa 42:6; 49:6): the Messiah is a “light (φω—ς) to lighten the nations, and the glory (δόξαν, honor and repute) of your people Israel.” Cf. Acts 22:11, Saul on the Damascus road: “I could not see because of the brilliance of that light” (ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τοῦ φωτὸς ἐ—κείνου).

³⁴ —Οφθέντες ἐ—ν δόξῃ, Luke 9:31. Cf. H. Riesenfeld, *Jésus transfiguré*, Copenhagen, 1947; A. M. Ramsey, *La Gloire de Dieu et la Transfiguration du Christ*, Paris, 1965.

³⁵ Matt 16:27 (Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26); 19:28; 24:30 (Mark 13:26; Luke 21:27); 25:31.

³⁶ Luke 2:9 (περιλάμπω = shine about, illumine); like a shining garment. This Semitism appears in Acts 7:2—“the God of glory *appeared* to our father Abraham” (ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης ὤφθη). This brilliant light is characteristic of God (Ps 24:7, 9; 29:3; with the article) and shines out from God (M. Black, “The Recovery of the Language of Jesus,” in *NTS*, vol. 3, 1957, p. 312); Acts 7:55—Stephen, “his eyes fixed on heaven, saw God’s glory” (Exod 16:7; 24:17; Ezek 8:4; 43:2).

³⁷ Luke 2:14; there is no article and no verb; the style is lapidary (cf. E. Delebecque, *Etudes grecques*, pp. 25–38; cf. C. Westermann, “Alttestamentliche Elemente in Lukas II, 1–20,” in *Tradition und Glaube: Festgabe K. G. Kuhn*, Göttingen, 1971, pp. 317–327). On Palm Sunday, the crowd acclaimed the Messiah: “Glory in the highest” (Luke 19:38). After the healing of the ten lepers, “No one was found to return and give glory to (= thank) God except this foreigner” (Luke 17:18). Herod Agrippa, having uttered sacrilegious words and usurped God’s glory, is struck dead “because he did not give the glory to God” (Acts 12:23; cf. Rev 19:7).

³⁸ 1Thess 2:6—“We have not sought glory from people”; 2:20—“You are our glory and our joy”; Eph 3:13—“The trials that I endure for you are your glory”; the apostle commends himself in his ministry “in the midst of glory and dishonor” (διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας, “scorn, shame,” 2Cor 6:8); “Their god is their belly, and their glory is in their shame” (ἡ δόξα ἐ—ν τῇ αἰ—σχύνῃ αὐτῶ—ν, Phil 3:19); “it is sown in shame, it is raised in glory” (the resurrection, 1Cor 15:43); “Jesus Christ will transform our body of misery (ταπεινώσεως), conforming it to his glorious body” (Phil 3:21). Cf. M. Carrey, *De la souffrance à la gloire: La Doxa dans la pensée paulinienne*, Neuchâtel, 1964; H. Schlier, “La Notion de doxa dans l’histoire du salut d’après S. Paul,” in *Essais sur le Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1968, pp. 379–412.

³⁹ 1Cor 11:15 (for the textual criticism, cf. G. Zuntz, in *RB*, 1952, p. 15); cf. 1Pet 1:24—“All flesh is like grass, and its glory like a flower of grass” (= Isa 40:6); F. W. Danker, “I Petr. I, 24–II, 7: A Consolatory Pericope,” in *ZNW*, 1967, pp. 93–102.

⁴⁰ Rom 2:7, 10; 1Pet 1:7—“Let your faith . . . be found worthy of praise and glory and honor (ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν) at the revealing of Jesus Christ.”

⁴¹ 1Cor 15:40-41: “the brilliance (*doxa*) of heavenly bodies is different from the brilliance of earthly bodies; there is the brilliance of the sun, and the brilliance of the moon, and the brilliance of the stars, for one star differs from another in its brilliance”; cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 454; Philodemus of Gadara, *Inf.* 9.36; C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, pp. 191ff., 352ff.

⁴² 2Cor 3:7-11 (cf. S. Schulz, “Die Decke des Moses,” in *ZNW*, 1958, pp. 1–30; R. Le Déaut, “Traditions targumiques dans le Corpus Paulinien,” in *Bib*, 1961, pp. 43–47).

⁴³ 2Cor 4:6 (cf. C. M. Martini, “Alcuni temi letterari di II Cor. IV, 6 e i racconti della conversione de San Paolo negli Atti,” in *AnBib* 17, Rome, 1963, pp. 461–474; G.W. MacRae, “Anti-Dualist Polemic in II Cor. IV, 6?” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 4, Berlin, 1968, pp. 420–431); cf. 2Cor 4:4—“the illumination of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God” (τὸ φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ); 1Tim 1:11—“the gospel of the glory of the blessed God, which was entrusted to me personally,” an evocation of the transcendent character of the revealed message, the manifestation of divine power: the epiphany of the Son of God, the Savior. Cf. 2Cor 7:23—the emissaries of the churches “are the glory of Christ.”

⁴⁴ 1Cor 11:7 (Gen 1:26; 2:18-23); cf. the tomb inscription, “[here lies one who was] the glory of Sophronius, blessed Lucilla” (ἡ δόξα Σωφρονίου Λουκίλλα εὐλογημένη, *CII* 135). Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, p. 130, n. 7; 690, n. 4; A. Feuillet, “L’Homme ‘gloire de Dieu’ et la femme ‘gloire de l’homme,’” in *RB*, 1974, pp. 161–182; idem, “La Dignité et le rôle de la femme,” in *NTS*, vol. 21, 1975, pp. 159ff. S. V. McCasland, “‘The Image of God,’ according to Paul,” in *JBL*, 1950, pp. 85ff. E. E. Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament*, London, 1957, p. 63; P. Grelot, *Le Couple humain dans l’Ecriture*, Paris, 1962; K. Stendahl, *The Bible and the Role of Women*, Philadelphia, 1966.

⁴⁵ Cf. Job 19:9—“He has stripped me of my glory”; Bar 5:1—“Put on forever the beauty and glory of God,” 4 Ezra 7:122–125; *2Apoc. Bar.* 51.1,

3; 54.15; cf. 2Thess 1:9—the condemned are “separated from the Lord’s presence and from the glory of his might.” According to rabbinic theology, the first man, created shining with splendor, shared in the divine *kabôd*; he lost this privilege through sin. Glory is one of the six things that were taken from Adam and will be restored to humanity by the Messiah (*Gen. Rab.* 12.5; *Exod. Rab.* 30.2; *Num. Rab.* 13.11, on Num 7:13; cf. *b. Sanh.* 38b). Naked, Adam and Eve were clothed with light; sin deprived them of this garment. After eating the forbidden fruit, Eve saw that she had lost the righteousness that had enveloped her and reproached the serpent thus: “Why did you do this? You have robbed me of the glory in which I was clothed” (*Adam and Eve* 20.1–2). Cf. P. Bonnetain, “Grâce,” in *DBSup*, vol. 3, col. 775–776; J. B. Frey, “L’État originel et la chute de l’homme d’après les conceptions juives au temps de Jésus-Christ,” in *RSPT*, 1911, p. 554; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, London, 1948, pp. 45ff.; L. Ligier, *Péché d’Adam et péché du monde*, Paris, 1961, pp. 209–210, 245.

⁴⁶ Rom 1:23; cf. N. Hyldahl, “A Reminiscence of the Old Testament at Romans I, 23,” in *NTS*, vol. 2, 1956, pp. 285–288; M. D. Hooker, “Adam in Romans I,” *NTS*, vol. 6, 1960, pp. 297–306.

⁴⁷ Eph 1:18—ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης; 3:16; Phil 4:19; Col. 1:27; Rom 9:23; 2Thess 1:9—τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ; Col. 1:11—τὸ κράτος τῆς δόξης. God has called us ἰδία δόξη καὶ ἀρετῇ (2Pet 1:3). Cf. L. Cerfaux, *Théologie de l’Eglise suivant saint Paul*, Paris, 1965, p. 35ff., 78, 309ff. Christ, who was raised by the glory of his Father (Rom 6:4), acts to secure the glory of God (15:7), which is manifested through his word, his truth, his faithfulness (3:7). This glory, which appeared on Tabor, is described as “magnificent” or “majestic” (2Pet 1:17).

⁴⁸ Eph 1:17; P. Benoit in the *Bible de Jérusalem* comments: “that is to say, who possesses in fullness and causes to shine on his elect (verse 18) this brilliant splendor of ‘glory’ in which all the wealth of the divine essence is expressed.” The formula is probably liturgical and of priestly origin (M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 1, p. 148); cf. “God of glory” (Ps 29:3; Acts 7:2), “king of glory” (Ps 24:7), “Lord of glory” (1Cor 2:8); “Father of mercies” (2Cor 1:3), “Father of lights” (Jas 1:17).

⁴⁹ 1Cor 2:8; Jas 2:1. Here *kyrios* is a title of supremacy and even of divinity. Cf. Heb 2:7—“You crowned him with glory and honor” (δόξη καὶ τιμῇ, quoting Ps 8:5–7: a lordly crown; cf. F. J. Moloney, “The Re-interpretation of Psalm VIII and the Son of Man Debate,” in *NTS*, vol. 27, 1981, pp. 656–672); everything is put under the Messiah’s feet (cf. P. Grelot, *Sens chrétien de l’Ancien Testament*, Paris-Tournai, 1962, p. 473; W.H. Schmidt, “Gott und Mensch in Ps. 8,” in *TZ*, 1969, pp. 1–15). Christ’s

glory is superior to that of Moses (πλείονος δόξης), for the builder of a house is more worthy of honor than the house itself (Heb 3:3).

⁵⁰ Heb 1:3 is reminiscent of Wis 7:25–26 (cf. Philo, *Plant.* 50; *Dreams* 1.72; *Spec. Laws* 4.123). —Απαυγάζω = shine out, emit rays of light and perceive emitted rays; ἀπαυγασμός = shining, rays of light (C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 43). In its choice of the word ἀπαύγασμα, Hebrews suggests rays of light emanating from a bright fire, with the idea of splendor, magnificence, beauty: the brilliance of Majesty. Hence, in the passive sense: refulgence, defined by Littré: “the great brilliance formed by the expansion, the reflection of light,” perceptible by mortals.

⁵¹ 1Pet 1:11—the Holy Spirit attested in advance through the prophets “the sufferings in store for the Christ and the glories that would follow” (τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας); the plural suggests the multiplicity and the greatness of the glorious events following the passion: resurrection, appearances, ascension, session “at the right hand of the Majesty on high” (Heb 1:3; 1Pet 3:22). The object of Christian faith is God’s having raised Christ from the dead and having given him glory (1Pet 1:21; cf. Acts 3:13). At the ascension, Christ was received up (ἀνελήμφθη ε—ν δόξει, 1Tim 3:16). This triumph is not only a transfer to another location, nor the acquisition of almighty *exousia*, but a close communion with God (C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, p. 474; J. Coppens, “La Glorification céleste du Christ dans la théologie néotestamentaire,” in E. Dhanis, *Resurrexit*, Vatican City, 1974, pp. 31–55).

⁵² Titus 2:13 (C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, p. 640; M. J. Harris, “Titus II, 13 and the Deity of Christ,” in D. A. Hagner, M. J. Harris, *Pauline Studies: Essays Presented to Professor F. F. Bruce*, Exeter, 1980, pp. 262–277); M. E. Boismard, “Notre glorification dans le Christ d’après saint Paul,” in *VSpir*, 1946, pp. 502–517); 1Pet 4:13.

⁵³ 2Cor 3:18 (J. Dupont, “Le chrétien miroir de la grâce divine d’après II Cor. III, 18,” in *RB*, 1949, pp. 392–411. N. Hugedé, *La Métaphore du miroir dans les épîtres de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1957; C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 221; C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, pp. 130, 741); Col 1:27—“Christ in you, the hope of glory.” This immanent spiritual metamorphosis is progressive and will not be “manifest” until the final eschatological glory, of which it is actually the firstfruits and an anticipation. It is also the work of the “Spirit of glory” (1Pet 4:14), so designated because he procures the heavenly glory. For the textual criticism of this text, cf. K. Aland, *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin, 1972, p. 100.

⁵⁴ Col 3:4. We can translate ε—ν δόξῃ “full of glory” (P. Benoit) or “with glory” (C. Masson) or “in glory” (E. Osty). What is certain is that this will be in Christ’s glory (cf. Phil 3:21), that which surrounds the Lord at the Parousia (1Pet 5:1).

⁵⁵ 1Pet 5:4. The crown is the emblem of royalty, or conquerors, or of victors, a symbol of power, success, prosperity, and virtue, cf. J. Köchling, *De Coronarum apud Antiquos Vi atque Usu*, Giessen, 1914; C. Spicq, *Épîtres de saint Pierre*, p. 169.

⁵⁶ 2Cor 4:15 (B. Noak, “A Note on II Cor IV, 15,” in *ST*, 1963, pp. 129–132); cf. John 9:24—Δὸς δόξαν τω— θεω— (cf. Jos 7:19; 1Sam 6:5; Jer 13:16).

⁵⁷ Eph 1:6, 12, 14. Cf. A. M. Ramsey, *La Gloire de Dieu et la Transfiguration du Christ*, pp. 111–122; F. Dreyfus, “Pour la louange de sa gloire (Eph. I, 13, 14): L’Origine Vétéro-Testamentaire da la formule,” in L. de Lorenzi, *Paul de Tarse apôtre de notre temps*, Rome, 1979, pp. 233–248; D. Cohn-Sherbok, “A Jewish Note on τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας,” in *NTS*, vol. 27, 1981, pp. 704–709.

⁵⁸ Rom 11:36; 16:27—“To God be the glory for ever and ever”; Gal 1:5; Eph 3:21; Phil 4:20; 1Tim 1:17—“To the King of the ages, incorruptible, invisible, the only God, be honor and glory for ever and ever”; 2Tim 4:18; Jude 24—“To the one who is able to preserve you from stumbling and establish you spotless before his glory (his majesty and holiness) with joy”; the whole heavenly court acclaims God (Rev 4:9, 11; 7:12; 19:1). Cf. C. Spicq, *Épîtres Pastorales*, pp. 346ff.; A. Solignac, “Honneur de Dieu,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 7, 704ff.; R. Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus*, Göttingen, 1967. Christian tomb inscriptions usually formulate their doxologies to the glory of the Trinity, *SB* 6035, 21; 7429, 19; 7430, 18; 7432, 21; 8235, 2; 8728, 23; 8765, 21; cf. *O.Bodl.* 415, 7; 2164, 8. Cf. E. C. E. Owen, “Δόξα and Cognate Words,” in *JTS*, 1932, pp. 132–150; M. Steinheimer, *Die Δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ in der römischen Liturgie*, Munich, 1951.

⁵⁹ Heb 13:21; 1Pet 4:11; 2Pet 3:18; Jude 25: “To the only God our Savior, through Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty, dominion, and power before all ages and now and for all ages”; Rev 1:6; 5:12-13. *IGLS* 2108: “To the glory of Christ our God”; 2157.

⁶⁰ John 5:41, 42; 7:18; 8:50; 12:43.

⁶¹ John 4:34; 5:30; 6:38; 7:16; 12:49; 14:24. St. John's Christ is a "divine, incarnate being who is always in the guise of a revealer," seen by his disciples; his Gospel is a revelation discourse, and this revelation is essentially that of the *doxa* that belongs to God (A. J. Festugière, *Observations stylistiques sur l'Évangile de saint Jean*, Paris, 1974, pp. 9ff.; B. Botte, "La Gloire du Christ dans l'Évangile de saint Jean," in *Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, vol. 12, 1927, pp. 65–76; W. Thüsing, *Die Erhöhung und Verherrlichung Jesu im Johannesevangelium*, Münster, 1960; G. B. Caird, "The Glory of God in the Fourth Gospel," in *NTS*, vol. 15, 1969, pp. 265–277).

⁶² Glory is often linked to dwelling (Hebrew *shajan*, σκηνή; Num 35:34; Ps 85:10; Sir 24:8; Ezek 43:7). In addition, in Revelation the temple was filled with smoke because of God's glory and power (15:8); thus it was inaccessible; and the heavenly Jerusalem has within it the glory of God (his presence, his dwelling), and its brilliance is splendid like that of a precious stone (21:11). This divine glory illuminates the city (ε—φώτισεν αὐτήν) and its light is the Lamb (21:23); the nations come to it as pilgrims (vv. 24, 26); cf. the earth illuminated by the glory of the angel (18:1).

⁶³ —Ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός; John 1:14 (cf. A. Feuillet, *Le Prologue du Quatrième Évangile*, Paris, 1968; T. C. de Kruijf, "The Glory of the Only Son," in *Studies in John Presented to Professor Dr J. N. Sevenster*, Leiden, 1970, pp. 111–123). John 12:41—"Isaiah (6:1-5) saw Christ's glory and spoke concerning him." This can mean only Christ's glory before the Incarnation (1Cor 10:4), hence as God.

⁶⁴ εἶδομαι, see with the eyes of the body (1:32, 38; 4:36; 6:5; 11:45; 1John 1:1; 4:12, 14); but this verb can also suggest spiritual perception, for divine realities are not the object of physical sight. Nevertheless, the "Word made flesh" is revealed to the senses, at least in part; his divine power and splendor, veiled by the flesh, are perceptible to those who believe; cf. τοι—ς πιστεύουσιν, 1:12.

⁶⁵ Ὡς is not comparative, but here means "in the capacity of"; παρὰ πατρός is to be connected to δόξαν, not to μονογενοῦς. This *doxa* of the Son belongs to the historical Christ as well as to the Word, since he is the same Person.

⁶⁶ Σημει—α. These signs lead to faith and are revelatory; they must lead to the Son of God and elicit a decision (John 20:30-31); cf. J. P. Charlier, "La Notion de signe (sèmeion) dans le IVe Évangile," in *RSPT*, 1959, pp. 434–448; D. Mollat, "Le Semeion johannique," in *Sacra Pagina*, Paris-Gembloux, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 209–218; W. Nicol, *The Semeia in the Fourth*

Gospel, Leiden, 1972; L. Erdozáin, *La función del signo en la fe según el cuarto Evangelio*, Rome, 1968; S. S. Smalley, "The Sign in John 21," in *NTS* 20, 1974, pp. 275–288; X. Léon-Dufour, "Autour du semeion johannique," in *Die Kirche des Anfangs*, for H. Schürmann, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1978, pp. 363–378; cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, "σημεῖον in the Papyri," in *ZPE*, vol. 6, 1970, pp. 105–116, 245ff.

⁶⁷ Cf. John 11:4—"This illness is not unto death, but it is for the glory of God (a brilliant manifestation of his power), so that through it the Son of God (the performer of the miracle and sharer in the divine power) might be glorified"; 11:40—"If you believe, you will see God's glory," the brilliant triumph of the divine omnipotence over death and corruption (verse 39); ὁράω is always used for a spiritual vision of heavenly realities (1:51). Martha's faith would enable her to see in the miracle the power of God made manifest in Christ.

⁶⁸ Cf. John 11:14; 17:10. The one glorified is glorified through an intermediary (instrument), in (ε—ν), through (διὰ) another: the man is glorified in the woman (1Cor 11:7), God in his creatures, the Father in the Son (John 14:13; Heb 1:3) and in Christians (John 15:8). The basis of this glorification appears to consist in this: the object that is manifested/seen/praised is taken for what it is, in its essence, but in its essence as an act of visibility, i.e., insofar as it is light (Eph 5:13-14). In the case of an intermediary, when A is glorified in B it is because B participates in A. In so participating, B manifests A to one who sees and praises, because the presence of a cause in its effect, of a principle in that which proceeds from it, manifests this cause or this principle and thus glorifies it; "Omne quod est ab alio, manifestat id a quo est" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *In Jo.* 16.14).

⁶⁹ John 17:1 (G. Ferraro, "L' 'hora' della glorificazione del Figlio dell'uomo," in *Aloisiana*, vol. 10, Rome 1974, pp. 178–201); cf. 13:31—when Judas went out, Jesus said, "Now the Son of Man has been glorified, and God has been glorified in him" (the aorist ε—δοξάσθη is a prophetic anticipation of the future; the Savior's victory over sin, death, and Satan would be completed in heavenly triumph; or better, the hour of death is already the hour of glory, that of the elevation on the cross and the exaltation/manifestation of the *exousia* of Jesus); 13:32—"If God has been glorified in him, God will also glorify him in them, and he will glorify him soon," not only in a brilliant manner, in a sovereign and final state, but in accepting him into his intimacy (ε—ν ἀντὼς, the glorification fulfilled in God himself, in his presence or pouring out into the Father's bosom); 17:5—"Now, O Father, glorify me with the glory that I had with you before the world was." This is no longer only the heavenly glory that followed the

passion, but the specifically divine glory whereby the Son manifests the Father in an original fashion, the glory that Jesus had before the incarnation (1:1); it is the glory of the Son as the second person of the Trinity (παρὰ σοί), God's personal glory. This points to the identity of nature and the equality of the Father and the Son, who are "consubstantial." A. Laurentin (*Doxa*, Paris, 1972, 2 vols.) has collected nearly 400 texts from Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Armenian authors from the second through the thirteenth centuries that comment on John 17:5.

⁷⁰ In Revelation, "giving glory to God" means being converted to worship him, recognizing him as the only God, 11:13; 14:7; 16:9; 19:7.

⁷¹ Plato, *Grg.* 461 *b*: "Is that your real opinion?"; *Tim.* 46 *d*: "most think that . . ."; *Resp.* 1.327 *c*: "You do not think amiss"; *Tht.* 189 *c*; 201 *c*; Thucydides 1.120.5: "The formation of opinions is carried out in safety"; Philo, *Creation* 19: "one must think that . . ."; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.35; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 95; *Etern. World* 106; *Post. Cain* 25: the fool "has different opinions at different times on the same topics"; *Unchang. God* 21: "professing such opinions"; *Dreams* 1.91, 185. Josephus, *Ant.* 10.281: "If a person wants to judge otherwise. . . ." The nuance "picture to oneself, imagine, suppose" is common; Plato, *Resp.* 2.363 *e*: "they pass for wicked"; Aeschylus, *Cho.* 844: "Am I to imagine that what I am told is truthful and real?"; *Ag.* 673: "we think his fate will be the same"; *Suppl.* 60: "he will think that he is hearing the voice of Tereus's wife"; Euripides, *Supp.* 1043: "she must be found here, I suppose"; Philo, *Cherub.* 37: "if you imagine such things with regard to us"; 69; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.49: "godless imaginings"; *Ag. Apion* 1.225: "these altogether impudent and foolish men . . . were used to false ideas concerning the gods."

⁷² Diodorus Siculus 16.82: Cephalus of Corinth, "celebrated for his knowledge and judgment"; Thucydides 3.45.6: "each one thought too highly of himself"; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.160: "Abram's name is still celebrated in the region of Damascus"; 4.183: "make yourselves more glorious than the foreign races." This author never gives a religious meaning to the verb δοξάζω; nor does Philo, who only uses it with this meaning in quoting Exod 15:1, 21 (*Husbandry* 82; *Dreams* 2.269). On the other hand, although they are late, the magical papyri; Moulton-Milligan cite *P.Lond.* 121, 502 (third century AD): Κυρία ΘΙσις . . . δόξασόν μοι (l. με), ὡς ε—δόξασα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υι—οῦ σου Ὡρου; Dittenberger, *Or.* 168, 56: ε—ν —Ελεφαντίνη δεδοξασμένου ἔτι ε—ξ ἀρχαίων (= *SB* 8883, 56; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 58, 10; second century BC). Cf. *P.Oxy.* 924, 13: ἵνα τὸ ὄνομά σου ἦ διὰ παντὸς δεδοξασμένον; 1874, 14 (Christian letter of condolence, sixth century): "We glorify God, because he has taken back that which he gave."

⁷³ Sir 3:4, 6, 10; 7:27, 31; 10:24, 30; 44:7; 46:2, 12; 48:4; 49:16; Prov 13:18; Mal 1:6; 1Macc 2:18, 64; 5:63; 10:65, 68; 11:42, 51; 14:39. Cf. Esth 3:1—King Xerxes honored Haman (elevating him in dignity); 6:6, 7, 9, 11.

⁷⁴ Lev 10:3 (niph'al of *kabed*); Isa 44:23; 49:3; 55:5; 60:7, 13: "I will give splendor to the house of my majesty"; 66:5; Ezek 39:13; 1Macc 14:15; 2Macc 3:2.

⁷⁵ Cf. Moses' face, shining after he has spoken with God (Exod 34:29, 30, 35). God honors those who fear him (Ps 15:4); "You have glorified us after calling us" (Wis 18:8; 19:22; Sir 3:2; 24:12). Cf. Isa 52:13—"My Servant will be raised and lifted up and exalted on high."

⁷⁶ Isa 5:16; 24:23; 25:1; 33:10; 42:10; Ps 22:13—"I will praise you in the midst of the congregation" (Sir 35:7; 43:28, 30); 50:15—"I will save you and you will honor me" (v. 23; Isa 43:23); 86:9, 12; Sir 3:20—"The Lord is glorified by the humble"; Dan 4:31 (Theodotion): "I praised and glorified the one who lives eternally"; verse 34. Cf. Judg 9:9—the oil with which gods and men are honored; 13:17; 1Sam 2:29-30; 15:30.

⁷⁷ Matt 6:2—the hypocrites do alms to be praised by people; Luke 4:15—Jesus is acclaimed for his teaching; 1Cor 12:26—when one member is honored, the other members rejoice; Heb 5:5—Christ did not arrogate to himself the honor of the high priestly office; Rev 18:7—however exalted and vaunted Babylon is, so much torture and grief shall she receive.

⁷⁸ 2Cor 3:10—in comparison with the preeminent glory of the new covenant, the administration of the old was not attended with glory (its illumination was too partial and transitory); Rom 8:30—"those whom God has justified, he has also glorified" (aorist ε—δόξασεν, certain anticipation; cf. M. J. Lagrange); 11:13—"I do honor to my ministry"; 1Pet 1:8—loving Christ, believers experience an ineffable and glorified (δεδοξασμένη) glory of the same sort as that experienced by the blessed, for it comes from the divine *agape* and is infused by the Holy Spirit (Rom 5:5; Gal 5:22; cf. 1John 4:7).

⁷⁹ Matt 9:8 (Mark 2:12; Luke 5:25-26); Matt 15:31; Luke 2:20; Rom 1:21—the heathen did not return to God the glory or thanksgiving that was his due; 1Pet 2:12; Rev 15:4—"Who, O Lord, could fail to glorify your name?"

⁸⁰ Luke 7:16; 13:13; 17:15; 18:43. The feeling of the divine presence (23:47); the gift of grace (Acts 11:18), the fruits of the apostolic ministry (3:13; 4:21; 15:48; 21:20; Rom 15:9; Gal 1:24), works of brotherly love

(2Cor 9:13), faithfulness to Christ in persecutions (1Pet 4:16) are so many signs of God's action and cause him to be glorified.

81 Rom 15:6—"so that with one heart and one mouth you may glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"; 2Thess 3:1—"Pray for us, that the word of the Lord may complete its course and be glorified," i.e., may manifest its power to convert and be received with joy, drawing adoration from those converted. According to B. Rigaux (on this text), this is an instance of hendiadys: "'run gloriously' means 'successfully, triumphing over opposition.'"

82 With the exception of John 21:29, where it is said that Peter's death would glorify God, providing a witness to the Christian faith.

83 John 8:54—"It is my Father who glorifies me," by miracles that demonstrate that Jesus shares in the Father's power (11:4), especially in the passion and the resurrection (12:28; 13:31-32; 14:13); cf. Acts 3:13—"the God of our Fathers glorified his servant Jesus" by all the miracles that manifested his messiahship.

84 Unknown in Philo, the papyri, the lexicons (Hesychius, Phrynichus, Julius Pollux). J. J. Wettstein gives no references at all.

85 Διὸ ἐ-ν ται-ς καθάρσεσι τὸ μὲν μὴ συνδοξάζειν τῷ- σώματι, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἐ-νεργει-ς, ὑφίστησι τὸ φρονει-ν (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 1.123; vol. 3, p. 91, 2-3).

86 Aorist passive subjunctive συνδοξασθω-μεν. Peace having returned to Antioch, thanks to the prayers of the church, Ignatius asks the Christians of Smyrna "to send one of your people . . . to celebrate with them (ἵνα συνδοξάσῃ) the calm that has been restored to than thanks to God" (Ign. *Smyrn.* 11.3).

δοῦλος, οἰ-κέτης, οἰ-κει-ος, μίσθιος, μισθωτός

doulos, slave; *oiketēs*, slave or domestic servant; *oikeios*, family member; *misthios*, salaried domestic servant; *misthotos*, day laborer
see also ὑπηρέτης, μισθός, μισθόομαι, μίσθωμα

doulos, S 1401; TDNT 2.261-279; EDNT 1.349-352; NIDNTT 3.592-597; MM 170; L&N 37.3, 87.76; BDF §162(5); BAGD 205 | **oiketēs**, S 3610; EDNT 2.495; MM 440; L&N 46.5; BAGD 557 | **oikeios**, S 3609; TDNT 5.134-135; EDNT 2.494; NIDNTT 2.247, 251; MM 440; L&N 10.11; BAGD

556 | *misthios*, S 3407; TDNT 4.695–728; EDNT 1.432; NIDNTT 3.138–139; MM 413; L&N 57.174; BAGD 523 | *misthotos*, S 3411; TDNT 4.695–728; EDNT 1.433; NIDNTT 3.138–139; MM 414; L&N 57.174; BAGD 523

It is wrong to translate *doulos* as “servant,” so obscuring its precise signification in the language of the first century. In the beginning, before it came to be used for slaves, *doulos* was an adjective meaning “unfree,” as opposed to *eleutheros*,¹ and this dichotomy remained basic in the first century: *eite douloi, eite eleutheroi*.² Gaius defines: “The principal legal distinction between persons is that of free and slave. Further, among free men, some are *ingenuus*, other are manumitted. The *ingenii* are those who are born free; the manumitted are those who are freed from servitude by a legal proceeding.”³

The word *slave* refers above all to a legal status, that of an object of property (Latin *res mancipi*). To be a slave is to be attached to a master (Greek *despotes*; Matt 13:27; Luke 14:21; 1Tim 6:1; Titus 2:9) by a link of subjection—you are the slave of that which dominates you (2Pet 2:19; cf. Rom 9:12). A slave is an article of personal property that one buys, sells, leases, gives, or bequeaths, that one can possess jointly;⁴ a slave can serve as a pledge or mortgage;⁵ is a *res* or a *soma* (male or female; Rev 18:13), is grouped with the animals⁶ as among those *hypo zygon* (under the yoke, 1Tim 6:1; cf. Gen 27:40; Lev 26:13; Deut 28:48; etc.); and this nuance of abjection is evoked by the *morphe doulou* of the Son of God Incarnate (Phil 2:7; cf. Matt 20:27). Given that Christians are bought and paid for by the Lord,⁷ St. Paul, the former rabbi, i.e., theologian-jurist or jurist-theologian, transposes this notion of servitude into the supernatural order, accentuating above all the nuance of the Lord’s radical seizure of the believer; the latter, being in submission to the discretionary will of his Master, becomes essentially a dependent individual. Furthermore, while only freemen and freedmen enjoy the right to *tria nomina*, the slave bears only a *cognomen* and is specified by the use of the genitive of his owner’s name,⁸ to which is often joined a title designating the job that he does for his master (*oikonomos, dispensator, medicus, balnearius*, etc.). So when St. Paul officially presents himself as “apostle, slave of Jesus Christ,” he proclaims that he belongs exclusively and totally not to any emperor here below but to the Lord of heaven and earth, who owns all rights to him; more precisely, he defines himself, his existence, his mission, all his activities, in terms of Christ, his master. In fact, if the slave is the object of a real right, the *dominica potestas*,⁹ then he himself has no legal status as a person,¹⁰ is entitled to no rights: “servile caput nullum jus habet” (Diogenes Laertius 17.32); it is the owner of the slaves who profits from their activity, who has the right to the fruit of their labor; their *opera* are his, just as the fruit of a tree belongs to the owner of the tree. Thus the master will gather the increase on his goods due to the industry of his *douloi* (Matt 25:14; cf. Luke

19:13), the apostle carrying out his ministry expects no salary (1Cor 9:16-17), and the *douloi archeioi* recognize that they are only slaves, whose only purpose in life is to carry out that which they are commanded to do;¹¹ *doulos eis hypokoen* (Rom 6:16).

If it is true that “slavery is an institution which has as its essential goal to make available to one person the activities of other persons,”¹² a link attaches the *doulos* to his function; the slave is a “worker”¹³ or a living tool (*organon*), and his most important role is carrying out his task to the profit of his master. This nuance can be seen in the declaration of the Virgin Mary—“behold the handmaid of the Lord” (*idou he doule Kyriou*)¹⁴; in the expression “his *douloi* the prophets” (Rev 10:7; 11:18; cf. 1:1; Acts 4:29; 16:17); in the texts in the Synoptics that evoke the deeds of slaves (Matt 13:28; 21:34; 22:3-4; 24:46; Luke 15:22; 17:7), “to each his own work” (*hekasto to ergon autou*, Matt 13:34); in the Pauline meaning of the verb *douleuo*—“complete a task, consecrate oneself to a work, devote oneself to a master” (Acts 20:19; Rom 6:6; 7:6, 25; 12:11; 14:18; 16:18; Gal 5:13; Col 3:24; Titus 3:2); and finally, in the ethic of servitude, urging Christian slaves not only to obey their master (Eph 6:5; Col 3:22; Titus 2:9), but to “serve” willingly (Eph 6:7; 1Tim 6:2).

Slaves are a very diverse lot, from laborers to philosophers, from farmers to physicians.¹⁵ In the imperial administration, the most capable could advance. The job of *praegustator* led to the post of *tricliniarcha* (*CIL*, XI, 3612, n. 10, 68), that of *vestitor* to *procurator*,¹⁶ etc. Even at the heart of the domestic setting there is a hierarchy: the master sets the faithful and prudent *doulos* over all his household (Matt 24:45, 47; Luke 12:41); this slave directs and oversees the subordinate personnel and can come to occupy the highest posts (Matt 28:23ff.). The ideal is liberation, and it is Christ who liberates slaves from sin,¹⁷ making each son of God an *apeleutheros Kyriou* (1Cor 7:22; cf. Jas 1:25; 2:12).

An *oiketes* is most often a slave as well,¹⁸ although in many texts it is not possible to say with certainty (Acts 10:7; *P.Lund* IV, 13, 4), and this term is sometimes substituted for *doulos* as being less dishonorable, as in this epitaph for an Ethiopian slave: “It is to the decurion Pallas, works superintendent of Antinoe, that the god led me as servant (*oiketes*) from the land of Ethiopia.”¹⁹ From its etymology (*oikia*), *oiketes* would be a “domestic” in the old sense of the word: one who tends to the house and is a part of the family (*famulus*), according to Philo’s definition—“the domestics (*hoi oiketai*) . . . are always with us and share our life; they prepare the bread, the drinks, and the dishes for their masters (*tois despotais*), they serve at table” (*Spec. Laws* 1.127). *Oiketai* are “people in service” (1Pet 2:18; cf. the collective *oiketeia*, Matt 24:45) including all the servants, male and female, free and slaves born in the household, in the service of the master of the house, from cooks and porters to stewards and tutors, but not directly agricultural or industrial workers.²⁰

The adjective *oikeios* used as a noun, however, only designates members of the same family: parents and close relatives.²¹ Eph 2:19 opposes this word to foreigners and aliens; 1Tim 5:8 places *oikeioi* among *hoi idioi* —“those of the household” are a closer group within “his own.”²² Gal 6:10 uses this term for participants in the same faith;²³ the papyri associate it with brother (*BGU* 1871, 4), son (*SB* 8416, 5), with friends;²⁴ as the object of *philostorgia* (*P.Ant.* 100, 2; cf. *SB* 7558, 35) and of “recommendation” to influential personages.²⁵

Among the domestics attached to a household, some are salaried (*misthios*, Sir 37:11); these workers, hired when there is work and discharged when they are no longer needed, are treated without consideration (Luke 15:17, 19); these are workers for hire²⁶ whose existence is tantamount to servitude (Job 7:1); but they can no more properly be called servants than can day workers who hire themselves out to some concern (Mark 1:20, *misthotos*), to tend a flock (John 10:12) or to till a field.²⁷ The emphasis is always on their compensation, and they accordingly have nothing in common with *douloi*. “The *ergates* (worker) has a right to his food” (Matt 10:10; 1Tim 5:18; cf. Jas 5:4).

¹ F. Gschnitzer, *Studien zur griechischen Terminologie der Sklaverei*, Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 6. The bibliography on slavery is copious. Apart from the articles in the dictionaries and encyclopedias, cf. J. J. Koopmans, *De servitude antiqua et religione christiana capita selecta*, Groningen, 1920; M. Lambertz, “Zur Etymologie von δούλος,” *Glotta*, vol. 6,1, pp. 1–18; W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Philadelphia, 1955; S. Lauffer, *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion*, Wiesbaden, vol. 1–2, 1956–1957; M. I. Finley, *Slavery in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge, 1960; idem, *The Servile Statuses of Ancient Greece*, in *RIDA*, 1960, pp. 165–189; G. Boulvert, *Les Esclaves et les affranchis impériaux sous le haut-empire romain*, 2 vols., Aix-en-Provence, 1964 (cites more than 3,000 inscriptions); L. Halkin, *Les Esclaves publics chez les Romains*, 2d ed., Rome 1965; C. Spicq, “Affranchissement juridique et liberté de grâce,” in *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 828–849; P. Petit, *La Paix romaine*, Paris, 1967, pp. 278, 374ff.; C. Schneider, *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus*, Munich, 1967, vol. 2, pp. 167ff.; P. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser*, Wiesbaden, 1967; F. Kudlien, *Die Sklaven in der griechischen Medizin der klassischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1968; G. Ramming, *Die Dienerschaft in der Odyssee*, Erlangen, 1973; G. Boulvert, *Domestique et fonctionnaire sous le haut-empire romain*, Paris, 1974; *Actes du Colloque 1972 sur l’Esclavage* (Centre de Recherches d’Histoire ancienne, III), Paris, 1974.

² 1Cor 12:13; Gal 3:28; 4:22-31; Eph 6:8; Col 3:11; Rev 6:15; 13:16; 19:18 (adding the Jewish distinction, small and great; cf. Heb 8:11). *C.P.Herm.* 18, 5: δοῦλος εἶ ἢ ἐλεύθερος; *IGLS* 51, 46; the opposition δουλεία—ἐλευθερία (Rom 6:18-22; 8:21; 1Cor 7:21-22; 9:19; Gal 5:1; 2Pet 2:16, 19; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 26; *Abraham* 251; *Good Man Free* 136, 139; Josephus, *War* 7.336). On the analogy of the relationships slave-Lord, disciple-Master, cf. Matt 6:24; 10:24-25; 18:27; 24:45-50; 25:14-30; Luke 12:37-47; John 13:16; 15:20 (slavery in Israel, cf. R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, pp. 80–90).

³ Gaius, *Inst.* 1.9–11; cf. *BGU* 1730, 14; R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 50ff., 73ff.; *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, pp. 11ff., 105ff., 332ff., 601ff.

⁴ Matt 6:24; Acts 16:16 (τοι—ς κυρίοις); cf. *m. Git.* 4.5 (43a); *b. Īag.* 4a. Around AD 100, a slave belongs in common to three brothers (F. Durrbach, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris, 1921, p. 213); a slave is shared between five owners (*Stud.Pal.* XXII, 43); in the third century a slave belongs in common to a brother and a sister, coming from the father's estate, which remains undivided (*P.Oxy.* 1030, 5–6; cf. 716, 722; *BGU* 1581; *PSI* 1115, 1589; cf. I. Biezunska-Malowist, "Les Esclaves en copropriété dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," in *Aeg*, 1968, pp. 116–129). But, on the psychological level, Euboulos had already formulated the axiom of Matt 6:24—ἀμφίδουλος = οὐδαμόθεν οὐδεῖς, the slave of two masters is at any given moment no one's slave (cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 120).

⁵ A debtor agrees not to dispose of or encumber in any way a slave supplied as ὑπάλλαγμα until the debt is paid (*BGU* 1147; cf. *Jur.Pap.* 45, 28).

⁶ An inscription of Baetocaece: "Let slaves, cattle (ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ τετράποδα), and the other animals be sold on these sites, free of any tax or exaction or complaint" (*IGLS*, 4028, 37–39 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 262). *Doulos* is the term for the defeated bird in a cockfight: "I am a slave bird. — Were you bested by some cock?" (Aristophanes, *Av.* 70–71; cf. *Vesp.* 1490); *P.Oxy.* 3151, 5, with the note of the editor, M. W. Haslam, who cites Plutarch, *Mor.* 762 f; *Pel.* 29.11 (ἀλέκτωρ δοῦλος = defeated cock); *Alc.* 4.3, etc.

⁷ 1Cor 6:20; 7:23; Gal 3:13; 4:5; Rev 5:9; 14:3 (E. Pax, "Der Loskauf: Zur Geschichte eines neutestamentlichen Begriffes," in *Anton*, 1962, pp. 239–278; S. Lyonnet, "L'emploi paulinien de ἐξαγοράζειν au sens de 'redimere' est-il attesté dans la littérature grecque?" in *Biblica*, 1961, pp.

85–89; W. Elert, “Redemptio ab hostibus,” in *TLZ*, 1947, pp. 265–270); Rom 7:14—πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν; cf. *P.Hib.* 203, 10: διὰ τὸ πεπρακέναι μου σώματα δύο; *P.Abinn.* 64, 12; *P.Princ.* 85, 11: τοῦ πεπραμένου δούλου.

⁸ In private households, the master of the slaves is designated by his *nomen*; with imperial slaves by Κύριος or Καί—σαρ, *Dominus*; ἄλαμος καὶ Χρηστὴ κυρίων Καيسάρων δούλοι (*MAMA*, vol. 1, 29; cf. 28; 31 a); Λούκιος δούλος οὐέρνας τοῦ Κυρίου (*IGRom.* IV, 529; cf. III, 256); Γενεα—λις Καίσαρος δούλος οἰ—κονόμος (*CIL* 3, 333); οἰ—κονόμος τοῦ κουρίου . . . Σεουήρου Περτίνακος (*Chrest. Wilck.*, vol. 2, n. 81, 13–14; cf. 79); *P.Oxy.* 735, 6; *P.Tebt.* 296, 11–12; *BGU* 102, 1; cf. G. Boulvert, *Les Esclaves*, pp. 11ff., *Domestique*, p. 30). Likewise δούλος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως (Matt 26:51; John 18:26); ε—κατοντάρχου (Luke 7:2); τοῦ θεοῦ —Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ (2Pet 1:1; Jude 1). *Doulos* is a proper name in a papyrus from the third-fourth century (G. Casanova, “Conto de Affitti,” in *Aeg*, 1974, p. 100) and *BGU* 802, col. I, 26; 3, 11, etc., from AD 42.

⁹ Cf. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, pp. 22ff.

¹⁰ The slave has no family, having been deprived of the right to marriage (*conubium*); his conjugal union is only a *de facto* union (*contubernium*; cf. E. Polay, “Die Sklavenehe in antiken Rom,” in *Das Altertum*, 1969, p. 86); even his children “born to the household” belong to his owner. The slave has no country—“our *politeuma* is in heaven” (Phil 3:20)—and is considered as a foreigner: no Roman can be a slave at Rome; in Israel, cf. Lev 25:44–45; Exod 12:44; Lev 22:11; at Alexandria (*P.Hal.* 1, 119); among the Germans, cf. Caesar, *BGall.* 4.15.5; Tacitus, *Germ.* 24.

¹¹ Luke 17:10 (Matt 25:30; cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 749ff.; A. M. Ward, “Unprofitable Servants,” in *ExpT*, 81, 1970, pp. 200–203); *P.Lond.* 1927, 3; cf. Matt 8:9.

¹² G. Boulvert, *Domestique et fonctionnaire*, p. 111; cf. pp. 180ff.

¹³ Cf. Gal 4:19; Phil 2:22; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, pp. 198, 1107 (from the Dorian δω—λος, activity). In Luke 17:7–8, the function of the *doulos* is to “serve” his owner.

¹⁴ Luke 1:38; the sense is that of consecration to the work of salvation, conformably to the will of God. But in Hebrew, *‘ebed* is not only the designation for a social condition, but also a title of honor for those who dedicate themselves to liturgical service (Luke 2:29; Acts 2:18; 2Tim 2:24;

1Pet 2:16; Rev 22:3) and the subjects of a king (ministers, officers, cf. Matt 18:23) who are in his service, preeminently the 'ebed Yahweh (cf. G. Sass, "Zur Bedeutung von δοῦλος bei Paulus," in *ZNW*, 1941, pp. 24–32). In Iran, vassal kings were described as "slaves (*bandak*) of their sovereign," the king of kings. In conformity with Arsacid protocol, Tiridates says to Nero, "Master, I, descendant of Arsaces, brother of the kings Vologeses and Pacorus, am your slave.... My fate will be what you make of it, for you are my destiny and my fortune" (Dio Cassius 63.5.2).

¹⁵ Cf. the slave-steward, δοῦλος πραγματευτής (J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," in *REG*, 1963, p. 167, n. 227).

¹⁶ Cf. G. Boulvert, *Les Esclaves et les affranchis*, vol. 1, pp. 249, 605; W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, p. 79; J. Schmidt, *Vie et mort des esclaves dans la Rome antique*, Paris, 1973, pp. 197–232.

¹⁷ John 8:32; 2Cor 3:17; Gal 5:1, 13; cf. Rom 6:18, 22; 8:2 (H. Francotte, *Mélanges de droit public grec*, 2d ed., Rome, 1964, pp. 207ff.; I. Biezunska-Malowist, "Les Affranchis dans les papyrus de l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine," in *Proceedings XI*, pp. 433–443; P. Petit, *La Paix romaine*, pp. 285ff.; J. Gaudemet, *Institutions de l'antiquité*, Paris, 1967, pp. 555ff.; H. Rädle, *Untersuchungen zum griechischen Freilassungswesen*, Munich, 1969; gives bibliography). Pauline Christians are freed slaves, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 836ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Luke 16:13 and Matt 6:24; Rom 14:4—ἀλλότριον οἰ—κετην; Philo, *Post. Cain* 138: "Wisdom gives to the *oiketēs* the name of *Kyrios*"; *Unchang. God* 64: "Undisciplined and scatterbrained *oiketēs* deserve to have a master who scares them"; *P.Hercul.* 18, 4: οἰ—κέτης ε—στὶν Πατρίκιος = Patricius is a slave; *P.Lille* 29, 1–2. In the third century, a Roman citizen in his will freed two of the slaves born in his household (*P.Oxy.* 2474, 29, οἰ—κέτας). An inscription of Cyrene forbids functionaries to imprison slaves (οἰ—κέτας) without obtaining a warrant from the circuit judges (*SEG* 9, 5, 68); *P.Vars.* 30, 16. Mena is mentioned constantly (διὰ Μηνα— οἰ—κέτου) as acting on the orders of her owner, τω— ι—δίῳ δεσπότη (*P.Oxy.* 1896, 7; 1898, 11; 1976, 7; 1983, 5; 2420, 6; 2478, 6. Cf. F. Gschnitzer, *Studien zur griechischen Terminologie der Sklaverei*, pp. 16ff.

¹⁹ *SB* 8071, 3 = *GVI*, n. 1167 = E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 26. An analogous designation for the slaves of Priene taking part in the festivities offered for the people (*I.Priene*, Index, pp. 271, 287).

²⁰ Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.181: “Even the women and the servants would tell you”; *Life* 341: “your valet (ὁ σὸς οἰ—κέτης) found the deceased in this famous affair”; *P.Oslo* 111, 176: ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ ἀφήλικος καὶ οἰ—οἰ—κέται αὐτοῦ; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 18, 8: ε—κπλεονεξίαν ε—γενάμην διὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σου οἰ—κέτου.

²¹ The *oikeios* is defined by blood relation in Lev 21:2—“the closest flesh to him”; cf. *P.Lille* 7, 5: “I was conversing with Apollonia, my relative”; *P.Magd.* 13, 2: “Theodotus and Agathon are relatives of the mother of Philippos”; J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG* 1953, p. 174, n. 194; 1965, p. 147, n. 306.

²² This equivalence of οἰ—οἰ—κει—οἰ—οἰ—ἴδιοι (already mentioned by A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 123, n. 4) is constant. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 16, 281; *I.Car.* 13, 14; 189, 8: ἡ Κιδραμηνω—ν πόλις ε—ξ οἰ—κείων ἀναλωμάτων. Aurelius Heliodorus had a tomb repaired for his wife Aurelia Flavia and for his freed slaves, καὶ τοι—ς οἰ—κείοις αὐτοῦ ἀπελευθέροις (*MAMA* VI, 18; cf. IV, 19c, 5: ε—ξ οἰ—κίων γὰρ πόνων). An act of adoration by members of a thiasos “remembering their own, μνησθέντες τω—ν οἰ—κείων” (E. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 2, n. 157, 9; cf. 171, 5). Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos built rooms next to the synagogue “from his own resources” or “at his own expense,” ε—κ τω—ν οἰ—κείων χρημάτων (B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. X, 13 = *CII* 694); Josephus, *Ant.* 4.88: his own army, troops belonging to him; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 3, p. 33.

²³ Gal 6:10—μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰ—κείους τῆς πίστεως (cf. *IGLS* 1517: “Diogenes, relative [οἰ—κι—ος] of Eusebius and Antoninus, brothers [ἀδελφω—ν] to whom this sepulchre belongs in common”). Compare ε—ται—ρος, see Josephus, *Life* 183; *P.Mil.* 129, 3; cf. *PSI* 1414, 22; 1447, 5; *SB* 6799, 7 (cf. *sodalis*, “companion”; *Res gest. divi Aug.* 4.7; H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 50). Members of the same religious community are ε—ται—ροί (Matt 26:50; cf. F. Rehkopf, in *ZNW*, 1961, pp. 109–115; W. Eltester, “Freund, wozu du gekommen bist,” in *Freundesgabe O. Cullmann*, Leiden, 1962, pp. 70–91); Philo, *Plant.* 65; *Dreams* 1.111; *Contemp. Life* 13; *Flacc.* 2; *C.Pap.Jud.* III, p. 46.

²⁴ *SB* 9532, 14; cf. Prov 17:9; Plutarch, *Publ.* 3.1; *IGLS* 281, 4; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 591, 59: περὶ τῆς τω—ν ἄλλων φίλων καὶ οἰ—κείων ἀσφαλείας; *I.Magn.*, 33, 15: φιλίαν καὶ οἰ—κειότητα, friendship and the close relations that exist between the people of Magnesia and those of Gonnoi.

²⁵ *P.Oslo* 55, 5; *PSI* 383, 2; *P.Princ.* 101, 8; *P.Oxy.* 1869, 20; cf. Jean-Claude Fraisse, *Philia: La Notion d'amitié dans la philosophie antique*, Paris, 1974, pp. 128–149, 338ff.

²⁶ Lev 19:13 (Hebrew *sakîr*); 25:50; Job 14:6; Sir 7:20; 24:22; *P.Cair.Isid.* 74, 8; *P.Mert.* 91, 10; *P.Oxy.* 1886, 9; 1894, 12. It is also the soldier who serves for pay (2Sam 10:6; Jer 46:21), the mercenary (1Macc 6:29, μισθωτής).

²⁷ *P.Ant.* 89, 12; *P.Oxf.* 13, 37; *P.Mich.* 174, 13; *P.Oslo* 36, 2, 6; 91, 9, 30; but also employed in a public administration (*C.P.Herm.* 19, 6; *P.Harr.* 79, 19; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 6, 1), a tax collector (*O.Wilb.* 12, 2; *O.Bodl.* II, 461, 966, 967, 1066, 2224; S. J. de Laet, *Portorium*, Bruges, 1949, pp. 329, 361). Μισθωταί are usually farmers for the state (μίσθωσις, farm, *SB* 6800, 28; the hiring out of beasts of burden, *IGLS* 1998, 11) who farm leased tracts (*BGU* 1047, col. 3) and post surety (*ibid.* 599), cf. N. Hohlwein, *Termes techniques*, pp. 166ff. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, Princeton, 1938 (index, p. 505); D. Behrend, *Attische Pachturkunden: Ein Beitrag zur Beschreibung der μίσθωσις nach den griechischen Inschriften*, Munich, 1970.

δύσκολος, σκολιός

dyskolos, difficult, causing frustration or unhappiness, disagreeable; *skolios*, crooked, difficult, perverse

dyskolos, S 1422; *EDNT* 1.361; MM 173; L&N 22.32; BAGD 209 | ***skolios***, S 4646; *TDNT* 7.403–408; *EDNT* 3.255; MM 578; L&N 79.90, 88.268; BAGD 756

The adjective *dyskolos* and the adverb *dyskolos* are used in the NT only with respect to the rich, for whom access to the kingdom of God is difficult (Mark 10:24) or who enter it with difficulty (Matt 19:23; Mark 10:23; Luke 18:24). In contemporary literary texts, “the climbing of a wall is difficult” (Josephus, *War* 6.36); “it is difficult (*dyskolos*) and even impossible (*adynaton*) for the defiant mind to receive an education” (Philo, *Rewards* 49); “It is a difficult and hard cure (*dyskolon kai chalepon*) that philosophy undertakes for garrulousness” (Plutarch, *De garr.* 1). Inscriptions evoke difficult or troubled times (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 409, 33; *Or.* 339, 54) and how difficult, almost impossible, it is to express gratitude to match benefits received: “since it is difficult to give thanks to match such good deeds of his” (*epeide dyskolon men estin tois tosoutois autou euergetemasin kat’ ison eucharistein*, *Or.* 458.18). In the phrase *ei dynaton*

e *dyskolon* (“whether possible or difficult,” Josephus, *Ant.* 6.203), the difficult has the sense of the impossible (cf. 2.98; 3.72); but God’s help is sought in surmounting the difficulty (5.94; 11.134), and a noble soul succeeds in so doing (2.40).

In the papyri, the word is also used for a difficult approach to a city (*dyskolos anerchometha eis polein*, *P.Princ.* 102, 9, from the fourth century), for an action that eventually becomes impossible without help from others (“if you cannot open the box yourself, because it opens with difficulty, give it to the locksmith and he will open it for you,” *P.Oxy.* 1294, 10); but it is also used with the connotation of “frustrating, disheartening, causing unhappiness”: a son writing to his father and giving him the news of the household tells him, “there is nothing *dyskolos* at your house” (*ouden dyskolon eni epi tes oikias sou*).¹

With reference to persons, *dyskolos* describes a man who cannot be satisfied, who has a bad character or gloomy disposition:² the “awkward customer” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.2.2). Philo evokes the “farmhand, struggling under a grumpy and disagreeable boss—*dyskolos* and *dystropos*—who often makes him do things that he does not want to do, which he carries out only painfully and unwillingly.”³ So *dyskolos* can be compared to *skolios*. St. Peter bids household servants: “be submitted to your master with profound reverence, not only to the good and indulgent (*tois agathois kai epieikesin*), but also to the difficult (*kai tois skoliois*)” (1Pet 2:18). Since *skolios* literally means “twisting, oblique,”⁴ we should take this to mean masters who are bizarre, capricious, even wildly eccentric.⁵ *Skolia* is the opposite of rectitude (*eutheia*) and could be translated: all speech or action that is wrong and perverse (cf. Prov 23:33), contrary to good sense. This might be the term for what we call impossible bosses—never content, always surly, and also, at that period of history, brutal. “Not a singleservant stayed; because, already a hard person by nature, he had become even more difficult (*dyskoloteron*) because of his illness” (Isocrates, *Aeginet.* 19.26).

The ethical connotation is often more pejorative. Beginning with Deut 32:5 (commented on by Philo, *Sobr.* 10–11) and Ps 78:8, *skolios* refers to a generation that is wayward, perverse, rebellious (Acts 2:40; Phil 2:15), from whom spotless children of God separate themselves.⁶

¹ *P.Oxy.* 1218, 5: “There is nothing frustrating (unpleasant or catastrophic?) at the house”; *BGU* 1881, 8; *PSI* 566, 2 (and again in *SB* 9220 *b*): ε—πει οὖν δυσκόλως οὕτως ἡμι—ν συναντω—σιν. Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 11.806 *b*; 19.815 *c*; *Phoc.* 2.2: “δύσκολον τὴν ἀκοήν, the ears are shocked.”

² Plutarch associates δύσκολος with βάσκανος (*Fab.* 26.3). The type was described by Menander, *Dysk.*, translated by its first editor as *l’Atrabilaire*

("The bilious man," V. Martin, Coligny-Geneva, 1958) and by J. M. Jacques as *Le Bourru* ("The surly man," Paris, 1963, pp. 33ff.). Cf. C. Préaux, "Réflexions sur la misanthropie au théâtre: A propos du *Dyscolos* de Ménandre," in *ChrEg*, 1959, pp. 327–341. The *dyskolos* is a person of savage disposition, unsociable and solitary, hated by his peers (34); "I flatly told all the neighbors to stay away from me" (508); intractable and ungracious (184, 242), he is hard to put up with (747, 893); "a very inhumane person, hateful to everyone, . . . through his whole long life he has never uttered a friendly word"; always ready to punch someone, he frightens those around him (17, 205, 248, 517). This picture can be filled out with the observations of Josephus concerning the unpleasant speech (*Ant.* 8.278) or conduct (8.7, 217, 220; 11.96) of such and such a person toward his followers, and with citations from Plutarch: "One does not show oneself to be a disagreeable person by listening in silence without concocting praises contrary to the evidence" (*De vit. pud.* 6); "Life is hard" (*Cons. ad Apoll.* 6; cf. 28 [generally considered a spurious work—Tr.]); "Cato earned only a reputation for being disagreeable" (*Caes.* 13.6); "if you are unhappy with events" (*ibid.* 35.7); when anger persists and creates in the soul a negative disposition called irritability, the end result is "rage, bitterness, sullenness (*δυσκολία*)" (*De cohib. ira* 3; cf. 13: *φιλαυτία καὶ δυσκολία*; 15: *τω—ν πικρω—ν καὶ δυσκόλων*; 16: sullenness of judgment); Cicero had a reputation for being cantankerous and sullen (*Cic.* 41.6).

³ Philo, *Dreams* 1.7; cf. *Spec. Laws* 1.306. The prefix *dys-* is of course pejorative, like *un-* or *mis-* in English; cf. *δυσγνωστός* (*P.Oxy.* 2457, 19), *δυσνόητος* (2Pet 3:16), *δυσφημία* (2Cor 6:8).

⁴ *Σκολιός* is used for winding paths, full of detours (Prov 2:15; Isa 40:4; cf. Luke 3:5; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," in *NTS*, vol. 7, 1961, p. 318); uneven terrain (Isa 42:16); Josephus, *War* 3.118: "pioneers with the job of straightening out the curving road"; a piece of twisted wood (*Wis* 13:13), the twisting serpent (Isa 27:1; *Wis* 16:5; Aratus, *Phaen.* 70). Cf. Bertram, on this word in *TDNT*, vol. 1, pp. 403–408.

⁵ Cf. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.179: "The name of their town is altogether bizarre (*πάνυ σκολιόν ε—στιν*); they call it Hierusalame"; cf. Job 4:18 (*taholâh*; the verse is cited by *1Clem.* 39.4, which A. Jaubert translates "he notes shortcomings in his angels"). The Wisdom writings stigmatize the crooked man (Job 9:20; Prov 16:28; 22:5; 28:18), his thoughts remove him far from God (*Wis* 1:3), his speech is only deceit and falsehood (Prov 4:24; cf. 8:8); cf. an ambiguous oracle (Diodorus Siculus 16.91).

⁶ In *P.Stras.* 578, 10, the hapax δυσκολωτάτω (neuter superlative) describes the breach of trust of the baker Serenos, who kept for himself grain that he had solicited for making bread (July 3, 505).

ἔγγυος

engyos, guarantor

engyos, S 1450; *TDNT* 2.329; *EDNT* 1.371; *NIDNTT* 1.372–373; MM 179; L&N 70.8

Derived from *gye*, “curve, hollow,” *engye* (with the prefix) means “a pledge put in someone’s hand,” and its first occurrences refer to divinities. When Poseidon declares to Hephaestus, “He (Ares) will pay all the expenses, I give myself as surety before the immortals” (Homer, *Od.* 8.348), Hephaestus answers, “For a poor payer, a poor guarantee” (8.351). At Aeschylus, *Eum.* 898, the Erinyes ask Athena to guarantee their cult in the city of Athens and to guarantee the people her protection: “This surety (*engyen*) is valid forever.” Theognis 286: “take the gods as guarantors of good faith.”¹ “From the idea ‘palm or hollow of the hand’ there developed an original legal group of meanings that were applied to the idea of a security deposit.”² A person stands surety for another by committing himself to a creditor to supply a guarantee for the execution of an obligation in the event that the debtor defaults.³ A guarantor is thus one who is responsible for another person’s debt; his responsibility becomes operative when the debtor declares himself insolvent with regard to the terms of the contract.⁴

The guarantor (a relative, a friend; cf. Josephus, *War* 1.460; Plutarch, *Alc.* 5.4: “He is my friend; I stand surety for him”) is normally an honorable person who has a fortune at his disposal;⁵ being an honest person, he sees to it that the contract is carried out and justice respected.⁶ Thus he is above all a person who may be trusted.⁷ Ben Sirach, who places standing surety between almsgiving and hospitality, sees it as a brotherly service: “Do not forget the kindness of your surety, for he has given his life for you. It is the deed of a sinner to waste the goods of his surety” (Sir 29:15–16). So there are swindlers and sharpers, or simply unfavorable turns of events, that make the surety’s job extremely burdensome: “Surety (*engye*) has ruined many upright people; it has tossed them like a wave of the sea.”⁸

The fact is that those who stood surety risked ruin and imprisonment, and even reduction to slavery, because they were “subject to the same penalties as those for whom they offered themselves as guarantees.”⁹ According to Philostratus, they could even incur the death penalty: “Among the Egyptians there was a law whereby one who was defeated after being

the victor had to be publicly punished by death; actually, he was held in advance for death, or else he had to provide guarantors for his person (*engyetas tou somatos*). Since no one was willing to undertake such a guarantee for Attalus, the *gymnastes* himself fulfilled the legal condition [by standing surety]" (*Gym.* 24; cf. 8). In any event, we can understand the proverb "Surety calls ruin" (*to engye para d'ate*) and the comment of Theophrastus: "The untimely person goes seeking surety for himself to an unfortunate soul who has just been condemned as surety for someone else (*engyes*)" (*Char.* 12.4).

The inscriptions confirm these responsibilities of sureties. In a registry of real estate sales at Tenos, "the aforementioned sellers obligate themselves as a body and each for all."¹⁰ On Crete, "if a son stands surety during the lifetime of his father, he will answer with his person and with all the property that he possesses."¹¹ In an Athenian rental contract: "Exechias of Aphidna stands surety for the execution of the contract within the set time frame; for their part the administrators of the Kytherians guarantee the lease to Eucrates and his descendants; failing which, they undertake to pay him a thousand drachmas."¹² An inscription at Delos (*I.Delos* 502) mentions an *engyos tou pseudous*, a conditional surety that only protects the authorities against the risk of exorbitant bids.¹³ At Pergamum, "clients of the dormitory shall supply to the god guarantees for the salaries of the physicians to be paid during the year."¹⁴

In the papyri, the correspondence of Zeno in the third century BC (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59001, 43; 59173, 32; 59340, col. II, 17–18; *SB* 7450, 23; 7532, 19), and especially in the first century AD, the formula *engyoi allelon eis ekteisin* recurs constantly; it means that the guarantors are jointly responsible for the payment or settlement of a debt.¹⁵ Most often it is a matter of a monetary loan, but it can also be land leases, contracts for service (*paramone*, *P.Mich.* 70, 6; *P.Oxy.* 10, 11, 34; 13, 5), even the hiring of a nurse¹⁶ or the payment of a pension (*P.Enteux.* 25, 12). Sometimes it is recalled "that Pythocles has the right of execution on all the property belonging to Spokes and on the property of his surety for debts to the royal treasury" (*P.Sorb.* 17 a 17; cf. 10, 3); or that "this man has no right of execution against me ... let him be barred from bringing any suit against me or molesting either my own person or the above-named sureties, and let him put up security against the possibility of legal damages" (*P.Rein.* 7, 35; second century BC). Sometimes, on the other hand, the surety protests his good faith and obligates himself for the future.¹⁷

It follows from these texts that in the first century a guarantee was supplied most frequently (1) by a relative or friend of sufficient means; (2) it was always cited by name;¹⁸ (3) it was for the security of the debtor;¹⁹ (4) the surety is often the deity himself or one of his representatives (Moses, the prophets); (5) it expresses his solidarity—his guarantee is an act of

benevolence, a *charis* (Sir 19:15); (6) *engyos* in literary texts sometimes has a metaphorical meaning.

Having thus given a certain density and vitality to the term *engyos*, we can understand its usage in Heb 7:22 (NT hapax), where the author, by assessing the quality of a *diatheke* as a function of the quality of its mediator,²⁰ proves the superiority of the priesthood of the order of Melchizedek over the Levitical priesthood by the unchangeableness of its founding: “It is established forever.” Hence “Jesus has become the surety of a better covenant” (*kreittonos diathekes gegonen engyos Iesous*). God has sworn (Ps 110:4), his decision is immutable (Heb 6:17); the new covenant will be eternal (Heb 13:20) and the new high priest permanent. Consequently, it is characteristic of Jesus to be an indefectible surety for the future, for he remains the same “yesterday and today and forever” (13:8).

The choice of the word *engyos* as much as the connected mention of the name of “Jesus” signals that the author is evoking the legal meaning of this term: if Jesus is given by God as a pledge of his eternal covenant, then he must take on himself all the obligations of a contract of guarantee and is possibly even called upon to give his life.²¹ Is he not in solidarity with the parties to the contract—*ex henos pantes* (2:11ff.) and the *archegos* of salvation (verse 10)? Moreover, Christianity is a hope (7:19; 1Pet 3:15), and salvation will be completed in its fullness only in the future; so it is to be expected that guarantees and sureties will be supplied for the obtaining of the covenant’s goods, the realization of the divine promises. The fact that it is Christ who is this living and permanent guarantee, the surety provided by God, who has literally put our salvation “in his hand” (*en-gys*), means that from here on the salvation of each believer is his responsibility (2:10). He has paid our debts. He has freed us from sin. Through his “precious blood” he has bought and paid for our emancipation.²² Our confidence, the best guarantee there is, must be absolute.

¹ Cf. 2Macc 10:28—the Jews join battle “having as their pledge of success (ἔγγυον ἔχοντες εὐημερίας) and of victory not only their valiance but their reliance on the Lord,” a heavenly guarantee.

² P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 240. Cf. two occurrences of ε—γγύη in the OT. “It is a bold man who strikes hands and stands surety for his neighbor” (Prov 17:18); “Do not be one who strikes hands and stands surety for a debt” (Prov 22:26). In Egyptian law, the act of guaranteeing is called “taking the hand” because to guarantee is an act of support or approval on the part of a third party.

³ Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.8.1280b11: “Law is a mutual guarantee (ε—γγυητῆς ἀλλήλοις) of rights and obligations”; *Eth. Nic.* 5.5.1131a; 5.8.1133b12.

⁴ *P.Rein.* 44. Cf. T. W. Beasley, *Le Cautionnement dans l’ancien droit grec*, Paris, 1902; A. Segrè, “Note sulla ε—γγύη greco-egizia,” in *Aeg*, 1929, pp. 3–24. E. Seidl, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht*, Munich, 1933–1935; W. Erdmann, *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland*, Munich, 1934, pp. 225, 231, 267ff.; J. Triantaphyllopoulos, “Sponsor,” in *RIDA*, 1961, pp. 373–390; cf. 1957, p. 323; F. de Cenival, *Cautionnements démotiques du début de l’époque ptolémaïque*, Paris, 1973 (publishes the Lille Demotic papyri 34–96): a certain person (addressing the *oikonomos* of the *meris*, and the *basilikogrammateus*) stands surety for the payment of a colleague’s debt (to the treasury, the payment of a tax). Some guarantee documents include a *paramone* clause (legal obligation to remain in residence): a worker undertakes to remain in place at a set location, in his store, etc. This is the “guarantee of presence.”

⁵ Ps.-Aristotle, *Oec.* 2.22.1350a19: in Macedonia, it was always the rich who bought anchorage rights “because it was necessary to put up a talent of security to guarantee this total of twenty talents”; Isocrates, *Trapez.* 17.37: “As Stratocles asked me who would pay back his money . . . I presented Pasion to him, who obligated himself to return the principal and interest. Now if he had not had any funds belonging to me on deposit, do you suppose that he would have so readily stood surety for me for such a great sum?”; Demosthenes, *C. Apat.* 33.7: “I had no money available; but I was a client of the banker Heraclides. I convinced him to loan the sum, accepting me as guarantor.”

⁶ Demosthenes, *C. Apat.* 10: “I made arrangements both that I should be freed from my obligation as surety to the bank and that the foreigner should not be defrauded of what he had advanced to Apatourios through my mediation. I placed guards at the ship, and I notified the bank guarantors (ε—γγυηται τῆς τραπεζῆς) of the seizure.”

⁷ Philo and Josephus use not the noun ἔγγυος but ε—γγυητής. Philo uses it for one who guarantees the truth: “I shall propose a sure guarantor for my words, Moses, the holiest person of all” (*Cherub.* 45); “For this affirmation we have as guarantor not just any person at all but a prophet who can be trusted, the recorder of the Psalms” (*Husbandry* 50). According to Josephus, Samuel presents himself as guarantor of the promises of God (*Ant.* 6.21); God himself is guarantor of the future (7.72). On the payment of money as guarantee, cf. 14.81; 15.132.

⁸ Sir 29:17; cf. verse 19: “the sinner who casts himself (offers himself precipitously) as surety for the purpose of speculation (seeking gain and profit) casts himself into lawsuits (makes himself prey to legal convictions).” Cf. H. M. Weil, “Gage et cautionnement dans la Bible,” in *Archives d’histoire du droit oriental*, 1938, pp. 171–241; R. Sugranyes de Franch, *Etudes sur le droit palestinien à l’époque évangélique*, Fribourg, 1946; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, pp. 171–173; E. Szlechter, “Le Régime des sûretés personnelles à l’époque de la première dynastie de Babylone,” in *RIDA*, 1963, pp. 77–90; J. T. Sanders, “Ben Sira’s Ethics of Caution,” in *HUCA*, 1979, pp. 73–100.

⁹ Andocides, *Myst.* 1.44. In signing the contract, the *engyos* obligated himself (*BGU* 1915, 7; cf. 1961, 10; *P.Amst.* 41, 54 and 78; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59787, 100; *P.Tebt.* 815, frag. 2, verso II, 36; *P.Thead.* 8, 3; *P.Bour.* 19, 31, 42; *P.Laur.* 27, 15). On the clause of execution on the person, cf. A. B. Schwarz, *Die öffentliche und private Urkunde im römischen Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 298–309). On imprisonment for debt (Dittenberger, *Syl.* XLVI, 66; Matt 18:30; R. Sugranyes de Franch, *Etudes sur le droit palestinien*), slavery (*P.Col.* 480, 25; H. Liebesny, “Ein Erlaß des Königs Ptolemaios II Philadelphos,” in *Aeg.* 1936, pp. 257–291). In 237 BC, a *prostagma* of Ptolemy Euergetes I specifies the limits of responsibility of those who guaranteed others’ appearance in court (ε—γγύη παραμονής), cf. *P.Mich.* 70 = *SB* 7447 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 27. Arrest for debt was banned in 118 by a series of royal edicts (*P.Tebt.* 5) and in AD 68 by the prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 669, 15–17).

¹⁰ §36. *RIJG*, vol. 1, pp. 82 and 100.

¹¹ *Leg.Gort.* XI, 57; cf. *RIJG*, vol. 1, p. 382.

¹² *Leg.Gort.*, ter, 5; cf. *RIJG*, p. 242; cf. the rental of a field in the fourth century, p. 202; cf. pp. 34ff., 383.

¹³ The opposite of ἔγγυος τῆς ἀληθείας; cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1942, p. 345, n. 109. Cf. *REG*, 1973, p. 102, n. 236 at Melitaia in Thessaly, where ἔγγυοι τὰς προξενίας are officials who guarantee *proxenia* and the exercise of the attendant privileges. At Delphi, in the endowment of King Attalus II of Pergamum (second century BC): “Let those who wish to borrow . . . present a field as a surety having a value double that of the money received. Let the borrowers establish guarantees acceptable to the commissions; let the same persons be sureties and guarantors of the pledged properties” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XIII, 26); cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 736, 72; 958, 5; 993, 7.

¹⁴ —Εγγύους τῶν ἰατρείων τῶν θεῶν, M. Vörrle, *Die Lex Sacra von der Hallenstraße*, line 29, in C. Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VIII, 3: *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, Berlin, 1969, p. 169. At Epidauros, in the accounts for the building of the temple of Asclepius, in the fourth century BC, the names are mentioned of those who put up for tender and of the guarantors (C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 584, 3, 6, 7, 12). At Thyrrheion, in Acarnania, the sums paid out by guarantors are specified (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1969, n. 322). The same citations in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59366, 24; 59504, 8; *P.Oxy.* 2992, 3; *P.Mich.* 190, 25; *P.Hib.* 30 d 16.

¹⁵ *P.Corn.* 6, 20 (AD 17); *P.Mich.* 632, 9 (AD 26); 586, 3 and 21; 633, 34 (= *SB* 10535; AD 30); 635, 4 (AD 71); *BGU* 2044, 12 (AD 46); *P.Oxy.* 2773, 27 (AD 82); *P.Mert.* 6, 29; 78, 3; 108, 7 (in 69–79); 118, 5; *P.Warr.* 8, 7 and 25; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 2, 9; 4, 9; 6, 10; cf. *P.Phil.* 15, 6; *P.Oslo* 131, 17; *P.Amst.* 41, 95; *P.Alex.* 7, 8–10; *P.Athen.* 23, 8; *P.Col.* III, 54, 23; *PSI* 1249, 33; 1311, 10 and 32; *P.Bon.* 25, 9; *P.Gen.* 24, 8; *P.Oxy.* 905, 17; *P.Stras.* 204, 15; 230, 11; 293, 9; *P.NYU* 22, 4, 11, 17, 24; *P.Ryl.* 586, 19; 587, 19; 600, 13; *P.Cair.Isid.* 97, 7; *SB* 10222, 15; 10248, 19; 19779; 10786, 5; 10804, 16; 11059, 9; 11248, 54 and 95; etc. H. W. Van Soest, *De Civielrechtelijke ΕΓΓΥΗ (Garantieovereenkomst) in de griekse Papyri uit het Ptolemaeische Tijdvak*, Leiden, 1963, pp. 27 and 67.

¹⁶ *P.Rein.* 103, 2 (AD 26): “Taseus, witnessed by her husband Petseiris as trustee and surety for all the clauses of this contract for payment”; cf. *P.Vars.* 10, col. I, 7 and 20; col. II, 15; col. III, 7 and 27; *P.Mil.* 60, 3; *P.Oxy.* 2134, 8.

¹⁷ *P.Lond.* 2045, 6 (correspondence of Zeno): Païs (imprisoned) promises that once he is released he will be faithful to his obligations as surety: ε—γὼ δέ σοι ε—ξελθὼν ε—γγύους σοι καταστήσω (according to Greek law, the guarantee is not paid as long as the accused is kept in prison, cf. F. W. Walbank, “Surety in Alexander’s Letter to the Chians,” in *Phoenix*, 1962, pp. 178–180), cf. 2054, 16: Techestheus makes a similar undertaking: ε—γγύους δέ σοι καταστήσομεν. In a contract of harvesters in the second century AD, these promise, “We will begin the thirtieth of the current month of Pharmouthi and we will not stop . . . being in solidarity with each other” (*P.Sarap.* 51, 17).

¹⁸ Cf. E. Kretschmer, “Beiträge zur Wortgeographie der altgriechischen Dialekte,” in *Glotta*, 1930, pp. 89–90.

¹⁹ Cf. in AD 49–50: δῖ ε—γγύου ε—μοῦ = for my security, *P.Oxy.* 38, 6; republished in *Aeg*, 1966, p. 237.

²⁰ As a Greek legal term, ἔγγυος is very close to μεσίτης (Heb 8:6; 9:15; 12:24).

²¹ Sir 29:15. J. Héring (*L'Épître aux Hébreux*, p. 71) notes that the covenant is established by means of a sacrifice, and O. Michel (*Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 10th ed., Göttingen, 1957, p. 174) sees here a reference to Christ's passion.

²² Cf. Christ ὁ ῥυόμενος (1Thess 1:10; Rom 11:26; 2Tim 3:11; 4:18; cf. Col 1:13). We might mention the analogy of ransom paid for the freeing of prisoners of war or the sum paid in acts of emancipation of slaves by sale to the deity, such that “no one may lay a hand on him throughout his whole life.” Cf. *Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. 3, fasc. 6: *Epigraphie*, Paris, 1939; *MAMA IV*, 279; *SEG XVIII*, 225–229; etc. P. Foucart, *Mémoire sur l'affranchissement des esclaves*, Paris, 1867; C. Cromme, “Personen- und Familiengüterrecht in den delphischen Freilassungsurkunden,” in *RIDA*, 1962, pp. 177–238.

ε—γκαινίζω

enkainizo, to renew, inaugurate

enkainizo, S 1457; *TDNT* 3.453–454; *EDNT* 1.377; *NIDNTT* 3.670, 673; *MM* 215; *L&N* 13.84; *BAGD* 215

This verb, which literally means “renew,” rarely used in secular Greek,¹ is a good instance of a Septuagintism in the NT, where it is only used twice in a religious sense. In Heb 9:18, the first covenant “was not inaugurated without blood”;² in Heb 10:20, Christ “has inaugurated for us a new and living way through the veil.”³

In the LXX, it translated either the piel of the Hebrew verb *hadash* or the verb *hanak*. The former, “produce something anew, redo,” is often used with the moral or psychological connotation of a new beginning;⁴ hence, “to install royalty” (1Sam 11:14), “renew the altar of Yahweh” (2Chr 15:8); “restore the house of Yahweh” (2Chr 24:4, 12). It is in this sense, it would seem, that the shedding of blood gives validity to the old covenant (Exod 24) and inaugurates it (Heb 9:18).

As for the verb *hanak*, it describes the earliest education of a child; one sets the child on the right path in life (Prov 22:6); hence, “begin to put into use.”⁵ The word is used for the dedication of the house of God (1Kgs 8:63; 2Chr 7:5), and in 1 Macc, *enkainizo* is used for the restoration of the altar (4:54), the repair of the entrances and chambers of the temple (4:57),

and the restoration of the sanctuary to its former condition (5:1). Hence, the *Enkainia*, the Feast of Dedication (John 10:22) that Judas Maccabeus ordered celebrated from the 25th of the month of Kislev.⁶

So, since Christ the *prodromos* (Heb 6:20) himself opened a new route of access from earth to heaven and was the first to traverse this “new route,”⁷ his own can undertake to follow in his steps. So it can be said that he “inaugurated” it, because he opened it for traffic; but since this route leads to the heavenly sanctuary and is a “sacred way” that cannot be traversed except by believing souls purified from sin, *enkainizo* also signifies that Christ “consecrated” this route, which will be that of the liturgical pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem.⁸

¹ Cf. the references given by Behm, on this word in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 453–454. We might add *UPZ* 185, col. II, 6 from the second century AD, but this reading has been restored.

² Cf. M. McNamara, *Targum and Testament*, Shannon, 1972, p. 128.

³ Cf. A. Pelletier, “Le ‘Voile’ du Temple de Jérusalem,” in *Syria*, 1955, pp. 289–307; idem, “La Tradition synoptique du ‘voile déchiré,’” in *RSR*, 1958, pp. 161–180.

⁴ Ps 51:4—“Renew a firm spirit within me”; 104:30—the earth (in springtime); Lam 5:21—“renew our days as in former times”; Job 10:17—renewed hostilities; cf. Sir 36:5—prodigies and marvels.

⁵ Deut 20:5—“Who is the man who has built a new house and has not yet dedicated it?”

⁶ 1Macc 4:59; a reproduction of the ceremony instituted by Solomon, then by Ezra at the time of the completion of the sanctuary (2Macc 2:9; 2Esdr 6:16–17; Neh 12:27; cf. S. Krauss, “La Fête de Hanoucca,” in *REJ*, 1895, pp. 24–43; 204–219; Str-B, vol. 2, pp. 539ff.). Hanukkah is translated by ε—γκαινισις, ε—γκαινωσις (Num 7:88), or ε—γκαινισμός (Num 7:10–11, 84; 2Chr 7:10); the latter term is used for “the dedication of the statue that King Nebuchadnezzar had prepared” (Dan 3:2–3), and for the song for the dedication of the House (the title of Ps 30).

⁷ Cf. Heb 9:12. Trajan “had built the new Via Hadriana, from Berenice to Antinoöpolis, across safe and flat terrain . . . at certain distances along the way he built abundant cisterns, stations, and strongholds” (A. Bernand, *El-Kanaïs*, 1912, n. XII, 8, p. 61); M. Bouttier, *La Condition chrétienne selon saint Paul*, Geneva, 1964, p. 21.

⁸ Heb 10:20. Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 114, applies to the soul that is thankful to God an “*enkainia* that is celebrated with the dignity appropriate to the sacred”; on this liturgy of spiritual worship, cf. A. Jaubert, *La Notion d’alliance dans le Judaïsme*, Paris, 1963, pp. 486–489.

ε—γκακέω

enkakeo, to conduct oneself badly, become weary, lose heart

enkakeo, S 1573; TDNT 3.486; EDNT 1.377; NIDNTT 1.561, 563; MM 215; L&N 25.288; BDF §§123(2), 414(2); BAGD 215

This verb is peculiar to the Koine, where, moreover, it appears only rarely.¹ It can be transitive or intransitive. Its exact meaning (“conduct oneself badly”) derives from its etymology,² but the nuance varies according to context. The first usage is in Polybius in the sense of doing ill, being at fault, committing culpable negligence: “The Macedonians neglected to send the prescribed help” (*to pempein tas boetheias . . . enekakesen*).³ In the second century AD, Didymarion writes to Paniskos that his brother was not the object of any reproach, and he draws the conclusion that he did not conduct himself amiss (*Iego me enkakese, P.Petaus* 29, 12). But with respect to Gen 27:46, where Rebekah declares, “I am tired of living (*prosochthizo*) because of these Hittite women,” Symmachus uses the verb *enkakeo* to mean “lose heart.”⁴

The first NT attestation is in St. Luke’s introduction of the parable of the Widow and the Judge, which says that the lesson is “that they should always pray *kai me enkakein* ” (present infinitive);⁵ that is, that in the most desperate circumstances, they must continue to ask doggedly and intensely and never desist. But how should the verb be translated?⁶ The best equivalent is “non segnescere” (Bengel), and better yet “not to slacken.”⁷ It is not so much a matter of omission as of relaxing one’s efforts, losing heart in the midst of difficulties, letting go, interrupting one’s perseverance before attaining one’s goal; giving up rather than continuing the fight. Hence, on the moral level, the exhortation is to overcome lethargy, boredom, duration, even distress in tribulation; one must not give in to the apparent uselessness of appeals to God and succumb to exhaustion, but on the contrary overcome fatigue and continue without yielding or softening.

The five other occurrences are in St. Paul and have the same basic meaning: “Brothers, do not slacken in doing well” (aorist subjunctive, *me enkakesete*, 2Thess 3:13), do not tire of doing what is good. “Having undertaken a good work, let us not slacken (present subjunctive, *me enkakomen*); at the desired time we shall reap, if we do not give up (*me*

eklyomenoi; cf. Matt 15:32; Heb 12:3, 5)" (Gal 6:9). One's perseverance must not weaken in service to one's neighbor, since the harvest will result from our doggedness; a relaxation of effort would be disastrous. "Since we have this ministry, according to the mercy that was shown to us, we do not lose heart" (*ouk enkakoumen*, present indicative, 2Cor 4:1, 16), or "we do not weaken," "we do not give in"; this is the refusal of all negligence and all laxness. Finally, Eph 3:13—"Do not give in (*me enkakein*, present infinitive) to the trials (captivity) that I am enduring for you," which might scandalize (in the full sense of the word) believers who see their apostle reduced to inactivity and impotence, apparently abandoned by God. Are there not grounds for discouragement? Hence the exhortation not to lose heart: hold fast, without letting up; always be ardent.

In conclusion, the verb *enkakeo* in the NT is (a) found exclusively in the writings of Luke and Paul; (b) both made it a Christian technical term to express the unflagging pursuit of the goal of service to neighbor or of apostolic ministry as well as the "tautness" of the determined heart that does not let up, does not lose courage; (c) this absence of letting up is a precept of the new morality, a catechetical rule that each Christian must apply in his or her personal life; (d) in almost all of these contexts, notably Luke 18:1; Gal 6:9, this moral obligation is expressed as a function of eschatological *peirasmos* and of the Parousia. During the wait for deliverance, judgment, and glory, letting up and weakening are not permitted.

¹ It is unknown in the LXX, the *Letter of Aristeas*, Philo, and Josephus. Only three occurrences can be cited from the papyri, but *BGU* 1043, 3 (a letter from the third century AD) is so mutilated that the meaning of the term cannot be made out: μήτηρ παλλαιάν ε—νκακήσα[ντος? . . .

² Thucydides 2.87.3 probably favored the formation of the word: "given courage, inexperience is no excuse for any sort of misconduct" (έν τινι κακοῦς γενέσθαι).

³ Polybius 4.19.10. Cf. *P.Lond.* V, 1708, 92 (arbitration in the sixth century in a family dispute over a will), mistreat: ε—γκακηθέντα καὶ θλιβέντα τὸν ε—μὸν πατέρα.

⁴ Idem, on Num 21:5. Cf. be afraid, be frightened, or be in a painful situation; for example a woman giving birth: μή, ὡς αι— ὠδίνουσαι, ε—γκακω—μεν (*2Clem.* 2.2).

⁵ Luke 18:1. Cf. C. Spicq, "La Parabole de la Veuve obstinée et du juge inique aux décisions impromptues," in *RB*, 1961, pp. 68–90.

⁶ M. J. Lagrange, P. Joüon, E. Osty, N. Geldenhuys (*Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, London, 1950), E. Delebecque (*Evangile de Luc*) translate “ne pas se décourager, sans perdre courage” (not become discouraged, without losing heart); the *Bible de Jérusalem* and W. F. Arndt (*The Gospel According to St. Luke*, St. Louis, 1956): “without growing weary” (cf. *NJB*, “never lose heart”); E. Klostermann (*Das Lukas-Evangelium*, Tübingen, 1929): “nicht nachlassen,” (without relaxing, slackening); A. R. C. Leaney (*A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke*, London, 1958): “not giving up”; E.E. Ellis (*The Gospel of Luke*, London, 1966): “not lose heart.”

⁷ H. J. Schonfield, *The Authentic New Testament*, London, n.d.

ε—γκαταλείπω

enkataleipo, to leave, forsake, abandon

enkataleipo, S 1459; *EDNT* 1.377; MM 179; L&N 13.92, 35.54, 68.36; BAGD 215

Of the ten occurrences of this verb in the NT, half are in quotations from the OT; consequently, its meaning must be understood in terms of the language of the LXX. First of all, Heb 13:5—“He himself has said, I will never leave you nor forsake you.” Exegetes rightly attempt to identify the citation,¹ which is very close to Josh 1:5 and Deut 31:6, 8; 1Chr 28:20; but neither the tenses nor the moods of the verbs are exactly the same. Moreover, our text is exactly identical to that of Philo (*Conf. Tongues* 166), which cites Josh 1:5. The inevitable conclusion is that either Philo or the author of Hebrews had read a recension of the LXX different from that which we possess.

On the literary level, we may note the fivefold pleonastic repetition of the negation, which reinforces the absoluteness of the thought and thus the certainty of divine help: never, never, never, in any circumstance whatsoever, God will not fail. On the theological level, it is impossible to state too emphatically that this OT assertion, in one form or another, is a statement of the unchangeableness of providence,² one of the most essential items of Israel’s faith. Citing Ps 16:10, St. Peter therefore affirms concerning the Messiah: “You will not abandon my soul in Hades” (Acts 2:27, 31), because being abandoned by God would mean rejection (1Kgs 8:57; 2Chr 15:2; Prov 4:6), a sort of desertion (Job 20:13) of which it is unthinkable that the Son of God could become the victim.

Nevertheless, on the cross, citing Ps 22:2, Jesus cried out: “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?”³ This cry expresses the

completeness of his dereliction at the point where his resistance was lowest (Ps 38:10; 71:9; Gos. Pet. 19: “My strength, my strength, you have forsaken me”) and death was imminent; but this is not despair:⁴ the Messiah was “abandoned to his enemies” (Ps 22:13ff.) and thus he can say that God “remained far off” (verses 12, 20), but his confidence remains complete (verses 21ff.). His trial is analogous to that of Hezekiah, whom “God abandoned to prove him, to learn all that was in his heart” (2Chr 32:31); and we know that the love and the power of God are sometimes expressed in the *peirasmos* of the just.⁵

Otherwise, *enkataleipo*, which usually translates the Hebrew *‘azab*, often has, like that Hebrew verb, a toned down meaning: to loosen ties, to give out;⁶ in the passive: be left defenseless in the hands of an enemy. Expressing the contrast between the power of God and human weakness by four antitheses, St. Paul writes that he is pursued, harassed, pressed, and hunted down, as it were, by his adversaries (*diokomenoi, all’ ouk enkataleipomenoi*, 2Cor 4:9). If we take this as a metaphor for a race or a manhunt, we will translate “pursued but not overtaken”; but if the reference is to combat, the apostle is not so roughly handled that he gives in (cf. 1Macc 1:42), that he is put out of commission and abandoned, and in this sense “eliminated.”⁷

If you forsake a person, you also leave a place, notably when fleeing;⁸ the place is abandoned, and property is often left in disarray;⁹ the two go together.¹⁰ It even happens that people forsake worship.¹¹ This is what happened with certain “Hebrews” who got into the habit of excusing themselves from the meetings of the community,¹² through egotism (refusing to “give themselves” to the common life), through haughtiness (scorning the society of their brothers, cf. 1Cor 11:18-22; Jude 19, *apodiorizontes*), or perhaps for fear of advertising their faith in a time of persecution, fearing reprisals by the pagan authorities (Heb 10:32), and thus leaving the community to its risks and dangers without giving it the support of their numbers and their courage.¹³

It is probably this same refusal to compromise themselves that accounts for the abstention of the Roman Christians from St. Paul’s first hearing: “At my first defense, no one came to my aid, but all forsook me” (2Tim 4:16). This must have been a grave sin, since St. Paul immediately adds, “May they not be held accountable for this!” In fact, the five occurrences of *enkataleipo* in Malachi translate the Hebrew *bagad*, “betray, deceive, break faith” (2:10-16), and the OT always forbade forsaking a dear or honored person.¹⁴

No doubt it is with this moral flavor that we should understand 2Tim 4:10—“Demas has forsaken me, having preferred this present age.”¹⁵ My coworker walked out on me!

¹ P. Katz, “Ὁὐ μή σε ἄνω—, οὐδέ οὐ μή σε ε—γκαταλίπω, Hebr. XIII, 5: The Biblical Source of the Quotation,” in *Bib*, 1952, pp. 523–525.

² Yahwah to Jacob (Gen 28:15), to Joshua (Josh 1:5), to Solomon (1Kgs 6:13); Moses to Israel (Deut 4:31; 31:6), to Joshua (Deut 31:8); David to Solomon (1Chr 28:20); the professions of faith of the Psalmists: “You will not forsake those who seek you, O Yahweh” (Ps 9:11; cf. 27:9; 37:25, 28, 33; 38:21); “Elohim, you will not forsake me” (Ps 71:18; 114:14; 119:8); the teaching of the sages: “Wisdom did not forsake the just (Joseph) when he was sold” (Wis 10:13); “Who has persevered in the fear of the Lord and been forsaken?” (Sir 2:10; cf. 51:10, 20); the conclusion of history: “He never withdraws his mercy from us; while punishing them with adversity, he does not abandon his people” (2Macc 6:16; cf. 1:5; Isa 54:7). Unbelievers think that Yahweh has abandoned them (Isa 49:14; Ezek 8:12; 9:9) and they themselves abandon him (Judg 2:12, 13; 10:6, 10, 13; 1Sam 8:8; 12:10; 1Kgs 9:9; 19:10, 14; 2Kgs 17:16; 21:22; 22:17; 1Chr 14:12; 2Chr 7:19, 22; 12:1, 5; 24:18, 20, 24; Ezra 9:10; Sir 51:8; Isa 1:4; 65:11; Jer 1:16; 2:13; 5:7; 16:11; 19:4; Bar 3:12; Dan 11:30). But the God of Israel has promised not to forsake his own (Isa 41:9; 17; 54:7) and “Not Forsaken” will be the title of the elect nation (Isa 61:12; cf. 60:15); and believers confess that it is so (Ezra 9:9; Neh 9:17, 19, 31).

³ Matt 27:46; Mark 15:34; the text is closer to the Aramaic of the Targum than to the official Greek version (cf. the textual variants, in J. Vosté, *De Passione et Morte Jesu Christi*, Rome-Paris, 1937, p. 303; P. Glaue, “Einiger Stellen, die die Bedeutung des Codex D charakterisieren,” in *NovT*, 1958, p. 314, and the commentaries of M. J. Lagrange, on this verse; H. Sahlin, “Zum Verständnis von drei Stellen des Markus-Evangeliums,” in *Bib*, 1952, pp. 62–66; J. Gnllka, “Mein Gott, mein Gott, warum hast du mich verlassen?” in *BZ*, 1959, pp. 294–297). For the theological explication, cf. G. Jouassard, *L’Abandon du Christ par son Père durant la passion, d’après la tradition patristique et les docteurs du XIIIe siècle*, Lyon, 1923; L. Matthieu, “L’Abandon du Christ en croix,” in *Mélanges de science religieuse*, Lille, 1945, pp. 209–242; C. Journet, “La quatrième Parole du Christ en croix,” in *Nova et Vetera*, 1952, pp. 47–69; F. W. Danker, “The Demonic Secret in Mark,” in *ZNW*, 1970, pp. 48–69.

⁴ Cf. the excellent notations of L. Sabourin, *Rédemption sacrificielle*, Desclée De Brouwer, 1961, pp. 438ff. (provides bibliography).

⁵ 1Cor 10:13; Heb 12:5-11. It is when trial bears fruit—in the form of the salvation of sinners—that its benefits are recognized; cf. in Rom 9:29 the citation of Isa 1:9—“If Yahweh of hosts had not left us a remnant,” we

would be like Sodom and Gomorrah (Ezra 9:15—“We remain as a remnant”).

⁶ Cf. “leave” (2Chr 24:25—“leaving him open to serious illnesses”; Ps 37:8), forsake (Sir 7:30), neglect (1Kgs 12:8, 13; 2Chr 10:13; Isa 58:2; Prov 4:2; 27:10).

⁷ Cf. 1Cor 9:27; C. Spicq, “L’Image sportive de 2Cor 4:7-9,” in *ETL*, 1937, pp. 209–229.

⁸ 2Kgs 7:7—“They abandoned their tents, their horses, their asses, and the camp just as it was, and they fled for their lives”; 2Chr 11:14—the Levites leave their towns and their possessions; one leaves land, house, or city (Lev 24:43; 2Kgs 8:6; Isa 6:12; 17:9; 24:12; 32:14; Jer 4:29; 9:18; 12:7; Ezek 36:4; 1Macc 1:38; 2:28); ε—γκ. τὴν γεωργίαν (*P.Oxy.* 1124, 5; AD 26), τὴν ι—δίαν (*P.Oxy.* 488, 22; *P.Mert.* 92, 12 = *P.Cair.Isid.* 138; cf. *SB* 10196, 7), τὴν ε—πικειμένην ἀσχολίαν (*P.Tebt.* 26, 16; 114 BC), τὴν παραμονήν (*PSI* 1120, 5; service contract from the first century), τὸ κτῆμα (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59367, 37), a payment (τὴν μίσθωσιν, *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 19, 44; *PSI* 32, 18; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 143, 17).

⁹ —Ἐγκαταλέλοιπαν τὸν παράδεισον ἔρημον καὶ ἀφύλακτον (*SB* 6002, 13; second century BC; 10476, 4). “Soueris changed her mind, left the olive grove, she is gone” (*P.Ryl.* 128, 11; from AD 30); “his departure left me stranded” (*UPZ* 71, 8).

¹⁰ Καὶ μήτε αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν χραίαν ε—γκαταλίπητε (*P.Tebt.* 712, 13; second century BC); ὁ ἀδελφός σου . . . ληστω—ν ε—πικειμένων ε—νκατελελοίπει με ἀποδημήσας (S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 47, 8). In AD 20–50, a woman brings a complaint against her husband: “After mistreating, insulting, and beating me, he abandoned me, leaving me desolate” (*P.Oxy.* 281, 21). Josephus (*Life* 205) draws a connection between leaving the country and forsaking one’s friends.

¹¹ *Stud.Pal.* XX, 33, 11: ε—νκαταλελοιπέναι τὰς θρησκείας; *Chrestomathie*, vol. 1, 72.9: μηδένα δὲ τω—ν ι—ερέων ἢ ι—ερωμένων ε—νκαταλελοιπέναι τὰς θρησκείας.

¹² Heb 10:25—μὴ ε—γκαταλείποντες τὴν ε—πισυναγωγὴν ε—αυτω—ν.

¹³ A commentary on Heb 10:25 is provided by John Chrysostom, *Discourse 6*, which is addressed to “those who have forsaken the *synaxis*” (A. Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome: Huit catéchèses baptismales*, Paris, 1957, pp. 215ff.).

¹⁴ Sir 7:30—“With all your strength love the One who made you and do not forsake his ministers”; cf. Deut 12:19—“See that you do not forsake the Levite”; Tob 4:3—“Honor your mother and do not forsake her”; Prov 27:10—“Do not forsake your friend”; Sir 3:16; 9:10; 29:16—“the ingrate forsakes the one who has saved him.” —After the Roman conflagration in AD 64, the terrorized Christians had to go underground. Cowardice was common in such circumstances: Heliodorus refused to help Appian by appearing with him before the emperor (*P.Oxy.* 33, 7ff.). Libon, accused of plotting revolution, “went from house to house imploring the support of those close to him, seeking a voice that would be heard in his favor; everyone refused him on various pretexts, but in reality out of fear” (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.29); “Who among us dreamed of defending Servius Sulla and Publius and M. Leca and C. Cornelius? Who of those here present offered their assistance? No one. Why? Because in other kinds of trials, people of good will think that they are obligated not to abandon even the guilty, when they are their friends; but with an accusation such as this, one would be guilty not only of thoughtlessness, but even in a sense of participation in the crime, if one defended a person that one suspected of being implicated in a coup against the country” (Cicero, *Sull.* 2.6).

¹⁵ Cf. Josh 22:3—“You have not abandoned your brothers.” Elisha to Elijah: “I will not leave you” (2Kgs 2:2); Joseph did not forsake virtue (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.40).

ε—γκομβόομαι

enkomboomai, to attach, fasten

enkomboomai, S 1463; *TDNT* 2.339; *EDNT* 1.377; MM 180; L&N 49.9; BAGD 216

A denominative verb formed from *kombos*, “knot, buckle,” this biblical hapax means “attach, fasten.”¹ It evokes the large apron that workers or slaves fitted or fastened to their tunics to protect them.² 1Pet prescribes buttoning or fastening to oneself (the verb in the middle voice) humility in mutual relations.³ There is possibly a reminiscence of the symbolic gesture of Jesus in girding himself with a towel, in the manner of a slave, to wash the feet of his apostles.⁴ We might also remember the sash that slaves wore on their shoulder to distinguish them from freemen.⁵ In any event any Christian should present himself before his neighbor in an attitude of modesty, reserve, and self-renunciation,⁶ thanks to a humility that is solidly fitted and manifest.

¹ Epicharmus, frag. 7: εἰ—γε μὲν ὅτι ε—γκεκόμβωται καλω—ς (G. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. 92). Apollodorus of Carystus, frag. 4: τὴν ε—πωμίδα πτύξασα διπλὴν ἄνωθεν ε—νεκομβωσάμην (J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 A, p. 186).

² Longus 2.33.3: “the child cast off his apron (or his coverall, ε—γκόμβωμα) and, light in his tunic, followed his course”; Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 4.18.119, describes one type: τῇ δὲ τω—ν δούλων ε—ξωμίδι, καὶ ἰ—ματίδιόν τι πρόσκειται λευκὸν, ὃ ε—γκόμβωμα λέγεται. Cf. the aprons (σιμικίνθια) of St. Paul at Ephesus (Acts 19:12). C. Bigg, *Epistles of St. Peter*, Edinburgh, 1901, pp. 190ff.

³ For the grammatical construction, cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, London, 1969, p. 205.

⁴ John 13:5 (cf. A. Charrue, *Les Epîtres catholiques*, Paris, 1938, p. 471). This would explain the choice of this exceptional verb, when the NT, following the LXX (Ps 109:18-19) uses ε—νδύω for virtues: to put on = to arm oneself with faith and love (1Thess 5:8; Col 3:12), with strength (Luke 24:49), to put on a panoply of weapons of light (Rom 13:12; Eph 6:11); here, it is a matter of enveloping oneself and keeping oneself tightly wrapped: “wrap yourselves. . . .”

⁵ Cf. E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, London, 1947, pp. 234, 423.

⁶ Rom 12:16. The connection humility-modesty-love of neighbor was recognized by the pagans (cf. S. Rehr, *Das Problem der Demut in der profan-griechischen Literatur*, Münster, 1961, pp. 136ff.) and the Jews (1QS 5.23–25; cf. M. S. Enslin, *The Ethics of Paul*, New York, 1957, pp. 254–276).

ἔθος, εἰ—θισμένος (ε—θίζω)

ethos, custom; *eithismenos* (*ethizo*), accustomed

ethos, S 1485; TDNT 2.372–373; EDNT 1.384; NIDNTT 2.436–438, 455; MM 181; L&N 41.25; BAGD 218–219 | **eithismenos** (**ethizo**), EDNT 1.381; MM 181; L&N 41.26; BAGD 2

The substantive *ethos* has at least four meanings in the NT.

I. — Personal custom. — On Thursday of the last week at Jerusalem, Jesus “went according to his custom (*kata to ethos*) to the Mount of Olives” (Luke 22:39; cf. 21:37; John 18:2). This meaning is common in the papyri: “as is your habit (*hos ethos esti soi*), use your influence” (*P.Fay.* 125, 5); “it is our custom”;¹ “even though it is not his custom” (*P.Brem.* 54, 8). Heb 10:25 denounces “the habit of some (*ethos tisin*)” of forsaking church meetings (*ten episynagogen*); many times they excuse themselves individually. Doing so has become a custom,² inspired by various motives, all worthy of censure.³

II. — Social, religious, traditional custom. — Propriety requires conforming to the uses and customs sanctioned by the usage of honest folk in certain circles and practiced since a certain time: that which is done in the usual manner.⁴ King Alexander sent to Jonathan “a gold buckle such as it is customary to give to the king’s relatives.”⁵ Banking transactions are carried out *kata to ethos* (according to custom);⁶ prices are established in advance by usage (*ex ethous*, *P.Grenf.* I, 48, 15). Rites and liturgical prescriptions set particular behavior of observant folk. It was custom that fixed the drawing of lots to determine which priest would offer the incense.⁷ When Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus took Jesus’ body, wrapped it with bandages and aromatic herbs, and John 19:40 specifies “as is the burial custom of the Jews” (*kathos ethos estin tois loudaiois entaphiazein*), we must translate “regularly,” just as circumcision is carried out *kata to ethos* (*SB* 15, 30; 16, 18; 9027, 21; *BGU* 2216, 28).

III. — Common usage and legal rule. — If there is a “force of habit” (Epictetus 3.12.6: *to ethos ischyron proegetai*; Philo, *Joseph* 83; *Decalogue* 137; *Abraham* 185; *Spec. Laws* 2.109) and if there is a moral obligation to conform to good usages,⁸ a custom that is universal and has long been traditional⁹ tends to take on more and more of the force of law. Denouncing the divinization of a dead child, Wis 14:16 notes, “This impious custom (*to asebes ethos*) was kept as a law (*hos nomos ephylachthe*).” *Ethos* is as obligatory as *nomos*. Moreover, “law did not exist in the time of Homer . . . peoples continued to follow unwritten customs.”¹⁰ The idea has been defended that in the papyri *ethos* has no normative value and usually expresses only a state of affairs with no constraining force;¹¹ but in Egypt it has the value of customary law, because judicial sanction raises usages based on practice alone to the rank of positive law.¹² Philo observed that “a custom introduced different legal principles from city to city, not the same principles for all” (*Husbandry* 43; cf. *Migr. Abr.* 90); “customs are unwritten laws, decrees taken by men of former times and inscribed . . . in the souls of those who belong to the same commonwealth” (*Spec. Laws* 4.149; cf. 150; *To Gaius* 115). Thus in AD 68, the prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Julius Alexander, prescribes that “no one shall be compelled to tax farming or to other leasing of inherited property against the general usage of the provinces” (*para to koinon ethos ton eparchon* —*BGU* 1563, 30; cf.

P.Princ. 119, 52; Philo, *To Gaius* 161). In the second century, the edict of the prefect T. Haterius Nepos commands of priests in charge of temples: “They shall avoid infringing customs, in keeping with [the dignity of the sanctuaries].”¹³ Contracts stipulate obligations in conformity with custom (*P.Brem.* 36, 17; *P.Oxy.* 1887, 11; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 32, 10).

It is in this sense of Roman *consuetudo* (“repeated usage of a traditional juridical rule”) that we must understand Luke 2:42—when Jesus was twelve years old, his parents went up to Jerusalem “as was the custom for the feast (of Passover)”; *kata to ethos tes heortes* is, in fact, a legal obligation (Deut 16:16; cf. Exod 23:17; 34:23; *m. Īag.* 1.1), imposed only on men but extended by tradition to pious women. With the same meaning: “We must sacrifice today, in the customary fashion (*kata to ethos*) in this feast called Pascha” (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.313; *P.Oxy.* 1464, 4), again with Joseph and Mary taking the child Jesus to the temple “to accomplish the customary requirements of the law regarding him” (Luke 2:27); *kata to eithismenon*, literally, “according to the custom of the law”¹⁴ is the constant way of referring to a legal requirement.¹⁵

IV. — Roman law. — Festus, in explaining to King Agrippa the matter concerning Paul, says, “It is not the custom of the Romans (*ouk estin ethos Rhomaiois*) to hand over an accused person before he has, in the presence of his accusers, been given the opportunity to respond to the charge.”¹⁶ The formula *kata Rhomaiois ethos* or *kata ta Rhomaion ethe* is copiously used by Josephus¹⁷ and in the papyri,¹⁸ sometimes in the sense of a habitual way of acting, constant usage, sometimes—usually—in the technical sense for Roman law. Here we have a clear reference to normative and obligatory usage: that of Roman trial law. The *juris studiosus* that St. Luke was, according to the Muratorian Canon, would admire the equity of the imperial official, because not to take account of the custom would be to scorn *aequitas*.¹⁹ Given respect for legal form, it was absolutely necessary to have witnesses appear and give the accused the chance to defend himself.²⁰ In this case, *ethos* refers to an inexorable obligation.

V. — The “customs of Moses” and the “customs of our fathers.” — In Acts 6:14; 15:1, the *ethe* that Moses passed on to his people are in view. These became the “customs of the Jews” (Acts 26:23; Josephus, *War* 7.50), venerable because they were ancestral²¹ and national (Acts 16:21). Not to “walk according to these customs” (*mede tois ethesin peripatein*) is apostasy against Moses (Acts 21:21; Philo, *Dreams* 2.123). The constantly used plural could allude to religious or liturgical usages like the Sabbath (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.259; 14.245, 246, 258, 263), circumcision (*BGU* 82, 12: *peritmethenai kata to ethos*; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.214), ablutions and purifications (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.235), sacrifices (9.262, 263; 16.35), the distinction between clean and unclean animals, fasting (*Ag. Apion* 2.282), etc.²² In reality, it is a question of the fundamental institutions that the

chosen people received from God, namely, the law and the traditional observances necessary for “being saved” (Acts 15:1), that is, for entering the messianic kingdom. These separate Israel from the whole sinful gentile world (Philo, *Moses* 2.193; *Spec. Laws* 3.29; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.137; 16.42). “The customs of the Jews” (*P.Lond.* 1912, 86) can, to be sure, point to a certain way of life, customs proper, and even certain legal provisions, but in actual usage it is a technical term for Israelite religion as practiced by its faithful,²³ opposed as such to the “customs of the Romans.”²⁴

¹ *P.Laur.* 1, 5 and 12; cf. *PSI* 1333, 12; *SB* 7993, 12; *P.Mert.* 5, 20; *P.Oxy.* 900, 7: “those who habitually fill this job” (cf. 471, 18, a lawyer speaking: “once accustomed to his shame”—ἄπαξ γὰρ ἐν ἔθει τῆς αἰσχύνῃς γεγόμενον); 3057, 27, a disturbed spirit: οὐχ ἔθος ἐχούσης ἡρεμειν; *P.Ryl.* 238, 6: “all that they are accustomed to receive”; *P.Oxy.* 2778, 5: “the custom is to give barley to asses”; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.226: it was David’s habit to eat with the king; 7.130, to take a walk at that hour; 8.186, to mount his chariot wearing white; 17.183: the habitual manner of Herod to eat an apple; *T. Abr.* A 2.2—“it was his custom to greet and welcome all.” *SB* 10989, 52: πονηρὸς ἔθος; 11240, 15: διδόναι τὴν συνήθειαν πρὸς τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος (AD 6/7); *P.Laur.* 60, 5: “Day before yesterday, after being well closed, according to habit, our enclosure. . . .”

² Absolutely contrary to the exigencies of Jewish piety: “Those who love the assemblies of the saints” (οἱ ἀγαπῶντες συναγωγὰς ὁσίων) were diligent at attending synagogue meetings (*Pss. Sol.* 16.20; cf. 18). At Penticapaea in the Crimea, in AD 80, Chreste, the widow of Drusus, frees her slave Heracles, gives him complete liberty, “with the right to go freely wherever he pleases . . . except regarding the *proseuche*, which he shall owe devotion and diligence” (*CII*, n. 683; cf. 684). Cf. John Chrysostom, *Discourse 6*, which is addressed “to those who have forsaken the synaxis” (A. Wenger, *Jean Chrusostome: Huit catéchèses baptismales*, Paris, 1957, pp. 215ff.).

³ Through simple negligence, or deliberately; through egoism, refusing to “give oneself” to the common life and thus depriving oneself of the fruits of brotherly love; through pride or scorn for one’s brethren (cf. 1Cor 11:18-22; Jude 19); probably through fear of advertising their faith in times of persecution, not wanting to compromise themselves, they somehow abandon the community with its risks and dangers, not bringing it the support of numbers and of courage; these are “slackers” (ἐγκαταλείποντες).

⁴ *P.Wisc.* 34, 10; 35, 3; *P.Rein.* 115, 17: “as is the custom among you, supply the expenses of the soldier”; *SB* 9328, 5. Epitaph of Hermocrates, a

gymnastic trainer: “I did not fail in this custom” (οὐκ ἀπέληγον ἔθους, E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. XXII, col. III, 3); Epitaph of Ammonia: “Say, as is the custom, ‘Greetings, excellent Ammonia’” (ibid. XXXIII, 9); epitaph of Makaria (Christian): “it is the custom of pious folk” (ibid. LX, 4). There are demands contrary to custom (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 15, 86: παρὰ τὸ αἶθος). Each people has its mores or its peculiar customs: the Persians (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.13); the Egyptians (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.66; *Ag. Apion* 1.317; 2.139); the Scythians (*Ag. Apion* 2.269); the Greeks (*Ant.* 12.263). These are “foreign customs” (*Ant.* 9.243, 290; 20.47, 81). “Our own Boeotian customs” (Plutarch, *De gen.* 33). Cf. Porphyry, *Abst.* 1.13.5: “This practice exists even among the barbarians”; 1.30.2: “people are impregnated with passions, mores, and usages that do not belong to their race and for which they have been inclined”; Strabo 1.2.8: “the habits of childhood”; Chariton, *Chaer.* 4.1.12: “Mithridates went to bed according to his custom.” Before Antiphon, “people were not yet in the habit of writing up their speeches” (Ps.-Plutarch, *X orat.* 832 d).

⁵ 1Macc 10:89; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.102. On *fibulae*, honorific distinctions, cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, pp. 445ff.

⁶ *P.Oxy.* 370; *P.Ryl.* 78, 17; *P.Grenf.* I, 48, 15; *P.Lond.* 171 b 19 (vol. 2, p. 176); *P.Oxy.* 2995, 2: “you have given the gold due according to custom” (δέδωκας τὸν ὀφειλόμενον ε—ξ ἔθους); Philo, *Unchang. God* 169.

⁷ Luke 1:9—κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱ—ερατείας; cf. *m. Tamid* 3.1; 5.2; *m. Yoma* 2.4; Josephus, *War* 6.299: “The priests, according to their custom (ὡσπερ αὐτοί—ς ἔθος), entered the temple at night for the ritual worship”; 6.300: “the feast [of tabernacles] for which it is customary that all pitch tents in honor of God”; cf. 1.25, 153; 2.410; 4.182: τω—ν ἱ—ερω—ν ε—θω—ν; 582; *Ant.* 3.129; Bel (Theodotion) 15: “The priests came during the night according to their custom with their wives and their children”; *SB* 9340, 7: “It is the custom of the priests of the great god Souchou”; *P.Fouad* 10, 10; *BGU* 250, 17; *P.Oxy.* 1848, 5; *PSI* 208, 6; *P.Oxy.* 2797, 3: a list of articles for a sacrifice: κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς θυσίας. The custom is to reserve a part of the victim for the priests (inscription of Nimrud Dagh, in *IGLS* I, 152).

⁸ Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 6.25.39: “long practice finally gave habit the force of nature.”

⁹ *P.Lond.* 2041, 10: “This is the custom everywhere” (ἔθος δε—στιν τοῦτο πανταχοῦ); Josephus, *Ant.* 15.288, τω—ν κοινω—ν ε—θω—ν; *P.Köln* 54, 15, πρὸς τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος; *I.Bulg.* 1581, 28 and 31; *P.Oxy.* 3178, 7: “At my own risk and according to the previous custom (κατὰ τὸ προάγον ἔθος), I choose to serve the above-mentioned *komarchia* ”; epitaph of the scribe

Ammonius: “We invoke you . . . with very pure libations and offerings full of regret, according to the ancient custom of our ancestors” (ἀρχαίους ὡς πάρος ε—στὶν ἔθος, E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. XLIV, 16); κατὰ ἀρχαι—ον ἔθισμα Λινδίων (rule relative to the Sminthian Games at Lindus), in *LSCG*, n. 139, 14–15. Josephus, *War* 4.154: ἔθος ἀρχαι—ον. The inhabitants of Andromachis deprived the inhabitants of Theadelphia of water, though they had it by long custom (τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἔθους, *P.Ryl.* 653, 9; cf. 676, 12: τὸ ε—ξ ἀρχῆς ἔθος; *P.Gen.* 7, 8; *SB* 9016, col. I, 9; II, 14); κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἔθος τοῦ κάστρου (*SB* 5276 a; 5589). We must not forget that for Aristotle habit “is a perfection that our nature is apt to receive” (*Eth. Nic.* 2.1.1103a23–25), the practice of the moral virtues supposes the convergence of nature, intelligence, and habit; hence the three sources of education: φύσις, ἔθος, διδασχῆ (M. Defourny, *Aristote: Etude sur la “Politics,”* Paris, 1932, pp. 276ff.). Musonius Rufus wonders which is more efficacious for the acquisition of virtue, theory or practice (ἔθος ἢ λόγος)? He answers: theory teaches what good conduct is, while practice is the habit of those who are accustomed to act according to this theory. Practice is more efficacious, as can be seen with physicians, pilots, and musicians who are learned or experienced (frag. 5, ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 48). “One would never go wrong in affirming that character is simply prolonged habit and that the so-called moral virtues are simple virtues acquired by habit” (Ps.-Plutarch, *De lib. ed.* 2 F-3 A); “One must get to the root of the disease of garrulity by creating a habit” (Plutarch, *De garr.* 19.511 E); “the respect of people who are his superiors in merit and in age and will give the garrulous person the habit of holding his peace” (ibid. 23.514 E); habit is a training: God helps us progress in virtue by making us “accustomed” to the virtuous life (*De prof. in virt.* 3.76 D; cf. *Cons. ux.* 9.611 B); “Habit and exercise already permit reason to extirpate a large part of the innate passions” (*De gen.* 15). Cf. E. Schütrumpf, *Die Bedeutung des Wortes ethos in der Poetik des Aristoteles* (*Zemata* 49), 1970.

¹⁰ Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.155. This author very often links ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα or νόμοι (*Ant.* 11.217; 14.216; 15.254, 328; 16.172; *War* 2.160, 195; 5.237; *Ag. Apion* 2.164; *Life* 198); cf. *Ant.* 9.243: Ahaz, in violation of the laws of his country, immolates his son according to Canaanite custom; 11.212; *War* 5.236, 402: “The Romans . . . out of deference for your law, transgress many of their own customs.” *I.Bulg.* 317, 7–8: ἀπογράφεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ ἔθος. In a lease related to a garden, προστάγματα, διαγράμματα, and customs are mentioned side by side as bases for the ways of paying charges (*BGU* 1118, 22; cf. *C.Ord.Ptol.* 114). These terms are constantly associated in Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.30, 43; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 15; *Worse Attacks Better* 87; *Post. Cain* 181; *Unchang. God* 17; *Drunkenness* 193, 195, 198; *Prelim. Stud.* 85; *Change of Names* 104; *Dreams* 2.78; *Joseph* 29, 42, 230; *Moses* 1.324; 2.19;

Spec. Laws 4.16; *Virtues* 65, 219; *Prelim. Stud.* 106; *Flacc.* 52; *To Gaius* 134, 210, 360.

¹¹ H. D. Schmitz, “Τὸ ἔθος und verwandte Begriffe in den Papyri,” diss. Cologne, 1970 (reviewed and criticized by J. Modrzejewski, “Bibliographie de papyrologie juridique,” in *APF*, 1978, pp. 184ff.). Cf. the innumerable examples supplied by R. Taubenschlag, “Customary Law and Custom in the Papyri,” in *JJP*, 1946, pp. 41–54; republished, idem, *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, pp. 91–106. At Ephesus, the quaestor T. Flavius Vedius Apellas is the object of an honorific decree, λόγων καὶ ἤθους ἔνεκεν (*I.Ephes.*, vol. 3, n. 678, 19).

¹² J. Modrzejewski, *Loi et coutume dans l’Egypte grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1970; idem, “La Règle de droit dans l’Egypte romaine,” in *Proceedings XII*, pp. 317–377, cites *P.Oxy.* 583, a constitution of Domitian, forbidding the requisitioning without imperial authorization of lodging and draught animals and denouncing “an ancient and persistent usage that is in danger of gaining the force of law,” παλαιὰ καὶ εἶθονος συνήθεια κατ’ὀλίγον χωροῦσα εἰς νόμον (*IGLS*, 1998, 15–16; cf. N. Lewis, “Domitian’s Order on Requisitioned Transport and Lodgings,” in *RIDA*, 1968, pp. 135–142). Local laws, surviving from provincial customs (*consuetudo provinciae, mores regionis*) were integrated into imperial law after the edict of Caracalla in 212 (Gaius, *Dig.* 21.2.6). Menander of Laodicea, *Epidict.*, notes that the cities are henceforth governed by “the common laws of the Romans who govern us,” but that each nevertheless retains “customs that are peculiar to it and worthy of praise.”

¹³ *P.Fouad* 10, 13; cf. *PSI* 1149, 10: ἰ—ερατικὸς νόμος Σεμνουθι = ancient usage; *P.Lund* IV, 1, 6–7.

¹⁴ On the perfect passive participle εἰ—θισμένος (from ε—θίζω), a NT hapax, cf. 2Macc 14:30; Philo, *Moses* 2.205; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.225, the Egyptians, who worshiped animals, “had been accustomed from the beginning to false ideas concerning the gods” (εἰ—θισμένοι δοξάζειν περὶ θεω—ν); *Ant.* 11.16; *P.Oxy.* 1454, 16; *BGU* 1073, 12.

¹⁵ Customary right, distinct from written law, is the ensemble of juridical rules made up by customs. These are collective habitual ways of acting, consented to at the outset by those who observe them, and transmitted from generation to generation. Customs are usages, practices, and behaviors rendered normative by their antiquity or frequency.

¹⁶ Acts 25:16. Cf. J. Dupont, “Aequitas Romana: Notes sur Actes 25, 16,” in *RSR*, 1961, pp. 354–385.

¹⁷ Josephus, *War* 3.15, Vespasian “arranges the marching order of his army according to the Roman custom”; 124, a centurion watches over him, according to this same custom; 4.13, 17; *SB* 10894, 2; 11233, 2.

¹⁸ Regarding the enrollment of a child “according to Roman law” (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 2, 4; 6, 2 and 8; *P.Corn.* 12, 10), the registering of an inheritance (*P.Oxf.* 7, 2), of the sale of a slave (*P.Oxy.* 2777, 11), of a grain deposit (3049 A 5; B 6–7), of a woman acting without *kyrios* to sell a part of her house (2236, 8; cf. 2566, col. I, 4; II, 4) or with a *kyrios* κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη in an act of emancipation (published by S. Daris, “Note su liberti,” in *SPap*, 1979, p. 7) or again pleading from the *jus liberorum* (*P.Mich.* 627, 4; *P.Wisc.* 58, 6; *P.Stras.* 264, 6; *PSI* 1067, 11; 1258, 4; *BGU* 96, 15; 1662, 4, 20; 2070, col. I, 6; *P.Aberd.* 180, 2; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 29, 14; *SB* 5832; 7838, 5; 7843, 4; 8940, 3; 9573, 5) or a marriage contract (ἔθει Ῥωμαικῶ— καὶ χωρεῖς πάσης ἀντιλογίας καὶ ζητήσεως, *P.Ness.* 18, 20; 20, 21) . . . absolutely everyone claims to conform to the requirements of Roman law.

¹⁹ Cf. Cicero, *Verr.* 3.60: “nihil valuisse aequitatem, nihil consuetudinem.”

²⁰ Some cite the trial of Coriolanus (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 7.26 and 52); Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 3.7: “It is an ancestral custom among us that when a man accused of a capital crime does not appear, a trumpeter is sent to his gate at dawn and calls him with his instrument, and the judges cannot pronounce sentence before. So prudent and circumspect were our fathers in their judgments”; Appian, *BCiv.* 3.54: “The law stipulates that the accused should hear his accusers in person and not be judged before presenting his defense.” Claudius, in AD 46 (*BGU* 611 = R. Cavenaile, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum*, Wiesbaden, 1956, n. 236) defends the accused against the tyranny of the accusers; likewise Nero (*BGU* 628; R. Cavenaile, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum*, n. 237). Hence *Dig.* 48.17.1: “Et hoc jure utimur, ne absentes damnentur neque enim inaudita causa quemquam damnari aequitatis ratio patitur.” In truth, this is elementary justice: “Does our law condemn a man without first hearing him and finding out what he has done?” (John 7:51; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 16.258).

²¹ Acts 28:17—τοι—ς ἔθεσι τοι—ς πατρώοις; 2Macc 11:25, Antiochus decides that the temple should be returned to the Jews and that they may live according to their ancestral customs (τὰ ἐ—πὶ τω—ν προγόνων ἀὐτω—ν ἔη); 4Macc 18:5; *I.Magn.* 100 b 12, κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος; Josephus, *War* 2.195, 220; 4.102, 136; 7.424; *Ant.* 5.90: ancestral institutions; 5.101, 113; 8.340. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 764, 11: κατὰ τὸ τω—ν προγόνων ἔθος (AD 45); 1073, 20: κατὰ τὸ πάτριον τω—ν ἀγώνων ἔθος.

²² Cf. Josephus, *War* 2.1, 143, 313, 425; 5.236; 6.300. In Israel, “usages that took on the force of law became traditions . . . God’s will, received by Moses, transmitted by him and since him in an unbroken chain” (J. Bonsirven, *Judaïsme palestinien*, vol. 1, p. 267).

²³ H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 37; cf. Philo, *To Gaius* 115: “The Jews, having been taught from infancy, so to speak . . . by the holy laws (the Torah) and also by the unwritten traditions (τω—ν ι—ερω—ν νόμων καὶ ἔτι τω—ν ἀγράφων ε—θω—ν) to believe in one God alone”; *Flacc.* 48, 50, 53; *To Gaius* 201, 210; Josephus, *Life* 198: “If they invoked my knowledge of the laws, they would declare: Neither are we ignorant of the customs of our fathers”; *Ant.* 4.198; 9.95: τὰ πάτρια τω—ν Ἑβραίων ἔθη καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν; 12.126, 261, 271; 13.397; 14.260; 19.283: “Augustus wanted the subject nations to remain faithful to their own customs (ε—μμένοντας τοι—ς ι—δίοιθ ἔεσιν) and not be compelled to violate the religion of their fathers (τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν)”; 19.311; 20.75, 139; *Ag. Apion* 2.10, 179. It is known that Josephus never drafted the περὶ ἔθων καὶ αἰ—τιω—ν that he said he would write (*Ant.* 1.25; 4.198; 20.268).

²⁴ Acts 16:21. Cf. W. C. van Unnik (*Sparsa Collecta*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 374–385), who cites Valerius Maximus: the *praetor peregrinus* Gnaeus Cornelius Hispalus required the Jews who had tried to corrupt Roman mores (*Romanos inficere mores*) by the cult of Jupiter Sabazius to return to their country” (in T. Reinach, *Textes d’auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, 2d ed., Hildesheim, 1963, p. 259, n. 141); Dio Cassius 50.25.3, Augustus is angry before his soldiers: “Antony today is abandoning the customs of his country (τὰ πάτρια τοῦ βίου ἦθη) to adopt strange and barbarous customs, respecting neither us, nor the laws, nor the gods of our ancestors”; 67.14: Domitian “reproached (the consul Flavius Clemens, his cousin, who had as his wife Domitilla his relative) for impiety, for which also a number of citizens were condemned who were guilty of embracing the Jewish religion” (ε—ς τὰ τω—ν —Ιουδαίων ἔθη).

ει—κὼν

eikon, image, representation

eikon, S 1504; *TDNT* 2.381–397; *EDNT* 1.388–391; *NIDNTT* 2.286–288, 292–293; MM 183; L&N 6.96, 58.35, 58.61; BAGD 222

The noun “image” is the first word uttered by God in his relations with humans (Gen 1:26-27). It is not said that it was uttered in Hebrew. If its original meaning is difficult to determine, its doctrinal density in the NT is considerable as well, since it is essential to biblical anthropology, to Christology, to soteriology, and to eschatology.¹

I. — The first meaning of *eikon* is “image, effigy, representation,” whether a painting, a statue, or a figure stamped on a coin (Herodotus 2.130; Philo, *Change of Names* 93; *Virtues* 4; Matt 22:20). “Before a shining mirror, Glaucike arranged her hair, smiling at the lifeless image of her person.”² For Plato, those who observe an eclipse of the sun must look at the image of the star in water or some other substance of this type (*Phd.* 99 d). That is to say, the image is very different from the likeness, because it is very close to the shadow: “What I call image is first of all shadows (*tas skias*), then appearances that show themselves in the water and those that form on surfaces that are dense, attractive, and shiny, and every other representation of this sort” (*Resp.* 6.509 e; 510 e: *skiai kai eikones*; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.96: “God is the image of his shadow, called shadow”—*skia*; cf. Heb 10:1).

In the LXX, *eikon* ’s dominant nuance is “representation, reproduction, figure” (1Sam 6:11—“the images [Hebrew *selem*] of the tumors” and is sometimes used in an artistic sense: an artisan casts a statue—Isa 40:19, Hebrew *pesel*; Ezek 16:17; Dan 2:31-35; 3:1-18); the images of the Chaldeans (Hebrew *selem*) drawn on the wall in vermilion (Ezek 23:14); the father “makes an image of his child who was too soon snatched away from him” (Wis 14:15). Sometimes it is synonymous with *eidolon*.³ In the Hellenistic period, in literary texts,⁴ the papyri,⁵ and especially the inscriptions, *eikon* refers to all kinds of art (*P.Oxy.* 3094, 44), painting or statuary, in the sense of “portrait.” Apion, a young recruit in the navy of Misenum in the second century BC: “I gave my little portrait to Euctemon to take to you” (*epempsa soi eikonin mou dia Euktemonos*, BGU 423, 21).

These portraits and statues are ordered out of filial devotion and usually with a religious intention,⁶ as is attested by acts of endowment, as in the third century BC Agasicratis established an endowment at Calauria in the Argolid: one adult victim was to be sacrificed to Poseidon and another to Zeus Soter, and “the altar shall be prepared near the statue of Sophanes, the husband of the testatrix.”⁷ “We have set up this portrait of Neiloussa, wife of Parthenopaios, our mother, in a sanctuary.”⁸

Honorific decrees ordering the erection of statues in honor of famous or important people are numerous. Athens ordered “a bronze statue” of the poet Philippides set up at the theater;⁹ the priests of Thebes ordered one for the general Callimachus;¹⁰ Miletus ordered one for Eirenias (“let a golden portrait of him be set up at the place designated by the people”);¹¹ the confederation of the Magnesians ordered one in honor of Demetrias,

secretary of the federal council (“let his portrait be set up at a place that he shall choose”).¹²

Given that the sovereign, such as Ptolemy Epiphanes, is the “living image of Zeus, son of Helios,”¹³ numerous statues are raised (*tas ton basileon eikonas*).¹⁴ They are placed in the temples where they function in the cult.¹⁵ At Athens, during the imperial period, there was a *zakoros*, a religious official, a kind of sacristan, in charge of the “images” of the emperors (*ton theion eikonon*), that is, their portraits, or more precisely, busts, which were venerated.¹⁶ At Pergamum, *hymnodoi* are linked to the celebration of the imperial cult (*hymnodoi eis eikonas ton Sebaston, I.Perg., 374*). In 193 BC, Antiochus III instituted “high priestesses who shall wear gold crowns that shall have her portrait” for the cult of Laodice;¹⁷ that is, they bear the queen’s bust. It is easy to understand the indignation of the Jews when the Roman officials presume to set up imperial statues in the synagogues,¹⁸ as well as the denunciation in Rev 13:14-15 of the superstition regarding talking statues and images of the emperors: “all those who bow down before the image of the Beast shall be killed.”¹⁹

II. — Because an image not only implies the likeness of a copy to a model, but derives from an earlier reality, it implies a relation of dependency and of origination; and possessing to some extent the same “form,” it resembles its precursor. It is in this sense that God decides, “Let us make man in our image (Hebrew *demûth*) and according to our likeness (*selem*),” (Gen 1:26). He has a nature akin to God’s (Gen 9:6), like a son begotten by his father.²⁰ This is clearly a term of honor:²¹ man is crowned with glory (Ps 8:5; Sir 17:3ff.). He is sharply distinguished from the animals created before him; he rules the earth,²² probably because of his faculties of intelligence and volition.²³ In any event, “God made man the image of his own eternity” (Wis 2:23), so that we must at least conclude that “to be the image” means “to participate in the being” (Plato, *Prm.* 132 *d*) and the life; here, that of the “living God.”

III. — There are many degrees in representation. There is only one adequate image of God, his Son.²⁴ Here *eikon* means not so much resemblance as derivation and participation; it is not so much the likeness of a copy to its model, but the revelation and, as it were, emanation of the prototype.²⁵ The image of something is its expression, the thing itself expressed. Here, by the incarnation, Christ manifests the Father (cf. Col 2:9—“in him dwells bodily [by the incarnation] all the fullness of the godhead”). In and by his image, God becomes visible. The emphasis falls simultaneously on the equality, if not identity (*consubstantial* will be the word) of the *eikon* with the original, and on the authentic representativeness of Jesus, for the one who was *en morphe theou* (in the form of God) and *einai isa theo* (equal with God, Phil 2:6) could say “the one who has seen me has seen the Father.”²⁶

IV. — In the NT, a new anthropology is superimposed on the old; the elect are predestined to be conformed to the image of the Son of God,²⁷ associated with his glory (cf. Phil 3:21). On the model of the first creation, the “image” of the baptized is “conformed” to the prototype of the *archegos*, because it depends on him and reproduces him, and thus represents or manifests him, because it has the same “form” (cf. Gal 4:19), that is, a new existential condition.²⁸ The *eikon* takes on ontological meaning, because the person-image achieves a new spiritual state, we might even say a transformation of his being, which—as a living portrait—will share the glorious condition of the resurrected Son.

This eschatological reproduction will not be consummated until the resurrection; it is realized here below through a progressive assimilation to the one first glorified: “As we have borne the resemblance (*ten eikona*) of the one who was of the dust, so shall we bear the image of the one who is heavenly” (1Cor 15:49). The continuous process is evoked in 2Cor 3:18—“All reflecting on unveiled faces the glory of the Lord, we are metamorphosed into the same resemblance (*ten auten eikona metamorphoumetha*) from glory to glory, as by the action of the Lord, [who is] spirit.”²⁹ Glory (*doxa*) is participation in the divine nature (cf. 2Pet 1:4; Heb 1:3) and puts the emphasis on a luminous manifestation, analogous to that of the transfiguration (cf. Matt 17:2; Mark 9:2). This change or growth in quality is a spiritualization that transfigures Christians to resemble their Lord; they change in form (*morphe*), putting on that of Christ: “The one who cleaves to the Lord is one spirit with him” (*ho kollomenos to Kyrio hen pneuma estin*, 1Cor 6:17).

This conformity to Christ, by grace and by glory, cannot but fulfill the divine plan for the resemblance of man to God (Gen 1:26), according to Col 3:10—“You have put on the new man, that which is directed toward true knowledge in being renewed according to the image of its creator” (*anakainoumenon . . . kat’ eikona tou ktisantos auton*). The newness has to do with belonging to the Lord, which implies a vital participation and allows the believer to become an image÷reproduction, in the following manner: the Son of God, the firstborn of a multitude of brethren, having assimilated himself to the likeness of our human nature, passes on to us the conformity to his own “exemplary” filiation, by means of which we are authentic sons of God (John 1:12), “of his race” (Acts 17:28), and his heirs. This forms the basis of an entire ethic, that of purification, imitation, and progress.³⁰

¹ To the bibliography supplied by C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 689ff., add H. Willms, *Εἰ—κὼν: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Platonismus*, Münster, 1935; K. L. Schmidt, “Homo imago Dei im Alten und Neuen Testament,” in *Eranos*, vol. 15, 1947; F. W. Eltester, *Eikon im Neuen Testament*, Berlin, 1958; J. J. Stamm, *Die*

Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen im Alten Testament, Zollikon, 1959; J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen I, 26f im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen*, Göttingen, 1960; J. Caravidopoulos, “*Εἰ—κὼν θεοῦ*” καὶ “*κατ’ εἰ—κὼνα θεοῦ*” παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ Παύλῳ, Thessalonica, 1964; H. Wildberger, “Das Abbild Gottes, Gen I, 26–30,” in *TZ*, 1965, pp. 245–259; O. Loretz, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, Munich, 1967; G. von Rad, *Genesis*, pp. 55–59; J. Barr, “The Image of God in the Book of Genesis,” in *BJRL*, 1968, pp. 11–26; L. Scheffczyk, *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes*, Darmstadt, 1969; J. Jervell, “Imagines und Imago Dei,” in *Joseph-Studien* (dedicated to Otto Michel), Göttingen, 1974, pp. 197–204; P. Lamarche, “Image,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 7, 2, col. 1401–1406 (gives the bibliography).

² Euripides, *Med.* 1161, ἄψυχον εἰ—κὼν (in contrast to ἔμψυχον εἰ—κὼν). Portrait painted (of the king and his ancestors) in the temples: εἰ—κὼ—ν γράπτῃ (E. Bernand, *Fayoum*, n. 152, 15, cf. 114, 19; 135, 9. Cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 43: “Apis is the living image of Osiris”; Aristaenetos 1.6; Eusebius, *C. Marc.* 1.4); Euripides, *HF* 1002: “then came an image, as Pallas seemed to appear brandishing her spear”; Gorgias, *Hel.* 17: visual perception stamps the images of seen objects on the intellect (cf. C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 120). Plato, *Phlb.* 39 b: “a painter, who comes after the writer, draws in the soul images corresponding to the words”; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 537: “to be planted there like a painting γεγραμμένην εἰ—κὼν ε—στάναι.” —In rhetoric, εἰ—κὼν = comparison; Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.4.1406b20ff.; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 559: “borrowing my comparison of eels”; Plato, *Resp.* 6.487 e: δι’ εἰ—κόνων, to speak by comparison, similitude, metaphor; Philo, *Rewards* 45; *Abraham* 153: “vision was created as an image of the soul . . . that has no visible nature”; *Wis* 17:20—“image of darkness.”

³ Deut 4:16 (Hebrew *semel*); 2Kgs 11:18—the altars and statues (Hebrew *selem*) of the house of Baal are broken; 2Chr 33:7; Ezek 7:20; 8:5; Dan 3:1-18 (the gold statue prepared by Nebuchadnezzar); Hos 13:2; *Wis* 13:13, 16; 14:17; 15:5.

⁴ Philostratus, *Gym.* 36: “the statues of the fighter Maron” (τὰς εἰ—κὼνας τοῦ παλαιστοῦ Μάρωνος); Philo, *Drunkennes* 110: “man makes himself images of the sun, of the moon”; 132, 134; Herodian 8.6.2. There is a reproduction or correspondence, cf. Philo, *Moses* 2.51: “The laws are the image that most resembles the constitution of the universe.”

⁵ Sometimes εἰ—κὼν is the signature affixed at the end of a document (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59076, 6; *SB* 6782, 20; 6790, 6; 9223, 9), sometimes the description of a person (*P.Oxy.* 2349, 23: λαβόντες αὐτῷ—ν ὑπογραφὰς

καὶ εἰ—κόννας; from AD 70), a description (*BGU* 1059, 7; *P.Tebt.* 32, 21; *P.Oxy.* 1022, 8; *P.Stras.* 79, 10: ε—ν ᾧ αἰ— εἰ—κόνες αὐτῆς δηλοῦνται). *P.Fay.* 36, 23: εἰ—κόνικα means that the scribe “has drawn up” the act (cf. *P.Oxy.* 34, col. I, 12; *P.Mich.* 631, 18). But at the end of the first century εἰ—κονίζειν, literally “depict,” means “establish the identity of” and “sign up for a role” (*UPZ* 126, 12; discussion of the meaning, *ibid.*, pp. 598ff., and C. Préaux, “La Preuve à l’époque hellénistique,” in *La Preuve*, Recueils de la Société J. Bodin, vol. 16, Brussels, 1965, p. 187). The εἰ—κονιστής is an official in charge of establishing descriptions (*P.Oxy.* XXXIV, col. I, 12).

⁶ Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 16.1: “Croesus commissioned a golden statue of his butcher and dedicated it here.”

⁷ C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 1344, 7: Παρὰ τὰν εἰ—κόννα τὰν ἀνδρὸς αὐτὰς Σωφάνεος; cf. line 12: “the executors . . . shall clean the statues placed in the most visible place . . . and they shall crown them” (τὰς δὲ εἰ—κόννας καθαρὰς ποιει—ν); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 993, 13–14; 1106, 20: endowment of Diomedon, around 300 BC, καθαίροντῶ δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰ—κόννας τὰς τῶ—ν προγόνων τῶ—ν Διομέδοντος.

⁸ E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 113. A portrait painted of their mother (εἰ—κὼν γραπτῆ) was dedicated by the children “in the precincts of Pallas,” for whom this mother was a priestess (epitaph from the Cerameicus, in *GVI*, n. 1741). Some children of a physician dedicate his statue to Asclepius (*IGUR*, n. 102; cf. 103, 175, 264 B, 6); *SB* 6154, 10.

⁹ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 374, 63 (en 287 BC); cf. *ibid.* 493; II, 3; decree of Histiaeus in honor of the banker Athenodorus of Rhodes. At Balboura, an honorific decree mentions that Stephanus raised a gilded bronze image of his master Caesar Antoninus (C. Naour, “Nouvelles inscriptions de Balboura,” in *Ancient Society* 9, 1978, p. 171).

¹⁰ *SB* 8334, 27; cf. R. Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret.* The polemarchs of Thasos grant an image (εἰ—κὼν), a crown (στέφανος), and honors (τιμαί) to the two brothers Euphrillus and Micas (*I.Thas.*, 192, 16). Some ἰ—ερω—ν εἰ—κόνων, statues or paintings, were given for the cult of the divinities of Samothrace (*IG XII* [8], 188, 14; cf. P. M. Fraser, *Samothrace: The Inscriptions*, New York, 1960, p. 112).

¹¹ *NCIG*, n. 7, col. II, 13.

¹² *SEG XXIII*, 447, 28. According to the honorific decree of Cyprus for the Dionysiac artists, the portrait of Isidorus shall be placed in the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, *SB* 10097, 4.

¹³ Rosetta Stone: εἰ—κόνος ζώσης τοῦ Διὸς, υἱ—οὔ τοῦ ἡλίου (Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 3); epithets and titles of protocol, *SB* 8232, 6, 8, 19; Plutarch, *Them.* 27.4: ὡς εἰ—κόννα θεοῦ τὰ πάντα σώζοντος; cf. L. Delatte, *Les Traités de la royauté d'Ecphante, Diotogène et Sthénidas*, Paris, 1942, p. 180.

¹⁴ T. Ihnken, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylus*, Bonn, 1978, pp. 27, 106 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 229, 85; cf. 332, 10 (= *I.Perg.*, 246); 383, 27; τὰν εἰ—κόννα τοῦ βασιλέως —Αττάλου (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 672, 63). A letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus designates these imperial images (in silver: περὶ τω—ν ἀργυρω—ν εἰ—κόνων) as τὰς εἰ—κόννας τω—ν αὐτοκρατόρων (Dittenberger, *Or.* 608, 9, 11).

¹⁵ Rosetta Stone: “Let an image (for King Ptolemy, manifested as a god) be set up in each temple in the most conspicuous place” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 38); cf. *Syl.* 1238, 5, τὰς τούτων τω—ν ἀγαλμάτων εἰ—κόννας. At Mytilene, the image of Augustus is designated as τὴν εἰ—κόννα τοῦ θεοῦ (*JG*, XII, 17). Confirming the privileges granted by Augustus, a letter from Claudius in AD 289 to the Dionysiac artists allows them to raise statues in his honor, thanks to their own devotion, τὰς μὲν ἰ—κόννας ὄν τρόπον εὐσεβούμετα μετὰ τῆθ πρεπούσηθ τιμῆθ ἀνιστάνειν ε—πιτρέπω (*P.Oxy.* 2476, 2). At Adada in Pisidia, a third-century benefactor offers sacrifices “to the imperial images” (προθύσας δὲ καὶ τω—ν θείων εἰ—κόνων καὶ ἄγω—να ε—πιτελέσας οἴκοθεν, *CIG* 4379, K,3).

¹⁶ L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, II, p. 316, cites *Martyrdom of Pionius*, 4, where the images of the imperial cult are associated with divine statues (cf. H. Musurillo, *Christian Martyrs*, p. 143).

¹⁷ L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 7, Paris, 1949, p. 10, line 25. Cf. two [portraits-statues] of King Ptolemy, offered to the god Soknopaios (*SEG* VIII, 577, 10); “I dedicated this statue of the great Amon” (*SB* 4243; cf. 7216, 15; 8031, 3; 8349 C 4). Honorific decree for Ptolemy IV Philopator, named εἰ—κόνος ζώσης τοῦ Διὸς, υἱ—οὔ Ἡλίου (*SB* 10039, 5; *Chrest. Wilck.*, n. 109, 11).

¹⁸ Philo, *To Gaius* 134, εἰ—κόννας Γαΐου; 138, 334, 346; Philo, *Flacc.* 41. It is reported that Nahum of Tiberias had “never in his life looked upon an image [of the emperor or a divinity] on a coin” (*b. 'Abod. Zar.* 42c). Bar Kochba had scandalous images and inscriptions stamped; did not a denarius of Augustus bear the legend, “Emperor Tiberius, adorable son of the adorable god”? Because of Yahweh’s spiritual nature, the OT forbade material representations of him and prohibited images of him (Exod 20:4;

Deut 27:15); cf. Kittel, “ει—κόν,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 383–387. J. B. Frey, “Images (chez les Juifs),” in *DBSup*, vol. 4, col. 199ff. J. Gutmann, “The ‘Second Commandment’ and the Image in Judaism,” in *HUCA*, 1961, pp. 161–174; G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, vol. 1, pp. 212ff.

¹⁹ Cf. Rev 14:9-11; 15:2; 16:2; 19:20; 20:4. (J. Schwartz, “Tiberius Claudius Balbillus,” in *BIFAO*, vol. 49, 1950, pp. 53ff., identifies this prefect of Egypt and councillor to Nero with the “second Beast.”) People worshiped images representing divinities, e.g., Isis (*P.Oxy.* 1380, 13 g: αι—ει—κόνες καὶ τὰ ζω—α πάντων τω—ν θεω—ν; Dittenberger, *Or.* 56, 61; decree of Canopus) or Artemis, cf. the endowments of C. Vibius Salutaris, in AD 104, for silver and even gold statuettes of the goddess (H. Wankel, *I.Ephes.*, Bonn, 1979, n. XVII, 24, 29, 149, etc.; XXVIII, 17; XXIX, 18; XXX, 17; XXXI, 18; XXXIII, 20; XXXIV, 18; XXXV, 17). Artabanus: “For us, the noblest law is that which orders that people revere the king and bow down before him as before the image of the god who rules the world” (Plutarch, *Them.* 27.4), because “resemblance signifies an exact replica that is presented as a real image” (Philo, *Creation* 72, 134), hence the explanation: “One who respects an old man and an old woman . . . shows that he is thinking of his father and his mother, seeing in them archetypes all of whose reproductions (τὰς ει—κόννας) he reveres” (*Spec. Laws* 2.237).

²⁰ Gen 5:3—“Adam brought forth a son in his likeness, in his image” (formula which expresses that man has the power to procreate living things); 1Cor 15:49—“We have borne the likeness of the one who was from the dust.” Cf. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 53: “Every generation is an image in the matter of the impregnating substance, and the creature is produced in the likeness of the being that gave it life.”

²¹ Exploited in 1Cor 11:7—“man is the image and glory of God.” In distinction from woman, man, created directly by God, reflects the supreme authority of his Creator and does not have to veil his face when he addresses him (cf. C. Spicq, *Dieu et l’homme*, p. 186). Cf. Rabbi Aqiba: “Beloved is man because he was made in the image” (*Pirqe ‘Abot* 3.14); a saying attributed to R. Meir, *Pirqe ‘Abot* 39.8. A. M. Dubarle, “La Conception de l’homme dans l’Ancien Testament,” in *Sacra Pagina*, Paris-Gembloux, 1959, vol. 1, pp. 522–536. Theodoret comments on Gen 1:26—Man is the image of God, not according to the body, nor according to the soul, but only according to authority (κατὰ μόνον τὸν ἀρχικόν, *Quaest. XX in Gen.*) in *PG*, vol. 80, 108.

²² Gen 1:28 (cf. R. McL. Wilson, “The Early History of the Exegesis of Gen. 1:26,” in K. Aland, *SP*, Berlin, 1957, pp. 420–437; H. Wildberger, “Das Abbild Gottes, Gen. 1,26–30,” in *TZ*, 1965, pp. 245–259; G. Duncker,

“L’immagine de Dio nell’uomo [Gen. 1,26–27]: Una semiglianza fisica?” in *Bib*, 1959, pp. 384–392; H. Gross, “Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen,” in *Festschrift H. Junker*, Trèves, 1961, pp. 89–109; 4Ezra 8:44; *T. Naph.* 2.5.

²³ Exegetes disagree (R. de Vaux, *La Genèse*, 2d ed., Paris, 1962, p. 42; G. von Rad, *Genesis*, pp. 55–59; C. Spicq, *Dieu et l’homme*, pp. 179ff.), but Sir 15:14–17; 17:3–8 adds to these privileges free will (διαβούλιον). The Wisdom writers, underlining the demands that result from the divine likeness, lay the foundations of an ethic on man “in the image of God.” It follows that the soul of the just continues to live after death, not in Sheol, but in true blessedness, in the vision of God (Wis 3:9; cf. M. J. Lagrange, “Le Livre de la Sagesse: La Doctrine des fins dernières,” in *RB*, 1907, pp. 85–104; B. Schutz, *Les Idées eschatologiques du Livre de la Sagesse*, Strasbourg, 1935). Philo often commented on Gen 1:26 (*Heir* 23; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.96; *Spec. Laws* 3.83, 207; *Virtues* 205). He distinguishes “two types of people: man born in the image of God and man formed from the earth . . . the image of God is an archetype” (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.4); “the man in the image is not earthly but heavenly” (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.90, 92, 94); “the heavenly man, inasmuch as he is born in the image of God, has no share in a corruptible substance . . . the earthly man is brought forth from a sparse material” (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.31; *Heir* 57); “intelligence, born in the image of God and according to the idea, shared in the breath (πνεῦμα)” (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.42, 53). The resemblance has nothing to do with physical traits; “God does not have a human figure and a human body does not have God’s form. The image here applies to the intellect, the guide of the soul” (*Creation* 69). The imprint or mark of the divine power—“Moses calls it by its proper name, ‘image,’ thereby showing that God is the archetype of rational nature, whereas man is only a copy and a replica” (μίμημα καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα, *Worse Attacks Better* 83, 86–87; *Change of Names* 223); “the one who receives the imprint reproduces perforce the image of the one who gives it out” (*Plant.* 19). God says to Hagar: “I am the God whose image you beheld earlier (the angel) and thought that it was I, and that you raised on a pillar” (*Dreams* 1.241). The most holy Logos is the image of God (*Conf. Tongues* 97, 146–147; *Spec. Laws* 1.81; *Flight* 101), because “an incorporeal being differs in no wise from the divine image” (*Conf. Tongues* 62) and “God has placed on the whole of the universe the seal of his image and idea: his own Word” (*Dreams* 2.45). Cf. J. Gibley, “L’Homme image de Dieu dans les commentaires littéraires de Philon d’Alexandrie,” in *Studia Hellenistica*, vol. 5, Louvain-Leiden, 1948, pp. 93–118. According to Wis 7:26: σοφία εἰ—κὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ (cf. C. Larcher, *Etudes sur le Livre de la Sagesse*, Paris, 1969, pp. 383ff.). Diogenes of Sinope said τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας θεω—ν εἰ—κόννας εἶναι, according to Diogenes Laertius 6.51. Corinth raised a statue to Regilla, εἰ—κὼνα σωφροσύνης

(*I. Cor.* VIII, 1; n. 86, 2; cf. 88, 4); Philo, *To Gaius* 210: “They bear in their soul, as people do with divine statues, the image of the commandments”; *Husbandry* 109. Under a seven-branched candelabrum, a funerary inscription says, εἰ—κὼν ε—νορω—ντος θεοῦ, “image of God who sees” (*CII*, n. 696).

²⁴ Εἰ—κὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀοράτου, *Col* 1:15; cf. S. Bartina, “‘Cristo, imagen del Dios invisible,’ según los papyros,” in *SPap*, 1963, pp. 13–33; A. Feuillet, *Le Christ sagesse de Dieu*, Paris, 1966, pp. 163–273. In a metaphorical sense, the virtues are the image of God (Philo, *Virtues* 205; cf. *Rewards* 114; *Good Man Free* 62); “the beauty of the senses is the image of intelligible beauty” (*Plant.* 50 and 44); the sun is the image and imitation of Wisdom (*Migr. Abr.* 40; *Heir* 112; cf. K. Prümm, “Reflexiones theologicae et historicae ad usum Paulinum termini εἰ—κὼν,” in *VD*, 1962, pp. 232–257); likewise for Plato, *Resp.* 509 a: Helios, image of the ἰ—δέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; Hermes: the sun is the image of the heavenly creator god (in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.293.21); “Man was made in the image of the world” (*Corp. Herm.* 8.5; cf. 1.31; 5.2); “Eternity is the image of God, the world is the image of eternity, the sun the image of the world, man the image of the sun” (*ibid.* 11.15; cf. 12.15). Plutarch, *De E ap. Delph.* 21: “Apollo and the sun are but one”; one contemplates its essence in honoring its image.

²⁵ Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 92 c: “The world . . . the sensible world formed in the likeness of the intelligible god, very great, very good” (εἰ—κὼν τοῦ νοητοῦ θεοῦ αἰ—σθητός).

²⁶ John 14:9; 12:45. The εἰ—κὼν is thus not identical to simple resemblance, ὁμοίωσις (cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 51). Cf. Rabbi Baanah, visiting the tombs of the patriarchs. After seeing Abraham’s, he wants to see Adam’s; then he hears a voice: “You have seen the resemblance of my image, but my image itself you cannot see” (*b. B. Bat.* 58a). In an analogous sense, the law had “a shadow of good things to come, not the very image (essence) of the realities” (Heb 10:1); men “have exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images representing a mortal man” (ε—ν ὁμοιώματι εἰ—κόνου φαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου—Rom 1:23; cf. Wis 13:13).

²⁷ Συμμόρφους τῆς εἰ—κόνος τοῦ υἱ—οῦ αὐτοῦ, Rom 8:29; Heb 1:3; cf. J. Kürzinger, “Συμμόρφους τῆς εἰ—κόνος τοῦ υἱ—οῦ αὐτοῦ, Rom. VIII, 29,” in *BZ*, 1958, pp. 294–299; A. R. C. Leaney, “‘Conformed to the Image of His Son’ (Rom VIII, 29),” in *NTS*, vol. 10, 1964, pp. 470–479. J. Caravidopoulos, “*Εἰ—κὼν θεοῦ*” καὶ “κατ’ εἰ—κὼνα θεοῦ” παρὰ τω—ἀποστόλω Παύλω; cf. 2Cor 4:4, 6. St. Thomas Aquinas comments: “Christus perfectissima imago Dei est; nam ad hoc quod aliquid perfecta sit

imago alicujus, triarequiruntur et haec tria perfecta sunt in Christo: similitudo, origo, perfecta aequalitas.” Cf. E. Lohse, “Imago Dei bei Paulus,” in W. Matthias, *Libertas Christiana: Festschrift Delekat*, Munich, 1057, p. 156; S. V. McCasland, “The Image of God’ According to Paul,” in *JBL*, 1950, p. 87.

²⁸ B. Rey, *Créés dans le Christ Jésus*, Paris, 1966, pp. 173ff. E. Bailleux, “A l’image du Fils premier-né,” in *RevThom*, 1976, pp. 181–207.

²⁹ Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 131; vol. 2, pp. 741ff. J. Dupont, “Le Chrétien, miroir de la gloire divine d’après II Cor. III, 18,” in *RB*, 1949, pp. 392–411; N. Hugedé, *La Métaphore du miroir dans les Epîtres de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1957; R. Koch, “L’Aspect eschatologique de l’Esprit du Seigneur,” in *AnBib* 17, Rome, 1963, pp. 131–141. A. Feuillet, *Le Christ sagesse de Dieu*, pp. 113–161. C. F. D. Moule, “II Cor. III, 18 *b*, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος,” in *Neues Testament und Geschichte* (Festgabe O. Cullmann), Zurich, 1972, pp. 231–237.

³⁰ Cf. T. Camelot, “La Théologie de l’image de Dieu,” in *RSPT*, 1956, pp. 443–472.

ει—λικρίνεια, ει—λικρινής

eilikrineia, purity, unmixed quality; *eilikrines*, without mixture, sincere, candid

eilikrineia, S 1505; *TDNT* 2.397–398; *EDNT* 1.391; MM 183–184; L&N 88.42; BDF §119(4); BAGD 222 | ***eilikrines***, S 1506; *TDNT* 2.397–398; *EDNT* 1.391; MM 184; L&N 88.41; BDF §119(4); BAGD 222

The first element of the compound *eilikrines* is obscure. It has often been derived from *eile* (*halea*, *helios*), “distinguished from the sun” (?), suspended in its rays, purified by them; hence, “pure, without spot, immaculate.” But P. Chantraine¹ notes that *eile* literally means “heat of the sun” and prefers to link the adjective to *eilo*, “cause to turn”; the metaphor would be that of grain or wheat, sorted and purified by rolling or bouncing in a screen.

What is certain is that its basic meaning is “without mixture,” hence “pure, distinct,”² as is attested by its association with *amiges* (“without mixture”),³ *amiktos* (“unmixed”),⁴ and constantly with *katharos*: “a pure and clear air” (*katharon kai eilikrinea*, Hippocrates, *Vict.* 2.38.5); “If we should bring back the other stars and the whole of heaven to a nature that is pure

and without mixture (*eis tina physin katharan kai eilikrine*), delivered from change. . . . A mixture is an alteration; the primitive substance loses its purity (*to eilikrines*)” (Plutarch, *De fac.* 16); “that which is one is undefiled and pure (*to hen eilikrines kai katharon*); it is by the mixture of one substance with another that defilement (*ho miasmos*) comes about.”⁵

The classical texts are clear: “Steadiness, purity (*to katharon*), truth, and, as we say, integrity (*eilikrines*) in those things that abide always in the same state, in the same manner, free of all mixture (*ameiktotata*)”;⁶ “by means of thought in itself and by itself and without mixture (*eilikrines*, of the senses and the body), one pursues realities in order to gain the truth”;⁷ each element of the army “had its distinct place” (*to eilikrine*, separate).⁸

In the Koine, the meaning has evolved; *eilikrines* is used with people and means “sincere, of good faith, candid,” especially in the inscriptions and the papyri. Moulton-Milligan cite inscriptions from Didyma in the third century BC (*eilikrine kai bebaiam poioumenous hymas pros tous philous apodexin*, Dittenberger, *Or.* 227, 12) and from Miletus in the second century BC (*exegoumenoi sympantos tou plethous pros hemas ektenestaten te kai elikrine ten eunoian*).⁹ The adjective appears in the papyri only from Christian pens of the Byzantine era: prayers are addressed to the Lord from a sincere heart (*en ilikrinei dianoia*).¹⁰

Eilikrines is a hapax in the LXX: wisdom is a completely pure, unadulterated exhalation or emanation from the Almighty. Nothing unclean gets into it (Wis 7:25). Philo used this adjective for “the Being purer than the one, more primordial than the monad” (*Contemp. Life* 2), mind,¹¹ clear light without shadows (*Heir* 308; *Joseph* 145), truths (*Dreams* 2.74), piety (*therapeia*) that is sincere and entirely pure (*Abraham* 129). Josephus has only two occurrences: the most honest and sincere part of the people (*War* 2.345); Agrippa waits for his anger to abate so that he may give a dispassionate judgment (*logismois eilikrinesi*, *Ant.* 19.321).

When the author of 2Pet 3:1 gives the purpose of his letter as awakening the sincere mind of its recipients (*ten eilikrine dianoian*), he seems to be giving the adjective its Philonian meaning; but NT *dianoia* is the religious faculty of perceiving and understanding.¹² Here this faculty has to be healthy, without shadow or stain; it is more than faithfulness—perfect transparency of the spiritual mind, comparable to the candor of doves (Matt 10:16; cf. Luke 11:34). In Phil 1:10, the emphasis is especially on absence of sin: “so that, discerning true values, you may be pure and without reproach on the day of Christ” (*hina ete eilikrineis kai aproskopoi*).¹³ *Eilikrines* is here introduced into the vocabulary of salvation and a meaning that is both moral and religious; doing no wrong means not only not sinning but being in conformity to what God expects of the children of light, without participating in the least in the world of darkness. It is an entire spirituality (Rom 12:2).

As for the noun *elikrineia*, derived from the preceding adjective and much rarer, its two papyrological meanings, from third-century petitions, give it the sense “probity.”¹⁴ In its three Pauline occurrences, it means especially sincerity: the Corinthians are invited to celebrate the Pascha not “with the leaven of vice and perversity, but with the unleavened bread of *elikrineia* and truth.”¹⁵ The apostle presents himself thus: “Our pride is in this: the testimony of our conscience, that it is with God’s simplicity and purity (*hoti en haploteti kai eilikrineia tou theou*) that we have conducted ourselves in the world, particularly with regard to you.”¹⁶ Frankness and faithfulness are essential to the character of Paul and his apostolic ministry; each term reinforces the other: biblical *haplotes*, characteristic of the righteous, is always associated with uprightness; here it is reinforced by the transparency and candor of *eilikrineia* and finally confirmed by the superlative “of God”—a sincerity coming from God, derived from his own, given by him! This rectitude is referred to again in 2Cor 2:17—“We are not like many, who hawk about the word of God, but with God’s commission, in God’s presence, in Christ do we speak to you.” There is no higher way of describing the apostolic faithfulness, which can be referred to Matt 5:37 (“Let your yes be yes, your no, no”); but more precisely, the contrast with falsifications indicates that Paul neither adds to nor subtracts from the message received from the Lord. He transmits it whole, without adding heterogeneous elements, without mixing in his own personal ideas. He only gives voice to what he has heard from the Master and his first apostles. That is why he is trustworthy.

NT *eilikrineia* is “perfect purity” and describes the mind, the heart, one’s conduct. Better yet, it describes Christian existence in its relation to God and to people. It is not so much the absence of duplicity or hypocrisy as a fundamental integrity and transparency; it can be compared to innocence, the candor of children, to whom the kingdom of heaven belongs (Mark 10:14).

¹ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 320.

² In the sense in which in current parlance “pure” is used for gold that is unalloyed, wine that is not mixed with water, air that is not fouled with fumes, style that is free of error, being that is in strict conformity to its nature and the law proper to it. Cf. the denominative verb *ει—λικρινέω*, “purify”; Ps.-Aristotle, *Mund.* 5.397a35: “all is purified (cleaned) below and above the surface.”

³ Plato, *Menex.* 245 d: “We are purely (*ει—λικρινω—ς*) Greek and without barbarian mixture (*καὶ ἀμιγεί—ς*);” Menander, *Dysk.* 604: “the pure Attic peasant”; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 26.

⁴ Aristotle, *De An.* 3.2.426b: “the sensible qualities cause pleasure when, being first pure and without mixture (ει—λικρινῆ καὶ ἄμικτα), they are brought to a certain proportion”; Plutarch, *De def. or.* 34: “image that is not undefiled and pure” (οὐκ ἄμικτον οὐδ εἰ—λικρινές); cf. *De Is. et Os.* 61: “heavenly things are pure and luminous, those below mixed and motley”; 77.

⁵ Plutarch, *De E ap. Delph.* 20; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.88: immaterial intelligence has “a constitution more pure and less composite” than terrestrial intelligence; *Drunkenness* 101: “the spirit that is mixed with nothing is perfectly pure”; *Prelim. Stud.* 143; *Dreams* 2.20, 74; *Abraham* 129; *Joseph* 145; *Moses* 2.40; *Spec. Laws* 1.99; Josephus, *War* 2.345; *T. Benj.* 6.15—ει—λικρινῆ καὶ καθαρὰν διάθεσιν.

⁶ Plato, *Phlb.* 59 c; cf. 53 a: “Among the pure (καθαρά) types, there is the white. In what does pure whiteness consist? In the size or quantity of it, or rather in such integrity (τὸ ἀκρατέστατον) that no part of any other color is mixed with it? —Obviously, the greatest integrity (τὸ μάλιστ' εἰ—λικρινές ὄν).”

⁷ Plato, *Phd.* 66 a; cf. 81 c: “Do you think that this soul should, in separating itself from the body, be in itself, by itself, and without mixture (ει—λικρινῆ)?”; *Symp.* 211 e: “a man to whom it would be given to see the good in itself, in the truth of its nature, in its purity, without mixture (τὸ καλὸν ἰ—δει—ν εἰ—λικρινές, καθαρὸν, ἄμικτον),” without being infected by human flesh, colors, mortal follies; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 10.1176b20: “to taste a pleasure without mixture”; *Gen. Cor.* 2.3.330b: “the extreme and purest bodies are fire and earth”; Hippocrates, *Vict.* 1.35.2 and 8; 2.63.2: “pure air (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ εἰ—λικρινές) that strikes (the clothed body) does not purify it”; Ps.-Plato, *Ax.* 370 c: “You will enjoy these goods more purely,” these pleasures not being mixed with the mortal body.

⁸ Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.5, 14; cf. Stobaeus, *Ecl.* proemium 1.5: μόνον καὶ εἰ—λικρινές.

⁹ Dittenberger, *Or.* 763, 41. This is the meaning of the adverb εἰ—λικρινω—ς; *ibid.* 441, 5 (first century BC): ε—ν παντὶ καιρω— τὴν πρὸς ἡμα—ς πίστιν εἰ—λικρινω—ς τετηρηκότας; and honorific decree from Tenos in honor of a Roman (same date): εἰ—λικρινω—ς γνησίαν ἔχοντι πρὸς πάντας φιλοστοργίαν εὐχαριστεῖ— (C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 394, 48). Cf. Epictetus 4.2.6: “Formerly, by loving sincerely (εἰ—λικρινω—ς) that which had no value, you pleased your companions.” Philo uses the adverb

for seeing or knowing distinctly (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.82; 3.111; *Drunkenness* 189; *Prelim. Stud.* 143; *Post. Cain* 134; *Spec. Laws* 1.39, 219).

¹⁰ *P.Lond.* 1927, 15 (fourth century); 1711, 35; 1722, 9; 1733, 15. In a letter to some monks, St. Athanasius writes: ἵνα τὴν εὐσεβῆ πίστιν τὴν ἐνεργηθεῖσαν ἐν ὑμῖν θεοῦ χάριτι ἐλικρινῆ καὶ ἄδολον διατηροῦντες (*SB* 8698, 23).

¹¹ *Creation* 8; *Drunkenness* 190; *Heir* 98; *Moses* 2.40; but “there is nothing pure in the content of sensation” (*Creation* 31); cf. nevertheless the noblest and liveliest sensations (*Spec. Laws* 1.9). Education provides the purest and most useful service (*Contemp. Life* 82).

¹² C. Spicq, *Epîtres de saint Pierre*, on this verse.

¹³ It is impossible to give a precise translation for δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα; surely the verb means “evaluate, examine, test” and διαφέροντα “differences”; but these have to be understood on the moral level. Often it is taken to mean the essential, the best; sometimes “what matters.” It seems that the idea is to evaluate, in the light of faith, each action, thing, or person, giving it its true value. The term is common in Plutarch (*De audiendo* 12; *De adul. et am.* 35) and in the inscriptions: διαφέροντα τῇ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίᾳ (*I.Priene* 247, 4); τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτοίς (*IGLAM*, vol. 2, 410, 2). Cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 238ff. G. Therrien, *Le Discernement dans les écrits pauliniens*, Paris, 1973, p. 137.

¹⁴ *P.Oxy.* 1252, verso II, 38: προσφεύγω ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν ἐλικρινεῖαν = I am obliged to have recourse to your probity; *P.Aberd.* 52, 8: Κύριε, τῇ σῇ ἐλικρινεῖᾳ, κελεύσας τω στρατηγῷ κτλ.

¹⁵ 1Cor 5:8. A targum fragment calls Abraham “the completely unleavened one,” perfectly pure and sincere, cf. R. Le Déaut, *Nuit Pascale*, p. 173, n. 110.

¹⁶ 2Cor 1:12. F. Hahn, “Das Ja des Paulus und das Ja Gottes: Bemerkungen zu IIKor. I, 12–II, 1,” in *Neues Testament und Christliche Existenz: Festschrift H. Braun*, Tübingen, 1973, pp. 229–239.

ἐιρηνεύω, ἐιρήνη, ἐιρηνικός, ἐιρηνοποιέω, ἐιρηνοποιός

eireneuo, to be at peace, live in peace; *eirene*, peace; *eirenikos*, peaceful; *eirenopoieo*, to make peace; *eirenopoios*, making peace; a peacemaker

eireneuo, S 1514; TDNT 2.417–418; EDNT 1.394; NIDNTT 2.776, 780; MM 185; L&N 88.102; BDF §§227(2), 309(1); BAGD 227 | *eirene*, S 1515; TDNT 2.400–417; EDNT 1.394–397; NIDNTT 2.776–783; MM 185–186; L&N 22.42, 25.248; BDF §128(5); BAGD 227–228 | *eirenikos*, S 1516; TDNT 2.418–419; EDNT 1.397; NIDNTT 3.776, 780, 782; MM 186; L&N 25.249; BAGD 228 | *eirenopoieo*, S 1517; TDNT 2.419–420; EDNT 1.397; NIDNTT 2.776, 782; L&N 40.4; BAGD 228 | *eirenopoios*, S 1518; TDNT 2.419; EDNT 1.397; NIDNTT 2.776, 780, 782; L&N 40.5; BAGD 228

In secular Greek—classical and Hellenistic—*eirene* designates a political and social phenomenon, and first of all the state of a nation that is not at war.¹ It is contrasted with *polemos*.² War is enmity (Plato, *Resp.* 5.470 c) and peace is harmonization (Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 1.6.329 a-c). Treaties of alliance and of peace almost always link *eirene* and *philia*.³ In other words, peace is not only the elimination of war,⁴ but an organization of the future, because it guarantees tranquility (*hesychia*, Plato, *Resp.* 575 b), wealth (Homer, *Od.* 24.486), the cessation of banditry (Epictetus 3.13.9), an opportunity for all sorts of happiness and prosperity,⁵ at least if the peace is general: *he koine eirene*.⁶ It goes without saying that the king who is “philanthropic” will be interested in restoring order and guaranteeing the peace,⁷ because it is recognized that peace is better than war.⁸

If peace is the situation of a nation that is not at war, it also defines the public order, relations between citizens, and social peace, as opposed to discord, trouble, and sedition: “*eirene tes staseos*, the end of civil war.”⁹ This is the most common usage in the papyri: the *strategos* must take measures to guarantee peace and order (*P.Petaus* 53, 17; cf. *P.Stras.* 5, 8).¹⁰ An arrest warrant is addressed “to the *epistates* of the peace of the town of Teos” (*epistate eirenes komes Teeos*, *P.Oxy.* 64, 2; cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 130; *P.Oxy.* 2714, 11; 3035, 2; 3184 a 17; b 14). So there were guardians of the peace, for example in a list of police officers including *eirenophylakes* (*SB* 4636), whose responsibility it was to see to it that no one disturbed the course of public services; they may be compared to the municipal functionaries *epi tes eirenes*.¹¹ *Eirene*, finally, refers to the state of a person who is not troubled or disturbed, who is tranquil: “There is nothing to keep you from speaking in peace (without opposition)” (Plato, *Symp.* 189 b). But it is quite remarkable that there are no texts evoking the state of soul of a person not troubled by any care, any disquiet, having blessed tranquility¹²—what we call “peace within.”

In reading the OT, one has the impression of entering another world, first of all because of the frequency with which peace is mentioned (about 280 times), then because of the new content of this idea,¹³ though it is always synonymous with tranquility.¹⁴ *Eirene* almost always translates the Hebrew *shalôm*; the sense of the root is “be well, complete, safe and sound,” and *shalôm* expresses “the state of a being who lacks nothing and

has no fear of being troubled in its quietude; it is euphoria with security. Nothing better can be desired for oneself and for others.”¹⁵ There is also a nuance of plenty and prosperity (cf. 1Macc 14:8); this is how the good health and joyfulness of the woman in Cant 8:10 appears in the eyes of her fiancé (cf. the strong woman who finishes her years in peace, Sir 26:2). Furthermore, the Israelite greeting is a wish for peace, that is, for well-being and happiness.¹⁶ But the great innovation of the OT is to make peace a religious idea: it is a gift of God. “Gideon built an altar to Yahweh and called it Yahweh-Peace” (*eirene Kyriou*, Judg 6:24); “I am Yahweh—I bring peace” (Isa 45:7); “Great is Yahweh, who wishes peace for his servant” (Ps 35:27). If it is commanded to seek peace (Ps 34:14), much more often it is stated that it is God who secures peace (Isa 26:12; 57:19; 66:12) and that there is no peace for people except for that granted by God when they are in conformity with his will.¹⁷ There can be no peace for the ungodly,¹⁸ but it is granted to those “who walk with God in peace and uprightness.”¹⁹ That is to say that Israel will be the people of peace. Not only did God give Moses this formula of blessing: “May Yahweh lift his countenance upon you and give you peace” (Num 6:26); he gives it to the devotees of his temple: “Great will be the glory of this house . . . in this place will I put peace,”²⁰ and the faithful will implore “Peace upon Israel!” (Ps 125:5; 128:6; cf. Sir 30:23).

It is difficult to specify the content of Israelite *eirene*, but it is certain that without excluding the possession of human goods (Ps 4:8), it is in the first instance the fruit of trusting and loving relations²¹ with God, who comes to the aid of his own (1Chr 12:18), hence a characteristic of Israelite religion, a completely original quality of soul of its faithful. With “messengers of peace,”²² bearers of “good news,” peace is synonymous with salvation and victory. A number of these announcements are eschatological, linking justice, peace, and salvation;²³ a certain number are clearly messianic in character: “The government will rest upon his shoulders; his name will be called . . . Prince of Peace. For the growth of his government and peace will be without end.”²⁴ The death of the Messiah/liberator will be expiatory: “The punishment that earned our peace (salvation) has fallen upon him (the Servant of Yahweh)” (Isa 53:5). The NT writers would recognize that this religious peace was accomplished by the Savior Jesus.²⁵

The Synoptic Gospels retain the OT meaning of *eirene* —“security” (Isa 59:8), but they apply it to Jesus, who guides us “into the way of *eirene*” (Luke 1:79), that is, who introduces us to the messianic salvation. Simeon, having beheld the Savior, asks God—as a *doulos* asking his *despotes* —“Let your servant depart in peace.”²⁶ At Bethlehem, the angels sang, “Glory to God in the highest and peace on earth to people upon whom his favor rests.”²⁷ The Messiah henceforth present brings peace, the gift of God to all people. When Jesus makes his entry into Jerusalem, his

disciples sing Ps 118:26 and acclaim the Messiah-king who “comes in the name of the Lord, peace in heaven and glory in the highest places” (Luke 19:38). Jesus, sent by God, carried out the mission that was entrusted to him; salvation is certain, and its author is glorified.²⁸ Clearly the point is the reconciliation of humans with God, on the spiritual level.

We know that the Israelite greeting was expressed in a wish for peace. Jesus prescribes this greeting to his apostles, but in so doing gives it a religious meaning, namely, benediction: “When you enter into the house, greet it; and if the house is worthy, let your peace come upon it.”²⁹ People also wished each other peace upon parting (1Sam 1:17; 20:42; 29:7), and there again this commonplace manner of taking one’s leave³⁰ can express not only brotherly love³¹ but also the salvation of the soul, the forgiveness of sins; Jesus says to the forgiven sinner, “Go in peace.”³²

In the Fourth Gospel, peace appears only in the “farewell discourse,” at precisely at the moment when Jesus is leaving his own, who will be so sorely tested and even terrorized by the passion of their Master. He does not wish them peace; he gives them peace, and not just any peace, but his very own peace,³³ which spreads among them like the sap of the vine to the branches by virtue of their ontological union (*en emoi eirene*). It is a legacy that is the fruit of his sacrifice, by which he is victorious over death and Satan; a legacy that will permit his own to know nothing of fright and panic even in the midst of the worst catastrophes.³⁴ When the resurrected Christ came upon his apostles, his greeting was not the ordinary wish, “Shalom,” nor even a benediction, but the confirmation of his gift: “*Eirene hymin*” (“Peace to you”).³⁵

The Acts of the Apostles mentions civil and political peace, like the unity following hostility within a group;³⁶ but it also mentions the religious, brotherly harmony in the Christian communities;³⁷ finally, and above all, it defines this peace in terms of Christ. St. Peter says to the centurion Cornelius: “God has sent the word to the sons of Israel, announcing peace by Jesus Christ. He is the Lord of all” (Acts 10:36); *euangelizomenos eirenen* evokes the OT messengers of peace, but this has to do with the gospel message, which is the salvation granted by God to all people. This reconciliation translates for them into peace of the soul, thanks to forgiveness of sins. This is already the teaching of St. Paul.³⁸

We might almost say that the apostle created a new concept of *eirene*, an altogether internal and very spiritual peace, since he locates it at the heart of the Christian life and connects it to each of the persons of the Holy Trinity. The most important text is Rom 5:1-2: “Being therefore justified by faith, let us keep peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom we owe our access by faith to this grace in which we stand and our glorying in the hope of the glory of God.” The first result of justification was obtaining peace, not only reconciliation with God, the end of a breach and a disorder, but the inauguration of new relations³⁹ that promise future

blessedness: “May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace, so that you may abound in hope, by the power of the Holy Spirit” (Rom 15:13). This Christian peace, which comes with the call to salvation and endures until the point of entering heaven, is the consequence of all the gifts of a God whom St. Paul describes as “the God of peace,”⁴⁰ because he alone creates peace.

This peace, almost synonymous with salvation, is obtained thanks to Christ, who by his cross reconciled all humans with God. He announces it, and his gospel would be described as the “gospel of peace” (Eph 6:15; cf. Isa 52:7). He effects peace: his own peace (John 14:27; 16:33) is a spiritual reality that rules the minds and hearts of his disciples, making harmony among them, as with the members of a single body: “May the peace of Christ rule in your hearts: this is indeed the goal of the call that has gathered you into one body (the church)” (Col 3:15). What is more, he is himself our peace, because he has not only reconciled us with God but also established peace between Jews and Gentiles, dissolving their indissoluble opposition (there is no longer Jew, nor Greek; they are one in him—Gal 3:28; Col 3:11). He has eliminated the partition (*phragmos*) or the fence (of the Mosaic law and of enmity) or the wall that separated them.⁴¹ This is the teaching of Eph 2:13-17: “You who once were far off have now drawn near, thanks to the blood of Christ. For he himself is our peace, who from the two has made one people . . . breaking down the enmity in his flesh. . . . to create in his person the two in one new man, he who makes peace (*poion eirenen*), and to reconcile them with God, both in one body, by the cross: in his person he has put the enmity to death. Having thus come he proclaimed peace (*euangelisato eirenen*) to you who were far off and to those who were near.”

This altogether spiritual peace resides in hearts and thus points to the Holy Spirit, who infuses it in the form of mutual love, harmony, and brotherly unity: “To set the mind on the Spirit is life and peace” (Rom 8:6); “the reign of God is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.”⁴² So we understand not only that “the peace of God passes all understanding” (Phil 4:7), but that the apostles ceaselessly exhort believers to seek and find peace between themselves, because peace is a distinguishing mark of their religion.⁴³ This is what gives the *eirene* of the apostolic salutations its density of meaning;⁴⁴ it includes peace with God, the benefits of salvation, harmony with all people, Christian blessedness, that is, peace of heart or calm in the soul which is purified from its sins; an interior well-being that follows justification by faith and is the work of the Holy Spirit.

In the secular literature, the denominative verb *eireneuo*, “be or live in peace,” is always used in contrast to a state of war,⁴⁵ meaning that a kingdom (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.214; 20.49, 133) a city (*War* 6.100), a region⁴⁶ is at peace, or that two sovereigns are reconciled (Dio Cassius 77.12;

Dittenberger, *Or.* 199, 1; 613, 4). The same meaning occurs sometimes in the LXX,⁴⁷ but the verb is most often applied to individuals and means being tranquil,⁴⁸ having a human happiness.⁴⁹ The NT Christianizes this verb, giving it only a moral and individual meaning, always in parenthesis. In its four occurrences, three are in the present imperative and all command keeping harmony and unity. Without a direct object, *eireneuete* (“live in peace”) means “have only one heart and one soul” (2Cor 13:11); with *en allelois* (Mark 9:50) or *en heautois* (1Thess 5:13) it has to do with preserving good brotherly relations; Rom 12:18—“If possible, as much as lies within you, be at peace with all people”⁵⁰—extends the effort to live peaceably to every neighbor. In the context, it is a matter of not returning evil for evil, not getting revenge, suppressing the causes of discord, and especially overcoming evil with good; all requirements of authentic charity.

The adjective *eirenikos* takes on rather varied nuances:⁵¹ (a) an objective meaning: that which has to do with peace (“a man engaged in a peaceful action, not a violent one”);⁵² (b) disposed to peace, opposed to bellicosity, used of relations between peoples or between parties in a city;⁵³ (c) that which is calm and peaceable, whether a city or individuals;⁵⁴ (d) in Philo, a personal moral quality: serenity, or an inclination to peace, loved for itself—“virtue is of a particularly peaceable nature.”⁵⁵

In the LXX, the “man of peace” (Hebrew *shalem*) is a person who is benevolent and of a friendly disposition,⁵⁶ is sincere (Hebrew *ken*; Gen. 42:11, 19, 31, 33, 34) not only in speech⁵⁷ but also in conduct; he concludes “peaceful accords” (Zech 6:13; 8:16; 1Macc 5:25). The peace offering (Hebrew *shelem*) was translated *eirenikos*,⁵⁸ probably because of the idea of salvation, “safe and sound, well-being,” with all the semantic richness of the Hebrew *shalôm*: desiring peace and appealing to God to obtain it.⁵⁹

This nuance is not to be excluded at Heb 12:11, where the rigorous discipline of Israelite education leads finally to the peaceable fruit of righteousness (*karpon eirenikon dikaiosynes*).⁶⁰ The adjective *eirenikos* refers to the *agon*, to the rest of the victorious athlete after the competition (12:1) and to safety after the bloody combat (12:4). It retains the double meaning of biblical *shalôm*: interior peace with God, and (this-worldly) salvation.⁶¹ Jas 3:17 is in line with LXX usage: Wisdom is first of all pure (*hagne*, not stained, because it comes from God), very peaceful (*eirenike*), that is, judging from verse 16, opposed to disorder and intrigues (cf. Prov 3:17; Mal 2:6; Rom 8:6).

Unknown in the papyri, Philo, and Josephus, the verb *eirenopoieo* is the equivalent of *poieo eirenen*: “make peace, pacify, conciliate.”⁶² An OT hapax, “The one who criticizes boldly makes peace” (Prov 10:10), it is also found in the NT. Col 1:20 places this verb in parallel with *apokatallasso*: God was pleased to reconcile all creatures with himself, “making peace by

the blood of his cross.” Christ is the instrument and the goal of reconciliation.

The adjective *eirenopoios*, which appears for the first time in Xenophon,⁶³ is a Koine term, synonymous with *eirenikos*,⁶⁴ but with an emphasis on nobility. Not only did Philo ask that thanks be given to “God who makes peace (*tou eirenopoiou theou*) and preserves peace (*eirenophylakos*)” (*Spec. Laws* 2.192); in addition, “peacemaker” was an attribute of the prince. Antony conferred it upon Caesar (*ho eirenopoios*, Dio Cassius 44.49), and Commodus applied it to himself (*eirenopoios tes oikoumenes*).⁶⁵

Certainly we cannot see this sovereign, political sense in the seventh beatitude of the Sermon on the Mount (*makarioi hoi eirenopoioi*, Matt 5:9); still less can we see the *pacifici* of the Vulgate.⁶⁶ Rather, it is *pacificatori*, that is, persons whose action or influence pacifies or restores peace, favors good understanding, settles quarrels, annuls conflicts, reconciles, and calms minds.⁶⁷ The right translation is literal—“peacemakers”—those who pursue it and spread it, establishing it around themselves (the Peshitta translates *abe day shelâmâ*, those who make peace), hence “artisans of peace.”⁶⁸ At the same time, however, it has to be understood in terms of the function of the messianic messenger who establishes peace (Isa 9:6; Ezek 34:25, 29) and of charity-love, which always tends to come to expression, to act. Peacemakers show themselves to be children of God—of the God of peace (1Thess 5:23; Phil 4:9; cf. Sir 4:10; *Jub.* 1.24–25).

1 “Peace was nothing other than a contractual interruption of war” (B. Keil, “Ἐι—ρήνη: Eine philologisch-antiquarische Untersuchung,” in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1916, p. 18). Cf. von Rad, Foerster, “Ἐι—ρήνη,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 400–420; cf. bibliography in *TWNT*, vol. 10/1, pp. 1069ff. O. Waser, “Eirene,” in *PW*, vol. 5, col. 2128ff. C. Préaux, “La Paix à l’époque hellénistique,” in *La Paix* (Recueils de la Société J. Bodin, XIV), Brussels, 1962, pp. 227–231.

2 Isocrates, *Paneg.* 4.172; Ps.-Plato, *Def.* 413 a: Ἐι—ρήνη ἡσυχία ε—π ἔχθρας πολεμικός (“the stilling of warlike quarrels”); Philostratus, *Gym.* 19: “The Lacedaemonians used dance—the mildest peacetime occupation—for war.” The inscriptions endlessly contrast “in time of war and in time of peace,” whether using the genitive πολέμου καὶ εἰ—ρήνης (*I.Gonn.* 5, 8; 12, 5; 17, 4; 42, 24; 70, 7; 72, 2; 92, 2; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 217, 8; *NCIG*, n. XII, 36), or using the prepositional phrase ε—ν πολέμῳ καὶ ε—ν εἰ—ρήνῃ (*I.Gonn.* 2, 1; 7, 5; 9, 6; 10, 4; 11, 9; 19, 7; 30, 14; 31, 15; 33, 3; 34, 12; 39, 3; 40, 41; 41, 22; 58, 6; 72, 6; 91, 31; *CIRB* III, 4; IV, 2; *SEG* I, 363, 34).

³ Plato, *Leg.* 1.628 b: “That the death of one party and victory of the other should bring peace after civil war, or that thanks to reconciliation bringing friendship and peace . . .”; Polybius 21.43; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 142, 7: “The inhabitants of Chios, like the Athenians, shall maintain peace, friendship, the oaths, and the conventions in force . . . in no way failing of the texts of the steles relative to the peace.” Between the Aetolians and the Acarnanians a treaty establishes “peace and eternal friendship” (*Syl.* 421); “The Magnesians and the Milesians concluded peace on the following conditions. The ambassadors of the following cities came to reconcile them and restore the former friendship between them. . . . May there be eternal peace and friendship between the Magnesians and the Milesians” (*Syl.* 588).

⁴ Cf. the “peace of Phoenix” (Livy 29.12), between Prusias and Byzantium (Polybius 4.52), between Rome and Carthage (Polybius 3.22–25). Reconciliation or agreement is reached ε—ν τῇ ει—ρήνῃ (*P.Oxy.* 1866, 1; cf. *SB* 7667, 4). There is a nuance of benevolence in letters of commendation: συδέξασθαι αὐτὸν ε—ν ει—ρήνῃ (*P.Oxy.* 1162, 9; 2785, 6; *P.Alex.* 29, 8).

⁵ For Philemon (frag. 71; Stobaeus, *Flor.* 55.5; vol. 4, p. 373: anthology on peace). Eirene is a sort of goddess, loving and kind, who permits marriages, feasts, friends, wealth, health, pleasure. . . . Peace, sealed by oath (Demosthenes, *Treaty Alex.* 18.10; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 260), brings numerous privileges: intervention to help, ι—σοπολιτεία, ἀτέλεια, etc.

⁶ Decree establishing the second Athenian confederation (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 27, 13); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 8, 5: “In the present situation, peace reigns everywhere.” Cf. Livy 34.57; E. Bickerman, “Le Droit des gens dans la Grèce classique,” in *RIDA*, 1950, pp. 99–127; T. T. Ryder, *Koine Eirene: General Peace and Local Independence in Ancient Greece*, Oxford, 1965. Cf. the *Pax Romana*. At Rome, an altar was dedicated to the goddess Pax in AD 9: *Ara Pacis Augustae*; her symbols were an olive branch, a caduceus, and a horn of plenty; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.711–712; Tibullus 1.10.69f.; Virgil, *Aen.* 6.851–853.

⁷ Like Antiochus I at Ilion: “He reestablished peace and the former prosperity” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 219), King Silko (ibid. 201, 7: ε—ποίησα ει—ρήνην μετ̄ αὐτῶ—ν; 199, 28); Philip V of Macedon (Polybius 5.100, 102; 18.1–11), Emperor Claudius (*SB* 8899, 2); “O Caesar, in this fulsome peace that you created, what must I suffer!” (Epictetus 3.22.55); “the peace established by our master King Flavius Julianus, the eternal Augustus” (*P.Cair.Goodsp.* 15, 4; cf. *P.Oxy.* 3022, 14). Cf. E. R. Goodenough, “The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship,” in *YCS* I, 1928.

⁸ Andocides, *De Pace* 1: “Better a just peace than war; I believe, Athenians, that you all agree”; Ps.-Plato, *Alc.* 109; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1334 a; cf. W. E. Caldwell, “Homeric Conceptions of Peace,” in *Studies in History, Economics and Public Laws* (Columbia University, Faculty of Political Science, vol. 84, 1919). At the Athenian agora, there was a statue of the goddess Eirene (Pausanias 1.8.2; 9.16.2).

⁹ Plato, *Leg.* 1.628 b; Isocrates, *Areop.* 51: “the citizens live quietly, at peace with each other (ἡσυχίαν εἶχον) and at peace with the rest of the world”; Epictetus 4.5.35: “These judgments produce friendship in a house, concord in a city, peace among nations”; 3.13.13: “No evil can come to me; no brigand for me, no shaking of the earth; everywhere profound peace, everywhere tranquility (ἀταραξία)”; 4.5.24: “You live at peace with all people, whatever they do, and you mock especially those who think to do you wrong.”

¹⁰ —Επόπτη ει—ρήνης —Οξυρυγχίτου (*P.Oxy.* 1559, 3; cf. 41, 27: ει—ρήνη πόλεως), τὴν χώραν ε—ν ει—ρήνη διατετήρηκεν (decree of Canopus, Dittenberger, *Or.* 56, 12); διατηρήσας αὐτὴν (πόλιν) ε—ν τῇ πάσῃ ει—ρήνῃ (*SB* 8334, 6; 42 BC, cf. R. Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret*, 1965). An *eirenarchos* of Ptolemais asks the *komarchos* of Philadelphia to come to the city of Arsinoè for the feast of peace (*P.Princ.* 99, 5; cf. 20, 18).

¹¹ *P.Achm.* 7, 8; *P.Oxy.* 2121, 30; 2122, 5; *SB* 9409, VI, 43; 9421, 2; 10075, 34; 10270, XIII, 4–5.

¹² Probably because the Greeks expressed this security, this interior calm, even good humor, using εὐθυμία (cf. Jas 5:13; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.1.4; Hipparchus, *Περὶ εὐθυμίας*, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 34.81; vol. 4, p. 980; *P.Grenf.* 61; *P.Lips.* 111; *P.Gen.* 53; *P.Giss.* 54; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 10, 5; V, 6, 26, etc.), or γαλήνη, “serenity” (Plutarch, *De tranq. anim.* 19). We may cite above all in a hymn to Isis: “the sovereign who reigns over Asia and Europe lives in peace, and before him accumulate the fruits that give all sorts of good things” (*SEG* VIII, 550, 14 = *SB* 8140, 14; cf. *UPZ* XX, 4), and the personification of peace by Aristophanes as a woman who has wooers (*Ach.* 32; cf. J. Taillardat, *Images d’Aristophane*, n. 651). We take no account of late Christian papyri (*P.Oxy.* 1865, 11; 2156, 23; *P.Lond.* 1917, 4; 1923, 33; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 45, 4; *P.Apoll.* 5, 3; 7, 4; *P.Ness.* 68, 6; 70, 9; 74, 10; *O.Bodl.* 2166, 9; *SB* 9748, 1 and 4; 9752, 1; 10514, 1; 10705, 6; 10706, 1). The woman’s name is much attested beginning with Hesiod, *Th.* 901: “Equity (ἔμῖς) was mother of the Horae—Discipline, Justice, and flourishing Peace (Ει—ρήνην τεθαλυι—αν)—who watch over mortals.” Cf. *P.Tebt.* 818, 8; *BGU* 1102, 18; 1272, 5; *C.Pap.Jud.* 126, 11–

12; in Jewish epitaphs, either Ει—ρήνη (*CII* 21, 320, 333) or Ει—ρήνα (319, 651) or the Latin Irene (72, 240).

¹³ Of course, in the LXX we also find the secular contrast between peace and war: Joab “shed the blood of war during peace” (1Kgs 2:5); “When you draw near to a city to do battle with it, you shall offer peace” (Deut 20:10; cf. 1Kgs 20:18); “Joshua made peace with the Hivites and concluded a treaty allowing them to live” (Josh 9:15); “There was peace between Jabin king of Hazor and Heber the Kenite” (1Sam 7:14), between Israel and the Amorites (1Sam 7:14), between Hiram and Solomon (1Kgs 5:26); Ps 55:18; 120:6; Wis 14:22; Isa 27:5; Mic 2:8; Zech 8:10; 9:10; 1Macc 5:54; 6:49, 58; 7:13, 28; 9:70; 10:4; 13:37, 40; 2Macc 12:12; cf. Eccl 3:8—“wartime and peacetime.” The διαθήκη ει—ρήνης is inspired by secular covenants (Num 25:12; Isa 54:10; Ezek 34:25; 37:26; Mal 2:5; Sir 45:24; 1Macc 8:20, 22: “treaty of covenant and of peace”), just as the public order and social peace are mentioned at 2Macc 3:1—“The holy city was administered in complete peace and the laws were observed as closely as possible”; 4:6. Cf. *IGLS* 1320, 6: “Peace and mercy to all our holy community.”

¹⁴ 1Chr 4:40—“the land was calm and tranquil” (ει—ρήνη καὶ ἡσυχία, Hebrew *shaqat*); 22:9—“A son will be born to you who will be a man of peace, and to whom I will grant peace with all his enemies and all around, for his name shall be Solomon, and throughout his years I will give peace and tranquility” (ει—ρήνην καὶ ἡ[συχίαν δώσω); hence “be at peace” (Judg 6:23; 19:20; Lev 26:6; 2Sam 17:3), “go in peace” (Judg 18:6; 1Sam 1:17; 20:13, 42; 25:35; 29:7; 2Sam 3:21, 24; 15:9, 27; 2Kgs 5:19; 2Chr 18:16, 26, 27; 19:1), “return in peace” (Gen 26:29; Judg 8:9; 11:31; 2Sam 19:25; 1Kgs 22:17, 27, 28). H. Bietenhard, J. J. Stamm, *Der Weltfrieden im Alten und Neuen Testament*, Zurich, 1959.

¹⁵ A. Robert, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, Paris, 1963, p. 145; cf. G. Gerleman, “shalôm,” in *Theol. Handwörterbuch zum A. T.*, vol. 2, pp. 919, 935; J. Scharbert, “SLM im Alten Testament,” in *Lex tua veritas: Festschrift H. Junker*, Trêves, 1961, pp. 209–229; W. Eisenbeis, *Die Wurzel “Slm” im Alten Testament*, Berlin, 1969; H. H. Schmid, *shalôm “Frieden” im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament*, Stuttgart, 1971 (= *shalôm: La pace nell’ antico Oriente e nell’ Antico Testamento*, Brescia, 1977); J. Prignaud, “Un Sceau hébreu de Jérusalem,” in *RB*, 1964, pp. 381ff. The security of ει—ρήνη is expressed by the Hebrew *betah*: “the poor will sleep in safety” (Isa 14:30; 41:3); they shall be in their land” (Ezek 34:27; 38:8, 11, 14; 39:6, 26; cf. 1Macc 12:52; 16:10).

¹⁶ Dan 10:19; cf. 1Sam 20:7; 25:5; 30:21; 2Sam 8:10; 18:28-29; 2Kgs 4:23, 26; 1Chr 18:10; Jdt 15:8; Dan 3:31—"King Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and tongues on the whole earth: may your peace be great"; 6:26; 2Macc 1:1. Those who draw near are asked if they come "for peace" (1Sam 16:4-5; 1Kgs 2:13; 2Kgs 9:17-22; 1Chr 12:17), but people also wish to "go down in peace to Sheol" (Gen 15:15; 1Kgs 2:6), to be "received in peace into the tomb" (2Kgs 22:20; 2Chr 34:28; Isa 57:2; Sir 44:14), i.e., undefiled, with the requisite decency, with "rest" guaranteed. Hence the wish that appears constantly in Jewish epitaphs: "May he rest in peace" (*CII* 7, 13, 18, 35, 44, 85, etc.); sometimes with the addition "with the saints" (n. 45) or variants: "May you lie in peace" (124), "May he sleep in peace" (365, 390), "The Lord [grant that] Justus's rest . . . may be in peace" (358); *SEG XXVI*, n. 1161, 1163, 1168, 1171, 1173, 1185, 1195, 1199, etc. The opposite of εἰρήνη is fear or terror (φόβος, Judg 6:23; Sir 30:5; Tob 12:17) and bitterness (πικρία, Isa 38:17).

¹⁷ Jer 29:7—"by his peace you will have peace"; Bar 3:13—"If you had walked in God's way, you would have dwelt in peace for ever"; 2Macc 1:4; Lam 3:17—"My soul is deprived of peace, and I have forgotten happiness."

¹⁸ Isa 47:12; cf. 2Chr 15:5; Jer 6:14; 8:15; 16:5; Ezek 7:25; 13:10, 16; Tob 14:4.

¹⁹ Mal 2:6; Ps 37:11—"the humble will delight in great peace"; 119:165—"Great peace have they who love your law"; 122:6-8; Zech 8:19; Prov 3:2, 17, 23; 4:27; Sir 1:18—"The fear of the Lord makes peace and perfect health flourish"; 38:8; 41:14.

²⁰ Hag 2:9; 1Kgs 2:33—"There will be peace forever from Yahweh"; Ps 29:11—"Yahweh will bless his people with peace"; 85:8—"The Lord God speaks of peace to his people and his worshipers"; 85:11—"justice and peace have kissed"; Isa 32:17; 48:18; 54:13—"Great will be the peace of your sons"; 40:17; Bar 5:4—"Your name will be with God: Peace of righteousness"; Tob 13:15—"They will rejoice because of your peace."

²¹ Cf. Ps 41:9—the "man of peace" is a close friend. Being or living in peace with others expresses good mutual understanding, goodwill, and harmony, cf. Job 5:23—"the wild beast will be at peace with you"; Sir 47:13, 16: "Solomon reigned in days of peace. God gave him rest all around. . . . You were loved with peace."

²² Isa 33:7; 52:7; Jer 28:9; Nah 2:1; cf. Rom 10:15.

²³ Isa 26:3; 32:17-18; Ps 29:11; 85:9-14.

²⁴ Isa 9:5-6; cf. Ezek 34:25—"I Yahweh . . . will establish a covenant of peace with my sheep . . . they will dwell in safety in the wilderness"; Mic 5:4—"By the power of Yahweh he will feed his flock . . . it is he who will be peace"; Zech 9:10—"He will command peace to the nations"; Ps 72:7—"In his days, righteousness and great peace will flourish."

²⁵ E. Brandenburger, *Frieden im Neuen Testament*, Gütersloh, 1973; E. Dinkler, *Eirene: Der urchristliche Friedensgedanke*, Heidelberg, 1973; K. H. Schelkle, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 3, Düsseldorf, 1970, pp. 141-156; H. Schlier, "Der Friede nach dem Apostel Paulus," in *Geist und Leben*, 1971, pp. 282-296; R. Penna, "L'Évangile de la paix," in L. de Lorenzi, *Paul de Tarse apôtre de notre temps*, Rome, 1979, pp. 175-199.

²⁶ Luke 2:29—ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου ἐ—ν εἰ—ρήνη. The verb ἀπολύω ("loose, unbind, dismiss") is used for the death of Abraham (Gen 15:2), of Aaron (Num 20:29), of Tobias (Tob 3:6), of a martyr (2Macc 7:9). The present indicative has a semi-modal nuance: Now you can let me die. Simeon had seen "the consolation of Israel." He was happy, like Jacob when he had seen Joseph again: "Now I can die, because I have seen your face and you are still alive" (Gen 46:30).

²⁷ Luke 2:14. The genitive of quality εὐδοκίας is the opposite of τέκνα ὀργῆς (Eph 2:3). It is not a question of souls well-disposed to benefit from salvation, which would limit salvation to a certain category of people and would limit the divine goodwill (cf. 1Tim 2:4). The Lucan expression should be compared to the *benê resônô* ("sons of his grace") in the Qumran hymns (1QH 4.32; 11.9), to whom God will give "eternal peace" (1QS 2.4), "full peace" (4.7) at the "time of their peace" (3.15). Cf. E. Vogt, "Pax hominibus bonae voluntatis, Lc. II, 14," in *Bib*, 1953, pp. 427-429; C. H. Hunziger, "Neues Licht auf Lc. II, 14," in *ZNW*, 1952-53, pp. 85-90; idem, "Einer weiterer Beleg zu Lc. II, 14," *ibid.* 1958, pp. 129ff. J. A. Fitzmyer, "Peace upon Earth among Men of His Good Will," in *TS*, 1958, pp. 225ff. R. Deichgräber, "ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας," in *ZNW*, 1960, pp. 132ff.

²⁸ This is the secular and OT theme of the king who brings, establishes, and guarantees peace. To the contrary, Jesus laments over Jerusalem: "If on that day you had known what was required for peace" (τὰ πρὸς εἰ—ρήνην, Luke 19:42), the conditions of reconciliation with God (contrasted with ruin). Cf. the king who with ten thousand men cannot contend with the one who is attacking with twenty thousand and "sends an embassy to ask for terms of peace" (ἐ—ρωτα— τὰ πρὸς εἰ—ρήνην, Luke 14:32). Tyrians and Sidonians asked Herod for peace (ἤτοῦντο εἰ—ρήνην, Acts 12:20); *T. Jud.* 9.7—τότε αἰ—τοῦσιν ἡμι—ν τὰ πρὸς εἰ—ρήνην. —In

the small, allegorizing parable of Luke 11:21 (inspired by Isa 49:24-26; 53:12), the strong man guards his palace, and his possessions are secure (ε—ν ει—ρήνη ε—στὶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα). This is Satan and those possessed by him; but Jesus, who is stronger and casts out demons, will despoil him; cf. S. Légasse, “L’‘Homme fort’ de Lc. XI, 21–22,” in *NovT*, 1962, pp. 5–9.

²⁹ Matt 10:12-13; ἄξιός is the soul open to the apostle’s preaching and to the peace that comes from God. Luke 10:5 specifies: “In whatever house you enter, say first of all, ‘Peace to this house!’ If there is a child of peace (υι—ός ει—ρήνης) there, your peace will rest upon him”; peace is effectively transmitted and possessed by the son of peace as an immanent spiritual good. M. J. Lagrange compares Hillel’s saying, which seems already to have a religious value: “The one who loves peace loves creatures, and the one who commands peace leads them to the law of Moses” (*Pirge ‘Abot* 1.12). Cf. F. W. Danker, “The υι—ός Phrase in the New Testament,” in *NTS*, vol. 7, 1960, p. 94; W. Klassen, “‘A Child of Peace’ (Luke X, 16) in First Century Context,” in *NTS*, vol. 27, 1981, pp. 488–506.

³⁰ The Philippian jailer, having received from the praetors the order to release Paul and Silas, frees them and says to them, “Go in peace” (πορεύεσθε ε—ν ει—ρήνη, Acts 16:36). The rich person who refuses to help the poor says to them, “Go in peace (ὑπάγετε ε—ν ει—ρήνη), be warmed and be filled” (Jas 2:16).

³¹ Judas and Silas “were sent back with wishes of peace” (ἀπελύθησαν μετ’ει—ρήνης) by the community at Antioch (Acts 15:33). The Corinthians are told to treat Timothy with deference and respect, supplying everything he needs to speed him on his way under the best circumstances: προπέμψατε αὐτὸν ε—ν ει—ρήνη (1Cor 16:11).

³² Luke 7:50—πορεύου ει—ς ει—ρήνην. Likewise the woman with the issue of blood, 8:48; Mark 5:34.

³³ John 14:27—“I leave you peace, I give you my peace . . . not as the world gives. Let not your heart be troubled, and do not be afraid”; 16:33—“I have told you these things so that in me you may have peace” (ἵνα ε—ν ε—μοὶ ει—ρήνην ἔχητε). The peace of Christ is a gift of his omnipotence that establishes the disciple in safety, an immanent possession of the “heart” fortified by the “overcomer of the world.” The Hebrews did not hesitate to voice a wish of peace at the most critical junctures; cf. the “shalom of war” (2Sam 11:7), or the Aramaic inscription wishing peace to widows, the most afflicted of all people (C. C. Torrey, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, vol. 8, 1, New Haven, 1956, p. 263 *b*, line 14).

³⁴ This is why the peace of Christ is so different from pagan or Israelite peace; it is entirely spiritual and abides even in renunciation or persecution: “Do not think that I have come to bring peace on the earth; I have come not to bring peace but a sword” (Matt 10:34); members of a family will take sides on account of Christ and will divide and separate themselves according to their choice. Cf. Luke 12:51—“Do you think that I have come to bring peace on the earth? No, I tell you, but dissension” (διαμερισμόν, civil war). Cf. the rider of Rev 6:4, who represents the scourge of war: “It was given to him to take away peace from the earth.”

³⁵ Luke 24:36. Although these words are omitted by D and the Latin manuscripts, it is hard to question their authenticity, which is confirmed by P75 (*P. Bodm.* XIV) and John 20:19, 21, 26.

³⁶ Acts 24:2. At Caesarea, Tertullus addresses the procurator Felix: “Enjoying, thanks to you, a profound peace (πολλῆς ειρήνης τυγχάνοντες) and the reforms that this nation owes to you foresight.” This is *tranquillitas ordinis*. Referring to Exod 2:13-14, St. Stephen evokes Moses’ intervening between the quarreling Hebrews: “Men, you are brothers; why do you wrong one another?” He unites them for peace (συνήλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην, Acts 7:26). This is the classic secular sense of peace: the cessation of hostilities. Cf. J. Comblin, “La Paix dans la théologie de saint Luc,” in *ETL*, 1956, pp. 439–460.

³⁷ Acts 9:31—“The church in all of Judea, Galilee, and Samaria enjoyed peace (εἶχεν εἰρήνην), being built up and walking in the fear of the Lord.” *Eirene* is first of all tranquility, the absence of persecution (Saul is converted), but also the harmonious union of souls that share the same faith, are united by brotherly love, and live in full submission to the will of God. This is truly the peculiarly Christian peace.

³⁸ St. Paul, in 43 occurrences of εἰρήνη, has some OT usages: “When they say, ‘Peace and safety,’ then shall ruin suddenly fall upon them” (1Thess 5:3; cf. Jer 6:14); Rom 2:10; 3:17—“They have not known the path of peace” (cf. Isa 59:8); cf. Heb 7:2—Melchizedek, priest of the Most High, was “king of Salem, that is, king of peace” (cf. Gen 14:18; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.79; P. Winter, “Note on Salem-Jerusalem,” in *NovT*, 1957, pp. 51–52), hence a type of the Messiah, who establishes peace (Isa 9:5; 32:17; Zech 9:10). Rahab received the spies peaceably (Heb 11:31).

³⁹ Cf. 1Cor 7:15—“It is in peace that God has called you” (εἰν εἰρήνῃ κέκληκεν ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός, cf. Col 3:15; on the Pauline privilege, P. Dulau, “The Pauline Privilege: Is it Promulgated in the First Epistle to the Corinthians?” in *CBQ*, 1951, pp. 146–152; J. Dupont, *Mariage et divorce*

dans l'évangile, Bruges, 959, pp. 59, 72, 109, 143; A. Da Ripabottoni, "La dottrina dell'Ambrosiaster sul privilegio paulino," in *Laurentianum*, 1964, pp. 429–447; H. U. Willi, "Das Privilegium Paulinum, I Kor. VII, 15f—Pauli eigene Lebenserinnerung?" in *BZ*, 1978, pp. 100–108); Gal 6:16—"Upon all those who follow this rule (of Christian conduct) be peace and mercy, and upon the Israel of God."

⁴⁰ Rom 16:20—"the God of peace will soon crush Satan under your feet"; 1Thess 5:23—"May the God of peace himself sanctify you wholly"; 2Thess 3:16—"May the Lord of peace himself give you peace at all times and in every way"; Heb 13:20—"May the God of peace equip you with everything good to do his will"; Rom 15:33—"May the God of peace be with you all" = 2Cor 13:11; Phil 4:9; cf. 1Cor 14:33—"God is not [a God] of turmoil (καταστασίας) but of peace"; *T. Dan* 5.2—ἔσεσθε ε—ν ει—ρήνη ἔχοντες τὸν θεὸν τῆς ει—ρήνης. G. Dellling ("Die Bezeichnung 'Gott des Friedens' und ähnliche Wendungen in den Paulusbriefen," in E. E. Ellis, E. Grässer, *Jesus und Paulus*, Festschrift W. G. Kümmel, Göttingen, 1975, pp. 76–84) considers "God of peace" a liturgical formula, almost equivalent to "God of all grace," analogous to "God of hope" (Rom 15:13), of patience (Rom 15:5), of compassion (2Cor 1:3), as at Qumran: "God of justice" (1QM 18.8), of mercy (1QH 10.14; 11.29), of grace (1QM 14.8), of knowledge (1QS 3.15; 1QH 1.26; 12.10), of faithfulness (1QH 1.19). There were angels of peace (*T. Dan* 6.2, 5; *T. Benj.* 6.6; *T. Asher* 6.6; *Enoch* 40.8; 60.24). The Messiah was "Prince of peace" (Isa 9:5; Mic 5:3). In the second century, Rabbi Jose Hagelili refers to the Messiah simply by the name Peace (Str-B, vol. 3, p. 587). Cf. Epictetus 3.13.2: ει—ρήνη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεκηρυγμένη διὰ τοῦ λόγου ("this peace proclaimed by God by means of reason [= philosophy])."

⁴¹ Τὸ μεσότοιχον (cf. *Ep. Arist.* 139; cf. Y. Congar, *Le Mystère du temple*, Paris, 1958, pp. 133, 156). G. Ghysens, "C'est lui qui es notre paix," in *Bible et vie chrétienne*, n. 24, 1958, pp. 28–36; J. Gnllka, "Christus unser Friede—ein Friedens-Erlöserlied in Eph. II, 14–17," in G. Bornkamm, K. Rahner, *Die Zeit Jesu* (Festschrift H. Schlier), Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1970, pp. 190–207; A. G. Lamadrid, "Ipse est pax nostra," in *EstBib*, 1970, pp. 101–136; 227–266; P. Stuhlmacher, "Er is unser Friede (Eph. II, 4): Zur Exegese und Bedeutung von Eph. II, 14–18," in J. Gnllka, *Neues Testament und Kirche* (for R. Schnackenburg), Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1974, pp. 337–358; M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 1, pp. 260–314.

⁴² Rom 14:17; Gal 5:22—"The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace"; Eph 4:3—"be zealous to maintain the unity of the Spirit by this bond of peace (ε—ν τω—συνδέσμῳ τῆς ει—ρήνης). There is but one body and one Spirit."

43 Rom 12:18—“Be at peace with all people” (ει—ρηνεύοντες); 14:19—“We pursue that which contributes to peace and mutual edification”; 2Tim 2:22—“Pursue righteousness, faith, love, peace with all those who call upon the Lord from a pure heart”; Heb 12:14—“Pursue peace with all” (ει—ρήνην διώκετε, Ps 34:15); 1Pet 3:11; 2Pet 3:14—“Be zealous to be found by God in peace, without stain or blemish.” Sin, being precisely the cause of the separation and hostility with God, is the contradiction of peace (cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 173; cf. pp. 153ff.; vol. 2, p. 796). The isolated aphorism of Jas 3:18—“A fruit of righteousness in peace is sown for those who spread peace”—means that workers for peace also share in its fruits (Heb 12:11; Hos 10:12; Ps 85:11; Prov 11:21, 30); cf. R. M. Díaz Carbonell, “Nota a Jac. III, 18,” in *XXXV Congreso eucarístico internacional*, Barcelona, 1953, vol. 1, pp. 508–509.

44 The first Pauline salutation is χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη (1Thess 1:1); the last salutation of the NT is the Jewish personal wish εἰρήνη σοι (3John 15). In 2Thess 1:2 and following, the apostle develops χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου —Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ (cf. 1Cor 1:3; 2Cor 1:2; Gal 1:3; Eph 1:2; cf. 6:23); Phil 1:2; Col 1:2; Phlm 3; Titus 1:4; Rev 1:4. Ἐλεος is inserted between χάρις and εἰρήνη in 1Tim 1:2; 2Tim 1:2; 2John 3; the optative passive of the verb πληθύνω is added at 2Pet 1:2; Jude 2. The formula of 1Pet 5:14 is original: “Peace to all of you [who exist] in Christ”; it seems to refer to John 14:27; 16:33.

45 Plato, *Tht.* 180 b: “Perhaps you have seen men in combat, but in their times of truce (ει—ρηνεύουσιν) you have not been with them”; Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.4.1359b39: “One must know with which peoples one can expect to have war so as to remain at peace (ει—ρηνεύηται) with those stronger than oneself.”

46 Polybius 5.8.7: “It is precisely on account of the peace that prevailed (ει—ρηνευομένης) so long in this country that the dwellings around the sanctuary and the surrounding places were full of wealth”; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.204; *Life* 78, 211; *War* 2.367: “forty long ships are sufficient to make peace prevail on the sea”; Dio Cassius 42.15: “although it had been pacified (καίπερ εἰ—ρηνεύσασα) was agitated”; Philo, *To Gaius* 204: “matters of common interest: the means of establishing and maintaining peace everywhere” (ὡς εἰ—ρηνεύεσθαι καὶ ἡρεμει—σθαι τὰ πανταχοῦ πάντα).

47 1Kgs 22:45—“Jehoshaphat made peace (hiphil of *shalam*) with the king of Israel”; 1Macc 6:60—“Lysias sent to them to sue for peace” (ει—ρηνεύσαι); 2Macc 12:4.

⁴⁸ 2Chr 14:5-6; 20:30 (Hebrew *shaqat*); Job 3:26—“I have neither peace (Hebrew *shalah*) nor calm”; 5:23; 15:21; 16:12; Sir 6:6; 28:9—“the sinful person brings about divisions among those who are at peace” (ει—ρηνευόντων); 28:13.

⁴⁹ Sir 41:9—death is bitter for “the man who lives in peace (ει—ρηνεύοντι) amid his property”; 44:6; Dan 4:1—“I, Nebuchadnezzar, I was tranquil in my house (Aramaic *sheleh*) and satisfied in my palace.”

⁵⁰ Μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ει—ρηνεύοντες (present participle). Ordinarily Epictetus 4.5.24 is cited: ει—ρήνην ἄγεις πάντας ἀνθρώπους. Better to look to a letter from Ammonius (first-second century) in which he exhorts his brother to keep peaceful relations in apparently difficult circumstances, lest we give others opportunity to show their enmity toward us (ει—ρηνεύειν καὶ μὴ διδόναι ἀφορμὰς ε—τέροις καθ ὑμω—ν, *P.Oxy.* 3057, 19).

⁵¹ Cf. S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans les Septante*, Paris, 1966, pp. 289ff.

⁵² Plato, *Resp.* 3.399 *b*; cf. *Leg.* 5.729 *d*: “The Olympic contexts, those of war and of peace”; 7.814 *e*; 815 *a–d*; 816 *d*; 12.949 *d*: “sacrifices in peacetime” (περὶ θυσίας ει—ρηνικῆς); 950 *e*: “peace congresses” (ει—ρηνικαι—ς συνουσίας); Xenophon, *Oec.* 1.17: “labors of peace” (as opposed to labors of war); 6.1; *Hell.* 3.1.22: the army in peace formation; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.292, laws “for peacetime”; Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 10.4: “a politics neither wholesome nor peaceable”; *Sert.* 6.9: ε—ν ται—ς ει—ρηνικαι—ς χρείαις; Dio Cassius 41.17: “the garment reserved for peacetime”; 67.7: “artisans skilled in various things useful in peacetime and wartime”; 69.3: Adrian Afer “claimed to know nothing of the arts of peace and of war”; 53.10: “the pacified provinces”; 56.18: “peaceful assemblies.”

⁵³ Isocrates, *De Pace* 136; *Nic.* 24; *Phil.* 5.46; Josephus, *War* 2.302: “the very peaceable sentiments of the people”; 3.30, 458; 4.84; 6.344; 3.448: offers of peace; 5.261, 356; *Ant.* 12.403; *War* 4.120: partisans of peace; 5.30: “Those who dreamed of obtaining peace”; 5.110 (cf. 2.135: ει—ρήνης ὑπουργοί, servants of peace); Philo, *Dreams* 2.166; *Joseph* 166; *Moses* 1.243; *Spec. Laws* 4.224.

⁵⁴ Plato, *Leg.* 8.829 *a*: “A good city will live in peace”; Philo, *Abraham* 27: “a calm, tranquil, stable, and peaceable life (ει—ρηνικόν βίον) is sought by those who hold virtue in honor”; 61: “a loyal and peaceable life”; *Spec. Laws* 1.224: a peaceable and serene existence; *Virtues* 47: “If you seek justice, holiness, and the other virtues, you will live a life without war in total

peace”; *Prelim. Stud.* 25; *Dreams* 1.174: the peaceful repose of the athlete. In the papyri, εἰ—ρηνικός appears only in the fourth century; two νυκτοστράτηγοι are presented as officials responsible for keeping good order: τῶ—ν εἰ]ρηνικῶ—ν τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδεδοιημένοι (*P.Oxy.* 1033, 5); it was incumbent upon the police officer (τῶ— τὰ εἰ—ρηνικὰ ε—πιστα[τοῦντι?]) to recover the fugitives from a town (*P.Thead.* 17, 15). In the fifth century a Christian orphan writes to her aunt: “May the Lord keep you in good health through long and peaceful years” (*P.Bour.* 25, 17); in the sixth century, with regard to the repudiation of a fiancée, εἰ—ρηνικόν καὶ ἡσύχιον διάξαι (129, 8; *P.Lond.* 1680, 13; vol. 5, p. 77); *P.Ness.* 29, 1: the peaceable emperor Augustus; *P.Cair.Masp.* 121, 9; SB 10522, 11.

⁵⁵ Philo, *Abraham* 105; cf. *Conf. Tongues* 49; *Joseph* 167; *Spec. Laws* 3.125; *Rewards* 87: εἰ—ρηνικοὺς τὸ ἦθος, peaceable mores; *Abraham* 225: “the good man is not only peaceable and a friend of righteousness, but also courageous”; *Drunkenness* 76: “how to keep peace in one’s soul (εἰ—ρηνικῶ—ς), even in the midst of war?”

⁵⁶ Gen 34:21; 37:4; Jer 38:22; Obad 1; Ps 37:37; 2Macc 5:25.

⁵⁷ “Words of peace” (Hebrew *shalôm*), Deut 2:26; 20:11; Jer 9:8; Mic 7:3; Jdt 3:1; 7:24; Ps 35:20; 120:7; 1Macc 1:30; 5:48; 7:10, 15, 27; 10:3, 47; 11:2; *T. Gad* 6.2.

⁵⁸ 1Sam 10:8; 11:15; 2Sam 6:17-18; 24:25; 1Kgs 3:15; 8:63-64; 9:25; 2Kgs 16:13; Prov 7:14; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 7.86, 7.333, 7.382.

⁵⁹ Cf. S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans les Septante*, pp. 291ff.

⁶⁰ The contrast between the immediate affliction produced by discipline (Hebrew *mûsar*) and its spiritual fruitfulness is traditional, cf. Wis 3:5; 2Cor 7:8ff.; Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 160, 175; Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 12; Aristotle, cited by Diogenes Laertius 5.1.18: τῆς παιδείας ἔφη τὰς μὲν ῥίζας εἶναι πικράς, γλυκεῖ—ς δὲ τοὺς καρπούς.

⁶¹ Deliverance from evil and triumph over one’s enemies. Δικαιοσύνης, an appositive genitive, refers to moral rectitude as well as to union with God (cf. ἀγιότης, 12:10) and can even suggest eternal beatitude (11:7; cf. 2Tim 4:8). The formula καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης is common: Isa 32:17; Amos 6:12; Prov 11:30; Phil 1:11; Jas 3:18; Philo, *Post. Cain* 118.

⁶² Whereas the LXX translates Isa 27:5 ποιήσωμεν εἰ—ρήνην, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion substituted the verb εἰ—ρηνοποιέω: “let them

make peace with me.” Cf. *Hermes Trismegistus*: ὅταν δὲ εἰ—ρηνικοί, τότε καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν ἴδιον δρόμονει—ρηνοποιεῖ—ται (“when they [angels and demons] are peaceful, then the soul also makes its course peaceful” [on the earth]), in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.49.45 (vol. 1, p. 409).

⁶³ Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.3.4. Discourse of Callias: “When Athens needs tranquility (ἡσυχίας) it sends us as negotiators of peace (εἰ—ρηνοποιούς).”

⁶⁴ Plutarch, *Nic.* 11.3: “There was opposition between the young, who were in favor of making war (πολεμοποιῶ—ν), and the old, who were in favor of peace (εἰ—ρηνοποιούς);” *Quaest. Rom.* 62.

⁶⁵ Dio Cassius 72.15; *PSI* 1036, 28: εἰ—ρηνοποιὸς τοῦ κόσμου (second century AD). Cf. H. Windisch, “Friedensbringer—Gottessöhne,” in *ZNW*, 1925, pp. 240–260. Procuring peace (εἰ—ρήνην παρέχειν) is an imperial duty: “the profound peace that Caesar seems to procure for us” (Epictetus 3.13.9–10). Augustus, ὁ εἰ—ρηνοφύλαξ, is the guardian of the peace (Philo, *To Gaius* 144–146) and glories in having pacified the earth and the sea (*Res gest. divi Aug.* 13, 25, 26). Cf. A. Momigliano, “Terra marique,” in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1942, p. 64.

⁶⁶ The pacific person is originally “one who cannot be troubled in his possession,” hence peaceable; but it is also understood of those who love peace and aspire to peace; cf. meek.

⁶⁷ The rabbinic example is Aaron: “Hillel said: Be among the disciples of Aaron, who loved peace; pursue peace, love creatures, and lead them to Torah” (*Pirqe ‘Abot* 1.12; cf. *t. Sanh.* 1.2; *Sipre Num.* 42); “restoring peace between a man and his neighbor” profits a person in this world, and the capital goes with him for the world to come (*m. Pe’ a* 1.1; *b. shabb.* 127a ; *b. Qidd.* 40a ; cf. Str-B, vol. 1, p. 217). P. Fiebig, *Jesu Bergpredigt*, Göttingen, 1924, pp. 11ff.

⁶⁸ J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, Paris, 1973, pp. 635ff. Cf. H. Huber, *Die Bergpredigt*, Göttingen, 1932, pp. 44ff. M. P. Brown, Jr., “Matthew as εἰ—ρηνοποιός,” in B. L. Daniels, M. J. Suggs, *Studies . . . in honor of K. W. Clark*, Salt Lake City, 1967, pp. 39–50; E. Dinkler, *Eirene: Der urchristliche Friedensgedanke*, Heidelberg, 1973.

εἰ—σακούω, ε—πακούω, ὑπακούω, ὑπακοή

eisakouo, epakouo, to hear, listen to, heed; *hypakouo*, to heed, obey; *hypakoe*, obedience

see also παρακοή; πειθαρχέω

eisakouo, S 1522; TDNT 1.222; EDNT 1.400; NIDNTT 2.172–173, 175, 177; MM 188; L&N 24.60, 36.15; BDF §173(3); BAGD 232 | **epakouo**, S 1873; TDNT 1.222; EDNT 2.17; NIDNTT 2.172–173, 175, 178; MM 228; L&N 24.60; BDF §173(3); BAGD 282 | **hypakouo**, S 5219; TDNT 1.223–224; EDNT 3.394–395; NIDNTT 2.179; MM 650; L&N 36.15, 46.11; BDF §§163, 173(3), 187(6), 202, 392(3); BAGD 837 | **hypakoe**, S 5218; TDNT 1.224–225; EDNT 3.394–395; NIDNTT 2.179; MM 650; L&N 35.15; BDF §163; BAGD 837

The verb *akouo*, “hear, understand,” occurs in combination with a number of prefixes (*eis-*, *ep-*, *pro-*, *hyp-*, etc.). *Eisakouo*, used without an object, expresses the idea “listen, heed”;¹ with an accusative or genitive of the thing, it emphasizes the attention or the results of the hearing;² with the genitive of the person, it means the communication, the passing of information from one person to another (one hears³ and so understands). Cf. the chorus to Tecmessa: “Listen to this man; he comes to tell us of the fate of Ajax” (Sophocles, *Aj.* 789). With the nuance of a favorable hearing: the ambassadors give a good reception to what Alcibiades has to say (Thucydides 5.45.4). Finally, the verb expresses the idea of taking heed of claims (idem I.126) and submitting to them: Olynthus had obtained the obedience of the closest neighboring cities.⁴

These meanings are also found in the papyri of the third century BC, especially sympathetic hearing and taking heed. In a letter addressed to a *dioiketes*: “We ask, if it seems good to you, that you summon certain ones of us and hear what they wish to tell you” (*P.Lond.* 1954, 8). Techesteus writes to Zeno, “Summon me and hear what I have to say; I have a proposal concerning how the water should be brought.”⁵ The usage is elevated in a hymn to Isis: “As for me, I heard from others of an extraordinary wonder”;⁶ and the goddess herself is the subject in the fourth century AD: “Do not let the gods sleep; Osiris will hear you, because you died prematurely, without child, without wife.”⁷

The translators of the LXX obviously knew these secular meanings, but they considered the ear to be the organ of understanding and a channel of teaching;⁸ they gave hearing a pedagogical meaning: “The wise listen to advice” (Jer 37:14; Prov 12:15; Hebrew *shome‘a*). Not only does the LXX call for paying heed to teaching,⁹ it attributes blessedness to the one who hears well (Prov 8:34). This hearing well involves having a positive moral disposition, paying heed, and being teachable. *Eisakouo* is thus in effect synonymous with believing, acquiescing, and complying.¹⁰ To hear is to accept a proposition¹¹ or to pay heed to what has been said, and so to obey.¹²

The great innovation of the OT is to consider revelation as the word of God to humans and to require that people give it a good reception and submit to it. The verb *eisakouo* (more than 280 occurrences in the LXX) becomes for this reason one of the most important in OT theology when God is its subject. First of all, it is said repeatedly that God hears someone's voice and pays heed,¹³ because he is merciful (Exod 22:26). He hears sighs (Exod 2:24; 6:15) as well as murmuring (16:7-9, 12), the cry of the poor (Job 34:28; Ps 34:6; 69:33), of the oppressed (Sir 35:13), of the widow (Jdt 9:4, 12), and the desire of the lowly (Ps 10:17). The faith of Israel is that "my God will hear me" (Mic 7:7), "his ear is not too heavy to hear" (Isa 59:1). It is precisely prayer that has this access to God, and *eisakouein* then means "grant an answer": "God hears the prayer of his servant in the temple";¹⁴ "You will call upon him and he will answer you" (Job 22:27); "Have pity on me—hear my prayer";¹⁵ "You will pray to me and I will answer you" (Jer 29:12). God shows himself propitious (Isa,9:22).

There are nevertheless cases in which God does not hear, refuses to pay heed (Deut 1:45; 3:26), for example when "your hands are bloody";¹⁶ likewise, the great sin of Israel is refusal "to observe (Hebrew *shamar*) my commandments and my laws" (*eisakouein tas entolas mou*, Exod 16:28), to hear his voice.¹⁷ This religious hearing is obedience to the divine precepts, the carrying out of God's will;¹⁸ better yet, it is loving God, becoming attached to him; "that is life for you" (Deut 30:20).

Given the importance of this theology, it is remarkable that Philo's eight occurrences of this verb are all quotations on the OT¹⁹ and the single occurrence in Josephus (*Ant.* 1.190) is likewise a quotation of Gen 16:11— Ishmael was so named "because God heard his supplication."²⁰

Of the five NT occurrences of *eisakouo*, four (in the passive) mean to have one's petition granted and, in accord with LXX usage, have to do with prayers addressed to God. The first regards the "Gentiles,"²¹ who think "that they will be heard (passive indicative future *eisakousthesontai*) thanks to their many words,"²² their verbiage (*polylogia*). This refers particularly to the multiplicity of titles attributed to the many-named divinity in attempts to win favor.²³ In the new religion, it is enough to call upon God as Father; this name alone already constitutes a prayer.²⁴

The angel said to Zechariah, "Fear not, Zechariah, for your prayer (the coming of the Messiah) has been heard" (aorist passive indicative *eisekousthe*, Luke 1:13), as to the centurion Cornelius: "Your prayer has been heard" (*eisekousthe sou he proseuche*, Acts 10:31). According to Heb 5:7, Christ in the garden of agony, having offered prayers and supplications to God with loud cries and tears, was heard because of his piety (*eisakoustheis* [aorist passive participle_ *apo tes eulabeias*]).²⁵ *Eulabeia* here is filial devotion, well translated by the Vulgate: "exauditus est pro sua reverentia."²⁶ It is often said that suppliants are saved thanks to their piety (*dia ten pros theous eusebeian*, Diodorus Siculus 12.57.4; cf.

11.12), that a miracle is obtained because of the piety of the sacrificing priest,²⁷ that an act of adoration is done *eusebias charin*; ²⁸ but here (*apotes eulabeias*) we have to take *apo* as indicating consequence (“because of”; cf. Exod 3:7; 6:9; Matt 18:7; Luke 19:3; etc.). It was because Christ’s piety was outstanding, because he submitted himself wholly to his Father’s will, that his prayer was heard with favor and answered.

1Cor 14:21 is a very free quotation of Isa 28:12—“The Lord will speak to this people through people that babble and in a foreign tongue . . . and they would not hear.”²⁹ St. Paul applies this text to glossalalia: “By people of a foreign land and by the lips of foreigners I will speak to this people, and even then they will not listen to me” (*kai oud’ houtos eisakousontai mou*, future middle indicative). Speaking in tongues is not a sign of divine blessing upon a community, not a “sign for believers”; this obscure, even unintelligible mode of expression is above all intended for pagans who will see in it divine revelation! What is clear is that this “hearing” of the glossalalia in the Christian community is to be understood according to its LXX meaning (Hebrew *‘anâh* = respond): accepting the divine message, submitting one’s life to it, obeying.

Epakouo. — In classical Greek, this verb is in many cases synonymous with the preceding one and means simply “hear,”³⁰ but its particular nuance is rather that of paying heed, paying attention. “Men of Ionia, as much as you are able to hear me (*epakountes*), pay heed to what I say” (Herodotus 9.98); “Pay attention to the moment when you hear the voice of the crane call.”³¹ Hence: “take account, obey an order”; “Histiaeus, obeying the first order” (*epakousas to proto keleusmati*, Herodotus 4.141); “Listen to justice, forget violence” (Hesiod, *Op.* 274). In Homer, however, the verb has a religious meaning and is used for the deity: “Father Zeus, you who see all and hear all” (*pant’ epakoueis*, *Il.* 3.277). When used regarding prayer, it means “hear and answer”: “Hear my prayer, accept my offering” (Aristophanes, *Nub.* 274; cf. Aeschylus, *Cho.* 725).

This meaning is well attested in the inscriptions and the papyri. Atlasos, an altar is dedicated to Aphrodite: *Aphroditēs epakououses kai epekoou*.³² At Laodicea on the sea, a dedication reads “Karpeina, who was heard (*epakousthisa*) following a vow, has consecrated (this) to the propitious goddesses (*theais epekoois*).”³³ Invocation to Isis in the second century BC: “Come to me, god of gods, show yourself merciful; hear me; take pity on the Twins.”³⁴ This hearing and answering is also found in secular materials. After King Attalus II of Pergamum made a donation, the city of Delphi acknowledged it thus: “He gave an eager welcome to our requests” (*epakousas prothymos*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 672, 6). In a letter to Zeno, the following occurs: “Write me concerning whatever you wish; I will be happy to carry it out” (*hedeos epakousomenou*, *P.Mich.* 103, 15; cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59080, 3). The meaning “listen attentively” is common: “Remain and listen for a while to one deceased.”³⁵

The translators of the LXX (Hebrew *shamâ'* and *'anâh*) knew this secular meaning,³⁶ but they almost always used the word for God's hearing with favor³⁷ and granting an answer: "Isaac prayed to God . . . and God heard him."³⁸ Beginning with Jacob this granting of an answer is expressed as a response: "I made an altar to God who responded to me in my day of distress" (Gen 35:3); "Samuel cried to God for Israel, and God responded to him."³⁹ In a corresponding fashion the pious hear the words of the Lord and obey what he commands ("I heard the voice of the Lord" [Deut 26:14; 2Chr 11:4]) in all that he commands.⁴⁰

Philo knew this religious meaning of the word: "God hears suppliants" (*Worse Attacks Better* 93) and "heeds the prayers of Moses";⁴¹ but most of his occurrences mean simply to hear: "The governor of the land . . . pretended not to hear what he heard."⁴² The same commonplace meaning occurs in Josephus: "They were afraid of being heard by the enemy" (*War* 4.331); "Titus heard quietly what was said to him."⁴³

The verb is not only a hapax in the NT but a quotation of Isa 49:8 (LXX): "At the favorable time I answered you" (*kairo dekte epekousa sou*, 2Cor 6:2). The prophet envisioned the return from exile; St. Paul understands a reference to the messianic age and the apostolic preaching: a favorable time for action, since it is God's "accepted" (*dektos*) time for help—hence an opportune time.⁴⁴

Hypakouo. — In classical and Hellenistic Greek, this verb is often synonymous with the preceding forms ("pay heed, listen"), with the emphasis on the attention given. "I awakened Ulysses, I spoke to him, and he paid me heed at once" (Homer, *Od.* 14.485); "Pay heed, hear, O mother, I beg you."⁴⁵ The prefix has its force, however, both in Aristophanes, where one seems to bend the head down to listen ("At least listen to the little child," *Lys.* 878) and also in the meaning "listen at a door, answer"; which today is the job of a concierge or porter: "Upon our arrival, the porter (*ho thyroros*) came out to meet us—he was the one who used to answer (*eiothei hypakouein*)—and told us to stay there and wait for him" (Plato, *Phd.* 59 e); "Philip, the fool, knocked at the door and told the porter (*to hypakousanti*) to announce him" (Xenophon, *Symp.* 1.11); "If it is an aged man who answers the door (*te thyra hypakeko'*) I say at once, 'My father, my dear father.'⁴⁶ Thus when St. Peter knocked on the door, "a young servant-girl named Rhoda went to answer" (Acts 12:13).

The dictionaries give another meaning, "obey," and it is indeed true that this meaning is clearly attested, especially in the political arena;⁴⁷ but the shades of meaning—difficult as they are to distinguish—are many. For example, it is obvious that the Samaritans did not "obey" the kings of Syria (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.275) but conformed to their commands (cf. 3.207), because hearing often means "answering an invitation"⁴⁸ and "taking into account" what is asked (Herodotus 3.148). Sometimes it is done willingly, one complies easily (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.2.3), and this is the case with the

wife who owes obedience to her husband.⁴⁹ Sometimes you turn a deaf ear to appeals that are directed to you (Xenophon, *An.* 4.1.9) because to submit to someone else is to compromise your freedom,⁵⁰ so one obeys with difficulty;⁵¹ hence the frequent meaning “yield” in Thucydides.⁵²

The verb is often used in the papyri, meaning either strict obedience to an order or a law,⁵³ or an agreement to carry out one’s responsibility;⁵⁴ or even the spontaneous and loving submission of a wife to her husband (*hypakououses moi kai phylattouses moi pasan eunoian*, *P.Lond.* 1711, 35; 1727, 12). The commonest meaning, however, is “respond” and “correspond”: “I have sworn that I will respond to all questions concerning the vessel” (*P.Oxy.* 87, 19). In the considerations listed in an honorific decree of Athens for the poet Philippides: “He willingly responded to the desires of the people (*hypekousen to demo ethelontes*) and celebrated the traditional sacrifices at his own expense” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 374, 39; third century BC; *Ep. Arist.* 44). In the judicial sphere, it has to do with answering an authoritative summons: “Since Cathytes, summoned before men, has not responded (*ouch’ hypekousen*), I have decided that for his disobedience (*apeithias*) he shall pay 250 denarii.”⁵⁵ In the third century AD, the verb is used for the identification of a person in court: “This is the person who answered when his name was called.”⁵⁶

The LXX gives no special meaning to this verb, treating it as a synonym of *eisakouo* and *epakouo*, in the sense of either hearing⁵⁷ or especially of obeying.⁵⁸ On the one hand, paying heed already means taking into account (Gen 27:13; Dan [Theodotion] 3:12; cf. Philo, *Flight* 21; *Cherub.* 9) and obeying (“When their ear hears, they obey me,” Ps 18:44). On the other hand, most of the usages are religious: hearing God’s voice means putting his commandments into practice.⁵⁹ Otherwise, *hypakouo* translates the Hebrew *‘anâh* in the sense of “respond”: “I called and you did not answer me.”⁶⁰ Philo gives this verb especially the sense of “obey,” but he distinguishes between constrained, forced obedience (*Creation* 142; *Moses* 1.156) and voluntary obedience (*Joseph* 269), the latter being the obedience of children who accept being in submission to their parents’ orders (*Spec. Laws* 2.236). He recognizes that “it is very onerous to be compelled to obey a large number of commandments” (*Husbandry* 49) and that the subject (*to hypakouon*) always fears the power of the one who commands even delicately (*Virtues* 114), although people do not obey the commands of the first one to come along (*Good Man Free* 25). But obedience is learned (*hypakouein mathonton*, *Conf. Tongues* 55; *Migr. Abr.* 8; cf. Heb 5:8); it is the work of education (*Drunkenness* 198). Obeying someone else does not destroy freedom, as can be seen from the submission of children to parents or that of students to their teacher (*Good Man Free* 36, 156).

In conformity to this evolution, *hypakouo* in the NT always means “obey” (and takes the genitive or the dative) except at Acts 12:13 (cf.

above). Unknown in St. John, it is found in the Synoptics only for the winds and the sea (Luke 8:25; Matt 8:27; Mark 4:41) and for unclean spirits constrained and forced to submit to Christ's orders; also for the sycamore in Luke 17:6 that would not be able to resist the apostles' faith.

The theological meaning appears in Acts 6:7—at Jerusalem, a great multitude of Jewish priests obey the faith (*hypekouon te pistei*); this imperfect of repetition and duration suggests the continuity of the conversions of those who paid heed to the preaching of the apostles and committed themselves to it, that is, who submitted heart and spirit to what they heard: the doctrine and requirements of the Christian faith (cf. Rom 1:5; 16:26). This would again be called “obedience to the gospel” (2Thess 1:8; Rom 10:16). The gospel preached and transmitted took form in a “type of teaching” to which people became obedient from the bottom of their hearts,⁶¹ that is to say, with all their being—understanding, will, conduct. In effect, one is the slave of whomever one obeys (*douloi este ho hypakouete*, Rom 6:16). Whether the master be God or sin, one receives the master's orders and carries them out; serving two masters simultaneously is impossible. If sin is the reigning prince, then one's desires are conformed to it; one consents or yields to it (Rom 6:12). Believers, however, are defined as “those who obey” Christ, the bringer of eternal salvation (Heb 5:9). Thus they correspond to the obedience of the one who submitted to the Father even to the point of death (5:8). In all cases, it is clear that Christian “obedience” is the strictest obedience there is. More than a de facto submission, it is free, complete, and definitive commitment to the one recognized and confessed as a master with full prerogatives. As a subject, the believer is not only dependent upon the Lord's wishes but consecrated to him in life and in death. To have faith is to profess and to make real this “obedience.” A fine example of this faith is that of Abraham who “when called, obeyed” God's command right away (Heb 11:12); the juxtaposition *kaloumenos hypekousen* evokes more than consent. According to the usage of the papyri (cf. above) it expresses the exactitude of the human response to the divine will, whatever that will may be.

This religious obedience “in the Lord” is commanded to children with respect to their parents (Eph 6:1; Col 3:1; we can also take *hypakouete* in the sense of “pay heed”) and to slaves with respect to their masters ... as to Christ (Eph 6:5; Col 3:22), desiring to please them. Sarah, a model for Christians, obeyed Abraham, whom she recognized as her lord and master (1Pet 3:6). Envisioning the public reading of his epistles, St. Paul, after condemning the lazy who will not work, commands, “If anyone will not obey our word (expressed) in this letter . . . no longer have anything to do with him” (2Thess 3:14). Thanks to God, whether the apostle was present or absent the community at Philippi always obeyed him (Phil 2:12); we could almost translate that they always heard him.

Hypakoe. — This noun, unknown in classical Greek, seems to appear for the first time as a hapax in the LXX,⁶² where it translates the Hebrew *‘a<^>nawâh* (“humility,” cf. Ps 18:36; Prov 15:23). In *Gos. Pet.* 42, it means “response.”⁶³ We could say that it was St. Paul who introduced *hypakoe* into the Greek language and gave it its meaning of strict obedience,⁶⁴ first of all with regard to the submission of every person to God,⁶⁵ and then of the obedience of Christ as contrasted with Adam,⁶⁶ the first disobedient man: “By the obedience of one, all will be constituted righteous” (Rom 5:19). This obedience refers to the mission on which Christ was sent into the world, and especially the crucifixion (*genomenos hypakoos mechri thanatou*).⁶⁷ Heb 5:8 specifies: “Even though he was a Son, he learned obedience by the things that he suffered” (*emathen . . . ten hypakoen*).⁶⁸ Just as the Savior’s whole life was characterized by his submission to God’s will, the Christian life is defined by the initial undertaking of baptism, the obedience of the faith (*eis hypakoen pisteos*).⁶⁹ We recognize and profess that Christ is the only master and Lord of our life; we submit to him our thoughts, will, and conduct better than prisoners of war bound hand and foot and turned over to a new authority: “We take every thought captive to the obedience of Christ (*eis ten hypakoen tou Christou*), and we are ready to punish all disobedience, when your obedience shall be complete.”⁷⁰

St. Peter’s three uses of this term are remarkable. First of all in the primitive definition of baptism: “Having perfectly sanctified your souls by obedience to the truth” (1Pet 1:22), the heart commitment and public proclamation of this commitment to the divine revelation, which brings definitive belonging to God (perfect participle). The letter is addressed “to the elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, in the sanctification of the Spirit, for obedience and the sprinkling of the blood of Christ” (*eis hypakoen kai rhantismôn haimatos Iesou Christou*, 1:2). By the obedience of the faith, the baptized are placed under the lordship of Christ and promise to submit their lives to his precepts. Just as blood seals the *diatheke* (Matt 26:28; Heb 10:19), the union of obedience and blood refers to the ratification of the old covenant (Exod 24:7-8); the consecration by faith of the person and of all existence is definitive. That is why 1Pet 1:14 calls Christians “children of disobedience that you were (*hos tekna hypakoes*), no longer be conformed to the former covetousnesses.”⁷¹

The frequency and the absoluteness of these NT expressions shows that primitive catechesis was designed to teach believers the idea, the meaning, and the fullness of Christian obedience.⁷² Philology alone cannot suffice to fill these out (even with the help of the synonyms *peitho*, *hypatasso*, etc.). In biblical theology, we would have to begin with Matt 11:29-30: the taking of the yoke of Christ and of the baptism in which the disciple recognizes Christ as *Kyrios*. But this submission must be put into context with the love that is the royal law (Jas 2:8), at the same time strictly

required and a law of liberty (1:25; cf. 1Cor 10:23), and which thus governs not slaves but children. Obedience, then, will not consist in material conformity to precepts but in taking heed and being teachable, letting oneself be persuaded, in having a well-disposed heart,⁷³ and from that point submitting to a rule of life and complying with what is asked. The example of Christ proves that this obedience is the freest and the most spontaneous that there is.

¹ Homer, *Il.* 8.97: “divine Ulysses did not listen as he ran on toward the hollow ships.”

² Sophocles, *El.* 38: “such is the oracle that I heard”; Theocritus 24.34: “Alcmene heard cries and was the first to awaken”; Thucydides 4.34.3: “the cries of the enemy were too loud for them to hear the orders that were given them.”

³ Cf. Euripides, *El.* 416: “He rejoiced . . . when he heard that the child that he had saved was living”; Sophocles, *OC* 1645: “This is what we all heard”; *El.* 884: “From whom did you hear the news, that you believe it so strongly?”

⁴ Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.2.13. This meaning is particularly frequent with negation = refuse; Thucydides 3.4.1: the Mytilenians do not obey the generals’ message; Herodotus 1.214: Cyrus refuses to hear Tomyris.

⁵ *P.Lond.* 2054, 21; cf. *PSI* 377, 20: ἔγραψα οὖν σοι ἵνα εἰ—δῆς, ε—πειδὴ οὐ βούλει μου εἰ—σακοῦσαι. In the second century AD, Νικάριος εἰ—σήκουσα, ε—ξουσίας οὔσης μεταμισθοῦν (*P.Mil.Vogl.* 130, 9; cf. 131, 14; *SB* 9380, 1; 8210, 14).

⁶ E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 175, col. IV, 35 (= *SB* 8141). Cf. a *proskynema*: ε—σακοῦσαι θείου φθέγματος ἀπέρχομε (*SB* 8359, 2).

⁷ *SB* 11247, 18: εἰ—σακούσει σε ὁ Οὔσιρις ὅτι; cf. B. Boyaval, “Une malédiction pour viol de sépulture,” in *ZPE*, vol. 14, 1974, pp. 71–73 (compares *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 40, 14ff.). *P.Lond.* 1928, 2 is Christian, and εἰ—σήκουσέν μου is a quotation of Jonah 2:3. Cf. O. Montevecchi, “Quaedam de graecitate psalmodum cum papyris comparata,” in *Proceedings IX*, pp. 303ff.

⁸ P. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, p. 89. Cf. Deut 21:18—a rebellious son “does not hear the voice of his father or the voice of his mother; he does not listen to them when they correct him.”

⁹ Prov 8:6—“Listen, because I am going to tell you important things”; cf. Num 16:8; Isa 32:9; 42:23; Sir 39:13.

¹⁰ Exod 4:8-9; 5:2; Deut 9:23; 13:9. The hardened heart is obstinate, does not listen (Exod 7:13, 22; 11:9), like the uncircumcised ear (Jer 6:10; 7:26) and the hard forehead (Ezek 3:7).

¹¹ Gen 34:17, 24; 42:21-22; Judg 11:28; 19:25; 20:13; 2Kgs 10:6; Dan (Theodotion) 1:14.

¹² Hearing or not hearing the voice of Moses (Exod 3:18; 4:1; 6:9, 12, 30; 7:4; 16:20), of Joshua (Deut 34:9; 22:2), of the judges (Judg 2:17), of the angel (Exod 23:21).

¹³ Gen 21:17—“God heard the voice of the boy”; this is a play on the name Ishmael, which could be translated “God hears” or “May God hear” or “In calling upon God” or “Heard by God” (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.190); Exod 22:22—“I will hear his cry”; Num 20:16—“We cried out to Yahweh and he heard our voice”; 21:3; Deut 9:19; 10:10; 26:7; Judg 3:9; 13:9; Neh 9:28; Ps 22:24; 31:22; 34:16, 18; 39:12; 40:1; 106:44; 141:1; Jdt 4:13—“The Lord heard their voice”; 8:17; Sus 35.

¹⁴ 1Kgs 8:29-30, 32, 34, 36, 39, 43, 45, 52; 2Chr 6:21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 33; 7:14; cf. Tob 3:16.

¹⁵ Ps 4:1; 5:3—“In the morning you hear my voice”; 6:8—“the voice of my weeping”; 17:2, 6; 27:7; 28:2, 6; 145:19; Jonah 2:3—“From the depths of Sheol I called, and you heard my voice”; Sir 34:24, 26; 51:11—“My prayer was answered; you saved me from ruin”; Bar 2:14, 16; Dan (Theodotion) 9:17, 19; (LXX) 10:12; 2Macc 1:8—“We prayed to the Lord and we were heard.”

¹⁶ Isa 1:15 (cf. Jer 7:16; 11:11, 14; 14:12; Ezek 8:18); that is, the sentiments of the one praying and the object of the request have to be in conformity to God’s will (Sir 3:5; 4:6; 2Macc 8:3).

¹⁷ Num 14:22; Deut 1:43; Jer 11:10; 17:23; 19:15; 25:4, 7; 26:5; 35:15; Bar 2:30; Neh 9:17; Zech 7:11-12.

¹⁸ Deut 11:13, 28; 13:19; 15:5; 19:9; 27:10; 28:1, 2, 9, 15, 45, 58; 30:2, 8, 10, 16, 17; 1Sam 12:15; Jer 17:27; Ezek 20:8, 39; Dan 9:10, 11, 14 (Theodotion); Zeph 3:2; Zech 1:4; 6:15.

¹⁹ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.88 (Exod 4:1ff.); *Post. Cain* 12 (Deut 30:20); *Drunkennes* 14 (Deut 21:18-21); *Migr. Abr.* 174 (Exod 23:20-21); *Prelim. Stud.* 70 (Gen 28:7); *Dreams* 1.92 (Exod 22:26-27); 2.175 (Deut 30:9-10).

²⁰ Διὰ τὸ εἰ—σακοῦσαι τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἰ—κεσίας. In the Apocrypha: “The Lord answers the prayer of everyone who fears God” (*Pss. Sol.* 6.8); “that this people might hear my voice and the decrees of my mouth” (Add Jer 7:32); “because they have not heard my voice nor kept my commandments” (*3Apoc. Bar.* 16.4); “take pity on me and hear me” (*T. Abr.* A 7); “what I asked you, you granted” (ibid. 9); “Lord, Lord, hear my voice” (ibid. 10); “They made this prayer and this supplication for this soul, and God answered them. . . . I have heard your voice and your prayer” (ibid. 14); the archangel to God: “I have obeyed your friend Abraham in all that he said to you” (ibid. 15).

²¹ In the pejorative sense of ε—θνικοί, Matt 6:7; cf. A. Pelletier, *Josèphe adaptateur*, pp. 79ff.

²² Matt 6:7. D. Buzy, *Evangile selon saint Matthieu*, Paris, 1935, pp. 74ff. C. Spicq, *Dieu et l’homme*, p. 64.

²³ Cf. the beginning of Cleanthes’ *Hymn to Zeus*: “Most glorious of the immortals, you who are invoked by so many names, eternally all-powerful one, Zeus, author of nature, who govern all things by law, I greet you” (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.1.12; vol. 1, p. 25; cf. A. J. Festugière, *Dieu cosmique*, pp. 310ff.; E. des Places, *La Religion grecque*, Paris, 1969, pp. 263ff.), invocations to Isis (ὑπὸ δὲ τῶ—ν πολλῶ—ν μυριώνυμος κέκληται, Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 53; Dittenberger, *Or.* 695, 2; *P. Ross. Georg.* III, 4, 4; SB 4101, 2), to Osiris (cf. *The Book of the Dead* 142; ed. P. Barguet, Paris, 1967, pp. 186ff.). A Jewish-Aramaic amulet from Aleppo: “O Holy One . . . sublime, exalted God, my help, Elyeh, Ahmah, etc.” (*C. Pap. Jud.* 819, 2ff.).

²⁴ J. Lewy, “Some Observations Concerning Biblical Prayer,” in *HUCA*, vol. 22, 1961, pp. 79ff.

²⁵ The text is difficult. On the numerous explications of it, cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, pp. 112ff. Cf. E. Rasco, “La oración sacerdotal de Cristo en la tierra según Hebr. V, 7,” in *Gregorianum*, 1962, pp. 723–755; T. Boman, “Der Gebetskampf Jesu,” in *NTS*, vol. 10, 1964, pp. 261–273; J. Jeremias, *Abba*, pp. 319–323.

²⁶ Cf. C. Spicq, “Religion (Vertu de),” in *DBSup*, vol. 10, col. 210–232; cf. C. Maurer, “‘Erhört wegen der Gottesfurcht,’ Hebr. V, 7,” in *Neues*

Testament und Geschichte (Festschrift O. Cullmann), Zurich, 1972, pp. 275–284.

²⁷ Πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τοῦ ι—ερέως, at Stratonicea in Caria, in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 12, Paris, 1960, p. 543.

²⁸ *SB* 13, 1167, 8658; *SEG* VIII, 773; *CIRB*, n. 44, 13.

²⁹ Καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀκούειν. This transmission of the word of God by foreigners was as a punishment for the hardening of the elect people, who no longer listened to the voice of the prophets.

³⁰ Herodotus 2.70: “The crocodile hears the cries of the piglet and goes in the direction they are coming from”; Plato, *Grg.* 487 c: “One day I heard you deliberating on a point . . .”; cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 821: “I heard your whole conversation from the beginning, while going out the door”; Plutarch, *Fam.* 10.6: the spectators at the Isthmian games “did not all hear, nor hear distinctly, the proclamation” of the herald and ask for a second hearing.

³¹ Hesiod, *Op.* 448; Plato, *Soph.* 227 c: “Pay attention to me for what follows”; Sophocles, *OT* 708: Jocasta to Oedipus, “Hear me;” Aristophanes, *Eq.* 1080: “Hear this oracle again”; Homer, *Od.* 19.98: “Let the foreigner speak to me and listen to me; I wish to question him.” Hence: become informed, “You will learn the trials that await you” (Euripides, *Tro.* 166).

³² J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1973, p. 165, n. 429.

³³ *IGLS* 1262. The word of the prophet is listened to as that of a god, ε—πακούομαι ὡς θεός (Vettius Valens 63, 19; cf. F. Cumont, *L’Egypte des astrologues*, p. 120, n. 5; p. 158, n. 2). —Επήκοος is an Egyptian, Greek, and Roman adjective for deities that answer prayers; the classic collection is O. Weinrich, “εοὶ ε—πήκοι,” in *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich-deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts*, vol. 37, 1912, pp. 1–68; cf. Y. Grandjean, *Arétalogie d’Isis*, p. 17, line 7: “You have heard, Isis, the prayers that I addressed to you; come for the praises that I intend for you”; p. 30, n. 33; *SB* 4947, 6.

³⁴ *UPZ* 78, 28: ε—λθέ μοι, θεὰ θεω—ν, εἴλεως γινομένη, ε—πάκουσόν μου, ε—λέησον τὰς διδύμας; 81, col. II, 20; *SEG* VIII, 621, 4 (= *SB* 7871); *BGU* 1080, 6; cf. a Christian letter from the fourth century: “May God also hear your prayers” (*P.Oxy.* 1494, 7).

³⁵ Tomb inscription, in E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 97, 4 = *SB* 7871, 4. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 2562, 5: “You have heard the decision of my lord the

most illustrious prefect of Egypt”; a pilgrim wishes to hear the voice of the Colossus of Memnon (*SEG XX*, 685, 3 - *SB* 101 = A. and E. Bernard, *Memnon*, n. 70, 3); *SB* 11043, 7.

³⁶ Isa 8:9—“Pay heed, all nations of the earth” (hiphil of the Hebrew *‘azan*); 10:30 (hiphil of *qashab*); 55:3; Jdt 14:15—“no one listened”; Cant 5:6—“I called him, but he did not answer”; cf. listen to advice (2Chr 25:16).

³⁷ Gen 16:11; 17:20; 21:17; Josh 10:14; Judg 13:9; 2Chr 6:19; 30:20, 27; Ps 145:19; Jer 18:19; Dan 9:17-19; Prov 15:29—“God hears (answers) the supplications of the righteous”; Sir 4:6. Cf. 2Sam 21:14—“God showed favor to the land” (ε—πήκουσεν, Hebrew niphal of *‘atar*); 24:25; 1Chr 5:20; 21:26; Isa 19:22. J. Barr, “The Meaning of ε—πακούω and cognates in the LXX,” in *JTS*, 1980, pp. 67–72.

³⁸ Gen 25:21—ε—πήκουσε δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεός; 30:6, 17, 22; 2Sam 22:7; 2Kgs 13:4; 2Chr 33:13, 19; Isa 41:17; 49:8; Zech 10:6; Ps 22:24; Sir 48:20; 2Macc 1:5.

³⁹ 1Sam 7:9; 1Kgs 18:24, 37; Job 33:13; Ps 3:4; 17:6; 20:1, 9; 34:4; 65:5; 69:13, 17; 81:7; 86:1; 91:15; 99:6, 8; 108:6; 118:5, 21; 119:26, 145; 138:3; 143:1; Isa 30:19; 65:24; Hos 2:23; Zech 13:9. C. Cox, “Ἐι—σακούω and —Ἐπακούω in the Greek Psalter,” in *Bib*, 1981, pp. 251–258.

⁴⁰ Josh 22:2; Isa 45:1; 50:10; cf. Esth 4:17—to effect that which is asked.

⁴¹ *Moses* 1.47; 2.229; *Spec. Laws* 4.32; *Flight* 1 and 5 quoting Gen 16:11. *Joseph* 265: “God sees all and hears all” seems to be a citation of Homer, *Il.* 3.277.

⁴² *To Gaius* 132: ὧν ἤκουε μὴ ε—πακούειν; cf. *Post. Cain* 137; *Dreams* 1.129, 191; *Moses* 2.170; *Conf. Tongues* 8.

⁴³ *War* 7.104; 7.355, 385. In 16 occurrences, only 2 are religious: God hears (answers) prayers (*Ant.* 9.10; 10.41).

⁴⁴ Taking the context into account, L. Cerfaux (“Saint Paul et le ‘Serviteur de Dieu’ d’Isaïe,” in *Miscellanea biblica et orientalia*, R. P. A. Miller oblata, Rome, 1951, p.359) specifies that the point is the grace offered concretely, at that time, in Paul’s mission. The presence and ministry of the apostle, sent and protected by God, offers to the Corinthians “in that moment the irreplaceable opportunity for salvation, their last chance.”

45 Euripides, *Alc.* 400; Ps.-Homer, *H. Aphr.* 1.181: “He eagerly shook off his sleep to listen”; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.1.18: “Cyrus did not have the leisure to listen”; 8.1.20; 8.3.21; 8.4.9; 8.7.16; hence, answer and grant the request, Diodorus Siculus 4.34.5

46 Menander, *Dysk.* 494; Theophrastus, *Char.* 4.12: “If someone knocks on the door, he comes in person to answer”; 28.3—to the question “Who are the women who live in this house?” the slanderous person answers, “They are wantons, women who answer in person when someone knocks at the door”; *P.Oxy.* 2719, 14 (third century).

47 Herodotus 3.101: “These Indians were never subject to Darius”; the peoples accepted submission to Cyrus (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.1.3); the allies were “subjects of the empire” (Thucydides 6.69.3); people submit to the general (*ibid.* 3.3.11), to the president of a brotherhood (*P.Lond.* 2193 = *SB* 7835, 10), to the laws (Aeschines, *In Tim.* 1.49; Plato, *Leg.* 4.708 d; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 785, 18).

48 Athenaeus 6.247 d; Plutarch, *Sol.* 31.3: “the accuser did not appear” (οὐχ ὑπήκουσε). Cf. corresponding to a desire: Eleazar to King Ptolemy—“Every time it is a matter of serving your interests, we will follow your desires” (*Ep. Arist.* 44).

49 Philemon, frag. 132 K: ἀγαθῆς γυναικός ε—στιν, μὴ κρείττοῦ εἶναι τὰνδρὸς ἀλλ᾽ ὑπήκοον (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 74, 20; vol. IV, 23); Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.201: “the wife ought to obey her husband, not to humiliate herself but to be guided, because it is to the man that God has given the power.” Cf. Plato, *Lach.* 200 d: “You will know better how to make yourself listen (= obey).”

50 Thucydides 2.62.3; to submit is to expose oneself in the positive sense to the air (Theophrastus, *Caus. Pl.* 2.12.1), to the cold (*ibid.* 5.4.2), to the sun’s rays (Pindar, *Ol.* 3.44).

51 Said of certain diseases with regard to the cures, δυσκόλως ὑπακούοντα (Hippocrates, *Epid.* 3.8). Cf. Plutarch, *Thes.* 1.5: “Can we oblige the fables to submit to reason and take on the character of history.”

52 Thucydides 1.141: “You ought to yield before suffering harm”; 5.98; cf. 1.29.1: “The Corinthians did not wish to yield”; 1.26.4; 1.139.2.

53 *P.Sorb.* 63, 8: “Know well that if you do not obey my orders . . .”; *P.Mich.* 604, 16: submitting to the law of the *strategos*; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 237, 12 (oath of obedience to the prefect); *SB* 7835, 10; 9393, 12; 11222, 9;

P.Tebt. 24, 26 and 28; *P.Oxy.* 900, 9; *P.Cair.Isid.* 102, 10; 113, 10; *P.Mil.* 64, 12. Cf. *P.Hamb.* 169, 5: “Thus far they have not followed up” (241 BC); *P.Cair.Zen.* 59367, 15 = SB 6768.

⁵⁴ *P.Oxy.* 1889, 21: ὁμολογῶ— . . . ὑπακούειν; 1982, 21; SB 6266, work contract: ὑπακούειν ὑμι—ν ε—ν πα—σι καλοι—ς ἔργοις; 6643, 17; 6704, 12; 9503, 12; *P.Aberd.* 19, 11: “If Gaius Julius L., here present, consents to this decision and swears to it . . .”; *P.Oxy.* 2765, 10: present and consenting; SB 10205, 14.

⁵⁵ *P.Achm.* 8, 28; *BGU* 1826, 25; *P.Mich.* 534, 7, 13; SB 7368, 10; 7558, 10; 7696, 36; *P.Fouad* 24, 3: “If they do not respond [to my citation], I will let you distribute”; *PSI* 1100, 10; 1265, 8; *P.Hamb.* 29, 5: κληθέντων τινῶ—ν καὶ μὴ ὑπακουσάντων; *P.Flor.* 6, 24: κληθεὶς μὴ ὑπακούσης = if, having been summoned, you do not comply, the consequence will be . . . ; *P.Stras.* 41, 50; *P.Oslo* 80, 24; *P.Oxf.* 5 a 6; *P.Oxy.* 3117, 3; P.M. Meyer, *Jur.Pap.*, n. 85.

⁵⁶ *P.Oxy.* 2892, col. I, 24; 2894, col. II, 35, 40; col. III, 32; 2895, col. I, 24; 2902, 8, 21, 24; 2922, 13; 2927, 2, 10, etc.; 2930, 7; 2931, 5; 2932, 4; 2936, 29, 31.

⁵⁷ Gen 16:2 (Hebrew *shamá’*); 27:13; 39:10; Sir 24:22; cf. 2Chr 24:19—“they do not heed” (Hebrew *‘azan*).

⁵⁸ Gen 41:40—“At Joseph’s order, all the people submitted”; 1Chr 29:23—“all the Israelites obeyed Solomon”; everyone obeyed God (Dan 7:27; Bar 3:33; Sir 42:23) who hears prayers (Prov 15:29; 2Macc 1:5); obedience to the high priest, 1Macc 10:38.

⁵⁹ Gen 22:18; 26:5; Lev 26:14, 18, 21, 27; Deut 26:14; 30:2; Josh 22:2; Jer 3:13, 25; 11:10; 16:12; Dan 3:30.

⁶⁰ Cant 5:6; 2Sam 22:42: “They cry to Yahweh, and he does not answer them”; Isa 50:2; 65:12, 24; 66:4; Job 5:1; 9:3, 14, 16; 13:22; 14:15; 19:16; Prov 29:19.

⁶¹ Rom 6:17. It is difficult to specify the meaning of τύπος διδασχῆς, given the variety of meanings of the first word. Proposals include form of teaching, norm, rule, model, schema (A. Blumenthal, “Τύπος und Παράδειγμα,” in *Hermes*, 1928, pp. 391–414; G. Roux, “Le Sens de τύπος,” in *REA*, 1961, pp. 5–14). In the papyri, *typos* is a fixed rule, in contrast to custom (συνήθεια) and a legal term (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 130, 135, 136, 262); in architecture, it is the architect’s plan, the mock-up, or the

wooden stamp that marks an imprint on the clay (A. Orlandos, *Technique architecturale*, p. 93). So we could interpret that Christian doctrine puts its authenticating mark on a life in conformity to the will of God and the model of Christ. Cf. J. Kürzinger, “Τύπος διδασχῆς und der Sinn von Röm. VI, 17f,” in *Bib*, 1958, pp. 156–176; F. W. Beare, “On the Interpretation of Romans VI, 17,” in *NTS*, vol. 5, 1959, pp. 206–210; C. H. Dodd, “The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus,” in *New Testament Essays*, pp. 109–118; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 723ff. U. Borse, “Abbild der Lehre: Röm. VI, 17,” in *BZ*, 1968, pp. 95–103.

⁶² 2Sam 22:36, a song of David: “Your gentleness (ὕπακοή) enlarged me.” In *T.Jud.* 17.3 there may be a Christian gloss, ἦν ἔδωκέ μοι Κύριος ε—ν ὑπακοῇ πατρός μου.

⁶³ *Gos. Pet.* 42: a voice from the heavens asks Jesus, “Have you preached to those who sleep?” And an answer was heard (ὕπακοῇ ἠκούετο) coming from the cross: ‘Yes’”; cf. *Acts John* 94; *Const. App.* 8.13.13. The term is unknown in the papyri until the sixth century, when it appears in a work contract: μεθ ὑπερτάτης ἀρετῆς καὶ ὑπακοῆς ε—ν πα—σι τοι—ς ὀφελίμοις ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις (*P.Stras.* 40, 41); *P.Cair. Masp.* 159, 24: μετὰ πάσης ὑποταγῆς καὶ ὑπακοῆς παρ ἁλλήλων ει—ς ἀλλήλους.

⁶⁴ Except at *Phlm* 21, where πεποιθῶς τῇ ὑπακοῇ could be translated “being confident in your teachableness” or “in your mildness.” Perhaps the ὑ[πακοῇ] of the Corinthians with regard to Titus and Paul (2Cor 7:15) is teachableness or humility rather than obedience in the strict sense (cf. 7:7, 11).

⁶⁵ Rom 6:16—When you are in someone’s service, it is in order to obey him (ει—ς ὑπακοῆν), that is, to carry out his orders, as a slave does for his master. Now when a person obeys God, this voluntary submission procures righteousness, ὑπακοῆς ει—ς δικαιοσύνην.

⁶⁶ Cf. K. Romaniuk, *L’Amour du Père et du Fils dans la sotériologie de saint Paul*, Rome, 1961, pp. 96–150.

⁶⁷ Phil 2:8; cf. P. Henry, “Kénose,” in *DBSup*, vol. 5, col. 33.

⁶⁸ It is a constantly recurring axiom that painful trials teach the wise (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 177; Herodotus 1.207; *Moses* 2.280; cf. J. Coste, “Notion grecque et notion biblique de la souffrance éducatrice: A propos de Hébr. V, 8,” in *RSR*, 1955, pp. 481–523; G. Bornkamm, “Sohnschaft und Leiden,” in *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche: Festschrift J. Jeremias*, Berlin, 1960,

pp. 188–198; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 46; vol. 2, p. 117). How could the incarnate Son of God, the perfect model of all virtue from his birth on, enroll in the school of suffering to learn a virtue that was innate in him? The answer is that as a human being, Jesus had to experience the constraints, the weaknesses, the temptations of human nature. He had a concrete knowledge of the difficulties of obedience, in the most unhelpful circumstances, especially in the trial of the death that he suffered, a “passion.” Thus he acquired a psychologically enriching experience, a practical understanding, a personal appreciation of suffering that was indispensable for his ability to sympathize with his brethren (cf. verse 2). F. Raurell, “La obediencia de Crist, modelo de obediencia del hombre según San Pablo,” in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1963, pp. 249–270.

⁶⁹ Rom 1:5; 15:18; 16:19, 26. This can be read as (a) submission to the objective faith set forth by the apostle, (b) obedience that leads to faith, or more probably (c) obedience that is faith: unreserved commitment to God, to what God has said and promised; cf. G. H. Parke-Taylor, “A Note on εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως in Romans I, 5,” in *ExpT*, vol. 55, 1943–44, pp. 305ff. W. Wiefel, “Glaubensgehorsam? Erwägungen zu R. I, 5,” in *Festschrift E. Schott*, 1967, pp. 137–144.

⁷⁰ 2Cor 10:5-6. The neophyte is like a conqueror’s plunder. In the second part of verse 6 (ὅταν πληρωθῆ ὑμῶν ἡ ὑπακοή), J. Héring (*La seconde Epître de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel, 1958, p. 58; ET *The Second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians*, trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock, London, 1967, ad loc) thinks that the aorist is not the equivalent of a preterite or a future perfect but rather has an inchoative sense (cf. Phil 2:7-8; Heb 2:10) that may be translated, “at the moment when your obedience is to be complete.” Cf. 2Cor 2:9—εἰς πάντα ὑπήκοοί ε—στε.

⁷¹ Ὑπακοῆς is not a simple genitive of quality describing children of God (cf. verses 3, 17), suggesting the teachableness and submission that every child owes its father (Heb 12:9); it is a Hebraism, like “son of the kingdom” or “son of light,” expressing an essential property, a mode of being. We could say that the neophytes are obedient by nature, devoted to obeying God, made to obey.

⁷² Cf. O. Kuss, “Der Begriff des Gehorsams im Neuen Testament,” in *Theologie und Glaube*, 1935, pp. 695–702; G. Badini, “L’obbedienza nella Bibbia,” in *Vita Cristiana*, 1954, pp. 299–312; R. Cai, “L’obbedienza di Gesu Cristo,” *ibid.*, pp. 313–329; J. Gnllka, “Zur Theologie des Hörens nach den Aussagen des N.T.,” in *Bibel und Leben*, 1961, pp. 71–81. R. Deichgräber, “Gehorsam und Gehorchen in der Verkündigung Jesu,” in

ZNW, 1961, pp. 119–122; R. Schnackenburg, *The Moral Teachings of the New Testament*, trans. J. Holland-Smith and W. J. O’Hara, New York, 1965, pp. 110ff., 207ff.; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 256, 384; vol. 2, pp. 532ff.; 593, n. 3; 623; 659ff. B. Schwank, “Gehorsam (ὕπακοή) im N.T.,” in *Erbe und Auftrag*, 1966, pp. 469–476.

⁷³ One is willing or not willing to be obedient, cf. Acts 7:39—οὐκ ἐθέλησεν ὑπήκοοι γενέσθαι.

ε—κδημέω

ekdemeo, to leave, be in exile

ekdemeo, S 1553; TDNT 2.63–64; EDNT 1.408; NIDNTT 2.788–790; MM 192; L&N 23.111, 85.21; BAGD 238

“Being at home (*endemountes*) in the body, we are in exile (*ekdemoumen*) from the Lord. . . . We prefer to be in exile (*ekdemesai*) from the body and be at home (*endemesai*) with the Lord. That is why whether we are at home in this body or away from it (*eite endemountes eite ekdemountes*) it is our desire to be pleasing to him” (2Cor 5:6, 8, 9). These three occurrences of *ekdemeo*, the only occurrences in the whole Bible, are rather difficult to translate, because this compound of *demos* (“land, territory”) is relatively uncommon and has varied meanings.

The first meaning is “leave” (with an accusative of the place or person): “Solon left the country and went to Egypt” (Herodotus 1.30); “Laius had left to consult the oracle.”¹ Next, it can mean “go away”: “The one who has killed will go away into some other country and to some other place, and he will stay there in exile.”² It can also mean “travel” and becomes synonymous with *apodemeo* (“leave on a journey,” Matt 25:14; Mark 12:1; Luke 20:9): “These are the conditions imposed on a trip abroad” (Plato, *Leg.* 12.1952 *d*); “The soul completed the journey, because it found a path” (Ps.-Aristotle, *Mund.* 1.391a11). In *T. Abr.*, the verb is used for death, as in 2Cor: leaving the body to go to God.³

In the papyri, this verb is almost always used for changing one’s residence, going from one place to another,⁴ leaving one’s country or moving. In the first century AD, two ephebes state, “If we move or if we leave, we must notify the president.”⁵ “Ever since we left (*aph’ hou exedemesamen*) the monarchs have done nothing . . .” (*P.Mich.* 43, 5; third century BC). The meaning “be absent” is well attested: “Be so good as to write Epharmostos to be there and not to be absent (*egdemountos*) when the matter is judged.”⁶

The Pauline use of moving as a metaphor for death, expressed as a play on words, is clear: it is a matter of moving from one country to another, that is, moving out of here in order to move in elsewhere, leaving the body behind to gain heaven and see Christ. Here below, Christians are in exile “apart from the Lord.” They live as exiles (*ekdemeo*) so long as they dwell in this body, which is likened to a tent (*skenos* —2Cor 5:1, 4—a symbol of nomadic life) because their citizenship is heavenly (Phil 3:20). The idea could have been comprehensible to pagans: “A little earth envelops and hides his body; his soul, having escaped his members, is possessed by the vast *ouranos*.”⁷

¹ Sophocles, *OT* 114;

² Plato, *Leg.* 9.864 e; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.142: “The inscriptions engraved on the city gates remind those who go away and those who remain alike . . . of what they must say and do”; Josephus, *Life* 388: “An urgent personal matter obliged me to leave the king’s domain.”

³ *T. Abr.* A 1: The archangel Michael has the mission of telling Abraham that he is going to die: “You are about to leave this world of vanity and go out of your body (ε—κδημει—ν ε—κ τοῦ σώματος) to your own master among the good”; 7: “At this time you must leave the terrestrial world and go to God” (καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ε—κδημει—ν); 15: “You are to leave the body (ε—κ τοῦ σώματος ε—κδημει—ν) and appear before the Lord.”

⁴ *BGU* 1197, 7: ε—κδημήσαντος δὲ σοῦ εἰ—ς τοὺς ε—κτὸς τόπου (4 BC); *P.Lond.* 2019, 1: “Know that I have gone to Crocodilopolis to make a payment” (third century BC). An epitaph from the Decapolis in the third century AD mentions that a veteran who has taken part in two wars and traversed the world (τὸν κόσμον ε—κδημήσας; cf. *IG*, XIV, 905: δύσιν καὶ ἀνατολήν) has finally returned to his country (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1952, p. 180, n. 172). Cf. Philo, *Abraham* 65: “Those who have traveled . . . have become expatriates.”

⁵ *P.Tebt.* 316, 20: ε—άν δὲ μεταβαίνωμεν ἢ ε—γδημω—μεν μεταδώσωμεν.

⁶ *P.Mich.* 80, 4 9 (letter from Eutychides to Zeno); *BGU* 1916, 2; *P.Oxy.* 50, 16: There will be no lost time during the absence (ε—κδημηῆσαι) of the delegate; *SB* 6769, 23: καθ ὄν χρόνον μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ε—ξεδημοῦμεν; cf. 8940, 4: κατὰ τὴν ε—μὴν ε—κδημίαν. Nothing can be drawn from *P.Yale* 49, 4, which is quite mutilated.

⁷ Inscription from Lycabettus, in the Hellenistic period (G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, n. 104, 5; cf. 35; 90; 125; 243; 250); “The body has gone to

the earth, its parent; the heavenly soul to an imperishable dwelling. The corpse sleeps in the ground; the soul that was given me sojourns in heaven” (ibid. 261, 7–10). A. J. Festugière, *Idéal religieux*, pp. 143–169. For Plutarch, death is like return from an exile (ε—ξ ἀποδημίας . . . ει—ς πατρίδα). The soul, driven from the body, wanders between the earth and the moon for a variable length of time; “one would speak of banished persons returning to their land after a long absence” (*De fac.* 28.943 c); “Socrates said that death was like . . . a great and long journey (ἀποδημία)” (Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 12; reference to Plato, *Ap.* 40 c: “Death is a departure, a passage of the soul from this place to another”; cf. Plato, *Phd.* 67 d: “The precise meaning of the word *death* is that a soul is detached and separated from a body”). Epictetus 1.9.16: “The time of the sojourn (τῆς οἰ—κήσεως) here below is short; we must remain at this post, but wait for God”; Marcus Aurelius 2.17: life is an exile, ξένου ε—πιδημία; Philo, *Heir* 82: “the whole bodily life is an exile (ἀποδημία)”; 267; *Conf. Tongues* 76–82: “The wise person sojourns in the sensible body as in a foreign land” (81); *Dreams* 1.180ff. Cf. F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, pp. 177–253; idem, *Lux Perpetua*, pp. 175ff., 275–302; J. Dupont, *Union avec le Christ*, pp. 153–155, 160–165, 168.

ε—κτένεια, ε—κτενής, ε—κτενω—ς

ekteneia, fervor, unflinching intensity; *ektenes*, *ektenos*, without ceasing, zealously, urgently

ekteneia, S 1616; *TDNT* 2.464; *EDNT* 1.422; MM 198; L&N 25.70; BAGD 245 | ***ektenes***, S 1618; *TDNT* 2.463–464; *EDNT* 1.422; MM 198; L&N 25.71, 68.12; BAGD 245 | ***ektenos***, S 1619; *EDNT* 1.422; MM 199; L&N 25.71, 68.12; BAGD 245

These terms express tautness and, in a moral sense, an effort that can be understood either as perseverance (“without respite, without letting up, assiduously”) or as intensity (“with fervor, urgently”). The two meanings are often joined together in a context that makes it difficult to distinguish between them. In the OT, which does not use *ektenes* (cf. 3Macc 3:10; 5:29), their usages are religious, notably with respect to the great cries of prayer that Israel voices, forcefully and one might almost say violently, toward God.¹

Luke also uses *ektenos* with respect to prayer: in the garden, Jesus prayed with more urgency,² and when “Peter was being guarded in prison, the church urgently prayed to God for him.”³ As for 1Peter, it bids the baptized “Love one another from the bottom of your hearts, intensely”⁴ and

repeats, “Above all, have an intense love between yourselves,”⁵ meaning that this love should stretch and be as fervent as possible.⁶

In contemporary usage, especially in the inscriptions, *ektenes* and *ektenos* refer to a constant concern to be of service, exacting and untiring zeal, urgent affection, and even lavish gift-giving;⁷ things that would be attributed today to “fervent love” (cf. Rom 12:11). As part of the official vocabulary of chancelleries, *ekteneia*, *ektenos*, and *ektenes* are in copious supply in honorific decrees,⁸ where they enjoy a privileged association with *prothymia*, *prothymos*, *prothymos*, as Hesychius and the *Suda* note. In Thrace: “I have a fervent desire to benefit everyone” (*prothymian gar ektenestaten echo tou poiein eu pantas, I.Thas. 186, 10*). A decree from Lampsacus sends to the magistrates of Thasos the list of honors conferred upon Dionysodoros, who “shows himself full of ardor and zeal for the interests of the people” (*ektene kai prothymon heauton eis ta tou demou paraskeuazei pragmata, ibid., 171, 14 = SEG XIII, 458* and the commentary of J. Tréheux in *BCH, 1953, pp. 426–433*); “he showed himself full of ardor and zeal for all” (*pasi ektene kai prothymon auton pareicheto*).⁹ Around 188, the Milesians honor the physician Apollonios, “he showed himself *ektenes* and *prothymos* likewise according to his art,” (*ektene kai prothymon homoios heauton pareicheto kata te ten technen, Dittenberger, Syl. 620, 8, 13*); the Erythreans fête their praetors, “they proved themselves *ektenes* and *prothymos* toward the defense of the city” (*ekteneis kai prothymous autous pareschonto pros ten tespoleos phylaken, ibid. 442, 9; cf. SB 8855, 10*). Around 200: “showing himself *ektenes* and *prothymos* in everything” (*ektene kai prothymon em pasi paraskeuazomenos, I.Priene 82, 10–11; cf. ektene kai prothymon heauton . . . parechetai, I.Magn., 86, 12 and 20*); a decree in honor of Boulagoras, “whereas having been chosen several times by the people as their representative during public proceedings, he was unflagging in his activity and zeal—*ektene kai prothymos*—and he has secured many advantages and profits for the city.”¹⁰ Around 130, an inscription of Pergamum, “so that ... now in a manner worthy of godlike honors he became most *ektenes* in his zeal” (*hopos . . . nyn isotheon exiomenos timon ektenesteros ginetai te prothymia*).¹¹

The association of zeal and ardor is similar. Cf. a hydrophore of Artemis: *ektenos kai philoteimos (I.Did., 375, 8)*; “fulfilling the duties of *hydrophoros* in a matter worthy of his race, *philoteimos*, and performing the mysteries *ektenos*” (*plerosasa de kai ten hydrophorian axios tou genous philoteimos kai ta men mysteria ektenos telesasa, ibid. 381, 8*). A decree of the Athenian association of soteriasts (worshippers of Artemis Soteira) sets out to reward a certain Diodorus: “the synod having received his *ekteneia* and *philotimia*.”¹² The council and people of Sardis honor a priestess Claudia Polla Quintilla, who on the one hand had served the god and the community in an orderly and zealous fashion (*kosmios, philoteimos*) and

on the other hand had generously (or constantly) funded public sacrifices out of her own pocket.¹³ In 218 BC, a letter-decree from the *kosmoi* (rulers) and city of Gortyn expresses the gratitude of the city to the physician Hermias of Cos, who for five years worked for “citizens and all inhabitants with zeal and constancy—*philotimios* and *ektenios* —in everything pertaining to his profession and all other cares.”¹⁴

From these usages it emerges that *ekteneia* in the NT is intensity without negligence or failing, whether in prayer or brotherly love. It would not seem that the accent falls on duration or persistence; it is rather fervor, authenticity, magnanimity, a certain lavishness of feeling¹⁵ that characterize Christian *agape*, eager and generous. To better situate 1Pet 1:22 and 4:8, we should note that in literary texts *ektenos*, often in conjunction with *philophronos*¹⁶ and *ektenes*, often modifies friendship.¹⁷ In fact, *hoi ektenestatoi* is used for the most fervent friends (Polybius 21.22.4). In 182 BC, Eumenes II invites the city of Cos to celebrate games in honor of Athena Nikephora, “with all those who are most *ektenes* to us among the Greeks.”¹⁸ Arcesilas informs his friend Thaumasis that he has drawn up a will in his favor, so greatly has the latter proven his zeal toward him (*ton eis em’ ektenos houto pephilotimemenon*, Diogenes Laertius 4.6.44). Attalus II, writing around 160 to Attis, priest of the temple of Cybele at Pessinus, declares “Menodorus, whom you sent to me, gave me your fervent and friendly letter.”¹⁹ Arbaces “eagerly forged close relations with the leaders of troops from various nations and succeeded in gaining their friendship” (Diodorus Siculus 2.24.3).

But St. Peter’s vision of such generous and constant brotherly love is only possible as a function of the divine rebirth of the children of God. They share in a divine love and give expression to its spontaneity and fervor.

¹ Jdt 4:12 (Hebrew *behozqâh*); 4:9; Joel 1:14; Jonah 3:8. Only in 2Macc 14:38, with respect to Razis, who had risked his body and his life for Judaism, does *μετὰ πάσης ε—κτενίας* have the meaning of constancy and assiduousness. Cf. Acts 26:7—hoping for the realization of God’s promise, the twelve tribes serve God *ε—ν ε—κτενεΐα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν λατρεῦον*.

² Luke 22:44—*γενόμενος ε—ν ἀγωνία ε—κτενέστερον προσήχετο*; M. J. Lagrange (on this text) notes that *ἀγωνία* is not agony, but “anxiety or anguish due to a threatening evil that is obscure enough that one cannot know what one is up against.”

³ Acts 12:5—*προσευχὴ δὲ ἦν ε—κτενω—ς γινομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ε—κκλησίας*. The adverb is well attested by P74, a A B (Vulg. *sine intermissione*), but a<^>2, E, H, L, P, Chrysostom read *ε—κτενής*, and D says *ε—ν ε—κτενεΐα*.

⁴ 1Pet 1:22—ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε ε—κτενω—ς; cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 312–324 (p. 317 n. 5 points out the imprecision of the articles on this adverb in the lexicons and dictionaries).

⁵ 1Pet 4:8—πρὸ πάντων τὴν εἰ—ς ε—αυτοὺς ἀγάπην ε—κτενῆ ἔχοντες. The motive given is that love does more than an expiatory sacrifice to “cover a multitude of sins”; cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 332–338; C. Spicq, *Epîtres de saint Pierre*, p. 150; A. Perego, “I peccati sono rimessi e non coperti anche secondo il salmo 31,” in *DivThom*, 1960, pp. 205–215.

⁶ Cf. ὑπερεκτείνω (unknown before 2Cor 10:14), which E. B. Allo translates “se distendre” (Eng. slacken, stretch out, relax).

⁷ Citizens of the town of Elaia act with consideration toward King Attalus III, given the benefits that they have received from him, ὅπως ε—πὶ τοι—ς γεγενημένοις ἀγαθοι—ς τω— βασιλει— ε—κτενει—ς οἱ— πολι—ται φαίνονται (*I.Perg.*, 246, 4); “who has continually given numerous and great proofs of his devotion toward us and our concerns” (letter of Antiochus III, in *IGLS*, n. 992, 4). King Seleucus, praising his “honored friend” Aristolochus, emphasizes that “he often worked with all possible good will in the service of my father, my brother, and myself, and, in the most critical circumstances, constantly gave tokens of his interest in the affairs of the kingdom” (M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 3, pp. 199ff.). *I.Car.*, 166, 7: ε—κτενω—ς ε—αυτὸν ε—πιδούς; *I.Ilium*, n. 53, 4: ε—κτενω—ς διάκειμαι; cf. 54, 4; *I.Cumae*, n. 13, 84, and 102.

⁸ Around 216 BC, an amphictyonic decree from Delphi: ε—κτενω—ς πα—σι τοι—ς παραγινομένοις ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 538, 17). An honorific decree given by a city to a foreign citizen who has gone to particular trouble on its behalf: τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶ—ν ε—κτενές (*I.Thas.* 166, 6; which the editors, C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, compare to Dittenberger, *Or.* 339, 7: καὶ πρὸ πλείστου θέμενος τὸ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα γνήσιον καὶ ε—κτενές). A decree of Samothrace awarding *proxenia* and official standing to Hestaios “so that the Thasians also may know . . . his zeal on behalf of our people, τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ε—κτένειαν, and the gratitude of our city” (*I.Thas.*, 169, 26); an honorific decree of Rhodes for Dionysodoros, who constantly took care to supply all the needs of the ambassadors, ε—ποιεῖ—το τὰν ε—κτενέστατην πρόνοιαν (*ibid.* 172, 12). Around AD 283, the prefect Aurelius Mercurious ordered the general of Oxyrhynchus to take inventory of his stock of provisions: πρόνοιαν ποιήση ε—κτενω—ς αὐτὰ τρέφεσθαι (*P.Oxy.* 2228, 40; cf. 2861, 4; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 376). —Ἐπέστειλα τοι—ς ἀδελφοι—ς μου . . . πρὸς τὸ ε—κτενω—ς αὐτοι—ς ὑπάρχειν τὰ τῆς εὐθeneίας (*P.Michael.* 20, 2). A decree in honor of Eirenias, who “gives proof in all circumstances of the

highest zeal for the interests of the city and gives his assistance in everything that pertains to the reputation and glory of our country” (*NCIG*, n. 7, 3). A decree for Isagoras, a Thessalian from Larissa who manifested untiring zeal, φανεράν ε—νδεικνύμενος τὰν ι—δίαν ε—κτένιαν (*Fouilles de Delphes* 3, 4, n. 49, 7; in 106 BC; cf. 57, 6); συνπροσγεινόμενος ε—κτενω—ς πολλὰ τω—ν συμφερόντων (*I.Bulg.* 43, 11; cf. 45, A 30); an honorific decree of Iotape: ἄγορανομήσαντος ε—κτενω—ς (L. Robert, *Documents*, p. 75 = G. L. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Journies in Rough Cilicia*, n. 152, 6; 172a8); ε—κτενω—ς ποτιφερόμενος εἰς τὸν δα—μον (*SEG XXII*, 266, 7; cf. I, 180; XXIII, 447, 15; XXV, 105, 26; 112, 7, 42). According to a decree of the Athenian cleruchs, Euboulos of Marathon, “who was given responsibility for several diplomatic missions, often succeeded through sustained effort—ἀγωνισάμενος ε—κτενω—ς—in securing the interests of the Athenians of Delos” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 5, 15). In 164 BC, *P.Paris* 63, 12 prescribes: “καλω—ς ποιήσεις τὴν πα—σαν προσενεγκάμενος ε—κτένειαν καὶ προνοηθεῖς—You will do well to bring all your zeal to bear and take every precaution”; line 46: ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας, τὴν ε—κτενεστάτην ποιήσασαι, in acting in the most correct fashion, you will exercise all diligence” (= *UPZ* 110).

⁹ F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, Heidelberg, 1959, n. 49, 46; cf. 44, 7; 46, 25; 48, 11.

¹⁰ *SEG* I, 366, 21; J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 3.

¹¹ *IGRom.*, n. 293, col. II, 38.

¹² Ἡ σύνοδος ἀποδεξαμένη τὴν ε—κτένειαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1104, 28. Cf. *I.Sinur.*, n. 41, 1.

¹³ Δημοτελει—ς θυσίας ε—πιτελέσασαν ε—κ τω—ν ι—δίων ε—κτενω—ς (*I.Sard.* 52, 11). The *Koinon* of the Cretans conferred proxenia upon the Samian legate, παρεκάλει δὲ ἀμὲ ε—κτενίως καὶ φιλοτίμως καὶ ἀξίως αὐτοσαυτω— (*I.Cret.* 1, 24, 2; ed. M. Guarducci, vol. 1, p. 282). In AD 43, the Corinthian Junia Theodora is honored by the Lycians for her *philotimia*, her *philostorgia*, and her *ekteneia* (*SEG* 18, 143, 4, 78).

¹⁴ *I.Cret.* 4, 168 (= J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 15); cf. a decree found at Panamara, in L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, pp. 246, 256, 259 n. 6; vol. 2, p. 746 (a decree for a gymnasiarch of Samos). *I.Bulg.* 43, 11: φιλοτίμως καὶ συνπροσγεινόμενος ε—κτενω—ς πολλὰ τω—ν συμφερόντων ἡμεί—ν συνκατασκευάζεται; Dittenberger, *Or.* 767, 6: ι—ερατεύσας τε δις Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ ε—κτενω—ς καὶ φιλοτείμως; *IG*, X 2, n. 4, 8–9; cf. n. 1, 6. —The intensity of feeling and effort imply

eagerness: ε—ν πα—σιν ε—κτενῆ πεφηνότα καὶ σπουδαι—ον (*I.Priene* 114, 33); ὁ δῆμος ἀποδεχόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φιλόσπουδον καὶ ε—κτενές (Dittenberger, *Or.* 339, 40).

¹⁵ Cf. 3Macc 6:41—μεγαλοψύχας τὴν ε—κτενίαν ἔχουσαν; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 800, 13: ε—ν ται—ς λοιπαι—ς δαπάναις πάσαις ε—κτενω—ς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως; C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 544, 4 and 6: ε—κτενω—ς καὶ μεγαλομερω—ς συνεστράφη (a decree of Themisonion in Phrygia, from 114 BC; cf. the synonyms listed by Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 3.118–119). Agatharchides of Cnidos judges that the Aetolians are more ready than other people to die, because they more than others have the habit of living intensely (in Athenaeus 12.527 c; cf. Hierocles, in Stobaeus, 4.25.53; vol. 4, p. 643). Marcus Aurelius would later observe that in order to benefit from the instruction of good teachers in the household, it was necessary to spend generously, δεῖ— ε—κτενω—ς ἀναλίσκειν (1.4.3).

¹⁶ The medium of Endor offers Saul generous and friendly sympathy and consolation, the only thing that she possessed in her poverty, ὡς ε—ν πενία τοῦτο παρέσχεν ε—κτενω—ς καὶ φιλοφρόνως (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.341). Polybius 8.21.1: —Αχαιὸς δὲ προσδεξάμενος ε—κτενω—ς καὶ φιλοφρόνως τὸν Βω—λιν ἀνέκρινε διὰ πλειόνων ὑπὲρ ε—κάστου τω—ν κατὰ μέρος. An honorific decree of Delphi in honor of Euxenos: διότι εὐχρηστον αὐτοσαυτὸν παρασκευάζοι καὶ ε—κτενῆ περι— τοὺς ε—ντυγχάνοντας αὐτω— τω—ν πολιτα—ν καὶ φιλόφρων ὑπάρχει τα— πόλει (*SEG* 2, 277, 5), to which should be compared the honorific decree from Busiris in AD 22–23, in favor of its *strategos*: ε—κτενω—ς καὶ φιλανθρώπως διακείμενος (*ibid.* 8, 527, 5; cf. C. Michel, *Recueil*, 544, 30: τοὺς οὕτως ε—κενω—ς τε καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀναστρεφομένους).

¹⁷ In friendship, “one party may act generously and the other fall short; ὁ μὲν ε—κτενω—ς ποιῆ, ὁ δ ε—λλείπη” (Aristotle, *Mag. Mor.* 2.11.1201a27). The Stoic Hierocles with respect to mother and father, ἔνεκα τῆς ε—ν τοι—ς ὀνόμασιν ε—κτενεΐας (cited by Stobaeus 4.27.23; vol. 4, p. 673). In the third century BC, the comic poet Macon uses the adverb in conjunction with ἀγαπάομαι: ἦδει δ ὑπ ἄντῆς ἀγαπώμενος (in Athenaeus 13.579 e).

¹⁸ Σὺν ἅπασιν τοι—ς ε—κτενεστάτοις ἡμι—ν τω—ν Ἑλλήνων, C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 50, 2; cf. *ibid.* 52, 40: the good will of the people toward Emenes II is profound and sincere, πρὸς ἡμα—ς ε—κτενεστάτην τε καὶ εἰ—λικρινῆ τὴν εὐνοϊαν.

¹⁹ —Επιστολὴν . . . οὔσαν ε—κτενῆ καὶ φιλικήν (C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 58, 4). In an inscription of Cumae, n. xiii, 28, 54, 62, 78, *ekteneia* is associated with *philagathia*; with *philanthropia*, in L. Moretti

(*ISE*, vol. 2, n. 55, 2), with *eunoia* (*ibid.* 33, 7), with *epimeleia* in *ZPE* 25, 1977, p. 270.

ε—κτρέπομαι

ektreptomai, to change direction, deviate, go astray

ektreptomai, S 1624; *EDNT* 1.423; *NIDNTT* 3.902–903; MM 199; L&N 13.155, 31.65; BAGD 246

Very rare in the papyri,¹ the verb *ektrepo* is used only in the middle or passive voice in the NT. It expresses a change of state or direction² and seems to have in the first century connotations that vary according to context. Used notably in the moral or religious sphere, it means that one withdraws, deviates, turns aside from one way to go astray, get lost, flee down another. It is in this sense that the word is used four times in the Pastorals, where it seems to have become a technical term of parenesis: the heterodox turn away to wander in empty verbiage, *exetrapesan eis mataiologian* (1Tim 1:6; second aorist passive); heretics turn their ears away from the truth, turning instead to fables, *epi de tous mythous ektrapesontas* (2Tim 4:4, future passive indicative); Timothy must flee this profane chatter;³ young widows go astray after Satan (1Tim 5:15, *exetrapesan*).

The first-century parallels, Jewish and pagan, have this ethical significance: the nouveaux riches do not see the route before them and go astray in areas in which no paths have been cleared, *eis anodias ektrepontai* (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.23); “Turn aside from eunuchs (*gallous ektrepesthai*) and flee the company of those who have deprived themselves of their virility” (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.290). The young “turn aside from the ways of their fathers, they take the opposite path” (*ibid.* 6.34). “Rehoboam went astray in unjust and impious actions, *eis adikous kai asebeis exetrape praxeis* ” (*ibid.* 8.251); *eis* indicates the direction toward which one turns; cf. 5.98—“If you turn aside to imitate other nations.” Hyrcanus, a disciple of the Pharisees, bade them take notice if he committed any fault or turned aside from the way of justice (*tes hodou tes dikaias ektrepomenon*) and correct him (*ibid.* 13.290). In his chapter on training, Musonius says to “do anything to avoid things that are truly evil.”⁴ T. Nägeli cites an inscription of Oenoanda in Lycia that is very close to the wording of 1Tim 1:6 and 6:20—*ektrepesthai dei tous sophistikous logous*.⁵

Ektrepomai is also used in medical and surgical contexts—“leave its place, disconnect, dislocate, separate,”⁶—and it is in this sense that we should understand Heb 12:13—“Let the lame person not deviate; let him be healed.”⁷

¹ I am aware of only three occurrences: a complaint to a priest of Tiberias in AD 33—there is a danger “that the neighboring fields, which are not small, may fall back into an uncultivated state, εἰς ἄσπορον ἐκτραπήναι” (*P.Ryl.* 133, 22). The same turn of phrase occurs in the second century (*P.Stras.* 259, 12). In the fourth century, the papyrus is mutilated: εἰς κτραπήναι τὰς . . . (*SB* 9136, 8).

² In its only OT occurrence, it translates the Hebrew *hapaq*: “turn, change, pass from one state to another”; God changes the shadow of the night to dawn (*Amos* 5:8). In optics, it designates the deviation of a body in motion from its trajectory (C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 133). In a pejorative sense: “Turning aside in that direction (ἐκτραπόμενοι), they sat down and refused to go further” (*Xenophon, An.* 4.5.15); *Josephus, War* 1.614: “All turned aside, no one dared approach him” (Antipater at Caesarea).

³ *1Tim* 6:20—ἐκτρέπόμενος τὰς βεβήλους κενοφωνίας. Here the present middle participle could be translated “refuse” as in *Josephus (Ant.* 1.194: the Sodomites refusing all relations with others; 1.246: the young girls refused to give them anything to drink) or better, this inscription: ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐκτρέπεσθαι δει— τοὺς σοφιστικοὺς λόγους τούτους (published by H. Usener, “Epikureische Schriften auf Stein,” in *RhMus*, 1892, n. 29, 7).

⁴ In *Stobaeus, Ecl.* 29.78 (vol. 3, p. 650, 18; ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 54, 25). Cf. *Epictetus* 1.6.42: “letting himself be carried away (ἐκτρέπόμενοι εἰς) to complaints and reproaches against God.”

⁵ T. Nägeli, *Wortschatz*, p. 19.

⁶ Cf. *Hippocrates, Off.* 14, describing the treatment for a dislocated limb; it should be rested on a soft, regular surface, “so that there may be no protruding, no bending, no harmful turning (μήτε ἐκτρέπηται)”; *Dioscorides, Mat. Med.* 2.15. Cf. C. Spicq, “Alexandrinismes dans l’Épître aux Hébreux,” in *RB* 1951, p. 488.

⁷ The lame person is a sick person (cf. *Philo, Change of Names* 187; *Prelim. Stud.* 164ff.) called by 1QM “a shaker of the knees” (14.6). He represents the hesitant and fearful Christian, in danger of being completely dislocated by trials and incapable of following the narrow path.

ἔκτρομα

ektroma, stillborn child, child born abnormally before term

ektroma, S 1626; *TDNT* 2.465–467; *EDNT* 1.423; *NIDNTT* 1.182–183; MM 200; L&N 23.55; BAGD 246

After listing the appearances of the risen Christ to the apostles, St. Paul concludes: “And finally, as to a prematurely born child, he appeared even to me; for I am the least of the apostles” (1Cor 15:8-9). A NT hapax, *ektroma* is used three times in the LXX, and always in a comparison. Aaron pleads with Moses on behalf of Miriam when she is stricken with leprosy: “Let her not be like a stillborn child (*hosei ektroma*, Hebrew *mût*), that emerges from its mother’s womb with half its body eaten away” (Num 12:12). “Why was I not like a stillborn child (*hosper ektroma*), hidden in its mother’s womb, like the little ones who have not seen the light of day?”¹ The rich man, who has fathered a hundred sons and lived a long life, but whose soul is not satisfied and who does not receive a proper burial, is worse off than “the stillborn child, because in vanity it came and in obscurity it went, and in obscurity will its name be hidden; it has not even seen the sun and has not known it” (Eccl 6:3). In all three cases, the *ektroma* is a stillborn child, a physiological definition that sheds no light on the Pauline metaphor.²

There is a single occurrence in the papyri, dating from 142 BC. A pregnant Jewish woman complains that she was attacked by another woman, perhaps in a village of Samaria, and is in danger of having a miscarriage.³ In the secular literature, the term is not used by gynecologists and can be cited only in one text from Aristotle⁴ and in the definition of Hesychius: “a child born dead, untimely, something cast out of the woman” (*ektroma: paidion nekron aoron, ekbole gynaikos*).

Since the documentation is poor and worthless for shedding light in 1Cor 15:8, exegetes make the most of a notation by the twelfth-century polygraph J. Tzetzes, who saw the term *ektroma* as a derogatory label and understood the apostle to be taking up an insult used against him by his adversaries,⁵ like “ordure” (*peripsema*) in 1Cor 4:13. But J. Schneider (*TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 465–467) has demonstrated that this polemical interpretation does not square with the kerygmatic material that precedes. Thus it seems preferable to see in this word an expression of humility, as it was understood by Ignatius of Antioch,⁶ the Greek Fathers, and a number of moderns.⁷

T. Boman points out the triply depreciative expression: the last of the series—like a stillborn child—the lowliest or most minuscule of the apostles (*elachistos*, imperceptible); and he cites the Latin *abortivus* (dwarfish, infantile, falling short in maturity) which was not unknown to Paul.⁸ In effect, St. Irenaeus knew an analogous meaning: “shapeless and formless, like an *ektroma*.”⁹ So *ektroma*, derived from *ektitrosko* (pierce, tear),

literally means a fetus born before its time and violently; metaphorically, the Pauline image would be that of a body ripped by force from a woman's womb (the synagogue). The reference would be to the abnormal and sudden character of Paul's birth to the Christian faith and the apostolic ministry. His case is indeed different from that of the Twelve. He, Saul, was in a way a "premature birth," in an immature stage of his gestation in grace, "only a spiritual embryo" (T. Boman, p. 49). He immediately explains: "since I had persecuted the church of God" (verse 9). Moreover, in the occurrences of *ektroma*, the emphasis is always placed in the abnormal birth, before term, whether the baby is dead or living (Schneider). It required an omnipotent intervention by Christ to give this persecutor, in one stroke, both faith and the apostolic calling.¹⁰

¹ Job 3:16—ἔκτρωμα translates the Hebrew *nepef*, which *b. Sota* 22 *a* defines: "a child whose months (in its mother's womb) were not completed." Here it is the fetus that "falls" before term and does not live (cf. Ps 58:9; Eccl 6:3).

² More illuminating would be Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.76: "When imprudence is in labor it never gives birth; by nature the soul of the wicked brings nothing viable to light; and that which it produces turns out to be abortions and premature births, ἀμβλωθρίδια . . . καὶ ε—κτρώματα," following a citation of Num 12:12.

³ *P. Tebt.* 800, 30: κινδυνεύει ὃ ἔχει ε—γ γαστρὶ παιδίον ἔκτρωμα γίνεσθαι μεταλλάξαν τὸν βίον; republished in *C. Pap. Jud.* 133. The corresponding verb is found in AD 362, in a similar context: "Thaesis was pregnant, and by their blows they caused the miscarriage of their child, αὐτῶ—ν ε—ξέτρωσεν τὸ βρέφος" (*P. Cair. Goodsp.* 15, 15). Cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 26: "Some women were seated, with pus up to their necks. Across from them, there were babies that had been brought into the world before term; seated, they were crying. . . . These were women who did not want to conceive and had abortions"; Diodorus Siculus 3.64.4 (the birth of Bacchus): "Semele fell dead and miscarried. Jupiter took up her premature son and hid him in his thigh. The body of the child there grew perfectly"; 4.2.3. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.45: "It was a great joy for the virgin mother [the church] to receive alive those whom she had ejected dead from her womb, οὗς ὡς νεκροὺς ε—ξέτρωσε" (a text used by E. Schwartz in *Nachrichten der Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1907, p. 276). A cultic rule from Ptolemais in Egypt in the first century considers a miscarriage (ε—κτρωσμός) as a defilement for the mother (*LSCGSup*, n. 119, 5 and 10).

⁴ Aristotle, *Gen. An.* 4.5.773b18: "The fetuses detach as in the case called miscarriage, τοι—ς καλουμένοις ε—κτρώμασιν"; cf. *HA* 7.3.583b12:

“Outflow (ε—κρύσεις) is the term for the abortion of the fetus during the first seven days, and miscarriage (ε—κτρωμοί) for expulsion within forty days”; cf. Hippocrates, *Septim.* 9 (ed. Littré, vol. 7, p. 448).

⁵ A. von Harnack, “Die Verklärungsgeschichte Jesu,” in *Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1922, p. 72, n. 3; A. Fridrichsen, “Paulus Abortivus,” in *Symbolae Philologicae O. A. Danielsson*, Uppsala, 1932, pp. 78–85 (traces the history of the exegesis, noting that ἔκτρωμα refers to the result, not the action); G. Björk, “Nochmals Paulus Abortivus,” in *ConNT*, vol. 3, 1938, pp. 3–8 (on the basis of modern Greek usage, translates “monster, object of horror” making the word a synonym of τέρας and ἄμβλωμα); J. Munck, “Paulus Tanquam Abortivus,” in A. J. B. Higgins, *New Testament Essays*, pp. 180–193 (criticizes his latest predecessor). C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, London, 1968, p. 344, emphasizes that this expression of scorn on the part of adversaries could be based as much on Paul’s physique (“a man of three cubits,” according to Chrysostom; “small in height” in *Acts Paul Thec.* 3; cf. σαῦλος = a person who waddles when he walks) as on the externals of his presentation (cf. Acts 14:12; 2Cor 10:1, 10).

⁶ Ign. *Rom.* 9.2: “I blush at being reckoned among them (Syrian Christians) because I am not worthy, being the last of them and an abortive child (ἔκτρωμα).”

⁷ F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 179; F. Godet, *Commentaire sur la première Epître aux Corinthiens*, Paris-Neuchâtel, 1886, vol. 1, pp. 339ff. [ET *A Commentary on St. Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Edinburgh, 1886, ad loc]; A. Plummer, *First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 339. J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 10th ed., Göttingen, 1925, pp. 351ff.

⁸ T. Boman, “Paulus Abortivus,” in *ST*, 1964, pp. 46–50, and again in *Die Jesus-Überlieferung im Lichte der neueren Volkskunde*, Göttingen, 1967, pp. 236ff. Str-B (vol. 1, pp. 496ff.; vol. 3, p. 471) points out several occurrences of ἔκτρωμα to designate disciples of the rabbis.

⁹ Ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνείδεος, ὡσπερ ἔκτρωμα, Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.4.7 (cf. *Extracts of Theodotus* 68—the Valentinians called matter ἔκτρωμα, transposing the Egyptian myth of the birth of Harpocrates, “born before term and weak with inferior limbs”; cf. A. Torhoudt, *Een onbekend gnostisch systeem in Plutarchus’ de Iside et Osiride*, Louvain, 1942, pp. 50–52, 96). Cf., in the first half of the first century, Ps.-Longinus, *Subl.* 14.3: “If an author was afraid of not being heard beyond his own life and his own

times, the conceptions of his thought would necessarily turn out no better than incomplete and blind productions, like abortions (ὡσπερ ἀμβλοῦσθαι), completely unable to come to term and gain renown among posterity.” In French, *avorton* designates “a fetus that has emerged from the mother’s womb before term,” then “that which is arrested in its evolution or had not achieved the development normal for its species,” and finally “that which is puny, feeble, malformed, scrawny” (P. Robert, *Dictionnaire . . . de la langue française*, Paris, 1965, vol. 1, p. 376).

¹⁰ Cf. L. de Grandmaison, *Jésus-Christ*, 13th ed., Paris, 1931, vol. 2, pp. 378–379; J. Blank, *Paulus und Jesus*, Munich, 1968, pp. 187–190. —Ἐκτιπρώσκω = cause an abortion, in *P. Tebt. Tait* 40, 2.

ε—κψύχω

ekpsycho, to be short of breath, expire

ekpsycho, S 1634; *EDNT* 1.424; MM 200; L&N 23.99; BAGD 247

Instead of the classical *apopsycho*,¹ the Koine uses—though rarely—the verb *ekpsycho*, which has quite variable meanings. It appears for the first time in Epicharmus in the sense “dry out,”² but in Ps.-Aristotle it means “be short of breath” (Ps.-Aristotle, *Pr.* 882a36; 886b14). In Plutarch: “Cooling off (*to ekpsychesthai*) not only hardens bodies but also causes them to melt” (*Quaest. conv.* 6.8.6; 695 D).

In Judg 4:21, Alexandrinus translates the Hebrew *ûp* as *exepsyxen* (Sisera “fell motionless and died”),³ whereas the piel of *kahâh* in Ezek 21:12 has to be translated *ekpsyxei pasa sarx kai pan pneuma* (“all flesh and every spirit will weaken”).⁴ The only three occurrences of the verb (in the aorist indicative) in the NT are in St. Luke, and they all mean “give up the ghost.” Ananias “fell down and expired” (Acts 5:5); so also Sapphira (5:10) and Herod Agrippa I (“he was eaten by worms and expired,” 12:23). Perhaps this was the medical meaning in the first century,⁵ but its usages in Hippocrates (quoted by Hesychius) refer to “a patient who blacks out” (*Aff.* 1.5, 1.18).

¹ —Ἀποψύχω (a biblical hapax) means “exhale,” then “lose strength, faint,” and finally “expire”; Luke 21:26—“men fainting with fright and in apprehension at the things that are happening,” hence, “frozen with fear”; 4Macc 15:18—“the eldest expired.”

² *P.Oxy.* 2427, frag. 27, 6 = C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 85,245.

³ Moulton-Milligan provides no papyrological occurrence but cites Herondas, *Mimes* 4.29: ε—ν τάχα ψύξειν.

⁴ Or “collapse”; *kahâh* is also used for a light that dims, an eye that becomes dull, darkens.

⁵ Cf. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 37, who cites texts from Hippocrates, Galen, and Aretaeus.

ἐλαττον (ε—λάσσων), ε—λαττονέω, ε—λαττώω

elatton (*elasson*), smaller, lesser; *elattoneo*, to have less, have too little; *elattoo*, to diminish

elation* (*elasson*)**, S 1640: *TDNT* 4.648–659; *EDNT* 1.426; *NIDNTT* 2.427–428; MM 201; L&N 59.3, 67.116, 87.67; BDF §§34(1), 47(2), 61(1), 185(4), 263(3); BAGD 248 | ***elattoneo, S 1641; *EDNT* 1.426; MM 201; L&N 57.41; BAGD 248 | ***elattoo***, S 1642; *EDNT* 1.426; MM 201; L&N 87.68; BAGD 248

If it is true that in the Hellenistic era the double consonant *ss* replaced the Attic *tt*.¹ this is not a general rule. it applies most of the time in the LXX,² but *elatton* is much more common than *elasson* in the papyri.³ The NT confirms this variety of usage, with *elasson* twice (John 2:10; Rom 9:12) and *elatton* twice (1Tim 5:9; Heb 7:7).

Elasson, very common in comparisons of size,⁴ functions as the comparative of *mikros*, “smaller, lesser.” and the opposite of *meizon* (to designate a younger sibling),⁵ of *kreitton* (“the lesser is blessed by the greater”),⁶ of *kalon* (the wine that is less good is served at the end of the meal),⁷ or of *pleion* (Exod 16:17; Num 26:54; 33:4; *P.Mich.* 636, 8); thus the neuter *me elatton* is used in 1Tim 5:9 —a woman is not to be enrolled with the widows until she is “at least sixty years old.”⁸

The denominative verb *elattoneo*, “have less or too little, lack.” a NT hapax (2Cor 8:15) is a citation of Exod 16:18 —“the one who had less manna did not go wanting.”⁹ It is rare in the papyri, but attested in 217 BC: a defrauder in a wine delivery will be required “to restore to us the difference, fourteen missing jugs” (*to diophoron ton elattonounton id’ keramion*, *P.Magd.* 26. 12). In 11 BC, the word is used for the lack of the price of 230 *kotylai* of oil (BGU 1195, 19); and in the third century AD: “it is my joy and my glory to

produce more and lose nothing” (*pleon exeurein kai me elattonin*, *P.Oxy.* 2407, 54).

Elattoo also has the meaning “lack, be deprived of.”¹⁰ as well as “decrease,” like the present passive infinitive in John 3:30 —“he must become greater, but I must decrease.”¹¹ The decreasing can be monetary¹² or solar (Dio Cassius 45.17: “the light of the sun seems to diminish and go out”) or physical (Philo. *Virtues* 46; *Etern. World* 65); but also psychological or social. In 180 BC, Orthagoras of Araxa is the object of an honorific decree because “sent on a mission to the confederation, he so conducted the debates with words and with deeds that he gained advantages for our people and we avoided snuffing the least diminution, *kai en medeni elattothenai*.”¹³ It can refer to a decrease in quality (Sir 16:23; Philo. *Giants* 27); “the science of gymnastics is not inferior to any other art” (Philostratus. *Gym.* 1). It is in this sense that God made man slightly, hardly (*elattosas brachy*) lower than the angels (Heb 2:7, citing Ps 8:5).

¹ Cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, n. 4r.

² Cf. ἔλαττον, Exod 16:17-18; Lev 25:16; Num 26:54: 33:54; 35:8; Dan 2:39; 2Macc 5:5; 8:9.

³ —Ελάσσων is hardly found at all outside of *SB* 9225, 1 (fragment of a law from the third century BC). *P.Paris* 63, 28 (= *P.Petr.* III. p. 20, from the second century BC) and in the second-third century AD. *P.Fouad* (Crawford) 18, 5; *P.Mich.* 501, 16; *BGU* 1564, 12-13; 1663, 7; 1734, 12; *P.Giss.* 1, 61,18; *PSI* 187, 10 (fourth century); cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, p. 223.

⁴ C. Mugler, *Terminologie geometrique*, p. 169. Gen 1:16; Exod 16:17-18; Prov 13:11; 30:24; Dan 2:39.

⁵ Rom 9:12 (citation of Gen 25:23; Hebrew *sa'ir*); cf. Josh 6:25; *P.Ryl.* 77. 39: ἀναδεξάμενος τὴν μείζονα ἀρχὴν οὐκ ὀφείλει τὴν ε—λάττον—ἀποφεύγειν. The term takes on a pejorative flavor: “the least, miniscule.” cf. 2Kgs 18:24; Job 30:1; Wis 9:5: “I am too small to understand judgment and the laws”; Isa 60:22; *PCair.Isid.* 73. 3: “we who are small farmers.” Cf. *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53, 70: “those who bear responsibilities in the least of the temples, ε—ν τοι—ς ε—λάσσοσιν ι—εροι—ς”; 53, 96: “they will be taxed at a reduced rate. Menander, *Dysk.* 679: “I cared less than nothing for the wounded one.” *P.Tebt.* 88, 61; 1117, 1 = the lesser priests.

⁶ Heb 7:7; cf. 1Sam 9:21; Prov 22:16, Philo. *Afleg. Interp.* 2.3; Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 8.804 a: ἡλαττοῦτο πολλῶ—v. In the first century BC, Geminus wrote indifferently ἔλασσον or ἔλαττον with respect to measures of space and time: “certain circles are sometimes greater, sometimes smaller” (*Intro. to Astronomy* 5.30.35; 6.27; 14.3), “the smallest displacement” (14.4-5; 17.17; 18.2); “the distance is sometimes smaller, sometimes greater” (5.47); “the signs of the zodiac take less time to rise, ε—v ε—λάττονι χρόνω”; (7.11; 14.2); “the smallest beginning of an eclipse.”

⁷ John 2:10. On this verse, cf. P. W. Meyer “John II,10” in *JBL* 1967, pp. 191–197; J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the NT* pp. 228–246; B. Lindars, “Two Parables in John,” in *NTS* vol. 16, 1970, pp. 318–324.

⁸ The formula is common: οὐκ ε—λάττους = not less than a thousand people, than five thousand, than twenty thousand (2 Macc 5:5; 8:9, 35; 10:18; 12:4, 10; Diodorus Siculus 17.19.15; 17.21.26; 17.31.2; 17.36.6; 17.64.4; etc.) and in the papyri often designates a price less than the total or the agreed-upon sum: “not less than 800 drachmas” (*Pop.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 14, 28; a will from the second century AD); *P.Achm.* 8, 17; *P.Oxy.* 237; col. VIII, 11: when threatened, those from who one is demanding repayment of a debt are tempted to agree to a “reduction” (AD 138); *P.Lille* 29, col. I, 31; 2, 34: “not less than two witnesses.” J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos*, Paris. 1954. vol. 1 n. 141: the polemarchs will give the boys greaves and breastplates . . . “the value of which shall be not less than three minas, μὴ ελάσσονος ἄξια τριῶ—v μνω—v.” The expression πλέον ἔλαττον means “more or less, approximately” (*P.Oxy.* 1895, 5, 8; 1907, 10; 2347,6; *P.Vindob.Tandem*, n. 28, 8; H. J. July, *Die Klauseln hinter den Mängeln der Papyrusurkunden*, Colonge, 1966, pp. 96ff.). The brother of Phoibammon must buy at Alexandria a robe of Antioch “worth ten keratia, more or less” (*P.Fouad* 74, 7); cf. *BGU* 1663, 7; *C.P.Her.* 34, 11; “two *arourai*, more or less, of arable land”; *P.Cair.Isid.* 103, 9; *P.Mert.* 17, 14, 20; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 14, 2 (first century AD); 5, 25, 2; 42, 7; *SB* 9253, 9; 9293, 11; etc.

⁹ The verb is well attested to in the LXX where it is used for the subsiding waters of the flood (Gen 8:3, 5; cf. Philo, *Etern. World* 120); for the fifty righteous people, of whom five may be lacking (Gen 18:28); for the poor man who shall not pay less than a half-shekel (Exod 30:15; cf. Lev 25:16; Prov 11:24). A decrease in numbers is contrasted with an increase (Jer 30:19); “For the one who hates idle chatter will have less evil” (Sir 19:6-7). The verb is also used for military defeat 2 Macc 12:11; 13:19.

¹⁰ 1Sam 2:5; 21:16; 2Sam 3:29; Jer 51:18; Ezek 24:10; Ps 34:11 —“Those who seek Yahweh lack no good thing”; Sir 32:24. One is deprived or

stripped of wisdom (Sir 29:23), of intelligence (19:24; 25:2; 47:23): one is freed of something (Sir 22:10; 28:8; 38:24).

¹¹ Cf. Sir 18:6 —“There is nothing to take away nothing to add”; 42:21—“jealousy and wrath shorten life”; 31:30 —“drunkenness diminishes strength”; 39:18. In the papyri, the perfect passive participle with negation μὴ ἠλαττουνένου (νης) is a clause that occurs constantly in contracts. It means that the lender or lessor will not be subject to any loss, damage, or prejudice in the recovery of that which is due him, cf. “associated with you in the business related to the city’s account, I recognize that you will be subject to no loss with respect to what my brother and I owe you, ὁμολογῶ— κατὰ μηδέν σε ε—λαττοῦσθαι περὶ ὧν ὀφείλωμέν σοι ε—γώ τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός μου”(P.Oxy. 2134, 5, 15); μὴ ε—λαττουμένου σου τοῦ —Απίωνος τοῦ καὶ Πετοσοράπιος ε—ν τῇ πράξει ὧν ἄλλων ὀφείλω σοι (P.Oslo 40, 63; cr. 123, 33); μὴ ε—λαττουμένου σου ε—ν οἷς ὀφείλησα τῶ— ἀδελφῶ— σου τῶ— μετηλλαχότι Πανυσανίς ε—ν τῇ πράξει(P.Mert. 14, 15); P.Alex. 7, 16; BGU 1573, 29; P.Ross.Georg. II, 18, 59; Pap.Lugd.Bat. VI, 9, 19; 20, 43 (= SB 6611; cf. 10787, 14; 10989, 35); 36. 7 (= P.Hamb. 67); 36, 18; P.Fouad 35, 13 (from AD 48; the rights of Thaesis are fully reserved in the recovery of eighty drachmas loaned by her, with guarantee, to Petsiris); P.Ryl. 677, 11; P.Sarap. 2, 19; 39, 7; P.Mich. 562, 15; 615, 31, 34; PTebt. 382, 13 (between 30 BC and AD 1); P.Vars. 10 (cf. Berichtigungsliste IV, p. 102, n. 10 I 25). Cf. G. Hage. “Die MH ΕΛΑΤΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ- Klausel in den griechischen Papyri Aegyptens,” in *Proceedings XII*. pp. 195–205; H. A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, Munich, 1971. pp. 18ff.

¹² Num 26:54; 33:54. Cf. the request of the priests of the inner sanctum of Philae: “in view of the fact that these abuses are impoverishing the sanctuary (ε—λαττοῦσθαι τὸ ι—ερόν) and we run the risk . . .” (C.Ord.Ptol. 52 - SB 8396, 28 = A. Bernand, *Philae*. vol. 1, n. 19 and p. 190). —Ελασσώματος is a real-estate reduction, the nonproductive area deducted from the acreage on which one pays land tax (P.Bour. 42, 32; BGU 20, 8; APF, 1976, p. 106).

¹³ J. Pouilloux, *Choix*. n. 4, 53; cf. *I.Magn.* 90, 15. Plutarch, *Dem.* 11, 1; “to correct his physical defects (τοι—ς σωματικοι—ς ε—λαττώμασι) he resorted to exercises.”

ε—λεέω, ἔλεος

e/leo, to have compassion, show favor or mercy; *e/leos*, compassion, mercy

eleeo, S 1653; *TDNT* 2.477–485; *EDNT* 1.429–431; *NIDNTT* 2.594; MM 202; L&N 88.76; BDF §§90, 148(2), 176(1); BAGD 249 | *eleos*, S 1656; *TDNT* 2.477–485; *EDNT* 1.429–431; *NIDNTT* 2.593–597, 600; MM 203; L&N 88.76; BDF §51(2); BAGD 250

Eleos is an irregular noun. Normally masculine, it is most commonly neuter in the Hellenistic period.¹ It refers to a “feeling,”² namely, the feeling of one who is moved by the sight of another’s suffering and in a way shares in it: compassion.³ Such a sensitivity to misery is unacceptable without controls or objective motives.⁴ Furthermore, Aristotle specifies that “pity has as its object a being that does not deserve its misfortune” (Aristotle, *Poet.* 13.1453a4) and defines *eleos* as “a pain following upon the sight of a destructive or painful evil that strikes a person who does not deserve it and that one might expect to suffer oneself or see one’s own dear ones suffer. . . . To feel pity, one must obviously be able to think that one is exposed” (Rh. 2.8.1385b13-14). One must be moved only at the sight or the thought of someone suffering wrongly. This idea was taken up by the whole Greek tradition,⁵ notably by Polybius,⁶ and became even more categorical with the Cynics: “The Cynic must feel neither envy nor pity.”⁷ Of course, even philosophers sometimes show themselves more favorable to altruistic feelings,⁸ but even so, pity remains suspect, even a weakness.⁹

R. Bultmann (“ἔλεος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, p. 478) mentions the large role played by pity in the administration of justice. The litigant or the accused always seeks to gain the judge’s *eleos*; they bring before the court “pity, excuses, humanity, but no human law, no divine law, allows the accrual of profit from this unclean wretch.”¹⁰ “He begged and supplicated the judges with many tears . . . to stir their compassion.”¹¹ In the third century BC, an old man, victim of the theft of grain, asks for the king’s help and concludes, “Thus, thanks to you, O king, I will enjoy the effects of justice and mercy for the rest of my days.”¹²

With the LXX, we enter an entirely new world, in the first place because pity is exalted with considerable frequency, and secondly because it becomes a religious virtue¹³ and especially a divine attribute,¹⁴ so much so that Israel’s religion appears to be the cult of a God of mercy,¹⁵ which is an innovation —despite the altar raised by the Athenians to *Eleos* (Pausanias 1.17.1; Diodorus Siculus 13.22.7) and the Epidaurian belief (*Eleos epieikes theos*, IG IV, 1282). After all, *eleeo* and *eleos* are translation Greek; all, *eleeo* and *eleos* are translation Greek; they reflect the content of the Hebrew original. Most commonly the verb *eleeo* translates the Hebrew *hanan*, “show favor or grace,” with the nuance of a freely given favor, a generous gift.¹⁶ Thus the usages of the verb connote preferential love for a certain person that is shown in the generosity with which favors are granted.¹⁷ Fairly often *eleeo* translates the piel of the Hebrew *raham*, “have

pity, show mercy,” but also “love tenderly.”¹⁸ On the other hand, there are 172 instances in which the LXX uses *eleos* to translate *hesed*, a word whose significance is varied and disputed¹⁹ but whose basic meaning is “goodness, benevolence, favorable disposition,” covering the spectrum from plain sympathy and goodness to mercy and clemency. It is fundamentally a species of love (and is often linked with love — “love *hesed*” [Amos 5:5] means to love tenderly); and most of its occurrences have to do with God’s mercy or lovingkindness. The description of God as *rab-hesed*, literally “great in favor,” is to be understood as meaning “abundant in mercy” (*polyeleos*, Num 14:18; Joel 2:13; Ps 86:5, 15). Translators of the NT must keep these nuances in mind wherever they must render the rich meaning of formally biblical *eleos*.²⁰

The NT takes up Israel’s faith in God’s mercy in exactly the same form and continues it. It gives much greater emphasis, however, to the precept of brotherly mercy,²¹ which it makes into an active, internal virtue, an indispensable condition of eternal blessedness²² and an imitation of the heavenly Father. In the parable of the Unmerciful Servant,²³ Jesus first contrasts two debts —one enormous (ten thousand talents), the other miniscule (a hundred denarii) —then the two creditors. The king is moved by a visceral compassion (*splanchnistheis*, Matt 18:27) when he hears his debtor’s supplications and forgives the whole debt; but the latter shuts out all feelings of pity and not only refuses to forgive the debt owed him but throws the debtor into prison. So this is the motivation for the king’s (God’s) judgment: “Contemptible servant,²⁴ ought you not also to have had pity on your fellow-servant, since I took pity on you?” (*ouk edei kai se eleesai ton syndoulon sou, hos kago se eleesa*, 18:33). And he hands him over to the torturers. Jesus explains the teaching of the parable: “So also will my heavenly Father do to you, if each of you does not forgive (*me aphete*) his brother from the heart” (18:35). On the one hand, “from the heart” contrasts with forgiveness merely spoken with the lips;²⁵ it is a matter of not only overlooking the offenses of which one has been victim, but of loving one’s neighbor, that is, of wishing and doing him well in every circumstance (Matt 5:44). On the other hand, God will treat us according to the way we treat our brethren. The motivation for brotherly compassion is imitation of God; which puts the emphasis on the interiority and sincerity of the forgiveness. The one who shows compassion has a good heart.

The good Samaritan is a model, because he was moved by compassion at the sight of the wounded stranger (*idon esplanchnisthe*, Luke 10:33) and helped him, showing himself to be the “neighbor” of the man who fell into the hands of the brigands.²⁶ Just the opposite of the priest and the Levite, who passed by the wounded man, remaining indifferent strangers and even turning aside for fear of contracting a legal defilement, the Samaritan was completely spontaneous, quick to act, disinterested, and efficient in his generosity simply because he was good-hearted and was moved (*ho*

poiasas to eleos met' autou, 10:37), because he knew himself and showed himself to be the brother of the stranger.

The apostles praise this virtue: "The wisdom from on high is . . . full of mercy and good fruit" (*meste eleous kai karpon agathon*, Jas 3:17); a love that originates with God reflects the very wisdom of God and is made manifest in "good works." It is beneficent, especially toward the unfortunate. The one who carries out such a ministry in the church will radiate goodness: "Let the one who practices mercy (do so) with joy" (*ho eleon en hilaroteti*, Rom 12:8; cf. Prov 22:8 a, LXX), not only because God loves a cheerful giver (2Cor 9:7) or to build up the unfortunate with a smile but because "there is greater happiness in giving than in receiving" (Acts 20:35). Jude (21-22) addresses all Christians: "Keep yourselves in the love of God, awaiting the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ for life everlasting (*prosdechomenoi to eleos tou kyriou hemon*). Have pity on those who are deciding" (or "disputing," *kai hous men eleate diakrinomenous*—the textual variants are numerous). This whole catechesis was already contained in the promise of divine mercy to those who pardon their neighbor: "Blessed are the merciful, for they themselves shall be shown mercy."²⁷

As for God, his mercy is revealed in the coming of the messianic salvation and is sung by the Virgin Mary and the priest Zechariah in terms borrowed from the OT.²⁸ It is a gratuitous favor, a grace that presupposes God's love and the intervention of his omnipotence. In addition, it is manifested in Elizabeth's motherhood (Luke 1:58), as it is shown to the Gerasene demoniac (Mark 5:19), to St. Paul (1Cor 7:25; 2Cor 4:1; 1Tim 1:13, 16), to Epaphroditus (Phil 2:27), to the house of Onesiphorus (2Tim 1:16; cf. *SB* 1872). It extends to all believers (Gal 6:16) and together with Christ's mercy becomes the content of the apostle's wish for a whole church: "Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and Christ our Savior" (1Tim 1:2; 2Tim 1:2; Jude 2; 2John 3). Thus it is God's mercy that accounts for the conversion of a persecutor and his sending as an apostle, for the healing of a sick person, for the casting out of a demon, for purification from sin and a life united to God. Blind, epileptic, and leprous folk all appeal to Jesus' compassion, always with success,²⁹ and it is thanks to his intercession that believers can "approach the throne of grace to receive mercy and find grace to help in time of need" (Heb 4:16).

Certainly God is free to grant or deny his favors and his forgiveness (Rom 9:15-18; cf. Exod 33:19); but those who yesterday were "Not pitied" are today "Pitied" (1Pet 2:10; cf. Hos 1:6-9). St. Paul's innovation in the biblical theology of *eleos* is to locate God's mercy at the beginning and at the end of the plan of salvation: "Formerly you were disobedience so as to show mercy to all" (Rom 11:30-32). Universal mercy extends to Gentiles as well as Jews (Rom 15:9) and consists in the forgiveness of sins. It is made effective for each one in baptism ("He has saved us according to his mercy through a bath of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit" (Titus 3:5),

and it has an eschatological bearing (“God wished to make known the wealth of his glory in vessels of mercy that he has prepared for glory”).³⁰ The whole Christian life here below consists in “waiting for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ for life everlasting” (Jude 21).

¹ Τὸ ἔλεος; cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, n. 9 t. The verb ε—λεέω (“take pity”) is regular, but some of its forms presuppose a primitive parallel ε—λεάω — in the second person plural imperative ε—λεα—τε (Jude 23) and in the genitive participle ε—λεω—ντος (Rom 9:16). Cf. the adjectives ε—λεήμων (Homer, *Od.* 5.191: “My heart is all pity”; Aristophanes, *Pax* 425; Ps 112:4 —ε—λεήμων καὶ οι—κτίρων; Matt 5:7; Heb 2:17), ε—λεινός, “pitiable” (Menander, *Dysk.* 297; Thras. 387, 390; 1Cor 15:19; Rev 3:17), the substantive ε—λεημοσύνη (Callimachus, *Hymn.* 4.152: “for the pity that you show me”; *P.Gen.* 51, 26; Matt 6:4; Luke 11:41; Acts 9:36).

² Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 3.1.1109b32: “The domain of virtue is feelings and actions. . . . When these are involuntary, they may elicit forgiveness or even pity”; 3.2.1111a30.

³ Plato, *Euthd.* 288 d: “let them take pity on me (ε—λεήσαντέ με) and be compassionate (οι—κτίραντε)”; Sophocles, *Phil.* 308–309: “Those people took pity on me (ε—λεοῦσι) and even sometimes gave me food out of compassion (οι—κτίραντες)”; Euripides, *IT* 227–228; *Hel.* 944. The historian Phylarchus describes terrible scenes in order to “provoke the pity of his readers (ει—ς ἔλεος ε—κκαλει—σσαι τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας) and make them have feelings for his account (καὶ συμπασει—ς ποιει—ν τοι—ς λεγομένοις)” (Polybius 2.56.7). The linking of ε—λεήμων and οι—κτίρων is common in the LXX, Exod 34:6; Neh 9:17; Ps 86:15; 103:4; 111:4; Sir 2:11; etc.

⁴ Polybius 2.56.3: οὗτ' ε—λει—ν ευ\λόγως οὗτ' ο\ργίζεσσαι κασηκόντως. Seneca, *Clem.* 2.4.4: “Compassion is the morbid condition of souls that feel an excess of misery. Making it a responsibility of the wise person almost requires of him lamentations and obsequious groanings that would be foreign to him”; Philo, *Joseph* 144: “No one pities envious poverty”; *Spec. Laws* 4.76-77.

⁵ Ps.-Andronicus, *Pass.* 2: ἔλεος μὲν οὖν ε—στι λύπη ε—πὶ ἀλλοτρίοις κακοι—ς ἀναξίως πάσχοντος ε—κείνου (*SVF*, vol. 3, 414); Diogenes Laertius 7.1.111: “pity is a sorrow felt for one who suffers evils undeservedly”; Cicero, *Tusc.* 4.8.1: “Misericordia est aegritudo ex miseria alterius injuria laborantis.” Cf. Sir 12:13 —“Who will pity the charmer bit by a snake?”

⁶ “Their past attempts at rebellion (the cities of Hippocritae and Utica) leave no place for pity or pardon” (τόπον ε—λέους μηδὲ συγγνώμης, Polybius 1.88.2); “Those who owe their reversals to fortune find pity accompanied by indulgence and aid; but those who owe them to their own stupidity get only blame and reprobation from sensible people” (ibid. 2.7.3; cf. 2.58.11; 6.58.10; 9.10.7; 23.10.11; 25.4.4; 30.8.3; 33.11.3; 38.3.2; 38.16.7; 38.17.7). Cf. A. Nicev, “Questions ethiques et esthetiques chez Polybe: Ἐλεος chez Polybe et Aristote,” in *REG*, 1978, pp. 149–157.

⁷ Epictetus 3.22.13. Cf. 2.17.26: “The one who feels pity has received no philosophical education”; 4.1.4; 4.6.1ff. Plutarch alludes to this school: “Some philosophers criticize even pity inspired by misfortunes, thinking that it is good to help, not to feel compassion” (*De tranq. anim.* 7).

⁸ Epictetus 1.18.9: “If, contrary to the arrangements of nature, you absolutely need to have feelings regarding the evils suffered by another, pity him (ε—λέει) rather than hate him”; 1.28.9; 2.21.3 and 5; Marcus Aurelius 7.26.

⁹ Nero’s declaration is significant in his discourse of AD 67 granting freedom to the Greeks: “On this day it is not pity but only goodwill (οὐ\ δὲ ἔλεον ὑμα—ς, ἀλλὰ δὲ εὖνοιαν) that makes me generous toward you” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 814, 21). That is also why ἔλεος is so rarely mentioned in the papyri and the inscriptions and hardly appears at all except from the pens of Christians, who know God’s mercy. For example, there is this graffito by Christian deserters in the Theban mountains in the fourth-fifth century: ἕως ἄν ε—λήσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ε—ξάγαγεν ἡμα—ς ε—ν σωτήριον χωρὶς ἁμαρτιω—ν καὶ σώσωμεν πάντα (SB 9802, 1); *P.Ant.* 198, 5: τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ; *P.Erl.* 120, 12; *SEG* 24, 1224; *SB* 7872, 11: δωῆ ἔλεος ὁ κύριος τω— —Ονησιφόρου οἴκῳ (= 2Tim 1:16). God’s mercy is invoked (*IGLS* 317, 412, 500, 601, 633, 747; at Ephesus, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin epigraphique,” in *REG*, 1953, p. 168, n. 177), or Christ’s (ibid. 2358, 1), “Peace and mercy to all our holy community” (ibid. 1320, 6; cf. Ps 84:8-9; Rom 9:6; Gal 6:16). People call themselves bishop, archpriest, archdeacon, and priest “by the mercy of God” (*P.Ness.* 50, 10; 51, 1; 57, 1-2, 24, 26, 27; 107, 3; *P.Oxy.* 1951, 4; 1989, 27; *SB* 9146, 22; 9590, 26-27). In a Jewish epitaph at Rachelis: “I have good hope of mercy” (ε—λέους ε—λπίδα ἀγασῆν ε—γὼ προσδέχομαι, *C.Pap.Jud.* 1513, 7 = *SEG* I, 573, 6; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2828, 7; 1Thess 4:13; 2Thess 2:16; Titus 2:13). E. Peterson (*EIS* ΕΟΣ, G^ˆttingen, 1926, pp. 164–167) compared the Christian Κύριε ε—λήσον to a Roman amulet (Πουβλικιανέ/Εἰς Ζεὺς/Σέραπις/ε—λήσον, *IGIS* 2413, 3; cf. *UPZ* 78, 24), to a medal (Κύρια Νέμεσι ε—λήσον, *CIG* 7036, e); Epictetus 2.7.12 on divination: “We hold the diviner’s hand and

call upon him as upon a god; we pray, ‘Lord, have mercy on me’; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.64: δέσποτα ε—λέησον; Achilles Tatius 3.5.4.

¹⁰ Demosthenes, *C. Aristog.* 1; 25.81; cf. *C. Mid.* 21.100; Antiphon 1.21; 1.25: the guilty parties were “pitiless and merciless” in committing their crime and ought to be stricken by justice.

¹¹ Plato, *Ap.* 34 c, ἵνα ὅ τι μάλιστα ε—λεησείη; 35 b. *Leg.* 5.731 d: “The criminal deserves pity (ε—λεεινός) in the same way as any person afflicted with an evil”; Philo, *Unchang. God* 115: “Your suffering and groaning will help you find pity”; Josephus, *War* 1.637; 5.318; *Ant.* 14.172; *Jos. Asen.* 28.2-3.

¹² *P. Magd.* 18, 6. A *colonus* addresses a petition to his patron: παρακαλω— τοῦ ὑμετέρου ε—λέους τυχει—ν (*P. Oxy.* 2479, 23; cf. 3126, col. II, 11). A request for the deferment of a debt (*PSI* 767, 37); *P. Lund* II, 5, 15; *P. Fay.* 106, 16; *P. Flor.* 378, 3; *I. Bulg.* 2236, 95: ἵνα ε—λεησέντες διὰ τὴν θείαν σου πρόνοιαν (under Gordian).

¹³ Hos 6:6 —“I want mercy, not sacrifice”; Mic 6:8 —“What God requires of you is to love mercy . . .” or faithfulness (cf. B. Renaud, *La Formation du livre de Michee*, Paris, 1977, pp. 298ff.); Prov 14:21 —“Happy is the one who takes pity on the miserable”; Wis 6:6 —“The lowly person deserves pardon and pity”; 1Macc 2:57 —“David, for his mercy, inherited a royal throne.” “Men of mercy” (Sir 44:10; 46:7) have compassion on their sisters and on orphans (Hos 2:3; 14:5), on the poor and on adolescents (Prov 14:31; Deut 28:50), on old and weak people (Lam 4:16; Prov 19:17; 28:8; 4Macc 6:12; 8:20), and on themselves (4Macc 12:6). This is a benevolence that gives others a good welcome (Gen 19:19; 24:49; 40:14; Num 11:15; Josh 2:12, 14; Judg 1:24; 6:17; 21:22; 1Sam 15:6; Sir 18:13; etc.), in contrast to cruelty (Jer 50:42; Isa 13:18; 49:15; 2Macc 7:27) and insults (Tob 3:15); it is full of understanding (Job 19:21), is compassionate and sheds tears (2Macc 4:37; cf. 4Macc 9:4), prompts one to help (Sir 29:1).

¹⁴ One of the forms of God’s benevolence (2Sam 7:15; 15:20; 1Kgs 3:6; 8:23; 1Chr 17:13; 2Chr 1:8; 6:14; Ps 26:6; Wis 15:1; Sir 18:5), that shows grace to the thousandth generation (Exod 20:6; Num 14:19; Deut 5:10; 7:9). The pious give thanks to Yahweh “because he is good, for his mercy endures forever” (1Chr 16:34; 2Cor 5:13; 7:3-6; Neh 1:5; 9:32; Jdt 13:14; Ps 31:21; 88:1-2; 92:1-2; 100:5; 103:17; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1-4; 136:1ff.; Sir 51:8, 29; Jer 33:11; 1Macc 4:24). “I am Yahweh who shows mercy” (Jer 9:24); “I am merciful” (Jer 3:12); “God is compassionate” (Ps 116:5). “With an everlasting mercy will I have mercy on you” (Isa 54:8, 10; 60:10; 63:7);

“Yahweh’s steadfast love does not cease; his mercies never come to an end” (Lam 3:22, 32).

¹⁵ Israel prays that the Lord will have pity (Tob 8:4, 17; Jdt 7:30; Ps 25:67; 26:11; 27:7; 30:11; 51:1, 3; 67:2; 86:3, 16; 119:58, 132; Isa 33:2), as do Joseph (Gen 43:29) and Habakkuk (“Yahweh, even in your wrath remember to have pity” —Hab 3:2) and the faithful in the temple (Ps 48:9; cf. 1Macc 3:44; 13:46; 2Macc 8:3). Believers hope and have confidence in God’s grace and mercy (Ps 13:5; 33:18, 22; 52:8; 147:11; Sir 2:9). They know that “all the paths of Yahweh are mercy and truth” (Ps 25:10; 26:3), that “the earth is full of Yahweh’s grace” (Ps 33:5; 119:64). In the past he has shown mercy and satisfied his servants with all good things (Gen 33:5, 11; 2Kgs 13:23; Tob 8:17; 11:16); his mercy is constant (Isa 49:10), and it is certain that he will always show himself to be merciful (Tob 6:18): “God will have pity on you” (Deut 30:3; Isa 14:1; 54:7; 55:7; Jer 12:15; 30:18; 31:20; 42:12; Ezek 39:25). Of course this mercy is completely free (“I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy,” Exod 33:19), and one cannot always be sure of its manifestation (“Perhaps Yahweh will have mercy on what remains of Joseph,” Amos 5:15; Mal 1:9; 2Sam 12:22). And so the reasons for intervention are specified: “Have pity on me, Yahweh, for I languish” (Ps 6:2; 9:13), “because I am alone and unhappy” (Ps 25:6; cf. Jdt 6:19); “because I am in distress” (Ps 31:9; 51:2; 123:3), “because I have sinned against you” (Ps 51:5). This merciful benevolence is the basis of the covenant (“I will betroth you to myself . . . in pity and in mercy,” Hos 2:19), the motive for providence (“The one who takes pity on them will lead them,” Isa 49:10), the source of salvation (“Save me, Yahweh, by virtue of your grace,” Ps 6:4; 17:7; 31:16; 85:7; 86:13; 109:26; 119:41), of liberation from enemies (Ps 143:12), of pardon for sins (Wis 11:23; 15:1; Bar 3:2; Sir 16:9; 18:14; 36:1; 2Macc 2:18; 11:10), of comfort (Isa 12:1; 49:13; 52:9; Zech 1:17) and of joy (Ps 31:8). Certainly it is the same God who chastises and who shows mercy (Tob 13:2, 5); but if he punishes, it is with mercy (Wis 11:9; 12:22; 2Macc 6:16), and his grace is always beneficent (Ps 69:16; 90:14; 94:18) and “better than life” (Ps 63:3). Since God dispenses his grace and truth so generously (Ps 57:3, 10; 59:10, 16, 17; 61:7; 62:12; 69:13; 84:11; 85:10; 88:14; 108:5; 138:2), we can understand the deep significance of the formula of benediction: “You shall bless the children of Israel in this way . . . The Lord be gracious to you” (Num 6:25).

¹⁶ The substantive *hen* has the aesthetic meaning of χάρις, “grace, charm, attractiveness,” and it often suggests an accommodating attitude, the source of favors and gifts. With God, it is mercy or lovingkindness. Cf. C. Spicq, *Agape: Prolegomenes*, Appendix II, pp. 125–129; P. Bonnetain, “Grace,” in *DBSup*, vol. 3, col. 727–737; W. F. Lofthouse, “Hen and Heseḏ in the Old Testament,” in *ZAW*, 1933, pp. 29–35; W. L. Reed, “Some

Implications of Hen for Old Testament Religion,” in *JBL*, 1954, pp. 36-41; K. W. Neubauer, *Der Stamm Chnn im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments*, Berlin, 1964.

¹⁷ A fourth-century inscription, translating the priestly benediction (Num 6:25), substitutes ἀγαπήσει (line 9) for ε—λεήσει in the original; an equivalence justified by the editors B. Lifshitz and J. Schiby, “Une Synagogue samaritaine a Thessalonique,” in *RB*, 1968, pp. 370ff.

¹⁸ In six passages, the LXX translates *raham* with ἀγαπάω. The singular noun *rehem* refers to the mother’s womb, the uterus (Jer 1:5), the locus of the mother’s pity for her children (1Kgs 3:26), the plural *rahamim* refers to the intestines, which are moved with compassion and love (Cant 5:4; Gen 43:30). Hence the anthropomorphic descriptions of God’s mercy: “Have the yearning of your entrails and your compassion toward me been withheld?” (Isa 63:15); “My entrails are still moved on [Ephraim’s] account; I truly pity him” (Jer 31:20).

¹⁹ *Hesed* is linked with righteousness but put in relation with the covenant; it expresses the idea of faithfulness. Cf. C. Spicq, *Agape: Prolegomenes*, Appendix I, pp. 120–124; I. Elbogen, “dsj, Verpflichtung, Verheibung, Bekraftigung,” in *P. Haupt Festschrift*, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 43-46; N. Glueck, *Das Wort hesed im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch als menschliche und gottliche gemeinschaftgemabe*, Giessen, 1927; H. J. Stoebe, “Die Bedeutung des Wortes Hasad im Alten Testament,” in *VT*, 1952, pp. 244–254; U. Masing, “Der Begriff Hesed im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch,” in *Charisteria I. Kopp . . . oblata*, Holmiae, 1954, pp. 27-63; C. Ryder Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Grace*, London, 1956, pp. 8-55; A. R. Johnson, “Hesed and Hasid,” in N. A. Dahl, A. S. Kapelrud, *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum pertinentes S. Mowinckel . . . missae*, Oslo, 1965, pp. 100–112; A. Caquot, “‘Les Graces de David’: A propos d’Isaie LV, 3 b,” in *Sem*, 1965, pp. 45-59; W. Zimmerli, “dsj im Schriftum von Qumran,” in *Hommages a A. Dupont-Sommer*, Paris, 1971, pp. 439–449; and above all Katherine Doob Sakenfeld, *The Meaning of Hesed in the Hebrew Bible*, Missoula, 1978. This bibliography may be filled out from that in *TWNT*, vol. 10, p. 1072.

²⁰ The Jewish writings add nothing to the OT meaning. Pity is a “generous feeling” (χρηστὸς πάσος, Josephus, *War* 4.384), “the most essential feeling, the closest to reflective thought” (Philo, *Virtues* 144), “the altar of mercy” (*Rewards* 154), which has as its object the indigent (*Change of Names* 40; *Dreams* 1.95-96) and the orphans (Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 145; *Spec. Laws* 4.180; Josephus, *War* 1.556; *Ant.* 16.15, 17). It is above all a divine attribute (Philo, *Flight* 162; *Spec. Laws* 1.308; Josephus, *Ant.*

4.239, 269; *Pss. Sol.* passim), a saving mercy (τὸν σωτήριον ἔλεον, *Unchang. God* 74; *Dreams* 2.149) bestowed by God even upon the unworthy (*Unchang. God* 76). “In God’s mercy all things repose together” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 42). Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 208: “You shall be led to have pity (πρὸς τὸν ἔλεον), for God is merciful (ε—λεήμων)”; *T. Zeb.* 5.3 —Ἐχετε οὖν ἔλεος ε—ν σπλάγχνοις ὑμῶ—ν, ὅτι εἴ τι ἄν ποιήσῃ τῶ— πλησίον αὐ\του, οὕτω Κύριος ποιήσῃ; *T. Abr.* B 10.

²¹ Matt 9:13; 12:7 take up Hos 6:6 —“I desire mercy and not sacrifice” (cf. D. Hill, “On the Use and Meaning of Hosea VI, 6 in Matthew’s Gospel,” in *NTS*, vol. 24, 1977, pp. 107–119). In Matt 23:23, Jesus accuses the Pharisees of neglecting the most important points of the law, the fundamental, most serious, obligations that it imposes (τὰ βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου): righteousness or justice, compassion (τὸ ἔλεος), and good faith; cf. Zech 7:9; Prov 14:21-22.

²² Jas 2:13 —“Judgment (condemnation) will be without mercy (ἀνέλεος) for the one who has not shown mercy; mercy triumphs over judgment.” It is the condition for the forgiveness of sins (Sir 28:2; *T. Zeb.* 8.1-3). The adjective ἀνέλεος, a biblical hapax, is found elsewhere only in the papyri, in the fourth century (*P.Lips.* 39, 12); cf. ἀνελεήμων (Rom 1:32).

²³ C. Spicq, *Dieu et l’homme*, pp. 54-61; J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the NT*, pp. 32-47; W. J. Thompson, *Matthew’s Advice to a Divided Community*, Rome, 1970, pp. 203ff.; J. Dupont, *Beatitudes*, vol. 3, pp. 620ff.

²⁴ Δοῦλε πονηρέ is usually translated “wicked servant” (18:32), but πονηροί is the adjective used for sycophants (Demosthenes, *C. Eub.* 57.32), that is, the dishonest, and means “rascals, rogues” (cf. J. Taillardat, *Images d’Aristophane*, p. 241, n. 430), miserable types (Plutarch, *De cupid. divit.* 5), the villainous (*De vit. pud.* 11; *De sera* 11), vile (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.55; 16.296), foul individual (Josephus, *Life* 134).

²⁵ The insensitivity and cruelty of the unmerciful debtor contrasts with the so generous compassion of the king, who was moved by his servant’s distress. God’s heart (1John 3:20) and even “entrails” are stirred; cf. the father of the prodigal (Luke 15:20-21).

²⁶ Cf. B. Gerhardsson, “The Good Samaritan,” in *ConNT*, vol. 16, 1958; C. Spicq, *Agape*, vol. 1, pp. 137–148; H. Binder, “Das Gleichnis vom barmherzigen Samariter,” in *TZ*, 1959, pp. 176–194; W. Monselewski, *Der barmherzige Samariter*, Tübingen, 1966; C. Daniel, “Les Esseniens et l’arriere-fond historique de la parabole du Bon Samaritain,” in *NovT*, 1969, pp. 71-104; H. Zimmermann, “Das Gleichnis vom barmherzigen Samariter,”

in G. Bornkamm, *Die Zeit Jesu* (Festschrift H. Schlier), Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1970, pp. 58-69; Bo Reicke, “Der barmherzige Samariter,” in *Verborum Veritas* (Festschrift F. Stahlin), Wuppertal, 1970, pp. 103–109.

²⁷ Μακάριοι οἱ—ε—λεήμονες ὅτι αὐτοὶ ε—λεησθήσονται, Matt 5:7. —Ελεήμων, in 25 of its 30 occurrences in the LXX, refers to an attribute of God (cf. of Christ, Heb 2:17) and usually translates the Hebrew *hannun* (cf. J. Dupont, *Beatitudes*, vol. 3, pp. 604–633). God punishes sin but also has mercy on the sinner (Jonah 4:2; Joel 2:13; Isa 55:7; Jer 3:12), especially on the person who is compassionate (Luke 6:36-38; Eph 4:32; Col 3:12) and forgiving (Matt 6:12; Luke 11:5-6); cf. the parable of the Last Judgment (Matt 25:31-46).

²⁸ Luke 1:50 (= Ps 102:17); 1:54 (Ps 97:3); 1:72 (= Mic 7:20); 1:78, διὰ σπλάγχνα ε—λέους θεοῦ ἡμῶ—ν.

²⁹ Mark 10:47; Matt 9:27; 17:15; Luke 17:13; cf. Luke 16:24 —the wicked rich man— “Father Abraham, have mercy on me.”

³⁰ Rom 9:23; 1Pet 1:3 —“The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whose great mercy we have been born again to a living hope”; 2Tim 1:18 —“May the Lord grant to Onesiphorus to find mercy with the Lord on that Day” (to Onesiphorus, who was so devoted to the church at Ephesus and so charitable toward St. Paul when he was imprisoned at Rome). Thus the prayers of the apostle and of Christians provoke God to compassion.

ε—λπίζω, ε—λπίς

elpizo, to hope; *elpis*, hope

elpizo, S 1679; *TDNT* 2.517–533; *EDNT* 1.437–441; *NIDNTT* 2.238–246; MM 204; L&N 25.59, 30.54; BDF §§14, 74(1), 187(6), 233(2), 235(2), 337(2), 338(3), 341, 350, 397(2); BAGD 252 | ***elpis***, S 1680; *TDNT* 2.517–533; *EDNT* 1.437–441; *NIDNTT* 2.238–246; MM 204–205; L&N 25.59, 25.61, 25.62; BDF §§14, 235(2), 400(1); BAGD 252–253; ND 2.77

We note that the noun *elpis* is absent from the four Gospels and thus that the Lord did not use the word *hope*.¹ The verb *elpizo* is used only twice in its secular sense (“If you lend to those from whom you hope to receive . . .” [Luke 6:34; cf. *elpizon* . . . *apodosei*, L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, n. 55]; “Herod hoped to see Jesus perform some miracle” [Luke 23:8]) and three times in its religious sense,² all in accord with the OT meaning.³ The

more the proclamation of the gospel of salvation advanced in Asia Minor and in Europe, the more the apostles, especially St. Paul, came in contact with pagans, whom they defined as “those who have no hope.”⁴ These pagans are amazed by the unique *elpis* (Eph 4:4; Heb 3:6; cf. *P.Brem.* 1, 1: *mia en elpis kai loipe prosdokia*; *UPZ* 42, 39; *C.P.Herm.* 116; Josephus, *War* 5.64; 6.160) that animates all the members of the new religion.⁵ They cry for help (Acts 16:9—*boetheson hemin*), so that the preaching of the faith is oriented more and more toward a preaching of hope (cf. Heb 11:1), and the confession of faith becomes a *homologia tes elpidos akline* (“unwavering confession of hope,” Heb 10:23).

I. — Secular objects of hope. — If hope is defined as “expectation of something good,”⁶ then there are many good things (Sir 2:9): returning to one’s country (Jer 44:14; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.17; Polybius 3.63.7), freedom (Isa 25:9; cf. Jdt 6:9; Ps 112:7), receiving a teaching (Isa 42:4; cf. Philo, *Change of Names* 8), help (2Macc 3:29), a wage (Wis 2:22, *misthon*), money,⁷ a harvest (Philo, *Virtues* 159; *Rewards* 129; 1Cor 9:10); escaping an illness (2Macc 3:29; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 123; Josephus, *War* 1.657; *Ant.* 17.172), a shipwreck (Acts 27:20), a disaster (Job 2:9); what in Greek is called salvation (Philo, *Flacc.* 11; *To Gaius* 151, 329; 4Macc 11:7). Philo specifies that people hope for useful goods, like wealth, health, reputation (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.86; *Decalogue* 91; *To Gaius* 11), pleasures (*Dreams* 2.209), favors and compliments (*Abraham* 128; *To Gaius* 137), a calm and tranquil life (*Moses* 1.214), a contemplative life (*Migr. Abr.* 70), wellbeing (*Joseph* 162), freedom (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.194; *Moses* 1.171, 193; *Virtues* 123), fatherhood (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.85; *Spec. Laws* 1.138; 4.203; *Decalogue* 126; *Virtues* 207), motherhood (*Spec. Laws* 3.62), marriage (*Husbandry* 158; *Prelim. Stud.* 5; Aristaenetos 1.21.14: *elpizomenos estin ho gamos hedys*), victory (*Spec. Laws* 4.28; *Good Man Free* 111; *To Gaius* 356; *Husbandry* 162; *Joseph* 138), booty (*Cherub.* 75), happiness (*Flight* 145; *Abraham* 7; *To Gaius* 82), perfection (*Heir* 311; *Decalogue* 113). St. Paul and St. John express several times their desire to visit a community, to prolong a visit, to be free to meet a disciple.⁸ This meaning is in conformity with common usage as expressed in the papyri: “Tell Longinus that I hope to meet him again.”⁹ The desire is expressed that a certain order will be carried out (*P.Ant.* 188, 10), that a guilty person will be imprisoned (*SB* 9616, 28), that a certain person will make an effort (*P.Brem.* 5, 8: *dosein ergasian*; a Latinism, cf. Luke 12:58), that someone will carry out our business (*P.Oxy.* 3147, 8, *hoti poiei to pragma hemon*), that a field will be sown (*P.Ryl.* 243, 8), that certain things will be pleasing (*PSI* 1242, 3: *auta hedista*; first century; cf. *SB* 9528). Someone counts on receiving money (*P.Mich.* 480, 15; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XI, 28, 10; *P.Oslo* 50, 7; *P.Laur.* 39, 8) or help.¹⁰ Soldiers hope for promotion.¹¹ In the midst of trials, the danger is that one will lose all hope.¹² Is a happy life not sustained by hope?¹³ In contracts for divorce by mutual consent, the

spouses recognize that they were united in a legal marriage and in a common life “for the procreation of children, according to the human custom, with good hopes” (*epi chrestais elpisin*, *C.P.Herm.* 29, 10 = *SB* 9278; *C.Pap.Jud.* 513). In all these texts, we can conclude on the one hand that human hope is the expectation—uncertain, confident, or anguished—of a desired good; it glimpses as possible or probable the realization of that which it counts on. On the other hand, the birthright of every human being, man or woman, but above all of the poor and unfortunate, is to retain hope. “Thales, when asked what the commonest thing was, answered, ‘Hope—for even those who have nothing else still have this.’”¹⁴

Otherwise, in biblical as in secular Greek, *elpizo* (*en*) means to hope in someone, to place one’s confidence in people or in earthly realities: the people of Shechem put their hope in Gaal (*Judg* 9:26; cf. 20:36), Hezekiah put his in Egypt and his horsemen (2*Kgs* 18:24), the Assyrians put theirs in their shields and spears;¹⁵ Israel in Bethel (*Jer* 48:13) and Egypt (*Ezek* 29:16); but *Jer* 17:5 curses the person who trusts in a human (Philo, *Flacc.* 22). This same meaning, “placing one’s confidence,” is found in the papyri: “For we would not have expected him to perish (future infinitive of *diapipto*) in so short a time” (*ou gar an elpisamen en houto brachei chrono diapesein auton*, *SB* 6787, 39; third century BC); “but I hope that I shall be saved through your prayers” (*elpizo de diasotheseisthai me dia ton euchon sou*, *ibid.* 7872, col. II, 10; *C.P.Herm.* 5, 11). It is attested especially in Jewish and Christian tomb inscriptions: “I expect a good hope of mercy”;¹⁶ but then the verb has a religious meaning.

II. — Religious objects of hope. — Pagans placed their confidence in God to obtain earthly goods.¹⁷ In the first century AD, according to Orphic and mystery traditions,¹⁸ souls aspire to immortality, to a blessed survival after death, and it was thought that Dionysus would protect his faithful ones after death. But this hope was never named as such, and it is only Plutarch who states that the initiates into the mysteries undergo “a sudden thrill mixed with hope” (*met’ elpidos idias echousi*, *De fac.* 28; 943 c), when they are in the act of clinging to the moon.

A veritable semantic revolution is effected by the LXX, which gives *elpis* and *elpizo* a strictly religious meaning. Hope, which is always directed toward God, is no longer any expectation whatsoever, but a sure and certain confidence in Yahweh. It is not only the virtue of certain individuals¹⁹ but also the faith, piety, and spirituality of Israel, as these are expressed by the psalmists and the sages: “The hope of the righteous is full of immortality” (*Wis* 3:4). “The hope of those who fear God is placed in the one who saves them.”²⁰ No object is given to *elpis*. It is only a matter of finding one’s refuge in Yahweh²¹ and having full and complete confidence in him.²² The twelve prophets have throughout history strengthened the chosen people “by certitude and constancy of hope” (*en pistei elpidos*, *Sir* 49:10). Just as pagans denounce the vain and deceptive hope that

animates humans without God—for destiny laughs at hopes (Josephus, *War* 1.233)—so does Israel affirm the blessedness of *elpis* based on the true God: “Happy is the one whose hope is in Yahweh, his God” (Ps 146:5; cf. Sir 14:2); “Yahweh of Hosts, blessed is the person who hopes in you” (Ps 84:12). “Blessed is the person who trusts in Yahweh; the Lord is his hope” (Jer 17:7); “The hope of the righteous is joy, but the hope of the wicked will perish.”²³

St. Paul—who would be imprisoned “because of the hope of Israel” (Acts 28:20)—is the faithful heir of this language, this lexicon, and this faith: “God, in whom we have placed our hope (*eis hon elpikamen*) . . . will deliver us, with you helping us through prayer.”²⁴ “It is for this reason that we toil and strive, that we have placed our hope in the living God (*elpikamen epi theo zonti*), who is the Savior of all people, especially of believers” (1Tim 4:10). The verb in the perfect emphasizes that the hope is immutable and is the source of all the efforts, like that of the widow who “has placed her hope in God” (*elpiken epi theon*, 1Tim 5:5) and whose prayer is almost constant, because God is her only help.²⁵ This is the example given by the holy women of Israel who “placed their hope in God” (*gynaikes hai elpizousai eis theon*, 1Pet 3:5). This is still the traditional contrast: expecting the pleasures that this world can offer or expecting from God alone the regard and recompense of virtuous conduct.

The object of this hope is rarely specified and never defined. 2Thess 2:16 is content to say that Christ and God our Father have given us “a good hope graciously” (*elpida agathen en chariti*),²⁶ but Heb 7:19 states that the new covenant introduced “a better hope (*kreittonos elpidos*) whereby we draw near to God”; not only is the certitude complete, but the things hoped for are far superior.²⁷ We may distinguish hope in the realization of the promises of the Messiah and his kingdom,²⁸ the fervent expectation of salvation,²⁹ eternal life,³⁰ glory, (Rom 5:2; 8:21; Eph 1:18; Col 1:27), resurrection,³¹ the appearing-epiphany of Christ³² and of all the good things implied in the concept of the heavenly inheritance (Rom 8:17; 1Cor 15:50; Eph 1:18; Titus 3:7) or kingdom (2Thess 1:5; 2Tim 4:18), notably the vision of God (1Cor 13:12; 1John 3:2), which is presently impossible (2Cor 4:18). The specific character of the Christian *elpis* is to expect not only a future good but “what we do not see” (*ou blepomen elpizomen*, Rom 8:25; cf. 2Cor 4:18).

Whatever the diversity of these objects of hope, they are all summed up in Christ “our hope” (*elpis hemon*, 1Tim 1:1), not only because his disciples await the coming (1Thess 1:10; Phil 3:8-13, 20; 1Tim 6:14; 2Tim 4:8) of the victorious one (Rev 2:21; 5:5; 6:2; 17:14), who will lead to glory the multitude of the children of God (Heb 2:10; 10:22; 12:22-24; “to be with him,” Phil 1:22-23), but especially because it is through him alone—and no longer through Moses (John 5:45)—that they may obtain the future glory (Col 1:27). They are “those who have placed their hope in Christ” (1Cor

15:19; cf. Rom 5:1) or in the grace that he has brought (1Pet 1:13). He is the “pioneer of salvation” (*archegos tes soterias*, Heb 2:10). Their religious life is summed up in the person of the one who is the “living hope” (Heb 10:23).³³

So NT hope is not only a personal feeling (*peri tes en hymin elpidos*, 1Pet 3:15), nor even the thing awaited (1Thess 2:19; Eph 2:12), but the whole economy of the new covenant, the dispensation under which all believers live, the goal and the meaning of their calling (Eph 4:4), whose full actualization they await (Gal 5:5). They are exhorted to “hold fast to the hope set forth” (Heb 6:18), to “keep their confession of hope unshakable” (*ten homologian tes elpidos*, Heb 10:23), that is, their profession of faith.³⁴

III. — Hope as a virtue. — A feeling of confidence, hope resides in the heart (Jdt 6:9; Ps 28:7); it is a virtue³⁵ infused by “the God of hope” (Rom 15:13) or the Holy Spirit (Rom 15:13; cf. 5:5)—the pledge of the world to come (2Cor 1:22; 5:5)—and by means of the Scriptures (Rom 15:4). It is associated with faith and charity.³⁶ Being confident of the future (*chrestas peri ton mellonton echein elpidas*, Josephus, *Ant.* 6.275), it is a source of optimism: “charity hopes all things” (1Cor 13:7), sure of the triumph of the good. This hope is always joyful,³⁷ since it already possessed the pledge of the promised blessedness (Rom 14:17; Gal 5:22). It eliminates timidity and hesitation and gives the hopeful person “great boldness,”³⁸ made up of assurance and pride, letting one keep the “head high” (cf. Lev 26:13) and remain unshakable before criticisms and even fearless before God’s judgment (1John 2:28; 3:21; 4:17). This certitude and confidence which belong to “sharers in a heavenly calling” (Heb 3:1) are for them a *kauchema*, a subject of pride and honor, a claim to glory, attributed again by Heb 3:6 to hope.³⁹ But this essentially dynamic virtue demands the sanctification and purification of the Christian, because the end demands the use of means to attain it: “Whoever has such a hope in God purifies himself, as he himself is pure” (1John 3:3). Only the pure, after all, will see God (Matt 5:8; Heb 12:14), and nothing impure will ever enter into the heavenly city (Rev 21:27; 22:11). So those whose entire hope is to draw near to God, and to see God, purify themselves from every evil (Acts 24:15-16; 2Cor 5:9).

IV. — The certitude of the Christian hope. — Unlike human hope, whose props are often weak, whose goals are often bad,⁴⁰ whose expectations are often disappointed,⁴¹ NT *elpis* is sure and certain first of all by virtue of its semantic origin in the LXX (Hebrew *batah*), where it means essentially having confidence, being assured. Then, by virtue of its object and its own nature, it is solid (*bebaia*, 2Cor 1:7; Heb 6:19), indefectible (*aklines*, Heb 10:23); since it places its confidence in God it cannot be disappointed. What is more, it is sure because it is based on many statements in inspired Scripture.⁴² Finally, it is sure because St. Paul expressly states it and justifies it: “Hope does not disappoint, because the

love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit that has been given to us.”⁴³ Hope’s certitude is the certitude of God’s unchanging and efficacious love and of his infinite mercy, in which he has willed that none should perish and set in motion the whole economy of forgiveness and salvation.⁴⁴ Now this divine *agape* comes to indwell the souls of the faithful—justification is already present, actual—because the Holy Spirit has poured it out in them, so that it becomes their possession. They abide in God (1John 2:5-6). So there is no break between earth and heaven (cf. the metaphor of the anchor, Heb 6:19). Divine love is like a spring that wells up to eternal life (John 4:14; 7:38).

Thus it is certain that hope placed in God will not be disappointed. The verb *kataischyno*, used almost eighty times in the LXX,⁴⁵ expresses the idea of disappointment in a context of confidence (Luke 13:17). The wicked person who plots evil but cannot actualize his plans is embarrassed by his failure, but the faithful person who waits on God for salvation will not be confounded—a litotes—will not regret having entrusted his whole life to God. A “dis-grace” means being rejected by one’s Lord—this would be opprobrium, shame (cf. *aischynomai*; Phil 1:20); it would mean becoming the object of mocking by unbelievers who would laugh at the unfortunate, disappointed righteous person. It is as with the man who wanted to build a tower and had laid the foundation, but was unable to complete the project: “everyone ridiculed him” (Luke 14:29, *empaizo*). For a member of the new and eternal covenant in Jesus Christ, such an emptying out of hope is unthinkable (cf. Rom 8:32), since it is God himself who has given us this “good hope.”⁴⁶

¹ That is to say that in working out a NT theology of hope we have to take other terms into account: ἀναμένω, ἀπεκδέχομαι, γρηγορέω, ε—κδέχομαι, ε—πέχω, προσδέχομαι, προσδοκάω, ὑπομονή, etc.; cf. ἀπελπίζω (Luke 6:35), προελπίζω (Eph 1:12). Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 292–380; J. de Guibert, “Sur l’emploi d’ε—λπίς et ses synonymes dans le N.T.,” in *RSR*, 1913, pp. 565–569; A. Gelin, *Les Idées maîtresses de l’Ancien Testament*, Paris, 1949, pp. 27ff.; T. C. Vriezen, “Die Hoffnung im Alten Testament,” in *TLZ*, 1953, col. 577–586; J. van der Ploeg, “L’Espérance dans l’A.T.,” in *RB*, 1954, pp. 481–507; W. Grossouw, “L’Espérance dans le N.T.,” *ibid.*, pp. 508–532; J. Guillet, *Thèmes bibliques*, Paris, 1954, pp. 160ff.; D. L. Fidele, *La speranza cristiana nelle lettere de S. Paulo*, Naples, 1960; C. F. D. Moule, *The Meaning of Hope* (Facet Books, 5), Philadelphia, 1963; H. Schlier, *Essais sur le Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1968, pp. 159–170, 356ff.; K. Hanhart, “Paul’s Hope in the Face of Death,” in *JBL*, 1969, pp. 445–457; F. Raurell, *La esperanza en la Biblia* (XXX Semana Biblica Española), in *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia*, 1970, pp. 325–359; J. R. Flecha Andrés, *Esperanza y moral en el Nuevo Testamento*, Léon, 1975; H. Zimmermann, *Das*

Bekennnis der Hoffnung: Tradition und Redaktion im Hebräerbrief, Cologne, 1977; P. Grelot, *L'Espérance juive à l'heure de Jésus*, Paris, 1978.

² Matt 12:21 (Rom 15:12), a quotation of Isa 42:4—"My servant . . . in his name the nations shall place their hope"; Luke 24:21—the disciples from Emmaus hoped that Jesus would deliver Israel; John 5:45—the Jews place their hope in Moses (the perfect form ἠλπικατε has a parallel in *P.Oslo* 159, 18, ἠλπικα, in the third century).

³ —Ἐλπίζω is construed with the accusative, the dative (Thucydides 3.97.2: "Demosthenes hoped in his fortune," τῇ τύχῃ ἐ—λπίσας), or the infinitive; or with ὅτι and many prepositions: εἰ—ς τινα, ἐ—ν τινι, ἐ—πί τινα, ἐ—πί τι, ἐ—πί τινι. In the LXX, it translates the Hebrew words *qawâh*, "await, hope" (cf. P. A. H. de Boer, "Etude sur le sens de la racine QWH," in *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, vol. 10, 1954, pp. 225–246); *batah*, "have confidence in, feel secure"; *yahal*, "wait for someone"; *hakâh*, "wait with confidence or certitude"; *hasâh*, "entrust oneself to someone, find shelter (*mah*<Ø>*a*<^>*seh*, refuge, shelter), have recourse to someone." While in secular Greek ἐ—λπίς and ἐ—λπίζω especially mean wait for, count on, expect, suppose (notably in Josephus), hope for, in the LXX, the preponderant nuance is trust, have recourse to, place one's hope in someone.

⁴ 1Thess 4:13; Eph 2:12. Certainly the Romans had a cult of Hope, for whom they had many temples (PW, vol. 3, A, 2, col. 1634ff.; K. Thylander, *Inscriptions du port d'Ostie*, Lund, 1952, n. B, 335, 32); they thought that the cult of Hope restored courage (Cicero, *Nat. D.* 2.23; Dio Cassius 2.23). At Rome, A. Atilius Calatinus had built a temple to Spes (Hope) on the Forum Holitorium during the First Punic War; later a temple to Spes Vetus was erected on the Esquiline (Cicero, *Leg.* 2.11.28); but Elpis does not have a place in the index of Stoic technical terms or in that of E. des Places' *La Religion grecque* (Paris, 1969), since it is a passion and as such as little desirable as any other passion. According to the myth of Pandora, the jar from which escaped all the evils that spread among humankind was closed before Hope, which was still down inside it, could get out (Hesiod, *Op.* 42–105). Certainly some religious souls hoped in the gods' help (Philemon: οἱ— γὰρ θεὸν σέβοντες, ἐ—λπίδας καλὰς ἔχουσιν εἰ—ς σωτηρίαν, in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 A, p. 82), but in the first century, sadness and discouragement are constant: "We can no longer bear either our vices or their cures" (Livy, preface). Archias of Mitylene thought that it was good to bewail the birth of sons, who would advance relentlessly among evils of all sorts, and that the dead were blessed in that they had left life and found in death the cure for all ills (*Anth. Pal.* 9.11; cf.

P.Oxy. 115). It has been observed that in the sculpture of the first century, the eyes often express sadness, “a sort of desperate numbness” (J. P. Milliet, “Les Yeux hagards,” in *Mélanges Nicole*, Geneva, 1905, pp. 357–366). A common epitaph: “I was not, I came to be, I am no longer; it amounts to nothing” (*MAMA*, vol. 8, 353; cf. R. Lattimore, *Epitaphs*). Cf. A. J. Festugière, *Idéal religieux*, pp. 163–164; idem, *Vie spirituelle*, pp. 159ff. C. Spicq, *Vie morale*, pp. 10ff. = ET, *Trinity*, pp. 3ff.; J. M. Aubert, “La Voix de l’espérance dans l’âme grecque antique,” in *BAGB*, 1961, pp.205–216.

⁵ 1Pet 3:15. Cf. E. Cothenet, “Le Réalisme de l’espérance chrétienne selon IPierre,” in *NTS* 27, 1981, pp. 564–572.

⁶ Ps.-Plato, *Def.* 416: ε—λίς: προσδοκία ἀγαθοῦ; cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.6.19.

⁷ Acts 24:26—ε—λίζων ὅτι χρήματα δοθήσεται αὐτῷ—; Luke 6:34—ε—λίζετε λαβει—ν; a profit (ε—ργασία, Acts 16:19; cf. κέρδος, Josephus, *War* 2.587; 6.383; *Ant.* 18.7; *Life* 325). The poor person who has hope (Hebrew *tiqwâh*; Job 4:16; *Pss. Sol.* 5.13; 15.2; 18.3; Philo, *Abraham* 47: “The one who hopes is poor”) directs his desire to what is due him (Deut 24:15). The hope for a tree is that it will renew itself (Job 14:7; 19:10); the merchant’s hope is profit (Philo, *Rewards* 11).

⁸ Rom 15:24—ε—λίζω θεάσασθαι ὑμα—ς; 1Cor 16:7—ε—λίζω ε—πιμει—ναι; Phil 2:19, 23; Phlm 22; 1Tim 3:14; 2John 12; 3John 14; cf. Tob 10:8—Tobias’s parents have no more hope of seeing him again. In the sense “expect, count on,” St. Paul uses the verb ε—λίζω to express his confidence in the good feelings of his correspondents (“I hope that you will understand . . .” [2Cor 1:13; 5:11; 8:5; 10:15; 13:6]) or in their faithfulness (2Cor 1:7). Cf. the letter of Sempronius in the second century: “I expect (ε—λίζω) that our brother Valerius realizes how deep the sorrow is that we feel” (*P.Wisc.* 84, 12).

⁹ *P.Mich.* 476, 25 (third century); 481, 14; *P.Gron.* 18, 7; *P.Oxy.* 1829, 7, 17; 1940, 3; 2190, 9. A son’s hope is that upon his return he will find his mother in good health (letter of Ammon, edited by W. H. Willis, in *Proceedings* XV, p. 108, l. 17).

¹⁰ *P.Mich.* 529, 15: Aurelius ε—λίζων τῆς τοῦ κυρίου μου βοηθείας, hoping for my lord’s assistance (the lord in question being the prefect of Egypt, Maevius Honoratianus); *P.Tebt.* 787, 15: ε—λίδα ἔχοντες τῆς σῆς ἀντιλήψεως.

¹¹ In 107, the soldier Apollinarus writes to his brother Sabinus that the consular Claudius Severus has told him: “I will make you a secretary of the legion, with hope of advancement” (ε—φ̄ ε—λπίδων, *P.Mich.* 466, 30); “I hope to be promoted soon” (*BGU* 423, 27). Cf. *SB* 6717, 7: ε—λπίζω σε στεφανωθήσεσθαι; *P.Lond.* 1941, 8.

¹² Ἀλλην ε—λίδα οὐκ ἔχομεν, *P.Giss.* (ed. H. Kling) 31, 14; *P.Oxy.* 1678, 7; *P.Mich.* 502, 12: μάλιστα δέ τις ἄλλη ε—λίς οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς ἡ παρησία τω—ν ἀδελφω—ν (second century); Josephus, *Ant.* 10.11: τω— μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ε—λίδα ἔχοντι σωτηρίας. An insolvent debtor saw his children seized by creditors; he himself was arrested; it could be said that he had been almost forced to lose blessed hope: ὥστε ὡς ἔπος εἰ—πει—ν ἀναγκασθῆναι τῆς μακαρίας ε—λπίδος (cf. Titus 2:13; Antiochus I of Commagene, in *IGLS* 1, 108); ἡμω—ν ἀποστερηθῆναι (*P.Lond.* 1915, 9). The legal ἀνάπαυσις was not respected in the assigning of a *leitourgia* to a complainant who thus lost “the time to have good hopes” (ἔχειν περὶ ε—μαυτω— χρηστὰς τὰς ε—λίδας, *SB* 10199). En route to Hades: εἰ—ς φλόγα καὶ σποδιὴν ε—λίδας ε—ξέχεεν (*CIRB* 141, 5). The author of a letter, in a difficult situation, has no hope other than the help of his correspondent: νῦν ε—ν σοὶ μοὶ εἰ—σιν αἰ— ε—λίδες τοῦ σωίζεσθαι (*sic*), *P.Cair.Zen.* 59844, 6. It is hoped that some evil will not happen: ὅπερ ε—λπίζω μηδὲν τούτων γενήσεσθαι (*P.Mil.Vogl.* 76,8).

¹³ Βίον ἀγαθὸν εἰ—ς ε—λίδα (Antiochus I of Commagene, in *IGLS* 47, col. VI, 14); ε—λίδα τοῦ βιώσεσθαι (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.204; cf. 17.1). New fruits give the best hopes (*BGU* 486, 6; cf. education, Philo, *Post. Cain* 97; *Heir* 310). *SB* 9528, 11; *PSI* 1312, 9 (letters of Chomenis to his brother): ἀγαθὰς οὖν ε—λίδας ἔχε; *UPZ* 13, 28.

¹⁴ ἀλης ε—ρωτῆεῖς τί κοινότατον, ἀπεκρίνατο· ε—λίθ· καὶ γὰρ οἶθ ἄλλο μηδέν, αὕτη πάρεστιν, Stobaeus, *Flor.* 110.46, n. 24 (vol. 5, p. 1001); Plato, *Phlb.* 39 e: “Throughout our lives, we do not cease to be full of hope”; Theocritus 4.42: “There is hope as long as one is living; it is when one is dead that there is no more hope”; Xenophon, *An.* 7.6.11: “When one is human one must expect everything” (cited by Bultmann, “ε—λίς,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 517–518). Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 138–139: “Is there is anything more properly human than the hope or expectation of possessing goods that God will give? . . . Those who do not hope in God do not share in a rational nature . . . only humans have hope . . . whoever despairs is not human”; *Rewards* 14: “No one could be taken for a human being who does not hope in God”; 72; *Abraham* 8, 10.

¹⁵ *Jdt* 9:7; *Ps* 44:6; *Hos* 10:13—“You hoped in the multitude of your valiant men.” A person may have confidence in dreams (*Sir* 34:7; cf. hope through

magic, Rhetorius, ε—λίσι χρησμο—ν ἀναλαμβανομένους, in *CCAG*, VIII, IV, p. 165, 8), in a lie (Isa 28:15; Jer 13:25), wickedness (Isa 47:10: ε—λίς τῆς πονηρίας σου) or extortion (Isa 30:12). Fools put their hope in dead things: ε—ν νεκροί—ς = in idols (Wis 13:10; cf. 15:6, 10).

¹⁶ —Ελέους ε—λίδα ἀγαθὴν ε—γὼ προσδέχομαι, epitaph of a Jew of Rachelis, dead at age 30, *CII* 1513, 7 = *SB* 6650, 4. In classical Greek, ἔχειν τὴν ε—λίδα ε—πί = place one's hope in someone; cf. Euripides, *Or.* 1059; Diodorus Siculus 14.101.

¹⁷ —Ελπίζω σὺν θεω—, παρὰ θεοῦ, μετὰ θεόν, εἰ—ς θεόν. In the papyri, most of these attestations are Christian and late, *P.land.* 11, 2; *P.Ant.* 198, 6–7; *PSI* 301, 9; *SB* 7655, 15; 9139, 15; 10269, 5; *IGLS* 2546.

¹⁸ Cf. M. J. Lagrange, *Les Mystères: L'Orphisme*, Paris, 1937; A. Boulanger, "L'Orphisme," in *REA*, 1937, pp. 45–48; especially F. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, pp. 240ff., 401ff. A. J. Festugière, *Etudes de religion*, pp. 13–63. For Cicero (*Leg.* 2.14.36), Eleusis brought men nothing better than a reason to live with joy and to die "with good hope."

¹⁹ 2Kgs 18:5 (Hezekiah); Ps 21:7; 26:1; 28:7; 32:10; 34:8, 22; 56:2, 4, 11; 91:2; 147:11; Sus 60: "God saves those who hope in him"; 1Macc 2:61; Judas Maccabeus "holding an unshakeable confidence had full hope of obtaining help from the Lord" (2Macc 15:7); 4Macc 17:4.

²⁰ Sir 34:13; Dan 3:28—"His servants trusted in him"; Ps 22:4, 5; 25:20.

²¹ Ps 7:1; 13:5; 14:6; 16:1; 17:7; 18:2, 30; 31:1; 61:3; 62:7; 71:1; 73:28; 91:1-3, 9; 94:22; Prov 14:26.

²² Ps 4:5—Have confidence in Yahweh; 9:10; 40:4; 52:5, 11; 43:5; 71:5; 115:9-11; Isa 26:4; Bar 4:22; Sir 2:6. God is "the hope of all the ends of the earth" (Ps 65:5); even "the islands will hope" in him and will count on his arms (Isa 51:5). With Noah, "the hope of the world found refuge on a raft" (Wis 14:6). This confidence, which will not be disappointed (Prov 23:18) contrasts with the vain hope of fools (κενή ἢ ε—λίς ἀὐτω—ν, Wis 3:11, 18; 5:14), which is empty and deceitful (Sir 34:1), which is never fulfilled (Job 8:13; 27:8; Prov 11:7, 23; 26:12; 29:20). "The hope of the wicked is to breathe their last" (Job 11:20); that of the ingrate melts "like the wintry frost" (Wis 16:29).

²³ Prov 10:28. This hope-confidence is found in all the writers who share in the faith of Israel: *Pss. Sol.* 5.13; 6.8; 8.37; 9.19; 17.3, 38, 44. The Qumran psalmist hopes in the love, the goodness, the grace of God (1QH 9.10, 14;

10.16; 11.31; cf. 3.20; 6.6); Philo: “Only the one who has placed his hope in God is worthy of approval” (*Rewards* 13); “Holy and praiseworthy is the one who hopes” (*Abraham* 14–16); “Those who are truly well-born are full of hope” (*To Gaius* 195); “The greatest hope is hope in God” (*Spec. Laws* 1.310; cf. *Virtues* 67, 75; *Flacc.* 176). The faithful place their hope in God’s merciful nature (*Spec. Laws* 2.196; cf. *Abraham* 9; *Flight* 99). Josephus: to place one’s hope in God (τὰς ἐ—λπίδας ἔχειν ἐ—ν τῷ θεῷ, *Ant.* 8.282) is to have confidence in his help (βοηθὸν ἐ—λίξειν τὸν θεόν, 2.331; cf. *War* 2.391; 6.99–100) and to find salvation (*Ant.* 12.344). Moses had confidence that God would save his people (*Ant.* 2.276) and Darius hoped that the deity would save Daniel (10.258); cf. *T. Job* 37.1, 5.

²⁴ 2Cor 1:10–11. Prayer obtains God’s granting of the thing hoped for (*Job* 6:8); hence the association of ἐ—λίς and εὐχή, *P.Berl.Zill.* 14, 16: ἐ—λπίδας ἔχω εἰ—ς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑμῶ—ν (sixth century); *P.Oxy.* 939, 9–10; *P.Lond.* 1928, 15: διὰ τῶ—ν ὑμῶ—ν εὐχῶ—ν προσδοκομένη ἐ—λίς; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 364, 5; *Phlm* 22. In 1Cor 15:19, the Christ-mediator or God-man is substituted for God as the basis of hope: “If we have hoped in Christ (ἐ—ν Χριστῷ— ἠλπικότες) in this life only, then we are of all people most to be pitied,” since we would be deprived of the very point: future blessedness (cf. *IGLS* 2546: “O Christ, help Helenis, your servant, for the one who hopes in you [will not perish?]”).

²⁵ Cf. 1Tim 6:17—“Command the rich in this age . . . not to place their hope in (μηδὲ ἠλπικέναι ἐ—πί) the uncertainty of wealth but in God who procures all things richly for our enjoyment.” Earthly goods are unstable and deceptive. A Christian must count only on God, who is the rich one par excellence (2Cor 8:9; Eph 2:4) and loves to give.

²⁶ The adjective ἀγαθή is constantly used to describe hopes of happiness; cf. Socrates (in Stobaeus, vol. 5, p. 1002, n. 26); Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.6.19; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.325; 5.222; 8.214; 13.201; 14.96. (Cf. the numerous uses collected by F. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, especially in relation to the mysteries of Eleusis.) It alternates with καλή (*Ep. Arist.* 261; Plutarch, *Brut.* 40.1), γλυκει—α (Bion, in Stobaeus, vol. 5, p. 1000, 17), ι—λαρά (Critias, frag. 6, ed. Diels; Josephus, *War* 1.616; 2.106); cf. εὐελπις (Plato, *Ap.* 41 d; *Phd.* 64 a).

²⁷ Κρει—ττον (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.110; 3.83) alternates with μεγάλη (*War* 7.76; *Ep. Arist.* 18), βέλτιον (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 731, 35), χρηστή (*Ant.* 6.275; 7.234; 8.419; 13.421; 15.302; 18.284; *P.Oxy.* 1070, 10), and βεβαία (2Cor 1:7; 4Macc 17:4; Josephus, *War* 7.165, 413; *Ant.* 8.8), sometimes in the superlative βεβαιοτάτη (Philo, *Plant.* 88; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.280). 1Pet 1:3—“God has regenerated us εἰ—ς ἐ—λίδα ζω—σαν”; 1:13—τελειῶς;

Heb 10:23—ἀκλινής; Titus 2:13; *P.Lond.* 1915, 9: μακαρία. To express firm hope, one can say πολλή ε—λπίς (2Macc 9:22).

²⁸ Acts 26:6-7. Cf. Col 1:23—“the hope promised by the gospel”; Heb 6:17-18. Thus Abraham, trusting in God’s promise, hoped against all hope (παρ ε—λπίδα ε—πε—λπίδι, Rom 4:18). The expression “saved against all hope” (σωθείς . . . παρ ε—λπίδα), used with respect to Mithridates (Josephus, *War* 1.192; cf. *Ant.* 17.331), is common in this author (*War* 1.331, 580; 4.657, etc.).

²⁹ 1Thess 5:8—ε—λπίς σωτηρίας (objective genitive; cf. Job 2:9; *T. Job* 24.1; Aeneas Tacticus, prol. I. 14; Philo, *To Gaius* 329). The expression recurs constantly in Josephus, especially with regard to military victories (*War* 1.390; 3.194, 204; 4.312, 338; 5.64, 306, 512, 535; 6.160, 181; 7.165, 331, 413; *Ant.* 1.327; 2.140; 7.158; 13.399; 15.153; 16.238, 389); cf. 2Thess 2:13; Rom 5:9-10; 1Tim 4:10. In Rom 8:24 (τῇ γὰρ ε—λπίδι ε—σώθημεν), “hope” can be understood in the objective sense of a salvation fully realized, consummated (cf. Gal 5:5—“We await the hope of righteousness”); already saved now (the aorist ε—σώθημεν; cf. 1Cor 1:18), Christians are on the way to definitive salvation, to complete possession, what Heb 6:11 calls the πληροφορία τῆς ε—λπίδος. They live, then, under a dispensation of hope. Some understand “hope” in the subjective and instrumental sense: salvation is realized through hope-patience. For the discussion cf. M. F. Lacan, “‘Nous sommes sauvés par l’espérance’ (Rom. VIII, 24),” in *A la rencontre de Dieu: Mémoires A. Gelin*, Le Puy-Lyon-Paris, 1961, pp. 331–339; J. Cambier, “L’Espérance et le salut dans Rom. 8, 24,” in *Message et mission: Recueil commémorative du Xe anniversaire de la Faculté de Théologie* (of Kinshasa), Louvain-Paris, 1968, pp. 77–107.

³⁰ Titus 1:2—“Paul, an apostle . . . for the hope of eternal life (ε—πε ε—λπίδι ζωῆς αἰ—ωνίου), which God, who cannot lie, has promised”; 3:7; cf. Rom 6:22; 1Cor 15:22; Gal 6:8.

³¹ Acts 23:6—“It is on account of the hope of the resurrection of the dead that I am on trial”; 24:15—“Having this hope in God . . . that there will be a resurrection of the just and the unjust”; 2:26 (= Ps 16:9)—“My very flesh will rest in hope (of the resurrection)”; Phil 3:20-21; Rom 8:23. Even the creation, subjected to vanity, retains a hope of renewal (8:20). Cf. *1 Enoch* 46.6—unbelievers “will have no hope of rising from their slumber.”

³² Titus 2:13 (cf. *marana-tha*, 1Cor 16:22; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 83ff.; C. F. D. Moule, “A Reconsideration of the Context of Maranatha,” in *NTS*, vol. 6, 1960, pp. 307–310; S. Schulz, “Maranatha und Kyrios Jesus,” in *ZNW*, 1962, pp. 125–144). The Christian hopes for the coming of Christ

(1Cor 1:7; 1Pet 1:13) as the servant hopes for that of his master (Luke 12:36); it is his reason for living. His whole watchful and patient life is determined by this waiting (1Thess 1:10; Phil 3:12, 20; cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 311ff.).

³³ Jer 17:7 had stated: ἔσται κύριος ἐ—λπὶς αὐτοῦ (cf. *P.Oxy.* 1059, 1, a Christian prayer from the fifth century, κύριε θεέ καὶ ἐ—λπὶς μου); Ps 71:5—κύριος ἢ ἐ—λπὶς μου; Sir 34:14—“The one who fears the Lord will not be timid, for his hope is in him”; Thucydides 3.57.4: “You Lacedaemonians, our only hope.” According to *1 Enoch* 48.4, the Son of Man “will be the hope of those who suffer in their heart.” Hesiod personifies —Ελπίς (*Op.* 96), like the allegorists who “call Moses’ sister *Elpis* because she observes from afar” (Philo, *Dreams* 2.142), and many women named *Elpis* are known (*BGU* 632, 20; *GVI*, n. 1103, 1; L. Robert, “Les Inscriptions,” in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, p. 352) or *Elpidis* (L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1953, p. 188, n. 218). A physician of Corinth is named Gaius Vibius Euelpistus (*I. Cor.* VIII, 3, n.206); the same name in upper Pannonia, cf. V. Hoffiler, B. Soria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien*, Amsterdam, 1970, I, n. 517, 4. In the fourth century, a Christian servant asks for prayers for his sick mistress, ἐ—ν γὰρ αὐτῇ πάντες τὰς ἐ—λπίδας ἔχομεν (*P.Oxy.* 939, 9; cf. 1Thess 2:19). For Theognis 1135 (“*Elpis* is the only deity who is beneficent toward humans”) people must count on her; for this *parthene* appears to them, like Artemis or Athena (Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.44). In 1Tim 1:1; Col 1:27, the personification of Hope = Christ seems to intend an anti-imperial apologetic, because the Romans applauded their sovereign as the hope of the universe: “Caesar Augustus at his appearing realized the hopes of our ancestors. . . . He leaves future benefactors of humanity no hope of surpassing him” (*I.Priene* 105; Dittenberger, *Or.* 458, 37–40). “. . . So that with greater confidence you may hope for everything (πάντα ἐ—λπίζετε), the salvation as well as the material happiness of the benefactor Augustus, Emperor Galba” (edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander; *ibid.* 669 = *BGU* 1563, 15). In 54, Nero is referred to as ὁ τῆς οἰ—κουμένης καὶ προσδοκηθεὶς καὶ ἐ—λπισθεὶς (*P.Oxy.* 1021, 6). In 37: ἐ—πεὶ ἢ κατ’ εὐχὴν πα—σιν ἀνθρώποις ἐ—λπισθει—σα Γαΐου Καίσαρος Γερμανικοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡγεμονία κατήγγελλται, οὐδὲν δὲ μέτρον χαρα—ς εὗρηκεν ὁ κόσμος (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 797, 5).

³⁴ 1Pet 3:15 (cf. the two lamps of Antinoöpolis bearing this inscription: Πίστις ἐ—λπίς [τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου?], in *SB* 6023). Hope is part of the description of faith: πίστις ἐ—λπιζομένων ὑπόστασις (Heb 11:1), cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, pp. 336ff. To believe is to hope, Rom 4:18; 2Cor 1:9; 2Tim 1:12.

³⁵ Rom 5:4—“Virtue when tested produces hope.”

³⁶ In 1Thess 1:3; 5:8; 1Cor 13:13—“Now there abide (or remain valid; μένω, Rom 9:11; Isa 14:24; cf. W. Grossouw, “L’Espérance dans le N.T.,” *RB*, 1954, p. 517) faith, hope, and charity.” On this triad, cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 104ff., 365–378; trinitarian sequences are common in the *Orac. Chald.* (5.26; E. des Places, *Jamblique: Les Mystères d’Égypte*, Paris, 1966, p. 182, n. 2), in language, and in music (Philo, *Husbandry* 136–137; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.3; *Abraham* 122ff.; *Quest. Gen.* 4.8); cf. H. Usener, *Dreiheit: Ein Versuch mythologischer Zahlenlehre*, 2d ed., Hildesheim, 1966; E. von Dobschütz, “Zwei- und dreigliedrige Formeln: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der Trinitätsformel,” in *JBL*, 1931, pp. 117–147. —On 1Cor 13:13, the Pauline triad taking precedence over justice, peace, truth, etc. (Christian inscription from Tafeh, in *SB* 8705); cf. F. M. Lacan, “Les Trois qui demeurent,” in *RSR*, 1958, pp. 321–348 (with the critique by A. Feuillet, in *NTS*, vol. 6, p. 513, n. 2); J. Moss, “I Cor. XIII,” in *ExpT*, vol. 73, 1962, p. 253; F. Dreyfus, “‘Maintenant, la foi, l’espérance et la charité demeurent toutes les trois,’” in *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus*, Rome, 1963, pp. 403–412; W. Marxsen, “Das ‘Bleiben’ in I Kor. XIII, 13,” in *Neues Testament und Geschichte* (Festgabe O. Cullmann), Zurich, 1972, pp. 223–229; E. Miguens, “I Cor. XIII, 8–13 Reconsidered,” in *CBQ*, 1975, pp. 76–97.

³⁷ 1Thess 2:19; Rom 12:12—τῆ ε—λίδι χαίροντες; 15:13. Philo brings it up over and over again: *Alleg. Interp.* 3.87; *Change of Names* 161, 163; *Worse Attacks Better* 138; *Rewards* 161.

³⁸ 2Cor 3:12; Phil 1:20; Heb 3:6; P. Joüon, “Divers sens de παρρησία dans le N.T.,” in *RSR*, 1940, pp. 239–241. A. M. Denis, “L’Apôtre Paul, Prophète ‘messianique’ des Gentils,” in *ETL*, 1957, pp. 249–259; D. Smolders, “L’Audace de l’apôtre selon saint Paul: Le Thème de la parrèsia,” in *Collectanea Mechlinensia*, 1958, pp. 16–30, 117–133; W. C. van Unnik, “‘With Unveiled Faces’: An Exegesis of 2 Corinthians III, 12–18,” in *NovT*, vol. 6, 1963, pp. 159ff. (= idem, *Sparsa Collecta*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 200ff.). Cf. G. J. M. Bartelink, “Quelques observations sur Παρρησία dans la littérature paléo-chrétienne,” in *Graecitas et latinitas Christianorum primaeva, Supplementa*, vol. 2, Nijmegen, 1970, pp. 7–57. L. Engels, “Fiducia dans la Vulgate: Le Problème de traduction παρρησία-fiducia,” *ibid.*, *Supplementa*, vol. 1, 1964, pp. 99–141.

³⁹ Heb 3:6. J. S. Bosch, ‘Gloriarse’ según San Pablo y teología de καυχάομαι (*AnBib* 40), Rome, 1970. E. Fuchs, “Gloire de Dieu et gloire de l’homme: Essai sur les termes *kaukastai* . . . dans la Septante,” in *RTP*, 1977, pp. 321–332.

⁴⁰ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 15.79: τὴν ε—λίδια τῆς πλεονεξίας.

⁴¹ Sir 13:6—the wicked rich person gives (deceptive) hope to the poor. The pejorative adjectives for this hope are many: κακή (Euripides, in Stobaeus, vol. 5, p. 999, 13; Menander, *ibid.*, p. 998, 8), ἄδηλος (uncertain, 2Macc 7:34), ματαία (Isa 31:2; Lucian, *Alex.* 47), ἀπάτη (Philo, *Rewards* 147), πονηρά (Isa 28:19; 47:10; Socrates, in Stobaeus, 5, p. 1001, n. 21; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.247), κενή (Job 7:6; Wis 3:11; Sir 31:1; Philo, *Moses* 1.195), ἀτελής (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.158; *Virtues* 29; *Rewards* 149; *CIRB* 130, 16), ψευδής (Euripides, in Stobaeus, vol. 5, p. 1004, n. 5), ἀβέβαια (Philo, *Flacc.* 109), ἀλόγιστος (ill-considered, Josephus, *War* 2.346), ἀναιδής (*ibid.* 6.337), σφαλερά (1.357), μικρά (7.77; *Ant.* 15.232). A distant hope is abandoned (Plutarch, *Arat.* 4.3).

⁴² “Your expectation (Hebrew *tiqwâh*) will not be disappointed” (Prov 23:18; 24:14). God does not look upon us with scorn (Jdt 8:20; cf. 2Macc 2:18). Those who hope in him have not been confounded (Ps 22:6; 25:3, 20; 31:1, 6, 14, 19, 24; 71:1; 119:116; Sir 2:6). He saves them (Sus 60; Bar 4:22; Isa 25:9).

⁴³ Rom 5:5 (a verse that was cited 201 times by St. Augustine; cf. A. M. Bonnardière, “Le Verset paulinien Rom. V, 5 dans l’œuvre de Saint Augustine,” in *Augustinus Magister*, Paris, 1954, vol. 2, pp. 657–665); Phil 1:20.

⁴⁴ Eph 2:4-5; Titus 3:4-5; 1Pet 1:3; John 3:6; 1John 4:9-10.

⁴⁵ In the sense “dishonor, taint” (2Sam 16:21; 19:6; Prov 19:26; Sir 22:4–5; 42:11; 1Cor 11:5, 22), humiliate and molest (Ruth 2:15), expresses simultaneously the ideas of punishment and derision: Mic 3:7 (linked with καταγελάω); Ps 44:8; 1Cor 1:27; 1Pet 3:16; cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 173ff.; J. M. Lochmann, *Trägt oder trägt die christliche Hoffnung?*, Zurich, 1974.

⁴⁶ 2Thess 2:15 (cf. P. Otzen, “Gute Hoffnung’ bei Paulus,” in *ZNW*, 1958, pp. 283–285). St. Thomas Aquinas glosses this text: “We look for a good hope, that is, the certainty of eternal goods” (“Expectamus spem bonam, id est bonorum aeternorum infallibilitatem”). On 2Cor 5:5—“He has given us the Spirit as a pledge,” St. Thomas comments: “That is, the Holy Spirit giving us certainty of this good thing with which we wish to be filled. . . . A pledge is kept and held as a surety that something will be had. That is how it is with the Holy Spirit, because the Holy Spirit is worth as much as heavenly glory, but the mode of possession is different in each case:

because we have the Spirit now as a surety that that glory will follow; in heaven, however, we will have that glory as something that is already ours and possessed by us.” (“Id est Spiritum Sanctum causantem in nobis certitudinem hujus rei qua desideramus impleri. . . . Pignus servatur et tenetur quasi pro certitudine rei habendae. Ita est de Spiritu Sancto, quia Spiritus Sanctus tantum valet quantum gloria coelestis, sed differt modo habendi, quia nunc habemus eum quasi ad certitudinem consequendi illam gloriam; in patria vero habebimus ut rem jam nostram et a nobis possessam.”)

ε—μπίπτω

empipto, to fall into, run into, encounter

see also περιπίπτω; πίπτω

empipto, S 1706; *EDNT* 1.445; MM 207; L&N 15.121, 90.71; BAGD 256

In the NT, people fall physically into a pit¹ and metaphorically into snares,² notably the net of the devil (1Tim 3:7), that is, his power.³ Because the devil slanders the elect and claims the role of their torturer (Rev 12:10; 1Cor 5:5), it can be said that the proud “fall into the condemnation of the devil,” the latter being the one who carries out the punishment.⁴ At the same time, people fall into temptations or shame;⁵ so *empipto* means “encounter” or “appear, show up” whether with respect to things or persons.⁶ The French still say “I fell upon such and such” (“je suis tombé sur . . .,” the English expression being “I ran into . . .”),⁷ whether the encounter was favorable or not.⁸

“Fall into the hands of . . .” in the sense of being left at the mercy of, is a biblicism, from Samson dreading to fall into the hands of the uncircumcised (Judg 15:18) to the traveler who was helped by the Samaritan after falling into the hands of thieves (Luke 10:36). It is always preferable to fall into the hands of the Lord, who is merciful, rather than into the cruel hands of men.⁹ The cry of terror at the thought of the condemnation of the apostate in Heb 10:31 is exceptional: “It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.”

¹ Matt 12:11; Luke 6:39 (εἰ—ς βόθυνον), as in the OT, into tar pits (Gen 14:10), into a cistern (Exod 21:33), into a pit (Ps 7:16; 57:7; Prov 26:27; 28:10; Eccl 10:8; Sir 27:26; Isa 24:18; Jer 48:44), sometimes metaphorically (Prov 22:14). “Cnemon having fallen into the well” (Menander, *Dysk. hyp.* 7; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.283; *Life* 403; *PSI* 829, 7).

² 1Tim 6:9—“Those who want to be rich ε—μπίπτουσιν ει—ς πειρασμὸν καὶ παγίδα.” The church fathers and moderns distinguish between the rich (1Tim 6:17ff.) and those who want to become rich (Sir 27:1—ὁ ζητῶ—ν πληθύναι; *Anth. Pal.* 11, 3: ἤθελον ἄν πλουτεῖ—ν = I wanted to be rich, as Croesus once was; Juvenal, *Sat.* 14.176: *dives qui fieri vult*). They fall (iterative present) into injustices, lies, extortions, deceptive schemes, thefts of all sorts, which are like so many snares (symbol of the allures of passion, cf. E. Feuillatre, *Etudes sur les Ethiopiennes d’Héliodore*, Paris, 1966, p. 80), whose deceits the greedy cannot resist; once taken, they cannot free themselves again. The Qumranians have those who act stupidly fall into snares (1QH 4.12; cf. 3.26); more specifically, “The three snares of Belial . . . luxury, wealth, profanation of the sanctuary. The one who escapes one will be caught by the other” (CD 4.15–19; cf. 1QM 14.9; H. Kosmala, “The Three Nets of Belial,” in *ASTI*, Leiden, 1965, pp. 91–113). For Lucian, the snares that accompany wealth are thieves, envy, and the hatred of the multitude (Lucian, *Nav.* 27).

³ The expression is from the Wisdom writings: “Aman fell into the snare” (Tob 14:10); Prov 12:13; Sir 9:3; 38:15—“The one who sins in the presence of the One who made him, may he fall into the hands of a physician!”

⁴ 1Tim 3:6—ει—ς κρίμα ε—μπέση τοῦ διαβόλου; cf. Sir 29:19—“the sinner who gives himself as security . . . gives himself to lawsuits, ει—ς κρίσεις.”

⁵ 1Tim 3:7; 6:9. This metaphorical usage of ε—μπίπτω ει—ς is common in biblical and secular language: one falls into trouble (Prov 13:17; 17:20; 28:14; Sir 3:26), into oblivion (Wis 16:11), into captivity (Isa 10:4), into discouragement (Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.5.6), difficulties (*P.Edfou* 5, 20), a painful condition (*P.Brem.* 48, 26; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.293; 7.322; 10.212; 18.118; *Life* 46, 409), sickness (*P.Col.Zen.* 10, 2; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 18, 16; honorific decree of Samos for a physician, second century BC, in J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 14, 15; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.422; 17.146), folly (*P.Tebt.* 758, 4).

⁶ 2Macc 10:35—“They massacre whoever appears before them”; Prov 17:12 (Hebrew *pagash*); Amos 5:19 (Hebrew *paga'*); *P.Oxy.* 2148, 13: ε—άν δέ σοι ε—μπέση ὀψαρίδιν σιναπηρόν, ἀγόρασον (AD 27); Josephus, *Ant.* 16.194; *War* 1.31, 142; 4.180; 5.291; in the sense of “it falls one’s lot,” Judg 18:1; cf. *P.Ant.* 44, 6.

⁷ *P.Tebt.* 39, 20: “I met Sisois here, near the temple of Zeus” (second century BC); *P.Phil.* 35, 22.

⁸ —Εμπίπτω often means “attack.” *Jos. Azen.* 27.6: “They fell upon them”; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.14; *War* 2.508; 3.294; 6.368; *P.Ryl.* 68, 9: “attacking me in the course of an argument, they dealt me numerous blows” (89 BC); *P.Tebt.* 772, 2: grasshoppers invade and destroy everything. Cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 525: “I pounced on the task, ε—μπεσὼν πολύς.” The Bible provides no example of the financial sense “pay out, spend,” cf. *P.Lille* 16, 5: “He told me that it was impossible for the forty drachmas to be paid to the treasury, that they had to be paid to the account of Hermaphilos”; 1, col. II, 5, 17, 20; *P.Tebt.* 17, 9; *P.Oxy.* 494, 21.

⁹ 2Sam 24:14; 2Chr 21:13; 2Macc 10:17; Sus 23; Sir 2:18; 8:1; *Gos. Pet.* 48, the centurion and his entourage: “It would be better for us to be guilty of the most enormous crime before God than to fall into the hands of the Jewish people.” At Antinoöpolis in the sixth century AD: μὴ ε—μπεσει—ν ει—ς χει—ρας τοῦ δεσπότη μου (*SB* 9616, recto 7). For “those men who fall into our hands” in *P.Tebt.* 703, 220, we have simply τὰ ε—μπίπτοντα (third century BC); cf. 2Macc 12:24; Josephus, *Life* 303.

ε—νέχω

enecho, to hold a grudge, be unhappy, irritated, resentful; to be liable (to prosecution), be subject

enecho, S 1758; *TDNT* 2.828; *EDNT* 1.454; *NIDNTT* 2.142; MM 214; L&N 39.4, 88.169; BDF §308; BAGD 265

It is not easy to translate this compound verb in its two Gospel occurrences. To explain that Herodias was intent on killing John the Baptist, Mark 6:19 notes, “*eneichen auto*,” that is, she held a grudge against him, harbored ill feelings against him, or better yet, had it in for him. In effect, we understand the object *cholon* (“bile, choler, resentment, hatred”).¹ On the one hand, however, *enecho* has softened and even positive meanings;² and on the other hand, in Gen 49:23 it translates the Hebrew *satam* (“they harassed him by shooting arrows at him”). This could be the nuance in Luke 11:53—“The scribes and the Pharisees began to be terribly unhappy (*deinos enechein*) and to provoke him to speak on many topics, setting traps for him.”³ Osty’s translation, which harmonizes with Mark 6:19, is preferable: “they began to be very resentful” (“se mirent à en avoir assez”).

This verb, whether transitive or intransitive, expresses a certain fixity in a place or in feelings, especially in the passive: “sink into, be put or held in, keep oneself in,”⁴ hence “be bound by oaths” (Pausanias 3.24.7), “be subject to” (Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 169); and hence its legal usage: be subject

to the law, be liable to prosecution, incur punishments.⁵ This meaning of being charged, the object of prosecution or sanctions, is the most common meaning in the papyri, especially in decrees of amnesty. For example, in 163 or 186 BC, there is this decree of Ptolemy VI Philometor (or of Ptolemy V Epiphanes): “charged with brigandage or other grounds for prosecution”;⁶ one from Ptolemy Euergetes II in 145/144: “those who fled . . . because they were objects of prosecution” (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 41, 4; cf. *SEG* IX, 5,39; XVI, 784, 7); or this one from Ptolemy Euergetes II and Cleopatra II (his sister) and III (his wife), in 118: “except for those guilty of murder or sacrilege.”⁷ According to another formulation: “Whoever denounces before the *stratego*i of the nome those who contravene these arrangements shall obtain a third of the property of the one charged.”⁸

There is no analogous usage of the verb *enecho* in the NT, but the legal-social meaning of the present passive imperative, “be engaged in,” is well attested in Gal 5:1—“Do not submit again to the yoke of servitude” (*me palin zygo douleias enechesthe*). The best parallels are: *Ep. Arist.* 16—the king “frees those held in servitude” (*ton enechomenon*); *P.Flor.* 382, 31—the one who is compelled to undertake *leitourgiai* (*enechesthai tais leitourgiais*); Josephus, *Ant.* 18.179—“he was bound with chains” (*desmois eneicheto*); cf. *BGU* 473, 7.

¹ Herodotus 1.118: Astyages, hiding his resentment against Harpagus (κρύπτων τὸν ε—νει—χε χόλον); 6.119: King Darius strongly resented them (Datis and Artaphernes, ε—νει—χέ σφι δεινὸν χόλον). Cf. Philodemus of Gadara, *Ir.* 30.21: ε—νέχομαι ὀργαί—ς = be consumed with anger. F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, pp. 28f., 64.

² Herodotus 1.190: “Cyrus was at a loss (ἀπορίησι ε—νείχετο) because of the length of time that had passed”; 7.128: “Xerxes was greatly astonished” (ε—ν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ε—νέσχετο); 9.37: “marveled at his boldness” (ε—ν θώματι μεγάλῳ ε—νέχεσθαι); Pindar, *Pyth.* 8.59: receive favorable messages; Xenophon, *Cyn.* 10.7; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 71.8: ἠνείχοντο τὰς πληγὰς; *PSI* 1122, 17: ε—νέχομαι τὴν τοῦ οἴνου καλλωνήν.

³ After the French of M. J. Lagrange (“Les Scribes et les Pharisiens commencèrent à être terriblement mécontents et à le faire parler sur diverse choses, lui tendant des pièges,” *Evangile selon saint Luc*) who comments correctly: “*Enechein* was so little known that the ancient translators just made their best guess: Bohairic ‘observe maliciously’; Sahidic ‘provoke’; Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac ‘it was painful’; Peshitta, ‘be unhappy’; Armenian, ‘irritated’—not to mention the Latin variants: Vulgate *insistere*, f *contristare*, b d q *male habere*, cei *graviter habere*, etc. There is no reason to depart from the meaning in Mark 6:19. In Gen 49:23,

ε—νει—χον translates *safam*, which was translated ε—νεκότει (Gen 27:41) and μνησικακήση (Gen 50:15), hence ‘have something against,’ ‘feel irritation against someone,’ and since here there is no object, ‘be irritated.’” A. Loisy and P. Joüon translate “to press him hard” (“le presser vivement”); M. Goguel, H. Monnier “set at him fiercely” (“se mirent avec acharnement”); E. Delebecque (*Evangile de Luc*): “went at him with furious determination” (“commencèrent à furieusement s’acharner contre lui”).

⁴ Herodotus 2.128: “the thief is caught in the trap” (τῆ πάγῃ ε—νέχεσθαι); Plato, *Tht.* 147 d; Xenophon, *An.* 7.4.17: “some were caught, suspended by their shields from these stakes”; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 2.3.1: “be a follower of Orphic doctrines” (ε—νέχεσθαι δόγμασιν); Josephus, *Ant.* 3.262; *P.Oxy.* 1867, 13–14: “Hold him back.”

⁵ Andocides, *Myst.* 1.44: “their guarantors were subject to the same penalties” (ε—νέχεσθαι); Aeschines, *In Ctes.* 3.175: “Solon thought that those who dodged service, deserters, and cowards should receive the same punishment”; Plato, *Leg.* 6.762 d: “he will be judged according to the same laws”; 9.881 d: “according to the law, he will incur Zeus’s curse”; 11.935 c; *Critias* 52 a; Plutarch, *Them.* 1.3: “Heracles found himself sullied by illegitimacy”; *Ti. Gracch.* 10.7: “Octavius fell at the law’s blow” (ε—νεχόμενον τω— νόμῳ); Josephus, *War* 1.505: “a man against whom serious accusations had been lodged” (ε—νεχόμενον); 1.537: “convicted (ε—νέχωνται), they deserved death”; 5.553; *Ant.* 2.320.

⁶ Διὰ τὸ ε—νέχεσθαι λείαις ἢ ἄλλαις αἰ—τίαις καταπορεύεσθαι, *SB* 9316, col. I, 3 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 34; cf. *ibid.* 35, 3 = *P.Kroll*: “Whereas we have granted amnesty to all who have been guilty of involuntary or intentional infractions” (πάντας τοὺς ε—νεσχημένους); *UPZ* 111, 3.

⁷ *P.Tebt.* 5, 5 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53, col. I, 5; cf. 53 *bis*, 7; 53 *ter*, 6; *BGU* 1051, 34: ε—νέχισθαι τω— ὀρισμίνῳ προστίμῳ (period of Augustus); *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VIII, 18: τοι—ς τεταγμένοις ε—πιτίμοις ε—νεχόμενος = subject to legal penalties; *P.Giss.* 48, 14; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 279, 26: ε—νεχέσθων τω— ψηφίσματι; *P.Köln* 52, 40: οὐκ ε—νσχεθήσομαι = I will not be subject to this order; *P.Oxy.* 3113, 19: a man remains subject, held to the obligation to keep the children of a deceased person; *SB* 6152, 25; 6153, 27; 7404, 27; 10466, 4 and 7.

⁸ Decree of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy VIII, in 79 BC, τῆς τοῦ ε—νσχεθησομένου οὐσίας τὸ τρίτον μέρος (*BGU* 1730, 12 = *SB* 7419 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 73); likewise *P.Tebt.* 700, 51; *BGU* 1212, 19 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 82; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 36, 8.

ἐντευξις, ε—ντυγχάνω

enteuxis, audience, meeting, prayer, supplication, petition; *entynchano*, to meet, address, converse with, lodge a complaint, make a request

enteuxis, S 1783; *TDNT* 7.244–445; *EDNT* 1.458; *NIDNTT* 2.860–861; MM 218; L&N 33.347; BAGD 268 | ***entynchano***, S 1793; *TDNT* 8.242–244; *EDNT* 1.461–462; *NIDNTT* 2.882; MM 219; L&N 33.169, 33.347; BDF §202; BAGD 270

The first meaning of *entynchano* is “meet, reach, appear before someone”;¹ hence, “address someone, have a conversation with someone on this or that subject” (Polybius 4.30.1; 4.36.9; Plutarch, *Fab.* 20.2). Thus, “Conformably to what you wrote about Zeno, I interviewed Aphthometos” the *strategos* (the latter being the military and civil governor of the nome, or province—*P.Ryl.* 568, 4 = *SB* 7651); “Someone wants to approach you . . . to ask for my daughter” (Menander, *Dysk.* 751; cf. 73); “He met [and asked a favor of] King Eumenes” (*NCIG*, vol. 7, 1, 4); the assembly of the Jews addresses Festus concerning Paul;² and before putting a prayer into words one puts oneself in the presence of God and addresses oneself to him.³ This interview, when it makes reference to a third party (notably in the course of an audience) most usually has the goal of complaining and accusing; *ho enteteuchos* is the complainant (*UPZ* 118, 23; cf. 1Macc 10:64—*hoi entynchanontes*; *P.Oxy.* 2281, 3: *entychontos kai eipontos*; 2340, 3; 2576, 3; 2730, 10; Dittenberger, *Or.* 664, 10), one who takes action against someone; we could translate “the accuser.”⁴ This person sometimes proceeds with a modicum of discretion, but usually with violence⁵ and the intention to cause harm (*P.Ryl.* 563, 5).

Coming before someone to speak with him can be motivated by a more precise intention, namely to express a request. Thus *entynchano* can mean “pray, ask, beseech”: “Moses met with God in an invisible fashion to ask him to save them . . .” (Philo, *Moses* 1.173); “I greet you, brother, and I ask . . .” (*se, adelphe, aspazomai kai entynchano*, *P.Brem.* 10, 5; second century AD); “We have besought your virtue before, Lord” (*P.Thead.* 20, 3); “night and day I plead with God on your behalf” (*nyktos kai hemeras entynchano to theo hyper hymon*, *BGU* 246, 12). It is with this connotation of intercession that Rom 8:27, 34 and Heb 7:25 say that the Holy Spirit and Christ as priest intervene on behalf of Christians (*hyper hemon, auton, hagian*). We can understand this to mean that they are personages who are particularly qualified to appeal for divine mercy; but given the semantics of *enteuxis*, and especially in Hebrews, the emphasis is on the audience that the Second and the Third Persons of the Trinity obtain with the First (cf. Rom 8:26—*hyperentynchano*). It is more than a meeting: it is a

presence, an intervention with the maximum possible influence (asking can be synonymous with ordaining, *P.Mich.* 522, 4). It is precisely the eternal priest-king after the order of Melchizedek who has the credence with God to take in hand the cause of his disciples and solicit for them the gift of grace; the mere presence of his humanity in heaven is in itself a perpetual *enteuxis*.

The noun *enteuxis* also has the sense of a meeting or interview (2Macc 4:8; an OT hapax; cf. Diodorus Siculus 17.76.3; 17.114.2), but its two occurrences in the NT have the sense of “prayer, supplication.”⁶ 1Tim 2:1—“I ask in the first place that supplications (*deeseis*), prayers (*proseuchas*), intercessions (*enteuxeis*), and thanksgivings (*eucharistias*) be made for all people, for kings . . .” (cf. 1Tim 4:5). This relationship of prayer-*enteuxis* and gratitude agrees with the formula in the papyri.⁷ The official request, according to O. Guéraud (*P.Entreux.*, pp. xxiiff.), would be in three parts: (a) a summary of the facts that motivate the petition,⁸ the applicant being the victim of an injustice: *adikoumai hypo . . .*, I have been wronged by ... (*P.Entreux.* 1, 1; 2, 2; 3, 1; etc.); (b) the petition per se: *deomai oun sou*, I therefore request of you;⁹ (c) a kind of thanks in advance, because in giving satisfaction to the applicant, the sovereign will be doing a deed of justice, benevolence, or “philanthropy.”

This petition was normally presented in writing¹⁰ by the plaintiff, who delivered it in person to the office of the *strategos*. The latter sent it with his instructions to the competent authorities (*P.Sorb.* 11, 1: “We have sent you the *enteuxis* that Kalippos delivered to us. . . . Look into the matter”), who follow the instructions given. Sometimes the *epistates* did what was necessary to obtain justice for the plaintiff, sometimes he attempted to reconcile the two parties. In case of a deadlock, he sent the matter back to the *strategos*, who could have the case heard by a tribunal; but in some cases the originator of the complaint did not show up when called (*P.Mich.* 534, 8, 10). All this took time, especially since petitions flooded in,¹¹ sometimes being repeated by impatient applicants.¹² We get the idea that the officials were negligent.¹³ But when they did take action, they had to take counter-complaints into account (*P.Oxy.* 2597; *P.Mert.* 59, 19), and even when they were condemned, the guilty often took no notice.¹⁴

These misadventures of human justice would be out of place in the petitions of Christians to God. When they pray, it is not to complain about a third party, but to plead for personal help. In their request, they can already express their gratitude for the expected answer.¹⁵ Thus their supplication is itself a form of worship.¹⁶ They are no longer asking favors of earthly “kings.” Rather, they are praying for them to the Lord of heaven! This is one of the greatest points of difference with *enteuxeis* here below.

¹ Dan 6:13—“They went to find the king”; 2Macc 4:36. Questioning an oracle in the first century, the applicant asks “Should I remain at Bacchias? Will I meet him?” (*P.Fay.* 137, 3); *P.Col.Zen.* 51, 9: ε—νέτυχον Διογένη; *BGU* 1774, 15 (first century BC); *P.Harr.* 62, 16 (second century AD); *P.Fouad* 24, 2; *P.Ryl.* 653, 2; Plutarch, *Cleom.* 32.2; *C. Gracch.* 6.4; *Dem.* 8.1.

² Acts 25:24; *P.Mich.* 74, 2: “I spoke with Chairon about the wine from Chios” (third century BC); *Ep. Arist.* 174: give an audience. One informs the person one is talking with (*P.Thead.* 13, 5; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 112). In this sense of “take cognizance” (*P.Apoll.* 29, 1; *Chrestomathie* 2, 372, col. V, 2), ε—ντυγχάνω becomes synonymous with “read” (2Macc 2:25; 6:12; 15:39). Cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.161; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.15: “I exhort those who read these books . . .”; 12.226; *P.Michael.* 26, 8; *Chrestomathie* 1, 26, 29: ἔντυχε βιβλειδίῳ δοθέντι μοι (second century AD). Cf. R. Laqueur, *Quaestiones Epigraphicae et Papyrologicae Selectae*, Strasbourg, 1904, pp. 15ff.

³ Wis 8:20—ε—νέτυχον τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ε—δεήθην αὐτοῦ; 16:28.

⁴ 1Macc 8:32; 10:61, 63, 64; 11:25; Rom 11:2—“Elijah complained to God about Israel.” The papyrological attestations are myriad: a request is presented (*P.Oxy.* 1160, 19, 21; *P.Oxf.* 4, 14; *P.Ryl.* 678, 10) to the king (*UPZ* 15, 7; 42, 16; 111, 8; *SB* 7447, 4), to the prefect (*P.Mert.* 18, 29; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 24, 41; *SB* 8444, 5: an edict of the prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander, 28 September 68: “I have formally decreed, concerning each of these requests, that which I am permitted to judge and to do”; a decree of the prefect L. Lusius Gete, in 54: “The priests of the god Soknopaios presented me with a request, saying that they were being forced to farm; I exempted them,” *SB* 8900, 10 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 664); to the *strategos* (*P.Fouad* 26, 18), to the viceroy (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 37, 16; *P.Oxy.* 2563), to the king (*ibid.* 43, 41), to the procurator (*P.Oxy.* 533, 25; *UPZ* 113, 8), to the governor (*SB* 8947, 3; *MAMA* VIII, 554, 11). An argument for a client may take such a form as this: “This man is an Arsinoite. When he suffered blows, violence, and extortion, he brought a complaint against Chairemon . . .” (*P.Mich.* 365, 8; cf. 423, 2; 425, 10; 426, 12). Cf. F. Uebel, “Eingabe eines Grauensvormunds,” in *P.Coll.Youtie*, p. 218.

⁵ *P.Rein.* 7, 16: “My adversary attacked me before N . . . , the governor of the nome, and harrassed me, accusing me . . .” (second century BC); *C.P.Herm.* 20, 17: “I made this *enteuxis* against them to my lord . . . that they might be greatly punished”; *P.Oxy.* 2597, 7: οὐ κάμνει δέ σου ὁ ἀντίδικος ε—ντυγχάνων.

⁶ For secular literary usage, cf. *Ep. Arist.* 252: the king “gives satisfaction with discernment to the requests presented”; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 92: “the spirit permits us to address to the One Who Is requests and appeals (ε—ντεύξεις καὶ ε—κβοήσεις)”; Plutarch, *Num.* 14.12—the lawgiver wanted to get us used to not making our prayers to the divinity (μὴ ποιει—σθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸ θει—ον ε—ντεύξεις) when we are busy and in passing, like people in a hurry”; Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 1: ε—ντυγχάνειν σοι καὶ παρακαλει—ν. Clement of Rome defines his letter as an invitation (κατὰ τὴν ἔντευξιν) to peace and harmony (*1Clem.* 63.2).

⁷ “The use of this word in 1Tim 2:1, 4:5 is readily explained by its constant recurrence in the papyri and inscriptions as a kind of ‘vox sollemnis’ for a ‘petition’ of any kind” (see Moulton-Milligan on this word). Cf. P. Collomp, *Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatie des Lagides*, Paris, 1926, pp. 51ff.; O. Guéraud, *ENTEΥΞΕΙΣ: Requêtes et plaints adressées au roi d’Egypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.*, Cairo, 1931; M. T. Cavassini, “Exemplum vocis ε—ντεύξεις in ‘Repertorio papyrorum graecorum,’ quae documenta tradunt Ptolemaicae aetatis,” in *Aeg.* 1955, pp. 299–324; R. Böhm, *L’Enteuxis de Warsaw (Papyrus Edfou VIII)*, Wiesbaden, 1955 (= *SB* 9302; cf. G. Manteuffel, “Quelques textes provenant d’Edfou,” in *JJP*, 1949, pp. 103–105); A. diBitonto, “Le Petizioni al Re: Studio sul formulario,” in *Aeg.* 1967, pp. 5–57; idem, “Le Petizioni ai funzionari nel periodo tolemaico: Studio sul formulario,” *JJP*, 1968, pp. 53–107; H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 43.

⁸ These requests have to do with inheritances and wills (*P. Enteux.* 16–19), a dowry (23), usurpation of a dwelling (11), theft (28–32), salary (47–48), leases and contracts (54–63), acts of violence (82–83), ungrateful children (25–26), complaints against functionaries of the nome administration (*C. Ord. Ptol.* 76, 13), etc.

⁹ *P. Enteux.* 2, 6; 3, 6; 4, 7; *P. Tebt.* 769, 67; *P. Yale* 46, col. II, 2, etc. . . . The verb δέομαι is regularly used with respect to the sending of an *enteuxis*: δέομαι ἀποστειλαί μου τὴν ἔντευξιν (*P. Fay.* 11, 24; 12, 26; *P. Tebt.* 43, 33; 771, 22; *P. Yale* 57, 8; etc).

¹⁰ Cf. *P. Hib.* 205, 31; *P. Paris* 26, 5 (= G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, Cambridge, 1927, n. 5). The requests were thus passed along from functionary to functionary (*UPZ* 107, 5; 108, 2; *SB* 8396, 14; 9897, recto 18; 10766, 5).

¹¹ On 28 September 68, Tiberius Julius Alexander declares, “Farmers from the whole country have often sent petitions to me” (*SB* 8444, 46). The same happens in 232–236, *P. Mich.* 529, 43ff. and the edict of Avidius

Heliodorus (*P.Oxy.* 2954, 14). The outstanding quality of Demetrios, secretary of the federal council of the Magnesians: “To those who needed a service and applied to him (ε—ντυγγάνουσιν), he never failed to show himself even-handed for all” (honorific decree, in *SEG XXIII*, 447, 10).

¹² An annotation by the *strategos* or one of his secretaries, “let him not present several petitions on the same topic” (*P.Enteux.* 75, 16). King Ptolemy VI, after ordering an amnesty, asks the *strategos* to “take care that when we have arrived people do not come to appeal to us as having been really wronged” (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 35, 9).

¹³ “I previously presented my request to Diophanes the *strategos*, informing him of various things. . . . My request was duly recommended. . . . Up to the present he has showed no interest at all in me” (*P.Enteux.* 85, 2–3). “I pray you, then, O greatest gods, do not show yourselves indifferent to the ambush in which this merciless man caught me, but take action on my behalf and, if you think it good, grant that my petition may come before Apollodoros, one of the king’s leading friends, the *epistates* . . .” (*P.Rein.* 7, 27). Cf. *P.Oxy.* 2754, 9.

¹⁴ “I complained about them to Statios the *epistates*, but they took no notice” (*P.Enteux.* 54, 7; cf. 63, 11). *P.Hib.* 205, 30–31; *P. University of California*, inv. 1583, 5, ed. J. G. Keenan, “Petition from a Prisoner,” in *P.Coll.Youtie I*, p. 97; cf. H. J. Wolff, *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer*, Munich, 1962, p. 174, n. 50.

¹⁵ There is no reason to see in the *eucharistia* of 1Tim 2:1 the celebration of the Eucharist. We must remember that thanksgivings came at the end of Jewish prayers (J. Bonsirven, *Judaïsme palestinien*, vol. 2, p. 149; J. M. Robinson, “Die Hodajot-Formel in Gebet und Hymnus des Frühchristentums,” in *Festschrift E. Haenchen*, Berlin, 1964, pp. 224, 231) and that Roman supplications were not only propitiatory or expiatory but conveyed thanksgiving; these latter were of considerable importance in the first century (L. Halkin, *La Supplication d’action de grâces chez les Romains*, Paris, 1953). Cf. S. Lyonnet, “Expiation et intercession,” in *Bib.*, 1959, pp. 897ff. P. Wiles, *Paul’s Intercessory Prayers*, Cambridge, 1974, p. 18.

¹⁶ Cf. at the beginning of the first century the association προσκυνέω—ε—ντυγγάνω (*P.Oxy.* 2435, 61; *SB* 9788, 3).

ε—ντολή

entole, commandment, precept, instruction

see also παραγγελία, παραγγέλλω

entole, S 1785; *TDNT* 2.545–556; *EDNT* 1.459–460; *NIDNTT* 1.330–337; MM 218; L&N 33.330; BAGD 269

The imperative force of *entole*, “commandment, precept,” inherited from the OT (cf. Gen 26:5; Deut 8:1), is still present in the NT (John 11:57), even though “order” is better conveyed by *epitage* (Rom 16:16; 1Cor 7:6, 25; Titus 2:15). Still, in numerous Johannine texts, notable in the “farewell discourses,” where the commandment to love is given (John 13:34; 14:21, 23; 15:10, 14), it is tempting to weaken the word’s legal connotations.¹

The tension is mitigated by the observation that in literary texts *entole* sometimes means a pedagogical precept² and that in the Koine the term can mean “mandate.”³ In public law, it is applied to constitutions, laws, decrees, edicts, rules of the public administration, royal and imperial orders;⁴ sometimes it can mean a simple recommendation, like that of Cyrus to Chrysentas when he sends him on a mission (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.4.30) or like that which Ausonios received concerning the piety of his father Papnuthios (*P.Lond.* 1924, 3; cf. *P.Sarap.* 92, 14; *SB* 6823, 18; 7987, 9; 9156, 4). Sometimes it corresponds to the *mandata principis* of the Romans.⁵ *Entolai* are the instructions given by a city or a person to representatives,⁶ or communicated by a prince to his officers, either to delineate their responsibilities⁷ or to inform their subalterns and the populace, “to be carried out.”⁸

Clearly a number of the Johannine “commandments” (several times *logos* is substituted for *entole*, 1John 2:4-5; Rev 3:8, 10; 12:17; etc.) must be understood according to these meanings. Jesus received them from the Father, and he passes them on to his apostles, whom he installs in their office. These are precepts, to be sure, but they have as much to do with doctrine (1John 3:23) as with morality, and they are intended for publication among all believers so as to ground their thoughts and their conduct.⁹ Finally, since Christ has suppressed the “law of commandments” (Eph 2:15), the *entole* of *agape* epitomizes the institution of the new covenant, “the law of Christ.”¹⁰

¹ W. von Loewenich, “Johanneisches Denken: Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der johanneischen Eigenart,” in *Theologische Blätter*, 1936, col. 273; L. A. Winterswyl, *Mandatum Novum: Über Wesen und Gestalt christlicher Liebe*, Colmar, 1941, pp. 11–12. But in the OT, “law” is the expression of the sovereign will of God in establishing a rule of conduct for humans (M. J. O’Connell, “The Concept of Commandment in the Old Testament,” in *TS*, 1960, pp. 361–403; on the link between νόμος and ἐντολή, cf. S. Aalen,

“A Rabbinic Formula in I Cor. XIV, 33,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1964, pp. 513–525; N. Lazure, *Les Valeurs morales de la théologie johannique*, Paris, 1965, pp. 124–145). A precept applies just as much to internal sentiments as to external manifestations—ἀγάπη δὲ τήρησις νόμων αὐτῆς (σοφίας)—and *mitzvah* is often used with the meaning “charity”; cf. B. Lifschitz, *Synagogues juives*, pp. 75, 78.

² Plato, *Chrm.* 157 c; Pindar, frag. 54, 3 (ed. A. Puech).

³ *P.Oxy.* 2771, 4, 6, 10 (mandate given by a woman to her husband); *P.Cair.Isid.* 2, 5: “making this declaration on my mother’s mandate”; *SB* 7623, 5; *P.Yale* 40, 10; *P.Lips.* 38, col. I, 3–4: a mandate entrusted to an attorney who represents his client before tribunals (cf. N. Hohlwein, *L’Egypte romaine*, Brussels, 1912, p. 221; P. Collinet, *La Procédure par libelle*, Paris, 1922, pp. 70ff., 79ff.). It seems that Sir 39:31 should be translated “They derive joy from carrying out the Lord’s mandates.”

⁴ *P.Tebt.* 6, 10. At the market of Oxyrhynchus trivial rulings happen each day (*P.Oslo* 49, 8). Addressed to numerous recipients who take cognizance of them, these *entolai* are “circulars” (*P.Lille* 3, 55, 71; *P.Sorb.* 34, 13; *UPZ* 106; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59491; *BGU* 1794; *P.Tebt.* 26–27, 707). Cf. C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, p. 331; P. Collomp, “La Lettre à plusieurs destinataires,” in *Proceedings* IV, pp. 199–207; E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 192. Idem, “Notes sur la chancellerie des Lagides,” in *RIDA*, 1953, pp. 251–267; M. T. Lenger, “Les Vestiges de la législation des ptolémées en Egypte à l’époque romaine,” in *Mélanges F. de Visscher*, Brussels, 1940, pp. 69–81.

⁵ *UPZ* 106, 109; *P.Tebt.* 703. R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, New York, 1944, p. 9, n. 35 b; L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts*, Vienna, 1953, p. 425. The Latin equivalent for *entole* is *mandatum*, cf. H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, pp. 43, 126, 131.

⁶ The people, sending Demades as ambassador to Alexander, gave him instructions (δοῦς ἐ—ντολήν) to ask . . . (Diodorus Siculus 17.15.4). In 160/159 BC, representatives “addressed (to Eumenes II of Pergamum) requests in line with the instructions that they had been given, κατὰ τὰς δεδομένας αὐτοί—ς ἐ—ντολάς” (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 3, n. 239, 10); in 216 BC, in a decree of the Acarnanians, the representatives comply with the instructions received, κατὰ τὰς δοθείσας αὐτοί—ς ἐ—ντολάς” (*IG IX*, I2, n. 583, 23); *P.Cair.Zen.* 59188, 7; *P.Princ.* 163, 5; 167, 7 (καθὼς ἐ—ντέιλιάς μοι); 188, 20; *C.Pap.Jud.* 442, 21; *P.Paris* 65, 18; *P.Tebt.* 413, 7: “Do not imagine, madam, that I am neglecting your instructions”;

C.P.Herm. 11, 4: “I am amazed at how you have forgotten my instructions”; *SB* 10529, 13, 27.

⁷ According to Dio Cassius 53.15.4, Caesar Augustus gave “several instructions (ε—ντολάς τινας) to the procurators, the proconsuls, and propraetors so that when they went to their provinces their functions would be well delineated” (cf. G. P. Burton, “The Issuing of Mandata to Proconsuls and a New Inscription from Cos,” in *ZPE*, vol. 21, 1976, pp. 63–68). These are directives or memoranda; cf. the “excerpt from the ordinances of Emperor Domitian addressed to the procurator Claudius Athenodorus: ε—ξ ε—ντολω—ν αὐτοκράτορος . . .” (*IGLS*, n. 1998, 1 and 22); B. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, *New Classical Fragments*, Oxford, 1897, n. 37, 7: ὁ τὴν ε—ντολήν ε—πιδεικνύσας (for the installation of a functionary); E. P. Wegener, “The Entolai of Mettius Rufus . . . Note on A. Kränzlein’s Article in *J. J. P.* 1952, pp. 195–237,” in *Eos* (Symbolae R. Taubenschlag), 1956, pp. 331–353 (= *SB* 9050, V).

⁸ *IGLAM* 841 (reedited by L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 301); *P.IFAO* III, n. 54, 1 (instructions from the office of the recorder); *P.Hib.* 205, 33; *SB* 9050, 5, 1. Augustus had chosen a council “to look after the interests of the Jews, according to the instructions given to Magius Maximus” (Philo, *Flacc.* 74). U. Wilcken (*UPZ* I, pp. 457ff.) compares ε—ντολή to πρόγραμμα: an ordinance given to a functionary with the order to publish it.

⁹ 1John 3:11 calls the commandment to love a *message* (ἀγγελία; cf. 1:5; παραγγελία, 1Tim 1:5, 18), which derives from the Lord himself (1John 4:21). A. Pelletier, (*Josèphe adaptateur*, Paris, 1962) differentiates between the different connotations of the various terms for commandment (ε—πιτάτω, προστάτω, κελεύω, παραγγέλλω, προστίθημι), notes the increased use of ε—ντέλλομαι-ε—ντολή in the Hellenistic era, and cites a text of Philo on obedience (preserved in a Vatican manuscript, *Barberini* VI, 8 f. 101): the first quality of the just is to carry out that which is commanded in a spirit of courage and piety toward God; the second degree is not to wait for God to command rather than invite, because “to command, give orders, is what masters do with slaves; but invite is what friends do (ε—ντέλλονται δὲ φίλοι)” (p. 284). This hortatory sense of *entole* derives from its being synonymous with παραίνεσις and opposed to “order” and “prohibition” in *Alleg. Interp.* 1.93–96 (commentary on Gen 2:16–17); cf. A. Pelletier, “Le Vocabulaire du commandement dans le Pentateuque des Septante,” in *RSR*, 1953, p. 522. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 1664, 11, where commands from a friend are considered to be favors, τὰς γὰρ ε—ντολάς σου ἥδιστα ἔχων ὡς χάριτας λήμψομαι (third century AD).

¹⁰ Gal 6:2; cf. 1Tim 6:14; 2Pet 2:21; Rev 12:17; 14:12. *Entole* reconnects the meaning of νόμος in the Pentateuch of the LXX and its Hebrew equivalent: divine revelation or covenant as teaching or instruction rather than as ordering or commanding, cf. L. M. Pasinya, *La notion de "Nomos" dans la Pentateuque grec*, Rome, 1973, pp. 141ff.

ε—ξαιρέω, ε—ξαιρέομαι

exaireo, to extract, cut out, destroy, exclude, set aside; *exaireomai*, to remove, take away

see also περιαιρέω

exaireo, S 1807; *EDNT* 2.1; MM 221; L&N 85.43; BDF §81(3); BAGD 271 | ***exaireomai***, L&N 21.17, 30.90

Formed from the simple verb *aireo*, “take, remove, seize,” the verb *exaireo* is used five times in the NT. Only one of these occurrences is in the active voice, a second aorist imperative: “If your right eye offends you, pluck it out (*exele auton*) and cast it away” (Matt 5:29). The right eye was presumed to be more precious, so it was the one to go after in an enemy: “that I gouge out the right eyes of all of you” (1Sam 11:2); “May the sword strike his arm and his right eye” (Zech 11:17); “to gouge out their right eyes” (*dexious auton ophthalmous exoryxai*, Josephus, *Ant.* 6.71; cf. Plutarch, *De Is.et Os.* 55.372e: Typhon gouges out Horus’s eye). The best parallel is from the dream of Charicleia in the third century: “With a sword stroke, a man plucked out his right eye.”¹

This usage of *exaireo* with the meaning “extract, cut out” agrees with its classical meaning;² but in classical usage there is also the nuance “destroy, devastate” a city or a people,³ and finally “exclude, set aside,” which is the meaning in Matt 5:29. Cf. Herodotus 3.150: “They excluded their mothers and in addition one other woman from each household”; Plato, *Phdr.* 242 *b*: “I make an exception for Simmias of Thebes”; Menander, *Dysk.* 578: “pull the bucket back out from the well”; 626: “fish out the hoe and the bucket”; Josephus, *War* 2.293: “Florus sent to the temple treasury and removed seventeen talents”; *Ant.* 11.41: extirpate the memory of friends;⁴ Plutarch, *De sera* 26.565 *b*.

In the Koine, the middle *exaireomai* retains the classical sense “remove, take away,”⁵ often with an idea of violence,⁶ and especially the meaning “deliver.”⁷ That is the meaning of the aorist middle in Acts 7:10, 34, where God delivers his people from all their trials,⁸ and in Gal 1:4, where Jesus Christ “gave himself for our sins, in order to free us (*hopos exeletai hemas*) from the present evil age,” to liberate us from bondage.

This idea of extracting or removing⁹ is indicated by the reflexive meaning of the middle voice, which places the beneficiaries of the act of deliverance in the hands of the agent of deliverance;¹⁰ at least this is the theological meaning that the LXX gives the verb *exaireomai* (Hebrew *nasal*)—often synonymous with *sozo* and *rhyomai*—when God is the subject.¹¹

After all, it is for the purpose of constituting a people of his own that God “descends” and frees them from Egyptian (Exod 3:8; 18:4, 8-10; Jer 34:13) or Babylonian servitude (Isa 31:5; 48:10; Jer 42:10). The God who delivers is a Savior from all trials,¹² from distress (1Sam 26:24), from calamities (Job 5:19), and especially from sin (Wis 10:13), which is the obstacle to reconciliation: “It is he who will deliver Israel from all its sins” (Ps 130:8). This is the central object of Israel’s faith: “The salvation of the righteous comes from Yahweh. . . . Yahweh helps them and delivers them.”¹³ Ps 37:40; 116:8—“You saved my soul from death”; 2Kgs 18:28-34; 2Macc 2:18—“The God who has saved all his people . . . as he promised . . . will regather us in the Holy Place, because he has redeemed us from great evils and purified the temple.” The agents of this liberation are diverse: Joshua (Josh 9:26), Saul (1Sam 14:48), David (1Sam 30:8; 2Sam 19:10), the Messiah (Nah 2:2, ε—ξαιρούμενους ε—κ θλίψεως), Wisdom (10:1, 6, 9, 15) and even all the faithful: “Deliver the weak and the poor from the hand of the wicked, snatch him away” (Ps 77:4; Sir 4:9).{NOTEEND} If God in his righteousness sometimes refuses to deliver from the hand of their enemies (Zech 11:6), it is because this salvation presupposes a good moral disposition.¹⁴ Hence prayers for divine mercy and thanksgivings for liberation, for the believer knows that all deliverance is a free gift from God: “The sons of Israel say to Yahweh, ‘We have sinned Only deign to deliver us this day.’”¹⁵

Since God delivers those whom he loves (2Sam 22:20), *exaireomai*, “place in reserve” (Homer, *Il.* 2.690), finally means “choose for oneself” (ibid. 9.129; Xenophon, *An.* 2.5.20); “they chose a leader among the former priests of Heliopolis” (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.261), hence separate, set apart from others (*Ant.* 15.164). Thus we should understand the present middle participle: “I drew you out (chose you, *exairoumenos se*) from the midst of the people and from the Gentiles, to whom I send you to open their eyes” (Acts 26:17).

² Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 2.16.1, τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ε—ξει—λε τὸν δεξιόν.

³ Plato, *Cra.* 413 e: “If one removes the *d* from *andreia* . . .”; *Tht.* 162 d: “I remove every affirmation from my speeches and writings”; *P. Oslo* 150, 20: ἔξελε τὰ ἀρτίδια. The substantive ε—ξείρεσις means “extraction” of the entrails in Herodotus 2.40, but “quay, wharf” in the Alexandrian harbor in *P. Tebt.* 5, 26. Cf. *SB* 6712, 5, οἰ—περὶ Σωσίστρατον ε—ξείλοντο τὸν

σίδηρον (the extraction of iron); 8444, 41, to dismiss from court a case not yet resolved (?).

⁴ Herodotus 1.103: Cyaxares “marched on Nineveh with the intention of destroying that city”; 8.140: “You would be the only ones ruined by the passing of the troops”; Thucydides 3.113.6: “If the Acarnanians and the Amphilocheians had wished to destroy Ambracia”; 4.69.1: to invest and take Nisaea; Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.2.19: “We must not negotiate with the Athenians but annihilate them”; Josephus, *War* 3.141: “Vespasian, impatient to destroy Jotapata” (*Ant.* 7.290), “sent Titus to destroy Jerusalem” (4.658); “Lucilius Bassus deemed it necessary to destroy the fortress of Machaerus” (7.164); exterminate the Canaanites (*Ant.* 5.120); take the city of Jazora (12.329, 347).

⁵ Cf. ε—ξαιρω—; Philostratus, *Gym.* 1: “I withdraw the conduct of government from the class of illiberal arts.”

⁶ Homer, *Il.* 8.323: “Teucros drew a bitter arrow from his quiver”; Herodotus 4.196: “they unloaded the wares”; Xenophon, *An.* 5.1.16: “They were unloading the cargo” from the captured ships.

⁷ Homer, *Il.* 24.754: Achilles takes Hector’s life (ε—ξέλετο ψυχήν); 15.460; 17.678; *Od.* 11.201: “It is not the torment of some disease that took my life” (ε—ξείλετο θυμόν); *Il.* 19.137: “Zeus took away my reason”; Plato, *Ion* 534 c. Capture a city or fortress (Josephus, *War* 1.316; 1.292; 6.314; *Ant.* 11.325; 12.363; 13.92, 405; *Life* 99), destroy anation (*Ant.* 13.245), exterminate a nest of brigands (15.345; *War* 1.398), the Canaanites (*Ant.* 4.305; 18.318), the royalty (9.181).

⁸ Aristophanes, *Pax* 316: “There is no one now who can deliver me”; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 924: “I will bring these women, at least if no one delivers them from me”; Polybius 1.11.11: “The concern to spare the Mamertines war”; *2Apoc. Bar.* 51.14: “They were liberated from this world of sorrow; they put down their burden of sorrows”; *P.Petr.* 36 a recto 21: ε—ξελοῦ με ε—κ τῆς ἀνάγκης; *PSI* 444, 2; *P.Oxy.* 1151, 9; Dittenberger, *Or.* 762, 8.

⁹ Cf. Keniaz called to restore Israel’s freedom (Josephus, *Ant.* 5.182; cf. Othniel son of Kenaz at Judg 3:9). This formula, ει—ς ε—λευθερίαν ε—ξαιρει—σθαι, literally “set (a slave) aside in order to free him, emancipate him” (see, e.g., Plato, *Leg.* 9.914 e; M. Harl, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*, Paris, 1966, p. 149, n. 1), is used at least eight times in Philo (*Heir* 124, 271; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 117; *Spec. Laws* 2.218; *Migr. Abr.* 25; *Conf. Tongues* 93; *Rewards* 124; *To Gaius* 147). For the Alexandrian, ε—ξαιρέομαι refers especially to emancipation from the

passions, the necessary condition for the true life with God (*Unchang. God* 47; *Migr. Abr.* 14).

¹⁰ Homer, *Od.* 14.232: “I removed things that pleased me”; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 16: “remove stones (from a house) to replace them with others”; *Heir* 59: “God freed me from Pharaoh’s hand”; Josephus, *War* 2.100: remove certain objects of art from an inheritance; *Ant.* 1.35: God removes one of Adam’s ribs to form the woman. In the inscriptions, the verb often has the financial sense of drawing out funds placed at the disposal of officials (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 144, 31; Michel, *Recueil*, n. 827, 35).

¹¹ Cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, pp. 244–247: “The dominant meaning of the middle is that of action remaining in the sphere of the subject. The action goes out from the subject to return to him or to work on an object in his sphere.” In the Koine, the shades of difference between active and middle are often blurred.

¹² F. Bovon, “Une formule prépaulinienne dans l’Épître aux Galates (Gal. I, 4–5),” in *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme* (Mélanges M. Simon), Paris, 1978, pp. 97ff.

¹³ Gen 32:12; 37:21-22; 1Sam 17:37; 2Sam 19:6; 22:1, 20; Ps 144:7.

¹⁴ According to Deut 23:15, the camp must be clean, pure, since God walks about there to deliver Israel from its enemies; 1Sam 7:3—“If with all your heart you return to Yahweh . . . direct your heart toward Yahweh and serve him alone, so that he will deliver you from the hand of the Philistines”; Sir 29:12—love delivers from every evil; 33:1. Freed from brigands, a man went away naked, ὅτι ε—ξίλησα (read ε—ξιλάσκομαι) ε—γὼ γυμνός (*P.Stras.* 233, 3).

¹⁵ Judg 10:15; 1Sam 12:10; Ps 50:15—“Call upon me in the day of distress; I will deliver you and you will honor me”; 91:15; 140:2. Moses prays to God to rid their thoughts of despair (Josephus, *Ant.* 5.41; cf. 6.43; 11.231). “Then my prayer was answered, because you saved me from perdition, you delivered me from evil times” (Sir 51:11); “Take us out from the nations that we may give thanks to your holy name, so that we may make your praise our pride” (1Chr 16:35); Dan 3:88 (Theodotion).

ε—ξαρτίζω, καταρτίζω

exartizo, to complete, suit to a goal; *katartizo*, to set in place, organize, dispose of, restore, mend

see also *καταρτίζω*

exartizo, S 1822; TDNT 1.475–476; EDNT 2.3; NIDNTT 3.349–351; MM 222; L&N 67.71, 75.5; BAGD 273 | **katartizo**, S 2675; TDNT 1.475–476; EDNT 2.268; NIDNTT 3.349–350; MM 332; L&N 13.130, 42.36, 75.5; BDF §§74(1), 126(1a); BAGD 417–418

Training in the Scriptures allows the person of God to become accomplished, equipped for every good work, *hina artios . . . pros pan ergon agathon exertismenos* (2Tim 3:17).

(a) The biblical hapax *artios*, rather rare in the Koine and unknown in the papyri, literally means “adapted” or “well equipped, in proportion, fitting together perfectly.” It is also used for intact faculties as well as for speech that is appropriate for a given situation. In medicine, it is used for the newborn whose whole body is well put-together and for vertebrae that are well aligned.¹ Ambidextrous athletes have equal force and aptitude to strike with each arm (Philostratus, *Gym.* 41). This adjective is also known to signify “even” (Epictetus 1.28.3); as Philo comments, “four is a number that is even, complete, full.”² The ensemble of external goods, body, and soul constitutes “a good that is balanced and truly complete” (Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 7; cf. Marcus Aurelius 1.16.31: *artion kai aetteton psychen*). So *artios* in 2Tim 3:17 means that the minister of the gospel has “all that is necessary,” an adequate equipping, after digesting the word of God—as the end of the verse makes clear.

(b) “Being completely equipped (perfect passive participle) for every good work.” The compound form *exartizo* has two meanings: “to finish, complete”;³ and “to connect perfectly, fit to perfection,⁴ adapt to a physical or moral goal.”⁵ This purpose is constantly underlined in the papyri: for example, a machine is sold in good condition, i.e., capable of performing the service expected of it (*P.Athen.* 17, 9: *syn te ousi mechanen exertismenen pasi tois skeuesi*). Thus the person of God/biblicist is not only perfect, accomplished, but suited for all the tasks of ministry.

(c) Thus *exartizo* is stronger than *katartizo*, even though the two are sometimes synonymous.⁶ The first meaning of the latter verb is “put into order, arrange an object so that it can do its work”; thus the worlds were set in place, organized, and adorned by God’s utterance.⁷ Secondly, “put in order, dispose of,” like the vessels of wrath for perdition, i.e., ripe or completely ready for *apoleia* (Rom 9:22). Finally, “restore, mend” nets (Matt 4:21; Mark 1:19) or rebuild walls lying in ruins (2Esdr 4:12–13); that which is lacking is supplied, for example deficiencies of faith (1Thess 3:10), a Christian who is at fault is straightened out, corrected (Gal 6:1). If *katartizesthe* in 2Cor 13:11 is taken as an imperative passive, the verse will mean “let yourself be led to a spiritual condition in which nothing is lacking”

or “accept correction.” If it is taken as a middle, “work at your restoration, cooperate in your remaking. . . .” The root nuance of *artios* —ordering, adapting, adjusting—is preserved in 1Cor 1:10, where the Corinthians, divided among themselves, are exhorted to agree, to be in harmony, as persons well fitted together in the same intelligence and the same way of feeling (*ete de katertismenoi*).

Thus the verb became a technical term in early parenesis. The Lord had said that “every disciple who is well formed (*katertismenos*) will be like his master” (Luke 6:40). Heb 13:21 asks “May the God of peace make you fit for every good work to do his will” and 1Pet 5:10 assures, “The God of all grace . . . will himself equip you,” will arrange everything for the best (cf. Ps 58:9; 80:16). The semantic evolution is perfectly homogeneous.

¹ N. van Brock, *Vocabulaire médical*, Paris 1961, pp. 191ff.

² Philo, *Plant.* 125: ἄρτιον καὶ ὀλόκληρον καὶ πλήρη.

³ Acts 21:5—“When we had completed those days” (at Tyre). *P.Oxy.* 296, 7: πέμψον ἡμεῖς—ν περὶ τῶν βιβλίων ἡ—ε—ξήρτισα = so that you may complete it (first century AD); *P.Got.* 15, 3: “μέρος ε—ξηρτισμένον, the portion delivered” (two *kolophonia* of wine, to Theonas); Josephus, *Ant.* 3.139. Hence “carry out, execute”: ὁ ἀνὴρ τὸ μνημι—ον ε—ξήρτισα ε—κ τῶν ι—δίων (*IGUR*, vol. 2, n. 303).

⁴ Cf. the shoulder pieces in Exod 28:7.

⁵ *SB* 7994, 30: εὐ—ρον κελλάριον ε—ξηρτισμένον (= 9834 *b* 24). Used for soldiers (Josephus, *Ant.* 3.4), athletes (*P.Oslo* 55, 12), triremes (Diodorus Siculus 14.19.3) that are perfectly well equipped (cf. Diodorus Siculus 19.77.3: ten ships fully outfitted for war), especially for machines in full working order: μηχανῆ ε—ξηρτισμένη πάση ξυλικῆ καὶ σιδηρώσι (*P.Oxy.* 2713, 10 = *PSI* 1072, 10); *SB* 7167, 8; 9921, 7 (= *P.Harr.* 79); 10529, 14; *P.Mich.* 611, 9; to be restored in *BGU* 2066, 13. On the moral level, “Moses fine-tuned this legislation . . . πρὸς τρόπων ε—ξαρτισμόν” (*Ep. Arist.* 144).

⁶ H. T. Kuist, “Now the God of peace . . . make you perfect” (in *The Biblical Review*, 1932, pp. 249–258; also included in *Exegetical Footnotes to the Epistle to the Hebrews*, New York, n.d., pp. 16–19), pointed out the uses of *καταρτίζω* in secular Greek: (1) with respect to the master of a house who offers a room to his guest, he prepares it as comfortably as possible, he adapts it perfectly for the well-being of his guest (εἰ—ς τὸν τῆς ἀύλης καταρτισμόν, *P.Tebt.* 33, 12; from 112 BC); (2) for a woman who assembles the pieces of fabric to make a garment—she uses the same

word for her completed task: the garment is ready to be worn: ἄε—δωρήσατό σοι Παυσανίας ὁ ἀδελφός σου πρὸ πολλοῦ ε—κ φιλοτιμίας αὐτοῦ κατερτισμένα (*P.Oxy.* 1153, 16; cf. 19; first century AD; 2593, 17: “for the cost of preparation,” second century; *P.Ryl.* 127, 18; from AD 29); (3) by the mistress of a house who has prepared a dish for her family and announces that it is ready to eat (Dioscorides, *Alex.* pref.); (4) by the pharmacist who through a happy blend of ingredients has concocted a potion to heal a sick person describes the result as κατ.; its “composition” is perfect, the remedy is ready to take (Nicander, *Ther.* 954); (5) by the surgeon or bonesetter who puts back into place, sets a dislocated limb, thus restoring the use of the arm or leg to the patient (Galen, ed. Kühn, vol. 19, p.461); (6) by the potter who has fashioned a vase that is ready to be delivered and used (Rom 9:22); (7) of the musician who tunes his instrument just before playing; (8) for the sailor who prepares his sailboat, for the repair of a boat (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 167, 173, 181; 2, 17); for an admiral who arms a fleet or a general who outfits an army that is ready to go into action (Polybius 1.21.4; 1.29.1; 1.36.5; 3.95.2); (9) of a treasurer who is in a position to make a payment (*P.Tebt.* 6, 7; 24, 48; *SB* 8886, 10; 8889, 10); (10) the establishment of an endowment of oil for the sacred lamps of a temple of Herakleopolis (*BGU* 1854, 3; first century AD); (11) the educator who has given a finished *paideia* to a child can let him lead his adult life (Plutarch, *Alex.* 7; *Them.* 2).

⁷ Heb 11:3; cf. Ps 74:16; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 1147: ὁ θεὸς . . . τὸν κόσμον καταρτισάμενος. On Heb 10:5—“You have equipped me with a body, “ compared with the Masoretic original: “You hollowed out two ears for me” (Ps 40:7), cf. the commentaries and S. Kistemaker, *The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Amsterdam, 1961, pp. 43–44, 87, 141, 150.

ε—ξηγέομαι

exegeomai, to recount, narrate, explain, interpret

exegeomai, S 1834; *TDNT* 2.908; *EDNT* 2.6; *NIDNTT* 1.573–576; MM 223; L&N 28.41, 33.201; BDF §396; BAGD 275

In the Bible this verb, which usually translates the piel of the Hebrew *sapar*, clearly means “recount, narrate.”¹ It is used for telling a dream to a companion (Judg 7:13), for telling how Elisha resurrected someone who had died (2Kgs 8:5); the voice of nature tells about the glory of God (1Chr 16:24; Job 12:8; cf. 28:27); “the story was told in these writings and in the Memoirs of Nehemiah” (2Macc 2:13); “every nation talked about the battles of Judas.”² In his five uses of the word, Luke knows no other meaning.³

There is therefore no reason to substitute another meaning in John 1:18—“An Only Son, God, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has told about him.”⁴ This is the culmination of the prologue: the Gospel can be opened, it is the *exegesis*, the laying open, the narration of the word of God by Christ for the world. The evangelist is probably thinking of Sir 43:31—“Who then has seen the Lord and can tell about him (*ekdiegesetai*)?”

Nevertheless, this is a religious teaching, and the verb has no object.⁵ Furthermore, *exegeomai* is used thus constantly for interpreting an oracle or a dream: “Asking the god about the right way of burying the brave [war dead] and the particular honors involved, we will bury them in whatever manner the god explains” (*kai thesomen he an exegetai*, Plato, *Resp.* 5.469a4). *Exegetai* are those who interpret things that the divinity has communicated obscurely or without explaining.⁶ The Apollo of Delphi is “this god, the traditional interpreter (*patrios exegetes*) for everyone in these matters (religion). . . . He gives his explications on the *omphalos*” (*epi tou omphalou exegeitai*, *ibid.*, 4.427c1ff.). “Theseus instructed the nobles to get to know divine things . . . to interpret secular and religious customs (*hosion kai hieron exegetas*)” (Plutarch, *Thes.* 25.2). J. Pollux gives this definition: “Exegetes was the term for those who teach about omens and other religious matters” (*exegetai de ekalounto hoi ta peri ton diosemeion kai ta ton allon hieron didaskontes*, *Onom.* 8.124); and Philo already says “Another suggestion has been made by the interpreters of Holy Scripture” (*tois exegetais ton hieron grammaton*, *Spec. Laws* 2.159). He defines further: “The explications (*hai exegeeseis*) of the Holy Scriptures are made according to allegorical meanings.”⁷ Similarly, in Josephus *exegeomai* is a “technical term for the interpretation of the law as practiced by the rabbinate.”⁸

Literary texts and the papyri associate the functions of the *hiereus* and the *exegetes*; “the *pontifex maximus* has the duties of exegete and interpreter, or rather of hierophant.”⁹ Appius Gemellus is city priest and exegete.¹⁰ The *exegetes* has been called “a jurisconsult in sacred law.”¹¹ In Egypt the exegete was high in the ranks of the *archai*, a veritable executive of the municipality.¹² Nowhere does *exegeomai* mean “give a revelation,” but rather “narrate, lay open, describe” (A. J. Festugière, *Observations stylistiques sur l’Evangile de S. Jean*). Thus this verse means that the Son, by his person and his teaching, presented, expressed, and gave a human translation to the divine mystery.

¹ Once ε—ξηγέομαι translates the hiphil of *yadâh* —the one who acknowledges his faults (Prov 28:13); and once the hiphil of *yarâh* —indicate, show; instruct, teach (Lev14:57).

² 1Macc 3:26. —Εξήγησις is the interpretation of a dream (Judg 7:15, Hebrew *mispar*), once in the pejorative sense of the “explications” or ramblings of a fool (Sir21:16).

³ Luke 24:35—the disciples of Emmaus tell what has happened on the way; Acts 10:8—the centurion Cornelius tells his servant about his vision, without leaving anything out (ἅπαντα); 15:12, 14; 21:19—Barnabas and Paul tell about the miracles that God accomplished through their ministry among the Gentiles.

⁴ —Εκει—νος ε—ξηγήσατο. The Vulgate translates well (*ipse enarravit*) as do the Curetonian Syriac, Ephraem, Origen, Irenaeus, cf. Tertullian “ipse exposuit” (texts in M. E. Boismard, “Dans le sein du Père,” in *RB*, 1952, pp. 24–27; who, referring to the root idea of the verb ε—ξηγέομαι, “conduct, lead,” translates “It is he that has led,” namely, to the kingdom of God, p. 35). Cf. A. Feuillet, *Le Prologue du quatrième évangile*, Paris, 1968, pp. 134ff. A. Hanson, “John I, 14–18 and Exodus XXXIV,” in *NTS*, vol. 23, 1976, pp. 97ff.

⁵ Tatian and the Curetonian and Palestinian Syriac added ἡμι—ν. It is possible to assume that αὐτόν is meant (cf. A. J. Festugière, *Observations stylistiques sur l’Évangile de S. Jean*, Paris, 1974, p. 133); but the absolute construction is normal: “As for what the power of thinking well means, the author will explain [it] (ε—ξηγήσεται)” (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.21).

⁶ On the institution of the Athenian *exegetai*, interpreters of the ancestral religious laws, the application of which they oversaw, and whom people consulted when they were in difficult straits, (Theophrastus, *Char.* 16.6) to learn what they should do, J. Defradas, *Les Thèmes de la propagande delphique*, Paris, 1954, pp. 194–207; P. Herrmann, “Ein ε—ξηγητής Εὐμολπιδω—ν in Eleusis,” in *ZPE*, vol. 10, pp. 79–85.

⁷ Philo, *Contemp. Life* 78. The Logos as ε—ρμηνεύς (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.207; *Change of Names* 208; *Unchang. God* 138; *Worse Attacks Better* 40, 127, 133; *Migr. Abr.* 81: the Logos is the interpreter of thought before men) can be compared to Moses ε—ρμηνεύς νόμων ι—ερω—ν (*Moses* 1.1), “because a prophet is an interpreter: God prompts him internally as to what he must say” (*Rewards* 55). Also Athenaeus 1.2 a: “As for the *deipnosophistai* who were supposed to be at the dinner, first of all there was Masurius, the interpreter of laws (νόμων ε—ξηγητής) . . . of encyclopedic knowledge.” But above all Gen 41:8, 24, where Pharaoh calls together the magicians of Egypt (Hebrew *hartûmîm*) to interpret his dreams, the LXX translates “all the *exegetai*. ” The term *mehoqqeq* in CD 6.2–11 has often been taken to mean an interpreter of the law (*doresh hattôrah*), because of the Peshitta,

which translates this word “interpreter” (*mbadqâna*’), but Sir 10:5 translates it with γραμματεὺς, and the LXX never interprets *darash* in this way.

⁸ A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, Stuttgart, 1948, p. 36, who cites Josephus, *Ant.* 17.149; *War* 1.649; 2.162.

⁹ Plutarch, *Num.* 9.8; cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.73; Dio Chrysostom 12.47: λέγω δὴ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα, ἢ λόγῳ ε—ξηγητὴν καὶ προφήτην τῆς ἀθανάτου φύσεως ἀληθέστατον ἴσως καὶ τελειότατον.

¹⁰ *P.Mich.* 542, 17 (third century AD); *P.Oxy.* 56, 1; 477, 4; *P.Tebt.* 329, 4; 397, 3; *P.Flor.* 57, 76; *BGU* 1070, 1; *SB* 9264, 5 (second century); on the *exegetes* who is also *enarchos* and councillor (ibid. 9216, 9; 10200, 5; *P.Oxy.* 54, 5) or *prytanis* (*P.Mich.* 623, 2), *archon* (at Coptos; *REG*, 1932, p. 230, n. 9; cf. at Samos, ibid., 1965, p. 149, n. 312), charged with the ε—πιμελεία τῶ—ν χρησιμῶ—ν (Strabo 17, p. 797), cf. N. Hohlwein, *L’Egypte romaine*, pp. 224ff.

¹¹ P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 196ff.

¹² P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 293ff. Cf. Apollonios the *exegetes* and *bouleutes* in a list of cosigners of a decree (*P.Oxy.* 3171, 14); Aurelius Antoninus, exegete and ex-gymnasiarch (3187, 9). A crown is offered to Aurelius Serenus for his office of exegete (ε—ξεγητεία; 3177, 10; cf. 1413, 6); cf. ε—ξηγητεύω, 1112, 2; 3169, 171; 3198, 4; 3246, 7; 3248, 12; *P.Stras.* 634, 6; *CPR* V, 2, n. 5, 11; 6, 4; *P.Vindob.Tandem*, n. II, 2: Καλλινεΐκου ε—ξηγητεύσαντος Ἡρακλέους πόλεως τῆς ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν. I. de la Potterie, *La Vérité dans saint Jean*, vol. 1, pp. 213–228.

ε—ξίστημι (ε—ξιστάνω)

existemi (*existano*), to displace, cause to go out, relinquish, derange; move away, depart; to tremble, be stupefied or flabbergasted, be beside oneself, be out of one’s mind

***existemi* (*existano*)**, S 1839; *TDNT* 2.459–460; *EDNT* 2.7–8; MM 224; L&N 25.220; BDF §§342(1), 198(6); BAGD 276

The semantic interest of this verb lies in its multiple meanings in various authors, times, and cultural settings—a variety to which the prefix lends itself. Transitive *existemi* has the etymological meaning “displace, cause to go out”: “setting aside those acts” (Demosthenes, *Embassy*

21.72); in style, “facts and persons that are most removed from the common life” (Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.2.3; cf. 3.8.1, divert the attention). In Euripides, it has a psychological meaning (“First derange his mind with a sudden madness”)¹ that is found also in Plutarch: Solon “placed on the same level deception and constraint, pleasure and suffering, as being equally capable of disturbing human reason.”² When intransitive, the verb means “move away, part from.” “They left the route” (Herodotus 3.76), leave the field free (Xenophon, *An.* 1.5.14), give place,³ abandon a country (Plutarch, *Sull.* 22.9; *Pomp.* 10.2), give up the burdens of empire (Thucydides 2.63.2), but also lose one’s mind (“I feel my reason take flight”).⁴

The LXX, which uses this verb to translate twenty-nine different Hebrew words, gives it the basic meaning “tremble” (Hebrew *harad*) but with very diverse nuances which can be specified only according to the context and the underlying Hebrew verb. Sometimes it is a simple rustling (Ruth 3:8), as the trees of the forest sway and shake in the wind (Isa 7:2, Hebrew *nû‘a*); it can denote astonishment (Gen 43:33; Job 26:11, Hebrew *tamah*), awe—that of Athenobius before Simon’s opulence (1Macc 15:32), identical to that of the comedian Philippides (*ego men exesten idon*, frag. 27, ed., J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 A, p. 178)—or wonder, as at the falling of the snow (Sir 43:18), and even the opening up of the heart in joy (Exod 18:9, Hebrew *hadâh*; Isa 60:5, Hebrew *rahab*). Trembling is synonymous with stupefaction (Jer 2:12; 4:9; 1Kgs 9:8; 2Chr 7:21, Hebrew *shamem*), but usually this “stupor” is agitation resulting from concern, disquiet, and anxiety;⁵ so the disturbance is profound,⁶ and *existemi* means “tremble with fear” (Gen 27:33) to the point of fainting (Gen 42:28); but here again the nuances are numerous. A person can be simply “alarmed” (1Sam 13:7) at the news of a catastrophe (Isa 32:11), be horrified (52:14), tremble greatly as at a volcanic eruption (Exod 19:18), be dazed and lose consciousness,⁷ experience all the varieties of fear: dread (Ezek 2:6; Hebrew *yare’*), horror (27:35; Hebrew *sa‘ar*), terror (26:16; Hebrew *labash*), panic (Josh 10:10; Hebrew *hamam*; Judg 4:15), to the point of fainting (Ezek 31:15; Hebrew *‘ulepeh*) or being routed.⁸

If the LXX specifies rather frequently that it is the heart or the spirit that is moved and pants (Isa 42:14) or is overwhelmed,⁹ it also gives this verb a suggestive religious meaning: when the divine fire consumed the whole burnt offering, the people trembled with dread (Hebrew *ranan*, cry out with joy), they fell on their faces (Lev 9:24); this is holy dread, where reverential fear reigns. Rahab, having heard what Yahweh has done on Israel’s behalf, confesses “Our hearts have been terrified (niphâl of the Hebrew *masas*, dissolve, weaken); no one has any more courage before you” (Josh 2:11). When the Israelites shall return to God with respect and joy, “they will reverence the Lord and his benefits” (Hos 3:5; Hebrew *pahad*: shudder, tremble with fear or joy; 11:10; Mic 7:17). After the death

of Holophernes, they are stupefied and worship God (Jdt 13:17); “I have revered your work, O Yahweh” (Hab 3:2). This psychological and religious meaning is found also in Philo. On Gen 2:21—“God provoked an ecstasy in Adam”—he comments “the intelligence is in ecstasy (a going outside of oneself) when it no longer busies itself with intelligible things . . . it is in ecstasy when it is diverted by God” (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.31; cf. *Conf. Tongues* 142; *Heir* 251); “the soul filled with grace, transported with enthusiasm, appears to be outside itself.”¹⁰

In the papyri, *existemi*, attested especially in the first century, almost always has a legal meaning;¹¹ such as the *cessio bonorum*, i.e., the relinquishment of property by a debtor to compensate his creditors in order to avoid execution of debt on his person. In AD 36, a widow of Tebtunis, acting as guardian for her three minor sons: “we relinquish all” (*ekstenai hemas pantas*, *P.Mich.* 232, 20 = *SB* 7568); in AD 37: “I acknowledge the relinquishment to my parents, named above, of everything that they have” (*homologo existasthai tois progegrammenois mou goneusi . . . panton hon echousi*, 350, 22; cf. line 7); in AD 44, Taorseus acknowledges that she has ceded all the parts of the old house at Tebtunis (351, 8 and 21); in AD 46: “we have ceded to our sister Soeris the whole house, the furnishings, and implements” (352, 3); in AD 58, Ophelous cedes to Antiphanes his share of all the property left by his deceased father Heraclas (*P.Oxy.* 268, 11). In AD 62, some farmers are forced to give up the farming of their five *arourai* (*P.Oxy.* 2873, 12 and 25); in AD 67, Thommous cedes to his brother Sambas all future rights in succession of their father, who is still living (*P.Tebt.* 380, 19). In 82, the use of a weaving shop is ceded by debtors in lieu of an interest payment (*P.Oxy.* 2773, 10). In AD 87, an act of donation between two citizens of Europus: “to cede to him according to the deed.”¹²

The NT uses *existemi* (and *existano*) in the strong sense of “be stupefied,” but there are many shades of meaning, first of all on the secular level: Simon Magus, seeing the great wonders worked by Philip, “was flabbergasted” (*existato*, Acts 8:13); he himself had “astounded the people of Samaria” (*existanon to ethnos*) through his magic (8:9). With almost the same meaning, when the child Jesus heard and answered the doctors of the law in the temple, they “were stupefied (and admiring) at his intelligence and his answers” (Luke 2:47—*existanto pantes*; cf. 2:48, his parents were disconcerted, stunned, *exeplogesan*). The astonishment arises from an inability to understand or justify something that is abnormal. At the end of Peter’s Pentecost speech, the Jerusalemites “were stupefied and astonished (*existanto de kai ethaumazon*) and said, ‘Are not all those who speak Galileans? How is it that we all hear them in our own languages?’” (Acts 2:7). And again: “Then they were stupefied and were at a loss (*existanto de pantes kai dieporounto*), saying to each other, ‘What can this mean?’” (2:12). Similarly, when St. Paul, right after his conversion,

proclaimed at Damascus that Jesus was Son of God, “All those who heard were stupefied and said, ‘Is this not the person who was persecuting at Jerusalem those who called upon his name?’” (Acts 9:21). A person is troubled, even disturbed, absolutely disconcerted; such as “the believers of the circumcision” at Caesarea who witnessed the conversion of the centurion Cornelius: “they were stupefied to see that the gift of the Holy Spirit was also poured out on the Gentiles” (10:45); but here already there is a certain religious fear provoked by the manifestation of the divine. The “stupor” is not simply surprise, but incomprehension in the face of mystery, a sort of daze that engulfs the mind and leaves it stunned before the facts.

This psychology is that of witnesses to a miracle: after the healing of a blind and dumb demoniac, “the multitudes were stupefied (*existanto*) and said, ‘Could this be the son of David?’” (Matt 12:23). This astonishment before this manifestation of the Messiah is admiring and religious. Likewise after the healing of Jairus’s daughter: “immediately they were taken by a great stupor” (Mark 5:42); the parents’ terror was such that it did not even occur to them to give the daughter something to eat (Luke 8:56). God has intervened; fear does not rule out joy and gratitude. After the healing of the paralytic, “all were stupefied (*existasthai*) and gave glory to God” (Mark 2:12); the enthusiasm was general.

In cases where the disciples notice the power or the transcendence of Jesus, *existemi* is no longer simply religious terror, but retains its classical meaning: “to be beside oneself.” When Jesus walks on the water to rejoin his apostles, “they were beside themselves” (*ek perissou en heautois existanto*, Mark 6:51), just as on Easter morning, after hearing the holy women tell that the tomb was empty, that angels had appeared, etc. (Luke 24:22); and when Peter, miraculously delivered from prison, shows up at the home of Mary, John Mark’s mother: *existesan* (Acts 12:16).

The verb is pejorative in Mark 3:21, where “his own”—probably meaning his relatives—at Capernaum¹³ wish “to seize him, because they (probably meaning the crowd) said, ‘He is beside himself’”; *exeste* could be translated, “he has gone mad, he has lost his mind,” but even better, “he is a fanatic, he has lost his grasp on himself and concrete reality.”¹⁴ In something of the same meaning, there is the Pauline hapax: “If we are out of our minds,¹⁵ it is for God; if we are reasonable (*sophronoumen*, composed, sober), it is for you” (1Cor 5:13). Divine love is “ecstatic”; the lover no longer lives his own life but is beside himself, living the life of his Beloved (5:14). But with regard to the believers, Paul restrains himself and acts with prudence. He is of sound mind and adapts himself to the needs and circumstances of each one.

¹ Euripides, *Bacch.* 850: ἔκστησον φρενώ—ν; cf. idem, οἶνος ε—ξέστησέ με, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 18.19 (vol. 3, p. 517, 15).

² Plutarch, *Sol.* 21.4: ε—κστήσαι λογισμω—ν ἀνθρώπου; cf. *Crass.* 23.9: “hearing is of all the senses the one that most puts the mind outside of itself” (ε—ξίστησι τὴν διάνοιαν). Also in Plutarch: abandon a tactic (*Fab.* 5.4), unsettle the commonwealth (*Cic.* 10.5). Cf. *T. Benj.* 3.3: ε—ἀν τὰ πνεύματα τοῦ Βελίαρ εἰ—ς πα—σαν πονηρίαν θλίψεως ε—κστήσωσι ὕμα—ς.

³ Sophocles, *Phil.* 1053; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 354; Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.6.18: “democracies and oligarchies sometimes give place to variations of their genre”; *HA* 1.1.488b: “to be pure-bred means not to be degenerate” (τὸ μὴ ε—ξιστάμενος). Cf. transplanted ivy (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 3.2.649d); “Many lose the memory of their old lessons” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 3.3.54).

⁴ Euripides, *Or.* 1021: ε—ξέστην φρενω—ν; Sophocles, *Aj.* 82: “If he were of sound mind I would not avoid him”; Aristotle, *Gen. Cor.* 1.8.325a: “No demented person has lost his reason (οὐδένα τω—ν μαινομένων ε—ξεστάναι) to the extent that fire and ice seem to him to be one and the same thing”; *HA* 6.22.577a: “the mare is beside herself and maddened (ε—ξίσταται καὶ μαίνεται) by this scent”; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.114: Jeremiah is thought to be mad in the judgment of the leaders and the wicked (ὡς ε—ξεστηκότα τω—ν φρενω—ν); 20.83; cf. leave to others (3.68), cede property (3.284), power (20.59; *War* 1.121); evacuate fortresses (*War* 1.137; cf. 6.104); avoid open battle (*Ant.* 15.120); stop thinking of oneself (18.256), renounce (11.176; cf. *War* 3.74). The three occurrences in *T. Job* mean “lose one’s mind” (35.4; 36.6; 39.13).

⁵ 1Sam 4:13; 16:4—When Samuel arrives at Bethlehem “the elders of the city came trembling to meet him”; 21:2; 2Kgs 4:13; Jer 18:16—“whoever passes near the desolate country is amazed and shakes his head”; 49:23—Hamath and Arpad “are disturbed” (Hebrew *mûg*); after his visions, Nebuchadnezzar’s spirit was troubled (Hebrew *pa’am*) and sleep forsook him.

⁶ 2Chr 15:6—“God will trouble them (Hebrew *hamam*) with all sorts of calamities”; Exod 23:27; 2Sam 22:15; Jdt 11:16; 15:1; 1Macc 16:22—“John Hyrcanus was beside himself at the death of his father and his mother” (ε—ξέστη σφόδρα); cf. 1Kgs 1:49—“All Adonijah’s guests panicked, arose, and scattered.”

⁷ Judg 4:21; 2Sam 17:2 (Hebrew *radam*). Hence Job 5:13—“the plans of the wily become confused” (niph'al of the Hebrew *mahar*, act rashly); 12:17—“He makes the judges mad” (poel of *halal*, be confused, deluded); Isa 13:8—“Everyone will remain dumbfounded before his neighbor

(Hebrew *tamâh*); 28:17—“priest and prophet ramble under the effect of the intoxicating drink” (Hebrew *shagâh*, stray, stagger); 29:9.

⁸ Judg 8:12. Hence flight, Isa 10:31 (Hebrew *nadad*); 16:3; 33:3; 41:2 (Hebrew *radah*); Jer 9:10. The most emphatic text is 1Sam 14:15—“terror (ἔκστασις) spread in the camp. . . . The garrison and the raiders were terrified (ε—ξέστησεν) as well. The earth shook, and there was a terror of God”; cf. 17:11—ε—ξέστησαν καὶ ε—φοβήθησαν σφόδρα; 28:5; Wis 5:2.

⁹ Jdt 12:16—“The heart of Holophernes was overwhelmed with ardent desire for Judith.”

¹⁰ *Drunkness* 146; cf. *Dreams* 2.89: “the sons of Heth, whose name means ‘outside of’ (ε—ξιστάντες)”; cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 40: “There came about an ecstasy (ε—ξίσταται) . . . that we call enthusiasm.” Hence the classical meanings: leave, abandon, go apart (Philo, *Heir* 69; *Dreams* 1.132; *Spec. Laws* 1.248; 2.37; 3.28; *Contemp. Life* 18; *Flacc.* 148; *To Gaius* 232), resign from a brilliant situation (*To Gaius* 327); spend money (*Dreams* 2.90); “We stand aside (ε—ξίστασται) for rulers and for beasts of burden” (2.91) out of respect for the former and fear of the latter; *Spec. Laws* 2.238: cede the place of honor; the right of the elder (*Sobr.* 26; *Moses* 1.242; *Virtues* 208).

¹¹ In AD 68, Tiberius Julius Alexander proclaims respect for final verdicts for matters submitted to the prefect: “Many people have preferred to abandon their own property (πολλοὶ γοῦν ε—ξίωσας ε—κστήναι μα—λλον) because they have spent more than its value due to the fact that at each *conventus* the same matters are brought back to court” in hopes of obtaining a judgment contrary to the one given before (Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 37 = *SB* 8444, 37; cf. G. Chalon, *T. Julius Alexander*, p. 185). Cf. the commonplace meaning in a the minutes of hearings: ε—ξέστη ου—τος ὁ πρύτανις = the prytane went out (T. C. Skeat, E. P. Wegener, “A Trial before the Prefect of Egypt Appius Sabinus,” in *JEA*, 1935, pp. 224–247; cf. *SB* 7696, 77); but *BGU* 530, 13, a father to his negligent son: “I am at risk of losing the building site that I now possess.”

¹² —Ἐκστήναι εἰ—ς αὐτὸν κατὰ χρηματισμόν, *P.Dura* XVIII, 2, 4, 15, 19; cf. *P.Fam.Tebt.* XVII, 11: “I cede the half that is due me of the whole of the inheritance from my father.” A veteran cedes half of an olive grove and half of a house (*P.Mich.* 427, 5, 8, 23, 29; *PSI* 822, 14; 1019, 5; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 30, 10; *P.Ryl.* 75, 6, 10, 16); 117, 22: Aurelia Tinoutis, having abandoned the inheritance of her brother, who died intestate and childless, cannot be responsible for his debts; 653, 18: “we are ready to cede to them.” People abandon rights (*P.Oxy.* 3105, 20), a field (*UPZ* 162, col. IV,

10; cf. VI, 9), pay back money (*UPZ* 200, 11 and 15); “I will not have the right to abandon my lease during the course of the year” (*P.Thead.* 6, 11; cf. 8, 20).

¹³ Cf. G. Hartmann, “Mk III, 20f.,” in *BZ*, 1913, pp. 249–279; J. E. Steinmueller, “Jesus and the οἰ—παῖ ἀὐτοῦ,” in *CBQ*, 1942, pp. 355–359; H. Wansbrough, “Was Jesus out of his Mind?” in *NTS*, vol. 18, 1972, pp. 233–235; D. Wenham, “The Meaning of Mark III, 21,” *NTS*, vol. 21, 1975, pp. 295–300; E. Best, Mark III, 20, 21, 31–35, *NTS*, vol. 22, 1976, pp. 309–319.

¹⁴ —Ἐξέστη here is synonymous with ἀνόητος (Luke 24:25; Gal 3:1), εἰ—ς μανίαν περιτρέπει (Acts 26:24); cf. μωρός (1Cor 3:18; 4:10).

¹⁵ —Ἐξέστημεν, out of the control of reason: conversion, visions, ecstasies, charismatic gifts.

ε—πανόρθωσις

epanorthosis, correction

epanorthosis, *S* 1882; *TDNT* 5.450–451; *EDNT* 2.18; *NIDNTT* 3.351–352; *MM* 229; *L&N* 72.16; *BAGD* 283; *ND* 2.84

Among the benefits that accrue to the careful student of Scripture, one is *epanorthosis* (2Tim 3:16). The term is frequent in the inscriptions, with respect to the repair of a statue, the restoration of a sanctuary (cf. 2Macc 5:20), the rebuilding of a city.¹ In the papyri, it is used for the correcting of a work, the rectification of an error in a document.² This sense of redressing errors or ignorance is well attested in literature.³

But it seems that this word has the meanings of both the English word *correction* (change to make better, remove and punish errors)⁴ and the word *correctness* (conformity to a rule, rightness or exactness, even perfection, in conduct). Thus Philo defines ethics: “ethics studies the *epanorthosis* of human morals” (*Drunkenness* 91). The *epanorthosis biou* or *ethon* is nothing other than the discipline of morals or the right conduct of life,⁵ or even that which is normally necessary for human subsistence and life.⁶

¹ 1Macc 14:34; *I.Side* 107, 4; Strabo 12.579; 13.594; C. Michel, *Recueil*, 830, 4 (restoration of the Artemision); J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 29, 59 (τοῦ τ—ερού). The restoration of a wall (*P.Ryl.* 157, 13; Dittenberger, *Or.* 710, 4;

F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, Heidelberg, 1959, n. 44, 4), of a bridge or causeway (G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 251, 3); the rebuilding of ruins (V. Ehrenberg, A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, Oxford, 1955, n. 20). Numerous epigraphical examples in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 12, pp. 510, 521, with respect to the inscriptions of Pharos in Dalmatia: εἰ—ς ἀπανόρθωσιν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶ—ν. Abolished laws are reestablished (2Macc 2:22; Philo, *To Gaius* 369).

² *P.Oxy.* 78, 29; 237, col. VII, 30; cf. Strabo, *Prolegomena* 2.4.8. The *corrector* is the ε—πανορθωτής (or the διορθωτής), the equivalent of the *legatus Augusti ad corrigendum statum* (H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 44). This is the title of a commissioner eventually sent to the senatorial provinces, but also of a high-ranking imperial officer who substituted for a prefect (*P.Ryl.* 690, 7; *P.Cair.Isid.* 62, 24 = *P.Mich.* 220, 23; *PSI* 1076, 2; *SB* 8913, 5; 9167, 24; *P.Mert.* 26, 6, with the note of C. H. Roberts, pp. 157ff.). On Aurelius Achilleus, of low descent, named ε—πανορθωτής by the rebel leader L. Domitius Domitianus to be his delegate and represent him in upper Egypt, cf. A. Stein, “—Επανορθωτής,” in *Aeg*, vol. 16, 1938, pp. 234–243; J. Schwartz, *L. Domitius Domitianus*, Brussels, 1975, p. 120.

³ Polybius 1.35.1: “Teachings that help redress human errors, πρὸς ε—πανόρθωσιν”; *Ep. Arist.* 130: “If they live with intelligent and wise people, they remedy their ignorance and make progress in their way of life.” *P.Ryl.* 302: ε—πανορθωτῆ τῆς ἰ—ερα—ς. Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 9.30: “However accommodating the reform, the people were content”; *Dem.* 6.2: “remedy compromised matters”; 8.2: touch up a discourse; *Cic.* 4.6: correct errors; Polybius 5.88.3: “the setbacks became the cause of the remedies.”

⁴ Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 171: “punishment restrains and corrects error”; 182; *Spec. Laws* 3.76: the violator “to redress his conduct, which is offensive and detrimental to the laws”; *Decalogue* 174: “Numerous laws . . . were decreed to amend those who are amenable to correction”; *SB* 7696, 103. In the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander, the prefect “redressed innovations contrary to favors granted by the *augusti* ” and “corrected [abuses?]” (*SB* 8444, 44 and 46), but at line 7 he seems simply to have ordered current matters.

⁵ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.85; *Change of Names* 70; *Moses* 2.36. In *Ep. Arist.* 126, A. Pelletier translates πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν . . . ε—πανόρθωσιν “for the common advantage of all his compatriots”; cf. 283; Epictetus 3.21.15: “the mysteries were instituted for our instruction and the correcting of our life, ε—πὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ε—πανορθώσει τοῦ βίου”; cf. Plutarch, *Phoc.* 6.1; 7.3–4.

⁶ Τοῦ τὸν βίον τω—ν ἀνθρώπων ε—πανορθώσαντος (the Rosetta Stone; Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 2 = *SB* 8299). On ἀνορθόω, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 589, n. 1. On ὀρθωσις, ε—πανόρθωσις, cf. J. Holt, *Les Noms d'action en -ΣΙΣ -ΤΙΣ*, Aarhus, 1940, pp. 110, 125, 161ff.

ε—περώτημα

eperotema, declaration of commitment, pledge

eperotema, S 1906; *TDNT* 2.688–689; *EDNT* 2.21; *NIDNTT* 2.879–881; *MM* 231–232; *L&N* 33.162; *BAGD* 285

According to 1Pet 3:21, baptism is not the washing away of a physical defilement but the “*eperotema* of a good conscience to God” (*syneideseos agathes eperotema eis theon*). All the commentators try to specify the meaning of the biblical hapax *eperotema* and end up with quite varied definitions.¹ Many of them connect this noun to the verb *eperotao* (Ps 137:3, Hebrew *sha'al*) and translate “a request addressed to God,”² and it is true that this accords with the word’s meaning in literary Greek: “ask a question.”³

But, on the one hand, it is hardly possible to imagine where this “prayer” would fit in the baptismal ceremony; and on the other hand this interpretation does not agree with the indicators supplied by the OT and the inscriptions. Theodotion’s version of Dan 4:17—*rhema hagion to eperotema* (Aramaic *she’alta’*)—suggests that the word should have the sense of “decision, resolution.” Manuscript a of Sir 33:3 has the variant *eperotema* for *erotema*: “The law is as worthy of confidence as the response of the oracle.”⁴ This is not a “request” but a “declaration,” above all an “oracular response,” which is the meaning of *eperotasis* in *P.Oxy.* 1205, 9ff., *P.Lond.* 1660, 42; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 977, 1. In addition, most modern scholars understand *eperotema* in the legal sense of commitment, stipulation,⁵ corresponding to the agreement formula in contracts, *eperotheis homologesa*;⁶ this would be the equivalent of the *homologia* of baptism (Rom 10:10; 1Tim 6:12; Heb 4:14; 10:23), the commitment of the believer to the stipulations of the covenant, i.e., to submitting his whole life to God (cf. 1Pet 1:22—*hypakoe tes aletheias*; Heb 10:22). This oath of allegiance is antithetical to the disobedience of Noah’s contemporaries;⁷ it is the pledge of a person regenerated by the power of Christ’s resurrection, in which the believer shares through the baptismal rite (1Pet 1:3; Rom 6:4; Col 2:12).

¹ The best study is that of Bo Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism*, Copenhagen, 1946, pp. 143ff., 182ff. Cf. T. Arvedson, “*Syneideseos agathes eperotema*,” in *SEÅ*, 1950, pp. 55–59; R. E. Nixon, “The Meaning of ‘Baptism’ in 1Pet III, 21,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 4, pp. 437–441.

² J. Monnier, *La Première Epître de l’apôtre Pierre*, Mâcon, 1900, p. 183: “the free access that a good conscience finds with God”; H. Windisch, *Die katholischen Briefe*, 3d ed., Tübingen, 1951, p. 73; Greeven, on this word in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 685–689; K.H. Schelkle, *Die Petrusbriefe*, Freiburg-Basel, 1961, p. 109.

³ Thucydides 3.68.1–2: “The Lacedaemonian judges thought that they could stick to the question asked (τὸ ε—περώτημα) about services rendered. . . . They called them to appear again and asked them again (ε—ρωρω—ντες) if they had rendered any service to Lacedaemonia.”

⁴ Moulton-Milligan cite *P.Cair.Preis.* 1, 16—ε—ἀν γὰρ μηδὲν ε—περώτημα ἡ— ε—νγεγραμμένον—in the sense of “stipulation” (second century AD), earlier than Codex Justin. 8.10.12.3b: ε—κ τω—ν συμφώνων ἦτοι ε—περωτημάτων; in the third century at Athens: τὰ ε—περωτημένα ὄ [τω—δοκει— τ]ω—ν καὶ ἰ—ερατευκότων . . . τω— θεῶ (SEG I, 52, 14; taken up and completed by L. Vidmann, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, Berlin, 1969, n. 30; list of priests of various divinities). The meaning “sanction, decision” is that of Dittenberger, *Syl.* 856, 6: κατὰ τὸ ε—περώτημα τω—ν κρατίστων —Αρεοπαγειτω—ν; 1008, 4: καθ’ ὑπομνηματισμὸν τῆς ε—ξ —Αρείου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ ε—περώτημα τὴν βουλῆς τω—ν Φ.

⁵ F. W. Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter*, Oxford, 1947, p. 149; E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, London, 1947, p. 205; W. J. Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation to the Spirits*, Rome, 1965, pp. 225ff.; F. J. Leenhardt, *Parole—Ecriture—Sacraments*, Neuchâtel, 1968, p. 161; O. S. Brooks, “1 Peter III, 21: The Clue to the Literary Structure of the Epistle,” in *NovT*, 1974, pp. 290–305.

⁶ G. C. Richards, “1 Peter III, 21,” in *JTS*, 1931, p. 77; cf. the papyrological texts, in C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 266, n. 3; C. Préaux, “De la Grèce classique à l’Egypte hellénistique: —Επερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα et l’Alceste d’Euripide, vers 1119,” in *ChrEg*, 1967, pp. 140–144.

⁷ 1Pet 3:20 (cf. J. P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 103, 168ff.). This stipulation of the baptized can be compared to that made by the

Qumranians to be admitted to the community (1QS 5.8–10). They subscribed to the declarations of the priests and the Levites by repeating “Amen, Amen” (1.20, 24; 2.10, 18–19).

ε—πιείκεια, ε—πεικής

epieikeia, clemency, moderation, generosity; *epieikes*, clement, reasonable, accommodating, generous

epieikeia, S 1932; TDNT 2.588–590; EDNT 2.26; NIDNTT 2.256–259; MM 238; L&N 88.62; BDF §31(2); BAGD 292 | ***epieikes***, S 1933; TDNT 2.588–590; EDNT 2.26; NIDNTT 2.256–259; MM 238; L&N 88.63; BDF §31(2); BAGD 292

The dictionaries give this definition: clemency, benevolence, moderation, fairness, mildness; and Bible translators most often use leniency, clemency, indulgence.¹ In one sense, everything depends on context; but the usage of these terms in the Koine, where they are favorites, allows us to fathom their basic signification.

I. — In the OT, *epieikeia* is above all a quality of justice (Wis 12:18) and of God’s governing (2Macc 2:22; 10:4), which treats people with mercy (Ps 86:5; Bar 2:27; Dan 3:42); and St. Paul exhorts the Corinthians “through the *praytes* and *epieikeia* of Christ.”² In other words, justice goes hand-in-hand with clemency,³ a quality of judges,⁴ a virtue of legislators (Philo, *Virtues* 148; *Spec. Laws* 4.23; *To Gaius* 119) and of kings (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.14, 15.177); so much so that Aeneas Tacticus says to choose as leader the one who is most *epieikes* and most *phronimos* (*Polior.* 3.4). For those in positions of superiority, *epieikeia* is an easy-going quality that moderates the inflexible severity of wrath,⁵ a fairness that corrects anything that might be odious or unjust in the strict application of the letter of the law.⁶ Lawyers appeal to it,⁷ and in the third century *clementissime* became a term for the *strategos*.⁸

II. — This clemency, which mitigates sanctions, corresponds in part to Roman *indulgentia* and *benignitas*;⁹ but Hellenistic *epieikeia* emphasizes first of all moderation and just measure¹⁰ or, as we say today, “equilibrium.” This is why *epieikes* and *metrios* are so often linked,¹¹ and why in Greece *aner epieikes* has always meant “honest man” or “virtuous man”;¹² he possesses the *tropon epieikeia*.¹³ It seem likely that this basic value is that required in the candidate for the episcopate: he must be balanced in his mentality and his behavior; he radiates serenity (1Tim 3:3). It is also the quality of those who share in the wisdom from on high (Jas 3:17). Here again, usage allows us to flesh out this idea.¹⁴

III. — The person characterized by *epieikeia* is reasonable, a respecter of social norms.¹⁵ Sometimes the emphasis is on exactitude, loyalty, and fidelity in the accomplishment of a task;¹⁶ much more often on mildness; hence its connection with goodness (1Pet 2:18), peace (Jas 3:17; 1Enoch 6.5, Greek frag.), and mildness-leniency (*praytes*).¹⁷ So it becomes apparent that Hellenistic *epieikeia* is first and foremost a virtue of the heart—open, conciliatory, and trusting toward one’s neighbor (Strabo 6.3.9). Not only is it opposed to wickedness (Josephus, *Ant.* 10.83) and to violence (Philo, *Cherub.* 37), but being thoroughly mild and kind (cf. Philo, *Virtues* 81, 125, *hemeros*), it can be persuaded, and bends and even resigns itself when wronged.¹⁸ Positively, it is hard to distinguish from *chrestotes*,¹⁹ from an accommodating attitude,²⁰ and from “philanthropy,”²¹ the “habitual inclination of character in the direction of friendliness toward people” (Ps.-Plato, *Def.* 412 e).

IV. — Finally, NT *epieikeia* is not only moderation and measure, but goodness, courtesy, generosity. Furthermore, it suggests a certain amiability,²² good grace. Frag. 427 of Sophocles places *epieikes* and *charis* in parallel.²³ According to Origen, if Mary, greater in grace than Elizabeth, took the initiative to visit her, and when they met was the first to utter a greeting, the reason is that the Virgin Mary was “full of thoughtfulness (*epieikes*) toward others.”²⁴

So I suggest translating the neuter adjective *epieikes* used substantively as “friendly equilibrium”²⁵ in Phil 4:5, where the Vulgate uses the word *modestia*: “Let your friendly, well-balanced character be known to all.” This favorable reputation and especially this attractiveness are self-evident.²⁶ They remind us of the possession of the earth by the *praeis* (Matt 5:4).

¹ H. Hemmer was right when he wrote “Terms that are almost untranslatable into French in their complexity of meaning, and which express a happy blend of measure, moderation, balance, subtlety, and energy or force” (*Clément de Rome: Epître aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1909, p. xxxvii). W. Barclay (*NT Wordbook*, p. 38), after noting that “it is extremely difficult to give a translation of *epieikes*,” observes that Moffatt used six different translations for seven occurrences. Thus in Plutarch: Marcia, Cato’s second wife, “passed for an honest woman, ε—πειικῆ δοκούσαν” (Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 25.1, 25.3); “justice that gives in neither to complacency nor to favor, εἰ—ς ε—πειίκειαν ἢ χάριν” (4.2); “with mildness and moderation, ε—πειικῆ καὶ μέτρια” (26.4; 53.6); “in government majesty and goodness must be associated, τὸ σεμνόν . . . τω— ε—πειικει—” (*Phoc.* 2.8; cf. 7.2); “Menillos, a man of moderation” (28.1); “a man of healthy judgment” (35.3); “Tiberius was calm and mild, ε—πειικῆς καὶ πρα—ος” (*Ti. Gracch.* 2.5; 14.5; cf. *Cleom.* 1.2). —Επειικω—ς expresses

cordial relations (*Cleom.* 36.2); *Cic.* 19.6; 21.2; etc. Cf. J. Haring, “Die Lehre von der Epikie,” in *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift*, 1899, pp. 579–600; 796–809; C. Spicq, “Bénignité, mansuétude, douceur, clémence,” in *RB*, 1947, pp. 333ff.; L. J. Riley, *The History, Nature and Use of Epikeia in Moral Theology*, Washington, 1948; G. Ciulei, *L’Equité chez Cicéron*, Amsterdam, 1972.

² Διὰ τῆς πραύτητος καὶ ε—πεικειίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2Cor 10:1; cf. R. Leivestad, “The Meekness and Gentleness of Christ,” in *NTS*, vol. 12, 1966, pp. 156–164.

³ An order to govern the inhabitants δικαιοσύνη δὲ καὶ ε—πεικεία (*I.Bulg.*, 1960e 44); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 880, 35; “the Corsicans live among them with more moderation and fairness—βιοῦσιν ε—πεικω—ς καὶ δικαίως—than are generally seen among the barbarians” (Diodorus Siculus 5.26); Plutarch, *Alex.* 43.4; *Caes.* 3.1; 15.4; 35.4; 54.4; 57.4.

⁴ Honorific decree of Iasos for foreign judges, in L. Robert, *Opera Minora*, vol. 3, Amsterdam, 1969, p. 229; *SB* 11223, 11, 22.

⁵ Seneca defines *clementia* as “mildness demonstrated by a superior to an inferior,” whereas *mansuetudo* is shown toward all and has more to do with the sentiments of the soul apart from any reference to other people (*Clem.* 2.3).

⁶ Plato, *Leg.* 6.757 d; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.1137a31ff.; *Rh.* 1.13.1374a26; Onasander, Proem. 6: “It is not equitable (οὔτε ε—πεικός) to dismiss without punishment a general who has suffered a complete disaster under the pretext that Fortune (τύχη) is responsible for everything”; Onasander, *Strategikos* 2: “He should not be so indulgent that he is scorned.” Diodorus Siculus 19.100.1: “The barbarians would think that they received pardon not because of clemency (οὐ δι’ ε—πεικείαν) but because they could not be conquered.” The bibliography and a good elucidation of this idea are given by G. Kisch, *Erasmus und die Jurisprudenz seiner Zeit*, Basel, 1960, pp. 14ff., 475ff. Cf. E. Hamel, “La Vertu d’epikie,” in *ScEccl*, 1961, pp. 36–56.

⁷ The advocate Tertullus to his excellency Festus (Acts 24:4); in 193 a resident of Soknopaiou Nesos and a priest of the god Sobek address a centurion named Ammonios Paternos to obtain from him an equitable judgment, ἵνα δυνηθω— τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ ε—πικίας τυχει—ν (*P.Mich.* 175, 22; cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59192, 4; 59626, 9; 59631, 11; *P.Oxy.* 67, 6; 2133, 4; 3126, col. I, 11; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 13, 14; *P.Cair.Isid.* 70, 12; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 86, 15; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 88, 264, 335, 349, 369).

⁸ —Επιεικεστάτος, *P.Mich.* 530, 24; *P.Giss.* I, 16, 9. In Diodorus Siculus, the *epieikeia* of Alexander is above all “moderation” or “level-headedness” (17.4.9; 17.36.1; 17.66.1), leniency (17.73.1), the clemency of the conqueror (17.91.7) and an extreme goodness (17.38.3; cf. 17.76.1) that grants favors (17.69.9; cf. 27.16.2).

⁹ The *clementia Caesaris*, Cicero, *Marcell.* 11; *Lig.* 6, 10, 15; *Deiot.* 34; Plutarch, *Caes.* 57, 4; Dio Cassius 44.6.4; Seneca, *Polyb.* 13.2ff.; *Ben.* 5.16.5; *Dial.* 4.23.4; H. Dahlmann, “Clementia Caesaris,” in *NJahrb.*, vol. 10, 1934, pp. 17ff.; F. D’Agostino, *Epieikeia: Il Tema dell’equità nell’antichità greca*, 1973; T. Adam, *Clementia Principis*, Stuttgart, 1970; L. Wickert, “Neue Forschungen zum römischen Prinzipat,” in *Festschrift J. Vogt*, Berlin-New York, 1974, vol. 2, 1, pp. 67ff.; O. Leggewie, “Clementia Caesaris,” in *Gymnasium*, 1958, pp. 17–36; H. Gesche, “Datierung und Deutung der *Clementiae-Moderationi*- Despondien des Tiberius,” in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 1971, pp. 37–80; G. Downey, “Tiberiana,” in *ANRW*, 1975, vol. 2, pp. 95–105. Cf. W. W. Buckland, *A Text-Book of Roman Law*, 3d ed., Cambridge, 1963, p. 55; F. Burdeau, “L’Empereur d’après les Panégyriques latins,” in *Aspects de l’Empire romain*, Paris, 1964, pp. 41ff.

¹⁰ As when an adviser urges Antony to use all moderation, given his status as consul (Nicolaus of Damascus, *Vit. Caes.* 30.15). Ps.-Plato defines *epieikeia*: “Condescendence in giving in against one’s rights and interests; moderation in business relations; right measure of the reasonable soul in matters related to good and evil” (*Def.* 412 b; cf. J. M. André, *L’Otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine*, Paris, 1966, p. 186.)

¹¹ Hyperides, *Eux.* 12; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.182; Plutarch, *Rom.* 16.1; *Sol.* 29.14; Plutarch, *Cor.* 10.5; 15.4; *De virt. mor.* 12; L. C. Youtie, “Urkunden aus Panopolis III,” in *ZPE*, vol. 10, 1973, p. 143, 11; 144, 22; reprinted in *P.Panop.* In Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 26: μέτριος ε—πιεικής, ἀρμόδιος τω—βίω, which ed. T. Beaupère (Paris, 1967) translates “measured, proper, he knows how to live” and comments “a gentleman.”

¹² Aristotle, *Poet.* 13.1452 b (in contrast to the wicked, τοὺς μοχθηρούς); *Pol.* 3.10.4.1281a11, 15; 1282a; *Ath. Pol.* 26.1; 28.1; Demosthenes, *Cor. Trier.* 51.17; Herodotus 1.85; Sophocles, *OC* 1127; Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 37: οἱ—ε—πιεικέστεροι = well-bred people; *Jos. Asen.* 5; Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 8; *Ages.* 4.1; *Ant.* 23.2; 28.7.

¹³ “Morality is born in the soul when moderation and just measure (ε—πιεικείας καὶ μετριότητος) are introduced by reason into the faculties

and passionate emotions” (Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 12). The flute of the servant of Caius Graccus “had a sweet and measured sound, ε—πειικὴ καὶ πρα—ον” (*De cohib. ira* 6). On a sarcophagus, Troilus is praised for his legal learning and the mildness of his character, in J. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 48, 6.

¹⁴ Plutarch gives this definition: “the *aner epieikes* tries to show respect for his wife and maintain his relationship with her according to justice and *sophrosyne*” (*Devirt. mor.* 8). The honorific decree for the athlete M. Alfidus describes him *asepieikestatos* (ed. R. Merkelbach, in *ZPE* 1975, p. 145, line 6). The judges will recognize that the martyrs deserve to live, on account of their *epieikeia* (*The Martyrdom of the Priest Pionius* 5.3; *De Conon* 2.7; in H. Musurillo, *Christian Martyrs*, pp. 142,188).

¹⁵ *Anth. Pal.* 6.280.3: “she dedicated them, as was fitting, ὡς ε—πειικές.” For the association of ε—πειικῆς and πρέπον, Plato, *Tim.* 67 d; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.1.4–5; (cf. *Crass.* 22.1). We must recall that ε—πειικῆς, derived from ἔοικα, expresses the basic idea of appropriateness in an intellectual and moral sense, and even a normative sense (cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 355).

¹⁶ Functionaries and servants acquit themselves of their duties “appropriately” (ε—πειικω—ς, *I.Priene* 119, 13; first century BC), κοσμίως καὶ ε—πειικω—ς (honorific inscription of Pergamum; C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, Berlin, 1969, n. 55, 3), μετὰ πάσης ε—πειικείας (*P.Abinn.* 9, 10), πίστεως καὶ ε—πειικίας χάριν (*P.Mert.* 90, 13); *P.Oxy.* 1414, 23; *P.Tebt.* 484 (from AD 14); *PSI* 666, 9; *P.Ness.* 33, 5. The pairing σπουδῆ-ε—πειίκεια appears late (E. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 2, n. 194, 6; 216, 9; 219, 2; 229, 8; etc.).

¹⁷ The winds blow mildly (Philo, *Cherub.* 37). In the same sense of the word the alchemists recommend using “a mild flame,” i.e., a moderate one (ε—πειικῆς-πραέος; cf. M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 2d ed., London, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 73, 3; 78, 14; 86, 18; vol. 3, 350, 20). On the moral level, 2Cor 10:1; Titus 3:2; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 146; *Creation* 103; Diodorus Siculus 19.85.3: “This prince manifested mildness and extreme indulgence”; Plutarch, *Cat. Mai.* 20.3 (concerning Socrates: ε—πειικω—ς καὶ πράως); *Per.* 39.1; *Pyrrh.* 23;3; *Caes.* 57.2; Lucian, *Alex.* 61; *Somn.* 10 (cf. H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament*, Berlin, 1961, pp. 209–210); Dio Cassius 53.6. At Aphrodisias, Antonius Zosas: βίῳ κεχρημένον καὶ χρώμενον πράῳ καὶ ε—πειικει— (*MAMA*, vol. 8, 524, 7; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, p. 223). *P.Oxy.* 3007, 20–21.

¹⁸ On the link between moderation-mildness and force, cf. Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 49; *Wis* 2:19—“Let us try him with violence and torture in order to see what will become of his *epieikeia*”; Epictetus 3.20.11: “My neighbor is wicked . . . but for me he is good; he exercises my mildness and my *epieikeia*”; cf. 3.23.4. Cf. the understanding and indulgent masters of 1Pet 2:18 and Plutarch, *Cor.* 24.8: “At that time, Romans treated their domestics with consideration.”

¹⁹ Ps 86:5; *Pss. Sol.* 5.14; Philo, *Rewards* 166; *Husbandry* 47; Plutarch, *Cam.* 14.2: “Marcus Cedicius, a wise and good man, ε—πεικῆς δὲ καὶ χρηστός”; Lucian, *Alex.* 4.

²⁰ According to Timogenes of Alexandria, Aristobulus was conciliatory and very obliging: ε—πεικῆς . . . καὶ πολλὰ χρήσιμος (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.319); cf. Plutarch, *Cat.Mai.* 16.6; *P.Herm.* 20, 11 and 14; 56, 2; Dittenberger, *Or.* 364: ε—πεικω—ς καὶ εὐεργετικω—ς.

²¹ 2Macc 9:27; *Ep. Arist.* 290; Philo, *Virtues* 81, 140, 148; *Moses* 1.198; *Spec. Laws* 2.110; *Flacc.* 61; *To Gaius* 352; 3Macc 3:15; Polybius 5.10.1; Plutarch, *Alc.* 4.6; *Flam.* 24; *Rom.* 31.2; *Cor.* 30.7; 31.6; Lucian, *Im.* 11; Diodorus Siculus 5.34: “Toward strangers, the Celtiberians are mild and humane, ε—πεικει—ς καὶ φιλόανθρωποι.” A physician of Heraclea, ζω—ντα καλω—ς καὶ ε—πεικω—ς καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀξίως τῆς τω—ν προγόνων ἀρετῆς (*I.Car.* 70, 8 = *MAMA*, vol. 6, 114); Agreophon, a generous benefactor, is praised in the second century AD for his character and his virtues: ε—πεικῆς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος πρὸς τοὺς οἰ—κέτας (P. Herrmann, “Zwei Inschriften aus Kaunos und Baba Dag,” in P. Roos, *Opuscula Atheniensia*, vol. 10, 1971, pp. 36–39); cf. P. Herrmann, *Ergebnisse*, n. 3, 10–11 (on philanthropy, see C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 2, pp. 657–684; R. Le Déaut, “Φιλανθρωπία dans la littérature grecque, jusqu’au Nouveau Testament,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, pp. 255–294). Cf. Plutarch, *De tranq. anim.* 7: ε—πεικει—ς καὶ χαρίεντες.

²² Cf. I. H. Marshall, *The Challenge of New Testament Ethics*, London, 1946, pp. 305ff. Plato, *Symp.* 210 *b*: a lovely soul dwelling in a body that is not attractive at all; Plutarch, *Thes.* 16.1: “Tauros, a man of rude and savage character, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ε—πεικῆς καὶ ἡμερος τὸν τρόπον”; Philo, *Dreams* 2.165–167.

²³ Cited by R. A. Gauthier, *Aristote: L’Ethique à Nicomaque*, Paris-Louvain, 1959, vol. 2, p. 432.

²⁴ Origen, frag. 18, on Luke 1:40. For the meaning of this term in Origen, cf. H. Crouzel, *Origène: Homélie sur Luc*, Paris, 1962, p. 51.

²⁵ [Spicq's French is *sympathique équilibre*. —Tr.] Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 802ff. The harmonious disposition of character and frame of mind (*Stimmung*) becomes, in relation with neighbors, an accommodating attitude, a happy harmony (*Übereinstimmung*).

²⁶ The *epieikeia* of Cimon drew sympathy (Plutarch, *Arist.* 23.2; cf. 25.20); that of the orators inspired confidence and formed the basis for their credibility (Demosthenes, *Prooem.* 45.2; *LTGR*, p. 123).

ε—πίθεσις

epithesis, the action of placing something on someone or something, application, laying on of hands, assault

epithesis, S 1936; *TDNT* 8.159–161; *EDNT* 2.27; MM 239; L&N 85.51; BAGD 293

The semantics of *epithesis* —explained by Hesychius as “among the Pythagoreans, the number two” (*ho ton dyo arithmos para tois Pythagorikois*)—is quite curious. The literal meaning of the word is “the action of placing on”; hence (a) application (of a coating), or laying on of hands;¹ (b) the action of placing on,² applying, attributing to, for example an epithet (cf. Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.2.1405b21); (c) the action of laying hands on or attacking someone (cf. the effort to seize tyrannical power, Diodorus Siculus 13.92); hence assault, aggression.

This latter, pejorative meaning is almost the only one known in the OT. A conspiracy (Hebrew *qesher*, conspiracy, treason) is organized against Amaziah (2Chr 25:27); “when they perceived that the attack came from Lysimachus . . . they all resisted in a wild tumult” (2Macc 4:41); Jason leads a surprise attack against the city.³ This is the constant meaning of the word in the papyri, where it is not used very often, beginning with a letter from 14 BC that tells about an attack by two people against the *epistates*.⁴ In the first century AD, it is almost always⁵ a case of an official complaint, for example against the slave Euporos, who violently attacked and beat his victim in the year 45 (*P.Oxy.* 283, 15), or against slanders and violent attacks in 47–48 (*P.Mich.* V, 231, 7). Later, a woman denounces two hoarders who have outrageously attacked and despoiled her (*P.Oxy.* 1121, 7; in AD 295), and a victim of abuse of power protests before the *ekdikos* (*PSI* 872, 4; sixth century).

The four occurrences of *epithesis* in the NT have nothing to do with the above meanings. They all have a religious meaning and all are instances of the phrase *he epithesis ton cheiron*.⁶ By the “laying on of hands,” Jesus restored health to the sick,⁷ blessed children (Matt 19:13) or his disciples (Luke 24:50), as did patriarchs with their children and the high priest with the people (Gen 48:14; Lev 9:22; Sir 50:20). In the early church, this gesture became the rite for passing on the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:17-18; Heb 6:2) or a spiritual gift (1Tim 4:14; 2Tim 1:6), that of “ordination” of deacons and presbyters (Acts 6:6). Since it communicates to the subject something possessed by the donor,⁸ it is not only a protocol for legal installation to positions in the church hierarchy (1Tim 5:22) but a sacrament that guarantees the uninterrupted succession of ministers: the beneficiary receives the same power as the one who lays hands on him.⁹

¹ The only meaning of the word in the NT, cf. below; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.90: Jacob crosses his hands and places the right hand (τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπιτίθεισι) on Ephraim, the younger, and the left on Manasseh, the elder; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.203: the laying of hands on a victim.

² Addition (cf. ἐπιθήμα = a higher bid); Ezek 23:11: Oholibah gave herself over to passions even more corrupt than those of her sister, διέφθειρε τὴν ἐπιθέσιν (Hebrew *‘agabâh*, shameless lust) αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆν; *Ep. Arist.* 93: the priests place the victim on the altar.

³ 2Macc 5:5—ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν συνετελέσατο ἐπιθέσιν; 14:15—“Informed of the aggression by the Gentiles (τὴν ἐπιθέσιν τῶν ἐθνῶν), the Jews . . . appealed to the One who had established his people forever”; Josephus, *Life* 293: “armed with daggers . . . in order to be able to defend ourselves in case of an enemy attack”; *Ant.* 18.7: “When raids are made by large hordes of brigands”; *Ep. Arist.* 101: “the defense of the precincts of the sanctuary . . . in case of attack, uprising, or enemy invasion.”

⁴ *P. Tebt.* 15, 24: τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστατείαν ἐπιθέσεως; cf. in 109 BC the complaint of Paeis against the brigands who have ransacked his house: “as I have reason to blame this attack on a machination (διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως) of Konnos” (*P. Rein.* 17, 9).

⁵ The single exception is from 41, in a rental contract: “I will measure out and pay with no pressure or trickery” (*P. Mich.* 331, 1).

⁶ Acts 8:18; 1Tim 4:14; 2Tim 1:6; Heb 6:2. On the meaning of this phrase, cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 2, pp. 722–730. To the bibliography add F. Cabrol, “Imposition des mains,” in *DACL*, vol. 7, 1, col. 391–413; P. Galtier, “Imposition des mains,” in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol.

7, 2, col. 1302–1425; J. K. Parrat, “The Laying on of Hands in the N.T.,” in *ExpT*, vol. 80, 1969, pp. 210–214; K. Hruby, “La Notion d’ordination dans la tradition juive,” in *La Maison-Dieu*, no. 102, 1970, pp. 30–56; G. C. Vogel, “L’Imposition des mains dans les rites d’ordination,” *ibid.*, pp. 57–72; K. Grayston, “The Significance of the Word *Hand* in the New Testament,” in *Mélanges Rigaux*, pp. 479–487; C. Maurier, “ε—πιτίθημι,” in *TDNT*, vol. 8, pp. 159–161; E. Lohse, “χείρ,” in *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 424–434.

⁷ —Επιτίθημι, Mark 5:23; 6:5; 7:32; 8:23, 25; Luke 4:40; 13:12.

⁸ 1Tim 4:14; 2Tim 1:6; cf. J. Jeremias, “Zur Datierung der Pastoralbriefe,” in *ZNW*, 1961, pp. 101–104; H. Maehlum, *Die Vollmacht des Timotheus nach den Pastoralbriefen*, Basel, 1969, pp. 69ff.; O. Hofius, “Zur Auslegungsgeschichte von πρεσβυτέριον I Tim. IV, 14,” in *ZNW*, 1971, pp. 128–129.

⁹ Cf. ε—πιτίθημι = give something to someone. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 4.5.41: “Command them . . . to bring you all this. . . . Strike fear in the heart of the one who does not give that which is prescribed”; *BGU* 1208, 4 (27/26 BC).

ε—πικαλέω

epikaleo, to give a name or surname, call, designate, invite; to appeal to, call upon, invoke

epikaleo, S 1941; *TDNT* 3.496–500; *EDNT* 2.28–29; *NIDNTT* 2.874; MM 239; L&N 33.131; BDF §§157(2), 202, 268(1), 392(3,4), 397(3), 406(2), 412(2); BAGD 294

This compound verb, in the active and the passive, means “to name, to nickname (surname), to give the name, to invite,” but in the first century it quite often has the same meaning as the simple form *kaleo*, “call, designate,”¹ and has no distinctive meaning of its own. It is used only once in the Synoptics, with regard to the derisive label applied to Jesus: “If they have called the master of the household Beelzebul, how much more the members of the household.”²

I. — In Acts, St. Luke conformed to the style of surnames,³ inherited from the OT,⁴ which spread throughout the Roman Empire during the Hellenistic period,⁵ especially in Egypt,⁶ but also in Babylonia and Syria-Palestine,⁷ especially among the Jews,⁸ as well as in Greece and in Asia Minor.⁹ Hence the double name of the apostle, *Saulos ho kai Paulos*.¹⁰ These surnames were often chosen on the basis of a distinguishing physical, moral, or religious characteristic of a person, to specify his origin

(Josephus, *Ant.* 14.4: Quintus Metellus the Cretan) or to distinguish him from others of the same name (Acts 10:5, Simon Peter and Simon the tanner at Joppa), sometimes as a nickname chosen by fellow members of a club or fellow players of a game (*IG XIV*, 1517, Geminus becomes *Petrokorax*). Nicknames were often chosen simply because they sounded like the original name¹¹ and made it easier for a foreigner to fit into a new culture.¹² In any case, surnames were used by princes and slaves alike¹³ and by all decent folk.

To unite these two names (X is also called Y), first of all the stereotyped formula *hos kai* or *hos e* (third century BC) was used, then *ho kai*.¹⁴ With increasing frequency, a verb was added (*hos kai kaleitai*, *ho kai legetai*),¹⁵ and, beginning with the end of the second century AD, the present passive or middle participle (*ho epikaloumenos*, *ho epieklemenos*, *ho legomenos*). These references allow us to locate St. Luke's usage in the language of the time. In four cases, the name and the surname are Semitic (Acts 1:23; 4:36; 15:22; 13:8—Bar-Jesus/Elymas); in other cases, the surname is Latin or Greek (10:5, 18, 32; 11:13; 13:1); this is the case with Tabitha, translated into Latin as Dorcas, which means gazelle (9:36), and with John, who is surnamed Mark (12:21, 25). The participle is always between the article and the name.

II. — In the active or middle voice, *epikaloumai* often means “reproach, blame, make a claim, accuse.”¹⁶ This is the case with Potiphar's wife: “I cried out to call those in the household to help”;¹⁷ with some Carians who appeal to Cyrus (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.4.1); and with the gymnasiarch Marcus Aurelius Nepotianus, who appeals to the prefect (*epikaloumenos ton lamprotaton hegemonon Aideinion Ioulianon*, *P.Oxy.* 3286, 11). Hence we arrive at the legal sense of the Latin *provocare*, “appeal” to a provincial official or a higher jurisdiction, like that of the emperor. Thus St. Paul appealed to Caesar.¹⁸

Our verb also means “take someone as witness,” notably God, as a guarantor of affirmations or of personal justification.¹⁹ This is an oath formula: May God punish me, cause me to die, if I am lying. In a letter to Yesu ben Galgola, Simon bar Kochba writes, “I call heaven to witness against me that . . . I shall put fetters on your feet.”²⁰ Abraham and Eliezer call God as witness for their future conduct.²¹ Thus St. Paul protests his devotion: “As for me, I take God as my witness (*ego de martyra ton theon epikaloumai*) that it was to spare you that I did not come again to Corinth” (2Cor 1:23).

III. — *Epikaleo* in the sense of “invoke, call upon” always has a religious meaning in the LXX, and a technical value in the formula “invoke the name of God,”²² which goes back to Enoch. It is first of all a profession of faith, because to utter the divine name over someone or something (Bar 2:15, 26; 1Macc 7:37) is to make it God's property and place it under God's protection. It is to set apart a people, a city, or a sanctuary to worship and

serve God, on account of which God protects them.²³ At the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:17), James quotes Amos 9:12, where “all the nations upon whom my name is invoked” are called to the messianic kingdom, but the pagans are precisely those “who do not invoke his name” (Jer 10:25).

In the NT, the name is that of Jesus Christ, recognized as Lord and God, such that the formula “invoke the name” is probably linked to baptism, where it is professed that “whoever calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved”²⁴ and where a person is purified of sins by “calling upon his name” (Acts 22:16). This is the designation of Christians according to Acts 9:14, where Saul has the power to “bind all those who call upon your name.”

This invocation becomes ecclesial and ecumenical in the epistles of St. Paul. First Corinthians is addressed to “those who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in any place” (1Cor 1:2), the church being the gathering of those who adore Christ, who celebrate his worship (cf. Ps 145:18) and pray to him from a pure heart.²⁵ Over against the religious individualism of the Greek cities, all believers are united in their adoration of Christ as Lord and God; their common “invocation” is the expression of their unity. “He is the same Lord for all (Jews and Gentiles), rich toward all who call upon him, for whoever calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved” (Rom 10:12–13; cf. Heb 11:16). If the invocation of the name is always salvific and implies worship in the NT, the call for help in the OT is less accentuated, with divine protection and generosity being more emphasized.

IV. — In the magical papyri, *he epikaloumene* is a technical term designating the woman who has made a charm, a “spell-caster,”²⁶ invoking Thoth-Hermes, who presides over funerals, and urging him to conquer the heart (the *enkephalon*) of the one whom she loves, precisely by means of this charm which she has executed. The one invoked can be either a demon (the *nekydaimon*) who is asked to intervene, or the spirit of the person for whom the action is done. Cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 1749: “Say this: I invoke you, the ruler of all becoming” (*lege ton logon touton: epikaloumai se, ton archegeten pases geneseos*, vol. I, p. 128); 1812: “I have called upon your great name” (*epikeklemai to mega sou onoma*); 1822: “give me the submission of every soul that I shall invoke” (*dos de moi pases psyches hypotagen, hes an epikalesomai*, vol. I, p. 218); V, 470: “I call upon you, the ruler of the gods ... it is I who call upon you” (*epikaloumai se, ton dynasten ton theon . . . ego eimi ho epikaloumenos se*, vol. I, p. 196); *P.Leid.* W, 9, 35: “call upon the god of the hour and the god of the day” (*epikalou ton tes horas kai ton tes hemeras theon*); *P.Oxy.* 886, 10, an appeal to the sun and all the gods concerning things with respect to which one wishes to receive an omen (third century AD).

¹ Notably in Philo: “The animal called (ε—πικαλούμενον) the serpent-fighting grasshopper” (Philo, *Creation* 163); “the seven stars that are called wanderers” (*Decalogue* 103); “a feast called the feast of Unleavened Bread” (*Spec. Laws* 1.181); “the feast called that of Tabernacles” (*Spec. Laws* 1.189); cf. 1.146; “this half-human, half-beast being that is called Minotaur” (3.44); “the districts called nomes” (*Contemp. Life* 21); *Abraham* 82. The distinction between the two verbs is clear in Acts 1:23— “Joseph called (τὸν καλούμενον) Barsabbas (patronymic name), who was nicknamed (ὄς ε—πεκλήθη) Justus (Latin surname).”

² Matt 10:25. Beelzebul is the dung-god, i.e., the god of idolatrous sacrifices; cf. Matt 12:24, 27; Str-B, vol. 1, pp. 631ff.

³ L. Cerfaux, “Le ‘Supernomen’ dans le Livre des Actes,” in *ETL*, 1936, pp. 74–80; republished in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 2, pp. 175–182.

⁴ Gen 17:5, 15 (Abram, Abraham; Sarai, Sarah), 32:28 (Jacob, Israel); 41:45 (Joseph, Zephenath-Paneah). These new names were given by a higher authority or by God; cf. Simon, Cephas (Mark 3:16).

⁵ M. Lambertz, “Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder signum im Römischen Reich,” in *Glotta*, vol. 4, 1913, pp. 89–143; vol. 5, 1914, pp. 99–170. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.206: Tiberius surnamed Gemellus.

⁶ R. Calderini, “Ricerche sul doppio nome personale nell’ Egitto greco-romano,” in *Aeg*, 1941, pp. 221–260; 1942, pp. 3–45 (at the time, the papyrological documentation comprised 2,400 examples). Philo, *Moses* 2.29: “Ptolemy, surnamed (ε—πικληθείς) Philadelphus”; Josephus, *War* 1.60: Zenon surnamed Cotylas; 1.65; *Ant.* 12.30—Ptolemy surnamed Epiphanes; *P.Petaus* XII, 7: “Phaesis, son of Mysthes, called (ε—πικαλούμενος) Kolluthos”; XIII, 62: Ptolemy surnamed Philometor; XXVI, 3: “Sarapion, son of Kephalos, surnamed Strouthein”; XXVIII, 20, Tmunache, who bears the name Kouiteleis; XLVIII, 16; XLIX, 21; *BGU* 1893, 514; 1896, 250; *P.Phil.* 4, 17; *P.Oslo* 17, 3; 111, 161; *P.Mich.* 174, 11; 241, 40 (in AD 16); 288, 4; 309, 2; 632, 13 (in AD 26); 537, 2; *P.Oxy.* 2231, 10 and 42; 2284 A 4; 2473, 4; *P.Princ.* 38, 1; 63, 9; *P.Stras.* 363, 14; *UPZ* 106, 1: “King Ptolemy, surnamed Alexander” = *P.Fay.* 12, 1; A. Bernand, *Fayoum*, n. 6; *P.Köln* 50, 17; 51, 1. A graffito: “Menelaus surnamed Oserapiakos” (A. Bernand, *Pan*, n. 36, etc.).

⁷ *P.Dura* 18, 7, 25; 19, 2, 3 (F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europus*, p. 342); at Orchoi, in lower Mesopotamia, “Artemidorus, son of Diogenes (Greek names), also called Minnanaios” (a theophoric name from the goddess Nanaia, who was assimilated to Artemis—*SEG* XVIII, 596, 3);

Josephus, *Ant.* 12.223, Seleucus surnamed Soter; *Ag.Apion* 1.185, Demetrius surnamed Poliorketes.

⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* 18.95, Joseph surnamed Caiaphas; 18.16, John surnamed Baptist. Cf. H. J. Cadbury, “Some Semitic Names in Luke-Acts,” in *Amicitiae Corolla* (Volume of Essays presented to J. R. Harris), London, 1933, pp. 45–56.

⁹ “Democratia, who is also (ἡ καὶ) Parthenike” (N. Firatli, L. Robert, *Stèles funéraires*, n. 108; cf. n. 110).

¹⁰ Acts 13:9; cf. Str-B, vol. 2, p. 712; cf. Ricciotti, *Saint Paul apôtre*, Paris, 1952, pp. 188ff.

¹¹ Joshua was rendered in Greek as Jason or Jesus, Simeon as Simon, Silas as Silvanus.

¹² The two names could be interchangeable: John and Mark, Levi and Matthew, Nathaniel and Bartholomew, Cephas and Peter. Sometimes the “barbarous” name was the surname, *P.Amh.* 56, 1; 57, 1: Διόδωρος ὃς καὶ Πετεσοῦχος.

¹³ “Discorous, surnamed Sarapous, slave” (*P.Brux.* 19, 21; a census declaration of the second century AD); *P.Oxy.* 3117, 29.

¹⁴ Numerous examples in Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, 1, p. 60. Cf. —Απολλώνιος ὃς καὶ Σκέλετος (*SB* 286, 7; cf. *P.Tebt.* 109, 1, 11; 164, 6); for women, Ἀμμωνία ἡ καὶ Σεμνί—νις (*P.Giss.* 36, 10); Ἐμισιγήσις ἡ καὶ Βερενίκη (*P.Rein.* 11, 11; cf. 16, 41).

¹⁵ In literary texts, notably Josephus, there is often the aorist passive participle ε—πικληθείς, ε—πικληθέντα.

¹⁶ In the receipt for part of an inheritance in AD 78, “neither Maron nor any of his representatives made any claim or accusation against his brother” (*P.Fay.* 97, 20; *BGU* 350, 14). A malefactor, responsible for pillaging, is accused by Tnas son of Arnouphis (*P.Hib.* 62, 5; third century BC).

¹⁷ Philo, *Joseph* 51. Cf. 1Kgs 13:2—“He cried out against the altar”; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.58: call for help; 13.276, 277, 358; 15.262; 18.91, 97, 151, 230, 339; 18.169; 19.268. *P.Oslo* 7, 3: ε—πικαλούμενος = summoned. Applying judicial procedure, the *strategos* summoned him (ε—πεκαλέσατο αὐτόν, *P.Cair.Isid.* 70, 10; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2187, 19). In a legal

fragment from the third century, δούλων ε—πίκλησις is “recourse against slaves” (*P.Lille XXIX*, col. I, 27).

¹⁸ Καίσαρα ε—πικαλοῦμαι, Acts 25:11, 12, 21; 26:32; 28:19; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 16.104. Every Roman citizen had the right to be judged at Rome even with regard to a capital offense; “Si apud acta quis appellaverit, satis erit si dicat appello” (*Dig.* 49.1, 2). Plutarch, *Marc.* 2.7: Capitolinus appealed to the tribunes of the people, but they rejected his appeal; *Ti. Gracch.* 16.1, laws giving the people the right of appeal from judicial verdicts. *BGU* 628 (cf. A. Steinwenter, “Bibel und Rechtsgeschichte,” in *JJP*, vol. 15, 1965, pp. 10–16); *P.Yale* inv. 1606 (N. Lewis, “Un nouveau texte sur la juridiction du préfet d’Egypte,” in *RHDFE*, 1972, pp. 5–12); M. Adinolfi, “San Paolo e le Autorità Romane negli Atti degli Apostoli,” in *Anton*, 1978, pp. 464ff.

¹⁹ Pagans commonly called the gods as witnesses (μάρτυρες θεοί, μάρτυρας καλω—θεούς); cf. *I.Did.* 277, 10: διὰ θείων θεσπισμάτων πολλάκις ε—μαρτύρησεν; 243, 8. A Christian inscription at Denizli: μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν δίδω ὅτι, “I call God to witness that I built this tomb at my own expense” (published by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, Paris, 1960, p. 430, who cites p. 450: μάρτυς —Απόλλων). St. Paul invokes this divine testimony: μάρτυς γάρ μου ε—στιν ὁ θεός, ᾧ λατρεύω (Rom 1:9); μάρτυς γάρ μου ὁ θεός ὡς ε—πιπόω—πάντας ὑμα—ς (Phil 1:8; 2Cor 1:23).

²⁰ F. M. Cross, Jr., “La Lettre de Simon ben Kosba,” in *RB*, 1956, pp. 45–48.

²¹ —Επικαλοῦνται τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα τῶ—ν ε—σομένων, Josephus, *Ant.* 1.243. Cf. the Christian petition from a colonist to his patron in the sixth century: μάρτυρα γὰρ ε—πικαλοῦμαι τὸν δεσπότην θεόν (*P.Oxy.* 2479, 24). People appeal to God for vengeance (ε—πικαλει—σθαι; cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1938, p. 445, n. 246), to send punishment (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.64). “I invoke and appeal to God Most High . . . against those who betrayed and poisoned the unhappy Heraclea” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1181, 1 = *CII* 725).

²² Gen 4:26, cf. 12:8; 21:33; 26:25; 48:16; 1Chr 16:8; etc. Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 138; Josephus, *War* 2.394: “How will you call upon God for your defense if you willingly abandon the worship that you owe him?”; 5.438: “Often they implored, they invoked the awful name of God, begging that some morsel be left them”; *Ant.* 4.222: they implored God to be merciful; 7.202; 8.283; 9.8. O. Cullmann, *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Tübingen, 1966, pp. 605–622; P. E. Langevin, “Ceux qui invoquent le nom du

Seigneur' (I Cor. I, 2),” in *ScEccl*, 1967, pp. 373–407, and in *ScEs*, 1968, pp. 113–126.

²³ Deut 28:10; Isa 63:19; Jer 7:10; 14:9; 25:29. Israel and the temple have “the honor of bearing the name that is exalted and majestic” (2Macc 8:15; cf. 1Macc 7:37); Jas 2:7—“The good name that is invoked over you.” The Jews call upon God to obtain his help (*Ep. Arist.* 193, 226; cf. 17); *Jos. Asen.* 25.7—“They will call upon the God of Israel, who will send fire from heaven that will consume you, and the angels of God will fight against you.” Likewise the pagans (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.1.35; Dittenberger, *Or.* 194, 18), invoking Demeter (Epictetus 3.21.12; cf. 2.7.12) or the goddess Lucina (Diodorus Siculus 5.73; cf. 5.79).

²⁴ Joel 3:5 = Acts 2:21—ὃς ἂν ἐ—πικαλέσηται; cf. the prayer of St. Stephen, “making this invocation and saying, ‘Lord Jesus, receive my spirit’” (cf. F. Zeman, “L’Eglise dans la perspective des Actes des Apôtres: ‘Tous ceux qui invoquent ton Nom’ [Act. IX, 14],” in *Studia*, 13, Paris, 1962, pp. 67–83). In 1Pet 1:17, one might hesitate between the present middle indicative ἐ—πικαλει—σθαι, “if you call upon me as father,” and the present active indicative καλει—τε (P72, Sahidic, Old Latin), which would be translated, “If you call Father the one who without partiality judges each one according to his works.” God the Father is the God of Jesus Christ.

²⁵ 2Tim 2:22; cf. 2Kgs 5:11; Zeph 3:9; Ps 102:2-3; 118:5; Sir 47:5; 51:9–11.

²⁶ G. Giangrande, “Hermes and the Marrow: A Papyrus Love-Spell,” in *Ancient Society*, vol. 9, 1978, pp. 101–116; cites *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 1719: “Sword of Dardanos: magical action, called ‘sword’” (πρα—ξις ἡ καλουμένη ξίφος, vol. I, p. 126).

ἐ—πιμέλεια, ἐ—πιμελέομαι, ἐ—πιμελω—ς

epimeleia, care, solicitude, attention; *epimeleomai*, to take care of, attend to; *epimelos*, attentively, diligently

epimeleia, S 1958; *EDNT* 2.31; MM 241–242; L&N 35.44; BAGD 296 | ***epimeleomai***, S 1959; *EDNT* 2.31; MM 242; L&N 30.40, 35.44; BDF §§101, 176(2); BAGD 296 | ***epimelos***, S 1960; *EDNT* 2.31; MM 242; L&N 30.41; BAGD 296

These terms present no difficulty with regard to meaning¹ and are abundantly used in the Koine, notably in the papyri and the inscriptions; at

least the first two terms are. On the other hand, they are rare in the NT (which does not use *epimeletes*). Hence the need to bring them to life, as it were, by providing parallels from pagan sources.

I. — At the stopover at Sidon, “Julius treated Paul with courtesy (or amicably, literally with humanity) and allowed him to visit his friends and receive their care, *epimeleias tychein*.”² The commentators observe that this latter expression is excellent Greek,³ but should it be translated “care, treatment” or “good offices, solicitude”? The two meanings are equally attested. From Plato on,⁴ *epimeleia* is used for the attention and care given a sick or disabled person, and this meaning is retained by the medical writers, notably Hippocrates and Galen.⁵ In the third century BC, a decree of Cos honors a physician: “he performed *epimeleian* for the citizens according to the healing art” (*epimeleian epoieito ton politan kata tan technan tan iatrikan*). It goes on to praise him for his goodwill and *epimeleia*.⁶ At Gortyn, the physician Hermias for five years cared for the citizens, the metics, and the allies; “he performed *epimeleia* and saved them from great danger” (*epimeleian epoiesato kai esose es megalon kindynon*, *I.Cret.* IV, n. 168, 15; p. 231). Care can be provided for a patient not only by a physician but any devoted person in his entourage: “since you provided all *epimeleia* and refreshment for me in my illness and old age” (*epeideper pasan anapausin kai epimeleian epoiesas moi en to emo noso kai gero*, a will, *P.Cair.Masp.* 67154, B 19ff.) and so is used for all the kinds of devotion lavished on an aged or disabled person.

By extension, *epimeleia* is used for the effort and care expended on any task whatsoever: the librarian who completes his collection of books and repairs those that are in poor condition (*Ep. Arist.* 29, 317); the maintenance of canals and banks (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 223) and lands (1, 403), of vineyards (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 16, 8), of palm groves (*ibid.* VIII, 21); vegetable farming (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 249–250), all agricultural labors (*Ep. Arist.* 107; *P.Mert.* X, 17: “let the entire remaining agricultural *epimeleia* be completed,” *ten allen georgiken epimeleian pasan epiteleito*, from 28 July AD 21; *P.Tebt.* 703, 66; from 260 BC), irrigation (*P.Oxy.* 2767, 10); the raising of horses (*P.Oxy.* 2480, 97: *eis epimeleian ton hippon*; cf. *P.Alex.* 12, 20), of cattle (Philo, *Prov.* 2.27); the setting up of a statue by the *agonothetai* (*I.Car.* 79, 11, *ten epimeleian tes anastaseos poiesamenon*; cf. *I.Lind.* 472, 10; 474, 8); any “business” whatsoever,⁷ whether concerning the duties of the king (*Ep. Arist.* 245; Dittenberger, *Or.* 383, 49: *emais epimeleiais*) or of statesmen (Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.5.10); or toward a deceased person (from a will: “for the *epimeleia* of my body,” *pros ten epimeleian tou somatos mou*; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 14, 28; *P.Oxy.* 2857, 19, from May 17, 134); to occupy one’s leisure time (Wis 13:13), “topreside at the service of the gods” (Demosthenes, *C. Andr.* 78: *pros toustheous epimeleias*), to keep a sanctuary in decent condition,⁸ to servethe ibis shelters (*P.Fouad* XVI, 5 = SB 9628, 1), to oversee functionaries,⁹ etc.

In a special sense, *epimeleia* is used for a public duty or function (Dinarchus, *C. Phil.* 3.15–16; 1Macc 16:14—“Simon, taking care of matters related to the administration of their cities”; *P.Fouad* 20, 5; *P.Cair. Isid.* 79, 8). It is not rare for those who are responsible to justify their inspection rounds on the grounds that it is their duty—“for this is my *epimeleia* ” (*toutogar he epimeleia mou*, *P.Oxf.* III, 3; AD 142; *P.Oxy.* 2560, 11: “according to his *epimeleia* ” (*kata ten autou epimeleian*)—and they are not free to neglect their responsibilities (*P.Oxy.* 2228, 43). For example, the *epimeleia* of the epebes¹⁰ and the obligation of officers to carry out their duties¹¹ are known, but in their honorific decrees the cities praise functionaries who have demonstrated diligence, like Agathocles at Istrus around AD 200, who proved himself “full of ardor in the exercise of magistracies, in *publicservices*, and in councils.”¹² If this “care in well-doing” (Ep. Arist. 18) is praised, it is because it implies a favorable disposition (ibid. 282), great carefulness,¹³ effort (Menander, Dysk. 862), solicitude (Philo, *Prov.* 2.99; *P.Princ.* 151, 18; SB 8858, 10), and zeal (Xenophon, *Cyn.* 1.17; *P.Tebt.* 769, 5).

This term was used especially for the care and devotion shown by parents or nurses to children. For example, Termouthis raised little Moses *polles epimeleias* (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.236); 21 May AD 26, in a nurse’s contract, “the declarer undertakes to give complete care and help to the infant, as is her duty” (*P.Rein.* 103, 17; cf. *BGU* 1106, 28, from 13 BC; SB 9534, 17: *ta tekna hemon epimeleias tynchaneto*, the conclusion of a letter of the third century AD). This Christian letter from the third-fourth century says it all; Thonis assures her dear Heracleus: “I will care for him as if he were my own son.”¹⁴ This reminder of the scope of the task,¹⁵ of the absolute devotion and self-giving required, should never be forgotten with reference to the charge to the Ephesian overseer (1Tim 3:5.)

II. — The verb *epimeleomai* also has a medical definition, attested only by St. Luke in the NT: the good Samaritan, after dressing the victim’s wounds, takes him to the hostelry where he takes care of him (*kai epemelethe autou*), probably by watching over him through the night; and when he leaves, he tells the innkeeper “take care of him, *epimeletheti autou* ” (Luke 10:34-35). Here the reference would seem to be not to remedies or medical treatment per se but rather to watchfulness, devotion, or health-care in the broad sense of the term. At least it is in this sense that the word is copiously attested in papyrological letters, in a quasi-stereotyped form: “take care of yourself so that you may be healthy” (*epimelou seautou hin’ hygiaines*).¹⁶ Sometimes the health of children is specified.¹⁷

One watches over persons,¹⁸ just as one “busies oneself” with this or that undertaking,¹⁹ whether it is someone copying a letter (1Macc 11:37); or God, who “busies himself with human affairs”;²⁰ or Abel, who has a concern for justice (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.53); or subjects, who must observe

the laws (ibid. 8.297: *ton nomimon epimelesomenous*). In the vocabulary of the inscriptions, this nuance of completing a task predominates.²¹ In 287 BC, an Athenian decree honors the poet Philippides, who “has busied himself (*epimelethe*) with all the other games and sacrifices in the name of the city . . . drawing on his own personal revenues” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 374, 45); “let the magistrates charged with administration busy themselves (*epimelethenai*) with the crown and the proclamation” (ibid. 374, 67). In 271/270, the taxiarchs are honored because “they all busied themselves with their own tribes” (*SEG* XIV, 64, 13). In AD 158, a regulation from Gazorus in Macedonia for the use of public properties notes: “There are people willing to do the work and receive a share of the harvest.”²²

Thus we can understand how Paul could write “If someone cannot govern his own household how can he look after a church of God?” (1Tim 3:5), because on the one hand *episkopos* —for that is the function he is discussing—is a title given to governors (in colonies), to certain magistrates (in autonomous cities), and to high-ranking functionaries of associations,²³ such as the *episkopos* -administrator of the association of *Ameinicheitai* at Delos;²⁴ and on the other hand *episkopou* means “take care” (*P.Oxy.* 2838, 9; from 4 February 62). This term probably says nothing about the object of stewardship and oversight, but it suggests the diligence and prudence of an official of the household of God and its worship.²⁵ Not only does the *episkopos* watch over and busy himself with the community, but he also sees to its spiritual needs and devotes all his energy to it.²⁶

III. — This is confirmed by the adverb *epimelos* in the Koine,²⁷ which emphasizes the attentiveness (of a hearer, *Ep. Arist.* 81), the diligence exercised in worship (Menander, *Dysk.* 37), efforts expended in a conversion (stele of Moschion, *SB* 8026, 16 = *SEG* VIII, 464), the care taken in raising children (Prov 13:24, piel of the Hebrew verb *shahar*: *epimelos paideuei*; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.12; cf. *PSI* 405, 20), in purifying a temple (ibid. 12.318), for a neighbor (*P.Oxy.* 1581, 14), to fatten cattle (*P.Fay.* 121, 7), the exact placement of a torture victim on the wheel so as to break his back (4Macc 11:18). In this last case, the term corresponds to the Aramaic ‘*asparna*’ of Ezra 6:8, 12, 13: “strictly.” This application (*P.Oxy.* 1675, 15), diligence, and zeal are exclusive; thus the object of the thoughts of man was only evil, in Gen 6:5, where *epimelos* translates the Hebrew restrictive adverb *raq*. This is how we should understand Luke 15:8; the woman who had lost a drachma “searched diligently (*epimelos*) until she found it” (*zetei epimelos heos hou heure*); she did only that, ceasing her other occupations—like the shepherd who left the ninety-nine faithful sheep—and gave total and exclusive attention to this search, until it was complete. . . .

¹ For the contract form of the verb and its use in the papyri, cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, p. 472. On Diodorus Siculus 19.29.3—“Antipater had been designated *epimeletes*, ” i.e., regent, F. Bizière comments: “The term *epimeletes*, ‘commissioner, authorized representative,’ is rather vague and its meaning depends on the context, cf. W. A. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, p. 47, n. 3” (*Diodore de Sicile: Bibliothèque historique*, book 19, Paris, 1975, p. 157). Cf. in the construction industry, ε—πιμελητω—ν τοῦ ἔργου (*P.Köln* 52, 32 and 80; *P.Oxy.* 1450, 24).

² Acts 27:3. G. Mussies (*Dio Chrysostom*, p. 134) cites as parallels Dio Chrysostom 1.16–17; 3.55.

³ Plutarch, *Thes.* 27.6: “They say that the wounded Amazons were sent secretly to Chalcis by Antiope to be cared for there, τυγχάνειν ε—πιμελείας”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.106: the victim of ill-treatment goes to bed and follows a suitable regimen (ε—πιμελείας τυχών) that allows him to get up and go out again. In 288, in an undertaking to reduce the administrative personnel in imperial domains (they do nothing and consume revenues), a responsible superintendent is to choose two or three collaborators who will turn their attention to the state of the treasury, αι—ταμιακαὶ οὐσίαι τῆς προσηκούσης ε—πιμελείας τεύξονται (*P.Oxy.* 58, 22); τετευχῶς πάσης ε—πιμελείας (*P.Oxy.* 91, 19; second century AD); *P.Lips.* 31, 20; *SB* 10621, 20 (third century); cf. other parallels in F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 143.

⁴ Plato, *Leg.* 4.720 d: the slave “frees his master from the care of the sick, τω—ν καμνόντων τῆς ε—πιμελείας”; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 943, 10: διὰ τὰν ε—πιμέλειαν . . . τω—ν καμνόντων. In Luke 10:34-35, ε—πιμελέομαι is used for the care of the corpse, cf. below, II, pp. 000ff.

⁵ Cf. W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 269ff., especially N. van Brock (*Vocabulaire médical*, pp. 236ff.), who notes that ε—πιμέλεια has the sense of “treatment” and sometimes “dressing” (Hippocrates, *Artic.* 11).

⁶ —Επαινέσαι . . . εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν καὶ ε—πιμελείας, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 943, 4, 16, 24; cf. L. Cohn-Haft, *The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece*, Northampton, 1956, p.90.

⁷ 2Macc 11:23—πρὸς τὴν τω—ν ι—δίων ε—πιμέλειαν; *P.Amh.* II, 64, 12; *P.Oxy.* 1070, 22. The commissioners of the Amphiaraiion of Oropos in 329/8, elected by the people “to see to the contest and anything pertaining to the festival (ε—πὶ τὴν ε—πιμέλειαν τοῦ ἀγω—νος) saw to their task diligently and with zeal (καλω—ς καὶ φιλοτίμως ε—πεμελήθησαν)”

(Dittenberger, *Syl.* 298, 12; cf. Prov 13:4); *P.Vindob.Worp* 14, 6. Diodorus Siculus 17.7.2; 17.65.3; 17.114.1.

⁸ A decree of the Acarnanians in 216 BC that undertakes the care of the sanctuary of Apollo at Actium; J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 29, 25.

⁹ A loan from 28 August 44: “*Archidikastes*, in charge of the oversight (τῆ ε—πιμελεία) of the *chrematistai* and other tribunals” (*P.Fouad* 44, 1; cf. *P.Mil.Vogl.* 26, 1); *P.Lips.* 10, col. I, 1; *P.Oxy.* 281, 2 (in 20–50); *P.Mich.* 528, 2; 614, 10; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 20, 3 (a friendly accord of 120/1); SB 9145, 1 (the purchase of a slave, under Commodus). Cf. the ε—πιμεληταὶ οἴνου (*BGU* 2296, 1; *PSI* 820; *P.Ant.* 108), the ε—πιμεληταὶ ε—σθήτος, who raise provisions for the army (*P.Stras.* 618; N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, New Haven-Toronto, 1968, under this word); for this class of usages, an *epimeleia* is an office involving stewardship, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1976, p. 516, n. 549.

¹⁰ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 42.2–3; *IG X*, 2, n. 236, 238: ε—πιμελουμένου τω—ν ε—φήβων; cf. C. Pelekidis, *Ephébie attique*, pp. 132–136. On ὁ ε—πιμελητής τῆς πόλεως of Athens in the first century, cf. P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, Cairo, 1931, pp. 80ff.; on the ε—πιμέλεια ε—σθήτος, *P.Lips.* 60, 5, 11.

¹¹ Letter of Ptolemy IV Philopator to a provincial governor in the third century BC: σοὶ καθήκον ἦν ε—πιμέλειαν ποιει—σθαι (C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n.30,12).

¹² —Εν τε ται—ς ἀρχαι—ς καὶ ται—ς ε—πιμελείταις (*NCIG*, n. VI, 7). Cf. the Hierothesion of Arsameia: τούτων ε—πιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν ι—ερεῦσιν ε—πέτραψα (in H. Waldmann, *Die kommagenischen Kultreformen*, Leiden, 1973, p. 84, 75). In first-century Latin, “*cura* is the attentive care of the *princeps*, his solicitude for the state” (J. Béranger, *Principatus*, Geneva, 1973, p. 187).

¹³ *P.Wisc.* 34, 22, 29; cf. the decree in honor of a phourarch in 170 BC, at Lepisia: “Let the people attend to him, εἶναι αὐτὸν ε—ν ε—πιμελεία παρὰ τω— δῆμῳ” (*NCIG*, n. IV, 19; cf. *ibid.* VII, B 12, at Miletus in 167–160). Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 3.1: the exercise of magistracies.

¹⁴ *P.Oxy.* 1493, 10 = M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, p. 165.

¹⁵ Menander, *Dysk.* 38: “she inspired us to care for her”; 228: “for us to protect this little girl.” A ready heart is apparent, *P.Athen.* 15, 1 (end of the first century).

¹⁶ *P.Mert.* 62, 13 (AD 6); *P.Princ.* 186, 16, (AD 28); *P.Mich.* 464, 16: “do not trouble yourself on our account, but take care of yourself” (AD 99); *P.Fay.* 119, 24 (AD 100); *PSI* 1312, 10 (second century BC); *P.Lond.* 42, 32; *P.Ryl.* 664, 3; *P.land.* 104, 11; *P.Bad.* 35, 27; *P.Oxy.* 294, 30–31; 1479, 13 (first century BC); 1154, 6; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 60, 16; *P.Yale* 40, 3, 42, 38; *SB* 7659, 8 (11 February AD 49); 8257, 5 (second century BC); 8754, 39 (49/48 BC); 9259, 38 (12 January 229 BC), etc., cf. N. van Brock, *Vocabulaire médical*, pp. 237ff. G. Zecchini, “Lettera de Sosibios ad Archias,” in *Aeg*, 1974, pp. 105–106. We can see how the medical sense of the word remained in popular usage from ε—πιμ. in *Prov.* 2.22, where Philo opposes medicine for the body to that for the soul, writing: “those who have devoted themselves to a counterfeit training have not followed the example of physicians, ὅσοι δὲ νόθου παιδείας ε—πεμελήθησαν. . . .”

¹⁷ *P.Oxy.* 744, 6: παρακαλω— σε ε—πιμελήθι (read -ήθητι) τω— παιδίω (first century BC); *P.Rein.* 109, 5: “Watch over your health and that of your children” (131 BC).

¹⁸ *P.Athen.* 60, 13: ε—πιμέλου δὲ Τιτόας καὶ Σφαίρου (Ptolemaic period).

¹⁹ *C.P.Herm.* 5, 18: ε—πιμελούμενοι τω—ν πραγμάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ τω—ν λειτουργημάτων (fourth century); *P.Mert.* 24, 13; *P.Oxy.* 2190, 21; *P.Hib.* 253, 8; *SB* 6768, 9.

²⁰ Philo, *Prov.* 2.112: τὸν θεὸν τω—ν ἀνθρωπίνων ε—πιμελει—σθαι πραγμάτων.

²¹ In a decree from the third century BC in honor of a market clerk of Parion: ε—πεὶ οὖν ε—στιν τοι—ς συνέδροις ε—πιμελει—σθαι τω—ν καλω—ν καὶ ἀγάω—ν ἀνδρῶ—ν (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 596 = *I.Ilium*, n. III, 19). “The expression ‘take care of someone (or something)’ —here *IG*, XII, 23–27: ε—πιμέλεισθαι αὐτω—ν—is used classically to characterize a function entrusted either to a sort of ‘commissioner’ (thus might we translate ε—πιμελητής, which is somewhat equivalent to the Roman *curator*), or to a magistrate, or to the council. It is encountered frequently in the honorific decrees of the fifth century [in a note, references to Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 42.2; C. Pelekidis, *Ephébie attique*, p. 107, n. 8; 132, n. 2; 135, n. 2; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 158, 16–17; 207, 17–18; 262, 17–18]” (P. Gauthier, *Symbola*, p. 254). On *epimeletai* in the papyri, cf. *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 8, pp. 78ff.

²² *NCIG*, n. XXVII, 13; cf. VIII, 24: a decree of Argos in favor of the Rhodians: “Let the ambassadors see to it that the crown is proclaimed . . .”

let the treasurer and the Twenty-Four busy themselves with it.” Philip of Macedonia asks Agathocles to administrate Perrhaebia: διαφθεροῦντα Περραιβούς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων ἐπιμελησόμενον (Theopompus, frag. 81, in Athenaeus 6.260). A city’s *agoretēs* saw to the regular stocking of the marketplace (ἐπιμελομένου τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀγορητοῦ; *I GLS* 4028, 35).

²³ H. Bellen, “—Επίσκοποι,” in *DKP*, Stuttgart, 1967, vol. 2, col. 323.

²⁴ *I. Delos* 1522; cf. P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, Paris, 1970, pp. 630ff. Philo, “commissioner of the great association of the great god Pramarrēs” (*SB* 1269, 10; in *AD* 104). At Ephesus, there was an “*epimeletes* of the secretariat of Julius Philometor” and an *epimeletes* of the Olympiad” (cf. L. Robert, “Sur des inscriptions d’Ephèse,” in *RevPhil*, 1967, p. 43), and at Olympus an “*epimeletes* of Zeus” (*I. Olymp.* n. 65, 3; 80, 5; 437, 11; 468, 3; *SEG* XVI, 199).

²⁵ Aristotle designated public responsibilities or functions as services (ἐπιμέλεια), *Pol.* 6.8.3ff., 1321a ff. Among the indispensable magistracies (ἀναγκαῖαι ἐπιμέλεια) are those responsible for religious affairs (1322b). See the references in C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, pp. 445ff. Priests, in particular, busy themselves with the temple and the sacrifices: ἐπιμελίσθωσαν αὐτῶν ἱερείς (Dittenberger, *Or.* 383, 187); ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς θυσίας, (*LSCG*, n. 93, 35; 96, 19; 103, 11; 136, 5; 171, 6, 9, 12; 177, 6, 115). Cf. at Delos, “this duty (for the dividing up of the victims) shall devolve upon the successive commissioners in charge of the sacrifice, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀεὶ γινομένους ἐπιμελητὰς τῆς θυσίας” (F. Durrbach, *Choix*, n. 21, 29); at Athens, ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἀστυνόμοι οἱ ἀεὶ λαγχάνοντες ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῶνται τοῦ ἱεροῦ (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 375, 10). On the *epimeletai* of the temple (*P. Stras.* 463 *ter*, 2, etc.), cf. P. Roesch, *Thespis et la Confédération béotienne*, 1965, p. 202; J. Aubonnet, *Aristote: Politique*, Paris, 1973, vol. 2, 2, p. 304, n. 5. In Iberia, “the priests also see to legal affairs regarding the neighboring peoples, ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους δικαίων” (Strabo 11.3.6).

²⁶ Cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 212: “Take care of your father, ἐπιμελοῦ τε τοῦ πατρός”; 240: “Take care of my sister”; 618: “Take care of what is necessary”; *P. Oxy.* 2969, 8: πασαν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν . . . ἀδιαλίπτως.

²⁷ Attested from the third century BC (*P. Heid.* 196, 1, inv.; cf. E. Sidgmann, *Literarische griechische Texte der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung*, Heidelberg, 1956, p. 41). For its medical usages, cf. Dioscorides, *Mat.*

Med. 1.24; Galen, *Aliment. Comm.* 3.21: καὶ δεῖ— τὸν ἰ—ητρὸν ἀκριβῶ—ς καὶ ἐ—πιμελῶ—ς νοῦν προσέχειν. Cf. W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 270.

ἐ—πιούσιος

epiousios, coming next, for tomorrow; for subsistence, necessary

epiousios, S 1967; *TDNT* 2.590–599; *EDNT* 2.31–32; *NIDNTT* 1.251; *MM* 242–243; *L&N* 67.183, 67.206; *BDF* §§123(1), 124; *BAGD* 296–297

The fourth petition of the Lord’s Prayer is formulated thus in Matt 6:11—*ton arton hemon ton epiousion dos hemin semeron*; in Luke 11:3—*ton arton hemon ton epiousion didou hemin to kath’ hemeran*. In the first text, the aorist imperative *dos* denotes punctiliar action and envisions only the present day; in the second, the present imperative *didou* has a nuance of continuity: do not cease to give us (daily) that which is necessary to us.¹

The difficulty lies in the translation of *epiousios*, the only adjective in this prayer, which is not only a biblical hapax but, according to Origen, “is not used by any of the sages among the Greeks, and is no longer used in current language; it seems to have been invented by the evangelists.”² Some have claimed to find the word in a Fayum papyrus from the fifth century AD;³ but one consideration is that the papyrus is very mutilated and our word is followed by a lacuna, then “a half-obol”;⁴ and another very important consideration is that the papyrus reads *epioui*, *-on* being a gratuitous addition.⁵ Since therefore usage is of no help, all that remains is recourse to etymology. Everything has been suggested.

Epiousios can derive from (1) *epiemi*, “take place, arrive,” yielding “the arriving day,” or daily (Chrysostom, Severus of Antioch); (2) *epi*, “upon,” plus *ousia*, “nature, substance,” either supersubstantial (St. Jerome, on Matt 6:11—“which is beyond all substances and surpasses all created things”; likewise P. Joüon, in *RSR*, 1927, p. 221), or “befitting our nature, sufficient to maintain us, required, necessary” (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Catecheses* 5.15; Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria); (3) *epi*, “to, on,” plus *eimi*, “be”; but the prefix *epi* should lose its iota when compounded with this verb, so that we would have *epousios*, not *epiousios*; nevertheless, there are exceptions to this rule in the Koine (J. Carmignac cites twenty-six exceptions; *P. Oxy.* 924, 2: *tou epiemerinou*; fourth century); (4) *ep’* plus *eimi*, “go,” either from the participle *epion*, “coming,” hence, the bread that comes next, in the future; or from the feminine form *epiousa*, which is used precisely to mean “the next day, the coming day” (Acts 16:11; 20:15; 21:18), as the Coptic versions interpreted (Bohairic, *crastinum*; Sahidic, *venientem*). Asking for tomorrow’s bread

would seem to contradict the ban on taking thought for the *aurion*; ⁶ but in the near east the day begins in the evening, and furthermore *he epiousse hemera* can mean the same day;⁷ hence “daily bread” (Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine). Thus J. Carmignac, referring to St. Jerome, who read *mahar*, “tomorrow,” in the Gospel of the Hebrews,⁸ suggests translating Matt 6:11, “Give us day by day our bread until the next day.” This would be a reference to the daily manna.

This evocation of manna (Exod 16:4) is mentioned also by J. Starcky, who understands *epiousios* bread to mean “the daily ration” from day to day.⁹ Thus he agrees with the meaning of W. Foerster (*TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 590–599), “the measure necessary for each one,” citing Prov 30:8—“give me my daily bread” (*lehem huqi*).¹⁰ This is also the meaning accepted by J.A. de Foucault,¹¹ who, after the fashion of Origen, connects *epiousios* and *periousios* (Exod 19:6; *periousia* is contrasted with *anankaia*, Polybius 4.21.1; 4.38.4; Isocrates, *Bus.* 11.15) and, taking account of the definition given by Hesychius (*periousios*: more than enough), concludes that *epiousios* could mean “for our subsistence.” This is what the exegesis of F. M. Braun finally amounts to. He adopts the Peshitta version, “bread of our necessity,” the food that is necessary for us for a day.¹²

In the last analysis, two translations are possible: “bread for tomorrow” or “the bread that is necessary.” E. Delebecque expresses amazement that commentators overlook the repetition of the article (*ton arton . . . ton epiousion*), which makes the adjective not predicative but attributive, emphasizing the meaning of the antecedent noun, and therefore necessarily nontrivial.¹³ He cites Plato, *Resp.* 7.525 c: “to facilitate the passage of the soul from the sensible world to truth and reality” (*ep’ aletheian te kai ousian*) and asks whether we should not read *ton arton . . . ton epi ousian* (two words); the first translators of the original semitic of a catechism (Jerusalemite? Antiochene?) would have taken *epiousian* as a feminine adjective, and surprised at the form after the masculine *ton*, would have corrected it to *epiousion*.¹⁴ There is nothing more attractive than this hypothesis, which explains the neologism and shows that it means “essential”: the bread that leads to life!

H. Bourgoin ends up with the same meaning, taking as his point of departure the grammatical phenomenon that he calls the “empty prefix,” which “having been emptied of all semantic content does not change the meaning of the root with which it agrees.”¹⁵ Thus in Greek *epiphlego* and the simple *phlego* have the same meaning: “consume with flames, burn.” Examples can also be found in French: *chercher* and *rechercher*, or the action of *partir* and *départ*. Hence, in *epiousios*, the prefix *epi*, expressing the idea of contact, can be rendered “touching” or “concerning”; the adjective amounts to the same thing as *ousios*, that which concerns the essence, is essential. Once the prefix is empty, the meaning is clear: “give us our essential bread today” (Matt), “each day” (Luke). Bread of life would

be a possible equivalent; divine bread for eternal life. In any event, this is the petition of one who is poor, or better, of a child addressing the heavenly Father.¹⁶

¹ The Our Father was translated into Greek from Hebrew (J. Carmignac, J. Starcky) or from Aramaic (G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1930, pp. 326–332; ET *The Words of Jesus*, trans. D. M. Kay, Edinburgh, 1902, pp. 1–88; C. F. Burney, *The Poetry of Our Lord*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 113, 161; M. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, pp. 203ff.; J. Jeremias, *Paroles de Jésus*, Paris, 1963, pp. 72; Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, London, 1967, pp. 100ff.); both are possible, cf. P. Grelot, “La quatrième demande du ‘Pater’ et son arrière-plan sémitique,” in *NTS*, vol. 25, 1979, pp. 299–314. The exhaustive study on this prayer is J. Carmignac, *Recherches sur le ‘Notre Père’*, Paris, 1969, pp. 118–221. Cf. H. Schürmann, *La Prière du Seigneur*, Paris, 1965, pp. 65–74 (Our bread, which is necessary for us, give to us today); E. Lohmeyer, *Das Vater-unser*, 3d ed., Göttingen, 1952, pp. 92–110; especially W. Foerster, “ε—πιούσιος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 590–599.

² Origen, *Prayer 27.7*; *PG 2.509*.

³ *SB 5224*, 20. This is a grocery list (wine, oil, chickpeas) made up by a household steward. This papyrus can no longer be found today, cf. B. M. Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies, Pagan, Jewish and Christian*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 64–66.

⁴ This could be expenses that “come in addition,” but given the very modest sum, it could mean “a ration.”

⁵ In *I.Lind.* 419, 18, from AD 22, εν[ια]υσιω was read επ[ιο]υσιω by G. Klaffenbach (“Zu griechischen Inschriften,” in *MusHelv*, 1949, pp. 215ff.), but the correction is arbitrary and has been rejected by A. Debrunner, “‘Epiousios’ und kein Ende,” *MusHelv*, 1952, pp. 60–62) and E. Vogt, in *Bib*, 1954, p. 274.

⁶ Matt 6:34. Cf. R. Eleazar of Modi (d. 135): “The one who has something to eat today and says, ‘What shall I eat tomorrow,’ is a person of little faith” (Str-B, vol. 1, p. 421).

⁷ Xenophon, *An.* 1.7.2: “After the review, at the dawn of day (τῆ ε—πιούση ἡμέρᾳ) . . . some deserters brought news”; Plato, *Crito* 44 a: “the ship will arrive not today but tomorrow” (οὐ τοίνυν τῆς ε—πιούσης ἡμέρας . . . ἀλλὰ τῆς ε—τέρας); Aristophanes, *Eccl.* 105.

⁸ St. Jerome, *Commentary on Matt 6:11*; *PL* 26.43. Likewise J. Jeremias, *Paroles de Jésus*, p. 66: “Give us today our bread for tomorrow.” The original Hebrew would have been *lemahar*, which the LXX translates εἰς τὴν αὔριον, “for tomorrow” (Num 11:18, 32; Josh 7:13; Esth 5:12).

⁹ J. Starcky, “La quatrième demande du Pater,” in *HTR*, 1971, pp. 411–409. P. Grelot (“La quatrième demande du ‘Pater’ et son arrière-plan sémitique,” in *NTS*, vol. 25, 1979, pp. 299–314) relies on the Targums and on Codex Neofiti 1. He thinks that manna is not directly intended by the text, even though the literal meaning does not exclude a symbolic meaning.

¹⁰ Cf. Aristophanes, *Eq.* 1125: “I myself take pleasure in devouring my daily pittance” (τὸ καθ ἡμέραν).

¹¹ J. A. de Foucault, “Notre pain quotidien,” in *REG*, 1970, pp. 56–62. He also thinks of manna and cites Exod 16:8; Ps 78:24; John 6:33–34, 48, 51.

¹² F. M. Braun, “Le Pain dont nous avons besoin: Mt. VI, 11; Lc. XI, 3,” in *NRT*, 1978, pp. 559–568.

¹³ E. Delebecque, *Etudes grecques*, pp. 167–181. This Hellenist rightly sees a tautology in “give us each day our daily bread” and a platitude in “give us today our bread for today” (p. 169).

¹⁴ —Ἐπί with the accusative indicates that the bread is given as a means, or as a route that “leads to,” “brings one to”—but to what? The answer: to life; *ousia* designating a share of the good (Luke 15:12–13; cf. the bread of life, John 6:41, 48, 50, 51, 58). This is close to the interpretation of J. J. von Allmen, *Essai sur le Repas du Seigneur*, Neuchâtel, 1966, p. 82: “Give us today (already now) the bread of eternal life.” But we must not too sharply distinguish the secular meaning “bread that nourishes the body” (= all that is necessary for the maintenance of the present life) and “bread that is the word of God” (Luke 4:4), “eucharistic bread”; cf. the “good things” (ἀγαθά) given by the Father (Matt 7:11), which becomes “Holy Spirit” in Luke 11:13. We come around to the interpretation solidly established by L.-M. Dewailly, who shows that the word *artos* is used not only for physical bread, but also for spiritual food, connected by the patristic and medieval tradition to the person of Christ under two principal forms: the word of God and the Eucharist (“Donne-nous notre pain’: quel pain? Notes sur la quatrième demande du Pater,” in *RSPT*, 1980, pp. 561–588). The bibliography is given by *BAGD*, p. 297.

¹⁵ H. Bourgoïn, “—Ἐπιούσιος expliqué par la notion de préfixe vide,” in *Bib*, 1979, pp. 91–96. The author arrived at this understanding by way of the

Russian conjugation in which the empty prefix (there are a half-dozen of them) not only changes the sense of the verb but has the effect of perfecting it. It has the property of emptying itself of its own meaning to become a mere perfecting tool. Bourgoïn denounces the translations “of tomorrow” and “of today” and especially the detestable *supersubstantialis*, which links the two contradictory prefixes *super* and *sub*.

¹⁶ Str-B, vol. 1, p. 421, cites the saying of R. Simeon b. Jochai (*b. Yoma* 76a), where the gift of food by the king to his son is the expression of their loving relation.

ε—πιποθέω

epipotheo, to long for, desire intensely

epipotheo, S 1971; *EDNT* 2.33; L&N 25.18, 25.47; BDF §§70(1), 171(1), 392(1a); BAGD 297–298

The verb *potheo* is unknown in the NT. The Koine is well-known for its love of compound forms because of their supposedly greater “expressiveness,” even sonority,¹ but scholars disagree concerning the nuance conveyed by the preposition *epi-*, which signifies intensity or direction.² Moreover, if the meaning “sigh, languish after someone or something” is well attested by the LXX, the shades of meaning vary, as with the corresponding Hebrew terms.³ It is nevertheless noteworthy that this verb connotes not only eagerness, but anxiety and sometimes fear, and in any case the dissatisfaction proper to desire, which aims at acquiring that which it does not yet possess, the lack of which causes it to suffer.⁴

The variety or imprecision of the meanings of *epipotheo* in the NT is even greater than in the LXX. The meaning of the word depends on its context, but also on the individual personality of each writer. The meaning “desire intensely” is in evidence from the earliest NT writing:⁵ “God jealously desires this spirit that he has made to dwell in us.”⁶ He reclaims that which is his own, but his *phthonos* expresses the exclusivity of his love. On the human level, infants are eager for their mother’s milk (1Pet 2:2), just as the hart’s instincts draw it to fresh water.⁷ The seven other NT usages are Pauline, of which five express ardent desire, whether to see loved ones (1Thess 3:6; Rom 1:11; Phil 2:26; 2Tim 1:4; cf. *epipothia*, Rom 15:23) or to put on the glorious body without getting rid of the fleshly body.⁸

On this other hand, this meaning (“desire”) cannot be maintained in 2Cor 9:14, where the nuance is surely tender affection: the prayers of the saints of Jerusalem, who will be thankful for the collection from the

Corinthians, will “manifest their tender affection for you (*epipothounton hymas*).” Even clearer is Phil 1:8, “God is my witness that I cherish you in the bowels of Christ Jesus” (*martys gar mou ho theos, hos epipotho pantas hymas en splanchnois Christou Iesou*).⁹ Hence, there is a good chance that in the complicated blend of feelings that animate the repentant Corinthians (fear, zeal, desire to punish the offender) their *epipotesis* may be not an ardent desire but rather a sincere or solid attachment to the apostle,¹⁰ with the nuance of anxiety or pain that the verb conveys in the LXX.

Thus St. Paul marked *epipotheo* and its derivatives with his personality, imbuing them with a lively sensibility. Sometimes they suggest an urge, an inclination; sometimes a fervent tenderness, an emotion that grips the heart; always love, always a favorable sense. These nuances are, moreover, those of *potheo* and *pothos*.¹¹

¹ Cf. M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §§481, 484. —Επιποθέω is unknown in the papyri (with the exception of a Christian letter of the fifth century: “To my dear lady and aunt, Tare, Κυρία μου καὶ ε—πιποθέτη θεία Τάρη, greetings in God,” *P.Bour.* 25, 1; cf. M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 78), and apparently in the inscriptions. A very mutilated epitaph from Daphne in the fifth century AD could with some difficulty be restored to refer to the deceased as τω—ε—πι[ποθουμένω], cf. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, *IGLS*, n. 997.

² C. Spicq, “—Επιποθει—ν, désirer ou chérir?” in *RB*, 1957, p. 186, n. 1; cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, n. 44n, R.

³ In the 11 occurrences of ε—πιποθέω in the OT, 9 correspond to 8 different Hebrew verbs. The mean “spare, show consideration for” (Deut 13:9; Sir 32:11, *hamal*), “tremble, hover,” like the eagle over its young (Deut 32:11, *rahap*), “pant for, long for,” like the hart after streams of water (Ps 42:2, *arag*), “languish” after the courts of Yahweh (Ps 84:3, *kasap* in the niphal), “be eager for” his commandments (Ps 119:131, *yâ’ab*), “trust vainly” in plunder (Ps 62:11, *habal*), “be crushed, eaten away” by the thought of divine judgment (Ps 119:20, *garam*). In Sir 25:21, γυναί—κα μὴ ε—πιποθήσης can be translated “do not covet the woman” or “do not become enamored of a woman”; this latter meaning would apply in Wis 15:19, which protests against the adoration of divinized animals: “There is nothing attractive about them, as with other animals, that one should become attached to them”; to translate ε—πιποθήσαι here by “desire” hardly makes sense, because the context has nothing to do with aesthetic or culinary attractiveness, but with worship. Philo takes this verb to mean a lively desire (*Creation* 10; *Abraham* 48, 195), but he connects it with *agape*: “Those who seek God and desire to find him (οι— γὰρ ζητοῦντες καὶ

ε—πιποθοῦντες θεὸν ἀνευρει—ν) take delight (ἀγαπω—σι) in the solitude that is dear to him” (*Abraham* 87).

⁴ Cf. the futile regret of the king who wanted to have Dioxippe near him, the latter having committed suicide (Diodorus Siculus 17.101). In classical Greek, πόθος expresses the nostalgic feeling inspired by absence, cf. J. Gagnepain, *Les Noms grecs en -ΟΣ et en -Α*, Paris, 1959, p. 69.

⁵ Cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, p. 187.

⁶ Jas 4:5. This difficult verse is susceptible to quite a few translations (cf. *RB*, 1957, p. 189; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, p. 105; J. Seitz, “Two Spirits in Man,” in *NTS*, vol. 4, 1959, p. 86; J. Michl, “Der Spruch Jakobusbrief IV, 5,” in *Festschrift J. Schmid*, Regensburg, 1963, pp. 167ff. S. S. Laws, “Does Scripture Speak in Vain? A Reconsideration of James IV, 5,” in *NTS*, vol. 20, 1974, pp. 210–215). My interpretation is the same as E. Schweizer’s (in *TDNT*, vol. 6, pp. 446–447); he gives as parallels CD 5.11; 7.3; *T. Naph.* (Hebrew) 10.9; *b. shabb.* 152b : “Our masters teach: the spirit returns to God who gave it. Give it back to him as he gave it to you; he gave it to you pure, return it to him pure” (cf. J. Jeremias, “—Επιποθει—,” in *ZNW*, 1959, pp. 137–138). The *pneuma* is the spirit of life infused by God: “the spirit returns to God who gave it” (Eccl 12:7); “Thanks to the spirit that you have placed in me” (1 QH 16.11; 15.22; 4.31: “the spirit that God created for him”); Josephus, *War* 3.372: “If anyone casts God’s deposit out of his own body (the soul that God deposited there) . . .”; *Sent. Sextus* 21: “Know for certain that your soul is as it were a deposit that you have received from God,” etc. At death one returns one’s spirit to God (John 19:30; cf. T. Boman, *Das letzte Wort Jesu*, in *ST*, 1963, pp. 103–119)

⁷ Ps 42:1; cf. Epictetus 3.24.53: ε—πιποθει—ς καὶ μάμμην καὶ κάμπτει; C. Spicq, *Epîtres de saint Pierre*, p. 79.

⁸ 2Cor 5:2. E. B. Allo (*Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1937, p. 124), emphasizing that the apostle groans because of his mortality (στενάζομεν), observes that ε—πιποθέω “in Paul always or almost always connotes pronounced regret at distance or absence.”

⁹ Cf. ε—πιπόθητος in Phil 4:1—ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ε—πιπόθητοι, “and so, dear reverend brothers and beloved ones, my joy and my crown”; Appian, *Hisp.* 43: ε—πιποθήτους ε—ν τοι—ς ὕστερον πολέμοις πολλάκις γενομένους, parallel to Ῥωμαίων ἔσονται φίλοι. The *Suda* gives as a synonym: ε—πιποθία: ἡ ἀγάπη (*Lexicon*; ed. A. Adler, Leipzig, 1931, vol. 2, p. 374).

¹⁰ 2Cor 7:7, 11. It is Titus who announces to Paul this change of heart on the part of the Corinthians. This verb ἀναγγέλλω is a felicitous choice, because it “is normally used in the decrees for a report made by people returning from abroad, such as ambassadors or envoys or also citizens who are traveling” (L. Robert, *Hellenica* vol. 11, Paris, 1960, p. 115).

¹¹ Elektra embraces Orestes: “Well beloved, your name so dear and sweet, ὦ ποθεινὸν ἥδιστον . . . ὄνομα” (Euripides, *Or.* 1045; cf. 1082). Anacreon: “The loves of Canope, πόθους Κανώβου” (T. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, vol. 3, p. 1053, n. XIII, 20); πόθος = love (Philo, *Joseph* 157; Musaeus, *Hero and Leander* 29; Menander, *Mis.* 214 = *P.Oxy.* XXXIII, p. 31). In a letter of recommendation from the sixth-seventh century, the recipient is addressed as μεγαλοπρεπή ποθεινότητα = To your much beloved magnificence (*P.Gen.* inv. 28; cf. V. Martin, “Letter of Recommendation,” in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1954, p. 74); cf. ἀγαπητοί—ς καὶ ποθεινοτάτοις ἀδελφοί—ς ε—ν Κυρίῳ (G. Lefèvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d’Égypte*, Cairo, 1907, n. 380, 7–8; from the fourth century); ἡ γνησιωτάτη καὶ πολυπόθητος . . . θυγάτηρ (*IG X*, 2; n. 403); ἀγαπητὲ καὶ ποθεινότατε πάτηρ (*P.Giss.* 55, 17–18). On a Roman sarcophagus: τῷ— ποθεινοτάτῳ υἱ—ῳ— Κοκκήϊος —Ιουλιανὸς Συνέσιος (*IGUR*, n. 306, 2). On a marble plaque found in a Jewish catacomb at Rome, “Vernaclus et Archigenia filio desiderantissimo fecerunt” (*CII*, n. 35); in postclassical Latin the present participle *desiderantissimus* became synonymous with *carissimus*. In the *Anth. Pal.*: τέκνα πόθος = the children of a beloved one (9.360.7), “you taught me to love a bull” (9.456.1). According to the Phoenician myth of Sanchuniathon, translated by Philon of Biblos, the union of Kronos and Astarte produced *Pothos* and *Eros* = desire and love (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 1.10.24).

ε—πιστομίζω

epistomizo, to muzzle, close someone’s mouth

epistomizo, S 1993; *EDNT* 2.40; MM 246; L&N 33.124; BAGD 301

Titus is to “shut the mouths” of those who are insubordinate, vain speechifiers, and deceivers of minds (Titus 1:11). The biblical hapax¹ *epistomizo*, literally “put something on the mouth,” means “put the bit in a horse’s mouth,” but it is used for people as well as for animals, like our verbs *muzzle* and *gag*. Metaphorically, to close a person’s mouth is to make him be quiet, impose silence on him.

This verb, unknown in the papyri, belongs to cultivated Greek. It has first of all a rhetorical meaning. In a discussion, the adversary is not

allowed to defend himself, he is unable to respond: “‘While he should,’ he said, ‘close the mouths of us who were speaking against him’” (Demosthenes, *Halon.* 33); “He allowed himself to be so tangled up by your speech that he was silenced, for he dared not say what he thought” (Plato, *Grg.* 482 e); “I have to my credit a deed capable . . . of closing the mouth of my enemies.”²

The moral meaning of the word is that of Philo: “reason will bridle (*epistomie*) and restrain the impetuosity and the flow of passion” (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.155); “extreme joys, like great sorrows, leave us speechless” (*Heir* 3); moral sensibility “condemns us to the interior of ourselves, without letting us even open our mouths; holding and bridling the tongue (*epistomizon*) with the help of the reins of the conscience, it restrains its presumptuous and unbraked course” (*Worse Attacks Better* 23). Plutarch expresses a similar thought: “the bond is like a bit imposed on the irrational part of the soul. . . . When the Genius pulls back on the reins, he causes what we call repentance . . . ; the soul, feeling the pain of the blow, feels restrained from within by its lord; then, thus punished, it becomes docile and manageable, like a tamed animal” (*De gen.* 22; cf. *Arat.* 1).

In Titus 1:11, it is not just a matter of silencing the heterodox but also of reducing the “insubordinate” to obedience; so that the best parallel would be that of restraining a rebellion, in Josephus, *Ant.* 17.252, where Varus takes a legion to Jerusalem to stop the revolutionary agitation of the Jews, *ten loudaion neoteropoiian epistomiountas.*³

¹ Cf. φιμώω (Matt 22:34—Jesus silences the Pharisees), φράσσω (Rom 3:19—every mouth is closed by the testimony of the Scriptures). The heroes of the faith shut the mouths of lions (Heb 11:33; cf. Judg 14:6; 1Sam 17:34-35; 2Sam 23:20; Dan 6:23; 1Macc 2:60); this victory over wild animals is attributed by Quintus of Smyrna to thought and science (*Posthomerica* 5.247ff.).

² Aristophanes, *Eq.* 845. Cf. Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 22: “The fabric of my reasoning, which lets me paralyze my interlocutors, close their mouths (ἀποφράττω), reduce them to silence (σιωπα—ν), by putting a real muzzle (φιμόν) on them.” Other references in LSJ under this word. Cf. Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 14.810 e; Philostratus, *VS* 2.30.2.

³ Cf. the role of the bit in taming an animal, bending it to your will, in Jas 3:3— “We attach reins to horses’ mouths to make them obey us”; cf. Ps 32:9; Sophocles, *Ant.* 477. —St. Paul does not say how to silence the esoteric windbags; but surely the correct exegesis of the Word of God is the most decisive argument: “Tales homines doctor ecclesiae, cui animae populorum creditae sunt, Scripturarum debet ratione, superare et silentium illis . . . imponere” (“The doctor of the church, to whom the souls of the

people are entrusted, must overcome such men by scriptural argumentation and put them to silence”—St. Jerome).

ε—πισυναγωγή

episynagoge, meeting

episynagoge, S 1997; TDNT 7.841–843; EDNT 3.293–296; NIDNTT 2.33; MM 247; L&N 15.126, 15.128; BAGD 301

“With respect to the Parousia of our Lord Jesus Christ and our reunion with him” (*hemon episynagoges ep’ auton*, 2Thess 2:1), St. Paul calls upon the Thessalonians not to be shaken or alarmed. Heb 10:25 urges its readers not to forsake their meetings, “especially as you see the day approaching.” In both cases, the text or the context is eschatological, as in the case of the OT hapax: “the place (where the ark is hidden) will be unknown until God has accomplished the reassembling of his people” (*heos an synagage ho theos episynagogen tou laou . . . genetai*, 2Macc 2:7), the restoration of Israel after the Diaspora.¹

Episynagoge is only attested once BC in secular language² and hardly seems to differ from *synagoge*,³ which, after the fashion of *oikos* (1Tim 3:15), designates sometimes the community assembly,⁴ *σομετιμεσ της πλαχε ωηερε τηισ μεετινγ ισ ηελδ*.⁵ Χηριστιανσ σομετιμεσ υσεδ της ωορδ ιν τηισ σεנסε το δεσιγνατε τηειρ χηυρχη;⁶ βυτ ιν Ηεβ 10·25, *επισυναγογεις α ρελιγιουσ τερμ, δεσιγνατινγ νοτ α “γρουπινγ τογετηερ” ορ α σοχιετψ οφ ανψ σορτ, βυτ α μεετινγ φορ ωορσηπ, ατ μορε ορ λεσσ ρεγυλαρ ιντεβαλσ, οφ Ηεβρεω Χηριστιανσ ιν α σετ πλαχε, ιν α χερταιν “ηουσε” ιν αν υνκνοων χιτψ;*⁷ ιν 2Τηεσσ 2·1, της μεετινγ ωιτη Χηριστ ωιλλ τακε πλαχε ιν ηεαεν.

¹ Τηε ερβ ε—πισυνάγω, frequent in the literature, the inscriptions, and the papyri (*P.Mich.* 232, 14; *P.Tebt.* 704, 21; *SB* 6664, 11; etc.) is also used eschatologically in Matt 24:28 (Luke 17:37); 24:31 (Mark 13:27).

² In the sense of “collect” (money), in *CIG*, XII, 4; suppl. n. 1270; cited by A. Deissmann, *Light*, p. 103. In the second century AD, cf. Ptolemy, *Tetr.* 44; title of the third book of Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.*; cf. B. Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, pp. 647ff.

³ Cf. Schrage, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 799, 841–842.

⁴ 1Macc 14:28—“in the great assembly of the priests, the people, the princes of the nation, and the elders of the land, we were notified of this”;

cf. 2:42—“the congregation of the Hasideans”; 7:12; Sir 4:7. In the second half of the first century AD, the meeting or session of a σύνοδος was held in the place of prayer: ε—πὶ τῆς γενηθείσης συναγωγῆς ε—ν τῇ προσευχῇ (*P.Ryl.* 590, 1 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 138; cf. *SB* 8267, 3; from 5 BC; M. Hengel, “Proseuche und Synagoge,” in G. Jeremias, ed., *Tradition und Glaube: Festgabe K. G. Kuhn*, Göttingen, 1971, pp. 170, 182). Cf. the “regathering” for the Feast of Tabernacles: ε—πὶ συλλόγου τῆς σκηνοπηγίας; Berenice in Cyrenaica (*CIG* III, 5361); the will of Epictetus of Thera, on Crete: ὅστε γίνεσθαι τὰν συναγωγὰν ε—πὶ ἀμέρας τρεῖς ε—ν τῷ Μουσειῷ (*IG* XII, 3, n. 330, 118ff.; between 210 and 195). In 6 BC, the συναγωγή is the assembly of the σύνοδος of the Alexandrians to celebrate the cult of the emperor ε—ν τῷ Παρατόμῳ (*BGU* 1137, 2; this location in Alexandria has not yet been identified).

⁵ *SEG* XVII, 823, 3: συναγωγή τῶν Βερνικίδι—Ιουδαίων (AD 56).

⁶ Jas 2:2 (with the commentaries, notable J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, 3d ed., London, 1910, p. 82); cf. the discussion of J. B. Frey with respect to the inscription of Tafas (*CII* n. 861); J. Y. Campbell, “The Origin and Meaning of the Word ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ,” in *JTS*, 1948, pp. 130–142.

⁷ Cf. H. Kosmala, *Hebräer—Essener—Christen*, Leiden, 1959, pp. 347ff. In distinction from the [συνα]γωγή Ἑβραίων of Corinth (A. Deissmann, *Light*, p. 103), ε—πισυναγωγή in Hebrews may refer to the meeting of Jewish Christians of Palestinian origin, as opposed to the meeting of all the believers in the same city (cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 1, pp. 224–225); cf. the ε—πισυνάγειν of children and the elect as “hand-picked” (Matt 23:37; 24:31; cf. Luke 17:37). —We may contrast the Hebrews who forsook their meetings with Eleazar, “who loved the community, φιλοσυναγωγός” (*CII* 321).

ε—πιφαίνω, ε—πιφάνεια, ε—πιφανής

epiphaino, to shine, light up, appear; *epiphaneia*, an appearing; *epiphanes*, manifest, glorious

epiphaino, S 2014; *TDNT* 9.7–10; *EDNT* 2.44–45; *NIDNTT* 3.317–319; MM 249–250; L&N 14.39; BDF §§72, 309(2) | ***epiphaneia***, S 2015; *TDNT* 9.7–10; *EDNT* 2.44–45; *NIDNTT* 3.317–319; MM 250; L&N 24.21 | ***epiphanes***, S 2016; *TDNT* 9.7–10; *EDNT* 2.45; *NIDNTT* 3.317–319; MM 250; L&N 79.22; ND 4.148

Apart from rare secular uses (Ezek 17:6; 2 Macc 12:22; 15:13), the verb *epiphaino* in the LXX has God as its subject. With the exception of Zeph 2:11, where this manifestation involves vengeance (Hebrew *yare'*, niph'al), the divine interventions are beneficent and inspire gladness and rejoicing (2Macc 3:30; Philo, *Dreams* 1.71). Sometimes the appearance is a vision (Gen 35:7; Ezek 39:28; Hebrew *galâh*, hiph'il), sometimes a brilliant light (Deut 33:2, Hebrew *zarah*; Philo, *Change of Names* 6, 15), most often a shining (Ps 118:27, Hebrew *'ôr*, hiph'il), and the prayer of the psalmists is that God will make his face to shine on his servants (Ps 67:1; 80:4, 6, 8; 119:135; Dan 9:17; Num 6:25).

I. — In the NT, this meaning (“shine, light up”), which is the meaning in secular Greek,¹ is attested by Acts 27:20, where during the storm neither the sun nor the stars appeared for several days; and the same meaning is present in the first of three other occurrences which are religious: Zechariah announces the appearance of the Messiah to “shine on (Ambrosiaster: *illuxit gratia Dei*) those who are in the darkness”² of sin; salvation is an illumination.

This nuance cannot be ruled out in Titus 2:11—“the saving grace of God has shined upon all people” (*epephane he charis tou theou he soterios pasin anthropois*)—which sums up the gospel and attests to the realization of the prophecy of the Benedictus. Grace—merciful favor (Hebrew *hesed*), gratuitous goodwill, active beneficence (1Cor 15:10; 2Cor 6:1)—is almost personalized in the saving intervention of Christ.³ The generous goodness of God, by nature invisible, appeared before the eyes of all humankind in palpable form (1John 1:1-2), was suddenly manifested at a precise historical moment. The second aorist passive *epephane* (cf. Titus 3:4), prominently placed in the sentence, suggests the suddenness of the appearing and the surprise it produced, like a light that all at once pierces the darkness.⁴ But since soteriological epiphany was understood in the Hellenistic era as the beneficent intervention of the king or of the gods,⁵ this nuance of gratuitous and gracious generosity may be suggested by the adjective *soterios*; it is surely evoked in Titus 3:4.

II. — The substantive *epiphaneia* in the first century simultaneously suggests light or splendor and effective help.⁶ In 2Macc it refers to heavenly manifestations (2:21; 14:15; 15:27), which augur well for the people of God (5:4) but are fearsome to their enemies (3:24; 12:22). Thus “the Lord Jesus will destroy the lawless one with the *epiphaneia* of his *Parousia*” (2Thess 2:8): his visible presence or second coming will be victorious, like that of an emperor who is visiting or making a joyous entry into a city, granting favors (*philanthropa*) to his subjects⁷ but also punishing his adversaries. This condemnation of the unfaithful is also included in 1Tim 6:14; 2Tim 4:1. But the courtly meaning is emphasized in the Pastorals: the essentially glorious (Titus 2:13), and thus shining,⁸ epiphany is that of the *Kyrios*, the *Soter*, the *Megas* and *Monos Theos* and

his *basileia*.⁹ The Christian life consists of waiting for this manifestation (Titus 2:13), like preparing for a visit and awaiting punishment; but in this case the outlook is supremely joyful, because this coming of the Lord will mean sharing in his blessedness.

III. — The OT had already described Yahweh as truly *epiphanes* in a manner illustrated by the defense of his people.¹⁰ The adjective *epiphanes*¹¹ occurs only twice in the NT, with respect to the “Day of the Lord” (Acts 2:20); it retains the sense of the niphal of *yare’* (Joel 2:11; 3:4; Mal 3:22)—awesome manifestation!—but also with the nuance of indisputable.

¹ —Επιφαίνω-ε-πιφάνεια, etymologically: “that which appears on the surface, which looks certain” (Timaeus of Locri, 101 *d*; Euclid, *Elem.* 1.15; Plutarch, *Arat.* 3; *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* I, col. VII, 11, 15; IX, 4; XII, 3; in *MPER N.S.* I, pp. 23ff., 42); “appearing” of the day (Polybius 3.94.3), of enemies (1.54), of Esther in the brilliance of her majesty (Esth 5:1 *c*); from someone loved or venerated (*C.P.Herm.* 6, 4; *SB* 9152, 8). —Επιφαίνεσθαι refers to “the beginning of an object to be visible, either because of its entry into an observer’s field of vision or because of a change in the amount of light that it is emitting or reflecting” (C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 165). In Diodorus Siculus, the verb often has the sense of “show oneself, appear” (17.25.6; 17.68.7; 17.99.4).

² Luke 1:79 (H. Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, p. 92). Christ defines himself as “the light that comes into the world” (John 3:19; 8:12; 9:5; 12:45), and he has in fact “illuminated life” (2Tim 1:10).

³ Titus 3:4—ὅτε ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ε-πεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶ-ν θεοῦ.

⁴ A. J. Vermeulen, “La Développement sémasiologique d’ε-πιφάνεια,” in *Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva*, Supplementa 1, Nijmegen, 1964, pp. 14ff. We may recall the bright light at Bethlehem (Luke 2:9); St. Paul was perhaps thinking of the shining vision that converted him on the road to Damascus.

⁵ εοῦ ε-πιφάνεια = help from God (Ep Arist); Diodorus Siculus 5.49.5; *I.Magn.* 32.14: the representatives from Magnesia “related to the Epirotes the appearing of the goddess”; Artemis is *epiphanes* (*I.Cos*; *IG* XII, 4; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 557, 5), *Zeus Panamaros* ε-πιφανέστατος (*BCH*, 1931, p. 98); with Hecate, they are ε-πιφανέστατοι θεοί (*IGLAM*, n. 519–520); *SB* 6152, 5; 6153, 6; Dittenberger, *Or.* 383, 65–67, 86; 194, 23; K. Kerényi, *Apollon—Epiphanyen*, in *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, vol. 13, 1946, pp. 11–48. Through his epiphanies at his temple at Epidaurus, Asclepius performed

many healings (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1169, 34; A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 370, n. 4). Miracles are ε—ναργει—ς ε—πιφάνεια (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 867, 35); cf. C. Spicq, *Agarè*, vol. 3, pp. 21–37; A. J. Festugière, *Personal Religion*. —Upon the death of his brother, Demetrius of Phalerum celebrated τὰ ε—πιφάνεια τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, honoring him thus as θεὸς ε—πιφανής (Athenaeus 12.542 e). Julius Caesar is “god made manifest, [born] of Ares and Aphrodite, the common savior of human life” (inscription at Ephesus, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 760, 6), like Claudius (*I.Magn.* 157 c), Caligula (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 799, 9; M. Malaise, *Les Conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des Cultes égyptiens en Italie*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 396ff.), Constantine (*P.Ant.* 36, 3), Diocletian and Maximinus (ibid. 38, 25; 106, 8; *P.Mert.* 88, col. II, 3; *P.Oslo* 37, 27; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 5, 4; XVI, 2 and 22; cf. *P.Mert.* 31, 19; *P.Princ.* 79, 1; *I.Erythr.Klaz.*, n. 520, 4; cf. n. 223, 5), Licinianus (*P.Got.* 6, 17), Crispus (*P.Oxy.* 1425, 2), Valerian (*P.Ryl.* 110, 21), etc.; there are about a hundred texts that describe a sovereign as *epiphanes*. “The god is ‘manifest’ as ‘savior’ in his beneficent interventions on behalf of humans. This religious language is naturally applied to divinized kings. They are θεὸς ε—πιφανεῖς, the concrete manifestation of the help that the divinity gives humans; they make visible the beneficent presence of the gods. Their visit (παρουσία) in a city is also an ε—πιφάνεια of the tutelary deity that they in some way incarnate. Thus the two terms παρουσία and ε—πιφάνεια come into relationship and, in the context of joyful Hellenistic entries, become almost synonymous” (J. Dupont, *Union avec le Christ*, p. 74). On the “*shelamîm* of your appearing, σωτηρίου ε—πιφανεΐας ὑμῶν” (Amos 5:22), cf. S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans les Septante*, Paris, 1966, pp. 283–286

⁶ Life and light, and sometimes happiness, are nearly synonymous (John 1:4ff; Rev 21:23; 22:5); cf. F. N. Klein, *Die Lichtterminologie*, Leiden, 1962, pp. 61ff.; H. Conzelmann, “φω—ς,” in *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 344–358.

⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.68; Dio Chrysostom 32.41. Cf. F. Pfister, “Epiphanie,” in *PW*, Suppl., vol. 4, 1924, col. 277–323; C. Mohrmann, *Epiphania*, Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1953, idem, “Note sur *doxa*,” in *Festschrift A. Debrunner*, Berne, 1954, pp. 321–328; E. Pax, *Epiphaneia*, Munich, 1955; E. Stauffer, *Le Christ et les césars*, Colmar-Paris, 1956, pp. 9–31; L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*, pp. 422, 498; P. Beskow, *Rex Gloriam: The Kingship of Christ in the Early Church*, Stockholm-Uppsala, 1962, pp. 61ff.; D. Lührmann, “Epiphaneia,” in *Festgabe K. G. Kuhn*, Göttingen, 1971, pp. 185–199; Bultmann, Lührmann, “ε—πιφάνω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 7–10.

⁸ Cf. Rom 5:2; Col 1:27; 3:4; 1Pet 5:4; *I.Sard.* 42, 3; Dittenberger, *Or.* 763, 19–20; Epictetus 3.22.29; Plutarch, *De tranq. anim.* 11: δόξα καὶ ε—πιφάνεια.

⁹ 1Tim 6:14; Titus 2:13; 2Tim 1:10; 4:1, 8; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1357, 36. In 1Cor 8:5–6, St. Paul contrasts the Lord Jesus with earthly rulers; in his later epistles, the coming of Jesus, “manifestation of love,” is antithetical to imperial epiphanies (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 34ff.); “there is another king, Jesus” (Acts 17:7).

¹⁰ 2Macc 15:34—τὸν ε—πιφανῆ κύριον (cf. 3Macc 5:35; F. M. Abel, J. Starcky, *Maccabées*, Paris, 1961, pp. 64ff.); Zeph 2:11; Mal 1:14. The word is used to modify a splendid temple (2Macc 14:33; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 16.136), an angel of God (Judg 13:6), a city of the fearsome Chaldeans (Hab 1:7; Zeph 3:1), the magnanimity of Eleazar (2Macc 6:23).

¹¹ In the inscriptions, it is used constantly for the most visible and exposed place for posting a decree (*MAMA*, vol. 6, 5, 22; *I.Thas.* 170, 35; *I.Gonn.* 101, 12; the Rosetta Stone, in Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 38). In the papyri, it refers to a sovereign (*P.Mich.* 636, 2; 643, 3; 645, 21; 646, 3), “god made manifest” (cf. above p. 66, n. 5; C. Picard, “EOI ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΣ: Note sur les apparitions des dieux,” in *ΕΕΝΙΑ. Hommage international à l’Université nationale de Grèce, Athens, 1912, pp. 67–84*). From 87 to 160, it was part of the customary title of the kings of the Arsacid dynasty (*P.Dura* 18, 1 and 12; 19, 1; 20, 1; 22, 1; 24, 1); cf. *P.Ryl.* 617, 3, 6, 14; 656, 1, 4; 709, 2; etc. Hence the nuances of famous (Diodorus Siculus 17.78.1; 17.96.2), renowned, reputable (ibid. 17.34.5; 17.108.4), then glorious (17.65.5), splendid (17.89.1; 17.100.2). Neoptolemus, ἀνὴρ ε—πιφανής, is a distinguished officer (25.5; cf. 102.3; 107.6); cf. οἱ—ε—πιφανέστατοι τω—ν ἡγεμόνων, the elite of the officers (89.1).

ε—ρεθίζω, ε—ρίζω, ε—ριθεία, ἔρις

erethizo, to stimulate, excite, exasperate; *erizo*, to fight, contend; *eritheia*, paid work, intrigue or dispute aiming at gain, selfish ambition; *eris*, emulation, dispute, discord

erethizo, S 2042; *EDNT* 2.51; MM 253; L&N 88.168, 90.55; BAGD 308 | ***erizo***, S 2051; *EDNT* 2.52; MM 254; L&N 33.447; BAGD 309 | ***eritheia***, S 2052; *TDNT* 2.660–661; *EDNT* 2.52; MM 254; L&N 39.7, 88.167; BAGD 309 | ***eris***, S 2054; *EDNT* 2.52–53; MM 254; L&N 33.447, 39.22; BDF §§47(3), 142; BAGD 309

These terms, rare or unattested in the papyri, belong to cultivated Greek; their frequency is noteworthy in the Bible, where they often take on a religious meaning, either favorable or unfavorable.

I. — *Erithizo* (“set in movement, provoke, excite”) has as its subject the *zelos* of the Corinthians’ love, which has “stimulated” the generosity of their brothers: “your zeal has *stirred up* most of them” (*ho hymon zelos erethisen tous pleionas*, 2Cor 9:2); but in a pejorative sense, overly finicky or irritating use of parental authority can *exasperate* children.¹

II. — The denominative verb *erizo* (“fight against, to quarrel, vie with”)² is used only once in the NT, with respect to the Messiah: in his great discretion and mildness, he refuses to provoke disputes and quarrels, *ouk erisei oude kraugasei*.³ In Sir 8:2; 11:9, the wise are told *me erize*; here, the sense is that of debates between schools, disputes between rabbis, personal rivalries.⁴

III. — Unknown in the LXX and the Greek language before the NT,⁵ *eritheia* is used seven times in the NT, including twice in the sin lists (2Cor 12:20; Gal 5:20) along with *eris*, which indicates that the former does not have the same meaning as the latter and is not derived from it. Like many abstract nouns in *-eia*, it was formed from a verb in *-euo*, in this case *eritheuomai*, “work for hire.”⁶ The *erithos* is a day laborer; the term is used especially for weavers and spinners.⁷ As a result, the term *eritheia* (“paid work”) originally had a positive sense; but it came to mean that which is done solely for interested motives (“What’s in it for me?”). Hence the meaning: contrive to gain a position or a magistracy not in order to serve the state but to gain honor and wealth. From that developed two other meanings: dispute or intrigue to gain advantages; or personal ambition, the exclusive pursuit of one’s own interests.

These connotations of intrigue, disputation, and chicanery appear in all the NT texts. In Rom 2:8—wrath and anger “to all those who are of *eritheia* and disobedient to the truth.”⁸ In 2Cor 12:20; Gal 5:20, *eritheiai* follows *zelos*, *thymoi*, and is thus linked with animosity. At Philippi, the spirit of factionalism and rivalry motivates Paul’s adversaries; their “apostolic zeal” is in fact a ploy aimed at displacing him and winning personal advantages.⁹ Jas 3:14 and 16 once again link *zelos* and *eritheia*; the text stigmatizes this “bitter zeal” and this “spirit of intrigue,” which are “opposed to the truth”¹⁰ and which so often disturbed the life of the early communities, where the ideal is nevertheless “that we may lead a peaceful and quiet life” (1Tim 2:2).

IV. — The Greeks divinized Dispute or Emulation, which they considered the energizing spirit of the world and one of the primordial forces.¹¹ They had a cult of rivalry.¹² But although in the secular language *eris* is sometimes positive (linked with *neikos*), sometimes pejorative (linked with *zelos*), and can mean “wrath” (*Ep. Arist.* 250; *P. Grenf.* I, 1, 21: “know that I have invincible courage when wrath takes hold of me”), its nine

occurrences in the NT are all pejorative. Quarreling or discord, the fruit of over-excitement (cf. Sir 28:11), of jealousy or anger, became a Christian sin. Actually, they were already mentioned in the sin lists in Sir 11:4 (after *thymos* and *zelos*) and as punishment for sinners (40.9). The *zelos-eris* connection is found again in the Pauline sin lists;¹³ both of these are the fruit of paganism, the deeds of people not yet spiritualized by grace.¹⁴

These *ereis* are sometimes discussions that degenerate into quarrels (cf. Ps 139:20) and finally sects and schisms (Gal 5:20), sometimes discord that breaks out into opposition and open battle. In the Pastorals, it is the vice of false teachers; they are avid polemicists.¹⁵ Blinded by vanity, they are full of animosity and jealousy toward other teachers whom they consider to be rivals;¹⁶ hence the bitterness of their quarrels (1Tim 6:4).

¹ Col 3:21 (cf. Deut 21:20—Hebrew *marâh*, *וי—òς . . . àπειθει— και ε—ρεθίζει*); this is the reading of a, B, P46 vid; but a, A, C, D, G, L, and numerous miniscules read *παροργίζετε*, probably under the influence of Eph 6:4; the parallelism of the two terms shows that they are synonymous. —All the occurrences in the LXX are pejorative, either in the sense of “to anger, irritate” (Prov 25:23—*ε—ρεθίζει πρόσωπον*; 1Macc 15:40; 2Macc 14:27; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.169: provoke wrath), or in the sense of preparing and stirring up for combat (Dan 11:10, 25; the hithpael of *garâh*; cf. Josephus, *War* 2.414; *Ant.* 20.175). Philo, *Drunkennes* 16: “to rebel (against virtue) is the height of evil.” In a bull-fight organized by a city of Caria, it is indicated that one of the beasts is *excited* (by some object or color or technique that makes it furious?), *ἀπὸ τοῦ ε—ρεθιζομένου ταύρου* (*IGLAM*, n. 499, 9).

² Hence *ε—ριστικός*: loving nitpicking discussion, disputatious. On the infatuation with eristic battle, cf. J. Duchemin, *ΑΓΩΝ dans la tragédie grecque*, 2d ed., Paris, 1968, pp. 15ff.

³ Matt 12:19. This is a quotation of Isa 42:2 (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, p. 69, n. 3), but from another version of the LXX (cf. J. Grindel, “Matthew XII, 18–21,” in *CBQ*, 1967, pp. 110–145).

⁴ Josephus, *War* 4.396: both “vied to see who could secure the richest plunder”; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2230, 7: debate a price (AD 119); *P.Princ.* 118, 14: to contest (second century); *BGU* 1043, 5: ὥστε ἔτι μοι ε—ρίζεις (third century). Prov 31:19—her fingers move the spindle. The setting in motion takes the form of a rebellion in 1Sam 12:14–15; 2Kgs 14:10. An inscription from Deir el Menas: *καὶ ἔριξε καὶ μὴ φθόνει* (in E. Peterson, *EIS' EOΣ*, *Göttingen*, 1926, n. 84, 9).

⁵ Apart from two occurrences in Aristotle (*Pol.* 5.3.1302b4; 1303a14), where it is a question of intrigue aimed at obtaining an official post by suspect means. An analogous use in Philo, *To Gaius* 68: “The only stable government is one in which there is no strife and intrigue, ἀφιλόνηκος καὶ ἀνερίθευτος,” where the leaders have no personal ambition. —Ἐριθεία is not attested in the papyri except for *P.Sorb.* 34, 9 (third century), which is so mutilated that the sense cannot be determined.

⁶ J. H. Moulton, W. F. Howard, *Grammar*, vol. 2, p. 339; W. Barclay, *NT Wordbook*, pp. 39–41; F. Büchsel, in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 660–661.

⁷ Cf. Tob 2:11—“My wife Anna worked at women’s tasks (ἠριθεύετο); Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 1.5.3: “There is where the women spin wool (ε—ριθεύουσιν);” *P.Hib.* 121, 34: ε—ρίθοις ε—ρίων; *SB* 9680, 4; cf. συνέριθος: “with my workmate” (*P.Magd.* 35, 3). By popular etymology, connected with ἔριον (wool); cf. the ban on priests’ wearing wool garments (*Gnomon of the Idios Logos* 71, 75) and in certain religious settings (*LSCG, Suppl.*, n. 56, 2).

⁸ Τοι—ς δὲ ε—ξ ε—ριθείας καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. The spirit of dispute leads to rebellion; “that is the serpent’s agenda in Gen 3:1—to dispute what God said in order to turn it on its head” (F. J. Leenhardt, *Romans*, p. 77).

⁹ Phil 1:17; 2:3; cf. J. Gnllka, “Die antipaulinische Mission in Philippi,” in *BZ*, 1965, pp. 258–276; A. F. J. Klijn, “Paul’s Opponents in Philippians III,” in *NovT*, 1965, pp. 278–284; A. E. Harvey, “The Opposition to Paul,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 4, pp. 319–332; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 244, 249.

¹⁰ On Gal 5:20, St. Jerome comments: “Est autem ε—ριθεία, cum quis semper ad contradicendum paratus stomacho delectatur alieno; et muliebri jurgio contendit, et provocat contendentem. Haec alio nomine apud Graecos φιλονεικία appellatur.”

¹¹ Antoninus Liberalis, *Met.* 11.3; on the twin aspects of Eris, cf. J. P. Vernant, in *RevPhil*, 1966, pp. 253ff. It was Eris who threw the apple that was supposed to go to the most beautiful goddess; cf. P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1951, p. 147.

¹² “For any instance in which it was possible to make a comparison between two people on some particular point, the Greeks set up a contest and established rankings, if not prizes. If a battle took place, they compared the individual or collective valor of the combatants. If there were dramatic productions at the theater, a jury rated the poets, the actors, the chorus leaders. They went so far as to compare deaths. This spirit of

striving was eminently favorable to the development of sports” (J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*, Paris, 1960, p. 460). The first Homeric sense of ἔρις, “eagerness for combat,” retained in the first century (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.470, the nation gathered μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ προθυμίας καὶ ἔριδος), was used in an epigram for a victor at the Nemean games, around 200 BC: “All the competitors, from their chariots, urged their fast horses on for the race—εἰ—ς ἔριν ἀντ[ίπαλοι]” (*NCIG*, n. 35). J. Ebert prefers the reading εἰ—ς ἔριν ἀνί[οχοι], *Griechische Epigramme*, n. 64.

¹³ Rom 1:29; 1Cor 3:3; 2Cor 12:20; Gal 5:20 (M. J. Lagrange, “Le Catalogue de vices dans l’Épître aux Romains,” in *RB*, 1911, pp. 534, 549; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament*, Berlin, 1959, pp. 113ff.). In Phil 1:15, Paul’s adversaries proclaim the word out of a spirit of rivalry, διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν; cf. 1Tim 6:4. The pairing recurs constantly in rhetorical and political language to stigmatize the misdeeds of hateful envy; φθόνος “is always seeking to sully and denigrate” (Heraclitus, *All.* 6.3); “it rises up against all that is noble, those who are always over-wise” (Dionysius of Sinope, in Stobaeus 38.2; vol. 3, p. 708) and who are superior to us (Thucydides 6.78; cf. Josephus, *Life* 80, 122–123); “the worst of all evils” (Menander, in Stobaeus 38.29; vol. 3, p. 714). To the references given in C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, p. 246, n. 3–7, add Plutarch, *Arist.* 7.2; *Cat. Mai.* 16.4; Philo, *Moses* 1.247; *Spec. Laws* 3.3; *Joseph* 5; Josephus, *Life* 122–123; “ill-intentioned envy, φθόνου κακοζήλου” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 114, 13; cf. n. 122, 4); W. C. van Unnik, *ΑΦΘΝΩΣ. ΜΕΤΑΔΙΔΩΜΙ*, Brussels, 1971, pp. 12ff.; *idem De ἀφθονία van God in de oudchristelijke Literatuur*, Amsterdam-London, 1973 (gives notably the references in Philo, pp. 40ff.).

¹⁴ Rom 13:13; 1Cor 3:3. Cf. U. Wilcken, *Weisheit und Torheit: Eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu I Kor. 1 und 2*, Tübingen, 1959; J. C. Hurd, *The Origin of I Corinthians*, London, 1965, pp. 96–107; N. A. Dahl, “Paul and the Church at Corinth according to I Cor. I, 10–IV, 21,” in W. R. Farmer, *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to J. Knox*, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 313–335.

¹⁵ Titus 3:9: linking ἔρεις and μάχας (cf. Philo, *Heir* 246: “the dogmatic disputes of the sophists”) as does Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.3.15: “I invite you to join in this sort of battle with these [rivals], who are so well educated, εἰ—ς ἔριν ὄρμα—σθαι ταύτης τῆς μάχης.”

¹⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus marvels that in judging Plato rhetoricians and philosophers “did not give in to envy, nor to hatred, but to love of truth” (*Pomp.* 1; cf. 3). In Cispadana, the Umbrian population and Tyrrhenian elements carried on a struggle of sorts for dominance, and if one nation

“undertook an expedition against a foreign land, the other, out of a spirit of rivalry (ἔρις), did not pass up the chance to invade in turn the same places” (Strabo 5.1.10).

ἔσοπτρον

esoptron, mirror

esoptron, S 2072; TDNT 1.178–180, 2.696; EDNT 2.60; MM 256; L&N 6.221; BDF §30(3); BAGD 313; ND 4.149–150

The most primitive mirror was a sheet of water in a bronze platter (cf. the Athens museum; *Jos. Asen.* 18.7; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 2.10). In the first century, the *esoptron* is a disk, round or slightly elliptical, polished,¹ made of an alloy of copper and tin (Exod 38:8; cf. Isa 2:23; Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 98; *Moses* 2.139), sometimes silver (*P.Oxy.* 1449, 19) and even gold,² with a handle of metal, ivory, or enamel,³ and used to reflect the images of objects or persons.⁴

In the Bible, *esoptron* is used only metaphorically: of wisdom, “the spotless mirror of God’s activity” (Wis 7:26) or of the wise person whose perspicacity succeeds in uncovering a neighbor’s true feelings in spite of false appearances, after the fashion of a “mirror polisher” who cleans the easily oxidizable metal, exposing the true nature hidden by the scaling or rust that hides it.⁵ On the same psychological level, Jas 1:23 compares the Christian who hears the word of God, but does not put it into practice, to “a man who considers in the mirror the face that he was born with (from his origin, meaning his true self, *to prosopon tes geneseos autou*). He has seen himself, but he goes away and immediately forgets what he is like.” So the mirror is an instrument of knowledge; but for this information to be morally useful, it has to be allowed to correct faults, to remove blemishes.⁶ 1Cor 13:12 contrasts our present (*arti*) knowledge of God “through a mirror” to the eternal vision after death, “then (*tote*) it will be face to face.” According to Kittel’s article (*TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 696–697), the rabbis never mention the mirror as giving an indistinct image; for them it is the symbol of prophetic revelation, a spiritual vision; mirrors that are not defective give clear knowledge,⁷ and it is surely in this sense that the image is used in 2Cor 3:18.⁸ But we cannot neglect the Hellenistic texts that point out that a mirror image can differ from the reflected object, especially if the mirror is concave or convex, or simply tarnished.⁹ At any rate, the contrast with contemplation *prosopon pros prosopon* shows that for Paul seeing through a mirror is imperfect. In fact, one does not get at the object itself, but its reflection; not reality, but an appearance, an image, a reproduction (*eidolon*, Plutarch, *Ad princ. iner.* 5), a refraction (*anaklasis*, Plutarch,

Amat. 20; *De fac.* 23) which may even be illusory. It is something quite different to see God “as he is” (1John 3:2); in any event, the image is inferior to the object, because it appears only fleetingly (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.100–101); whereas to know God is to abide in him (1John 4:11–12). We might even say, at least in terms of the love described in 1Cor 13, that the mirror stands between the one who looks in it and effective capture by God,¹⁰ which is true biblical “knowledge.”¹¹

¹ 1QM 5.4–5: “All shall hold bronze bucklers, polished like mirrors”; 5.11: “These swords shall be made of premium iron, purified in the crucible, and shining like a mirror.”

² Cf. Netolicza, “Κάτοπτρον,” in *PW*, vol. 11, pp. 29ff.; Ganschietz, “Κατοπτρομαντεία,” in *PW*, vol. 11, pp. 270ff.; G. E. Mylonas, in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, St. Louis, 1951, pp. 565–567.

³ Cf. the reproductions collected by G. Benedite, *Miroirs*, Cairo, 1907; F. Endell, *Antike Spiegel*, Munich, 1952. The *espotron* is mentioned in lists of articles (*P.Oxy.* 978; third century), with two or three facets (δίπτυχος, τρίπτυχος; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 15, 10; *P.Mert.* 71, 4), the latter made of bronze being valued at 12 drachmas in 160–163. It is a woman’s personal article, more or less precious, sometimes given as a gift; in the second century, Dionysius writes to his sister: “Receive from our father Chaeremon a mirror, writing tablets, and a tunic from Tapsois” (*P.Oxy.* 2787, 4). After noting that one who looks at himself in a mirror does not need for anyone else to tell him what he looks like because he is his own witness, a Christian of the fourth century adds: καὶ γὰρ ὡς δι ε—σόπτρον κατίδες τὴν πρὸς σέ μου ἔμφυτον στοργὴν καὶ ἀγάπην τὴν ἀεὶ νέαν (*P.Oxy.* 2603, 17–19 = M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 47); which seems to share in the popular opinion that every mirror has the property of retaining some trace of that which has been reflected on its surface (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, p. 97, n. 2; to the references given, add Bythus of Cyrrachium, in Pliny, *HN* 28.23).

⁴ The mathematicians ask “How do we see? What is the cause of the image in a mirror?” (Diogenes Laertius 7.1.133; cf. A. Lejeune, *Recherches sur la Catoptrique grecque*, Brussels, 1957). The bibliography is given by J. Behm, “Das Bildwort von Spiegel, I Kor. XIII, 12,” in *R. Seeburg Festschrift*, Leipzig, 1929, vol. 1, pp. 314–342; H. Riesenfeld, “Etude bibliographique sur la notion biblique d’ΑΓΑΠΗ,” in *ConNT*, vol. 5, 1941, pp. 30ff.; N. Hugedé, *La Métaphore du miroir dans les épîtres de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1957; C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, pp. 146, 175; H. Urner-Astholz, “Spiegel and Spiegelbild,” in E. Dinkler, *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an R. Bultmann*, Tübingen, 1964, pp. 643–

670; G. Kittel, “αἴνιγμα,” in *TDNT*, vol. 1, pp. 178–180; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 95–100.

⁵ Sir 12:11—“Be (for your enemy) like an ε—κμεμαχῶς ἔσοπτρον; know that the rust will not remain until the end”; cf. A. Marmorstein, *Le Miroir dans la vie religieuse juive* (Studii e materiali di Storia delle Religioni, VIII), Rome, 1932, pp. 125ff.; H. L. Ginsberg, “The Original Hebrew of Ben Sira XII, 10–14,” in *JBL*, 1955, p. 93. —Some have seen in this text an allusion to a “magic mirror” (cf. in the third-fourth century, Zosimus, *Περὶ ἀρετῆς πρὸς θεοσέβειαν*, cited by H. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum*, Göttingen, 1916, p. 247) which reflects secret attitudes and allows the user to distinguish between true and false friends: the mirror mists over or goes rusty when there is dissimulation (A. Delatte, *La Catopromancie grecque et ses dérivés*, Liège-Paris, 1932); cf. the Talmudic interpretation of Gen 44:5, in F. Cunen, “Les Pratiques divinatoires attribuées à Joseph d’Egypte,” in *RSR*, 1959, pp. 396–404.

⁶ A thought already expressed by Plato: “God is the best mirror of things human for someone who wants to judge the quality of the soul, and it is in him that we can best see ourselves and know ourselves” (Plato, *Alc. Maj.*, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 3.21.24; vol. 3, p. 576 [but the *Alcibiades* dialogues are generally considered to be spurious—Tr.]); Euripides: “As for perverse mortals, time reveals them when he will, by presenting his mirror to them, as to a young girl” (*Hipp.* 429). Common with the Stoics; cf. Epictetus 2.14.21: “At least the mirror does no wrong to the ugly man, for it shows him just as he is”; 3.22.51: “Do you see how you ought to undertake such an important matter? Start by taking a mirror, look at your shoulders, your loins, your thighs . . .”; Bias: “Look at your own actions as in a mirror, ἵνα τὰς μὲν καλὰς ε—πικοσμῆς, τὰς δὲ αἰ—σχρὰς καλύπτῃς” (in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 21.11; vol. 3, p. 558); Seneca, *QNat.* 1.17.4; *Ira* 2.36.1; Philo, *Abraham* 153; *Decalogue* 105; in *Spec. Laws* 1.219; *Migr. Abr.* 190, not only does the spirit “catch as glimpse of truth as in a mirror,” but it sees the future. The best parallels to Jas 1:23 are *Joseph* 87: “When it shines in our sight (the model of a virtuous life), we behold our depravity, as in a mirror, and we blush at what we see”; above all *Moses* 2.139: “Let the one who is going to do his ablutions remember that the raw material of this utensil (the bronze basin) was mirrors, so that he also may be able to see his own soul clearly, as in a mirror, and so that if he see any disgrace arising from unrestrained passion or lust . . . he may be able to care for it, cure it, and recover a beauty that is authentic and not illegitimate.”

⁷ Plutarch, *De fac.* 3: “The full moon itself, thanks to the smoothness and brilliance of its surface, is the most lovely and pure of all mirrors”; *Quaest. conv.* 8.3; *1Clem.* 36.2; *T. Job* 33.8. Cf. N. Hugedé, *La Métaphore du miroir*

dans les épîtres de saint Paul aux Corinthiens, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1957. D. H. Gill, "Through a Glass Darkly: A Note on ICor. XII, 12," in *CBQ*, 1963, pp. 427–429 (cf. F. W. Danker, *CBQ*, 1964, p. 248), cites Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 76, bringing together mirror and enigma; but the adverbs αι—νιγματικω—ς, αι—νιγματωδω—ς refer to seeing in a confused, obscure manner (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, p. 100). Knowledge through enigma is characteristic of the Pythagoreans; cf. R. Joly, *Le Tableau de Cèbes et la philosophie religieuse*, Brussels, 1963, pp. 55, 58, 66, 70.

⁸ Cf. J. Dupont, "Le Chrétien, miroir de la Gloire divine d'après II Cor. III, 18," in *RB*, 1949, pp. 392–411.

⁹ Ptolemy, *Opt.* books 3 and 4. Sextus Empiricus, *Pyr.* 1.48); Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 21; *De fac.* 23: "These mirrors, as everyone knows, are scratched, filthy, uneven." Concerning the silver *krateres* that Ptolemy Philadelphus had made for the temple at Jerusalem, "the image of any object brought near them was reflected more clearly than in a mirror" (*Ep. Arist.* 76; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.81); cf. R. Ferwerda, *La Signification des images et des métaphores dans la pensée de Plotin*, Groningen, 1965, pp. 9–23.

¹⁰ "The expression *panîm el panîm*, which corresponds to the etymological meaning of *vis-à-vis*, means not simply face to face, but much more, as the two look at each other" (P. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, p. 43).

¹¹ The best commentary is still that of J. Dupont, *Gnosis: La Connaissance religieuse dans les épîtres de saint Paul*, Louvain-Paris, 1949, pp. 119–148; cf. S. Lyonnet, "L'Étude du milieu littéraire et l'exégèse du Nouveau Testament," in *Bib*, 1954, pp. 494ff.; H. Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, pp. 226ff.

ε—ται—ρος

hetairos, associate, comrade, friend

hetairos, S 2083; *TDNT* 2.699–701; *EDNT* 1.65; *NIDNTT* 1.259–260; *MM* 256–257; *L&N* 34.16; *BAGD* 314

It is difficult to provide an exact translation for this term, which means "one who is associated with another,"¹ because the nuance depends on the context: companion, comrade, friend, dear or good friend. These labels are not exactly synonymous,² even though the LXX used *hetairos* to translate the Hebrew *re'a* ("neighbor") and its derivatives,³ with the exception of Cant 1:7, where the *h<Ø>a<^>berîm* are the companions or

favorites of the king.⁴ There is a world of difference between the companion of the ostrich (Job 30:29), the confidants of Zimri (1Kgs 16:11), and the fleeting friendship of the hot-tempered person (Prov 22:24), on the one hand; and on the other hand, comrades in labor (Eccl 4:4) who are true friends, who love to get together (Sir 40:23), share their joys and sorrows,⁵ vibrant in their perfect harmony.

In the NT, this word is used only by St. Matthew, always in the singular and in the vocative: *hetaire*.⁶ In the parable of the workers sent to work in the vineyard, where the owner responds to the complaint of one of the workers, we must translate “comrade” (Matt 20:13), because *hetairos* was the common term for agricultural workers (*P.Oxy.* 1859, 2; 1911, 157; 2195, 134; *PSI* 955, 17), and the relationship between the two men is not particularly cordial.⁷ On the other hand, in the parable of the royal wedding, the emotive tone is definite: “Friend, why did you come here without wedding attire?”⁸

The Vulgate’s translation—“Amice, ad quid venisti?”⁹—caught on, and practically speaking Jesus no doubt called Judas, in the Olivet garden, “My friend!” Nevertheless, *hetaire* should be nuanced a bit. First of all, we should remember that *hetairos* is used for the disciple of a teacher (Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.8.1) and the adherent to a party (Josephus, *Life* 124). It presupposes a strict solidarity, often deep bonds. In the Talmud, it corresponds to the Hebrew *haber* and qualifies a member of a group of scribes: an associate, an assistant, or a colleague.¹⁰ Thus the Lord was able to remind the traitor that he was a member of the apostolic college,¹¹ and the nuance was closer to companion: “You kiss me, with what you have come to do!”¹²

¹ K. Rengstorf, “ε-ται-ρος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, p. 699; H. I. Kakride, *Notion de l’amitié*, pp. 47ff.; the manuscripts often confuse this term with ἕτερος; cf. Sir 11:6; 42:3; Matt 11:16; *P.Lond.* 1912, 105, 108; *P.Ant.* 107, 3; *P.Mich.* 428, 9; *P.Mert.* 39, 10. Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 25.1, 25.4: “Munatius, Cato’s comrade and companion, ε-ται-ρον καὶ συμβιωτήν”; *Ti. Gracch.* 10.1: “Marcus Octavius, comrade and companion of Tiberius, ε-ται-ρον καὶ συνήθη” (cf. Plutarch, *Demetr.* 4.1). Tullus is one of Cicero’s closest friends (Plutarch, *Cic.* 29.3; cf. 42.1); but “Publius Nigidius, a companion to Cicero in the study of philosophy” (ibid. 20.3).

² Cf. Philo, *Dreams* 1.111: φίλος γὰρ καὶ γνώριμος καὶ συνήθης καὶ ε-ται-ρος ἡμι-ν ε-στιν (λόγος) = reason is for us a friend, a regular caller, an intimate, a companion. The connection of ε-ται-ρος καὶ φίλος is common (Sir 37:2, 4, 5; 40:23; Xenophon, *An.* 7.3, 7.30; Philo, *Contemp. Life* 13); cf. ε-ται-ρος καὶ ἀδελφός (*PSI* 973, 10; cf. 839, 8); συντρόφους καὶ ε-ται-ρους (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 798, 7; from AD 37). In *Jos. Asen.* 23.4–5, companions in arms (ε-ται-ροι) become ἀδελφοὶ καὶ φίλοι

(ε—ταιρία in the sense of “troop, band,” cf. our “company,” *P.Princ.* 169, 5; *P.Vindob.Tandem*, n. 2, 10). Very rarely, the possessive is added: τω—ε—μω—ε—ταίρω (*SB* 7951, 7; from the second century AD); cf. a letter from the fourth century, ἄσπασαι τοῦς ε—ταίρους καὶ τοῦς σοῦς πάντας (*PSI* 834, 8); *P.Mich.* 624, 4: “I sent the memorandum by our comrade Eudaimon.”

³ 2Sam 13:3; 1Kgs 16:11; Job 30:29; Prov 27:17; Eccl 4:4. Hebrew *mere’a* (Judg 14:11) = companion; *re’eh* (2Sam 15:37; 16:17) = friend; the hithpael of *ra’âh* (Prov 22:24) = associate.

⁴ Ἐται—ρος τοῦ βασιλέως (&B1Kgs 4:5; Dan 5:1; cf. Philo, *Flacc.* 2), referring to a functionary of Solomon or Belshazzar, would be equivalent to the “king’s friend” (φίλος τ. β.) of the Hellenistic period (Diodorus Siculus 17.57.1; 17.72.1; 17.77.5; 17.100.2; 17.114.2); cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, p. 240; πρω—τος ε—ται—ρων (*ISE*, n. 113, 3 and p. 107).

⁵ Sir 37:4–5; Epictetus 1.11.31; Plutarch, *Demetr.* 38.8; *Ant.* 28.7; 40.6. In the second century AD “his group of companions moaned over the fate” of an anonymous youth who died at age eighteen (*SEG* VII, 372, 9); the companions of Heras of Memphis buried him (*SB* 7423, 11). Cf. A. J. Voelke, *Les Rapports avec autrui dans la philosophie grecque*, Paris, 1961, p. 57.

⁶ The sprinkling of this word in dialogue is traditional (cf. Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1238; Theognis 753: φίλ ε—ται—ρε; Philo, *Plant.* 65). Judas Maccabaeus addresses his troops ὦ ε—ται—ροι (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.302) just as Joseph harangues his companions ε—ται—ροι (Josephus, *War* 3.262), and Plutarch punctuates his *Quaest. conv.* (1.1.1: ὦ ε—ται—ρε; 2.10.1; 3.6.4) with the term.

⁷ “The master has cause to be unhappy; nevertheless, he uses a condescending expression, as when an engineer addresses a worker as ‘comrade’” (M. J. Lagrange, *Matthieu*, p. 389). “The word ε—ται—ρε is a mode of addressing someone whose name is unknown: it implies an attitude that is both friendly and reproachful: ‘my dear fellow, comrade.’ In all three places in the New Testament where the term occurs ..., the person addressed is in the wrong” (J. Jeremias, *Parables*, p. 137). Ἐται—ρος is used for the companions of Ulysses (Philo, *Contemp. Life* 40), for those who accompany a messenger (*P.Ness.* 66, 7; *P.Apoll.* 39, 2) or a traveler (*SB* 9399, 10). For general interest, cf. ε—ται—ρα (Menander, *Dysk.* 59).

⁸ Matt 22:12. We are no longer out in the countryside, and etiquette is essential. The ε—ται—ρος can become an enemy, cf. Sir 37:2; Philo, *Alleg.*

Interp. 2.10: “sometimes allies are traitors and renegades, and as in friendship, flatterers turn out to be not good companions but enemies, ἀντὶ ἐ—ται—ρων ἐ—χθροί”; 3.182.

⁹ Matt 26:50. On this ἐ—φ ὃ πάρει, cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, p. 177, n. 8; W. Spiegelberg, “Der Sinn von ἐ—φ ὃ πάρει in Mt. XXVI, 50,” in *ZNW*, 1929, pp. 341–343; A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 125–131; F. Rehkopf, “Mt. XXVI, 50: ΕΤΑΙΡΕ ΕΦ Ο ΠΑΡΕΙ,” in *ZNW*, 1961, pp. 109–115; W. Eltester, “Freund, wozu du gekommen bist,” in *Neotestamentica et Patristica. Freundesgabe O. Cullmann*, Leiden, 1962, pp. 70–91.

¹⁰ Cf. Rengstorf, “ἐ—ται—ρος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, p. 699; Str-B, vol. 1, pp. 496ff.; *b. Sanh. 5a* ; *b. Sota 22b* ; Dittenberger, *Or.* 573, 1 (cf. *C.Pap.Jud.* III, p. 46). In Philo, *Dreams* 2.245, τις τω—ν ἐ—ται—ρων Μωυσέως = someone from the entourage of Moses. Cf. J. Neusner, “The Fellowship, (*ĭaburah*) in the Second Jewish Commonwealth,” in *HTR*, 1960, pp.125–142; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, pp. 242–243.

¹¹ In this sense, *Gos. Pet.* 26 (after the death of Jesus): “As for myself, I grieved with my companions (μετὰ τω—ν ἐ—ταιρω—ν), and smitten to the heart we went into hiding.” But here, with the tone of a superior to his subordinate (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.101); “companion, a man who belongs to you” (H. I. Kakride, *Notion de l’amitié*, p.76). Probably with the sense of colleague in *P.Stras.* 330, 1; *PSI* 1445, 2: τω— ε—ταίρω. ... The treaty between Atarneus and Erythrea, in 342–341, was concluded by Hermias, the former employee of Eubulus in the Athenian theoric (financial) commission (cf. D. E. W. Wormell, “The Literary Tradition Concerning Hermias of Atarneus,” in *YCS*, vol. 5, 1935, pp. 57–92) καὶ οἱ— ἐ—ται—ροι (Dittenberger, *Syl.* I, 229, 1), which may refer to their associates in the financial administration, military leaders, and representatives of small neighboring states, but more likely political friends and (co)disciples, cf. R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers dans le cités grecques*, Leiden, 1968, p. 243; F. Sartori, *Le Eterie nella vita politica ateniese del VI e V secolo a. C.*, Padua, 1957.

¹² “Tu m’embrasses, avec ce que tu viens faire!” This is the translation of M. J. Lagrange, *Matthieu*, p. 503.

ἐ—τεροζυγέω

heterozygeo, to mismate, be mismated

heterozygeo, S 2086; TDNT 2.901; EDNT 2.65; NIDNTT 2.739, 741, 3.1160, 1164; MM 257; L&N 34.9; BDF §§119(1), 193(3); BAGD 314

To the Corinthians, who were getting used to debasing contact, or rather compromise, with their pagan surroundings (going to temples, entering mixed marriages?), St. Paul gives this charge: “Do not be unequally yoked with unbelievers.”¹ The verb *heterozygeo* (literally, “pull the yoke in a different direction than one’s fellow”; figuratively, “make a mismatched covenant, mismate”) is a biblical hapax, rarely used by ecclesiastical writers;² it is the opposite of *syzygeo*. Its meaning is somewhat illuminated by the adjective *heterozygos*, attested once in the papyri: the property of Demetrius was confiscated, including “two unmatched vases” (*Antipatridia heterozyga dyo*, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59038, 12). As a grammatical term, *heterozygos* means “declined or conjugated irregularly.” There is another adjective *heterozyx*, “having lost its yoke-mate, unmatched”; Cimon urges the Athenians “not to allow Greece to become lame (*cholen*) or their city to be deprived of its rival” (*mete ten polin heterozyga periidein gegenemenen*, Plutarch, *Cim.* 16.10).

Just as in a yoked team the difference between two mismatched animals keeps them from pulling the yoke in the same way and with the same force, so also is an alliance between light and darkness unimaginable—between Christ and Belial, between pagans and believers in their practical living. This would be an incongruous collaboration,³ assuming that the *pistoi* are a “new creation” (2Cor 5:17), and that the imbalance would tilt in favor of the pagan ways;⁴ so that to join with unbelievers is in reality to bear a yoke that belongs to another, *heterozygein*.⁵ Hence the refusal of any compromise.

¹ 2Cor 6:14: μὴ γίνεσθε ε—τεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις. This is an allegorical interpretation of Lev 19:19—“You shall not pair your cattle with [an animal made for] another yoke (τὰ κτήνη σου οὐ κατοχεύσεις ε—τεροζύγω, Hebrew *kil’ayim*)”; cf. Codex Neophiti I: “You shall not pair your livestock of two species.” This verse is cited by Philo, who sees it as prohibiting adultery: “Do not pair a beast with a partner of a different species, τὰ κτήνη μὴ ὀχεύειν ε—τεροζύγοις” (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.203); and by Josephus in his compendium of the Mosaic legislation: βουσὶν ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν, καὶ μηδὲν τω—ν ε—τέρων ζώων σὺν αὐτοί—ς ὑπὸ ζεύγλην ἄγοντας (*Ant.* 4.228). Deut 22:10 repeats this ban on mixing different species, and Str-B (vol. 3, p. 521) refer back to tractate *Kil’ayim* (mixing of two kinds), which prohibits mixing fabrics in a garment, seeds in a field, different animals (e.g., a horse and an ass) under a yoke (8.2–4).

² Cf. several examples in H. Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief*, 2d ed., Göttingen, 1924, p. 213. “Because of ζυγός, which means not only ‘yoke’ but the bar of a set of scales, Theophylact understood this phrase to mean ‘Do not be too inclined toward the pagans’” (E. B. Allo, *Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1937, p. 184).

³ The exhortation to avoid trafficking with pagans is frequent: Rom 12:2; 1Cor 5:9; Gal 5:1—“Do not let yourselves be put back under a yoke of servitude” (cf. K. H. Rengstorf, “Zu Gal. V, 1,” in *TLZ*, 1951, col. 659–662); Eph 5:7, 11; especially 1Pet 4:2–4. This Christian separatism, analogous to that of the Qumranians, is one of the characteristics of this pericope (1Cor 6:14–7:1) that has so many affinities with the vocabulary and doctrine of the Dead Sea Scrolls; Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, “Qumrân and the Interpolated Paragraph in II Cor. VI, 14–VII, 1,” in *CBQ*, 1961, pp. 271–280 (revised in J. A. Fitzmyer, *Semitic Background*, pp. 205–217); P. Benoit, “Qumrân et le Nouveau Testament,” in *NTS*, vol. 7, 1961, pp. 279, 282; E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament*, Tübingen, 1964, p. 28; J. Gnilka, “II Cor. VI, 14–VII, 1 im Lichte der Qumranschriften und des Zwölf-Patriarchen-Testamentes,” in *Festschrift J. Schmid*, Regensburg, 1962, pp. 86–99 (revised in J. Murphy O’Connor, *Paul and Qumran*, London 1968, pp. 48–68); H. D. Betz, “II Cor. VI, 14–VII, 1: An Anti-Pauline Fragment?” in *JBL*, 1973, pp. 88–108.

⁴ Cf. the dative ἀπίστοις (A. Plummer, *Second Corinthians*, p. 206); but this dative of accompaniment is normal with verbs of keeping company, conversing, gathering; cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, 45 k.

⁵ Cf. F. Godet, *La Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel, 1914, p. 211. In this compound verb, the second element “governs” the first, cf. BDF §119(1).

εὐαγγελίζομαι, εὐαγγέλιον, εὐαγγελιστής

euangelizomai, to announce good news; *euangelion*, good news; *euangelistes*, bringer of good news, evangelist

euangelizomai, S 2097; *TDNT* 2.707–721; *EDNT* 1.69–70; *NIDNTT* 2.107–114; MM 259; L&N 33.215; BDF §§69(4), 119(1), 152(2), 163, 206(4), 309(1), 311(1), 392(3); BAGD 317 | ***euangelion***, S 2098; *TDNT* 2.721–736; *EDNT* 2.70–74; *NIDNTT* 2.107–114; MM 259; L&N 33.217; BDF §§119(1), 163, 224(2); BAGD 317–318 | ***euangelistes***, S 2099; *TDNT* 2.736–737; *EDNT* 2.74; *NIDNTT* 2.107, 114; MM 259; L&N 53.76; BAGD 318; ND 3.12–14; 5.73–74, 78

In secular Greek, *angelos* was “messenger” (especially of the gods) and *angelia* “message.” *Euangelos* referred to “one who bears good news,” a messenger of joy. When transmitting oracles, this sacred messenger could announce the future or bring salvation (*soteria*) and success (*eutychia*, *eutychema*) and thus was considered a divine being (*theios anthropos*) whose coming stirred joy;¹ his announcements were full of promise.²

The verb *euangelizomai*, “announce good news,” is construed with the accusative or the dative of the person.³ It is always used in a context of joy, at least from the point of view of the messenger: “I bring good words, happy news (*logous agathous pheron euangelisasthai*) that I want to be the first to announce to you . . . they wanted to crown me for the good news (*euangelia*)” (Aristophanes, *Eq.* 643); “I am not the one who was seen, rejoicing and laughing at the success of the alien . . . announcing good news to others.”⁴ Usually, the announcement concerns victory and peace:⁵ the bringer of good news (*euangelos*) arrives from the battlefield, sometimes by ship,⁶ sometimes by horse or by letter,⁷ but also on foot, by a runner.⁸ Any political or private communication that is considered happy may be so designated. For example, tyranny is overthrown and liberty recovered (Lucian, *Tyr.* 9); two messengers announce to Marius his fifth election to the consulate and give him written notice thereof (Plutarch, *Mar.* 22.4); a wedding ceremony (Menander, *Georg.* 83; Longus, *Daph.* 3.33.1: *ton gamon euangelizeto*); the birth of a child: “If someone brings the morose man the good news of the birth of a son (*pros ton euangelizomenon hoti*), he replies, ‘There goes half my property’” (Theophrastus, *Char.* 17.7); the midwife encourages the pregnant woman “by announcing to her (*euangelizomene*) a lucky delivery” (Soranus, *Gyn.* 21); even an opportune death: “I begin by announcing this good news to you: Demaenetus is dead” (Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 2.10.1); finally, any kind of news at all,⁹ even false news.¹⁰

The LXX always uses *euangelizomai* to translate the piel of the Hebrew verb *basar* (only once in the hithpael, 2Sam 18:31); in all of the semitic languages, the root of this verb contains the idea of joy.¹¹ Εὐαγγελιζόμενος in the LXX corresponds to the Hebrew *mebasser*, a bringer of good news.{NOTEEND} On a secular level, the good news announced is what makes one happy, for example, news of the birth of a son¹² or of a victory.¹³ The messenger’s fervor is emphasized: he runs to make his announcement.¹⁴ But on a religious level, *euangelizo* becomes a religious, cultic, and messianic verb. The announcement, which is always oral (Ps 40:9—“I have not sealed my lips”), takes on a solemn character to proclaim God’s interventions and benefits: “Climb up on a high mountain, messenger of Zion, raise your voice forcefully, messenger of Jerusalem. . . . Behold, the Lord God is coming in power” (Isa 40:9). The good news of

salvation is sung (Ps 96:2); it is a victory: “The Lord utters a word, he announces the good news to the great host: they flee, the kings of the armies flee” (Ps 68:11-12). “How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of the messenger who proclaims peace, who announces good news, who proclaims salvation, who says to Zion, ‘Your God reigns’” (Isa 52:7; cf. 60:6; Nah 1:15). The Messiah is the one who will be the bearer of the message of salvation: “Yahweh has anointed me; he has sent me to bring good news to the humble” (Isa 61:1; *euangelizomai* and *kerysso* are synonymous).

It is worth noting that Philo seems unaware of these texts. If on a rare occasion he gives a moral significance to *euangelizomai* (the happy messages for the soul in *Dreams* 2.281 are the destruction of Egyptian vices), he ignores the other terms from the same root, and he uses this verb especially in the sense of “promise” (a harvest, *Creation* 115; *Moses* 2.186), like the hope that “anticipates and announces the full joy that is coming”;¹⁵ but the messenger always hurries to announce favorable news (*Joseph* 245, 250; *To Gaius* 99). These same, exclusively secular, usages are found again in Josephus.¹⁶

It is only in Palestinian Judaism that *basar* once again takes on the religious meaning that it has in the prophets and in the Psalms: “When the lips of the man at prayer begin to move on their own, let him then receive the good news that his prayer is answered” (*m. Ber.* 5.9d 25); “You have brought me good news: tomorrow I shall take part in these things in the world to come” (*Sipre Deut.* 307, on Deut 32:4); “Let the one who recites the Shema morning and evening receive the good news that he is a son of the world to come” (*m. sheqal.* 3.47c 62); “Let them bring the good news that I have forgiven your sins.”¹⁷

In the papyri, the verb *euangelizo* is rare in the active voice.¹⁸ In the middle: Apollonius and Sarapias express their joy at the announcement of a wedding (*charas hemas eplerosas euangelismene ton gamon tou kratistou Sarapionos*, *P.Oxy.* 3313, 3; second century). A sixth-century Christian: “I announce once more to Your Honor that the blessed river that fertilizes Egypt has progressed (*prosbainein*) by the power of Christ.”¹⁹ It is the substantivized adjective *euangelion*,²⁰ most commonly used in the plural form *euangelia* (εὐαγγέλια, but frequently written εὐαγγέλιον, εὐαγγέλια), which considerably enriches the idea of evangel and confirms its religious and cultural meaning.²¹ An Egyptian functionary in the third century writes to his subordinate: “Forasmuch as I have become aware of the tidings of joy (*epei genostes egnomen tou euangeliou*) concerning the proclaiming as Emperor of Gaius Julius Verus Maximus Augustus, the son of our lord, most dear to the gods, the Emperor Gaius Julius Maximinus, pious, happy, and Augustus, it is necessary, O most honorable, that the goddesses be celebrated in festal procession.”²² In the introduction to the new calendar around the year 9 BC, *I.Priene* 105, 40 (= Dittenberger, *Syl.*

458) says, “The birthday of the god (Augustus) began for the world the good news that he brought” (*erxen de to kosmo ton di’ auton euangelion he genethlios tou theou*). J. Rouffiac, who edited this text,²³ comments: “That idea that an evangel began for the world with the birth of Augustus is one of the most remarkable points of contact between our inscription and the NT, because no other word received the imprint of Christianity more profoundly than ‘evangel.’”

What is more, if Greek *euangelia* expressed the gratuitousness, the richness of the gifts and the joy that they stirred,²⁴ they referred above all to the sacrifices celebrated when good news was announced: the phrase for these sacrifices was *euangelia thyein*.²⁵ In the imperial period, instances multiply.²⁶ On the occasion of the “salvation” of Thersippus, a three-day feast was celebrated, and the people “sacrificed evangels and salvations” (*euangelia kai soteria ethyse*, Dittenberger, *Or.*, IV, 42; fourth century BC; cf. VI, 32; *Syl.* 352, 5). Someone vows to sacrifice (*euangelia thyso*) to the goddesses of vengeance and to Hermes if delivered from a certain Manes.²⁷ There are other examples. So the word “evangel” was perfectly suited to refer to the announcement of the birth of the Savior Jesus and of his death, just as much as the blessedness and thankfulness that were at the heart of the new religion, which was dedicated to the perpetuation of his memory. *Euangelion* was to become the ideal word in the Pauline kerygma for announcing salvation through Christ’s victory over Satan, sin, death, and superstition: the good news from God!

The verb *euangelizomai*, unknown in Mark, John, Jas, 2 Pet, and Jude, always in the NT expresses an oral announcement,²⁸ but because it is the word of God and of the Spirit (1Pet 1:12), it is accompanied by power and the working of miracles.²⁹ It brings about new birth (1Pet 1:23-25) and salvation (1Cor 15:1-2; cf. Acts 16:17 according to D), stirring joy (Acts 8:8). If God is at the origin of the revelation of the plan of salvation (Acts 10:36; Rev 10:7), it is the angels who announce the births of the Messiah and of his precursor (Luke 1:19; 2:10; cf. Rev 14:6), who are sources of delight (Luke 1:14). John the Baptist, in promising the advent of the kingdom of God (Luke 16:16), “evangelized” by announcing this good news to the people (Luke 3:18); but it is Jesus himself who declares himself the messenger of blessedness of the last times. At Nazareth he applies Isa 61:1 to himself (“He has anointed me to announce good news to the poor,” Luke 4:18), and in reply to those sent by John the Baptist he affirms that “good news is preached to the poor” (*ptochoi euangelizontai*, Matt 11:5; Luke 4:18, 43; referring to Isa 35:5; Isa 61:1; cf. Luke 16:16; Eph 2:17). Not only does he convey the joyous message, but he alone brings the content to fruition: salvation,³⁰ as confirmed by his preaching among the dead in 1Pet 4:6. After him, apostles and disciples are evangelists, fulfilling the prophecy of Isa 52:7—“How beautiful are the feet of those who announce good news” (*ton euangelizomenon agatha*).³¹

As for the good news itself (*euangelion*, 72 times in the NT, including 60 in St. Paul), it is mentioned eight times in St. Mark,³² including six times in quotations of Jesus; and there is no reason to suspect the authenticity of these occurrences or see in them an anachronistic anticipation of Paul,³³ even though this term already had its full meaning from the missionary kerygma: a message preached to all people concerning the person, the public life, and the teaching of Jesus, Son of God; i.e., a blessed event and a new doctrine concerning salvation, both expressed and realized in the advent of the Messiah-King. This evangel is the salvation of all people who believe (Mark 16:15-16).

St. Paul received as a revelation from God (Gal 1:11-12, 15; Rom 1:1) this *euangelion*, which must be made public³⁴ and is the “word of truth” (Col 1:5), having Jesus Christ as its object and author (*euangelion tou Christou*),³⁵ identical to the gospel of God (genitive of author, 1Thess 2:2, 8, 9; Rom 1:1; 15:16; 2Cor 11:7). The christological and soteriological content is never adequately spelled out,³⁶ and if various elements successively come to the fore in Paul’s preaching, there is no “transforming” evolution of his gospel,³⁷ even in his Pastoral Epistles.³⁸ This “good news” is therefore a treasure from which one may draw infinitely and which is identical with its content (Phlm 13): the new religion, a “mystery” unveiled (Eph 6:19), of which Paul is priest (Rom 15:16); that is to say, “Christ died for our sins” (1Cor 15:3; Rom 1:11), the *euangelion* produces *soteria* (Rom 1:16; 1Cor 15:2; Eph 1:13; 3:6), is a force (Rom 1:1; 15:16; 2Cor 11:7; 1Thess 1:5; 2:8-9; 1Pet 4:17) that bears fruit and makes progress (Col 1:6). It makes its course across the world (2Thess 3:1; 2Tim 2:9). It is personified, as it were (2Cor 10:14), and its characteristics can be noted: (1) it is revealed by God to humankind (Gal 1:11-12; 1Thess 2:2, 9; 2Thess 2:14), so it is true (Gal 2:5, 14; Col 1:5); (2) one must believe it (Phil 1:27), obey it (Rom 10:16; 1Cor 9:12; 2Cor 9:13; 2Thess 1:8; 1Pet 4:17; cf. 1:2), base one’s hope on it (Col 2:23), taste its peace (Eph 6:15), because it is good news of immortality (2Tim 1:10); (3) it must be proclaimed to others (Rom 15:9; 1Cor 9:14, 18; 2Cor 10:14; Gal 2:2; 1Thess 2:8); (4) no matter the cost (Rom 1:16; 1Cor 9:23; Phil 1:16; 2Tim 1:8; 2:9; 1Thess 2:2); (5) one serves it (Rom 1:1; 15:16; 1Cor 9:23; Eph 3:7; Col 1:23; Phil 1:12; 2:22; 4:3; 1Thess 3:2) and defends it by word, conduct, and action (Phil 1:7, 16, 27; 4:3; 1Tim 1:11); (6) because it is also possible to stand in its way (1Cor 9:12, *enkopen*), disobey it and forget it (Rom 2:16; 10:16; 2Thess 1:7-8; 1Pet 4:17), even falsify and corrupt it;³⁹ (7) but whoever holds fast to the gospel is begotten to eternal life (1Cor 4:15; cf. Jas 1:18; 1Pet 1:23) and shares in the sanctification of the Spirit (2Thess 2:14).

Altogether out of the ordinary in the Bible is the angel of Rev 14:6—“having an eternal gospel” (*echonta euangelion aionion* [hapax Rev]) to “evangelize those who are seated on the earth. . . .” There have been

many ways of interpreting this “eternal gospel,” to which Joachim of Fiore was to give such notoriety! “Eternal” would mean that it was predetermined by God *ab aeterno*, or on the contrary that it has to do with the age to come, and thus means God’s definitive triumph, the inauguration of the reign of the Lamb at the end of the world. L. Cerfaux’s exegesis emphasizes the absence of the article before *euangelion* and refers to Isa 52:7-8 and to *Pesiq.R.* 35, where Elijah proclaims the salvation and blessedness brought by the coming of the Messiah.⁴⁰ But one hardly sees why this good news is announced to all the nations of the earth, and also its content, which is an exhortation to fear God (cf. Mark 1:14ff.) and call upon the Creator (cf. Acts 14:15; 1Thess 1:5, 9) does not deserve this description. Furthermore, it seems preferable to take *aionion* in the sense of “immutable” or “divine” and to follow E. B. Allo: “it is the gospel pure and simple, said to be eternal because it does not change, as opposed to the law of Moses,”⁴¹ and proclaimed universally (Matt 24:14).

The last evolution of *euangelion*: the gospel, which was always an oral message, becomes a writing: “the memoirs of the apostles, which are called Gospels.”⁴² As Eusebius would explain, missionaries “put their honor to preaching the word of faith to those who had heard nothing of it and transmitting to them the text of the divine Gospels” (*ton theion euangelion*, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.37.2). This tetramorphic (in four forms) gospel (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.11.8; 4.20.6; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.24.6) is the four books of the Gospels which are the written form of the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ.⁴³

As for the term *euangelistes* (evangelist), it is unknown before the Christian era; its mention in an inscription at Rhodes is so disputable that nothing certain can be drawn from it.⁴⁴ Its uses in the papyri are all Christian and late, referring above all to the evangelist John (an amulet from the fifth century, *P.Oxy.* 1151, 45; sixth century, *PSI* 953, 82; *CPR* I, 30,4), sometimes to Mark (*SB* 6087, 18, *Markou euangelistou*). The three NT mentions are hardly more explicit. The word is attributed as a title to the deacon Philip in Acts 21:8 (“having entered [at Caesarea] into the house of Philip the evangelist”). St. Paul uses it as a functional description of his co-worker Timothy, whom he has just exhorted to “preach the word” (2Tim 4:2). He reiterates: “Do the work of an evangelist (*ergon poieson euangelistou*), fulfill your ministry (*ten diakonian*)” (4:5). Finally, in a list of charismatic gifts, evangelists are slipped in between apostles and prophets on the one hand and pastors and teachers on the other “for the work of ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ.”⁴⁵

This office of evangelist has been understood in quite diverse fashions,⁴⁶ but most often in an anachronistic fashion, with reference to later distinctions (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.37; 5.10.2), whereas in NT times this function did not as yet have a determinate character. All that we can say is that an evangelist is a messenger (cf. Isa 40:9; 52:7; 61:1) who

preaches the gospel. He collaborates with the apostles and continues their mission, spreading their preaching without having their authority, even though this office is put ahead of pastors and teachers. His ministry is especially itinerant, but can also be fixed, and the evangelist—like Timothy, bishop of Ephesus—is stationed, if we may so express it, in the community where he carries out other responsibilities; which is commonly the case with charismatic gifts.

¹ Philostratus, *VA* 4.31; 7.21; 8.38; Iamblichus, *VP* 2.12; Lucian, *Icar.* 34; J. Schniewind, *Euangelion*, Gütersloh, 1931, pp. 185–196; cf. M. Burrows, “The Origin of the Term ‘Gospel,’” in *JBL*, 1925, pp. 21–33; G. Friedrich, “εὐαγγέλιον,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 707–737.

² Plato, *Tht.* 144 *b*: εὐ̄ ἀγγέλλεις; *Resp.* 4.432 *b*.

³ F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, 43 *e*; cf. 16 *h*. The recipient of the message is designated by πρὸς (Menander, *Georg.* 83), ε—πί (Rev 14:6—to those who), ε—ν (French *chez*, among, Gal 1:16). The content of the announcement is introduced by περί or ὅτι.

⁴ Demosthenes, *Corona* 18.323; Agrippina “announced to Nero that she had had the good fortune to save herself” (σώζοιτο εὐηγγελίκει, Dio Cassius 61.13.4).

⁵ J. Schniewind, *Euangelion*, p. 130.

⁶ Plutarch, *Pomp.* 66.3: “A number of people sailed for Lesbos, wishing to announce to Cornelia the good news (εὐαγγελιζόμενοι) that the war was over.”

⁷ Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.1.3: the mission of going to announce to those at Meroë the good news of victory.

⁸ Pausanias 4.19.5; Lucian, *Laps.* 3: ἡμεροδρομήσας.

⁹ *PSI* 768, 8; J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1955, p. 215, n. 95; 1965, p. 148, n. 309.

¹⁰ A house saved from a ghost (Lucian, *Pseudol.* 31); Lysias, *C. Leocr.* 18; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 5.7.

¹¹ Cf. O. Schilling, rcb, *TDOT* vol. 2, pp. 313–316; J. Bowman, “The Term ‘Gospel’ and its cognates in the Palestinian Syriac,” in *Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson*, Manchester, 1959, pp. 54–67.

¹² Jer 20:15—“Cursed be the man who announced to my father, ‘A son is born to you, a male!’ and thus brought him joy.”

¹³ 1Sam 31:9, the Philistines, upon discovering the body of Saul, “sent messengers to carry the good news all around, in their idolatrous temples, among the nations” (= 1Chr 10:9), but David forbade “carrying good news (of this death) in the streets of Ashkelon lest the daughters of the uncircumcised rejoice” (2Sam 1:20; cf. 7:9). Likewise at the death of Absalom (2Sam 18:19-20, 26, 31). The announcement of Solomon’s coronation was good news—though not for Adonijah and his guests (1Kgs 1:42). Cf. the announcement of peace (Nah 1:15 = 2:1).

¹⁴ 2Sam 18:19, 22, 25-27. The εὐαγγέλιον is the “tip” the messenger gets for bringing good news (2Sam 4:10).

¹⁵ *Rewards* 161. The other usages are conformable to classical Greek: announcing a victory (*Virtues* 41), the accession of Gaius to power (*To Gaius* 231), of the complete restoration of his health (18).

¹⁶ Announcement of a birth (*Ant.* 5.277, 282), of a victory (5.24; 7.245, 250; 15.209; *War* 3.503), of a favorable occasion (*War* 3.143), of the death of Tiberius (*Ant.* 18.228). The one who announces rejoices (*War* 1.607). The εὐαγγέλιον in *War* 2.420 is a godsend; favorable news (4.656), the accession of Vespasian to the imperial power, which is celebrated with sacrifices (4.618). At the death of Tiberius, Agrippa learns that “the lion is dead” and, in his rejoicing, he declares that for him it is good news (εὐαγγελία), *Ant.* 18.229.

¹⁷ *Exod. Rab.* 46, on Exod 34:1; cf. *Pss. Sol.* 11.2—“Publish in Jerusalem the word of the messenger of joy (the Messiah): That God has taken pity on Israel and visited him”; numerous texts cited by Str-B, vol. 3, pp. 5–11.

¹⁸ Having arrived from Memphis, a slave announces to the *strategos* Apollonius the victory of his army (ε—ρχομένω εὐαγγελίζοντι τὰ τῆς νείκης αὐτοῦ καὶ προκοπῆς) and expresses the wish that a thanksgiving feast be celebrated in honor of the gods (*P.Giss.* 27, 6; end of Trajan’s reign, beginning of Hadrian’s); *P.Amh.* II, 16 (Christian hymn from the fourth century).

¹⁹ *P.Oxy.* 1830, 3. Cf. T. Kock, *Menandrea ex papyris et membranis vetustissimis*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 106, 83: εὐαγγελίσασθαι πρὸς σὲ ταῦτ ε—βουλόμην.

²⁰ Used for the return of Ulysses (Homer, *Od.* 14.152, 166), then the announcement of victory “by a soldier who had taken part in the combat. He entered the stadium (at Olympia) to bring the good news of the victory” (Philostratus, *Gym.* 7); likewise Plutarch, *Ages.* 33.7; *Demetr.* 17.6; etc. Christian usages from the sixth and seventh centuries: τὸν ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον (*P.Princ.* 180, 8; *SB* 9401, 4).

²¹ Εὐάγγελος—attested beginning with Aeschylus, *Ag.* 21 (the signal-fire as a messenger of joy), 475, 262 (the good messenger Hope invites you to sacrifice), 646 (“messenger of salvation in a city rejoicing in triumph”), and Euripides, *Phoen.* 1217: “a happy message”—is a proper name attested from the fifth century (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 77, 26), mentioned in the first century AD (*BGU* 583, 1; *P.Lond.* 260, 106; vol. 2, p. 50), in the second century (*P.Haw.* 312), in the second-third century (*P.Amh.* 76, 8), in the third-fourth century (*P.Oxy.* 989; *BGU* 816, 6), etc. Cf. *BGU* 496, 12, 908, 4ff., 1127, 2. Also used for a messenger of the gods, delivering an oracle (cf. Conon, in the first century, in *F.Gr.H.*, vol. 1, p. 207, 8–14; an inscription from Samos, in J. Schniewind, *Euangelion*, p. 187); and as an divine attribute: of Hermes (cf. Hesychius 2.216; *IG* 5, 235); of Zeus himself (Aelius Aristides, ed. B. Keil, vol. 2, pp. 468ff., n.53). As proper names there are also Εὐαγγελει—ος (*P.land.* 51, 5; *P.Oxy.* 998), Εὐαγγελίων (*I.Perg.* 384, 3), and Εὐαγγέλιος (*P.Hamb.* 33, rect. II, 29; second century AD), which is also a month in the calendar of Smyrna in the third century (cf. PW, on this word).

²² Papyrus from the Royal Library of Berlin, ed. A. Deissmann, *Light*, p. 367.

²³ *Caractères du grec*, p. 74. Cf. J. Gagé, “La Théologie de la Victoire impériale,” in *Revue historique*, 1933, pp. 1–43.

²⁴ Cf. the inscription from Laodicea in which “the Romans and the Greeks of the province of Asia and the people of Laodicea honored Quintus Pomponius Flacius, who freely bestowed his generosity on the feasts for good news” (ε—πιδίδοντα ε—ν εὐαγγελίοις εὐψύχως, published in *IGRom.* IV, 860; republished with commentary by L. Robert, “Les Inscriptions,” in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, pp. 265ff., line 12).

²⁵ Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.6.37: Following the naval victory won by Callicratidas, Eteonicus held a thanksgiving sacrifice (ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια);

4.3.14: “Agesilaus offered a sacrifice to celebrate the good news and made numerous distributions of parts of the victims”; Isocrates, *Areop.* 7.10: “sacrifice for good news”; Plutarch, *Phoc.* 23.6: “The city will celebrate this good news with feasts and unending sacrifices” (ε—ορτάζειν εὐαγγέλια συνεχω—ς, καὶ θύειν τοι—ς θεοι—ς); *Sert.* 26.6: when victory was announced, “Sertorius, full of joy, offered a thanksgiving sacrifice” (θύοντος εὐαγγέλια); *Ages.* 17.5; Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 51.1: “the people offered a sacrifice for the good news” (εὐαγγέλια θυει—ν); Plutarch, *Demetr.* 11.4: after the naval victory, Stratocles decreed sacrifices for the good news; Philostratus, *VA* 5.8; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.2 (τὰς εὐχαριστηρίους θυσίας); Diodorus Siculus 15.74.2. Cf. J. Schniewind, *Euangelion*, pp. 168–183.

²⁶ L. Robert cites a dozen in “Notes d’épigraphie hellénistique,” in *BCH*, 1936, p. 187, and adds new ones in *I.Sard.Rob.*, pp. 14–15.

²⁷ C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 1325, 7. Cf. *IG*, VII, 17; II2, 1224.

²⁸ Cf. κηρύσσω (Acts 8:4ff.), λαλέω (8:25), διδάσκω (5:42, 15:35), ἀναγγέλλω (1Pet 1:12).

²⁹ Cf. A. George, “Paroles de Jésus sur ses miracles,” in J. Dupont, *Jesus aux origines de la Christologie*, Gembloux, 1975, pp. 283–292.

³⁰ The realization of the divine promises (Acts 13:32ff.; Heb 4:2, 6), the establishment of the kingdom (Acts 8:12), the lordship of Christ (Acts 5:42; 8:35; 11:20; 17:18; Gal 1:16; Eph 3:8; 1Pet 1:11ff.).

³¹ Rom 10:15; cf. the Twelve (Luke 9:6; Acts 5:42; 8:4), deacons (Acts 8:12, 35, 40), St. Paul (Acts 10:36; Eph 2:17), who will be the evangelist to the pagans (Acts 11:20; 14:7, 15, 21; 16:10; 17:18; Rom 15, 20; 1Cor 15:1ff.; 2Cor 10:16; 11:7; Gal 1:8, 16; 4:13). His grace (Eph 3:8) and his calling is to “evangelize” (1Cor 1:17), after the fashion of the prophets (Amos 3:8; Jer 1:20; Ezek 3:17ff.)—hence it is an obligation (1Cor 9:16).

³² Mark 1:1—“The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, Son of God” (cf. L. E. Keck, “The Introduction to Mark’s Gospel,” in *NTS*, vol. 12, 1966, pp. 352–370; J. Delorme, “Aspects doctrinaux du second Evangile,” in I. de la Potterie, *De Jésus aux Evangiles*, Gembloux-Paris, 1967, pp. 79ff. R. Pesch, “Anfang des Evangeliums Jesu Christi,” in *Die Zeit Jesu: Festschrift H. Schlier*, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1970, pp. 108–144); 1:14—“Jesus went into Galilee proclaiming the gospel of God” (salvation realized, in the name of God); 1:15—“Repent and believe the gospel”; 8:35—“Whoever loses his life because of me and the gospel (for the cause of the gospel) will save it” = 10:29; 14:9—“Everywhere the gospel shall be preached in the whole

world, what she has done (Mary of Bethany) will be told in memory of her” (J. Jeremias, *Abba*, pp. 115–120); 16:15—“Go through the whole world, preach the gospel to every creature.” G. Strecker, “Literarkritische Überlegung zum εὐαγγέλιον-Begriff im Markusevangelium,” in *Neues Testament und Geschichte* (Festschrift O. Cullmann), Zurich, 1972, pp. 91–104; reprinted in *Eschaton und Historie*, Göttingen, 1979, pp. 76–89.

³³ J. A. E. van Dodewaard (“Jésus s’est-il servi lui-même du mot ‘Evangile’?” in *Bib*, 1954, pp. 161–173) remarks that for Mark, the evangel (1) has God as its author (1:14); (2) announces Jesus Christ as Son of God (1:1) and the kingdom (1:15); (3) is good news that is intended for universal promulgation (13:10; 14:9; 16:15); (4) εὐαγγέλιον — Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1:1) and τοῦ θεοῦ (1:14) are synonymous. —The word (in Greek, or its Aramaic equivalent) was current in Hellenistic Judaism. Thus it has been transmitted correctly by the oral tradition (which is the basis of our Gospels) and not by communities expressing themselves through anonymous redactors. It is urgent to examine anew the usage of Greek in Palestine in the first century and to complete the fundamental work of S. Liebermann (*Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 2d ed., New York, 1965), especially since the discovery of the Greek letter of Bar Kochba (cf B. Lifshitz, in *Aeg*, vol. 42, 1962, p. 243) and the Murabba‘at papyri. Cf. H. Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus*, Oslo, 1952; H. Schürmann, “Die Sprache des Christus,” in *BZ*, 1958, pp. 54–84; H. Ott, “Um die Muttersprache Jesu,” in *NovT*, 1967, pp. 1–25; H. P. Rüger, “Zum Problem der Sprache Jesu,” in *ZNW*, 1968, pp. 113–122; J. Barr, “Which Language Did Jesus Speak?” in *BJRL*, 1970, pp. 9–29; P. Lapide, “Insights from Qumrân into the Languages of Jesus,” in *RevQ*, vol. 8, 1972, pp. 483–501; A. W. Argyle, “Greek among the Jews of Palestine in New Testament Times,” in *NTS*, vol. 20, 1973, pp. 87–89; J.A. Emerton, “The Problem of Vernacular Hebrew in the First Century A.D. and the Language of Jesus,” in *JTS*, 1973, pp. 1–23; H. Leclercq, “Note sur le grec néotestamentaire et la position du grec en Palestine au premier siècle,” in *Etudes classiques*, 1974, pp. 243–255; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1975; G. Mussies, “Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora,” in S. Safrai, M. Stern, *The Jewish People in the First Century*, Assen-Amsterdam, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 1040–1064; M. Silva, “Bilingualism and the Character of Palestinian Greek,” in *Bib*, 1980, pp. 198–219.

³⁴ Γνωρίζω, (1Cor 15:1; Eph 6:19), διδάσκω (Gal 1:12; 2Tim 1:11), ἀνατίθημι (Gal 2:2), εὐαγγελίζομαι (1Cor 15:1; 2Cor 11:7; Gal 1:11), καταγγέλλω (1Cor 9:14), κηρύσσω (1Thess 2:9; Gal 2:2; Col 1:23), λαλέω (1Thess 2:2). Cf. A. Goffinet, “La Prédication de l’Evangile,” in *ETL*, 1965, pp. 412ff. B. Moreau, “La Notion d’évangélisation chez saint Paul,” in *LTP*, 1968, pp. 258–293.

³⁵ “Comprehensive” genitive (both subjective and objective), Rom 15:19; 1Cor 9:12; 2Cor 2:12; 9:13; 10:14; Gal 1:7; Phil 1:27; 1Thess 3:2; 2Thess 1:8). Cf. G. Strecker, “Das Evangelium Jesu Christi,” in *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie: Festschrift H. Conzelmann*, Tübingen, 1975, pp. 503–548. St. Paul also says “my” (Rom 2:16; 16:25; 2Tim 2:8) or “our gospel” (1Thess 1:5; 2Thess 2:14; 2Cor 4:3).

³⁶ The preexistent Son of God, born of the house of David, resurrected and Lord (Rom 1:3-4), dead, resurrected, and having appeared (1Cor 15:1), accomplishing the promises (1Cor 15:1 and Rom 16:25ff.), bringing peace (Eph 6:15), judgment (Rom 2:16), eternal life (Titus 3:1-8), salvation (2Tim 1:8-10). Cf. J. Schniewind, *Die Begriffe Wort und Evangelium bei Paulus*, Bonn, 1910. J. Bonsirven, *L’Evangile de Paul*, Paris, 1948; H. Schlier, “Εὐαγγέλιον im Römerbrief,” in *Wort Gottes in der Zeit* (Festschrift K. H. Schelkle), Düsseldorf, 1973, pp. 127–142.

³⁷ Cf. E. B. Allo, “L’Evolution’ de l’Evangile de Paul,” in *Mémorial Lagrange*, Paris, 1940, pp. 259–267.

³⁸ 1Tim 1:11—“The gospel of the glory of the blessed God, which was entrusted to me personally” is the norm of faith (cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, pp. 336ff.); 2Tim 1:8—“Take part in the sufferings of the gospel according to the power of God”; 1:10-11: “Christ Jesus brought life and incorruption to light by the gospel, for which I was established as herald, apostle, and teacher”; 2:8-9: “Remember Jesus Christ, resurrected from the dead, of the race of David, according to his gospel. For him, I endure sufferings to the point of imprisonment as a criminal”; cf. P. Trummer, *Die Paulustradition der Pastoralbriefe*, Graz, 1976, pp. 234ff.

³⁹ 2Cor 11:4; Gal 1:6-7; cf. W. Barclay, *NT Wordbook*, London, 1955, pp. 41–46. On the gospel *regula fidei*, cf. the formula πιστὸς ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ. (1Tim 1:15; 3:1; 4:9; Titus 3:8; 2Tim 2:11). P. C. Empe, *Teaching Authority and Infallibility in the Church*, Minneapolis, 1980, pp. 14ff., 186ff.

⁴⁰ L. Cerfaux, “‘L’Evangile éternel’ (Apoc. XIV, 6),” in *ETL*, 1963, pp. 672–681.

⁴¹ E. B. Allo, *Saint Jean: L’Apocalypse*, 3d ed., Paris, 1933, on this verse. For C. Masson (“L’Evangile éternel de Apocalypse XIV, 6 et 7,” in *Hommage et reconnaissance à Karl Barth*, Neuchâtel-Paris, pp. 63–67), it would have to do with the word of God in creation, the word of joy and love, which must resound until the last day.

⁴² Justin, *1 Apol.* 66.3. 1Cor is already called Paul's "gospel" by Clement of Rome (*1Clem.* 47.1–2). "Luke, Paul's companion, put into a book the gospel preached by the apostle" (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.1.1). The Muratorian Canon refers to Luke's Gospel as *tertius evangelii liber* and to John as *quartum evangeliorum*.

⁴³ J. Huby, *L'Évangile et les évangiles*, Paris, 1954; R. Schnackenburg, "Das Evangelium' im Verständnis der ältesten Evangelisten," in *Orientierung an Jesus . . . für J. Schmid*, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1973, pp. 309–324; H. Merkel, *La Pluralité des Évangiles comme problème théologique et exégétique dans l'Église ancienne*, Bern-Frankfurt, 1978.

⁴⁴ Published as *IG XII, 1, 75*; republished by H. Grégoire (*Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, Amsterdam, 1968, n. 124), discussed by A. Dieterich ("Ἐὐαγγελιστής," in *ZNW*, 1900, pp. 336–338) and especially by J. Schniewind (*Euangelion*, p. 189, which mentions the name Euangelis, a priestess of Hera, on an inscription at Samos, p. 187): Δάφνας καὶ θεοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς . . . ΟΗΡΟΣ (= ὁ ἰ—ερός? or ὁ ἥρωος? or Οὐήρος) εὐαγγελιστής ("the chief priest of Daphne and of God, who must announce the oracle . . .").

⁴⁵ Eph 4:11; cf. D. Y. Hadidian ("Tous de euangelistas in Eph. IV, 11," in *CBQ*, 1966, pp. 317–321), who supposes that evangelists put into writing the preaching of the apostles. This would be the case with Mark and Peter (cf. Irenaeus and Eusebius, the latter citing Papias; *PG* 7.845; 20.300), and especially certain of the πολλοί who drew up a διήγησιν of the gospel facts (Luke 1:1), notably St. Luke (2Cor 8:18).

⁴⁶ N. E. Hugedé, *Ephésiens*, p. 159.

εὐγενής

eugenes, noble, well-born

eugenes, S 2104; *EDNT* 2.74; *NIDNTT* 1.187–188; MM 259–260; L&N 27.48, 87.27; BAGD 319

I. — In the parable of the minas, a man of noble birth (*anthropos tis eugenes*) goes off to a distant country to receive a kingdom (Luke 19:12), after the fashion of Archelaus, the claimant to the throne, who went off to Rome but only brought back the title of ethnarch (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.299ff.). In the parable of the talents, the *anthropos* is not otherwise described (Matt 25:14), but he must be a very rich man, a big-time merchant, a major

businessman, a banker or ship owner, who has considerable sums at his disposal. A comparison of the two texts suggests that we should not assign too much weight to the juridical value of *eugenes*, which, for Palestinian hearers of that period, could equally well suggest grandeur (cf. Job 1:3, Hebrew *gadôl*), the nobility of a dignitary (2Macc 10:13), and wealth (cf. Matt 25:14). Since Luke puts a claimant to a throne on the stage, *eugenes* has to mean “noble, of royal descent.”¹

II. — In Hellenistic Greek, *eugenes* is used not only for noble birth² but also for noble sentiments, character, morals. Cnemon says: “Gorgias opened my eyes, his behavior was that of the noblest heart,”³ because he acted in a disinterested fashion and with sympathy. Among the Jewish people, those of noble soul despised the orders of Antiochus Epiphanes (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.255). There are obviously degrees in virtue and ability;⁴ hence the frequent use of the comparative and superlative forms.⁵ Thus the Jews of Berea “were more noble [in character] than those of Thessalonica”⁶ in their welcome and cordial treatment of the apostles.

III. — The community at Corinth was for the most part⁷ recruited from the poor and obscure social classes. In one of the most oratorical sections of his first letter,⁸ St. Paul emphasizes: “Look at your own call, brothers; not many wise according to the flesh (*sophoi*), not many powerful (*dynatoi*), not many well-born (*eugeneis*)” (1Cor 1:26). The converts are for the most part not intellectuals, not in positions of authority, not descendants of the old families of the city. To begin with, the nobles were identified with the *eupatrides*, the “well-born”; the *eugeneis*, “sons of noble fathers,” for a group (*genos*), a sort of familial corporation—like the Bacchiades at Corinth, who made it a rule to marry among themselves—gifted with religious and even military privileges.⁹ Little by little, this class acquired power and wealth, especially in land (cf. the *geomoroi*), although they did not consider it beneath their dignity to supplement their resources with income from maritime trade; their political influence grew.¹⁰ In the first century, the well-born comprise the urban bourgeoisie, a patrician nobility or aristocracy, who wield patronage and form the dominant, governing class of the city with all the accompanying social prestige. These are the “known” people (cf. *nobilis*) in a complimentary sense, “the good people, the best people” (*aristoi*), who take precedence over the others (*phronimoi*, *ischyroi*, *endoxoi*, 1Cor 4:10).

Eugenes and *eugeneia*, which recur abundantly in the inscriptions, refer not to a political quality but to a social standing. Aristotle had asked, “what are they that they should be called noble (*eugeneis*)”—and what is the value of nobility? He cites the opinion of the sophist Lycophron: “there is no difference at all between those who are noble and those who are not”;¹¹ then Socrates: “the noble are those whose parents are respectable people”; and finally Simonides: “the *eugeneis* are the descendants of rich people of the past.” Finally, the Stagirite concludes: “nobility is excellence

of lineage” (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 86.29 A 25; vol. 5, p. 712). More specifically, he continues: “Those who have a long line of virtuous or wealthy ancestors are considered to be of better birth (*eugenesteroi*) than those whose possession of these qualities is recent. . . . The noble can be the good man (*eugenes ho agathos aner*), but more precisely nobles are those who have a long line of rich ancestors or virtuous ancestors” (ibid., C 52; vol. 5, p. 723; cf. *Rh.* 2.15.1390b21ff.; *Pol.* 3.13.1283a34ff.). This moral sense alone is retained by Philo: nobility is the practice of virtue.¹²

The rare Corinthian *eugeneis* are then those who were called in turn-of-the-century France “les gens bien,” a class based on dignity and treated with consideration;¹³ the moral element is intimately interconnected with the social element.

¹ In Palestine, nobility is represented (a) by the Herodian dynasty, “the court”; (b) by the lay aristocracy, such as the “excellent men” (Hebrew *neḥibîm*, Num 21:18; Prov 8:16), powerful and rich; those “of good birth” (*horîm*, Isa 34:12; Eccl 10:17), notables and dignitaries of all sorts, civil or military officials, leaders who sit at the city gate (*sarîm*, Job 29:9; cf. R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, pp. 69ff., 152ff.), magistrates (ἄρχοντες; Josephus, *War* 2.237), “the first of the dwellers in Jerusalem according to dignity and birth” (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.123); for example, Joseph of Arimathea, a distinguished member of the Sanhedrin (Mark 15:43, εὐσχήμων; a term that the papyri also apply to wealthy landowners); “Jews of quality” of “of high class” (Josephus, *War* 6.113), “Jerusalemites of high rank,” whose sons participated in the song of the Levites during the daily sacrifice (*t. 'Arak.* 2.2); cf. the Jerusalemites of high rank who feed and entertain children for the service of the red heifer (*b. Ketub.* 106a) or present an anesthetic drink to those condemned to death (*b. Sanh.* 43a); above all the elders, heads of the most influential families: οἱ—πρωτοὶ τοῦ λαοῦ (Luke 19:47); (c) by the priestly aristocracy, as opposed to the ordinary priests, i.e., the high priest and the “chief priests” of Jerusalem, members of high-priestly families, ἐ—κ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ, (Acts 4:6). The *eugeneis* are associated with the high priests by Josephus (*War* 6.114). Cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, pp. 96ff., 147ff., 175ff., 181ff. For Jeremias, the parable of the minas is most likely aimed at the Jerusalem aristocracy, particularly the scribes who hold the keys to the kingdom of God.

² Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.1.7: “His father was of excellent lineage (πατρός δ εὐγενεστάτου), powerful”; Theophrastus, *Char.* 28.2: “His mother is a Thracian noble ... ; at any rate, all women of that sort are nobles in their country”; Philo, *Joseph* 106: “The king recognized when he appeared that in his presence stood a free man of noble origin, ἄνδρα ἐ—λεύθερον καὶ

εὐγενῆ”; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.186: “Nebuchadnezzar took the young Jews who were of most noble birth, εὐγενεστάτους”; Diodorus Siculus 4.21.2 (εὐγενής corresponds to the Latin *patricius*, cf. H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 50); *P.Oxy.* 1206, 11: a boy of two years when adopted “shall not be reduced to slavery, because he is well-born and the son of free, well-born parents, διὰ τὸ εὐγενῆ αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐξ εὐγενω—ν γονέων ἐ—λευθέρων” (in 335); 2177, 56; *SEG* II, 294, 11, a decree from Delphi in the first century AD: “Let Telesagoros have access to the exercise of every magistracy or priesthood whatsoever that the noble families of Delphi have access to”; *SB* 6258, 1; *IGLS* 281, 2: “Gregorios, pious offspring of a noble race,” etc.

³ Menander, *Dysk.* 723: ἀνδρὸς εὐγενεστάτου; cf. F. W. Danker, “Menander and the New Testament,” in *NTS* vol. 10, 1964, p. 366; *SB* 9077, 12; *P.Princ.* 169, 2. When a third-century assembly cries three times “noble syndic,” they are praising not his origins but his good administration (*P.Oxy.* 2407, 3, 11, 18). The epithet is conferred upon women (*SB* 6951, 7; 7519, 1; 9077, 12; *P.Stras.* 279, 10; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 8, 7; *P.Ness.* 21, 11; 22, 24, 33; 46, 7), to the noble tomb of Ioannia (*SB* 8085, 3), and the adverb εὐγενω—ς means that public functions have been carried out nobly (*SB* 7871, 5; 8334, 19, from 39 BC; cf. R. Huttmacher, *Ehrendekret*) or that the person in question died beautifully (2Macc 14:42; 4Macc 6:22, 30; 9:22; 12:14; 13:11).

⁴ Toubias sends to Apollonios four slaves of a superior class, καὶ τω—ν εὐγενω—ν τέσσαρα (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59076, 5).

⁵ *I.Car.*, n. 58: ἓνα τω—ν εὐγενεστάτων καὶ εὐσχημονεστάτων; L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 299; εὐγενεστάτην Ἡράκλειαν (an epigram from Sparta); pp. 259, 304, 342: ἄνδρα εὐγενῆ καὶ τῆς πρώτης τάξεως (base of the statue of M. Aur. Apellas, in the second century); *P.Grenf.* I, 53, 33: τίνος εὐγενέστερος ἐ—στι (fourth century; cf. *Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 131). *SB* 10074, 11: ἐ—πὶ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου —Ιωσηφίου ἐ—ξάρχου Τάλμεως.

⁶ Acts 17:11: ου—τοι δὲ ᾗσαν εὐγενέστεροι τω—ν ἐ—ν ἑσσαλονίκη (cf. Eb. Nestle, in *ZNW*, 1914, pp. 91–92); with whom are associated distinguished Greek women, τω—ν Ἑλληνικῶν γυναικω—ν τω—ν εὐσχημόνων (verse 12; cf. verse 4; 13:50).

⁷ There were, however, some rich people (cf. 2Cor 8-9), and some Christians of high standing, like Erastus, the treasurer of Corinth (Rom 16:23; 2Tim 4:20; cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, p. 822. Cf. Σώσιμον οὐ—κονόμος τῆς πόλεως, Thessalonica, in *IG* X, 2, n. 150, 16–18; G. E.

Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 91) or Crispus the head of the synagogue (Acts 18:8; 1Cor 1:14).

⁸ Cf. J. Weiss, in *Theologische Studien B. Weiss dargebracht*, Göttingen, 1897, pp. 203ff.; J. Bohater, "Inhalt und Reihenfolge der 'Schlagworte der Erlösungsreligion' in I Kor. I, 26–31," in *TZ*, vol. 4, 1948, pp. 252–271.

⁹ The *equites*; on τιμή, the religious prerogative of the important families, cf. L. Gernet, *Recherches sur le développement de la pensée juridique et morale en Grèce*, Paris, 1917, pp. 295ff.

¹⁰ The association δυνατοί-εὐγενει—ς is common. *Potestas* is any form of legally recognized authority of one person over another person or over property. On the different social classes in Greece, cf. H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes*, Lille, 1939, p. 119ff.; H. Strassburger, "Nobiles," in *PW*, vol. 17, 1, col. 781, 901. At Rome, cf. J. Gaudemet, *Institutions de l'antiquité*, Paris, 1967, pp. 304ff. (gives the bibliography): "The *nobiles* were distinguished by social standing, birth into curule families, wealth, a large following of clients and friends, and sharing in political power and de facto strength; but also by personal qualities, intellectual and moral (*virtus*)" (p. 305; cf. pp. 535ff.); J. Gagé, *Les Classes sociales dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1964, pp. 82–106, 390–399.

¹¹ In Stobaeus, *Flor.* 86.29 A 24 (vol. 5, p. 710). The fragments of the Aristotelian Περὶ εὐγενείας have been published by P. M. Schuhl, *Aristote: De la richesse, De la prière, De la noblesse, Du plaisir, De l'éducation*, Paris, 1968, pp. 83–133.

¹² Philo, *Virtues* 198. It is virtue and vice that differentiate the noble and the ignoble. The Alexandrian's Περὶ εὐγενείας comprise 187–227. Cf. *Sobr.* 56: The nobility "is the race of those whom God loves."

¹³ At the end of the second century, at Rome, a certain Appian addresses the emperor: "I appeal by virtue of my nobility and my rights—ὕπὲρ τῆς ε—μαυτοῦ εὐγενείας καὶ τω—ν ε—μοὶ προσηκόντων ἀπαγγέλλων." —The emperor: "How is that?" —Appian: "Because I am noble and a gymnasiarch, ὡς εὐγενῆς καὶ γυμνασίαρχος" (*P.Oxy.* 33, col. IV, 15–V, 4). In addresses: γράφω οὖν τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου (*P.Gen.* 50, 14; *P.Princ.* 169, 2). Compare at Rome, under the empire, the *honestiores*, "people of quality," who occupy a higher level (*gradus*) of the social hierarchy, "personages" distinguished by an *honor*, a public function (*splendidior persona*, *major persona*, *vir spectatae auctoritatis*, *altior*); cf. G. Cardascia, "L'Apparition dans le droit des classes d' 'Honestiores' et d' 'Humiliores,'" in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1950, pp. 305–337, 461–485.

εὐδία, χειμών

eudia, good weather; *cheimon*, winter, bad weather

eudia, S 2105; *EDNT* 2.75; *NIDNTT* 3.1000, 1002; MM 260; L&N 14.1; BAGD 319 | ***cheimon***, S 5494; *EDNT* 3.462; MM 686; L&N 14.2, 67.165; BDF §186(2); BAGD 879

“Good weather”¹ is only mentioned once in the NT, and in contrast with “bad weather,” as is not rare in secular texts.² “When evening comes, you say ‘Good weather (*eudia*), for the sky is red’; and in the morning, ‘Storm today (*cheimon*), for the sky is red and threatening.”³ *Eudia* refers to a calm sky and clear weather.⁴ Hence the derivative meaning, unknown in the Bible, “serenity of soul” (Epictetus 2.18.30), “the honey of blessedness” (Pindar, *Ol.* 1.98), the peace and tranquility of order in a city:⁵ “the multitudes seek to find calm, *zetountes eudian heurein*” (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.69).

As for *cheimon* —it has a double meaning. First of all “winter,” the opposite of summer (*Enoch* 3.1), from Cant 2:11—“Behold the winter (Hebrew *setaw*) is past”⁶—to John 10:22, where the feast of Dedication is celebrated during the winter. It is the cold season,⁷ when bathrooms (*P.Flor.* 127, 7) and the *gymnasion* are heated daily (*I.Priene* 112, 98; from the first century BC), when stored provisions are used (*P.Alex.* 1.7). All moving is hard and dangerous, and the Lord bids Christians pray that their flight may not have to be in such times (Matt 24:20; Mark 13:18); crossing the sea, even the Adriatic, is especially dangerous, and St. Paul asks Timothy to come before winter, *pro cheimonos elthein*.⁸

Cheimon also refers to bad weather in general (*P.Hib.* 198, 114): the cold rain that leaves you shaking (1Esdr 9:6) and from which you seek shelter (2Esdr 10:9, Hebrew *geshem*), rain showers (Job 37:6), the more or less violent storm,⁹ which became the symbol for human difficulties.¹⁰

¹ Εὐδία is an OT hapax: “like frost in good weather, so shall your sins melt” (Sir 3:15); the hoarfrost disappears when the first rays of the spring sun appear.

² Aristotle, *HA* 6.19.551a: certain insects are born from the dew that falls on leaves, “the phenomenon ordinarily occurs in the springtime, but sometimes happens in winter (τοῦ χειμῶ—νος), when the weather is good (ὅταν εὐδία) and the wind is from the south for several days”; 9.40.627b: “the bees know when bad weather (χειμῶ—να) is coming and head for the

hive while the weather is still good (ε—ν τῆ εὐδία)”; Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.4.14: “In the midst of good weather (ε—ν εὐδία), the gods stir up a storm (χειμω—να ποιοῦσιν)”; *An.* 5.8.19–20: “I see good weather for you; but when there is a storm and the sea surges . . .”; Philo, *Giants* 51: “it is amazing that anyone could remain serene in the middle of a storm (ε—ν χειμω—νι εὐδίαν)”; Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 5: “moments when the sea is calm, others when it is agitated by the storm, εὐδαίαι τε καὶ χειμω—νες.”

³ Matt 16:2-3 (for the idea, G. Mussies, *Dio Chrysostom*, p. 70, compares Dio Chrysostom 7.70; 38.18). Palestinians can predict that if the western sky turns red at night good weather will hold, but if the eastern sky turns red in the morning a storm is coming. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.91; Diodorus Siculus 17.10.

⁴ Aristotle, *HA* 8.12.597a: “when the quails arrive, if the weather is good (ε—άν μὲν εὐδία) or the wind is blowing from the north, they go two by two and make good progress”; cf. Herondas, *Mimes* 1.28: in Egypt are found “power, serene heavens (or ‘peace,’ εὐδίη), glory.” Among sailors: Fishermen spot schools of fish “that seek their food at the surface when the surface of the sea is calm and the weather good” (Aristotle, *HA* 4.8.533b); *P.Oxy.* 1223, 12 (fourth century AD).

⁵ Aeschylus, *Sept.* 795. The partisans of Hyrcanus will be able to live in peace, ε—ν εὐδία διάζειν (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.157); Αἴγυπτον εἰ—ς εὐδίαν ἀγαγεῖ—ν = to bring serenity to Egypt (Rosetta Stone; Dittenberger, *Or.* 90. 11); *P.Tebt.* 700, 34 (second century BC = *C.Ord.Ptol.* n. 50).

⁶ Diodorus Siculus 1.41; *P.Brem.* 63, 31: “I remain naked for the winter.” Sir 21:8—“who collects stones for the winter,” not the right time for building; cf. nevertheless *P.Cair.Zen.* 59643, 3; *P.Lille* 1, rect. 14 (job plan and estimate from the third century BC): ε—άν μὲν κατὰ χειμω—να συντελῆται τὰ ἔργα = if work is ended during the winter; for the care of the vineyard, διὰ χειμω—νος (*PSI* 1338, 8).

⁷ *P.Tebt.* 278, 46 (beginning of the first century AD): χιμῶν γὰρ ε—στι, ψῦχος πολὺ = it is winter, very cold; cf. *P.Mich.* 514, 20; *PSI* 1420, 20.

⁸ 2Tim 4:21. Nevertheless, if the need arose people did not hesitate to brave the winter storms (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.376). The Alexandrians sent on an embassy to Rome in 39–40 crossed the Mediterranean in the middle of winter, not doubting that “a storm on land is a much more terrible adversary than a storm on the sea” (Philo, *To Gaius* 190). Megas asks Olympios to return before winter (*C.P.Herm.* 11, 27; cf. *P.Ryl.* 692, 18), but Terentianus

asks his father to bring him various objects when he comes εἰς τὸν χειμῶσαν (*P.Mich.* 476, 30; second century AD).

⁹ Acts 27:20—χειμῶνός τε οὐκ ὀλίγου; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.377; χειμῶνι σφοδρῶς; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59052, 5 and 12; Menander, *Sam.* 376: “an unforeseen storm” opposed to navigation in clear weather (εἰς εὐδίαν).

¹⁰ 4Macc 15:32—“You nobly endured the storm for the sake of piety”; *T. Zeb.* 6.8; Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 93: “Abraham brought calm where the storm had raged.”

εὐδοκέω, εὐδοκία

eudokeo, to approve, consent to, accept; *eudokia*, benevolence, favor, favorable disposition

eudokeo, S 2106; *TDNT* 2.738–742; *EDNT* 2.75; *NIDNTT* 2.383, 780–781, 817–818, 820; MM 260; L&N 25.87, 25.113, 30.97; BDF §§67(1), 119(1), 148(2), 196, 206(2), 392(3); BAGD 319 | ***eudokia***, S 2107; *TDNT* 2.742–751; *EDNT* 2.75–76; *NIDNTT* 2.817–820; MM 260; L&N 25.8, 25.88; BAGD 319

The semantic history of this verb is curious, as much from the point of view of orthography¹ as from that of its varied, if not uncertain, signification. It appears not before the Hellenistic period and only in popular language (it remains unknown in Philo and Josephus), being attested for the first time in *P.Rev.*, from 259 BC. In this collection of administrative documents, in col. 29, 2–21, the issue is the fixing of the sum of taxes in kind on fruits and vegetables. The tax collector must verify the estimate given by the producer (*ean men eudoke ho telones*).² The meaning is obvious: “If the tax collector approves.” It is in effect this meaning, “consent, accept,” that is constantly attested in the papyri, almost always in a legal or financial contract.³

In the second century BC: “You have accepted the price for the mummy.”⁴ In a contract for a division of property in AD 10–11, previously formulated clauses are subscribed to (*eudoko te progegrammene diaresei*,⁵ or in an equivalent form, *eudoko pasi tois prokeimenois*).⁶ In AD 48: “Thaesis, present in person, gives his agreement to all the dispositions taken by her husband Ptollion, conformably to the proxy.”⁷ When the agreement is that of a collective, the consent of all the members is insisted upon: “They approved unanimously, voluntarily, and spontaneously, with an irrevocable decision” (*eudokesan ex homonoias hekousios kai authairetos kai ametanoeto gnome*, *P.Lond.* 1913, 11; cf. Polybius 1.8.4:

“The Syracusans accept Hieron as their general with unanimous enthusiasm” [*pantas homothymadon eudokesai*]; Diodorus Siculus 14.110.4: “The Lacedaemonians were eager to give their consent”); but in private contracts people were content to write, “I accept these things”⁸ or “I accept everything.”⁹ In a single instance *eudokeo* has the sense of being content, taking pleasure: *eudoko zelo douleuein* (*P.Grenf.* I, 1, 17; from the second century BC; cf. Polybius 1.78.8: “Hamilcar was content to associate with his [the Numidian Naravas’] operations”; 2.38.7: “they became reconciled to their position”; Philodemus of Gadara, *Mort.* 36.4: *he eudokoumene zoe*). In a negative sentence in a marriage contract, the verb is used in a phrase that means “without the consent of the young bride,”¹⁰ so that the act is fully voluntary; it is also used to express displeasure (*P.Tebt.* 591), even a refusal (*P.Mich.* 474, 14: “up to the present you have not been willing to come”) or anger.¹¹

The LXX uses this verb often. Despite a degree of uncertainty as to its meaning, as is shown by the nine different Hebrew verbs that it translates,¹² there is an original theological sense. Of course, there is the common secular meaning “to accept” (Gen 33:10, Jacob to Esau, *eudokeseis me*; Tob 5:17; Judg 15:7), or “consent,”¹³ to which is added the meanings “to pay, discharge” (Lev 26:34, 41; 1Esdr 1:58; Job 14:6) and “prosper, succeed.”¹⁴ But the meaning “to be willing” is well attested;¹⁵ and furthermore, from David on, the verb is constantly applied to God, to his “will” and its efficacious manifestations.¹⁶ It seems to be a matter of love in the proper sense of the word,¹⁷ with the nuance of “take pleasure in”;¹⁸ hence “show oneself favorable”¹⁹ and “accept” (Ps 51:16; 119:108; Eccl 9:7). In his relations with humans, God is the sovereign Lord, benevolent and beneficent, absolutely free to dispense his favor; it is emphasized that he takes pleasure in doing good and that he is quite willing to accept the worship of the just, even as he refuses that of the godless.

The same theology is found also at Qumran, while the verb *rasâh* is most often used with respect to humans.²⁰ God is asked to grant “to the sons of your servant—as is your *will* for your chosen ones—that they may stand before you forever” (1QS 11.16), and especially: God loved the spirit of light for all eternity “and in all its works he takes pleasure” (4.1).

So when after the baptism of Jesus and the descent of the Holy Spirit “a voice from heaven says, ‘This is my son, my beloved, *en ho eudokesa*,”²¹ we may translate “in whom I have delighted,” or better, “in whom I take pleasure”;²² but we must take account of the affective meaning of the verb in the first century, since it has to do with the personal relations between the Father and the Son: the Father’s “pleasure” is the joy of the love that he bears for the Son. The French *complaisance*, which expresses a disposition to be accommodating, to acquiesce to the tastes or feelings of another, is much too feeble. The text uses *eudokeo* to exegete the divine

agape; it has to do with delighting in someone, a form of beatitude. NT *agape*, a heavenly love, is a blessed love.

In the epistles, *eudokeo* with humans as subject has the sense “be willing, accept willingly,”²³ to express spontaneous initiative, undertaken gladly, or “take pleasure” in a bad sense, as in 2Thess 2:12—“so that they all may be condemned who did not believe the truth and took pleasure in iniquity”; but St. Paul’s love and hope is to “go and dwell with the Lord” (2Cor 5:8). This is much more than a willingness to die; it is a positive desire, a joyful hope.

With regard to God, Jesus and Paul use the verb exactly according to its OT meaning: “It has pleased your Father to give you the kingdom” (Luke 12:32); or it has pleased God to save those who believe by the foolishness of preaching (1Cor 1:21)—even if they are a small number (10:5); or to reveal his Son²⁴ and make all the *pleroma* dwell in him (Col 1:19); it is always a matter of supreme, gratuitous initiative, of God’s benevolent and effective will. He is free not to accept animal sacrifices (Heb 10:6 = Ps 40:7) and not to show kindness to the believer who falls away or lacks *hypomone* (endurance).²⁵

Eudokia. — This noun is not completely unknown in secular Greek²⁶ (in addition, secular Greek uses *eudokesis*, “consent, approval,” which is absolutely unknown in the Bible), but it is common in the LXX (where it almost always translates the Hebrew *rasôn*) and in the NT, where its meaning, corresponding to that of the verb *eudokeo*, is also uncertain and varied.

Up until the second century, with something like three exceptions,²⁷ the LXX uses *eudokia* only with regard to God, to express his benevolence (Ps 51:18; 1Chr 16:10; cf. 2Chr 15:15), his approval (Ps 19:14), his favor (Ps 5:12; 79:17) for his people (106, 4; cf. 69:13—*kairos eudokias*, the favorable time). It is the same in Sirach, where the Lord’s kindness (*he eudokia autou*) guarantees the prosperity of godly people (11:17), but *eudokia* is especially his good pleasure, that which pleases him, is acceptable to him,²⁸ emphasizing his free and sovereign will. With regard to humans, *eudokia* expresses contentment (Sir 29:23), consent (15:15), even in a bad sense: the good pleasure of the godless (9:12, *eudokia asebon*), the satisfaction of covetousness (18:31, *eudokian epithymias*).

In his hymn of jubilation (Matt 11:26; Luke 10:21), which is certainly authentic,²⁹ Jesus praises his Father for “hiding these things from the wise and learned and revealing them to little ones. Yes, Father, such was your good pleasure” (*nai, ho Pater, hoti houtos eudokia egeneto emprosthen sou*). The particle *nai* reaffirms the main verb, “I give thanks to you,” and accentuates God’s kindness and initiative, independent of any exterior circumstance: this is pleasing to him.³⁰

At Bethlehem, a large company of the heavenly host³¹ praised God, saying, “*Doxa en hypsistois theo kai epi ges eirene* (Glory to God in the

highest and upon earth peace) *en anthropois eudokias*.³² The sentence has only two parts, linked by *kai*, and corresponding to *doxa/eirene; en hypsistois/epi ges; theo/en anthropois eudokias*.³³ If it is certain that *eudokias* is a genitive of quality, it is difficult to understand it as a reference to a human sentiment, and all the more difficult to translate it “good will,” in the sense that salvation is to be granted only to well-intentioned folk, thus limiting its range, whereas God “wishes to save all people.”³⁴ Doubt is no longer possible after the discovery at Qumran of the expressions *benê resônô* (1QH 4.32: “the multitude of his mercies toward the sons of his good pleasure”), *benê resôneyka* (1QH 11.9: “In your goodness is much pardon, and your mercy is for the sons of your goodwill”), *behûrê rasôn* (“the chosen ones of goodwill”).³⁵ According to the context, this would mean the members of the eschatological community are the object of divine favor. Other Aramaic parallels can be cited to prove that the locution was common.³⁶ In Luke 2:14, the angels celebrate the peace granted to the whole earth, thanks to the saving reconciliation of all humankind by the God’s absolutely free favor. There is no restriction on the beneficiaries of this salvation. They are all sinners;³⁷ God gives this gift to all. This paradox or scandal depends on the good pleasure and sovereign will of the Lord of heaven and earth and is explained by his infinite kindness.

In the epistolary corpus, only St. Paul uses this term. When applied to God, it is always with the meaning found in the OT and the Gospels. That is, God has determined ahead of time that we should be his adoptive sons by Jesus Christ: “such was the good pleasure of his will (*kata ten eudokian tou thelematos autou*), to the praise of the glory of his grace, whereby he has gifted us in the Beloved.”³⁸ The emphasis is not so much on love—although that is the supreme explanation—as on the absolute freedom of the divine decision. God’s will is a mystery, and no one can question his rulings: God acts as seems best to him. With respect to humans, *eudokia* sometimes means a good desire or will, a good disposition to do God’s will: “May our God fulfill (or accomplish) in you every good desire” (*plerose pasan eudokian agathosynes*, 2Thess 1:11; a meaning analogous to that in *P.Grenf.* I, 17, have goodwill for something). When the apostle is imprisoned, “certain ones preached the word of God out of jealousy, in a spirit of rivalry (to supplant Paul), others out of favorable sentiments (or with good attitudes)” (Phil 1:15). Here *di’ eudokia* expresses a right will, pure intentions, and benevolence toward Paul, whose work these preachers were continuing, but also a will to serve God and the gospel.³⁹ It is more difficult to translate Rom 10:1, *he men eudokia tes emes kardias*: “the wish (or intent) of my heart and my prayer to God is for their salvation.” Here *eudokia* expresses a heartfelt, gracious inclination, very close to the “desire” that is well attested in the LXX, or better, a complete disposition to do. A comparison has been made to Mordecai: “I was completely willing to

kiss the soles of his feet (Haman's) for the salvation of Israel" (*eudokoun philein pelmata podon autou pros soterian Israel*).⁴⁰

¹ In classical Greek, the augment for verbs starting with εὐ- is ηὐ-; but in the NT, it most often remains εὐ-, although ηὐ- is not rare (1Thess 2:8; 3:1; Rom 15:26-27; 1Cor 10:5); it cannot be attributed to atticizing scribes, since it predominates in the papyri. Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, n. 266; J. K. Elliott, "Temporal Augment in Verbs with Initial Diphthong in the Greek New Testament," in *NovT*, 1980, pp. 3–5.

² *P.Rev.* 29, 8. Cf. B. P. Grenfell, *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Oxford, 1896 (= *P.Rev.*); republished by J. Bingen, in *Sammelbuch*, Beiheft 1, Göttingen, 1952; J. Bingen, *Le Papyrus Revenue Laws—Tradition grecque et adaptation hellénistique*, Opladen, 1978; *P.Ryl.* 155, 17: εὐδοκι—ν τὴν μητέρα ἄσῃν; *P.Tebt.* 382, 3; *BGU* 1731, 4–1736, 11; 1793, 17: εὐδοκω—ν τὴν καθήκουσαν (first century BC).

³ Moulton-Milligan, on this word, already supply an ample documentation that distinguishes uses with the genitive, the dative, the accusative, or ε—πί.

⁴ Ηὐδόκησάς με τῆς τιμῆς, *P.Lond.* 3, 6 (vol. 1, p. 35); cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 94, 25 (receipt for lease). εὐδοκω— τῆδε τῆ ἀποχῆ (= *SB* 9173, 25); *PSI* 1228, 42: εὐδοκω— τῆ γενομένη ει—ς τὸν Ἑρμοκλία ὦνῆ; *P.Oxy.* 1273, 40: "I approve the publication" (likewise in the act of sale and cession of three houses, published by C. Wehrli, in *ZPE*, vol. 12, 1973, pp. 77–80 = *SB* 11233, 49 and 53; cf. *P.Mich.* 614, 45), 3197, 20, 21, 23: εὐδοκω— τῆ τω—ν δούλων διαιρέσει ὡς πρόκειται; Polybius 2.12.3: "Teuta consents to pay the tribute imposed" (εὐδόκησε φόρους).

⁵ Εὐδοκω— τῆ προγεγραμμένη διαρέσει, *P.Aberd.* 53, col. II, 14 and 20; cf. *P.Brem.* 68, 14; *FuadCrawf.* 20, 11; 21, 32, 42; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 29, 16; *P.Dura* 23, 11; 26, 31; 30, 38, 39; 31, 51; *P.Lond.* 1168, 15 (AD 18); *P.Gron.* 10, 27; *P.Köln* 85, 10; 100, 28; *P.Oslo* 135, 28; *PSI* 1328, 19; *P.Genova* 35, 6; *SB* 9634, 24–26; 9763, 54, 56; 9889, 6.

⁶ *P.Fam.Tebt.* 11, 24 (= *SB* 11229, 14); 41, 19; *P.Hamb.* 101; *PSI* 740, 10; 1341, 20–21; *P.Stras.* 263, 4–5; *P.Oxy.* 3092, 19–20; *P.Mich.* 186, 35 and 40: εὐδοκω— πα—σι τοι—ς προκειμένοις καθὼς πρόκειται (division of property in AD 72); *SB* 8951, 20: εὐδοκω— πα—σι, ὡς πρόκειται. A nurse's contract in AD 26: εὐδοκω— τοι—ς προκειμένοις ("I agree to the clauses above," *P.Rein.* 103, 37; *ibid.*, demotic papyrus, p. 203; cf. *SB* 7619).

⁷ *P.Fouad* 35, 10: εὐδοκεῖ— γὰρ πα—σι οἷς ε—άν ὁ ἀνὴρ Πτολίον περὶ τω—ν κατὰ τὴν σύστασιν οἰ—κονομήσῃ; a proxy for private business (cf. *P.Mich.* 165, 7: εὐδοκω— τῆαι—τήσῃ), for legal business: εὐδοκεῖ— γὰρ τῆδε τῆ συστάσι (“she gives her consent,” *P.Oxy.* 261, 17, in AD 55). The presence of the one giving consent is often mentioned: παρῶν δὲ καὶ Πάππος εὐδοκεῖ— ε—πὶ τούτοις (“Pappus, also present, accepts these conditions,” *P.Enteux.* 25, verso 2); cf. *P.Oxy.* 2349, 23 (AD 70); 2351, 65, 82; 3586, 57.

⁸ *P.Aberd.* 19, 11: εὐδοκῆ τοίτοις; *P.Fouad* 36, 17; *P.Mich.* 604, 23; *SB* 10205, 22; *P.Oxy.* 94, 15: εὐδοκεῖ—ν γὰρ ε—πὶ τούτοις (AD 83); 726, 22; 3261, 19; *P.Tebt.* 317, 33; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 24, 9. Cf. this act of King Attalus II of Pergamum in 160–159: “Let borrowers establish security agreeable to the commissioners” (οἰ— ε—πιμεληταὶ εὐδοκέωντι, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 672, 27; cf. J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XIII, 26–27); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 683, 59: αὐτοὶ εὐδόκησαν; *Or.* 444, 14.

⁹ *P.Oxy.* 725, 47: ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλα—ς εὐδοκω—ν τούτοις πα—σι; *BGU* 1573, 22; *SB* 6294, 14; *P.Fouad* 33, 37: “I, Pausirios . . . am enrolled as legal guardian of my wife and approve of all these arrangements” (first century AD).

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* 496, 8: χωρὶς εὐδοκούσης τῆς γαμουμένης; *P.Fam.Tebt.* I, 32; *P.Vindob. Bosw.* 5, 11 (with the editor’s commentary on the consent of spouses).

¹¹ Letter from Tabetheus with regard to his son Saturlinus, who in a fit of anger, not willing to tolerate being mocked, mortally wounded a certain Menas who had abused his confidence. Nevertheless Tabetheus had placed his son in police custody: οὐ εὐδόκηκα αὐτὸν τὸν υἱ—όν μου αὐτὸν πιστεῦσαι Μηνά—, “I rebuked my son for trusting Menas” (*P.Mich.* 473, 14; cf. 20–21; J. Modrzejewski, “Quelques remarques à propos de l’homicide et de la rançon dans le droit d’Egypte romain: Note sur P. Mich. VIII, 473,” in *Iura*, vol. 8, 1957, pp. 93–101).

¹² *’Abâh*, “wish, consent, acquiesce, be in agreement with someone”; *hamad*, “decide, take pleasure in, be pleased with”; *hapes*, “want, desire, love”; *qadad*, “be inclined”; *salah* (hiphil), “prosper, succeed”; especially *rasâh*, “be pleased, be well-disposed, take pleasure, discharge.”

¹³ *Judg* 11:17—“the king of Moab did not consent” (A = ἠθέλησε); *2Chr* 10:7; “if you will be kind to these people”; *Esth* 4:17 *d*: “I will consent to kiss the soles of his feet.”

¹⁴ 1Chr 29:23—“Solomon will prosper.” Εὐδόκησας (Hebrew *natan*) in Judg 14:18—“You have given this great victory”—must be an error for ἔδωκας (A).

¹⁵ Judg 19:10—“the man was not willing to stay the night” (οὐκ εὐδόκησεν; αἴτιον ἠθέλησεν); 19:25—“the men were not willing to listen” (οὐκ εὐδόκησεν; αἴτιον ἠθέλησεν); 20:13.

¹⁶ David sings the salvation effected by God: “He delivered me because he took pleasure in me” (ὅτι εὐδόκησεν ἐν ἐμοί, 2Sam 22:20).

¹⁷ Ps 44:3—“They obtained victory because you loved them” (ὅτι εὐδόκησας ἐν αὐτοῖς); cf. 1Chr 29:3—“in my affection (ἐν τῷ εὐδοκῆσαί με) for the house of my God”; Ps 68:7—“the mountain that God has loved (desired) for his dwelling”; 102:14—“Your servants love its (Zion’s) stones”; Sir 15:17; but there is a much attenuated meaning: “The Jews and the priests thought it good that Simon should be their prince” (1Macc 14:41, 46, 47).

¹⁸ Jdt 15:10; Ps 40:13; 49:13; 51:21; 147:10-11; 149:4; Sir 9:12; 25:16; 34:19; 37:28; 45:19; Jer 2:10, 12; Hag 1:8; Mal 2:17; 2Macc 14:35—“O Lord of all things, it pleased you to have a temple for a dwelling among us.”

¹⁹ Ps 77:8—“Will the Lord never again be favorable? Has his grace disappeared forever?”; 85:1—“Yahweh, you have been favorable to your country”; 1Macc 1:43; 6:23; 8:1; 10:47; 11:29.

²⁰ 1QS 9.24: “[the disciple_ shall willingly accept all that happens to him”]; 9.25: “he shall accept all the words” of God and his judgments (10.13; cf. 1QpHab 7.16), accepting his trials (literally, his blows, 1QH 9.10), opening his eyes “to choose that which is pleasing to God” (CD 2.15; cf. 4QpHos b 1.4), but not showing kindness till judgment is fixed” (1QS 10.20).

²¹ Matt 3:17 (in direct discourse—ἐν σοί—in Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22; the bibliography in H. Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, vol. 1, p. 189), repeated at the transfiguration (Matt 17:5; 2Pet 1:17) and even Matt 12:18—ὁ ἀγαπητός μου ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου (“Here is my Servant whom I have chosen, my beloved, in whom my soul is pleased,” a quotation from Isa 42:1, where εὐδόκησεν has been substituted for προσδέξατο).

²² The aorist here would correspond to a semitic stative perfect, equivalent to a present; it expresses the persistence of a feeling that abides, cf. M. Zerwick, *An Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, trans. M. Grosvenor, Rome, 1981.

²³ Rom 15:26-27: “Macedonia and Achaia were quite willing to take a collection for those who are poor. They were quite willing, and in fact they were indebted to them”; 1Thess 2:8—“Our affection for you was such that would have been willing to give you not only the gospel of God but also our very lives”; 3:1—“We willingly consented to remain alone at Athens”; 2Cor 12:10—“I willingly accept” (εὐδοκῶ— = I consent to weaknesses, mistreatment, necessities, etc.).

²⁴ Gal 1:15; cf. the theme of divine benevolence, in A. M. Denis, “L’Election et la vocation de Paul, faveurs célestes,” in *RevThom*, 1957, pp. 409–415.

²⁵ Heb 10:38; cf. D. Lys, *Nephèsh: Histoire de l’âme dans la révélation d’Israël*, Paris, 1959, p. 152; T. W. Lewis, “. . . And if he shrinks back’ (Heb X, 38 b),” in *NTS*, vol. 22, 1975, pp. 88–94.

²⁶ It is wrong to write that εὐδοκία is never attested in secular Greek. E. Smothers (“ε—ν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας,” in *RSR*, 1934, pp. 86–93) has noted three occurrences. In a Roman inscription on the base of a bas-relief of Priapus: Τρύφων —Ιθυφάλλω, κορυνηφόρω, κηποφύλακι, κλεπτομάστιγι, εὐεργεσίας καὶ εὐδοκίας χάριν Λαμψακηνω—ν κοινωνία (*CIG* 5960; its authenticity has been contested, but it seems likely). Hippocrates giving advice to his colleagues regarding amounts to charge: “I recommend not being too greedy and having regard to wealth and resources, even sometimes providing care without charge, recollecting either a prior obligation (μνήμην εὐχαριστίας) or a present kindness (ἢ παρεούσαν εὐδοκίην)” (Hippocrates, *Praec.* 6; several manuscripts read εὐδοκιμίην: the motive of reputation). Philodemus of Gadara sets out to demonstrate “what discourses the Epicureans have composed for the salvation of countries and for their happiness” (πρὸθ εὐδοκίαν ε—λογοποίησαν, *Piet.* 25).

²⁷ Ps 141:5—ε—ν ται—ς εὐδοκίαις αὐτῶ—ν refers to the pleasures or desires of the wicked; 145:16—“You satisfy the desires of every living thing”; Cant 6:3—“You are beautiful, my darling, as Tirzah (a Canannite city)” (in place of which the LXX [5:4] reads ὡς εὐδοκία).

²⁸ Sir 1:26—“What pleases the Lord (ἡ εὐδοκία αὐτοῦ) is faithfulness and mercy”; 3:16—“Those who fear the Lord seek to please him”; 34:18—“the gifts of wicked men are not acceptable to God”; 35:3—“What pleases the Lord is turning away from evil”; 35:16—“The one who serves God in the way that pleases him will be accepted”; 32:14; 33:13; 39:18—“On his order, all his good pleasure is accomplished”; 41:4—“What can a person refuse to the good pleasure of the Most High?” (ε—ν εὐδοκία ὑψίστου).

²⁹ Cf. H. Mertens, *L'Hymne de jubilation chez les Synoptiques*, Gembloux, 1957. On its relation to the OT, cf. *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 3, pp. 139–159.

³⁰ M. J. Lagrange: “C’est bien ainsi que s’accomplit ce qui t’agrée.” Cf. A. J. Festugière, “Une formule conclusive dans la prière antique,” in *Etudes d’histoire*, pp. 127–133.

³¹ 1Kgs 22:19; Jer 8:2; 19:13; Zeph 1:5; 2Chr 33:3, 5; cf. P. Winter, “Two Notes on Luke I, II,” in *ST*, vol. 7, 2, 1954, pp. 164–165.

³² Luke 2:14. The best manuscripts (a, A, B, D) have the genitive. The Greek fathers, the Syriac, the Bohairic (cf. R. Köbert, “Sabrâ tabâ im syrischen Tatian Luc II, 14,” in *Bib*, 1961, pp. 90–91) have the nominative εὐδοκία; on these variants, cf. A. von Harnack, *Über den Spruch “Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe” und das Wort “Eudokia”* (Sitzungsber. der kön. Preuß. Akad. 51), Berlin, 1915, pp. 854–875; M. J. Lagrange, on this text; and J. Jeremias, “Ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας (Lc. II, 14),” in *ZNW*, 1929, pp. 13–20; B. M. Metzger, *New Testament Studies*, Leiden, 1980, pp. 101–104.

³³ The best analysis of the Greek was by E. Delebecque, *Etudes grecques*, pp. 25–38. He reacts against the modern translation “to men whom he loves” because the Greek for that would have been οὐς ἀγαπα— or ἀγαπητοι—ς. He emphasizes both how very laconic the angelic song to the shepherds was in the Aramaic (no verb, and no article before the seven nouns) and also the two key words (“glory” in the first phrase, “peace” in the second); cf. A. Feuillet, “Les Hommes de bonne volonté ou les hommes que Dieu aime: Note sur la traduction de Luk II, 14 b,” in *BAGB*, 1974, pp. 91–92; E. Hansack, “Lk II, 14: ‘Friede den Menschen auf Erden, die guten Willens sind’?” in *BZ*, 1977, pp. 114–118.

³⁴ 1Tim 2:4; cf. Luke 2:32—“a light to illumine the nations.” It is objected that if God’s benevolence is intended, *autou* would have been given explicitly, but this is not correct. In Sir 15:15; 39:18, *resônô* is translated simply by *eudokia* (cf. N. Walker, “The Rendering of Rasôn,” in *JBL*, 1962, pp. 182–184); cf. 1QS 8.6: *behîrê rasôn*; Eph 2:3—τέκνα ὀργῆς; 1Pet 1:14—τέκνα ὑπακοῆς.

³⁵ 1QS 8.6; cf. 1Q34 bis, col. II, 5: “You chose a people for yourself at the time of your favor.” H. Braun, *Qumrân und das Neue Testament*, Tübingen, 1966, vol. 1, p. 83; G. von Rad, “Noch einmal Lc, II, 14: ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας,” in *ZNW*, 1930, pp. 111–115 (compares the word of the archangel Michael *ʾish h<Ø>a<^>mudôt*, in Dan 10:11, 19; cf. 9:23); cf. H. Hunzinger, “Neues Licht auf Lk, II, 14 ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας,” *ZNW*, 1952, pp.

85–90 (gives the bibliography; takes the phrase to mean God’s mercy); H. Hunziger, “Einweiterer Beleg zu Lk. II, 14 ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας,” *ZNW*, 1958, pp. 129–130; E. Vogt, “‘Pax hominibus bonae voluntatis,’ Lc. II, 14,” in *Bib*, 1953, pp. 427–429; G. Schwarz, “Der Lobgesang der Engel (Lukas II, 14),” in *BZ*, 1971, pp. 260–264.

³⁶ J. A. Fitzmyer (*Semitic Background*, pp. 101–104) cites 4Qh, ‘A’; frag. IX, 18, where Aaron is “the seventh among the men of his favor,” (*b’ nwsh r’wth*; *re’û* is the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew *rasôn*). This text is of interest in that it attests the noun *d’nwsh*, “men,” equivalent to ἄνθρωποις εὐδοκίας in Luke. Cf. R. Deichgräber, “Lc. II, 14, ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας,” in *ZNW*, 1960, p. 132.

³⁷ Rom 3:9, 23; 5:12, 19; 1John 1:8; cf. Matt 9:13 and parallels; 1Tim 1:15; John 1:29.

³⁸ Eph 1:5; cf. 1:9—“He has made known to us the mystery of his will, the benevolent design that he formed for us in advance, *kata ten eudokian autou*” (cf. N. Hugedé, *Ephésiens*, on this verse); Phil 2:13—“God works in you to will and to do, for the sake of his favorable purpose” (ὕπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας), that is, salvation.

³⁹ Cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 244–252.

⁴⁰ Esth 4:17d (Add Esth 13:13 in the RSV). Cf. P. Bratsiotis, “Eine exegetische Notiz zu Röm. IX, 3 und X, 1,” in *NovT*, 1962, pp. 299–300.

ε—υεργεσία, εὐεργετέω, εὐεργέτης

euergesia, goodness, kindness, generosity; *euergeteo*, to do good; *euergetes*, benefactor

euergesia, S 2108; *TDNT* 2.654–655; *EDNT* 2.76–77; *NIDNTT* 3.1152; MM 260; L&N 88.7; BDF §163; BAGD 319–320 | ***euergeteo***, S 2109; *EDNT* 2.76–77; *NIDNTT* 3.1147, 1152; MM 260–261; L&N 88.7; BAGD 320 | ***euergetes***, S 2110; *TDNT* 2.654–655; *EDNT* 2.76–77; *NIDNTT* 1147, 1152; MM 261; L&N 35.15; BAGD 320

I. — In the OT, *he euergesia* is used for benefits conferred either by God (Wis 16:11; Ps 78:11, Hebrew *‘a<~>lîlâh* = great deeds) even upon sinners (2Macc 6:13), or by the king.¹ So it is not surprising that St. Peter uses this word for the “miracle” of the healing of the lame man at the Beautiful Gate.²

But *euergesia* implies goodness, kindness, generosity,³ which can extend, with no distinction between persons, “to all people, *eis pantas anthropous*” (*P.Oslo* 127, 11; *BGU* 970, 8). It is thus that Christian slaves will serve with faithfulness and love their masters, who “benefit from their devotion” or “receive their good services.”⁴ While in the secular world a slave was a *soma* (body) or a *res* (thing), St. Paul makes Christian *douloi* capable of *euergesia* and transforms obedience from base servitude to noble deed. *Euergesia*, for that period, suggests a gracious gift, royal, imperial, or divine (cf. Polybius 5.11.16), the generosity of a superior (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 15, 72; *P.Thead.* 20, 7) or a patron.⁵ Publishing on 28 September 68 the edict of the prefect T. Julius Alexander, the *strategos* of the oasis of the Thebaide prefaces these remarks: “I have sent along to you a copy of the edict . . . so that by taking cognizance of it you may enjoy its benefits.”⁶ The prefect himself states that he is taking care that the city may continue to enjoy “the benefits that it gained from the augusti” (*apolauousan ton euergesion*, line 4), and concludes by referring to “the beneficence and constant foresight (of the emperors), to which we all owe our safety.”⁷ According to 1Tim 6:2, masters become obliged to their slaves!⁸

II. — The verb *euergeteo*, used eight times in the LXX, has only God for its subject: the Lord does good.⁹ This should be remembered in the exegesis of Acts 10:38, where there is a septuagintism: Jesus of Nazareth “went from place to place doing good (*euergeton*) and healing all those who were under the power of the devil.”¹⁰ The universality of this beneficence and this victory over evil are on another plane from those of the reigning emperor.¹¹

III. — In the Hellenistic period, *euergetes* sometimes obviously retains its banal sense, “benefactor,”¹² but it is becoming a technical term for the benefactor-protector of a city,¹³ of a people,¹⁴ of the whole human race (*P.Oxy.* 2342, 37; *P.Ryl.* 617, 6; *SB* 6674, 3). Thus it is attributed first of all to the gods and goddesses who are benefactors of their faithful (*I.Magn.* 62, 23; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 6, 4), notably to Artemis, protector of the city (ibid. 31, 19, 23; 38, 35). A dedication of L. Ioulios Seoueros is consecrated “To Artemis and Apollo and Leto, *euergetai*.”¹⁵ In Egypt, in Syria, and at Rome, the title *Theoi Euergetai* is applied to kings. The decree of Canopus, 7 March 238: “May it please the priests of the land that the honors hitherto rendered in the sanctuary (of Osiris) to King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice, gods *euergetai*, and to the parents, gods *adelphoi*, and to their grandparents, gods *soteres*, be increased.”¹⁶ Usually, the prince is acclaimed as *soter* and *euergetes*, for example Antiochus in Syria.¹⁷ In 334 BC, the Prieniens confer this title on King Antigonos (*I.Priene* 2, 6). Caesar receives it from the inhabitants of Delos (*I.Delos* I, 1587), of Mytilene (*IG* XII, 2, 151), of Megara (*IG*, VII, 62), of Karthaia (*IG* XII, 5, 555; cf. Philo, *Good Man Free* 118); then Augustus, “the first, the

greatest and universal benefactor” (Philo, *To Gaius* 149), at Thespieae in 30–27 (*IG VII*, 1836) and at Philae in 13–12 (*SB 8897*, 1); Claudius (*SEG XIV*, 703; *I.Perg.* 378); Nero;¹⁸ “the king of the Arsacid dynasty” in AD 87 (*P.Dura* 18, 1, 12; 19, 1; 20, 1; 22, 1; 24, 1,21); Vespasian;¹⁹ Trajan: “savior and benefactor of the whole world” (*ton pantos kosmou soter kai euergeta*, *IG XII*, 1, 978; *I.Cor.* n. 102, 7; cf. 503, 4. In *SB 8438*, 4, we must read *eusebeias* for *euergesias*; cf. *ChrEg*, 1967, p.212).

The label becomes more democratic, closer to our modern “decorations.” At Tralles, the prefect Fl. Caesarius is honored as *soter* and *euergetes* “in all things” (*IGLAM*, n. 1652 *d*, 7–8); exactly like the prefect of Egypt in 55–60 (*SB 7462*, 16); Laodicea honors the “*legatus propraetor*, patron and benefactor of the city, in return and recognition for his continual benefits” (*IGLS* n. 1258; cf. 4010, 8). At Sardis, the governor T. Julius Celsus Pelemaeanus, governor of Cappadocia, *euergetes* and *soter* of the city (*I.Sard.* 41, 10); at Lindos, the priestess of Athena, *soter* and *euergetis* (*I.Lind.*, 394, 11; in AD 10); at Athens, Demetrius of Phalerum (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 8.7; 9.1); in Cyprus, the *praetor* and high priest Polycrates (*SEG XX*, 196) and the *procurator* Flavios Boethos (*ZPE* 1976, p. 135, line 8); at Mytilene, Potamos: *euergetes*, *soter*, and *ktistes* of his country (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 754; first century AD). A *prytanes* (*P.Oxy.* 41, 23–24), a *harpistes* (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 738, 14–15), and a donor who supplies oil to the gymnasium are graced with this designation (*I.Car.* n. 11, 7; 175 *a* 3; *MAMA VI*, 105, 165). Even so, the category of *euergetai* is the object of honors;²⁰ sacrifices and public games are celebrated in their name to express gratitude for their devotion and generosity.²¹

Obviously, flattery and adulation were not strangers to these proceedings. “The subordinates of Flaccus called him master, benefactor, savior, and other similar titles” (Philo, *Flacc.* 126; cf. *To Gaius* 22). The high priest Apollonios did not shrink from saying to the Greeks of Asia concerning Augustus, “Providence has produced an emperor and filled him with virtue, in order to make of him a benefactor of humanity; thus has been sent to us and our people a savior who has put an end to war. . . . Not only has he surpassed previous benefactors, but he leaves no room for future benefactors to hope to outdo him.”²² This *isotheism*²³ or *theia euergesia* of the prince (*P.Hib.* 274, 7; *P.Stras.* 245, 17–18) can only shock an objective mind. Thus Germanicus says categorically: “I absolutely reject these odious acclamations which are addressed to a god. They are fitting only for the one who is the real savior and benefactor of the whole human race, my father (Augustus) and his mother.”²⁴

It is with this background that we must read Luke 22:25—“The kings of the nations govern over them as masters (*kyrieuousin*), and those who wield power over them are called ‘benefactors’ (*euergetai*).” The absence of criticism in this saying and the light irony mark it as the Lord’s own. This

discretion²⁵ only heightens the absoluteness of the command that ministers of the church shall be lowly—like servants (verses 26–27).

¹ 2Macc 9:26; cf. 4Macc 8:17; *Ep. Arist.* 205: How can the king remain rich? “By attracting the affection of his subjects through his good deeds.” The Milesians want their friends at Cos to know about their good deeds: *περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πεπραγμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσιῶν* (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 590, 34; around 196).

² Acts 4:9; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.211: “not to do evil to a man who had done us the great favor of restoring our health.”

³ Wis 16:24; cf. *I. Magn.* 32, 16: “the services and benefits with which the people of Magnesia have graced the Greeks” (third century BC). A decree in honor of Pallantion, whose citizens “display the benefits that the two cities (Argos) have done each other in the past” (*SEG XI*, 1084, 8); Diodorus Siculus 19.67.1: “the good deeds of Cratesipolis made his soldiers adore him”; 19.67.2: “the prince was very generous, *εὐεργετικός*”; Alexander multiplies good deeds (17.24.1; 17.69.9; 17.94.3; 17.108.6), just like Ptolemy (17.103.7). Plutarch, *Cor.* 11.2; *P. Mich.* 521, 13; *P. Ross. Georg.* III, 16, 2; *SB* 8797, 7; *Hermes Trismegistus* 1.30: “I engraved on myself the good deed of Poimandres.” It is common in petitions for the petitioner to appeal to the benevolence of the one whom he is soliciting, as does this lawyer, who in AD 85 addresses the *euergesia* of the prefect in favor of his client: *τῆς σῆς εὐεργεσίας δεόμενος ἐντυγχάνει σοι* (*P. Flor.* 61, 14; cf. *P. Oxy.* 899, 19; 2133, 5; 2342, 33; *P. Fay.* 20, 16; *P. Ryl.* 96, 10; *P. Fouad* 26, 31; 27, 34; *SB* 9421, 31; 9489, 8); C. Gatti, “Aspetti della *εὐεργεσία* nel mondo ellenistico,” in *Parola del Passato*, 1967, pp. 192–213.

⁴ 1Tim 6:2. It is not easy to translate *οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι*; in the LXX this verb translates forty different Hebrew words. Etymologically, it suggests a correspondence or a reaction (opposed or harmonious, Gen 48:17; Isa 49:26; Ps 3:5; cf. Josephus, *War* 7.316; *Ant.* 5.194); hence “cooperate, take part, lend one’s support” (1Chr 22:17; cf. Thucydides 2.61.4; Dio Cassius 46.45; *P. Tebt.* 709, 12; 786, 20), and finally “busy oneself with, consecrate oneself to a task” (1Kgs 9:9; cf. *P. Bour.* 10.4; *P. Oslo* 93, 21; *P. Sarap.* 2, 13; *SB* 7558, 20; 8855, 10; 9049, 8). The two NT occurrences of *ἀντιλαμβάνομαι* mean “take responsibility for, provide for” (Luke 1:54; Acts 20:35), which is the most common meaning in the LXX (Lev 25:35; 2Chr 28:15; Ps 18:36; 20:2; Sir 3:12; 29:9, 20; Jdt 13:5 = 2Macc 14:15; etc.).

⁵ Hence its frequent occurrence in honorific decrees: εὐεργεαίας ἔνεκα (*I.Thas.* 183, 3; cf. 192, 11: a model for ages to come; 237, 5; *I.Car.* 56, 8: εἰ—ς τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργεσίας, in AD 73–74; *SB* 7738, 7; 8383, 4; G. Pfohl, *Griechische Inschriften*, Munich, 1965, n. 68, 2; 70, 4). Delos honors Aglaos of Cos, who uses “the advantages offered by his own personal worth but also those offered by fate in order to do as much good as possible for people” (F. Durrbach, *Choix*, n. 92, 29). *I.Illium*, n. 62, 5: ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰ—ς τὸ ἰ—ερὸν καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς εἰ—ς τὸν δῆμον; cf. 72, 4; 75, 4; 81, 5; 85, 7. Augustus praises Agrippa, ται—ς ἰ—δίαις ἀρεται—ς καὶ εὐεργεσίαις πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατεκράτεις (*P.Köln* 10, 13); similarly Ptolemy II, *IG*, IX, 1, 12, 56 (cf. *ChrEg*, 1975, p. 313).

⁶ Ἴν εἰ—δοτες ἀπολαύητε τω—ν εὐεργεσιω—ν (*SB* 8444, 2 = *BGU* 1563; G. Chalon, *T. Julius Alexander*, p. 27).

⁷ Line 65; cf. *SB* 9489, 8: ἀποδοθῆναί μοι εἰ—ς τὸ δυνηθῆναι με ε—κ τῆς σῆς εὐεργεσίας. Plutarch, *Demetr.* 9.1: εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα.

⁸ Seneca also demonstrated that the magnanimous sentiments of the servant transform his service into “good offices” and benefits (Seneca, *Ben.* 3.18–20).

⁹ Ps 13:6 (Hebrew *gamal* —12:6 in the LXX); 57:2 (*gamar* —56:3 in the LXX); 116:7 (114 in the LXX); Wis 3:5; 11:5; 16:2; 2Macc 10:38). Likewise Philo, *Change of Names* 18; *Ep. Arist.* 190, 210; but also the king (249; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.370; 4Macc 8:6), who thus imitates God, (*Ep. Arist.* 44, 281; Ps.-Longinus, *Subl.* 1.2: “He was right who stated that what gets close to heaven is beneficence and the practice of the truth”; Strabo 10.2.9: “They are quite right to say that humans attain perfection by imitating the gods when they do good”; Dio Chrysostom 2.26; Aelian, *VH* 12.59).

¹⁰ Εὐεργετει—ν = εὐ—ποιει—ν (cf. H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*, Utrecht, 1939, pp. 95ff., 144ff., 297, 392, 400, 433ff.). In petitions to the *dioiketes*, the *exegetes*, the *strategos*, or the prefect, this verb is used almost exclusively and abundantly in the papyri for the granting of justice, aid, or more or less gracious help: ὦν χάριν ἀξιούμεν περὶ πάντων τούτων διαλαβει—ν ὅπως τύχωμεν τω—ν παρὰ σοῦ δικαίων καὶ ὦμεν εὐεργετημένοι (*P.Ryl.* 119, 34–36; first century AD); 617, 11; *P.Tebt.* 302, 31 (in 71–72); 326, 16; *P.Mich.* 232, 28 (from AD 36); 422, 37: ὦ ὑπὸ σοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου εὐεργετημένος; 524, 16 (AD 98); 525, 44; 534, 3; 629, 15; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 27, col. I, 23; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 37, 22; 43, 50; *BGU* 2012, 27; 2064, 21; *Stud.Pal.* 49, 22; *P.Fouad* 27, 34 (AD 44); *P.Oxy.* 899, 45; 2131, 18; 2133, 28; 2234, 25; 2411, 37; *P.Thead.* 20, 13: “We now ask to be treated

benevolently, in conformity with the laws and ordinances of the governors and other functionaries.” “Knowing well that [all who are elected] will receive favors in proportion to their benefits” (J.Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 20, 18–19, from the third century BC). B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, n.455.

¹¹ Nero: ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς οἰ—κουμένης, σὺν ἅπασιν οἷς εὐεργέτησεν ἀγαθοί—ς τὴν Αἴγυπτον . . . ἔπεμψεν ἡμει—ν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Βάλβιλλον (Dittenberger, *Or.* 666, 2–7).

¹² Wis 19:14; *P.Oxy.* 38, 13 (from 49–50; republished in *Aeg*, 1966, p. 237); 486, 27; 2479, 1: τω—ε—μω—ἀγαθω—εὐεργέτη καὶ δεσπότη δέησις καὶ ι—κεσία. At Smyrna, a certain Antonia, perhaps the daughter of Mark Antony, is described as εὐεργέτις (Dittenberger, *Or.* 377); cf. the woman who gave help to Alexander (Diodorus Siculus 17.24.2). A. Passoni dell’Acqua, “Euergetes,” in *Aeg*, 1976, pp. 177–191.

¹³ 2Macc 4:2: εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως. Cf. *I.Perg.* 413, 414, 416, 425. A decree of Istros: “Whereas Agathocles . . . descended from a father who was a benefactor, does not cease to show himself a man of goodwill toward the city” (*NCIG*, n. 6, 3–4; 7, 13); Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.1.4, Polydamas makes this speech at Lacedaemon: “For myself, who from my ancestors from time immemorial hold the titles of *proxenos* and benefactor of your city.”

¹⁴ *P.Enteux.* 4, 11, rect.; 15, 10; 29, 15; 32, 14; 33, 10; 38, 11; etc. “Whereas King Eumenes, friend and benefactor of our people by ancestral tradition” (*Fouilles de Delphes* III, 3, n. 237, 3). In the third century, “the inhabitants of Philae and of the Region of Dodekaschoinos” dedicate a statue in honor of “their benefactor” Caracalla (A. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 2, n. 179, 10). It is a common chancellery formula; cf. P.Collomp, *Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatie des Lagides*, Paris, 1926, pp. 97ff.; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, p. 41, n. 3; J. Aubonnet, *Aristote: Politique*, Paris, 1973, vol. 2, 2, p. 204.

¹⁵ —Αρτέμιδι καὶ —Απόλλωνι καὶ Λητοί—εὐεργέταις, F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, n. 165). The goddess Roma: θεὰν Ῥώμην τὴν εὐεργέτιν τοῦ κόσμου (R. Merkelbach, “Dea Roma in Assos,” in *ZPE*, 1974, p. 280). An Egyptian city takes the name Εὐεργέτις (*P.Oxy.* 1025, 2582; *P.Princ.* 126; *P.Köln* 55; *SB* 7338, 1 and 16). Naturally, the true God is σωτήρ τε καὶ εὐεργέτης, μακαριότητος (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.209; cf. *Alleg. Interp.* 2.56; *Creation* 169; *Prelim. Stud.* 38, 97, 171; *Sobr.* 55).

¹⁶ Dittenberger, *Or.* 56, 20–21 - *SB* 8858. Dedication to King Ptolemy III and Queen Berenice, “gods *euergetai*” (A. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 2, n. 3, 3);

“To King Ptolemy and his sister Queen Cleopatra and Queen Cleopatra his wife, gods *euergetai*, and to all the gods and goddesses of Abaton” (ibid. n. 15, 1–3, around 135; 16, 2; 17, 2; 19, 21); *C.Ord.Ptol.* 51, 4–6; *CII* 1442, 5; *SB* 7453, 3; 8925; 10186, 3; C. Wehrli, “Un témoignage des *ΕΟΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙ* dans le culte dynastique pour l’année 145/4,” in *ZPE*, vol. 15, pp. 8–10; B. Funck, “Die Wurzel der hellenistischen Euergetes-Religion im Staat und die Städte des Seleukos Nikator,” in E. C. Welskopf, *Hellenische Poleis*, Leiden, 1974, vol. 3.

¹⁷ Dittenberger, *Or.* 239. Antiochus I of Commagene, in an inscription of Sofraz Köy: ὁ κτίστης καὶ εὐεργέτης (*ZPE* vol. 20, 1976, p. 213, line 5). The people of Laodicea erect a statue “of King Antiochus VII Epiphanes . . . their savior and benefactor” (F.Durrbach, *Choix*, Paris, 1921, n. 122); cf. *Esth* 8:12n (LXX = *Add Esth* 16:13): “Mordecai our savior and perpetual benefactor”; *P.Oxy.* 2563, 47. Tarquin thought it was normal for a king to be called benefactor, father, and savior (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.32.1; cf. Polybius 9.36.5); cf. H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege*, p. 399; E. Skard, *Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe: Euergetos-Concordia*, Oslo, 1932; A. D. Nock, “Soter and Euergetes,” in J. E. Johnson, *The Joy of Study* (Festschrift for F. C. Grant), New York, 1951, pp. 127–148.

¹⁸ Τω— σωτήρι καὶ εὐεργέτη τῆς οι—κουμένης (Dittenberger, *Or.* 668, 5, inscription from Arsinoë; 239, 5; 301, 3). In his speech at Corinth on November 28, 67, Nero says: “It is not pity, but affection alone that makes me generous toward you (δι’ εὐνοϊαν εὐεργετω—); and I thank your gods for giving me the opportunity of being so greatly beneficent (ὅτι μοι τηλικαῦτα εὐεργετει—ν παρέσχον)” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 814, 21, 24), “Nero . . . the new sun that shines upon the Greeks, has resolved to be the benefactor of Hellas (προειρημένος εὐεργετει—ν τὴν Ἑλλάδα)” (line 35). P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d’Egypte*, Brussels, 1964, p. 35. Nero called Corbulon *pater* and *euergetes* (Dio Cassius, 68, 17, 5). For Agrippa, cf. H. W. Pleket, *Rijksmuseum*, pp. 13ff.

¹⁹ The population of Tiberias names him “savior and benefactor” (Josephus, *War* 3.459); likewise the inhabitants of Philae and the Dodekaschoinos, in 69–79 (*SB* 8901, 3). Cf. L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*, in the index, p. 498.

²⁰ A speaker or writer who intervenes with the Roman authorities on behalf of his country is honored by it as a “new founder” with a cult and burial inside the city, at the *agora* or the *gymnasion*, and receives civic recognition at Rome (cf. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 4, Amsterdam, 1974, p. 103); a benefactor who distributes grain or offers

dinners is acclaimed as τροφεύς and ἀριστεύς (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, pp. 569ff.). “Alone among the Greeks, the Thebans were honored as benefactors (ὡς εὐεργέτας τιμα—σθαί) at the Persian court, where in the presence of the Great King chairs were placed for the Theban ambassadors” (Diodorus Siculus 17.14.2). Because of the help they gave Cyrus, the people “originally called ‘Arimaspians’ now bear the name of ‘benefactors’ (εὐεργέτας)” (ibid. 81.1), with the honorific privileges that his title brings.

²¹ Cf. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, pp. 63–64; Philo, *Moses* 2.198; *Flacc.* 81: “Magistrates who govern well do not pretend to honor the *euergetai* but give them real honor”; *Good Man Free* 118: “the faithfulness of whole peoples to their deceased benefactors has moved them to undergo deliberate annihilation.” “Let all know that the people of Histiaea know how to honor their benefactors” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 493, 15); “the people know how to demonstrate to their *euergetai* the gratitude merited by the good deeds that they have done” (ibid. 374, 51; an Athenian decree in 287 BC for the poet Philippides). A decree from Istros in the third century BC honors three ambassadors: “May it please the council and the people to enroll them and their descendants among the benefactors of the people, to crown them” (*SEG* XVIII, 288, 13–15; cf. XIV, 647, 6; 650, 6; 651, 2). At Gonnoi in Thessaly: “It befits the people to neglect nothing respecting honors and recognition for those who choose to be benefactors of the people” (*I.Gonn.*, n. 109, 17); “All the privileges that belong to other *proxenoi* and *euergetai* of the city” (ibid. 41, 23; cf. 3, 4; 18, 6; 20, 9; 33, 5; 34, 5). In the fourth century BC, Eudemios of Plataea is counted “among the number of the benefactors of the people of Athens, and also his descendants” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 288, 25–28). *I.Perg.* 418, 419; *SB* 10026, 4; 10029, 4; 10034, 4; 10195, 12. Gelon “was greeted from all sides with one voice, so to speak (by the Syracusans), with the name of benefactor, savior, and monarch” (Diodorus Siculus 11.26). F. Optimus, τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα τῆς ε—παρχίας (C. H. E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, Princeton, 1971, vol. 1, n. 87).

²² *I.Priene* 105, 34, 38; cf. J. Rouffiac, *Caractères du grec*, pp. 67–73; J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1968, p. 436, n. 135. “Caesar was celebrated for his benefits and his munificence” (Sallust, *Cat.* 54.2). The emperor Gaius was “seen as savior and benefactor” (Philo, *To Gaius* 22). The Romans called themselves οἱ—κοινοὶ εὐεργέται (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 630, 17–18; 705, 46; cf. L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, p. 25). In the time of Augustus, the people of Assos celebrate “divine Rome, benefactor of the universe, θεὰν Ῥώμην τὴν εὐεργέτιν τοῦ κόσμου” (*I.Assos*, n. XX, 2), like the Delians (Dittenberger, *Or.* LIX, 1) and at Lagina-Stratanikeia (ibid. 431, 135). Cf. Πτολεμαῖς

Εὐεργέτις, *P.Tebt.* 350, 3; 580, 587; *P.Duke* inv. G. 170 (*P.Coll.Youtie* I, p.177).

²³ Τοι—ς ἄλλοις θεοι—ς καὶ τοι—ς κοινοι—ς εὐεργέταις Ῥωμαίοις (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 705, 46; a *senatus consultum* of AD 112; cf. 117, 15). Numerous references in L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 448.

²⁴ *Sel.Pap.* II, 211. Plutarch was even more absolute in this criticism, cf. *De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute* 2.5.

²⁵ It is worth noting that Jewish inscriptions, which so often praise donors and benefactors, seem to intentionally avoid calling anyone a *euergetes*. Str-B does not comment on the verse.

εὐθυμέω, εὐθυμος, εὐθύμως

euthymeō, reassure, comfort; *euthymos*, reassured, comforted, in good spirits; *euthymos*, willingly, gladly

euthymeō, S 2114; *EDNT* 2.77; MM 261; L&N 25.146; BAGD 320 |
euthymos, S 2115; *EDNT* 2.77; MM 261; L&N 25.147; BAGD 320 |
euthymos, *EDNT* 2.77; MM 261; L&N 25.147; BAGD 320

While it is true that *thymos* refers to the soul or the heart as the life-principle or the seat of the emotions, the compound forms with *eu-* take their precise nuance from their immediate context and from contemporary usage. But it is hard to see why modern translations prefer to translate “courage” in Acts 27:22, 36. In the midst of the storm, Paul invites his companions to be confident—*paraino hymas euthymein*—because “there will be no loss of life among you, but only of the vessel.” They are not asked to be valiant, only to recover their composure. A little later, the apostle asks each one to take some food. He himself takes some bread and gives thanks to God; “then all were reassured (not ‘encouraged’; *euthymoi de genomenoi pantes*) and also took food.”¹ So *euthymeō* must be translated “reassure, comfort,”² as the papyri indicate.

At the beginning of the second century, Eutyichidis writes to his father: “With respect to the barley from Thallou, be reassured, for I have sold it” (*P.Amh.* 133, 4; republished in *P.Sarap.* 92). In the fourth century, Hermodoros writes to his brother: “Be reassured with respect to our children Anysios and Aptonios, because they are in good health.”³ But in letters, *euthymeō* is very often associated with *hygiaino*, and it is common to wish correspondents both good health and “good morale.” If Serenos Antonia ends his letter to his mother in the third century with the simple

euthymei kyria (*P.Ross.Georg.* III, 2, 32; the editors translate “Sei gutes [sic] Mutes”; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2156, 24; *PSI* 1248, 2, 27), *euthymei* at the end of the epitaph for Artemidora, who died at the age of forty-eight, is translated by its editor E. Bernand “Be consoled” (*Inscriptions métriques de l’Égypte*, n. 58, 9). Compare this with the funerary epigram “EUTH . . .” (*I.Cret.* I, 292, n. 2), which should no doubt read *euthymei* (cf. R. Merkelbach, in *ZPE*, vol. 12, 1973, p. 206). In the fourth century, “I pray that you are in good health and *euthymos*” (*euchomai hygiainonti soi kai euthymounti*, *C.P.Herm.* 5, 3; cf. 29; 4, 6; 14, 5; *P.Alex.* 30, 5); “above all, I pray to God most high concerning your health and complete soundness, that my little letter may find you in good health and *euthymos*” (*pro men panton euchomai to hypsisto theo peri tes ses hygias kai holoklerias, hina hygienonta se kai euthymounta apolabe ta par’ emou grammatidia*, *P.Lips.* 111, 5); “May my letter find you in good health and in good spirits” (*P.NYU* 25, 4; cf. *PSI* 825, 4); “praying divine providence that you are well and in good spirits” (*euchomenos te theia pronoia hygiainonti soi kai euthymounti*, *P.Lond.* 409, 6–7, republished in *P.Abinn.* 10, 7; cf. 36, 7, taken up from *P.Gen.* 53); “healthy and in good spirits” (*hygiēna ta se kai euthymounta*, *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 9, 21; cf. 10, 5). From the Fayum, in the sixth century, “Above all I send up prayers and petitions to my God and our Savior Christ that they may preserve you in good health and good spirits like myself.”⁴ Not having had news from his mother and his brothers, the physician Eudaïmon writes them: “You have not consoled me by reassuring me concerning your health” (*P.Fouad* 80, 7). *Euthymia* is a medical term, used by physicians to encourage the sick person to recover strength and hope;⁵ it almost means “relaxation.”

Jas 5:13 should be translated with these nuances in mind: “Is someone among you suffering?⁶ Let him pray. Is someone in good spirits (*euthymei*)? Let him sing hymns. Is someone sick? Let him call the elders of the church...” *Euthymia* is not joy, but serenity, that which Prov 15:15 refers to as “the contented heart,” hopeful feelings, energetic and lively, readily breaking into song;⁷ which Seneca calls “stable bearing of the soul”;⁸ and which is as such an ethical ideal.⁹ Thus the Christian’s good humor or good morale is not only the absence of suffering or anguish,¹⁰ but a serene and confident psychological balance.

The adverb *euthymos*, unknown in the papyri, is used by St. Paul in his speech to Felix: “Knowing that for a number of years you have been judge of this nation, I make my defense with confidence” (Acts 24:10). The best parallel is that of the Persian Pheraulas: “one thing above all inspires courage in me for this battle against the chief nobles, namely, that we shall be judged by Cyrus, an impartial judge” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.3.12). Perhaps the tone of voice determined the precise nuance, which could equally well be “willingly” or “gladly.”¹¹ In any event, it is a conventional *captatio benevolentiae*.¹²

¹ Cf. Antiochus advising Lysias to extend a hand to the Jews, so that “they may know the approach we are taking and be reassured, εὐθυμοί τε ὦσι” (2Macc 11:26). Similarly, by his optimistic propaganda at Tiberias “Petronius was doing his best to reassure the crowd, εὐθυμει—ν τὸ πλῆθος” (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.284). The Lord transforms that which troubles us into a comfort (*P.Oxy.* 1874, 19; cf. 939, 19; *SB* 6222, 10). *Euthymia* consists precisely of “freeing oneself from the tension that accompanies effort” (J. M. André, *L’Otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine*, Paris, 1966, p. 148, n. 12).

² Cf. Philo: “First of all Joseph had all the granaries opened, with the intention of reassuring the men with this sight” (*Joseph* 162); the steward “will reassure [Joseph’s brothers] by congenial and friendly words” (*ibid.* 198; cf. 199). Phasaël dies happy and serene again “since I am survived by an avenger to punish my enemies” (Josephus, *War* 1.272: εὐθυμος ἄπειμι = *Ant.* 14.369: εὐθύμως).

³ *C.P.Herm.* 5, 15: εὐθύμει ε—πί; cf. 6, 11; *P.Ant.* 44, 15; *P.Mil.* 84, 1 (=SB 9441). The nuance of contentment and joy is emphasized in *P.land.* 13, 18: ἵνα μετὰ χαρά—ς σε ἀπολάβωμεν καὶ εὐθυμῆσαι δυνώμεθά σε; *P.Lond.* 1244, 7 (vol. 3, p. 244): παρακαλω—ν τὸν θεὸν ἵνα σαι ἀπολάβω εὐθυμοῦντα καὶ εὐπυγμοῦντα; 1927, 10; cf. *P.Lund* II, 4, 8 (SB 8091, 18); *P.Oxy.* 1593, 2: εὐθυμοῦντί σαι καὶ εὐδαιμονοῦτι; *P.Apoll.* 70, 5: “I have not the heart to write except concerning the pains that distressme.”

⁴ Πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχὰς καὶ δεήσεις ἀναπέμπω πρὸς τὸν ἑόν μου καὶ σωτήραν ἡμῶ—ν τὸν Χριστὸν ὅπως ὑγιένοντας ὑμα—ς καὶ εὐθυμοῦντάς μοι συνῆως διατηρήσιν, *P.Grenf.* 61, 7–13; cf. *P.Gen.* 53, 7; *P.Giss.* 54, 3; *P.Oxy.* 2731, 19. The formula is especially used by Christians, cf. M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 38, 6; 44, 4; 57, 5; 65, 7; 73, 4; 77, 22; 78, 5; 90, 5; 97, 4; cf. n. 11, 18, 58, 7; 89, 15, 24; 92, 15.

⁵ The references are given by W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 279–280. For Hippocrates, notably in *Epid.* 2 and 6, *euthymia* is a good interior disposition, courageous good humor, an optimistic outlook that causes the heart to swell and preserves or favors the appearance of that internal equilibrium that constitutes health.

⁶ Ὁν κακοπαθέω, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 361, n. 3.

⁷ Cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.1.4: “These plants communicate good humor and gaiety to the guests”; *Ages.* 2.5: drive; *P.Ryl.* 439: αὐθις μετ’ εὐθυμίας τὸ θεοφιλέστατον σου πρόσωπον ἀπολαβει—ν; *Hymn to Isis*: “Hearing my prayers and my hymns, the gods in exchange gave me

happiness (εὐθυμίαν) as a token or recognition” (SB 8139, 34 = E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques* 175 b; cf. V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 35: ἀνταπέδωκαν ε—μοὶ εὐθυμίαν χάριτα).

⁸ Seneca, *Tranq.* 1.18ff.; 2.3ff. Εὐθυμία is *tranquillitas animi*. Panaetius (cf. A. Grilli, “La data di composizione del Περὶ εὐθυμίας di Panezio,” in *Acme*, vol. 9, 1956, pp. 3–6), Plutarch and the Pythagorean Hipparchus each wrote a *περὶ εὐθυμίας* (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 108.44.81; vol. 5, pp. 980–984; cf. H. Broecker, *Animadversiones ad Plutarchi libellum ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΘΥΜΙΑΣ*, Bonn, 1954, pp. 20ff.; H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts*, Abo, 1965, pp. 89ff.). Similarly Democritus (Περὶ εὐθυμίας), who set the goal of “εὐθυμίαν—οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσαν τῇ ἡδονῇ, he specifies—καθ’ ἣν γαληνω—ς καὶ εὐσταθω—ς ἡ ψυχὴ διάγει, a state of serenity that he also calls εὐεστώ” (T. Beaupère, *Lucien, Philosophes à l’encan*, Paris, 1967, vol. 2, p. 71, citing Diogenes Laertius 9.45). For the Stoics, it was a question of quietude, peace within, even a happy life, or at least evenness of humor in diverse circumstances, and even a nuance of energy and even joy. This notion corresponds well with our “good humor.”

⁹ Marcus Aurelius 3.16.4: “The good person lives with uprightnes, modesty, and good humor (εὐθύμως).” Cf. A. Frilli, *Il problema della vita contemplativa nel mondo greco-romano*, Milan, 1953; R. Joly, *Genres de vie*, pp. 10ff.

¹⁰ It is noteworthy that the NT knows nothing of discouragement (ἀθυμία; cf. Thucydides 2.51.4), despondency (δυσθυμία, cf. Hippocrates, *Epid.* 3.62.5), depression (καταφορή, *Epid.* 3.82.16–17). Melancholics remain discouraged (ἀθυμοί, *ibid.* 112.11; cf. 134.5). *Euthymia* is contrasted with inquietude (cf. *P.Oxy.* 939, 19), as is ardor with discouragement (Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.4.24).

¹¹ SB 8444, 5: Egypt contributes gladly (εὐθύμως) to the provisions, . . . so that with greater confidence (εὐθυμότεροι) you may expect everything—safety, as well as the material good fortune of the benefactor Augustus.” Cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.2.27: “good soldiers will more willingly (εὐθυμότερον) adhere to virtue”; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.174: prisoners on the verge of being liberated are full of joy (εὐθύμως); 258: Daniel accepts his fate with serenity (εὐθύμως).

¹² Cf. M. Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1956, p. 171; E. Haenchen, *Acts*, p. 654, n. 1, who recalls the brutality of Felix: “per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit” (Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.9).

εὐκαίρεω, εὐκαιρία, εὐκαιρος, εὐκαίρως

eukaireo, to find time, use one's time; *eukairia*, right moment; *eukairos*, favorable, propitious; *eukairos*, in season, at a favorable time

eukaireo, S 2119; *EDNT* 2.78; *NIDNTT* 3.833, 837; MM 262; L&N 67.4, 67.80; BDF §392(3); BAGD 321 | ***eukairia***, S 2120; *TDNT* 3.462; *EDNT* 2.78; *NIDNTT* 3.833, 837; MM 262; L&N 67.5; BDF §400(1); BAGD 321 | ***eukairos***, S 2121; *TDNT* 3.462; *EDNT* 2.78; *NIDNTT* 3.833, 837; MM 262; L&N 67.6; BAGD 321 | ***eukairos***, S 2122; *EDNT* 2.78; *NIDNTT* 3.833, 837–838; MM 262; L&N 67.6; BAGD 321

All these terms, which belong to Hellenistic Greek, are used abundantly in the papyri, almost exclusively in private letters; thus they were part of the popular language. In the NT, the verb *eukaireo*, “find time, use one's time,” which does not occur in the LXX, is used for hearers of Jesus who do not have the time or the leisure to eat;¹ of the Athenians, who pass their time talking or hearing about whatever is newest (Acts 17:21); and of Apollos, who refuses to go immediately to Corinth: “he will go [to see you] when he has time,”² or “when he finds either the occasion or the opportunity.”³

The substantive *eukairia* is used sometimes for the “right moment,”⁴ the propitious juncture, the favorable occasion⁵—for example, Judas seeks a propitious moment for betraying Jesus.⁶ Sometimes it is used for the exact moment when help arrives (Ps 9:10; 10:1; Hebrew *‘et*). It is used for time spent advantageously: leisure time (Sir 38:24), sometimes for a life “happily spent” (Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 17); which would in Byzantine and modern Greek come to mean “holiday” (cf. *tes eiremenes eukairias*, *P.Ant.* 94, 23).

The adjective *eukairos* is used in exactly the same sense, for the day that is propitious or on which aid and help are received,⁷ for a favorable position (2Macc 14:29; cf. *Ep. Arist.* 115) and for appropriate circumstances for putting plans into effect;⁸ one takes advantage of an opportune moment.⁹ Thus the “propitious day, *genomenes hemeras eukairou*” of Mark 6:21 was the favorable day awaited by Herodias for carrying out her plan to get rid of John the Baptist.

The adverb *eukairos* locates the action “at the desired time” (Sir 18:22), at the right moment (*SB* 6786, 28; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59498, 15; 59508, 5), when one has a chance of succeeding or being well received.¹⁰ When Timothy, who was timid, turned out to be too reserved in the exercise of his office, St. Paul told him to proclaim the word of God “in season, out of season,”¹¹ or without taking account of the favorable or unfavorable response of his hearers, favorable or unfavorable circumstances, even

though humanly speaking, on the level of prudence, there are times for speaking and other times for abstaining from speech.¹²

¹ Mark 6:31; cf. *P.Paris* 46, 18: αὐτὸς δέ, ὡς ἂν εὐκαιρήσω, παραχρῆμα παρέσομαι πρὸς σέ (second century BC; republished by S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 47; and *UPZ* 71); *PSI* 425, 28; 973, 8: ε—ἂν εὐκαιρήσης διὰ τὸ μικρὸν πρα—γμα; *BGU* 2064, 19; *P.Oxy.* 2979, 7 (3 BC). B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, n. 813.

² 1Cor 16:12: ε—λεύσεται δὲ ὅταν εὐκαιρήσῃ; cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59124, 7: αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος ὡς ἂν εὐκαιρήσῃ; 59045, 3: ὡς ἂν εὐκαιροῦντα λάβῃς εἰ—σαγαγὼν αὐτόν (republished *SB* 6788).

³ *P.Lond.* 1925, 3: εὐκαιρηθεῖς τοῦ συντείνοντος πρὸς τὴν θεοσέβειάν σου; *P.Eleph.* 29, 7: ε—ἂν δὲ μὴ εὐκαιρῆς τοῦ διαβῆναι; *P.Giss.* 67, 14 (with the note of the editor, P. M. Meyer). In *P.Brem.* 63, 29, ὅτε οὐκ εὐκαιρῶ— = here, I am not having a good time at all. Phrynichus defines Εὐκαιρει—ν οὐ λεκτέον, ἀλλ' εὖ σχολῆς ἔχειν, and cites Chio, *Epist.* 17; Plutarch, *Apoph. lac.* p. 215; *Quaest. Rom.* 41; Athenaeus, 6.109.553, etc.

⁴ Cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 129: “Know this well, that in everything, success requires choosing the right moment”; *ZPE* vol. 24, 1977, p. 128.

⁵ Demetrius to Jonathan: “I will shower you and your nation with honors when I find the right occasion, ε—ἂν εὐκαιρίας τύχω” (1Macc 11:42); sometimes an opportune good deed is the point (Ps 145:15, ε—ν εὐκαιρία; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.315: τὴν τῆς χάριτος εὐκαιρίαν), sometimes the occasion of a death (*Ant.* 18.54) or of an act of vengeance (*Ant.* 15.59; 20.76). In the Stoic vocabulary, εὐκαιρία is the *opportunitas temporum*, the right time for an action, cf. D. Tsekourakis, *Studies in the Terminology of Early Stoic Ethics*, Wiesbaden, 1974, pp. 56ff.

⁶ Matt 26:16; cf. Mark 14:11 (εὐκαίρως). Almost always, in the papyri, the writer seeks and finds the time to have his letter carried to the recipient (*P.Brem.* 15, 28: the departure of the boat; *P.Oxy.* 1300, 2; 1861, 1; *P.Oslo* 59, 1; *PSI* 299, 2; *P.Apoll.* 54, 1; *P.Fouad* 88, 1; 89, 1: “Having taken advantage of the opportunity of a messenger, I thought I should write you . . .”; *P.Abinn.* 8, 7: “Finding the opportunity of two or three camels to transport wine”; 30, 3; 38, 3; *SB* 6097, 6; 7247, 27; 8027, 11; 9287, 1; etc.). Or he does not find the time: “I write my letter during the night, having found opportunity, but I was unable to send it” (*P.Mich.* 476, 20; cf. *SB* 7872, 15), and he promises to write on another occasion (*P.Ross.Georg.* 21, 10). Under the reign of Trajan, a soldier promises to come if he finds the opportunity to carry out his plan, but he has not yet found the

opportunity (*P.Mich.* 203, 7, 10, 20; cf. 214, 27; *BGU* 665, col. II, 4: εὐκαιρίαν δὲ οὐκ ἔχει, first century AD). Cf. the biblical hapax ἀκείρῳ (in the middle) in Phil 4:10—the feeling of the Philippians toward the apostle “come to flower again,” but they had lacked the opportunity to demonstrate them.

⁷ Ps 104:27; Heb 4:16: εἰ—ς εὐκαιρον βοήθειαν; cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 762, 4: βοηθείτω κατὰ τὸ εὐκαιρον (second century BC), *Syl.* 693, 12: βοηθείτω ὡς ἂν ἦ εὐκαιρον (cf. O. Mentevecchi, “Quaedam de graecitate psalmodum cum papyris comparata,” in *Proceedings IX*, pp. 296ff.). The word is a favorite of the Stoics, cf. P.M. Schuhl, “De l’instant propice,” in *Revue Philosophique*, 1962, pp. 69–72.

⁸ 2Macc 14:29, Nicanor “found a favorable occasion for carrying out this order by means of a strategem.” Onasander 10.19: well informed, the general can deploy an opportune strategy (εὐκαίρῳ στρατηγία); cf. 36.6. Εὐκαιρος is, like the substantive, used for the occasion for sending a letter (*P.Oxy.* 2156, 3); but in the correspondence from Zeno (in the third century BC), the word has a much broader meaning, and we must translate εἰ— (or ε—ἂν) εὐκαιρόν σοι ἔστι (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59371, 11, republished *SB* 6770; 59416, 5; *P.Mich.* 51, 5; 72, 3; 487, 140) not “if you have the opportunity” but “if it is possible for you, if it is convenient, if it is feasible” (*P.Ryl.* 563, 5; republished *SB* 7646, 5); a nuance found again in *P.Brem.* 18, 8. The meanings “good time” (*ibid.* 63, 3; cf. 11, 3) and “good health” (*P.Oxy.* 1861, 3) are equally represented.

⁹ Cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 232: “This isn’t the moment (μὴ . . . εὐκαιρον) to be found in their way.” In *Ep. Arist.* 203, 238, the king does not ask questions until he deems that the moment is right. Demetrius III, surnamed *Eukairos*, “the opportune,” was called by his enemies *Akairos*, “the untimely” (Josephus, *War* 1.92). Diodorus Siculus 17.52.2: Alexandria is very favorably situated.

¹⁰ Cf. *P.Lond.* 33, 23 (republished in *UPZ* 39; cf. 40, 17); *PSI* 742, 5. Demosthenes, *Proem.* 37; Josephus, *War* 1.618: The visit of Varus was timely.

¹¹ 2Tim 4:2: ε—πίστηθι εὐκαίρως ἀκαίρως; the absence of the conjunction makes the oxymoron more energetic (cf. the Latin *volens nolens, concordia discors, per fas et nefas*). On ἀκαίρως cf. Sir 20:19—a “story (told) out of season”; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.6: an untimely superstition; Thucydides 5.65.2: “misplaced zeal”; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 67.5: “untimely candor”; 75.4. Leonidas of Alexandria: “For neither to labourers after harvest is rain out of season

(ὄμβρος ἄκαιρος) useful, nor the Zephyr to mariners in port” (*Anth. Pal.* 11.9).

¹² John Chrysostom, *Hom. 3 in Laz. et Div.* Plato had asked about the opportuneness and inopportuneness of certain forms of discourse (*Phdr.* 272 a; cf. Isocrates 15.311); ε—υκαιρία became a rhetorical term designating moments when it was necessary to speak; cf. *LTGR*, p. 140; G. H. Whitaker, in *ExpT*, vol. 34, 1923, p. 333.

εὐμετάδοτος

eumetadotos, generous in giving

eumetadotos, S 2130; *EDNT* 2.80; MM 263; L&N 57.97; BAGD 323

St. Paul requires the rich to “do good (*agathoergein*), be rich in good works (*ploutein en ergois kalois*), generous in giving (*eumetadotous*), socially minded (*koinonikous*)” (1Tim 6:18); these four expressions sum up the meaning of virtue for rich: generosity. They should be open-handed.

Metadidomi means to convey to someone else that which is one’s own (Rom 1:11; 1Thess 2:8). Given the love of the Koine for compound forms, it is possible that the prefix in *eu-metadotos* (a biblical hapax, unknown in the papyri) adds no special element of meaning to the simple form; but it is more likely that it emphasizes the nuance either of liberality,¹ or the ease, promptitude, and joy with which one makes one’s wealth useful to others (cf. Acts 20:35; Wis 7:13—wisdom passes on without regret [*aphthonos metadidomi*] that which it has gained, without afterthought). If this is indeed the meaning of the prefix, then it transforms simple “sharing” into a full-fledged virtue.

The teaching is Christian: John the Baptist had instructed people to give spontaneously to the needy,² and St. Paul had urged “working with one’s hands in order to be able to give to those in need” (Eph 4:28). But it corresponds with the ethic, as much Jewish as pagan, that distinguishes between blind wealth and clear-sighted or “clairvoyant” wealth. The latter goes along with wisdom³ and willingly shares of its goods (Philo, *Flight* 29). This ethic is that of a hero of Menander: “Money is a fragile thing. If you are sure that it will be at your disposal forever, then keep it and do not share with anyone (*medeni toutou metadidou*). But if you are not its master, and if you owe everything not to yourself but to *Tyche*, why should you be jealous of it? . . . You should use it generously, help everyone, enrich as many people as you can with your own means. That is what is imperishable. . . . Give open-handedly, share (*metadidou*) . . . willingly.”⁴

¹ Cf. Marcus Aurelius 1.14.4: the emperor learned from the Peripatetic Severus τὸ εὐποιοτικὸν καὶ τὸ εὐμετάδοτον; cf. 6.48: “when you want to gladden your heart, ponder the great generosity of one of your companions, τοῦ δὲ τὸ εὐμετάδοτον.” According to Rom 12:8, the one who gives of his own means (ὁ μεταδιδούς) must do so with liberality (ε—ν ἀπλότητι); cf. Vettius Valens linking γίνονται δὲ συνετοί, ἀπλοι—εὐμετάδοτοι, ἦδει—ς φιλοσυμβίωτοι κτλ. (46.24).

² Luke 3:11 (μεταδίδωμι); cf. H. Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, p. 168, which gives the references to the OT and the rabbinic writings. F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 213, cites a scholium on Plato: κοινὰ τὰ τω—ν φίλων ε—πὶ τω—ν εὐμεταδότων.

³ Plato, *Leg.* 1.631 c; Philo, *Sobr.* 40; cf. *Husbandry* 54; *Abraham* 25; *Virtues* 5; *Prelim. Stud.* 71: κοινωνικὸν ἀρετή; Epictetus: “Human nature is to do good (εὖ ποιει—ν), to be useful to others” (4.1.122), to have a social instinct and to be generous (τὸ κοινωνικόν, 4.11.1; cf. Philo, *Decalogue* 14).

⁴ Menander, *Dysk.* 797–819. At line 809, Sostratus adds: “If ever your fortunes change, someone will owe you the same treatment in turn. It is better to have a friend in the open than invisible riches that you keep buried”; which recalls the prudence that the steward advised: make friends with the money that one has, so that when it fails, they will receive us into eternal dwellings (Luke 16:9).

εὐνοέω, εὐνοία

eunoëo, to be benevolent, be accommodating, come to terms; *eunoïa*, benevolence, goodwill, friendship, devotion

eunoëo, S 2132; *TDNT* 4.971–973; *EDNT* 2.80; MM 263; L&N 30.23, 31.20, 56.3; BAGD 323 | ***eunoïa***, S 2133; *TDNT* 4.971–973; *EDNT* 2.80; MM 263; L&N 25.72; BAGD 323

Noos, “intelligence, mind,” designates from Homer on a thought that may be mixed with a feeling¹ and emerges into an action.² This meaning is found in more than a hundred compound forms, including *eunoëo* and *eunoïa*. The verb is ordinarily translated “be well disposed toward, in agreement with,” and the noun “good feelings, benevolence,” but the nuances are so numerous that it is difficult to specify exactly what is meant in each text.

In classical Greek, *eunoio* expresses a disposition that is inclined to be favorable, to wish someone well.³ According to Cyrus, “It is difficult to show benevolence (*eunoiein*) toward the malevolent (*kakonois*)” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.2.1). A servant shows himself to be *devoted* toward his master (*to eunoiein emoi*; Xenophon, *Oec.* 12.5). The affective sense is clear in the Delphic precept *philois eunoiei* (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1268, 15), but a specific nuance is apparent with regard to social and political relations, where especially official friendship and loyalty are in view.⁴ In the papyri, beginning in the first century AD, the verb refers to conjugal attachment:⁵ the wife promises to live with her husband as *gnesia gamete* (true wife) and adds *kai eunoiein soi* (*PSI* 64, 4). Testators recognize their wives’ virtue: “being kind to me and showing me full faithfulness” (*eunoouse moi kai pasan pistin moi ekdeiknymene*, *P.Oxy.* 494, 9; 2474, 6; cf. *P.Tebt.* 326, 10). In business letters, the author supposes that his correspondent is well disposed toward him (*P.Brem.* 53, 18; *P.Mich.* 476, 14). *Eunoio* is used only once in the NT. The Lord commands, “be accommodating toward your adversary (*isthi eunoion to antidiko*, where *antidikos* is a legal term; cf. *P.Wash.Univ.* I, 6, 20, 26) while you are on the way with him” (Matt 5:25). Here the idea is to “come to terms,” to settle upon concrete measures to take. The parallel, Luke 12:15, uses the perfect passive participle of *apallasso*: deliver oneself from, have done with one’s creditors, get out of difficulty.

The noun *eunoia* is used much more and has more diverse meanings. Certainly it expresses benevolence,⁶ or more precisely “a benevolent feeling” (*to tes eunoias pathos*, Philo, *Abraham* 153, 168, 194) that does not exclude respect (*eunoia kai time*, Josephus, *Ant.* 6.257; 7.51; 8.386; 20.205; *P.Princ.* 74, 6 and 9; *MAMA*, VI, 115, 9–10; 119, 19), but it is a matter first of all of good intentions or good feelings, goodwill.⁷ This is the constant meaning in the LXX.⁸ The reader of Sirach is invited to read with “goodwill and attention” (*met’ eunoias kai prosoches*, Sir Prologue 15). King Demetrius writes to Jonathan: “We have decided to do good (to the Jewish nation) because of the goodwill that they have for us.”⁹ Likewise in Philo: among the wicked, “goodwill is nothing but hypocrisy” (Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 48); souls harmonize in good sentiments.¹⁰ It is fairly common in Josephus: it was with good intentions (*kat’ eunoian*) that Varus sent Philip (*War* 2.83); “those who are arriving were moved by goodwill and came as allies.”¹¹ This goodwill or favor is sometimes attributed to the Deity: *eunoia theou* (*Ant.* 5.95; cf. 4.106, 190, 213; 7.385; 14.455); “the goodwill of Lord Sarapis” (*tas eunoias tou kyriou Sarapidos*).¹²

As a virtue of the good citizen, *eunoia* balances life in community, causes one to share the joys and sorrows of others, and overcomes attachments;¹³ it is the basis of good relations (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.154; 19.51, 211) and becomes faithfulness and loyalty when it is a matter of the attachment of inhabitants or an army to a general or emperor (*te pros ton*

hegoumenon eunoia).¹⁴ Hence the language of treaties of alliance and friendship (*Ant.* 12.417; 13.37) and political friendship, like that of Hiram and Solomon (*Ant.* 8.57) or Antipater and Hyrcanus (14.8; cf. 16.10, 60; 17.37, 39, 43, 123, 353). If Aristotle refused to assimilate *eunoia* to *philia*,¹⁵ this distinction is obliterated in the first century: “you have *eunoian* and *philia* for me” (*P.Brem.* 49, 5; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.52; *Plant.* 90; *I.Priene* 47, 25). In a wedding contract, the wife promises to keep all her affection and tenderness for her husband (*P.Lond.* 1711, 34). In any event, the term is often linked with *storge* (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.134; 15.84; *P.Stras.* 284, 13; *SB* 9622, 6) and *philostorgia* (4.273; 8.193; 15.68; 16.21; *P.Oxy.* 494, 6; *P.Mich.* 341, 9, from AD 47). It is used for the love of Pharaoh’s daughter for the child Moses (Philo, *Moses* 1.19, 33; *Virtues* 224) or of Sarah for the son of Hagar (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.215), of the love of husband and wife (*Ant.* 5.310; 17.49, 58, 85), the love of a father for his children¹⁶ and vice versa (1.222, 291, 297; 17.103), especially brotherly affection,¹⁷ that felt for a friend (*War* 1.416), even an affinity felt for other nations¹⁸ and for all people (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.167).

In every case, the feelings of benevolence imply fidelity (*eunoia kai pistis*)¹⁹ and are characterized by seriousness and ardor (*eunoia kai spoude*)²⁰ and even eagerness and zeal (*prothymia kai eunoia*, Josephus, *Ant.* 8.57; 19.51; *SEG* I, 363, 10). *Eunoia* is, in effect, a “will (*boulesis*) to see good things happen to one’s neighbor for his own profit” (Philo, *Plant.* 106); it is a preoccupation, something that one attends to: “exhibiting the same benevolence and attention” (*ten auten eunoian kai epimeleian parechomenos*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 390, 18); “to all beneficence and benevolence” (*pros pantas euergesia kai eunoia*, *P.Fam.Tebt.* 15, 72). Put plainly, *eunoia* entails devotion.

This meaning was not unknown in classical Greek,²¹ but it is common in the Hellenistic period²² and constant in the inscriptions²³ praising magistrates, officials, physicians, officers, etc., for their virtue and devotion (*aretas kai eunoias charin*);²⁴ that is, for the loyalty, fidelity, and zeal that they showed in the exercise of their responsibilities or functions. In the second century BC, a *proxenia* decree for a Roman citizen: “It pleases the city to garland him . . . for his merit and the devotion that he unflinchingly shows toward our city” (*I.Gonn.*, n. XX, 7; cf. 109, 14: “devotion and philanthropy toward the people,” *ten pros ton demon eunoian kai philanthropian*). In 46 BC, the dedication of a statue in honor of the *strategos* Ptolemaios, “for his merit and devotion.”²⁵ More simply, an honorific decree at Athens: “Whereas in every circumstance Philippides has unflinchingly showed his devotion to the people” (*apodeiknymenos ten pros ton demon eunoian*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 374, 9). At Delos: “Whereas Aglaos has previously, in the most difficult circumstances, given numerous and brilliant proofs of his devotion to the king’s business.”²⁶ Around 60 BC,

“the horsemen among the colonists have observed the attitude adopted by their masters toward the power” (*BGU* 1185, 3).

Given the multiplicity of meanings, we may hesitate to offer a translation of Eph 6:7—“*met’ eunoias* serving as for the Lord”—which is part of the parenthesis addressed to slaves. But the apostle has already made appeal to their rectitude of heart (*en haploteti kardias*, 6:5), with a nuance of liberality in self-giving; then to the spontaneity and energy exercised in work done “with feeling” (*ek psyches*, 6:6). In 6:7, therefore, *eunoia* can no longer be simply “goodwill,” but indeed to serve masters “with devotion” and with respect. This is a call to faithfulness and loyalty in service—and these from the heart—because the word *eunoia* implies good intentions: the slave will therefore always be “well disposed” both in his relations with his owner and in regard to the orders that he receives. It is a wonderful thing that such interior perfection, which would be translated “devotion,” should be the virtue of slaves whom the pagans considered to be “things” or “bodies.” That is the perfection of Christian *eunoia* !

¹ John 12:40 (*Isa* 6:10): ἵνα νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ; cf. 1Sam 4:20; *Isa* 32:6; 44:18; 47:7; Prov 16:23.

² P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 756.

³ Herodotus 7.237; 9.79: “I am grateful to you for your benevolence (*to eunoeein*) and interest toward me”; Sophocles, *Aj.* 689: “Ask Teucer to be good to you” (εὐνοεῖν ὑμι—ν).

⁴ Demosthenes, *C. Arist.* 23.181; Polybius 3.11.7: Hannibal’s father makes his son swear never to be the friend of the Romans (εὐνοήσειν); Plutarch, *Sull.* 10.6: Lucius Cinna undertakes to serve Sulla’s interests; Josephus, *War* 1.93: part of the army “remained faithful to Alexander” (= *Ant.* 13.130); *War* 4.214: John of Gischala swears that he will “always be faithful to the people”; *Ant.* 9.153: Jodas (Jehoida) makes the people swear to be faithful to the king; 17.42; 17.10: Herod had sworn that he would not be on good terms with Salome if . . .”; *Ag. Apion* 2.121: “We swear not to show benevolence before any foreigner.” In loyalty oaths, cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 532, 10: ὁμνύω . . . εὐνοήσειν Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ—; *Syl.* 524, 17; 797, 20ff.

⁵ In a will, Aurelius Colluthus refers to his wife as ἡ εὐνουστάτη μου γαμετή (V.Anangio-Ruiz, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, Florence, 1943, vol. 3, n. 52). Cf. Dan 2:43—οὔτε εὐνοοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, “they shall not be attached to each other.” The verb translates the Hebrew , “be attached, cleave to, be faithful to.”

⁶ Plato, *Prt.* 337 *b*: “People discuss things with their friends with benevolence (διεϋνοίαν), but they dispute with rivals”; *Grg.* 487 *a*: to know whether a soul lives well or badly, it must be verified whether it has three qualities: “knowledge, benevolence, and frankness” (ε—πιστήμην τε καὶ εϋνοίαν καὶ παρρησίαν); *Resp.* 5.470 *a*: to show our benevolence to the other Greeks; Thucydides 2.10.4: the benefactor, by his benevolence (διεϋνοίας) toward his debtor perpetuates the debt of gratitude; Philo, *Dreams* 2.108: reconciling brothers exchange their hostility for benevolence, for example, that of parents for their children: τὴν φυσικὴν εϋνοίαν (*Decalogue* 152; *Spec. Laws* 1.250; 2.232; *Virtues* 192) or of good princes for their cities and peoples (*Spec. Laws* 4.184; *Virtues* 56; *Rewards* 97, 118); *SB* 8071, 8, epitaph for a black slave: “my soul drew to itself the benevolence of a wise master.”

⁷ Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 489: “It is always the weak who show goodwill” (εϋνοίας φέρει); Plato, *Phdr.* 241 *c*: in a lover, goodwill has no part in the beginning of fondness; Thucydides 4.65.5: under the guise of goodwill, bad counsel is given; Xenophon, *An.* 4.7.20: the Greeks’ guide did not accompany them out of affinity for them.

⁸ Except for *Esth* 2:23; 3:13—Mordecai’s devotion and faithfulness (6:4).

⁹ *1Macc* 11:33; cf. 11:53; *2Macc* 9:21—King Antiochus does not forget the honorand goodwill of the Jews (τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν εϋνοίαν); 9:26; 11:19; 12:30; 14:26—Alcimus saw the goodwill between Nicanor and Judas; 14:37—Because of his goodwill (κατὰ τὴν εϋνοίαν) Razis was called Father of the Jews; 15:30.

¹⁰ Ἄρμοζομενω—ν εϋνοία, *Heir* 40; *Moses* 1.324; cf. *Cherub.* 33: “they pretend that their advice is dictated by goodwill alone” (ἅπ εϋνοίας); *Flight* 6, 40: calling him ‘child’ expresses kindness; 98; *Spec. Laws* 4.16; *Virtues* 132: “Whom will you approach with goodwill, you assassins of your own children?”; *Moses* 1.148: Moses showed goodwill toward all who ascribed to him the command and royal authority; 2.291. The prefect has Claudius’s letter to the Alexandrians posted, so that each one may “show gratitude for the emperor’s favorable disposition toward the city” (*P.Lond.* 1912, 10); “your very good friend Rullius knows the goodwill that you feel toward me” (*P.Mich.* 498).

¹¹ *War* 4.136; *Ant.* 10.268; 11.132, 303; 12.183; 13.127, 150, 189; cf. the great benevolence of Abimelech for Abraham (1.259), “goodwill” (8.215; 14.274, 307; 15.368; 16.125; 17.100, 328; 19.135, 299).

¹² *P.Mich.* 501, 20; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* III, 595, a prayer: πρὸς πάντα καὶ πρὸς πάντα πατρικὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ στοργὴν καὶ φιλίαν . . . ε—νεδείξω; *I.Magn.* 46, 37: μετὰ τὰς τω—ν θεω—ν εὐνοίας (= Dittenberger, *Syl.* 560); 73 a 20 (cf. the numerous uses of the ward in the index of these inscriptions, p. 263). Artemis is a protectress (εὐνοίαισι; Aeschylus, *Sept.* 450). For their part, humans are attached to God (Philo, *Good Man Free* 42, 84).

¹³ Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 12; *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 28. In *De frat. amor.* 2, Plutarch links εὐνοία with συμφωνία, ὁμόνοια, ἄρμονία; he uses it for the affection of parents for children (chap. 9), between brothers (11) and friends (21). This mutual benevolence and affection (*Amat.* 2 and 21), the opposite of jealousy (*De inv. et ot.* 1), but where there is sometimes more sensitivity than affection proper (*Cons. ux.* 6; *Mulier. virt.* 256c–d). Cf. C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, p. 203).

¹⁴ Josephus, *War* 3.238; cf. 2.569, 628, 646; 7.6, 64; *Ant.* 7.43; 14.212; 15.361; 16.83; 17.195, 205; 18.124, 206; *Life* 122, 125, 250, 353 (cf. *Ant.* 18.346: faithfulness to the laws). To this attachment of the people (*War* 1.107; 3.410; 4.411; *Ant.* 20.248; *Life* 94) which gives proofs of fidelity (*Ant.* 9.113; 14.384; 15.171, 308; 16.105; 17.201, 203; 18.292, 376; 19.323) corresponds ἡ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοία (*War* 1.153; 4.316; *Ant.* 7.195). Cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 721, 13: τὰν εὐνοίαν ἃν ἔχει πορτὶ τὰν πόλιν; 330, 8: μετὰ πολλῆς εὐνοίας; *C.P.Herm.* 53, 16ff., concerning officials.

¹⁵ Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 9.5 1166b30: “*Eunoia* is a friendly sort of relation, but it is not friendship; for one may have goodwill both toward people whom one does not know, and without their knowing it, but not friendship. . . . Goodwill does not involve intensity or desire . . . and may arise all of a sudden, as towards competitors in a contest. . . . But goodwill can be the beginning of true friendship”; cf. 8.2.1155b31. Likewise Plutarch (*Quaest. conv.* 4; *praem.* 2.660 a–b), who distinguishes between *philia*, which takes time and virtue (*De amic. mult.* 93 f), simple affinity (τὸν εὐνοῦν), which “arises from relations, meetings, diversion, between members of the city; for these are so many occasions for the exercise of benevolent persuasion and friendship”; cf. Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 116: “friends who feel true sympathy (εὐνοία) express themselves with full frankness, without malice (ἄνευ τοῦ κακονοεῖ—ν)”; *Spec. Laws* 4.70: the judge takes into account neither affinity nor hate; *Virtues* 53.

¹⁶ Philo, *Moses* 2.236; *Spec. Laws* 2.239–240; *Virtues* 225; *To Gaius* 62; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.187; 20.20, 23.

¹⁷ Philo, *Joseph* 218, 232; *Moses* 2.176; *Spec. Laws* 1.114; 2.80; *To Gaius* 26, 84; Josephus, *War* 1.627; *Ant.* 2.161; 17.116, 120. Hence all natural bonds (*War* 1.77; *P.Oxy.* 2711, 4: τὴν ἐκ φύσεως ὀφειλομένην ἀποσφύζων εὐνοίαν . . . πρὸς τοὺς ὑέας τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ μου), but also the favor of a benefactor (*Ant.* 19.235).

¹⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* 6.276; 7.69, 160, 212; 11.217; 14.162, 216; 15.201; 17.31–32, 179; *Life* 84.

¹⁹ Josephus, *War* 6.365; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 73, 12: ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πίστιν εὐνοίας μαθοῦσα; *P.Oslo* 51, 9.

²⁰ *P.Oxy.* 2227, 5; *P.Giss.* 56, 14: πασαν σπουδὴν καὶ εὐνοίαν ποιεισθαι; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.263, 355.

²¹ Aeschylus, *Sept.* 1007: “Eteocles, by virtue of his devotion (ἐπι εὐνοία) to the country”; Xenophon, *Oec.* 12.5–7: “without devotion, what good is the knowledge of a chief farmer? . . . the best recipe for inspiring devotion”; cf. Euripides, *Hel.* 1425: “be devoted!”

²² Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.116, 155–156; 4.166; *Flacc.* 14; *To Gaius* 59, 286; Josephus, *War* 1.283: “the devotion that he had always shown them”; 1.667, 670: the soldiers promised their devotion to Archelaus; 2.3; *Ant.* 6.317; 16.46; 17.194; *Life* 103; *SB* 8854, 5; 8855, 4; 8874, 5; 8878, 11; 8883, 24; 9966, 4; 9969, 4; 1012, 5.

²³ Cf. the dedication to a *dioiketes* “for the devotion that he showed unfailingly toward the king and the queen” (A. Bernand, op. cit., n. XIII, 3); *MAMA* VI, 115, *B* 11–12; *IGUR*, n. 3, 20; 6, 9; cf. 2, 25; 367, 8. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.161: τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑμας καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν; 3.188; 6.292; 7.5.

²⁴ *SEG* VIII, 532, 7 (= *SB* 7787). In 5 BC, τοσαύτην εὐνοίαν ἐνδεικνύμενον καὶ φιλοτιμίαν εἰς τοὺς συγγεώργους (*SB* 8267, 16); *SB* 8274, 5 (Dittenberger, *Or.* 99): ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας; 8388, 2; 8389, 8; 9940, 5; 9958, 2; 9959, 4; *I.Thas.* 165, 5; *I.Bulg.* 315, 12; especially *I.Priene* 19, 35; 44, 19, 25; 47, 12; etc. (cf. the index at ἔνεκα and εὐνοία). G. Pfohl, *Inschriften der Griechen*, Darmstadt, 1972, pp. 159ff.

²⁵ E. Bernand, *Fayoum*, n. XIII, 7; cf. n. V, 7: dedication of a statue of the *epistrategos* Apollodoros, by the dignitaries of the court, “on account of the devotion that he showed them” (= *SB* 1568).

²⁶ *I. Delos*, 1517, 7–8 (150 BC) = J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. xvii. Epitaph of Apollonius, an officer: “His devotion led him to the hinterlands and to the ocean” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. v, 5); epitaph of Aphrodisia: “My husband showed me affection and devotion” (*ibid.*, n. xxxv, 18); *I. Thas.* 169, 15; 172, 29; 231, 3; *I. Bulg.* 13, 27; 388, 10.

εὐπειθής

eupeithes, open to reason, willing to be persuaded

eupeithes, S 2138; *EDNT* 2.81; MM 263–264; L&N 33.305; BAGD 324; ND 4.152

This biblical hapax occurs in a list of the attributes of true wisdom: “The wisdom from on high is first of all pure (*hagne*), then peaceful (*eirenike*), moderate (*epieikes*; cf. above, pp. 34–38), conciliatory (*eupeithes*), full of mercy and good fruits” (Jas 3:17). The Vulgate translates *suadibilis*.

At first glance, it is the opposite of *apeithes*, “recalcitrant,”¹ and *dyspeithes*, “difficult to persuade, undisciplined.”² In Plato, it refers to the person who obeys the laws,³ and in Josephus, disciplined troops;⁴ but this obedience becomes more flexible in Philo⁵ and especially in Epictetus, where the wise person is open to reasonable persuasion (3.12.13: *eupeithes to logo*) and enters “into the role of brother, being deferent, characterized by complaisance (*eupeitheia*), benevolence in speech.”⁶ Thus *eupeitheia* in the first century implies goodwill and mutual understanding; it refers not to passive obedience but to an inclination to accept suggestions and conform to them willingly.⁷ In the papyri, *eupeithes* has the precise nuance of legal agreement or consent. In AD 44, Taorseus agrees to renounce in his half-sister’s favor his share in an old building bequeathed by his mother; she will not file any complaint “because she is in agreement.”⁸ In 58, a woman named Ammonarion and her daughter Ophelous, agreeing to accept from Antiphanus a certain sum of money as a dowry, stipulate: “We are in agreement with each other as to the following: A. and O. have given their consent and have received from Antiphanus . . .”⁹

The connection with *epieikes* in Jas 3:17 suggests that *eupeithes* should have a coordinate meaning; wisdom is open to reasons that are supplied; it is willing to be convinced, agrees to follow instructions, strives to be conciliatory. This is how Musonius conceived of it: the *eupeithes* son listens to his parents’ advice and follows it gladly (*hekousios*), when the advice is good and feasible.¹⁰ The papyri confirm this meaning: “to be in agreement, to be satisfied.” In an inscription for the ephebia of Bacchias in

the second century, “I will see that the gymnasiarch is satisfied when he returns from his voyage.”¹¹ In the third century, a secretary is hired after his responsibilities and compensation have been established: “Valerius is satisfied with the salary and with all the outlays (arrangements for covering his expenses)” (*P.Mich.* 604, 22). An agreement concerning a substitution in the public service connected with the grain collection: “Aurelius Sarapion . . . is satisfied (*eupithes*) by Philosarapis regarding all the costs of the grain collection (*seitologia*)” (*eupithes genomenos hypo Philosarapidos peri ton tes seitologias analomaton panton*, *P.Oxy.* 2769, 26); “satisfied with everything done by Sarapion” (*eupeithes kata pan gegonos hypo tou Sarapionos*, *BGU* 1130, 5; from 4 BC).

¹ Luke 1:17; Acts 26:19; Rom 1:30; Titus 1:16; 2Tim 3:2. Josephus, *War* 2.577; Philo, *Virtues* 15. Eusebius, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 46.5.29 (vol. 4, p. 204).

² Josephus, *War* 2.92: “the character of the people, impatient of all authority and recalcitrant toward their rulers”; *Ant.* 4.11: in setbacks, large armies become ungovernable and undisciplined.

³ Plato, *Leg.* 1.632 *b*: “The legislator . . . must distribute honors to those who obey the laws and inflict fixed punishments on the delinquent (*δυσπειθέσι*)”; 7.801 *d*. The constant meaning of *εὐπειθεια* occurs in 4Macc 5:16—“We recognize no more powerful constraint than that of obedience to our law (*πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἡμῶν—ν εὐπειθείας*)”; 9:2; 12:6; 15:9—“the virtue of her sons, their obedience to the law, increased all the more the affection” of their mother; cf. 8:6—“I shower benefits on those who obey me (*τοὺς εὐπειθοῦντάς μοι*).”

⁴ Josephus, *War* 2.577: since the Romans owed their invincible might to discipline (*εὐπειθεία*), Josephus tries to make his troops disciplined (*εὐπειθές*); 3.15; 5.122; Diodorus Siculus 17.53.4; 17.74.3.

⁵ Legislated instructions and directives “press people gently if they are acquiescent (*εὐπειθει—ς*), roughly if they are intractable (*ἀπειθεστέρους*)” (Philo, *Virtues* 15).

⁶ Epictetus 2.10.8; Plutarch, *Ages.* 2.2: “He showed such a cooperative spirit and such tolerance that it was never fear but honor that made him carry out orders.” Cf. Plato, *Leg.* 4.718 *c*: laws should be flexible toward virtue, ὡς εὐπειθεστάτους πρὸς ἀρετὴν εἶναι.

⁷ Cf. the edict from AD 49 reprimanding abuse by government officials: “I am forwarding to you a copy of the letter from the lord prefect with the attached edict, so that when you have seen it you may conform to it (ἴναι—δότες αὐτὰ καὶ εὐπειήτε) and do nothing contrary to its terms” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 665, 5); cf. Charondas, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 44.2.24 (vol. 4, p. 152): πατράσιν εὐπειθοῦντας καὶ σεβομένους.

⁸ *P.Mich.* V, 351, 16: διὰ τὸ εὐπιθῆ γεγονέναι; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 26, 5: Dioscoros, persuaded without any compulsion by the buyer Serallion, signs this statement: εὐπειθῆς ὑπὸ τῆς Σεραλλίου γεγονώς, cf. *P.Mich.* 604, 22; *BGU* 1163, 7 (17 BC); 1104, 23 and 1155, 17 (10 BC); *P.Oxy.* 2769, 26; *SB* 6291, 6.

⁹ *P.Oxy.* 268, 6: συνχωροῦμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐ—πὶ τοι—σδε, ὥστε ἡ—Αμμωνάριον καὶ ἡ—Ὀφελοῦς εὐπιθει—ς γεγονυι—αι καὶ ἀπεσχηκυι—αι παρὰ τοῦ—Αντιφάνους.

¹⁰ Musonius, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 79.51 (vol. 4, p. 634, 3ff.); cf. C. F. Lutz, *Musonius Rufus: “The Roman Socrates”* (YCS, vol. 10, 1947), p. 102, 18ff.

¹¹ Edited by R. Coles, *New Documentary Papyri from the Fayûm*, in *JJP*, vol. 18, 1974, p. 178.

εὐπερίστατος

euperistatos, surrounding, besetting

euperistatos, S 2139; *EDNT* 2.81; MM 264; L&N 30.32; BDF §117(1); BAGD 324

Compound forms with *euperi-* are frequent (*-bleptos*, *-graphos*, *-koptos*, *-noetos*, *-treptos*, etc.), but the only occurrence of *euperistatos* is that in Heb 12:1—the Christian life is compared to an endurance course, and—like every athlete—the believer must cast off on the one hand every load or burden (*onkos*) that would break his momentum and on the other hand the obstacles that could trip him up, *ten euperistaton hamartian*.¹

The many translations that have been proposed are all more or less glosses.

(a) The Peshitta (sin is always near us, *tajjeb*), Theophylact, Bengel, and Moulton-Milligan all see in the verbal adjective a derivative of *peristasis* in the sense of “regrettable circumstances,”² and they give full force to the article, *ten . . . hamartian*. This sin which seduces would be the surprise-attack sin that is a constant threat;³ cf. Gen 4:7—“Sin lurks at the door!”

(b) With good reason, following the Vulgate and Theodoret, moderns prefer to see in this adjective a derivative of *periistemi* (“surround”), not in the passive sense, “which we can easily get rid of, easy to avoid,”⁴ but in the active sense: the sin that encumbers us, that easily envelops us,⁵ that besieges or besets, that easily insinuates its way in through the eyes, the ears, touch, taste, thought.⁶

¹ P46, 1739, some manuscripts of the Old Latin, read εὐπερίσπαστον (cf. 1Cor 7:35), a variant endorsed by F. W. Beare (*JBL*, 1944, p. 390) and discussed at length by G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, London, 1953, pp. 25ff.

² Cf. περιστασις in the pejorative sense of “calamity, distress”; 2Macc 4:16: “they found themselves in painful circumstances”; the translation by Symmachus of Ps 34:18 (the LXX has θλι—ψις: from all their distresses he delivers them. Cf. Polybius 2.48: θλιβόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς περιστάσεως.) In 168 BC, Isias writes to his brother Hephæstion: “you did not even glance at our miserable condition, εἰ—ς τὴν ἡμετέραν περίστασιν” (*P.Lond.* 42, 21 = vol. 1, p. 30 = *UPZ* 59 = *Sel.Pap.* I, 97). Epictetus 2.6.17: “We call this ‘hard circumstances’”; Marcus Aurelius 9.13: “Today, I have emerged from all trouble, or rather I have cast our all trouble”; cf. ἀπερίστατος, Epictetus 4.1.159: “the example of a man living alone (ἄνδρὸς ἀπεριστάτου) without wife or child to make him bend or turn aside from his plans”; Polybius 6.44: ἀπερίστατοι ῥαστω—ναι; Diodorus Siculus 3.51; cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, Grand Rapids, 1964, pp. 349ff.

³ “Potest intelligi occasio peccandi, quae quidem est in omne quod circumstat, scilicet in mundo, carne, proximo, daemone” (“This can be understood as meaning an occasion for sinning, which indeed lies all around: in the world, in the flesh, in neighbor, in demon”—St. Thomas Aquinas, on this text).

⁴ Hesychius, εὐπερίστατον· εὐκόλον, εὐχερῆ; cf. Chrysostom, τὴν εὐκόλως περίστασιν δυναμένην παθει—ν.

⁵ O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, Göttingen, 1957; H. Montefiore, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, London, 1964, p. 124: “the sins which readily clings to us.” J. Héring (*L’Épître aux Hébreux*, Neuchâtel, 1954, p. 112) translates “which so easily handicaps us” and notes: “as this verse evokes contests in the stadium, we could compare the verb περιίστημι to the the expression ὑπερβαίνω, which is a technical term for fighters, meaning ‘straddle’ or ‘encircle the legs.’ See *DAGR*, vol. 3, 2, p. 1340.”

⁶ Theodoret, ὡς εὐκόλως συνισταμένην τε καὶ γινομένην.

εὐποιία

euroiia, beneficence

euroiia, S 2140; *EDNT* 2.81; MM 264; L&N 88.7; BDF §119(1); BAGD 324; ND 3.68

Whether used for beneficence per se, in association with *koinonia* (Heb 13:16; cf. Mark 14:7) or for the concrete gifts that beneficence produces, the word offers no difficulty. Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 5.32.140, offers as synonymns *euergeteo*, *eupoieo*, *charizomai*, *doreomai*, *didomi*; but apart from two decrees in honor of Zosimus (*I.Priene* 112, 19; 113, 76 [84 BC]), *euroiia* is unknown in the Christian era.¹ As Julius Pollux observes: “For *euroiia* is not much used; nor have I yet found *philodoria* in the classical writings” (*to gar euroiia, ou lian kekritai; ou de philodorian oupo heuron en tois kekrimenois*, *ibid.*). Philo (*Change of Names* 24) and Josephus (*Ant.* 2.261) connect *euroiia* with *euergesia*; and Josephus makes the former equivalent to our “charity” or “almsgiving” (*Ant.* 19.356; 20.52); while Epictetus associates it with justice (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 46.5.80; vol. 4, p. 224).

It is attested in the papyri only from the third century, and then most notably in Christian letters.²

¹ Cf. H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*, p.102.

² *P.Oxy.* 1773, 34 (republished in M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 10); *P.Lond.* 1244, 8 (vol. 3, p. 244: your mother brought me up to date concerning your beneficence; fourth century); *P.Oxy.* 2194 fifth-sixth century, republished J.O’Callaghan, *Cartas cristianas griegas del siglo V*, Barcelona, 1963, n. 54). Cf. the pagan letter from the fourth century: “You should know that we have introduced the slave neither under your father nor because of your beneficence” (*P.Ross.Georg.* III, 8, 9). Cf. *I.Perg.* 333, 7 (an architect’s invoice): ε—ν βίῳ δὲ καλὸν ἔργον ε—ν μόνον· εὐποιία.

εὐπορέω, εὐπορία

euporeo, to have means; *euporia*, resources, wealth

euporeo, S 2141; *EDNT* 2.81; MM 264; L&N 57.27; BDF §101; BAGD 324
| **euporia**, S 2142; *EDNT* 2.81; MM 264; L&N 57.32, 57.201; BAGD 324

Euporeo, in biblical Greek, refers to that which is at one's disposal,¹ to have the means or be in a position to do something (cf. Lev 25:26, 49; hiphil of the Hebrew *nasag*, with "the hand"); and hence "achieve success, succeed" (Wis 10:10). According to Acts 11:29, the disciples at Antioch resolved (*horisan*) to come to the aid of the brothers in Jerusalem, "each according to his possessions, *euporeito tis*," meaning "each according to his means."

Such acting according to the possibilities, according to the resources that one possesses, is attested in late papyri; in the eighth century, "whoever detains a *kalaphates* (fugitive) or hides him will have to pay one thousand solidi, if he has the means" (*P.Apoll.* 9, 9; cf. *PSI* 1266, 8); in the sixth century, a mother who suffered and worked to support her daughter no longer has the wherewithal to provide for her (*P.Oxy.* 1895, 7). The word is used for supplies of food (*P.Lond.* 1674, 20; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.214), water (*P.Oxy.* 2410, 7, AD 120), belts (*P.Mich.* 464, 18; in AD 99), weapons (Josephus, *Life* 28), rights that one is able to exercise (*P.Ryl.* 162, 27; AD 159). In a general sense, *euporeo* means "be prosperous, rich,"² the nuance being that of our expression "to have means," an ease that allows the free use of one's possessions.

The substantive *euporia* has only this meaning of "resources, wealth." Demetrius notes in speaking to the silversmiths of Ephesus: "it is from this work that we derive our resources."³ In AD 185, the *cosmogrammateus* writes to the *strategos*: "I submit the following names to you as being financially capable of supporting public works."⁴ Nevertheless some of those subjected to such burdens protest, for example Orsenouphis, who protests that he does not have the requisite means: "my resources not having grown from that time until now."⁵

¹ *P.Oxy.* 1068, 3: "not finding a boat available in the nome of Arsinoè, I ..."; *PSI* 299, 18; cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 9, 4: to have the desired opportunity; *P.Flor.* 367, 8, 17; *BGU* 2130, 4; *SB* 9690, 24.

² *P.Ryl.* 2815, fourth century: a slave or a pauper who prospers greatly (*μεγάλως εὐπορήσει*) after being destitute; Menander, *Dysk.* 284: "If you are very rich (*ει—σφόδρ εὐπορει—ς*), do not trust your riches too much"; 679: "It is especially in this role that a person is revealed, because even while being rich (*εὐπορω—ν*), he undertakes to be like a pauper"; cf. C. Michel, *Recueil*, 984, 9 (second century BC): *ει—ς ταῦτα προεῖς εὐπορω—ν πλεονάκις ε—κ τω—ν ι—δίων*; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 495, 66: *ει—ς δὲ ταῦτα χρείας παρασχέσθαι τοῦς εὐπορουμένους*.

³ Acts 19:25—ἡ εὐπορία ἡμι—ν ε—στίν; cf. *SB* 7696, 70: ὅποταν ἔχη εὐπορίαν; line 101: ὁ τῆς εὐπορίας λόγος; *P.Oxy.* 2238, 27: the guarantee of our resources and our possessions; *P.Grenf.* II, 72, 10: ε—ξέσται σοι χρήσασθαι κατὰ παντοίας μου εὐπορείας.

⁴ *P.Mich.* 536, 10: ὄντας εὐπόρους καὶ ε—πιδιδίους = *P.Cair.Isid.* 125, 8. On the adjective εὐπόρος (as opposed to ἀπορία, cf. Xenophon, *An.* 2.5.9), cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 39: “a young man, son of a father who is quite rich, μάλλ εὐπόρου πατρός”; 807: “enrich (εὐπόρους ποιει—ν) as many people as possible through your own means.” In Egypt, the *euporoi* are well-to-do people, capable of taking on responsibilities, whereas the *aporoι* are unable to pay the πορει—αι, the taxes and duties.

⁵ Μηδεμια—ς οὖν μοι, κύριε, εὐπορίας προσγενομένης ε—κ τότε μέχρι νῦν (N. Lewis, *Leitourgia Papyri*, Philadelphia, 1963, n. V, 39; republished in *SB* 10196; from AD 180). Cf. *P.Phil.* I, 46: “in the town, certain *leitourgoi* found their means exhausted (ε—ξασθηνησάντων), six *arourai* of royal land were allocated to those of the weavers who were well-to-do (τοι—ς εὐπόροις)”; *P.Oxy.* 71, col. I, 17: οὐδεμία δέ μοι ε—τέρα εὐπορία ε—στίν ἢ τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα (third century). Josephus, *War* 7.445: Catullus had the throats cut of “all the Jews who were known for their financial resources, εὐπορία χρημάτων.”

εὐπρέπεια

euprepeia, beauty

euprepeia, S 2143; *EDNT* 2.82; MM 264; L&N 79.13; BAGD 324

The fortune of the rich is just as uncertain as “the good looks of the face” of the flower that will be dried out by the searing wind: *he euprepeia tou prosopou* (Jas 1:11). This NT hapax is common in the LXX, where it expresses the majesty of God (Ps 93:1, Hebrew *ge’ût*; 104:2, *hadar*), God’s glory (Bar 5:1), the glory of God’s dwelling (2Sam 15:25, *naweh*; Job 5:24; 36:11, *na’îm*; Ps 26:8, *ma’ôn*), of his festivals (Sir 47:10), of his warhorse (Zech 10:3, *hōd*). Yahweh makes his people to share in his *euprepeia* (Ezek 16:14; Ps 50:2), and his wisdom is more brilliant (*euprepesterá*) than the sun (Wis 7:29).

These usages emphasize the brilliance of royal nobility,¹ the charm of beauty,² the splendor of an opulent life.³

¹ Wis 5:16—τὸ βασιλείον τῆς εὐπρεπείας; *T. Job* 33: νῦν ὑποδείξω ὑμι—ν τὸν θρόνον μου καὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τὴν οὖσαν ε—ν τοι—ς

ἀγίοις; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 880, 19: the *euprepeia* of the θειότατοι αὐτοκράτορες (third century); cf. *P.Got.* 37, 8: εὐπρεπεστάτου ἄρχοντος (seventh century); *P.Mil.* 77, 11 = SB 9509 (third century). Cf. *Acts Thom.* 80: τίνα ε—νθυμηθω— περὶ τῆς σῆς εὐπρεπείας —Ιησοῦ.

² Sir 24:14—“like a lovely olive tree in the plain”; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.131: the young Hebrews were captivated by the charm of the daughters of the Midianites. Diodorus Siculus 19.2.6: “The child became comely in appearance (τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπῆς) and robust in body”; 17.91.5: well conformed; 17.93.3; 17.108.1: an attractive bearing. The chamber of Aseneth was μέγας καὶ εὐπρεπῆς (*Jos. Asen.* 2.3); she herself was ὡραία καὶ εὐπρεπῆς (*ibid.* 1.6). In a Christian letter of the fourth century, which seems to allude to Jas 1:23, the person who looks in a mirror and thus knows his own appearance can compare his own perception to what other people say about his looks and his distinction (*P.Oxy.* 2603, 11; republished by M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 47; cf. *Acts Thom.* 36). In Philo, *Etern. World* 126 and Epictetus 1.8.7, elegance of language is referred to; in Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 23.7 an honorable excuse.

³ Cf. εὐπροσωπέω, “cut a fine figure, have a proud bearing” or “make a good appearance, play an attractive role” (Gal 6:12), which many commentators declare to be unknown in secular Greek. A. Deissmann (*Light*, p. 98) pointed it out in a hexaplaric variant on Ps 141:6 and in the letter of Polemon to his brother Menches, in 114 BC, asking him not to decrease his returns “ὅπως εὐπροσωπώ—μεν, so that we may look good” (*P.Tebt.* 19, 12); cf. *BGU* 1787, 12: ε—ὰν δοκιμάζῃς ἀξίαν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐπροσωπίαν.

εὐπρόσδεκτος

euprosdektos, acceptable

euprosdektos, S 2144; *TDNT* 2.58–59; *EDNT* 2.82; *NIDNTT* 3.744, 746; *MM* 264; *L&N* 22.44, 25.86; *BAGD* 324

St. Paul knew the adjective *dektos*, “accepted, allowed by someone,” used for example with respect to Epaphroditus, who brought him the offering of the Philippians, “a pleasant-smelling perfume, a sacrifice that God receives and finds pleasing.”¹ It is used for a favorable or propitious time (Luke 4:19), and it is thus that the LXX translates by *kairo dekte* the time of God’s good pleasure, benevolence, favor (*be’et rasôn*) in Isa 49:8. But when the apostle cites precisely this text in 2Cor 6:2 and comments “Behold, now is the *euprosdektos* time, now is the day of salvation” (*idou*

nyn kairos euprosdektos, idou nyn hemera soterias), the choice of the compound form is surely intentional, and it must be given an intensive value (*eu-prosdechomai*): “Now, at the present, is a very favorable time, the most acceptable time there is.”²

Euprosdektos is used also for goodwill (*prothymia*), quickness to give, which is “quite well received” by God, whatever the size of the gift (2Cor 8:12); or for the charitable gift (*diakonia*) of the gentile churches, which was “much appreciated” by the saints at Jerusalem (Rom 15:31; the simple *dektos* here would be almost nonsensical); but especially for the offering that the pagans constitute, a *prosphora* that is “very acceptable” to God (Rom 15:16). Spiritual sacrifices are particularly well received by the Lord, thanks to the mediation of Jesus Christ, who secures easy and sure access to God for them.³ The superlative nuance of *euprosdektos* in the NT is confirmed by its substitution for the simple *dektos* that qualifies the old sacrifices (Lev 1:3; Isa 56:7) and by the emphasis in 1Tim 2:3—“this is excellent and acceptable (*apodekton*) in the eyes of God our Savior” (*touto kalon kai apodekton enopion tou soteris hemon theou*, verse 4). The essential thing is not the preparing and presenting of an offering, but that it pleases the One whom it is intended to honor, and that he accepts it.⁴

¹ Phil 4:18, ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας (Gen 8:21; Exod 29:18; Lev 2:2; Ezek 20:41; Eph 5:2), θυσίαν δεκτὴν, εὐάρεστος τῷ θεῷ. This last adjective is essential with respect to sacrifices, which must “please” God, have his assent, cf. Rom 12:1; Heb 13:16.

² It is not surprising that F and G neglected the compound form and read δεκτός.

³ 1Pet 2:5—εἰς . . . θύσιας εὐπροσδέκτους θεῷ διὰ —Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Usually Aristophanes, *Pax* 1054; but that is actually a late scholium on the text (cf. Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 801 c). A better citation is the rule about the cult of Men, in Attic, from the second century AD, cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1042, 8: ε—ὰν δέ τις βιάσηται ἀπρόσδεκτος ἢ θυσία παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ (republished by LSCG, n. 55); cf. τῶν εὐπρόσδεκτων—κ—ι—ερα—ς (cf. *O.Bodl.* I, C, 121). —Εὐπρόσδεκτος is not attested in the papyri until the sixth century, in two letters from monks, asking for the “all-holy and acceptable prayers—ε—ν πανοσίαις καὶ εὐπρόσδέκταις εὐχῆς” of their spiritual master (*P.Fouad* 89, 6; cf. 88, 6).

⁴ E. G. Selwyn, (*The First Epistle of St. Peter*, London, 1947, p. 162) observes that this acceptance of sacrifices by God was of great importance to the Jews. It was ratified by the fire that sometimes descended upon the victim (Gen 15:17; Lev 9:24) or symbolized by the fire that always burned on the altar (Lev 6:5); cf. Rev 8:3-4.

εὐσχημόνως, εὐσχημοσύνη, εὐσχήμων

euschemonos, honorably, respectably; *euschemosyne*, propriety, modesty; *euschemon*, respectable, noble

euschemonos, S 2156; *EDNT* 2.86; MM 266; L&N 66.4, 88.50; BAGD 327 | ***euschemosyne***, S 2157; *EDNT* 2.86; MM 266; L&N 79.13; BAGD 327 | ***euschemon***, S 2158; *TDNT* 2.770–772; *EDNT* 2.86; MM 266; L&N 79.15, 87.33; BAGD 327

Having a good *schema* could mean appearance, outward bearing, correct moral conduct, or high social class. The emphasis is sometimes on decent behavior, sometimes on order and beauty, sometimes on respectability and nobility.

St. Paul always insisted that Christians conduct themselves in a worthy and honorable manner, understanding *euschemonos* in a moral sense—which implies good behavior¹—whether in their private life;² or publicly, so that pagans might be able to appreciate the quality and propriety of their conduct;³ or finally in their assemblies for worship, where everything must be done “decently and in order.”⁴ *Euschemosyne* is a universally recognized value, at least according to Socrates, who sought only “that which it is honest to do” (*to euschemon skopei*, Epictetus 4.1.163; cf. 4.12.6); and Hellenistic opuscula and inscriptions vie with each other in praising it. Ps.-Hippocrates wrote a *Peri euschemosynes* (ed. Littré, vol. 9, pp. 226–244) to demonstrate that this virtue seals the honor and good reputation of the physician.⁵ Clement of Alexandria expects it of women (*Paed.* 2.31.1.; 2.33.1), with whom it becomes a sort of elegance. “And they made even the residence beautiful and *euschemon* and worthy of both cities” (*epoiesanto de kai ten parepidemian kalen kai euschemona kai axian amphoteron ton poleon*, *I. Magn.* 101, 15; second century BC); the virgins of Athens, in 98–97: “to parade according to the orders in the finest and most *euschemon* manner.”⁶ So the apostle can justify to the Corinthians his praise of virginity thus and need no further commentary or explanation: “I say this . . . for the sake of propriety, *pros to euschemon*” (1Cor 7:35). To his mind, it is less a matter of honesty than of dignity and honorableness, almost adornment; or, in any event, of an inclination to be steadily and unremittingly close to the Lord.⁷

Actually, the adjective *euschemon* is used very frequently in the papyri for a special class of citizens, the most well-thought-of and well-to-do in a town or city.⁸ The *euschemones* are the prominent people who are liable to support public works (*leitourgiai*);⁹ then the term becomes something of a title of nobility¹⁰ and finally of mere politeness: “I want to

lease from you the property of the noble lady.”¹¹ A *neokoros* (temple warden) of Sarapis, a former *strategos* and senator from Alexandria, is described *aseuschemon*.¹²

It is in this sense that Mark 15:43 describes Joseph of Arimathea as a “distinguished member of the council,” and that the distinguished women of Pisidian Antioch and Berea are mentioned in Acts 13:15; 17:12.

¹ Secular texts often understand εὐσχημοσύνη in the sense of a decent exterior, appropriate behavior. Panthaea “surpassed all the women in the entourage by the nobility of her deportment” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 5.1.5). The cupbearer Sacas “pours wine with skill and good manners” (ibid. 1.3.8; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 717, 14: ἤραντο ται—ς θυσίαις τοῦς βοῦς εὐσχημόνως, 100 BC; *I.Priene* 55, 14). In this sense, the noble parts of the body, the head or the hands (τὰ δὲ εὐσχήμονα) do not need to be dressed, unlike the less noble members (τὰ ἀσχήμονα ἡμω—ν), which thus become decent (1Cor 12:23-24).

² Rom 13:13—ὡς ε—ν ἡμέρα εὐσχημόνως περιπατήσωμεν. According to the context, this “dignity” which is fitting for broad daylight is contrasted with the carelessness, neglect, and indecency of “night manners.” Cf. Epictetus 2.5.23: “You behaved well in the circumstances (εὐσχημόνως ἀνεστράφης)” is in contrast with ἀσχημοσύνη; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.102: to behave in a respectable manner in a given situation. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1019, 7: ἀναστρέφεται . . . εὐσχημόνως (third century BC); C. Michel, *Recueil*, 1559, 3, 26 (decrees of the *orgeones* of the Piraeus, second century BC); *SEG XXV*, 597, 4: ε—ν τα— ε—πιδαμία τὰν ἀναστροφὰν ε—ποήσαντο εὐσχημόνως. Cf. Prov 11:25—the violent man lacks dignity; Polybius 5.110.11: to retreat without honor (οὐκ εὐσχήμονα).

³ 1Thess 4:12—ἵνα περιπατήτε εὐσχημόνως πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω. Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 284: “What is the right conduct to adopt in moments of relaxation? . . . To behold the spectacle of worthy and decent scenes from life, τὰ τοῦ βίου μετ’ εὐσχημοσύνης καὶ καταστολῆς”; Epictetus 4.9.11: “Convert yourself to honesty, ἀφελοῦ σαυτὸν εἰ—ς εὐσχημοσύνην.” The favor of Isis confers a life that is honorable or attractive: ἵνεὐσχήμων βίος εἶη (*SB* 8138, 7; republished V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 17). With respect to children, *PSI* 1310, 20, 32, 44; cf. *P.IFAO* III, n. 52, 25. Εὐσχημόνως corresponds to *honesta missione* (H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 50).

⁴ 1Cor 14:40—πάντα δὲ εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω; Musonius 8 (ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 62, 19): τάξιν δὲ καὶ κόσμον καὶ εὐσχημοσύνην περιποιεῖ—; cf. 4Macc 6:2—Eleazar, stripped of his vestments, “remained adorned with the nobility that shines forth from piety”; Dittenberger, *Syl.*

736, 42: ῥαβδοφόροι δὲ ἔστωσαν . . . ὅπως εὐσχημόνως καὶ εὐτάκτως ὑπὸ τω—ν παραγεγεννημένων πάντα γίνηται (92 BC; rule of the mysteries of Andania, republished by *LSCG*, n. 65). Honorific decree for a priest of Asclepius (second century BC): πεποιήται δὲ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν εὐσχήμονα καὶ ἀρμόττουσαν τει—ι—ερωσύνει (*SEG XVIII*, 24, 2; cf. *XXI*, 464, 9: συνετέλεσαν καλω—ς καὶ εὐσχημόνως). Diodorus Siculus 19.33.2: the women could not decently (εὐσχημόνως) abandon those whom they had first chosen as husbands. In the response of an oracle in the second century: ὁ βίος σου ε—πὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἔστε καὶ εὐσχημόνως τὸ ζῆν ἔξεις (*P.Vindob.Sal.* 1, 5). Servilia, sister of Cato, behaved no better (εὐσχημονέστερα) than his other sister (Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 24.4).

⁵ With its Stoic and Epicurean affinities, this treatise should date to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, cf. C. Préaux, “Médecins de cour dans l’Egypte du IIIe siècle avant J.-C.,” in *ChrEg*, 1957, p. 314.

⁶ Πεπομπευκέναι κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα ὡς ὅ τι κάλλιστα καὶ εὐσχημονέστατα, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 718, 11; cf. 547, 36: προδιδούς ἀργύριον εἰ—ς ε—σθήτα, αἰεὶ προνοούμενος τω—ν ὑφ’ αὐτὸν τεταγμένων τῆς εὐσχημοσύνης (211 BC); *Or.* 339, 32; C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 545, 9: τό τε ἦθος κοσμιότητι καὶ εὐσχημοσύνη (second century BC); a young girl, Nana, is the subject of an honorific decree by the inhabitants of Kidrama because she sojourned in their city in a worthy manner, διὰ εὐσχήμονα παρ’ αὐτοί—ς ε—πιδημίαν (J. and L. Robert, *I.Car.*, no. 186, 7–8; cf. B. Lifshitz, “Inscriptions grecques d’Olbia,” in *ZPE*, vol. 4, 1969, p. 247). *P.Mich.Zen.* 46, 9; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59360, 6.

⁷ The nuance of beauty or honorableness appears in an honorific decree of the Ilians in favor of Nicandros, *epistates* of the Poimanenians, ὃς καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰ—ς τὴν πόλιν ἡμω—ν τὴν τε ε—νδημίαν ποιει—ται καλὴν καὶ εὐσχήμονα καὶ ἀξίαν τοῦ τε ἡμετέρου δήμου καὶ τῆς ε—αυτοῦ πατρίδος . . . εὐτάκτον παρέχεται καὶ ἄμεμπτον (*I.Ilium*, n. 73, 6–10; from 80 BC); cf. *BGU* 2347, 4; *P.Flor.* 228, 5: noble, worthy. The adjective εὐσχήμων sometimes has the nuance of “adapted, suited for.” In the second century AD, in a decree of the Athenian cleruchy of Lemnos, with respect to the raising of a statue: ὅπου ἂν δόξη εὐσχημον εἶναι (C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 1510, 5).

⁸ *BGU* 381, 1; 926, 5; (= *SB* 8444, 6; AD 68): “supplicated by the petitioners . . . most distinguished people as well as well as cultivators of the country, who pleaded . . .”; cf. 1713, 3; title of the recipients of an official notice: εὐσχήμοσι καὶ πρεσβυτέροις (*P.Stras.* 245, 5); *BGU* 147, 1: —Ἀρχεφόσις καὶ εὐσχήμοσι κώμης; 926,5: ἵνα παραγενομένων τω—ν κρατίστων εὐσχημόνων μηδεμία μέμψις γένηται. *O.Wilck.* II, 1153, 3: πέμψατε τοῦς εὐσχήμονας τοῦς ε—πὶ τω—ν παρολκημάτων.

⁹ *SB* 8267, 20 (5 BC), 7534, 6 (republished *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 5): “σὺν τοι—ς ε—ξ εὐσχημόνων, with the representatives of the prominent people”; they constitute a board that will supervise a lease; *P.Brem.* 2, 2; *P.Oxy.* 212, 23: “the designated prominent persons” (second century BC), e.g., to determine the layout of arable lands (*Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 238, 2). *P.Petaus* 87, 1; *BGU* 194, 6; *P.Lond.* 301, vol. 2, p. 256: ε—ξ εὐσχ[ημόνων]; cf. the expenses incurred for the visit of “their excellencies,” no doubt the owners of an estate (P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Julii Theones*, Amsterdam, 1976, n. 7, 5); E. Rabel, W. Spiegelberg, *Papyrusurkunden der öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität zu Basel*, Göttingen, 1970, n. II, 5: τοι—ς λοιποι—ς ε—ξ εὐσχημόνων χαίρειν. N. Hohlwein (*Termes Techniques*, p. 256), gives this definition: “Εὐσχήμων, adjective for anyone with sufficient income to be listed in the category of persons required to undertake liturgical (public service) functions.” These persons can be deleted from the list if their resources diminish.

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* 2340, 18: “Epimachos declares that Isidorus is not a weaver but a perfumer, a person of quality, εὐσχήμονα ἄνθρωπον” (cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, pp. 311, 416). In the course of an appearance before the prefect, the sentence is pronounced: ἄξιος μὲν μαστιγωθῆναι, διὰ σεαυτοῦ κατασχὼν ἄνθρωπον εὐσχήμονα καὶ γυναι—καν (*P.Flor.* 61, 61; in AD 86–88); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 795 A 5: τὴν παρεπιδημίαν ε—ποίησατο εὐσχήμονα καὶ ἀξίαν τειμῆς (AD 29).

¹¹ *RechPap*, vol. 3, p. 64, line 5; cf. p. 56, line 11; p. 58, line 13: “for the account of the noble Antonius Philoxenos”; *P.Flor.* 16, 20; *PSI* 1310, 20, 32, 44 (second century BC); L. Robert, *Documents*, pp. 74–75. Εὐσχήμων is the title of a magistrate, the keeper of good order in the city (*P.Ryl.* 236, 15; *P.Mich.* 620, 41, 224, 272, 285).

¹² *P.Alex.* 12, 11, 17 (on the title κυρία given to a wife, mother, sister, aunt, etc., cf. A. C. Bancy, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete*, Athens, 1970, p. 70); cf. *P.Yale* 83, 16; *P.Oxy.* 2986, 12 (the editors translate “gentleman”); *P.Lund* IV, 13, 18; *P.Athen.* 56, 6 (the editor gives papyrological references p. 393); *P.Hamb.* 37, 7: Claudius Antoninus, σὺ γὰρ ἀληθινὸς φιλόσοφος καὶ εὐσχήμων γεγένησαι (second century AD); *I.Magn.* 164, 3: honorific decree of Moschion, ἄνδρα φιλότειμον καὶ ε—νάρεγον καὶ ἀπὸ προγόνων εὐσχήμονα καὶ ἦθει καὶ ἀγωγῇ κόσμιον. G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 12 a 13): ἄνδρα εὐσχήμονα καὶ πρω—τον τῆς πόλεως; cf. *ibid.* b 4: ἀνὴρ εὐσχήμων καὶ ἀγαθός. At Iotape, a young man is honored: τάγματος βουλευτικοῦ, ἔτι καὶ πολείτην Σιδητω—ν, γονέων εὐσχημονεστάτων καὶ φιλοτειμών, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς ει—ς ε—αυτόν (*CIG* 4412 b, cited by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, p. 49). In

a weaker sense, a cottage may be said to be “solid and good-looking” (Philostratus, *Gym.* 35). In sum, εὐσχημοσύνη is as much the fruit of family training (C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, p. 212) as a civic virtue (*ISE*, n. 33, 25–26).

εὐτραπελία

eutrapelia, lively humor, wittiness, mocking derision

eutrapelia, S 2160; *EDNT* 2.86; MM 266; L&N 33.34; BAGD 327

Eph 5:4—“Obscenity (*aischrotes*), foolish talk (*morologia*), and *eutrapelia* . . . are improper (*ouk aneken*).” Thanksgiving (*eucharistia*) is to be preferred. All the commentators understand the apostle to be forbidding buffoonery and nonsense in conversation, but what exactly is *eutrapelia* (Old Latin and Vulgate: *scurrilitas*)? This NT hapax is unknown in the LXX and the papyri and is sometimes used in secular texts in a positive sense, sometimes negative.¹

Derived from *trepomai*, the adjective *eutrapelos* means literally “turning easily,” hence “supple, agile; versatile, treacherous” and “supple of mind, quick with a comeback,” which may mean either “of lively humor” or “mocking, derisive.” The first occurrences are pejorative: “Do not be duped, friend, by treacherous gain” (*me dolothēs, o philei, kerdēs in eutrapelōis*, Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.92); “I am twenty years old and have never spoken a word or done a deed that was improper” (*oute ergon out’ epos eutrapelon*, *Pyth.* 4.105; textual variant, *entrapelon*). Likewise Aristophanes: “Without pretext or specious reason (*oute tin’ echon prophasin oute logon eutrapelon*) you claim to rule alone” (*Vesp.* 469); and Isocrates: “They worked at being serious and not playing the buffoon (*semnynesthai . . . ou boumolocheuesthai*). Jokers and those who know how to mock (*tous eutrapelous de kai tous skoptein dynamenous*), who are now described as gifted (*euphyeis*), were regarded at that time as victims of fate” (*Areop.* 7.49). But this same Isocrates makes *eutrapelia* a spiritual and literary quality “that contributes not a little to education in speech” (*Antid.* 15.296).

Hippocrates recommends that physicians try wittiness (*echein tina eutrapelien*), because severity (*to austeron*) disheartens healthy folk and sick folk alike (*Decent.* 7). Plato observes that “the old, to try to please the young, make themselves light-hearted and funny (*eutrapelias te kai charientismou empimplantai*), and imitate them in order not to seem dour and authoritarian (*aedeis einai mede despotikoi*).”²

Aristotle, in defining the object of wittiness (namely, pleasure in moments of distraction), showed that there is *eutrapelia* and *eutrapelia* in

the course of making this quality a virtue of the golden mean that cannot exist without tact and perspicacity:

_EXTRACT = Since life includes rest as well as activity, and in this is included leisure and amusement, there seems here also to be a kind of intercourse which is tasteful; there is such a thing as saying—and again listening to —what one should and as one should. The kind of people one is speaking or listening to will also make a difference. Evidently here also there is both an excess and a deficiency as compared with the mean. Those who carry humour to excess are thought to be vulgar buffoons (*bomolochoi kai phortikoi*), striving after humour at all costs, and aiming rather at raising a laugh than at saying what is becoming and at avoiding pain to the object of their fun; while those who can neither make a joke themselves nor put up with those who do are thought to be boorish and unpolished (*agroikoi kai skleroi*). But those who joke in a tasteful way are called ready-witted, which implies a sort of readiness to turn this way and that (*hoi d'emmelos paizontes eutrapeloi prosagoreuontai, hoion eutropoi*); for such sallies are thought to be movements of the character, and as bodies are discriminated by their movements, so too are characters. The ridiculous side of things is not far to seek, however, and most people delight more than they should in amusement and in jesting, and so even buffoons are called ready-witted because they are found attractive (*kai hoi bomolochoi eutrapeloi prosagoreuontai hos charientes*); but that they differ from the ready-witted man, and to no small extent, is clear from what has been said.

_EXTRACT = To the middle state belongs also tact (*epidexiotes*); it is the mark of a tactful man to say and listen to such things as befit a good and well-bred man; for there are some things that it befits such a man to say and to hear by way of jest, and the well-bred man's jesting differs from that of a vulgar man, and the joking of an educated man from that of an uneducated. One may see this even from the old and the new comedies; to the authors of the former indecency of language (*aichrologia*) was amusing, to those of the latter innuendo is more so; and these differ in no small degree in respect of propriety. Now should we define the man who jokes well (*ton eu skoptonta*) by his saying what is not unbecoming to a well-bred man, or by his not giving pain, or even giving delight, to the hearer? Or is the latter definition, at any rate, itself indefinite, since different things are hateful or pleasant to different people? The kind of jokes he will listen to will be the same; for the kind he can put up with are also the kind he seems to make. There are, then, jokes he will not make; for the jest is a sort of abuse (*to gar skomma loidorema ti estin*), and there are things that lawgivers forbid us to abuse; and they should, perhaps, have forbidden us even to make a jest of such. The refined and well-bred man, therefore, will be as we have described, being as it were a law to himself.

_EXTRACT = Such, then is the man who observes the mean, whether he be called tactful or ready-witted (*eit' epidexios eit' eutrapelos legetai*). The buffoon (*bomolochos*), on the other hand, is the slave of his sense of humour, and spares neither himself nor others if he can raise a laugh, and says things none of which a man of refinement would say, and to some of which he would not even listen. The boor (*agroikos*), again, is useless for such social intercourse; for he contributes nothing and finds fault with everything. But relaxation and amusement are thought to be a necessary element in life.³

In *Rh.* 2.12.1389b10–12, Aristotle gives this definition: “The young love laughter and so are also witty (*philogelotes, dio kai eutrapeloi*); wit is insolence tempered by education” (*he gar eutrapelia pepaideumene hybris estin*).⁴

Then *eutrapelia* becomes a mental refinement and a character trait commonly attributed by historians to their heroes. At Sparta, Cleomenes was *eutrapelotatos* in his private relations.⁵ The tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse could not help smiling at a funny remark (*dia ten eutrapelian*) by Philoxenus (Diodorus Siculus 15.6.4); Agathocles was a naturally witty character (20.3.3); Sulla said jokingly (*eutrapeleuomenos*) that he was always sure of winning the war (38–39.7). Plutarch recalls the charm of Antony’s humor (*he peri tes paidias kai tas homilias eutrapelia, Ant.* 48.5) and recalls in *De virt. mor.* 2.441 *b* that Chrysippus made a virtue of wittiness (*eutrapelias aretas*), alongside affability (*euapantesias*). “The Persians joked with each other on matters about which it was more agreeable to be teased than not. . . . How not to admire the refinement and wit of these men whose very mockeries pleased and charmed those to whom they were addressed” (*agasthai ten eutrapelian, Quaest. conv.* 2.1.1692 *e-f*). Similarly, Philo reports that at Gaius’s question, “Why do you abstain from pork? there was a great burst of laughter from his adversaries: Some laughed because they were truly amused, while others, with calculating flattery, pretended to find that he had spoken with wit and grace” (*syn eutrapelia kai chariti*).⁶¹ Philo, *To Gaius* 361; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.173—Ptolemy Epiphanes took pleasure in the young man’s charm and wit (τῆ χάριτι καὶ τῆ εὐτραπελίᾳ νεανίσκου); 12.214: King Hyrcanus admired the cleverness of a reply (τῆς εὐτραπελίας ἀποδεχόμενος αὐτόν).{NOTEEND}

From this collection of texts—there are hardly any others before the Christian era—we can see that *eutrapelia* took on a more and more favorable sense, apparently the opposite of its Pauline meaning, but we must not forget the primitive pejorative sense of the word, and especially Aristotle’s observations: *eutrapelia* is a form of *hybris* and cannot be virtuous except among people who have tact and are well-bred; otherwise, it is unwholesome and tends to vulgarity, even obscenity. This distinction was noted in the first century in Plutarch’s words about Cicero: “His facility

for sarcasm and *eutrapelia* was seen as a virtue and an attractive feature of his court speeches, but he used it to excess, thus injuring a number of people and gaining a reputation for meanness” (*Cic.* 5.6). There can be no doubt that the apostle—God knows he had a sense of humor,⁷²Cf. J. Jónsson, *Humour and Irony in the New Testament*, Reykjavik, 1965.{NOTEEND} and he had told the Colossians that their language should be “seasoned with salt” (*Col* 4:6)—intended to debar God’s children from this habitual lack of brotherly love and decency. Certainly his correspondents understood him.⁸

³ P. W. van der Horst, “Is Wittiness Unchristian? A Note on εὐτραπελία in Eph. V, 4,” in T. Baarda, A. F. J. Klijn, W. C. van Unnik, *Miscellanea Neotestamentica*, vol. 2, Leiden, 1978, pp. 163–190.

⁴ Plato, *Resp.* 8.563 a. Cf. Thucydides 2.41.1: A personality complete enough to be equal “to so many roles and show in them such graceful adaptability” (μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ’ ἂν εὐτραπέλως).

⁵ Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 4.8.1127b34–1128b4 (trans. W. D. Ross, in Richard McKeon, ed., *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, New York, 1941, pp. 1000–1001); 8.3.115a13–14 (one kind of friendship is the appreciation of the other not for what he is in himself but insofar as he is useful or amusing); 8.4.1157a3–6 (good friends are amusing absolutely speaking and also for each other); 8.6.1158a30–33; Aristotle, *Eth. Eud.* 3.7.1234a4–23; 7.5.1240a2–3. St. Thomas Aquinas took over this doctrine from Aristotle: there can be virtue with regard to jesting (II-III q. 168, a. 2); abstinence from jesting is a vice (a. 3).

⁶ Cf. Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.13.1390a21–23: old men “do not like wittiness and laughter; loving to lament is the opposite of loving to laugh.”

⁷ Polybius 9.23.3; cf. 12.16.15: “With this witticism (*eutrapeleusamenos*) the young man brightened up the audience”; 23.5.7. According to the rhetor Demetrius of Phalerum, the Attic dialect has something well-turned and popular (συνεστραμμένον τι ἔχει καὶ δημοτικὸν) that makes it apt for the expression of witticisms (καὶ ται—ς τοιαύταις εὐτραπελίαις πρέπον, *Eloc.* 3.177); cf. 3.172: when nicknames imply a comparison, they can provide a play on words, ἢ γὰρ ἀντίθεσις εὐτράπελος.

⁸ Sins of language were severely punished at Qumran. 1QS 7.9: “One who utters an obscenity [shall be punished] for three months.”

εὐχομαι, εὐχή

euchomai, to affirm, vow; pray; *eucho*, vow, votive offering, wish, prayer

euchomai, S 2172; TDNT 2.775–806; EDNT 2.88–89; NIDNTT 2.861–862, 867, 873; MM 268; L&N 25.6, 33.178; BDF §§67(1), 180(4), 187(4), 359(2), 392(1c); BAGD 329 | ***eucho***, S 2171; TDNT 2.775–806; EDNT 2.88–89; NIDNTT 2.861, 867; MM 268; L&N 33.178, 33.469; BAGD 329; ND 3.65

There may be diverse uses of *euchomai*, relating to vows, promises, wishes, or prayers, but the basic meaning is to affirm out loud, to make a solemn declaration.¹ It appears for the first time, with one legal exception, in the Mycenaean form *e-u-ke-to* in a Pylos Linear B tablet: “Eritha the priestess has and protests that she has a frank fee in the name of her god.”² This is a claiming of property rights.

In a secular context, the nuances are multiple. The most common construction (*euchomai* followed by the infinitive) means (a) to affirm boldly and proudly: “We affirm proudly (we flatter ourselves) that we are more valorous than our fathers” (Homer, *Il.* 4.405); Athena to Ares: “I boldly affirm (I flatter myself) that I am stronger than you”;³ (b) to make oneself known: “Behold my race, the blood of which I boast to be an offspring” (*Il.* 6.211; 20.424); “I have the honor of being the son of wise Antiochus”;⁴ (c) to boast and glorify oneself: “None of the Danaeans can boast to have held his horses ahead . . .” (*Il.* 8.253–254); “no one dares boast to contend with you.”⁵

In a religious context, the meanings of *euchomai* are just as nuanced: (a) make a vow or promise (in order to obtain a favor): “Make a vow (to Lycian Apollo) to sacrifice a hecatomb of first-born lambs” (*Il.* 4.101; *Od.* 17.49); “Anacharsis vowed to the mother (of the gods) to offer her a sacrifice”;⁶ (b) express a vow as a prayer: the priestess Theano, “addressed this prayer as a suppliant to the daughter of great Zeus” (*Il.* 6.304; 311–312); “Pallas Athena heard their prayer” (10.295); “Thus he prayed, and Athena heard him” (*Od.* 3.385); (c) prayer of request: “to pray is to address requests to the gods” (*to d’euchesthai aitein tous theous*);⁷ “Poseidon, when I pray you do not refuse to carry out what we want”;⁸ (d) wish: “A man wishes that someone close to him will remain in his house to protect it against misfortune”;⁹ (e) give thanks: when the divinity has acted, thanksgiving is expressed in prayer; “Let us go offer thanksgiving in the assembly of the gods” (*euchomenai theion*, Homer, *Il.* 7.298); the Greeks, learning of the enemy’s shipwreck, address prayers to Poseidon Soter;¹⁰ (f) finally, to invoke, pray (with no further specifics): “when the king had prayed” (*Il.* 19.257); “the prayer to Father Zeus was completed.”¹¹ If sometimes prayer is silent,¹² it is normally spoken aloud¹³ and is heard (*Il.* 16.236; Aeschylus, *Cho.* 720), because it rises to the level of a cry¹⁴ and is even accompanied by tears (*Il.* 8.364; *Od.* 9.294).

In the Hellenistic period, the polyvalence of *euchomai* is reduced, but its religious use is accentuated and even becomes “canonical” in the inscriptions, and above all in cultic rules, where prayers are made, for example, for the senate, the people of Rome and of Ephesus,¹⁵ and sometimes with a nuance of thanksgiving (*euxachariston*: “following his vow and giving thanks,” *I.G.L.S.* 2744; cf. *I.Bulg.* 1184, 1476); but by far the most common sense is “vow”: “by carrying out our vows for the salvation of all of them” (*I.G.L.S.* 1322–1328, 1337, 1336); “Asianus completed this edifice according to the vow that he had made” (2006; cf. 2039); “Valerianus . . . following his vow, raised this column at his own expense.”¹⁶ The formula *euxamenos anetheken* (having vowed, he offered) is used in dedications.¹⁷

In the papyri, our verb is used only in official or private correspondence, first of all at the beginning of the letter, where the author prays for the recipient: *euchomai to theo* (*P.NYU* 25, 2; *P.Oxy.* 3314, 3), *te theia* (*Pap.Brux.* XVII, p. 94). Often, the prayer is linked with an act of worship (*proskynema*, *P.Oxy.* 2598 a 2–4; b 2–3; *P.Genova* 49, 3); its object is almost always the good health of the recipient: “I pray that you are well.”¹⁸ Christians took over this usage¹⁹ as a matter of politeness, and *euchomai* often retains the sense “wish.”²⁰ This latter meaning seems to be that of the formula *errosthai se (hymas) euchomai*, which recurs endlessly in the letters; it is no longer a prayer (at least not usually) but a wish: “I wish you good health.”²¹

The LXX uses the verb often, but knows barely two meanings for it: either “pray,” in the sense of implore, supplicate,²² or intercede;²³ or “utter a vow.”²⁴ The same meanings occur in Philo, though the uttering of vows is rarer,²⁵ while “pray and supplicate” recur frequently with respect to God,²⁶ together with sacrifice (*Unchang. God* 8; *Plant.* 161–162; *Decalogue* 72) and the blessing of the people (*Change of Names* 127), sometimes with a nuance of thanksgiving.²⁷ The emphasis is on the “request” in prayer.²⁸ But while the LXX does not use *euchomai* in the sense of “wish,” Philo does so often: “Joseph wished to raise his subordinates to the level of blameless folk.”²⁹

The six occurrences of the verb in the NT confirm its decline;³⁰ it is unknown in the Gospels. In 3John 2 (“I hope that you are prospering in every way and are well”), the present *euchomai* and its object are in complete conformity with the epistolary papyri (cf. above). Its banal (if we may put it so) meaning of “prayer” or “request” is only found twice in the NT.³¹ The three other texts express a desire or wish: during the storm, the sailors wished or were calling out their desire (durative imperfect *euchonto*) that the day would come (Acts 27:29). During his appearance before King Agrippa, St. Paul cries out, “Would God (*euxaimen an to theo*) that you might become as I am, except for these chains” (Acts 26:29). The verb here is an aorist optative middle. We know that the optative is a potential mood for the uncertain future and for wishes, here an optative of courtesy

(*euxaimen an* = “I would like to pray God”).³² After the fashion of Moses’ pleading for Israel (Exod 32:32), St. Paul does not hesitate to sacrifice all for his compatriots: “I would wish to be anathema myself for my brothers, for my kinsmen according to the flesh” (Rom 9:3). Here, the imperfect has the value of an optative: “I would wish, if it were possible. . . .”³³

Euche. — This abstract noun (naming an action expressed by *euchomai*) occurs only once in Homer (*Od.* 10.525), but it is common in classical Greek in its first meaning, “vow” and “votive offering”;³⁴ this is the predominant meaning in the LXX,³⁵ which uses the word for religious obligations,³⁶ a votive offering (Deut 12:17), sacrifices (Lev 22:21, 23, 29; Num 15:3, 8; 29:39; Jer 11:15; Mal 1:14), and Nazirite consecration to God.³⁷ This is the vow made by St. Paul (*eichen euchen*, Acts 18:18) and four other men (Acts 21:23).

Euche often means “wish”: “For young people action, for adults deliberation, for old men wishes” (Hesiod, frag. 220); “Such are my wishes for us.”³⁸ This is the commonest meaning in the papyri: “so strong is my desire to greet you” (*P.Mich.* 494, 6); “My wish, master, is to carry out my service at your feet” (*P.Rein.* 113, 5; *BGU* 531, 5), “the desire of the debtors is to supply wine” (*P.Michael.* 29, 18). Then *euche* is used for a prayer of entreaty.³⁹ A usage that is found only rarely in the LXX,⁴⁰ but commonly in Philo:⁴¹ *euche* is defined as “a prayer (*aitesis*) addressed to God in order to obtain goods” (*Unchang. God* 87; cf. *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 53). Thus “wish-prayers” were made for others,⁴² notably for the emperor.⁴³ One of the duties of priests of Dionysus in the second century BC consisted of praying: “and he shall pray prayers for the city of the Prieniens” (*kai tas euchas euxetai hyper tes poleos tes Prieneon*).⁴⁴ According to Jas 5:15, the prayer of faith (*he euche tes pisteos*), made by the elders of the church, will save the sick person.⁴⁵

¹ Pindar, *Ol.* 6.53: “They affirmed aloud that they had never seen or heard the child.” “The thematic present εὐχομαι is identical to the Avestan *aoÊaite*, ‘announce solemnly, invoke,’ Sanskrit *ôhate*, ‘boast, praise oneself, etc.’” (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 389; A. Corlu, *Recherches sur les mots relatifs à l’idée de prière d’Homère aux tragiques*, Paris, 1966, pp. 17–18; L. C. Muellner, *The Meaning of Homeric εὐχομαι through its Formulas*, Innsbruck, 1976, pp. 107–140); J. K. Elliott, “Temporal Augment in Verbs with Initial Diphthong in the Greek New Testament,” in *NovT*, 1980, p. 6. Cf. Z. Ritoók, “Εὐχομαι,” in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest, 1955, vol. 3, pp. 287–299; A. Citron, *Semantische Untersuchung zu σπένδεσθαι–σπένδειν–εὐχεσθαι*, Winthertur, 1965; A. W. Adkins, “Εὐχομαι, εὐμολή and εὐχος in Homer,” in *Classical Quarterly*, 1960, pp. 20–33.

² PY, *Ep* 704, 5 and *Eb* 297, 1. Cf. C. Gallavotti, A. Sacconi, *Inscriptiones Pyliae*, Rome, 1961, p. 56; J. L. Perpillou, “La Signification du verbe εὐχομαι dans l’épopée,” in *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie grecque offerts à Pierre Chantraine*, Paris, 1972, pp. 169–182. Cf. the legal context in Homer, *Il.* 18.499, where the murderer is face to face with the victim’s parent (*lex talionis*): “Two men discuss the blood price for another man who has been killed. One solemnly affirms that all has been paid (ὁ μὲν εὐχετο πάντ’ ἀποδοῦναι) and so declares to the people” (analysis in A. Corlu, *Recherches*, pp. 331–336; L. C. Muellner, *Meaning*, pp. 100–106).

³ *Il.* 21.411 (cf. *Od.* 5.211); 23.669: “I flatter myself that I am the best”; *Od.* 3.362: “I have the honor of being an elder, and the only one” (cf. *Il.* 9.60, 161); 5.450; 16.67; 22.321; 24.114; Achilles: “I pride myself on being of the generation of Zeus” (*Il.* 21.187; cf. 5.246; 14.113); “I am the son of Zeus; I glory that I am Apollo” (Ps.-Homer, *H.Apol.* 1.480; cf. *Il.* 13.54); “I boast that I am her handsome young husband” (*Il.* 8.190); Plato, *Grg.* 449 a; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 536; *Anth. Pal.* 10.15.7.

⁴ *Od.* 1.180; cf. 187; 14.199; 15.425: “I am from Sidon, the great bronze market”; 24.269; Euripides, frag. 696, 3; Sophocles, *OC* 59.

⁵ *Il.* 5.173; cf. 1.91; 2.82; 3.430; 13.447: “See who will teach you to boast too highly, poor fool”; 15.296; 16.844; 21.476; Pindar, *Ol.* 7.23; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1341: “Who then could boast? . . .”; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 19, 313; Euripides, *Heracl.* 563: “I am truly born of the father of whom I boast”; Sophocles, *OT* 894: “Can such a man, so desperate, still boast he can save his life from the flashing bolts of god?”; *OC* 1318: “Capaneus boasts that he will raze Thebes”; Polybius 5.43.2: “Mithridates glorifies himself.”

⁶ Herodotus 4.76; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 933: “Would you, in danger, make such a vow to the gods?”; Aristophanes, *Av.* 1618: “after vowing a sacrifice to some divinity”; Xenophon, *An.* 4.8.25; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 181, 6 (from 362–1). In epigraphy, the vow frequently consists in an offering pleasing to the divinity: εὐξάμενος δεκάτην (“having promised the tithe,” *I.Delos* 17; *IG* 12, 627; cf. 529; 543; 623; 684; etc.).

⁷ Plato, *Euthphr.* 14 c; Homer, *Od.* 3.394, 446; 13.231; *Il.* 1.450, 457; 16.231, 249; Herodotus 1.31; 7.54; Hesiod, *Op.* 465.

⁸ Homer, *Od.* 3.56; 3.47: “He must also pray the immortals”; 15.353: “Laertes prays Zeus each day to extinguish life in his members”; *Il.* 18.75; 24.287: “Make a libation to Father Zeus; ask him that you may come back home from your enemies”; Pindar, *Pyth.* 8.67; *Nem.* 9.54; Sophocles, *Aj.* 393; Menander, *Dysk.* 661: “You other women, make libations for their

safety and pray that the old man may be saved”; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 352, 7; 1025, 19; *Or.* 214, 20: βούλομαι καὶ ὑμεῖς— εὐχέσθε; 378, 8.

⁹ Homer, *Il.* 14.484; cf. *Od.* 14.463; 21.211: “I did not hear any of the others wish for my return home.” This meaning is developed more and more; Herodotus 1.27; Theognis 1155; Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.293; *Nem.* 8.37; Sophocles, *Ant.* 641; Euripides, *Alc.* 669: “It is in vain that old men wish to die”; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1176, 4. An Alexandrian graffito: εὐχομαι καὶ γὰρ ε—ν τάχῃ σὺν σοὶ εἶναι (in Moulton-Milligan, on this word).

¹⁰ Herodotus 7.192; cf. Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 980; above all, after victory (Euripides, *El.* 764); hence the nuance of resounding triumph with εὐχομαι used absolutely (Homer, *Il.* 5.106; 13.519; 14.486, 500; 21.183).

¹¹ *Il.* 16.253; *Od.* 3.56; Ps.-Homer, *H. Apol.* 1.238, 492, 495, 510; Ps.-Homer, *H. Diosc.* 9; Hesiod, *Op.* 738; Herodotus 2.65; Sophocles, *OC* 41.

¹² Prayer made “without opening the mouth” (Homer, *Il.* 7.195), “in his heart” (23.769; *Od.* 5.444).

¹³ Homer, *Il.* 1.450; 3.275, 296ff.; 7.200ff. Demosthenes: “The first prayer, Athenians, that I address to all the gods and all the goddesses (πρω—τον εὐχομαι), is that in the present debate you will reserve for me such sympathy as I have unfailingly shown for the state and for you all” (*Corona* 1); cf. Acts 26:29.

¹⁴ Homer, *Od.* 8.305; 12.124; Herodotus 7.191.

¹⁵ *LSCGSup*, n. 121, 15: εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ ι—ερα—ς; cf. n. 6, 5 and 11; 14, 33; *LSCG*, n. 46, 20: εὐχονται τὸν ι—ερέα ; 72, 7; 151 A 18 (cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1964, p. 217, n. 421); *MAMA*, VI, 124: εὐξάμενος τοι—ς θεοι—ς; *IGLS* 625: εὐξάμενος τω— θεω— ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ; 674: “Pray for us”; 727: “for me”; T. Drew-Bear, *Phrygie*, n. III, 3: εὐξάμενοι περὶ τω—ν ι—δίων πάντων σωτηρίας. Cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.1.1: οἱ— εὐξάμενοι τοι—ς θεοι—ς; Epictetus 1.29.37: εὐχονται τω— θεω—; Plutarch, *Per.* 8.6.

¹⁶ *IGLS* 2152; cf. 2205, 2729, 4036, 4037. Cf. B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. 18: “I, Aurelius Polyippos, being pious and having made a vow, have carried it out”; n. 76: “. . . had this done to carry out a vow”; *CII* 683, 12 and 684, 18: at Panticapaeum, a mistress gives freedom to her slave in fulfillment of a vow. In the third century BC, the people of Ilium decide to offer their vows (εὐξασθαι) and sacrifices for the success of the campaign of King Antiochus I, the queen, friends, and troops. These vows are to be

presented by the priestess to the village goddess, Athena Ilias, by the *hieronomoi* and the *prytaneis* (Dittenberger, *Or.* 219 = *I.Ilium*, n. XXXII, 20, 25; cf. L. Robert, “Sur un décret d’Ilion et sur un papyrus concernant les cultes royaux,” in *Essays in Honor of C. B. Welles*, New Haven, 1966, pp. 175–210). Similarly in AD 37, the people of Assos designate five delegates who will formulate vows to Capitoline Jupiter for the health and prosperity of Emperor Caligula (ὕπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας εὐξάμενοι) and will offer a sacrifice in the name of their city (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 797, 32 = *I.Assos*, n. 26). Cf. Josephus, *War* 2.179, 313; 3.382; 5.28; 7.8, 67, 316; *Ant.* 17.127; 20.27.

¹⁷ *CIRB* 35, 2; 1015, 1; 1043, 2; 1048, 7; 1115, 6; 1239, 8; 1260, 24; *I.Bulg.* 539, 561, 770, 1709, 1807, 1819, 1859, 2025, 2065, etc. *I.Gonn.* 160 (a dedication to Apollo), 164–166, 169, 171, 174, 179, 183 (to Artemis).

¹⁸ *P.Aberd.* 71, 3; *P.Mert.* 28, 3; 81, 2; 82, 2, 3, 5; 85, 2; *P.Yale* 78, 3; *P.Wisc.* 71, 3; 72, 4; *P.Oslo* 52, 3; *P.Alex.* 24, 3; 30, 4; *BGU* 1673, 3; *P.Laur.* 20, 3. Cf. *P.Lond.* 2193, 9: σπένδοντες εὐχέσθωισαν (= *SB* 7835).

¹⁹ *P.Got.* 11, 8: “I hope that you are well in the Lord”; 13, 15; *P.Fouad* 89, 19: “I do not cease day and night to pray Christ our Master for the safety and preservation of our good master.”

²⁰ *P.Phil.* 34, 7: “We greet you and send you our best wishes”; 34, 12: “My brother . . . I greet you and wish you prosperity and happiness”; 35, 2: “above all, I hope that you are well”; *P.Fouad* 77, 3; *P.Rein.* 118, 4; *P.Mert.* 63, 18: εὐχόμετά σε ἵνα καλω—ς ἔχην (AD 58).

²¹ Letter of a governor of Achaëa (*SEG* XI, 121, 17); *P.Achm.* 8, 19 and 34; *P.Athen.* 69, 7; *P.Ant.* 31, 13; 43, 24; 192, 18; *BGU* 1568, 17; 1671, 19; 1676, 17; *P.Bon.* 44, 9; 46, 13; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 147; 2, 9; etc.; *P.Erl.* 113, 112; 116, 17; *P.Fouad* 78, 10; 81, 13; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 15, 41 and 96; 42, 33; *P.Oxf.* 2, 41; 3, 14; 18, 8; *P.Mich.* 622, 15; *P.Wisc.* 63, 3; *P.Köln* 106, 9; 108, 16; *P.Petaus* 17, 15 and 21; 18, 7 and 16; 20, 11; *P.Oslo* 52, 22; 54, 10; *P.Yale* 79, 28; 83, 27; 84, 9; *O.Amst.* 23, 12; *P.Rein.* 110, 13; 112, 12; 114, 7; 115, 18; 118, 18: “I wish that you may be well for a long time” (as *P.Oxy.* 2982, 27; 3065, 21; 3147, 25; 3314, 24; *Pap.Brux.* XVII, p. 95), etc.

²² Hebrew *‘atar*; Exod 8:4, 5, 24, 25, 26; 9:28, 10:18; Job 22:27—“You will call upon him and he will answer you”; 33:26; Wis 7:7—“I prayed (εὐξάμην). I implored (ε—πεκαλεσάμην)”; Sir 34:24—“one prays, the other

curses”; 38:9—“Pray to the Lord and he will heal you.” 2Macc 12:44—the expiatory sacrifice is a prayer for the dead; 15:17; *T. Abr.* A 5.

²³ The hithpael of the Hebrew verb *palal*: “Moses interceded with Yahweh” (Num 11:2; cf. 21:7; Deut 9:20, 26; 2Kgs 20:2); “Job will intercede for you” (Job 42:8, 10; 4Macc 4:11, 13; *Par. Jer.* 2.3).

²⁴ Hebrew *nadar*: such as Jacob (Gen 28:20; 31:13; cf. Num 6:2, 21; 21:2; 30:3-4; Lev 27:8; Deut 12:11, 17; 23:22-24; Isa 19:21; Jonah 1:16; 2:10); Jephtha (Judg 11:30); Anna (1Sam 1:11); David (Ps 132:2); Absalom (2Sam 15:7-8). “Perform your vows and carry them out” (Ps 76:11; cf. Eccl 5:3-4; Sir 18:23; 2Macc 9:13); cf. the hiphil of the Hebrew *pala’*: “When a man fulfills a vow” (Lev 27:2).

²⁵ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.17; *Unchang. God* 164; *Husbandry* 175; *Drunkenness* 2; *Prelim. Stud.* 99; *Flight* 115; *Moses* 1.252; *Spec. Laws* 1.252; 2.34–38.

²⁶ “Jacob prayed”; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.94, 96; 3.104; cf. *Post. Cain* 67; *Husbandry* 44–45, 94, 168; *Plant.* 46; *Sobr.* 59; *Conf. Tongues* 39; *Heir* 34; *Prelim. Stud.* 7; *Flight* 118; *Moses* 2.214; *Change of Names* 188, 204, 209–210, 213; *Contemp. Life* 27; *To Gaius* 306. Likewise *Ep. Arist.* 17, 196, 218, 305; Josephus, *War* 7.73, 128; *Ant.* 6.89, 231; 7.203, 290, 357; 8.124; 11.17, 119; 18.211; *Ag. Apion* 1.209: on the Sabbath, the Jews pray in the temples until evening; 2.196: pray for the common safety, etc.

²⁷ Cf. *Dreams* 2.72: “That which prays, gives thanks, offers truly blameless sacrifices . . . is the soul”; *Spec. Laws* 1.167: “Vows or acts of thanksgiving.”

²⁸ *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 124: “I ask in my prayers”; *Conf. Tongues* 163; *Migr. Abr.* 101, 124, 171; *Husbandry* 99; *Drunkenness* 125, 224; *Sobr.* 61, 64; *Prelim. Stud.* 38; *Change of Names* 216, 218, 252; *Dreams* 2.101.

²⁹ *Joseph* 88; cf. *Alleg. Interp.* 3.177, 179, 193; *Worse Attacks Better* 46, 103, 144; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 99; *Plant.* 49, 52; *Sobr.* 62; *Husbandry* 156; *Migr. Abr.* 111; *Prelim. Stud.* 175; *Flight* 164: “he wished to learn”; *Rewards* 151; *Good Man Free* 57, 63; *Flacc.* 167.

³⁰ Resulting, in this case, from the richness of the biblical vocabulary for humans’ dealings with God (cf. αι—τέω, δέομαι, δοξάζω, ε—ρωτάω, εὐλογέω, εὐχαριστέω, λατρεύω, προσεύχομαι, etc.). The tradition was careful to express its original faith in adequate language, cf. 1Tim 2:1—δεήσεις, προσευχάς, ε—ντεύξεις, εὐχαριστίας.

³¹ 2Cor 13:7—εὐχόμεθα δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, “we address this prayer to God”; 13:9—τοῦτο καὶ εὐχόμεθα, “what we ask for in our prayers is your being put right.” This is the meaning in Homer, the classics, the LXX, Philo, etc. Cf. G. P. Wiles, *Paul’s Intercessory Prayers*, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 241ff.

³² “The optative with ἄν presents the action as simply possible, or marks the uncertainty of the one speaking as to the realization of the action, and thus attenuates the affirmation” (F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, p. 274, 61 a, who cites Aeschines, *In Tim.* 159: “I would wish [*optarim*] not to have such facts as the material for my speech” [τω—ν τουούτων ἔργων ἀπορει—ν ἄν εὐξάιμην ε—ν τω— λόγῳ].) Cf. P. Auvray, P. Poulain, *Les Langues sacrées*, Paris, 1957, pp. 67, 69.

³³ Cf. C. F. D. Moule, *Idiom Book*, p. 9; D. Coggan, *The Prayers of the New Testament*, 1967, p. 100.

³⁴ Herodotus 1.86: εὐχὴν ε—πιτελει—ν = fulfill a vow; 181; 2.65; Aeschylus, *Sept.* 819; Sophocles, *Trach.* 240; Euripides, *IT* 439: “in accord with my lady’s prayer”; Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.89: “having experienced a benefit in response to a vow”; Josephus, *War* 2.313: Berenice “had come to Jerusalem to fulfill a vow made to God”; *Ant.* 3.235; 4.72; 5.265; 11.58.

³⁵ Notably in the Hebraism “vow a vow” (εὐχεσθαι εὐχὴν), Gen 28:20; 31:13; Lev 27:2; Num 6:2; 21:2; Judg 11:30; 1Sam 1:11; 2Sam 15:8; Isa 19:21; Ep Jer 35; Dan 6:5, 8, 13; Jonah 1:16; 2Macc 8:15.

³⁶ Ps 22:25; 50:14; 61:8; 65:1; 66:13; 116:14, 18; Prov 7:14; Eccl 5:3; Sir 18:22–23; Nah 2:1.

³⁷ Num 6:2, 4ff.; 30:3–15. Philo calls this “the great vow” (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.17; *Husbandry* 175; *Drunkenness* 2; *Spec. Laws* 1.248, 251). Εὐχή is used for “the vows and undertakings of the soul” (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.63), the consecration of a stele (*Dreams* 1.252); vows for the emperor (*To Gaius* 280) and to the Savior God (*Joseph* 195; *Moses* 1.252, 292; *Spec. Laws* 2.12, 24, 32, 34, 115, 129). — In the inscriptions, εὐχή always has the sense of a dedication, an ex-voto, such as the act of adoration by Ammonius, “as an ex-voto to Isis and Sarapis” (E. Bernand, *Philae* II, n. 150, 2; cf. 177, 2); E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 105, 1; E. Bernand, *Fayoum*, n. 7, 11; 20, 9; 73, 7; 84, 9; 98, 4; A. Bernand, *El-Kanaïis*, n. 61: “To Pan of the Good Road, as an ex-voto”; A. Bernand, *Pan*, n. 3, 5; T. Drew-Bear, *Phrygie* II, 2; 3; 5; III, 1; 3–11; etc.; *CII* 730; *IGLS* 465, 467–470, 697, 1210; *SEG* XXVI, 1355, 1357, 1359, 1360, 1367–69, 1380, 1382, 1388–89, 1443–44; *SB* 6247, 6253, 6256, 6310, 7287

(ἀνάθημα κατ' εὐχὴν; cf. ἀνάθημα εὐχῆς, epigram on the stele of Moschion, in E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, 108, 22), 7749, 8133, 9812, 10046, 10671, 11095, etc. Cf. H. Beer, —*Απαρχή und verwandte Ausdrücke in griechischen Weiheinschriften*, Würzburg, 1914, pp. 75–118, 131–135.

³⁸ Aeschylus, *Cho.* 142; cf. *Suppl.* 626. *Ag.* 973: “Zeus, fulfill my wishes”; Pindar, *Ol.* 4.12–13; Euripides, *IT* 628: “foolish wishes that you conceive, wretched one”; Xenophon, *An.* 1.9.11: Cyrus wished to live long enough to pay back in kind those who did him good or ill. *Prov* 31:2—“Son of my wishes”; Philo, *Flight* 154: “in conformity with my wishes”; *Joseph* 206, 210; *Moses* 1.285; *Decalogue* 126; *Virtues* 53, 120; Josephus, *War* 5.255, 494; *Ant.* 17.88, 95; *Life* 292. There are rather often wishes which amount to curses of other people (Demosthenes, *Embassy* 19.130; Sophocles, *OT* 236–237; cf. Plato, *Leg.* 11.931 c, contrast between εὐχή and ἀρά; Philo, *Heir* 260; *Decalogue* 75); but also chimerical ones that could not possibly be fulfilled, such as children’s wishes (Plato, *Soph.* 249 d; *Resp.* 5.456 c; 6.499 c; 7.540 d), pious desires (*Leg.* 8.841 c); thus, establishing the best political community “according to the desire” of men (Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.1260b29, κατ' εὐχὴν)! In AD 139, the weavers complain to the *strategos*: their numbers are so few that they consider it “a mere wish (unrealizable) to be able to execute the orders received” (*P.Phil.* 10, 5). Lucian, in *Πλοιο—ον ἢ Εὐχαί* (*The Ship or the Wishes*), lays out the extravagant wishes of three strollers who cometo the Piraeus to see a commercial vessel that has arrived from Egypt (*Nav.* 16, 41, 45,46).

³⁹ Theognis 341; Euclid, *Elem.* 196; *IT* 276; Euripides, *Tro.* 889; Sophocles, *El.* 636; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 1072: “if my prayer is heard”; Pindar, *Isthm.* 6.44. A mother prays for her children (*P.Giss.* 22, 10 and 23; cf. *P.Fay.*, p. 32); prayer for the health of the addressee of a letter (*P.Brem.* 20, 6; 65, 6; *P.Mich.* 465, 9; *P.Erl.* 120, 6); “I offer prayers daily for your good health” (ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας σου εὐχὰς ποιοῦμαι, *P.Mich.* 499, 5; cf. 484, 10; 500, 5; *SB* 8002, 3; *PSI* 1261, 5; 1425, 6); “it is the best opportunity to pray for your health” (*C.P.Herm.* 2, 25; cf. 8, 13 and 27; 9, 22); “I absolutely need your prayers” (*P.Fouad* 88, 10; cf. 89, 5; *P.Oxy.* 2479, 18; 3150, 33). Hymn to Isis: “Answer my prayers . . . hearing my prayers and my hymns” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 175, col. I, 35; II, 33). “The prayers and sacrifices that ought to obtain health, victory, power, and might for us” (*UPZ* 106, 13; 108, 12).

⁴⁰ Hebrew *tepillâh*, Job 16:18; Prov 15:8, 29; Bar 1:5; 2Macc 15:26—“making invocations and prayers.”

⁴¹ *Alleg. Interp.* 1.84; 3.104: “the fine prayer that Moses made”; *Unchang. God* 156; *Husbandry* 94–95; *Sobr.* 53; *Moses* 1.47, 149. Perfect prayer (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.192), which God loves (*Post. Cain* 179), vain prayer (*Cherub.* 94); prayer, sacrifice, and cult functions (*Unchang. God* 132; *Drunkness* 66, 79, 130; *Dreams* 1.215; 2.299; *Moses* 2.133, 147, 174; *Decalogue* 158; *Spec. Laws* 1.83, 97, 113, 193; 2.17; 3.131, 171), with thanksgiving (*Moses* 1.219; 2.42; *Spec. Laws* 1.224, 229; *Rewards* 56; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.25; 9.209). Cf. Philo, *Sobr.* 66–67; *Conf. Tongues* 159; *Prelim. Stud.* 7; *Dreams* 1.126, 163; *Abraham* 235, 250; *Moses* 2.5, 24, 26, 107, 154; *Spec. Laws* 2.148, 167, 196; *Virtues* 59, 209; *Rewards* 79, 84, 126, 166; *Contemp. Life* 67, 89; Josephus, *War* 2.128; *Ant.* 1.99, 228, 268; 3.7, 189; 10.16, 29; 14.260; 18.15; *Life* 295; etc. Cf. J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique*, Geneva, 1958, pp. 187–202.

⁴² *IGLS* 2035, 2037; *CII* 690, 9; 78, 12.

⁴³ *PSI* 1422, 16. P. Colomb, *Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatie des Lagides*, Paris, 1926, pp. 119, 183.

⁴⁴ *I.Priene* 174, 18; cf. *LSAM*, n. 19, 2: a prayer will be said for nine days at Maeonia on the order of the gods; *LSCG*, n. 46, 21; *Supplément*, n. 14, 34.

⁴⁵ It seems that εὐχαι—ον means the place of prayer in *P.Lond.* 1177, 60 (vol. III, p. 183), but the common designation is προσευχή, meaning first of all the prayer itself (Matt 21:13; Luke 6:12; Acts 1:14; 1Tim 5:5; *P.Lond.* 1917, 8; 1926, 17; *C.P.Herm.* 9, 8), then the place outside the city walls where Diaspora Jews met to pray together (Acts 16:13; cf. S. M. Zarb, “De Iudaeorum προσευχῆ in Act. XVI, 13, 16,” in *Angelicum*, 1928, pp. 91–108; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.258; *Ag. Apion* 2.10); προσευχή, being synonymous with τόπος προσευχῆς (1Macc 3:46; cf. 7:37; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 80; *PG* 42.757), refers quite often to the synagogue (Str-B, vol. 2, p. 472; *CII* 662, 684, 754; B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. 3, 86, 92–96, 99, 35: τῆ κυρία προσευχῆ; *SB* 6832, 7454), having benefit of the right of asylum (Dittenberger, *Or.* 129, 9). It was to be applied even to Christian meeting-places: the Christians of Gaza meet seven days in a row at the προσευχή to sing hymns (F. M. Abel, “Marc Diacre et la biographie de saint Porphyre,” in *Conférence de saint Etienne*, Paris, 1910, vol. 1, p. 248). Cf. A. Hamman, “La Prière chrétienne et la prière païenne, formes et différences,” in *ANRW*, vol. 23, 2; Berlin-New York, 1980, pp. 1193ff.

εὐψυχέω

eupsycheo, to take heart, be courageous, be cheered

eupsycheo, S 2174; *EDNT* 2.90; *NIDNTT* 3.687; MM 268; L&N 25.146; BAGD 329

St. Paul sends Timothy to the Philippians “in order to be encouraged in turn by the news that I will receive from you” (Phil 2:19). That is the usual translation of the biblical hapax *eupsycheo*, which is rare in classical and Hellenistic literature,¹ where it refers to bravery in battle, comfort in trials (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.241: the king comforts Esther after she faints). It occurs in great abundance in epitaphs, like that of Serapias: “You have left behind an inscription and a marker to commemorate your virtue as you ascend to the country of the blessed. Good courage, Serapias!”² Most often, it is a simple utterance connected with the name of the deceased or ending the inscription, for example *Euthenia eupsychi*.³ It is sometimes used in letters of condolence: “Take heart!”⁴ Even the Jews at Rome follow this usage: “To Eutychnianos, *archon*, his worthy spouse. Good courage! May your sleep be with the just” (*CII* 110); “Here lies Junia, daughter of Antipas, two years, four months, and [—] days old. Good courage, be joyful—*euphychei euphronei*” (ibid. 303).

This nuance of joy, or as we would say, good spirits, is attested at the time of Claudius or of Nero in a letter from a woman to her husband: “For I am not troubled, but I remain *eupsychousa*” (*ego gar ouch oligoro, alla eupsychousa parameno, BGU* 1097, 15); or in this assurance, carved on a stone of a newly constructed edifice: “I am placed for the joy (*pros eupsychian*) of those who dwell here” (*IGLS*, 1653, 3). This nuance is not excluded in Phil 2:19, which can be compared to the letter of Heraklammon to his son Kallistos in the second century: “Write to me soon so that I may rejoice” (*tacheos oun moi grapson hina eupsycho, P.Oxy.* 2860, 17); the father’s heart will be comforted, refreshed, and joyful to hear from his child, from whom he has hitherto had no response to his letters.

L. Robert, commenting on *IGRom.* IV, 860, 12, which praises a police superintendent for his “magnanimous generosity in the ‘good news’ festivals” (*epididonta en euangeliois eupsychos*) illustrates the psychological and moral connotations of this adverb:

_EXTRACT = From Liddell-Scott-Jones, one would think that this word was a hapax from Xenophon, *Eq. Mag.* 8.21; from the Thesaurus it is evident that the adverb is well attested in Polybius and Diodorus; there it has the connotation “courageously,” which it also has in the decree of Lete on the military successes of a *quaestor* (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 700), like *eupsychia* in a decree of Elea for a pankratist (*Syl.* 1073, 30–31), like *eupsychotatos* for a young Spartan winner in the endurance contest beneath the whip at the altar of Artemis Orthia, like (again at Sparta) *eupsychia kai peitharchia en tois patriois Lykourgeiois ethesin*, “enduring courage and obedience” (*IG V*,

1, 549). The adverb in the inscription under discussion may have the sense of “magnanimity and generosity.” I compare it to a decree of Acraiphia under Claudius, which I published in *BCH*, 1935, pp. 338–340; the preamble of this second decree begins with this rhetoric: *tes ophilomenes hapasi times tois eis ten patrida eupsychos diatethisin . . . axious ontas metalambanein* (lines 37–40), “being worthy to receive their share of the honor that is due to those who administrated in a manner honorable to their country”; the decree has to do with three citizens who when the land was in very difficult circumstances (*en te tes choras apoleia*) agreed to assume the military command, the superintendance of the marketplace, and the supplying of oil, and who made numerous generous gifts of grain, money, and oil to grocers, cooks, butchers, and others. The meaning is the same in 3Macc 7:18—“the king having gladly (*eupsychos*) supplied them everything needed for each of them to arrive at his own house.”⁵

¹ The LXX uses only εὐψυχία: for the courage of Judas and his companions in battles waged for the country (2Macc 14:18; cf. 4Macc 6:11—the courage of Eleazer won the admiration of his torturers; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1073, 30: ε—πὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐψυχίας ἦλθεν, AD 117; Xenophon, *Cyn.* 10.21: “show his bravery”; Polybius 1.57.2); εὐψυχος: around Judas are grouped οἱ—εὐψυχοὶ τῆ καρδίᾳ (1Macc 9:14; cf. Philostratus, *Gym.* 9: pankratists and boxers must not leave themselves open to the charge of cowardice, ὡς μὴ εὐψυχον; Thucydides 2.11.5: “brave to attack”; *P.Oxy.* 2656, 400); εὐψύχως: the mother of the seven sons bravely bears the death of her children all on the same day (2Macc 7:20). *SB* 9017, n. 18, 6–7: endure with courage (an illness?), λοιπὸν εὐψύχως δεῖ—φέρειν.

² E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 52, 3; cf. n. 76, col. III, 3: “Heraïis, you are of good courage, having come to the end of the gentle light.”

³ *SB* 6092; cf. 2134, 4230, 4229, 5631, 6093, 6238, 6239, 6585, 6697, etc. *IGLS* 90, 701–703, 756–757, 885–887, 972–975. Sometimes ἄλυπε εὐψύχει (*ibid.* 838, 934, 1029; *SB* 6829, 7797).

⁴ Letter from a son to his mother from the first-second century (*P.IFAO* II, n. XI, 3); *P.Oxy.* 115, 2: Εἰ—ρήνη Ταοννώφρει καὶ Φίλωνι εὐψυχει—ν; cf. *O.Bodl.* 2056. In the sense of being confident in one’s ability to do something, *SB* 9017, n. 12, 2: εὐψυχω—ἀποδω—ναι (AD 160).

⁵ Τοῦ βασιλέως χορηγήσαντος αὐτοί—ς εὐψύχως τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄφιξιν πάντα ε—κάστῳ ἕως εἰ—ς τὴν ἰ—δίαν οἰ—κίαν. L. Robert, “Les Inscriptions,” in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, pp. 272–273.

ζημία, ζημιόω, κέρδος, κερδαίνω

zemia, fine, penalty, contribution, harm, loss, disadvantage; *zemioo*, to lose, suffer loss, be punished; *kerdos*, gain, profit; *kerdaino*, to gain, profit

zemia, S 2209; *TDNT* 2.888–892; *EDNT* 2.101–102; *NIDNTT* 3.136–137; MM 273; L&N 57.69; BAGD 338 | ***zemioo***, S 2210; *TDNT* 2.888–892; *EDNT* 2.102; MM 273; L&N 38.7, 57.69; BDF §159(2); BAGD 338 | ***kerdos***, S 2771; *TDNT* 3.672–673; *EDNT* 2.284; *NIDNTT* 3.136–137; MM 341; L&N 57.192; BAGD 429 | ***kerdaino***, S 2770; *TDNT* 3.672–673; *EDNT* 2.283–284; *NIDNTT* 3.136–137; MM 341; L&N 13.137, 57.189; BDF §§28, 101; BAGD 429

In the OT, *zemia* (Hebrew *‘onesh*) and *zemioo* (*‘anash*) always have the sense “fine, contribution,”¹ “impose a fine, punish”;² a meaning that is frequent in the papyri,³ but unknown in the NT apart from Luke 9:25—“What good will it do a person to gain the whole world, if he himself is lost or condemned, *heauton de apolesas e zemiotheis* ?”⁴ *Apoleia* is the technical term for eternal damnation (cf. John 12:25); if Luke, unlike the parallels (Matt 16:26; Mark 8:36), adds *zemiotheis*, the point is that this is not a question of a simple loss, but of a penalty, or positive punishment.

In the literary and popular Koine, *zemia* and *zemioo* refer to a very wide range of “harm.”⁵ *P.Tebt.* 420, 4: “You know that I am above reproach (*apo zemias*)”; the prostitute is a bane (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.51); pederasty wrongs the lovers (*Contemp. Life* 61, *ezemieose*; *P.Tebt.* 947, 2; second century BC); associating with the wicked becomes “the worst calamity” (*Migr. Abr.* 61, *megiste zemia*); “those who rebel against divine law come into grave danger for the body and the soul” (*Virtues* 182); “the person who kills a domestic . . . slashes his own fortune by the price of this man” (*Spec. Laws* 3.143; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.214); “they consider an expensive coat to be a great waste” (Philo, *Dreams* 1.124); sometimes it is a matter of wrong (*Giants* 43; *Post. Cain* 184), of detriment (*Virtues* 169), of a deficit (*P.Oxy.* 2023, 4, 9); sometimes ruin (*Moses* 2.53; *Migr. Abr.* 172), of dire consequences (*Unchang. God* 113). “When he was about to be sentenced to death (*thanatoi zemiousthai*), Hyrcanus had saved him from danger and punishment” (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.16). It is in this sense that St. Paul connects *hybris* and *zemia* to suggest the anger and the loss of the cargo and the ship in the course of the storm (Acts 27:10, 21)—which he considers as totally null and worthless in comparison with having Christ (Phil 3:8)—did not wrong the Corinthians, whose sorrow bore such auspicious fruit (2Cor 7:9). But the bad preacher whose work will be consumed by fire will suffer a loss or harm (1Cor 3:15), namely, the fruitlessness of his work, which will not be rewarded; he will lose his pay.⁶

In the language of business and *diatribe*, *zemia* -*zemioo* are normally opposed to gain and profit, *kerdo-kerdaino*.⁷ So the Lord used this ruinous accounting to teach that gaining the universe would be empty if one lost oneself;⁸ St. Paul, alluding to the Damascus road, applied it to himself: the advantages that he had in Judaism (*kerde*) he considered disadvantageous (*zemian*) for the sake of Christ;⁹ “I consider it all a liability next to the outstanding profit of knowing Jesus Christ. For him, I have accepted the loss of everything . . . in order to gain Christ, *hina Christon kerdeso*” (Phil 3:8).

The goal of the merchant is to make money, to generate profits: “We shall trade and make profits.”¹⁰ But *kerdos* is used for all sorts of advantages and acquisitions.¹¹ If there are base profits or sordid gains,¹² there is also the gaining of souls, and *kerdaino* became a religious term, or rather an apostolic and missionary term, from the brotherly correction whereby one “gains one’s brother” (Matt 18:15) and from Paul’s adapting himself to every type of person “in order to gain the largest number” (1Cor 9:20-22) to the husbands whose minds are closed to the word of God but who will be won without a word by the behavior of their Christian wives (1Pet 3:1). Such texts obviously have no pagan parallels.

¹ 2Kgs 23:33; Prov 27:12; 2Macc 4:48—those who had undertaken the defense of the city “suffered this unjust punishment.” *CII* 709: “They will not have to fear any lawsuit or any fine or any punishment whatsoever” (second century BC). In a contract for the leasing of the precincts of Zeus Temenites at Amorgos, in the fourth century BC, the lessee pays all fines at the same time as the lease (*IG XII, 7, 62, line 7*).

² Exod 21:22; Deut 22:19; 1Esdr 1:34; Prov 17:26; 19:19; 21:11; 22:3. For the Aramaic etymology (*zyny, zyyn*) of *zemia*, cf. O. Szemerényi, “Etyma Graeca III (16–21),” in *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie grecques offerts à Pierre Chantraine*, Paris, 1972, p. 247.

³ Ζημία, *P.Tebt.* 894, frag. III, 13 (account of an association, from the second century BC): Naaron paid a fine in addition to his subscription; *P.Ryl.* 674, 8 (a private account from the second-first century BC); *C.Ord.Ptol.* 71, 9 (an amnesty ruling of Ptolemy Auletes, around 60 BC): “They shall be absolved of the fines incurred”; *UPZ* 180 a, col. XV, 4; *P.Mil.* 212 r, col. VI, 18: fine of John Sergios (*P.Ross.Georg.* V, 46, 4), of Paulos and Jacob (*P.Apoll.* 84, 5–6; the record of a series of payments by the tax collectors); in the sense of penalty, cf. *P.Mich.* 231, 14 (a petition to the *strategos*, in 47–48); *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 235: the collectors will not be content with financial penalties; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 15; col. I, 1; *Apokrimata* 6: “we revoke the fines imposed on the Alexandrians or Egyptians”

(republished in *SB* 9526). The verb ζημιόω also refers to the imposing of a fine (*UPZ* 70, 18; *SB* 8030, 25, 28, from AD 47; 8267, 51; from 5 BC). The accounts of an *agonothetes* at Lebadaiia (second century BC): “I imposed on Plato, son of Aristokrates, of Thebes, my predecessor as *agonothetes*, for not turning in the accounts of his term, the fine prescribed by law (ε—ζημίωσα), 10,000 drachmas” (*NCIG*, n. 22 C, 29; cf. *ibid.* line 44: an extension for turning in accounts; line 58: the fine will be lifted and declared null, but if they do not turn in the accounts, the fine will stand). Ζημιόω is also used, however, for inflicting a punishment (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 24, 90), usually severe: Tiberius Julius Alexander prescribes: “The case cannot be brought again to judgment but that the person who did this will be punished without remission, ἀπαραιτήτως ζημιωθήσεται” (*SB* 8444, 40). It is used notably for capital punishment, *P.Tebt.* 5, 92; *P.Hib.* 198, 159; *P.Tebt.* 699, 21; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 13, 19; 41, 14; 43, 21; 53, 92: “those to whom these measures apply shall be punished by death”; 55, 22; *IG*, II2, 43, 129: ζημιούντων δὲ αὐτὸν θανάτῳ (fourth century BC).

⁴ Cf. Epictetus 2.10.15: “If you lost your knowledge of grammar or of music, you would regard this loss as a harm, ζημίαν ἢ γοῦ τῆς ἀπώλειαν αὐτῆς.” F. Field, (*Notes on the Translation*, p. 61) understands ἀπολέσας as a total loss and ζημιωθείς as a partial loss. He translated, “and lose himself, or be cast away.” On this verse, cf. H. Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, pp. 546ff.

⁵ Ζημία is often a synonym for βλάβη, cf. Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 172; Josephus, *War* 2.605; *BGU* 316, 32; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 122, 12: μήτε ε—νάξειν περὶ ζημίας ἢ περὶ βλάβης; 128, 13; *IGLS* 262, 25–26.

⁶ Perhaps the nuance of punishment is not to be ruled out. L. Robert has published a Christian epitaph from Catana: —Ιάσων πρεσβύτερος, μηδὲν ζημιώσας τὴν ε—ντολήν, ἠγόρασεν ε—αυτῷ— καὶ τοι—ς τέκνοις ε—αυτοῦ τὴν κοῦπαν ταύτην (“Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1960, p. 212, n. 459).

⁷ A. Stumpff (“ζημία, ζημιόω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, p. 888) cites the definition of these two terms by Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.7.1132b2ff., cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.2.12: “without seeking personal gain (κέρδει), without cost to those who hear (μήτ’ ε—πὶ ζημίᾳ)”; Epictetus 3.26.25: “When a vase that is not broken and is still useful is discarded, whoever finds it carries it off and considers it a gain (κέρδος ἠγήσεται); but with you, everyone will consider it pure loss (πα—ς ζημίαν)”; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.274: “They consider it immoral to profit from the loss (of lost money) of another”; *War* 2.605: “Far be it from me to consider as gain that which is harmful to the common interest.” The contrast appears in rabbinic writings, cf. Str-B, vol. 1, p. 749.

⁸ Matt 16:26; Mark 8:36 (cf. A. Béa, “Lucrari Mundum—Perdere Animam,” in *Bib*, 1933, pp. 435–447). The thought had been well exploited by Philo, *Drunkness* 20–33; cf. besides *Moses* 2.53: “considering as very advantageous that which brought about their complete ruin”; *Change of Names* 173: “Pharaoh, portraying harms as advantages . . .”; *To Gaius* 242: “the care of such multitudes is not a question of profit but of piety”; cf. Schlier, “κέρδος, κερδαίνω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 672–673.

⁹ Phil 3:7; “these profits were not just wiped out; they became losses; their mathematical sign changed from plus to minus” (P. Bonnard, *L’Épître de saint Paul aux Philippiens*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1950, p. 63); cf. J. Gnilka, *Der Philipperbrief*, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1968, p. 191). Phil 1:21—τὸ ἀποθανεῖν—ν κέρδος.

¹⁰ Jas 4:13—ε—μπορευσόμεθα καὶ κερδήσομεν; Josephus, *War* 2.590: “a matter in which he realized large profits”; *P.Oxy.* 1477, 10: εἰ— κερδαίνω ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος; *P.Mich.* 507, 13: if we gain, you will profit; *P.Flor.* 142, 8; Menander, *Dysk.* 720: “the calculations that he made for getting rich.”

¹¹ *Ep. Arist.* 270: “Do not trust . . . those who see only their own profit in everything”; Epictetus 1.28.13; 3.22.37: deliverance from a burdensome or unfaithful wife; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.31: the advantage of not having blood on one’s hands; *War* 5.74: “the Romans will profit from our quarrels by taking the city without shedding any blood”; cf. *Ant.* 5.135: ἡδονὴ τοῦ κερδαίνειν. *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 149, 151: that the wine may bring no profit to the evildoers; *PSI* 1128, 30; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 283, 3.

¹² Titus 1:11—αι—συχρὸν κέρδος; Polybius 6.46.2–5: μηδὲν αι—συχρὸν νομίζεσθαι κέρδος; 6.47.5; Dio Chrysostom 4.6; 31.32; 31.138; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.121: “an unjust profit.”

ζωγρέω

zogreo, to capture alive, spare the life of

zogreo, S 2221; *EDNT* 2.109; MM 274; L&N 37.1; BAGD 340

Formed from *zoon-agreo*, this verb is defined by the *Suda*: *zogrei—zontas lambanei*.¹ It means “capture alive, spare the life of” and belongs to the vocabulary of hunting and war.² Its eight occurrences in the OT all have military meanings,³ while the two NT occurrences are metaphorical, suggesting a fish or a small animal caught in a net.⁴

After the miraculous catch of fish, “Jesus said to Simon, ‘Fear not; from now on you will catch men.’”⁵ This is not so much an order as a prophecy announcing the apostolic task to which the disciple will be exclusively dedicated (cf. Luke 18:28-29). He will no longer catch dead fish, in order to eat them; rather, he will catch living people, not to reduce them to servitude, after the fashion of prisoners, but to give them liberty and true life.⁶

In Greek literature, *zogreo* is most often opposed to verbs meaning kill, massacre, annihilate: “The Persians massacred a large number of the Massagetae and made the others prisoners” (Herodotus 1.211); “The Syracusans had either captured a large number of men or killed them” (Thucydides 7.41.4); “Such was the anger of the Crotoniates that they took no prisoners but killed all who fled.”⁷ The fate of these captives is often dire: weighed down with fetters (Herodotus 1.66; Polybius 5.77), it was not rare for them to be executed in the end: “Seven hundred men of the popular party, taken alive (*zogresantes*), were put to death; only one escaped, and he was mutilated” (ibid. 6.91); “Of all the enemies that the Scythians capture alive, they sacrifice one out of a hundred.”⁸ But to be “taken alive” means not simply escaping immediate massacre and “being spared,”⁹ but also retaining hope of liberation (Herodotus 5.77). That is why vanquished people plead with their conquerors to spare their lives.¹⁰ That is in fact the nuance in Luke 5:10—keep a captive alive, be gracious and merciful to him, even restore him to life.¹¹

The secular texts cited display especially the cruelty of victors toward their prisoners, whom they torture and reduce to slavery, when they do not simply execute them. Thus it is that the devil casts his net over sinners,¹² takes them prisoner (*ezogremenoï*), subjects them to his will (1Tim 2:26).

¹ Cf. P. Chantraine, *Etudes sur le vocabulaire grec*, Paris, 1956, p. 51.

² Unknown in the inscriptions and the papyri. But the substantive ζωγρία is attested in 117 BC, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶ—ν ε—ν χειρῶ—ν νομαί—ς ἀπέκτεινεν, οὓς δὲ ζωγρίαὶ συνέλαβειν (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 700, 30), and Num 21:35—“They attacked Og, king of Bashan . . . until no survivor was left”; Deut 2:34; 2Macc 12:35: Dositheus “laid hold of Gorgias and . . . forcibly dragged him, intending to capture this accursed man alive, βουλόμενος τὸν κατάρατον λαβεῖ—ν ζωγρίαν.”

³ When the Israelites have killed all the male Midianites, taking prisoner the women and children, Moses asks “Have you then left alive (or ‘spared’—ε—ζωγήσατε) all the females?” (Num 31:15, 38); “the towns . . . that Yahweh gives you to possess, you shall not leave any creature alive, for you must devote them to destruction” (Deut 20:16); Rahab asked the

Israelite spies: “Swear to me that you will leave alive (or ‘spare’) my father’s household, my mother, my brothers and sisters” (Jos 2:13; 6:25; cf. 9:20; 2Sam 8:2; ζωγρέω always translates the piel or the hiphil of the Hebrew *hayâh*); “the sons of Judah captured alive (*hayîm shabû*) ten thousand survivors, whom they led to the top of a cliff and threw down from the summit; they were all dashed to pieces” (2Chr 25:12).

⁴ Cf. ζωγρει—ον: a cage or tank for fish. The image of fishing for men (Aristaenetos, *Ep.* 2.1), previously used in Hab 1:14-15; Jer 16:16 (cf. Prov 6:26), is found again at Qumran (cf. 1QH 2.29; 3.26; 5.8; CD 4.15ff.), notably in the form of a net (cf. M. Hengel, *Nachfolge und Charisma*, Berlin, 1968, p. 86, n. 150–151 = ET *The Charismatic Leader and his Followers*, trans. James C. G. Greig, ed. John Riches, Edinburgh, 1981, p. 77, nn. 150–151); but it is the devil who is portrayed as hunting men.

⁵ Luke 5:10—ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρω—ν; substituted for ποιήσω ὑμα—ς γενέσθαι ἄλσει—ς ἀνθρώπων in Mark 1:17; Matt 4:19. Cf. J. Mánek, “Fishers of Men,” in *NovT*, 1958, pp. 138–141; C. W. F. Smith, “Fishers of Men,” in *HTR*, 1959, pp. 187–203; R. Pesch, “La Rédaction lucanienne du logion des pêcheurs d’hommes,” in *L’Evangile de Luc: Méorial Lucien Cerfaux*, Gembloux, 1973, pp. 225–244.

⁶ The fishing has a different object, but the metaphor is coherent because of the permanency of the profession (cf. Vulgate *eris capiens*). We know how fond the first Christians were of representations of the fisherman and of little fish born in the baptismal waters, cf. F. J. Dölger, *ΙΧΥΣ: Das Fisch-Symbol in frühchristlicher Zeit*, Münster, 1928–1932.

⁷ Diodorus Siculus 12.10.1; cf. 11.22; Polybius 1.34.8; 3.102.2: Marcus, attacking the Carthaginians, commands that no prisoners be taken. Cf. Strabo 11.11.6: Alexander pursued Bessos and Spitamenes; he captured the former alive (ζωγρία δ ἀναχθέντος), but the latter had the barbarians kill him (διαφθαρέντος).

⁸ Herodotus 4.62; cf. 5.86; Diodorus Siculus 18.16.2: “Perdiccas took more than five thousand prisoners . . . among whom was Ariarathes, whom he ordered crucified with all his relatives after torturing them cruelly”; 18.40.3. Cf. P. Ducrey, *Le Traitement des prisonniers de guerre dans la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1968, pp. 29–33.

⁹ Thucydides 3.66.2: “Those who stretched out their hands to you and whom you took prisoner, you promised to spare, and you butchered them”; 4.57.3; Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.5.14.

¹⁰ Homer, *Il.* 6.46: Adrastus, clutching the knees of Menelaus, begs “Take me alive, son of Atreus, accept an honest ransom”; Dolon likewise beseeches Ulysses (10.378). Polybius 3.84.10: “When the cavalry came upon them and their loss was certain, they raised their arms and begged to be spared, δεόμενοι ζώγρει—v.”

¹¹ Cf. Homer, *Il.* 5.698: “The blast of the north wind brought life back (ζώγρει)” to Pelagon, who had passed out (κεκαφηότα); *Anth. Pal.* 9.597.6: “skillful Philip restored my life by healing me of this cruel disease.”

¹² Cf. Isa 24:17 (Luke 21:35). Qumran denounces the empire or domination of Belial (1QS 1.18.24). When Cleopatra was about to be captured by Proculeius, Caesar’s envoy, one of the women shut up with her cried out, “Unhappy Cleopatra, you are captured, ζώγρει—” (Plutarch, *Ant.* 75.3).

ζωογονέω

zoogoneo, to leave alive, produce a living thing, make alive

zoogoneo, S 2225; TDNT 2.873–874; EDNT 2.109; NIDNTT 2.476; MM 275; L&N 23.89, 23.92; BAGD 341

This verb has two meanings, which are not always separable. The first, attested by the LXX, is “leave alive,” as opposed to “kill”: Pharaoh “mistreated our fathers, even forcing them to expose their infants so that they would not live, *eis to me zoogoneisthai*” (Acts 7:19) is a reference to Exod 1:17, 18, 22. “David left alive (*ezoogonei*) neither man nor woman” (1Sam 27:9, 11; cf. Judg 8:19; 1Kgs 21:31; 2Kgs 7:4; always translating the Hebrew *hayah* in the piel or the hiphil).

With this meaning, *zoogoneo* is a technical term in botany (Theophrastus, *Caus. Pl.* 3.22.3; 4.15.4; *Hist. Pl.* 8.11.2), attested in the papyri, beginning with AD 13,¹ and in the third-fourth centuries it is almost always associated with *euthaleo*, meaning good growth, fine vegetation. On 29 March 323, Origenes and his companions swear to the *logistes* Dioscurides that they have regularly watered the tree *pros to zoogonein kai euthalein dia pantos*,² which seems to be a stereotyped formula.

But literally, *zoogoneo* means “produce or beget a living thing, make alive,”³ and with this meaning, God is almost always the subject, as in 1Tim 6:13—“I adjure you before God, who gives life to all things, *tou theou tou zoogonountos*.”⁴ This divine attribute is referred to in 1Sam 2:6 (“the Lord causes to die and makes alive, *Kyrios thanatoi kai zoogonei*”) and in the secular literature: god is the engenderer, *ho zoogonon*.⁵

These usages may help clarify the paradox in Luke 17:33—*ean apolesei zoogonesei auten (psychen)*; whoever consents to the loss or destruction of his life will save it, preserve it. That is how modern exegetes take it; but for the sentence to mean anything, it seems that we should not exclude the nuance “will bring it back to life,” referring to the saving or originating of a new life. For the living—*ta zoogonounta*—can have several ways of existing or disappearing (Lev 11:47).

¹ *P.Oxy.* 1188, 21, 23: two dead branches, from a living persea tree, ἀπὸ ζωγονούσης περσέας κλάδους. The spellings ζωγονέω and ζωογονέω are equally represented in the papyri (cf. βοαύλων-βαύλων). Cf. O. Mentevecchi, “Continuità ed Evoluzione della Lingua greca nella Settanta e nei Papiri,” in *Proceedings X*, p. 43. On the persea, an Egyptian tree (Strabo 16.4.4; *P.Oxy.* 1976; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 211, note; *P.Mich.* inv. 4001, 10, ed. R. W. Daniel, in *ZPE* 24, 1977, p. 83), cf. L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 35ff. P. Derchain, “Le Lotus, la mandragore et le perséa,” in *ChrEg*, 1975, pp. 83ff.

² *P.Oxy.* 2767, 17; the editors offer the English translation “for it to propagate and to grow always” (it could also be “for it to live and prosper”); 2969, 14; 2994, 10; *PSI* 1338, 18 (labor contract for a vineyard, in 299): ε—πιμελεία . . . εὐθαλοῦσα καὶ ζωογονοῦσα τω—ν παρεχον (read παρεχομένων) μοι μοσχευμάτων.

³ Much used by the medical writers, cf. the references in W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 155.

⁴ a, K, L, G, and numerous miniscules read ζωοποιοῦντος (the confusion is not surprising; cf. 2Kgs 5:7; Deut 32:39—ε—γὼ ἀποκτενω— καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω). It seems that the Christian faith is here contrasted with devotions in the emperor cult: each person would consider the prince “as the source of his life and his existence” (*I.Priene* 105, 10, 32).

⁵ Moulton-Milligan cite *P.Lond.* 121, 529 (vol. 1, p. 101; magical papyrus of the third century), an invocation to the sun: Κύριε θεὲ μέγιστε ὁ τὰ ὅλα συνέχων καὶ ζωογονω—ν καὶ συνκρατω—ν τὸν κόσμον (republished by K. Preisendanz, *PGM*, vol. 2, p. 24); cf. *PGM* IV, 1162 (vol. 1, p. 112); 1754 (p. 128): “the one who breathes life-giving reason into all souls, εἰ—ς τὰς ψυχὰς πάσας ζωογόνον ε—μπνέοντα λόγισμον”; 1614 (p.124): “at the command of Helios he engenders living creatures, ε—ξωογόνησε τὰζω—α σου ε—πιτρέψαντος”; *Corp. Herm.* 9.6: “There is nothing that the (divine) cosmos does not generate into life (ζωογονει—); by its very movement it gives life to all things (πάντα ζωοποιει—).” On the comparison of the divinity

to a sower or planter(φυτουργός), cf. A. J. Festugière, *Dieu inconnu*, pp. 220–224. R. Bultmann, (“ζωογονέω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, p. 873–874) cites Lucian, *Am.* 19: Aphrodite “brought to life all that breathes, ι—ερά τω—ν ὄλων φύσις”; Lucian, *Dial. D.* 8, of asexual begetting by Zeus, παρθένον ζωογονω—ν.

ἡγούμενος

hegoumenos, leader

hegoumenos, S 2233; *TDNT* 2.907–908; *EDNT* 2.113; MM 277; L&N 31.1, 36.1, 37.58; BDF §§264(6), 341, 413(1); BAGD 343

Derived from *hegeomai*, this present participle would normally mean “leader, guide, commander,” but the variety in its usage gives it a broader meaning. In Matt 2:6, it refers to the Messiah, “the leader who will shepherd my sheep” (= Mic 5:2—*archontos*; cf. Gen 49:10); in Acts 15:22, Judas Barsabbas and Silas are “*leading* men among the brethren” (*andras hegoumenous en tois adelphois*), an expression that could be compared to the three high officials in Dan 6:2 (cf. 2Chr 7:18), the chosen and outstanding men of 1Chr 7:40; especially that category of glorious men in Israel, “leaders of the people by their counsel”;¹ their prudence qualifies them as messengers in delicate matters (2Chr 17:7; 1Macc 9:35; 13:8).

Ho hegoumenos is the top man, like Joseph in Egypt,² one who is in some way superior (Luke 22:26; Phil 2:3). In the OT, it refers to men who are wise, intelligent, learned (Deut 1:13; Sir 9:17), powerful (Sir 41:17), from whom the chiefs of the tribes are chosen,³ and initially the king⁴ and the general (Judg 11:6, where B reads *archegos*; 1Kgs 16:16; 1Macc 13:53), or *strategos* (1Macc 13:42; 14:35, 41). But *hegoumenos* can refer to quite diverse levels: prince (Josh 13:21; 2Sam 3:38; 2Chr 19:11; Ezek 44:3), governor and magistrate (Ezek 23:6, 12; Dan 2:48; 3:3; Mic 3:9; Mal 1:8), prefect (2Chr 17:2), “official in charge of the house of God” (1Chr 9:11, 20), superintendent (1Chr 26:24; 27:4, 16; 2Chr 31:13), chief officer (Jer 20:1). In the army, distinctions are made between commander in chief (Jdt 5:5, 7:8; 2Chr 20:27), commander of a thousand (1Chr 12:21), commander of fifty (1Kgs 1:9, 13), commander of couriers (1Kgs 14:27; cf. the quarrymen under the orders of a *hegoumenos*, *I.Did.* II, 39, 51). The term always designates one who has authority and takes the initiative, the leader who has responsibility for a common undertaking,⁵ notably the head of the city (Sir 10:2) and of the nation, whom God himself prepares for this post.⁶

These usages help clarify the function of the *hegoumenoi* in Hebrews, who are in charge of the community.⁷ They are obviously

analogous to the *proistamenoí* (1Thess 5:12; 1Tim 3:4-5), who have gifts for administration (*kyberneseis*, 1Cor 12:28; Rom 12:8), and who care for the believers as shepherds care for their sheep (*epimeleomai*, 1Tim 3:5), or as *oikonomoi* of the house of God.⁸ The author of Hebrews greets them, because they are worthy of respect (Heb 13:17, 24; cf. 1Clem. 21.6—“let us honor those who preside over us,” *tous proegoumenous hemon aidesthomen*; Josephus, *War* 1.271: “He died as a hero by an end that matched the conduct of his whole life”). He asks that they be remembered (verse 7) and obeyed.⁹ The Vulgate translates *praepositi*. We must recall that in the Hellenistic era, in the Lagid and Seleucid kingdoms, *hegoumenos* is a technical term for the person in charge of a city, is responsible for its defense or protection;¹⁰ or again, the president of an assembly, esteemed by all.¹¹

Since there is no other NT parallel than Luke 22:26 (parallel to *ho meizon*), the best thing would be to transliterate *hegoumenos*, which became the traditional title of superiors of monasteries (*P.Rein.* 107, 1; *P.Ness.* 45, 1; 46, 3; etc.). If we translate, it is difficult to choose between “leader,” which preserves the etymological sense, and “president,” which reflects the use of the term in the papyri to designate the head or person in charge of various associations, an office also referred to as *epimeletes*.¹² For example, there is the *hegoumenos* of the weavers of a village (*hegoumenos gerdion tes komes*, *P.Grenf.* II, 43, 9, in the first century; *P.Bon.* 20, 21, from 69–70); the *hegoumenos* of a town assembly, Onnopheros¹³—these presidents were linked and sometimes identified with the *presbyteroi*;¹⁴ and the *hegoumenoi* of religious bodies: “Athenodorus, to the *hegoumenos* of the priests of Soknopaiou Nesos.”¹⁵

From all these texts the conclusion emerges that the post of *hegoumenos* was not a sinecure. The person in question was appointed because of his great competence.¹⁶ He had responsibility for the overall administration of the association and wielded authority, called and presided over meetings, supplied the drinks for the monthly dinner, managed finances (*PSI* 1265), gave orders (2Macc 14:16, 20), and was owed obedience;¹⁷ he took coercive measures against delinquents¹⁸ and meted out penalties. It is not surprising that in 24 BC the “*spoude* (zeal, pains) *ton hegoumenon*” should be mentioned (*P.Tebt.* 700, 30), or that in the second century AD a certain Dios, who awaits the arrival of the *hegoumenos* to solve his problems, should at the same time expect “the help of the gods” (*P.Alex.* 25, 15). These data supply something of an analogy with the office of the leaders of the Christian community in the first century: they “take pains,” and St. Paul asks that they be “thought of with infinite (*hyperekperissou*) respect” (1Thess 5:13; cf. *Did.* 4.1).

¹ Sir 44:4; cf. R. W. Skehan, “Staves and Nails and Scribal Slips (Ben Sira XLIV, 2–5),” in *BASOR*, 1970, pp. 66–71.

² Acts 7:10 (cf. Sir 49:15). The Lycaonians identify St. Paul with Hermes because he was “the master of the word” (Acts 14:12). Iamblichus, *Myst.* 1.1 has been cited as a parallel, where Hermes is the lord of language, ὁ τω—ν λόγων ἡγεμω—ν (cf. A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, Paris, 1944, vol. 1, p. 73; Kleinknecht, “λέγω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, p. 88). To this add Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Amm.* 1 7: When Aristotle was living near Plato “he had not yet been head of a school, οὔτε σχολῆς ἡγούμενος.”

³ Deut 5:23 (associated with the elders); 1Sam 15:17; 2Chr 5:2 (associated with the *archontes*); cf. leader of the people (2Sam 6:21; 1Chr 11:2; 1Esdr 1:49; 1Macc 3:55; 5:6, 18; 2Macc 10:21); head over Israel (1Sam 25:30; 1Kgs 1:35; 14:7), of the Tyrians (Sir 46:18).

⁴ David (1Sam 25:30); Saul (2Sam 2:5), Solomon (2Chr 9:26), Jehu (1Kgs 16:2); Hezekiah (2Kgs 20:5); cf. 2Chr 11:22; Jdt 5:3; Ezek 43:7. Nicolaus of Damascus, frag. 66.62, uses this title for Cyrus (in C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol.3, p. 404); cf. Epictetus 2.13.27. Appian calls L. Cassius sometimes ὁ τῆς —Ασίας ἡγούμενος (*Mith.* 17), sometimes τῆς —Ασίας ἀνθύπατος (*Mith.* 24), sometimes ὁ περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον —Ασίας ἡγούμενος (*Mith.* 11); cf. *I.Bulg.* 876, 6; 1569, 3; Dio Chrysostom 78.15: *peregrinorum princeps*. Cf. a prefect, ε—πι —Ιουλίου Κασσίου τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγουμένου τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου (*I.Ilium*, n. 97, 12). Letter of Severius Alexander τοι—ς ε—πιτρόποις καὶ τοι—ς ἡγουμένοις τω—ν ε—θνω—ν (*P.Oxy.* 3106, 3). In Diodorus Siculus, the meaning is mostly military: the commandant of a garrison (17.8.7), the satrap leading his horsemen (17.19.4; 17.19.6; 17.48.3), Darius commanding the left wing (17.59.2; cf. 17.60.5), the commandant of a bodyguard (17.61.3), the head of the army (17.65.4), leaders of the fleet (17.107.1).

⁵ 1Macc 9:30. Ptolemaeus of Mende: the Jews left Egypt led by Moses, Μωσέως ἡγουμένου (in T. Reinach, *Textes d’auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, 2d ed., Hildesheim, 1963, n. 46). A synonym of πρωτοστάτης, “commander of the front ranks,” in Asclepiodotus: ὁ δὲ ἡγούμενος ὠνόμασται καὶ πρωτοστάτης (2.3; restored by the editors, Köchly and Rüstow; cf. 2.10: ἡγούμενος = τηλάρχης).

⁶ Sir 17:17—“For each nation God prepares a leader.” This could mean a temporal king or a heavenly prince, cf. R. Meyer, “λαός,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 40–41; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, Tübingen, 1951, pp. 109ff.; L. Hackspill, “L’Angéologie juive à l’époque néo-testamentaire,” in *RB*, 1902, p. 546.

⁷ Cf. Sir 10:2—“As is the head of the city, so will be all the inhabitants.” Cf. J. Delorme, in *Le Ministère et les ministères selon le N.T.*, Paris, 1974, p. 321.

⁸ Cf. Luke 12:42; 1Cor 4:1; 9:17; Titus 1:7. Didymus the Blind: “Those who guide the people like sheep (οι— ἡγούμενοι τω—ν λαω—ν) by the priesthood are their shepherds (ποιμένες)” (on Zech 4:41; cf. 4:51).

⁹ The *hegoumenos* has authority, he rules, cf. 2Macc 14:16, 20; 1Clem. 1.3.

¹⁰ Cf. E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, pp. 64, 80; F. Cumont, *L’Égypte des astrologues*, pp. 39, 71. The term ἡγούμενος would seem less politically loaded and more discreet than ἡγεμών, which expresses more dignity: prince (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.223; 19.217), imperial governor (*Ant.* 15.405), procurator or prefect (*Ant.* 18.55 = Pontius Pilate; who is described as *praefectus Iudaeae* in an inscription discovered in 1961 at Caesarea, cf. *JBL*, 1962, p. 70). At the same time, ἡγούμενοι are pagan governors (in 1Clem. 5.7; 32.2; 37.2–3; 51.5; 55.1; *P.Oxy.* 896, 26) or provincial prefects (*P.Oxy.* 1020, 5; 1119, 17), but these are actual “leaders” (Josephus, *War* 2.434), and they are described as “very eminent” (*P.Oxy.* 1186, 1; 1722, 1; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 78, 126, 143, 385). L. Robert gives this definition: “The term ἡγούμενοι refers to the whole range of Roman ‘authorities’ in their variety” (*Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 2, p. 329; cf. H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 151).

¹¹ Sir 33:19—“Hear me, great ones among the people (μεγιστα—νες); presidents of the assembly (οι— ἡγούμενοι ε—κκλησίας), lend your ear”; 39:4—“He will serve in the midst of the great ones, he will appear in the presence of the chiefs”; *Ep. Arist.* 309–310: “The elders . . . together with the leaders of the people made this declaration.” Cf. *C.Pap.Jud.*, p. 9; M. Guerra y Gomez, *Episcopos y presbyteros*, Burgos, 1962, pp. 322ff.; A. Pelletier, *Josèphe adaptateur*, pp. 186–188.

¹² *P.Mich.* 245, 5 (in AD 47; cf. C. Præaux, “A propos des associations dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine,” in *RIDA*, vol. 1, 1948, pp. 189–198). These statutes or *nomoi* would be of Greek origin, cf. A. E. R. Boak, “The Organization of Guilds in Greco-Roman Egypt,” in *TAPA*, 1937, pp. 212–220. In the plural, *hegoumenoi* are “authorities, magistrates” (*I.Perg.*, 536, 7; *I.Car.*, 6, 9; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 748, 21; *SEG* XVIII, 143, 5 and 52; from AD 43 at Corinth. Cf. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, p. 51; M. G. Colin, *Fouilles de Delphes* IV, 3, p. 102, n. 2); but in the singular, ἡγούμενος is most often a subordinate functionary (*P.Ryl.* 196, 9; second century), like

the police superintendent (*P. Yale* 62,1; *SB* 9630, 1 = *ZPE*, vol. 6, 1970, p. 11; *BGU* 2016, 1), the personnel chief in the office of the *strategos*, a provost (*P. Oxy.* 294, 19; in *AD* 22; *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* 26, verso 1), the chief of the *phylakitai* (*P. Tebt.* 731, 1), an overseer (*P. Flor.* 382, 15; *P. Oxy.* 43 recto; col. VI, 14), hence an *episkopos*.

¹³ Ἡγούμενος συνόδου κώμης Τάνεως, *BGU* 1648, 3 (second century); *P. Tebt.* 484 verso: Εὐτυχὸς ἡγούμενος κώμης Τεβτύνεως; *P. Grenf.* II, 67, 2: ἡγ. . . . κώμης Βακχιάδος; *P. Alex.* 6, 3: ἡγ. . . . κώμης Σεκνεπαίου Νέσσου; *SB* 10619, 3. It is to this functionary that certain farmers address their petition (*P. Mich.* 523, 15; *AD* 66; 524, 12; *AD* 98). Cf. *P. Fouad* 18, 1: “Ἡρακλείδης Ἀρμιώσιος ἡγούμενος, Heracleides son of Harmiosios, president” (14 October 53). The editor, J. Scherer, comments: “ἡγούμενος . . . The title is, in general, narrowed down by a genitive: ἡγούμενος ἰ—ερέων, κώμης, γερδίων; cf. *BGU* 2239, 1: Setabous, head of the elders of Soknopaiou Nesos (*AD* 17). In *P. Tebt.* 573, the word is used without a modifier; but there is no ambiguity, because the preceding context has to do with a σύνοδος; similarly *BGU* 1615, line 6, where the context is a weavers’ association. Here, on the other hand, the sense is not clear, and two explanations are possible. Either Heracleides is the ‘president of the town association’—but in this case we would expect ἡγούμενοθ κώμηθ συνόδου (*P. Tebt.* 401, line 23) or at least ἡγούμενος κώμης (*P. Tebt.* 484, verso. Cf. W. L. Westermann, ‘Entertainment in the villages of Greco-Roman Egypt,’ in *JEA*, 1932, p. 23); or Heracleides is the president of the college or πρεσβύτεροι δημοσίων γεωργω—ν: in which case it would be more understandable that ἡγούμενος is not made more specific. But the existence of a ‘president of the college of elders’ is not attested, as far as I know, by any other document, and this explanation, like the other, leaves room for doubt. In *P. Fay.* 110, 26, and Dittenberger, *Or.* 671, the absolute usage of ἡγούμενος gives rise to similar difficulties of interpretation.”

¹⁴ Cf. *P. Ryf.* 122, 7–8; 125, 3; 196, 9; *BGU* 392, col. II, 6: διὰ τω—ν ἰ—ερέων πρεσβυτέρων Τανεφρις; cf. *P. Mich.* 226, 3, 9; 344, 1: “Horos, son of Petermouthis, president of the elders of the public farmers of the village of Kerkesephis” (first century); *ZPE*, 1975, p. 144, n. 4; 1976, pp. 196ff.

¹⁵ Τω— ἡγουμένω τω—ν ἰ—ερέων τῆς Σεκνεπαίου Νέσου. In the first century, in *P. Vindob. Worp* 12, 1; in 66, *P. Lond.* 281, 2 (vol. 2, p. 184), ἡγ. ἰ—ερέων Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου; in 87, *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* II, 1, 31: περὶ τω—ν ἰ—εροῦ ἡγουμένων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων αἰ—τίας ε—χόντων; around the year 1, *P. Tebt.* 525: Παεῦς ἡγούμενος ἰ—ερέων.

¹⁶ “An excellent man, ἄνδρα ἀγαθότατον” (*P. Mich.* 244, 4); ἄνδρα λόγιον (*P. Lond.* 2710, 5; cf. C. Roberts, T. C. Skeat, A. D. Nock, “The Guild of

Zeus Hypsistos,” in *HTR*, 1936, pp. 36–89; J. Seyfarth, in *Aeg*, 1955, p. 17).

¹⁷ “All shall obey the president” (*P.Mich.* 244, 15); cf. *P.Petaus* 34, 20: εἰ—ς τὸ βῆμα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος (read ἡγουμένῳ) Ἄρπάλου. Cf. Polybius 1.45.4: πειθαρχει—ν τοι—ς ἡγουμένοις; cf. 67, 4; Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 21.816 f.

¹⁸ He could “arrest (the offender) in public or at home and hand him over for justice” (*P.Mich.* 244, 11ff.). Cf. *P.Mich.* 245, 43 (statutes of an association of salt merchants; cf. M. Boak, “An Ordinance of the Salt Merchants at Tebtunis,” in *AJP*, 1937, pp. 210–210); 246, 1; 247, 1 (all from the first half of the first century). On *P.Wisc.* 38, 40, 43, 75, the editor, P. J. Sijpesteijn, comments: “With ἡγούμενος the person who collects the daily amounts is meant. He could be a πράκτωρ, cf. *P.Yale* I,62 introduction.”

ἡδέως, ἡδιον, ἡδιστα, ἡδύς

hedeos, gladly; *hedion*, more gladly, quite gladly; *hedista*, most gladly, very gladly; *hedys*, pleasant, sweet

hedeos, S 2234; *EDNT* 2.113; MM 277–278; L&N 25.129; BAGD 343–344 | ***hedion***, BAGD 343–344 | ***hedista***, S 2236; MM 278; L&N 25.129; BDF §§60(2), 246; BAGD 343–344 | ***hedys***, BAGD 344

Hedys, which is used to describe wine (Esth 1:7; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59110, 29; *P.Lond.* 2056, 4), an offering that is acceptable to God (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.47), a sweet child (*CII* 126), a person who is pleasant to be with (*C.P.Herm.* 3, 5; cf. *P.Brem.* 55, 9; *P.Ryl.* 706, 14), and of “the sweet life.”¹ As a parallel for the comparative *hedion*, which is found only in Sir 22:11, which bids the reader “cry more sweetly (or less sadly) over a deceased person, because he is at rest” (*hedion klauson epi nekro*), the letter of the proconsul Paulus Fabius Maximus in 9 BC has been cited. This letter proposes to the Greeks of Asia Minor the introduction of a new anniversary for Augustus, “the same for all; it would be more satisfying for humankind (*hedion d’an anthropois*) if everyone joined with it the pleasure of their own inauguration.”²

As for the adverb *hedeos*,³ it refers to the sort of friendly indifference with which an audience may listen to this or that speaker (2Cor 11:19; Polybius 5.36.6; 5.37.12) and the real pleasure that they may derive from so doing (Mark 6:20; 12:37). Menander uses it often,⁴ as do the papyri, from which Moulton-Milligan give numerous examples.⁵ It is common for the

author of a letter to ask his correspondent exactly what he wants, saying that he will do it willingly. In 250 BC: “Write if you need anything from us, for we will do it *hedeos*” (*graphe de kai, ean tinos ton par’hemis chreian eches, hoti gar hedeos poiesomen*, SB 7648, 8); in the second century AD: “But you also must make clear to me what you want; they will do it *hedeos*.”⁶ Pleasure is or is not derived from someone’s company (SB 4317, 10; 7572, 20; *P.Oxy.* 298, 33; 1218, 12). The word is also used in formulas of greeting,⁷ and takes on the nuances of willingly, gladly (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 31, 4), pleasantly, with pleasure, as in this epitaph for a black slave: “Learn, stranger, that I am Fortunatus, because I obtained from Fortune that which is pleasant for mortals” (SB 8071, 18; cf. *SEG VIII*, 464, 22).

The adverb *hedista*, which St. Paul uses in the sense of “most gladly” (2Cor 12:9, 15), takes on all the preceding meanings. “King Agrippa to Joseph his very dear friend, greetings. It was with much pleasure that I read your letter” (Josephus, *Life* 365); “Write me what you want, and I will be very happy to do it” (*P.Oxy.* 1061, 21; from 22 BC); “I greet you most gladly” (*P.Oxy.* 933, 5); something is received with great pleasure (*P.Lond.* 897, 8; vol. 3, p. 207; in AD 84); to dilute in very sweet wine (*P.Oxy.* 234,39).

¹ Epitaph of Serapias: “We are grateful to you, because you made life sweet, ε—πεὶ βίον ἡδὺς ἔδικας” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 52, 5). The epitaph of a Christian jurist at Eumenia in Phrygia, in the third century: “Hasten, rejoice your soul at all times, for life is sweet” (*SEG VI*, 210, 36; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vols. 11–12, Paris 1960, pp. 414, 427); *PSI* 1242, 4 (first century). Cf. Euripides, *Phoen.*: “No land is sweeter than the one that nurtured us” (in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 4.39.10 = vol. 4, p. 723). Plutarch, *Phoc.* 10.5: “the same person, like the same wine, can be at the same time agreeable (ἡδύς) and bitter”; cf. 10.9; Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 14.8: “you will come back more amiable (ἡδίω)”;*Ti. Gracch.* 10.4: a law that is favorable to the people (cf. 2.3); Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 19.3: Cornelia was very congenial toward her visitors.

² *I.Priene* 105, 19; cf. *BGU* 372, col. I, 15: ἵνα δὲ τοῦτο προθυμότερον καὶ ἡδιον ποιήσωσιν; republished by *Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 19 (edict of M. Sempronius Liberalis, in AD 154); *P.Stras.* 275, 6; *IGLS* 718, 81, 92: “I will do it all the more willingly” (letter of Octavian); cf. ἡδυτέραι τῆ φωνῆ (*UPZ* 77, col. I, 17; second century BC); an envoy’s request for a remedy: φάρμακον δακνηρὸν καὶ ἕτερον ἡδύτερον (*P.Oslo* 54, 9; from the second century AD; on this comparative, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. 298). Ἡδυσμα is a “condiment” (Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 496; cf. J. Jouanna, *Hippocrate: La Nature de l’homme*, Berlin, 1975, p. 305).

³ In the OT, ἡδέως is used for sleep (Prov 3:24), hidden waters (Prov 9:17), the pleasures of the table (Tob 7:10, 11; cf. *Ep. Arist.* 198: “so that when we begin dinner, we shall enjoy it”; cf. *P.Tebt.* 758, 18: “it is pleasant to be drunk and protected,” second century BC), of time spent pleasantly (2Macc 11:26), of a contented heart (Esth 1:10), even in toil and death (2Macc 2:27; 6:30; cf. 4Macc 10:20).

⁴ Menander, *Dysk.* 9: “Throughout a life already long, the *dyskolos* had never uttered a friendly word”; 136: “it was plain to see that he was not accompanying me gladly” (οὐχ ἡδέως); 270: “Would you permit me to have a serious word with you? —Most willingly; speak (μάλ ἡδέως, λέγε)”; 658: “I should be happy to see him”; 726: “For all that, he saved me gladly”; Menander, *Aspis* 435.

⁵ Notably the letter of Emperor Claudius thanking an association of *gymnastai* who had sent him a crown of gold to commemorate his victory over the Bretons: τὸν πεμφθέντα μοι ὑφ ὑμῶν ἐ—πὶ τῇ κατὰ Βρετάννων νείκη χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἡδέως ἔλαβον (*P.Lond.* 1178, 13; vol. 3, p. 216); cf. *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 13, 4: “Our lord Arpebekis receives with great pleasure (ἡδιστα παρά σου λαμβάνει) the perfume that you sent”; Ἐζησα ἡδέως (*IGUR* II, n. 786); συνβίῳ ἡδίστη (*ibid.* 855). *P.Giss.* 73, 4: —Ἐκομισάμην σου τὴν ἐ—πιστολὴν ἡδεως; *P.Stras.* 400, 3. Plutarch, *Phoc.* 3.2: “we see the early produce with pleasure.” Diodorus Siculus 17.9.4; 17.56.2; receive with pleasure.

⁶ *P.Oxy.* 133, 30, περὶ δὲ καὶ σὺ ὧν θέλεις δήλου μοι, ἡδέως ποιήσοντι. In two Christian letters, *P.Grenf.* II, 73, 20: “let me know what you want; I will do it gladly” (third century); *P.Oxy.* 1162, 11 (fourth century); cf. M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 21, 51, 87.

⁷ *P.Oxy.* 531, 3: ἡδέως σε ἀσπαζόμεθα πάντες οἱ— ἐ—ν οἴκῳ (second century AD); *P.Brem.* 10, 4: ἡδέως σε, ἀδελφε, ἀσπάζομαι (cf. the correction, in *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 4, p. 10).

ἤπιος

epios, congenial, kind

epios, S 2261; *EDNT* 2.122; MM 281; L&N 88.61; BAGD 348

Unknown in the OT, rare in the papyri, *epios* is used only twice in the NT, both times by St. Paul. Writing to the Thessalonians, he reminds them that as an apostle of Christ he could have been a burden on them (*en barei*

) but rather was entirely congenial toward them,¹ after the fashion of a mother who nurses her children and pampers them. To Timothy, he writes: “A servant of God must not be combative, but very congenial toward all.”² In both cases, *epios* refers to a style of teaching and of apostolic authority, without sharpness or bitterness arising from overzealousness: St. Paul shows a motherly goodness; the bishop of Ephesus will make no use of hurtful or sarcastic speech, or a rigid attitude;³ nor will he be intolerant in his relations with others; he will be “kind toward all,” even adversaries and opponents.⁴

This means that in the NT *epiotes* is not so much a virtue of personal and family life⁵—much less of child-rearing—as the attitude required in the leader of the community. Toward adversaries who are determined to discuss and quarrel, the good shepherd keeps a courteous and calm attitude, an attitude well suited to pacifying the hot-tempered and aggressive, a disarming gentleness.⁶ In paganism and in Judaism, it is above all a divine attribute: “the most *epios* god toward humans” (*theos ... anthropoisi d’ epioutatos*, Euripides, *Bacch.* 861); the Pythagorean Sthenidas of Locri: “It is natural that the first god was considered father of the gods and father of men, especially because he is *epios* toward all whom he has brought into being (*hoti epios pros panta ta hyp’ auto genomena esti*) and because for all of them alike he is the nurse and teacher—*tropheus, didaskalos*—who teaches them all good things” (in Stobaeus, 7.63; vol. 4, p. 271). Philo attributes these words to Yahweh: “I am by nature *epios* and favorable to true suppliants” (*Moses* 1.72). Zeus, who is “*epios* toward humans (*ho d’ epios anthropoisi*), sends them unflinching signs” (Aratus, *Phaen.* 5); Leto, “endlessly mild, *epios* toward humans and toward the immortal gods, mild from her first day, merciful among all the Olympians.”⁷ In an invocation to Isis, from the second century, this tenderness is parallel to *philostorgia*, the virtue of rulers:⁸ *en Kalamisi epian, en te Karene philostorgon.*⁹ This modifier goes particularly well with divinities who save: Apollo, Asclepius, Hygieia.¹⁰

It is likewise a royal virtue, one that Ahasuerus made good on.¹¹ It is incumbent upon masters to show “congeniality and mildness” (Philo, *Decalogue* 167). Philodemus of Gadara agrees: “let him appear *praos* (mild) because of his judgment, let him be loved for his *epiotes* ” (*Good King* 7.13–14; cf. 6.24). According to Hecataeus, “after the battle of Pharsalus, Ptolemy became master of Syria, and many of the inhabitants, when they learned of his cordiality and humaneness—*ten epioteta kai philanthropian*—wanted to leave with him for Egypt” (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.186). When Augustus gave way to wrath, Maecenas always calmed him: “for he set him free from wrath and restored him to a more *epios* frame of mind.”¹² In the fifth century, Leontios, prefect of the pretorium of Illyria, staked his claim to glory on having been mild and benevolent toward upright judges and dreadful to the unjust.¹³ In his chapter on descriptions

of royalty, Julius Pollux lists: “Concerning the praises of a king, say—*Peri basileos epainon, lege: pater, epios, praios, hemeros, pronoetikos, epieikes, philanthropos, megalophron*” (*Onom.* 1.2.40). The first sequence probably comes from Homer.¹⁴ It goes without saying that *epiotes* can be practiced by private individuals. Moulton-Milligan cite this tomb inscription: “kind and *epios* to all people.”¹⁵ In fact, it is most often associated with *hilaos* and *meilichos*. Philo inserts it between *hemerotes* and *philanthropia* (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 27). Finally, while *nepios* is the underaged child, or minor, subject to someone’s authority or in need of someone’s protection, the person who is *epios* plays a parental and civic role, is a person of responsible age who is gifted with beneficent power and with wisdom.¹⁶

¹ 1Thess 2:7—ἀλλὰ ἐ—γενήθημεν ἥπιοι ἐ—ν μέσῳ ὑμῶ—ν. A fair number of the papyri and the Vulgate read νήπιοι, but the context rules out this variant (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, p. 107; B. Rigaux, *Thessaloniens*, on this text). Cf. A. J. Malherbe, “Gentle as a Nurse’: The Cynic Background to I Thess. II,” in *NovT*, 1970, pp. 203–217; C. Crawford, “The ‘Tiny’ Problem of I Thess. II, 7: The Case of the Curious Vocative,” in *Bib*, 1973, pp. 69–72. —The Latin writers translated *mitis* (Cyprian, Augustine, Ambrosiaster), *mansuetus* (Ambrose), *lenis, quitus*, (Jerome); but we must take into account the shades of meaning of related words: ἀγαθωσύνη is goodness pure and simple; εὐνοια, benevolence; χρηστότης, kindness; πραυ4της, mildness; ἐ—πιείκεια, sympathetic evenhandedness, or clemency; ἡρεμασιότης, tranquility and calm; λειότης, consideration (λει—ος, a smooth skull, Sophocles, *Ichn.* 359; the calm sea, Herodotus 2.117); ἀστειότης, urbanity, charm; ἡμερότης, the genteel ways of the polite as opposed to the crudeness of the boorish (Philo, *Contemp. Life* 9). Ἡπιος would be “congenial” or “easy-going”—the French word *débonnaire*—though in our days this term can have the pejorative sense of “mild to the point of weakness.” But its old meaning, including nuances of mildness, benevolence, goodness, would match Greek usage exactly, cf. La Fontaine, *Fables*, III, 4: “Il devait vous suffire que votre premier roi fut débonnaire et doux”; Bossuet, *Serm. Quinq.* 2: “Jésus, le débonnaire Jésus, il plaint nos misères.”

² 2Tim 2:24—οὐ δεῖ— μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἥπιον εἶναι πρὸς πάντας. The verb μάχομαι is often used in a figurative sense for “squabble, quarrel” (cf. J. M. Jacques, *Ménandre: La Samienne*, Paris, 1971, p. liii). Epictetus 4.5.1: “The *kalokagathos* doesn’t dispute with anyone, and, as much as possible, keeps other people from doing so.”

³ One thinks of the leitmotiv of *I.Asok.*: “the king, friend of the gods, of friendly demeanor”; cf. Artigamos, σῶφρων, νέος, ἥπιος (*I.Bulg.* 221, 1).

⁴ There is no question, in fact, of winning a personal victory and imposing one's will by force, but of setting forth and gaining acceptance for the gospel. The Messiah, who was all tact, eschewed violence. Isa 52:1-4; Matt 12:18-21; 1Pet 2:23; cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, pp. 68ff.; O. Cullmann, *Christology of the New Testament*, Philadelphia, 1963, pp. 52ff., 66, 69; M. A. Chevalier, *L'Esprit et le Messie dans le Bas-Judaïsme et le Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1958, pp. 46–48, 72ff.

⁵ Sometimes ἥπιος is used for a father in relation to his son (Philodemus of Gadara, *Hom.* 6.24). For Philodemus, this would be the virtue that moderates wrath, τὰς τω—ν ἥπιωτάτων φαρμάκων ὑπομένει προσαγωγὰς (*Ir.* 19.19; cf. *Piet.* 95.11); cf. the epitaph of a physician from the imperial period: μόσοις ἥπια φάρμακα πα—σιν (L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1950, p. 218, n. 241 a). Cf. ἥπιος as a proper name, *P.Fay.* 67, 4 (AD 80); J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines . . . à Thèbes*, Cairo, 1920, n. 145. —Ἡπιόδωρος (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59437; *BGU* 1896; *P.Tebt.* 858, etc.). —Ἡπιόθολμος (*SB* 8439).

⁶ Cf. Jas 3:18—“A harvest of justice in peace is sown for those who spread peace.” In most of its occurrences, ἥπιος is described as being shown toward a large number of people; for example, Berenice, πα—σιν δ ἥπιος (Theocritus 17.5).

⁷ Hesiod, *Th.* 407: μείλιχον αι—εί, ἥπιον ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοι—σιν, μείλιχον ε—ξ ἀρχῆς, ἀγανώτατον ε—ντὸς —Ολύμπου.

⁸ Cf. C. Spicq, “ΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΟΣ (à propos de Rom. XII, 10),” in *RB*, 1955, pp. 497–510.

⁹ *P.Oxy.* 1380, 11, cf. 86, 155. The only attestation from the papyri, *P.Oxy.* 2161, 7 (fragment from the Δικτουλοί of Aeschylus), with the commentary of E. Siegmann, in *Philologus*, 1948, pp. 90–93.

¹⁰ Ἡπιε' Απολλων (*SB* 8511, 2); cf. K. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus*, Stuttgart, 1932, pp. 93–95; E. Des Places, *La Religion grecque*, Paris, 1969, pp. 76, 78, 235; cf. pp. 84, 265.

¹¹ Esth 3:13; cf. C. Spicq, “Bénignité, mansuétude, douceur, clémence,” in *RB*, 1947, p. 332.

¹² Τῆς τε γὰρ ὀργῆς αὐτὸν ἀεὶ παρέλυε, καὶ ε—ς τὸ ἥπιώτερον μεθίστη, Dio Cassius 55.7; cf. 55.17: τοι—ς ἥπιοις φαρμάκοις. Cf. Eusebius: “At the beginning of his reign, Nero was milder, ἥπιώτερον” (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.22.8).

¹³ Κριντῆρσι γάρ ει—μι ἥπιος ει—θυδικοίς, τοι—ς δ ἀδίκουσι δέος (*Epigramme de Gortyne*, line 4, published by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 4, pp. 14–16).

¹⁴ Homer, *Od.* 2.37, 2.230, 5.8, 5.12, 15.152; cf. *Il.* 8.40, 22.184, 24.770. According to the historians of religions, the Homeric pantheon is copied from the feudal Mycenaean royalty, so that Homer's gods borrow their personalities from contemporary people and kings, cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods*, Boston, 1955, pp.118ff.

¹⁵ Μειλείχιον πάντεσσι καὶ ἥπιον ἀνθρώποισι. Republished in its entirety by E. Bernand: “When he was already twenty-two years old, young Sarapion with his beard just beginning to grow was led off to Hades by the dread Parca of death, he who was kind and friendly to everyone” (*Inscriptions métriques*, n. 79).

¹⁶ This conclusion is that of M. Lacroix, “ΗΠΙΟΣ–ΝΗΠΙΟΣ,” in *Mélanges A. M. Desrousseaux*, Paris, 1937, pp. 261–272.

ἡσυχάζω, ἡσυχία, ἡσύχιος

hesychazo, to be silent; to be calm, tranquil; *hesychia*, silence, tranquility, rest; *hesychios*, tranquil, quiet, peaceful

hesychazo, S 2270; *EDNT* 2.125; *NIDNTT* 3.111–112; MM 281; L&N 23.82, 33.119, 88.103; BDF §420(2); BAGD 349 | ***hesychia***, S 2271; *EDNT* 2.125; *NIDNTT* 3.111–112; MM 281; L&N 22.43, 33.119, 88.103; BAGD 349 | ***hesychios***, S 2272; *EDNT* 2.125; *NIDNTT* 3.111–112; MM 281–282; L&N 88.104; BAGD 349

Before taking on moral value, these terms—etymology unknown—meant either silence or tranquility, and it is not always impossible to unravel this double connotation.

I. — When the Jews heard Paul speaking in Hebrew they “kept all the more quiet” (Acts 22:2). Doctors of the law and Pharisees were reduced to silence by the wisdom of Jesus and “held their peace.”¹ But if Peter's audience, after hearing him tell about the conversion of the centurion Cornelius, “kept silence” (Acts 11:18, *hesychasan*), keeping their objections quiet, we would do better to translate “fell silent,” because it is said immediately thereafter “and they glorified God,” apparently aloud. Similarly, when St. Paul would not let himself be persuaded to give up his plans to go to Jerusalem, the brothers are silent, meaning that they no

longer insisted, but more accurately, “We remained quiet, *saying* ‘God’s will be done’” (Acts 21:14). In other words, “silence” means not the absence of noise or speech but quiet and tranquility.² So it is that a woman—like a disciple in the school of a teacher—should receive “instruction in silence (*en hesychia*), in all submissiveness (*en pase hypotage*).”³ This mandate is more psychological and religious than physical: it calls for an attitude of attentiveness and receptiveness.⁴

II. — In the LXX and the papyri, the most common meaning of *hesychia-hesychazo* is remain calm, tranquil;⁵ repose is contrasted with agitation, war, or danger.⁶ It is commonly said that the land, the city, or the populace was tranquil for so many years, meaning that they enjoyed peace for that length of time:⁷ peaceful people live in security and at rest (Ezek 38:11; Hebrew *shaqat*). The meaning is classical, since Thucydides uses *hesychia-hesychazo* for inaction, times of peace, as opposed to combat (3.6.1; 3.12.1; 3.66.21; 3.71.1; 3.106.3); this is the meaning in 2Macc 14:4 (“That day Alcimus did nothing more, *ten hemeran ekeinen hesychian esche*”) and in Luke 23:56 (“on the Sabbath, the women rested, according to the commandment”). The definition of the word is then extended to cover interior calm, as opposed to anxiety or fear.⁸ The one who listens to talebearers will never have peace (Sir 28:16; cf. *BGU* 1764, 11), but the good will remain in tranquility (Prov 15:15). Yahweh watches over them (Isa 66:2) and gives them *hesychia* (1Chr 22:9). “The children of the great God will live in tranquility (*hesychios*) around the temple” (*Sib. Or.* 3.702).

III. — There are different levels of rest. Just as *hesychia* does not mean absolute muteness, neither does it imply the cessation of all activity. St. Paul exhorts the Thessalonians to work *meta hesychias*,⁹ so that they may eat their own bread (2Thess 3:12), to “live in quietness (*hesychazein*), look after your own business, work with your hands” (1Thess 4:11), meaning without agitation, dispute, or vain curiosity, without poking into things that are not their concern.¹⁰ The meaning is clearly moral. The best parallel is Philo’s contrast between the respectable man and the “vulgar man, who spends his days meddling, running around in public, in theaters, tribunals, councils, and assemblies, meetings and consultations of all sorts; he prattles on without moderation, fruitlessly, to no end; he confuses and stirs up everything, mingling truth with falsehood, the spoken with the unspoken, the private with the public, the sacred with the profane, the serious with the ridiculous, not having learned to remain quiet (*hesychian*), which is the ideal when the situation calls for it; and he pricks up his ears in an excess of bustling busyness.”¹¹

IV. — Finally, the whole of the Christian life should unfold in a climate of peace and security that is favorable to the birth and development of virtue.¹² Believers should pray for the powers that be, “so that we may lead a peaceful and *hesychios* life.”¹³ Like *hopos, hina* introduces a result: that the Christian community, free from trials, may develop in calm and

tranquility. The adjective *hesychios*¹⁴ reinforces the idea of peace (*eremon*) and accentuates the importance of unfettered external freedom and of serenity of heart. An untroubled political and social context is favorable for the life of the soul.¹⁵ Christian women, according to 1Pet 3:4, have the charm of quietness and peacefulness (*tou praeos kai hesychiou pneumatos*), the opposite of agitation, impatience, annoyance, notably of compulsive discussion.¹⁶ Discretion and tranquility go together.¹⁷ Thanks to this peaceful, religious calm, the spouse can hope to win her husband who does not believe in the word of God even without speaking a word (1Pet 3:1).

V. — Hellenistic *hesychia* then has a broad range of meaning: (a) repose in a bed (*Jos. Asen.* 10.8; 25.3), in the grave (Job 3:13—*nyn an koimetheis hesychasa*), days of relaxation (Esth 4:21—I do not wear the diadem “on days when I am resting”), especially during retirement, like the secretary Pamouthis, who expressed the desire to terminate his functions, to withdraw from business (*ton pragmaton*) because of his poor health, and to rest: *kai hesychasai*.¹⁸ (b) This tranquility of mind and of heart, this calm existence, sheltered from trouble and danger, is the hope of all citizens (DioChrysostom 6.34: *medepote de hesychian dynamenous agein*; Thucydides 1.71.3; 5.26.5; Philo, *Rewards* 128; *T. Asher* 6.6), of spouses (*P.Oxy.* 129, 8), of every wise person (*PSI* 41, 23), like Sertorius (Plutarch, *Eum.* 21.1). (c) If Epictetus addresses “those who seek tranquility and leisure, *en hesychia diagein*” (4.4; cf. 1.10.2: *en hesychia kai ataraxia*), he sees in this desire an occasion for mutual interdependence, which is contrary to *ataraxia* (cf. Plato, *Resp.* 6.496 d; Epicurus, according to Plutarch, *Mor.* 465 f). But the Latins raised *otium cum dignitate* to the level of an ideal.¹⁹ (d) This repose is even a religious virtue, because it is proper to God, who is the model for the wise person.²⁰ Through its detachment from created goods, it becomes in Philo a characteristic of the contemplative life, practiced by the silent Essenes (Josephus, *War* 2.130), and a monastic spirituality: “If you see a monk walking along alone, with a demeanor that bespeaks humility, modesty, quietude, and tranquility—*tapeinon kai praon kai hesychion kai eremon*—envy the happiness of that man.”²¹

¹ Luke 14:4—οι— δὲ ἡσύχασαν (Mark 3:4—ε—σιώπων); cf. Philo, *Prov.* 2.101: “In our inability to track down nature and the properties of each phenomenon, we remain silent”; *Contemp. Life* 75: at the beginning of the meal of the Therapeutai, “there was a great silence”; *Abraham* 29: “Six of our faculties sound the call to arms endlessly and without respite. . . . These are the five senses and spoken language . . . prattling on, a mouth without restraint, on thousands of subjects concerning which it would be preferable to remain silent”; 174: “too moved to speak”; Job 32:1 (Hebrew *shabat*), the three men stop discussing with Job; 1Macc 1:3—the land fell

silent before Alexander; Prov 11:12 (Hebrew *harash*): “the intelligent person keeps silence, ἡσυχίαν ἄγει.” Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.114. “Eumenes was carried in a litter away from the army, to avoid the noise (ε—ν ἡσυχία) because of his insomnia” (Plutarch, *Eum.* 14.6); cf. *Pomp.* 23.2; 48.7; 73.1; *Cat. Min.* 44.5: “they heard his words quietly”; 12.3: “enter the city noiselessly”; *Phoc.* 34.9: keep silence; *Cleom.* 38.10: “silently and quietly, σιωπῆ καὶ μεθ ἡσυχίας”; *Dem.* 17.1; *Cic.* 4.3.

² Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 301: The Seventy meet on the island of Pharos, “a magnificent resting place engulfed in silence (πολλῆς ἡσυχίας),” “in their retreat, so pleasant because of its tranquility (διὰ τὴν ἡσυχίαν)” (307); Plutarch, *Alex.* 6.6: “Alexander, quietly throwing off his mantle.”

³ 1Tim 2:11 (cf. 1Cor 14:34—σιγάτωσαν); 2:12—“I do not permit a woman to speak, nor to control a man, but to remain quiet (ἀλλ εἶναι ε—ν ἡσυχία),” i.e., without intervening, or “without stirring”; cf. Plutarch, *Pomp.* 68.4–7: πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν is contrasted with κίνησιν καὶ θόρυβον and μετὰ βοῆς; 69.3.

⁴ The *Suda* (under the word Σαπφώ) calls the pupils of Sappho μαθήτριά. Then there is a papyrus from the grammarian Kallias of Mytilene (*P.Col.* inv. 5860) that says that she taught in all tranquility not only prominent young girls from her island but also others from Ionia: ἡ δ ε—φ ἡσυχίας παιδεύουσα τὰς ἀρίστας οὐ μόνον τω—ν ε—γχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τω—ν ε—π —Ιωνίας (M. Gronewald, “Fragmente aus einem Sapphokommentar,” in *ZPE*, vol. 14, 1975, p. 115 = frag. I, 7). Cf. Philo, *Dreams* 2.264: “Has someone said something worth hearing? Pay close attention, do not contradict them, be silent (ε—ν ἡσυχία), as Moses taught (Deut 27:9): Be silent and listen”; *Heir* 13: “When the intelligence decides to pay no attention to the objects that call to it from without or that are stored up inside, when it remains quiet and still (ἡρεμίαν ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἡσυχάσας), focused on the one who is speaking, remaining silent (σιωπήσας) according to the precept of Moses, then it will be able to understand with full attention”; 14: “Then for the ignorant, silence (ἡσυχία) is a useful thing.” Cf. Prov 1:33—“The one who fears me will live in tranquility, fearing no evil.” *P.Lond.* 44, 17 (= vol. 1, p. 34; from 161 BC; republished *UPZ* 8): crying out loudly, he stirred me from my repose in the temple.

⁵ Said of things: “When the earth rests,” or lies dozing under the hot wind (Job 37:17); “From the heavens you make your sentence heard, the earth is afraid and remains quiet” (Ps 76:9). After the storm, the sea quiets down (Ps 107:30). The waters calm down and are no longer troubled (Ezek 32:14). An animal rests in its lair (Job 37:8). Yahweh’s sword does not rest (Jer 29:6). A quarrel is stilled (Prov 26:20); cf. Philo, *Abraham* 210.

⁶ Exod 24:14—“Moses said to the elders, ‘Remain at rest here, until we return to you’”; Josh 5:8; Ruth 3:18—“the man will not be at rest unless he finishes the business today”; Job 3:26—“I have no peace, nor quiet nor rest; agitation comes over me”; Prov 7:11—the prostitute’s feet do not remain in her house. Cf. *P.Fouad* 86, 10: a scheming monk, capable of all sorts of slander, “if he gains a hearing with the very eminent general and consul, will not be able to keep quiet, but will stir up all sorts of dust clouds against the monasteries and against each of us.” Philo, *Drunkennes* 97: “The elements of which we are composed are peaceable (ἡρεμεῖ—). . . . If they are quiet (ἡσυχία) a deep peace reigns; otherwise an inexorable war.” Vercingetorix remains quiet, seated at the feet of Caesar, when he surrenders (Plutarch, *Caes.* 27; cf. 21), but “the Romans, having seen the enemies leave their tents, did not remain quiet” (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 38.49).

⁷ Judg 3:11, 30; 5:32; 8:28; 18:7, 27; 2Kgs 11:20; 1Chr 4:40; 2Chr 14:1; 23:21; Zech 1:11; 1Macc 7:50; 9:57–58; 11:38, 52; 12:2; 14:4; Strabo 4.6.9; Plutarch, *Cleom.* 11.2: “when tranquility was assured”; Diodorus Siculus 12.26.2–4; the emphasis is always on lack of movement (17.116.3), even inertia (17.62.7); foot soldiers, standing at attention, do not move (17.112.1, 17.112.4), and the mother of Darius stops moving about (17.59.7).

⁸ Isa 7:4—“Take care to be calm and not afraid”; Jer 26:27—“Jacob will be tranquil, with no one to disturb him”; Job 11:19—“You will be at rest and no one will fight you”; 14:6; 32:6; Lam 3:26—It is good to be patient and to wait quietly for Yahweh’s help; *I.Lind.* 2 D, 69: ποτέταξε ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν περὶ αὐτα—ς. In the papyri, ἡσυχία is almost always used in petitions, with the plaintiff declaring that his adversary has not left him in peace but has terrorized him (*P.Cair.Isid.* 73, 13), or that before he realized that he had been wronged he was completely tranquil, his mind was at rest (*P.Rein.* 7, 15; from 141 BC) or that because he was a minor he did not take action, did not bring a complaint (*P.Cair.Isid.* 63, 13; republished in *SB* 9185), or that his adversary did not appear until then, cf. *P.Thead.* 19, 13: an orphan denounces the actions of the sister of his paternal grandfather, “she seemed to have lived more than sixty years, always until this day living in peace” (cf. *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VI, 3; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59852, 7). Because the victim was unable to endure this harm and violence, she brought a complaint, according to a stereotyped formula: ὅθεν οὐ δυνάμενος ἡσυχάζειν ε—πιδίδωμι (*P.Tebt.* 330, 8; *P.Oslo* 22, 10; *P.Stras.* 241, 22; *PSI* 1248, 21). But some new villagers undertake to keep the peace and to conduct themselves appropriately, μετὰ ἡσυχείας καὶ τῆς πρεπούσης καταστάσεως (*P.Mert.* 98, 6; cf. *PSI* 52, 20). Cf. *P.AdI.* 1, col. II, 2 (R.

Taubenschlag, “Die Geschäftsmängel im Rechte der Papyri,” in *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, pp. 197, 207).

⁹ Cf. Sir 28:16; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1109, 65: μετὰ δὲ πάσης εὐκοσμίας καὶ ἡσυχίας (republished in *LSCG*, n. 51); *P. Oslo* 22, 16: μετὰ πάσης ἡσυχίας ζῆν (cf. M. David, *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 3, p. 120; 1964, vol. 4, p. 57).

¹⁰ Moulton-Milligan compare this to *BGU* 372, col. II, 14 (second century AD): ἄλλοις δὲ τω—ν ποτε προγραφ[έ]ντων ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ ε—ν τῇ οι—κείᾳ τῇ γεω[ργ]ίᾳ προσκατέρχουσι (read προσκατέχουσι) μὴ ε—νοχλει—ν. Cf. Vinicius: “he lived in safety—τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγων—quietly looking after his own business” (Dio Cassius 60.27).

¹¹ Philo, *Abraham* 20; cf. 27: “Vulgar people love movement, but people who esteem virtue seek a life that is quiet and tranquil, stable and peaceable”; 216: Abraham “showed his nobility in a tranquil life”; *Moses* 1.49: Moses “set about living a quiet, unspectacular life, living unknown to most people, not wanting to appear in public except to reconcile . . . the most prominent people.” The nuance of stability is unambiguous in *Moses* 1.177: “the two sides of the opening . . . remain unmoving and at rest, ἡρέμει καὶ ἡσύχαζε”; Job 34:29—If God is at rest, who will disturb him?

¹² Philo, *Heir* 257: “Ecstasy designates rest and quietness of the intellect, τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἡρεμίαν τοῦ νοῦ.” Cf. *PSI* 41, 23: σωφρονι—ν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν.

¹³ Ἴνα ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν, 1Tim 2:2. Josephus, *War* 1.201: “The peoples would live in tranquility (καθ ἡσυχίαν βιώσονται) . . . enjoying a common peace (κοινῆς ει—ρήνης)”; Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.*: “Great peace and calm prevail, πολλὴ ει—ρήνη καὶ ἡσυχία”; *Phoc.* 8.1: “Phocion’s politics were always directed toward peace and tranquility, πρὸς ει—ρήνην καὶ ἡσυχίαν”; *C. Gracch.* 1.1: “Caius lived in tranquility, καθ ε—αυτὸν ἡσυχίαν ἔχων διέτριβεν”; 1.7: μεθ ἡσυχίας ἡρεμένῳ ζῆν. *Alex.* 65.1: “those who lived with peace between themselves, καθ αὐτοὺς ε—ν ἡσυχίᾳ ζω—ντας.” In the sixth century, a father justifies a broken engagement on the grounds that he wants his daughter to lead a quiet and tranquil life, βούλεσθαί με ει—ρηνικὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάξει τὴν ἡμι—ν θυγατέρα (*P. Oxy.* 129, 8). Sertorius wants to go and live peaceably (ζῆν ε—ν ἡσυχίᾳ), free from tyranny and war (Plutarch, *Sert.* 9.1; cf. Plutarch, *Caes.* 7.9); he was “made to live a quiet life” (22.12). According to *T. Abr.* a., the patriarch ζῆσας ε—ν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ πραότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνη.

¹⁴ J. and G. Roux (“Un décret du politeuma des Juifs de Berenikè en Cyrénaïque,” in *REG*, 1949, p. 284) publishes the encomium of Marcus

Titius in the first century AD: “He does not cease to show forth, through his conduct, the mildness of his character, ε—ν τε τῆ ἀναστροφῆ ἡσύχιον ἦθος ε—νδικνύμενος” (= *CIG* III, 5361, 13); cf. the epitaph of Cyrilla: “now you take up the peaceable abode of the immortals” (*SB* 4230, 2 cf. 9138, 4; cf. *I.Bulg.* 741, 8). Hesiod: the people of the Golden Age knew no war and lived quietly (ἡσυχιοι, *Op.* 119); Plato, *Chrm.* 160 *b*: ἡσύχιος, ὁ σώφρων βίος. In the Hellenistic era, Ἡσύχιος (the translation of Noah’s name) and Ἡσύχις are proper names among Jews and Greeks (B. Lifshitz, “La Vie de l’au-delà dans les conceptions juives,” in *RB*, 1961, p. 403; M. Schwabe, B. Lifshitz, *Beth She’arim*, vol. 2, p. VIII b. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, p. 622). Ἡσυχίδες is the name of a priestess of the Eumenides (Callimachus, frag. 681).

¹⁵ Cf. Plutarch: “Aemilius Paulus kept himself at peace (ἡσυχίαν εἶχε), occupied only with the worship of the gods and the education of his children” (*Aem.* 6.8); *Num.* 20.4: “Under the reign of Numa, the cities . . . all wanted to live in peace . . . quietly raising their children and venerating the gods”; Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10.2. In 377, the decree establishing the second Athenian confederation proposed that “Sparta should let the Greeks live tranquil lives in liberty and independence . . . so that general peace might come about and remain in perpetuity” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 27, 10ff.).

¹⁶ Cf. Sir 28:16; 1Tim 2:11-12; the contrast between the cantankerous woman and the quiet woman, Sir 25:12–26:14.

¹⁷ Cf. the stele of Moschion, which is personified and seen as eulogizing the deceased: “He suggested that I remain discreet, συνέπεισεν ἡσυχάζειν” (*SEG* VIII, 464, 12; from the third-fourth century; republished by E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 108). Cf. “Aseneth quietly opened the door” (*Jos. Asen.* 10.9); dew that “quietly nourishes” the ground (Plutarch, *Sert.* 8.4).

¹⁸ *P.Oxy.* 128, verso 2; cf. *IGLS* 992, 13, in 189 BC: “We wanted to hire him as our coworker, but often he told us about the weakness of his body in the wake of endless sicknesses and begged us to let him live at rest (ε—φ ἡσυχίας γενέσθαι), so that for the rest of his days he might enjoy uninterrupted good health.” Epictetus 1.10.2: “A *praefectus annonae* at Rome . . . promised himself that he would spend the rest of his life in calm and tranquility.”

¹⁹ Philodemus of Gadara, *Rh.*, frag. 27; ed. Sudhaus, vol. 2, p. 162). Cf. L. Alfonsi, “Otium e vita d’amore negli Elegiaci augustei,” in *Studi in onore de A. Calderini*, Milan, 1956, vol. 1, pp. 187–209 (gives the bibliography); J. M.

André, *Recherches sur l'otium romain*, Paris, 1962; idem, *Otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine*, 1966.

²⁰ Cf. Epictetus 3.13.7: “Zeus, alone with himself and quiet . . . lives in thoughts that are appropriate to his identity” (cf. A. Jagu, “Saint Paul et le Stoïcisme,” in *RSR*, 1958, p. 234); Iamblichus, *Myst.* 2.3.72: ἡρεμία is proper to the gods, ἡσυχία to the angels, ταραχή καὶ ἀταξία to the demons. Cf. R. Joly, *Genres de vie*, p. 141.

²¹ St. John Chrysostom, *Comp. reg. et mon.* 4; cf. W. E. Crum, H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, New York, 1926, n. 162, note 13; J. Meyendorff, *G. Palamas: Défense des saints Hésychastes*, Louvain, 1959; I. Hausherr, “L’Hésychasme: Etude de spiritualité,” in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 1956, pp. 247–285; idem, *Hésychasme et prière*, Rome, 1966, pp. 163–237; J. Leclercq, *Otia Monastica*, Rome, 1963. Chio of Heraclea (*Epist.* 16.5) says that he wants to live in quiet for the sake of contemplation, according to the teaching of his master Plato (ἀνδρὶ ἡσυχίας ἐ—ραστῆ). To the citations from Plutarch, add: When Demetrios arrived at the Piraeus “he signaled from the top of his ship that he wanted quiet and silence, αἴτησιν ἡσυχίας καὶ σιωπῆς” (*Demetr.* 8.6). The philosopher Stilpon was known for the quiet life that he chose to lead, ἐ—ν ἡσυχίᾳ καταβιω—ναι (ibid. 9.9); “the army returned to order and quiet, κόσμον . . . καὶ ἡσυχίαν” (*Ant.* 49.1); “they quietly crossed the watercourse, καθ ἡσυχίαν” (*Ant.* 49.3), etc.

θάλλω

thalpo, to warm up, keep warm, care for, nurture

thalpo, S 2282; *EDNT* 2.128; MM 283; L&N 35.36; BAGD 350

This verb may be said to have four meanings: (a) In its literal meaning, “reheat, keep hot,” it is applied to things,¹ to an animal that is brooding, keeping its eggs warm (Deut 22:6), and to people: “Was I made just to stay in bed and keep warm under the covers?” (Marcus Aurelius 5.1.1). (b) In a metaphorical sense, to keep warm by showing affection, meaning to comfort or restore the strength of (cf. *thalpore*, comfort), which does not exclude the first meaning: Abishag the Shunammite warms and strengthens David (1Kgs 1:2, 4; cited by Josephus, *Ant.* 7.343); the deceased are kept warm by a mound that lightly covers them.² (c) Translating love, burning passion, or signifying a tender attachment,³ like Herodes Atticus erecting a statue to his cousin and disciple Polydeukion: “the one who nurtured him and loved him as a son” (*ho threpsas kai*

philesas hos huion).⁴ That is the meaning of the two NT occurrences, where St. Paul cherishes the Thessalonians as a mother does her children (1Thess 2:7) and declares: “No one ever hated his own flesh, but rather nurtures it and cares tenderly for it. That is just what Christ does for the church” (Eph 5:29). That is the late meaning in the Byzantine papyri; in marriage contracts, the fiancé undertakes “to care for and nurture and clothe (his wife)” (*thalpein kai trephein kai himatizein auten*, *P.Cair.Masp.* 6 B, 132), “to love and care for and attend to” (*agapan kai thalpein kai therapeuein*).⁵ (d) Among these usages, one last meaning must be included: “tend, care for,” used of persons as well as of things. The *strategos* Callimachus “cared for the city” (*ten polin ethalpe*) as a good father for his family⁶ and like the *dux* of *P.Lond.* 1674, 100 (cf. 1727, 11; 1729, 16).

¹ Theocritus 5.31; 25.249. Of fermenting wine: τὴν δὲ πρώτην πάνυ θαλπεισοῦσαν ἐ—κελευσα αὐτήν (first-second century, P. J. Sijpesteijn, “Einige Papyri aus der Gießener Papyrussammlung,” in *Aeg*, 1965, p. 6, line 7; republished *SB* 10211); cf. θάλπος, “heat”; the adjective θαλπνός, “that reheats.”

² Epitaph of the *euergetes* Apollonius, in E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 6, 23 (= *SEG* VIII, 768); epitaph of Aphrodisia: “this sacred seat of Persephone comforts me” (ibid. 35, 4). Cf. Job 39:14.

³ Theocritus 14.38: θάλπε φίλον, “go warm up another friend.”

⁴ *I.Rhamn.*, n. 50, 6. Cf. the “restoration” of a Roman epitaph by G. Klaffenbach (*Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, 1953, vol. 2, pp. 289–290)—Ἐνθάδε κει—ται πα—σιν ποθινός Εὐετέων, —Αμασεὺς καὶ Ψεκάδος θάλ[πε]ται μνήμη—but this latter reading “would have to have support from parallels” (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1954, p. 189, n. 284).

⁵ *CPR* I, 30, 20. Cf. *SB* 4658, 12. The nuance of gentle beneficence is preserved in μητρόφι λαμπάδι θαλπόμενον: “Memnon lives . . . and he lifts his great voice . . . when the eternal torch (the rising sun) restores his strength” (*SB* 8354, 3; cf. A. and E. Bernand, *Memnon*, n. 62, 3).

⁶ Dittenberger, *Or.* 194, 5 = *SB* 8334, 5 (42 BC) = R. Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret*.

θανάσιμος

thanasimos, mortal, causing death, relating to death

thanasimos, S 2286; *EDNT* 2.129; MM 283; L&N 23.115; BAGD 350

This biblical hapax, which can be either noun or adjective (like the English “mortal”), is as common in classical Greek as in Koine. It is noteworthy both that its meaning never varied and also that something that is by nature *thanasimos* can be rendered harmless by some external intervention. The resurrected Christ, appearing to the Eleven, promises them the gift of miracles on various occasions: “They will take serpents in their hands, and if they drink any deadly poison, it will do them no harm” (*kan thanasimon ti piosin ou me autous blapse*).¹

(a) In classical Greek, *thanasimos* (“causing or leading to death”) is used to describe an act of aggression (Sophocles, *OT* 560), a fall,² a deadly wound or illness,³ especially poisonous animals (*thanasimon therion*, Polybius 1.56.4) whose bite causes death (Diodorus Siculus 1.87). Hence, the meaning “poison” or “poisoning,”⁴ which predominates almost to the point of being a technical term in the Hellenistic period. This is the only meaning known by Philo⁵ and the commonest meaning in Josephus.⁶ According to Plutarch, when Domitius had asked his physician for poison (*pharmakon*), he gave him a narcotic to drink, not a lethal drug (*ou thanasimon*, *Caes.* 34.8); Aratus received from his son Philip “a poison which, without being lethal, drove him mad.”⁷ In a *tabella defictionis* of Cnidos in the second century BC: “I consign to Demeter and to Kore the one who said against me that I compound deadly poisons for my husband.”⁸

(b) *Thanasimos* is also “relating to death.” “Hecuba, learning the deadly fate of the child” (*thanasimon moron*, Euripides, *Hec.* 1145); “the prophet himself led me to this destiny of death” (*thanasimos tychas*).⁹ Antipater had prepared a deadly plan (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.74, *thanasimon gnomen*); “he himself was more deadly a menace for his father than all the others” (*panton auto thanasimotaton*, *Ant.* 17.120).

(c) “Near death, moribund, dying.” Sophocles, *Phil.* 819: “O earth, receive me quickly, I am going to die” (*dexai thanasimon*); Plato, *Resp.* 3.408c: “to heal for money a rich man who was dying” (*thanasimon . . . iasasthai*); 10.610 e: “injustice is far from being a cause of death.”¹⁰

¹ Mark 16:18 (J. Hug, *La Finale de l’Evangile de Marc*, Paris, 1978, pp. 119ff.). ἀνάσιμος appears as a synonym of θανατηφόρος (cf. Jas 3:8—“the tongue . . . full of deadly venom”; Num 18:22—“incur a deadly sin”; Job 33:23—angels that bring death; 4Macc 8:18, 26: disobedience and fatal stubbornness; 15:26). We may cite the case of St. Paul at Malta, where he was bitten by a viper and not harmed (Acts 28:3; cf. Luke 10:19); likewise St. John the Evangelist’s taking poison at Patmos (*Acts John* 9, 10); Justus

Barsabas, according to Papias (cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 8.39.9). A certain Jaaqob de Kaphar-Sama healed snake bites in the name of Jesus (Str-B, vol. 4, 1, p. 459); cf. the serpent dying during the prayer of R. Chanina b. Dosa (around 70; Str-B, vol. 1, pp. 399ff.).

² Sophocles, *Aj.* 1033; cf. the tunic of Nessos: “the *peplos* of death” (*Trach.* 758).

³ Hippocrates, *Loc. Hom.* 33, 1: θανάσιμα τρώματα; 2: θανάσιμον = the case is terminal; *Aph.* 2.1: “A disease in which sleep causes distress is a deadly one, but if sleep is beneficial, the disease is not deadly”; *Acut.* 4.90.6. Mortal blows (πληγὰς θανασίμους ε—πήνεγκέν μοι, *SB* 9239, 12) are those which can lead to death, but do not necessarily do so, because in this case the victim is bringing a legal action in good form.

⁴ Euripides, *Ion* 616: “How many deadly poisonings (φαρμάκων θανασίμων) have wives plotted against their husbands?”; Diodorus Siculus 4.45.2: “Hecate, skilled in the art of preparing poisons”; Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* 2.24; Josephus, *War* 1.583: “a woman expert in poisons (φαρμάκων ἔμπειρον) . . . had given Pheroras a deadly (θανάσιμον) poison.”

⁵ Philo, *Plant.* 147; *Spec. Laws* 3.91: “with deadly poisons the assassin will cause thousands of persons to die”; 3.98; 4.26.

⁶ Among the different commands in the law, the Jews are forbidden to possess deadly poisons (*Ant.* 4.279); Antigonus sent physicians to Phasaël, as if he wanted to heal him; but in reality he had him killed with deadly poisons (14.368); Antipater had prepared a deadly potion (17.69).

⁷ Plutarch, *Arat.* 54.1; cf. *Art.* 30.5: “Ariaspes procured a deadly poison” (φάρμακον τω—ν θανασίμων); 2.61 *b*: deadly mushrooms gathered in the fields.

⁸ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1180, 2: φάρμακα ποιω— θανάσιμα. In an account turned in to Zeno, *thanasimos* (if the restorations are correct) is used several times without a noun and appears to be the opposite of ἀθάνατος. The topic the ἔριφοι θανάσιμοι, goats that do not have to be replaced when they die (of sickness or of lack of food?), *SB* 9682, 18, 23, 24, 26, 35, 38; republished *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XX, 35 (with the discussion of the editor, P. W. Pestman, pp. 150–151). Ignatius of Antioch likened heretics to those who give a deadly poison (ὡσπερ θανάσιμον φάρμακον) with wine mixed with honey (Ign. *Trall.* 6.2).

⁹ Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1276; cf. 1445: “Like a swan, she sang her supreme song of death”; 1019: “once the black blood of a human being has been spilled on the ground (ἄπαξ πεσὸν θανάσιμον), no enchanter can call it back into the veins from which it came.”

¹⁰ Euripides, *Hipp.* 1438: “I am not permitted to stain my eye with the gasps of the dying” (*thanasimoisin*). In the sense of death, cf. Sophocles, *Aj.* 517: “a stroke of fate, O inhabitants of Hades, transformed my father, my mother into dead ones” (Ἄιδου θανασίμους οἰ—κήτορας); *OT* 959: “Polybus is gone.”

θαρσέω (θαρρέω), θάρσος

tharseo (*tharreo*), to have confidence, courage; *tharsos*, courage

tharseo* (*tharreo*)**, S 2293; *TDNT* 3.25–27; *EDNT* 2.134; *NIDNTT* 1.327–329; MM 284; L&N 25.156; BDF §§34(2), 148(2), 206(2), 407; BAGD 352 | ***tharsos, S 2294; *EDNT* 2.134; L&N 25.157; BAGD 352

The denominative verb *tharseo* (Ionian; the Attic form is *tharreo*) is always used in the imperative in the NT, in conformity with most of its occurrences in the LXX.¹ It means, in effect, “have confidence, courage, be unafraid,” with the nuance determined by the context.² It is a common stylistic element in accounts of miracles, as in that of the paralytic: “Take heart, my child, your sins are forgiven” (Matt 9:2); that of the woman with the hemorrhage (Matt 9:22); the blind man at Jericho (Mark 10:49). When the apostles, thinking that they have seen a ghost walking on the water, are terrified, Jesus reassures them: “Take heart, it is I, fear not” (*tharseite, ego eimi, me phobeisthe*, Matt 14:27; Mark 6:50). To this may be compared Caesar’s order to the pilot terrified by the storm: “Take heart and make for the rough water; you bear Caesar and the fortune of Caesar” (*tharron ithi pros ton klydona; Kaisara phereis kai ten Kaisaros tychen*, Plutarch, *Caes.* 38.5; cf. *Ant.* 48.6).

This verb thus refers to courage that can be displayed in the midst of danger or simply with respect to a trial: martyrdom, exile, scorn, whatever goes against our desires or requires effort, an undertaking that is difficult and of uncertain outcome, like pleading a case (*P.Oxy.* 237, col. VIII, 17; Philo, *Post. Cain* 38: “If an accusation of impiety is brought against you, take heart—*tharreite*”), exposing oneself bravely to the cold (Hippocrates, *Vict.* 3.68, *tharseon*; cf. 74, give oneself to exercises, *tharrein*), even “take on a pioneering role in a science” (Strabo, *Prolegomena* 1.1.4), and especially bravery or daring in battles,³ whether on the one hand the battles of war or of human life,⁴ or on the other hand the battles of initiation

into the mysteries of salvation,⁵ where the exhortation to bravery in facing dangers in the long and perilous journey in the beyond, culminating in the supreme trial of judgment, implies a hope of immortality.⁶ In every instance, the imperative is meant to encourage someone who will be undergoing a trial. This is the nuance in John 16:33, where Jesus tells the apostles that persecutions will come and exhorts them not to give up: “In the world you will have to endure tribulation, but be bold (courage! — *tharseite*), I have overcome the world.” Similarly, Acts 23:11—“The Lord, appearing to Paul,⁷ said ‘Take heart, for just as you have testified concerning me at Jerusalem, you must also testify at Rome’” (a vision is said to be “encouraging,” cf. Plutarch, *Pomp.* 68.3). In both cases, a motivation is provided with the exhortation, as is traditional,⁸ and the danger of death is in view.⁹

Indeed, it is especially in the face of death that it is necessary to be intrepid (*to tharsos*, Epictetus 2.1.14; *tharrei*, Menander, *Dysk.* 692; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.266: “He said, ‘And you, O Samuis, take heart and fear not at all that you shall die’”: *sy te, eipen, o Samoui, tharrei kai deises meden hos tethnaxomenos*; cf. 1Macc 4:35). According to Codex Bezae, in response to the prayer of the good thief, Jesus said to him, “*tharsei*” (Luke 23:43). It is not rare to see an epitaph, even in Latin, ending with *tharsei*¹⁰ and especially with *tharsei—oudeis athanatos* (“no one lives forever”), even on Jewish and Christian graves;¹¹ because this is not only an exhortation to accept the common lot,¹² but an audacious confidence in the eternal future. Thanks to faith, the fear of death is overcome. It is in this eschatological sense that St. Paul, in exile, takes courage (*tharrountes*, *tharroumen*), preferring to go be at home with the Lord.¹³ The Christian draws this energy from the certitude of the Lord’s presence and help, which prevails over anguish or the feeling of being abandoned: “We can say courageously (*tharrountas*) ‘The Lord is my help, I will not fear.’”¹⁴

The Stoic meaning of *tharreo* is found in 2Cor 7:16; 10:1-2, where the apostle rejoices at “being able in all things to be bold with” the Corinthians, to speak to them undiplomatically, with evangelical liberty and authority, and thus to communicate to them painful truths. He is accused of being timid in person, but bold, unflexible, assertive from a distance;¹⁵ so he protests that he is ready to demonstrate his boldness if circumstances require. Philo had shown that in addressing God piety (*eulabeia*) could go along with a certain audacity (*to tharrein*, *Heir* 22) and the latter with a fear of saying what one thinks (*ibid.* 28). Epictetus lauded the conciliation of prudence and boldness—*eulabos hama de tharrountos*; they seem to be opposites, but in reality there is no contradiction between them (2.1.1).

When St. Paul, finally arriving at the Forum of Appius and at Three Taverns, meets the brothers from Rome who have come to greet them, “on seeing them he gave thanks to God and took courage, *elabe tharsos*.”¹⁶

¹ The midwife says to Rachel: “Fear not, you have another son” (Gen 35:17, Hebrew *yare’* with negation); Moses to the people: “Fear not” (Exod 14:13; 20:20); Elijah to the widow of Zarephath (1Kgs 17:13), the wife of Raguel to Sarah (Tob 7:17); Holophernes to Judith (Jdt 11:1, 3); the king to Esther (Esth 5:7); Darius to Daniel in the lions’ den: ἕως πρῶτὸν θάρρει (Dan 6:17); the prophets to Israel (Joel 2:21, 22; Zeph 3:16; Hag 2:5; Zech 8:13, 15), notably in the “book of consolation”: Take heart, my people, children, Jerusalem (Bar 4:5, 21, 27, 30). Cf. Philo, *Moses* 2.252: “Be bold, do not be discouraged, stand firm, firm in heart, and wait for God’s invincible help”; *Jos. Asen.* 15.2, 3, 5: “Take heart, Aseneth, the Lord has given you to Joseph as his wife”; *Enoch* 102.4; 4Macc 13:11—“‘Courage, brother,’ said one; and the other, ‘Bear it nobly’”; 17.4. Diodorus Siculus 19.58.6: “Antigonus urged his soldier to be courageous”; 19.81.2: “the crowd cried out to him to have confidence”; 17.25.4.

² The significance of “confidence”—that of a husband in his wife (Prov 31:11; Hebrew *batah*; A, B = θαρσει—; S = θαρρει—)—can take on a certain boldness, that of Wisdom at the city gates, θαρροῦσα λέγει (Prov 1:21). This sense is most common in the papyri, where an author of a letter expresses his confidence in the recipient: τῇ σῇ δικαιοκρῖσει, δέσποτα ἡγεμών, θαρρω—ν (SB 7205, 4); ε—πὶ τὴν σὴν ἀνδρείαν καταφεύγω θαρρω—ν τεύξεσθαι τω—ν προσόντων μοι δικαίων (P.Oxy. 1468, 9); θαρρω—ν τῇ ἀγαθῇ σου προαιρέσει γράφω (P.Ryl. 696, 2; cf. P.Oxy. 1872, 4); θαρσω—ν δὲ γεγράφηκα (SB 7656, 6; BGU 1080, 14); θαρρω— οὔν, ἀδελφε, ὅτι οὐκ ἀμελεῖ—ς μου (O.Mich. 91, 10); πιστεύω γὰρ ἀκριβω—ς καὶ θαρρω— ὡς οὐδέν τι ἀηδὲς οὐδ’ ἄτοπον συμβήσεται τοῦ θεοῦ . . . πρὸς πα—σαν πράξιν (C.P.Herm. 6, 19; cf. 2, 17; Demosthenes, *Fals. Leg.* 3, θαρρω— καὶ πάνυ πιστεύω; Polybius 3.11.8: θαρρει—ν καὶ πιστεύειν); Xenophon, *Cyr.* 5.1.6; θαρσέων καθίζειν = sit down without fear (on a tomb, an epigram of Theocritus, in *Anth. Pal.* 13.3.4); P.Lond. 981, 12 (vol. 3, p. 241): θαρροῦμεν ται—ς προσευχαι—ς (fourth century). It is a question not simply of peace and security (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.3.18; Plutarch, *Sert.* 18.7; SB 9026, 6: οὐκ ε—θάρρησα δὲ τὸν τοσοῦτον λόγον ὑποστῆναι ἄνευ τῆς σῆς γνώμης; second century), but of courage. Tiberius Julius Alexander in 68: “I want the people to regain their courage and cultivate with zeal” (SB 8444, 56). Hermias: “I came and I regained courage, ἦκω καὶ τεθάρρηκα” (A. Bataille, *Les Inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari*, Cairo, 1951, n. 139, 2); “ὄμμα . . . ψυχῆς θάρσει, eye . . . of my soul, take courage” (interpretation of a dream, from 160 BC; P.Paris 51, 10 = G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, Cambridge, 1927, n. 6); Octavian invites the inhabitants of Rhosos to address to him their requests without fear, bravely (θαρροῦντες, IGLS, n. 718, 93), just like the king in *Ep. Arist.* 272. There is even some boldness in the aggressiveness of this or that person “emboldened by their wealth”:

θαρρω—ν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἴσακίς τοι—ς χρήμασι αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πλούτου, βούλεται μ[α]ι ἐ—ξελάσαι ἀπότης κόμης (*P.Cair.Goodsp.* 15, 19; *P.Cair.Isid.* 75, 10; republished *SB* 9184, 10; *P.Oxy.* 68, 19). Aion, emboldened by the state of my business and my unfavorable economic position, θαρσω—ν τοι—ς ἐ—μοι—ς πράγμασι καὶ τῇ κακοτροπία ἐ—μαυτοῦ (*P.Abinn.* 50, 18; republished *SB* 9690); Josephus, *Ant.* 20.175: —Ιουδαι—οι τω— πλούτῳ θαρροῦντες; *War* 1.189, Mithridates is “emboldened” by the extra forces that he receives from Antipater; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 72.6: “witless presumption”; *Alex.* 31.3; 32.4; 33.3; *Caes.* 44.10; 52.4.

³ Cf. Quintus of Smyrna, *Posthomerica* 11.282: “It is the daring (θάρσος) person who leads men in slaughter”; 12.254, 273; 13.121; cf. 2.39: “a hundred times better to die bravely (θαρσαλέως) than to flee abroad”; 10.209; 12.72: “only bravery gives the advantage in combat”; 12.253; cf. 3.186: “Paris harangues his men to make them brave (θαρσύνεσκε)”; 4.85; 12.253. Fear and boldness are mutually exclusive (φόβει καὶ θάρρη, Aristotle, *HA* 8.1.588a22), and θαρρέω is part of the military vocabulary (2Chr 16:8; Plutarch, *Eum.* 9.5; 17.3). The dying emperor encourages his nephew to be valiant (θαρρει—ν) and not to fear Vitellius (Plutarch, *Oth.* 16.2; *Alex.* 58.2); “Let them be brave and courageous (θαρροῦσι καὶ προθυμουμένοις) at the proper time and place; it will give them victory without danger”; (*Cam.* 23.4); cf. *Cor.* 27.7; 32.7; “Boldness is truly the beginning of victory, ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὄντως τοῦ νικᾶ—ν τὸ θαρρει—ν” (Plutarch, *Them.* 8.2); Plutarch, *Tim.* 9.1: “Embaldened by these divine portents, the flotilla carefully set out to cross the sea” (cf. Strabo 2.5.12); “Hannibal restored the courage of his men (εὐθαρσει—ς)” (Polybius 3.54.3; cf. 3.60.13); Thucydides 4.25.9; Aeneas Tacticus, *Polior.* 16.3, 16.5; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 75.3; Diodorus Siculus 19.109.4: “Gaining fresh courage (πάλιν θαρρήσαντες) those from the camp withstood the combat at the front”; Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 40.1; *Cleom.* 38.8: Cratesicleia, as she was led off to torture, is accompanied and encouraged by her daughter-in-law, καὶ θαρρει—ν παρακαλοῦσα.

⁴ The Δαίμων urges humans who are starting their existence: Courage, θαρρει—ν, ἔφη· διὸ καὶ ὑμεῖς—θαρρει—τε (*Tabula of Cebes* 30.2), taken up by Temperance and Endurance (16.3). “—Ἀλλὰ σὺ ἄρσει, ἐ—πεῖ εἰ—ον γένος ἐ—στὶ βροτοι—σιν. But you must take courage, since mortals are of divine lineage” (*Golden Verses*, Pythagoreans, 63). Sophocles, *El.* 174: θάρσει μοι, θάρσει τέκνον· ἔτι μέγας οὐρανῶ— Ζεῦς; Manilius 4.16: *Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.*

⁵ Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22.1: θαρρει—τε, μύσται, τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου· ἔσται γὰρ ἡμι—ν ἐ—κ πόνων σωτηρία. *I.Marcon.* 11: “It is with

confidence that I advance” (cf. Y. Grandjean, *Arétalogie d’Isis*, pp. 42ff.). ἄρρῆω is not only a technical verb for ritual initiation, it is used in novels with a symbolic and religious value: in the imperative, used by persons representing the initiates or the divinity, addressing the tested individuals; as a participle, it indicates that the individuals had the help of the god; cf. R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike*, 1962, pp. 100, 141, 173, 212, 231; M. Simon, “θάρσει οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος,” in *RHR*, 1936, pp. 188–206; R. Joly, *Genres de vie*, “L’Exhortation au courage (APPEIN) dans les mystères,” in *REG*, 1955, pp. 164–170.

⁶ Cf. F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, pp. 76ff. Idem, *Lux Perpetua*, p. 404.

⁷ —Επιστὰς αὐτοῦ ὁ Κύριος; cf. *I.Did.*, 496 a 4: οἱ— θεοὶ ε—νφανει—ς δι ε—πιστάσεων γεγένηται (second century AD); the gods appear and “present themselves” (cf. παριστάναι, Acts 27:23). The texts are cited by A. Wikenhauser, “Die Traumgeschichte des Neuen Testaments in religionsgeschichtlicher Sicht,” in *Pisciculi F. J. Dölger dargeboten*, Münster, 1939, pp. 320–333, commented on by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12, Paris, 1960, p. 544. — In John 16:33; Acts 23:11 we move closer to the legal sense of πατρίαν θαρρήν in *I.Olymp.* 2, 1, where this verb is almost synonymous with “guarantee the inviolability of” (cf. the commentary by G. Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris, 1904, p. 257).

⁸ Cf. Tob 8:21 (manuscript S): “Be brave, my child; I am your father and Edna is your mother; we are near you. Be brave, my child”; Esth 5:7— “What’s wrong, Esther? I am your brother; take heart, you will not die”; Joel 2:21—“Fear not, O land, be glad and rejoice, for Yahweh has done great things”; etc.

⁹ Cf. P. Pokorný, “Romfahrt des Paulus und der antike Roman,” in *ZNW*, 1973, pp. 240ff.

¹⁰ *SB* 8370, 3; *CII* 1009, 1039, 1050–52, 1110, 1125; M. Schwabe, B. Lifshitz, *Beth She’arim*, vol. 2, n. 22, 29, 39–41, 43, 77, 84, 88–89, 193.

¹¹ Cf. *IGLS* 343, 2662, 4059; *CII* 314, 335, 380, 401, 450, 539; cf. 782, 788, 1209, etc. E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 156. J. Delling, “Speranda futura: Jüdische Grabinschriften Italiens über das Geschick nach dem Tode,” in *TLZ*, 1951, col. 521–526. Sometimes a Christian epitaph modifies the formula, as on a stele of Tisiyeh, south of Bosra: οὐδὶς ε—πὶ γῆς ἀθάνατος (F. M. Abel, “Inscription chrétienne du Ghor es-Safy,”

in *RB*, 1931, p. 98); cf. M. Simon, “θάρσει οὐδεις ἀθάνατος,” in *RHR*, 1936, p. 194.

¹² Cf. a Christian epitaph of Phrygia—“There is only one Hades for all”—in L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12, Paris, 1960, p. 415.

¹³ 2Cor 5:5, 8 (J. Dupont, “L’Union avec le Christ suivant saint Paul,” Bruges-Louvain-Paris, 1952, pp. 158ff.); *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 718–724.

¹⁴ Heb 13:6—“οὐ φοβηθήσομαι does . . . look more like *be afraid* [‘linear’] than *become afraid* [‘punctiliar’]” (C. F. D. Moule, *Idiom Book*, pp. 10, 22); cf. *P.Oxy.* 1492, 15; 4 Ezra 6:33; Philo, *Flight* 82: “one of the sages of old had the courage to affirm . . .”; *Rewards* 95; Plutarch, *Ages.* 28.2: “Epaminondas replied boldly”; *Dem.* 9.3. Cf. the strengthening or the energy (θάρσος, Hebrew ‘*ames*’) of Job 4:4; 17:9; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.55; Dio Chrysostom 32.21, or the hymn to Isis (first century BC), who strengthens and gives divine power in the midst of wars and crimes, but there are few who receive courage: ὀλίγοισι δὲ θάρσος ἔδωκε (*SEG* VIII, 55, 18 = *SB* 8140 = V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 49).

¹⁵ 2Cor 10:1—ἀπὼν δὲ θαρρῶ—ει—ς ὑμα—ς; verse 2: δέομαι δὲ τὸ μὴ παρὼν θαρρήσαι; cf. *SB* 7656, 5: ει—καὶ ἀπὼν ει—μί, ἀλλ’ ὅμως θαρσῶ—. Aristotle observed that “movements of bravery or fear . . . are accompanied by heat or cold” (Aristotle, *MA* 8.701b).

¹⁶ Acts 28:15; cf. T. Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l’antiquité romaine*, Uppsala, 1957, pp. 63ff., 67.

θεοδίδακτοι, θεόπνευστος

theodidaktoi, taught by God; *theopneustos*, breathed or inspired by God

theodidaktoi, S 2312; *TDNT* 3.121; *EDNT* 2.139; MM 286–287; L&N 33.228; BAGD 356 | ***theopneustos***, S 2315; *TDNT* 6.453–455; *EDNT* 2.140; *NIDNTT* 3.689–690; MM 287; L&N 33.261; BAGD 356; ND 3.30

The *theodidaktoi* Thessalonians are “taught by God” to love one another (1Thess 4:9). *Theodidaktos* is a NT and OT hapax. It has been pointed out by Hugo Rabe in *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, (*Leipzig*, 1931, p. 91, 14). It is also found in *Barn.* 21.6, important for its dependence; Athenagoras, *Leg.* 2.32; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* 2.9; and the Greek fathers. It is formed like *theo-styges* (Rom 1:30) and *theo-pneustos* (2Tim 3:16), and its elements are found together in John 6:45, which depends on Isa

54:13; Jer 31:33. St. Paul might have been thinking of these passages. Compare also *Pss. Sol.* 17:35 and Matt 23:8. Above all, compare 1Cor 2:13—*didaktois pneumatos*.¹ G. Mussies (*DioChrysostom*, p. 202) cites Dio Chrysostom 4.41: “And again, when he (Homer) calls kings *diotrepheis* and *diiphilous*, he seems to mean something other than the sustenance that he calls divine teaching and instruction” (*palin de hotan lege diotrepheis kai diiphilous, allo ti oiei legein auton e ten trophen tauten hen ephen theian einai didaskalian kai matheteian*).

To express the sacred nature of the Scriptures, their divine origin, and their power to sanctify believers, perhaps St. Paul coined the verbal adjective *theopneustos*, “breathed, inspired by God.”² We know that in biblical Greek *pneo* refers to the breath of Yahweh (Isa 11:24; Ps 147:18; 148:8); in the form of a noun in Acts 27:40 (*tei pneousei = aurai* = “to the breeze”), it expresses the action of the Holy Spirit.³ The compound *theopneustos* should be understood in a passive sense, as it is understood by: “divinitus inspirata” in the Vulgate; “divinitus instituta” in Codex Fuldensis; the parallel text 2Pet 1:21—“born along by the Holy Spirit, men spoke from God” (*hypo pneumatou hagiou pheromenoi elalesan apo theou anthropoi*);⁴ Ambrosiaster’s gloss, “divinitus inspirata . . . cujus Deus auctor ostenditur” (“whose author is shown to be God”); and almost all the Greek fathers and commentators.⁵ Underlying this theological conception of a sacred text is the Hellenistic concept whereby the tragic and lyric poets are considered to have written under inspiration from the gods, that they are their spokesmen, addressing their fellow citizens in the name of the divinity.⁶

Bibliography. — Discussions of the theology of the inspiration of Scripture are innumerable and differing in merit. Among the moderns, the following are worthy of mention: G. Courtade, in *DBSup*, vol. 4, pp. 482ff.; G. Perella, *La nozione dell’ispirazione scritturale secondo i primitivi documenti cristiani*, in *Ang.*, 1943, pp. 32–52; P. Benoit, “L’Inspiration scripturaire,” in *La Prophétie* (Somme Théologique), Paris, 1947, pp. 293ff.; idem, “Note complémentaire sur l’inspiration,” in *RB*, 1956, pp. 416ff.; idem, *Exégèse et théologie*, pp. 3ff.; idem, “Révélation et inspiration,” in *RB*, 1963, pp. 321–370; idem, “Inspiration de la tradition et inspiration de l’Ecriture,” in *Mélanges M. D. Chenu*, Paris, 1967, pp. 111–126; idem, *Aspects of Biblical Inspiration*, Chicago, 1965; A. Robert, A. Feuillet, *Introduction à la Bible*, Tournai, 1957, pp. 6–68; P. Grelot, *La Bible Parole de Dieu*, Paris-Tournai, 1965, pp. 33ff. A. Penna, “L’ispirazione biblica nei padri della chiesa,” in *DivThom*, 1967, pp. 393–408; J. Richard, “Le Processus psychologique de la révélation prophétique,” in *LTP*, 1967, pp. 42–75; A. Artola, “La inspiración y la inerrancia según la constitución ‘Dei Verbum,’” in *El sacerdocio de Cristo* (XXVI Semana Española de Teología), Madrid, 1969, pp. 471–495; J. T. Burtchaell, *Catholic Theories of Biblical Inspiration since 1810*, Cambridge, 1969; J. Beumer,

L'Inspiration de la Sainte Ecriture, Paris, 1972; L. Alonso-Schoekel, *La Parole inspirée*, Paris, 1972; B. Vawter, *Biblical Inspiration*, Philadelphia, 1972; O. Loretz, *Das Ende der Inspirations-Theologie: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der traditionellen theologischen Lehre über die Inspiration der Heiligen Schrift*, Stuttgart, 1973; D. R. Jones, "The Inspiration of Scripture," in *New Testament Christianity for Africa and the World* (Essays in honor of H. Sawyerr), London, 1974, pp. 8–18; P. Benoit, "Saint Thomas et l'inspiration des Ecritures," in *Tommaso d'Aquino nel suo VII Centenario, Congresso internazionale*, Rome-Naples, 1974, pp. 115–131.

¹ B. Rigaux, *Saint Paul: Les Epîtres aux Thessaloniens*, Paris-Gembloux, 1956, p. 517. Cf. E. von Dobschütz, *Die Thessalonicher-Briefe*, 7th ed., Göttingen, 1909, pp. 176ff. Moulton-Milligan cite the Homeric αὐτοδίδακτος in Cagnat (IG Rom., vol. 4, 176: εἰ—μὶ μὲν ε—κ Παρίου Ὀρτυξ σοφὸς αὐτοδίδακτος) and θεόγνωστος in *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VI, 29: ἀλλὰ σὺ ὁ κύριος τῆ θεογνώστῳ σου μνήμη καὶ τῆ ἀπλανήτῳ προαιρέσει ἀνενεγκῶν τὴν γραφει—σάν σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ε—πιστολῆν.

² 2Tim 3:16. The verb ε—στί should probably be restored not after γραφή but before ὠφέλιμος: "Every Scripture inspired by God is useful . . ."; θεόπνευστος is attributive and not predicative, for reasons explained in C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 2, pp. 794ff. Philo was the first to use the verbs ε—πιπνει—ν, καταπνει—ν (ε—πιθειάζω) for the inspiration of the Scriptures, and Josephus the substantive ε—πίπνοια (*Ag. Apion* 1.37), in agreement with secular usage (*J. Magn.* 100 a 12: the people were led by divine inspiration—θείας ε—πιπνοίας—to build a temple in honor of Artemis). The known occurrences of θεόπνευστος are all later than the first century, Ps.-Plutarch, *De plac. philos.* 5.2: dreams inspired by the gods; Vettius Valens 9.1: the divinely inspired element in human beings, ἔστι δέ τι καὶ θει—ον ε—ν ἡμι—ν θεόπνευστον δημιουργήμα (cf. A. J. Festugière, *Idéal religieux*, p. 125); Ps.-Phocylides 129: wisdom of divine origin = λόγος τῆς θεοπνεύστου σοφίης (but this line is missing in some manuscripts); *Sib. Or.* 5.308, 5.406; cf. Porphyry, *De antr. nymph.* 10: θεόπνοος; *Corp. Herm.* 1.30: "So here I am, full of the divine wind of truth, θεόπνους γενόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας ἦλθον." The word θεόπνο[υς] appears in a very mutilated oracle of Claros (cf. L. Robert, "Les Inscriptions," in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, p. 337). A *proskynema* of the third century in honor of the sphinx, who "has a sacred face, animated by the breath of God, ι—ερόν . . . πρόσωπον ἔχει τὸ θεόπνουν" (*SB* 8550, 4: republished by E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 130). In *T. Abr.* A 20, the term refers to the angels who appear to Abraham: μυρίσμασι θεοπνεύστοις.

³ John 3:8; L. Koenen, “Johannes III, 7–10: Aus einem Minuskel-Kodex,” in *ZPE*, 1967, pp. 126–130; cf. D. Lys, “*Rûach*”: *Le Souffle dans l’Ancien Testament*, Paris, 1962, pp. 359ff. On the cult of the winds in pagan antiquity, cf. F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, pp. 107ff.

⁴ Cf. C. Spicq, *Épîtres de saint Pierre*, pp. 225ff. Philo called the inspired person θεοφόρητος (*Heir* 265; *Change of Names* 120, 203). The Jews “considered their laws as oracles spoken by God, θεόχρηστα λόγια” (*To Gaius* 210; cf. *Decalogue* 15; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.37). The prophet is only a tool for utterance (διὰ; Matt 1:22; Luke 1:70; Acts 2:16; 3:18, 21; Heb 1:1-2) that God uses to make himself heard. Cf. J. Frey, “La Révélation d’après les conceptions juives,” in *RB*, 1916, p. 472; J. Bonsirven, *Judaïsme palestinien*, vol. 1, pp. 254f. “How do we hear the voice of the Spirit? A psalm is sung—it is the voice of the Spirit; the Gospel is read—it is the voice of the Spirit; the word of God is preached—it is the voice of the Spirit” (Augustine, *Tract. 12.5 in Ev. Joh.*).

⁵ Didymus, *Trin.* 2.10; *PG*, vol. 39, p. 644. The grammar nevertheless allows giving θεόπνευστος an active sense: the Scripture breathes God, the *gramma* exhales *pneuma* (cf. Bengel, and the discussion by J. H. Bennetch, “II Timothy III, 16a,” in *BSac*, 1949, pp. 187ff.). In any event, it contains a breath (cf. St. Athanasius, *Ep. Serap.* 1.8; *PG*, vol. 26, p. 549) and, as a sacrament, communicates by means of written signs (cf. Athenagoras, *Leg.* 9: “The Spirit used them [the prophets] as the flutist blows through his flute”).

⁶ Cf. E. Schweizer, “πνεῦμα,” in *TDNT*, vol. 6, p. 454, who cites J. Leipoldt, “Die Frühgeschichte der Lehre von der göttlichen Eingebung,” in *ZNW*, 1953, pp. 118–145; add A. Wartelle, “Poète grec et prophète d’Israël,” in *BAGB*, vol. 26, 1967, pp. 373ff.; P. Benoit, “Les Analogies de l’inspiration,” in *Sacra Pagina*, Paris-Gembloux, 1959, vol. 1, pp. 86–99. Every divine utterance has a *dynamis* (C. Préaux, “De la Grèce classique à l’époque hellénistique,” in *ChrEg*, 1967, pp. 378, 383) and is effective (M. Détienné, *Les Maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque*, Paris, 1967).

θεοσέβεια, θεοσεβής

theosebeia, reverence, piety; *theosebes*, reverent, pious

theosebeia, S 2317; *TDNT* 3.123–128; *EDNT* 2.142; *NIDNTT* 2.91–92; MM 288; L&N 53.1; BAGD 358 | ***theosebes***, S 2318; *TDNT* 3.123–128; *EDNT* 2.142; *NIDNTT* 2.91, 94; MM 288; L&N 53.6; BAGD 358

The noun and the adjective in the LXX translate “the fear of God” or of Adonai. They are used with men and women who worship the true God and conform to his will. The meaning is as much moral as religious,¹ connected with notions of purity, holiness, perfection, wisdom.² *Theosebeia* is contradictory to sin (Sir 1:25); to possess it is a title of nobility.³

This is exactly the nuance in John 9:31—“God does not hear sinners; but if someone is pious (*tis theosebēs ei*) and does his will, he listens to that person”—and in 1Tim 2:10, where St. Paul exhorts the Ephesians to decency, “as befits women who profess *theosebeia*.”⁴ Just as spiritual *threskeia* is identified by its helping the unfortunate (Jas 1:27), the worship of God implies ethical uprightness.

In secular Greek, *theosebeia* is also mentioned in eulogies to point out the excellence of a person or an action, and especially with ethical value;⁵ but it is worth noting that the literature⁶ or the inscriptions that point it out are of predominantly Jewish origin. In the imperial period, an inscription from the theater of Miletus specifies the placement of the spectators: “Place for Jews and God-fearers, *topos Eioudaion ton kai theosebon*.”⁷ *Ton kai* is not to be taken as introducing another category, distinct from Jews *per se*, namely proselytes; rather, these are Jews who are described as fearing God. In a synagogue of Tralles, in the third century AD, a certain Capitolina is described as *he axiologotate kai theoseb[es]* or *theoseb[estate]*.⁸ From the same period in Lydia, in a synagogue of the region of Philadelphia, a basin for ablutions was offered by Eustathios the Pious.⁹ At Rome, Agrippa, son of Fuscus, is described as *theosebēs* (CII 500); in the Jewish catacomb of the Via Appia, a “Jewish proselyte [is also called] *Theosebēs*” (ibid. 202). The title thus seems to belong to the vocabulary of Jewish epigraphy; but it is not a technical term (cf. *sebomenoi*, *phoboumenoi*), and it would seem overly bold to see it as belonging exclusively to converts or proselytes added to the community of Israel.¹⁰

Actually, the epitaph of an anonymous person who died at age eighteen and was apparently from Alexandria describes his virtue with respect to gods and men by these words: *dikaïos, theosebēs philanthropos*.¹¹ In *Mart. Pol.* 3.2, “the whole multitude was astonished by the courage of the holy (*theophiles*) and pious (*theosebēs*) race of Christians” (*ten gennaioteta tou theophilous kai theosebous genous ton christianon*). Even in the Jewish writings, in the papyrological documents that we have, *eulabeia* is a reverential title used from the fourth century to honor various personages in the Christian church: bishops,¹² archbishops (SB 9527, 4), priests (IGLS 279), a church administrator (SB 10269 verso), deacons,¹³ the superiors of a religious order (*P. Stras.* 279, 12: “reverence the most *theosebēs* and long-lived common father, Abba Charisios,” *proskynesete ton theosebestaton kai makrogeron koinon patera ton abba*

Charision), abbots of monasteries,¹⁴ an anchorite (M. Naldini, *// Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 86, 2, 24, 26), a widow or a consecrated virgin (IGLS 727), a “most pious sovereign” (ibid. 1875), and even those who make up the escort of eminent persons: Count John, for example, “with the very pious brothers James, Agathos, and Phoibammon.”¹⁵ The usage is constant in letters from the Byzantine period (cf. M. Naldini, *// Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 42, 5; 49, 5; 83, 5; 84, 21).

We may speculate that this purely conventional designation is somehow derived from 1Tim 2:10; in any event, it is likewise in a context of prayer that *theosebes* is used in *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 685 (vol. 1, p. 96).

¹ Gen 20:11—“Abraham said . . . as little θεοσέβεια as there is in this place, they will kill me on account of my wife”; Exod 18:21—“You shall choose . . . men of worth who fear Elohim.” Most of the twelve occurrences of θεοσεβής in *Jos. Asen.* point out “that which is not appropriate” for the pious man or woman, whether sexually (8.5, 7; 20.8) or “returning evil for evil to one’s neighbor” (23.9; 28.4; 29.3).

² Job 28:28—“This is the fear of Adonai and wisdom”; 1:1—“Job was perfect and upright, fearing Elohim”; 1:8; 2:3; 4Macc 7:6—“piety and purity”; 7:22—“mastery of the passions for the sake of piety”; 15:28—“the steadfastness of pious Abraham”; 16:11—“the holy and pious mother”; *T. Jos.* 7.7—ε—ν σωφροσύνη θεοσεβοῦντων; *T.Abr.* A 4: Abraham is just, merciful, hospitable, faithful, θεοσεβής, far removed from any evil action; *Jos. Asen.* 4.8—“Joseph is pious, prudent, and a virgin.”

³ The new name of the eschatological Jerusalem will be “glory of θεοσέβεια” (Bar 5:4); Jdt 11:17—“Your servant is pious”; *Ep. Arist.* 179: “noble servants of God”; 4Macc 17:15—“It is piety that brings victory”; *T. Naph.* 1.10—ὁ Ῥουθαι—ος . . . θεοσεβής, ε—λεύθερος καὶ εὐγενής. “It is these derivatives of σέβειν, θεοσέβεια or especially εὐσέβεια, habitually translated as ‘piety,’ that enunciate the Greek concept closest to our concept of religion. . . . εὐσέβεια concerns the performance of certain customs (Herodotus 2.37) but it also, with respect to values (Sophocles, *OC* 260–262), is a notion related to those of truth and justice (Xenophon, *An.* 2.6.26). More rarely used than εὐσέβεια, θεοβέσεια is its very close neighbor and like it is opposed to ἀσέβεια (Plato, *Cra.* 394 d, ὅταν ε—ξ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ θεοσεβοῦς ἀσεβῆς γένηται), but it has a narrower range of meaning and, in conformity with its etymology, probably expresses in relationship to the gods the virtue that both words signify (cf. Herodotus 1.86; Aristophanes, *Av.* 897)” (J. Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse . . . dans la Grèce classique*, Geneva, 1958, p. 12); cf. R.

C. Trench, *Synonymns of the New Testament*, 12th ed., London, 1894, pp. 172ff.

⁴ —Ἀλλ' ὁ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ε—παγγελομέναις θεοσέβειαν. C. Mussies, (*Dio Chrysostom*, p. 206) cites as parallel Dio Chrysostom 36.54 (οὕτως δὴ λέγομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς—τιμω—ντες καὶ) σεβόμενοι τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν ἔργοις τε ἀγάθοις—καὶ ῥήμασιν εὐφήμοις. Cf. Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 97: the Israelite women “exchanged the adorning of the body for the beauty of *eusebeia*”; *Creation* 154: “The greatest of virtues, θεοσέβεια makes the soul immortal”; it is “the perfect good” (*Prelim. Stud.* 130), “the most beautiful good” (*Flight* 150); with wisdom, justice, and the other perfections, it makes up the chorus of virtues (*Spec. Laws* 4.134; cf. 170; *Abraham* 114; *Change of Names* 197); “the wise person is protected by the indestructible rampart of θεοσέβεια” (*Virtues* 186).

⁵ Cf. G. Bertram, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 123–128. In the second century BC, the help of King Ptolemy Philometor is sought for a certain Apollonios, η—ς ἔχετε πρὸς πάντα τοὺς τοιούτους θεοσεβοῦ[ντα]ς (*P.Lond.* 23.20; vol. 1, p. 38 = *UPZ* 14). Aristagoras is the object of an honorific decree of Istros: τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ προκόπτων καὶ προαγόμενος εἰ—ς τὸ θεοσεβει—ν ὡς ἔπρεπεν αὐτῷ—πρω—τον μὲν ε—τείμησεν τοὺς θεοὺς (*Dittenberger, Syl.* 708, 19). According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *theosebēs* Xenophon is adorned with all the virtues (*Pomp.* 4); Augustus ordered the senators to offer incense to the gods “to show their respect for the divinity, τὸ μὲν ἵνα θεοσεβῶ—σι” (*Dio Cassius* 54.30).

⁶ According to Josephus, Apion considered the priests “the wisest and most pious of the Egyptians” (*Josephus, Ag. Apion* 2.140); Judas Maccabeus enrolls “the just and the pious” (*Ant.* 12.284); Poppaea petitioned Nero on behalf of the Jews, “for she was pious” (*Ant.* 20.195), which is often taken to mean a proselyte, God-fearing, Judaizing.

⁷ J. B. Frey, *CII*, n. 748; A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 451ff.; B. Schwank, “Theaterplätze für ‘Gottesfürchtige’ in Milet,” in *BZ*, 1969, pp. 262–263 (settles A. Deissmann’s mistaken citing); *I.Sard.Rob.*, pp. 39ff., which cites also two synagogue inscriptions of Sardis: Eulogios and Polyippos are both described as *theosebēs*. On the island of Cos, Εἰ—ρήνη θεοσεβῆς χρηστὴ χαί—ρε (*ibid.* p. 44).

⁸ L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 409. At Rhodes, the epitaph of Εὐφροσύνα θεοσεβῆς χρηστὰ χαί—ρε (*ibid.* p. 411).

⁹ *CII* 754; cf. B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, p. 31.

¹⁰ Cf. B. Lifshitz, “Du nouveau sur les ‘Sympathisants,’” in *JSJ*, 1970, pp. 77–84.

¹¹ E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 71, 8. Cf. F. Cumont, *L’Égypte des astrologues*, pp. 134, 147, n. 3.

¹² *P.Lond.* 1923, 1: τω—ἀγαπητω—καὶ θεοσεβεστάτω—καὶ θεοφιλή καὶ εὐλογημένω πατρὶ Παπνουθίω —Αμμώνιος ε—ν Κυρίω θεω—χαίρειν; 1924, 2–3: μεμνημένος τω—ν ε—ντολω—ν τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας; 1929, 3: δοίη τὴν σὴν θεοσεβείαν παραμένιν ἡμι—ν πολὺν χρόνον (these three papyri in H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, pp. 103–118); *P.Princ.* 82, 10, 95; *P.Oxy.* 1871, 5; *P.Alex.* 32, 2: διὰ τοῦ θεοσεβεστάτου καὶ ὀσιωτάτου πατρὸς Ἀββα Βίκτορος ε—πισκόπου; *P.Giss.* 55, 1; *SB* 7033, 16, 28; *P. Bert. Zill.*, n. 14, 22: τοὺς θεοσεβεστάτους ἄββα Μαρι—νον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πρεσβυτέρους; *IGLS*, n. 1739 bis. Cf. the letter of recommendation of an archimandrite of the fifth-sixth century, Εἰ—δὼς οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ φιλόπρωτον καὶ φιλόπρωτον τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας . . . παρακαλω—ν δὲ τὴν θεοσεβείαν σου . . . Προσαγόρευε τοὺς εὐλαβεστάτους ἀδελφοὺς πάντας (*SB* 10965, 4, 8, 9).

¹³ *IGLS* n. 2210; M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 51, 1.

¹⁴ *C.P.Herm.* 17, 1: τω—κυρίω μου θεοσεβῆ Ἄπα —Ιωάννην; 59, 2; *SB* 10522, 15; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XI, 28 verso, ε—πίδος τω—εὐλαβεστάτω θεοσεβεστάτω πατρὶ ἄββα—Κολλουθίω ἁγίου Παεῖτου; *PSI* 1342, 2, 26; *P.Fouad* 86, 12; *P.Cair.Masp.* 67138 (according to *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 4, p. 14); *P.Giss.* 55, 1; 57, 4. Cf. *SB* 10798, 4: ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμω—ν δεσπότη (seventh century).

¹⁵ *P.Fouad* 87, 25 (cf. J. O’Callaghan, “Sobre P. Fouad 87,” in *SPap*, 1970, pp. 51–60); *P.Ness.* 46, 10–11; *P.Meyer* 24, 3.

θησκειά, θησκόσ

theskeia, worship, liturgy, ritual, religion; *theskos*, religious, reverent

theskeia, S 2356; *TDNT* 3.155–159; *EDNT* 2.154; *NIDNTT* 3.549, 551; *MM* 293; *L&N* 53.1; *BAGD* 363 | ***theskos***, S 2357; *TDNT* 3.155–159; *EDNT* 2.155; *NIDNTT* 3.549, 551; *L&N* 53.6; *BDF* §118(2); *BAGD* 363

These two terms, which occur frequently in the imperial period, are of Ionian¹ origin and derive from *theskeuo*, “observe religious practices.”² The biblical hapax *theskos* is unknown in Greek before Jas 1:26.

I. — The ritual and liturgical meaning of *threskeia* is its basic and most often attested sense: acts of worship (the term is often in the plural), ritual function, liturgy, religious observance, ceremony, in honor of a divinity, an emperor, a deceased person.³ In Wis 14:18, 27 and *T. Job* 2.2 it refers to the worship or veneration of idols; in Col 2:18 the *threskeia ton angelon*.⁴ The tyrant Antiochus scoffs at Eleazar for holding to Jewish practices (4Macc 5:6, 13). Philo denounces the imposter who claims to be a prophet and leads his hearers into pagan superstitions, “toward the *threskeia* of the gods who are acknowledged in the various cities.”⁵ Plutarch recommends that the married person “shut out from the home superfluous ceremonies and foreign superstitions” (*periergois de threskeiais kai xenais deisidaimoniais apoekleisthai ten auleion, Con. praec.* 19). In 174, the Tyrians of Puteoli mention “the expenditures that we have to make for the sacrifices and for the worship of our national divinities who have temples here.”⁶ On 14 June 171, the priests of the town of Bacchias ask the *strategos* to countermand an order of the *ekboleus*, who is sending them to work far from their temple; they say that they want to be in a position “to carry out each day the ceremonies of the gods for the preservation of our lord the emperor.”⁷ In 202–204, two priests declare that they have faithfully carried out the rites.⁸ Negligent priests are liable to a fine of two hundred drachmas.⁹

II. — If *threskeia* is often used in a thoroughly material sense,¹⁰ for a purely ritual deed or action, it is normally an expression of an internal piety or a truly religious sentiment. This is certainly the case when Emperor Claudius prides himself on having promoted the cult of Apollo;¹¹ and it is the inspiration behind a goodly number of religious rules posted on the doors of sanctuaries.¹² Confirmation is provided by the frequent mention of *eusebeia*: “they worshiped the gods with *eusebeia*.”¹³ It is in this sense that St. Paul confessed to King Agrippa, “I have lived as a Pharisee according to the strictest sect of our religion” (*kata ten akribestaten hairesin tes hemeteras threskeias*, Acts 26:5; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.271; 19.284). The emphasis is on the practice of external observances and on the faithfulness of traditional piety.

III. — But in this latter text, *threskeia* is properly understood as being religion pure and simple, or better, the liturgy and rites used in the adoration of God, the cult that honors God.¹⁴ Thus the expression in the sixth century, “Jewish with respect to religion” (*loudaio ten threskeian, P.Ant.* 42, 10 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 508) or “Samaritan with respect to religion” (*Samaritai ten threskian, C.P.Herm.* 29, 7 = *SB* 9278, 7). Clement of Rome referred to the Christian religion as *threskeia hemon* (1Clem. 62.1; cf. 45.7).

IV. — *Threskeia* takes on ethical connotations in Jas 1:26—“If someone thinks that he is religious—*ei tis dokei threskos einai*—and does not bridle his tongue . . . his religion (*he threskeia*) is worthless,” his

observances are vain; Jas 1:27—“Religion that is pure and spotless before the God and Father—*threskeia kathara kai amiantos*—to take help to orphans and widows.”¹⁵ The best parallel is probably that of *Corp. Herm.* 12.23: “Adore this Word, my child, and worship him (*proskynei kai threskeue*). For there is only one way to worship God (*threskeia mia*): not being evil.”¹⁶ Philo emphasizes that “authentic worship” requires cleansing one’s heart of ingratitude, self-love, and presumption (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 58); and Josephus notes that Isaac combined with the practice of all the virtues and with filial obedience a zeal for the *threskeia* of God (*Ant.* 1.222).

In defining true religion not by the the precise execution of rituals but by the carrying out of moral obligations and above all by brotherly love,¹⁷ St. James sided with the contemporary religious movement in the direction of the spiritualization of worship.¹⁸

¹ According to Plutarch (*Alex.* 2) the etymology of θρησκεύω traces back through θρησσα: “These Thracian women to whom it seems we owe the application of θρησκεύω to religious practices that are tiresomely and excessively detailed—δοκει— τὸ θρησκεύειν ὄνομα ται—ς κατακόροις γενέσθαι καὶ περιέργοις ι—ερουργίαις,” justified by H. Gregory (“Thracés et Thessaliens maîtres de religions et de magie, ou l’étymologie de θρησκεία et d’ἀτάσθαλος,” in *Hommages à J. Bidez et à Fr. Cumont*, Brussels, 1948, pp. 375–386). E. Boisacq (*Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 340) derives these words from the root of θεράπων-θεραπεύω. P. Chantraine states: “Since θρησκος is secondary and postverbal, we must begin with θρησκεύω, where it is customary to see an arrangement θρήσκω νοω— and θράσκειν ἀναμιμνήσκειν (Hesychius); these glosses confirm the Ionian origin of θρησκεύω. At a greater distance there is ε—ν-θρει—ν φυλάσσειν (Hesychius), where can be seen an aorist with a zero vowel; moreover, the adjective ἄ-θερές: ἀνόητον, ἀνόσιον (Hesychius). This analysis, which remains uncertain, supposes that the use of θρησκεύω for ‘observe a religious practice’ arises from the general sense ‘observe, keep,’ etc.” (*Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 440). Cf. K.L. Schmidt, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 155–159.

² The verb θρησκεύειν, “adore, venerate, give cultic honor,” unknown in the NT, is used in Wis 11:15; 14:17 for idol worship; cf. Herodotus 2.37: “the priests force themselves, as it were, to observe thousands of religious practices”; 2.64: “the Egyptians, who in general follow prescriptions of a religious nature (θρησκεύουσι) painstakingly, do so in particular on this point”; Plutarch, *Alex.* 2.8: give oneself to rites. In 290 on the column of a temple at Akoris: ε—πὶ Διδύμου ι—ερέως θρησκεύοντος (*SB* 991); a Christian papyrus of the fourth century: prayers obtain ascetical and religious revelations, τω—ν γὰρ ἀσκούντων καὶ θρησκευόντων ἀποκαλύμματα δικνέοντε (*P.Lond.* 1926, 10; cf. H. I. Bell, *Jews and*

Christians in Egypt, p. 108). On a stele of the third century, οἱ—συνελθόντες θρησκευταὶ ἐ—πὶ θεοῦ Διὸς Ὑψίστου (J.M.R. Cormack, “Zeus Hypsistos at Pydna,” in *Mélanges . . . G. Daux*, Paris, 1974, p. 51, 6); *BGU* 2215, col. I, 3: θρησκευέται τὸ ἰ—ερόν; col. III, 2: ἰ—ερεῖ—ς μὴ εἶναι τὰς τω—ν θρησκείας.

³ *P.Lund* IV, 1, 13. Cult of Isis (*P.Oxy.* 1380, 245); *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*: κάκει—νος ἐ—πὶ τὰς χρείας καὶ θρησκείας τω—ν θεω—ν σπουδασάτω (*SEG* XX, 324, 69); in *AD* 77, Silvius Italicus, proconsul of Asia, forbids catching with the help of bait, touching, or frightening, or buying pigeons in the city of Aphrodisias “because of the cult of the goddess, τῆς τε θρησκείας τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐόν χάριν” (*LSAM*, n. 86, 8); the expulsion of pigs from the temple of Talmis so that religious ceremonies would not be disturbed: τὰ περὶ τούτου κελευσθέντα πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὰ περὶ τὰ ἰ—ερά θρήσκια κατὰ τὰ νενομισμένα γείνεσθαι (*Chrest. Wilck.*, 74, 9 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 210, 9 = *SB* 8534); *C.P.Herm.* 2, 11: “the water of the cult of the god Hermes who protects my daughter,” line 19: “the cult of the sacred month of Pharmuthi”; *IGLAM*, n. 90, 5: τὰ θεῖ—α θρησκεία; *Stud.Pal.* XXII, 184, 93: θρησκείας τω—ν θεω—ν—on the honors given Augustus, *I.Priene*, 105, 24 (= Dittenberger, *Or.* 458), to the emperor (Philo, *To Gaius* 232). On the *religio* of the dead, cf. the inscription of Nazareth on the violation of tombs: Augustus orders that “the sepulchers and tombs made for the veneration (εἰ—ς θρησκείαν) of grandparents or children or close relatives remain inviolate in perpetuity” (*SEG* VIII, 13, 3; XIII, 596, 16; XVI, 828). F. M. Abel, “Un rescrit impérial sur la violation de sépulture et le tombeau trouvé vide,” in *RB*, 1930, p. 568; J. Schmitt, “Nazareth (Inscription de),” in *DBSup*, vol. 6, 338ff.; *Receuil L. Cerfaux*, Gembloux, 1962, vol. 3, pp. 23ff.). At Thessalonica, a funerary epigram for a young woman: ἦν ἐ—πόθησεν Ἔρωσ διὰ τὴν Παφίαν —Αφροδίτην· κει—μαι δ ἐ—ν τύμβῳ διὰ θρησκευτω—ν φιλότητα (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 2, Paris, 1946, p. 133). Cf. the numerous inscriptions cited by L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, pp. 226–235.

⁴ Cf. F. O. Francis, “Humility and Angelic Worship in Col. II, 18,” in *ST*, vol. 16, 1963, pp. 109–134. Eusebius mentions a θρησκεία τω—ν δαιμόνων (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.41.2).

⁵ Πρὸς τὴν τω—ν νενομισμένων κατὰ πόλεις θρησκείαν θεω—ν, Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.135; cf. *Flight* 41; *To Gaius* 298: “the emperor Tiberius . . . left intact the ceremonial worship”; Josephus, *War* 1.148, 150; the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians: τω—ν πρὸς θρησκείαν αὐτοί—ς νενομισμένων τοῦ θεοῦ (*P.Lond.* 1912, 85; cf. H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 25; *C.Pap.Jud.* 153); an inscription of Lydia published by J. Keil, “Ein Markttag in Maeonien,” in G. E. Mylonas, D.

Raymond, *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, St. Louis, 1953, vol. 2, pp. 363–370 (republished *SEG XIII*, 518, 5).

⁶ Dittenberger, *Or.* 595, 9: ἀναλίσκοντες εἰς τε θυσίας καὶ θρησκείας τῶν πατρίων ἡμῶν θεῶν.

⁷ *P. Yale* inv. 349, 21: τὰς τῶν θεῶν θρησκείας ποιεῖσθαι γεινομένας; ed. E. H. Gilliam, “The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias,” in *YCS*, vol. 10, 1947, p. 251; *SB* 9328; *Chrest. Wilck.*, 72, 10; *C. Pap. Jud.* 520, 11.

⁸ *P. Yale* inv. 324, 8: εἰς ποιησάμεθα θρησκείας τῶν θεῶν; ed. E. H. Gilliam, “The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias,” in *YCS*, vol. 10, 1947, p. 270, and *SB* 9331.

⁹ *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* 75: ἰερεὺς καταλειπὼν τὰς θρησκείας.

¹⁰ *P. Oxy.* 2476, 10; *P. Mil. Vogl.* 43, 9: θρησκεύετε τοῦτον; *Stud. Pal.* XX, 33, 12; cf. the different forms of ritual (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.66). In 262, the Emperor Gallienus orders that places of worship be left free, ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων τῶν θρησκευσίμων (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 7.13).

¹¹ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 801 D 4: ἀεὶ δετήρησα τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου (republished by F. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*, Turin, 1958, n. 22). Similarly Plotinus to the Epicureans of Athens (*ibid.* 834, 14) and Hadrian at Delphi: καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῆς πόλεως καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατέχοντος αὐτὴν θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἀφορῶν (E. Bourguet, *De Rebus Delphicis*, Paris, 1905, p. 78); Cl. Vibius Salutaris at Ephesus (*I. Ephes.*, II, n. 27, 20). At Thessalonica, οἱ συνθρησκευταὶ κλεινῆς θεοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος (*IG X*, 2, 192).

¹² At Theos, in the time of Tiberius, the regulations concerning the cult of Dionysius are presented as περὶ τῶν εἰς ἄρρησκεία (*LSAM*, n. 28, 5), for the cult of Artemis at Ephesus (*ibid.* 31, 27), of Zeus Panamaros and of Hecate at Stratoniceia (*ibid.* 69, 7, 13); cf. J. van Herten, *ῥησκεία, εὐλάβεια, ἰκέτης*, *Utrecht*, 1934, pp. 2–27; A. Pelletier, *Josèphe adaptateur*, pp. 32ff.

¹³ Τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς εἰς θρησκευσεν εὐσεβῶς, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 783, 42, (27 BC); cf. 867, 12, 48; *Or.* 513, 13 (Pergamum, third century); *I. Lind.* 490, 10, 15; *IGLAM*, 519, 7: εἰς τῆς δὲ ὑμνωδίας προσόδου καὶ θρησκείας εὐσεβείαν αὐτούς; line 13: ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰς [τὸν πάντα] αἰῶνα τὴν αὐτὴν διαμεινῆσαι τῆς ἀνθαιρέσεως τάξιν καὶ ῥησκείαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν

τω—ν' εω—ν (Stratoniceia in Caria); *SEG* IV, 245, 4–5: θρησκευέσθαι καὶ εὐσεβει—ν (first century BC); IV, 263, 8: a decree for a priest who showed ὅσου μὲν ποιει—ται πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ θρησκείαν (first century AD); G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 12, 15: τὴν θρησκείαν δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβω—ς.

¹⁴ When Mattathias issued a call to arms to sustain the covenant (διαθήκην) according to 1Macc 2:27, Josephus writes “the cult of God, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας” (*Ant.* 12.271; cf. 253). Moses had insisted on an oath not to “transgress the laws” (*Ant.* 4.309); Josephus comments “violate his cult, θρησκεία” (4.312–313); cf. 9.99: ἀφιέναι τὴν θρησκείαν = quit or reject the cult; *War* 7.45: “They drew to their cult a large number of Greeks, who from then on, in some way, became part of their community, προσαγόμενοι ται—ς θρησκείαις πολὺ πλῆθος Ἑλλήνων”; cf. *Ant.* 9.273; 17.214; *War* 5.229. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.26.7.

¹⁵ Cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, pp. 199ff.; D. J. Roberts, “The Definition of ‘Pure Religion’ in James I, 27,” in *ExpT*, vol. 83, 1972, p. 215. M. Black (“Critical and Exegetical Notes on Three New Testament Texts: Hebrews XI, 1; Jude 5; James I, 27,” in *Festschrift E. Haenchen*, Berlin, 1964, p. 45) draws attention to the interesting variant in P74: ὑπερασπίζειν (instead of ἄσπιλον ε—αὐτὸν τηρει—ν): to visit the orphans and protect the widows in their affliction in this world.

¹⁶ Cf. a Christian epitaph from around Laodicea in which *eusebeia* is defined as love for the poor, regard for friends, affection for parents, hospitality toward all people (F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, vol. 3, 20, 10ff.). If Philo distinguishes between εὐσέβεια and θρησκεία (Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 21), Josephus reports that Antiochus Sidetes was called Eusebes on account of his excessive θρησκεία (*Ant.* 13.244; cf. 20.13). —Cf. P. Hermann, *Ergebnisse*, n. 25, 8: διὰ τὴν ι—ς τοὺς θεοὺς θρησκείαν καὶ τὰς ι—ς τὸν δοῦμον πολλὰς εὐεργεσίας.

¹⁷ Cf. A. Hamman, “Prière et culte dans la lettre de saint Jacques,” in *ETL*, 1958, pp. 35–47; O. J. F. Seitz, “James and the Law,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 2, pp. 472–486.

¹⁸ Cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.277; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.192: “It is God . . . that all must serve by practicing virtue (θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν ἀσκοῦντας ἀρετήν); for that is the holiest manner of serving God (τρόπος γὰρ θεοῦ θεραπείας ου—τος ὀσιώτατος);” Musonius (ed. C. E. Lutz, pp. 49ff. et passim); etc. Cf. H. Wenschkewitz, “Die Spiritualisierung der Kultusbegriffe Tempel, Priester und Opfer im Neuen Testament,” in *Angelos*, 1932, pp. 71–230.

ἴδιος, ἴδια, ἰ—δία

idios, particular, private, own; *idia*, one's own affairs, property, etc.; *idia* (with subscript), for oneself particularly

idios, S 2398; *EDNT* 2.171; *NIDNTT* 2.839–840; MM 298; L&N 10.12, 28.67, 57.4, 58.47, 87.56, 92.21; BDF §§12, 14, 241(6), 286; BAGD 369 | ***idia***, *NIDNTT* 2.838–840; ND 6.113–119, 125–127

Whether used as adjective, noun, or adverb, this term means “peculiar to, particular, private,”¹ but its sense is weakened in the Koine, where it is usually equivalent to a possessive.² It is used with respect to things as well as persons to express who they belong to: “If you were of the world, the world would love its own” (*to idion ephilei*, John 15:19); “wood must be taken from his own property” (1Esdr 6:31); “Leaving there the things that belonged to us (*ta idia*, our goods), we followed you.”³ *Ta idia* means “his/her/ its property, goods”; cf. “a land that is not theirs” (*ouk idia*, Gen 15:13; 47:18; Deut 15:2; Prov 11:24); “no one said that anything he had was his own” (*idion einai*).⁴ That which is public or common (*koinon*) is always being contrasted with the private (*idion*): “Boulagoras rendered many services in a public capacity and in private.”⁵

Often enough, *ta idia* refers to private business, personal interests: “Hold it as a point of honor to see to your own business” (*prassein ta idia*, 1Thess 4:11); “each one has his own burden to bear” (Gal 6:5); “Each one must forget his individual sufferings (*apalgesantas de ta idia*) and devote himself to the preservation of the common interest.”⁶ “He does not draw from it a meager profit for himself” (*eis idion*, *P.Mich.* 526, 15). To this we may connect on the one hand *idion* in the sense in which “the property” of fire is to burn,⁷ that of horses is to whinny (Philo, *Dreams* 1.108), and the good peculiar to humankind is knowledge (*Good Man Free* 12); and on the other hand to the expressions *ek ton idion* and *ek tou idiou*, “at their/his/her own expense,” which recur constantly in the papyri and the inscriptions: “Apollonius has restored the damaged *propylon* at his own expense” (*ek tou idiou*);⁸ “he offered at his own expense” (*ek ton idion anetheken*);⁹ “I paid out of my own pocket” (*BGU* 2243, 10; *ektou idiou*).

Ta idia can refer to all the things that a person owns or has use of: fruits (Luke 6:41; *BGU* 1901, 3), an olive tree (Rom 11:24), a mount (Luke 10:34), sheep and flocks,¹⁰ members or organs of the body,¹¹ a meal (1Cor 11:21), pay (3:8; 9:7), all that is personal.¹² Its most common meaning is territorial: *idios*, like *topos*,¹³ can refer to a field (Matt 22:5; *P.Mich.* 423, 14), a country (Philo, *Virtues* 105; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.40), a city (Matt 9:1; 1Esdr 5:8), a village (*P.Fouad* 26, 27; *SB* 8299, 20; *P.Cair.Isid.*

8, 11), and especially the place where one resides and of which one is an inhabitant,¹⁴ where one is at home (cf. French *chez soi*),¹⁵ one's house.¹⁶ Thus Paul stayed "two years in a house that he had rented" (*en idio misthomati*, Acts 28:30), the *episkopos* governs his own house well (1Tim 3:4, 5, 12; 5:4), and the wicked angels left their own dwelling (Jude 6). In writing that the incarnate Word came to his own place (*eis ta idia*), St. John (1:11) means not only to locate this coming geographically in Palestine but also to set it in the particular property of the One by whom all things were made (Sir 24:6–12), as distinct from that which might belong to others; that is, among the beloved and chosen people.¹⁷ *Ta idia* therefore has an affective nuance, because only guests with whom one has affinity of mind and heart are received into a person's home. 2John 10 forbids receiving a heterodox person (*me lambanete auton eisoikian*).¹⁸

The stability, security, intimacy, and happiness of home life are not absent from the numerous literary and papyrological texts that mention the return home of prisoners, soldiers, travelers, or workers.¹⁹ In any event, amnesty decrees regularly order "that those who have fled return home with amnesty from the accusations of which they are the object."²⁰ We may compare John 16:32—"You will be dispersed, each to his own home (*skorpisthete hekastos eis ta idia*) and you will leave me alone."²¹ To convey the idea "aside, apart," the NT uses *kat' idian*,²² but the adverb *idia* (ἑδὲ), "for oneself particularly," is also used.²³

Idios, *idia* are similarly used for persons in a way synonymous with a simple possessive, notably with regard to members of a family: one's own brother and sister,²⁴ mother,²⁵ father (John 5:18; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.230; 9.99), spouse,²⁶ son or daughter.²⁷ If it is easy to identify *idios* when it is used as an attributive adjective (Matt 25:14, *tous idious doulous*; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.47), when it is used as a noun only the context can identify the referent: Peter and John, when released, go to "their own" (*elthon pros tous idious*).²⁸ The word can mean men, people,²⁹ companions,³⁰ or retinue (Philo, *Flacc.* 27: Agrippa embarked *meta ton idion*; Josephus, *Life* 246), troops (Philo, *Abraham* 214), compatriots (Philo, *To Gaius* 211, 327), partisans (Josephus, *War* 2.267); but usually the emphasis falls on an emotional attachment: relatives and friends.³¹ John 1:11 uses the masculine plural *hoi idioi* to emphasize the scandal of the rejection of the Messiah by the Israelites (cf. *P.Oxy.* 2778, 3–4: *hoi idioi . . . ouk ethelesan*). It was neither humankind in general nor the Galileans who rejected him (Matt 15:57; Mark 6:4; Luke 4:24; John 4:44), nor even his compatriots who did not accept his testimony (John 3:11; 5:43), but the Israelites, his table companions, who lived in his dwelling and were not willing to receive the Master of the house. They knew the heir and killed him (Matt 21:39; Mark 12:8; Luke 20:15). This selection evoked by *hoi idioi* is as marked in John 13:1, where Jesus, "having loved his own (*tous idious*) who were in the world, loved them to the end." This refers to his *mathetai* (John 8:31; 13:23,

35; 15:8; etc.), a more restricted group than “his people” (1:11); these are close friends, favorites. It is he who has chosen them, those whom the Father gave and entrusted to him;³² this means above all the apostles, to whom the Lord was to give his last instructions and to whom he dedicated his final expressions of emotion.

After the disciple at the foot of the cross has heard Jesus say, “Behold your mother,” the evangelist adds, “And from that moment, the disciple took her into his own home” (*ap’ ekeines tes horas elaben ho mathetes auten eis ta idia*).³³ Answering to the specification of the time (the hour), *idia* adds—as happens constantly in the Fourth Gospel—a specification of place: after Jesus’s death the beloved disciple took Mary into his own home and the mother of Jesus became his own mother (according to the Lord’s order). He considered her to be his own and surrounded her with filial affection and veneration, thus becoming as it were a brother of Christ.³⁴

¹ In a guarantee of immunity from AD 52, ε—μοὶ ἴδιον (“personal”) is written at the top of the papyrus (*P.Mich.* 354, 1). Cf. μέρος ἴδιον (*P.Oslo* 110, 1; *P.Phil.* 5, 3; first century AD), τὰ ἴδια μέρη (*P.Oxy.* 3026, col. II, 18); “Dioscorus, a slave, counted here as my personal property” (ὁ καὶ ε—νθάδε λογιζόμενος ἰδιός μου, *P.Brux.* 19, 8; declaration of inventory); “the trees of their private property”; the Nymphs and the Seasons poured “the libations which belong to them” (προκοαι—ς ται—ς ι—δίαις, *SB* 7541,6).

² Cf. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 123ff.

³ Luke 18:28. Cf. τὰ ἴδια φύλασσε (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1268, 20); those who were despoiled took possession of their goods (τω—ν ι—δίων, *SEG* I, 166, 18); “He has undertaken to advance the necessary sums personally from his own money” (ε—κ τοῦ ι—δίου, *ibid.*, I. 35; III, 356, 15); *P.Oxy.* 489, 4; 490, 3; 492, 4; 2729, 10; 3015, 22; 3288, 7; *P.Athen.* 17, 15; *BGU* 1849, 10; *P.Vindob.Bosw.* 7, 29; *P.Dura* 14, 4; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 43, 49; *P.Hamb.* 68, 12; *P.Cair.Isid.* 64, 18; 70, 7; etc.

⁴ Acts 4:32. Cf. Philo, *Creation* 57, 138; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.104; *Cherub.* 73, 113, 117, 124; *Unchang. God* 5; *Migr. Abr.* 10 (τὸ ἴδιον = “your property”); *Heir* 103, 258; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 97; *Husbandry* 5; *Dreams* 1.95; *Moses* 1.254; 2.243; *Spec. Laws* 1.157; 1.71, 85, 92, 106, 141: sell what belongs to them (τὰ ἴδια); 4.159: personal fortune (τὴν ι—δίαν οὐσίαν); *Rewards* 54; *Virtues* 90, 95, 100, 226; *Flight* 29; *Flacc.* 57, 77; Josephus, *War* 1.201, 483; 4.94; *Ant.* 6.322; 11.214.

⁵ *SEG* I, 366, 3 and 50; likewise Athenodorus of Rhodes (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 493, 8 and 13), a garrison commandant (φρούραρχος) in the second

century BC at Lepisia (*NCIG*, n. IV, 11–12); cf. *GIBM*, 2d ed., vol. 1, *Attica*, n. 15, 11–12; 235, 10, 236, 5; 237, 6; etc. *P.Mich.* 607, 14; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.106; 3.30, 86; *Worse Attacks Better* 174; *Post. Cain* 117 (private and public life); *Giants* 29; *Unchang. God* 17; *Husbandry* 35, 47; *Plant.* 146; *Drunkenness* 79, 109, 129; *Sobr.* 40; *Conf. Tongues* 46; *Flight* 36, 210; *Dreams* 1.176; *Abraham* 20; *Moses* 1.137; 2.291; *Decalogue* 5, 51, 173; *Spec. Laws* 1.149; 2.12, 145, 150, 188; 4.35, 72; *Virtues* 3; *Good Man Free* 86; *Contemp. Life* 61; *Rewards* 14, 67, 87, 119, 168; *To Gaius* 4, 11, 190, 193; Josephus, *War* 4.320; 7.260; *Ant.* 3.219; 4.310; 5.92; 8.297; 13.166; 14.151; 16.39; Thucydides 1.141.3: “The Peloponnesians have neither individual nor collective wealth.”

⁶ Thucydides 2.61.4; 2Macc 3:3; 11:23—“see to the care of their own business” (πρὸς τὴν τω—ν ι—δίων ε—πιμέλειαν); 11:26; 14:4—their own advantage (ι—δίας); 14.42; Philo, *Unchang. God* 19; *Migr. Abr.* 211: “return to your own business” (πρὸς τὴν τω—ν ι—δίων ε—πιμέλειαν); *Spec. Laws* 2.236; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.61; 10.246; 12.402; 13.265; *Ag. Apion* 2.196: his own interest; *BGU* 2348, 4: ει—ς ι—δίαν χρεία = for his own use (hence, “revenue,” *War* 1.483; and “profit,” *Ant.* 5.26, 32, 33; 6.133); *P.Tebt.* 5, 254: “no one shall requisition a boat for his personal use”; *PSI* 1401, 9; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 253; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59133, 15; 59516, 17; 59697, 11; *P.Ant.* 102, 6; 103, 15; *P.Hamb.* 57, 24; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 45, 2; *P.Apoll.* 26, 10: ἕκαστος ει—ς τὸν ἴδιον κάματον, let each one return to his own occupations; *SB* 8384, 8.

⁷ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.5; cf. 2.34; 3.105, 200; *Cherub.* 77; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 101; *Worse Attacks Better* 138: “joy is the property of the sage”; *Dreams* 1.181, 186: the property of mortal man; *Heir* 128, 161: the property of justice; *Prelim. Stud.* 69, 149: of philosophy; *Moses* 2.4: of the law; *Post. Cain* 29: “God’s property is rest and stability”; *Change of Names* 129: “is to do good”; *Husbandry* 106; *Drunkenness* 209.

⁸ E. Bernand, *Fayoum*, n. 89; cf. 92, 99: in AD 5, “Publius Petronius Eudemon rebuilt the altar and its outbuildings at his own expense (ε—κ τω—ν ι—δίων ἀναλωμάτων) in honor of Nemesis”; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 374, 40; *SEG* XIV, 64, 12; *CII* 548, 738 (cf. B.Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. 32, 66, 77 *b*); *I.Olymp.* 55, 11; 284; 428, 7; 940, 3; *P.Oxy.* 2874, 52; *P.Mich.* 530, 7; *P.Phil.* 15, 13: “Each year we will carry out all the appropriate work at our own expense (ε—κ τοῦ ι—δίου), in good time, without causing any damage”; *P.Soterichos* 3; 23, where the editor gives numerous references to this clause in rental contracts; cf. ἴδιον ἔργον (L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, p. 47). “At his own expense” is also expressed by τοι—ς ι—δίοις (*P.Sorb.* 17 *a* 13; *b* 14; Josephus, *War* 2.105).

⁹ *GIBM*, n. LVII, 4; *To Gaius* 157, 317: “with his own funds”; Josephus, *War* 1.136; 2.124; *Ant.* 3.242, 257; 9.273; 11.181; 14.276, 485. Cf. the devil, who “draws lies out of his own store” (ε—κ τω—ν ι—δίωv λαλει—, John 8:44; 15:19).

¹⁰ John 10:3, 4, 12; Philo, *Change of Names* 115: “the Shepherd looks over the flock that is his” (ποιίμνης τῆς ι—δίας); *Joseph* 257: guardians of his own livestock (τω—ν ι—δίωv).

¹¹ The eye (Luke 6:41), blood (Acts 20:28; Heb 9:12; 13:12), a nurse’s milk (*P.Rein.* 103, 8; 104, 9; *SB* 7619, 8; 11248, 69), especially the hands (1Cor 4:12; Eph 4:28; Josephus, *War* 4.47; 6.216, 346; 7.243; *C.P.Herm.* 30, 26; *P.Oxy.* 2237, 22; 2478, 10; 3204, 8; *SB* 6968; 6961; 9153, 14); “The man who is fully capable of doing his own will” (περὶ τοῦ ι—δίου θελήματος, 1Cor 7:37); a personal feeling of benevolence (*P.Oxy.* 3022, 10); “The soul from above knows that which is proper to it” (τὰ ἴδια γεινώσκει, *P.Oxy.* 4, 10). Cf. die a natural death (ει—δίωv θανάτω, *SEG* VI, 274; L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, n. 55, 11, ι—δίωv ἔθανον).

¹² A conviction (Rom 14:5), an interpretation (2Pet 1:20), religion (Acts 25:19), credit (διὰ τῆς ι—δίας συστάσεως, *NCIG*, n. VII, 5); capabilities (κατὰ τὴν ι—δίαν δύναμιν, Matt 25:15; Acts 1:7; 3:12). Cf. “each in his rank” (ἕκαστος ε—ν τω— ι—δίωv τάγματι, 1Cor 15:23) = Josephus, *War* 3.93—τὴν ι—δίαν τάξιν; *PSI* 1441, 22; *P.Panop. Beatty* 1, 355: ε—ν ι—δίᾳ τάξει; *SB* 10281, col. III, 6; *BGU* 2217, 20; E. Bernard, *Fayoum*, 1975, n. 29, 12.

¹³ Acts 1:25—“Judas withdrew to his own place”; 1Macc 11:38; Josephus, *War* 2.488; *Ant.* 14.235; 19.305; *P.Mich.* 243, 7: τοῦ ι—δίου τόπου = his own town (period of Tiberius); *P.Oxy.* 2187, 26; a place of birth (*P.Mert.* 12, 5).

¹⁴ *P.Fam.Tebt.* 33, 2: οι—κοῦντες ε—ν τοι—ς ι—δίωις; *P.Mich.* 174, 21: ε—ν τῇ ι—δίᾳ διαζῆν; 529, 18; *P.Oslo* 22, 16; *P.Mert.* 91, 18; 92, 13; *SB* 7602, 2; 7673, 11: οι—κω— δὲ ε—ν ι—δίᾳ οι—κία τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης.

¹⁵ 2Macc 11:29—“the desire you have to return home” (πρὸς τοι—ς ι—δίωις); 1Esdr 5:46; Esth 5:10—“Haman will return home” (ει—ς τὰ ἴδια); 6:12; 3Macc 6:27, 37; 8:8. At Acts 5:18, D adds that after the apostles came out of prison καὶ ε—πορεύθη εἰς ἕκαστος ει—ς τὰ ἴδια; at Acts 14:18, C adds: ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθαι ἕκαστος ει—ς τὰ ἴδια; at Tyre, after the Christians had accompanied Paul to the ship, ε—κει—νοι δὲ ὑπέστρεψαν ει—ς τὰ ἴδια. “Aratus exhorted the Mantinaeans to stay home” (μένειν ε—πὶ τω—ν ι—δίωv, Polybius 2.57.5); “Abilyx went back home” (ει—ς τὴν

ι—δίαν ἀπηλλάγη, Polybius 3.99.4). A law of Cyrene on sacred vases, μηδὲ ἔξω σκευὴ φέρειν ἢ ι—δίαι λαμβάνειν (*SEG* XX, 720; second-first century BC), κατήλθεν εἰ—ς τὸ ἴδιόν μου καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ ε—μά (*SB* 9616, verso 18); ἡ μήτηρ σου παρακαλεῖ— σε ε—λθει—ν εἰ—ς τὰ ἴδια (*SB* 10240, 4; *AD* 41); cf. the synonymous relationship with ε—μαυτόν or ε—αυτόν, *Wis* 8:18. F. Neiryneck, “ἀπήλθεν πρὸς ε—αυτόν, *Lc.* XXIV, 12 et *Jn.* XX, 10,” in *ETL*, 1978, pp. 104–118.

¹⁶ Job 7:10—He did not return to his house (οὐ μὴ ε—πιστρέψῃ εἰ—ς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον); *3Macc* 5:21, 34; 6:27; 7:8, 18, 20; *P.Brem.* 40, 5: καταλιπεῖ—ν εἰ—ς τὴν ι—δίαν αὐτῆς οἰ—κίαν. For his son’s *epikrisis*, Horion sends a dinner invitation (καλεῖ— σε εἰ—ς τὴν ι—δίαν οἰ—κίαν, *P.Oxy.* 2792, 4); likewise at the supper of Sarapis (ε—ν τῇ ι—δίᾳ οἰ—κίᾳ, *P.Oslo* 157, 4; *P.Oxy.* 523; *BGU* 2221, 10). The papyri offer this formula rather often: “from her house to ours” (ε—ξ οἴκου αὐτῆς εἰ—ς ι—δίας ἡμῶ—ν, *P.Erl.* 67, 12; *P.Fouad* 53, 2; *P.Köln* 103, 8; *P.Warr.* 10, 11; *PSI* 1340, 7; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 1, 6). The Fates snatched the scribe Ammonius from his home (οἴκων ε—ξ ι—δίων, *SEG* XV, 853, 7). Cf. *Gen* 14:14—τοὺς ι—δίους οἰ—κογενεῖ—ς αὐτοῦ, the men born in his own home; Philo, *Cherub.* 99; *Migr. Abr.* 185, 195; *Dreams* 1.56, 149; *Moses* 1.150; *Spec. Laws* 3.138; *Good Man Free* 85; *To Gaius* 123.

¹⁷ Cf. *Exod* 19:5; *Deut* 7:6; *Ps* 135:4; *1Pet* 2:9. Cf. J. Jervell, “‘Er kam in sein Eigentum’: Zu Joh. I, 11,” in *ST*, vol. 10, 1965, pp. 14–27. On ἔρχομαι, cf. E. Arnens, *The HΛON-Sayings in the Synoptic Tradition*, Fribourg-Göttingen, 1976.

¹⁸ *P.Fay.* 136, 9: ἄμινον ὑμα—ς ε—ν τοι—ς ι—δίοις οἷς ε—άν τύχοι εἶναι ἢ ε—πὶ ξένης (“It is better to be at home than abroad, whatever the circumstances may be”); *P.Oxy.* 1680, 5: “I pray God . . . that we may welcome you again to the house in good health” (ὕγιαίνοντί σε ἀπολαβεῖ—ν ε—ν τοι—ς ι—δίοις).

¹⁹ Josephus, *War* 1.666: ἀναπέμπειν ἕκαστον εἰ—ς τὰ ἴδια; 4.528; *Ant.* 7.362: “Solomon ordered him to return to his house” (εἰ—ς τὴν ι—δίαν οἰ—κίαν ἀπελθει—ν); 8.405: Micaiah had predicted that the men would return home in peace (ἀναστρέψειν εἰ—ς τὰ ἴδια); 8.416; Appian, *Hisp.* 23: ἀπέλυε τοὺς αἰ—χμαλώτους εἰ—ς τὰ ἴδια; *Peripl. Erythr.* 65: ἀπαίρουσιν εἰ—ς τὰ ἴδια εἰ—ς τοὺς ε—σωτέρους τόπους (ed. H. Frisk, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Göteborg, 1927, p. 21, cf. p. 66). *I.Cret.* IV, 168, 18: “Hermias asked that we let him return home” (ἀθέμεν αὐτόν ε—ς τὴν ι—δίαν); *P.Apoll.* 26, 12: “Let everyone return home” (ἕκαστος εἰ—ς τὰ ἴδια); *SB* 6002, 9.

²⁰ *P.Kroll* I, 4 (= *SB* 9316), an ordinance of a Ptolemy in 186 or 104 BC, καταπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὰς ἰδίας, ἀπολελυμένους; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 41, 4 (of Ptolemy Euergetes II; 154 BC): καταπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὰς ἰδίας, those who have fled shall return home and take up their former activities, n. 43 bis 8; 53 ter 7; *P.Tebt.* 5, 7 (118 BC).

²¹ The apostles will seek secure shelter. M. J. Lagrange (on this text) comments: “The dispersion εἰς τὰ ἴδια (cf. 9:27) is incontestably synonymous with ‘to the house’ (Esth 5:10; 6:12; cf. 3Macc 5:21 and 6:27). But here John meant more broadly ‘each his own way,’ because the disciples did not return at once to Galilee (chapter 20), and it does not seem that they were guests at private homes in Jerusalem,” hence “to different places”; cf. 1Kgs 22:17; 1Macc 6:54. E. Fascher, “Johannes XVI, 32: Eine Studie zur Schriftauslegung und zur Traditions-geschichte des Urchristentums,” in *ZNW*, 1940, pp. 171–230.

²² Matt 14:13, 23; 17:1, 19; 20:17; 24:3; Mark 6:31–32; 9:2; Luke 9:10; 10:23; Acts 23:19; Gal 2:2; Josephus, *War* 2.25: examine in private; 2.109: “Celados took him aside”; 3.407; 4.159, 346: “in secret”; *Ant.* 15.87; 16.201; *Life* 110: “taking him aside.”

²³ 1Cor 12:11; Philo, *Contemp. Life* 85; *Flacc.* 21, 32; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.138; 15.82.

²⁴ John 1:42; *P.Erl.* 36, 9; *P.Ant.* 94, 3; *P.Mil.* 61, 2; *SB* 9444, 2; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.249; 11.300; —sister, *CII* 43; *P.Warr.* 21, 4.

²⁵ *CII* 124; *PSI* 1412, 1; *SB* 10772; grandmother (*GIBM*, n. 636, 8); country (John 4:44). Cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 738 B 5: ἀξίως τοῦ ἰδίου δάμου.

²⁶ Acts 24:24; 1Esdr 4:25, τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα; *CII* 166: τῆ ἰδία συμβίῳ; 139; *SEG* XVII, 468, 3; T. Drew-Bear, *Phrygie*, IV, 24, 27, 37; Josephus, *War* 1.483; 2.237; *Ant.* 8.368. — *CII* 299: τῷ ἰδίῳ συμβίῳ; 1Cor 7:2; 14:35; Titus 2:5; 1Pet 3:1, 5; H. W. Pleket, *Rijksmuseum*, n. II, 2: ἰδίῳ συμβίῳ; III, 2: τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρί (I, 3: ἰδία γυνή). Cf. E. Schwertheim, *Die Inschriften von Kyzichos und Umgebung*, Bonn, 1980, n. 166: τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρί; 261: τῆ ἰδία γυναῖκί; 373: τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρί.

²⁷ One’s own son, Philo, *Virtues* 132; Josephus, *War* 1.665; *Ant.* 1.215; *CII* 112; *P.Oxy.* 3313, 19; *SB* 8359, 3. Daughter, *SEG* II, 294, 8; *CII* 185; a ward: θρεπτῷ ἰδίῳ (ibid. 3 and 144); farmer (γεωργός; *BGU* 1589, 2; 1780, 14).

²⁸ Acts 4:23, referring to the disciples; cf. Mark 4:34—τοις ἰδίοις μαθηταῖς; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.178: τῶν ἰδίων μαθητῆ; cf. *P.Athen.* 11, 4: τῶν ἰδίων ὑπηρετῶν.

²⁹ Philo, *Moses* 1.177; *Flacc.* 111: “Banus disembarked from the boat with his men,” 112, 117; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.175, 191, 210, 218, 264; *War* 1.192; *P.Mich.* 502, 13.

³⁰ Josephus, *War* 1.42, 149; *P.Oxy.* 2603, 28; cf. the *proskynemata* for “their own,” *SB* 7932, 6; 8142, 3; 8673, 6; *MAMA* vol., 87, 5: dedication to Apollo Lykios made ὑπὲρ εαυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων, made by οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ τρικωμῖα; T. Drew-Bear, *Phrygie*, pp. 36, 38, 41, 43; *IGLS* 1322–1327.

³¹ 1Tim 5:8—“If anyone does not take care of his own (*ton idion*) and especially those of his household”; Philo, *To Gaius* 272: “Recognize those who are there: they are all your own (ἴδιοι πάντες εἰσί), friends, freedmen, servants. They are the ones who hold most closely to you, and you to them”; Josephus, *War* 1.537: his own relatives (τῶν ἰδίων συγγενῶν); *Ant.* 1.297: γονεῖς); 12.392 and 16.327 = friends; *P.Oxy.* 3314, 15: in such circumstances, “a man’s true friends are found out” (εὐρίσκονται οἱ ἴδιοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου).

³² John 6:37; 17:6; cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 143–149.

³³ John 19:27 (cf. *P.Bon.* 29, 13: λαβειν παρά σου τὸν ἴδιον ον—). F. M. Braun (*La Mère des fidèles*, Tournai-Paris, 1953, pp. 124–129) presents four possible translations: (1) “the disciple took her into his home”; (2) “received her into his home” (λαμβάνω can mean “take” or “welcome”); (3) “he received her into his property,” as an inheritance, in the spiritual sense: of faith and love; (4) “he received (or took) her as his possession” (French *pour son bien*); εἰς can be the equivalent of the Hebrew *lamed*, corresponding to the conjunction *ώς* (cf. Acts 7:53). F. M. Braun prefers the second, or better, the third translation. He is followed by I. de la Potterie, “La Parole de Jésus ‘Voici ta Mère’ et l’accueil du Disciple (Jn. XIX, 27 b),” in *Marianum*, 1974, pp. 1–39 (taken up by J. Gnllka, *Neue Testament und Kirche: Festschrift R. Schnackenburg*, Freiburg, 1974, pp. 191–219), and R. Schnackenburg, *John*, vol. 3, pp. 279, 458–459, but refuted by F. Neiryck, “ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΙΔΙΑ: Jn XIX, 27 (et XVI, 32),” in *ETL*, 1979, pp. 357–365. Cf. R. E. Brown, “The ‘Mother of Jesus’ in the Fourth Gospel,” in M. De Jonge, *L’Evangile de Jean*, Gembloux-Louvain, 1977, pp. 307–310. In effect, *idia* refers generally to the legal domicile, but less as a territory (place of origin, birth) than as a community where one is enrolled (ἀναγραφόμενος), where one has rights to claim or is held to obligations

(M. Hombert, C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l’Égypte romaine*, Leiden, 1952, pp. 68ff.). The term connotes the inhabitants of a house rather than the house itself (cf. ἀναχώρησις, withdrawal from legal obligations, H. Braunert, “ΙΔΙΑ: Studien zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte des ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten,” in *JJP*, vol. 9–10, 1955–56, pp. 211–328).

³⁴ Cf. Matt 12:49; Mark 3:35; Luke 8:21. The best commentary on John 19:27 is still that of M. J. Lagrange. One may fruitfully read A. Feuillet, “Les Adieux du Christ à sa mère (Jn. XIX, 25–27) et la maternité spirituelle de Marie,” in *NRT*, 1964, pp. 469–489; A. Feuillet, “L’Heure de la femme Jn XVI, 21) et l’heure de la Mère de Jésus (Jn XIX, 25–27),” in *Bib*, 1966, pp. 557–573; especially F. Neiryck, “La Traduction d’un verset johannique: Jn XIX, 27 b,” in *ETL*, 1981, pp. 83–106.

ι—διώτης

idiotes, private individual, lay person, non-expert

idiotes, S 2399; *TDNT* 3.215–217; *EDNT* 2.172–173; *NIDNTT* 2.456–457; *MM* 299; *L&N* 27.26; *BAGD* 370

The very diverse usages of this word are all homogeneous.

I. — The commonest sense corresponds to the French *particulier*, meaning “private individual” (*SB* 8232, 18; 8299, 52; 8444, 27, 54), as opposed to “officials” (*SB* 3924, 9, 25), persons charged with public offices, notably the king¹ and the magistrates.² Sometimes reference is to a common citizen (Thucydides 1.124.1; *NCIG*, n. 7, II, 6; *P.Fay.* 19, 12), sometimes to a taxpayer, as opposed to a tax collector (*P.Hib.* 198, 168, 170; *P.Ryl.* 111 a 17), sometimes to a miscellaneous unnamed person (*P.Tebt.* 812, 10: *ta ton idioton*, the affairs of private individuals; *P.Ryl.* 572, 65, 73). By extension the sense can be pejorative: a common person, a vulgar person, of the lowest social class,³ even a slave (*Stud.Pal.* IV, 306, p. 68).

II. — *Idiotes* refers to anyone who has no training or specialty, and therefore is contrasted with experts and professionals (cf. Hyperides, *Ath.* 9.19: “on every other occasion, there is nothing of the beginner about him”); for example, the lay person as compared to the physician,⁴ the “common soldier” as compared to the officer,⁵ the amateur as compared to the professional (Xenophon, *Eq. Mag.* 8.1), the layman as compared to the philosopher⁶ or the poet (Alexis, frag. 269.1; cited by Athenaeus 2.28 c) or the orator⁷—it is in this sense that St. Paul declares himself *idiotes en logo*,⁸ the lay person as compared to the priest;⁹ hence, any person who is

unexperienced or who does not know the technique, as compared to the expert and the specialist (Epictetus 2.12.11; Plutarch, *De gen.* 1), that is, the “uninitiated.” According to 1Cor 14:16, the *idiotes* does not understand anything that the glossalaliac says, he has no grasp of this language¹⁰ and cannot respond “yes” (*amen* with the article), cannot join in a prayer the sense of which escapes him. It is in the same sense of the word that the members of the Sanhedrin note that Peter and John are *anthropoi agrammatoi . . . kai idiotai*,¹¹ that is, common people, of a lower social class; hence uncultured, unlettered, unschooled.

III. — Finally, any person who does not belong to a given group and does not know its mindset and customs can be called *idiotes*, a foreigner vis-à-vis nationals.¹² If, for example, at Corinth, in the middle of a charismatic meeting, “uninitiated persons or unbelievers should enter the church, will they not say that you are mad?” (1Cor 14:23).

¹ A gloss of the LXX on Prov 6:8b—“Kings and commoners (βασιλει—ς καὶ ἰ—διω—ται) use honey for their health”; *Ep. Arist.* 288: “What is better for the peoples, to get a king from the ranks of simple commoners or a king who is son of a king?”; 289: “Certain common people . . . from the day they gain authority over the crowd, they end up being more malicious than impious tyrants”; Philo, *Decalogue* 40: “God did not want any king ever to scorn the obscure private individual”; Josephus, *War* 1.665: Herod, “a simple commoner, rose to the throne”; 2.178; *SEG IX*, 73, 10 (second-first century BC). For the morphology and semantics, cf. G. Redard, *Les Noms grecs en -THΣ, -TIS*, pp. 6ff., 28ff., 224ff. *Very numerous literary and inscriptional references in H. Schlier, on this word in TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 215–217. Add Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.10–33, distinguishing private entrepreneurs (οἰ—ἰ—διω—ται) from public undertakings (τὸ δημόσιον); Polybius 5.35.5: his personal servants; *m. Sanh.* 10.2; *BGU* 123, 13; 137, 10; *P.Oxy.* 1101, 6; *PSI* 236, 31; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 194: “a lawyer found among the private individuals”; *P.Fouad* 59, 5; *P.Oslo* 16, 6; *P.Tebt.* 736, 30; 769, 19 (third century BC); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 12, 6; *P.Meyer* 9, 10.

² Plato, *Plt.* 259 a, b; Hyperides, *Dem.* 26; Epictetus 3.24.99: ἄρχοντας ἢ ἰ—διώτην; Diodorus Siculus 19.3.3: “Agathocles, sometimes as a common soldier, sometimes as an officer (ποτὲ μὲν ἰ—διώτης ὄν, ποτὲ δὲ ε—φ ἡγεμονίας) gained a reputation for effectiveness and capability” (same sense, Polybius 5.60.3); 19.52.4: Cassander orders that the education of the son of Roxane “should no longer be that of a king but that of a common person (ἀλλ ἰ—διώτου)”; 19.9.1: Agathocles, discharged of his burden, wants to live henceforth as a common individual; Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 11.17; 12.2; *Cic.* 26.8: “tomorrow you will be no more than a common person”; Diodorus Siculus 17.65.4: a common soldier, as in Polybius

5.60.3. *I.Lind.* 419, 120; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 305, 71; *Or.* 383, 188 (Antiochus I of Commagene); an order of the *dioiketes* of Egypt on 1 April 278, to “appoint overseers, chosen as usual to supervise these works from among the magistrates or the private persons” (*P.Oxy.* 1490, 14); J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 13, 14. “Private persons,” witnesses in acts of manumission, are distinguished from priests and rulers, *CII* 709–711; *I.Ilium*, n. 36, 14.

³ Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 11: “if you are a common person, a tanner, a fishmonger, a carpenter, a money-changer”; Philo, *Dreams* 2.21: “binding sheaves is a task for laborers . . . reaping for masters and competent farmers”; Philo, *Husbandry* 4; *P.Berl.Zill.*, n. 1, 20 (second century BC), with the correction of *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 3, p. 30. Cf. the contrasting of the *ι—διώτης* and the *σεμνός*, Plutarch, *De frat. amor.* 4.

⁴ Plato, *Tht.* 178 a; Thucydides 2.48.3: “I leave it to each one, physician or layperson (*ι—ατρὸς καὶ ι—διώτης*) to form an opinion concerning the disease”; Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 22: “Physicians are affected just like the *idiotai* (those who know nothing about medicine).”

⁵ Polybius 1.69.11; Dittenberger, *Or.* 609.12; *P.Hib.* 30, 21; *P.Sorb.* 14. a 7; *P.Hamb.* 26, 10; 183, 3, 15; 189, 6, 11, 30; *P.Yale* 27, 7. Cf. M. Launey, *Armées hellénistiques*, vol. 2, p. 1276 (on this word).

⁶ Plato, *Tim.* 20 a; Epictetus 3.19, 1; 3.7.1: “It is right that we, the secular, should interrogate you, the philosophers”; Philo, *Good Man Free* 3; Atticus, frag. 7.1: “It is obvious not only for philosophers, but perhaps even for all the secular folk, *τοι—ς ι—διώταις ἄπασιν*”; cf. frag. 2.9: “low, small-minded ideas, such as one would expect from a vulgar, uncultured person (*ι—διώτης καὶ ἀπαίδευτος*), an adolescent, or a woman.”

⁷ Isocrates, *Paneg.* 4.11: “conversations that surpass the level of the crowd (*ι—διω—ται* = non-specialists)”; Hyperides, *Lyc.* 16.20: “I, your fellow citizen, I, who here feel as if I were a layperson, unused to speaking”; *Eux.* 40.30: “while he is a simple layman, your pursuit places him on the level of an orator”; Epictetus 2.12.2: “Put whichever of us you please in the presence of a layman as an interlocutor”; 2.13.3.

⁸ 2Cor 11:6. His ignorance of oratorical art consists of his not conforming to the rules of contemporary rhetoric; he is a “layman” with regard to language, as opposed to the professionals; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.271, where Moses says to the Lord: *ι—διώτης ἀνήρ καὶ μηδεμια—ς ι—σχύος εὐπορω—ν ἢ πείσω λόγους τοὺς οι—κείους ἀφέντας*.

⁹ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.134: “a purity that consists only of the absence of willful sinning is only accepted for simple lay persons, and perhaps if you will for ordinary priests . . . ; but the high priest . . .”; *Drunkenness* 126: “you would no longer be able to remain a simple lay person, and you would attain to the highest order in the hierarchy, the priesthood”; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 736, 15–20; 1013, 6; *Or.* 90, 52; *P.Mert.* 26, 19. But ι—διώτης in religious regulations is used as a technical term for the person who comes to offer a sacrifice: τὸν ἀναφερόμενον ὑπὸ τω—ν ι—διωτω—ν (*LSAM*, n. 34, 26; cf. 24 A 27; idem, *LSCG*, n. 119, 6: ε—ὰν δὲ ι—διώτης θύῃ δίδοσθαι τω— ι—ερεϊ—; 120, 5; 154 B 37: ι—διώται θύοντι θεοι—ς ἢ θεαι—ς; 164, 2); the vestments that he must wear are prescribed (n. 65, 17), the place that he must take in the procession (92, 38), his monetary obligations (107, 3; 117, 5), his rights (*LSCG Sup*, n. 38 A 28–29), the ban on cutting trees or branches (81, 3), etc. *Idios* places the emphasis on that which is proper to a being, a particular name, a special designation, etc., cf. Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 3.2, 3.9, 3.14, 12.23–24.

¹⁰ Cf. the English *idiot* and the rabbinic transliteration *fwøydḥ* = the lay person, especially ignorant when compared to the expert in the law; cf. Str-B, vol. 3, pp. 454ff. Cf. ι—διωτικός, a stupid argument (Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 17.42).

¹¹ Acts 4:13; cf. E. Jacquier, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, Paris, 1926, on this text; M. Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts*, Oxford, 1965, p. 101. In Latin, the *idiota* is an unlettered person, one who has no literary education, who has master no science or field of study. In the patristic literature, Christian *idiotae*, taught by divine revelation, become wiser than the philosophers and teachers in spiritual knowledge, cf. G. Oury, “*Idiota*,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 8, col. 1242–1248.

¹² Cf. Aristophanes, *Ran.* 456–459; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 37, 3; 987, 28; *Or.* 483, 71.

ι—εροπρεπής

hieroprepes, reverent and dignified

hieroprepes, S 2412; *TDNT* 3.253–254; *EDNT* 2.176; MM 300; L&N 53.6; BDF §119(4); BAGD 372

Apparently unknown in the papyri, this biblical hapax is used to describe the conduct of the older Cretans in Titus 2:3—*en katastemati hieroprepeis*. In the inscriptions, the adjective describes religious

processions and functions,¹ such that the bearing of Christians would be analogous to the dignity and restraint of priestesses officiating in a temple,² likely to inspire respect, even veneration.

But the extension of the term—from the language of religion to daily life at home—seems to be the work of Philo, who uses this word quite often. In the first instance he reserves it for God, God's mysteries, oracles, and commandments, and prayers addressed to God;³ but he applies it also to the ethical life: “the offering of fasting and perseverance rises as the most holy and most perfect of offerings” (*Migr. Abr.* 98). Holiness (*hosiotēs*) is not only consecration to the service of God, but sanctification of the spirit (*Good Man Free* 75). Virtue (*aretē*), which seems to hold a woman's rank, spreads abroad the good seed of principles that are useful in life, so that “the art of thinking receives holy and divine seed” (*Abraham* 101). Those who dedicate to God their thoughts, their words, their feelings “maintain them as truly sacred and holy objects for their possessor, *hieroprepes kai hagion ontos phylaxantes to ktesameno*” (*Heir* 110). “The mind (*ho nous*) takes Virtue as its wife, because it has understood that her beauty is authentic and free of artifice, perfectly suited to a holy person (*hieroprepestaton*)” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 45).

The same meaning is found again in 4Macc 9:25, where the oldest of the Maccabean brothers is described as “the noble young man, *ho eugenes neanias*” (verse 13), defender of the law of God (verse 15), true son of Abraham and courageous (verse 21), a fighter of the battle for *eusebeia* (verse 23); finally “the saintly young man gave up the ghost.” *Ho hieroprepes neanias* sums up all the above-mentioned qualities; cf. 11:20.

Hence Titus 2:3 sees that Christians, consecrated to Christ by baptism and officiating in some way in the home, carry out a sacred function, a liturgy that unfolds in the presence of God; their holy life is characterized by a remarkable dignity, profound respect toward all, a very religious sense of God, “ut ipse quoque earum incessus et motus, vultus, sermo, silentium, quamdam decoris sacri praeferant dignitatem” (“that even their very gait, movement, aspect, speech, silence may manifest a certain dignity of holy grace,” St. Jerome).

¹ *I.Priene* 109, 216: Panathenian procession (second century BC); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 708, 23: πομπαι—ς ι—εροπρεπέσιν (before 100 BC). In 160/59, Euboulos of Marathon, “designated by lot for the priesthood of Dionysus, accomplished in a decorous and pious fashion (καλω—ς και ι—εροπρεπω—ς) . . . all the processions and all the sacrifices for the Athenians and the Romans” (F. Durrbach, *Choix*, n. 79, 21); *IGLAM* 1143, 3: ι—εροπρεπω—ς και φιλοδόξως; *I.Sard.* n. 5, 4; 53, 6. Cf. Xenophon, *Symp.* 8.40: “During their feast, you carry out your sacred functions in a manner even more worthy than your ancestors, you prevail through your

noble bearing . . .”; Dio Chrysostom 56.46: “A decree ordered that the tribunes of the people, whose persons were sacrosanct (ὡς καὶ ἱεροπρεπεῖς ὄντες), should celebrate the *Augustales*”; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.329: a religious reception by the priests and the mass of citizens; *Ag. Apion* 1.140: decoration of the gates in a fashion befitting their holiness; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 3.31: magical operations.

² Cf. Menander’s doorkeeper (*Dysk.* 496) who wants to appear fashionable and uses various greetings for various visitors: “I address a woman of uncertain age as ‘priestess’ (ἱέρεια).” At the Council of Laodicea, in 360 (canon 11), the πρεσβύτειδες seem to be members of a religious order, cf. H. Grégoire, *Asie Mineure*, n. 167.

³ “No one is pure enough to celebrate the holy and sacrosanct mysteries, ὡς ται—ς ἁγίαις καὶ ἱεροπρεπέσι χρῆσθαι τελεται—ς” (Philo, *Dreams* 1.82; cf. *Unchang. God* 102); the Ten Commandments befit God’s holiness (*Decalogue* 175; cf. *Rewards* 101; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.204; *Moses* 2.25); the image of God in the soul is the most sacred of all (*Decalogue* 60; *Spec. Laws* 3.83); “God hears prayers that are offered very piously, ἱεροπρεστάτων εὐχῶ—ν” (*Rewards* 84); *Plant.* 25: “in love with natures that are lofty, very holy, blessed”; 162: sacred meals in the sanctuaries; *Creation* 99: the sacred character of the number seven.

ἱ—κανός, ἱ—κανότης, ἱ—κανόω

hikanos, sufficient, capable; *hikanotes*, sufficiency, enabling; *hikanoo*, to enable, make sufficient, capable

hikanos, S 2425; *TDNT* 3.293–296; *EDNT* 2.184; *NIDNTT* 3.728–729; MM 302; L&N 25.96, 59.2, 59.12, 59.44, 67.91, 75.2, 78.14, 78.50; BDF §§5(3b), 131, 187(8), 379, 393(4), 405(2); BAGD 374 | ***hikanotes***, S 2426; *TDNT* 3.293–296; *EDNT* 2.185; *NIDNTT* 3.728–729; L&N 75.1; BAGD 374 | ***hikanoo***, S 2427; *TDNT* 3.293–296; *EDNT* 2.185; *NIDNTT* 3.728–729; MM 302; L&N 75.3; BAGD 374

These derivatives of *hiko*, *hikneomai*, “reach, arrive, attain,”¹ are not all used with the same frequency,² and they took on different meanings in classical Greek and in Koine. It is roughly correct that *hikanos* means “capable of” in speaking of persons and “sufficient” in speaking of things, but this sufficiency or capacity varies from “not very” to “much.” In the LXX, the most common corresponding Hebrew is hardly illuminating: *day*, “sufficiency, that which is enough or appropriate.” For example, looters steal what they need (Obad 5; cf. Hab 2:13), and the lion carries off what

its young need.³ Sometimes the well-bred person gets by on little food (Sir 31:18); or “there are three things which are not satisfied and which never say ‘enough’ (*hikanon*, Hebrew *hon*): the sterile womb, the ground without water, and fire”;⁴ sometimes—most commonly in late texts—the sufficient is that which satisfies,⁵ or a large enough amount, whether with respect to years (Zech 7:3; 1Macc 16:3; 2Macc 1:20) or duration (2Macc 7:5; 8:25), money (2 Macc 4:45; Josephus, *Life* 68) and equipment,⁶ or a multitude of persons.⁷

This is the almost constant meaning⁸ of the verb *hikanoomai*, which ordinarily corresponds to the Hebrew *rab* and can be translated “it is enough, it suffices”⁹ or even “it is too much.” Elijah beseeches God: “It is too much, Yahweh; take my life” (1Kgs 19:4); “thus says the Lord Yahweh: it is too much (*hikanoustho*), princes of Israel! Get rid of oppression” (Ezek 45:9).

The NT attests these meanings, from “it is enough”¹⁰ to “numerous, many”: “a numerous herd of pigs (*choiron hikanon*) that were feeding” (Luke 8:32); Herod “asked Jesus numerous questions” (*en logois hikanois*, 23:9); “there were many lamps in the upstairs room.”¹¹ The members of the Sanhedrin “gave a large sum of money to the soldiers”¹² who guarded Jesus’ tomb. The adjective is used particularly with respect to meetings of people (“a numerous crowd”)¹³ and a long or rather long time, whether in days or years.¹⁴ for a number of years St. Paul had wanted to go to Rome (Rom 15:23).

It is Philo who fleshed out the sense of *hikanos* as “capable of” in applying it to people; he gave it the nuances of being apt,¹⁵ particular to (*Spec. Laws* 4.188), equal to (*To Gaius* 257), gifted for, in a position to do (*Flight* 40); seeds “are capable of producing plants like those which produced them” (*Unchang. God* 40; *Drunkenness* 212; *Cherub.* 65); at seven years, “a person is able to interpret nouns and verbs of familiar language.”¹⁶ It even becomes a noble term, since it is used frequently for intelligence and for the soul capable of receiving wisdom,¹⁷ or for magistrates skilled at governing and gaining honors.¹⁸ What is more, *hikanos* is introduced into the religious vocabulary, as with the prophet Jeremiah, a “worthy hierophant” (*hierophantes hikanos*),¹⁹ and especially God, who is sufficient unto himself (*hikanos autos heauto ho theos*).²⁰ This Philonian axiom is probably inspired by the translation errors of the LXX, which took *Shaddai* to mean “the sufficient one” as a designation of the “All-Powerful” God (Ruth 1:20-21; Job 21:15; 31:2; 40:2; Ezek 1:24): “The voice of Shaddai” comes out *phone hikanou*.

The grammar, even the theology, is the same as that which inspired John the Baptist: “The one who comes after me is stronger than I (*ischyroteros*, a divine attribute; Jer 32:18; Dan 9:4); I am not worthy (*ouk eimi hikanos*) to loose his sandals” (Matt 3:11; Mark 1:7; Luke 3:16). Also, the centurion at Capernaum: “I am not worthy (*ouk eimi hikanos hina*) that

you should enter my house” (Matt 8:8; Luke 7:6); and St. Paul: “I am not worthy to be called an apostle.”²¹ After all, “who is sufficient” (*tis hikanos*) for such a ministry (2Cor 2:16)? The apostle specifies: “It is not that we ourselves are of sufficient capability (*hikanoi esmen*) to be able to chalk up anything to our own credit as coming from ourselves; but our qualification (*hikanotes*) comes from God, who has made us sufficient (*hos kai hikanosen*) to be ministers of a new covenant not of the letter but of the spirit” (2Cor 3:5-6). Similarly, God has made Christians equal (*to hikanosanti*) to sharing the lot of the holy ones (angels) in the light (Col 1:12). Finally, Paul writes to Timothy: “What you have heard from me in the presence of many witnesses you must entrust (like a deposit, *parathou*) to faithful men who will themselves be capable of instructing yet others” (*pistoi anthropois, hoitines hikanoi esontai kai heterous didaxai*, 2Tim 2:2). A “first sketch” of the apostolic succession has been seen here,²² guaranteeing a seamless continuity from Paul to Timothy (*kai ha ekousas par’ emou*) and to Timothy’s hearers. The integrity of the gospel message is guaranteed, because the depositaries of the tradition are men of proven faith and faithfulness and because they are gifted and competent to communicate this teaching precisely; here *hikanotes* is not only a human aptitude that makes a person worthy, up to the task at hand, but is also a divine enabling. It is God who qualifies his ministers (2Cor 3:5-6).

There may be a legal nuance at Mark 15:15—“Pilate, wishing to satisfy the people,²³ released Barabbas to them and handed over Jesus ...” probably by virtue of a customary Paschal amnesty of which we are made aware by two documents;²⁴ but *hikanos* surely has the sense of “surety, guarantee” in Acts 17:9, where it is said that the politarchs “took surety²⁵ from Jason and the others and let them go.” The use of the adjective is well attested in a legal context and even in the literal sense of “guarantee.”²⁶ We do not know whether the *hikanon* given by Jason was a monetary payment, cash bail, or a promise to the officials not to disturb the public order with gospel preaching, but certainly it was a commitment by way of a stipulation taken by one person with respect to another, that is, a security.²⁷ Cf. *BGU* 530, 38 (first century AD): a security is sought by tax collectors, ἀπαίτιται (*sic*) ὑπὸ τω—ν πρακτόρων ι—κανόν; *P.Ryl.* 77, 30: a security was given for a municipal office; *P.Lips.* 32, 15 (= *P.Stras.* 41, 51, contesting an inheritance): “the rhetor Antoninus said, ‘They wish to deposit a security’ (ι—κανὸν διδόασιν). Hermanoubis said, ‘They should pay the security’ (ι—κανὰ παρασχέτωσαν).”{NOTEEND} Thus in AD 22, Sarapion informs his brother Dorion that, by order of the prefect,²⁸ two officials have been incarcerated until the opening of the session, “unless they persuade the chief bailiff to accept bail for them until the session.”²⁹ In the course of a trial, the *strategos* declares to Imouthe, “These two shall both pay you a security” (*hikanon soi hoi duo houtoi dotosan*, *P.Oslo* 17, 17; second century).

² This etymology of ι—κάνός remains detectable in Lev 5:7; 12:8; 25:26: “If your hand does not reach sufficiency” = is not strong enough, does not have the means. Philo, *Dreams* 1.66: the possibility of reaching God and understanding him. *Hymn to Isis*: “may you reach (ἴκανεσ) Olympus, where the gods of heaven reside” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 175, col. III, 23).

³ The substantive ι—κάνότης is unknown in the LXX, Philo, Josephus, and the papyri.

⁴ Nah 2:13; cf. Isa 40:16—“Lebanon will not have enough to burn, and its beasts will not be a sufficient holocaust”; Prov 25:16—“If you have found honey, eat your fill of it”; Exod 36:7; Lev 25:28. With negation (οὐχ ι—κάνόν = *meat*): “Is it too little for you to have taken my husband, that you should want also to take my mandrakes for your son?” (Gen 30:15); “I am not able to speak either of yesterday or of the day before yesterday” (= I never knew, Exod 4:10). “It was too little for Ahab (niphāl of the Hebrew *qalal*) to walk in the sins of Jeroboam” (1Kgs 16:31); “Was it too little for you to feed in a good pasture?” (Ezek 34:18).

⁵ Prov 30:15; cf. 2Chr 30:3—“the priests were not sanctified in sufficient number” (Hebrew *maday*); Wis 18:12; 2Macc 10:19.

⁶ Gen 33:15—“It is enough that I find grace in the eyes of my lord”; Wis 18:25.

⁷ 1Macc 15:26; Philo, *Moses* 1.225. Cf. Eirenias, who gave “enough wood for the works mentioned” (honorific decree of Miletus, in *NCIG*, n. VII, 1, 8); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 736, 108.

⁸ 1Macc 13:11, 49; 2Macc 5:26; *Ep. Arist.* 13, 15, 21, 275; Josephus, *War* 4.444; *Ant.* 1.240; 5.250; 9.45; 13.29, 155; 14.231; *Life* 162.

⁹ Two exceptions: Gen 32:11—“I am too small (Hebrew *qaton*) for all of the justice and faithfulness you have shown your servant”; Mal 3:10—“if I will not pour out blessing for you until there is an abundance” (Hebrew *day*).

¹⁰ Num 16:7; Deut 1:6—“You have lived long enough on this mountain”; 2:3; 1Kgs 12:28; 1Chr 21:15; Ezek 44:6. Cf. *P. Tebt.* 20, 8: “If an accounting is required, consider yourself to have full power (ι—κάνωῆνα) until I arrive” (113 BC).

¹¹ At Gethsemane, when the apostles have only two swords, Jesus says: ἰκανόν ἐστιν, “it is enough” (Luke 22:38). “We may with Cyril of Alexandria suspect an indulgent smile, not without melancholy” (M. J. Lagrange, on this verse); 2Cor 2:6—“that is enough punishment” imposed by the community; it is an adequate sanction. Cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 776; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.126: “these arrangements are insufficient”; 3.147; *Abraham* 53, 199; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 36; *Unchang. God* 157; *Post. Cain* 21; *Plant.* 144; *Joseph* 178: sufficient supplies for the road; *Spec. Laws* 2.39; *To Gaius* 3; Josephus, *War* 2.144: enough (adequate) torture for their sin; 2.208; 4.116; *Ant.* 5.178; 15.311; 19.168; 20.251: that is enough on this subject; Epictetus 1.2.36: τοῦτό μοι ἰκανόν ἐστιν, “I am content with it”; *PSI* 1337, 19; *P.Oxy.* 2411, 50; 3358, 20; *SB* 6717, 11.

¹² Acts 20:8; cf. 20:37—“abundant tears”; 22:6; cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 307: “I am free and at ease”; *Ep. Arist.* 33: a quantity of (precious) stones; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.227; 4.3; *P.Oxy.* 2860, 4: “I sent numerous other letters”; *SB* 6789, 4: great gratitude; Vision of Maximus: “the abundant waves of the gentle Nile” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 168, 14).

¹³ Matt 28:12; cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.13: “God gives an abundant spring”; *Flacc.* 130: considerable expense; *P.Lille* 3, 76: considerable sums (third century BC); *P.Tebt.* 24, 2; 29, 12; *P.Cair.Isid.* 77, 26; *P.Mich.* 28, 18: Sosos does not have enough money to give to Pyrrichos (third century BC); 174, 13: “an estate that pays considerable revenues (ἰκανοὺς φόρους) to the imperial treasury”; *P.Oxy.* 3089, 24: upon the death of Petronius, Niger will be forced to repay the large sums (ἰκανὰ κεφάλαια) due according to the lease; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1106, 74, 77.

¹⁴ Mark 10:46; Luke 7:12; Acts 11:24, 26; 12:12—ἦσαν ἰκανοί = numerous people were gathered; 14:21—numerous disciples; 19:19, 26; 1Cor 11:30—a rather large number (weaker than πολλοί) of Corinthians had died; Polybius 1.53.8; Philo, *Joseph* 251; *BGU* 1994, 12: an important crowd is on the site = *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XX, 12; *P.Hib.* 198, 119: a sufficient police guard is adequate for the protection of private persons (cf. C. Kunderewicz, “Ad Papyrus Hibeh 198,” in *JJP*, vol. 15, 1965, pp. 139–143); *P.Oxy.* 3250, 22: a sufficient crew; *P.Tebt.* 41, 13: many among us; *SB* 6757, 8; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 569, 14.

¹⁵ Luke 8:27—the Gerasene demoniac “for a long time (χρόνω ἰκανω—) had not worn clothing”; 20:9—the owner of the vineyard left the country for a long time; 23:8—for a long time (ε—ξ ἰκανω—ν χρόνων), Herod had wanted to see Jesus; Acts 8:11; 14:3; 20:11; 27:9; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 665, 12; *UPZ* 161, 29; Acts 9:23—“a number of days went by”; 9:43; 18:18;

27:7—for long days, we sailed slowly; *UPZ* 162, col. II, 15. Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 109: ε—φ ι—κavόν = prolonging their stay; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.326; 7.22; *Ag. Apion* 1.100, 237; *BGU* 1770, 4; 1847, 21; 2063, 15; *P.Warr.* 13, 16: live a long time; *P.Thead.* 20, 12; *SB* 7339, 13; 8988, 9, 33.

¹⁶ Cf. Philostratus, *Gym.* 16: man is capable of or suited for wrestling, fighting, racing; cf. 56: muddy dust is capable of cleansing. *P.Mich.* 87, 3: the route that leads to pasture is good for slaughter; Josephus, *War* 7.165: “the nature of the place (Machaerus) was such as to inspire confidence in its occupants and hesitation and fear in its attackers.”

¹⁷ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.10; cf. *Worse Attacks Better* 66: ability to stand guard; *Post. Cain* 22; *Husbandry* 22, 93: capable of keeping horses; *Conf. Tongues* 17; *Flight* 97: of running fast; *Dreams* 2.153; *Joseph* 114, 142; *Moses* 1.63; *Spec. Laws* 1.21; *P.Oxy.* 1672, 15: you will be capable of judging everything; *P.Tebt.* 37, 18: “I am writing you so that you may be able to understand the matter” (ἵνα ι—κavός γένῃ; 73 BC).

¹⁸ *Worse Attacks Better* 30. 86, 106, 115; *Giants* 57: “when we shall have become capable of being initiated”; *Change of Names* 91; *Post. Cain* 146: the teachings that the disciple is capable of receiving; *Migr. Abr.* 140: capable of teaching; *Heir* 125; *Flight* 172; cf. *Alleg. Interp.* 3.31: intelligence is not capable of helping itself; *Worse Attacks Better* 43, 61; *Post. Cain* 42; *Drunkenness* 166; *Migr. Abr.* 92; *Spec. Laws* 1.334; *Good Man Free* 47.

¹⁹ *Conf. Tongues* 112; *Joseph* 270; *Rewards* 51; cf. Josephus, *War* 3.352: “Nicanor was skilled at guessing the truth”; 4.230, 638; *Ant.* 2.80—Joseph’s extreme sagacity; 3.49; 4.14: Korah, a skilled orator; 5.51: the men most capable of acting in the people’s interest; 7.237: a very capable general; 7.391; 10.50: completely competent; 10.187, 239; *Life* 40: a skillful demagogue; *Ag. Apion* 1.183: Hecataeus of Abdera, a consummate man of affairs; *P.Oxy.* 1672, 15; *SB* 9840, 13: a capable man.

²⁰ *Cherub.* 49; *Migr. Abr.* 21: Joseph is strong enough to love God; 201: “capable of seeing God”; *Heir* 39; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 10: “Who would be able to conceive the passage of a perfect soul to the one who is?”; *Worse Attacks Better* 124; *Post. Cain* 16; *Drunkenness* 32; *Dreams* 2.25. Created being has a very limited capacity with regard to divine realities: “no created being is able to give God a gift in exchange for his gifts” (*Cherub.* 123; cf. 16; *Prelim. Stud.* 9; *Flight* 163, 202, 213); *Plant.* 31, 42; *Change of Names* 15; *Moses* 1.304; *Spec. Laws* 2.17; *Creation* 20: “What other place than the divine powers would be found adequate to receive and lodge so pure an idea?”; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.164.

²¹ *Alleg. Interp.* 1.44; 3.171; *Cherub.* 46; *Change of Names* 27, 46; *Heir* 15, 23. Cf. Plato, *Lysis* 215 a: “The one who is sufficient unto himself has no need of anything insofar as he is sufficient” (κατὰ τὴν ἰ—κανότητα).

²² 1Cor 15:9. Cf. in a marriage contract, the intermediaries are qualified men: ἀνδρῶ—ν ἰ—κανῶ—ν μεσιτῶ—ν (*P.Dura* 30, 13); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 10, 13: ἰ—κανὸν ὄντα, qualification for a *leitourgia*; *PSI* 1100, 12; *P.Princ.* 78, 6: ἐ—πὶ ἐ—πτὰ μαρτύρων ἰ—κανῶ—ν; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 5, 9; *SB* 9806, 3.

²³ A. M. Javierre (*Bib*, 1975, p. 433); idem, “Pistoi Anthropoi’ (II Tim. II, 2),” in *AnBib*, vol. 18, Rome, 1963, pp. 109–118.

²⁴ Τὸ ἰ—κανὸν ποιῆσαι (a Latinism, *satisfacere alicui*); cf. Philo, *Dreams* 2.73; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.451; Polybius 32.7.13; *P.Giss.* 40, col. I, 5; *P.Oxy.* 293, 10; *PSI* 1114, 8; *BGU* 1141, 13; *SB* 8393, 19.

²⁵ *P.Flor.* 61, 61 (from AD 85): χαρίζομαι δέ σε τοι—ς ὄχλοις καὶ φιλανθρωποτερός (cf. *indulgentia*) σοι ἔσομαι (cf. *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 80; A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 269–270; on the ἐ—πιβόησις of the Hellenes and the ἀναβόησις of Mark 15:8, cf. Acts 3:14; cf. J. Colin, *Les Villes libres de l’orient gréco-romain et l’envoi au supplice par acclamations populaires*, Brussels, 1965, pp. 13ff.); *b. Pesah* 8.6a (cf. 91a) includes among the persons who have the right to sacrifice the paschal lamb “the one who has been promised release from prison”; cf. C. B. Chavel, “The Releasing of a Prisoner on the Eve of Passover in Ancient Jerusalem,” in *JBL* 1941, pp. 275–278; J. Blinzler, *Trial of Jesus*, pp. 218–221.

²⁶ Τὸ ἰ—κανὸν λαμβάνειν; Philo, *Giants* 35; Josephus, *War* 2.340; Dittenberger, *Or.* 484, 50; 629, 101.

²⁷ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.208: “It suffices (*hikanon*) to the creature to take the divine word as guarantee and witness”; *Drunkenness* 188; *To Gaius* 37: “I have given enough pledges of my friendship to Caesar”; *P.Cair.Isid.* 66, 20 (to the prefect of Egypt): “I ask you to command that they supply guarantees (ἰ—κανά) so long as they are here”; *P.Eleph.* 8, 20: οὐ—τος δὲ δυνατός ἐ—στιν εἰ—σενέγκαι καὶ ἔγγυον ἰ—κανόν (first century); *P.Tebt.* 746, 16: “having left enough grain (τὸν ἰ—κανὸν σι—τον) for the money payable on past debts” (third century BC).

²⁸ Probably Galerius, cf. J. Lesquier, *L’Armée romaine d’Egypte*, Cairo, 1918, p. 510, n. 5.

²⁹ *P. Oxy.* 294, 23, ε—άν μή τι πίσωσι τὸ ἀρχιστράτορα δοῦναι εἰ—κανὸν ἕως ε—πὶ διαλογισμὸν; cf. *P. Lips.* 36, 8: τοὺς παραδοθέντας μοι ὑπὸ ἀπὸ—ν ε—γύους ι—κανούς.

ἴσος, ι—σότης, ι—σότιμος

isos, equal; *isotes*, equality; *isotimos*, equal in dignity, worth, honor

isos, S 2470; *TDNT* 3.343–355; *EDNT* 2.201; *NIDNTT* 2.497–500, 502, 505, 508; MM 307; L&N 58.33; BDF §§194(1), 453(4); BAGD 381 | ***isotes***, S 2471; *TDNT* 3.343–355; *EDNT* 2.202; *NIDNTT* 2.497–499; MM 307; L&N 58.32; BAGD 381 | ***isotimos***, S 2472; *TDNT* 3.343–355; *EDNT* 2.202; *NIDNTT* 2.497–499; MM 307; L&N 58.34; BDF §118(1); BAGD 381

The adjective *isos*, “equal,” is used first of all for equality either for numbers¹ and surfaces² and hence arithmetic or geometric identity, or for equivalence: “What is squaring? Making an equilateral rectangle equivalent (*to ison*) to a given rectangle.”³ Another sort of equality (*isotetos*) is proportional (*dia analogias*) equality, where “the small quantities are equal to the large.”⁴ It is in this sense that interlocutors are equal (Philo, *Good Man Free* 126), like rewards (*Moses* 1.327) and favors (*To Gaius* 289), or that the athlete has a well-proportioned stature (Philostratus, *Gym.* 28).

Plato is the first to give a geometrical meaning⁵ to the hendiadys *isos kai homoios*, the first term of which refers to equality of size, the second sameness of form; but in practice no distinction was made between the two terms of this emphatic locution, which dates back to Homer,⁶ and it was seen as a sort of superlative⁷ to underline especially equality of rights between allies or adversaries. Both accept rights and responsibilities: “The Athenians are ready to make allies of us on equal footing, without guile or deceit.”⁸

The five occurrences in the *Letter of Aristeas* have only one meaning: “make oneself the equal of all” (*Ep. Arist.* 191, 228, 257, 263, 282). It may be said that the term is unknown in OT Hebrew;⁹ usually, *isos* in the LXX translates the Hebrew preposition *k*, which is used for comparison and analogy (as in the prayer that the leprous Miriam “may not be like one born dead”).¹⁰ Philo gives *isos* a technical exegetical meaning, equivalent to *id est* (“that is,” “in other words,” “as much as to say”).¹¹ The equality referred to is obviously approximate;¹² but Philo highly exalts *isotes* as a “good such that none greater can be found” (*Spec. Laws* 4.165), a virtue that must be praised (*epainos isotetos autou*; *Joseph* 249; *Rewards* 59; *Decalogue* 162), honored (*Spec. Laws* 2.204; 3.74, 169; 4.235; cf. Euripides, *Phoen.* 536: *isoteta timan*), and cultivated (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.295; 2.21), because God is the creator of equality and of all that is

excellent (1.265; 4.187). *Isotes*, constantly associated with justice,¹³ is particularly assured under democracy (*Conf. Tongues* 108), which accords each that which is proper (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.2.18).

If all men are equal by nature (Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.2.6: *dia to ten physin isous einai pantas*; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.68), maintaining a certain equality among them in life in society is a different task (Thucydides 2.65.10), because “equality preserves concord, and concord preserves the all-engendering world” (Ps.-Aristotle, *Mund.* 5.397a3). Now, in principle it is in a democracy that the maximum liberty and equality are found;¹⁴ but Xenophon already observed, “There is nothing in the world less conformable to equality than a system that puts the good and the wicked on the same footing” (*Cyr.* 2.12.8). Plutarch considers equality in politics actually to be a danger, since every constitution has its defects;¹⁵ and according to Aelius Aristides, what is best is to establish a well-ordered (*euschemon*) *isotes*, a mixed constitution (*Orat. Rom.* 90).

In the papyri, *to ison* means a “copy,” as when the scribe adds to the text the simple notation *to ison* (*P.Erl.* 38, 10). A phrase that frequently occurs is “I have received a copy of this for verification” (*eschon toutou to ison achri exetaseos*).¹⁶ The document in question may be a circular or a rescript (*P.Stras.* 32, 14; *P.Bon.* 17, 11; *P.Apoll.* 9, 5; *P.Lond.* 1225, 5; vol. 3, p. 126), but often more precisely a “double,” as with a petition to the *dekaprotoi* that ends with the words “I have received a copy of this for judgment” (*eschon toutou to ison eis diakrisin*).¹⁷

Equality may have to do with time, space,¹⁸ or number,¹⁹ especially sums of money²⁰ and notably in the formula “an equal sum to the public treasury” (*eis to demosion tas isas*), as, for example, in these provisions from first-century wills: “Whoever shall contest or put forward a claim “on one of these goods shall pay to the persons named above these damages and a fine of five hundred silver drachmas, and an equal sum to the treasury.”²¹ Or the equivalence referred to may have to do with thought and their expression. In AD 58, a physician writes, “I think that if I cannot give you the same, I can at least show you a little reciprocity for your affection for me.”²² Samos honors Diodorus, public physician, who “was the same for everyone (*en toutois ison*) and was not sparing in his care.”²³

In accounting, *ison* can mean that the sum of the entries on this line balance exactly with the entries on the preceding line (*P.Princ.* 42, 19, 21, 39; from the first century; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1867, 9 and 11). At Murabba’ât (*P.Mur.* 90, 2), in an account for cereals and legumes, the proper name is followed by the commodity and figures, for example, “same as thirteen of wheat” (*ison pyrou* τρις?); the editor, P. Benoit, notes that *ison*, “equivalent,” means the exchange value; thus “fifteen seahs of lentils equals thirteen of wheat (wheat playing the role of a standard). We frequently encounter *ex isou* (*merous*) to refer to equal shares between two parties or a property held in common in equal shares by several heirs,”²⁴ also *koinos ex isou* (*P.Mich.*

175, 6; 554, 18; *P.Köln* 100, 11, 16, 23; *P.Corn.* 8, 9 and 16; *SB* 9642, col. III, 7 and 13; 10500, 11; 10756, 11). Under Tiberius, a brotherhood held a banquet every month, thanks to the monthly contribution of twelve silver drachmas assigned equally to each of its members (*tas ex isou kat'onoma kekrimenas*, *P.Mich.* 243, 3).

In the NT, *isos* has the same meaning as in the papyri. In the parable of the Workers in the Vineyard, those who were hired at the beginning of the day complain about being “put on the same footing” as those who had only worked an hour (*isous autous hemon epioesas*, Matt 20:12—In giving them the same pay, you have made them equal to us!). Something similar happens with spiritual gifts: at Caesarea, Peter recognizes that God has given the Gentiles the same gift as Israel (*ten isen dorean*);²⁵ this “same gift” is salvation. When sinners make loans, they count on recovering the equivalent, a restitution equal to the sum loaned (*hina apolabosin ta isa*, Luke 6:34), while Christians are to be ready to lend and receive nothing back. At the trial of Jesus before the high priest, the witnesses against him were not in agreement (*isai ouk esan*, Mark 14:56, 59). God has “arranged everything by measure, number, and weight” (Wis 11:20); Rev 21:16 describes the heavenly Jerusalem: “the length and width and height are equal” (*isa estin*). This shape of a city, in which the three dimensions are equal, is not representable; it is “thought” rather than “seen.”²⁶ It is a geometric symbol that evokes the Egyptian pyramids, “eternal dwellings.”

There are two texts of major theological importance. According to Phil 2:6, the person of the historical Christ—preexistent, immutable in his abasement, then exalted, inseparable from his Trinitarian relations—did not during his sojourn on earth take advantage of his equality of rank and rights with God (*ouk harpagmon hegesato to einai isa theo*).²⁷ The formula *einai isa theo* (accusative neuter plural functioning as predicate, cf. Job 11:12) = “to be on an equal footing with God,” is not synonymous with *isos theo* = “to be equal to God” (identity of nature); it places the emphasis on the “equality of treatment, dignity made manifest and recognized”²⁸ of the one who was and remained of “divine condition,” but who—as a man, with his divine attributes limited, eclipsed—could say, “The Father is greater than I” (John 14:28), on account of his heavenly situation. We may compare the designation *isotheos* as applied to kings and eminent persons²⁹ as a title of honor: “Darius, equal to the gods (*isotheos*), reigned on this earth” (Aeschylus, *Pers.* 856); of the various benefactors of humanity “some received divine honors” (Diodorus Siculus 1.2). It is decided that the name of Caesar “would be written in the hymns alongside the gods (*auton ex isou tois theois esgraphesthai*). . . . Those who have reigned are the object of other honors which make them equal to the gods (*allai te isotheoi timai didontai*)” (Dio Cassius 51.20); “Virtue makes many people equal to the

gods (*arete men gar isotheous pollous poiei*), but votes never had the power to make a god (*oudeis popote theos egeneto*).”³⁰

On the other hand, when the Pharisees declared that “He said that God was his own father, making himself equal to God” (*ison heauton poion to theo*, John 5:18), they indeed understood that Jesus placed himself on the same level as God; his equality of being or of nature is an identity.³¹

The two NT occurrences of *isotes* belong to St. Paul.³² The first comes in connection with the collection for Jerusalem, a charitable work: “It is not a matter of afflicting yourselves in order to comfort others; what is necessary is equality (*all’ ex isotetos* —this is the motivation). In the present circumstances, your surplus provides for their lack, so that their surplus may provide for your own lack, so that the result is equality” (*hopos genetai isotes* —this is the goal; 2Cor 8:13-14). On this matter the apostle cites Exod 16:18—the manna answered to each one’s need.³³ This social conception of *isotes* is not that of Greek democracy but depends on that equality of conditions which was the Israelite ideal and which did much to provide for the sabbatical year and the jubilee year. According to Exodus, the equitable sharing of the manna seems to be ensured only by the brotherhood uniting the members of the chosen people: those who had gathered more than they needed gave from their abundance to those who were not sufficiently provided for. It seems that for St. Paul, however, the Corinthians, by their material contribution, are paying off their spiritual debt to their brothers in Jerusalem, and that in this act of beneficence there is established an equilibrium, a harmony, between the gentile and Jewish Christian churches.

As for the precept, “Masters, give your slaves what is just and equitable” (*to dikaion kai ten isoteta tois doulois parechesthe*, Col 4:1), the first time can be understood as a reference to food and clothing, especially as just compensation for work done, as well as to promises to be kept, since the law did not establish anything. The “equitable” should have in view “that which comes under the master’s personal initiatives,”³⁴ a good attitude on his part which sees his *doulos* on a certain plane of equality. His attitude is that of one person toward another, remembering that this person gives him service. It is less a strictly legal obligation than a subjective appreciation, both natural and Christian, that recognizes an equal in every neighbor (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 16.32: *hous ison echein autois*), entirely different from that of an owner who treats his slaves as the living tools which by legal definition they are.

Isotimos. — This compound, unknown in the LXX, can have the sense of simple equality, of a sharing (Philo, *Heir* 177) of rights and obligations (*Good Man Free* 148), of the same rank,³⁵ but its proper meaning, which also occurs much more commonly, is that of equality of dignity, honor, consideration: “God grants to the wise as much honor as to the world” (*isotimon kosmo*, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 8; *Sobr.* 54); “No one

finds himself placed on the same level as God” (*isotimos theo*, *Conf. Tongues* 170), equal to him;³⁶ greetings accord an honor equal to that of the soul (*isotimon psyches*).³⁷ Josephus uses this adjective almost exclusively for equality with superiors, kings, persons of rank: Aristobulus “conferred upon his next younger brother, Antigonus, honors equal to his own” (*War* 1.71); Ananos “loved to treat the humblest as his equals”;³⁸ Seleucus Nicator granted to the Jews of Antioch privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and the Greeks (*Ant.* 12.119).

The term seems to have been part of the vocabulary of the royal court. “Lysander’s ambition offended only the first citizens and the equals” (*tois protois kai isotimois*, Plutarch, *Lys.* 19.1; at Sparta, the “equals” were citizens with full rights); Metellus had a good understanding (*homonoia*) with Sulla, because he was his “colleague and his kinsman by marriage” (*isotimon andra kai kedesten*, Plutarch, *Sull.* 6.9). This equality of rank is attested in an honorific description of Cyprus in 120 BC: “of those equal to the first friends” (*ton isotimon tois protois philois*, *SEG* 18, 581); *Apollodoro ton isotimon tois protois philois* (*P.Ryl.* 253, 1); in the third century, the syndic Menelaos will have documents distributed “to the two tribes for the equality of honor” (*diarethesontai eis tas dyo phylas hyper tou to isotimon einai*, *P.Oxy.* 2407, 34).

So then, when Pseudo-Peter addresses his letter *tois isotimon hemin lachousin pistin* (2Pet 1:1), we must translate, “To those to whom has been allotted the same precious faith as to us” (cf. “the same faith,” Titus 1:4) and understand this to mean not that the faith of the recipients of the letter is of the same sort or kind as that of the writer, but that this faith places them in a position of equal status and honor as the apostles, “with the same privileges as ourselves.”³⁹

¹ Plato, *Meno* 82 c: “in a square, the four lines are equal”; 83 b; *Resp.* 4.441 c: “in the soul there are the same parts and in the same number” (καὶ ἴσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν); *Tim.* 53 d: “one part of the right angle divided by equal sides”; 55 e: “the base of triangles formed by equal sides”; Aristotle, *Cael.* 2.4.287a19: “a figure in which all of the radii from the center are not equal” (μὴ ἴσας ἔχον); *Pol.* 5.1.12: “By equality in number I mean sameness or equality in number or in size”; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.3: “the number six is equal to the sum of its parts”; *Plant.* 122: “the sides of a square are necessarily equal”; *Heir* 144: “a first form of equality in number (two equals two) . . . the other in size”; 144–155; 195: the example of numerical equality (κατ’ ἀριθμὸν ἰσότητος); 220, 224; *Joseph* 101; *Moses* 1.221; *Giants* 56: “the same number of years”; *Spec. Laws* 2.34: equal sums were prescribed for men of each age; 2.37; *Cherub.* 22: “space of equal times”; *Spec. Laws* 4.233: “equal length of the day and the night.” A foundation in favor of the temple of Soknopaios, in 95 BC, “those who will succeed them in office shall pay the sanctuary each year the same

number of *artabai* as their predecessors” (SB 8888, 18; cf. 9875, 15); Josephus, *War* 2.500; 3.476; *Ant.* 4.159.

² Two figures or two geometrical elements (line segments, angles, polygon, circles, etc.) are identical at two different places in space and are therefore superimposable (C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, pp. 227–231). They are situated in the same manner: ε—ξ ἴσου κει—σθαι. “The number seven brings . . . a correspondence with . . . the solid body by means of the cube” (Philo, *Creation* 106); geometry sows the seed of equality and proportion (*Prelim. Stud.* 16).

³ Aristotle, *De An.* 2.2.413a17; Plato, *Grg.* 508 a: “geometric equality is all-powerful among the gods as among humans”; *Meno* 84 d: “an equivalent space”; *Resp.* 10.617b: at equal intervals (δι ἴσου); Philo, *Moses* 2.89: columns separated by the same interval; 2.91; *Spec. Laws* 1.178; 4.22: an equivalent income.

⁴ Philo, *Heir* 145ff.; *Cherub.* 105; *Worse Attacks Better* 96: “intention is equivalent to act”; *Plant.* 142; *Conf. Tongues* 160; *Change of Names* 103: that which is proportional to life; *Plant.* 172: black is equally (ε—ξ ἴσου) appropriate for the virtuous and the wicked.

⁵ Plato, *Tim.* 55 a: “divide the total surface of the sphere into parts identical to each other” (εἰ—ς ἴσα μέρη καὶ ὅμοια συνίσταται); cf. C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*.

⁶ Homer, *Il.* 1.187: Agamemnon: “Let everyone else hesitate to speak to me as to an equal (ἴσον) and equate himself to me (ὁμοιωθήμεναι) in my presence.”

⁷ Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.16.13: “friendship implies equality and likeness”; *Eth. Nic.* 8.10.1159b2: “equality, that is, resemblance, is friendship, notably among those who resemble each other in virtue” (cf. Deut 13:7—φίλος ἴσος τῆς ψυχῆς, your friend who is another like yourself); Philo, *Heir* 160: “All things were shared out equally and alike”; 164; *Change of Names* 235; *Decalogue* 41; *Spec. Laws* 4.143; *Etern. World* 43: “God remains equal and like to himself.” Cf. καθ ἴσον τω—ν ὁμοίων (*P.Oxy.* 2907, col. I, 4; II, 9; 2909, 19; 2910, col. I, 6; 2915, 9; SB 10215, 15; 11263, 15).

⁸ Herodotus 9.7: ε—π ἴση τε καὶ ὁμοίη; Demosthenes 21.112: All the citizens are ἴσοι καὶ ὅμοιοι; Thucydides 1.27, 99, 145; Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.1.1: an alliance “on a footing of absolute equality”; 45; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 312, 27; 333, 25; 421, 13; 742, 45; *P.Oxy.* 2476, 39: ἀνταμίβεσθαι δὲ ται—ς ἴσαις καὶ ὁμοίαις τιμαί—ς (privileges of athletes and artists, in the

third century). At Samos, an honorific decree for judges from Myndus (third century BC): “Let them be given rights of citizenship with complete equality of rights” (ε—φ ἴση καὶ ὁμοίᾳ, J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XXI, 27).

⁹ The two occurrences of ι—σότης (Job 36:30; Zech 4:7) have no corresponding Hebrew. Ἴσος translates the Hebrew words *tô’am*, “twin” (Exod 26:24); *bad*, “equal part” (Exod 30:34); *ke’ahîw*, “to each alike” (Lev 7:10).

¹⁰ Num 12:12; Jdt 1:11; Job 5:14; 10:10; 13:28; 40:15; Isa 51:23. In the Greek Bible, the meanings are as in classical Greek: “I am a mortal man, like everyone else” (Wis 7:1, 3, 6); “make them like the Athenians” (2Macc 9:15 = a similar death). Cf. 4Macc 13:20—“each brother lived for the same period of time”; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.242; *War* 1.414; *Ag. Apion* 1.177.

¹¹ Philo, *Creation* 27; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.36, 65; 2.21, 86; 3.51–52, 78; *Cherub.* 7, 119; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 12, 112; *Worse Attacks Better* 38, 70; *Giants* 45; *Plant.* 89; etc.

¹² Cf. the equality of the virtues (*Migr. Abr.* 167), of honors (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 138; *Moses* 2.232, 242; *Decalogue* 38; *Spec. Laws* 2.165; *Dreams* 2.80; cf. Josephus, *War* 6.231; *Ag. Apion* 2.36); a dividing or sharing in equal parts (ει—ς ἴσα; *Heir* 133, 141, 168, 174, 175, 180, 182, 207); thinking of allies and friends as one’s equals (*Worse Attacks Better* 33; *Virtues* 114; *Sobr.* 8); discussing on an equal footing (ε—ξ ἴσου; *Good Man Free* 149); the fate of mortals is not equal, but their kinship is equal and alike (*Decalogue* 41; *Spec. Laws* 1.140); “as much” (*Creation* 119; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.12; 3.10; *Spec. Laws* 1.121). Cf. Philostratus, *Gym.* 14: the two arts of the γυμναστικῆς and the παιδοτριβῆς are like (ἴσαι αι— τέχναι).

¹³ *Creation* 51; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 27; *Dreams* 2.40; *Moses* 1.328; 2.9; *Spec. Laws* 4.231: “equality is the mother of justice” = *To Gaius* 85; *Conf. Tongues* 48; *Change of Names* 153; *Contemp. Life* 17. Associated with benevolence, in the sense of equity (*Spec. Laws* 4.184; *Good Man Free* 42; *To Gaius* 67). — For Plato, the just judge (ἴσος δικαστής) metes out impartial justice (*Leg.* 12.957 c). For Aristotle, “the just man is the one who safeguards equality” (*Eth. Nic.* 5.2.1129a33); “the idea of the just corresponds to the ideas of the legal and the equal” (1129a34); *I.Priene* 61, 9ff. Dittenberger, *Or.* 339, 51; *Syl.* 426, 14; *P.Lond.* 1345, 2: φυλάσσειν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ι—σότητα. Cf. G. Stählin, “ἴσοθ, ι—σότης,” in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 343–355.

¹⁴ Aristotle, *Pol.* 4.4.23; 3.6.9; 2.2.4: “equality by way of reciprocity is the safeguard of states”; *Eth. Nic.* 5.8.1132b33: “there is equality by way of

reciprocity when one renders to others an equivalent quantity to what one has been given by them.”

¹⁵ Plutarch, *De trib. r. p. gen.* 826 f–827 a: “if monarchy is threatened by violent movements through the irresponsibility of its subjects, and oligarchy is threatened by exactions and abuse through the arrogance of the nobility, democracy is threatened by claims of equality” (C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, pp. 224ff.); “Plutarch and his contemporaries accepted social inequality as obvious and as a fact of nature that it would be dangerous to eliminate. It is therefore ‘just’ to maintain this sort of inequality” (ibid., p. 265).

¹⁶ *P.Tebt.* 301, 21; *P.Mich.* 368, 14: “I, Phaesis, town secretary, have received a copy for verification”; 370, 25; 544, 6; 610, 49; 617, 10; *P.Aberd.* 45, 22; *P.Phil.* 9, 14: “I, Nemesas, have received a copy”; *P.Oslo* 25, 20; 89, 31; 90, 21; *P.Oxy.* 1834, 6: “I gave a copy of the letter to Proximus”; 2566, col. I, 10; 2567, 36; 3365, 4; *P.Mich.* 526, 19: “I ask that a copy of this petition be sent along”; *BGU* 2231, 12; 2233, 16; 2235, 13; *P.Warr.* 13, 9; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 43, 9 (= *SB* 5343; 10568, 9; 10923, 18; 11220, 23).

¹⁷ *P.Got.* 4, 30; cf. *P.Mert.* 18, 1; 91, 4; *P.Oxy.* 1934, 1; 2849, 3. Τὰ ἴσα are *duplicata* (*P.Harr.* 75, 24; *P.Cair.Isid.* 62, 26; 76, 4; *P.Mich.* 378, 2; *P.Col.* VII, 70, 4). Cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 84: “In conformity (τὸ εἶσον) with the instructions written by Your Diligence.”

¹⁸ According to the amphictyonic law of 380, “The duration of the sacred month of Pythia is one year; it is equal for all” (*Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*, I, n. 10, 44 and p. 118; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 145); *P.Cair.Isid.* 104, 16: γεωργει—ν ε—πὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἴσονχρόνον; *BGU* 646, 6. In an apprenticeship contract from AD 48, if the apprentice takes more than three days off, “in compensation I will retain him with me for an equal number of days” (*P.Fouad* 37, 6–7; cf. *P.Mert.* 105, 33; *P.Mil.* 60, 10 and 22).

¹⁹ *P.Corn.* 9, 18: a work contract with castanet dancers: “we will supply two asses when you come to us and the same number (τοὺς ἴσους) when you return to the city”; *P.Oxy.* 2182, 28.

²⁰ *P.Alex.* 9, 6 (a first century contract); *P.Ant.* 101 b 4; *BGU* 2041, 17; 2051, 21; 2346, col. II, 7: τὰς ἴσας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 4, 7 (work contract): “If you send me back before the end of this period without just cause, you shall pay the same indemnity”; *P.Dura* 15 a 2; *P.Got.* 10, 8: “Do not restore to me (the twenty *artabai* of grain) that you owe me, since the same sum was delivered to me by him (Hierax)”; *P.Mil.* 2, 9: sale of part of a palm grove for two bronze talents; *P.Sorb.* 35, 10: a

like payment to the bank (or banker); *P.Oxy.* 2875, 32; 3085, 9; *SB* 9860 f 4; cf. price equivalent to (*P.Mich.* 627, 12; *P.Köln* 104, 23).

²¹ *P.Fouad* 33, 14; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 15; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 8, 25; 23, 18; *P.Dura* 31, 20: τω— φίσκω τὰς εἴσας; *P.Mert.* 109, 20; *P.Mich.* 186, 28 (AD 72); 187, 28 (AD 75); 194, 29 (AD 61); 245, 26 and 29 (AD 47); 262, 31 (AD 35–36); 276, 12 (AD 47); 287, 14; 323, 25 (AD 47); 326, 58 (AD 48); 331, 4 (AD 41); 340, 106 (AD 45–46); 350, 21 (AD 37); 351, 19 (AD 44); 554, 42; 555, 21; 583, 25 (AD 25); 584, 32 (AD 84); *P.Oslo* 31, 25; 125, 2; *P.Oxy.* 2349, 16; 2971, 37; 3092, 12; *PSI* 1118, 25; 1120, 9; 1263, 11; *P.Rein.* 103, 29 (AD 26). *P.Ryl.* 65, 7: εἰ—ς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὰ ἴσα (first century BC); 582, 17 (42 BC); *BGU* 1732, 16; *P.Dura* 19, 17; 21, 21; *SB* 9827 a 19 (AD 29); 9906, 26; 10236, 39 (AD 36); 10882, 22 (AD 45).

²² *P.Mert.* 12, 11; *P.Princ.* 74, 9: αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἴσην εὐνοίαν καὶ τειμὴν πρὸς ε—μὲ ε—νδείξασθαι; *P.Oxy.* 2154, 24: a request to offer a present to a third person “so that I may be equal to all the others and not dishonored before all”; 3313, 20: “we rejoice as much as you.”

²³ J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, XIV, 26 (third-second century). Likewise Demetrias among the Magnesians: “secretary of the federal council . . . to those who presented themselves to him, he never failed to show himself the same to all” (ἴσον παρεχόμενος πα—σιν διατετέλεκεν, *SEG* XXIII, 447, 10). Cf. the epitaph of a Christian jurist: “There is only one Hades for all, and the end is the same” (καὶ τέλος ε—στὶν ἴσον, *ibid.* VI, 210, 29). Josephus, *Ant.* 9.3: ἅπανσι τὸ ἴσον; 16.61; 18.207: ἴσος πα—σιν εἶναι.

²⁴ *P.Fam.Tebt.* 44, 16; *P.Mich.* 354, 23 (AD 52); 370, 14; 609, 29; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 84, 19; 193 b 9; *P.Mil.* 53, 4; *P.Mert.* 109, 25; *PSI* 1239, 7; 1325, 10; *P.Oxy.* 2133, 10; 2348, 35; 2474, 4 and 28; 2583, 4 and 7; 3117, 19; *SB* 10441, 4. A veteran’s will: “My property is to be shared between my heirs in equal parts, with no fraud” (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIV, 5–6). Cf. ε—ξ ἴσου ἀποδοθεῖ—σαι (*P.Erl.* 46, 31; 71, 5; *P.Cair.Isid.* 105, 11); Josephus, *Ant.* 6.366: πα—σιν ε—ξ ἴσου; 3.284: balance of expenses and revenues.

²⁵ Acts 11:17; cf. Polybius 2.38.8: “He grants total equality to new adherents”; Thucydides 3.14: ε—ν ου— τω— ι—ερω— ἴσα καὶ ι—κέται ε—σμέν, “The sanctuary (of Olympian Zeus) receives us on the same footing as suppliants”; Josephus, *War* 5.199: “The place was equally open for worship (ε—ν ἴσω πρὸς θρησκευίαν) to women of the region and their coreligionists from elsewhere”; 7.44: “They authorized them to enjoy the rights of citizenship on the same footing (ε—ξ ἴσου) as the Greeks”; *Ant.* 18.241; 19.281: ἴσης πολιτείας . . . τετευχότας.

²⁶ E. B. Allo, *Saint Jean: L'Apocalypse*, 3d ed., Paris, 1033, on this text and p. 349. The author notes that this shape is less that of a cube than of a “five-sided pyramid whose height is equal to the side of the square base,” around 2400 kilometers. Cf. the Phasaël tower (Josephus, *War* 5.166; cf. 570; 5.215; *Ant.* 8.64). L. Saint-Michel, “Situation des dodécaèdres celto-romains dans la tradition pythagoricienne,” in *BAGB*, vol. 10, 1951, pp. 101–111.

²⁷ ἄρπαγμός is a precious possession to be consecrated or acquired, cf. W. Jaeger, “Eine stilgeschichtliche Studie zum Philipperbrief,” in *Hermes*, 1915, pp. 537–553; W. Förster, “Οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο bei den griechischen Kierchenvätern,” in *ZNW*, 1930, pp. 115–128; R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi*; O. Hofius, *Der Christushymnus Philipper II, 6–11*, Tübingen, 1976; J. Murphy-O'Connor, “Christological Anthropology in Philip. II, 6–11,” in *RB*, 1976, pp. 25–50; “Equality with God is the possession whose exploitation Christ renounced” (P. Henry, “Kénose,” in *DBSup*, vol. 5, col. 27, who quotes in this sense [col. 56] the letter of the communities of Lyon and Vienne; cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.2.2–6).

²⁸ P. Benoit, trans., *Bible de Jérusalem*. Cf. A. Feuillet, “L'Homme-Dieu considéré dans sa condition terrestre de serviteur et de rédempteur (Phil. II, 5 sv. et textes parallèles),” in *RB*, 1942, pp. 58–79; J. Dupont, “Jésus-Christ dans son abaissement et son exaltation,” in *RSR*, pp. 500–514; G. Bornkamm, *Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum*, Munich, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 177–187; P. Grelot, “Deux expressions difficiles de Philippiens II, 6–7,” in *Bib*, 1972, pp. 496–502 (cites Homer, *Od.* 1.432: “Laertes had honored her equally with his faithful wife”; 11.304: Castor and Pollux “are honored equally with the gods”; 15.520: Eurymachos, “whom our people already honor [equally] as a god”; Nicolaus of Damascus 90, frag. 130, 97: Caesar “revered equally as a god,” τὸν ἴσα καὶ θεὸν τιμώμενον); G. Strecker, “Freiheit und Agapè: Exegese und Predigt über Phil. II, 5–11,” in *Neues Testament und christliche Existenz: Festschrift H. Braun*, Tübingen, 1973, pp. 523–538.

²⁹ Cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.13.13: “It is natural that such an individual (of eminent virtue) should be like a god among men” (ὥσπερ γὰρ θεὸν εἰς ἀνθρώποις εἰκότως εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον); *I.Olymp.* 53, 12: ἰσοθέων τιμάς. It seems that the Samian Philaenis had heard of a woman ὡς ἰσόθεον (*P.Oxy.* 2891, frag. 3, col. II, 4); cf. K. Tsantsanoglou, “The Memoirs of a Lady from Samos,” in *ZPE*, vol. 12, 1973, pp. 189ff. W. Luppe, “Nochmals zu Philainis,” *ZPE*, vol. 13, 1974, p. 281.

³⁰ Dio Cassius 52.35.5. If Augustus is only referred to as θεὸς Καίσαρ (*P.Oxy.* 257, 21, 37) or θεὸς Σεβαστός (2476, 3), as also Claudius (θεὸς

Και—σαρ, 1021, 3), θεὸς Σεβαστός (*P.Mich.* 244, 15), the latter is also θεὸς Κλαύδιος (*PSI* 1235, 8), like θεὸς Τίτος (*P.Oxy.* 1028, 23), θεὸς Οὐεσπασιονός (257, 12), etc. Cf. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales dans les Papyrus*, Brussels, 1964. E. Peterson (*EISΨΕΟΣ*, Göttingen, 1926, p. 172) cites an Alexandrine acclamation (τὰς δὲ ε—πιφθόνους ε—μοὶ καὶ ι—σοθέους ε—κφωήσεις ὑμῶ—ν ε—ξ ἅπαντος παραιτοῦμαι) and a Freiburg papyrus (τί θεός, τὸ κρατοῦν; τί βασιλεύς, ι—σόεος). On ι—σόθεαε τιμαί, honors rendered as to the gods, but not for true gods, cf. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Rh.* 7.7: πολλοὶ καὶ ι—σόθει ε—νομίσθησαν, οἱ— δὲ καὶ ὡς θεοὶ τιμῶ—νται. L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*, pp. 109ff.

³¹ Cf. John 10:30, 33; 19:7. Philo wrote that Abraham became ἴσος ἀγγέλοις = like the angels (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 5), that “the egotistical and atheistic mind thinks that it is equal to God” (ἴσος εἶναι θεῶ—, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.49) and that “to add something to God would have to be something superior to him, or inferior to him, or equal to him” (ἢ ἴσον αὐτῶ—, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.3; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 92).

³² This substantive, unknown in Josephus, seems to be attested only once in the papyri, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 23, 7, in the sharing of a succession πρὸς ι—σότητα.

³³ Text cited by Philo, *Heir* 191: the manna is shared among all those who will use it with particular attention to equality; Ps.-Phocylides 137: “Render to all their due, and impartiality is best in each case,” with the commentary of P. W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*, Leiden, 1978, p. 205.

³⁴ N. Hugedé, *Colossiens*, p. 199.

³⁵ Philo, *Good Man Free* 148, cf. *isotimia* in *I.Gonn.* : (δοῦναι) ι—σοπολιτείαν καὶ ι—σοτιμίαν (30, 5; 31, 8). The first term refers to equality of rights (property, marriage, etc.), the second to equality in access to offices. Philo, *Joseph* 232; *Virtues* 223; of the same value (*Spec. Laws* 3.202; *Virtues* 185; *To Gaius* 341); cf. *Spec. Laws* 1.238: “Involuntary sin with regard to the holy things is of a gravity equal to that of voluntary sin applied to human relations.”

³⁶ *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 91, 131. Zeus granted to Semele’s child “the rank of the heavenly gods” (*Good Man Free* 130). Cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 234, 25: —Απόλλωνος —Ισοτίμου: this god is not less honored than Zeus Chrysaoreus.

³⁷ *Post. Cain* 18; cf. *Decalogue* 37: Each observer of the law is “as precious as a very populous nation . . . even as the whole universe”; *Rewards* 112; *Spec. Laws* 1.70: “the seventh day is equal in honor to eternity”; 2.155; *Unchang. God* 13; *Moses* 1.324: “You are all equal in dignity (πάντες ἐ—στὲ ἰ—σότιμοι), one and the same race, the same fathers. . . .” Cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 554, 33: ζῶ—ντα τε δικαίως καὶ ἰ—σοτείμως. At Pergamum, a νεωκόρος (temple warden) behaved πρὸς πάντας ἰ—σοτείμως (C.Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, Berlin, 1969, n. 55, 4).

³⁸ Josephus, *War* 4.319, 389, 393; *Ant.* 8.215: to be treated almost as the equal of kings.

³⁹ This meaning was already specified by F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, pp. 240ff. —Ἰσότιμος is one of 57 NT hapaxes in this epistle.

καθηγητής

kathegetes, guide, teacher, master

kathegetes, S 2519; *EDNT* 2.222; MM 312; L&N 33.245; BAGD 388–389

In the midst of the invective that he unleashes against the scribes and the Pharisees—the titled teachers of the Jewish people, masters, fathers, or headmasters in the academic sense of these terms—Christ, addressing only his disciples, pronounces a threefold injunction that has no parallel in the other Gospels: “But you must not be called ‘Rabbi,’ for you have only one teacher (*ho didaskalos*), and you are all brothers. Neither shall you call anyone on earth ‘Father,’ for you have only one heavenly Father. Neither shall you be called *kathegetai*, for you have only one *kathegetes*, the Christ.”¹

The three terms used are equivalent and mean “master-teacher,”² even *kathegetes*, which can have the sense “guide, conductor”³ and thus would mean “educator, spiritual director.” In the literature, the papyri, and the inscriptions, however, it is most often attested with the meaning of “private tutor, master, salaried instructor”: “philosophy . . . from Aristotle the *kathegetes*”;⁴ “Mnesarchus had ideas contrary to those of his master Philon” (*Philoni tou kathegete*, Numenius, frag. 28; ed. des Places, p.80). In the first century, at Alexandria, young Theon mentions the poverty of teachers (*P.Oxy.* 2190, 7, 15, 24); in the second-third century, a mother, desolated at learning that the tutor of her child Ptolemy has left to find another position, urges her child to join forces with his *paidagogos* to find another teacher.⁵ Such a teacher receives compensation in kind and in

cash.⁶ At Thebes in Egypt, during Hadrian's time, Julia Pasicleia is the wife of the teacher Acharistos (Dittenberger, *Or.* 408). Herodes Atticus erects a statue to his teacher Secundus (*SEG* XXIII, n. 115; cf. 117, 6). Indeed, disciples often set up funerary steles or compose inscriptions in honor of their *kathegetai*; thus, in Lycaonia or in Galatia: "Siderion and Diadoumenos set (this) up for their *kathegetes* Phosphoros" (*Siderion kai Diadoumenos Phosphoro to heauton kathegete anestesan*, *MAMA* VII, 358); or at Rome, "Rebuilt for a *iatros Kaisaros* (emperor's physician) who is a *patronus kai kathegetes agathos kai axios* (good and worthy patron and teacher)."⁷

Several Hebrew or Aramaic equivalents of *kathegetes* are possible in Matt 23:10. The best would seem to be *môreh*,⁸ which refers to "one who is learned" (Prov 5:13; Hab 2:18) and has messianic significance in Isa 30:20; Joel 2:23. We may recall the *môreh hassedeq*, the teacher of righteousness of the sect of the new covenant, tutor and leader of the community,⁹ called *Teacher* by antonomasia,¹⁰ raised up by God "to lead (the children of Israel) in the way of his heart" (CD 1.11; 4QpPs 37) and made him "a father for the sons of grace" (1QH 7.20), bring glad news to the humble (1QH 18.14).

Over against this doctrinal and religious authority, Jesus sets up his triple *heis estin* ("there is one . . ."): there is only one Teacher who should be trusted, only one Guide for the spiritual life.¹¹ Faith is built on God alone.

¹ Matt 23:8-10. Cf. E. Haenchen, "Matthäus XXIII," in *ZTK*, 1951, pp. 38–63. Most commentators write off verse 10 as a doublet of verse 8, overlooking both the pedagogical value of a triad or three-part sentence in the first Gospel and also the parallels of Gen 45:8 (Joseph says to his brothers, "Elohim has set me up as a *father* to Pharaoh, and as a *lord* to all his household, and as *governor* in all the land of Egypt") and *b. Mak.* 24a: "When King Jehoshaphat saw a disciple of the scribes, he arose from his throne, embraced him, kissed him, and said to him, 'My father, my father, my teacher, my teacher, my lord, my lord (*'abbî, 'abbî; rabbi, rabbi; mâri, mâri*)'" (cited by Str-B, vol. 1, p. 919, and K. Kohler, "Abba, Father, Title of Spiritual Leader and Saint," in *JQR*, vol. 13, 1901, pp. 567–580). Only P. Bonnard (*L'Évangile selon saint Matthieu*, Neuchâtel, 1963, pp. 336ff.) and W. Trilling ("Amt und Amtsverständnis bei Matthäus," in *Mélanges Rigaux*, pp. 30ff.) let the text stand in its entirety.

² *Rabbi*, the title given to all the "authorities," suggests grandeur or excellence: the prince in a kingdom, the chief of an army, the oldest child in a family, the steward in a household, the executive in an administration. Here, the master in a school or the professor of theology (cf. Lohse,

“ῥαββί,” in *TDNT*, vol. 6, pp. 961–965; H. Kosmala, “In My Name,” in *ASTI*, vol. 5, 1967, pp. 87–109). —*Abba*, apart from its use for a literal father and for a lord and chief (vizier), refers to the master-teacher. It is an honorific term for outstanding scribes and teachers: “just as disciples are called *son*, so the master is called *father*” (*Sipre Deut.* 6.7; cf. *b.Sanh.* 19b ; *Pirqe ‘Abot*; 4Macc 7:9; Schrenk, “πατήρ,” in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp. 945–1022). The Georgian version uses again in verse 10 the same “magister” as in verse 8 (PO, vol. 24, p. 127).

³ Cf. the translation of the Peshitta: *medhaberonê*; Josephus, *War* 3.497: Titus καθηγει—ται πρὸς τὴν λίμνην. According to A. Schlatter (*Der Evangelist Matthäus*, Stuttgart, 1948, p. 670) the Aramaic equivalent of the Jewish historian’s καθηγέομαι would be *gyhnm* 2.15; *Tanh.* 1.151; 6.12), used also for shepherds leading their sheep (*Gen. Rab.* 91.5). According to Plutarch, “the god of Delphi ordered Theseus through an oracle to take Aphrodite as his guide (καθηγεμόνα) and pray her to accompany him in his voyage” (*Thes.* 1.8). When Corinth and Phocaea send delegations to consult the oracle in the sanctuary of Claros, in the second-third century, the choir of nine young singers is accompanied by dignitaries, among whom are mentioned a καθηγητής or καθηγούμενος or καθηγησάμενος τὸν ὕμνον, who directs the children and their singing (*I.Car.*, vol. 2, p. 215, n. 6 and 10; p. 216, n. 1, revised by L. and J. Robert in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, 1969, p. 301, cf. *REG*, 1976, p. 543, n. 627). Cf. καθηγη[τής] or καθηγήσ[ατο] = *drogomanno*, official interpreter (in J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines . . . à Thèbes*, Cairo, 1920, n. 745 bis); τῆς καθηγετίδος θεα—ς (*MAMA*, vol. 8, 419).

⁴ Φιλοσοφία . . . παῖ —Αριστοτέλους τοῦ καθηγητοῦ, Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 327; *De adul. et am.* 70 e: ὁ ἡμέτερος καθηγητής —Αμμόνιος; *Alex.* 5.7: Leonidas, Alexander’s τροφεύς and καθηγητής; cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus: “Isaeus was the teacher of Demosthenes” (*Is.* 1.1); Aristotle directed Alexander’s education (*Amm.* 1 5); “Aristotle did not think that everything was perfected by his master Plato, τῷ καθηγητῇ Πλάτωνι” (*Th.* 3); Strabo 14.674. In Philodemus of Gadara, καθηγητής means the head of the school, the instructor, the teacher, *Ir.* 19.14; *Lib.* 52.6; 80.2. Rhetorius mentions the καθηγητὰς βασιλέων (in *CCAG*, vol. 8, 4, p. 157, 27), explained by Firmicus Maternus: “qui cum imperatoribus constituti docendi habeant aliquam potestatem” (*Math.* 1.160.7; cf. 1.225.22: magistros regum; 1.263.13–14; cf. F. Cumont, *L’Egypte des astrologues*, p. 31, n. 1). Cf. the enigmatic καθηγητήρες εὐσεβῶ—ν ἔργων of *Monument d’Agrios IV*, 10 (in E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 444; cf. W. Peek, “Griechische Vers-Inschriften aus Ägypten,” in *ZPE*, 1973, pp. 242ff.).

⁵ Ὡστε οὖν, τέκνον, μελησάτο σοί τε καὶ τω- παιδαγωγω- σου καθήκοντι καθηγητῆ σε παραβάλλειν (*P.Oxy.* 930, 20; cf. 6 = *Chrest. Wilck.*, n. 138).

⁶ *P.Giss.* 80, 5ff.; *P.Oslo* 156, 5–6; cf. *P.Tebt.* 591.

⁷ Cited by L. and J. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1958, p. 358, n. 552 (ed. *IGUR*, vol. 2, n. 675, 707); other mentions, *ibid.*, 1938, p. 443, n. 225; 1950, p. 150, n. 77; 1962, p. 213, n. 352; 1967, p. 475, n. 187; *IG XIV*, 1751. Cf. L. Robert, “Un citoyen de Téos à Bouthrôtos,” in *Bulletin de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1974, pp. 526ff.

⁸ The word chosen by F. Delitzsch in his Hebrew translation of the NT. Cf. A. H. M’Neile, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, London, 1952; L. Saggin, “Magister vester unus est Christus (Mt. XXIII, 10),” in *VD*, 1952, pp. 211–213; P. Geoltrain, “Une nouvelle attestation du titre ‘Maître de Justice,’” in *Sem*, vol. 16, 1966, pp. 69–72; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 110ff. In our day, judges in rabbinic tribunals often enough have on their seals the phrase “judge and professor of law, Nyd qdx hrmw”; cf. J. Schreiden, *Les Enigmes des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, Wetteren, 1961, pp. 8, 336.

⁹ CD 20.32–33; 4QpPs37; cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts*, London, 1957; J. Carmignac, *Le Docteur de Justice et Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1957; I. Rabinowitz, “The Guides of Righteousness,” in *VT*, 1958, pp. 391–404; A. S. Van der Woude, “Le Maître de Justice et les deux Messies de la Communauté de Qumrân,” in *Recherches bibliques IV: La Secte de Qumrân*, Louvain, 1959, pp. 121–134; J. Weingreen, “The Title More Sedek,” in *JSS*, vol. 6, 1961, pp. 169ff.; M. Delcor, “Le Docteur de Justice, nouveau Moïse dans les hymnes de Qumrân,” in R. de Langhe, *Le Psautier*, Louvain, 1962, pp. 407–423.

¹⁰ CD 20.1, 14, 28; 1QH 2.13, 17–18; 4.27; 7.26; 1QpHab 2.2, 8–9; 7.4–5; 1QpMic 1.6–8.

¹¹ Cf. John 14:5; 1John 2:27. C. Spicq, “Une allusion au Docteur de Justice dans Matthieu, XXIII, 10?” in *RB*, 1959, pp. 387–396.

κακοήθεια

kakoetheia, malice, malignity

kakoetheia, S 2550; TDNT 3.485; EDNT 2.237; MM 316; L&N 88.113; BAGD 397

This perverse disposition of the heart is mentioned in three sin lists. Philo says, "You see all that the strong liquor of folly produces: bitterness, *malignity*, a hot temper, extreme rage, savagery, harsh sarcasm, the desire to hurt" (*Dreams* 2.192). Apollonius of Tyana specifies the reason for estrangement from a friend: *phthonou, kokoetheias, misous, diaboles, echthras*.¹ And St. Paul (Rom 1:29) inserts *kakoetheia* between deceit (*dolos*) and gossipers (*psithyristas*). M. J. Lagrange comments correctly: "like envy or jealousy, *kakoetheia* takes everything amiss: *esti gar kakoetheia to epi to cheiron hypolambanein panta* ('*kakoetheia* means taking everything for the worse,' Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.13.1389b20ff.). Aristotle thus treated it as a specific vice, but the popular understanding of the word was broader: '*kakoetheia men esti kakia kekrymmene, kakotropia de poikile kai pantodape panourgia, kakoetheia* is hidden evil, varied mischief, miscellaneous villainy' (Ammonius, p. 80 in the *Thesaurus*), hence a general inclination toward evildoing" (on this verse). Thus Xenophon says, "Some are capable of scorn and malignity and greed, others not" (*Cyn.* 13.16).

So *kakoetheia* can be translated, depending on the context, as "malignity," "malice," even "bad morals";² but the connotation of lying, intrigue, deceit is by far the most pronounced. Just as St. Paul links *dolos* and *kakoetheia*, *P.Grenf.* I, 10, 13 has "apart from any deceit or fear or force or cheating or compulsion or any malice or *kakoetheia* whatsoever or any detraction" (*aneu pantos dolou kai phobou kai bias kai apates kai anankes kai hoias depote kakonoias kai kakoetheias kai pantos elattomatos*); cf. Esth 8:12 f (LXX): "These friends, having through the specious reasoning of their *kakoetheia* beguiled the sincere goodwill of their sovereigns." According to Josephus, the lying serpent maliciously persuaded the woman to taste of the tree of wisdom (*Ant.* 1.42) and is deprived of its voice because of its malignity toward Adam (1.50). The malice of Salome and of Pheroras was directed against the young people (16.68; cf. the *psithyristai* of Rom 1:29). The enemies of the Jews slander them "through envy and malice, *dia phthonon kai kakoetheian*" (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.222; cf. Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 12.807 a; 32.825 e; *Cic.* 5.6). By giving small gifts to those who possess great riches, "one gains a reputation for malice and meanness, *kakoetheias kai aneleutherias proslambanei doxan*" (*De E ap. Delph.* 1). A letter of 16 May AD 243, reproaches its recipient for having behaved shabbily (*P.Cair.Zen.* 88, 16; cf. Menander, *Epit.* 334).

So the word refers to perverse intentions, innate malice (*te symphyto kakoetheia*, 3Macc 3:22; cf. 7:3), an inclination to evil (*he kakoethes*

diathesis, 4Macc 1:25) that cannot be rooted out, but the effects of which can be neutralized by a temperate mind (4Macc 2:16; 3:4).

¹ Apollonius of Tyana, *Ep.* 43; cf. G. Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament*, Leiden, 1970, p. 226.

² Cf. *P.Giss.* 40, col. II, 11: ἵνα μὴ παρ' αὐτοῖ—ς ἡ δειλίας αἰ—τία ἢ παρὰ τοῖ—ς κακοήθεσιν ε—πηρείας ἀφορμὴ ὑπολειφθῆ (AD 215). Hesychius offers this definition: ε—γκιλικίζεται· κακοηθεύεται, κακοποιεῖ—.

κακοπαθέω, κακοπάθεια

kakopatheo, to suffer, undergo hardship; *kakopatheia*, hardship, distress, suffering

kakopatheo, S 2553; *TDNT* 5.936–938; *EDNT* 2.238; *NIDNTT* 3.719, 722, 725; MM 316; L&N 24.89; BAGD 397 | ***kakopatheia***, S 2552; *TDNT* 5.936–938; *EDNT* 2.238; *NIDNTT* 3.724; MM 316; L&N 24.89; BDF §23; BAGD 397

Occurring frequently in the Hellenistic period, these terms express the idea of hardship and distress, with rather variable connotations: “And you say, ‘Ah, what fatigue (Hebrew *tela’âh*)!’” (Mal 1:13); the redacting of a work of history is arduous toil (2Macc 2:26–27); the strength of family ties is seen “in that we *suffer the hardships* of our kin along with them” (*Ep. Arist.* 241); “You are troubling yourself for no reason” (Menander, *Dysk.* 348); “Why are you so bent on mistreating yourself?” (*ibid.*, 371); “You have been reduced to such a state!” (Philo, *Dreams* 2.181, *ti kakopatheis*); “the soul suffers from being housed by nature in the body” (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.203); “many were in distress” (*Ant.* 12.336). In the second century AD, a Jewish woman attacked by another woman suffered greatly because of the blows she received and because of her fall (*hypo ton plegon kai tou ptomatos deinos kakopathein*) and she is at risk for a miscarriage (*paidion ektroma ginesthai*).¹ It is in this sense of enduring painful trials (Jas 5:13) and torments (2Tim 2:9; 4:5) that *kakopatheo* is used in the NT.

The meaning of the NT hapax in Jas 5:10 poses a problem: Christians are exhorted to take the *hypodeigma tes kakopatheias kai tes makrothymias* of the prophets who spoke in the Lord’s name. Is *kakopatheia* subjective or objective? Should we translate “Take as your model the suffering and the patience of the prophets,” or “the endurance in suffering of the prophets”?² The truth of the matter is that both meanings are attested in the literature, the inscriptions, and the papyri. “The human

race increases and is created over many years in great suffering” (*kakopatheiais megistais*); “Most people endure much suffering, *karterousi pollen kakopatheian*” (Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.6, 3.15.1278b); “They took up a strong position . . . to rest from their recent toils, *ek tes progegenemenes kakopatheias*” (Polybius 3.42.9; cf. 3.72.5); but Aratus was “quick to rise after being struck, thanks to his boldness and his endurance, *dia tes autou kakopatheias*” (4.8.3); Numa “further perfected himself, thanks to exercise and the practice of endurance and of philosophy” (Plutarch, *Num.* 3.7). In his list of Moses’ virtues Philo includes “endurance of suffering” between “toilsome exertion” and “scorn of pleasure” (*Moses* 1.154; cf. *Spec. Laws* 2.60; *Cherub.* 88). “Through enduring these torments and through our patience—*dia tesde tes kakopatheias kai hypomones*—we gain the fruit of virtuous battle.”³

The term is used first and foremost for the danger and toil of war: “You must blame yourselves either for your disasters or for your sufferings” (Thucydides 7.77.1); “The Romans endured severe hardships” (Josephus, *War* 1.148); “the patience of the Jews and their steadfastness in the midst of adversity” (6.37; cf. *Ag. Apion* 1.135; *Ant.* 1.185; 6.172); “taking on all the danger and all the toil”;⁴ soldiers are worn out by the trials they endure (Diodorus Siculus 17.12.2; cf. 17.10.5; 17.37.2). Similarly the toil of farmers: “You plant a vineyard at the cost of endless labors, of the sort that workers of the soil must endure”⁵; and of porters, who toil physically “after the fashion of beasts of burden” (Philo, *Virtues* 88), “those who earn their living through any trade do not cease to suffer at any time or any place” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 38; cf. *I. Magn.* 65 a 26: *kakopathian ergontes*; b 14); which explains why the word is so often linked with *dapane* (expense).⁶ Naturally, it occurs in the language of sports.⁷ Finally it comes to be used of a costly effort; hence the corresponding adjective is used in the sense of “hard-working, persevering,” as in this epitaph: *Leon Androstheneus kakopathe chreste chaire.*⁸

Since *kakopatheia* takes in the danger, trouble, and toil suffered by functionaries in the course of duty, by workers in their trades, by people in the course of their lives, 2Tim 2:9 and 4:5 can be understood as referring to the hard apostolic labor that is not deterred by any difficulty or suffering.

¹ *P. Tebt.* 800, 27 (= *C. Pap. Jud.* 133); cf. *P. Cair. Zen.* 59093, 17 = SB 6720: γίνωσκε δὲ καὶ ἡμαρσ πολλὰ κακοπαθήσαντας καὶ μόγις καταχωρισθέντας; a horoscope of the first-second century, κακοπαθήσεται καὶ ξενιτεύει (*P. Lond.* 98 recto 73; vol. 1, p. 130); in the fourth century, ε—άν ἄλληται (μηρὸς εὐώνυμος), σκυλμοὺς καὶ πόνους δηλοῖ—καταπαθήσαντα δὲ εὐφρανθῆναι (*P. Ryl.* 28, 84).

² Cf. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 263. G. Björck (“Quelques cas de ε—ν διὰ δυοῖν—ν dans le N.T. et ailleurs,” in *ConNT*, vol. 4, 1940, p. 3) takes μακροθυμίας as a hendiadys in the genitive and adopt Osterwald’s translation: “Take your example of patience *in* sufferings of the prophets.”

³ 4Macc 9:8. Cf. *I.Perg.* 252, 17: τω—ν τε ε—κκομιδω—ν ε—πιμελεία καὶ κακοπαθία διειπῶν τὰ δέοντα πα—σαν ε—πιστροφήν ε—ποίησατο (second century BC); Dittenberger, *Or.* 244, 12: τὴν περὶ τὸ σω—μα γεγενημένην ἀσθένειαν διὰ τὰς συνεχει—ς κακοπαθίας; 339, 23; physicians endure fatigue and toil in serving the sick: διὰ τὰς κακοπαθίας τὰς γενομένας περὶ αὐτοῦς (Dittenberger, *Syl.*, 943, 9); *BGU* 1209, 7: οὐδὲν σπουδῆς οὐδὲ κακοπαθίας περέλιπον (23 BC; 1822, 15; 1836, 11; 50 BC, very mutilated). —On the other hand, the meaning of suffering is that of ε—ν ἀνάγκαις καὶ κακοπαθίαις γένηται (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 521, 24); πα—σαν ἀναδεχόμενοι κακοπαθίαν (685, 30; from AD 139); ψυχικὴν ἅμα καὶ σωματικὴν ὑπέμειναν κακοπαθίαν (656, 20; decree of Abdera from 166 BC, republished by L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, pp. 321ff.; P. Herrmann, “Zum Beschluß von Abdera aus Teos,” in *ZPE*, vol. 7, 1971, pp. 72–77). Cf. Michaelis, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp. 936–939.

⁴ J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 4, 11 and 23: πάντα κίνδυνον καὶ πα—σαν κακοπαθίαν ὑπομίνας (the linking of these two terms is constant, cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 547, 9; 613, 32; 700, 28); Diodorus Siculus 19.80.2: “on account of the excessive hardship (διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κακοπαθείας), none of the valets or stableboys could keep up with the army”; 109, 5: “affected by the heat and the hardship of their flight”; Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 2.3: “the soldiers continued to suffer (κακοπαθούτων)”; cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, pp. 458, 488; idem, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1950, p. 196, n. 183.

⁵ Philo, *Rewards* 128; Jonah 4:10—“You took pity on the castor oil plant for which you had not toiled (Hebrew *‘amal*)”; most occurrences of κακοπάθεια in the papyri have to do with farmers, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59474, 13; *P.Tebt.* 787, 16: πα—σαν κακοπαθίαν ἀνεχόμενοι (138 BC); 955; *I.Magn.* 105, 3: πα—σαν ἀναδεχόμενοι κακοπαθίαν (republished Dittenberger, *Syl.* 685, 30).

⁶ *Tabula of Cebes* 8: κακοπαθω—ν καὶ δαπανω—ν (contrasted with ἡδυπάθεια); C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 546, 11: ὑποστησάμενος δαπάνας καὶ κακοπαθίας (first century BC); *P.Oslo* 26, 13: μετὰ πλαιστής δαπάνης καὶ κακοπαθίας (5 or 4 BC). In 159 or 158 BC, a Jew worked his land at the cost of great toil and expense, μετὰ πολλῆς κακοπαθίας καὶ δαπάνης

(*P.Ryl.* 578, 7; republished *C.Pap.Jud.* 43; H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, pp. 100ff.); *BGU* 1209, 7; *P.Stras.* 601, 16.

⁷ “Contender with misfortune, that is what I am! Fate has saddled me with many difficulties” (Philo, *Joseph* 36); “Our father, . . . like an athlete, passed his life suffering toil and the most unbearable evils” (ibid., 233); cf. Musonius: πόσα δ αὖ κακοπαθοῦσιν ἔνιοι θηρώμενοι δόξαν (in Stobaeus 3, *Ecl.* 29.75.17; ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 56, line 19).

⁸ J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1955, p. 232, n. 134. Philo defines rest: “an activity without fatigue, ἄνευ κακοπαθείας” (*Cherub.* 87).

κακούργος

kakourgos, malefactor, good-for-nothing, criminal

kakourgos, S 2557; *TDNT* 5.484; *EDNT* 2.239; *NIDNTT* 1.561, 564; *MM* 317; *L&N* 88.114; *BDF* §§31(1), 119(1), 124; *BAGD* 398

This word presents no difficulty. It occurs only twice in the NT, where it refers to the two malefactors led with Jesus to Calvary “to be executed”¹ and to St. Paul in prison, enduring sufferings and humiliation “even chains, like a malefactor” (2Tim 2:9; cf. *Gos. Pet.* 26). But it is interesting to ask what sort of delinquent or criminal is meant.

Esth 8:12 *q* uses the word in its most general and pejorative sense: the Jews handed over to destruction by Amon “are not malefactors (= culprits), but govern themselves according to very just laws.” Sir 11:33 makes an easy play on words: “Be on guard against the evildoer (*apo kakourgou*), for he stirs up evil,” but this is the conclusion of a warning against the ploys of the intriguer, the heart of the proud, and slanderer, and sinner (verses 29–32). In Prov 21:15, the *kakourgos* is the “doer of iniquity” (Hebrew *po‘el ‘awen*) and is contrasted with the just person, who practices equity.

The word can refer to a simple good-for-nothing (Menander, *Dysk.* 258) or a villain (Philo, *Heir* 109)—whose impiety and *anomia* are mentioned in *BGU* 1854, 19 and *SB* 9691, 12 = *P.Abinn.* 54, 12—a criminal (*P.Oxy.* 1468,4), most often a thief or brigand (*lestes*, Matt 27:38 = Mark 15:27; Herodian, *Hist.* 1.10.2), operating in groups (*kollegion kakourgon*, *P.Gron.Amst.* 1, 4) that give themselves over to pillage (*P.Ant.* 97, 9; *P.Hib.* 62, 3; from 245 BC) without shrinking from violence (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.75). Thus it is that in AD 171 two pork merchants of Arsinoè were attacked on the road by brigands who beat them up, took their tunics, and stole a pig from one of them.² These nameless bandits cannot be identified

by their victim: “*epelthan tines kakourgoi, housper agnoo*, several bandits whom I do not know attacked” (*P.Lund* IV, 13, 10; republished *SB* 9349; *P.Flor.* 9, 12; *C.P.Herm.* 52,7), they work at night (*P.Mil.* 45, 6; republished *SB* 9515; *P.Lond.* 245, 9 = vol. 2, p. 272), break into a town (*P.Bon.* 22 a 9), a house (*P.Mich.* 425, 16; *P.Gen.* 47, 6, 13), or a farm estate (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 8, 7), steal or kill sheep (*P.Lond.* 403, 8; vol. 2, p. 276 = *P.Abinn.* 49; *P.Lond.* 242, 6; vol. 2, p. 275), and do not hesitate to set fires; they burn harvested grains and hay (*P.Cair.Isid.* 65, 4; 66, 8; 67, 11; cf. *Gos. Pet.* 26). For Palladas, the *kakourgos* is a murderer (*androphonos*) headed for crucifixion.³

The civil authority can take security measures against these malefactors, brigands, deserters, and other delinquents,⁴ like the ordinance of Ptolem Euergetes calling for the arrest of *leistai kai hoi loipoi kakourgoi* (*P.Hib.* 198, 93, 98; *BGU* 1764, 20). The two Gospel texts concerning these bandits emphasize their punishment. Sir 33:27 sets forth torture and trial by ordeal for the *oiketes kakourgos* (wicked servant); Cyrus had the feet and hands of *kakourgoi and adikoi* cut off and their eyes gouged out (Xenophon, *An.* 1.9.13). Thucydides 1.134.4 mentions “the Kaiadas (a pit or cavern) where *kakourgoi* were interred”; Philo, “the whips usually reserved for the degrading of the worst malefactors, *kakourgon ponerotatous*” (Philo, *Flacc.* 75); Plutarch, the mines where the work is done by *kakourgoi* and foreign slaves (*Crass.* 34.1). Incarceration is the commonest punishment, at least as a provisional measure. Pentepres condemns Joseph as a good-for-nothing and sends him to the malefactors’ prison, *eis ten kakourgon heirkten enebalen* (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.59). Since the recovery of debts was in principle supposed to be carried out against the property of debtors and not their persons, Tiberias Julius Alexander orders “that in no event shall free men be imprisoned at all unless they are malefactors” (*SB* 8444, 17 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 669). A plaintiff of the third century, who claims to be innocent, was first led to the town prison, then “transferred to the prison of Crocodilopolis (the metropolis), (the police officer) claiming that I was a malefactor, *phaskon einai me kakourgon*” (*P.Lille* 7, 20; cf. 28, 3). In 6 BC, the chief of police of Persea is ordered to transfer two malefactors who have been arrested, *hous synepsekas kakourgous duo*.⁵

¹ Luke 23:32: ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύο (cf. *Gos. Pet.* 10, 13). This usage of ἕτεροι is a syllepsis, like τοι—ς ἄλλοις ι—διώταις (“that all the other private individuals be permitted to celebrate the feast”) in the Inscription of Rosetta (Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 52); the adjective ἄλλοις does not indicate that those previously mentioned are also ι—διω—ται; furthermore, ἕτερος, a stronger word than ἄλλος, can have the sense of “contrary, opposed, hostile” (Deut 4:28; 5:7; Rom 7:23) and here points out dissimilarity (Luke 9:29; Heb 7:11). More precisely, the frequent occurrence

of the formula shows that it must be translated “in addition, besides,” as J. Vergote has shown (“L’expression καὶ οἱ— ἄλλοι = et aussi,” in *Scrinium Lovaniense: Mélanges historiques Et. van Cauwenberg*, Louvain, 1961, pp. 61–68).

² *P.Fay.* 108, 11; *SB* 9238, 8 (second-third century); *P.Gen.* 47, 6–7 (= *P.Abinn.* 47); *P.Oxy.* 1408, 19 (third century), *BGU* 1847, 15. Although the verb κακουργέω has the sense “mistreat, harm” (*Ep. Arist.* 271; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.101; *P.Mich.* 657, 14) and “act faithlessly” (Josephus, *War* 2.277), the noun κακουργία emphasizes especially faithlessness and fraud, *2Macc* 3:32; 14:22; *P.Oxy.* 71, col. I, 10; 1469, 18; *P.Lond.* 948, 8 (vol. 3, p. 220); Josephus, *Ant.* 18.96; it refers also to the deterioration that merchandise can suffer when transported by sea, ἀπὸ πάσης ναυτικῆς κακουργίας (C. Balconi, “Ricevuta de un Naukleros,” in *Aeg*, 1974, p. 32).

³ *Anth. Pal.* 9.378. Numerous texts associate the malefactor-criminal and crucifixion: the Gauls “keep malefactors in prison for five years and then, in honor of the god, fasten them to crosses raised on a vast pyre, where they are offered in sacrifice” (Diodorus Siculus 5.32.6). “When the physical tortures are carried out, each malefactor carries his own cross” (*Plutarch, De sera* 9); “If the dreamer is a malefactor, this means carrying the cross” (Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.56); “it is bad for the malefactors; because this brings punishment for the criminals, often even by the cross” (*ibid.* 2.68).

⁴ *P.Lips.* 37, 8. At Athens, a law prescribed imprisonment for clothing thieves and kidnappers. Cf. Antiphon: “First of all, I was arrested as a malefactor after an investigation, and I must now answer to a murder charge. . . . And indeed, I should not be classed as a malefactor and am not subject to the law on malefactors (οὐδένοχος τῶ— τῶ—ν κακούργων νόμῳ), as my accusers themselves bear witness; for that law was directed against thieves and highwaymen” (see Antiphon, *Murd. Her.* 9). If thieves are the most commonly mentioned malefactors in Egypt (*BGU* 325, 3; 372, col. II, 11, 22; 935, 4; *P.Lond.* 408, 5; vol. 2, p. 280; *P.Abinn.* 55, 5: ὑπὸ τῶ—ν κακουργῶ—ν ἀναιλούμεθα), many others were later added to the category of *kakourgoi*.

⁵ G. Geraci, “Ordine de trasferimento di duo arrestati,” in *Aeg*, 1974, pp. 5–8.

καλύπτω, ἀνακαλύπτω, ἀποκαλύπτω, ἀποκάλυψις

kalypto, to cover, envelop, hide; *anakalypto*, to unveil, uncover; *apokalypto*, to reveal; *apokalypsis*, revelation

kalypto, S 2572; TDNT 3.556–558; EDNT 2.246; NIDNTT 2.211–212; MM 319; L&N 28.79, 79.114; BAGD 401 | ***anakalypto***, S 343; TDNT 3.560–561; EDNT 1.82; NIDNTT 2.212f.; MM 34; L&N 79.117; BAGD 55 | ***apokalypto***, S 601; TDNT 3.563–592; EDNT 1.130–132; NIDNTT 3.309–312, 314; MM 63; L&N 28.38; BAGD 92 | ***apokalypsis***, S 602; TDNT 3.563–592; EDNT 1.130–132; MM 63; L&N 28.38; BAGD 92

“*Kalypto*. Verbal expression indicating that an object that intercepts the light or visual rays keeps another object from being seen, or, in the case of a living being, from seeing. The active forms of *kalyptein* have as subject, in Homer, the earth, water, clouds, the night, etc., but also deities who used nature to hide what they wanted hidden. The poets, moreover, provide an external cause for the extinction of vision in the dead and wounded, placing outside of their persons the night in which they feel themselves enveloped.”¹

In classical Greek, this verb has three meanings: (a) “cover”; Homer, *Il.* 6.464: “May the earth poured over me cover me”; 10.29: Menelaus “covered his large pack with the hide of a spotted leopard”;² (b) “envelop”; *Il.* 5.23: Hephaestus saved the life of Idaios “by enveloping him in darkness”; 5.507: Ares “enveloped the battle in a sudden night” and thus brought help to the Trojans; 5.553: death, “which ends all, enveloped them there”;³ (c) “hide”; *Il.* 3.381: Aphrodite “hid Paris behind a thick fog”;⁴ 21.318, 321: “his splendid arms will rest beneath the water, hidden beneath the silt (*kekalyptmena*). . . . I will heap rubble on him to hide him (*kalyptso*).”

In the inscriptions, *kalypto* is found in liturgical⁵ and funerary⁶ regulations. On the pedestal of a statue of a magistrate at Mariamnia: “the earth, which nurtured him like a mother, now covers him.”⁷ The verb is rare in the papyri,⁸ but much used in the LXX (for the Hebrew piel of *kasâh*), from the simple meaning in such expressions as covering a cistern (Exod 21:33), fat covering the intestines (Lev 3:14), and “leprosy covering all the skin of the body” (Lev 13:12-13), to the meaning “fill, inundate, overrun”:⁹ God’s majesty covered the heavens (Hab 3:3); fear enveloped me (Ps 55:5; cf. Prov 10:6, 11; Sir 37:3; Hab 2:17). It is especially clouds that cover and envelop,¹⁰ but also hangings, drapes,¹¹ and vestments that “hide” nudity.¹² To cover one’s face is to hide from others’ looks.¹³ To keep words hidden is to keep them secret (*kalyptson ta prostagmata*, Dan 12:4).

It could be said that this verb is unknown in Philo, since he uses it only in quoting Deut 23:13 (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.27; 3.158) and in commenting on Exod 26:1-14 (*Moses* 2.87). Josephus also knows the meaning “cover,”¹⁴ but he more often uses the word to mean “hide,”¹⁵ and with the

pejorative nuance of “conceal”: the satrap conceals his machinations under signs of friendship (*War* 1.256); Antipater cleverly conceals his hatred (1.468); soldiers camouflaged in civilian clothes (2.176).

The Gospels know only the meaning “hide”: a boat is hidden by the waves (Matt 8:24); one who lights a lamp does not hide it with a vase or place it under a bed (Luke 8:16); “they say to the hills, ‘hide us’” (Luke 23:30; cf. Hos 10:18). If there is nothing hidden that will not be uncovered (*ouden kekalymmenon, ho ouk apokalyphthesetai*, Matt 10:26), we must understand this to mean that what Jesus said in secret to his apostles will be promulgated by them to the whole world, and that the truth of the gospel, which is at first contradicted or unrecognized, will be recognized and accepted by the very pagans. In the same sense: “If, moreover, our gospel is veiled (perfect passive participle, *kekalymmenon*), it is so for those who are perishing” (2Cor 4:30). The gospel, which is light and illumination, must be manifest to all, but its brilliance is not perceived by the blind or those who have an opaque spot on their eye (E. B. Allo), a veil (*kalymma*, 2Cor 3:15), due to Satan’s action, so that they are incapable of understanding its message: the revelation of the Messiah. That is to say, the interior illumination of faith is necessary for perceiving the shining brilliance of the Son of Man (Luke 11:33–36).

Very important, theologically speaking, are 1Pet 4:8—“Show intense love among yourselves, since (causal *hoti*) love covers a multitude of sins” (*agape kalyptei plethos hamartion*)—and Jas 5:20—“One who brings back a sinner from the error of his way will save his soul from death and cover a multitude of sins” (*kalypsei plethos hamartion*). The exact parallelism of the two assertions indicates that we have here a Greek aphorism.¹⁶ The Syriac *Didascalia* (2.3.3) attributes it to Jesus himself,¹⁷ but it is certainly a quotation of Prov 10:12 according to the Hebrew text: “Love covers all faults.” To cover, veil, or hide sins is to efface them, pardon them.¹⁸ The OT affirms that works of mercy obtain pardon for sin from God,¹⁹ and the Lord pronounces the merciful blessed (Matt 5:7; 6:14-15; cf. 1Pet 2:20; 3:8-9). We may affirm that in the NT, *agape* has the value of an expiatory sacrifice and is a major element of spiritual worship (1John 3:19-20).

Anakalypto. — Apparently this verb is commonplace, meaning “unveil, remove a veil, uncover.” It was agreed that once seated, “the conspirators (disguised as women) would strike immediately, throwing off their veils”;²⁰ “unveil the sacred robe” (*anakalypton ton hieron pepilon, Pap.Graec.Mag.* 57, 17). In the LXX, that which was hidden in darkness is disclosed and made to appear, made known,²¹ like the sins of the wicked (Job 20:27; cf. Philo, *Dreams* 1.87; *Moses* 1.243), and more frequently this or that body part: “The Lord will uncover the form of the daughters of Zion” (Isa 3:17; piel of the Hebrew *‘arâh*); the deported Egyptians will go “barefoot and with their shame uncovered” (Isa 20:4; Hebrew *hasap*); notably for uncovering the pudenda.²²

Anakalypto is sometimes associated with vision: with animals that have eyelids, “If they do not open them (*me anakalyphthenton*) they cannot see.”²³ But in the OT, the verb is in a way sacralized, when God is the subject. Not only does he “reveal himself” (Isa 22:14), but “he makes a revelation to humans.”²⁴ “He reveals that which is deep and hidden” (Dan 2:22), mysteries (2:28-29). Philo takes up this meaning: “the will of God is to reveal the secrets of things to those who wish to know the truth.”²⁵ Virtue, like Tamar, sits at the crossroads with veiled face; but “in unveiling her (*anakalypsantes*), the curious behold (*katatheasontai*) her beauty undefiled” (*Prelim. Stud.* 124).

It is in light of these data that we must understand the two NT occurrences of this religious verb. Comparing Judaism and Christianity, the synagogue and the church, St. Paul says, “Until this day (cf. Deut 29:3; Isa 29:10; Rom 11:8) the same veil (*kalymma*) remains (on the heads of Jews, as the veil was upon Moses’ head) at the reading of the old covenant, for it is not unveiled (*me anakalyptomēnon*) that in Christ it (the covenant) is abolished” (2Cor 3:14). The veil hinders seeing, and here, the understanding that the transitory old covenant is now outdated. The condition of Christians is quite different: “We all with unveiled faces (dative of manner, not instrumental, *anakekalymmeno prosopo*) reflect like a mirror the glory of the Lord.”²⁶ The new covenant, after all, is written not on stone tablets but on tablets of flesh, in the hearts of believers (2Cor 3:3). All the same, since it is a question of knowledge, the apostle speaks no longer of uncovered hearts but of faces with no interposed veil, of uncovered persons who refract the divine light when they are turned toward Christ, who, illuminating them with the divine light, metamorphoses and divinizes them. The image is that of a permanent and transforming spiritual reflection.²⁷ Everyone can perceive it, whereas the Israelites could not look upon Moses reflecting the divine light, so that he was obliged to veil it (Exod 34).

Apokalypsis. — This noun, unknown in Philo, Josephus, and the papyri, means literally “the act of uncovering”²⁸ and corresponds exactly to the English “revelation.”²⁹ Ben Sirach uses it for the divulging of a secret (Sir 22:22; 41:26—*logon kryphion*) and for the manifestation of that which was previously unknowable: “At a person’s end (comes) the revelation of his works” (*apokalypsis ergon autou*, 11:27).

Simeon, drawing upon Isa 42:6 and 49:6 (*eis phos ethnon*) sees in the infant Jesus the Messiah, “a light for the revealing of the nations” (*phos eis apokalypsin ethnon*, Luke 2:32); ordinarily this *apokalypsis* is understood to mean the teaching of the Gentiles or the suppression of spiritual darkness, the drawing back of a veil; but that is not a translation; we must translate, “a light that will reveal itself to the nations” (E. Osty). The meaning of “manifestation” is evident when the word refers to the glorious Second Coming of Christ, coming from heaven,³⁰ so that

“apocalypse” has in view the eschatological future, the object of Christian faith, and awaited even by the very creation (Rom 8:19). Its technical meaning is given in the doxology in Rom 16:25, where “the revelation of a mystery (*kata apokalypsin mysteriou*) kept in silence from eternity”³¹ is a divulging analogous to the gospel and the kerygma; its object is Jesus Christ, who is henceforth announced. In fact, the apostle learned the mystery and the gospel not from human teachers, but “by revelation” from God and Christ,³² so that he could put the dispensation into effect. Heavenly manifestations and apocalyptic visions were multiplied in his life precisely because he was the herald charged with proclaiming to the world the truth of the saving divine truth, with being a bearer of the light.³³ He teaches what he has received by divine revelation, and his words are a revelation for Christians, to whom he brings new knowledge: “Of what use will I be to you if I do not speak to you in revelation (*en apokalypsei*), or in gnosis, or in prophecy, or in instruction?” (1Cor 14:6). It is remarkable that in church meetings each one was concerned to bring to his brothers and sisters some additional light to allow them to know God better, to “disclose” him more and more: “May the God of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . grant you a spirit of wisdom and of revelation that will make you truly know him.”³⁴

It is not surprising that the name *Apocalypse* should have been given to books recording the revelations of prophets.³⁵ Also, the first word of the text of the Apocalypse of the apostle and prophet John (*Apokalypsis Iesou Christou*, Rev 1:1) serves as the title of the work: in it Christ reveals himself, makes himself known, manifests himself as Lord and Redeemer, reigning in heaven and triumphing over Satan’s last assaults on earth. The veil that hides the future is lifted to make known God’s secrets concerning the future, the events of the church’s future as discernible by Christians.

¹ C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 214.

² Cf. Josephus, *War* 3.192; Homer, *Od.* 5.352: a black wave covers the white goddess (Leukothea) and hides her from Ulysses’ sight; 11.15: the Cimmerians live covered by fog and dust, which hide them from view; Pindar, *Nem.* 8.64: “I would like to deliver my body to the earth to cover it”; Sophocles, *Ant.* 28: it is forbidden for inhabitants of the city to cover the body of Polynices with a tomb; Euripides, *Supp.* 531: “Grant then that the earth now cover these dead”; *Hipp.* 712: “Let your silence cover what you have heard here”; Aristotle, *HA* 2.13.505: the gills of the anglerfish are not covered by a spiny operculum.

³ Homer, *Il.* 465: the desire of Idomeneus is “to envelop several Trojans with the darkness of night”; 17.243: “the cloud of war enveloped everything around us.”

⁴ Cf. Homer, *Il.* 14.438: a night hides the eyes of wounded Hector from us; 14.519; 17.136: the lion, facing the hunters, “lowers his eyelids, hiding his eyes”; 20.444; 22.466; *Od.* 5.293; 9.68; 12.314; *Jos. Asen.* 14.17: “She hid her head under a fine, lovely veil.”

⁵ At Lycosura, a rule relating to the cult of Demeter (third century BC): μηδὲ κεκαλυμμένος = hair not covered for people entering the sanctuary (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 999, 10 = *LSCG*, n. 68).

⁶ At Cos, a rule against excessive displays of mourning (fifth century BC): μὴ καλύπτειν (sc. τὸ θανόντα); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1218, 7 = *LSCG*, n. 97, 7; cf. n. 77, C14: τὸν νεκρὸν κεκαλυμμένον φερέτω; n. 159, B 34. At Alexandria, a very damaged tombstone (third-second century); ε—κάλυψεν (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 31, 7 = *SB* 5004).

⁷ *IGLS* 2114, 6 (καλύπτει); *I.Bulg.* 1788, 1; cf. Josephus, *War* 1.671: Herod’s body was laid out covered with purple.

⁸ The opposite of the case with the compound κατακαλύπτω (cf. T. Nägeli, *Wortschatz*, p. 27). Moulton-Milligan gives no other reference than *Ep. Arist.* 87: for decency’s sake, the priests “cover themselves with tunics . . . that reach to their ankles.” We may add *CPR* I, 239, 5: a land covered with water; *SB* 10218, 15 (second century AD, badly mutilated): ε—κάλυψαν καὶ πληγαί—ς πλείσταις; *P.Apoll.* 69, 8 (eighth century): ἴσως ἄρα ε—κάλυψεν αὐτῶ— τοῦς τεχνίτας καμει—ν ει—ς τὸ τροχομυλόνιν.

⁹ Gen 7:19—at the deluge “all the high mountains were covered”; Exod 14:28—the waters covered the chariots and riders of Pharaoh’s whole army (15:5, 10; Josh 24:7; Ps 78:53; 104:9; 106:11; Job 22:11); Exod 16:13—the quails covered the camp (cf. 8:2, frogs); Num 22:11—the people covered the face of the country (Jdt 2:7, 19; 5:10 [famine_]; 7:18; 16:4; Josephus, *War* 5.352).

¹⁰ Exod 24:15-16 (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.346; 13.208); 40:34; Num 9:15-16; 17:7; Lev 16:13; Ezek 30:18; 32:7.

¹¹ Exod 26:13; Num 4:8-12; cf. Exod 27:2—the horns of the altar are covered with bronze; 1Kgs 7:41.

¹² Exod 28:42; Hos 2:11; Isa 20:4; Ezek 16:8; Sir 29:21; Josephus, *War* 5.231; *Ant.* 7.287: καλύπτει ι—ματίῳ. Cf. Num 16:33—“the earth covered those who were in Sheol and they disappeared from the midst of the assembly”; Ezek 24:7-8; 26:10; Ps 106:17; Job 21:26.

¹³ Isa 40:2; Job 15:27; 23:17; Ps 44:15; 69:7; Sir 16:30; Obad 10; Ezek 7:18; “the walls hide me” (Sir 23:18); “they will say to the mountains, ‘Hide us’” (Hos 10:8; Mal2:16).

¹⁴ Towers covered with fire (*War* 3.284; cf. 5.201, 222; *Ant.* 8.77, 136); the cherubim cover the ark (*Ant.* 7.378); they were submerged by the wave of carnage (*War* 3.330, 425); “he would cover this abominable crime beneath the ruins of their country” (6.217).

¹⁵ *War* 2.169: Pilate had the images of Caesar veiled; 3.160: “Jotapata, hidden by a circle of high mountains, was absolutely invisible”; 5.196: a concealed structure.

¹⁶ Cf. J. Chaine, *L’Epître de saint Jacques*, Paris, 1927; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 332–338; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 496ff. A. Perego, “I peccati sono rimessi e non coperti anche secondo il salmo 31,” in *DivThom*, 1960, pp. 205–215.

¹⁷ Cf. the numerous quotation of this *logion* in the apostolic literature, notably *1Clem.* 50.5: “We are happy if we practice the commandments of God in harmony and charity, so that on account of charity our sins may be pardoned”; *Did.* 4.6; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3.12.91; Didymus, *Zech.* 3.219. A. Resch, *Agrapha*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 129–130, 248, 249.

¹⁸ Ps 32:1, 5; 85:3; Neh 3:5. One might ask if this means the sins of the converted one or the one doing the converting. Apparently the latter, at least in 1Peter, which is addressed to “the one who loves” his neighbor. According to 1Tim 4:16, one saves oneself by saving others.

¹⁹ Dan 4:24; Tob 4:10; 12:9; Sir 3:30—“Water extinguishes a blazing fire, and almsgiving expiates sin”; 17:22.

²⁰ Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.4.6. Cf. Euripides, *Or.* 294: “Uncover yourself, brotherly head, leave your weeping there”; Polybius 4.85.6: Aratus asked, “Do not neglect any means of arriving at the truth before disclosing anything to the Achaeans”; Diodorus Siculus 17.62: “unveil his aspirations to tyranny”; *T. Jud.* 14.5: ἀνακάλυψα κάλλυμα ἀκαθαρσίας υἱ—ω—ν μου. Used for the opening of a parcel or package (*P.Oxy.* 1297, 9; letter from the fourth century) and open jars (3081, 8; third century); cf. 2195, 134: τοι—ς ἀνακαλύψασιν τὸν λάκκον τῆς μηχανῆς τοῦ κτήματος Εὐαγγελίου (sixth century).

²¹ Isa 49:9 (Hebrew *galâh*); Ps 18:15—“when the foundations of the earth are uncovered” (cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59497: ἡ γῆ ἀποκαλύπτεται; *O.Mich.* 891, 8; *P.Oxy.* 1833, 7); Job 12:22; 28:11—the result of an exploration is to bring to light what was hidden (cf. Philo, *Dreams* 1.99: the light of day brings out everything). Tobias sleeps with face uncovered (Tob 2:9); Saul’s messengers discover David’s bed (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.218); “It is a very distant history, buried in forgetfulness, that I want to reveal to you; I will disclose it to you in private” (Philo, *Joseph* 238). In a pejorative sense: in the shakings of the earth, God disfigures the face of the earth (Isa 24:1; cf. 22:8; 26:2).

²² Deut 23:1; Isa 47:2-3; Jer 13:22; 49:10; Job 41:5. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.108.

²³ Aristotle, *Sens.* 5.444b25; cf. at Epidaurus, the healing of a woman by a vision: ε—δόκει αὐται— τὰν νηδὺν ὁ θεὸς ἀγκαλύψαι (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1169, 62; fourth century BC).

²⁴ Job 33:16. Cf. Tob 12:7, 11: “It is good to reveal brilliantly the works of God.”

²⁵ *Joseph* 90; cf. *Drunkennes* 139: virtue, eliminating equivocal reasonings, unveils the truth; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 7.151: Nathan reveals to David the wrath of God at his crime.

²⁶ 2Cor 3:18. Cf. J. Dupont, “Le Chrétien miroir de la gloire divine, d’après II Cor. III, 18,” in *RB*, 1949, pp. 392–411; N. Hagedé, *La Métaphore du miroir dans les Epîtres de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1957; J. F. Collange, *Enigmes de la deuxième Epître de Paul aux Corinthiens*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 106–125; W. C. van Unnik, “‘With Unveiled Face,’ an Exegesis of II Corinthians III, 12–18,” in *Sparsa Collecta*, Leiden, 1973, vol. 1, pp. 194–210 (= *NovT*, 1964, pp. 153–169).

²⁷ If we understand κατοπτρίζομαι: “behold *in* a mirror” (cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.101), the mirror would be Christ, filled with God’s glory; cf. A. Feuillet, *Le Christ, Sagesse de Dieu, d’après les épîtres pauliniennes*, Paris, 1966, pp. 115–135; B. Rey, *Créés dans le Christ Jésus*, Paris, 1966, pp. 194ff.

²⁸ Cf. Plutarch, *Cat. Mai.* 20.8: “Among the Romans, fathers-in-law would have been embarrassed to undress and appear nude before them (their sons-in-law)”; 1Sam 20:30—the shame of the unveiling (Hebrew *‘erewâh*) of nudity.

²⁹ *Revelacium*, derived from the Latin, appeared in twelfth-century French and was used for realities divulged to people who did not know about them. To reveal is to remove the veil (obstacle) that hinders physical vision or intellectual knowledge.

³⁰ Rom 2:15; 1Cor 1:7 (Peter von der Osten-Sacken, “Gottes Treue bis zur Parusie: Formgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu I Kor. I, 7 b–9,” in *ZNW*, 1977, pp. 176–199); 2Thess 1:7; 1Pet 1:7, 13; 4:13.

³¹ L.-M. Dewailly, “Mystère et silence dans Rom. XVI, 25,” in *NTS*, vol. 14, 1967, pp. 111–118: the mystery is God’s secret, because he had a plan in mind and said nothing about it (cf. Eph 3:9; Col 1:26; 1Cor 2:7); hence his “silence,” the opposite of announcement, communication, revelation. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Future*, London, 1954; idem, *Jesus and the Last Days*, Peabody, 1993.

³² Gal 1:12; Eph 3:3. K. Kertelge, “Apokalypsis Jesou Christou (Gal. I, 12),” in J. Gnllka, *Neues Testament und Kirche*, pp. 266–281.

³³ 2Cor 12:1—If boasting is necessary “I shall come to visions and revelations from the Lord”; 12:7; Gal 2:2. “I went up to Jerusalem according to a revelation.” Cf. J. W. Bowker, “‘Merkabah’: Visions and the Visions of Paul,” in *JSS*, 1971, pp. 157–173; H. Saak, “Paulus als Ekstatiker: Pneumatologische Beobachtungen zu II Kor. XII, 1–10,” in *Bib*, 1972, pp. 404–410 (= *NovT*, 1973, pp. 153–160); J. Cambier, “Une lecture de II Cor. XII, 6–7 a: Essai d’interprétation nouvelle,” in *AnBib* 17, Rome, 1963, pp. 475–485.

³⁴ Eph 1:17. Cf. 1Cor 14:26—“When you meet, each one has a psalm, a teaching, a revelation, a speech in tongues.” P. Benoit, “L’Evolution du langage apocalyptique dans le corpus paulinien,” in *Apocalypses et théologie de l’espérance*, Paris, 1977, pp. 219–235.

³⁵ Apocalypses of Abraham, of Moses, of Baruch, etc. Apocalyptic succeeded prophetism, cf. M. J. Lagrange, *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1931, pp. 70–90; E. B. Allo, *Saint Jean: L’Apocalypse*, 3d ed., Paris, 1933, pp. xivff., xxixff.; J. B. Frey, “Apocalyptique,” in *DBSup*, vol. 1, col. 326–354.

κᾰμνω

kamno, to work, take pains, become weary, lose heart, be ill

kamno, S 2577; EDNT 2.248; MM 320; L&N 23.142, 25.291; BAGD 402

This intransitive verb is frequently used by Homer in the sense of “work, make an effort, take pains” a meaning attested up until the eighth century in the papyri.¹ From this meaning, it comes to signify “grow weary, tire oneself out, take great pains.” Thus Heb 12:3 cautions “lest you grow weary, becoming faint of heart, *hina me kamnete tais psychais hymon eklyomenoi*, ”² to which we may compare 4Macc 7:13 (Eleazar, whose “bodily strength was spent, whose muscles were flabby, whose sinews were weakened—*kekmekoton* —became a young man again”) or 3:8 (“when evening came, David, covered with sweat and quite exhausted, *sphodra kekmekos* ”). Job’s soul was tired (literally “disgusted,” Hebrew *qût*) of life (*kamnon te psyche mou*, Job 10:1). A person is tired out by effort or a sustained attempt (*P.Stras.* 198, 10; second century); one suffers on account of bad news (*P.Michael.* 29, 6; cf. *BGU* 884, col. I, 11); besieged people whose spirits have flagged badly take fresh courage (Diodorus Siculus 20.96). Quite often the verb is used with negation. God says: “I am the one who marked out the way that leads to heaven and blazed the trail, like a highway for all suppliant souls, so that they might not tire out as they go, *hos me kamnoien badizousai* ” (Philo, *Post. Cain* 31). “If you do not get what you are looking for on the first try, persevere tirelessly, *epimene me kamnon* ” (Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 220). Those who do not seek the truth zealously should take as their model those who are suffering physically (*ton ta somata kamnonton*) and who seek the care of a physician (Philo, *Good Man Free* 12). Moses did not let himself be worn down by Pharaoh’s threats (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.290, *oute ekammen*); from the time of Hadrian: “very light for his height, so that the one carrying him did not suffer, *hos me kamnein ton phorounta auton* ” (*P.Giss.* 47, 8). In the third-fourth century, “Your enemy does not tire of making petitions, *ou kamnei de sou ho antidikos entynchanon* ” (*P.Oxy.* 2597, 6).

Kamno finally means to suffer in the sense of being affected by an illness; *hoi kamnontes* = patients (Hippocrates, *Acut.* 1.1, 3.2, etc.), as in Jas 5:15, where the elders are called to pray over the sick person, “and the prayer of faith will save the sufferer, *he euche tes pisteos sosei ton kamnonta*. ” This meaning is the one found in the classical authors.³ It is current in the first century: “God offers the remedy for the salvation of the sick—*pros ten ton kamnonton soterian* —by applying this balm to the wounds of the soul” (Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 124); “physical illnesses for which one goes to a physician” (*Good Man Free* 12); “When his son Obime was sick (*kamnontos*)” Jereboam sent his wife to consult the prophet Achias;⁴ “treatment for the sick” (*therapeian ton kamnonton*, Musonius Rufus, p. 20, 8); “You know that my brother Marcus has many dealings with the sick and with the clinic” (*tous kamnontas kai to iatrion*, *P.Ross.Georg.* III,2, 9; cf. *P.Gron.Amst.* I, 11).

¹ Josephus, *Life* 209: “Μὴ κάμνε δὴ—do not put yourself to the trouble.” in the second century AD: “Tothes will without difficulty find the way to find me, Τοθῆς μὴ κάμνη εὕρας τὴν ὁδὸν ε—μὲ” (*UPZ* 78, 10); “I took a good deal of trouble for a long time for Heraïskos, πολλὰ ἔκαμνον προσκαρτερω—ν” (second aorist, *P.Ross.Georg.* II,31, 11). In the third century, a petition to the emperor: σωτήρων δὲ ε—μοῦ ἀνδρὸς μετρίου πολλὰ καμόντος (*PSI* 1422, 10); ε—γὼ γὰρ πολλὰ καμών (*SB* 9468, 9); κέκμηκα μετὰυτοῦ (*P.Berl.Zill.* 11, 11); make great efforts (*P.Oxy.* 2274, 6; 2596, 17); the labors of a liturgy (*P.Flor.* 382, 29). The senators ask the *prytanes*: “Labor on for us, work in a manner worthy of the past, κάμε ἄξια τοῦ ε—πάνω χρόνου” (*P.Oxy.* 1414, 27). In the fourth century, a letter to the abbot John: “Greet for me all of the brothers who work with you” (*C.P.Herm.* 8, 21; republished by M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, p. 328). In the sixth century, at the entrance to the synagogue of Beth Alpha: “Let them remember the artisans who executed this work, Μνιστοῦσιν ὕ τεχνι—τε ὕ κάμνοντες τὸ ἔργον τοῦτω” (*CII* 1166; cf. an epigram of Ephesus in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 4, Paris, 1948, p. 73; republished by B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, p. 67); a widow wants her son to be adopted by new parents, because she is alone and must labor and toil, κάμνουσα καὶ δυστηχοῦσα (*P.Oxy.* 1895, 6); in the seventh century, a horse is absolutely unable to work, οὐ δύνατε ὅλως κάμνι—ν (*P.Oxy.* 1862, 19). Between 703 and 715: “given that the caulkers who work at the shipyards of Babylon have taken flight, οἱ—καλαφάται οἱ—κάμνοντες εἰ—ς τοὺς καράβους” (*P.Apoll.* 9, 6; again *PSI* 1266, 5); “You must work on the cleaning out (of the canal) or the digging that remains to be done on this new work” (*ibid.* 27, 7; cf. 12, 6; 69, 9); an accounting for expenses: a subsidy for the workers (in the mines?) of Maximianopolis, τοἰ—ς καμοῦσι ε—ν Μαξιμιανοπόλει (*ibid.* 88, 3); *P.Lond.* 1414, 24, 26, 28, 76, 78, 81, 118, 149, 151, 198, 218, 304; 1436, 50. Cf. Galen: “It is a shame, when one works for years to become a good physician, orator, grammarian, mathematician, that people are never willing to work long enough at becoming a good person” (*Anim. Pass.* 16).

² On the supplementary participle with a verb indicating cessation of action, cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, n. 891. Cf. fatigue in combatants, Diodorus Siculus 17.12.1.

³ Sophocles, *Phil.* 282, “when I was bitten by a snake and was suffering, no one stood by me, οὐδ’ ὅστις νόσου κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο”; Plato, *Grg.* 478 a: “To whom do we take those who suffer from bodily illness? —to the physicians”; *Hp. Mi.* 304 a: “If each of us is sick (κεκμηκῶς), or wounded, or smitten”; *Leg.* 11.916 a: “If anyone has purchased a slave suffering from

consumption (ε—άν τις ἀνδράποδον ἀποδω—ται κάμνον) or who has a stone or strangury or the so-called holy distemper or any other physical or mental illness”; Aristotle, *HA* 8.21.603a: horses that graze freely are protected from illnesses; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 708: “What are you suffering from? What illness? τί πάσχεις, τί κάμνεις.” —Hence the meaning “to die”: “the dead righteous person (δίκαιος κάμνων) condemns the living wicked” (*Wis* 4:16); “He cares nothing about having to die someday”; idols are “images of dead gods” (*Sib. Or.* 3.588).

⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* 8.266. Cf. a decree of Cos on honoraria for physicians, διὰ τὴν ε—πιμέλειαν . . . τω—ν καμνόντων (*Dittenberger, Syl.* 943, 10). Wettstein gives several references to the medical writers.

καπηλεύω

kapeleuo, to peddle, to traffic in something for gain

kapeleuo, S 2585; *TDNT* 3.603–605; *EDNT* 2.249; MM 321; L&N 57.202; BAGD 403

“We are not among the many who hawk the word of God about, *hos hoi polloi kapeleuontes* (Vulgate *adulterantes*) *ton logon tou theou*. ”¹ The verb occurs only here in the Bible. It derives from *kapelos*, which by contrast with *emporos* (a considerable merchant) normally refers to a small shopkeeper, a retailer, a reseller, a peddler, a second-hand dealer,² and by extension any trafficker or merchant;³ tradition most often makes the *kapelos* a wine merchant,⁴ even though this specialization is poorly attested before the first century, when it is denounced for misdeeds already noted by *Isa* 1:22—“*hoi kapeloi sou misgousi ton oinon hydati, your kapeloi mix the wine with water.*”⁵

If *kapeloi* have a reputation for falsifying what they sell or cheating on the price, what are we to do with the verb *kapeleuo*? It has the two connotations of “falsify” and “reap illicit profits,” which the commentators are wrong to separate.⁶ Moulton-Milligan, to support the sense “deal in for purposes of gain,” cite *BGU* 1024, col. VII, 23, referring to a prostitute: “*hoti ton men bion asemnos diegen, to de telos . . . ekapeleuen*, because she led an indecent life, she ended by selling . . .”; but this text is from the fourth century and contains the only occurrence of *kapeleuo* in the papyri.⁷

Aeschylus (*Sept.* 545) uses *kapeleuein ten machen*, meaning “do a half-way job at fighting, wage pseudo-combat”; Philo: “She who ought to share a man’s bed, not for pay like a courtesan who peddles the flower of her beauty, *hos hetairan to tes horas anthos kapeleuousan*” (*Virtues* 112); “A certain Apelles, a tragedian, who they say had in the flower of his youth

peddled his beauty, *ekapeleuse ten horan* ” (*To Gaius* 203); “One hears of irregularities: businessmen and traders (*emporoi* and *kapeloi*) will for filthy lucre (*glischron heneka kerdon*) cross seas and traverse the whole earth” (*Migr. Abr.* 217). Philostratus: “This is what I have against trainers who make merchants of themselves (*kapeleuonton*), for they peddle the good qualities of the athletes (*kapeleuosi gar pou tas ton athleton aretas*) to achieve their own interests” (*Gym.* 45). Palladas: “Fortuna, who traffics in all of human life (*Tyche kapeleuouosa*) . . . who mixes and then draws off again (*synkykosa kai metantlous au palin*), see how she in her turn is a tavern keeper (*kaute kapelos esti*), not a goddess; having received from fate a profession to match her character” (*Anth. Pal.* 9.180). This last text emphasizes the scorn directed at the profession of *kapelos*; cf. Lucian: “The Phoenicians . . . you must regard them as gods, although for the most part they are mere *kapeloi* and fishmongers” (*Tox.* 4). This pejorative flavor, which St. Paul preserves, is present in all of the references just given; the love of lucre cannot be disentangled from shady dealings and guilty deeds; it is in fact their motive.⁸

It is more illuminating to follow J. J. Wettstein in tracing behind the Pauline usage the philosophical use of the term, in which the sophist is disqualified for selling his teaching. The tradition goes back to Plato: “Is a sophist not a merchant or shopkeeper (*emporos tis e kapelos*), selling the commodities that nourish the soul. . . . Those who peddle their knowledge from city to city, selling it wholesale and retail (*polountes kai kapeleuontes*) praising to their buyers all that they offer for sale” (*Prt.* 313 c-d). Philostratus: “he went off to buy and sell and to hackney wisdom, *apege tou chrematizesthai te kai ten sophian kapeleuein* ”;⁹ Lucian: “the philosophers sell their teaching like tavern keepers (*hos kapeloi*), and most of them (*hoi polloi*) mix their wine with water and misrepresent it (*dolosantes*).”¹⁰

We must conclude that the apostle has in mind those preachers who do not proclaim the word of God in all its purity; they alter it, falsify it by introducing elements foreign to the revelation—1Tim 1:3; 6:3 calls this *heterodidaskalein* —after the fashion of shopkeepers who sell adulterated goods;¹¹ by so doing, this preaching loses its power to convert and give spiritual life. This hucksterism is aimed not only at making a profit (cf. 1Cor 9:5-14) but for building a reputation, inspiring admiration, gaining personal advantages, prestige, credit, authority.

The papyri add nothing to this semantic, apart from the names of several tavern keepers or merchants.¹² In the patristic literature, *theokapelos*, *christokapelos*, *kapeleuein ta theia* refer to people who abuse Christianity by either falsifying or selling the truth.¹³

¹ 2Cor 2:17. The reading *οι— πολλοί* is perfectly attested by the best manuscripts, over against *οι— λοιποί* in D, E, F, L, P46, Syr.; C. Daniel,

back-translating οἱ— πολλοί = Hebrew *ha-rabbîm* = the numerous, sees in the word a Qumran expression, “Une mention paulinienne des Esséniens de Qumrân,” in *RevQ*, vol. 20, 1966, pp. 553–567.

² J. Rougé (*Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1966, p. 266ff.) has shown that κάπηλοι also includes those who traffic in luxury items and maritime merchants; cf. Philo, *Good Man Free* 78. In the rescript of Pergamum (Dittenberger, *Or.* 484), κάπηλοι are mentioned with fishmongers (ὄψαριοπω—λαιο) and retail dealers (ε—ργασταί). Among the small merchants who fill the streets and plazas of Constantinople, Gregory of Nyssa mentions οἱ— τω—ν ι—ματίων κάπηλοι (*De Deitate*, *PG*, vol. 46, 557 b).

³ Sir 26:29—“οὐ δικαιωθήσεται κάπηλος ἀπὸ ἀμαρτίας, the shopkeeper will not be free of faults,” i.e., will not refrain from sins of injustice. The business world is full of snares; it is difficult to get rich without committing fraud and giving in to greed; cf. Jas 4:13ff.; Rev 18:1ff. *B. 'Erub.* 55b : “Knowledge is found neither among businessmen nor with merchants”; *Pirqa 'Abot* 2.6: “A person who gives himself over to business cannot remain wise.” The Vulgate translates κάπηλος by *caupo*, which means innkeeper, hotelier; whereas a tavern keeper is a *tabernarius* (cf. T. Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l'antiquité romaine*, Uppsala, 1957, pp. 1ff.). A καπηλει—ον is a tavern: ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπηλιωτικὴν στοᾶν πρὸς ἄνοιξιν καπηλείου (*P.Oxy.* 2109, 11, 32; cf. *P.Tebt.* 43, 16; *SB* 10465, 1; *P.Lond.* 2049, 4).

⁴ Κάπηλος (cf. the feminine καπηλίς, *P.Fay.* 12, 23) is often written without further qualification (cf. *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 5, n. 13504ff.) to designate someone's profession: θήκη Σωπάτρου καπήλου (*MAMA* III, 184; cf. 192; σωματοθήκη—Αναστασίου καπήλου, 234; cf. 296, 474, 603. C. Naour, “Inscriptions et reliefs de Kibyratide et de Cabalide,” in *ZPE*, vol. 22, 1976, p. 134; cf. J and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1976, p. 513, n. 532). Often mention is made of the grain merchant, σιτοκάπηλος (*P.Tebt.* 120, 125; 890, 97, 179, 210); *UPZ* I, 8, 33); the oil merchant, ε—λαιοκάπηλος (*P.Petr.* III, 86, 2–4; *PSI* 372, 5–6; *SB* 7202, 18), or the wine merchant, οἱ—νοκάπηλος (cf. *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 5, n. 12535–12551); but these latter retailers are also called κάπηλοι without further designation (*P.Enteux.* 34, 1–2; *P.Oxy.* 3007, 5, 16). Through their fault, soldiers go without wine: μηκέτι χορηγεῖ—σθαι αὐτοί—ς οἶνον διὰ τω—ν καπήλων (*P.Tebt.* 724, 6; second century BC; cf. 612: καπήλων Τεβτύνεως διὰ τω—ν οἱ—νοπρατω—ν ε—κάστου δραχμαὶ η?, first-second century). Each month, the κάπηλοι have to pay a tax (*BGU* 1237; from the third-second century).

⁵ Cato, *Agr.* 111; Martial 1.56; 3.57; Pompeian inscription: “Talia te fallant utinam mendacia, copo; tu vendas acuam et bibes ipse merum” (*CIL* IV, 3948); two goblets, one from Reims and the other from Amiens, bear the inscription: *misce, copo* (*CIL* XIII, 10018, 120 *a-b*). Hesychius defines καπηλεύει: μεταπωλει— οι—νοπωλει—, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς τροφὰς καὶ πόσεις, and the *Suda* explains καπηλικω—ς: ἀντὶ τοῦ πανουργικω—ς: ε—πεὶ οι— κάπηλοι ὀνθυλεύουσι τὸν οἶνον, συμμιγνύντες αὐτω—σαπρόν.

⁶ Cf. the clarification of H. Windisch, “καπηλεύω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 603–605; E. B. Allo, *Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens*, on this verse; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, London, 1973, p. 103. H. Lietzmann (*An die Korinther*, 2 vols., 2d ed., Tübingen, 1923, p. 109) thought that καπηλεύω referred primarily to “gain” when the verb was used figuratively (here for spiritual realities), and that falsification was a secondary meaning.

⁷ Καπηλεύω = sell, in the record of receipts and payments of the *hieropoioi* at Delos in 279 BC, τω—ν οι—κημάτων ε—ν οἷς Ἐφεσος καπηλεύει.

⁸ We may use the Aristotelian definition: Retail trade is a mode of exchange “aimed at maximizing profits” (*Pol.* 1.9.9.1257b); “the abundance of cash is the goal of retail trade” (*Pol.* 1.9.10). Philo asks what profit Balaam might have derived from this sophistic art of divination whereby “he had altered the features of the prophecy inspired by God” (*Change of Names* 203). Cf. καπηλεία in Josephus: “the inhabitants of the Phoenician coast give themselves enthusiastically to small business and big business (περὶ τὰς καπηλείας καὶ περὶ τὰς ε—μπορίας) through their love of profits (διὰ τὸ φιλοχρηματει—ν)” (*Ag. Apion* 1.61). The adjective κάπηλος means “false, deceiving” and καπηλικός “mercantile” (Marcus Aurelius 4.28; *SB* 7612, 7, 19).

⁹ Philostratus, *VA* 1.13 (cited by G. Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana*, p. 146); cf. Philo, *Giants* 39.

¹⁰ Lucian, *Hermot.* 59 (cf. 2Cor 4:2—μηδὲ δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ); cf. Maximus of Tyre 33.8; Iamblichus, *VP* 34; Philo: “philosophy—not that practised by the wordmongers and sophists who sell their principles and reasonings like any other goods at the market” (*Moses* 2.212); cf. *Spec. Laws* 4.51; *Change of Names* 136: Judah “considers it impious to sully the divine with the profane.”

¹¹ For ways in which the flavor of wine was altered, how it was denatured, cut with seawater, perfumes, etc., cf. J. André, *L'Alimentation et la cuisine à Rome*, Paris, 1961, pp. 164–175; Kleberg, *Hôtels*, pp. 111ff.

¹² Cf. Ὠρος (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59297, 9; 59567, 15; 59736, 31), Σεω—τος (59450, 3), Ἡρωνος (*P.Fouad* 68, 5), Ἡραΐσκος (*SB* 9157, 15), Φμοίς (*P.Tebt.* 890, 29, 95, 122, 137); Μαρρέως (*P.Tebt.* 701, 156, cf. 833, 44; 890, 138, 224); Διόδωρος (*P.Oxy.* 1158, 26). On George of Korykos, both fisher and merchant (*MAMA* III, 279), cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11, Paris, 1960, p. 45. In the sixth-seventh century, *P.Oxy.* 1966, 6, 25; *P.Ness.* 49, 3–4; cf. εογένης (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1958, p. 186, n. 39; cf. p. 299, n. 391), Πυρουλα—ς (*I.Bulg.* 2078 b 3). These κάπηλοι join together to offer a dedication to the god of the city of Kendrisos, θεω— Κενδρείσω τέχνη καπήλων εὐχαριστι— (*I.Bulg.* 917, 4).

¹³ Cf. S. Tromp, “Χριστέμποροι καὶ θεοκάπηλοι,” in *Gregorianum*, 1935, pp. 452–455; G. J. M. Bartelink, “εοκάπηλος et ses synonymes chez Isidore de Péluse,” in *VC*, 1958, pp. 227–231.

κατάγω

katago, to lead, take, conduct, bring back, restore, return

katago, S 2609; *EDNT* 2.257; MM 325; L&N 15.175, 54.16; BAGD 410

This compound of *ago*, which has no theological meaning in the NT, rather often keeps the same meaning as the simple verb (“lead, take, conduct”),¹ notably in geometry, where it refers to “the consistent operation of tracing a line from a point toward a limit,”² and where it is often synonymous with *epizeugnymi*. Literally, however, it means “bring from above to below, bring down,” for example: “transport wood from the mountains to the city” (Plato, *Critias* 118 d), bend the branch of a young tree to the ground (Euripides, *Bacch.* 1065), “bend the head toward the ground” (Lam 2:10); “Michal let David down through the window”;³ and very often, go or take someone to another place: “The Philistines took Samson down to Gaza”;⁴ “Gabinus went down to Egypt” (Josephus, *War* 1.175); go down to Caesarea (*Ant.* 16.62; cf. *P.Tebt.* 338, 14). It is exactly in this sense that the Jerusalem brothers “took Paul to Caesarea and sent him to Tarsus” (Acts 9:30).

Katago quite often means “bring back,” for example bringing back the banished to their homes⁵ or bringing someone back to power, that is, “restore,”⁶ then “return” (Xenophon, *An.* 3.4.36; Philo, *Cherub.* 3) and

“bring” or “bring back.”⁷ But the maritime meaning is the commonest from Homer on: “Ulysses sailed for Troy” (*Od.* 19.186); “We arrived at Geraestus” (3.178; 10.140); “they put straight in”;⁸ “ships of Alexandria ready to set out” (Philo, *Flacc.* 27); “the Jews who disembarked” (Philo, *To Gaius* 129); “He disembarked at the port of Augustus at Caesarea” (Josephus, *War* 1.613); “He reached Dicaearchia” (2.104; *Ant.* 14.378). These are just like Acts 27:3—“The following day we landed at Sidon”; 28:12—“Having landed at Syracuse, we remained there three days.”⁹

In the papyri, the meaning is almost exclusively “transport” from one place to another, generally by water (*katagein apo . . . eis*),¹⁰ whether the cargo is wood (*SB* 8242, 3), wine (6798, 28; *P.Mich.* 30 e, 2; *PSI* 1123, 6, 21), legumes,¹¹ etc., but also a man or a woman required to appear before a magistrate, as when a certain Egyptian is to appear before the chief of police (*Takolkeileos ton Peunis Horou tou Angatos metros Taonnophrios katagin eis ton archephodon*, *P.Ryl.* 681; second century); this is what we call a warrant to come before a judge, where *katago* then means “appear,”¹² that is, present oneself by order before a judge or court. So Acts 22:30; 23:15, 20, 28, where the usual translation is “make Paul go down before the Sanhedrin,” could strictly in the first text mean that the tribune brought Paul to the Tower of Antonia to conduct him to the place where the Sanhedrin met; but in the three other cases, the verb signifies a judicial appearance “before you as if you wanted to get more accurate information concerning his case” (23:15).

There remains the difficult text at Rom 10:6—“Do not say in your heart, ‘Who will ascend to heaven?’ that is, to bring Christ down (*tout’ estin Christon katagagein*), or ‘Who will go down to Sheol?’ that is, to bring Christ up from the dead.” The first words, “Do not say in your heart,” are from Deut 8:17; 9:4; “Who will ascend to heaven?” and “Who will go down to Sheol (the abode of the dead)?” are suggestive of Deut 30:12-13. But this double journey was known to the Greeks and the Romans¹³ as well as to the Hebrews,¹⁴ for whom it became a proverbial expression for something impossible,¹⁵ although God can communicate that which is inaccessible to humans. It is precisely the unbeliever who would think of climbing up to heaven to search for a Savior or going down to the abode of the dead to bring Christ back to life. In reality, for the believer whose confidence is in God, redemption is already accomplished; Christ has already come down from heaven; he has already been resurrected. Salvation is quite close at hand, and there is no need for a long journey. One has only to accept it, welcome it with an open heart.

How was St. Paul able to enunciate this truth, which is so simple, by means of so subtle an exegesis (?) of Deut 30:12-13? He was led to it by the gloss on this text in the Targum according to the recension in Codex Neofiti (*Tg. Neof.* fol. 432 b): “The law is not in heaven, so that you must say, ‘Can we have someone like the prophet Moses to ascend to heaven

and bring it to us.’ . . . Neither is the law beyond the great sea, so that you must say, ‘Can we have someone like the prophet Jonah to go down into the depths of the sea to bring it back up to us and help us understand its precepts so that we may carry them out.’¹⁶ For St. Paul, faith puts righteousness within reach. He applies to Jesus what this targum says about Moses and Jonah, a type of Christ (Matt 12:40; Acts 7:35-39).

¹ Plutarch, *Marc.* 22.1 (cf. Josephus, *War* 3.105); Polybius 5.95.4; Gen 39:1—“Joseph was taken off to Egypt” (hophal of the Hebrew *yarad*); 42:20—“Take me to your brother” (hiphil of *bō’*); 44:21; 1Sam 30:15-16: “lead to”; 1Kgs 3:1; Josephus, *War* 2.175: “the water was brought a distance of four hundred stadia”; *Ant.* 7.80: “escort the ark to Jerusalem”; *Ag. Apion* 1.307: “bring into the desert.” Epitaph of a black slave: “The god brought me to Pallas the decurion as a servant from the land of Egypt” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 26, 3); *P.Hamb.* 88, 7: πάντοτε κατάγεις σεαυτὸν καὶ νῦν ὡς ἄνθρωπος τέλειος γενόμενος. Cf. P. Ducrey, *Le Traitement des prisonniers de guerre dans la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1968, pp. 39ff.

² C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, p. 241. Gives numerous examples from Archimedes, Pappus, Apollonius. Cf. “Drawing from K the line segment KM equal to Θ ” (Archimedes, *Sph. Cyl.* 1.3); “One must draw a segment A Ξ so that joined to segment ΞP it forms an angle equal to angle KH Θ ” (Pappus, *Coll.* 3.71; cf. 4.76; 7.25). In particular, τεταγμένως κατάγειν means “draw the chords conjugate to a diameter of a conic”; “Since ZB is the diameter of the segment of a parabola . . . the lines AZ and ΔH are drawn to it ordinate-wise” (Archimedes, *Aequil.* 2.10); “Since B $\Lambda\Gamma$ is a parabola of diameter A Δ ανδ της λινεσ $\Xi\Sigma$ and B Δ are drawn ordinate-wise, the square on B Ξ is to the square on $\Xi\Sigma$ as ΔA is to A Σ ” (Archimedes, *Meth. of Mech. Theorems*4).

³ 1Sam 19:12; Judg 7:4; 1Kgs 18:40: “went down to the torrent of Kishon”; Joel 4:2, to the valley of Jehoshaphat; 1Kgs 17:23—“carried down from the upper room”; 2Kgs 11:19; Hos 7:12—“I pull them down like birds from the sky”; Ps 78:16—“He makes the waters come down like rivers” (Philo, *Rewards* 133: “dusty earth will fall from the sky as rain”); Sir 48:3, fire from heaven; Lam 1:13. Hence “flow,” as tears (Jer 9:17; 13:17; 14:17 Lam 1:16; 2:18; 3:48; Sir 22:19; 35:15; 38:16) or blood (Isa 63:3, 6; Hebrew *shahâh, naga’*), and “fall” in ruins (Sir 48:6; Amos 3:11), desolation (Jer 19:8), slavery (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.161; 18.357).

⁴ Judg 16:21; 1Kgs 1:33; 5:23. One descends from a horse or a carriage to take up lodging with a host: “The most distinguished people of the

Lacedaemonians always go down to you” (Xenophon, *Symp.* 8.39); “Stephanion, to whose house they had gone down” (Philo, *Flacc.* 112); the angels agree to go down to Abraham’s house (*Abraham* 115); Josephus, *Ant.* 1.196, 200, 250, 278; 5.11, 139–140; 14.374; 18.109; *Life* 136: “the house where I stayed,” 264. Cf. Plutarch, *Num.* 1.1: “The genealogical tables descend from the beginning down to him.”

⁵ Plato, *Menex.* 242 b; Xenophon, *An.* 1.2.2; Gen 45:13; Philo, *To Gaius* 49; Josephus, *War* 1.111, 239, 448, 632; *Ant.* 13.409; 14.332; “bring peace back to our country” (Polybius 5.105.2).

⁶ Herodotus 5.92; Josephus, *War* 1.124, 126, 131, 169, 248; 7.300; *Ant.* 14; 15.105,180.

⁷ Plato, *Meno* 80 e: “You bring us a fine topic for sophistic disputation”; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 30.1: bring back gold and silver from the war; *P.Yale* 32, 10 (third century BC); *P.Brem.* 14, 17; *P.Tebt.* 701, 240; 783, 82; *P.Mich.* 601, 16; *P.Warr.* 21, 18; *SB* 6714, 14; 6722, 4; 6732, 2; *P.Lond.* 1945, 2: “I asked the bearer of this letter to bring us back several garments and tunics”; 1946, 4.

⁸ *Od.* 3.10; 11.164: “I had to sail for Hades”; *Il.* 5.26: “to lead the horses back to the hollow ships”; 6.53; Herodotus 4.43: “they landed with their ship”; 6.107: “They had unloaded the slaves brought from Eretria”; Sophocles, *Phil.* 356: “a favorable wind brought me to the sad land of Sigeum”; Xenophon, *An.* 5.1.11: bring commercial vessels to port”; Plutarch, *Sol.* 4.3: throw a net into the sea.

⁹ Cf. Luke 5:11—“Having brought the boats back to land (καταγαγόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν), they left everything and followed him.” The verb *κατάγω* is used with regard to acts of violence perpetrated on ships at sea (*IG*, XI, 4, 1049, 6–7); an embargo is placed on the vessel (κατήγαγον τὰ πλοῖα; Ps.-Aristotle, *Oec.* 2.2.1346b) to force it to land or prevent its leaving; the cargo is seized as security (M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 1, p. 371; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 304, 36–41; 409, 10–13; Demosthenes, *Peace* 5.25; *Treaty Alex.* 17.20; *C. Poly.* 50.6, 17; *Chers.* 8.9, 28; Lycurgus, *Leoc.* 18; Isocrates, *C. Callim.* 18.60; Aeschines, *Fals. Leg.* 2.71; Xenophon, *An.* 5.1.11–12, 15–16; *Hell.* 6.2.36; Polybius 3.24.6; Diodorus Siculus 14.79.7; 20.82.2). Texts noted by G.E.M. de Sainte Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, London, 1972, pp. 47, 314, and significance recognized by Julie Vélissaropoulos, *Les Naoclères grecs*, Geneva-Paris, 1980, pp. 151–153.

¹⁰ *BGU* 2270, 8; cf. 1741, 14; *P.Lond.* 295, 7–8 (vol. 2, p. 100); 1940, 31, 44, 78 (third century BC); 1941, 11; *P.Aberd.* 30, 14; *P.Mich.* 78, 2; 103, 6; *P.Yale* 38, 7; *P.Wisc.* 78, 31–32; *P.Princ.* 26, 19; 73, 7; 106, 4; *P.Tebt.* 753, 6; 957, 15; 1033, 13; 1102, 9; *P.Oxy.* 2125, 26; 2347, 8; 2926, 6; *P.Oxy.Hels.* 20, col. I, 10; *SB* 7515, 32, 71, 117, etc.; 9557, 30; 9682, 6; 10299, 106; cf. Gen 37:25.

¹¹ A *prostagma* of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIII, from 50 BC: “No merchant who buys grain or legumes in the nomes located beyond Memphis shall bring them to Lower Egypt or transport them any more into the Thebaid under any pretext” (*BGU* 1730 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 73, 3); “The functionaries of the royal administration . . . shall not let anything be transported without the certificates delivered by Epikydes” (*P.Hib.* 198 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 11, 4). Cf. Josephus, *War* 1.299: transport grain, wine, oil, and cattle to Jericho; 4.615; 5.36; *Ant.* 11.78; 14.408.

¹² Cf. Josephus, *War* 1.652: the prefect arrests forty young people and leads them before King Herod (= makes them appear), who interrogates them; *Ant.* 2.120: Joseph’s brothers are conducted into his presence and expect to be accused of theft; cf. Plutarch, *Aem.* 38.5: take someone before the censors. Cf. in 250 BC, presents καταγόμενα τῶν βασιλειῶν εἰς τὴν θυσίαν τῶν Ἀρσινοείων (*P.Lond.* 2000, 3–5).

¹³ Pindar, *Ol.* 9.52: Hades “brings down the bodies of humans by the route that leads to the pit of the dead”; Plutarch, *Num.* 15.8: incantations force Jupiter to go down from heaven; *Anth. Plan.* 81: “Either the god descends from heaven to earth to show you his image . . . or you yourself go to see the god.” Cf. Philo, *Dreams* 1.57: “Bring this searcher back down from heaven; snatch him away from his studies up there”; epitaph of Sarapion, who “saw himself led to Hades by the somber Fate of death” (E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 79, 3); *CIRB* 138, 4. P. Liver, “Usque ad sidera, usque ad inferos,” in *Mélanges P. Meylan*, Lausanne, 1963, pp. 169–182.

¹⁴ Amos 9:2—“If they ascend to heaven, I will bring them down”; Obad 3–4; Isa 26:5. In the OT, to die is to descend to Sheol: Gen 42:38; 44:29; 1Kgs 2:6, 9; Tob 3:10; 13:2; Yahweh sends down to Sheol (1Sam 2:6) or in the pit of the grave (Ps 55:23); Ps 31:17; Prov 5:5—“his feet go down to death”; 7:27; the deceased is laid in the dust of death (Ps 22:15).

¹⁵ We may cite the Babylonian Talmud: “If anyone said to a woman, ‘You shall be my fiancée if you ascend to heaven or descend to Sheol,’ that is a null condition” (*b. B. Mes.* 94 a); *b. Git.* 84a . Cf. Str-B, vol. 3, pp. 278–281; vol. 4, 2, pp. 857ff. J. Bonsirven, *Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne*, Paris, 1939, pp. 306–307.

¹⁶ R. Le Déaut, *Liturgie juive et Nouveau Testament*, pp. 44ff. Cf. S. Lyonnet, “Saint Paul et l’exégèse juive de son temps: A propos de Rom. X, 6–8,” in *Mélanges bibliques . . . A. Robert*, Paris, 1957, pp. 494–506; M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, Rome, 1966, pp. 70–78

καταλλαγή, καταλλάσσω

katallage, reconciliation; *katallasso*, to reconcile

katallage, S 2643; TDNT 1.258; EDNT 2.261–263; NIDNTT 3.166–168; MM 329; L&N 40.1; BAGD 414 | **katallasso**, S 2644; TDNT 1.254–258; EDNT 2.261–263; NIDNTT 3.166–169, 171–172; MM 329; L&N 40.1; BDF §193(4); BAGD 414

For pagans and Christians alike, *reconciliation* is the action of reestablishing friendship between two persons who are on bad terms, to replace hostility with peaceful relations; but in the nature of the case, secular parallels can hardly shed light on the theological elaboration of so specifically Christian a reality as the reconciliation of God with humans, the immediate effect of redemption.¹ The parallels usually apply to the reestablishment of good relations in the political,² social,³ familial,⁴ or moral sphere⁵ and have to do with a change of feelings or circumstances; in banking jargon, *katallage* means changing one currency into another,⁶ an exchange (*P.Oxy.* 1937, 8; *P.Corn.* 3, 11; *PSI* 859, 4; *P.Hib.* 100, 4; *T. Job* 25, 3) or a replacement (*P.Apoll.* 79, 7).

Nonetheless, the contexts of these “changings” or reversals (cf. Jer 48:39) can be instructive, especially for 1Cor 7:11, where St. Paul recalls that the Lord prescribed that a woman should not separate from her husband, but in case there was a separation, the wife should not remarry but remain *agamos* or be reconciled with her husband, *e to andri katallageto*.⁷ We might compare Judg 19:2–3, where a Levite’s concubine is angry at him (*orgisthe auto*) and leaves him. He “went after her to speak kindly to her and reconcile her to him (*tou diallaxai auten heauto*) and take her back home”; 1Esdr 4:31: “if the husband feels that the wife is bitter against him, he caresses her to reconcile her to him (*hopos diallage auto*).” In a will from AD 96, the legator in bequeathing her house to her son asks that forty drachmas be given to his sister Tnepheros, who has a room set aside in her building, in case she is ever separated from her husband, until she is reconciled, *ean apallage tou andros mechri hou . . . katallage*.⁸ The best parallel is a contract from AD 124 for remarriage between two Jews; El[e_aios having formerly repudiated his wife Salome takes her back

again with a dowry of 200 denarii, which he acknowledges having received: “now the same Elaios son of Simon agrees to reconcile anew and to take back the same Salome . . . as wedded wife” (*nynei homologei ho autos Elaios Simonos ex ananeoseos katallaxei kai proslabesthai ten auten Salomen . . . eis gynaika gameten*).⁹

In the OT, *katallage* in the religious sense is peculiar to 2 Macc, where the almighty, merciful God, angry at sin (2Macc 1:5; 5:20; 7:33) but hearing the prayers of his servants (1:5; 8:29), renounces his momentary wrath and is reconciled anew (*palin*, 7:33) and wholly (*eis telos*, 8:29). On the basis of this *katallage*, the temple is rebuilt (5:20), victory over enemies is assured (8:29), peace is guaranteed.¹⁰ The Pauline theology of reconciliation also involves the cessation of a state of hostility, which is replaced by peaceful relations and mutual agreement, but there is a profound difference: “If, while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, how much more, now that we are reconciled, shall we be saved by his life; and not only [have we been reconciled], but we glorify God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now obtained reconciliation.”¹¹ “God has reconciled us to himself through Christ’s mediation and has given us the ministry of reconciliation—to us who know that in Christ, God was reconciling the world to himself, taking no account of their sins, and putting in our (mouth) the word of reconciliation.”¹² “For Christ, then, we are ambassadors, seeing that it is God who exhorts through us. We implore on Christ’s behalf: be reconciled with God.”¹³ It appears from these texts that Pauline *katallage* is a transformation or a renewing of relations between God and humans, in accord with the framework mentioned in pagan texts:

(a) First there is a state of hostility between God and humans; the latter are designated *echthroi*, *asebeis*, *astheneis* (Rom 5:6), *hamartoloi* (verse 8), under the domination of the devil, enrolled in his army. Hence God’s anger, stirred by the offense against him (verse 10), so that the fruit of the *katallage* is to be saved from this avenging wrath (verse 9; Eph 2:3).

(b) God *always* takes the initiative in reconciliation, “not charging their trespasses to their account” (2Cor 5:19). Not only does he change his feelings, but he grants pardon to his adversaries (cf. Col 2:13-15), establishes fresh relations with humans; reconciliation is characterized by a reestablishment of peace;¹⁴ it is a “pacification.”

(c) Christ is the instrument of this reconciliation (2Cor 5:18-19), because he offered himself as a sacrifice for the expiation of the sins of the world (Rom 5:10, *dia tou thanatou*, through his death), which were obstacles to unity and peace (cf. Heb 9:22); and God, who willed this offering, accepted it.

(d) The apostles are the agents of the *katallage*, like ambassadors (*presbeuomen*) charged with working out a peace settlement; they actualize it and make it possible for everyone and ask each one’s consent.¹⁵ Their ministry is to promulgate and transmit the *katallage* —*ton*

logon tes katallages (2Cor 5:19-20)—which presupposes that humans must sign on for the reconciliation to be efficacious.

(e) It is for each one to accept it for himself or herself, to sign on to it: “let yourselves be reconciled with God” (2Cor 5:20), do what is necessary to that end: have faith and repent.

(f) A new state of affairs results, like a new *ktisis* (creation, 2Cor 5:19), a resurrection (Rom 11:15), salvation, justification,¹⁶ peace (5:1), life (5:10), and *kauchema*: a confident, proud, joyful assurance of beatitude (verse 11).

¹ Cf. E. G. van Leeuwen, “De καταλλαγή,” in *Theologische Studien*, 1910, pp. 159–171; F. Prat, *La Théologie de saint Paul*, 6th ed., Paris, 1923, vol. 2, pp. 257ff.; A. Nygren, *Die Versöhnung als Gottestat*, Gütersloh, 1932; J. Dupont, *La Réconciliation dans la théologie de saint Paul*, Bruges-Paris, 1953 (gives the bibliography, p. 5); L. Sabourin, *Rédemption sacrificielle*, Paris, 1961, p. 486 (on this word); T. W. Manson, *On Paul and John*, London, 1963, pp. 50ff.; F. Büchsel, in *TDNT*, vol. 1, pp. 254–258.

² Herodotus 5.29: “The Parians had effected a reconciliation with the Milesians in the following manner”; 5.95; 6.108: the Corinthians, chosen as arbiters, brought the Thebans and the Plateans to terms; 7.145: “the first thing to do was to put an end to the hostilities and wars”; Demosthenes, *1 Olynth.* 4: the “arrangements” that Philip would like to set up with the Olynthians; Plato, *Resp.* 8.566 e: “When he has finished with his exiled enemies, coming to terms with some (καταλλαγή), having others destroyed, and so has quiet on that front (ἡσυχία).” Josephus, *War* 1.320: “Herod set out to attack Machaeras as an enemy, but he mastered his anger . . . when [Machaeras] had reflected on his faults, he succeeded in reconciling with him (ε—αυτω— διαλλάττει)”; cf. Matt 5:24; Epictetus 1.15.6: “if my brother is not willing to be reconciled (μη διαλλασσομένου).”

³ Herodotus 1.61: “He reconciled himself with the men of his party”; Aristotle, *Oec.* 2.15a1348b: “Aristoteles of Rhodes, having received (money) from both sides, managed to reconcile the two rival factions.” A law of Ilion against tyrants and oligarchy: “Murder cannot be compensated for either by marriage or by money” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 218, 105; third century BC, cf. *RIJG*, vol. 2, p. 30, whose editors observe that no case of a settlement through marriage is known but cite Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 14.4: “Megacles, being hard-pressed . . . came to terms with Pisistratus, on the condition that the latter should marry his daughter”). Cf. Moses’ intervening with the two Israelites who were fighting, *συνήλλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰ—ς εἰ—ρήνην* (Acts 7:26).

⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* 7.184: an old woman bids David be reconciled with Absalom and give up his anger against him; cf. 7.196; 6.353; 11.278 (Malichus and Antipater). In Acts 12:22, with respect to Herod, D adds καταλλαγέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοι—ς Τυρίου ὁ δὲ δῆμος ε—πεφώνει; Philo, *Drunkness* 208 (Pharaoh and his cupbearer); *Joseph* 99, 156; 237, 262 (Joseph and his brothers); *Flacc.* 76. Some reconciliations are sham (*Flacc.* 19), others in good faith (*Joseph* 265); the latter belong to grateful souls (*Virtues* 118) who seek restoration to grace (*Virtues* 124) and want to make peace (151).

⁵ Plato, *Phd.* 69 a: “not the correct method of exchange: exchanging pleasure for pleasure, pain for pain . . .”; Philo, *Rewards* 166: those who scorn the holy laws of justice and piety (162), should they be slaves of enemies who have carried them off to captivity (164), “shall make use of three advocates for their reconciliation with the Father”; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.134: “They reconciled themselves and made a truce with the passions, setting conciliatory reason at the fore.”

⁶ This is the most common meaning in the papyri, *P.Lond.* 1457, 9, 58, 87, 125; *P.Corn.* 3, 11, 14; *P.Hib.* 51, 6; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59320, 21. εἰ— δ ἄν καταλλάσσει in a regulation from Tegea in the fourth century BC, concerning pasture land (cf. *LSCG*, n. 67, 2) seems to mean “if he substitutes” scrawny beasts for others in the sacred pasture, rather than “if he surpasses” the number; cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1948, p. 155, n. 74; 1953, p. 139, n. 80.

⁷ Cf. D. W. Shaner, *A Christian View of Divorce*, Leiden, 1969, pp. 57ff. M. Humbert, *Le Remariage à Rome*, Milan, 1972. The separation could be legal separation or merely casual; χωρισθῆναι can be synonymous with “divorce,” and the wife can take the initiative, cf. C. Vatin, *Recherches sur le mariage et la condition de la femme mariée à l’époque hellénistique*, Paris, 1970, pp. 165ff. J. Gaudemet, *L’Eglise dans l’Empire romain*, Paris, 1958, pp. 540ff. H. Crouzel, “Les pères de l’église ont-ils permis le remariage après séparation?” in *Bulletin de littérature chrétienne*, 1969, pp. 3–43.

⁸ *P.Oxy.* 104, 27 (the papyrus is mutilated; cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, pp. 380–382); cf. 1477, 6 (third-fourth century), in which a slave asks an oracle, εἰ— καταλλάσσομαι εἰ—ς τὸν γόνον; will his master reunite him with his children? *P.Lond.* 1735, 11 (sixth century).

⁹ *P.Mur.* 115, 5 = SB 10305. The editors note that instances of remarriage were rare (*BGU* 1101; from 13 BC; *P.Oxy.* 1473; from the third century AD), but that it was permitted if the repudiated and restored wife had not in

the meanwhile belonged to another man (Deut 24:1ff.; 2Sam 3:14ff.; Hos 3:1ff.). It seems that the verb καταλλάσσειν, “put an end to enmity, restore peace,” was used especially for reconciliation between husband and wife: “Cnemon is reconciled with his wife (κατηλλάγη)” whom he had left (ἀπελείφθη) on account of her character (Menander, *Dysk.*, Prologue 9; cf. line 2); Josephus, *Ant.* 5.137 (the Levite from Ephraim is reconciled with his wife who had been angry with him and sought shelter with her family); 11.195: Artaxerxes still ardently loved Vashti, whom he had had to send away, but the law forbade him to reconcile with her; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.31: If a divorced woman is remarried and goes back to her first husband, and he is willing to make peace with such a woman, “For such subsequent reconciliations are proofs of both [adultery and pandering]. The proper punishment for him is death and for the woman also” (LCL).

¹⁰ 2Macc 1:1, 5. Secular texts are not devoid of an awareness of religious reconciliation. Ajax, weighed down by the anger of the gods, strives to be reconciled with them through expiatory rites (Sophocles, *Aj.* 744; cf. Aeschylus, *Sept.* 767). Samuel prays God to be reconciled with Saul (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.143; cf. 7.153; *P.Oxy.* 1477, 6), the Jews appeal to the Lord to be reconciled with his servants (2Macc 8:29); cf. Josephus, *War* 1.320.

¹¹ Rom 5:10-11; cf. 11:15—“If their rejection (the ἀποβολή of Israel) meant the reconciliation of the world, what will their reintegration (ἡ πρόσλημψις) mean, if not a resurrection of the dead?”; which can be taken as referring to the consummation of the universe, the coming of a new world (M. J. Lagrange, on this text), or of the large-scale conversion of the Jews, coming back to life by faith (F. J. Leenhardt, *Romans*, pp. 284–285); cf. Col 1:21, ἀποκαταλλάξαι (B. N. Wambacq, “Per eum reconciliare ... quae in coilis sunt,” in *RB*, 1948, pp. 35–42; J. M. Robinson, “A Formal Analysis of Colossians I, 15–20,” in *JBL*, 1957, pp. 270–287).

¹² 2Cor 5:18-19. For the construction, cf. E. B. Allo, *Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens*, pp. 169ff.

¹³ 2Cor 5:20; the aorist passive imperative must be retained—καταλλάγητε τω θεω—against D, E, G, Goth, καταλλαγήναι; cf. V. Taylor, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, London, 1946, pp. 72–82; B. Cohen, “Arbitration in Jewish and Roman Law,” in *RIDA*, 1958, pp. 165–223.

¹⁴ Col 1:20; Eph 2:15-16 (ἀποκαταλλάσσω); cf. M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 1, pp. 265ff.

¹⁵ Cf. J. Murphy O'Connor, *Paul on Preaching*, pp. 85ff.

¹⁶ On the relationship between καταλλαγή and δικαιοσύνη, cf. R. Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Tübingen, 1948, p. 281 = ET *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel, New York, 1951, vol. 1, pp. 285ff.; L. Cerfaux, *Le Christ dans la théologie de saint Paul*, Paris, 1951, pp. 110ff.; T. W. Manson, *On Paul and John*, pp. 54ff.

καταναρκάω

katanarkao, to burden, to benumb

katanarkao, S 2655; EDNT 2.265; MM 330; L&N 57.224; BDF §181; BAGD 414–415

The simple verb *narkao*, “become numb, paralyzed,” is used of sinews (Gen 32:26, 33), arms (Dan 11:6), the mass of “crippled” bone (Job 33:19, Theodotion) that precludes movement and confines to bed.¹ Hippocrates observes that the patient is susceptible to paralysis and coma, together with a lack of feeling (Hippocrates, *Liqu.* 1.3), and that “a large quantity of cold water dulls the pain” (6.2–3).

The compound *katanarkao* also belongs to the medical vocabulary,² but St. Paul, in three occurrences of the word, gives it an active sense, unusual in Greek literature—and also figurative: *ou katenarkesa outhenos* (2Cor 11:9), *ou katenarkesa hymon* (12:13), *ou katanarkeso* (12:14). Most modern versions translate: “I avoided being a burden to you . . . I was not a burden to you . . . I will not burden you.” They are following the Vulgate (*nullus onerosus fui*) and the Peshitta, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, who see the word as a synonym of *baryno*. This is also in line with St. Jerome’s identification of the usage as a Cilicium.³ It is indeed possible that from the meaning “be numb and dull” there was a transition to “be inactive, burdensome.” The apostle would mean that his presence at Corinth was not taxing for the community.

But LSJ translates “to be slothful” (cf. Hesychius, *narke-okneria*). E. B. Allo better follows the medical meaning “anaesthetize,” proposing, for lack of a better translation, *enjōler*.⁴ The verb is unknown in the papyri.

¹ A slackening of the vital forces exhausts the inordinate strength of the passions (Philo, *Rewards* 48). The substantive νάρκα, νάρκη, “numbness, lethargy” (cf. the “torpedo” fish, Hippocrates, *Vict.* 48.2; cf. in modern Greek ναρκοτικός, “soporific”) used similarly for arms that can no longer hold a sword (Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 713), for body parts that have no tendons and

are not subject to numbness (Aristotle, *HA* 3.5.515b); cf. Marcus Aurelius 10.9: “the low comedy (of life), war, fear, lethargy (νάρκκα), slavery will negate in you all these sacred principles.” A. Lobeck (*Phrynichi Eclogae nominum et verborum atticorum*, 2d ed., Hildesheim, 1965, p. 331) cites: Τόλμη καὶ τόλμα, πρύμνη καὶ πρύμνα, νάρκη δὲ διὰ τοῦ η, and Menander (cf. D. B. Durham, *Vocabulary of Menander*, p. 80).

² Hippocrates, *Epid.* 6.7.3: “It is necessary through change to stir up timid, benumbed (κατανεναρκωμένους) individuals to the things that they are neglecting”; cf. J. J. Wettstein.

³ St. Jerome, *Epist.* 121.10, to Algasia: “There are numerous expressions that the apostle uses familiarly, following usages peculiar to his city or his province. As examples, I would cite . . . ‘I speak according to human language, ἀνθρώπινον λέγω,’ and οὐ κατενάρκησα ὑμα—ς, i.e., ‘I was not a burden to you.’ . . . These expressions and many others are used, even in our day, by the Cilicians. We should not be surprised if the apostle uses idioms from the language in which he was born and raised.”

⁴ [The French *enjôler*, etymologically “imprison,” means “beguile, wheedle, cajole, bamboozle, coax.”—Tr.] “We may think of those thieves of our day who chloroform their victims in order to be able to work without trouble or discussion; the equivalent that I have come up with, *enjôler*, is rather weak” (E. B. Allo, *Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens*, p. 283).

καταντάω

katantao, to arrive at, reach

katantao, S 2658; TDNT 3.623–625; EDNT 2.265; NIDNTT 1.324–325; MM 330; L&N 13.16, 13.121, 15.84; BAGD 415

Unknown in classical Greek and in the Gospels, quite rare in the inscriptions, but common in Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and the papyri, this verb, which means “arrive at, reach, come to, end up at,” is sometimes used literally, sometimes metaphorically. In the first case, someone goes to a certain place or city, or to see a certain person: “which brought him to Jerusalem” (2Macc 4:21), “the king came to Tyre” (verse 44); Paul arrived at Derbe and Lystra (Acts 16:1; cf. 18:19, 24; 20:15; 21:7; 25:13; 27:12; 28:13); *katantan eis to gymnasion* = come to the gymnasium;¹ one sojourns at a place that is the terminus of a march or a voyage.

In the figurative sense, the idea of movement or change is often preserved,² with the suggestion that the event happens at the desired

moment, at a named point, as if following a trajectory; or that the person obtains what he or she was counting on (“he had himself named high priest,” 2Macc 4:24), achieves his or her goal.³ If the subject is a thing, it comes to a certain person—“Is it to you alone that the word of God has come?”⁴—and the verb *katantao*, used in legal texts, especially in wills, often means “fall one’s lot” or, as we would say, “devolve.”⁵ 1Cor 10:11 has often been understood in this sense: “We, upon whom the consummation of the ages has come,” like the receiving of an inheritance; but the idea is more that of an encounter⁶ or a confrontation. Circumstances evolve. We read concerning a small group of artisans that they would consider it a simple wish to be able to “arrive at” fulfilling the orders they have received (*P.Phil.* 10, 6), or that “the quite large number of inhabitants that used to live in these towns have today reached the point of being only a few, *nynei katentesan eis oligous.*”⁷ Or one may hope to benefit from help received,⁸ *BGU* 1821, 22: *δυνηθεῖς κατήντηκα ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ βοήθειαν*; cf. 1843, 15; 1857, 5. {NOTEEND} which would vindicate the step of approaching someone to ask for relief. It is in this sense that the body of Christ is built and that all believers should arrive at (*katantesomen hoi pantes*, Eph 4:13) true unity. The goal is set, the people of God aim toward it, are moving toward this end, which has not yet been attained. The goal is the encounter with the bridegroom, Christ, but also an inheritance; and also entrance into a place—Paradise.

² *I.Priene* 112, 987; cf. *P.Tebt.* 59, 3 (first century BC); *P.Oxy.* 486, 30; *BGU* 1768, 8; 1873, 7: *καταντήσας οὖν πρὸς τὸν γεωργὸν Παποντω—ν*; *P.Fouad* 23, 5: “having declared under oath to the *strategos* of the Arsinoite that I myself would be present there (*καταντήσαι ἐ—νθάδε*) the twenty-fourth of this month”; 24, 9: “I undertook to go to Alexandria”; *P.Brem.* 37, 6; 48, 3; *P.Mich.* 506, 3: “We should go there, since he is a close friend”; *SB* 4084, 4: “Having reached the goddess Isis, I performed this act of adoration”; *P.Petaus* 84, 17: *εἰ—ς τὴν ἡμετέραν κώμην καταντήσει* (AD 185); *Enoch* 17.6: “I saw all the great rivers and reached to the great darkness”; Diodorus Siculus 4.52: “The Argonauts went to the palace.”

³ Cf. 2Sam 3:29—“May the blood of Abner fall on (Hebrew *hûl*) the head of Joab.”

⁴ 2Macc 6:14—“The sovereign Master is letting the nations reach the full measure of their iniquity before punishing them”; Acts 26:7—the twelve tribes hoped to obtain God’s promise; Phil 3:11—“to attain, if possible, to the resurrection of the dead”; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 3.246: each day cattle are sacrificed until the number seven is reached.

⁵ 1Cor 14:36; cf. *PSI* 101, 13: a tax levy “falls on” three taxpayers: εἰς—μόνους κατηντηκέναι ἄνδρας γ?; 102, 10; 105, 8; *P.Oxy.* 75, 5: ἀπογράφομαι ε—πὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀπὸ τῶν κατηντηκότων εἰς με; 248, 11; 274, 19 (first century AD); *BGU* 1169, 21 (first century BC); *SB* 9531, 4: εὐθέως λαβὼν τὸ ε—πιστόλιον κατάντησον πρὸς με ἀναγκαίως; 9317 a 4: προσαπογράφομαι τὸ κατηντηκὸς εἰς με ε—ξ ὀνόματος τῆς μητρός μου; *b* 16.

⁶ *P.Mich.* 175, 11; *PSI* 942, 16; 1255, 20; *C.P.Herm.* 25, 7; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 1, 23; XIII, 14, 25; *P.Lund* IV, 7, 14; cf. *BGU* 326, 12: καταντήσαι θέλω; *P.Stras.* 277, 23.

⁷ Cf. Polybius 4.26.5: the Aetolian leaders appointed a day to meet Philip at Rhion.

⁸ *SB* 7462, 8 (petition from the time of Nero from six poll-tax collectors in the towns); cf. 8070, 8; 9344, 14; *P.Mich.* 577, 11. Cf. Polybius 4.34.2: “an excess of boldness does no good”; in rhetoric: “we have arrived at the fall of Cleomenes, king of Lacedaemonia” (Polybius 4.1.8).

καταρτίζω

katartizo, to make, prepare, restore, establish

see also ε—ξαρτίζω, καταρτίζω

katartizo, *S* 2675; *TDNT* 1.475–476; *EDNT* 2.268; *NIDNTT* 3.349–350; *MM* 332; *L&N* 13.130, 42.36, 75.5; *BDF* §§74(1), 126(1a); *BAGD* 417–418

Derived from *artios* (“complete, perfect, suitable, exactly fitted”), the compound *katartizo*¹ is a technical term of primitive parenesis. Its range of meanings, both extended and homogeneous, is well indicated by the variety of Hebrew words that it translates in the LXX: *pa’al*, “do, make, prepare” (Exod 15:17; Ps 68:29); *pelal*, “finish, complete, restore” (2Esdr 4:12–13, 16; 5:3, 9, 11; 6:14); *yasad*, “found, establish, or ordain, decree” (Ps 8:3; cf. *shat*, Ps 11:4); *tamaḵ*, “hold, uphold, keep” (Ps 17:5); *shawâh* (in the piel), “equalize, make level, place” (Ps 18:34); *hûl* (in the piel), “be in labor, writhe with anguish” (Ps 29:9); *kûn* (in the niphal), “establish, strengthen, found, or prepare, dispose” (Ps 68:10; 74:16; 89:38); *kanan*, “designate” (Ps 80:16). From the etymology and usage of the word, its basic sense is to put in or restore to a condition, to make an object fit for its purpose, prepare it and adapt it to its usage, hence to adjust and perfect.

This arranging or adapting to an end applies to things, to persons, or to members of a society.² The verb is used:

(1) of a founding or creating, notably by God, who “founded” the sun (or the light, *B, S*) and the moon (Ps 74:16); “By faith, we understand that the worlds were organized (set in order, arranged, ornamented) by a word from God”;³ “the god of gods, who founded the world” (*ho theos ton theon, ho ton kosmon katartisamenos, Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 1147; vol. 1, p. 112), who puts his might to work (Ps 68:29), establishes his laws (Ps 11:4), arranges or prepares his dwelling place in the midst of his people (Exod 15:17), mends or protects the vine that he has planted (Ps 80:16), causes or prepares the deer to give birth (Ps 29:9). It is also used for the great king in Israel who built the temple and finished it for them (*okodomesen auton kai katertisato auton autois, 2Esdr* 5:11; cf. 6:14). Finally, God “fashions” praise from the mouths of infants.⁴

(2) for a strengthening or sustaining, as of a worn down people (Ps 68:10), of the conduct of the faithful (Ps 17:5) whose energy and agility are restored (Ps 18:34), of a dynasty that will endure forever (Ps 89:38).

(3) in architecture, of restored walls of a city or of a sanctuary (2Esdr 4:12–13, 16; 5:3, 9); *BGU* 1854, 3: “to restore to the temple of the city of Herakles” (*katartisasthai eis to en Herakleous polei hieron, AD* 8).

(4) of the master of a house who offers a room to a guest and prepares it, makes it comfortable and suits it perfectly for the well-being of the guest.⁵

(5) when a woman has assembled the pieces of fabric for making a garment; the finished work is “ready to wear.”⁶

(6) when the mistress of a house has prepared a meal for the family; she says that “it is ready” to eat (Dioscorides).

(7) when a pharmacist has, thanks to a successful mixture of ingredients, made a potion to heal a sick person; he describes the result as *katartismos*: its composition is perfect, the remedy is ready to take (“prepare disks weighing precisely one drachma in the scale,” *katartizoio de kyklous drachmaious platingi diakridon arthos eryxas, Nicander, Ther.* 954; second century BC).

(8) in medicine, for the surgeon or bonesetter who puts a dislocated member back in place, thus restoring to the patient the use of the arm or leg.⁷

(9) of the potter who has formed a vase that is ready to be delivered and suited for a certain use.⁸

(10) of the sailor who outfits his boat, the admiral who arms a fleet that is ready to set sail, the general who equips an army that is ready to set out on a campaign.⁹

(11) of the fisherman who, returning from fishing, repairs his nets, putting them in order for reuse (Matt 4:21; Mark 1:19).

(12) of the treasurer who is in a position to make a payment.¹⁰

(13) of the educator who, having given a complete *paideia* to the child, can leave him to lead an adult life.¹¹ In this sense, “if someone should be taken in a fault, you, the spiritual ones, set him right (reclaim, restore: *katartizete ton tououton*) with a spirit of gentleness” (Gal 6:1); “we ask with great urgency that we may see you again and mend the deficiencies (fill in the gaps) of your faith (*katartisai ta hystere mata tes pisteos hymon*, ” 1Thess 3:10); Christian discipleship implies mending one’s ways (cf. *Ep. Arist.* 144: *tropon exartismon*).

(14) in political language: to calm, appease the factions, restore unity.¹² While there were divisions (*schismata*) in the Corinthian community, Paul exhorts the believers to be reconciled in one and the same Spirit, to maintain harmony between one another (1Cor 1:10). The passive imperative *katartizesthe* in 2Cor 13:11 can be translated with the same nuance: “come to an agreement among yourselves” with no element of discord, or “work at restoring yourselves”; that is, let yourselves be brought to a place of completeness, of perfection.¹³

In all these usages and on all levels, the idea of setting in order and arranging is overshadowed by that of adapting to an end,¹⁴ as is apparent in Heb 13:21—“may the God of peace make you ready for all good work to do his will”—and 1Pet 5:10—“The God of all grace . . . will himself equip you (*autos katartisei*), will strengthen you (*sterixei*), will fortify you, establish you.”¹⁵ We may conclude that *katartizein* is a major element in the *paideia* of the primitive church and—especially in St. Paul—in “edification,” that the Christian life involves steady progress in preparation for glory, or the restoration and reordering of whatever is deficient either in one’s personal life or in one’s relations with one’s neighbor.

¹ Verbs in -ιζω are quite common in the NT. A list of them and their various modes of formation from nouns, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, verbs, etc., is given by J. H. Moulton, W. F. Howard, *Grammar*, vol. 2, pp. 406–410, who observe that the meaning of these verbs often depends on context.

² The best study of that of H. T. Kuist, “Now the God of peace . . . make you perfect,” in *Biblical Review*, 1932, pp. 249–253, revised in *Exegetical Footnotes to the Epistle to the Hebrews*, New York, n.d., pp. 16–19; cf. W. Barclay, *NT Wordbook*, pp. 67–68.

³ Heb 11:3. Cf. A. G. Widdess, “A Note on Hebrews XI, 3,” in *JTS*, 1953, pp. 326–329; L. H. Taylor, *The New Creation*, New York, 1958, p. 80; K. Haecker, “Creatio ex auditu: Zum Verständnis von Hebr. XI, 3,” in *ZNW*, 1969, pp. 279–281.

⁴ Ps 8:3; messianic interpretation in Matt 21:16; cf. S. Légasse, *Jésus et l'enfant*, pp. 260ff.

⁵ Cf. the letter of 112 BC to prepare the reception of the senator Lucius Memmius on his visit as a tourist to the Fayum; the local authorities must see to the outfitting of his guest room, τὰ εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀύλλης καταρτισμόν (*P.Tebt.* 33, 12; republished, G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, Cambridge, 1927, n. 11). At Antalya, in Pisidia, a dedication to Men lists the furnishings consecrated to the god: “two beds with bedding, κλείνας δύο σὺν τῷ καταρτισμῷ,” i.e., mattresses, pillows, and the frame to hold them, cf. J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 9, Paris, 1950, p. 41.

⁶ A letter from Apollonius in the first century AD: ἃ ε—δωρήσατό σοι Παισανίας ὁ ἀδελφός σου πρὸ πολλοῦ ε—κ φιλοτιμίας αὐτοῦ καταρτισμένα (*P.Oxy.* 1153, 16); the preparation of warp and woof for a cloak for 18 silver drachmas: ἰ—ματίου καταρτισμόν κρόκης καὶ στήμονος ἄξιον ἀργυρίου δραχμῶ—ν ἡ? (*P.Ryl.* 127, 28; from AD 29); ἔδωκα εἰς καπάνην τοῦ καταρτισμοῦ δρ. δ? = I gave four drachmas for the cost of the preparation of the wool (*P.Oxy.* 2593, 17; from the second century).

⁷ In the first century BC, Apollonius of Citium, ed. J. Collesch, F. Kudlien, *Kommentar zu Hippokrates*, Berlin, 1965 (index, under this word); Galen 19, p. 461 (ed. Kühn). Cf. Heb 10:5—“You have prepared a body for me” (= Ps 40:7—ὠτία; cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, p. 305).

⁸ Rom 9:22-23 —“God bore with great and long patience the vessels of wrath, prepared for perdition (κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν), and in order to make known the wealth of his glory through the vessels (objects of mercy) that he prepared for glory (ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν).” The “hard” interpretation takes the vessels as having been “arranged by God,” fashioned by him for perdition, as were the just for glory, and thus makes κατηρτισμένα strictly parallel with προητοίμασεν. A more subtle explanation takes κατηρτισμένα as a middle participle: the vessels have prepared themselves (Chrysostom). It is better to follow an intermediate course: God did not prepare the vessels so that they might be destroyed; there is no predestination to perdition; but sinners are in the condition of being destroyed, they are “on the verge,” ripe for perdition; cf. M. J. Lagrange, *Romains*, p. 240; F. Leenhardt, *Romans*, p. 258.

⁹ Herodotus 9.66: Artabazus places himself at the head of these men who are “in formation” (for combat); Polybius 1.21.4: “when they had put the troop in a state of readiness”; 1.21.1: “the Romans having outfitted the captured ships”; 3.95.2: “Hasdrubal, after equipping the thirty vessels left

by his brother”; cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 167: put a ship back in shape (ε—ξαρτισθῆναι), 173, 181; 2, 17: prepare the boat with its full rigging, καὶ πάσῃ ε—ξαρτεία παρασκευασθέντα.

¹⁰ *P.Tebt.* 6, 7; 24, 48; Dittenberger, *Or.* 177, 10 (95 BC = SB 8886); 179, 9 (= SB 8888).

¹¹ Plutarch, *Alex.* 7; *Them.* 2.7. Cf. Luke 6:40—“Every disciple who is well trained (and well instructed) will be like his master”; cf. H. Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, p. 368): *ausgebildet*. Cf. 2Tim 3:17—the man of God, instructed in Holy Scripture, is “accomplished” or “well equipped, well put together” (ἄρτιος), perfectly outfitted (ε—ξηρτισμένος) for every good work.

¹² Cf. Herodotus 5.28: Miletus had suffered from strife for two generations “until the Parians had restored order there, κατήρτισαν.”

¹³ Cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 177, 10 = SB 8886 (cf. 8888, 8–9), where the verb is construed with an infinitive (κατηρτίσατο δίδοσθαι), translated by E. Bernand: “est convenu de donner” (“was agreed to give”); this has to do with a compromise between the financial administration of the *meris* and the priests of the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos (*Fayoum*, p. 134).

¹⁴ Cf. Eph 4:12—The whole organization of the church is ordained “for the preparing (literally the getting just right) of the saints for the work of ministry, πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶ—ν ἁγίων,” making them fit for service, in a position to work in their positions and according to their abilities (or gifts) for the building up of the body of Christ (cf. N. Hugedé, *Ephésiens*, p. 162); cf. προκαταρτίζειν, 2Cor 9:5.

¹⁵ The last verb is omitted by A, B, Old Latin, Vulgate, etc. Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 123.

καταφεύγω

katapheugo, to flee, take refuge

katapheugo, S 2703; *EDNT* 2.270; MM 334; L&N 15.62, 21.15; BAGD 420

It is hardly possible to specify whether, in its two NT occurrences, this verb means “flee” or “take refuge.” According to Acts 14:6, in the face of the pagan and Jewish uprising against them at Iconium, Paul and Barnabas *kataphygon eis tas poleis*, fled to or took refuge in the cities of Lyconia—Lystra, Derbe—and the surrounding area. Moderns take this to

mean that they “went to seek refuge in” these cities, but in that case *en* rather than *eis* would be expected; in addition, it is surprising that of the several “cities of refuge” mentioned, one, namely Lystra, should be the place where Paul was stoned and left for dead.¹ So it seems preferable to say that the apostles fled, ran away from Iconium,² even though this meaning is less attested.³

In the papyri and the inscriptions, *katapheugo* is a kind of technical term used by those who present an appeal to the emperor,⁴ to the king, the prefect, the *strategos*, a magistrate. The appeal may be made by a widow who is shabbily treated (*kataphronon*), “thus, after appealing to you, O king, I shall receive justice” (*P.Magd.* 2, 8; from the third century BC; cf. *P.Hib.* 238, 10); or by weavers seeking exemption from public service: “*anankaios epi se katephygamen*, by necessity we have appealed to you” (*P.Phil.* 10, 13; from AD 139; cf. *SB* 10195, 12); or by plaintiffs who place themselves under the protection of a magistrate (*P.Oxy.* 2131, 7; *C.P.Herm.* 19, 9, 12; *BGU* 2061, 8; *SB* 9897, recto 9). All of them emphasize their need for help (*P.Oslo* 22, 12: “*epi se katapheugo asthenes kai aboethetos*, I flee to you weak and helpless”; from the second century AD; *P.Tebt.* 327, 28; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59447, 10; 59852, 10), which is why⁵ they appeal with fervor (*spoudazo*, *SB* 9886, 5; *espeusa*, *P.Fouad* 26, 34) and humility (*P.Mich.* 529, 13: “*katephygon epi tas podas sou, deomenos*, I have fled to your feet, pleading”) to a superior whom they describe as “benefactor of all people” (*P.Oxy.* 2342, 37; cf. *PSI* 1323, 4; *SB* 10196, 43), “savior” (*P.Mich.* 422, 32), “savior of all people” (*P.Tebt.* 769, 87; *P.Fouad* 26, 50; *P.Mich.* 174, 18; *P.Oxy.* 2563, 46; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59421, 9; 59618, 7); they appeal to his nobility (*epi ten sen andreian katapheugo tharron*, *P.Oxy.* 1468, 9; *PSI* 1337, 17) and to his power (*P.Tebt.* 326, 4; *P.Cair.Isid.* 66,16).

The persecuted, the oppressed, and fugitives seek refuge, security, and justice either with an authority (Josephus, *War* 1.131; *Life* 113), or in a place,⁶ notably in a temple that has the privilege of inviolability.⁷ This custom perhaps allows us to specify the sense of the aorist participle “*hoi kataphygontes*, we refugees,” in Heb 6:18, which could be seen as a term for Christians.⁸ Analogous to οἱ—πιστεύσαντες (Heb 4:3), οἱ—σωζόμενοι (Acts 2:47), οἱ—φρουρούμενοι (1Pet 1:5), κλήσεως ε—πουρανίου μέτοχοι (Heb 3:1). The *Habiru* are refugees (cf. *L’Etranger* {Recueils de la société Jean Bodin, vol. 9, 1} Brussels, 1958, p.112).

They are, after all, exiles and pilgrims on this earth,⁹ whose hope of heaven has all the appeal of a city of refuge or place of asylum.¹⁰ This figurative meaning can be compared to the Philonian framework, with which this epistle—addressed, it would seem, to a group of persecuted exiles—has so many other points of contact: “The law permitted a murderer to take refuge (*katapheugein*) not in the temple, since he was not yet

purified . . . but in a holy city, an intermediate place between the temple and profane soil, a sort of secondary temple. . . . The law aims to take advantage of the prerogatives of the city of reception to assure the refugee (*to kataphygonti*) of the most secure safety (*bebaiotaten asphaleian*).”¹¹ “Those who do not have a solid faith in God their Savior first of all seek refuge in the help of creatures (*katapheugousin epi tas en genesei boetheias*) . . . ; then if someone says to them, ‘Fools! Seek refuge with the only physician for the diseases of the soul (*katapheugete . . . epi ton monon iatron psyches*)’ . . . in spite of them, the wretches turn late and not without trouble to seek refuge with the only Savior, God (*katapheugousin . . . epi ton monon soteran theon*).”¹²

² Acts 14:19. Cf. E. Jacquier, *Actes*, on this text, who cites the translation of the Peshitta, “discesserunt et fugierunt,” and of the Harclean Syriac, “et fugientes pervenerunt in Lycaoniam.”

³ Cf. Gen 19:20—“This city here is close by for fleeing to . . . let me run away to it.” Καταφεύγω translates the Hebrew *nûs*, “flee, run away”; in the piel and in the hiphil: “put to flight.” It is also translated (other than by φεύγω and its derivatives—διαφεύγω, ε—κφεύγω) by ἀναχωρέω, “pull back, withdraw, go away from” (Judg 4:17; 1Sam 19:10; 2Sam 4:4; Ps 114:5).

⁴ Cf. Josephus, *War* 1.32; 6.201: “Maria, daughter of Eleazar, fled to Jerusalem and went through the siege there.” Aelius Aristides praises the philanthropy of the Athenians, ὑποδεχομένη τοὺς καταφεύγοντες (ed. Bursian, p. 99, 8ff.). Thirteen inhabitants of Delphi who denounced abuses before the *amphictiones* of Delphi were victims of intrigue and were sent into exile, καταφυγόντες (*Fouilles de Delphes* III, 4, n. 43, 8). Κατέφυγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς Στοτοῆτις ἰ—βιοτάφος (SB 9628, 2; second century BC). In a figurative sense: “Their life was dissipated on these preoccupations” (*Ep. Arist.* 140).

⁵ “The city of Euhippe, having appealed to the great Fortune of our master Emperor Antoninus” (L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, p. 348); cf. a supplication to the king: ε—πί σε τὸν σωτήρα καταφεύγων (SB 9798, 3, 15; from the third century BC; *P. Yale* 46, col. I, 9); Dittenberger, *Or.* 519, 14; 569, 15; *SEG* I, 366, 8: “the citizens who have been deprived of their lands appealed to our people, καταφυγόντων ε—πὶ τὸν δῆμον”; *P. Tebt.* 43, 27: “We were compelled to seek refuge with you” (118 BC); *UPZ* 106, 16; *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 4, p. 98, n. 774.

⁶ Τούτου χάριν (*P.Oxy.* 2479, 26); τούτου ἔνεκεν (*SB* 8246, 34), διὰ τοῦτο (*P.Tebt.* 724, 8), ὅθεν (*P.Mich.* 174, 6; 422, 32). One appeals to someone to find help, *Isa* 10:3.

⁷ The capitol (*Strabo* 5.3.2; cf. 6.3.5), a city (*Josephus, Ant.* 18.373), an island (*Thucydides* 8.42.4), the tombs (*Menander*, in *Stobaeus, Flor.* 86.6; vol. 4, p. 704), a grotto (*Plutarch, Luc.* 15.3); cf. *Diodorus Siculus* 12.9.3; 12.24.5.

⁸ At Euhemeria, no one has the right “to expel in any manner whatsoever . . . those who come seeking refuge (τοὺς καταφεύγοντες)” in the temple of Amon (*SB* 6155, 20; cf. 8266, 10 *b*); *P.Tebt.* 787, 34: καταφυγει—ν ει—ς τὸ ε—ν—Iβιω—νι τοῦ Διὸς ι—ερόν; 724, 8. A sanctuary that has just been built lays claim to this privilege for fugitives, καταφεύγοντας καθ ὀνδηποτοῦν τρόπον (*P.Fay.*, p. 49, 9; from 69–68 BC). But in AD 121, *P.Dura* 20, 11 prescribes: “if he takes refuge in a temple, he shall be cast out of it.” *Diodorus Siculus* 17.41.8: a pursued suspect “took refuge in the temple of Heracles” at Tyre.

⁹ Cf. C. Spicq, *Vie chrétienne*, pp. 59ff. On the theme of καταφυγή, cf. P. Collomp, *Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatie des Lagides*, Paris, 1926, p. 127.

¹⁰ In the OT, to flee to a city of refuge is to be saved, cf. *Num* 35:25-26; *Deut* 4:42; 19:5; cf. *Nicolas of Damascus*: “It was there that those who were able to escape the flood took refuge (συμφυγόντες) and were saved” (in *Josephus, Ant.* 1.95); *Philo, Good Man Free* 151: “those who take refuge in inviolable places.” Cf. *Xenophon of Ephesus, Ephes.* 1.4.5: σω—σον τὸν ε—πὶ σὲ καταπεφευγότα τὸν πάντων δεσπότην. I might note that καταφεύγω translates the Hebrew *‘asap* (in the niphal), “disappear, withdraw, assemble, reunite” (*Gen* 49:1; *1Sam* 13:5; 17:2; *2Sam* 17:2; *Ps* 35:15; *Isa* 57:1), and *lawâh* (in the niphal), “join, accompany” (*Num* 18:2, 4), which means that the “fugitives” of Heb can be understood as a community (cf. *13:14*).

¹¹ *Philo, Spec. Laws* 3.130 (cf. *Heb* 6:19: ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ βεβαίαν); cf. 123; *Flight* 87ff.; *Spec. Laws* 1.129, 1.309: καρπὸν εὐράμενοι τῆς ε—πὶ τὸν θεὸν καταφυγῆς τὴν ἀπ αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν; 2.217. The new name of Aseneth: “city of refuge” (*Jos. Asen.* 15.6), cf. M. Philonenko, *Joseph et Aséneth*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 55ff., 170; C. Burchard, *Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth*, Tübingen, 1965, pp. 93, 118; L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum*, Leiden, 1967.

¹² Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 70–71; cf. 119; *Change of Names* 8; *Abraham* 95; *Conf. Tongues* 39; compare *Pap. Graec. Vindob.* 19799–19800 (ed. H. Hunger, “Die Logistie—ein liturgisches Amt,” in *ChrEg*, 1957, pp. 272–283). Esth 4:17 k: “Queen Esther took refuge with the Lord”; *Jos. Asen.* 12.7: “It is with you [Lord] that I have taken refuge”; 13.1; *T. Sim.* 3.5. A dedication of Sibidounda ἑω— Ὑψίστω Καταφυγῆ should not be understood as the translation of *Sancta Tutela* but the corresponding Yahweh-God-Refuge. *IGLS* 1483, 1: Τὸν Ὑψίστον ἔθου καταφυγὴν σου. Cf. the Virgin Mary, *refugium peccatorum*, invoked as Καταφυγῆ in the Byzantine era, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1965, p. 169, n. 412.

καταφθείρω

kataphtheiro, to corrupt, ruin

kataphtheiro, S 2704; *TDNT* 9.93–106; *EDNT* 2.270; MM 334; L&N 88.266; BAGD 420

False teachers oppose the truth and have a corrupt mind: *houtoi anthistantai te aletheia, anthropoi katephtharmenoi ton noun* (2Tim 3:8; same link between these two verbs, 1Macc 8:11). The only more or less close parallel is Uzziah, “who was puffed up and corrupted; he became unfaithful to Yahweh his God” (2Chr 26:16; cf. 27:2—“*ho laos katephtheireto*, the people were corrupted”; Lev 26:39—“those among you who remain will waste away [Hebrew *maqaq*] because of their sin”). In most of its LXX occurrences, *kataphtheiro* translates the Hebrew *shahat*, “destroy, cut down; corrupt, pervert.” These two meanings are used together: “God saw that . . . all flesh had corrupted their ways on the earth. So behold I shall destroy them” (Gen 6:12–13; commented on by Philo, *Unchang. God* 141–142), but this second meaning is by far the best attested, especially with respect to the destruction of a city,¹ of the whole earth (Gen 9:11; cf. Isa 24:1—*baqaq*), of a kingdom (1Macc 8:11), of a ravaged land,² of its products (Judg 6:4), its fruits, its harvests (Wis 16:19, 22), and its trees (Dan 4:14; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1157, 74). So the idea is that of devastation, always with the connotation of violence (1Macc 15:31). When the verb is used with humans as the object, it means their extermination (2Chr 12:7; 24:23; 25:16; 35:21); they succumb (Exod 18:18, Hebrew *nabal*); these victims (2Macc 5:14) lose their life like “water that is spilled to the ground” and cannot be regathered (2Sam 14:14).

In the papyri, *kataphtheiro* is used of a business deal that will come to nothing if no decision is made: “you must give me an answer so that I maynot be ruined” (*ei dei se apophasin moi dounai hina me entautha*

kataphtheiromai, PSI 377, 11); caviar which, if it cannot be sold, must be eaten, “so that it will not go bad like the rest” (*hina me kataphthare hosper kai ta loipa*, P.Cair.Zen. 59121, 3); of a harvest that is in danger of being ruined (P.Cair.Zen. 59132, 5; cf. SB 6794, 5; P.Tebt. 769, 25, 85); a horse that has died or become useless, “but your horse has been ruined” (*ho de para sou hippos katephthartai*, P.Cair.Zen. 59093, 5 = SB 6720, 5); of an invasion of grasshoppers that has destroyed everything (P.Tebt. 772, 2; from the third century BC; cf. SB 6769, 18); of unused cargo ships (P.Haun. 12 a 6; republished in SB 9425 a) that founder where they are berthed (P.Magd. 11, 9; third century BC); above all, of prisoners who languish (P.Cair.Zen. 59831: “to waste away in prison,” *en to desmoterio kataphtharenai*) and are in danger of atrophying or dying: “so that he may not waste away in prison” (*hopos me symbe auton kataphtharenai en te phylake*, P.Mich. 85, 5); “not to leave me to rot in jail for five months” (*me hyperidein me katephtharmenon en te phylake menas η?*, P.Tebt. 777, 11; cf. P.Petaus II, 19; BGU 1847, 21).

These usages show that the false teachers of 2Tim 3:8, their minds wasted or ravaged—today we speak of losing one’s mind—are radically incapable (cf. the perfect passive participle) of carrying out any magisterial function. When one’s ability to think and reason is corrupted, one is straightaway disqualified for teaching (cf. *adokimoi*; cf. Titus 1:16).

¹ 2Macc 8:3—razed to the ground; SB 8334, 5 (42 BC); cf. R. Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret*.

² Isa 13:5 (Hebrew *habal* in the piel); 36:10 (*shahat* in the piel); 49:19 (*shamem*); 1Macc 3:39; 15:4; *Ep. Arist.* 23, 120; Polybius 2.64.3.

καταφρονέω, καταφρονητής

kataphroneo, to scorn, disdain; *kataphronetes*, scoffer

see also περιφρονέω

kataphroneo, S 2706; TDNT 3.631–632; EDNT 2.270; NIDNTT 1.461–462; MM 334–335; L&N 88.192; BAGD 420 | ***kataphronetes***, S 2707; TDNT 3.632; EDNT 2.270; NIDNTT 1.461–462; MM 335; L&N 88.193; BAGD 420

The verb, meaning “scorn, disdain,” connotes a lack of respect or consideration when its object is a person: “Who then would take the risk if he had to see himself surrounded with scorn rather than honor?” (*anti tou*

timasthai kataphronethesomenos, Isocrates, *Archid.* 6.95); “to avoid being scorned and merit public esteem” (*me kataphronesesthai, all’ eudokimesein en tois pollois*).¹ This disdain or irreverence become impiety when directed toward the deity;² the *kataphronountes* (Hebrew *bagad*) are the ungodly and traitors (Prov 13:15; Hos 6:7). It is in this sense that the Jew takes no account of the treasures of divine goodness which ought to move him to repent: “Have you nothing but scorn for the riches of God’s kindness, patience, longsuffering?” (Rom 2:4); likewise: “No one can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will cleave to (*anthexetai*) the one and pay no attention to the other (*tou heterou kataphronesei*). You cannot serve God and Mammon.”³ To give all one’s attention and zeal to one *kyrios* implies absolute lack of interest toward another master.

In the category of the unjust, the most guilty are sensualists, the insolent, and blasphemers, “those who follow the flesh, by covetousness of that which defiles, and scorn lordship” (*kyriotetos kataphronountas*, 2Pet 2:11). For the slaves of carnal passions, it is no longer wealth that is sovereign but the *sarx* (flesh); this being so, they have no use for and thus reject or annul (Jude 8), deny (2Pet 2:1; Titus 1:16) the yoke of Christ the Lord, his supreme authority, his teachings, his will, and his control. One scorns “the king’s decrees” (4Macc 4:26, *ta dogmata*; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 705, 36; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.207, a *prostagma*; 6.331; 10.257; 12.207). Disdain here is refusal and disobedience (*Ant.* 6.142, 147; 11.130); a common meaning of *kataphroneo*: “Some are capable of disdain, others are not” (Xenophon, *Cyn.* 13.16); commonly in Philo.⁴ In 2Pet 2:10, not only do those referred to snap their fingers at a prohibition,⁵ but they treat lightly the *kyriotes* (lordship) of Christ; this is an insult,⁶ a well attested meaning of the verb: “He insults me, Thebes” (*kataphronei me*, Euripides, *Bacch.* 503).

Heb 12:2 exhorts Christians to behold Jesus, who endured the ignominy of the cross,⁷ “despising the shame” (*aischynes kataphronesas*). The emphasis is not on suffering, but on the humiliation of this punishment, which was reserved for slaves and criminals (cf. *oneidismos*, 10:33; 11:26; 13:13). It is also an allusion to the mockery, the ridicule, and the insults to which the saint par excellence was subjected by “sinners.” Nothing could be more abject! Precisely: to “scorn”⁸ is to “laugh at,”⁹ “mock” (Josephus, *Life* 337,347).

The meaning “humiliate, shame” is found in 1Cor 11:22, with regard to participation in the Lord’s Supper, when some have plenty to eat and others have nothing: “Do you scorn the church of God (*tes ekklesias tou theou kataphroneite*) and do you wish to shame (*kataischynete*) those who have nothing?”¹⁰ One cannot take part lightly in a sacred ceremony (Philo, *Moses* 1.102; *Decalogue* 85), because that would be to profane it, commit an impiety, and incur mortal punishment.¹¹

“Take care not to scorn one of the least of these little ones (*me kataphronesete henos ton mikron touton*), because their angels in heaven constantly behold the face of my heavenly Father” (Matt 18:10). Scorn is the clear opposite of respect, here powerfully motivated. Not only in judgment but also in conduct it is necessary to take account of these little ones who are so honored by God. These *mikroi* are not young children (*nepioi*) but insignificant, negligible Christians¹² who are not ordinarily taken into account. In this category we may include the poor,¹³ the members of an inferior social class in the community, and also the weak, the fragile, those easily offended,¹⁴ even the handicapped (cf. Eph 4:22). They must be taken care of because of their great dignity in God’s eyes.

Unconditional submission of the young to their elders was common to oriental, Greek, and Roman antiquity.¹⁵ So also St. Paul confirms Timothy’s authority at Ephesus with the words, “Let no one despise your youth” (*medeis sou tes neotetos kataphroneito*, 1Tim 4:12). The verb has the sense “treat with disdain, pay no attention to.” The scorn for a person is constantly mentioned in the Hellenistic era¹⁶ and is justified in many ways, notably by the youthfulness of the one disdained: “Darius had only scorn for Alexander’s youthfulness” (*kataphronesas tes Alexandrou neotetos*).¹⁷ A certain Antinous, a daredevil, “scorns my passivity” (*apragmosynes*, *P.Ant.* 36, 12; *P.Oxy.* 2410, 3; cf. Josephus, *War* 6.337: *rhathymia* = softness), “my mediocrity” (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 173; *P.Ryl.* 659, 7; *P.Oxy.* 3126, col. II, 10), because I am a foreigner” (*P.Magd.* 8, 11), “because my husband is dead” (*kataphronon hoti ho aner mou tetelyteken*, *P.Magd.* 2, 6; cf. *P.Gen.* 31,10: *kataphronon mou tes chereias*); “as a helpless woman” (*hos gynaikos aboethetou*, BGU 291, 9), “because I am an orphan,”¹⁸ “scorning me because of my weak vision.”¹⁹ Hence to “scorn” is to refuse to give justice, to give back a stolen object, a borrowed ass, to pay a servant’s wages; no interest is shown in the complainant because of his or her lack of social, financial, or political status. Here again scorn is a lack of respect and consideration.

“Let slaves who have believers as masters not scorn them because they are brothers” (1Tim 6:2); *me kataphroneitosan* explicates 6:1—masters are worthy of respect (*pases times axious*). They must be esteemed. If it is true that spiritually, Christian masters are the equals of Christian slaves, of “brothers,” one must respect the social hierarchy. What is more, *agape*, the enemy of arrogance, inspires even more respect and devotion (cf. Phlm 16: *adelphos agapetos*), so that the servant’s “service” becomes a gracious “benefit” (*euergesia*) that rules out all negligence.²⁰

As for St. Paul’s apostrophe at Pisidian Antioch, “Behold, scoffers (*hoi kataphronetai*), wonder and perish” (Acts 13:41), it is a quotation of Hab 1:5, where the prophet threatens Israel with terrible punishment. In the Greek OT this substantive always translates the Hebrew *bagad* (Hab 2:5), *bogdîm* (1:5), *bogdôt* (Zeph 3:4) and thus would mean “arrant traitors.” It is

used only once in Philo: “They do not profess scorn for divine things”;²¹ and it is used in a favorable sense in Josephus and Plutarch.²²

¹ Plato, *Hp. Ma.* 281 c; καταφρονέω is contrasted with τιμάω, “honor” (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.80), with θαυμάζω, “admire” (*Ag. Apion* 2.47), with φοβέομαι (Prov 13:13). The verb sometimes has a favorable or neutral meaning: “dream of, think of, aspire to” (to the throne, Herodotus 1.59), “come to one’s senses” upon waking (Hippocrates, *Morb. Sac.* 15), after a fit of hysteria (*Nat. Mul.* 3).

² Euripides, *Bacch.* 199: οὐ καταφρονῶ— τῶ—ν θεῶ—ν (parallel to οὐκ αἰ—σχύνομαι, 204); a meaning especially frequent in Josephus: one does not snap one’s fingers at God, at his foreknowledge (*Ant.* 2.329), words (3.16, 85), power (4.215, 217; 9.173; 12.357), commandments (1.43; 6.150; 8.19), worship (1.311; 4.181; 8.251), obligations due him (9.160). *PSI* 1337, 17: τῶ—ν θεῶν διατάξεων καταφρονεῖ—.

³ Matt 6:24 = Luke 16:13 (the Lucan context is better). A radical decision is forced between two lordships which make a total demand on their slaves and leave no room for other jobs (C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, pp. 28–31). Cf. Eubulus: “The slave of two masters is at each moment the slave of no one” (οὐδαμόθεν οὐδεῖς, J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 120). In fact slaves were often the property of a number of masters (Acts 16:16—τοῖς κυρίοις), notably because of inheritance (*P.Oxy.* 1030, 5–6; 1638; *BGU* 1654; *P.Grenf.* 21; *P.Mert.* 123; *P.Mich.* 317, 326; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 23; etc.). A half or two-thirds of a slave could be sold (*PSI* 1228; *P.Freib.* 8). At Delos, in the first century BC, a slave was owned in common by three brothers (F. Durrbach, *Choix*, p. 213). Cf. I. Biezunska-Malowist, “Les Esclaves en copropriété dans l’Egypte romaine,” in *Aeg*, 1968, pp. 116–129.

⁴ One scorns the flesh (Philo, *Giants* 32), money and pleasure (*Flight* 33), glory (*Flight* 35; *Rewards* 24), human affairs (*Dreams* 1.218), physical exercises that are opposed to the equilibrium of the soul (*Abraham* 48), wealth (*Moses* 1.153, 213), foods and luxury (*Moses* 2.69; *Rewards* 17), material goods (*Virtues* 15), the fruits of pride (17), myths (*Contemp. Life* 63), honor and power (*Drunkness* 57).

⁵ Inscription from Iasus: the passive ἄν δ’ εἰς καταφρονηθῆ corrected to the active καταφρονήσῃ by L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 3, p. 1516. Cf. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.264: “scorn the constitution and laws of the country”; *P.Mich.* 582, col. II, 9–10 (AD 49–50): not fulfilling the obligations of his office (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 172); Josephus, *War* 1.318) or the stipulations of a contract (*SB* 9778, 14; *P.Oxy.* 2730, 15), scorning ancestral customs (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.150).

⁶ One must not despise anyone (Philo, *Dreams* 2.141), except enemies, according to *Ep. Arist.* 225: πω—ς ἄν καταφρονοίη τω—ν ε—χθρω—ν; among nations (Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.4.30; Josephus, *War* 6.422; *Ant.* 5.255, 304; 6.71), for example the Jews' scorn for the Romans (20.126) or the Syrians (20.175); *Jdt* 10:19. Cf. Thucydides 6.34.9: "Scorn for the aggressor is shown through acts of resistance"; 2Macc 7:24—"Antiochus thought that he had been vilified (καταφρονει—σθαι) and suspected that these words contained an insult (ὀνειδίζουσεν)"; Prov 18:3—"When the wicked comes, scorn comes also."

⁷ Cf. scorn of death = counting it as nothing, Epictetus 4.1.70; Diodorus Siculus 5.29.2: certain Gauls despise death; Philo, *Good Man Free* 30; *To Gaius* 236, 249; Josephus, *War* 2.60: Athrongaeus "had a soul scornful of death"; 2.377; 3.356, 475; 5.458; 6.42; *Ag. Apion* 2.294. Cf. 4Macc 13:9—the three young men scorned a furnace. Cf. the scorn of dangers and perils, Josephus, *War* 5.87; *Ant.* 9.55, 82; 12.425; 14.380.

⁸ Musonius, frag. 10, l. 22ff. (ed. C. E. Lutz): "If the philosopher—who ought obviously to despise death itself—cannot scorn blows or insults, what good is he?"

⁹ Diodorus Siculus 3.50; Plato, *Euthd.* 273 d: "These words brought me their scorn (κατεφρονήθην); they began to laugh"; Philo, *Drunkenness* 131: to show a lack of respect for the dignity of one's superiors is to expose oneself to a mocking laugh; Gen 27:12—Jacob, "In my father's eyes I will be seen as a mocker" (ὡς καταφρονω—ν, pilpel of the Hebrew *ta'a'*).

¹⁰ Τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας, cf. F. Field, *Notes on the Translation* , p. 175.

¹¹ Cf. Prov 19:16—"The one who scorns (Hebrew *bazâh*) his ways shall die"; Wis 14:30—καταφρονήσαντες ὀσιότητος; 2Macc 4:14—"The priests who scorn the temple and neglect the sacrifices"; 4Macc 4:9—"the Holy Place, which was treated contemptuously," means the violated temple.

¹² Cf. S. Légasse, *Jésus et l'enfant*, pp. 51ff., 62ff.

¹³ Menander, *Dysk.* 286: "Do not treat us who are poor with disdain"; Plato, *Resp.* 7.556 d: "In the midst of danger it was not the poor who scorned the rich"; Plutarch, *Per.* 1.4: "Often we take pleasure in the work while scorning the worker." Masters scorn their slaves (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.129; *Decalogue* 40; *Flacc.* 178).

¹⁴ Cf. 1Thess 5:14—“Encourage the timid, the fearful (τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους) comfort the feeble (ἀσθενῶ—ν).” Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 792, n. 2.

¹⁵ Sir 32:9; Plato, *Resp.* 3.412; *Leg.* 690 b; 917 a; Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.3.16 (cf. M. P. Roussel, *Etude sur le principe de l'ancienneté dans le monde hellénique*, Paris, 1942). Old age alone is respectable (τιμῆς ἄξιος, Philo, *Sobr.* 16; *Decalogue* 167), deserving to take precedence (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 42). It is in any event to be wished that the presumed wisdom of age will corroborate the prestige of the function. St. Thomas quotes Aristotle: “Nemo juvenes elegit duces.” Timothy, young and timid, lacking in self-confidence (1Cor 16:10-11) would be paralyzed by the defiance or scorn of his circle (C.Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, p. 511).

¹⁶ 4Macc 5:10—κάμοῦ καταφρονήσεις; 6:21; *P.Col.* VII, 169, 13: καταφρονοῦντές μου; *P.Yale* 46, col. I, 13: καταφρονήσας μου ὅτι Αι—γύπτιός ει—μι (third century BC); *P.Mich.* 79, 24: “because my father was absent, they treated us with scorn” (memorandum of Artemidorus to Zeno); *P.Cair.Isid.* 76, 17; *P.Mich.* 23, 4: a woman who borrowed twenty-four drachmas “does not return them to us . . . she scorns us” (221 BC); *PSI* 1344, 2; *P.Oxy.Hels.* 23, 17.

¹⁷ Diodorus Siculus 17.7.1; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.242; 8.274: διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν; *P.Gen.* 6, 13. Similarly, the feebleness of the aged is scorned: “Do not scorn your mother when she is old” (Prov 18:3; Josephus, *War* 1.633; *Ant.* 5.143; cf. 16.288).

¹⁸ *P.Oxy.* 1470, 15. In judicial petitions, the formula occurs almost constantly: “I am wronged because . . .”; cf. *P. Enteux*, Cairo, 1931, n. 9, 6; 25, 8; 26, 9; 41, 5; 48, 7; 68, 11; etc.

¹⁹ *P.Mich.* 422, 29; cf. 425, 11: this person scorns me because of my weakness, because I have only one eye and do not see with it, although it appears that I am sighted. . . .

²⁰ Μὴ καταφρονήσης = do not be negligent; *P.Oxy.* 2154, 12; *P.Yale* 83, 10; *P.Genova* 85, 5; cf. Thucydides 2.11.4; 3.83.4; Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.5.12; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.313; 7.313; 12.292; *Life* 143, 291.

²¹ *To Gaius* 322; cf. Epictetus 4.7.33: “It is such principles that cause scorn for the laws.”

²² Josephus, *War* 2.122: the Essenes despise riches (καταφρονηταὶ πλούτου) and danger (2.151; *Ant.* 6.347); Plutarch, *Brut.* 12.1: the conspirators were chosen from among men who scorned death.

κατέχω

katecho, to hold, keep, take ill, contain, constrain, occupy, hold to

katecho, S 2722; *TDNT* 2.829–830; *EDNT* 2.271–272; MM 336–337; L&N 13.150, 31.48, 37.17, 54.22, 57.1, 85.9; BDF §400(4); BAGD 422–423

The meanings of this verb are multiple,¹ though rather homogeneous, and can be defined thus: seize, hold strongly, keep, detain, contain, take possession, occupy. They are all attested in the NT.

1. “Hold strongly.” — “Those who hear the word with a noble and good heart hold to it (*ton logon katechousin*) and bear fruit by persevering.”² Thus it is that “a ram is held in the thicket by its horns”³ and Saul wished to seize Samuel (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.152; 6.169; 9.69). Metaphorical usages are common: “Dizziness seized me” (2Sam 1:9; Job 15:24), or rage,⁴ a passion (Philo, *To Gaius* 338), but also ardor and love for the best (*Rewards* 15, 26), zeal and love for the good and for virtue (*Change of Names* 108, 153, 199; *Unchang. God* 138; *Flight* 58, 195). Finally, one can be “seized” and inspired by God.⁵

2. “Be taken ill, suffer from an illness.” — “The first one to go down (into the pool at Bethesda) after the stirring of the water was healed of whatever illness gripped him (whatever illness he had).”⁶ The expression is common: Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 138; *Spec. Laws* 1.118; 2.136; *Cherub.* 42; *To Gaius* 16, 267, 357: “a shaking seized me”; Josephus, *War* 1.236: “Herod was detained by illness”; *Life* 48: “taken with a sudden onset of fever”; *PSI* 299, 3 and 5: “because I was taken quite ill, so that I could not even move” (*hoti keteschethen noso epi poly hos me dynasthai mede saleuesthai*); “but when my illness was lessened” (*hos d’ekouphisthe moi he nosos*).

3. “Keep.” — “I would like to keep Onesimus with me, because he serves me on your behalf in these chains I am in for the gospel.”⁷ Cf. Gen 24:56—“Abraham’s servant said, ‘Do not keep me . . . Let me go’”; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.197: Abraham sent the horses back to the king of Sodom but “kept the goods that God had given him”; *Joseph* 163: Jacob sent his sons to buy grain in Egypt, but he kept his youngest son home (cf. 185, 201, 233); *Dreams* 1.95: “Lenders keep the goods taken as security until they recover their own property” (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.269). Josephus, *War* 1.267: “Herod dispersed across Idumea men who were more burdensome than useful, keeping with him the most stalwart and the most beloved.”⁸ Kopres

writes to his father, Heron: “Do not think that I am keeping back the workers; it is the *epimeletes* alone who is keeping them.”⁹

Often, one is kept in spite of oneself: “The crowds came to Jesus and kept him (*kateichon auton*) so that he would not leave them” (Luke 4:42). Manoah said to the Angel of the Lord: “Permit us to keep you” (Judg 13:15-16; 19:4). To be “held by force” (Philo, *Joseph* 209; *Moses* 1.319) is to no longer be at one’s own disposal,¹⁰ and often to be arrested and imprisoned: Joseph’s master took him and put him in the stronghold, the place where the king’s prisoners were kept (*topon en ho hoi desmotaí . . . katechontai*, Gen 39:20; cf. 42:19); Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.21: “You would have kept the soul in prison” (*katesches en desmoterio*); *Prelim. Stud.* 41: “forgetfulness holds captive”;¹¹ *P.Flor.* 61, 60: “You deserve to be whipped, having taken it upon yourself to hold an honorable man and woman” (*axios men es mastigothenai, dia seautou kataschon anthropon euschemona kai gynaikan*); *P.Lond.* 1914, 35: “He came, arrested him, and put him in prison”; 422, 3 (vol. 2, p. 318; cf. Diodorus Siculus 12.65); *P.Petr.* 45, col. II, 4: the money was seized; *P.Mich.* 616, 11: “He impounded my property until I should pay my debts to the treasury.”¹² It is in this sense that, according to Rom 1:18, human godlessness and unrighteousness “hold the truth” captive in the chains of unrighteousness (*anthropon ton ten aletheian en adikia katechonton*). By not adhering to the truth from the heart and not submitting their conduct to it, they somehow shackle the divine truth and hold it in check.¹³ Thus the satanic power is held back to burst forth at the great day. In explaining the delay of the Parousia, St. Paul writes, “You know what holds it back (*to katechon oidate*) so that it will not be revealed before its time. For the mystery of ungodliness is already set in motion. Only when the one who is now holding it back (*monon ho katechon*) is out of the way, then the ungodly one will be revealed.”¹⁴

In NT kerygma and catechesis, *katecho* (“hold, keep”) in a favorable sense has become a technical term: “You hold the traditions just as I transmitted them to you” (*kathos paredoka hymin tas paradoseis*, 1Cor 11:2); “You are saved, if you hold to the terms in which I evangelized you” (*sozesthe, tini logo euangelisamen hymin ei katechete*, 1Cor 15:2). It is not enough to receive the divine message by faith; one must hold to it, keep it intact, retain it unshakably.¹⁵ “Prove everything, keep the good (*to kalon katechete*), reject the bad.”¹⁶

4. “Contain.” — The idea of keeping passes easily into that of “contain, master, dominate.” Philo, *Post. Cain* 5: “The circle of heaven contains the universe within itself”; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.13: “They contain themselves with patience”; Josephus, *War* 2.40: “Varus went up to Jerusalem to contain the rebels” (cf. 2.213, 214); 4.587: “The soldiers with great difficulty contained their desire to pillage”; 6.257, 260; “Catullus, unable to contain himself . . .”¹⁷

5. “Constrain.” — “We have been freed from the law, being dead (by baptism) to that which held us in constraint” (*apothanontes en ho kateichometha*, Rom 7:6). Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.124: “subjected to this inexorable law, which refuses immortality to every human creature”; *P.Cair.Isid.* 77, 18: “even though they were compelled by the laws (*katechomenoi apo ton nomon*) to keep the children”; *P.Amh.* 97, 17: “I will not be bound by my promise” (*ou kataschethesomai te hyposchesei*).¹⁸

6. “Occupy, take possession of.” — A guest who takes the first place runs the risk that the host will say, “Give place”; “then, in embarrassment, you will have to take the last place” (*ton eschaton topon katechein*).¹⁹ *Jdt* 5:19—“Returned from the dispersion, they reoccupied Jerusalem”; Philo, *To Gaius* 155: “This quarter of Rome, beyond the Tiber, was occupied and inhabited by Jews” (cf. 216); *Change of Names* 113: “those who held the place.” Constantly in Josephus: Antiochus Epiphanes, after taking Jerusalem, occupied the city for three years and six months.”²⁰ *P.Oslo* 40, 50: “The creditor shall be able to take possession of the house when he wishes”; *P.Mich.* 424, 5; a complaint to the *strategos*: “Sotas wanted to take possession of my property by force” (*ta hyparchonta mou kataschein bia*).²¹

7. “Have, possess.” — “The time is short. Henceforth . . . let those who buy be as if they did not possess” (*hoi agorazontes hos me katechontes*, 1Cor 7:30); “thought of as having nothing, but possessing all things” (*hosmeden echontes kai panta katechontes*, 2Cor 6:10). Thus Yahweh, the master of everything (Isa 40:22), gives his people ownership of Canaan;²² money is possessed (Job 27:17), or a sickle (Jer 50:16), or a sword,²³ or a goat (Philo, *Flight* 151). *P.Berl.Zill.* 4, 19: “He claims as his own property the paternal field and the vineyard”; *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VIII, 22: How can it be that the Egyptian widows claim their husbands’ properties (*katechein tahyparchonta*) by virtue of local Egyptian law, according to their marriage contracts?²⁴ In religious language, *katecho* means “have in possession,”²⁵ and in everyday language, “victimize” (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.34), “envelop” (*War* 1.148), “oppress” (*P.Oxy.* 532, 23); so that human thought can be “possessed by the love and thirst for wisdom” (Philo, *Creation* 5; cf. *Alleg. Interp.* 1.43; 2.102) and “seized like Korybants (priests of Cybele) by divine inspiration.”²⁶

8. “Sail along, make for.” — “Having put the foresail to the wind, they made for the beach” (*kateichon eis ton aigialon*, Acts 27:40). Or at least that is how this verb (in the imperfect) is translated, as a technical navigational term. But hardly any exact parallels are known.²⁷ It was necessary to begin with “hold” (the course), then add various nuances. The idea is to sail in a certain direction, steer for, aim it, travel toward.

¹ Cf. the dozen Hebrew verbs that correspond to this verb in the LXX: *'ahaz, hazaq, taqap, 'asar, 'asar, 'ahar, yarash, yashab, 'asap, nahal, halaq, hasan.*

² Luke 8:15; cf. *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 3, pp. 111–122.

³ Gen 22:13. Adonijah gripped the horns of the altar (1Kgs 1:50; 2:29); 2Sam 2:21; 4:10; Ps 139:10—“Your right hand holds me.”

⁴ Ps 119:53; anguish (Jer 6:24); pain (13:21; Philo, *Moses* 1.136; 2.225); wrath (Philo, *Abraham* 152; *Decalogue* 63; Josephus, *War* 1.479; 2.293; 4.591; 7.48; *Ant.* 6.237; *Life* 233), drunkenness (Philo, *Creation* 71; *Moses* 2.164; *Drunkenness* 166), stupidity (*Drunkenness* 5; *Dreams* 2.196), madness (Philo, *Decalogue* 52; Josephus, *Life* 323), fear (Josephus, *War* 3.147), panic (*Ant.* 20.78), thirst (*Ant.* 5.302), sorrow (*Ant.* 4.330; *Life* 205), sleepiness (Philo, *Joseph* 147).

⁵ Philo, *Dreams* 1.2; 2.232; *Heir* 260, 264; *Moses* 2.188, 270; *Spec. Laws* 1.65, 315; *Virtues* 217; *Good Man Free* 43.

⁶ John 5:4—ὧ δὴποτε κατείχετο νοσήματι (omitted by P66, S, B, etc.). Cf. S. Bartina, “Papiros y hermeuética para el pasaje de la piscina Probatica,” in *Proceedings XI*, pp. 499–507.

⁷ Phlm 13: ὃν ε—γὼ ε—βουλόμην πρὸς ε—μαυτὸν κατέχειν; Prov 18:22—“The one who keeps (ὁ δὲ κατέχων contrasted with ε—κβάλλει) an adulterous woman is a fool”; cf. 2Sam 6:6—Uzzah held back the ark; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.204: the Israelites were restrained by Deborah; *Life* 43: at Gischala, John, “seeing several citizens very excited by the insurrection against Rome, endeavored to hold them.”

⁸ Cf. Josephus, *War* 2.584; 5.326: “Josephus kept back those of the prince’s friends who wanted to step forward”; 5.454; 6.132; *Ant.* 2.1, 54, 75, 95: Jacob kept Benjamin with him; 7.234; 11.131: Ezra kept the letter but sent a copy; 13.190–191; *Life* 53: “Varus kept the messages in his possession, arranging that the text should not be seen by the king”; 92: “I sent back my bodyguards, except one, and kept with him ten soldiers”; *War* 2.606: “I had decided to keep this money hidden.”

⁹ *P.NYU* 25, 7 and 8: μὴ νόμιζε οὖν ὅτι ε—γὼ κατέχω τοὺς ε—ργάτας, ἀλλ’ ὁ ε—πιμελητής ε—στιν ὁ αὐτοὺς κατέχων; *P.Oxf.* 1, 12 (second century BC): the tax collector asked for two supporting documents (τὰ σύμβολα) from the wife of the plaintiff to establish the balance of her accounts. He took them home and is keeping them (κατέχων αὐτά); *P.Oxy.* 1842, 10: “I

sent you the animals . . . keeping only one here”; 2267, 13; *P.Petaus* 26, 18: “keep them with you until he returns.” At Samos, in the second century BC, a grain distribution law prescribes: “If one of the commissioners does not lend the money that he has been given with the mission of lending it, but dishonestly keeps it in his own possession (ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς κατάσχη ε—π ἄδικία), he shall pay ten thousand drachmas to the city” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 976, 73). Polybius 1.2.3: “The Lacedaemonians, who had for a long time contested the hegemony of Greece, once they became conquerors, kept it (κατει—χον αὐτήν) uncontested for almost twelve years”; Josephus, *War* 4.415: “They despaired of being able to save the town themselves.” Cf. Sir 46:9—“The descendants of Caleb kept the inheritance.”

¹⁰ Josephus, *War* 1.84: “How long, O impudent body, will you keep my soul?”; 1.109; 2.234; *Ant.* 13.317. When Herod tried to kill himself, “His cousin Ahab ran fast enough to hold his arm and stop the blow” (*War* 1.662); “The elders of the Jewish community were not able to hold back their own partisans” (2.267; 3.350; 6.345). Age “keeps” one = hinders from going (*Ant.* 12.196); Joseph was held (stopped) by a rain that God sent in the night (14.391). In the third century BC, a man complains of having been held in a village (*PSI* 525, 9). In the same period, Hierakion writes to the *strategos* Apollonius: μὴ κατέχου = do not let yourself be held (*P.Brem.* 16, 13; cf. *O.Bodl.* 1996, 8: μὴ αὐτὸν κάτεχε = do not keep him); *P.Cair.Zen.* 59110, 6; 59253, 8; 59596, 21; *C.Pap.Jud.* 141, 5: ε—ρωτω— σε ὅπως οὐ κατακεθήσεται = that he not be able to be held (first century BC). Hence “maintain”; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.198: “The messengers of God cannot maintain their deception any longer”; 1.231: “Prayers and sacrifices maintain the soul close to God”; 10.108: “maintain an alliance.”

¹¹ Josephus, *Ant.* 1.319: Jacob detained at Laban’s; 2.158, as a slave; 1.299: Pharaoh holds the Hebrews (in slavery); 3.17; 15.11: the high priest Hyrcanus is prisoner of the Parthians; *War* 2.11: “order to the tribune to seize by force the promoters of the sedition”; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59044, 27; 59819, 9; *BGU* 372, col. I, 16; *P.Amh.* 144, 4; *P.Mich.* 421, 18 (reign of Claudius): the local police officers arrested (κατείχουσαν) and imprisoned a man who was after some thieves and released him three days later only after the intervention of the town secretary and elders; 515, 2; *P.Oxy.* 2155, 12; *P.Rein.* 56, 29: “I did not want to go back up the river for fear of meeting a policeman and being held”; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 8, 6; a *prostagma* of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in 260 BC, “Those who, in Syria and Phoenicia, have purchased a free indigenous person, seized and held him, or acquired him in some other fashion . . . shall declare him to the *oikonomos*” (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 22, 3).

¹² *P.Fam.Tebt.* 24, 107–108; 37, 13; *P.Oxy.* 1892, 27; cf. Wis 17:4—“the inner chamber where they were imprisoned”; a tomb encloses a dead person (*SB* 7289, 2); γαι—α κατέχει (*IGUR*, n. 436); cf. T. Drew-Bear, *Phrygie*, p. 37.

¹³ Κατέχω often has the sense of placing an obstacle, holding in check (cf. Thucydides 6.29.3; 1Macc 6:27), meeting with a refusal (Tob 10:2), obliging to stop (Josephus, *War* 1.187), hindering (2.590: “Lack of money hindered John of Gischala from realizing his ambitions”; *Ant.* 14.102: Gabinius could not hinder Alexander).

¹⁴ 2Thess 2:6-8. The Ungodly One is the instrument of Satan (cf. 1Thess 2:18). Exegetes have tried in vain to identify this neuter (something, τὸ κατέχον) and this masculine (someone, ὁ κατέχων), which lack an object. All that we can say is that the Restrainer is a present and beneficent force that slows the advent of the Antichrist. Finally, cf. B. Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, pp. 259–279; P. Andriessen, “Celui qui retient la venue du Seigneur,” in *Bijdragen*, 1960, pp. 20–30; J. Coppens, “Le ‘Mystère’ dans la théologie paulinienne et ses parallèles qumrâniens,” in *Recherches bibliques*, vol. 5, Desclée De Brouwer, 1960, pp. 163–165; O. Betz, “Der Katechon,” in *NTS*, vol. 9, 1963, pp. 276–291; D. W. B. Robinson, “II Thess. II, 6: ‘That which retains’ or ‘that which holds away’?” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 3, 1964, pp. 635–638.

¹⁵ On this meaning of the verb, cf. Theophrastus, *Char.* 26.2: The oligarch “of all Homer’s work retained only this verse” (τοῦτο ε—ν μόνον κατέχειν); Xenophon, *Symp.* 8.26: “Keep his friend’s affection”; Philo, *Flight* 200: teachers pour out doctrines and theories of knowledge in their students’ ears “so that they may grasp with their intelligence and hold in their memory that which has been transmitted to them.” (On this intellectual meaning of κατέχω, cf. *UPZ* 145, 23: κατέχεις = understand that; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59060, 10: “You are amazed that I do not grasp the fact that there is a tax on all these things” = *SB* 6717). We may compare the magical papyri: Horus, κατέχων δράκοντα (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 995), Michael κατέχων, ὃν καλέουσι δράκοντα μέγαν (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 2770; cf. vol. 2, p. 209); *P.Lund* IV, 12, 7ff.; *SB* 7452, 20.

¹⁶ 1Thess 5:21; cf. Heb 3:6—“We are his household, if we hold firmly the assurance and the hope which is our boast”; 3:14; 10:23 (τὴν ὁμολογίαν).

¹⁷ Josephus, *War* 7.452; *Ant.* 6.63; 7.130: David, unable to contain his lust for Bathsheba; 8.170: the queen of Sheba could not contain her admiration; 2.345: the Hebrews could not contain their joy; *Life* 60: “Philip sought to restrain their impetuosity”; 301: “His men could no longer master

themselves”; Menander, *Dysk.* 687: “I could not contain myself any longer . . . so strong was my desire for her”; Chariton, *Chaer.* 3.7.4: “Unable to contain his sorrow.”

¹⁸ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 2109, 52; *PSI* 1070, 2; *P.Princ.* 148, 20; *P.Wisc.* 6, 25 (= *SB* 11234); *P.Ryl.* 117, 13: not be held responsible for their debts (μη κατέχεσθαι τοις ε—κείνων ὀφειλήμασιν); *P.Giss.* 11, 9: requisition for public service; *P.Lond.* 342, 7 (vol. 2, p. 174).

¹⁹ Luke 14:9 (cf. P. Glaue, “Einige Stellen, die die Bedeutung des Codex D charakterisieren,” in *NovT*, 1958, pp. 313–314); cf. Ps 69:36.

²⁰ Josephus, *War* 1.19; cf. 1.74, 190: “The Jews who occupied the territory”; 1.238, 248, 364; 2.486; 3.290: “the place around the tabernacle was occupied by the priests” (*Ant.* 8.104); *War* 5.104: “occupying the inner part of the temple, the conspirators took heart”; 5.252, 253, 357, 527; 7.165, 275, 306; *Ant.* 1.130, 136; 4.115; 5.224; 8.203; 9.280; 10.181; 13.213, 353; 14.200; *Ag. Apion* 1.228, 262, 272; 2.35: “if the Jews had occupied (their part of Alexandria) by force.” Letter of Ptolemy IV in the third century BC: the city and even a large share of the houses were occupied by soldiers camping in disorder (ed. C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 30, 6 and 9). Amnesty decree of Ptolemy Euergetes II, Cleopatra II, and Cleopatra III, in 118 BC, in favor of *chlerouchoi*: “We and our descendants remain in possession of holdings occupied up to the year 52” (*P.Tebt.* V, 47 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 54, 3; cf. 71, 12–13: 60 BC). One also “occupies” power or an office: “Caesar, who had held power for three years and seven months” (Josephus, *War* 1.218; cf. *Ant.* 1.86; 5.197, 254, 316, 359; 8.3, 298, 316; 10.143; 11.31; 12.234; 14.11, 123, 270, 290; 15.179, 180; 18.100); *P.Oxy.* 2339, 27: τὴν ἀρχὴν κατείχομεν ε—ν τῇ ἄκρᾳ = those who held power in the citadel; *P.Princ.* 137, 2 (the officials); *P.Mich.* 603, 18.

²¹ Cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 104, 8: land “that I occupied and cultivated for thirteen years”; *P.Tebt.* 743, 7; *P.Princ.* 119, 37 (= *SB* 10989, 12 a); *P.Amh.* 30, 26; *P.Oxy.* 118, verso 11; 3311, 12; *Apokrimata* 16: the prefect of the province orders that you recover the possession of the housing lots by force (cf. F. Pringsheim, “Some Suggestions on P.Col. 123,” in *Eos*, vol. 48: *Symbolae R. Taubenschlag Dedicatae*, Warsaw, 1956, pp. 241ff.); Herodotus 5.72.

²² Exod 32:13; Josh 1:11; Ezek 33:24; Dan 7:18, 22. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.191; 2.170; 3.87; 7.342; 8.153, 204; 12.133, 243; 14.314; *Ag. Apion* 2.48.

²³ Cant 3:8; cf. *SB* 9641 recto, col. I, 12: οὐ μὴ κατάσχω τὴν μάκαιραν εἰς τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ θανάτου μου (priestly regulation from the second century AD). The nuance is then “be in possession of,” cf. Philo, *Change of Names* 136; *P.Tebt.* 767, 11; *P.Sorb.* 62, 4: a steward asks his mistress to deduct the price of his purchases from the six *solidi* that she received from Peter the ζυγοστάτης (public weigher) “since she is now in possession of this sum to my credit.”

²⁴ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 713, 15 (AD 97); *P.Yale* 46, col. I, 8 (third century AD); *SB* 9241, 5; the will of Taharpaesis, *SB* 10765, 25 (= *ZPE*, vol. 4, 1969, p. 60 = *P.Köln* 100); *I.Magn.* 105, 51: ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατέχωσίν τε καρπίζωνταί τε.

²⁵ *LSAM*, p. 104; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 662, 9; *TAM* III, 1, 34, 32; *I.Priene* 125, 9: τοῖς κατεχομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ = those who are possessed by the god (ruling regarding the cult of Sarapis, around 200 BC).

²⁶ Philo, *Creation* 71; cf. *Heir* 69; *Dreams* 1.254; *Moses* 2.175, 288; *Spec. Laws* 3.44.

²⁷ Cf. Herodotus 7.188: “When the fleet having set out sailed and held (κατέσχε) to the Magnesian coast between Casthanea and Cape Sepia”; Polybius 1.25.7: “The Romans took to the sea with three hundred and thirty vessels and made for Messina (καὶ κατέσχον εἰς Μεσσήνην), where they went back out to sea”; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.204: Lot flees Sodom, taking refuge (κατασχών) in a tiny corner that formed an oasis in the midst of the flames.

κατηγέω

katecheo, to cause to ring in the ears, inform, instruct, catechize

katecheo, *S* 2727; *TDNT* 3.638–640; *EDNT* 2.273; *NIDNTT* 3.771–772; *MM* 337; *L&N* 22.190, 33.225; *BDF* §159(1); *BAGD* 423–424

Unknown in the LXX, rather poorly attested in classical Greek, and appearing late on the scene,¹ this verb derives from *echeo*, “resound,” and means “cause to ring in the ears, instruct by word of mouth,”² hence “inform.” Thus it was that the brothers at Jerusalem heard that Paul was teaching apostasy against Moses to all the Jews (Acts 21:21, *katechethesan peri sou*); but when they saw him perform a vow at the temple, they recognized that “there is nothing in what they have heard about you” (verse 24, *hon katechentai peri sou*). This meaning is current in writing from that period: “As he had heard it said (*katechetai*) that the

temple at Jerusalem was the most beautiful sanctuary in the world . . .” (Philo, *To Gaius* 198). King Agrippa writes to Josephus: “It is plain to see that you do not need to be taught concerning our learning from the beginning. When you meet me, however, I myself will tell you by word of mouth about many things that are generally unknown” (*se polla katecheso ton agnooumenon*, Josephus, *Life* 366). In the second century, the prefect of Egypt says that he has been informed about the dealings of the *telonai* who extort money from tourists.³

Nevertheless, information communicated to someone teaches, and *katecheo* tends to mean “instruct, give instructions,”⁴ as in *P.Lips.* 32, 1 (= *P.Stras.* 41, 37) in 250, where a lawyer declares, “He taught me nothing at all (*emeoudepote katechesen*),” and is answered, “Today you taught someone (*semeron tina edidaxas*).” In the fourth century, the Christian Copres writes, “We have given the lawyer instructions for the twelve.”⁵ This is the meaning of five of the seven NT occurrences of the verb, all with a religious meaning; although without the later technical flavor of “catechesis,” they refer to instruction in the gospel given to believers: “Apollos was taught in the ways of the Lord, *houtos en katechemenos ten hodon tou Kyriou*” (Acts 18:25); this is not knowledge through hearsay but doctrinal instruction properly speaking. St. Paul would rather speak five words with understanding,⁶ that is, in an intelligible language, “in order to instruct the others as well, *hina kai allous katecheso*,” as befits the role of prophecy (cf. 1Cor 14:3), than ten thousand words “in tongues” that those who hear would not understand at all.⁷

For discerning between good and evil, for evaluating his deeds, the Jew has no need to consult the obscure voice of conscience, because he is constantly informed, taught, by the law.⁸ In his dedication to Theophilus, St. Luke specifies that his purpose is “*hina epignos peri hon katechetes logon ten asphaleian*, so that you may know precisely the solidity of the teaching that you have received” (or “in which you were instructed,” or “concerning the things that you have learned about”—Luke 1:4). Widely varying interpretations have been given for this verse: some say that Theophilus was an eminent person or a pagan official who had been prejudiced against Christianity by tendentious information and that St. Luke wanted to clarify his judgment. Others speculate that Theophilus was an outsider who was interested in the new religion and that the evangelist wanted to give him reliable information. More likely, he was a good Christian, who, having been taught the *logoi* of the faith,⁹ would see his belief confirmed by exposition of the teachings and life of the Savior. The *logoi* he was taught do not constitute a systematic exposition, much less a mystagogic catechesis. It is not possible to specify whether it was a pre- or postbaptismal liturgy; but certainly the formula already has something specifically Christian-catechetical about it, and it would be too weak to translate *katechetes* “you have heard tell,”¹⁰ as if this referred to the mere

receiving of news. We might take it to mean that Theophilus, like Apollos (Acts 18:25), had received an initial, incomplete knowledge, but *asphaleia*, which is the key word,¹¹ and the aorist “seem to indicate that the instruction had ended.”¹² A written document, objectively informed, composed in an orderly fashion, like this Gospel, would confirm these *logoi* and demonstrate their trustworthiness.

Gal 6:6 recommends: “Let the person who is being taught the word (*ho katechoumenos ton logon*) give part of all his goods to the catechist (*to katechounti*),” i.e., to his instructor in the faith (cf. Phil 4:15). This is perhaps not exactly “the one who prepares the candidate for baptism,” but it is certainly the one who teaches the gospel; this person’s relation to the “catechumen” on the doctrinal level is that of teacher to initiate, a debtor-and-creditor relationship, according to Phil 4:15. These catechumens are attested in the third-fourth century in three letters of recommendation: “give a proper reception to our brothers Ero and Horion and Philadelphos and Pechusis and Naarous, who are catechumens *ton synagomenon*, and Leo, a catechumen *en arche*”;¹³ “welcome the catechumen Serenos” (*katechoumenon Serenon . . . prosdexai*, M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 20, 4; republished in *SB* 10255); “receive them then with love as friends, for they are not catechumens” (*prosdexai oun en agape hos philous, ou gar katechoumenoi eisin*, *P.Oxy.* 2603, 26; cf. M. Naldini, n. 47).

¹ Cf. E. D. Burton, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 2d ed., Edinburgh, 1948, pp. 336ff.

² Cf. κατήγησις ι—διωτέων, instruction given by the physician to the patient (Hippocrates, *Praec.* 13).

³ Κατηχοῦμαι τοὺς τελῶνας δι[ν]ω—ς σοφίσασθαι τοι—ς διερχομένοις (*P.Princ.* 20, 3; republished in *SB* 8072). Tiberius Julius Alexander orders that names of suspects be noted or passed along (Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 23–24).

⁴ The poets teach their hearers, μέτροις κατάδουσι καὶ μύθοις κατηχοῦσιν (Lucian, *JTr.* 39; cf. Lucian, *Philopatr.* 17; Lucian, *Asin.* 48). “The intelligent living being is perverted . . . through the instruction given by the entourage, διὰ τὴν κατήγησιν τω—ν συνόντων” (Chryssipus, cited by Diogenes Laertius 7.1.89). Cf. Beyer, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 638–640.

⁵ *P.Oxy.* 2601, 15: ε—κατηγήσαμεν δὲ ῥήτορα τῆ ι? (the editors compare ε—διδασκῆμην, in *P.Oxy.* 2343, 8; republished by M. Naldini, // *Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 35).

⁶ Five is a round number (Str-B, vol. 3, pp. 461ff.), cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Leiden, 1964.

⁷ 1Cor 14:19; for the textual criticism, cf. G. Zuntz, “Réflexions sur l’histoire du texte paulinien,” in *RB*, 1952, pp. 11ff.; idem, *The Text of the Epistles*, London, 1953, p. 230.

⁸ Rom 2:18, κατηχούμενος ε—κ τοῦ νόμου, note the present participle (Cf. W. Schrage, *Die konkreten Einzelgebote in der paulinischen Paränese*, Gütersloh, 1962, pp. 167ff.). A Christian letter of the fourth century, ἄνθρωπον κατηχούμενον ε—ν τῆ Γενέσει (*P.Oxy.* 2785, 7).

⁹ Cf. πιστὸς ὁ λόγος (1Tim 1:15; 3:1; 4:9; Titus 3:8; 2Tim 2:11); ε—ντρεφόμενος τοι—ς λόγοις τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς καλῆς διδασκαλίας ἡ—παρηκολούθηκας (1Tim 4:6); ὑποτύπωσιν ἔχε ὑγιαινόντων λόγων ὧν παρῆ ε—μοῦ ἤκουσας ε—ν πίστει (2Tim 1:13). J. M. Robinson, “ΛΟΓΟΙ ΣΟΦΩΝ,” in E. Dinkler, *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an R. Bultmann*, Tübingen, 1964, pp. 77–96; H. Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, p. 15.

¹⁰ Rightly emphasized by E. Trocmé, *Le ‘Livre des Actes’ et l’histoire*, Paris, 1957, p. 49.

¹¹ *P.Amh.* 131, 3: ἕως ἄν ε—πιγνώ— τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ πράγματος (second century); 132, 5; *P.Giss.* 28, 8: ἵνα τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ε—πιγνώ—; cf. W. den Boer, “Some Remarks on the Beginnings of Christian Historiography,” in *SP IV*, Berlin, 1961, pp. 349ff.

¹² M. J. Lagrange, *Luc*, p. 7.

¹³ Τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶ—ν Ἡρώνα καὶ Ὠρίωνα καὶ Φιλάδελφον καὶ Πεχῦσιν καὶ Νααρωσοῦν κατηχουμένους τῶ—ν συναγομένων καὶ Λέωνα κατηχούμενον ε—ν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου πρόσδεξαι ὡς καθήκει, *PSI* 1041, 8–10, republished by M. Naldini, // *Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 29, 8–10, who translates: “catecumeni ‘participanti’ e Leone catecumeno ‘iniziato,’” citing *2Clem.* 17.1; Tertullian, *Praescrip.* 41; *Coron.* 2; *Marc.* 5.7; cf. *Did.* 14.1 (J. P. Audet, *La Didaché*, Paris, 1958, pp. 415ff., 461).

καυχάομαι, καύχημα, καύχησις

kauchaomai, to boast; *kauchema*, grounds of boasting; *kauchesis*, boastfulness

kauchaomai, S 2744; TDNT 3.645–653; EDNT 2.276–279; NIDNTT 1.227–228, 2.874; MM 339; L&N 33.368; BDF §§148(2), 187(4), 196, 231(1); BAGD 425 | ***kauchema***, S 2745; TDNT 3.645–653; EDNT 2.276–279; NIDNTT 1.227–229; L&N 25.203, 33.368, 33.371, 33.372; BAGD 426 | ***kauchesis***, S 2746; TDNT 3.645–653; EDNT 2.276–279; NIDNTT 1.227–228; L&N 25.204, 33.368, 33.371; BAGD 426

The etymology of *kauchaomai* is disputed,¹ but the meaning of this verb, which is usually intransitive, is clear: “boast, glory in, put one’s human confidence in.”² *Kauchema* is “what one is proud of, claim to glory, event on which excessive confidence is based.” *Kauchesis* is “vainglory, boastfulness, the act of boasting, of showing oneself off.”³ The verb appears for the first time, with a pejorative meaning,⁴ in Sappho: “May Doricha not have occasion to boast that for the second time he has left for a delightful love” (*P.Oxy.* 1231, frag. 1 col. I, 10); then Theocritus 5.77: “I tell the truth in everything without boasting”; Herodotus 7.39: “You cannot boast that you have outdone the king in generosity”; Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.10.1311b4: “The king boasted at (*eis ten*) having enjoyed his youth.”⁵ Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, was more vain about his poems than about his military success (Diodorus Siculus 15.6.2); Agathocles was proud of his former occupation of potter.⁶ There is a certain lack of moderation in this self-exaltation,⁷ which in the end offends the gods: “Untimely insolence (*to kauchasthai para kairon*) accompanies the song of folly” (Pindar, *Ol.* 9.38). *Kauchesis* is related to pride (*hyperephaneo*) in Philodemus of Gadara, *Vit.* 10, col. XV, 14–22; cf. *T. Reub.* 3.5. We may therefore conclude that for the most part *kauchaomai* and its related nouns are pejorative and add, with R. Bultmann, that if there are occasions for expressing legitimate pride, the Greek sensibility feels that it is a violation of *aidos* and a sign of *aneleutheria* to blow one’s own horn.

This sense is obviously present in the LXX, notably in the Wisdom writers: at death, “the pride of the godless perishes” (Prov 11:7); “those who place their confidence in their fortune and glory in their great wealth” (Ps 49:6); “Who can boast of having a pure heart?” (Prov 20:9); no one can boast of being Elijah’s equal (Sir 48:4). It is precisely “vainglory” to boast of presents that one does not give (Prov 25:14), to congratulate oneself about the morrow when one does not know “what it may bring to birth”;⁸ but it seems that the basic meaning of *kauchaomai* is (*a*) “exalt”: “Do not exalt yourselves (*me kauchasthe*; hiphil of the Hebrew *rabâh*, make great, augment), do not speak haughty words”;⁹ (*b*) hence, a completely original nuance of “joy”: “Let all those exult in you (Hebrew *’alas*) who love your name” (Ps 5:12); “Cry out with joy (Hebrew *ranan*), all you who have an

upright heart” (32:11); “Let the saints rejoice in glory” (*en doxe*);¹⁰ (c) the substantive *kauchesis*, which always translates the Hebrew *tiperet* (ornament, adornment, beauty), has an aesthetic connotation: “Our God, we thank you and praise your glorious name” (or “your brilliant renown,” *tonomates kaucheseos sou*, 1Chr 29:13); “White hairs are a splendid crown” (Prov 16:31; cf. Sir 31:10); “I place a magnificent diadem on your head” (Ezek 16:12; 23:42); an adornment of jubilation (Ezek 24:25); “objects that made up your splendor” (*tas skeues tes kaucheseos sou*, Ezek 16:17; 23:26). (d) The LXX gives to the verb the sense “be proud”¹¹ and to *kauchema* that of “honor,” “pride,” “object of praise,” Deut 10:21—“God is the object of your praise” (Hebrew *tehillâh*); 26:19—“Yahweh has declared today . . . that he will make you superior to (*hyperano*) all the nations that he has made in renown, in honor, and in glory” (*onomaston kai kauchema kai doxaston*).¹² (e) The peculiar contribution of the OT to the semantics of *kauchaomai* is to give this verb a religious meaning and to pose the radical contrast between human vainglory and divine honor. “Yahweh said to Gideon, ‘The people that is with you is too numerous for me to deliver Midian into their hands, lest Israel boast (Hebrew *pa’ar* in the hithpael, derive glory, vaunt oneself) against me, saying, “It is my own hand that saved me”’” (Judg 7:2); “Let the wise glory not in his wisdom, let the brave glory not in his bravery, let the rich glory not in his wealth; but let the one who glories glory in this, that he understands and knows me.”¹³ The honor and pride of a religious soul is to belong to God and to be consecrated to God’s worship: “Save me, O God of our salvation . . . deliver us so that we may give thanks to your holy Name, so that we may glory in your praise” (*kauchasthai en tais ainesesi sou*).¹⁴

In the NT, our three terms are unknown in the Gospels and the Johannine writings and appear almost exclusively in St. Paul, who uses them extremely often¹⁵ and consequently in their various meanings. The religious meaning is predominant. It originates with the OT theology¹⁶ and expresses a fundamental conviction of the new faith: all exaltation of the creature by virtue of its qualities, advantages, or spiritual or temporal successes, partakes of the character of a lie. Everything has been given by God, so to God alone belong the praise and the glory. The emphasis is on this exclusivity of *kauchaomai*: “Let the one who glories glory in the Lord” (2Cor 10:17; 1Cor 1:29, 31), not “in the flesh,”¹⁷ not in works (Eph 2:9), not in humans and their applause.¹⁸ The brilliance, celebrity, and honor in which people take pride are contradictory to the Pauline *kauchaomai*: “May I glory in nothing but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ” (Gal 6:14), a degrading punishment, shame and scandal for human wisdom, but for believers the source of joy, because all the benefits of salvation derive from it.¹⁹ Thus one is elevated, magnified, and honored with such a spiritual glory that human “glory” becomes as nothing. So one “glories” not only at being destined for a blessed eternity but also in all that leads to it and

allows it to be obtained: tribulation (Rom 5:3), weakness, infirmities.²⁰ As for personal qualities and merits that each one may have, there is no matter for boasting in them and even less for exalting oneself to the detriment of one's neighbor (*physiousthe kata*, you are puffed up against), because a creature is insignificant, possesses nothing in its own right; everything comes from God: "What do you have that you did not receive? And if you indeed received, why do you boast?" (1Cor 4:7; Eph 2:9).

St. Paul innovates not only in giving the verb *kauchaomai* the positive meaning "be proud,"²¹ but also "be proud of others" (Gal 6:13). 2Cor 7:14—"If in front of Titus I was somewhat proud of you, I have not been embarrassed by it; but just as we have spoken truthfully in everything, so also our pride (*he kauchesis hemon*) in Titus's presence is found to be the truth";²² "I knew well your eagerness (for the collection), concerning which I express pride in you (*hen hyper hymon kauchomai*) before the Macedonians" (2Cor 9:2). Reciprocally, the Corinthians are proud of their apostle (2Cor 5:12). But the word also has the pejorative sense "boast,"²³ and most commonly "exalt oneself unduly." It is a psychological trait of Paul's adversaries to get themselves noticed by exaggerating or twisting the truth (2Cor 11:12); the apostle replies that he himself boasts but without going beyond the "measure," the "limit," that is, in conformity with the divine "rule" that in the case at hand established his ministry to the Gentiles along with all the work that he (Paul) has done in the apostolic field of action.²⁴

The *kauchema* is normally what one is proud of. St. Paul almost always uses this word in a positive sense,²⁵ notably with respect to deeds, work accomplished, virtues that entitle a person to honor.²⁶ It is the apostle who provided the basis for or legitimated Christian pride, for example, when he insisted on working with his own hands so as to be able to preach the gospel for free: "No one will take away my grounds for pride (*to kauchema mou oudeis kenosei*), because if I evangelize it is not grounds for pride for me (*ouk estin moi kauchema*); it is a necessity that is incumbent upon me."²⁷ All the other occurrences apply to the pride that Paul takes in the fervor of Christians or that they feel at being disciples of such an apostle: "You have indeed recognized that we are a grounds of pride for you (*kauchema hymon esmen*) just as you (will be) for us at the Day of our Lord Jesus."²⁸

Despite what is often said, *kauchema* and *kauchesis* are often synonymous in St. Paul (cf. Rom 3:27; 4:2; 1Cor 15:31; 2Cor 1:12; 5:12; 11:10); but normally *kauchesis* is pride per se, which is neither vanity nor arrogance, nor on the other hand mere contentment or satisfaction, but rather honor, a feeling of dignity and nobility. The apostle gives the precise nuance: "So I have this pride in Christ Jesus for the service of God" (Rom 15:17). This exaltation and this joy are legitimate only "in Christ" and even "in God's service," by the preaching of the gospel; they belong to a conscientious and faithful servant, but one who has lofty sentiments. "Our

pride (*he kauchesis hemon*) is in this: the testimony of our conscience . . . we have comported ourselves in the world and in particular towards you in the grace of God” (2Cor 1:12); “[By] the truth of Christ [that is] in me (an oath formula), this basis for pride (*he kauchesis haute*) will not be taken away from me.”²⁹ Just as the farmer is proud of the harvest or the artisan of the object that is the fruit of his labor, St. Paul expresses the joy and honor that he feels at the fruitfulness of his ministry: “Who then is our hope, our joy (*chara*), the crown of our pride (epexegetic genitive), if it is not also you, in the presence of our Lord Jesus, at his appearing?” (1Thess 2:19). Not only is *kauchesis* Christianized, but its joy is fulfilled and fixed in the eschatological age.

¹ Cf. Moulton-Milligan, on this word. J. S. Bosch, “*Gloriarse*” según san Pablo: *Sentido y teología de καυχάομαι*, Rome-Barcelona, 1970, pp. 2ff., 27ff., 89ff., 281ff.

² Construed with ε—ν and ε—πί and the dative, περί and ὑπέρ with the genitive. Transitive with the accusative: καυχάομαι εἰς τι in classical Greek, τι in the Koine (2Cor 9:2; 11:30).

³ M. Carrez, F. Morel, *Dictionnaire grec-français du Nouveau Testament*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1971. Cf. R. Astings, “Kauchesis,” in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, 1925, pp. 129–204; B. A. Dowdy, *The Meaning of kauchasthai in the New Testament*, Nashville, 1955; R. Bultmann, “καυχάομαι,” in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 645–654.

⁴ Favorable or neutral meanings are rare, in the sense “draw glory from”: a general from the capture of a city (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 8.30); Archilochus gloried in being able to intervene in public debates (ε—καυχήσατο τω— δυνάσθαι μετέχειν τω—ν πολιτικω—ν ἀγονω—ν, Athenaeus, *Deip.* 14.627 c); “Heaven cannot boast of having more stars” than Egypt has available women (Herondas, *Mimes* 1.33). Cf. *P.Oxy.* 1160, 8 and 10: the pride of bearing the name of Diodorus = gift of Zeus.

⁵ In the comic authors: “Neither Sicily nor Elis would boast of feeding this butcher with fish” (καυχήσεται τρέφειν τοιοῦτον ἄρταμον κατ᾽ ἰ—χθύων, Epicrates, frag. 6; in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 353); Cratinus, frag. 95: φθονερὸν ἀνθρώποις τόδε κταμένοις ε—πί αι—ζηοι—σι καυχᾶ—σθαι μέγα (Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 1, p.53).

⁶ Diodorus Siculus 20.63.4; cf. Plutarch, *Aem.* 27.6: “Aemilius Paulus dismissed the young people after abating their conceit and insolence (τὸ καύχημα καὶ τὴν ὕβριν) with a speech that bridled them like a bit”; Pindar,

Isthm. 5.51: “silence with its tide covers over boasting” (καύχημα); cf. *P.Oxy.* 2637, frag. I a 17.

⁷ *PSI* 26, 16: καυχα—σθαι ει—ς ε—λπίδας ματείας, to exalt oneself with vain hopes (our three terms are rare in the inscriptions and exceptional in the papyri). Epitaph of Victor at Philippopolis: “It was the god who killed me, not the faithless Pinnas; let him boast of it no more” (L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, n. 34); of Achilles at Xanthos: “Euprepes insulted me by boasting of having killed me” (ibid. 107). Cf. the Delphic precept: ε—πὶ ῥώμῃ μὴ καυχῶ— (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1268, 23; Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 4.1.173 = vol. 3, p. 127, 9).

⁸ Prov 27:1; cf. Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 107: God becomes favorable when the suppliant “is not puffed up with boasting (καύχησις) and self-sufficiency.” To Ben-Hadad, who was trying to terrify Ahab by insisting on the crushing superiority of his forces, the king of Israel replied that the moment to boast was not when taking up arms but after obtaining victory in battle (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.372); cf. 1Kgs 20:11.

⁹ 1Sam 2:3 (in connection with arrogance); cf. Judg 7:2 (Hebrew *pa’ar*); Dan 5:5 (chapter prologue in LXX)—King Baltasar (Belshazzar), in the midst of a great feast, “exalted with wine and καυχώμενος”; excited and jubilant, he praised all the gods of the nations; Sir 24:1—“In the midst of his people, wisdom is glorified,” gives testimony concerning its own excellence; 24:2—“in the presence of God she glories,” shines on the earth as in heaven.

¹⁰ Ps 149:5 (Hebrew *’alaz*); cf. 94:3—“How long will sinners exult?”; 3Macc 2:17–18; Sir 17:8—“He granted to them to celebrate his marvels” (καυχα—σθαι ε—ν τοι—ς θαυμασίοις αὐτοῦ, gloss in Sinaiticus). Among the seven Hebrew verbs translated καυχάομαι by the LXX (notably *halal*), we may mention *’alaz*, “rejoice”; *’alas*, “rejoice, triumph”; *ranan*, “sing praises, cry out with joy.” —Likewise καύχημα, 1Chr 16:27—“Glory and praise are before him, power and joy in his sanctuary” (ι—σχὺς καὶ καύχημα [Hebrew *hedwâh*] ε—ν τόπῳ αὐτοῦ).

¹¹ Sir 11:4; 30:2—“He who raises his son well . . . will be proud of him in the midst of his acquaintances,” who will congratulate him; 38:25—“The one who handles the plow is proud to have the goad as a lance”; 39:8—the scribe “will put his pride in the law of the covenant of the Most High” whose interpreter he is; 50:20—the high priest Simon, in giving the Lord’s benediction, “had the honor of pronouncing his Name”; literally, “he glorified himself in his Name.”

¹² Cf. Deut 33:29—the sword is Israel’s pride; Judith is “the great honor of our race” (Jdt 15:9); Sheshach “the pride of the whole world” (Jer 51:41); fathers are their children’s pride (Prov 17:6; contrasted to αἰ—σχύνη in *T. Jud.* 14.7), and Israelites’ pride is their ancestors (Sir 44:7); a man’s pride is to pass over an offense (Prov 19:11); the splendor of liturgical ornaments gives Aaron “the perfection of pride” (συντέλειαν καυχήματος, Sir 45:8); a crown of gold is a badge of honor (45:12). The just put their pride in God (Sir 1:11; 9:16; Ps 89:18), the object of their praise (Jer 17:14; cf. 1Chr 29:11). In return, God gives honor, renown, and glory to his people (Jer 13:11; Zeph 3:19-20; cf. Zech 12:7); Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.164: “My scepter is the book of the sequel to the law, this object of pride and glory.”

¹³ Jer 9:22-23. These verses were inserted as a gloss in 1Sam 2:10 (the Song of Hannah) and are more or less repeated by *T. Jud.* 13.2; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.311; Ps.-Phocylides 53. Cf. J. Schreiner, “Jer. IX, 22–23 als Hintergrund des paulinischen ‘Sich-Rühmens,’” in *Neues Testament und Kirche* (Festschrift R. Schnackenburg), Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1974, pp. 530–542.

¹⁴ 1Chr 16:35 (hithpael of the Hebrew *shabah*, put one’s glory in); cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17.1—“In you, O God, does my soul glory.”

¹⁵ Around fifty times. The correct reading of 1Cor 13:3 is disputed: ε—ἀν παραδω— τὸ σω—μά μου ἵνα καυθήσομαι (D, F, G, L) or καυχήσομαι (P46, a, A, B, 33, 1739, Sahidic, Bohairic, Origen). Diplomatically, this latter reading is much better supported and it is preferred by a number of exegetes (cf. P. Benoit, “Le Codex paulinien Chester Beatty,” in *RB*, 1937, p. 74), but it is rejected by almost all the ancient versions, the Fathers of the church, and most moderns. Not only does it go unexplained that copyists should have substituted καυθήσομαι for the thoroughly Pauline καυχάομαι; it is also hard to see what it would mean to “hand over the body” for boasting, or how this contrasts with *agape*; cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 56–58; E. Preuschen, “‘Und ließe meinen Leib brennen’ (I Kor. XIII, 3),” in *ZNW*, 1915, pp. 127–138; G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, London, 1953, pp. 35–37; J. C. Hurd, *The Origin of I Corinthians*, London, 1965, p. 77, n. 4; J. K. Elliott, “In Favour of καυθήσομαι at I Corinthians XIII, 3,” in *ZNW*, 1972, pp. 297–298 (cf. *idem*, *RB*, 1977, pp. 11–12); R. Kieffer, “‘Afin que je sois brûlé’ ou ‘Afin que j’en tire orgueil’? (I Cor. XIII, 3),” in *NTS*, vol. 22, 1975, pp. 95–97.

¹⁶ Jer 9:22-23, etc; Rom 2:17—“You who bear the name of Jew . . . and glory in God”; 2:23—“You who glory in the law,” you dishonor (ἀτιμάζεις) God when you break the law (cf. Isa 52:5). The Israelite is proud of

knowing the only true God and of realizing his will by keeping the commandments. Cf. J. Bonsirven, *Judaïsme palestinien*, vol. 2, pp. 38–43.

¹⁷ Phil 3:3, “We glory in Christ Jesus (καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ — Ἰησοῦ) rather than place our confidence in the flesh,” i.e., the carnal observances of the old law, circumcision, human works; which was Israel’s pride (Gal 6:13).

¹⁸ 1Cor 3:21—μηδεὶς καυχάσθω ἐν ἀνθρώποις. The Corinthians were proud of their preachers and teachers (Paul, Apollos, etc.) and proclaimed themselves disciples of one or another of these masters. Cf. M. Carrez, “La Confiance en l’homme et la confiance en soi selon l’apôtre Paul,” in *RHPR*, 1964, pp. 191–199.

¹⁹ Rom 5:11—“Glorying in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now obtained reconciliation,” that is, pardon for sins, intimacy with God, access to eternal blessedness; 5:2—depositaries of better promises than those made to Israel, “we owe it to Christ to glory (καυχώμεθα ἐπί) in the hope of the God’s glory”; we exult in this future participation in the divine glory, the object in which we glory.

²⁰ 2Cor 11:3—“If boasting is in order, then I shall boast of my weakness”; 12:5, 9 (cf. A. Fridrichsen, “Zum Stil des paulinischen Peristasenkatalogs,” in *Symbolae Osloenses*, vol. 7, 1928, pp. 25–29; idem, “Peristasenkatalog und res gestae,” *Symbolae Osloenses*, vol. 8, 1929, pp. 78–82; T. Fahy, “St. Paul’s ‘Boastings’ and ‘Weakness,’” in *ITQ*, 1964, pp. 214–227); Jas 1:9—“Let the brother of humble circumstances glory (or rejoice; present imperative καυχάσθω) in his exaltation (spiritual and moral), and the rich person in his humiliation, because he will pass away like a flower of grass.” In human eyes, wealth is “considerable,” money makes for happiness. Under the New Covenant, the small and the weak are exalted (Matt 5:3; Luke 1:52; cf. 1Sam 2:7–8; Ps 72:4; Sir 11:1), and that is what they are to take pride in: “Humble yourselves before the Lord and he will lift you up” (Jas 4:10). The “good” rich person ought to rejoice just as much, knowing that his possessions are ephemeral and that at his death nothing will be left him but his supernatural goods.

²¹ 2Cor 10:8—“If I should be a little too proud of the power (apostolic authority) that the Lord has given me for your edification (the growth of the spiritual edifice which is the community) . . . I should have nothing to be ashamed of (οὐκ αἰ—σχυνθήσομαι)” (S. H. Travis, “Paul’s Boasting in II Corinthians X–XII,” in E. A. Livingstone, *SE*, vol. 6, Berlin, 1973, pp. 527–532); 2Cor 12:5–6: “With regard to that person (the ecstatic who was raised to the third heaven) I will be proud. . . . If I wanted to boast (of the

excellence of these revelations), I would not be foolish (ἄφρων), because I speak the truth; but I refrain”; J. Cambier, “Le Critère paulinien de l’Apostolat en II Cor. XII, 6ff.,” in *Bib*, 1962, pp. 481–516; Cambier, “Une lecture de II Cor. XII, 6–7 a: Essai d’interprétation nouvelle,” in *AnBib* 17, Rome, 1963, pp. 475–485.

²² The apostle had praised the Corinthian community, whom Titus knew only by reputation; but he was somewhat apprehensive about the result of the mission that he was entrusting to his collaborator. Had he perhaps exaggerated the qualities of his converts? No. There was a basis for his confidence, and it is understandable that Paul was proud. Just as he had always been sincere in his teaching to the faithful, the praise that he had given did not turn out to be wrong (cf. E. B. Allo, on this text).

²³ 2Cor 11:18—“Because there are many who boast according to the flesh, I also am going to boast”; 12:1—“I must boast, even though it does no good (οὐ συμφέρον); I shall come to visions and revelations of the Lord.” Jas 4:16—“Now you exalt yourselves in your boastings” (καυχᾶσθε ἐν ταῖς ἀλαζονίαις); the latter term describes the pride of riches in 1John 2:16; the adjective ἀλάζων is set parallel to ὑπερήφανος in Rom 1:30; 2Tim 3:2; cf. *T. Jos.* 17.8. St. James goes on: “all vainglory of this sort is bad” (πᾶσα καύχησις τοιαύτη πονηρά ἐστιν). This is a condemnation of merchants who glory at their facility and their success in business. This vanity and boasting are worse than errors in reasoning; they amount to a profane way of judging, an assessment that leaves God out; cf. J. Marty, *L’Épître de Jacques*, Paris, 1935, on this text.

²⁴ 2Cor 10:13—“As for ourselves, we boast not beyond our measure (οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα καυχησόμεθα), but conformably to the measure (κατὰ τὸ μέτρον) of the limit (τοῦ κανόνος) that God has allotted us, to get as far as to you.” The *kanon* is the limit or rule (cf. a survey or cadastral sketch of an area done in order to assign parcels of land to various people; the *canon frumentarius*, etc.; H. Oppel, *KANON*, Leipzig, 1937; L. Wengée, *Canon in den römischen Rechtsquellen und in den Papyri*, Vienna, 1941), and also a benefit paid (L. Bove, “Canone: Diritto Romano,” in *Novissimo digesto italiano*, 1958, pp. 845–846). Here, to put it plainly, Paul is not boasting unduly of work done by others. His measuring rule is the field of action that God has assigned to him; his portion or share has been to establish the Christian community at Corinth; cf. 2Cor 10:15-16: “We do not boast beyond our measure of work done by others,” in the sector attributed to other preachers. The apostle does not encroach upon others’ boundaries (ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κανόνι).

²⁵ Cf. the Pythagorean Archytas of Tarentum (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 4.1.106; vol. 3, p. 57, 1). The only Pauline exception is 1Cor 5:6, regarding the incestuous person at Corinth, who is a scandal in the community: there is nothing to be proud of (οὐ καλὸν τὸ καύχημα). Cf. P. Genth, “Der Begriff καύχημα bei Paulus,” in *NKZ*, 1928, pp. 25–29; 1929, pp. 78–82; C. H. Dodd, *New Testament Studies*, Manchester, 1953, pp. 73ff.

²⁶ Rom 4:2; Gal 6:4—“Let each one examine his own work (ἔργον ε—αυτοῦ) and then if there is occasion for being proud it will be with respect to himself and not others”; evaluation based on the facts has real justification.

²⁷ 1Cor 11:15; cf. Heb 3:6—“If we keep the assurance and the joyful pride of the hope” (τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὸ καύχημα τῆς ε—λπίδος); same connection in 2Cor 7:14; the hope is joyful (Rom 12:12; 5:2); joy befits “sharers in a heavenly calling” (Heb 3:1).

²⁸ 2Cor 1:14; the Corinthians’ pride in such a father and teacher is full of joy, as is that stirred in Paul by the devotion and faithfulness of his children: “You are my pride, brethren, in Christ Jesus” (τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν ε—ν Χριστῷ— —Ἰησοῦ, 1Cor 15:31); “Great is the pride that I have in you” (2Cor 7:4, associated with χαρά); 8:24; “You are preparing a basis for pride for me for the Day of Christ” (Phil 2:16); “It is not that we were recommending ourselves to you (ε—αυτοὺς συνιστάνομεν) all over again, but to give you an occasion for pride on our account” (διδόντες ὑμ—ν καυχήματος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶ—ν, 2Cor 5:12); “I sent the brothers so that the pride that we have taken in you (Paul’s praise for the Corinthians regarding the collection) might not be falsified on that point” (2Cor 9:13); “That my return and my presence among you may be for us a new occasion for pride (and joy) in Christ Jesus” (Phil 1:26).

²⁹ 2Cor 11:10 (his disinterestedness in the ministry, cf. W. Pratscher, “Der Verzicht des Paulus auf finanziellen Unterhalt durch seine Gemeinde: Ein Aspekt seiner Missionsweise,” in *NTS*, vol. 25, 1979, pp. 284–298). Apart from Jas 4:16, two occurrences of *kauchesis* are pejorative: “In this self-confident boasting, it is not according to the Lord that I speak, but as a fool (ε—ν ἀφροσύνῃ)” (2Cor 11:17). “Where then is boasting (ποῦ οὖν ἡ καύχησις)? It has been ruled out. By what law? By that of works? No, but by the law of faith” (Rom 3:27). The boasting mentioned here is that of the Jews’ claiming their rights vis-à-vis God, their recompense for good works; this pretension is a manifestation of pride; *kauchesis* is “fundamentally pride at being what one is” (F. J. Leenhardt, *Romans*, p. 109). Cf. G. Friedrich, *Auf das Wort kommt es an*, Göttingen, 1978, pp. 107–122.

ΚΕΝΌΣ, ΚΕΝΌΩ

kenos, empty, vain; *kenoo*, to empty, evacuate, purge

kenos, S 2756; *TDNT* 3.659–660; *EDNT* 2.281–282; *NIDNTT* 1.546–547; MM 340; L&N 32.60, 57.42, 72.10, 89.53, 89.64; BDF §§182(1), 207(3), 211; BAGD 427–428 | ***kenoo***, S 2758; *TDNT* 3.661–662; *EDNT* 2.282; *NIDNTT* 1.546–547; MM 340; L&N 76.27, 87.70; BAGD 428

The dictionaries are ordinarily content to give the adjective the two meanings “empty (without content)” and “vain (without reality),” but the nuances are extremely varied, and the principal ones are found in the NT. In its literal sense, *kenos* is used to describe objects: an empty house (Menander, *Dysk.* 223; *P.Flor.* 294, 52), buildings (Josephus, *War* 2.636; *SB* 9898, 11; 10728, 10, 3), vats (*O.Bodl.* 344, 1), a cistern (Gen 37:24), jugs (Judg 6:16), vases (2Kgs 4:3; Jer 14:3), containers (*P.Oxy.* 2982, 9; *SB* 6767, 19; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.223; 9.48, 49; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 5, 10), baskets (*P.Ross.Georg.* II, 29, 6), jars (“ten drachmas for empty jars,” *P.Mich.* 601, 11–12; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59741; *PSI* 859; *P.Tebt.* 815; frag. II, verso 27), “empty rack for four bottles” (*tetralagynon kenon*, *P.Wisc.* 30, col. I, 10); a small box emptied of its jewels (*P.Ryl.* 125, 26; from AD 28–29), plates are emptied by pigs (Philo, *Contemp. Life* 55), a boat (Josephus, *War* 2.645; *Life* 167), a ship (“my boat, even when empty [*kenon to ploion*] could not go down to Alexandria,” *P.Magd.* 11, 15; from 221 BC); “I brought the boat to land and left it there six months unused” (*apo kenon menas*, *P.Haun.* 12, A 5 = *SB* 9425; cf. Job 7:3, *menas kenous*). *Kenos* is also used for beasts that are not laden (*P.Mert.* 80, 4): two unburdened camels (*kamelous kenous dyo*, *SB* 10914, 3); an inscription at Palmyra distinguishes between camels that are not laden (*kenai*) and those that are (*engomoi*, Dittenberger, *Or.* 629, 166). Also, a city is said to be empty of people or of defenders.¹

With regard to persons, *kenos* is used from Homer on for empty hands.² The LXX often uses this meaning, either to forbid appearing before God without a sacrifice (Exod 23:15; 34:20; Deut 16:16; Sir 35:4), or to express the absence of gifts that one should have brought to someone else or that one should have received.³ It is in this sense that in contrast to the hungry, who are filled, the Virgin Mary declares that God “has sent the rich away empty-handed.”⁴ This is not a reference to the upsetting of social conditions but to messianic benefits: forgiveness and salvation. God does not take away the wealth of the wealthy, but he does not give them *his* goods; they are not despoiled, but neither do they receive anything. In the same fashion, in the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, the servant who

comes to collect the fruit of the vineyard is sent away brutally, empty-handed (*aposteilan kenon*, Mark 12:3; Luke 20:10-11).

Hence the nuance “useless, without effect or result, vain.”⁵ Thus Saul’s sword did not return without success (2Sam 1:22), projectiles do not remain without effect (Josephus, *War* 5.61), or brotherly affection proves vain (1.275), or violence useless (*Ant.* 19.27); likewise certain expenditures (*P.Mich.* 203, 12), and especially vain or fruitless words from which no profit may be drawn (Job 6:6; 15:3; Wis 1:11). The words of this law “are not for you a vain word, but are your life” (Deut 32:47). A vain desire (*kene orexis*) is one that is not satisfied;⁶ the cares of mortal life are vain because they serve no purpose (Philo, *Drunkenness* 152: *kenai spoudai*). *Kenon poiein* means to leave empty, that is, fruitless (Isa 32:6; 45:18; cf. 49:4). It is in this sense that St. Paul’s visit to Thessalonica was not without success (*ten eisodon ... ou kene gegonen*).⁷ The litotes is effective in 1Cor 15:10—“His grace to me did not become useless” (*ou kene egenethe*), meaning that it was prodigiously effective. If the Corinthians surpass themselves in the Lord’s work and know that their toil is not useless (*ho kopos hymon ouk estin kenos en Kyrio*, 15:58), this means that despite obstacles and disappointments their efforts will come to fruition; they will triumph.

In 1Cor 15:14—“If Christ is not raised, then our preaching is in vain, and your faith is also in vain”⁸—the meaning is more forceful. Ordinarily *kenos* means “without content, without object,” but here it has to be “nothingness, absolute void.” This “nothing” meaning occurs already in Aristotle: “For certain ancients (Parmenides and Zeno), the empty is nothingness” (*to kenon ouk on*, *Gen. Cor.* 1.8.325a); Jer 18:15—“They burn incense to nothingness” (*eis kenon ethymiasan*, cf. 51:58; Isa 59:4; 65:23; Ps 25:3). This meaning is especially Philonian: “The Creator made the idea of air and of the void . . . the void is very deep and immense”,⁹ “a nothing (*ouden estin*), without consistency, mortal realities that go into the void (*kata kenou bainonta*) like dreams.”¹⁰ So when Job 7:16 considers life to be like a breath (Hebrew *hebel*), it envisages it as being flimsy, next to nothing; and according to the LXX of the messianic Ps 2:1, quoted in Acts 4:25, the peoples plot vain things (*emeletesan kena*) that cannot succeed: they plan nothingness (cf. 1Macc 9:68; 4Macc 8:18).

This meaning of inanity, often expressed by *eis kenon* (“in vain”),¹¹ is the commonest in St. Paul: “Provided that our toil was not in vain” (*eis kenon genetai ho kopos hemon*, 1Thess 3:5). “We urge you not to receive the grace of God in vain” (*me eis kenon ten charin tou theou dexasthai hymas*, 2Cor 6:1), that is, not to let it be inefficacious, fruitless; here *kenos* has a religious and moral meaning. The connotations are athletic in the formula “run in vain” (Gal 2:2; Phil 2:16), which evokes the efforts of the athlete who does not obtain success but pours himself out for nothing.¹²

The LXX also uses *dia kenes*, “without reason, without purpose,” to express the groundlessness of an action.¹³

In this figurative sense *kenos* quite often has a pejorative nuance, synonymous with “false, lying”; *kene doxa* is a false or erroneous idea.¹⁴ Abraham judges that the customs of the Egyptians are “empty and contain no truth.”¹⁵ A person may be empty of knowledge (Philo, *Heir* 194), of wisdom (*Change of Names* 270), prudence (*Flight* 45), or sense (*To Gaius* 119), like the croaking of frogs (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 69). Hopes especially are described as vain (because deceptive; *kenai elpides kai pseudeis*),¹⁶ and more and more conceit (*Prelim. Stud.* 61), vanity (*Drunkenness* 39, 40), bragging and pride.¹⁷ *Kenos* then means “deceptive, lying”;¹⁸ it amounts to wind (Hebrew *hebel*) or smoke (Philo, *Cherub.* 91), hence is futile.¹⁹ This is the word’s meaning in Eph 5:6—“Let no one mislead you with vain reasonings (*medeis hymas apatato kenois logois*), for because of such things God’s wrath falls on those who are disobedient.” One falls into error when one does not take into account the supreme rule of truth, which is divine revelation. Specious arguments are only pretexts for doing evil (1Pet 2:16; Jas 1:14; 3:14). Likewise Col 2:8—“Take care that no one kidnaps you by means of philosophy, vain deception, according to the tradition of men.” The prestige of eminent teachers and prestigious masters makes their hearers fall prey to illusion; this is the victory of imposture (cf. *P. Tebt.* 741, 23).

Finally, *kenos* means “foolish, senseless,” and is used to describe presumption (Philo, *Rewards* 94: *kenon auchema*) or conceptions: “What a stupid and vain idea (*anoeton kai kenon*) . . . to think that you could be Alcmena’s son” (Aristophanes, *Ran.* 530); “vain and stupid foolishness” (*kene kai mataia anoia*, *P. Oxy.* 2713, 15; same adjectives linked, *Ep. Arist.* 137, 205; cf. 194; Plutarch, *Art.* 15.6). It is also applied to persons:²⁰ “I do not aspire to follow beyond: I would be a fool” (*keinos eien*, Pindar, *Ol.* 3.45); “The fullness of time that makes you old makes you also foolish” (*tou nou kenon*, Sophocles, *OC* 931). When Haemon says, “It is no threat to reply to your vain arguments” (*kenas gnomas*), Creon replies, “It will cost you dearly to dare to reason with me when you yourself are so empty of reason” (*on phrenon autos kenos*, *Ant.* 753–754; cf. 709). Those who worship idols and forget the true God are empty brains (*hoi kenoï phrenon*).²¹ This is like the apostrophe in Jas 2:20—“O foolish man (*o anthrope kene*), do you wish to know that faith without works is sterile?” It is equivalent to *aphron* (1Cor 15:36); a head without a brain is incapable of reflecting and understanding.

The verb *kenoo*, which is much less common, means “to empty, evacuate,”²² and hence “purge” in Philo: the physician decides to purge (*kenoo*), cut, and burn for the good of the patient (*Cherub.* 15); “I will purge the sick one” (*kenoso ton kamnonta*, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.226). In a metaphorical sense, “A perfect thought purifies and purges the soul of its sins” (*Dreams*

1.198; *Decalogue* 13). The verb is only used twice in the LXX to translate the pual of the Hebrew *'amal*, “waste away, languish” (Jer 14:2). In the papyri, nothing can be added²³ to the three references given by Moulton-Milligan: “I finished unloading (*exekenosa*) on the 18th of the same month” (*BGU* 27, 7; cf. *P.Ryl.* 125, 24); “It is easy for a god . . . to empty of his swinish wealth the dirty usurer and hoarder.”²⁴ The strong meaning “annihilate, destroy,” corresponding to certain usages of *kenos*, is well attested in Vettius Valens (*kenosin bion*, 2.22; p. 90, 7) and is perceptible in Philo, *To Gaius* 117: “That which seemed to still hold solid slips away and falls in ruins.”

This is certainly the nuance in the five uses by St. Paul, who does not have the mission of “evangelizing with learned speech, lest the cross of Christ be nullified” (aorist passive subjunctive, *hina me kenothē*).²⁵ St. Paul’s claim to glory is his apostolic disinterest, whereby he preaches the gospel freely; “no one will nullify” (*oudeis kenosei*, future active) this claim (1Cor 9:15); the apostle’s pride before the Macedonians in the generosity of the Corinthians will not be annulled, reduced to nothing.²⁶ “If those who rely upon the law were the heirs, then faith would be reduced to nothing (*kekenotai he pistis*, perfect passive) and the promise annihilated (*katergetai he epangelia*).”²⁷

There remains Phil 2:7, *heauton ekenosen*, well translated by the Vulgate’s *exinanivit*, “He annihilated himself.” The causative denominative verb *kenoo*, used here in the aorist indicative and without complement, but followed by a reflexive pronoun, has no parallel in Greek and looks like a hapax;²⁸ it does not mean a voluntary renunciation, nor even a stripping, but an inaction. Its meaning is metaphorical; so it is not a “theological” technical term, but a term of a religious soul contemplating the mystery of Christ and gaining the sense of divine transcendence and creaturely nothingness. That is to say, the translation “annihilate” must not be given up; it says what it means, especially in a hymn; and this kenosis is relative. Christ did not cease to be God and did not become something else; his mode of existing and his *morphe* changed when the Word assumed an earthly condition through the incarnation;²⁹ but his personal identity is immutable.³⁰ The subject of *ekenosen* is not the incarnate Christ, but the preexistent Lord who by his assumption of human nature is “reduced to nothing.” This was a legitimate expression at a time when it had not yet been defined that “He” had one person with two natures. The best parallel is 2Cor 8:9—“He made himself poor, although he was rich” (*eptocheusen plousios on*).

¹ Josephus, *War* 1.62; 2.515; 3.298; 5.373; *Ant.* 6.235: “David’s place was empty”; 9.84; cf. empty stomach (*War* 5.549), empty throat (Ps 102:9); Menander, *Sam.* 682: “I would do so well that not a barber shop, not a

portico would remain empty”; *Sik.* col. VI, c, 6; “Let the wrestler not be supported by lean loins, but let this region be to a certain degree well nourished” (Philostratus, *Gym.* 35); “The virtuous man must not leave anything unoccupied or empty for the free access of sin” (Philo, *Rewards* 112; cf. 65). Cf. Euripides, *Hec.* 230: “the great battle, full of moans, not empty of tears” (πλήρης στεναγμῶν—ν οὐδὲ δακρύων κενός).

² Homer, *Il.* 2.298: “It is shameful, after so long a sojourn, to return empty-handed” (κενεόν τε νέεσθαι); *Od.* 10.42; *P.Rein.* 55, 9: “If the ass-driver Dioscoros comes to you . . . above all do not send him away empty” (μὴ ἀναπέμψης αὐτὸν κενόν).

³ Gen 31:42, Jacob to Laban: “If God had not been for me, you would have dismissed me empty-handed (Hebrew *rēqam*)”; Exod 3:21—“You shall not go away empty-handed”; Deut 15:13; Ruth 3:17—“You must not return empty-handed to your mother-in-law”; Jdt 1:11—“They sent back Nebuchadnezzar’s messengers empty-handed”; Job 22:9—“You sent away widows empty-handed”; Sir 29:9—“Do not send the poor away with nothing” (αὐτὸν κενόν); cf. Jer 50:9—the arrows of an accomplished warrior, who does not return empty-handed. Josephus, *War* 6.405: having come to pillage, the soldiers went back out of the houses empty-handed; *SB* 6769, 30: κενὸν ἀπῆλθεν; 7247, 24; 7248, 11.

⁴ Luke 1:53—ε—ξαπέστειλεν κενούς. “The image is that of a court. According to oriental custom, the rich come with gifts and receive even greater gifts from the monarch, who does not want to be outdone in generosity; the poor are set aside.... It is not like that with God. . . . The rich think that everything is owed them; he sends them away empty” (M. J. Lagrange, on this text); cf. *Pss. Sol.* 4.19—let the flatterer “return home empty-handed”; *T. Job* 10.4.

⁵ Sophocles, *OC* 359: “You have not come in vain” (ἦκεις γὰρ οὐ κενή γε); Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.30.4: after a fall, vain movements of the limbs to stand up; Philodemus of Gadara, *Inf.* 8.27, 31: κίνησις ἔστι κενόν; 9.2; 12.9–10; *T. Job* 24.2—Job’s wife toiled with hardships in vain; *IGLS* 1125, 6: “For us the Underworld is the end of vain troubles”; Jewish epitaph at Rachelis: “Do not mourn in vain for me, uselessly” (μὴ με μάτην πενθι—τε κενάς, *CII* 1513, 5; *SEG* I, 573; *SB* 6650); “To a mother who nourished me in vain with the milk of her breasts I was not able to show the gratitude that a child grants his parents in their old age” (*SEG* I, 567, 9 = *SB* 6706); epigram of Catilius: “without noting in vain who my author is” (οὐ κενὰ μενύων, E. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 2, n. 143, 4).

⁶ Philo, *Decalogue* 119; cf. κενὰ ἐπιθυμίαι = unsatisfied desires, *Worse Attacks Better* 113; *Husbandry* 36; *Drunkenness* 206; *Spec. Laws* 4.82.

⁷ 1Thess 2:1; κενή is the opposite of the abundant fulfillment (πληροφορία) in 1:5. Cf. J. Gribomont, “Facti sumus parvuli: La Charge apostolique (I Thess. II, 1–12),” in L. de Lorenzi, *Paul de Tarse apôtre de notre temps*, Rome, 1979, pp. 313–338.

⁸ Cf. T. G. Bucher, “Die logische Argumentation in I Korinther XV, 12–20,” in *Bib*, 1974, pp. 465–486; M. Bachmann, “Zur Gedankenführung in I Kor. XV, 12ff.,” in *TZ*, 1978, pp. 265–276; T. G. Bucher, “Nochmals zur Beweisführung in I Korinther XV, 12–20,” *TZ*, 1980, pp. 129–152.

⁹ Philo, *Creation* 29, 32; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.44; 3.4; *Post. Cain* 6; *Plant.* 7; *Heir* 67, 228; *Dreams* 2.245; *Etern. World* 21, 78, 102–103; cf. Hippocrates, *Aph.* 7.24: “After a bone section, delirium; if it penetrates into the void” (= the cavity, ἤν κενεὸν λάβη [ἡ διακοπή]). Aristotle analyzes “the vulgar definition of the void (τὸ κενόν): where there is no body, but there could be one” (*Ph.* 4.208b26; *Cael.* 1.279a13).

¹⁰ *Unchang. God* 172; *Migr. Abr.* 80—“speech is stepping on empty air” (*kata kenou bainei*); *Spec. Laws* 3.148; *Rewards* 19; *Flacc.* 164: “phantoms going into the void.” Cf. *Migr. Abr.* 35: “Certain days I came as a void: I was suddenly filled with these ideas”; *Spec. Laws* 1.327: “an empty name, lacking true reality.”

¹¹ Lev 26:20: “Your strength will be consumed in vain (εἰς κενόν); your land will not give any crops”; Jer 29:8—his soul has hoped uselessly; Jer 6:29—the refining is done in vain; 46:11—“in vain do you multiply remedies; there is no healing for you”; Job 39:16—the ostrich cares nothing about the inanity (εἰς κενόν) or her toil; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.96: time uselessly lost, a missed opportunity. Cf. water flowing out and being wasted: ἵνα μὴ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀφεθέντος διὰ τοῦ σωλήνος εἰς κενὸν φέρηται (*P.Petr.* II, 37, 1 *b recto*; third century BC).

¹² Cf. V. C. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif*, Leiden, 1967, pp. 3, 49, 76ff., 99ff., 127, 183; cites Menander, *Mon.* 51: ἀνήρ ἄβουλος εἰς κενὸν μοχθεῖ—τρέχων. Cf. εἰ—κῆ (Gal 3:4).

¹³ “You will sow your seed in vain (Hebrew *rîq*); you enemies will eat from it” (Lev 26:16); “You have stirred me up against Job for no reason” (Job 2:3); “The one who multiplies our wounds for no reason” (Hebrew *hiphil* of *haser*, Job 9:17; Prov 23:29); “For no reason (Hebrew *hinnam*) you took security from your brothers” (Job 22:6; Ps 7:4). Lysias confesses, “I sent to

have the inhabitants of Judah exterminated without cause” (1Macc 6:12). Cf. *P.Hib.* 66, 5: There is no reason to thank us (228 BC). A vain fear is one that is not objectively justified (Xenophon, *An.* 2.2.21); Eros empties us of the belief that we are strangers to one another (Plato, *Symp.* 197 *d*). A judicial petition κατὰ κενὸν is lacking any legal proof (*UPZ* 161, 36, 67; 162, col. IV,36).

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Cons. ux.* 6; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.57; *Joseph* 126 (κενής διανοΐας); *Husbandry* 56; *Drunkness* 36, 38 (contrasted to “truth”), 57, 76, 144; *Sobr.* 57; *Migr. Abr.* 21; *Prelim. Stud.* 6, 15; *Flight* 47, 128; *Change of Names* 93–96; *Dreams* 1.82, 126; 2.16, 42, 46–48, 50, 53ff.; *Decalogue* 4; *Spec. Laws* 1.27; *Virtues* 7, 100; *Good Man Free* 66, 158; *Contemp. Life* 17. Cf. empty and deceptive conceptions (κεναὶ καὶ ψευδεῖς, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 84).

¹⁵ Josephus, *Ant.* 1.166; some people think that Plato’s works are empty discourses (λόγους κενούς, *Ag. Apion* 2.225; Plato, *Lach.* 196 *b*). Garrulous folk make “long, empty speeches” (Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 130); “the error is to believe in vain calculations” (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.229; *Cherub.* 69). “I do not want to send you back on a vain pretext” (Menander, *Dysk.* 322; Demosthenes, *Corona* 18.150).

¹⁶ *Sir* 34:1; *Wis* 3:11; *Job* 7:6 (‘epes); *Isa* 9:28; Philo, *Moses* 1.195; Aeschylus, *Pers.* 804; *Anth. Pal.* 9.411. Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 298, n. 4.

¹⁷ Homer, *Od.* 22.249; Philo, *Drunkness* 128; Epictetus 2.19.8: “If I am conceited (ἄν ὦ κενός), I can bowl over my dinner companions by listing those who have written on the subject”; 4.4.35. Cf. Oepke, “κενός,” in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 659–662.

¹⁸ Hebrew *kazab*, *Hos* 12:11; *Mic* 1:14; *Hab* 2:3; cf. lying words (*Exod* 5:9, Hebrew *sheqer*), false oath (*Sir* 23:11).

¹⁹ Plutarch, *De laude* 3: “Praise is futile (κενὸς ἔπαινος) when one appears to praise oneself in order to get oneself praised. It is then the object of the greatest scorn”; *Cons. ux.* 6: “unwarranted and ungrateful grief” (εἰς κενὸν καὶ ἀχάριστον πένθος); *De Pyth. or.* 8.

²⁰ In *Judg* 9:4; 11:3, the *kenoi* are good-for-nothings, adventurers; cf. *Neh* 5:13; Plutarch, *De laude* 5: “We consider people who strut about with heads held high foolish and conceited” (ἀνοήτους καὶ κενούς).

²¹ Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 138; *Dreams* 1.49; *Moses* 1.325; *Spec. Laws* 1.311; 4.129, 200; *Virtues* 179.

²² Hippocrates, *Morb. Sac.* 9: “Epilepsy sets on . . . because the veins are empty (passive, κενω—νται) and blood is in short supply”; Herodotus 4.123: “the town had been completely emptied” (κεκενωμένου); Euripides, *Med.* 959: empty the hands; *Ion* 447, the temples; *Bacch.* 730: “I left the thicket (cf. “vacate the premises”) where I was hidden in ambush”; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 660: “May the plague never empty their city of people”; Philo, *Abraham* 91, 136: “The cities would be as if emptied by a pestilential disease”; *Spec. Laws* 2.170; *Virtues* 43: “The reserves came to fill the empty places left in the enemy ranks”; *Rewards* 142: “The granaries that are full of food and wealth will be empty”; *Etern. World* 128: “The elephants, bitten by the serpents, were emptied of their vital force”; *To Gaius* 90: “You have emptied the cities of all who contribute to its welfare and happiness”; Josephus, *War* 1.355: “The Romans emptied the city of its wealth and its inhabitants” (= *Ant.* 14.484); 2.457: “Caesarea was completely emptied of Jews”; cf. 3.186: a cistern; 3.259: quivers; *Ant.* 9.264: a chest; 10.3; 12.250: the temple emptied of its treasures. Cf. Sophocles, *Aj.* 986: “One of our enemies must not take him away from us, like the whelp of a widowed lioness.”

²³ Nothing can be drawn from *BGU* 1683, 3—κενώσων (fragment of a letter from the third-fourth century)—because the papyrus is very mutilated.

²⁴ Cercidas, *Mel.* (second century BC), in *P.Oxy.* 1082, frag. 1, col. II, 5ff.

²⁵ 1Cor 1:7—Salvation does not rest on the brilliance and facility of human wisdom; that would be to supplant the cross, the scandalous mystery of divine wisdom, which demands participation by faith. The cross would not just be robbed of its saving virtue; it would be reduced to nothingness; cf. C. Masson, *Vers les sources d’eau vive*, Lausanne, 1961, pp. 189–207.

²⁶ 2Cor 9:3—ἵνα μὴ κενωθῆ (aorist passive subjunctive). Paul sends Titus and two other brothers to stir up givers for the collection: let them be ready on time!

²⁷ Rom 4:14; the two verbs are synonymous, and the first cannot be rendered “would become vain” or even “would be emptied of its content” or “useless.” Those who are faithful to the former law, according to which the importance of works is paramount, put it into practice; consequently, they are sure to benefit from the messianic promises. But the old dispensation is abolished, no longer exists; consequently, to rely on it is to annihilate the

meaning and the role of faith in the new covenant, which is substituted for the old; it has disappeared; it exists no longer (cf. Gal 3:17-18).

²⁸ Literary affinities of the hymn with a pre-Pauline model have been found (O. Cullmann, *Christology of the New Testament*, Philadelphia, 1963, pp. 158ff.), notably with the book of Wisdom (J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Christological Anthropology in Phil. II, 6–11," in *RB*, 1976, pp. 25–50; A. Feuillet, "L'Hymne christologique de l'Épître aux Philippiens," in *RB*, 1965, pp. 352–380; critiqued by J. Coppens, "Les Affinités littéraires de l'Hymne christologique Phil. II, 6–11," in *ETL*, 1966, pp. 238–241), the Epistle to the Hebrews (O. Hofius, *Der Christushymnus Philipper II, 6–11*, Tübingen, 1976), the first Adam (L. Ligier, *Péché d'Adam et péché du monde*, Paris, 1961, vol. 2, pp. 346–361), and the Suffering Servant of Isaiah (L. Cerfaux, "L'Hymne au Christ-Serviteur de Dieu," in *Recueil Cerfaux*, vol. 2, Gembloux, 1954, pp. 425–437). The reference to Isa 53:12 given by W. Warren ("Ἐαυτὸν ἐ—κένωσεν, Phil. II, 7," in *JTS*, 1911, pp. 461–463) is probably useful for the theology of the passion: "He handed himself over for death." The Hebrew verb *'arâh* would mean "empty, despoil, denude," but the LXX did not translate it by κενόω! And hardly anyone has studied the semantics of this verb or of κενός! The two major studies on our verb are those of R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi*, pp. 165ff., and P. Henry, "Kénose," in *DBSup*, vol. 5, col. 7–16.

²⁹ J. Dupont ("Jésus-Christ dans son abaissement et son exaltation d'après Phil. II, 6–11," in *RSR*, 1950, pp. 500–514); A. Feuillet (*Le Christ sagesse de Dieu*, Paris, 1966, pp. 341ff., 354); J. Jeremias ("Zu Phil. II, 7: Ἐαυτὸν ἐ—κένωσεν," in *NovT*, 1963, pp. 182–188, reprinted in *Abba*, Göttingen, 1966, pp. 308–313); and P. Lamarche ("L'Hymne de l'Épître aux Philippiens et la kénose du Christ," in *L'Homme devant Dieu: Mélanges H. de Lubac*, Paris, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 147–152; cf. J. G. Gibbs, "The Relation between Creation and Redemption according to Phil. II, 5–11," in *NovT*, 1970, pp. 270–283), relying on Isa 53:12, see here the sacrifice that Christ made of his own life and not a renunciation of the divine glory in the Incarnation; which is contested by M. D. Hooker (*Jesus and the Servant*, London, 1959, p. 12) and J. Coppens ("Phil. II, 7 et Is. LIII, 12: Le Problème de la 'Kénose,'" in *ETL*, 1965, pp. 147–150; cf. A. Feuillet, "L'Homme Dieu considéré dans sa condition terrestre de Serviteur et de Rédempteur," in *RB*, 1942, pp. 58–79; D. Georgi, "Der vorpaulinische Hymnus Phil. II, 6–11," in E. Dinkler, *Zeit und Geschichte*, pp. 263–293).

³⁰ It is perhaps wrong to comment on this hymn as a rigorous theological account and to define kenosis too precisely in terms of what precedes and follows. If one were to do so, it is more the Incarnation of God that would

be like an annihilation; because, once human, it would be normal for Christ to die, even if this death is singularly aggravated by the crucifixion.

κεράτιον

keration, carob pod; karat (monetary unit)

keration, S 2769; EDNT 2.283; MM 341; L&N 3.46; BAGD 429

The prodigal son of Luke 15:15-16, given the job of feeding pigs,¹ “desired (*epethymeî*, imperfect tense for habitual action) to fill his stomach with the carob pods (*keratia*) that the pigs were eating.”² The carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*) can grow to a height of forty feet and a circumference of six feet. Its leaves are leathery and evergreen, its flowers reddish, and locusts do not attack it. Its abundant fruit, the *keration* (diminutive of *keras*, so literally “small horn”)—which only appears, according to the rabbis, seventy years after the tree is planted and three years after it flowers (cf. Str-B, vol. 2, p. 214)—is a long pod, thick and flat (about five or six inches long and one inch wide) that contains a sweet-tasting pulp that is used as livestock feed. “This fruit is quite sour when green, but dried carob pods are sweeter, and people snack on them as Orientals do with chick-peas, peanuts, etc.”³ They are also used in a pharmaceutical extract and in syrup form (*akanthes keratia*, *P.Leid.* X, col. XII, 35; from the third-fourth century; cf. Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* 1.114); they are helpful for gastroenteritis.⁴

Carob is hardly mentioned in the papyri except in the accounts of a farmer from AD 78 (*P.Lond.* 131, 7; vol. 1, p. 189). But from the third-fourth century, in Egypt the word refers to a monetary unit, the karat (cf. the Latin *siliqua*). Phoibammon asks his brother to buy for him while he is at Alexandria “a robe of Antioch, embroidered, not much worn, for about ten *keratia*, a small chair for the workshop, some ink, a pen from Antioch, a copy priced at one and a half *keratia*” (*P.Fouad* 74, 7–9). “The master knows that a *phelonis* (cloak) costs more than . . . *keratia*.”⁵ In a private account from the third-fourth century, we read: “21 *nomismatia* (the name of a coin), 6 *keratia* on the installment account . . . for the baker 19 *keratia* on the children’s linens . . . 3 *keratia* on the wine.”⁶ In the fifth century, one *artabe* of wheat is worth three *keratia*, and one *artabe* of barley almost two *keratia* (*P.Sorb.* 61, 8, 13). In a receipt handed over to an *epimeletes*: “I declare that I have received from your majesty four *nomismata (solidi)* . . . less five *keratia* that were given me as my annual salary for both jobs, that of dyer and that of tapestry-maker, which I have carried out. . . .”⁷ For 33 *knidia* of wine I received 24 *keratia*” (*P.Berl.Zill.* XIII, 3). “I will pay annually a rent of ten *keratia* in common currency”;⁸ etc.

¹ Βόσκειν χοίρους; this word for swine (χοι—ρος; cf. Luke 8:32-33) is pejorative; the French here would be *cochon*, as opposed to *porc* for υ—ς in 2Pet 2:22. Cf. the complaint against two πορνοβοσκοί (brothel-keepers), *PSI* 1055. In Egypt, herds of swine could be as large as four hundred head (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59310), and each swineherd could keep as many as seventy animals (*ibid.* 59652). The archives of Zeno mention about forty of these hired workers, whose material circumstances must have been difficult, judging from their numerous grievances; a good number of them ran away because they were unable to meet their obligations (*ibid.* 59310), their wages were paid late, and the owner went so far as to imprison them (*ibid.* 59495). Cf. A. Swiderek, “La Société indigène en Egypte au IIIe siècle avant notre ère d’après les archives de Zénon,” in *JJP*, 1954, pp. 237ff., 265ff., 273. A rabbinic proverb went, “Cursed be the man who raises pigs, and cursed be the man who teaches his son Greek wisdom” (*b.B. Qam.* 82 b).

² Luke 15:16. The best manuscripts read γεμίσαι τὴν κοιλίαν; but the reading χορτασθῆναι has the support of P75 and yields no difference in meaning; cf. J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, pp. 47 and 48 n. 4. On the verb ε—πιθυμέω, cf. *ibid.*, p. 48, n. 3.

³ M. J. Lagrange, *Luc*, 3d ed., Paris, 1927, on this text; cf. Pliny, *HN* 13.16; Columella, *Rust.* 5.10; 7.9; Horace, *Epist.* 2.123; Persius, *Sat.* 3.55; Juvenal, *Sat.* 11.59; M. Gandoget, E. Levesque, “Carob,” in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 2, col. 308–311; W. Corswant, *Dictionnaire d’archéologie biblique*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1956, p. 59; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris, 1933, vol. 1, p. 206. The carob tree is popularly called “St. John’s tree”; cf. R. K. Harrison, *Healing Herbs of the Bible*, Leiden, 1966, p. 32. According to *Lev. Rab.* 35, when the Israelites eat carobs they are doing penance.

⁴ Old Egyptian medicine recommended dried carob pods for dental ulcers and to strengthen the gums (*P.Ebers*, n. 746), to cure a nurse of a disease called *bââ* (*ibid.*), to get rid of a cough (n. 314), for stomach pains (n. 205), to refresh the heart and invigorate the blood vessels (n. 139), for diseases of the womb (*P.Kahoum* 3–9), etc. Cf. G. Lefebvre, *Essai sur la médecine égyptienne de l’époque pharaonique*, Paris, 1956, pp. 65, 94, 110, 114, 118, etc.

⁵ *P.Michael.* 38, 3. On the *paenula*, the winter cloak (2Tim 4:13), cf. C. Spicq, “Pèlerine et vêtements,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, p. 389. Add to the references there cited *P.Mil.Vogl.* 256, 20; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 18, 21; *P.Oxy.* 3201, 7.

⁶ Νομισμάτια κα? κεράτιας? ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβολῆς . . . τω— ἀρτοκόπω κεράτια ιθ? ὑπὲρ ὀθονίων τω—ν τέκνων . . . κεράτια γ? ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἴνου, *P.Alex.* 39, 3, 10, 13.

⁷ *P.Got.* 9, 11; cf. a list of employees, “Victor: eight *solidi* less eighteen *keratia*” (*P.Harr.* 101, 4).

⁸ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 8, 26–27; cf. *P.Ant.* 91, 8: “I have promised to pay an indemnity of nine gold *keratia*”; *P.Oxy.* 2237: a price of six gold *solidi* less six *keratia*; *P.Mert.* 95, 4: an order to pay eight gold *keratia* to the guards, to the Arab archers; *P.Stras.* 247, 15; *P.Ryl.* 707, 2–3; *C.P.Herm.* 26, 10; 30, 19; 41, 5–6: “two *solidi* and two gold *keratia*”; *P.Mich.* 607, 16–17; 612, 15. In the eighth century, the value of a *solidus* is twenty-two and two-thirds *keratia*, cf. *P.Apoll.* 81, 11, 13; 86, 4, etc. L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, 2d ed., Amsterdam, 1967, pp. 129, 135.

κερματιστής, κολλυβιστής, τραπεζίτης

kermatistes, money changer; *kollybistes*, changer; *trapezites*, changer, banker

kermatistes, S 2773; *EDNT* 2.284; MM 342; L&N 57.205; BAGD 429 |
kollybistes, S 2855; *EDNT* 2.306; MM 353; L&N 57.205; BAGD 442 |
trapezites, S 5133; *EDNT* 3.367; MM 640; L&N 57.216; BAGD 824

All along the court of the Gentiles in the temple at Jerusalem—as under a portico at Ephesus and at Delos in the first century (*trapezeitike stoa*)—there were shops set up where the salt, wine, and oil needed for the sacrifices were sold.¹ There also were the tables of the money changers,² who supplied to the Jews the Tyrian shekels (*tetradrachma*) and half-shekels (*didrachma*)³ used for buying their offerings and paying the temple tax (two drachmas). Hence John 2:14—“Jesus found seated in the temple the sellers of cattle, of sheep, and of doves, and the money changers seated, *tous kermatistas kathemenous*,” before their low tables full of coins. The designation *kermatistes*, unknown from other sources,⁴ is derived from *kermatizo*, “reduce to small bits, change money,” and *kerma*, “coin”; but as opposed to the literary texts, the papyri show that this term refers not so much to small change as to the amount of hard cash one has available for purchases and other daily needs.⁵

John 2:15 continues: “He ran them all out . . . and he poured out the money of the changers, *kai ton kollybiston execheen to kerma*.”⁶ *Kollybistes*,

“changer,” a word that is late and rare in popular Greek⁷ and is disapproved by the Atticists,⁸ derives from *kollybos*, which means “‘coin,’ ‘exchange premium or rate,’ and—in the plural—‘delicacies.’ *Kollybistes* relates to the first two meanings.”⁹ In changing a certain coinage for another, from copper to silver, for example (*P.Ryl.* 192, 10), the *kollybistai* took a fee, the *kollybos* (Hebrew *qalebôs*); the same word also referred to the rate of exchange.¹⁰ In 160 BC, Delphi, having received a donation of “eighteen thousand silver drachmas of Alexander” from King Attalus II, converted into local currency, asks that “to cover expenses and costs for the journey (of the ambassadors) it be permitted to charge an exchange premium (*ek tou kollybou*) and that those who carry out the transaction should give an accounting to the city” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 672, 32). If the island league praises Timon, banker at Delos, for changing money without charging a *kollybos* (*IG XII5*, 817, 4, 8–10), the changers of the banks of Oxyrhynchus¹¹ are accused of shutting down and not accepting the bad imperial currency; the *strategos* forces them to reopen and accept all legal tender.¹² Thus the *kollybistai* are true bankers.¹³

In fact, it was the exchange tables that gave birth to banking and constituted its first function,¹⁴ to which were later added deposits, lending, receiving payments, and other financial operations. The word *trapezites*¹⁵ appears for the first time in a very mutilated inscription discovered at the Athenian agora that has to do with exchanging gold currency, in the fifth century (*SEG X*, 87, 19), where it means “changer.” Later it means the head of the bank,¹⁶ the one who trafficks in gold and silver, tests the coins (Epictetus 1.20.8–9), gives credit, etc. These are the *trapezitai* alluded to in the parables of the minas and the talents, which censure the lazy servant for not carrying his money to the bankers (Matt 25:27) or the bank (Luke 19:23), which would have allowed his master to recover his money “with interest” (*syn toko*).¹⁷

The two evangelists are referring to an investment deposit, which usually yielded interest at a rate of twenty percent,¹⁸ For example, the Egibi bank at Babylon (R. Bogaert, *Les Origines antiques de la banque de dépôt*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 113, 122, 141; cf. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, pp. 345–351). Under Nebuchadnezzar, the interest rate was 13.5 percent and even 10 percent, but under Cyrus and Cambyses it was 20 percent; but the house of Murashu at Nippur lent at 40 percent and even 50 percent (G. Cardacia, *Les Archives de Murashû*, Paris, 1951, pp. 5, 39, 59, 177). E. Cuq, *Les Nouveaux Fragments du Code de Hammourabi sur le prêt à intérêt et les sociétés* (Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, vol. 41), Paris, 1918; idem, *Etudes sur le droit babylonien*, Paris, 1929, pp.221ff.{NOTEEND}

hence investments were made “to bear fruit.”¹⁹ The depositor is considered as an associate whose money, far from remaining unproductive, is sure to

bring a profit; and bankers would have attracted customers by offering good investments;²⁰ but unreliable payers and bankruptcies were not rare, at least in Greece and at Rome;²¹ in Egypt, we have several hundred banking papyri,²² and where monetary transactions were carried out through banks, the administration of the latter seems to have been more seriously controlled;²³ money brought profits there, since the interest rate for private loans in the third century was twenty-four percent.²⁴ In Israel, of course, lending for interest was forbidden,²⁵ but interest was allowed on commercial loans, since the *shulh^anîm* (a Hebrew term derived from *shulhan*, table) achieved returns on the funds that were invested with them.²⁶

So we must conclude that the Lord does not condemn lending at interest in the parable of the minas and of the talents, but that he only condemns its practice in the sanctuary. There is a distinction between the usurer who exploits the misery of the poor (cf. *Tabula of Cebes* 31, 3: “*mede gignesthai homoious tois kakois trapezitais*, not to become like the wicked *trapezitai*”) and the *trapezites* who aids business people and well-off members of the public (*P. Tebt.* 890; Dittenberger, *Or.* 484, 9; cf. R. Bogaert, “Changeurs et Banquiers,” p. 270). This would be confirmed by this *logion agraphon*, if it is authentic: “*gignesthe dokimoi trapezitai*, be good bankers.” This is by far the best attested extracanonical sentence, since seventy witnesses to it have been found.²⁷ Nevertheless, this is an exhortation not to be honest bankers, but to be like expert money changers who can tell the difference between true and counterfeit money and reject that which is worthless.

² A good number of them belonged to the family of the high priest, cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, p. 49.

³ *M. sheqal.* 1.3; *t. sheqal.* 1.6; cf. E. Lambert, “Les Changeurs et la monnaie en Palestine du I^{er} au III^e siècle de l’ère vulgaire d’après les textes talmudiques,” in *REJ*, 1906, vol. 51, pp. 217–244; vol. 52, pp. 24–42; S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, 2d ed., vol. 2, Hildesheim, 1966, pp. 411–414.

⁴ Cf. A. Ben David, *Jerusalem and Tyros*, Basel-Tübingen, 1969, pp. 5–13, 25, 27.

⁵ The only occurrence is the reading *κερματιστής* for *χρηματιστής*, in Maximus of Tyre 31.2 *b* and *d*. Cf. R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, pp. 46–47. For *κερμάτιον*, cf. D. B. Durham, *Vocabulary of Menander*, p. 70.

⁶ Cf. Aristophanes, *Plut.* 379: “stuffing the mouths of the orators with small coins”; Eubulus, frag. 84: ἢ τὰς φιλωδοῦς κερμάτων παλευτρίας οὐκ οἶσθα (ed. J.M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 118); Josephus, *War* 2.295: the enemies of Florus, mocking his avarice, passed around a container and asked people to contribute (alms of) small change for him, ε—πήτουν αὐτῶ— κέρματα”; Epictetus 2.10.14: “Must you lose a *kerma* to be injured?” Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 9.87, note: In Attic the plural form κέρματα was used for money, not the singular χρήμα or κέρμα . . . ; but the latter form is used in Dorian for small change; later, even in Attic, the singular was used, as with Antiphanes in the *Cyclops*: κέρμα γάρ τι τυγχάνω. Cf. in the second-third century, *P.Oxy.* 114, 13–14: “If the money (τὸ κέρμα) is insufficient because of the neglect of Theagenes, sell the bracelet to get yourself money”; 1220, 7; “Send me a little money to prepare the harvest . . .”; *P.Rein.* 117, 6: “See that if you need money you ask Aculeinos for it”; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 14, 19: “Thus we have transferred the money to Harthonios your brother’s wife through a bank”; *P.Hib.* 206, 13; *C.P.Herm.* 13, 4: καθὼς παρατέθικά σοι τὸ μαρσίπιν τοῦ κέρματος . . . ; *P.Fouad* 81, 9: “Send me some money, since you want to buy a book.” *P.Tebt.* 418, 12: “give to my wife the money that she needs until you arrive” (very similar to *P.Meyer* 23, 5); *P.Gen.* 77, 5; *PSI* 512, 13: ε—μοὶ δὲ οὐπω παράκεται κέρμα ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου; *UPZ* 81, col. IV, 20 (the dream of Nektonabos): ὁ δὲ Πετήσιος κέρματα λαβὼν πολλὰ ε—πήλθεν εἰ—ς Σεβεννῦτον.

⁷ The same term is used for the changers in Matt 21:12; Mark 11:15 which specify that Jesus turned over their tables. M. J. Lagrange comments: “The κολλυβισταὶ who replace the κερματιστάς could well be a reminiscence of the Synoptics, but this word would provide pleasing variety before κέρμα” (commenting on John 2:15).

⁸ In the Ptolemaic period, *P.Petr.* III, 59 a, col. I, 7 mentions κολλυβισταῖς?; *P.Tebt.* 1079, 49; Πτολεμαίῳ κολλυβιστῆ; an inscription from the Sarapieion of Delos, from the first century: κολλυβιστής A (P. Roussel, *Les Cultes égyptiens à Délos*, Paris-Nancy, 1915–1916, n. 177 b 3). *P.Giss.Univ.* 30, 11: ἤδη οὖν μαρτύριν γέγονε περὶ τοῦ κερματιστοῦ (ed. H. Büttner).

⁹ Phrynicus: Κολλυβιστής ε—πὶ τοῦ ἀργυραμοιβοῦ citing Menander (ed. C. A. Lobeck, p. 440); Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 7.33.170 cites Lysias: κολλυβιστής ὡς Λυσίας ε—ν τῶ— περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τρίποδος, καὶ ὁ νῦν κόλλυβος, ἀλλαγή. Cf. D. B. Durham, *Vocabulary of Menander*, p. 71.

¹⁰ R. Bogaert, “Changeurs et banquiers chez les Pères de l’Eglise,” in *Ancient Society*, vol. 4, 1973, p. 241; cf. M. N. Tod, “Epigraphical Notes on

Greek Coinage,” in *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, 1945, pp. 108–116. A text that is cited is Aristophanes, *Pax* 1200: “Before today, no one had bought a single scythe, not even for a dime (οὐδὲ κολλύβου = a third or fourth of a denarius); today I am selling them at five drachmas.”

¹¹ At Mylasa, (Dittenberger, *Or.* 515, 23, 50), at Pergamum (484, 20); at Ephesus, cf. R Bogaert, *Banques et Banquiers*, p. 49; S. Leroy Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton, 1938, p. 488, n. 274, and p. 503 (on this word). Cf. the inscription of Pergamum mentioning the phrase πρὸς κέρμα . . . ε—κ τοῦ κολλύβου (Dittenberger, *Or.* 484, 19–20).

¹² *P.Oxy.* 1411, 4: τοὺς τω—ν κολλυβιστικω—ν τραπεζω—ν τραπεζεΐτας; cf. *P.Alex.* 144 (p. 42).

¹³ Cf. *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* 106: “It is not permitted to exchange (κερματίζειν) a large coin for a number of smaller coins greater than its legal value.”

¹⁴ Cf. κολλυβιστική τράπεζα, *P.Oxy.* 2471, 10, 13, 19; 2584, 8; *PSI* 204, 21; 1235, 7; 1318; col. I, 11; *P.Stras.* 34, 7; *P.Hamb.* 1, 2: —Αντίγραφον διαγραφῆς διὰ τῆς —Απολλωφανοῦς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κολλυβιστικῆς τραπέζης (21 September 57).

¹⁵ The τράπεζα of Ps.-Aristotle, *Oec.* 2.1346b24–26 is a simple currency exchange.

¹⁶ Cf. G. Redard, *Les Noms grecques en -ΤΗΣ, -ΤΙΣ*, Paris, 1949, pp. 39ff. Derived from τράπεζα, which means first the table or counter at which the changer is seated (*P.Eleph.* 10, 2; cf. καθίζοντες ε—πὶ τὰν τραπεζα—ν, *LSCG*, n. 161, A 19) and then the institution (the bank—*P.Lond.* 3, 38 = vol. 1, p. 47; *P.Oxy.* 98, 8); hence the play on words of Andocides, *Myst.* 130–131, where the rappings of a spirit upset the tables and furniture and cause the bank to collapse. With the adjective ι—ερά or a god’s name in the genitive (τράπεζα κυρίου, 1Cor 10:21; cf. ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ τράπεζα, *SEG* 1, 344; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1106, 99; 1022, 2; 1038, 11; cf. the κλίνη of Sarapis, *P.Oxy.* 2592; *P.Yale* 85; etc.), τράπεζα refers to the table for offerings or the sacred table of the god (cf. A. J. Festugière, *Monde gréco-romain*, pp. 172ff.), but the cultic table is also mentioned without further specification, cf. *I.Sinur.*, n. 76; cf. at Iconium, L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1950, p. 201, n. 200.

¹⁷ *Ep. Arist.* 26: “The king ordered that the total be divided between the military treasurers and the royal bankers” (repeated by Josephus, *Ant.* 12.32); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 577, 17; Plutarch, *Arat.* 18; cf. R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, pp. 33–41. Τραπεζιτεία refers to the function of the τραπεζίτης (*P.Oxy.* 1415, 26), but in *SEG IV*, 668, 14 it is used both for the college of τραπεζίται and their term of office (cf. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, p. 236).

¹⁸ Cf. J. Dupont, “La Parabole des talents (Mt. XXV, 14–30) ou des mines (Lc. XIX, 12–27),” in *RTP*, 1969, pp. 376–391. On the allegorical interpretation of this parable, where several of the Fathers suppress “with interest,” cf. P. Quiévreux, *Les Paraboles*, Paris, 1946, pp. 221–227; R. Bogaert (“Changeurs et banquiers chez les Pères de l’Eglise,” in *Ancient Society*, vol. 4, 1973). Cf. the decree from Abdera in 166 BC that authorizes placing in the bank a sum intended to cover the costs of two ambassadors: κομιζόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης, θεμένων αὐτοί—ς τὸ διπλάσιον τω—ν νομοφυλάκων ἀπὸ τω—ν εἰ—ς τὰς πρεσβείας (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 656, 47ff.; cf. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, pp. 320ff.).

¹⁹ *Code of Hammurabi* 99: “If a businessman has given money to a steward for selling and buying, and he invests it in a voyage, the commercial traveler shall see that it bears fruit”; cf. J. Dauvillier, “La Parabole des mines ou des talents et le 99 du Code de Hammurabi,” in *Mélanges J. Magnol*, Paris, 1948, pp. 153–165. On commercial societies and contracts for business associations in the papyri, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, pp. 516–526.

²⁰ An epigram attributed to Theocritus takes the form of a banker’s sign: “To inhabitants of the city and to foreigners this bank gives the same terms: what you have deposited you may withdraw, after the accounting is done. Let others resort to trickery; Caïcos pays back deposits to whoever asks, even at night” (*Anth. Pal.* 9.435).

²¹ Notably that of the Christian Carpophorus at Rome, the victim of the machinations of his slave Callixtus (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 9.12.1–12; cf. R. Bogaert, “Changeurs et banquiers,” p. 253). The expression ἀνατρέπειν τὴν τράπεζαν appears in the fifth century (Andocides, *Myst.* 130).

²² E.g., the accounts of a private bank from the second century BC, *P.Tebt.* 890; *P.Oxy.* 1639 (first century BC); *P.Mich.* 564, 17; 625, 2; *P.Princ.* 133, 5; *P.Mert.* 70, 35, etc. Cf. F. Preisigke, *Girwesen im griechischen Aegypten*, Strasbourg, 1910; E. Ziebarth, “Hellenistische Banken,” in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1924, pp. 36–50. *Prosop.Ptol.* (vol. 1, n. 178–

179, 1122–1294) cites 175 *τραπεζίται*; e.g., Didymus (*P.Mich.* 572, 4), Kephalos in 18 BC (*P.Rein.* 128, 5), Zoilos and Dionysios in 6–5 (*P.Yale* 60, 5), Ammonios in AD 64 (63, 3, 8), etc.

²³ Cf. *P.Tebt.* 703, 117–134; N. Hohlwein, *Termes techniques*, pp. 405ff. *P.Rev.* 73–78 (a decree on bank closings); H. Desvernois, “Banques et banquiers dans l’Egypte romaine,” in *Bulletin de la Société royale arch. d’Alexandrie*, 1928, pp. 303–348.

²⁴ C. Préaux, *Economie royale*, p. 282; J. Herrmann, “Zinssätze und Zinsgeschäfte im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri,” in *JJP*, 1962, pp. 23–31. In Greece, it was ordinarily ten percent; cf. at Ilion (*LSAM*, n. 9); Pergamum (Dittenberger, *Or.* 484, 8–15), at Delos, Miletus, Amorgos, etc., cf. R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, pp. 138, 258, 290, 360.

²⁵ Exod 22:25; Ps 14:5; 34:34; Ezek 18:17; cf. C. Spicq, *Péchés d’injustice*, pp. 339, 440ff.; S. Stein, “The Laws on Interest in the Old Testament,” in *JTS*, 1953, pp. 161–170; E. Neufeld, “The Rate of Interest and the Text of Nehemiah V, 11,” in *JQR*, 1954, pp. 194–204; E. Szlechter, “Le Prêt dans l’Ancien Testament et dans les codes mésopotamiens avant Hammourapi,” in *RHPR*, 1955, pp. 16–25; H. A. Rupprecht, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, Munich, 1967; R. Maloney, “Usury and Restrictions on Interest-Taking in the Ancient Near East,” in *CBQ*, 1974, pp. 1–20.

²⁶ International loans (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.180ff.), maritime loans (*SB* 7169: a loan contract for herb and spice trade, cf. L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, pp. 206ff.). Cf. Str-B, vol. 1, pp. 970ff. S. Eijges, *Das Geld im Talmud* (Diss. Gießen), Vilna, 1930, p. 74; G. R. Driver, J. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, 2d ed., Oxford, 1956, p. 175. At the synagogue of Beth Shearim, an inscription names a donor: the banker Leontios Polmurenos (M.Schwabe, B. Lifshitz, *Beth She‘arim*, vol. 2, n. 92).

²⁷ A. Resch, *Agrapha*, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1906, pp. 112–128; L. Vaganay, “Agrapha,” in *DBSup*, vol. 1, col. 187; H. Rahner, “Werdet kundige Geldwechsler,” in *Gregorianum*, 1956, pp. 475–480; J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, trans. R. H. Fuller, London, 1957, pp. 89–93.

κολακεία

kolakeia, flattery

kolakeia, S 2850; *TDNT* 3.817–818; *EDNT* 2.306; MM 352; L&N 33.367; BAGD 440

The etymology of this biblical hapax (1Thess 2:5) is unknown. Its very rare occurrences in the papyri—hardly four or five instances can be found—and its denominative verb *kolakeuo* evidence two meanings. One is neutral, “something pleasant”; the other is pejorative, “flattery,” associated with the idea of deceit or lying. Under the first heading, in *T. Abr.* A 16, the Most High tells Death, who is being sent to Abraham and will appear in a very attractive form, “Do not frighten him; instead, take an attractive form—*me ekphobeses auton alla meta kolakias touton paralabe.*” In addition, Death explains to Abraham, “It is with great calm and in a pleasing form that I come to the just, *en hesychia polle kai kolakia proserchomai tois dikaios*” (17). But in the third century AD: “I ask you, the prefect asks you, do not try to fool me”;¹ “like a wine with no odor at all, kept in a jar, you show no emotion in the wake of flattery.”²

This last meaning is that of *kolakeuo* in the LXX, contrasting with *pikraino* (1Esdr 4:31). Wis 14:17 denounces the sculpted images venerated on the orders of the tyrants: “They made a visible image of the king which they honored . . . to flatter zealously one absent as though he were present.”³ In several literary texts, the *kolakeia* is friendly: “The young girl fusses over (or adulates) my companions the nymphs and honors them earnestly” (Menander, *Dysk.* 37). “The trainer must exercise the athletes, or rather flatter them . . . when he is working as well as when they are exercising” (Philostratus, *Gym.* 29). But most often the nuance is pejorative: “But you have spoiled this radiant glory, thanks to an unexpected noise, some joke by the shepherds” (Sophocles, *Ichn.* 154). The slave of Demos “flatters, cajoles, fawns upon him, tricks him” (Aristophanes, *Eq.* 48); “a hundred heads of accursed flatterers, in a circle, licked their lips” (*Pax* 756); “Is it not a great bondage to see those people invested with public office, them and their paid flatterers” (*Vesp.* 683). “With good reason that person obtains more from both gods and humans who instead of flattering them when they are in an awkward position remembers them especially when his circumstances are most prosperous.”⁴

The comedians⁵ and the moralists list the characteristics of the *kolax*, who is bent on profit, and distinguish him from the compliant person (*areskos*) who acts disinterestedly but out of “an innate desire to please” (Theophrastus, *Char.* 5). Having defined flattery as “a shameful business, but profitable for the flatterer” (*Char.* 2.1), Theophrastus concludes, “In review, you will see the flatterer say and do all the things that he hopes will ingratiate him” (*Char.* 2.13). In this Theophrastus is the heir of Aristotle, who makes *kolakeia* a vice opposed to kindness: “There are two kinds of people who are always trying to please. The first, who wants only to make people happy, is the compliant person. The second, whose goal is to make

people happy in order to profit in money or in goods that can be bought with money, is the flatterer” (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 4.12.1127a7–10); “All flatters are servile” (*Eth. Nic.* 4.9.1224b32); “flattery and the flatterer are gratifying, because the flatterer pretends to be an admirer or a friend” (Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.11.1371a22). Moreover, the Stagirite places friendship between animosity and flattery (*Eth. Eud.* 3.7.1233b29–38) and emphasizes the contrast between the friend and the flatterer.⁶

From then on *kolakeia* is an item in catalogs of vices,⁷ starting with Philo, who inserts it along with perfidy (*apistia*) and cheating (*phenakismos*) and deceitfulness (*apate*, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 22). Sometimes flattery is presented as a vice opposite to *philia*: “In friendship, people fear the deceits of flattery as being very harmful”;⁸ sometimes as betraying the truth: false piety, which “flatters the One who is not vulnerable to flattery, who loves true worship . . . that of a soul who brings truth as a pure and sole offering”;⁹ sometimes as spawning vanity: “All the people . . . flattered Gaius by treating him with undue seriousness and conspiring to inflate his vanity.”¹⁰

So this is a vice that has diverse sources: natural inclination, as with Eurikles, “glib at dispensing flattery, without seeming to do so” (Josephus, *Ant.* 16.301); the desire to please one’s neighbor;¹¹ to glorify a prince (thus becoming a characteristic vice of a courtier);¹² to excite the admiration of the crowd (thus becoming a vice of the orator);¹³ “Behold the flatters assassinating their victims and attacking their ears day and night; not only do they approve every word uttered, but they endlessly string together declarations and tirades. With their lips they express a thousand good wishes, but in their hearts they are always cursing” (Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 111).

These usages of *kolakeia* can help determine in what sense St. Paul, who had never used a word of flattery toward the Thessalonians, thus provided a guarantee of the authenticity of his apostolic utterances (1Thess 2:5); (a) whereas the flatterer is a deceiver and fawner, the emissary of Jesus Christ had always spoken only the truth; (b) he refused to gain the sympathy of his hearers by cajoling or flattering them; (c) he had not sought personal gain (money, hospitality, prestige) through more or less devious dealings; (d) his *agape*, which does not hesitate to reprimand and correct, proves to everyone the authenticity of his affection—the opposite of blameworthy leniency.¹⁴ On this integrity of St. Paul’s conduct, cf. 1Cor 1:17ff.; 2:1, 4ff.

¹ *P.Oxy.* 2407, 52: μή με κολακεύης. The same link between deception and *kolakeia* in the sixth century, in *P.Lond.* 1727, 24, which associates δόλος, φόβος, βία, ἀπάτη, ἀνάγκη, κολακία.

² *Acta Maximi* 2.42; ed. H. A. Musurillo, *Acta Alexandrinorum*, Leipzig, 1961, p. 30; idem, *Pagan Martyrs*, p. 39. The only other papyrus is mutilated, διδόναι κολακεύοντες (*PSI* 4 = *P.Cair.Zen.* 59838).

³ In Job 19:17, the LXX is based on the reading with the Hebrew verb *hanan*, which it understands to mean “I speak with flattery or kindness to the sons of my concubine.”

⁴ Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.6.3; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 889, 29ff., you cannot exceed the limits set by destiny, neither by flattery nor by supplication, οὔτε κολακεία οὔτε ι—κετεία; Josephus, *War* 2.213: “the most ardent courtiers of fortune.”

⁵ In 421, Eupolis wrote a comedy called *The Flatterers* (ed. J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 1, pp. 368ff.). Philodemus the Epicurean wrote a treatise περὶ κολακείας (W. Crönert, “Neues über Epikur und einige Herkulanenische Rollen,” in *RhMus*, 1901, p. 623). Cf. O. Ribbeck, “Kolax: Eine ethologische Studie,” in *Abhandl. der philol.-hist. Kl. d. königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vol. 9, 1884, pp. 1–115.

⁶ *Eth. Nic.* 10.2.1173b32. Cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.182: “It would not be said that the flatterer is a good friend. Flattery is pathological friendship.”

⁷ Cf. A. Vögtle, *Tugend- und Lasterkataloge*, p. 201.

⁸ Philo, *Abraham* 126; *Plant.* 105–106: “Flatterers often harbor an unspeakable hatred for those who are the object of their attentions. . . . Fawners exercise their zeal only for the sake of their own gain”; these deceits and artifices are not compatible with true friendship.

⁹ *Worse Attacks Better* 21; cf. *Spec. Laws* 1.60: Moses teaches the truth and expels from his city πάντας τοὺς κολακεύοντας αὐτήν (divination). Cf. Josephus, *Life* 367: “Agrippa, not attempting to flatter me, nor speaking ironically . . . witnesses to the truth” of my works.

¹⁰ *To Gaius* 116. Cf. *Sobr.* 57: “the wise person accepts praise that is not tainted with flattery but guaranteed by sincerity”; Josephus, *War* 4.231: the Idumeans are a nation in love with change, “when they are the least bit flattered by those who appeal to them, they take up arms and go off to battle as if to a festival.”

¹¹ Philostratus, *Gym.* 44: “It was medicine that first treated [athletes] with indulgence (ε—κολάκευσε),” teaching laziness, introducing the habit of remaining seated before exercises, favoring an overly refined diet.

¹² The flatters of the tyrant Dionysius of Sicily were called Διονυσοκόλακες (Athenaeus 6.56; 10.433 e).

¹³ Cf. the fifteen references given by G. Mussies, *Dio Chrysostom*, pp. 200–201. Cf. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 10.8.

¹⁴ We may cite Luke 6:26—“Woe to you, when everyone speaks well of you,” referring to flattering words, laudatory remarks; cf. J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, Paris, 1973, pp. 86ff.

κοπιάω, κόπος

κοπιαο, to work hard, grow weary; *kopos*, trouble, suffering, fatigue

see also μόχθος

κοπιαο, S 2872; TDNT 3.827–830; EDNT 2.307; NIDNTT 1.262–263; MM 354; L&N 23.78, 25.289, 42.47; BAGD 443 | ***kopos***, S 2873; TDNT 3.827–830; EDNT 2.307–308; NIDNTT 1.262–263; MM 355; L&N 22.7, 42.47; BAGD 443

Derived from *kopto*, “smite, strike a hard blow, cut, cut off, chop,” hence figuratively “tire out,” the action noun *kopos* means “a blow,”¹ and usually “trouble, suffering, fatigue.”² It is often associated with its synonym *mochthos*³ and especially with *ponos*, which figures in the Stoic vocabulary.⁴ It is difficult to translate it precisely,⁵ because it is used for every kind of physical and moral suffering, affliction, torment, difficulty, effort, and weariness, but in secular Greek especially for fatigue: “to know what effect a bath at the wrong time or needless fatigue will produce” (Hippocrates, *VM* 21); “spontaneous weariness (*kopoi automatoi*) is a sign of illness” (Hippocrates, *Aph.* 2.5; cf. Philostratus, *Gym.* 53); “fatigue and sleepiness are enemies of study” (Plato, *Resp.* 7.537 *b*); “I am exhausted with fatigue.”⁶

Nevertheless, the substantive and the verb *κοπιαο* are not much used in classical Greek, although they are common in the LXX, where their meaning becomes more precise and more intense (especially the verb), because being tired⁷ becomes “be exhausted, tired out.” Amalek “cut off the retreat of those who were lagging behind when you were exhausted and tired out” (Deut 25:18); “They struck down the Philistines from Micmash . . . and the people were exhausted” (Hebrew *’ûp*, 1Sam 14:31); Ahithophel: “I would fall upon David when he is exhausted and weak”;⁸ one is worn out with moaning and weeping (Ps 6:6; 69:3). If *κοπιαο* means

“make a toilsome effort” (1Sam 17:39), it is used rather frequently in the sense of “work hard,” either physically or intellectually. Judg 5:26—the workers’ hammers (*kopionton*, B); Eccl 2:18—“I have hated all my work on which I have worked under the sun”; Wis 9:10—“wisdom has worked beside me”; Sir 11:11—“Such a person works, tires himself out, and presses on (*esti kopion kai ponon kai speudon*) and for all that is only in greater want”; 24:34—“I have toiled not for myself alone but for all those who seek wisdom” (cf. 33:18; 51:27). We may note the formula “work in vain” or “for nothing,”⁹ which St. Paul takes up.

Rarely *kopos* has the meaning “fatigue” (Gen 31:42) or “burden” (Deut 1:12; Hebrew *torah*) or the softened meaning “boredom” (Sir 22:13), “care” (29:4), “depression” (Job 4:2), but usually retains the sense of “trouble, suffering, misfortune, misery.”¹⁰ Twice there is the intellectual nuance, “painful thinking” (Ps 73:5; Sir 13:26).

These words are almost unknown in Philo.¹¹ In Josephus, *kopiao* always means “grow weary,”¹² but *kopos* retains the connotation of “excessive fatigue, exhaustion,” as a result of battle (*War* 5.307; *Ant.* 7.299), a night march (*War* 5.68), wandering in the wilderness (*Ant.* 2.257), crossing the sea (3.25), work (7.48), illness (5.315), the sacrificing of victims (8.244). It brings on sleep (*Life* 136; cf. *T. Issach.* 3.5), makes rest necessary (*Ant.* 5.315), affects beasts of burden (1.336: *kopon ton hypozygion*).

All the preceding meanings are attested in the papyri and the inscriptions, first of all in the most weakened sense: “boredom, discouragement.” In the third century, Ptolemaeus writes to his father that he himself will come with friends to take delivery of five loads of wood, so that his father might not have the burden of transporting it (*hina me sy kopias*, *P.Mich.* 511, 15); “We are not in the habit of inconveniencing the *strategos*” (*hina me kopous parechomen stratego*, *P.Giss.Univ.* 27, 13); the trip taken by the mother of Dioscoros cannot inconvenience anyone (*medeis soi kopon pareche*, *P.Princ.* 70, 10). Then “fatigue, weariness”: a letter from Nicanor in the second-third century begins thus: “I have grown weary of writing you, and you have not answered me” (*ego kekopiaka graphon soi, kai sy moi ouk antegrapsas*, *P.Oslo* 160, 1). Usually exhaustion is the point. In February 107, Apollinarius, who is assigned to the Roman legion at Bostra, which is opening a route through the *limes* of Arabia, writes, “I give thanks to Sarapis and to good fortune. While everyone is being worn out all day long (*panton kopionton*) cutting stones, I, as *principalis*, walk around doing nothing (*diakino meden poion*).”¹³ But the job is not without danger. At the same period, Terentianus writes from Alexandria to his father, “You know that we are working hard now to clean up the tumult and sedition in the city” (*oides gar hoti kopiomen arti diotei kathairoumen ton thorybon kai akatastasian tes poleos*, *P.Mich.* 477, 28–29). *Kopiao* means “work,”¹⁴ *kopiatai* are gravediggers,¹⁵ and *kopos* is

“expense, costs,”¹⁶ and especially difficulties: “We never had so much difficulty in winnowing it (barley)” (*P.Oxy.* 1482, 6); “With great difficulty (*meta pollon kopon*) we made him accept the obligation to see to it (the silage of Poīs) at the former rent” (*P.Sarap.* 92, 11); “With great difficulty I obtained from Penemgeus, with no written document, the eighty drachmas that I have sent you” (*P.Sarap.* 97, 5). These *kopoi* are also “torments” which sometimes are expressed in groans and cries of pain: “Brother, the torments and headaches of this city” (*adelphe, tous kopous kai tas kephalargias tes poleos tantes, P.Apoll.* 45, 1; eighth century); “It is for my torment (*eis tous kopous mou*) and not for my rest (*ouk eis anesin*) that they laid hands on him” (*P.Apoll.* 45, 13); for the reconciliation of a mother and her son who are involved in a lawsuit: “I send you the letter addressed to me on the subject of this painful trial” (*charin tou kopou*).

With regard to the NT formula *kopon (kopous) parecho tini* (“give care, make trouble for someone”),¹⁷ Moulton-Milligan compare *BGU* 844, 12: “For he troubles me in my weakness” (*kopous gar moi parechei asthenountei*, AD 83); *P.Tebt.* 21, 10: “If he gives you trouble, go up with him” (*ean de soi kopous pareche synanabaine auto*, 115 BC). We may add *P.Princ.* 70, 10; *P.Giss.Univ.* 27, 13; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 14 b (vol. 2, p. 132); *SB* 8247, 8; 9017, 28; 9271, 4 (first-second century), and an ostrakon in which Paulina complains to her brother Titus concerning her husband’s poor behavior and asks him to intervene: “Because my husband Aponius gives me trouble since he knows that I have no one” (*hoti kopous moi parechei Aponios ho emos aner dia to eidenai auton hoti oudenan echo*).¹⁸

The six occurrences of *kopiao* in the Gospels—where *kopos* does not appear—conform to secular Greek usage: the lilies of the field neither toil nor spin (Matt 6:28 = Luke 12:27); “Come to me, all you who are weary and overburdened, and I will give you rest.”¹⁹ After the miraculous catch of fish, Simon Peter declares to Jesus: “We wore ourselves out all night without catching anything” (Luke 5:5). When Jesus arrived at Jacob’s well at noon, in the heat of the day, after climbing the high plateau of Samaria, Jesus was more than usually tired (*kekopiakos*, “exhausted,” John 4:6); the day’s journey was unusually difficult. This explains not only the fact that he did not go with his disciples to buy provisions at Sychar but also that he sat down just as he was (*houtos*), i.e., on the ground, without choosing some other place. The important text (because it seems to be at the root of the Pauline identification of *kopos* with the apostolic ministry)²⁰ is John 4:38—“I sent you to harvest that which has cost you no trouble; others have taken the trouble (have labored, sown, etc.) and you have entered into their labor” (*ho ouk hymeis kekopiakate; alloi kekopiakasin, kai hymeis eis ton kopon auton eiselelythate*). The contrast between sowers and reapers is made in terms of the labor provided by the former and the relatively easy

work done by the latter.²¹ Jesus is the one who defined the apostolic ministry as *kopos*, painful toil.

Beginning with his earliest epistles, St. Paul uses *kopiao* and *kopos* to refer to his own labor, and in the first instance his manual work. After all, he was a tentmaker (Acts 18:3, *skenopoios*); this was rough work, since the Ephesians made off with overalls or aprons (*simikinthia*) and handkerchiefs that were soaked with the apostle's sweat (Acts 19:12). This was not a temporary occupation for him, but a trade at which he worked²² in order not to have to live off of the communities that he evangelized: "You remember, brothers, our labor and fatigue (*ton kopon hemon kai ton mochthon*). Night and day we worked (*ergazomenoi*) in order not to be a burden on any of you" (1Thess 2:9; repeated at 2Thess 3:8). "We wear ourselves out working with our own hands" (*kopiomen ergazomenoi tais idiais chersin*, 1Cor 4:12). To the Ephesian elders, he notes that the money so earned allowed him to help with the needs of the poor; this work—in Christian terms—is thus inspired by brotherly love: "I showed you that it is by working thus (*houtos kopiontas*) that we must sustain the weak and remember the words of the Lord Jesus, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive'" (Acts 20:35).

But this labor comes to encompass more and more all of the efforts, cares, constraints, austerities, and labors of the apostolic ministry. If a church is submitted to trial and danger, Paul fears that his "trouble" in building it up might have been in vain, his sacrifices pointless (1Thess 3:5; Gal 4:11; Phil 2:16). He did not spare himself: "I worked more abundantly than all (the other preachers)" (1Cor 15:10; *ekopiassa*); "Are they ministers of Christ? I more. In more abundant labors (*en kopois perissoteros*),"²³ in prisons, blows, danger of death, hunger and thirst (2Cor 11:27). The proclamation of the gospel in the midst of the worst adversities is a dramatic battle: "For this cause I wear myself out in the fight (*eis ho kai kopio agonizomenos*) with the energy of Christ, who works mightily in me" (Col 1:29); "it is for this that we toil and fight" (*kopiomen kai agonizometha*).²⁴

Another series of texts uses *kopos* and *kopiao* to refer to the achievements of the Christian life, the efficiency of faith, endurance in hope, love's labors and devotion;²⁵ "Beloved brethren . . . surpass yourselves in the Lord's work (*en to ergo tou Kyriou*), knowing well that your labor is not in vain in the Lord" (*ho kopos hymon ouk estin kenos en Kyrio*, 1Cor 15:58). In the edification of the church and the service of God, the "labors" are diverse, notably among the founders of communities, apostles, and preachers. The labor of the "converter" is one thing; the lesser toil of those who follow another (2Cor 10:15); a part of the fruits belongs first of all to the farmer who has worked hard (2Tim 2:6, *ton kopionta georgon*), although "the one who plants and the one who waters are one; but each one shall receive his own pay, according to his own toil"

(*ton idion misthon lempsetai kata ton idion kopon*, 1Cor 3:8). In the first place are those responsible for the churches: “We ask you, brethren, to recognize those who toil among you (*tous kopiontas en hymin*), those who are your superiors in the Lord” (1Thess 5:12), the elders, “especially those who toil at the word and at teaching,”²⁶ but also Christian families, like the household of Stephanas and those who have the same zeal and collaborate with each other, spending themselves without sparing any trouble (1Cor 16:16), and also women of signal devotion, like Mary (Rom 16:6), Tryphena, Tryphosa, and Persis (16:12) who toiled so (*polla ekopiasen*), probably in service to the poor, in hospitality, helping the preachers, etc.

We may sum up in a few words. In the NT, *kopos/kopiao*, “work hard,” means (1) constant, exhausting manual labor; (2) the fatigue of long, incessant missionary wanderings; (3) blows, wounds, and suffering endured in the course of stonings and riots; (4) slanders and insults by enemies, the humiliations of imprisonment; (5) the difficulties of governing and exercising apostolic authority; (6) the preparation of sermons, speeches given in the open air, the editing of epistles; (7) care for all the churches and for each soul (2Cor 11:28-29; Heb 13:17), who will not be saved on the steep path except through costly endurance and violence (Matt 11:12). There is no Christian life, no apostolic ministry, without rough, persevering labor.

¹ Euripides, *Tro.* 794: “the blows with which I strike my chest”; Aeschylus, *Cho.* 32: a blow.

² P. Chantraine (*Dictionnaire étymologique*, on this word) mentions ἄκοπος, “without fatigue,” ὑπόκοπος, “a little tired.”

³ Job 2:9; 1Thess 2:9; 2Thess 3:8; 2Cor 11:27.

⁴ Ps 10:7, 14; 90:10; Hab 1:3; Jer 20:18; 45:3; Sir 11:11; *T. Jud.* 18.4. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 6.77: the difficulty of combat; 12.348; 16.568: the drudgery of grim war (μάχης πόνος); 17.718: remove the body from the battlefield (φέρειτ ε—κ πόνου); Ps.-Plato, *Ax.* 368 a–b: “workers and laborers who toil (πονουμένων) from one night to another and obtain the necessities with difficulty. . . . They fill their watches with groans and lamentations.” Epictetus 2.1.10, 13 links πόνος with death and exile and contrasts it with pleasure (ἡδονή), 1.2.15.

⁵ Cf. A. von Harnack, “Κόπος (κοπια—ν, οι—κοπιω—ντες) im frühchristlichen Sprachgebrauch,” in *ZNW*, 1928, pp. 1–10; Hauck, “κόπος, κοπίαω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 827–830.

⁶ Euripides, *Phoen.* 852; *Bacch.* 634: “glutted with fatigue . . . he faints”; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 209: “O Zeus, take pity on our toil before we succumb”; Sophocles, *Phil.* 880: “when fatigue leaves me . . . we will go to the ship”; Aristophanes, *Lys.* 542: “heavy fatigue would not be able to numb my knees”; *Ran.* 1265; *Plut.* 321; Xenophon, *Eq.* 4.2: “the horse, after too much work (κόπος), requires rest”; Philostratus, *Gym.* 48: things that are useless for the athlete, “agitation of soul, fatigue”; 49: “good proofs of excessive fatigue are supplied by the exterior contours of the body”; 53: “sudden relaxation after the use of dust is a poor remedy for fatigue.” Likewise the verb κοπιάω: “tired of amusing ourselves” (Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 795); “You will get tied of good things, so rich you will be” (*Av.* 735); Alexis, frag. 147: κοπιω— τὰ σκέλη; Menander, *Phas.* 36: εἰ—σῆλθεσ εὐθύς ἄν κοπιάσης τὰ σκέλη.

⁷ Κοπιάω translates especially the Hebrew *yegî'a* and *'amal*. Cf. Josh 24:13—“I will give you a land where you have not toiled, and cities that you have not built . . . vines and olive trees that you have not planted”; Isa 43:22—“You are tired of me, Israel”; 47:13—“You are wearied (Hebrew *lahâh*) by much advice”; 47:15—“you are tired of your conspirators”; Wis 6:14—“The one who goes toward wisdom in the morning will not be wearied, for he will find her seated at the gate” (cf. Jer 2:24, Hebrew *yâ'ep*); Sir 6:19—“In the cultivation of wisdom you will toil a little” (ὀλίγον κοπιάσεις); 16:27—“God’s works experience neither hunger nor fatigue” (cf. Isa 40:28); 31:3-4: “The rich person toils to amass goods . . . the poor person toils because he lacks means”; 43:30—“Do not tire of exalting the Lord”; Hos 8:10—“They will suffer a little (of time, Hebrew *halal*) bearing tribute to the king”; Isa 33:24—“No inhabitant will say, ‘I am sick’” (LXX κοπιω—, Hebrew *halâh*).

⁸ 2Sam 17:2; cf. 23:10—Eleazar “smote the Philistines until his hand was tired out” (cf. 4Macc 9:12); Isa 5:27—“None is weary (Hebrew *kashal*) and none stumbles; none dozes or sleeps”; 16:12; 40:30-31; 46:1—idols carried in processions are “a burden for the tired-out beast” (cf. 1Macc 10:81); 57:10; Lam 5:5—“We are pursued, we are worn out, there is no more rest for us.” The LXX sometimes translates the Hebrew verb *kashal*, “stumble,” with κοπιάω: “If you run, you will not stumble” (Prov 4:12; cf. Isa 31:3; 43:13).

⁹ Ps 127:1—“Those who build it work in vain” (εἰ—ς μάτην ε—κοπίασαν); Isa 30:5; 49:4; κοπία—ν εἰ—ς κενόν (Job 2:9; 20:18; 39:16; Isa 65:23; Jer 51:58); Wis 3:11—Those who lack wisdom: “Their hope is vain, their fatigue pointless, their toil profitless” (οἰ— κόποι ἀνόνητοι).

¹⁰ Judg 10:16—“Israel’s trouble, suffering”; Hab 1:3; 3:7 (Hebrew *’āwen*); Jer 20:18—“Why did I come out from the womb to see trouble and sorrow?”; 45:3—“Yahweh has added affliction to my pain” (κόπον ἐ—πὶ πόνον); Mal 2:13—“weeping and sighs in troubles” (ἐ—κ κόπων); Job 5:6-7: misfortune does not grow up out of the ground; man engenders it; 11:16; Ps 10:14—“You see the trouble and sorrow”; 25:18; 88:15—“I have been poor and in trouble from childhood”; 110:10—“the number of our years is toil and trouble”; 107:12; 140:9; Wis 10:10—“wisdom multiplies the fruit of labors”; 10:17; Sir 14:15—“Will you leave the fruit of your toil to be shared out by fate?”; 34:23; 1Macc 10:15—the sufferings that Jonathan and his brothers endured in battle. There is the sense of “misdeed” (Ps 10:7; 55:11), “iniquity” (Nah 2:1) and—a legal meaning—“penalty” inflicted by a court (Ps 94:20).

¹¹ The three occurrences of the verb are to explain Leah’s name: she who shows fatigue, or she who is weary (*Cherub*. 41; *Migr. Abr.* 145; *Change of Names* 254). A single attestation of the substantive: ἡ ἄνευ ψιλῆ διήγησις, a simple, unpretentious account (*Spec. Laws* 2.39).

¹² *War* 3.19: “The Romans did not grow weary but wanted to push their victory to its conclusion”; 3.473: “The Jews do not grow weary although they are getting the worst of it”; 4.367: they “reconciled out of weariness”; 6.142: “on both sides, the combatants showed no weariness”; 6.204: “the woman grew weary of seeking food” (during the siege of Jerusalem).

¹³ *P. Mich.* 465, 15; cf. C. Préaux, “Une source nouvelle sur l’annexion de l’Arabie sous Trajan: Les Papyrus de Michigan 465 et 466,” in *Mélanges J. Hombert, Phoibus*, vol. 5, Brussels, 1950–51; pp. 123–139.

¹⁴ On a sarcophagus: κοπιάσαντι ἰ—ς τοῦτα χωρία (*IGUR*, n. 750); cf. *SEG XX*, 101: ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κοπιάσαντα; *IGLS* 481; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 761, B 6: πάντα κόπον καλω—ν ἀναδεξάμενος (48/7 BC). *Kopos* is very close to the Latin *labor*, and not only Virgil’s *labor improbus* (the adjective giving a pejorative flavor) but also to express the effort required to triumph over a difficult task, even work as punishment, finally human trouble, cf. P. Boyancé, “La Religion des ‘Géorgiques’ à la lumière des travaux récents,” in *ANRW*, vol. 31, 1980, pp. 550ff.

¹⁵ A Christian epitaph of Cilicia: Μνήμα —Ιοάννου κοπιατοῦ; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 1, Limoges-Paris, 1940, pp. 30ff.

¹⁶ *IGLS* 741: κομιδῆ ἐ—κ κοινω—ν κόπων; honorific decree: εὐχρηστον καὶ σύμφορον τῇ τε πόλει μήτε κόπου φεισάμενος μήτε δαπάνης. We may compare bread that is not worked, or unfinished = to be cooked, ἄρτων

ει—ς κόπον ἄλλων (*BGU* 1858, 8) and the recipe for making silver: “Add in dried pitch until it arrives at a state of saturation” (καὶ ἔμβαλε τὴν πίσσαν τὴν ξηράν, ἕως κοπιάση, *P.Leid.* X, 5, 27, quoted by Moulton-Milligan).

¹⁷ When the apostles rose up against the generous act of Mary of Bethany, who poured out a very costly perfume on Jesus’ head, he went to her defense: “Let her be! Why do you give her trouble?” (τί αὐτῇ κόπους παρέχετε, Mark 14:6 = Matt 26:10). The man bothered by his importunate friend in the middle of the night responds μή μοι κόποις πάρεχε, “Don’t bother me = You are putting me out = You are oppressing me” (Luke 11:7); likewise the unjust judge with regard to the obstinate widow: “Since this woman is exasperating me” (διὰ γε τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην, Luke 18:5; cf. C. Spicq, “La Parabole de la Veuve obstinée et du juge inerte aux décisions impromptues,” in *RB*, 1961, pp. 68–90). With regard to Gal 6:17, “Let no one cause me trouble (κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω), for I bear in my body the marks of Jesus” (traces of whippings and mistreatment suffered in Christ’s service), M. J. Lagrange, following A. Deissmann, cites a Greek-Demotic Leiden papyrus: “Do not pursue me ... I bear the bier of Osiris . . . if such a person gives me trouble (ε—άν μοι ὁ δει—να κόπους παράσχη), I will throw it at him” (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* XIV, 15 = vol. 2, p. 132).

¹⁸ Published by P. I. Price, “Some Roman Ostraca from Egypt,” in *JJP*, vol. 9–10, 1955–56, p. 161.

¹⁹ Matt 11:28 (quoted, *IGLS* 2541): πάντες οἱ—κοπιω—ντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι. The two verbs are almost synonymous. M. J. Lagrange comments that “κοπιω—ντες beside πεφορτισμένοι means not just those who work, but those who are tired of working, which is moreover the normal sense of the word.” Here the reference would be to the weight of the Pharisaic observances which like a yoke overwhelms those who try to bear it (11:29-30; cf. Acts 15:10; Gal 5:1). They are laden like beasts of burden. Cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, p. 385.

²⁰ We know that the oral Johannine tradition is well anterior to the redaction of the Fourth Gospel, certain parts of which, moreover, were published quite early (cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 1, p. 132, n. 2; R. Gyllenberg, “Die Anfänge der johanneischen Tradition,” in *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann*, Berlin, 1954, pp. 144–147; B.P. W. Stather Hunt, *Some Johannine Problems*, London, 1958, pp. 105–123; F. M. Braun, *Jean le Théologien*, Paris, 1959, p. 21; C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, London, 1963, p. 150; W. Gericke, “Zur Entstehung des Johannesevangeliums,” in *TLZ*, 1965, col. 807–820), to the extent that it could influence Matt and Luke in the

pericope of the empty tomb (P. Benoit, “Marie Madeleine et les disciples au tombeau selon Jo. XX, 1–18,” in *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche: Festschrift J. Jeremias*, Berlin, 1960, pp. 141–152).

²¹ The ἄλλοι are often identified with Moses and the prophets. For O. Cullmann, they are the Hellenistic founders of the Christian mission (Acts 8), the reapers being Peter and John (cf. “La Samarie et les origines de la mission chrétienne,” in *Annuaire de l’Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes*, Paris, 1953, pp. 3ff. O. Cullmann, *Christology of the New Testament*, p. 184). People have also thought of Jesus and the Samaritan woman herself, but we must not forget John the Baptist and his own disciples, cf. J.A.T. Robinson, “The ‘Others’ of John IV, 38,” in K. Aland, *SE*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1959, pp. 510–515.

²² The rabbis worked to earn their living and extolled the merits of manual labor, cf. Str-B, vol. 2, pp. 745–746; B. Rigaux, *Thessaloniens*, pp. 707ff. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, pp. 3ff.; cf. G. Agrell, *Work, Toil and Sustenance: An Examination of the View of Work in the New Testament*, Lund, 1976; cf. F. Gryglewicz, “La Valeur morale du travail manuel dans la terminologie grecque de la Bible,” in *Bib*, 1956, pp. 314–337; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 377ff.

²³ 2Cor 11:23; cf. J. N. Collins, “‘Georgi’s Envoys’ in II Cor. XI, 23,” in *JBL*, 1974, pp. 88–96.

²⁴ 1Tim 4:10; cf. L. de Lorenzi, “Paul ‘Diakonos’ du Christ et des chrétiens,” in *Paul de Tarse apôtre de notre temps*, pp. 446ff.

²⁵ 1Thess 1:3 (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 10–15; R. Schippers, “The Pre-Synoptic Tradition in I Thess. II, 13–16,” in *Placita Pleiadia*, Festschrift G. Sevenster, Leiden, 1966, pp. 226ff.). The Lord declares to the church at Ephesus, “I know your works and your labor and your endurance (τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου). You have endurance, you have suffered for my Name and not grown weary (οὐ κεκοπίακας)” (Rev 2:2-3); “The Spirit says, let them (the dead who die in the Lord) rest from their labors” (ἀναπαύσονται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν, 14:13).

²⁶ 1Tim 5:17—μάλιστα οἱ—κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ. In the primitive church, “working priests” were preachers of the gospel, cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, pp. 541–543.

κοσμέω, κόσμιος

kosmeo, to put in order, adorn, prepare; *kosmios*, respectable, well ordered

kosmeo, S 2885; *TDNT* 3.867; *EDNT* 2.309; *NIDNTT* 1.521, 524, 526; MM 355–356; L&N 79.12; BAGD 445 | ***kosmios***, S 2887; *TDNT* 3.895–896; *EDNT* 2.309–313; *NIDNTT* 1.521, 524; MM 356; L&N 66.10, 88.48; BDF §59(2); BAGD 445

The denominative verb *kosmeo* —formed from *kosmos*, meaning “order, good order,” then “adornment” (Strabo 3.4.17), “ornament” (*SB* 8381, 1; 8550, 3), and “glory, honor” (*SB* 8140, 26)—always retains the fundamental meaning “to put in order,” and so “to prepare” the table (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1038 A 11), a meal (Sir 29:26; Ezek 23:41), or a lamp that someone “puts in order” by filling it with oil (Matt 25:7); to organize or finish a work (Sir 38:28). Thus the Creator not only brought beings into existence but ordered them well (Ps 104:24), made an orderly work (Sir 16:27; 42:21). What we call the cosmos (*P.Lond.* 981; vol. 3, p. 241), the universe, is the “order of the world.”¹ These wise arrangements ornament things and persons (Sir 25:1; Eccl 12:9), especially buildings; Solomon decorated the temple with precious stones;² the royal house was decorated with hangings (Esth 1:6); the unclean spirit, returning to the dwelling from which it was driven out, “finds it empty (available), swept (cleaned), decorated,” ready for the spirit to move back in;³ the scribes and Pharisees build the tombs of the prophets and adorn the monuments to the righteous, multiplying the sculptures on the facade or in the underground chambers,⁴ like Phasaël providing for the decorating of the tomb of his father Antipater, *taphon ekosmei to patri* (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.284). By “ordering the [sacred] seasons perfectly,” David set the liturgical calendar and adorned its feast-times (Sir 47:10; cf. 50:14; 2Macc 9:16). Finally, *kosmeo* is used in particular for sacred (Sir 45:12; 50:9) or royal⁵ vestments, and for women’s dress or accoutrements,⁶ as for the heavenly Jerusalem—at the same time a city and a woman—prepared like a fiancée (Rev 19:7) and adorned for her husband.⁷

Cultic regulations often specified the dress of worshipers (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 999, 2–13). Similarly, St. Paul, in prescribing the appearance of the Ephesians in their assemblies for worship, tells them “to be attired decently (*en katastole kosmio*), to adorn themselves with modesty and sobriety (*meta aidous kai sophrosynes kosmein heautas*),”⁸ just as 1Pet 3:5 set forth a model for the dress of Christian women, namely that worn by the holy women of old (“*ekosmoun heautas*, they adorned themselves”). The verb chosen—“put oneself in order”—here refers to the correctness of a well-fitted garment, in no way outlandish or provocative: Christian women should dress themselves in good taste, “appropriately.”⁹

The connection between *kosmios*, *sophron* (*sophrosyne*), and *aidos* is so constant in the Hellenistic period that it must be considered a literary

topos from Xenophon on; its point is always to emphasize conformity to the rules of decency and modesty,¹⁰ the control of attitude and bearing: beauty is joined in its possessor “with modesty and reserve, *met’ aidous kai sophrosynes*” (Xenophon, *Symp.* 1.8; cf. *Cyr.* 8.1.31); “the goal of human learning is to inspire restraint and moderation (*aido kai sophrosynen*) in the soul, virtues whose most visible manifestation is that one blushes if the occasion arises” (Philo, *Heir* 128); virtue “causes to arise and contemplate beauty that is noteworthy for its modesty and moderation (*aidous kai sophrosynes*), beauty that is unmarred, unspotted, truly pure”;¹¹ a young man dresses with modesty and restraint, *aidoi kai sophrosyne kosmeitai neos*”;¹² the prostitute can put on a decent exterior, *schema kosmion kai sophron* (*Spec. Laws* 1.102; cf. Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 4.800 f: *aner sophron kai kosmios*), but Moses expels her from the city, because she is a stranger to “decency, modesty, chastity, and the other virtues (*kosmiotetos kai aidous kai sophrosynes*).”¹³

The honorific decrees sum up the life of an honest person in two words, *zesanta kosmios* (having lived *kosmios*),¹⁴ often explicated *zesasan kosmios kai sophronos* (*MAMA* VIII, 472; cf. *I. Magn.*, 162, 6; from the first century); a physician: “for his medical art and the *kosmiotes* of his way of life” (*epi te te techne tes iatrikes kai te kosmioteti ton ethon, I. Magn.* 113, 11 = Dittenberger, *Syl.* 807). “Having lived a life that was modest and *kosmios* and praiseworthy . . . for his *kosmios* conduct” (*zesas bion aidemona kai kosmion kai axion epainou . . . epi te kosmio anastrophe, MAMA* VIII, 414, 9, 14); “having lived *kosmios* and modestly and as a paragon of virtue.”¹⁵ Similar praise is accorded women whose virtue is adorned with “restraint, moderation, decency” (Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 27), like Flavia Ammion in the first century, “on account of her virtue and the *kosmiotes* and purity of her life”;¹⁶ Ammia in the second century, “pure and moderate and adorned with all virtue in manner of life and wifely affection”;¹⁷ Appia: “moderate and *kosmios* daughter” (*thygatera sophrona kai kosmian, MAMA* VIII, 469, 4; cf. 407, 14). These virtues are like apparel that gives an air of style and distinction, *dia ten kosmiotaten autes* (Dittenberger, *Or.* 474, 9, at Pergamum). The Greeks have such a sense of beauty that they see the virtues, or perfect deportment, as a sort of ornament that enchants the eyes and stirs admiration.¹⁸ The Christians of Asia Minor would consequently have appreciated this union of the ethical and the esthetic in the exhortations of St. Paul that use the language of their contemporaries.

A slightly different connotation is present in the quality required of candidates for the *episkope*: *sophron, kosmios, philoxenon* (1Tim 3:2), which would be understood in the sense of “well-mannered, honorable, distinguished.” These men must have not only a decent life, like the women, but dignity, combining seriousness and courtesy.¹⁹ Much more so the *kosmios* man, who has a “sense of responsibility, a feeling of duty and

decency ... who is able to give each his due and does nothing but what is honest, just, and appropriate.”²⁰

A new connotation appears in Titus 2:10, where Christian slaves honor the teaching of our Savior God through their virtue, *hina ten didaskalian ... kosmosin en pasin*; that is, the doctrine that came from Christ and is preached in the church (*didaskalia*) receives from the behavior of the slaves not just new luster, the adornment that works add to the truth, but a tribute.²¹ In the first century, moreover, *kosmeo* commonly means “honor, do homage, make famous.” By raising a monument to one’s mother, one does homage to her, just as “Tabeis has adorned his very sweet mother Koudan” (*MAMA VIII*, 108). Lolla “has adorned the virtues of her ancestors by the example of her way of life”;²² one “adorns” a *gymnasion* by attracting ephebes to it;²³ a city is honored (Mic 6:9, *tis kosmesei polin*; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 326, 15; Thucydides 2.42.2) by edifices;²⁴ a province (*SEG XXIII*, 433, 2, *kosmesein Thessalian*), all Greece (*SEG I*, 329, 47), or one’s country²⁵ is adorned by sentiments worthy of one’s ancestors, city, country. Thus renown is consolidated or augmented by an irreproachable manner of life. So slaves, these *somata* or *res* at the bottom of the human hierarchy, are able, through the splendor of their conduct, to honor God and increase the attractiveness of the gospel in the hearts of pagans.²⁶

¹ The ordered world (cf. Sasse, *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 867–870). In the fifth century BC, κόσμιος “already refers to the ‘world,’ but the idea of order is still very much in evidence; it is not the world as a mere collection of beings, but as a totality structured in accord with a law (ἀνάγκη . . .) whereby each being is in solidarity with the whole and the whole with each being. The same idea of the solidarity of the elements is implied by κόσμος in Anaxagoras (*Vors.* 59 B 8) and in Plato, *Grg.* 507 e –508 a” (J.Jouanna, *Hippocrate, La Nature de l’homme*, Berlin, 1975, p. 274); cf. G. S. Kirk, *Heraclitus: The Cosmic Fragments*, 2d ed., Cambridge, 1965, pp. 311–314.

² 2Chr 3:6; cf. Rev 21:19; U. Jart, “The Precious Stones in the Revelation of St. John XXI, 18–21,” in *ST*, 1970, pp. 150–181.

³ Matt 12:44; Luke 11:25; cf. Josephus, *War* 3.79: “a wall adorned with towers”; the broom is called κόσμητρος. In the sense of furnish (cf. Diodorus Siculus 17.93.2; 17.100.4; 17.108.1) and put in order (17.87.4).

⁴ Matt 23:29; Philo, *To Gaius* 157: “Augustus adorned our sanctuary with a very expensive votive plaque.” Cf. the epitaph of the architect Harpalos “who decorated the very long walls of the temples, who set up high columns in the porticos” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 23, 5; with the editor’s comments, pp. 130–131). “Seven times Hermeias extended the

hundred cubits' length to decorate [the temple of] Hibis with this stone pavement" (SB 8688, 2 = SEG VIII, 795); Philo, *Unchang. God* 150: "that which decorates the dwelling or tomb of the soul"; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1050, 6; SEG IX, 5, 20. J. Jeremias, *Heiliger Gräber in Jesu Umwelt*, Göttingen, 1958; J. Duncan M. Derrett, "You Build the Tombs of the Prophets," in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 4, pp. 187–193.

⁵ Cf. Menahem arrayed in royal robes, ε—σθῆτί τε βασιλικῆ κεκοσμημένος (Josephus, *War* 2.444).

⁶ Jdt 10:3; 12:15; Jer 4:30; Ep Jer 11; Ezek 16:11, 13; 23:40. Epitaph of Politta, at Memphis: "Where are the robes, where are the gold jewels with which my father adorned me?" (E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 96, 8); a *proskynema* in honor of Harmachis: "Clothes, not arms, are our adornment" (SB 8447, 9); ε—ν κοσμοίσις γυνηκείσις (*P.Ness.* 33, 21); *P.Oxy.* 1901, 65; SB 9763, 6, 16. —The noun κόσμος refers to the ordering, hence the beauty, that is in evidence on a person. "Daughters of Israel, weep for Saul, who adorned you beautifully (μετὰ κόσμον) with scarlet, who enhanced your finery with golden adornments (κόσμος)" 2Sam 1:24; in the third century AD, a woman had the privilege of being honored for being a mother, τω— κόσμῳ τῆς εὐπαιδείας εὐτυχήσασα (*P.Oxy.* 1467, 11). Cf. H. Diller, "Der vorphilosophische Gebrauch von κόσμος und κοσμεί—ν," in *Festschrift Bruno Snell*, Munich, 1956, pp. 47–60.

⁷ Rev 21:2 (cf. J. Comblin, "La Liturgie de la nouvelle Jérusalem," in *ETL*, 1953, pp. 5–40); Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. et Clit.* 3.7.5: ὡσπερ —Αἰδωνει— νύμφη κεκοσμημένη; *T. Jud.* 12.1: κοσμηθει—σα κόσμῳ νυμφικῶ—; *Jos. Asen.* 4.2: "His parents saw Aseneth adorned like a divine bride."

⁸ 1Tim 2:9. Καταστολή (NT hapax; cf. Isa 61:3) is used for customs and way of life (*Ep. Arist.* 284), for dress and appearance (Josephus, *War* 2.126). A Syracusan law prescribed: τὰς γυναι—κας μὴ κοσμεί—σθαι χρυσῶ— μηδ ἄνθινά φορεί—ν μηδ ε—σθῆτας ἔχειν πορφυρά—ς ε—χούσας παρυφάς (Athenaeus 12.521 b).

⁹ Before the formation of the world, the elements behaved without reason or moderation, but then the All was arranged (Plato, *Tim.* 53 a). "A woman's conversation would be too free if she had only the reserve of a decent man" (Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.4.17.1277b). In the material sense of the word: "All the young girls should dress richly and walk in solemn procession" (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephes.* 1.2.2); *T. Jud.* 13.5: ε—κόσμησεν αὐτήν ε—ν χρυσίῳ καὶ μαργαρίταις; *T. Jos.* 9, 5. Cf. children prepared with care, κοσμίως εἰ—στήκεσαν (Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 13.1).

¹⁰ Cf. Athenaeus 1.38 = 21 b: “A constant concern of the ancients was to dress themselves in accord with the rules (κοσμίως).”

¹¹ Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 124. Cf. *MAMA* VII, 258, 5: εἰ—κόνα σωφροσύνης καὶ αἰ—δοῦς; *GVI*, n. 1575, 1: σωφροσύνας αἰ—δοῦς τε ε—τύμου χάριν, ὦ μάκαρ Ἑρμα— (first-second century).

¹² Philo, *Change of Names* 217; Moschion, evoking his past: ἦν κόσμιος = I was a proper boy (Menander, *Sam.* 18); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 796 B 26: νεανίαν κόσμιον καὶ σώφρονα καὶ πάση ἀρετῇ ε—ν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ βίου (Athens, around AD 40); L. Robert, *Documents*, pp. 81ff. Cf. Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 1.20: “Even with a well-born man, with well-ordered mores (περὶ ἄνθρωπον κόσμιον καὶ τεταγμένον), one would not allow for such irregularity of movement.” A maxim of Delphic wisdom from the third century BC, found in Afghanistan: “Παι—ς ὦν κόσμιος γίνου—while you are a child, be well-mannered; as a young man, master of yourself; in mid-life, just; when old, of good counsel; at your death, without grief” (*NCIG*, n. 37 B).

¹³ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.51; cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, pp. 414ff.

¹⁴ *MAMA* VIII, 473 and 480; R. Noll, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften*, Vienna, 1962, n. 84; *IGLAM*, n. 1121: Πόπλιος Βετούριος Προσδόκιμος ζήσας κοσμίως ἔτη.... G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 12, 12: σώφρονά τε καὶ κόσμιον βίον; n. 13, 13.

¹⁵ Ζήσαντα κοσμίως καὶ αἰ—δημόνως καὶ πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς, *MAMA* VIII, 490, 9; cf. 412, c 5; other examples in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, p. 223; “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1966, p. 435, n. 465.

¹⁶ —Ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον κοσμιότητος τε καὶ ἀγνεΐας, H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica*, vol. 2, n. 11, 7; *PSI* 97, 1.

¹⁷ Ἀγνήν καὶ σώφρονα καὶ κεκοσμημένην πάση ἀρετῇ ἤθεσι καὶ φιλανδρίᾳ, H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica*, vol. 2, n. 24, 5–10. Cf. the epigram of Artemisia in the second century, “She whose decency (κοσμία) distinguished her among the Muses and among women” (*I.Thas.* 333). — The word εὐκοσμία is unknown in the NT; the *gynaikonomos* was in charge of overseeing the appropriate dress of women and their public behavior (cf. J. Aubonnet, *Aristote: Politique*, II, 2, Paris, 1973, p. 309, n. 2, on *Pol.* 6.8.22.1322b). Concerning this censor of feminine *eukosmia*, cf. *P.Hib.* 196 (with the commentary of J. Bingen, “Le Papyrus du

gynéconome,” in *ChrEg*, 1957, pp. 337–339); *I.Thas.*, n. 141, 154, 155 (C. Wehrli, “Les Gynéconomes,” in *MusHelv*, 1962, pp. 33–38).

¹⁸ Apollo is the god bedecked by all the virtues, τὸν πάσαις ται—ς ἀρεται—ς κεκοσμημένον θεὸν —Απόλλωνα (Ps.-Plutarch, *De mus.* 14). Xenophon, ἀπάσαις τε συλλήβδην κεκοσμημένον ἀρεται—ς (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp.* 4); Eleazar, πάση τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένος (3Macc 7:1); Tata, at Aphrodisias, ἀρετῇ σωφροσύνη κεκοσμημένην (*MAMA VIII*, 492, c 24; cf. 407, 14; 499, c 8; I, 228, 4; *PSI* 151, 1). The formulation adopted by Jews and Christians: “I praise the man adorned with all virtue, Aurelios Bellichos” (L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, *IGLS*, 306, 1; cf. 1118, 2). “Here lies the most gracious and mourned deaconess, ἡ κοσμοιότατη καὶ πενθουμένη διακόνεσσα” (*I.Cor.* VIII, 3, n. 629).

¹⁹ Cf. Epictetus 4.9.17: “Rather than being disorderly, you shall be orderly”; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 3.31 = 176.11: “their ways become excellent and orderly, χρηστοὶ καὶ κόσμιοι”; Lucian, *Bis Acc.* 17: κόσμιον ἄνθρωπον καὶ σώφρονα. At Magnesium, Moschion: ἄνδρα φιλότειμον καὶ ε—νάρετον καὶ ἀπὸ προγόνων εὐσχήμονα καὶ ἦθει καὶ ἀγωγῇ κόσμιον (*I.Magn.*, 164, 3; republished Dittenberger, *Or.* 485); at Paros (*IG XII*, 5, 314).

²⁰ J. M. Jacques, *Ménandre: La Samienne*, Paris, 1971, p. xxx, who for the definition of *kosmios* refers to H. J. Mette, “Moschion ὁ κόσμιος,” in *Hermès*, 1969, pp. 432–439. We may recall that in Crete *kosmos* is the title of an official charged with keeping order (*I.Cret.*, vol. 2, p. 56; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 524, 1–2), called *kosmeter* at Itanos. At Pergamum, he oversees the good conduct of young women, οἱ—ε—πὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῶ—ν παρθένων (*I.Perg.* 463 B); this official is often mentioned in *I.Did.* (cf. p. 356, on this word). The Egyptian *kosmetes* is a liturgical official in the metropolises, the organizer of festivities (*BGU* 362, 7, 21; 14, 7; 19, 5; *SB* 1569, 5; 9839, 3; cf. the bibliography in E. Bernand, *Fayoum*, vol. 1, p. 34). At Athens, the person with this title was the head of the ephobic college, in charge of its material and moral direction, keeping good order and harmony among the young people, seeing to their education, knowing how to exhort them (A. Dumont, *Essai sur l'éphébie attique*, Paris, 1876, pp. 166ff.; C. Pelekidis, *Ephébie attique*, pp. 104ff.).

²¹ Cf. Plutarch, *De gen.* 13: “confirming a noble doctrine through noble deeds, ἔργοις καλοῖ—ς καλὰ δόγματα βεβαιω—ν”; and the rabbinic idea whereby people embellish God by keeping the commandments (*Mek.* on Exod 15:2; cf. *b. Pe'a* 15b). Epictetus 3.1.26: “the reasonable element, that is the superior element within you that you must adorn and embellish.” Philo, *Creation* 139: “The Logos of God is worth more than beauty itself, which is beauty in nature, because it is not adorned by beauty (οὐ

κοσμούμενος κάλλει), being in itself, so to speak, the adornment of this beauty and the most beautiful thing.”

²² Κεκοσμηκυ—αν καὶ τὰς τω—ν προγόνων ἀρετὰς τοι—ς ἰ—δίοις τω—ν τρόπων ὑποδείγμασι. An honorific decree, cited by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, p. 226; cf. Musonius, frag. 9: the virtues honor their possessor, αἰ—παροῦσαι τε κοσμεῖ—ν καὶ ὠφελει—ν πεφύκασι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ε—παινετὸν ἀποφαίνειν καὶ εὐκλεῆ; *P.Thead.* 14, 18; *Sib. Or.* 3.426: “He will greatly exalt the combatants.” The monk John, writing to Abbé George in the fourth century: “I salute our highly honored mother community, τὴν κοσμιωτάτην κοινὴν μητέρα” (*P.Fouad* 88, 12); cf. Μαρία ἡ κοσμιωτάτη (*P.Ness.* 188, 6); *PSI* 839, 1.

²³ Κοσμήσαντα τὰ γυμνάσια ε—φήβοις, *I.Car.* 172, 15 (with the commentary of L. Robert on this text); τὸ γυμνάσιον ε—κόσμησε (*I.Priene*, 112, 114; from AD 84); *P.Oslo* 85, 14; *P.Oxy.* 2477, 7; 3088, 10–11: in AD 128, the prefect Flavius Titianus congratulates a benefactor for adorning and honoring the city (τὴν πατρίδα κοσμεῖ—ν) by building baths for it (κατασκευάζειν τὸ βαλανει—ον). Cf. Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 20: “the sanctuary is adorned with rich offerings.” *I.Lind.* II A 3 (= Dittenberger, *Syl.* 725; cf. 1100, 21).

²⁴ At Nisa, in Lycia, someone willed half of his fortune to his city, ὡς ἀπὸ προσόδου ἔργοις κοσμηθῆναι (cited by J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1973, p. 173, n. 453). Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 5.802 b; *Cic.* 24.7.

²⁵ Κοσμεῖ—ν τὴν πατρίδα recurs frequently in honorific decrees, cf. *I.Did.* 343, 18; cf. *I.Priene* 105, 36; texts cited by L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 349.

²⁶ Cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, pp. 682ff.

κρύπτη

krypte, hidden or secret place

krypte, S 2926; *TDNT* 3.957–1000; *EDNT* 2.322; MM 361; L&N 28.78; BAGD 454

This substantive is a biblical hapax whose meaning cannot be precisely determined. It appears for the first time in the third century BC in two analogous “architectural” texts. Callixenus, *Alex.* 1: “Walls and

windows surrounded the 'crypto-portico' on every side";¹ *PSI 547*, 18 gives a list of parts of a house (doors, windows, etc.), adding "the crypt (i.e., cellar) similarly plastered."² In the first century, Strabo mentions that "before the entrance there are crypts, numerous and long" (*prokeintai de ton eisodon kryptai tines makrai kai pollai*, 17.1.37); and Josephus says that "Castor and his companions set the tower afire and jumped through the flames into the vault beneath it."³ From these data the conclusion is drawn that *krypte* means an underground chamber or vault, a cellar, a covered passageway, a hidden corner or corridor; but none of these meanings seems to fit the Gospel text.

According to Luke 11:33, "No one lights a lamp to put it in the cellar (?) or under the bushel (*eis krypten tithesin oude hypo ton modion*)⁴ but on the lampstand (*all' epi ten lychnian*) so that those who come in see the brightness." The Jewish lamp (*lychnos*, Hebrew *ner*), made of terra-cotta, is a small oil receptacle with a wick. It is placed on a wooden or bronze lampstand (*lychnia*, Hebrew *menôrâh*) so that from a goodly height the flame can illuminate the whole room.⁵ This useful arrangement is contrasted with putting the lamp under a bushel,⁶ where the light would be useless. The *modios* is not a vessel for grain but a small piece of furniture, a sort of tub in the form of a truncated cone whose base is supported by three or four feet and which contains the wheat supply needed for the household. It can be used as a table or a plate.⁷ The purpose of the light being to illuminate, hiding it by placing it under a piece of furniture would be useless.

In fact, Luke 11:33 is a doublet of Luke 8:16, which is more explicit: "No one, after lighting a lamp, hides it under a vase (*kalyptei auton skeuei*) or places it under a bed."⁸ Most likely the verb *kalypto* was used first and gave rise to *krypte*, whose meaning it specifies; that meaning is preserved in Gos. Thom. 33: "For no one lights a lamp (and) puts it under a bushel, nor does he put it in a hidden place, but he puts it upon the lampstand, so that all who go in and come out may see its light."⁹ At least if we are not to envision a Greco-Roman dwelling, this *krypte* cannot be a cellar; an ordinary Palestinian home did not have one. We might well identify it with "the niche opened up in a wall where objects were packed in,"¹⁰ or as we would say today, "in the cupboard." Finally, the most correct translation seems to be "in a nook."

Be that as it may, the light of Luke 11:33 is Christ himself and his teaching, which appear with the best possible visibility. In Matt 5:15, the light is that of the disciples; they radiate the light of revelation, taking care not to hide it.¹¹

¹ Τοῦ δ ὑπερωροῦ κρύπτη φραγμοί—ς καὶ θυρίσι περιεχομένη πάντοθεν, ed. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 1849, p. 56.

² Καὶ τὴν κρύπτην ὁμοίαν τῷ— κονιάματι. The third century BC papyrus was noted by Moulton-Milligan; today it apparently remains the only papyrological attestation.

³ *War* 5.330. The form in Athenaeus 205 a is the feminine of κρυπτός.

⁴ Οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον is omitted by P45, P75, Sinaitic Syriac, Sahidic, Armenian, some miniscules, etc.

⁵ Cf. J. Toutain, “Lucerna (λύχνος),” in *DAGR*, vol. 3, 2, pp. 1320–1339; E. Saglio, “Candelabrum (λύχνιον, λυχνία),” *ibid.*, vol. 1, 2, pp. 869–875. J. Jeremias (“Die Lampe unter dem Scheffel,” in *ZNW*, 1940, pp. 237–240, reprinted in *Abba*, pp. 99–102), cites several rabbinic texts that mention that on the Sabbath day it is permitted to move a new lamp but not an old one (*m. shabb.* 3.5), to turn over a pot on the lamp so that it cannot ignite the beams (*m. shabb.* 16.7), to straighten up a lampstand on a feast day (*m. Besa* 2.6), to turn over a kind of jar on the coals gathered from the altar (*m. Tamid* 5.5).

⁶ Μόδιος, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 9.85: “The *saton* is equal to one and a half Italian *modii*”; *b. B. Qam.* 6d .

⁷ A. Dupont-Sommer, “Note archéologique sur le proverbe évangélique: Mettre la lampe sous le boisseau,” in *Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud*, Paris, 1939, pp. 789–794.

⁸ M. J. Lagrange notes on Mark 4:21 that κλίνη here is a table rather than a bed. Bushel and bed are both associated in the little parable of the lamp in Mark 4:21, while Matt 5:15, which mentions only the bushel, seems to depend on a written source common to Matt and Luke 11:33. On the question of literary or oral dependence, cf. L. Vaganay, “L’Etude d’un doublet dans la parabole de la lampe (Mc. IV, 21; Lc. VIII, 16; Lc. XI, 33; Mt. V, 15)” in *Le Problème synoptique*, Tournai, 1954, pp. 426–442; G. Schneider, “Das Bildwort von der Lampe: Zur Traditionsgeschichte eines Jesus-Wortes,” in *ZNW*, 1970, pp. 183–209; F. Hahn, “Die Worte vom Licht Lk. XI, 33–36,” in P. Hoffmann, *Orientierung an Jesus*, Freiburg, 1973, pp. 107–138.

⁹ Trans. B. M. Metzger in Kurt Aland, ed., *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, Stuttgart, 1976, p. 522.

¹⁰ P. Joüon, *L’Evangile de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1930.

¹¹ J. D. M. Derrett, “The Lamp Which Must Not Be Hidden (Mk. IV, 21),” in *Law in the NT*, pp. 189–207.

κυριακός

kyriakos, belonging to the emperor; belonging to the Lord

kyriakos, S 2960; *TDNT* 3.1095–1096; *EDNT* 2.328–331; *NIDNTT* 2.510, 518; MM 364; L&N 12.10; BDF §113(2); BAGD 458

A. Deissmann noted that the adjective *kyriakos* is not a biblical word,¹ but it is frequently attested in secular Greek. St. Paul and St. John borrowed it from the commonly used, official language: “concerning the emperor” or better “belonging to the emperor”; it derives from *kyrios* in the sense of “possessor.”²

Its first known occurrence is in the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander, 6 June 68: “knowing that it also suits the emperor’s accounts (*tais kyriakais psephois*) that those who are able should carry out these activities of their own volition, zealously”;³ “that in no case shall free men be kept in any prison at all, at least if they are not malefactors, nor in the *praktoreion*, with the exception of debtors to the imperial accounts, *opheilontes eis ton kyriakon logon*” (ibid., line 18); these debtors to the state or to the imperial finances are payable to the proprietor.

The *kyriakos logos* is constantly mentioned in the papyri,⁴ as is *kyriakos phiskos* in the inscriptions.⁵ But this adjective is used with many other terms,⁶ notably to lands on which the *fiscus* is payable (*kyriake ge*; *P.Giss.* 48, 8; *P.Petaus* 25, 20), over against *ousiake ge*.⁷ To the examples supplied by Moulton-Milligan, we might add *ta kyriaka ktemata* (property, *P.Oxf.* 3, 4), *te pros ta kyriaka pragmata epimeleia* (business, *P.Brem.* 37, 10), *tas kyriakas misthoseis* (rents, *P.Mich.* 174, 9), *proteron ousa hypo kyriakon chorton* (pasture, *P.Mich.* 620, 76), *kyriakos oinos* (wine, *P.Oxy.* 1578, 7), *apophora en te tautes kratesei kai kyreiake apophora ton periteinomenon* (payment, *SB* 6951, 28; cf. 9050, col. V, 12; from the first-second century); “whatever the sum we are assessed for the *fiscus*, we pay it” (*P.Oxy.* 2562, 10).

It is clearly in a much loftier sense of the word that 1Cor 11:20 notes that to participate in the Eucharist without practicing brotherly love “is not to eat the Lord’s Supper, *ouk estin kyriakon deipnon phagein*.” Rather, it is a private meal, one that no longer has the spirit of the liturgical act that was instituted by the Lord and remains consecrated to him. This formula was the inspiration for an inscription on a eucharistic table: *Hygiainon phage kyriakon (deipnon)*” (*SB* 7265). Pagan texts mention the *hagia kyriake*,⁸

and in ecclesiastical language *to kyriakos (oikion)* seems to mean “the house of the Lord,” the church.⁹

Sunday is mentioned in this way in Rev 1:10—“I was in the Spirit on the *kyriake hemera*” (*egenomen en pneumati en te kyriake hemera*).¹⁰ To this compare this tomb inscription from the seventh century: “God’s servant fell asleep at the tenth hour, at the dawning of the Lord’s Day, the day of the resurrection of Christ” (*hora dekate diaphaousais kyriakes tais anastaseos tou Christou*, SB 7564, 15); and in pagan texts, *Sebaste* refers to the day of the emperor, when his birthday was celebrated. This was a way of specifying a precise date, for example: “In the twentieth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, in the month of August, on the day of *Sebaste*.”¹¹ But in the Christian religion, the Lord’s Day is the one that is set aside for him.

¹ The reading Ἀδαρ λέγεται τῆ κυριακῆ φωνῆ (2Macc 15:36) in Alexandrinus is to be rejected; all the other manuscripts have τῆ Συριακῆ φωνῆ, “the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, called Adar in Syriac (Aramaic),” cf. R. Hanjart, *Maccabaeorum liber II*, Göttingen, 1959, pp. 17, 115. On Mordecai’s day, cf. H. Bardtke, “Der Mardochäustag,” in *Tradition und Glaube: Festgabe K. G. Kuhn*, Göttingen, 1971, pp. 97–116.

² Cf. *P.Oxy.* 1461, 10: ε—ν κτήσει κυριακῆ (third century); *IGLS* 650, 6: “ε—ποίησεν ε—αυτω— ε—κ τω—ν κυριακω—ν, built this tomb for himself at his masters’ expense.” Cf. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 217ff.; *Light*, pp. 76, 358ff.; H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 64.

³ Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 13 = *BGU* 1563, 35; translated G. Chalon, *T. Julius Alexander*, p. 101, n. 2, who says that “κυριακαὶ ψῆφοι means *rationes fisci*,” the imperial finances.

⁴ *BGU* 1564, 9; 1576, 10; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 88; 2, 15, 31; *P.Dura* 26, 26; *P.Mich.* 174, 13; 423, 27; 623, 17; *SB* 9541, 9; *Stud.Pal.* XXII, 177, 18. *O.Wilck.* I, p. 645.

⁵ —Ἐπὶ ὁ ε—νθάψας δώσι τω— κυριακω— φίσκω (*I.Car.*, n. 114, 4; cf. 102, 5; 106, 5; 107, 6; 108, 12; 116, 3; republished, with the exception of the last three, from *MAMA* VI, 135; 131; 128) or ε—πεὶ ἀποτείσει εἰ—ς τὸν κυριακὸν φίσκον (*I.Car.* 105, 5; 110, 4; 113, 4; 117, 2; 164, 11 = *MAMA* VI, 129, 130, 141, 142, 141 a).

⁶ N. Hohlwein, *Termes techniques*, p. 301.

⁷ Cf. C. Préaux, *Economie royale*, p. 621, under “Terre royale.”

⁸ *P.Ant.* 91, 5: “every day, except for τῆς ἁγίας κυριακῆς καὶ τῶ—ν μεγάλων ε—ορτῶ—ν”; *PSI* 932, 11: ἁγίας κυριακῆς ε—ν δημοσίῳ τόπῳ (sixth century). On the invitations to the banquet (the *kline*) of “Lord Sarapis,” *P.Oxy.* 110, 2; 523, 2; 1484, 3; 1755, 3; 2592 (cf. *ZPE*, vol. 1, 1967, p. 121); 2678; *P.Oslo* 157; *P.Yale* 85 (F. Dunand, *Le Culte d’Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, Leiden, 1973, vol. 3, pp. 209ff.; H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, pp. 487–509; cf. A. J. Festugière, *Monde gréco-romain*, vol. 2, pp. 172ff.).

⁹ *P.Oxy.* 903, 19: “when I had gone out to the church at Sambatho” (καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα εἰ—ς τὸ κυριακὸν ε—ν Σαμβαθῶ); 21: “Why did you go to the church?” (διὰ τί ἀπῆλθας εἰ—ς τὸ κυριακόν); *PSI* 843, 15: ἵνα μὴ ἀτέλεστον ὑπολύσωμεν (?) τὸ κυριακόν (sixth century). A rescript of Maximinus in 313 regarding Christians: “Let them be allowed to build their own churches, τὰ κυριακὰ δὲ τὰ οἰ—κει—α” (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 9.10.10). F. J. Dölger, “Kirche’ als Name für den christlichen Kultbau,” in *Antike und Christentum*, vol. 4, 1941, pp. 161–195.

¹⁰ Cf. *Did.* 14.1: καθ ἡμέραν δὲ κυρίου (cf. J. B. Audet, *La Didaché*, Paris, 1958, pp. 460ff.). Without the substantive in *Gos. Pet.* 35: “in the night in which the Lord’s Day shone forth” (τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ἠ—ε—πέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακή), 50: “early on the Lord’s Day,” (ὄρθου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς). Cf. S. V. McCasland, “The Origin of the Lord’s Day,” in *JBL*, 1930, pp. 65–82; W. Rordorf, *Der Sonntag*, Zurich, 1962, pp. 203ff. Idem, *Sabbat et Dimanche dans l’église ancienne*, Neuchâtel, 1972, p. 44, 63; 77, 1; 84, 5; 88, 1; 113, 7; 129, 1; 135, 79–82.

¹¹ Μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ Σεβαστῆ (*P.Meyer* 36, 6). *I.Perg.*, n. 374 B 4: μηνὸς Καίσαρος Σεβαστῆ; 8: μηνὸς Πανήμου Σεβαστῆ; D 10: μενὸς Λῶου Σεβαστῆ; *SB* 9589, 15: τοῦ Παρμουῦθι μηνὸς καθ ε—κάστην κυριακῆν. Cf. *O.Wilck.* I, pp. 812ff. H. H. Hobbs, *Preaching Values from the Papyri*, Grand Rapids, 1964, pp. 76–78.

κύριος, κυριεύω

kyrios, master, lord, Lord, sir; *kyrieuo*, to be master, take possession of, possess

kyrios, S 2962; *TDNT* 3.1039–1095; *EDNT* 2.328–331; *NIDNTT* 2.508–520; *MM* 365–366; *L&N* 12.9, 37.51, 53.62, 57.12, 87.53, 87.56; *BDF* §§5(3a), 188(2), 254(1), 268(2), 147(3); *BAGD* 458–460 | ***kyrieuo***, S

2961; TDNT 3.1097; EDNT 2.328; NIDNTT 2.510, 518; MM 364–365; L&N 37.50; BDF §177; BAGD 458; ND 5.74

The substantive *kyrios*, “master, legal representative, sir,” was formed in the fourth century BC from the substantivized adjective *to kyrion*, “master of, having authority, sovereign,” from which it is barely distinguishable.¹ The first meaning of this adjective is “having power”; “taste for the beautiful and irresistible might” (*dynamin kyrioteron*, Pindar, *Ol.* 1.168), whether it is a matter of self-control,² of being master of a city (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 6.8.2) and governing it,³ of successful politics (Demosthenes, *Chers.* 8.69), and especially being head of an estate: “My mother no longer had power (*kyria*) over her property to give me what she would have liked.”⁴ The second meaning is “decisive, regular, important, principal,”⁵ “highest of all” (*Ep. Arist.* 2), such as an “appointed day” (Euripides, *Or.* 48) or a day “marked by a new birth” (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 766), official (*P.Princ.* 165, 10) or a “decisive opinion, because we rely on numerous authorities” (Plato, *Leg.* 1.638 *d*). Hence it is used for authorized witnesses (*Phlb.* 67 *b*; *Symp.* 218 *d*), and the meaning “valid” occurs constantly in the papyri,⁶ notably with the present imperative *esto*, whether regarding a stipulation (*P.Fouad* 38, 10), a security deposit (20, 11; *P.Mert.* 98, 18; *P.Oxy.* 3204, 26), a proxy (*P.Phil.* 16, 8, *epitropike*), an agreement (*P.Fouad* 33, 34; *P.Stras.* 399, 13), a receipt,⁷ a sale,⁸ a contract,⁹ a will (*P.Wisc.* 13, 9, *diatheke*; *P.Köln* 100,18; *P.Col.* VII, n. 188, 25; *SB* 10756, 18), an act of cession (*parachoresis*, *BGU* 1738, 29; *P.Wisc.* 9, 30), a deposition (*cheirographia*),¹⁰ a lease (*misthosis*),¹¹ or any written act: *to gramma*,¹² *he graphe kyria* (*SB* 11248, 63, 102).

The substantive *kyrios* refers to the one who commands, a boss, a master,¹³ notably the owner of a slave,¹⁴ but also the master of a household (Menander, *Dysk.* 73, 98), the head of a family (*P.Oxy.* 288, 36), the head and master of inhabitants (Plutarch, *Arat.* 50.9; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.54), an officeholder (prophet, priest, scribe, *C.Ord.Ptol.* 43, 2; *P.Köln* 85, 1), the owner of a ship (*BGU* 1932, 11) or of real estate.¹⁵ This is the sense of “the master of the house” (*ho kyrios tes oikias*) in Mark 13:35 (cf. *P.Tebt.* 5, 147: *tous kyrious ton oikion*).

In Greek and Egyptian law, a wife or daughter is assisted by a legal guardian, a tutor (*ho kyrios*),¹⁶ which would indicate a different legal capacity for women than for men; but the documents vary a great deal. Sometimes it is specified that the woman contracts “with a guardian” (*meta kyriou*, *P.Aberd.* 30, 4; 65, 1; *P.Alex.* 7, 8), sometimes “without guardian” (*choris kyriou*¹⁷ or *aneu kyriou* [*BGU* 2070, 6], *me echousa kyrion* [*P.Stras.* 241, 5]). This legal meaning does not occur in the Bible.

As a common title of courtesy, *kyrios* is used for a speaker (as the French still say *maître*, cf. English *mister*; Epictetus 3.23.11, 3.23.19; cf. 4.1.57; *BGU* 2190, 1: *to megaloprepestato kyrio Phoibammoni magisteri*),

a physician (2.15.15; 3.10.15), a soothsayer (2.7.9), a philosopher (3.22.38). It becomes the equivalent of the English “sir” (*P.Wisc.* 21, 5, 12; *P.Brem.* 12, 20 and 27; *P.Phil.* 33, 17; *P.Oslo* 49, 10; *P.Laur.* 39, 10; 41, 1; 107, 5; *P.Genova* 70, 1, 4; 84, 1) or “madam” (*P.Oxy.* 3313, 28: “we wish you good health, madam,” *errosthai se euchometha, kyria*) as when the cithara player Nero addresses his audience, “Sirs (*kyrioi mou*), hear me favorably” (Dio Cassius 61.20.1). Much more respect is implied, however, when the word is used for superiors, a *strategos* or the prefect¹⁸—as we use “Excellency”—and when used for members of the same family it takes on connotations of affection, even veneration. It is used by a son to his father (*to patri kai kyrio pleista chairein*),¹⁹ by a son or daughter to a venerated mother (*te kyria mou metri*),²⁰ to a husband,²¹ a brother,²² a sister,²³ even a son (*P.Oxy.* 123, 1 and 24; *P.Mich.* 510, 1).

With its meanings “lord” and “master,” *kyrios* inevitably took on a religious meaning.²⁴ Pindar already terms Zeus “*kyrios* of all.”²⁵ In the Hellenistic period, *kyrios* is the constant epithet with sovereign divinities, notably Isis (“I have come to find our divine Lady Isis”)²⁶ and Sarapis,²⁷ but also for all the other gods—Hermes (*P.Giss.* 85, 6; *SB* 10278,5), Artemis (*BGU* 535, 9), Soknopaios,²⁸ etc.—to the point that Brutus can say, “I am neither king nor god” by saying *oute basileus oute kyrios* (Plutarch, *Brut.* 30.3).

In effect, we can say that in the Orient “Lord” always expresses royal dignity,²⁹ connoting the dependency of subjects or vassals in submission to the sovereign.³⁰ In the fourteenth century BC, the Amarna letters call Pharaoh “lord” (*bêlu*) and his vassal “servant” (*ardu*); he is master of people and lands.³¹ In Egypt, the Ptolemies, as successors of the Pharaohs, inherit their divine character: Ptolemy XII is “the Lord King God” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 186, 8), and Ptolemy XIV and Cleopatra are *hoi kyrioi theoi megisthoi*.³² At Rome, the emperor was divinized.³³ Augustus was called *theos kai kyrios kaisar Autokrator* in 12 BC;³⁴ his successors almost always retained the title *kyrios*, especially Nero: “Nero, lord of the whole world” (*ho tou pantos kosmou kyrios Neron*).³⁵ The word not only expresses sovereignty and majesty but also, in connection with the idea of divinity, suggests to the whole world that Caesar the beneficent god (*SB* 9735) and Roman savior, and he alone, dominates the whole world. Oaths were sworn *per genium Caesaris*.

In the LXX, the commonplace meanings of *kyrios* are again found: “master of a household” (Judg 19:22-23), “owner” of a bull (Exod 21:28-29; 22:10-15), of a cistern (21:34), or of a slave (21:4-6, 8; Judg 19:11-12; cf. Gen 39:1-4, 8, 16); and especially the courtesy title, with nuances ranging from simple “sir” for a person not known by name (Gen 24:18; 31:35) to “Your Excellency.”³⁶ It is the formal term for the sovereign (“My lord the king”)³⁷ who is God’s anointed (1Sam 26:23; 2Sam 1:14, 16).

The great innovation of the LXX is on the religious level. On the one hand, it uses *kyrios* to translate not only the Hebrew 'adôn, 'a<^>donay, Aramaic *mare'*, but especially the divine tetragrammaton (YHWH), so that the term for the God of Israel is "Lord."³⁸ He himself affirms, "I am the Lord" (*ego eimi Kyrios*).³⁹ On the other hand, "theology" is elaborated in terms of this sovereignty of a powerful, transcendent God who must be feared and loved. His throne is in the heavens (Ps 103:19; Sir 1:8). He is the Most High (*Kyrios hypsistos*, Ps 97:9; Sir 26:16; 50:19; Dan 2:19), whose glory abides forever (Exod 16:7, 10; Num 14:10; Hab 2:14; Ezek 8:4; Ps 104:31; 138:5), the Lord God Almighty.⁴⁰ He has servants⁴¹ to whom he gives his orders (*prostagmata*)⁴² and who call upon him as *despota kyrie* (Jdt 11:10; Isa 10:33; Jonah 4:3; Dan 9:15; Sir 23:1; 2Macc 15:4; cf. Philo, *To Gaius* 286; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.90) or as "Lord King"⁴³ who reigns forever (Exod 15:18; Ps 146:10), the equivalent of "Lord and God" (Jer 31:18; Bar 2:27; 3:6). It is insisted that he is "the Lord God of the gods" (Ps 50:1; 95:3; 96:4), "the Lord is great, our Lord is greater than all the gods."⁴⁴ This is not only a confession of his transcendence but a proclamation that he is unique—in a world (first of all Alexandrian) which bowed down before so many other *kyrioi* both flesh and blood and wood or metal.

In the NT, the secular meanings of *kyrios* are again found,⁴⁵ notably as an expression of respect and a formal address,⁴⁶ but especially the designation of God as Lord of heaven and earth (Matt 11:25; Luke 10:21; cf. Acts 17:24), the God of Israel,⁴⁷ the master of times (Mark 13:20; Acts 1:24; 2:47) and of people (Luke 1:28, 38; 2Thess 3:16). He must be served (Rom 12:11; 2Tim 2:24) and pleased (1Cor 7:32, 34; Eph 5:10); his work must be done (1Cor 16:10). He is unique ("one Lord," Eph 4:5), and when his power and sovereignty are exalted, he is obviously thereby contrasted with falsely divinized sovereigns.⁴⁸

The chief innovation of the NT—because it founds the new religion—is the application of this title to Jesus, and that straightforwardly as a royal and messianic title.⁴⁹ It is not easy to know what meaning the word had on the lips of those who were asking him for a miracle,⁵⁰ although the Canaanite woman adds "Son of David" (Matt 15:22; 20:30). In any event, strangers, disciples,⁵¹ and apostles⁵² always address Jesus as Lord, and the Master acknowledged the fitness of this title: "You call me Master and Lord, and you are right; that is what I am."⁵³ In the eschatological parables, given at the end of his career, Jesus presents himself as king: "You do not know when your Lord will come" (Matt 24:42). After Easter morning, Mary Magdalene calls him "Rabboni,"⁵⁴ and the apostle Thomas worships him: "My Lord and my God" (John 20:25). Resurrected, Jesus is the heavenly king: "God has made him Lord and Christ" (Acts 2:36), the "Lord of glory" (1Cor 2:8; 2Cor 4:4), the God of the Christians.

St. Paul elaborates this theology in contrast to the ideology of divinized humans: "If there are indeed claimed gods in heaven and earth,

many gods and many lords, for us there is only one God the Father . . . and one Lord Jesus Christ";⁵⁵ "We preach . . . Christ as Lord" (2Cor 4:5; Col 2:6; 3:24); "Let every tongue proclaim that Jesus Christ is Lord,"⁵⁶ that is, God. Such is the object of faith profession and worship: "Believe in the Lord Jesus and you will be saved."⁵⁷ Henceforth Christians are "those who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,"⁵⁸ that is, who worship his divine majesty and implore his sovereign protection.

Kyrieuo. — This denominative verb, signifying "be master, take possession of, possess," is normally construed with a genitive object,⁵⁹ but beginning from AD 6 (*P.Köln* 155, 6), it appears more and more frequently construed with the accusative (*P.Grenf.* I, 21, 13; *P.Lond.* 121, 188; vol. 1, p. 111: *tou kyrieuontos ten holen oikoumenen*). Its subject can be any holder of authority, even a child who holds royal power (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.148) or officials (*proedroi*) who could assess fines (Aeschines, *In Tim.* 1.35), but especially military leaders and princes who take possession of or seize land, property, or persons,⁶⁰ and eminently the sovereign God, master of everything: *ho kyrieuon* (*Ep. Arist.* 45, 269; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 1.214: "the ruler of all the angels" [*ho kyrieuon panton angelon*]; XII, 115: "ruler of the whole universe" [*ho kyrieuon tou pantos kosmou*]). In Epictetus 2.19.1, *ho kyrieuon logos* is the ruling or dominating argument.

In the papyri, the verb most often designates the owner of a slave (*P.Oslo* 40, 19) or of a house and property,⁶¹ but especially one who has the rights to the produce of some land, the harvest from a certain territory.⁶² So it is constantly associated with the verb *krateo*⁶³ or *epikrateo* (*SB* 11215, 9), *katakrateo* (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.220), but also *despozo*⁶⁴ and *archo* (*ibid.* 3.187).

Much used in the LXX, which uses it to translate the Hebrew verb *mashal*, "reign, dominate," *kyrieuo* has God as its subject only once, when Jehoshaphat says, "Yahweh, God of our fathers, are you not God of the heavens, and do you not govern all the kingdoms of the nations?" (2Chr 20:6; cf. Dan 2:38). In fact, from its first occurrence it seems to have a pejorative nuance, since it expresses a punishment, if not a curse—that of the woman after the fall: "Your husband will have dominion over you" (Gen 3:16). It is also used for the extermination of enemies (Exod 15:9, Hebrew *yarash*) and in Yahweh's punishment of his people in the time of the judges: "Those who hated them had dominion over them."⁶⁵ The other occurrences are neutral and refer only to the exercise of power, command,⁶⁶ especially by generals and kings who seize territory or make themselves masters of their inhabitants.⁶⁷

It is in this sense that Jesus states, "The kings of the nations exercise authority over them (*kyrieuousin auton*), and their princes are called benefactors" (Luke 22:25), but a pejorative nuance is not excluded (cf. Mark 10:43, *katakyrieuo*; Acts 19:16; 1Pet 5:3), since this mode of governing is in contrast to that of the Christian community, whose apostles

are *diakonoi* (Luke 22:26). There is even a certain irony: despite this tyranny, the title “benefactor” is conferred upon them. This nuance of despotism, constraint, or tyranny is found again in 2Cor 1:24—“It is not that we hold dictatorial power over your faith, but we cooperate for your joy.” There is only one *Kyrios*, whose transcendence is hailed by 1Tim 6:15—“the King of those who reign and the Lord of those who wield sovereignty.”⁶⁸ What is new in the NT is the metaphorical meaning of *kyrieuo*: death no longer holds sway (Rom 6:9), nor does sin, since it has been dethroned by grace (6:14); but the law retains its authority,⁶⁹ and “Christ has died and lived in order to hold sway over the dead and the living” (Rom 14:9). He has conquered every sovereignty, and the legitimacy of his dominion can never be contested.

¹ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*; L. Cerfaux, “Kyrios,” in *DBSup*, vol. 5, 200–228; W. Foerster, G. Quell, “κύριος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 1039–1098; D. L. Jones, “Christianity and the Roman Imperial Cult,” in *ANRW*, II, 23, 2, Berlin–New York, 1980, pp. 1023–1054.

² Plato, *Ep.* 7.324 *b*; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 3.6.1113b32: “he was able not to get drunk.”

³ Antiphon, *2 Tetr.* 3.1.1; Plato, *Resp.* 4.429 *b*: “It does not depend on the citizens (they are not masters, ὄντας κύριοι) whether the State is craven or courageous”; Ps.-Plato, *Ep.* 8.354 *c*; Andocides, *C. Alcib.* 4.9: “The judges have the power of death” (κυρίους εἶναι); Josephus, *Ant.* 4.216; *War* 1.362, 458.

⁴ Demosthenes, *C. Poly.* 50.60; cf. *C. Aphob.* 27.55: “He made them masters (κυρίους ε—ποίησεν) of the greatest part of his patrimony”; Isocrates, *Aeginet.* 19.34: “He left to his mother and his sister the right to dispose of (κυρίας) of their property”; Plato, *Leg.* 11.929 *d*: “He remains master of his property”; Menander, *Dysk.* 800: “If you are sure that the money will always be at your disposition, keep it . . . ; but if you are not its master (μὴ σὺ κύριος εἶ) . . . do not refuse to be generous with it”; 806; *P. Eleph.* II, 3–4. Master of his affairs (Josephus, *War* 1.69; 4.366; *Ant.* 8.221; 13.300).

⁵ Plato, *Tim.* 84 *c*: “the most serious diseases which are the principal causes of death”; 87 *c*; *Soph.* 230 *d*: “That which is most important and most efficacious by way of purification”; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 6.13.1143b34: the ruling wisdom of philosophy; Philostratus, *Gym.* 50: the principal parts of the body; Josephus, *War* 4.406; *Ag. Apion* 1.19; Philo, *Rewards* 111; *Flacc.* 59, 159; *To Gaius* 6; Epictetus 1.20.18: “What is more important?”;

1.9.4: “The principal, the most important, the most universal of all things is the system composed of God and men”; 1.12.15; 2.10.1; 3.1.37; 3.2.3; *SEG* 14.64.6: ε—κκλησία κυρία = the principal or regular assembly (Aristophanes, *Ach.* 19); C. Michel, *Recueil* 687, 11; *P.Genova* 10, 6: ε—ντολήν κυρίαν; *P.Oxy.* 1423, 11.

⁶ *P.Eleph.* I, 14 (fourth century BC): “This contract will be valid in all circumstances”; *P.Tebt.* 104, 41: “I have received the contract, which is valid”; *P.Oxy.* 275, 33: “The apprenticeship contract is valid”; *P.Mur.* 115, 18 (marriage contract); *P.Princ.* 36, 6 (association contract, ἡ κοινωνία κυρία ἔστω); *NCIG*, n. xi, 9; xxii, c 60; *LSCG*, n. xiii, 27; xlvii, A 9; lxxxi, 9; etc.; *LSCG: Supplément*, n. xv, 28; xxxviii, B 11. Cf. Josephus, *War* 1.588; 2.35; *Ant.* 12.418; 16.48.

⁷ —Αποχή, *BGU* 1782, 16 (57–56 BC); *P.Cair.Isid.* 54, 14; 58, 17; 123, 10; *P.Oslo* 94, 11; *P.Princ.* 81, 16; 181, 16; *P.Yale* 65, 36.

⁸ Πρα—σις, *P.Cair.Isid.* 83, 13; 86, 9; *P.Oxy.* 2270, 14; *P.Mich.* 583, 25 (AD 78).

⁹ *P.Oxy.* 2109, 50; 2585, 19; 3255, 24 (ε—πιδοχή); cf. τὸ δοχθὲν κύριον ἔστω = the decision made shall be definitive (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XIII, 21; cf. XXVII, 12).

¹⁰ *P.Yale* 60, 15 (6–5 BC); 63, 16 (AD 64); *BGU* 1649, 22; 1731, 15, 18; 2118, 16; *P.Mert.* 25, 19; 36, 17; *P.Mich.* 266, 19; 276, 14; 338, 15; *P.Oslo* 37, 16.

¹¹ *BGU* 2139, 6; 2147, 16; 2149, 23; *P.Erl.* 72, 7; *P.Cair.Isid.* 100, 19; 103, 18; *P.Mert.* 17, 39; 76, 35; *P.Oslo* 35, 20; 138, 16.

¹² *BGU* 2140, 16; 2152, 14; 2155, 13; *P.Mich.* 280, 8; *P.Rein.* 105, 10; *P.Stras.* 246, 2; *P.Wisc.* 10, 16; 11, 28; *P.Oxy.* 3146, 19; 3251, 21; cf. ἡ συγγραφή, *BGU* 1943, 19; 1946, 13; 1956, 3; 2116, 11; *P.Mert.* 6, 17 (77 BC); *P.Mich.* 323, 26; *P.Oslo* 140, 5; *P.Fouad* 35, 14 (AD 48); 48, 22; *P.Oxy.* 2349, 16 (AD 70); *P.Sorb.* 15, 12: “This contract will be authoritative where they present it”; ὁ νόμος, *P.Mich.* 243, 12.

¹³ Aeschylus, *Cho.* 658: “those who command here”; Sophocles, *Aj.* 734: “I must make a complete report to the master”; Sophocles, *OC* 1643; Euripides, *Andr.* 558: “me and your master”; Epictetus 4.1.59: “We have circumstances for masters”; 4.1.145; *P.Rein.* 113, 1; *P.Köln* 108, 4.

¹⁴ Demosthenes, *P. Phorm.* 36.28: “freed by his master”; 36.43; *C. Pant.* 37, 51; *C. Euerg.* 47.14; 47.60; Antiphon 2.4.7; Xenophon, *Oec.* 9.16: “owner’s authorization”; Aristophanes, *Plut.* 6; Epictetus 4.1.166; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 633, 95: τοι—ς κυρίοις τω—ν ἀνδραπόδων. The slave calls his mistress ἡ ἐ—μὴ κυρία (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.137, 139; Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 154). The term is then synonymous with δεσπότης (cf. *Ant.* 19.131; *Good Man Free* 37, 104).

¹⁵ Plutarch, *Arat.* 9.5; or of furniture (Philo, *To Gaius* 122, 129; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.190, 193; cf. 4.274; 14.321); even lions (Philo, *Good Man Free* 40); *P.Mich.* 264, 16, 18, 26 (AD 37); 305, 19; 350, 21; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53, 134; *SB* 9454, n. 5, 4.

¹⁶ Demosthenes, *C. Steph.* 46.15; Isaeus 6.32; cf. *P.Mich.* 563, 22: ὑπογραφεὺς ὁ κύριος = the signatory, the tutor.

¹⁷ *P.Aberd.* 180, 2; *BGU* 1650, 5; 1662, 3; *P.Cair.Isid.* 93, 11; 112, 4; *P.Stras.* 264, 6; *P.Oxy.* 2236, 7; *P.Mich.* 627, 3. These variations in private and public law are noted by R. Taubenschlag, “La Compétence du Κύριος dans le droit gréco-égyptien” in *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, pp. 353–377. Ordinarily, the husband functions as *kyrios* (*P.Mert.* 6, 13, from 77 BC; 103, 2–3, AD 26; *BGU* 1641, 11; 2035, 2; 2036, 11; 2049, 6; 2111, 4; *P.Mich.* 241, 19; 257, 1; 290, 1; *P.Princ.* 147, 2) or the father or paternal uncle (*BGU* 164, 21; 1657, 2; 2020, 11; 2113, 5; *P.Bru.* 20, 3; *P.Mich.* 264, 3; 296, 1; *P.Oslo* 130, 2; *P.Wisc.* 36, 7; cf. *P.Princ.* 141, 1; *P.Stras.* 370, 5); but also a brother (*SB* 10294, 7; 10500, 3; 10756, 3), a nephew (*P.Mert.* 68, 4), a relative (μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς ἕωνος, *BGU* 1579, 5 and 24; *P.Phil.* 6, 4; 7, 5; 8, 5; *P.Oslo* 97, 8; *P.Stras.* 237, 9; *P.Erl.* 22, 4; *P.Mich.* 232, 4; 262, 3; 266, 3) or the son of such (*BGU* 2092, 5; *P.Mert.* 72, 6; *P.Mich.* 253, 1, AD 30; *P.Stras.* 257, 5; *P.Oxy.* 2961, 3–4; 2962, 2; *P.Oxy.Hels.* 29, 2; *SB* 10236,2).

¹⁸ *P.Fam.Tebt.* 106, 15; 129, 1; *P.Lond.* 417, 5; vol. 2, p. 299; *BGU* 1819, 2; 1838, 1(51/50 BC); 2212; *P.Brem.* 73, 1; *P.Giss.* 41, col. I, 4, 9, 13; 71, 17; *P.Cair.Isid.* 66, 19; 67, 4; *P.Mert.* 91, 2; *P.Mich.* 422, 8; 423, 2; 425, 10; 613, 3; 624, 8; 629, 7; *P.Oslo* 128, 13; *P.Oxy.* 2131, 13; 2132, 4; 2242, 1; 2562, 6 (ἐ—πάρκος); 2666, col. I, 6; *P.Princ.* 72, 2 (ὁ κύριός μου ἐ—πίτροπος); *P.Stras.* 255, 8; *P.Wisc.* 33, 3; cf. F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, vol. 5, Münster, 1936, pp. 211–217; J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1938, n. 385; 1952, n. 154; 1962, n. 315; 1963, n. 126.

¹⁹ *BGU* 423, 2; 665, col. II, 18; τω— κυρίω μου πατρί, *P.Mert.* 41, 11; *P.NYU* 25, 1; *P.Oslo* 152, 2; *P.Princ.* 98, 1; *P.Oxy.* 2190, 1; *P.Mich.* 476, 1; 477, 2; 479, 2; 480, 5; 519, 1; *SB* 10277, 2.

²⁰ *P.Lips.* 110, 1; *P.Fouad* 80, 1; 82, 4; *P.Mich.* 465, 1 and 23; 491, 1; *P.Oxy.* 2151, 1; *P.Oslo* 161, 11; *P.Rein.* 116, 5; 118, 1; *SB* 10211, 1.

²¹ *P.Mich.* 518, 1: κυρίω μου συνβίω; *IGUR*, n. 633: τῆ κυρία γυναικί; cf. 88: τῆ κυρία πατρίδι; 91; 551; 666; 720; 811.

²² *P.Mich.* 499, 2; 515, 1; 516, 1; 520, 1; etc.; *P.Oslo* 61, 1; *P.Rein.* 116, 7; *P.Stras.* 197,1; *P.Brem.* 8, 8; 9, 22; *P.Princ.* 69, 6; 101, 1; *P.Phil.* 34, 13; *P.Erl.* 81, 1; 114, 1; etc.; *P.Mert.* 95, 1; *BGU* 949, 1; *P.Oxy.* 2154, 1; 2155, 1; 2156, 22. “Brother” can also mean “colleague” (*P.Cair.Isid.* 126, 1; *P.Mich.* 515, 5; 516; 520; 521; *P.Rein.* 110, 4–5). The Christian formula combines affection and respect for a brother, κύριέ μου ἀγαπετέ (*P.Heid.* 6, 6).

²³ *P.Mert.* 82, 2 and 7; *P.Mich.* 466, 43; 502, 18; *P.Oslo* 161, 7; *P.Stras.* 253, 10.

²⁴ As an adjective; cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 29: “Why must there be a number of Zeuses in the hypotheses of a plurality of worlds rather than one god who is the common leader and supreme guide . . . like the one whom we call the sovereign and father of all?” (κύριος ἀπαντω—ν καὶ πατήρ); *Arist.* 6.4: the gods are feared “because of their sovereign power” (κατὰ τὰ κύριον καὶ δυνατόν).

²⁵ Ὁ πάντων κύριος, Pindar, *Isthm.* 5.53; cf. Plato, *Leg.* 12.966 c; Ps.-Plato, *Ep.* 6.323d: head of all things; Xenophon, *Oec.* 6.1: all-powerful gods. Cf. W. W. Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte*, Giessen, 1929.

²⁶ A. Bernand, *Philae*, n. 15, 10 (second century BC); cf. 21, 3; 22, 4; 26, 2; 51, 5; 59, 7: “I performed an act of adoration before the very great goddess, our saving Lady Isis”; 129, 2; 136, 5; 171, 6: “to Lady Isis of Philae and of Abaton, and to all the gods worshiped in the same temple”; 183, 3 (associated with Osiris); 249, 6–7 (associated with Sarapis); *P.Fouad* 76, 3: invitation to dinner “in honor of our Lady Isis” (εἰ—ς ἰ—έρωμα τῆς κυρίας Ἰσιδος); *P.Oxy.* 142; 210; 265; 1380, 61; *SB* 11226, 1: Κυρία Εἴσι; Dittenberger, *Or.* 186, 8.

²⁷ *P.Fay.* 127, 5: τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ— παρὰ τω— Σαράπιδι. On a stele at Abydos, Tphous, who is eighteen years old, implores Lord Sarapis

(ed. E. Bernand, in *ZPE*, vol. 40, 1980, pp. 213–214); *P.Oxy.* 110, 2; 523, 2; 2592, 2; *BGU* 423, 6; 1680, 2; *P.Oslo* 151, 19; 157, 3; *P.Stras.* 304, 5; *SB* 8828, 5. F. M. Fraser, “The Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World,” in *Opuscula Atheniensi*, vol. 3, Lund, 1960, p. 17; L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isaicae et Sarapiacae*, Berlin, 1969, n. 26, 172, 306.

²⁸ *P.Tebt.* 284, 5: ὁ κύριος θεός; Dittenberger, *Or.* 655, 3; cf. Pythian Apollo (*SEG* XXIV, 1244, 5); Dionysus (Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 35; *Quaest. conv.* 5.3.1); Asclepius (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1967, p. 509, n. 374; 1969, p. 521, n. 372); Hera (*ibid.* 1967, p. 509, n. 379); Kronos (Dittenberger, *Or.* 606, 9). Acts of adoration of “Lord Pan” (*SB* 8579, 8591, 8594 = A. Bernand, *Koptos*, n. 39; 115, 18), described elsewhere as “very great god” (*SB* 8588).

²⁹ The bibliography is immense. It has been collected by L. Cerfaux, J. Tondrieau, *Culte des souverains*. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, p. 33, n. 3. We note above all L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, Middletown, 1931; W. Schubart, “Das hellenistische Königsideal nach Inschriften und Papyri,” in *APF*, 1936, pp. 1–26; *idem*, “Das Königsbild des Hellenismus,” in *Antike*, 1937, pp. 272–288; we add R. Etienne, *Le Culte impérial dans la Péninsule Ibérique d’Auguste à Domitien*, Paris, 1958, W. den Boer, *Le Culte des Souverains dans l’Empire romain* (Fondation Hardt, 19), Vandœuvres-Geneva, 1973; Sr. Dominique Cuss, *Imperial Cult and Honorary Terms in the New Testament*, Fribourg, 1974; P. Prigent, “Au temps de l’Apocalypse: Le Culte impérial au I^{er} siècle en Asie Mineur,” in *RHPR*, 1975, pp. 215–235; D. L. Jones, “Christianity and the Roman Imperial Cult,” in *ANRW*, II, 23, 2, Berlin-New York, 1980, pp. 1023–1054.

³⁰ Cf. Philo, *Change of Names* 15: “The appellation ‘Lord’ has to do with commanding and kingship”; *Joseph* 7: “You will be our king and our lord”; *Flacc.* 39: “From the crowd standing all around there rang out a strange cry, the name *Marin* (Aramaic for *lord*)—this is apparently the title given to the sovereign in Syria” (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 5.121; *Ag. Apion* 2.41: “the Romans, masters of the universe”; *Flacc.* 49). Cf. the hymn sung by the Athenians in honor of Demetrius, preserved by Duris of Samos: “Grant us peace, most beloved, for you are the Lord” (κύριος γὰρ εἶ σύ, *Hist.* 22 = Athenaeus, *Deip.* 6.253 f).

³¹ Ed. J. A. Knudtzon and O. Weber, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1915, n. 45–339; 73, 35; 145, 17; 169, 10; etc. Cf. L. Cerfaux, “Le Titre Kyrios et la dignité royale de Jésus,” in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 1, p. 7. Identical protocol in the Aramaic texts from Sindjirli for “the lord the king of Assyria,” “lord of the four corners of the earth” in the eighth century (G. A. Cooke, *A*

Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions, Oxford, 1903, n. 62–63). In the period of the Achaemenids, the Jews of Elephantine write in 407 BC “to our lord (*maran*) Bagohi, governor of Judea, your servants Jedoniah and his fellows” (Document I, line 1 in M. J. Lagrange, “Les Nouveaux Papyrus d’Eléphantine,” in *RB*, 1908, p. 326 f.). Likewise, Phoenician inscriptions from the time of the Ptolemies describe the sovereign as “my lord” (*marana*, *CIS* I, 95: “To the lord of the Ptolemaic kings.” At Petra, *CIS* II, 199, 201, 205, 209; but *elaha* for the divinity). In 13 BC, Augustus writes to the Candace of Ethiopia πρὸς κυρίαν βασίλισσαν (*Chrest. Wilck.* I, 2 n. IV, 3). In Syria in the first century BC, ὑπὲρ τῆς τω—ν κυρίων Σεβαστω—ν σωτηρίας (Dittenberger, *Or.* 606, 1), Queen Laodice is divinized (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VII, Paris, 1949, pp. 5ff. Cf. E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, pp. 236–257; J. Tondriau, “Souverains et souveraines en divinités,” in *Le Muséon*, 1948, pp. 141–182); B. Lifshitz, “Sur le culte dynastique des Séleucides,” in *RB*, 1963, pp. 75–81. Cf. Herod the Great: βασιλει—Ἡρώδει κυρίῳ (Dittenberger, *Or.* 415, 1); Herod Agrippa: ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κυρίου βασιλέως —Αγρίππα (*Or.* 418, 1), Agrippa II (*Or.* 423, 425, 426).

³² *BerlSitzb.*, 1902, p. 1096; A. Bernand, *Koptos* 52, 9: “I performed this act of adoration for our lord, king, god, new Dionysus, Philopator, Philadelphus on 14 May 62”; cf. W. Otto, “Der Kult des Ptolemaios Soter in Ptolemais,” in *Hermes*, 1910, pp. 632–636; J. Scherer, “Le Papyrus Fouad Ier . . . Le Culte de Sôter à Ptolemais et à Coptos,” in *BIFAO*, 1942, pp. 71–73; F. Sokolowski, “Caractères du culte des monarques hellénistiques,” in *Eos*, 1947, pp. 169–174; J. Tondriau, “Les Souveraines lagides en déesses, au IIIe s. av. J.-C.,” in *EPap*, 1948, pp. 1–15. Idem, “Rois lagides comparés ou identifiés à des divinités,” in *ChrEg*, 1948, pp. 127–146.

³³ At least in the sense in which a *divus* is a *novum numen*. Already Caesar, son of Venus Genetrix, was deified in 38 BC (*CIL* 7156–7157; *IG* XII, 2, 537). M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2d ed., Munich, 1955, vol. 1, pp. 154–185; 384–395; ET *A History of Greek Religion* 2d ed., trans. F. J. Fielden, Oxford, 1956. The documents are collected by V. Ehrenberg, A. J. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, 2d ed., Oxford, 1955, pp. 81–97; E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 48–65; P. Petit, *Le Premier Siècle de notre ère*, Paris, 1968; A. Wlosok, *Römischer Kaiserkult*, Darmstadt, 1978, H. Kloft, *Ideologie und Herrschaft in der Antike*, Darmstadt, 1979. Caligula wished to be considered as “of a nature superior to that of humans, sharing in a better and divine destiny” (Philo, *To Gaius* 76; cf. 356); Tiberius was reticent and affirmed that he was mortal (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.87; 4.37–38; cf. A.

J. Festugière, “Notules d’exégèse,” in *RSPT*, 1934, p. 362) and Claudius refused all worship (his letter to the Alexandrians; *P.Lond.* 1912, 50ff.).

³⁴ *BGU* 1197, col. I, 15; 1200, 10; *P.Oxy.* 1143, 4; cf. W. Déonna, “La Légende d’Octave-Auguste, dieu, sauveur et maître du monde,” in *RHR*, 1921, pp. 32–56, 163–195; 1922, pp. 77–107; A. d’Ors Perez-Peix, “Sol re, los origines del culto al emparador en la España romana,” in *Emerita*, 1942, pp. 197–227, 354–359.

³⁵ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 814, 31. Cf. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d’Egypte*, Brussels, 1964, pp. 33ff.

³⁶ The sons of Heth are deferential in their address to Abraham (“Here us, my lord,” Gen 23:6, 11, 15), as is Lot to the angels (19:2, 18). Hannah shows great respect in calling the priest Eli her lord (1Sam 1:15, 26), but there is more affectation in Abigail’s words to David (25:25-31; 1Kgs 3:17-26). The term presupposes that the person using it recognizes the person described by it as a superior (Gen 27:29, 27; 32:5, 39; 33:8, 13-15; 40:1, 7; 42:10), the master of a country (42:30, 33; 43:20; 44:9; 45:8-9; 47:18, 25; 1Macc 2:53; 9:25) or a holder of high office (2Sam 11:11).

³⁷ 1Sam 26:17-19; 2Sam 3:21; 4:8; 9:9-11; 10:3; 14:17-19; 15:21; 1Kgs 1:2, 11, 20, 24, 37; 2Kgs 6:26. Nebuchadnezzar is “the great king, the lord of the whole earth” (Jdt 2:5; cf. Zedekiah, Jer 37:20), Belshazzar (Dan 4:16, 21; cf. 2:4—“may my lord the king reign forever”; 3:9).

³⁸ “Lord is his name” (Κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῶν, Ps 68:4; 148:13), he is God (100:3); cf. Gen 10:9; 11:5-6; 12:1; 12:1; Exod 7:16—“the Lord God of the Hebrews”; 9:13; 10:3; 1Sam 14:41—“Lord God of Israel”; 20:12; 1Kgs 11:31; Isa 24:16; Bar 2:11–12; Ps 72:18. In the psalmists’ invocations, God is called simply “Lord” (Ps 3:1; 6:1; 9:13; 10:1; 12:7; 15:1; etc.); sometimes the address is doubled, “Lord, Lord” (140:7; 2Macc 1:24; Matt 25:11; 3Macc 2:2).

³⁹ Exod 14:4, 18; 15:26; Lev 11:44; 19:3-4; Num 10:10; 15:41; 35:34; Deut 5:6-9; Hos 12:10; 13:4; Isa 43:3; 51:15; Ps 81:10. L. Cerfaux, “Le nom divin ‘Kyrios’ dans la Bible grecque,” in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 1, pp. 113–136; “‘Adonai’ et ‘Kyrios,’” *ibid.*, pp. 137–172.

⁴⁰ Jdt 13:4; Ps 59:5; 69:6; 80:4, 7, 19; 84:8, 12; 89:8; Sir 3:20. *Pantokrator* (2Sam 7:27; 1Kgs 19:14; Jdt 8:13; 16:17; Amos 5:14-16; 9:6; Nah 2:14; 3:5; Hag 2:5, 7; Zech 1:3-4; Mal 1:4; Jer 15:16; 23:17; 50:34; Bar 3:4; cf. 2Macc 3:22, 30). He “made the heavens and the earth and the sea” (Exod

20:11; 31:17; 2Kgs 19:15; Ps 96:7); master of life and death (*Ep. Arist.* 253).

⁴¹ Like Moses (Josh 9:2; 11:12; 12:6; 13:8:18:7), Joshua (Josh 24:29; Judg 2:8), his faithful ones (ὁ κύριε, ε—γὼ δοῦλος σός, Ps 116:16; 135:1; Jonah 1:9—δοῦλος κυρίου εἰ—μὴ ε—γὼ) who serve him (Judg 10:16; 1Sam 2:11, 18; 3:1; 7:4; 2Kgs 10:23; 2Chr 30:8; 34:33; Ps 2:11; 100:2; 102:22).

⁴² Prov 14:27; Sir 6:37; Dan 9:23; 2Macc 2:2; cf. the commandments of the Lord, Lev 4:13, 22; Deut 4:2; 6:17; 8:6; 10:13; 2Kgs 17:16.

⁴³ Sir 51:1; Isa 6:5; 24:23; Mic 4:7; Obad 21; Zeph 3:15; Dan 4:34; Ps 145:1; 97:1; 99:1. He reigns over the kings of the earth (Ps 110:5; 138:4; Sir 10:14; Dan 2:37, 47). Kingship is a gift from God (*Ep. Arist.* 224; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.151); cf. E. R. Goodenough, “The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship,” in *YCS*, vol. 1, 1928, pp. 55–102; L. Delatte, *Les Traités de la royauté d’Égypte, Diotogène et Sthénidas*, Liège-Paris, 1942; C. Lacombrade, *Le Discours sur la royauté de Synésios de Cyrène*, Paris, 1951; J. de Fraine, *L’Aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite*, Rome, 1954; J. Coppens, “Le Caractère sacré de la souveraineté en Israël, en particulier d’après le Psaume CX,” in *Atti dell’ VII Congresso intern. di Storia delle Religioni*, Florence, 1956, pp. 267ff. Idem, “La Portée messianique du Psaume CX,” in *ETL*, 1956, pp. 5–23.

⁴⁴ Ps 135:5; 145:3—“The Lord is great; his greatness is unfathomable”; 147:5; Isa 33:21; Dan 9:4; Sir 43:5.

⁴⁵ Notably the owner of a slave (Matt 6:24; 10:24; 24:46, 50; Luke 16:13; John 13:16; 15:20; Eph 6:5, 9; Col 3:22; 4:1), of a vineyard (Matt 20:8; 21:40; Mark 12:9), of the harvest (Matt 9:38; 13:27; Luke 10:2), of the household (Mark 13:35), of the Sabbath (Matt 12:8; Mark 2:28; Luke 6:5). Cf. S. Herner, *Die Anwendung des Wortes Κύριος im Neuen Testament*, Lund, 1903.

⁴⁶ The members of the Sanhedrin to Pilate (Matt 27:63), and Festus to the emperor (Acts 25:26), or St. John to one of the Elders (Rev 7:4), the Greeks to Philip (John 12:21), and St. Paul to Jesus on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:5; cf. 22:19), Mary Magdalene to the one she mistook for the gardener (John 20:15), the jailer to Paul and Silas (Acts 16:30). Sarah called Abraham her lord (1Pet 3:6).

⁴⁷ Luke 1:68, 76; 20:37; cf. “the Lord your God” (4:7, 10; 23:37; Luke 1:16, 18; Acts 2:39).

⁴⁸ 1Tim 6:15—“the blessed and only sovereign, the King of those who reign and the Lord of those who wield authority”; Rev 11:17—“We give you thanks, Lord God, the Almighty, the One who is”; 15:3; 16:7; 19:6; 21:22. Cf. A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 349–357; K. Prümm, “Herrscherkult und Neues Testament,” in *Bib*, 1928, pp. 3–25, 129–142, 289–301; L. Cerfaux, “‘Kyrios’ dans les citations pauliniennes de l’Ancien Testament,” in *Receuil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 1, pp. 173–188.

⁴⁹ Luke 2:11; B. M. Nolan, *The Royal Son of God*, Fribourg-Göttingen, 1979; cf. W. Foerster, *Herr ist Jesus*, Gütersloh, 1924; E. von Dobschütz, “ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ,” in *ZNW*, 1931, pp. 97–123; S. Lösch, *Deitas Jesu und antike Apotheose*, Rottenburg am Meer, 1933; L. Cerfaux, “Le Titre Kyrios et la dignité royale de Jésus,” in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 1, pp. 35–63; L. Sabourin, *Les Noms et titres de Jésus*, Bruges-Paris, 1963, pp. 245–264; E. Langevin, *Jésus Seigneur et l’eschatologie*, Bruges-Paris, 1967, pp. 173–178; I. de la Potterie, “Le Titre Κύριος appliqué à Jésus dans l’Evangile de Luc,” in *Mélanges Rigaux*, Gembloux, 1970, pp. 117–146; J. Coppens, “La Relève du messianisme royal,” in *ETL*, 1971, pp. 117–143; idem, *La Relève apocalyptique du messianisme royal*, Louvain, 1979; A. H. R. E. Paap, “Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.,” in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VIII, pp. 6ff., 101ff.

⁵⁰ Matt 8:2, 6; 9:28; Luke 5:12; 7:6; cf. an unnamed person: “Someone said, ‘Lord, will few be saved?’” (Luke 13:23); J. D. Kingsbury, “The Title ‘Kyrios’ in Matthew’s Gospel,” in *JBL*, 1975, pp. 246–255.

⁵¹ Matt 7:21—“Lord, save us”; 8:21; 14:28, 30; Luke 9:61; 10:17; 11:2; John 11:12; 20:25.

⁵² Matt 26:22; Luke 22:38; John 13:25; Acts 1:6. Notably Peter (Matt 16:22; 17:4; 18:21; Luke 5:8; 22:33; John 6:68; 13:6, 9, 36; 21:16–17, 20–21), John (Luke 9:54; John 13:25; 21:7), Zacchaeus (Luke 19:8), the Samaritan woman (John 4:11, 15), the man born blind (John 9:36, 38), the sisters of Lazarus (John 11:3, 32), Philip (14:8), Jude (John 14:22), Mary Magdalene (10:13).

⁵³ John 13:13–14; cf. Matt 22:43–45: “How is it that David calls his son ‘Lord’? If he calls him ‘Lord’ how is he his son?”; cf. Mark 12:35–37; Luke 20:42–44; Acts 2:34; Str-B, vol. 4, pp. 452–465; M. Bouttier, “Les Parables du maître dans la tradition synoptique,” in *ETR*, 1973, pp. 175–195.

⁵⁴ John 20:16. Cf. R. Le Déaut, *Nuit Pascale*, p. 22.

⁵⁵ 1Cor 8:5-6 (which could be glossed by 1John 5:21—"keep yourselves from idols"). E. Rohde, "Gottesglaube und Kyriosglaube bei Paulus," in *ZNW*, 1923, pp. 43ff. Cf. A. Feuillet, "La Profession de foi monothéiste de I Cor. VIII, 4-6," in *Studii Biblici Franciscani*, vol. 13, Jerusalem, 1963, pp. 7-32 (reprinted in *Le Christ Sagesses de Dieu*, pp. 59ff.); W. Thüsing, *Per Christum in Deum*, Münster, 1965; H. Langkammer, "Literarische und theologische Einzelstücke in I Kor. VIII, 6," in *NTS*, 1971, pp. 193-198; J. G. Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, Leiden, 1971, pp. 59ff. J. Murphy-O'Connor, "I Cor. VIII, 6: Cosmology or Soteriology?" in *RB*, 1978, pp. 253-267.

⁵⁶ Phil 1:11; V. Taylor, *The Names of Jesus*, London, 1953, pp. 38-51; R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi*; J. Dupont, "Nom de Jésus," in *DBSup*, vol. 6, col. 518ff.

⁵⁷ Acts 16:31; cf. 5:14; 9:42; 20:21, 24; 28:31; cf. O. Cullmann, "'Kyrios' as Designation for the Oral Tradition Concerning Jesus," in *SJT*, 1950, pp. 180-197; J. C. O'Neill, "The Use of Kyrios in the Book of Acts," *SJT*, 1955, pp. 155-174; G. Schneider, "Gott und Christus als ΚΥΡΙΟΣ nach der Apostelgeschichte," in *Begegnung mit dem Wort: Festschrift H. Zimmermann*, Bonn, 1980, pp. 161-174; "No one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except in the Holy Spirit" (1Cor 12:3; cf. G. De Broglie, "Le Texte fondamental de saint Paul contre la foi naturelle, I Cor. XII, 3," in *RSR*, 1951, pp. 253-266); "faith in the glorious Lord Jesus Christ" (Jas 2:11), who reigns (cf. John 18:37; Rev 11:15), "Lord of lords and King of kings" (Rev 17:14; 19:16); "whoever calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved" (Rom 10:9; cf. Acts 13:2).

⁵⁸ 1Cor 1:2. The formula varies: "Lord Jesus" (1Thess 2:15; 4:2; 2Thess 1:7; 1Cor 11:23; 2Cor 4:14; 11:31; Phlm 5; Rev 22:20—"Come, Lord Jesus"); "Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom 13:14; 1Cor 5:4; 8:6; Phil 1:2; 3:20; Eph 6:23; Jas 1:1; 2Pet 2:20); "Christ Jesus my Lord" (Phil 3:8); "our Lord Jesus" (1Thess 2:19; 3:11, 13; 2Thess 1:8; Heb 13:20); "Jesus Christ our Lord" (Rom 1:4; 5:1, 11, 21; 7:25; 15:6, 30; 16:18; 2Cor 1:3; Gal 6:14; 1Thess 1:3; 5:23; 2Thess 2:1, 14, 16; Eph 1:3, 17; 6:24; Col 1:3; 1Tim 1:12; 6:14; 2Pet 1:8, 14, 16; 3:18; Jude 17, 21, 25). 2Pet 1:11 specifies: "the eternal kingship of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ"; Jude 4: μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶ—ν —Ιησοῦν Χριστόν. In every case in which it is used, the possessive plural *our* emphasizes not only the common object of the faith of all believers, but also their voluntary and unanimous submission to their one and only heavenly and divine *Kyrios*.

⁵⁹ Dittenberger, *Or.* 229, 56 (third century BC); Polybius 4.18.2: "the role of the polemarchs is to keep the keys"; C. Michel, *Recueil* 976, 11: ὧν τε

αὐτὸς ε—κυρίευσεν; *T. Issach.* 7.7. Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, n. 384, 396, 859 (1), 890.

⁶⁰ Polybius 2.12.14: “they seized (ε—κυρίευσαν) twenty feluccas”; Josephus, *War* 1.39, Antiochus “having become master of the sanctuary”; 1.121: Hyrcanus “seized precious hostages of safety”; *Ant.* 10.223: Nebuchadnezzar “became master of his father’s kingdom”; 13.428; *Ag. Apion* 1.138.

⁶¹ *P. Stras.* 151, 20; *P. Princ.* 144, 15; *P. Haun.* 11, col. IV, 2; *P. Oxy.* 2722, 43, 61; *P. Tebt.* 104, 15, 21. Cf. having oneself at one’s own disposal, in a Delphic act of emancipation in the second century BC, “Stratiation will be free, mistress of herself (ε—λευθέρᾳ ἔστω Στράτιον κυριεύουσα αὐτοσωτα—ς) doing whatever she wants” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 42, 9).

⁶² *P. Fouad* 43, 34; *P. Mert.* 17, 30; *P. Wisc.* 7, 20; *P. Oxy.* 2137, 29; 2189, 20; 2351, 40; 2585, 14; 2795, 15; 2874, 22; 2974, 21; 3354, 35; *P. Oxy. Hels.* 41, 31; *P. Princ.* 147, 18; *P. Amst.* 42, 5; *P. Köln* 149, 20; *P. Yale* 70, 5; *P. Mich.* 610, 30; *P. Tebt.* 815, frag. III, r 15; VI, 25; SB 9918, 15; 9919, 2; 10532, 18; 10780, 24; *NCIG*, n. 6, 33.

⁶³ *P. Fouad* 44, 25: “Didymus shall have possession and ownership of the above-designated part of the house” (18 August 44); *P. Phil.* 11, 17; *P. Corn.* 12, 27; *P. Erl.* 60, 4; *P. Mich.* 584, 25; *P. Mert.* 106, 18; *P. Stras.* 314, 22; *P. Oxy.* 2136, 10; 2236, 22; 2723, 19; 2972, 33; *P. Oxy. Hels.* 44, 20; *P. Col.* VII, 181, 14; SB 6291, 15–16; 6612, 16; 10728, 15; 11233, 42.

⁶⁴ A division of property in AD 72, *P. Mich.* 186, 23; 187, 21 (in 75); 583, 17 (in 78); SB 7031, 23.

⁶⁵ Ps 106, 41; cf. Isa 3:4, 12; Lam 5:8—“slaves will have dominion over us”; but finally the Israelites will have dominion over their oppressors (Isa 14:2, Hebrew *radâh*) and will possess the land (Jer 30:3; Bar 2:34). Other pejorative meanings: Gen 37:8, Joseph’s brothers, “Do you want to rule over us? They hated him even more”; Isa 19:4—“violent kings will rule over the Egyptians”; Dan 6:25 (Theodotion): “The lions became masters (of Daniel’s accusers) and broke their bones.”

⁶⁶ Num 21:18 (Hebrew *mish’enet*); Judg 9:2; Sir 37:18—“Good and evil, life and death, their perpetual sovereign is the tongue”; 44:3; Bar 3:16—“those who rule the beasts of the earth.”

⁶⁷ Josh 12:2; 15:16; Jdt 1:14; 10:13; 15:7; Dan 2:39; 11:3, 43; 1Macc 6:63; 7:8; 8:16; 10:76; 11:8; 14:7.

⁶⁸ Κύριος τῶ—ν κυριευόντων; on this superlative genitive, cf. Philo, *Dreams* 2.95, 100; C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, p. 573; G. Mussies, *The Morphology of Koine Greek*, Leiden, 1971, p. 97.

⁶⁹ Rom 7:1; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 19.305; J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the NT*, pp. 461–471.

κῶ—μος

komos, festive procession, feast, drunken feast

komos, S 2970; *EDNT* 2.333; MM 367; L&N 88.287; BAGD 461

The first meaning of this term is “festive procession,” something that formed a part of certain religious festivals, like the Anthesteria;¹ this was a parody of official processions and is linked to the birth of theater, since in it are found disguises, masks, mimic dance, and even exchanges of invective.² Secondly, *komos* refers to the Apollonian paeon or the Dionysiac dithyramb, associated with the arts of music and dance; thus in the catalogs of winners at the City Dionysia, *komoï* are the choruses sung and danced in honor of Dionysus.³

In the Hellenistic era, *komos* is used for a dinner and the diversion that go along with it, notably joyous singing. In the vision of the decurion Maximus: “like a spring flower, I stirred up my festal song. . . . Calliope sang a festal song.”⁴ The epitaph of a young woman who died at the age of twenty: “At the moment when the noise of the feast . . . was going to resound in my father’s home.”⁵ But these feasts, accompanied by music and dance, degenerated, ending up in drunkenness and license.⁶ Philo denounces them: “In all your feasts and gatherings, see what exploits there are that stir up admiration and imitation . . . drunkenness, drunken behavior, parties” (*methe, paroinia, komoi*, Philo, *Cherub.* 92; cf. Dio Chrysostom 4.110).

The Bible uses the word only in this pejorative sense, making *komos* mean a drunken dinner party: “no more intemperate parties or drunkenness” (*me komois kai methais*, Rom 13:13); “the works of the flesh . . . drunkenness, orgies” (*methai, komoi*);⁷ “You fulfilled the will of the pagans in debaucheries, lust, free-flowing wine, orgies, drinking (*oinophlygiais, komois, potois*)—immoral, idolatrous practices” (1Pet 4:3).

¹ In Egypt, the κωμασία is the sacred procession of the images of the gods, cf. *UPZ* 162, col. VIII, 21: καὶ ε—ν ται—ς κατ̄ ε—νιαυτὸν γινομέναις

τοῦ Ἀμμωνος διαβάσεσιν εἰ—ς τὰ Μεμνόνεια προάγοντας τῆς κωμασίας τὰς καθηκούσας αὐτοί—ς λειτουργίας ε—πιτελει—ν (116 BC); *C.P.Herm.* 2, 21: the cult of the sacred month of Pharmuthi, ε—ν ᾧ πολλά καὶ συνεχει—ς κατὰ λόγον κωμασίαι γίνονται (fourth century); *P.Mert.* 73, 4: τω—ν ι—ερέων κωμασίας ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς κυρίων (second century); *SB* 9199, 6: ι—ερεῦσι Σοκνοπαίου θεοῦ μεγάλου ται—ς κωμασίαις τω—ν προκειμένων θεω—ν; 8334, 25: μετήλλαξε διηνεκω—ς ποηθῆναι τὰς τω—ν κυρίων θεω—ν κωμασίας καὶ πανηγύρεις (= Dittenberger, *Or.* 194; cf. R. Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret*, pp. 62–63).

² According to Mme Ghiron, “Kômos et kômoi: Recherches sur les origines des genres scéniques,” in *REG*, 1972, pp. XX–XXII. P. Chantraine, (*Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 606) defines κω—μος thus: “a group of young people having fun and singing,” especially in the Dionysiac festivals; hence: joyful festival, feast. He defines κωμάζω: “participate in a komos; go in a group to a party.” Cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* 3.1448a: “The Athenians say that comedians (κωμῳδοί = singers in a κω—μος) get their name not from κωμάζειν, but from the fact that having been scorned in the city they wandered about in κω—μαι.”

³ Cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1078, 1: ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ε—ῶ ου— πρω—τον κω—μοι ἦσαν τω— Διονύσω τραγωιδοὶ δ?.

⁴ Κω—μον ἀείδειν; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 168, 9; cf. A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, p. 48.

⁵ E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 84, 5; another reading in *SEG* VIII, 484; *CII* 1508.

⁶ Cf. Wis 14:23—“mad orgies with outlandish rites” (ε—μμανει—ς κώμους); 2Macc 6:4—“The temple was full of debauchery and orgies”; Diodorus Siculus 17.72; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.65: κω—μοι καὶ κρυπταὶ σύνοδοι.

⁷ Gal 5:21. Cf. Dio Cassius 65.3: “The time of the reign of Vitellius was nothing but drunkenness and orgies” (οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μέθαι τε καὶ κω—μοι); *De lib. ed.* 16: κύβοι καὶ κω—μοι καὶ πότοι. On the linking of these two latter terms in the sin lists, cf. A. Vögtle, *Tugend- und Lasterkataloge*, p. 37.

λαγχάνω

lanchano, to cast lots, be chosen by lot, receive as one’s lot, receive

lanchano, S 2975; TDNT 4.1–2; EDNT 2.335; NIDNTT 1.478; MM 368; L&N 30.104, 30.106, 57.127; BDF §§171(2), 229(2), 400(3); BAGD 462

This verb, much used in classical Greek¹ but unknown in Matt and Mark, has three meanings in the NT. First of all: “cast lots.” At the foot of the cross, “the soldiers said to one another, let us not tear it (Jesus’ tunic), but let us cast lots to see whose it shall be.”² Next: “to be chosen by lot.” It was the custom of the members of the priestly class to cast lots for the division of tasks in the temple service, and Zechariah, of the class of Abdia, “was chosen by lot to burn the incense,”³ in the same manner in which Saul was chosen to become king of Israel (1Sam 14:47). In the inscriptions, *lanchano* is constantly used for a person chosen by lot to carry out some mission or function,⁴ notably the priesthood.⁵ But at Jerusalem the preparing and offering of the daily sacrifice were determined by casting lots four times: “The attendant said to the priests, ‘Go and cast lots to decide who shall immolate, who shall shed (the blood), who shall get the coals from the inside altar and from the lamp, and who shall carry the parts up the ramp—the head and the legs and the feet. . . .’ The attendant said to them: ‘Those who have not yet burned incense, come draw lots’; they drew lots, each having his part.”⁶ Thus the priest Zechariah was chosen to offer the sacrifice of incense. This was a memorable occasion, because a priest did not have this task more than once in a lifetime.⁷

The third meaning of *lanchano* is “receive as one’s lot, gain a share, be paid one’s part,” like Solomon, whose lot it was to receive a good soul (Wis 8:19), or Judas, “who received this ministry as his portion.”⁸ If sometimes, as in these two texts, *lanchano kleron* is used (*P.Oxy.* 2407, 21; *SEG IX*, 1, 16 and 37; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1109, 127; second century AD; Philo, *Moses* 1.157), or *ek klerou* (*P.Tebt.* 382, 5; from 30 BC to AD 1; *P.Mich.* 557, 10; from AD 116), this complement is usually suppressed (*P.Tebt.* 383, 14; in AD 46), and the verb means “to be awarded a right,” for example, a share of the sacrifices,⁹ the right to take part in something,¹⁰ privileges (*I.Priene*, 364, 8; Philo, *Sobr.* 54). In the papyri it is seen especially with regard to the parts of an inheritance or in contracts for the division of property. In the first century: “If I die, I leave my dwelling, which I obtained by the dividing of an inheritance” (*ten mou oikesin he elachon ek diakleroseos*, *P.Dura* 16 b 7); “one of the houses was allotted to Polemocrates. . . . They were awarded it in the following manner . . .” (*P.Dura* 19, 3, 6). “Horion for his part obtained. . . .”¹¹

Obviously, the verb has commonplace uses, such as “If you are not present, this matter will not receive a solution” (*lysin ou lanchani touto*, *P.Mert.* 80, 14); but also in funerary inscriptions: “The season that fell my lot was short” (*meikron men ego t’elachon kyklon*, *CII*, 1510, 7 = *SB* 6647); “Here lies Dalmatia. . . . She lives; she has found a path that is the end of

death” (*thanatoio telos lachousa keleuthon*, *I.Thas.*, 370, 20, a Christian epitaph from the fourth century).

It is with this connotation of value that we must understand 2Pet 1:1—“Simon Peter . . . to those who have obtained a faith as precious as ours” (*lachousin pistin*; cf. Jude 3, *pistis paradotheisa*, “the faith handed down”). The emphasis is on God’s free grace at the source of the distributing and the giving. We might compare Homer: “The subtle plan whereby Achilles would accept Priam’s gifts” (*hos ken Achilleus doron ek Priamoio lache*);¹² *Sib. Or.* 3.580: “It is with justice that, having received their portion in the law of the Most High (*nomou Hypsistou lachontes*), [the holy race of] the pious shall dwell in their cities and in their luxuriant countryside in happiness and prosperity.”

¹ Cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, pp. 611ff.; a large number of references are given in LSJ under this word; G. Fatouros, *Index Verborum zur frühgriechischen Lyrik*, Heidelberg, 1966, p. 220.

² John 19:24—ἀλλὰ λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τίνοσ ἔσται (cf. *Gos. Pet.* 12: λαχμὸν ἔβαλον ε—πὶ αὐτοί—ς); cf. Ps 22:19—“They divided up my garments, they cast lots for my clothing” (Hebrew *yapilû gôral*). The LXX translates ε—πὶ τὸν ἰ—ματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κληῆρον, but Symmachus says ε—λάγχανον; cf. Josephus, *War* 3.390: “Having persuaded his companions, he drew lots with them”; Diodorus Siculus 4.63: “They decided to cast lots for the daughter of Leda. . . . The lots were cast, and Theseus was chosen.”

³ Luke 1:9—ἔλαχε τοῦ θυμια—σαι. The infinitive does not usually have the article (cf. *SB* 9760, 2: ἔλαχεν ὑμῖ—ν δοῦλαι. E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 1, 3, p. 149, 11; vol. 2, 2, p. 204, 25; F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, §44 *m*, 70 *b*).

⁴ Athenian decree for the poet Philippides, in 287 BC: “May it please the council that the presidents who will be chosen by lot to preside over the popular assembly” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 374, 54; cf. 280, 13; 375, 9, 14, 21); in honor of the *taxiarchoi*, in 280 (*NCIG*, n. 2, 12; cf. 11, 20); in 270 (*SEG* XIV, 64, 22); in the first century BC (*ibid.*, II, 710, 10; cf. XVII, 2, 113); C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 685, 15. “Sosigenes . . . having been chosen during the thirteenth year to go to Philae” (A. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 1, n. 66); *I.Gonn.*, n. 109, 20.

⁵ Ἴερεὺς λαχῶν, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 486, 9; 723, 16; 762, 12; C. Michel, *Recueil*, 978, 29; in 160 BC, Euboulos of Marathon, “priest of the great gods and then of Asclepius, then once again elected by the people and

chosen by lot for the priesthood of Dionysus” (F. Durrbach, *Choix*, n. 79, 19). *I.Priene* 205, 1: ἔλαχε τὴν ι—εροσύνην; *LSCG*, n. 31, 4 (a decree relating to the cult of Poseidon and of Erechtheus, fourth century BC), τὸν ι—ερέαν ἀεὶ λαχόντα; 44, 9 (52–51 BC); 48 A 3; idem, *Lois sacrées: Supplément*, n. 19, 14. Cf. Josephus, *War* 4.155: “They undertook to choose the chief priests by lot.”

⁶ *M. Tamid* 3.1; 5.2; cf. *m. Yoma* 2.1; 2.4. Cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.171. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, p. 202.

⁷ R. Hanina declared that in his time “no priest had ever been chosen twice to offer the incense” (*y. Yoma* 40a). “A strange story is told about the high priest Hyrcanus and how it came about that the deity spoke to him. The day when his sons fought with Cyzicenus, he was alone in the temple burning incense as high priest, when he heard a voice saying that his sons had just defeated Antiochus. When he went out of the sanctuary, he told the whole crowd what had happened, and thus it actually happened” (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.282–283, cited by H. Pernot, *Les deux premiers chapitres de Matthieu et de Luc*, Paris, 1948, p. 135).

⁸ Acts 1:17—ἔλαχεν τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης. Cf. P. Katz, “Septuagintal Studies in the Mid-Century,” in W. D. Davies, D. Daube, eds., *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology* (C. H. Dodd Festschrift), Cambridge, 1956, p. 195.

⁹ *LSCG*, 113, 5 (Thasos, fifth century BC; a rule concerning the cult of Athena Patroia): καὶ γυναι—κες λαγχάνωισιν. *LSCGSup*, n. 52 B 6.

¹⁰ *LSCGSup*, 10 C 8; 13, 22; 65, 29, 33 (= Dittenberger, *Syl.* 736); *SB* 6178, 4).

¹¹ *P.Mich.* 186, 13 and 14 (from AD 72); 187, 9 and 11 (from AD 75), republished in *SB* 7031, 12; 7032, 9. “We were children at the time; we received our inheritance in conformity to the law” (κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νόμους ε—λάχομεν, *P.Meyer* 8, 5; from AD 151). “The portion allotted to the very loyal Zunayn consists of . . .” (*P.Ness.* 16, 6, 11, 14; cf. 21, 30, 33, 40; 22, 18, 24; 31, 9, 13, 19; 59, 12). “Our Master, the illustrious emir, gave out ankle rings, and the portion that fell to the *pagarchia* (καὶ ἔλαχεν τῆ παγαρχία) . . . was a hundred and twenty rings” (*P.Apoll.* 20, 1; eighth century). Cf. Philo, *Decalogue* 64. In receipts, ἔλαχον—λάχωνον = received so much . . . (*O.Bodl.* 1849; 1962; *BGU* 2110, 4; 2123, 12; *P.NYU* 18, 2; *SB* 9262, 2).

¹² Homer, *Il.* 24.76; cf. 4.46: τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἡμεῖς, “it is our own prerogative.” In epigrams, cf. *I.Lind.* 621; A. and E. Bernand, *Memnon*, n. 29, 17: κήνων ε—κ γενέας κᾶγω λόχον αἶμα τὸ κα—λον, “it is from their race that I derive my noble blood”; 3Macc 6:1.

λάθρα (λάθρα)

lathra, secretly

lathra, S 2977; *EDNT* 2.335; MM 368; L&N 28.71; BDF §§26, 435; BAGD 462

“Call someone secretly” is a common expression. “Herod, having had the magi summoned secretly, learned from them the precise time of the appearing of the star” (Matt 2:7, *lathra kalesas*); “Saul gave this order to his servants: Speak secretly to David to tell him . . .”¹ Speaking or acting in secret can be a sign of discretion; thus a person might speak in a low voice, as when Martha invites her sister to join her and Jesus.² Most often, however, this sort of secrecy goes along with evil intentions and evil deeds;³ sometimes it simply expresses surprise.⁴ In any event, acting secretly is the opposite of acting out in the open: “when the Jews everywhere began to agitate and to meet, when, both in secret and openly (*ta men lathra, ta dekai phaneros*) they had brought great trouble on the Romans” (Dio Cassius 69.13). Thus St. Paul protests against the lictors at Philippi, “Having beaten us publicly . . . now they throw us out secretly” (*kai nyn lathra hemas ekballousin*).⁵

So *lathra* expresses what no one knows or sees—as when David arose secretly and went to the place where Saul was encamped,⁶ or when Moses’ mother nursed her child in her house for three months, away from most of the people (*lanthanonta tous pollous*, Philo, *Moses* 1.9; cf. Acts 26:26)—so that even interested parties are not alerted.⁷

This nuance of nondisclosure should be retained in John 11:28, where Mary, who is busy receiving the condolences of her Jerusalemite relations, is warned in a low voice by her sister that the Master is waiting for her. It is also the connotation in Matt 1:19—“Joseph, her husband, being a just man and not wanting to expose her in public, decided to repudiate her secretly.”⁸ M. J. Lagrange explains his situation in this way: “Three options were available to Joseph: denouncing Mary (Deut 24:1; Lev 5:1); repudiating her secretly; or taking her with him, which would make the marriage definite.”⁹ The whole emphasis of the expression is on his decision for clemency and even more on the discretion of the planned separation, which would leave the mother’s honor intact. Denouncing his fiancée publicly,¹⁰ bringing a judicial action, could have led to her receiving

the death penalty. Even with a private arrangement, avoiding a scandal could be difficult. Now Joseph, while he had scruples about accepting as his wife a fiancée who was expecting a child that was not his, and even though he had decided to send her away,¹¹ wanted above all to avoid making a spectacle, avoid defaming Mary or tainting her reputation. The secrecy (*lathra*), then, has to do with the motive for the separation.

Since this much is clear, we might wonder why St. Matthew credits this twofold decision to Joseph's justice.¹² If we understand *dikaiosyne* in the biblical sense of giving God and neighbor their due, it is not clear how it requires a secret break in the relationship. The truth, however, is that in the Koine, in sacred as well as secular texts, "justice" is synonymous with perfection and encompasses all the virtues, including first of all prudence,¹³ and in this sense: Joseph, a reflective man, does not unthinkingly follow an impulse; he deliberates (*dikaios, thelon, eboulethe, enthymethentos*), and that is why his decision is so thoroughly discreet. Moreover, the just person, often synonymous with *epieikes* (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.263; 10.155; 3Macc 7:6–7; cf. above, pp. 34ff.), keeps from hurting anyone (*Ep. Arist.* 148; Diogenes Laertius 10.150). "Justice casts out hatred; humility destroys jealousy; the person who is just and humble is afraid to commit an injustice" (*T. Gad* 5.3). Such a person is therefore not only magnanimous (Antoninus Liberalis, *Met.* 5.1) but also benevolent and beneficent: "the just person must be benevolent" (*dei ton dikaion einai philanthropon*, Wis 12:19; SB 9974, 7; 10113, 8), possessing even *philostorgia*.¹⁴ And since *seʿaqâh* is linked with *hesed*,¹⁵ the just person is merciful. Such is the testimony of 1Sam 24:18 ("You are more just than I, because you paid me back with good, whereas I paid you back evil") and the blessing of Tobias by Raguel ("Excellent man, son of an excellent man, just and almsgiving, may the Lord give heaven's blessing to you and your wife . . ."—Tob 9:6, Sinaiticus). This is more than adequate to clarify St. Matthew's vocabulary and vindicate St. Joseph's goodness and generosity.

¹ 1Sam 18:22—λαλήσατε ὑμεῖς λάθρα τῷ Δαυιδ (Hebrew *balat*); Deut 13:7—λαθρα λέγων (Hebrew *basseter*); Josephus, *Life* 388: "I had Crispus called and secretly told him to get the soldier drunk who was charged with guarding the prisoner" (καλέσας τὸν Κρίσπον λάθρα προσέταξα μεθύσαι). Cf. 1Macc 9:20—"Bacchides ... secretly sent letters to all his allies."

² John 11:28—ε—φώνησεν Μαριάμ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς λάρρα; cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 532: "Momentarily I held my lower back, discretely at first, but as it continued I began to bend over." Λαθραίως = noiselessly (Aeneas Tacticus, *Polior.* 2.4; 18.16).

³ Job 31:27—“My heart was deceived in secret” (ἡπατήθη λάθρα ἡ καρδία μου, Hebrew *basseter* —λάθρα is then synonymous with κρυφῆ; cf. Job 13:10; Isa 45:19; Eph 5:12); Hab 3:14—“devour the wretched in hiding” (Hebrew *bammistar*); Menander, *Dysk.* 310: “If I have come here with evil intentions or to do you a bad turn in secret”; 578: “I secretly attached the hoe to a rotten cord.” Cf. Philo, *Joseph* 47: “A thousand witnesses see what we do in secret.”

⁴ Josephus, *War* 2.408: “They occupied Masada by surprise” (καταλαβόντες αὐτὸ λάθρα).

⁵ Acts 16:37. Compare the sacrifices offered ε—ν κρυφῆ (Wis 18:9), almsgiving (ε—ν τω— κρυπτω—, Matt 6:4), the fast that no one could notice and prayer in the closet with the door closed (Matt 6:6, 18), but seen by the heavenly Father, τὸ κρυφαι—ον. Cf. ε—ν γωνία (“in a corner,” Acts 26:26), i.e., unobserved (Plato, *Grg.* 485 d; Plutarch, *Mor.* 516 c, 777 b; Epictetus 1.29.36; 1.29.55; 2.12.17).

⁶ 1Sam 26:5—καὶ ἀνέστη Δαυιδ λάθρα (the Hebrew says only “David arose”; cf. coming secretly, ε—ν κρυφῆ, Judg 4:21; 9:31; Ruth 3:7); Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 8.1.8: “He escaped without saying anything” (λάθρα); Philemon, frag. 40 a 7: ε—πεὶ μόλις γε φεύγων ε—ξέπεσον ἄλλη λάθρα (J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 A, p. 22); Plutarch, *Publ.* 4.4: “Vindicius left secretly, but confused”; *Tim.* 17.1: “Hicetas blamed himself ... for not using his army except in small detachments and in secret, while bringing his allies in stealthily”; *Aem.* 8.6: “Philip prepared for war secretly and skillfully”; 9.4: “Hostilius secretly infiltrated Thessaly”; Plutarch, *Agis* 7.8: “Leonidas offered no overt opposition (φανερως), but he secretly (λάθρα) sought to thwart and ruin the undertaking.”

⁷ Ps 101:5—“Who speaks ill of his neighbor in secret” (τὸν καταλαλοῦντα λάθρα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, Hebrew *basseter*); *BGU* 1141, 48: ἡρώτων κατ̄ ι—δίαν λάθρα τοῦ Ξύστου θέλων ε—πιγνω—ναι (14 BC); *SB* 6222, 17: ε—κέλευσεν ἀθλητὰς εἰ—σεπενεχθῆναι εἰ—ς κάμπον, καὶ κατὰ χάριν συνεστάλην ε—γὼ καὶ οἰ— ἄλλοι πέντε λάθρα τω—ν ἄλλων ἀθλητω—ν (private letter from the third century). One carries off secretly, λάθρα κομισάμενος (*P.Paris* 22, 28 = *UPZ* 19; *P.Lond.* 1975, 9); cf. a theft in AD 16: διὰ νυκτὸς λαθραίως, in *BASP*, vol. 10, 1973, p. 619.

⁸ —Εβουλήθη λάθρα ἀπολύσαι αὐτήν. Taken up by *Prot. Jas.* 14.1—“How then shall I act toward her? I shall repudiate her secretly (λάθρα αὐτήν ἀπολύσω ἅπ ε—μοῦ). And the night surprised him (in his thoughts).”

⁹ M. J. Lagrange, *Matthieu*, p. 11; J. Massingberd Ford, “Mary’s Virginitas Post Partum and Jewish Law,” in *Bib*, 1973, pp. 269–272.

¹⁰ Δειγματίζω, “uncover, expose in public” (Col 2:25) implies “a disclosure, and so something like pointing the finger at” (H. Pernot, *Les deux premier chapitres de Matthieu et de Luc*, p. 73). The manuscripts are divided between δειγματίσαι (Tischendorf) and παραδειγματίσαι (von Soden).

¹¹ Cf. A. Descamps, *Les Justes et la justice dans les Evangiles*, Louvain-Gembloux, 1950, pp. 34ff. Cf. M. Krämer, “Zwei Probleme aus Mt. I, 18–25,” in *Salesianum*, 1964, pp. 303–333; D. Hill, “A Note on Matthew I, 19,” in *ExpT*, vol. 76, 1965, pp. 133–134; idem, “Δίκαιοι as a Quasi-Technical Term,” in *NTS*, vol. 11, 1965, pp. 296–302; J. Scharbert, “Zu ‘Recht und Gerechtigkeit’ im Alten Testament,” in *BZ*, 1967, pp. 119–121; R. Pesch, “Eine alttestamentliche Ausführungsformel im Matthäus-Evangelium,” *BZ*, 1967, pp. 90ff. J. M. Germano, “Nova et Vetera in Pericopam de Sancto Joseph (Mt. I, 18–35),” in *VD*, 1968, pp. 351–360.

¹² Δίκαιος ὢν justifies the decision and the conduct (cf. the analogous syntax in B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, vol. 1, n. 27, 4; 34, 11; 35, 6; 51, 6; *SEG XXV*, 539, 3); to the parallels given by C. Spicq (“Joseph, son mari étant juste . . .,” in *RB*, 1964, p. 207, n. 5), add Menander, in M. Black, A. M. Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum*, Leiden, 1970, p. 170, 28. An epigram on a Roman Hermes from the second-third century, in G. Pfohl, *Griechische Inschriften*, Munich, 1965, n. 31, 3; Plutarch, *Rom.* 23.3. On ἄνῆρ δίκαιος in the inscriptions, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1966, p. 412, n. 317.

¹³ Philo, *Change of Names* 50; *Good Man Free* 72; Plutarch, *Sol.* 14.5; Antoninus Liberalis, *Met.* 4.2; *I.Did.* 416, 9.

¹⁴ Letter of Antiochus III for the cult of Laodicea (193 BC), in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 7, p. 7, lines 18–19. According to St. Ambrose, justice consists in placing in other people the motive for all our actions; it presides over all our social relations; it encompasses beneficence and means thinking of others more than of oneself (Ambrose, *Off.* 1.136).

¹⁵ Ps 37:21; 112:4; cf. Sir 3:30; Tob 12:9; 14:11; *3Enoch* 31.1. R. Mach, *Der Zaddik im Talmud und Midrasch*, 1957.

λακτίζω

laktizo, to kick

laktizo, S 2979; TDNT 4.3; EDNT 2.335; MM 368; L&N 39.19; BAGD 463

One of the first things the Lord said to Saul on the road to Damascus was “It is difficult for you to kick (*laktizo*) against the goads” (*skleron soi pros kentra laktizein*, Acts 26:14). The metaphor is taken from agricultural life: the farmer prods the ox with his goad, and the ox resists. *Laktizo* means “strike with the heel or the foot”; hence “kick” or “stamp” when the subject is an animal;¹ “kick” when the subject is human, whether kicking a door² or striking another person.³ Euripides also uses the word, however, for the “tide that drove the ship to the shore” (Euripides, *IT* 1396).

But the expression “kick against the goad” is proverbial in Greek and Latin literature (cf. J. J. Wettstein). Aegisthus says “Are your eyes not open to see what you see? Do not kick against the goad; if you stumble on it, you will be hurt” (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1624); in other words, kicking against the goad is a threat against the recalcitrant person, who is treated more roughly than if he had been compliant. The same nuance is present in Ocean’s words to Prometheus: “You still are not humble. You do not yield to suffering, and to your present evils you intend to add others. If you will learn from me, you will stop kicking against the goad. Take thought that he is a hard monarch who is not accountable to anyone” (Aeschylus, *PV* 323). “Placing the yoke on one’s neck and wearing it lightly, that is the right approach. To kick against the goad is to take a slippery path” (Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.94). Resisting is even portrayed as impossible or impious: “Rather than kick against his goad—a mortal against a god—I will sacrifice to him . . .” (Euripides, *Bacch.* 794–795). “Wanting to be faithful to the old one, I have ruined my shoulder blades. . . . The fact is that it is folly to kick against the goad” (Terence, *Phorm.* 76–77). “Strike the goad with your fists, and it is your hands that will suffer” (Plautus, *Truc.* 768).

It is hardly credible that Christ would have quoted Euripides or any other classical author,⁴ especially since it is difficult to come up with a corresponding Aramaic form of the citation.⁵ So what we have is St. Luke using a traditional metaphor to express how the Lord’s order nipped in the bud any vague desire that Saul the Pharisee may have had to resist,⁶ which would have been both painful and futile. More than that, to be a *theomachos* (one who fights against God) would amount to criminal impiety.⁷

¹ Herodas, *Shoemaker* 7.118. For the etymology, cf. Hanse, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 4, p. 3, who points out the compound ἀπολακτίζειν (Hebrew *ba’at*) in Deut 32:15.

² Aristophanes, *Nub.* 136: “Quite a lout you are, by Zeus, for thoughtlessly kicking the door so hard and causing a new-found idea to be lost”; *BGU* 1007, 7: τὴν θύραν μου ε—λάκτιζον τοι—ς ποσίν (third century BC).

³ Josephus, *Ant.* 4.278: ὁ γυναι—κα λακτίσας ἔγκυον; *P.Tebt.* 798, 15, a complaint against employees of a public bath who attacked a client: λακτίσαντες εἰ—ς τὴν κοιλίαν (second century BC); *P.Lips.* 40, col. III, 3: ὁ ἄλλος λίθω δέδωκεν τω—υι—ω— μου, ἄλλος ε—λάκτισεν Ὅλον τὸ σω—μα αὐτοῦ πεπληγμένον ε—στίν.

⁴ An abundant bibliography on the origin of this citation (notably H. Windisch, “Die Christusepiphanie vor Damaskus (Act 9, 22 und 26) und ihre religions geschichtlichen Parallelen,” in *ZNW*, vol. 31, 1932, pp. 9ff.) is given by M. Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1956, pp. 188ff. (who cites Euripides, frag. 604: πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε τοι—ς κρατοῦσί σου) and E. Haenchen, *Acts*, p. 685, n. 3, who cites the *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina* 2.60ff., οὐ συμφέρει τῇ τύχῃ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα διαμάχεσθαι. Cf. A. H. Smith, “Notes on a Tour in Asia Minor,” in *JHS*, vol. 8, 1887, p. 261, n. 50 B 9: λακτίζεις πρὸς κέντρα, πρὸς ἀντία κύματα μοχθεῖ—ς.

⁵ Cf. Str-B (vol. 1, pp. 769ff.), citing Eccl 12:11—“The words of the wise are like goads,” in the favorable sense of stimulating reflection; cf. *t. Sota* 7.11.

⁶ J. Dupont, *Le Discour de Milet*, p. 329: “This is a literary embellishment that expresses quite well the sort of violence that Paul was subjected to at this critical point in his life, which he himself discusses in 1Cor (1Cor 9:16-17; cf. Phil 3:12)”; cf. E. Trocmé, *Le ‘Livre des Actes’ et l’Histoire*, Paris, 1957, p. 194.

⁷ Cf. 2Macc 7:18; Acts 5:39: μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὔρεθῆτε; at Acts 23:9, εἰ— δὲ πνεῦμα ε—λάλησεν αὐτῷ— ἢ ἄγγελος, H, L, P, 614 add μὴ θεομαχω—μεν.

λαμπρός, λαμπρότης, λαμπρω—ς

lampros, shining, brilliant, splendid; *lamprotes*, brilliance, splendor, magnificence; *lampros*, brightly, brilliantly

lampros, S 2986; TDNT 4.16–28; EDNT 2.339; NIDNTT 2.484, 486; MM 370; L&N 14.50, 79.20, 79.25; BAGD 465 | **lamprotes**, S 2987; EDNT 2.339; NIDNTT 2.484–486; MM 370; L&N 14.49; BAGD 466 | **lampros**, S 2988; EDNT 2.339; NIDNTT 2.484, 486; MM 370; L&N 88.255; BAGD 466

These terms, derived from *lampo*, “shine, beam” (2Cor 4:6), all express something like luminosity and brilliance.¹ The Bible uses them especially for heavenly bodies: “The sun, the moon, and the stars that shine” (*onta lampra*, Ep Jer 60); “the wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament” (*hos he lamprotes tou stereomatos*, Hebrew *zohar*, Dan 12:3). “Around midday, O king, I saw on the road, shining around me and those who were with me, a heavenly light more brilliant than the light of the sun” (*hyper ten lamproteta tou heliou*, Acts 26:13). The morning star is radiant (*ho aster ho lampros ho proinos*, Rev 22:16). The bright sun (*lampron helion*, Philo, *Dreams* 2.282; *Anth. Pal.* 9.450); “Noble souls have in them something royal, a certain brilliance (*to lampron*) that envious fate cannot dull” (Philo, *Good Man Free* 126); Judah became bright like the moon (*loudas egeneto lampros hos he selene*, *T. Naph.* 5.4). The epitaph of the silversmith Canopus: “My eyes have closed to the sun’s brilliant light.”² “The bright parts of the moon separate and demarcate the dark parts” (Plutarch, *De fac.* 4 c; cf. 2).

The NT uses *lampros* above all with clothing. Herod dressed Jesus in a brilliant or splendid robe (*peribalon estheta lampran* Luke 23:11). The Peshitta translates “scarlet garments” (*zehôrîta*) and the Vulgate *indutum vesta alba*;³ but the text does not indicate the color, white or purple. It is a luxurious festal garment, befitting a king⁴ or a celestial being, like the angel who appeared to Cornelius “in shining raiment” (*en estheti lampra*, Acts 10:30). The accent is on beauty, richness, and magnificence, as is the case in Jas 2:2-3—“If a man wearing a gold ring on his finger and dressed in fine clothes (*en estheti lampra*) comes into your assembly and also a poor man in ragged clothes (*en rhypara estheti*, dirty and worn, in tatters), if you look with favor on the one wearing the fine clothes (*ton phorounta ten estheta ten lampran*) . . .” The fine clothes indicate the high social rank of the one wearing them: wealthy, a person of consequence. Theophrastus also characterizes the vain “dressed in a splendid cloak (*pareskeuasmenos lampron himation*) and wearing a crown on his head, he appears in public.”⁵

The substantive *ta lampra* refers to opulence and splendor,⁶ the adverb *lampros* to magnificence: “He was a rich man and he dressed in purple and in fine linen, feasting extravagantly every day”;⁷ *lampros* refers not only to the quantity and quality of the dishes, but also the setup and atmosphere of the feast, the dishes, the service, the music, etc.

Finally, *lamprotes* refers to a glorious condition, a spiritual state,⁸ a shining quality. Thus reference is made to “the great glory and splendor of the Lord” (Bar 4:24), of the Lord’s magnificence (Ps 90:17, Hebrew *noam*); “Glorious and unchanging is his wisdom” (Wis 6:12). There is also a “splendor of the saints” (Ps 90:3, Hebrew *hadar*; Bar 5:3); and, very

prosaically, a *lampra kardia kai agathe* (Sir 30:25), referring to a person who has a good appetite.

The papyri show hardly any other meaning of *lampros* than “glorious repute” or “illustrious memory” (*tes lampras mnemes*, *P.Michael.* 41.13; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 3, 2; *P.Mich.* 611, 3; *REG* 1940, p. 232, n. 189; 1955, p.274, n. 243). From the second century on, this adjective is used with cities, generally in the superlative: Hermopolis (*C.P.Herm.* 22, 4; 52,3; 53, 4; *P.Alex.* 37, 4; 565, 2), Tubis (*C.P.Herm.* 79, 2), Alexandria (*P.Alex.* 12, 2: *stratego tes lamprotates poleos ton Alexandreon*; *P.Oxy.* 3191, 2; 3245, 4; *P.Mich.* 606, 5; *SB* 10621, 2; *P.Oxy.* 2347, 8; *P.Princ.* 37, 2, 14; *IGLS* 821, 2), Lycopolis (*P.Princ.* 82, 2), Antinoite (*P.Oxy.* 2347, 4), Antinoopolis (*P.Ant.* 31, 3; 35, col. II, 2; 36, 5; 38, 2; 102, 4; *BGU* 1663, 6; *P.Köln* 52 and 53; *P.Cair.Isid.* 94, 2; *P.Mich.* 607, 5; *SB* 10568, 1), *he lampra Lydon Hermokapeleiton polis* (a fourth-century millary, J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1960, p. 196, n. 358; cf. p. 179, n. 274: *tes lamprotates Histrianon poleos*), Side (*ibid.*, 1951, p. 194, n. 219), Mesembria (*IGRom.* I, 769), Hermopolis (*BGU* 2133, 1; 2135, 3; *P.Tebt.* 335, 18), Termesson (*TAM* III, 80, 82, 942, 943), Sagalassi (*ibid.* 113), especially the very famous Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 1678, 14; 3183, 2, 5; 3184, 5; 3187, 2; 3192, 6; 3195, 5; 3203, 5; 3246, 9; 3249, 19; 3254, 5; etc. Cf. *P.Coll. Youtie* II, pp. 486, 536, 541, 545, 550; *SB* 10289, 3; *P.Fuad I Univ.* 13, 2:40, 4; *P.Mich.* 612, 6), with the insistent *en te lampra kai lamprotate Oxyrynchiton*.⁹ Often such designations go further: *etelesthe en te lampra kai logimotate kai semnotate Panopoleiton polei* (*P.Oxy.* 2476, 17); *megales archias kai semnotates kai lamprotates* (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 2, 4; 6, 8; *P.Princ.* 38, 1).

Clarissimus (= Greek *lamprotatos*) is the title given VIPs, especially very high-ranking officials. For example, a petition is presented before “clarissimus Mamertinus” in AD 147 (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 33, 17). It is used for consuls,¹⁰ various *comites*,¹¹ magistrates (*IGLS* 530, 4), prefects,¹² the scholastic tax assessor (*ibid.* 734, 2; *P.Ant.* 104, 1), a *logothetes* (*P.Stras.* 347, 1), the “imperial clerk (*singularis*) of the ducal office” (*SB* 7439,9), the pretorian prefect (*Aeg*, 1972, p. 138, 1), benefactors who build sanctuaries (*IGLS* 297, 3; 1570, 2), an Alexandrian “corrector” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 711), synagogue rulers;¹³ but also for ancestors (*TAM* II, 838 f 5), and women: Isidora, *he lamprotate* (*P.Oxy.* 3169, 184), or Gellia Babbia *ten lamprotaten* (*SEG* XXII, 481); Theodosia (*P.Laur.* 26, 6; cf. 14, 19).

Lamprotates is an everyday term of respect (*he se lamprotates*)¹⁴ that is used even in private correspondence, like the steward of Lady Martyria: “Would your Splendor please send me a *congius* of Spanish oil . . . if your Splendor agrees” (*P.Sorb.* 62, 1, 3). It is often reinforced with an adjective indicating authenticity (*ten gnesian hymon lamproteta*, *P.Ness.* 75, 1), or affection (*he hymetera adelphike lamprotates*, *SB* 7036, 1; *P.Alex.* 40, 1;

aspazomai ten sen lampran adelphoteta, *C.P.Herm.* 45, 1). Even though all of these texts are later than the first century AD, they show that NT *lamprotes* should be interpreted in the sense of lavishness and magnificence,¹⁵ the emphasis being on radiant splendor.

¹ Wis 17:19—“The whole world was lit up by a brilliant light”; Isa 60:3—“The nations will walk to your light.” Shields are lustrous (C. Michel, *Recueil*, 248, 14); silver vases are more brilliant than mirrors (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.81; Plutarch, *De def. or.* 41, 43); “Gird your loins with your shining belt” (*Jos. Asen.* 14.13; cf. 14.15–16), “made of precious stones” (18.4); the river of living water that flows from the throne of God and of the Lamb is “shiny like crystal” (Rev 22:1). On shimmering water, cf. Aristotle, *Mete.* 370a13); gifts (*Anth. Pal.* 9.478). C. Mugler defines λαμπρός as an “adjective for an object that emits or reflects a bright light” (*Terminologie optique*, p. 238); cf. Plutarch, *Cic.* 20.1: the brilliance of flame; *Dem.* 22.6: bright colors.

² E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 19, 5; cf. n. 166, 3: “I saw the brilliant signs of his power”; 167, 11: “He had shining cheeks and walked to the right of Isis.” In Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.140: “illustrious” as opposed to “obscure.”

³ “Clothed in white raiment.” The Vulgate here takes λαμπρός as a synonym of λευκός (cf. the vestments of the high priest, λευκαί—ς ε—σθησιν; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.327; *War* 2.1); which is the exegesis of P. Joüon, “Luc XXIII, 11, ε—σθητα λαμπράν,” in *RSR*, 1936, pp. 80–85: “having wrapped him in a shining white garment”; he concludes that for Pontius Pilate this color represented the non-responsibility of the accused. That white is symbolic of innocence, and that angels are thus clothed in a λίνον κάαρὸν λαμπρόν (Rev 15:6), and that the elect are wrapped in a βύσσινον λαμπρόν καθαρὸν (Rev 19:8; cf. E. B. Allo, *Saint John: L’Apocalypse*, pp. 59–61; E. Haulotte, *Symbolique du vêtement selon la Bible*, Paris, 1966, pp. 324ff.), does not justify translating λαμπρός as “white,” because its basic meaning is “shining.” Cf. Theophrastus, *Sens.* 29: “shining colors . . . make an unfavorable impression” (τά τε γὰρ λαμπρὰ χρώματα . . . λύπην ε—μποιεῖ—ν).

⁴ Cf. Luke 7:25: οἱ—ε—ν ι—ματισμῷ—ε—νδόξῳ (cf. πολυτελής, 1Tim 2:9). Similarly, Herod Agrippa “on a solemn feast day left for Caesarea, clothed in a royal garment” (λαμπρῷ—καὶ βασιλικῇ+ κοσμησάμενον ε—σθητι, Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.10.1). Of course, this cloak could have been white: after mourning his father, Archelaus puts on a white garment and goes to the temple (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.347), but for a private individual, the color is more important than the cut or propriety of the garment (Josephus, *Life*

334). Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1157, 39: καθήσθωσαν δὲ οἱ— προγεγραμμένοι ε—ν τω— ι—ερω— κοσμίως ε—ν ε—σθήσιν λαμπραι—ς. *T. Abr.* A 16: “Death put on a splendid robe (στολήν λαμπροτάτην) and a radiant countenance.” Cf. the hangings of the temple, made of βύσσου λαμπροτάτης καὶ μαλακωτάτης (*Ant.* 8.72). Plutarch, *Dem.* 22.3.

⁵ Theophrastus, *Char.* 21.5. Cf. Philo, *Joseph* 105: “The prisoner is given splendid clothing (λαμπρὰν ε—σθήτα), in place of the dirty clothes that he had (ἀντὶ ῥυπώσης); he is given a whole makeover and brought before the king. The king can tell from looking at him that he has before him a free man of noble origin.” Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.3, end: “It is always more favorable in a dream to see oneself in clean, fine clothing than wearing shabby, dirty clothes (ἀεὶ δὲ ἄμεινον καθαρὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ ι—μάτια ἔχειν καὶ πεπλυμένα καλω—ς ἢ ῥυπαρὰ καὶ ἄπλυτα), except, of course, for people whose jobs are unclean and those whose work calls for them to handle filth”; cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 30: “ἄνδρες ῥάκη ῥυπαρὰ ε—νδεδύμενοι—people dressed in filthy rags were rolling in torment (among stones sharper than swords, and all afire). These were the rich who trusted in their riches and did not take pity on widows and orphans, but neglected God’s commandment”; Dio Chrysostom 55.20; *P. Giss.* 76, 3: τρίβωνας ῥυπαρὰς β? καὶ στολήν λευκὴν. Moulton-Milligan cite Menander, frag. 669: ἔξωθεν εἰ—σιν οἱ— δοκοῦντες εὐτυχεῖ—ν λαμπροί, τὰ δ ἔνδον πα—σιν ἄνθρωποις ἴσοι (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 104, 4; vol. 4, p. 922, n. 14; cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 B, p. 818). In the first century AD, the *sindinophoros* carries σινδόνας λαμπρὰς τρεῖ—ς in procession (*I. Perg.* 336, 5). These “splendid” linens should be banners.

⁶ Rev 18:14—“All that is luxurious and splendid has vanished from you.” Cf. Philo, *Flacc.* 165: “all this splendid decor in which I have lived for a moment has vanished in a brief instant”; *To Gaius* 327: “I renounce all that splendor”; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.220: “The king, after giving him splendid presents. . . .”

⁷ Luke 16:19; Sir 29:22—“Better the life of a poor man in a wooden shelter than luxurious dishes (ε—δέσματα λαμπρά) with strangers”; 31:23. Cf. Diodorus Siculus 14.108: “The Rhegians began by supplying abundant provisions for the army of Dionysius for several days”; 17.91: “The children who show promise of elegance and strength are fed”; 17.93: “the inhabitants gave a lavish welcome to the Macedonians”; 17.16.4; 17.72.1; 17.115.6: splendid feasts; 17.64.4; 17.91.8; 17.93.1: splendid lodging (and also the spendor of arms, 17.57.2; 17.100.5; splendid courage, 17.59.3; fighting splendidly, 17.60.6; 17.63.4; Alexander carries out a splendid sacrifice in honor of Athena, 17.18.1). Cf. *PSI* 406, 30: ὠφελούντο λαμπρῶ—ν; *SB* 10288 a 10: ὄθεν λαμπρῶ—ς διασωθῆ μου ὁ υι—ός; b 13.

The adverb is used for sacrifices: θύσαντες λαμπρῶς τῶν θεῶν (Josephus, *Ant.* 6.15); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 545, 12: τὰ τε κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καλῶς καὶ λαμπρῶς συνετέλεσεν. The base of a statue of a priest of Rome, *agonothetes*, and *gymnasiarchos* in Pamphylia: λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοδόξως (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1948, p. 199, n. 229; cf. λαμπρῶς καὶ εὐνόξως, *ibid.*, 1934, p. 251). Λαμπρῶς ζήσαντα (“having lived splendidly,” *IGLS* 994, 8). At Gortyn, an honorific monument relates the triumphs of a gladiator (νεικῶν), but twice the victory was particularly glorious: νεικῶν λαμπρῶς (L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, p. 119. Other references, L. Robert, in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, p. 267, n. 9). Plutarch, *Cic.* 1.1: reign with spendor; 47.5: brilliant fortune.

⁸ Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 16: “You, whose soul in its spendor soars above all people.” *IGLS*, n. 275, 5: διὰ τῶν εὐνόξων καὶ λαμπροτάτων ἀρχαγγέλων.

⁹ *P.Oxy.* 2267, 2; 2243, 5; 2347, 1; 2475, 1; 2477, 1; *P.Princ.* 77, 2; *P.Ross.Georg.* V,27, 2; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 2, 3; *P.Fouad* 52, 5, 7; *P.Michael.* 30, 3; *P.Oslo* 35, 5; 41, 4; *P.Got.* 39, 5; *P.Mich.* 610, 4–5; *P.Yale* 71, 3–4; *SB* 10216, 3; 10728, 2; *P.Vars.* (*JJP* 1948, p. 116 = H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 2, p. 269); *ZPE*, vol. 13, 1974, p. 129, line 3.

¹⁰ *P.Got.* 9, 2: “After the consulate of the most illustrious Flavius Basilius”; *P.Lond.* 1913, 1: “the most illustrious Anicius Paulinus”; *P.Mert.* 91, 5; *P.Oxf.* 6, 25; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 8, 2; 10, 2; 12, 1; *P.Mich.* 573, 25; 513, 1; *P.Yale* 71, 2; *P.Stras.* 471, 1; 471 *bis*, 1; 483, 2; *BGU* 2138, 2; 2139, 1; *SB* 10287, 1; *CPR* V, 2, n. 12, 9; 16, 2; *P.Coll.Youtie*, pp. 545, 571 (on the illustrious Capitoline Games, *ibid.*, p. 480); *IGLS* 4016 *bis*, 6; *I. Side*, 183, 7; *I.Bulg.* 907, 2. At Ephesus (*I.Cor.* X, 1; *ZPE* XIV, 1974, p. 163; J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1965, p. 154, n. 341; 1973, p. 164, n. 426); at Hermopolis, cf. *P.Vindob.Worp* 8, 16. *ZPE*, vol. 13, 1974, p. 132, line 2.

¹¹ *P.Fouad* 86, 13; *IGLS* 1809, 4; *CII* 991. Athens celebrates the illustrious hand (λαμπρά χερ ἡγεμονῆος) of the governor who built its walls (*IG*, II2, 5201).

¹² *P.Phil.* 9, 4: “Conformably to the orders given by the most illustrious prefect Semproniu Liberalis” (λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος, second century); *P.Mich.* 366, 4; 367, 7; 424, 3; 425, 3; *P.Oslo* 62, 6; *P.Athen.* 42, 4; *P.Mich.* 526, 17; 529, 6; 613, 3; 617, 13; *P.Yale* 61, 3; *P.Stras.* 392, 5; 393, 7; *P.Oxy.* 3048, 6; 3243, 1; *BGU* 2232, 4–5; 2234, 6; *CPR* V, 2, n. 3, 8 and 15; *P.Petaus* 25, 5; 46, 4; 47, 4; *P.Ant.* 31, 15; *P.Lond.* 1159, 4 (vol. 3, p. 112); *SB* 10275, 8; 10437, 5; 10537, 3; 10568, 4; *SEG* XXIV, 1194, 8; *ZPE*,

vol. 15, 1; 1974, pp. 72, 76; *Stud.Pal.* XXII, 5, 2. According to *P.Mil.Vogl.* 237, 11, in the third century, someone appears “before the most sacred tribunal of the most illustrious prefect Claudius Julianus” (τω—ι—ερωτάτω βήματι τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡμω—ν ἡγεμόνος Κλ. —Ι.); *P.Brux.* 1–18 (on all the census declarations); cf. *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 8, 25; 9, 2; τὸ λαμπρότατον συνέδριον (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1942, p. 343, n. 96; cf. 1973, p. 183, n. 480; *ZPE*, vol. 15, 1; 1974, p. 35). Cf. Cato, the offspring of an illustrious family (Plutarch, *Phoc.* 4.1).

¹³ The one at Beth-Shearim in Berytus (B. Lifshitz, “Fonctions et titre honorifiques dans les communautés juives,” in *RB*, 1960, pp. 58–59), at Sidon (*CII* 991); republished by B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. 74.

¹⁴ *SB* 9396, 4; 9461, 10, 16; *P.Mich.* 529, 4; *P.Stras.* 255, 7; *P.Fouad* 20, 8; 83, 10; *C.P.Herm.* 19, 13; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 49, 5; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 261, 6; *P.Michael.* 38, 1; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 2, 5 (cf. H. C. Youtie, in *Essays in Honor of C. B. Welles*, p. 29); *P.Bon.* 46, 8: πρὸς τὴν ε—ξουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου μου λαμπροτάτου.

¹⁵ Plutarch inserts λαμπρότης between εὐπορία and τιμή (Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 29). In a hymn to Isis, the sovereign of Hermouthis is praised because, thanks to her, “all those who live in prosperity, people of goodwill, scepter-bearing kings, and all who are leaders . . . leave much splendid and magnificent (λαμπρὸν καὶ λιπαρόν) wealth to their grandchildren and their descendants” (*SEG* VIII, 550, 10; V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 49).

λαός

laos, people, population, community, multitude

laos, S 2992; *TDNT* 4.29–57; *EDNT* 2.339–344; *NIDNTT* 2.795–801, 805; MM 370–371; L&N 11.1, 11.12, 11.55, 87.64; BDF §§44(1), 134(1), 262(3), 147(3); BAGD 466–467

There is hardly anything to add to Strathmann’s excellent article (*TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 29–57), nor to the known connotations of this word, which is rare in the Koine outside the Bible: the “population” of a city (Gen 19:4), members of a tribe (Gen 49:16), like those of Hamor and Shechem, who intermarry “so that they may be one people” (*hoste einai laon hena*, Gen 34:22), inhabitants of a country (2Kgs 16:15; Ezra 4:4; 10:2, 11; Neh 10:31) or an indigenous population,¹ and above all the honorary and religious designation of Israel as the “people of God,” the community (Hebrew *‘edâh*) or assembly (*qahal*), who belong to Yahweh, keep his

law, and worship him.² The Christian community (*synagoge, ekklesia*) inherits this title, which from that point means the assembly of those who believe in Christ,³ made up of people from every race and every tongue (Luke 1:17; Acts 15:14; 18:10), both Jewish and pagan (Rom 9:25; Eph 2:14). No text explicitly cancels this title for Israel;⁴ it is as if the church constitutes a new, faithful generation (succeeding a wicked and adulterous generation, Matt 12:39; Mark 8:38; Luke 11:29) in the *laos tou theou*, which is essentially characterized by God's call on the one hand and on the other by the consecration of its members and its assembly to the Lord.

We must insist on the quite commonplace meaning of *laos*, "crowd, multitude"⁵—almost synonymous with *ochloi* or *anthropoi*, "people," taking in individuals or referring to a collective whole (Philo, *Rewards* 125; *P.Petr.* 45, 3, 3)—and the legal and political sense in which "the people" expresses the idea of an organism, tied together by legal structures directed toward the common good.⁶ From that point, *laos* designates a group of people subject to a hierarchy, a distinct and inferior class,⁷ even the serfs attached to the land in Polybius 4.52.7. This usage is so widespread that in the papyri *laoi* is customarily translated "common folk, peasants." But C. Vandersleyen, who cites twenty-six papyri, of which twenty-two are from before Christ,⁸ believes that the *laoi* constituted the superior stratum of the Egyptian population, the class that governed the country villages; they were only one part of the population, farmers, for example, as distinct from the mass of farm laborers.⁹ They undertake initiatives (*P.Lille* 16, 2 and 8) and enjoy not only a relative autonomy but also the confidence of the officials: "let the *laoi* and the other farmers estimate their produce" (*P.Rev.* 42, 11). Apollonios apologizes to this limited group for not being able to give them a personal audience; he will send a *chrematistes* to meet them at Philadelphia (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59203, 3, 7, 17–17; cf. 59204, 5; 59292, 566, 650). They announce the time for beginning the harvest, they evaluate the harvest, they busy themselves with collecting taxes and they discuss them; they carry out public works (*PSI* 577, 23; *P.Petr.* II, p. 52; 15, 1 b; 13, 45, 3), excavations (*SB* 7179, 4), drainage projects (*P.Petr.* II, p. 14; 14, 11, 4). They are officials,¹⁰ hence an élite, hierarchically above the common folk,¹¹ associated with the "village leaders." C. Vandersleyen is right to translate *laoi* "noteworthies."¹²

This noble meaning is present in the phrases *Senatus Populusque Romanus* and *Majestas Populi Romani*.¹³ It is also the meaning of the title written on the banners in 1QM 4.13: "On the large ensign at the head of all the people shall be written 'People of God,' the name of Israel and of Aaron, and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel."

¹ Which became a pejorative term, cf. F. Würthwein, *Der 'amm ha' arez im A.T.*, Stuttgart, 1937; R. Meyer, "Der Am Hâ'âres," in *Judaica*, 1947, pp. 169–199; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 70ff., 109.

² Judg 5:11; 1Sam 2:24; 2Sam 14:13; Deut 7:6-8; 14:2; 26:18; Isa 51:4; Zeph 2:9; etc. The singular is used in contrast to the plural (which is synonymous with ἔθνη): the peoples are Israel's enemies (Gen 49:10; Ps 7:8; 33:10; 47:4; 67:5). In the secular literature, cf. Isyllus, in the third century AD: θεὸν ἀείσατε λαοί (in J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford, 1925, p. 133, 37).

³ The "people of God" is an "elect" people, i.e., loved by God, belonging to him, reserved by him to form his church in this or that city or in all the nations (Acts 15:14; 18:10; Rom 9:25-26; 1Pet 2:10). The expression is transposed from Israel to the Christian community (2Cor 6:16; Heb 8:10), whose members are all "one" in Christ Jesus (cf. Rom 12:4; Gal 3:28; Col 3:11) and enlivened by the Holy Spirit (cf. Rom 8:5). Thus it is a "new people" that inherits the privileges of the old people (cf. L. Cerfaux, *La Théologie de l'Eglise suivant saint Paul*, 2d ed., Paris, 1965, pp. 56–67; cf. 18, 299–300), redeemed or liberated by the Savior. For this reason, the emphasis is on the sanctification or purification of this people (Titus 2:14; Heb 13:12; Rev 18:4), and deserters are punished (Heb 10:30). Finally, this messianic and spiritual people is promised a "Sabbath rest" (Heb 4:19) in the heavenly Jerusalem. God will dwell with them (Rev 21:3). Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk*, Zurich, 1960; M. L. Newman, *The People of the Covenant*, Nashville, 1963; J. H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 138ff.; and above all P. S. Minear, "Jesus' Audiences According to Luke," in *NovT*, 1974, pp. 81ff.

⁴ Cf. Rom 11:1-2, 29. Nonetheless, *laos* without a complement, when applied to Israel, refers more to the "nation" (Matt 1:21; Luke 1:68, 77; 2:32; 7:16; Acts 4:10; 13:24; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.159: Moses obtains the best laws for the people; *Ant.* 10.12: asks God to have pity on his people), without excluding a formal religious meaning. The secular meaning of the Hebrew *'am* is found also at Qumran: "they behave with shrewdness and faithlessness toward all the peoples" (1QpHab 3.6, 13); "the carnal assembly" (1QS 11.7, 9); "the assembly of vanity" (1QH 6.4); but the religious sense appears in 1QM 18.7: "You have worked great wonders toward your people"; 1QH 13.8: "the assembly of your saints."

⁵ Num 2:6—"many people died"; Josh 17:14; 2Chr 7:10; Jer 23:41; 41:10; 44:2; Luke 1:10; 3:21; 6:17; 18:43; 21:38; Acts 6:12; 13:15; 21:36; 1QM 7.17; 15.3–5; Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 62; Josephus, *War* 1.122: "This agreement was made in the temple, in the presence of the people"; 1.457: "Herod

assembled the people”; 1.550: “Herod stirred up the people against them”; 2.1: “Archelaus offered the people a sumptuous funeral banquet”; 3.329; *Ant.* 13.201, parallel to τὸ πλῆθος. Cf. the Jewish tomb inscriptions: τω—λαω—χαίρειν, “farewell to all” (*CII* 699–702, 704–706; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1247); “people’s place of prayer” (n. 662); with reference to the “local community,” cf. n. 720, 776; at Hierapolis: “Marcus Aurelius Alexander . . . surnamed Asaph (?) of the Jewish community,” (λαοῦ —Ιουδαίων); at Caesarea, the financial participation of the community: “Gift of the community under Marathas” (προσφορὰ τοῦ λαοῦ ε—πὴ Μαρουθα—, B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. 64; other inscriptions in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vols. 11–12, pp. 260–262); φιλόλαος = loving his people (n. 203, 509; cf. 476, 720). Plutarch, *Rom.* 26.4: “The Greeks still refer to service to the state using the word λήϊτον and to the people using the word λαός”; *Suav. viv.* 13: the multitude of spectators; Diodorus Siculus 1.57.2: Emperor Seoösis built canals, which facilitated relations between the inhabitants, ται—ς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τω—ν λαω—ν ε—πιμιξίαις; 3.45.6: “through lack of experience (διὰ τὴν τω—ν λαω—ν ἀπειρίαν), the people do not work the land as is necessary.” In the epigram for a winner in the Nemean games, from 200 BC, ὄσπασε λαός (the people of Phoronis) is a traditional restoration that must be done away with and replaced with ἦρσο νίκης (R. Merkelbach, in *ZPE*, vol. 7, 1971, p. 274) or ἵκετο νίκας (J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme*, n. 64, 3). On ὄχλος and πλῆθος, cf. P. Zingg, *Das Wachsen der Kirche*, Göttingen, 1974, pp. 61–67; P. S. Minear, *NovT*, 1974, pp. 84ff.

⁶ Cicero, *Rep.* 1.25: “Populus autem non omnis hominum coetus quoque modo congregatus, sed coitus multitudinis juris consensu societatis” (“The people,’ moreover, is not just any gathering of men assembled in any way, but the gathering of the multitude in accord with the laws of society”). Cf. J. Gaudemet, “Le Peuple et gouvernement de la République romaine,” in *Gouvernés et gouvernants* (Recueils Jean Bodin, 23), Brussels, 1968, pp. 190ff.

⁷ In the Ptolemaic papyri: “Volgus Aegyptiorum, praecipue opifices et agricolae” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 12; n. 47; cf. *UPZ* 110, 100–103; *P. Stras.* 93, 4: requisitioned draft animals that belong to the *laoi*); likewise in Asia Minor (P. Briant, “Remarques sur ‘laoi’ et esclaves ruraux en Asie Mineure hellénistique,” in *Actes du Colloque 1971 sur l’esclavage*, Paris, 1972, pp. 93–133). The Egyptians are Pharaoh’s λαός (Gen 41:40; Exod 1:22), the λαὸς τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ (Neh 9:10); Ezek 7:27; Luke 22:2; 23:13: “Pilate called together the chief priests, the leaders, and the people.” At Qumran, the order or precedence is first the priests, then the Levites, and “the whole people shall pass in the third place, in order, one after another” (1QS 2.20); Philo, *Rewards* 123: “Chosen people, not of particular governors, but of the

only true governor, the holy people of a holy Governor”; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.101: ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας; 6.199; 7.63. This pejorative connotation is heightened in *Poimandrès* 1.27: Ὁ λαοί, ἄνδρες γηγενεῖς, “O peoples, men born of the earth, you who have given yourselves over to drunkenness, to sleep, and to ignorance of God.”

⁸ C. Vandersleyen, “Le Mot λαός dans la langue des papyrus grecs,” in *ChrEg*, 1973, pp. 339, 349. Most of these papyri are administrative documents. *SB* 8355, 3 is a citation of Homer, *Od.* 24.530: “The one over there must be one of the gods, a master of the field of heaven, who cried out and held back the whole people” (κατὰ δ’ ἔσχεθε λαὸν ἅπαντα, cf. A. and E. Bernard, *Memnon*, n. 37, 3).

⁹ *P.Rev.* (J. Bingen), col. 42, 11: οἱ— δὲ [λαοὶ] καὶ οἱ— λοιποὶ γεωργοί. They are several times referred to as inhabitants of *komai*: τῶ—ν ε—ν ται—ς κώμαις κατοικούντων λαῶ—ν (*UPZ* 110, 101; second century BC); τοὺς κατὰ κώμην κωμάρχας καὶ τινὰς τῶ—ν λαῶ—ν (*SB* 7179, 4); *P.Tebt.* 701, 74, 80: τοι—ς λαοι—ς τοι—ς ε—ν Σύρων κώμη.

¹⁰ “Spare the hard-pressed noteworthies (τῶ—ν μὲν ταλαιπώρων λαῶ—ν) and the *machinoi* and the others who are not vested with authority (τῶ—ν ἄλλων τῶ—ν ἀδυνατούντων)” (*UPZ* 110, 132). Given this position and these functions, the *laoi* abuse their power, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59368, 26: “at that time, it was discovered that twelve measures of fodder were missing on account of the *laoi*; concerning which an investigation has been opened”; *PSI* 380, 5; 402, 4: a peasant complains about the competition “from the class of noteworthies who are in the city and who grow pumpkins” (third century).

¹¹ *BGU* 1768, 6; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 24, 10; *Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 11 A 6. Even *SB* 8299, 12 (the Rosetta Stone) would indicate a superior class of the population: ὁ τε λαὸς καὶ οἱ— ἄλλοι πάντες (C. Vandersleyen, *ChrEg*, 1973, p. 347). W. Peremans, “Classes sociales et conscience nationale en Egypte ptolémaïque,” in *Miscellanea in Honorem J. Vergote*, (Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica VI–VII), Louvain, 1975, pp. 443–453. T. Alfieri, “La Position de M. Rostovzev (*sic*) à propos des ‘Laoi’ de l’Asie Mineure hellénistique,” in *Actes du Colloque 1973 sur l’Esclavage*, Paris, 1976, pp. 283–289.

¹² [French *notables*.] C. Vandersleyen proposes that the λαοκρίται should be seen not as “judges of the λαοί, meaning of the common folk,” but as “judges chosen from the class of the λαοί” (*ibid.*, p. 348).

¹³ Kübler, “Majestas” (in PW XIV, 1, 542–544), which, with the empire, would be transferred to the prince; cf. the *crimen minutae majestatis* (*Rhet. Her.* 2.12, 17), repression of any breach of the majesty of the Roman people.

λείπω

leipo, to fall short, be incomplete, lack

leipo, S 3007; *EDNT* 2.347; *NIDNTT* 3.247–248, 251, 253; MM 372; L&N 57.43, 57.44, 71.33; BDF §§75, 101, 180(4), 189(3), 393(4); BAGD 470

The *Suda* offers the definition *leipesthai: hettesthai*; in the papyri, this verb is often used in accounting for a deficit, a negative balance;¹ in the NT, it always has the sense “to be wanting, insufficient, incomplete.”²

When active and intransitive, it is synonymous with *hystereo* and indicates a lack. To the wealthy and virtuous young man, Jesus said, *eti hen soi leipei*,³ exactly like Epictetus: “You came to me not long ago as a man in need of nothing (*hos medenos deomenos*). And what could you even imagine needing (*hos endeontos*)? . . . Caesar knows you, you have many friends at Rome, you fulfill your obligations, you know how to oblige in turn one who obliges you. . . . What are you lacking (*ti soi leipei*)?” (2.14.19).

The passive is used in the NT only by St. James, either with the genitive of the thing lacking or with *en* and the dative: “. . . so that you may be perfect and complete, lacking nothing (*en medeni leipomenoi*). If anyone among you lacks wisdom (*ei de tis hymon leipetai sophias*), let him ask God.”⁴ The combination of *teleios* (the adult, one who has achieved maturity, as opposed to a *nepios*, 1Cor 2:6; Col 1:28) and *holokleros* (complete in all parts, whole, intact, cf. Acts 3:16) has the force of a superlative, to which the negative adjunct—in Hebrew gnomic style—adds nothing:⁵ the absence of any deficiency is already included in the idea of its perfection (the perfect being that from which nothing is lacking). This deficiency or shortcoming can be minimal or serious,⁶ like that of Christians who “are naked and lack daily food” (*gymnoi hyparchosin kai leipomenoi tes ephemerou trophes*);⁷ the latter detail serves to indicate the urgent need for help, which Christians must provide for their brothers and sisters in the faith (Gal 6:10). The choice of the passive *leipomai* conveys the idea that these poor folk have been left behind, as it were, by their brothers; the expression is from the vocabulary of the racetrack, where an athlete is “passed by” by his fellow runners,⁸ but it is also used for other competitions, for example, a musicians’ contest at Messina (*liphtheis ton biotou stephanon*)⁹ or for the “defeat” before a tribunal of a litigant who has no means of defense or who is overwhelmed by the testimony.¹⁰ In a

way this is the situation of Menelaus, who “seeing that he was already defeated (*ede de leleimmenos*) promised large sums to Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, to win the king over.”¹¹

St. Paul left Titus in Crete “to finish organizing what remains (to be set in order).”¹² The present participle of *leipo* clearly has here the sense of incompleteness, something that constitutes a lack or is insufficient. Similarly, Combalos asked “to go finish what remained to be built, for he had left the temple incomplete” (Lucian, *Syr. D.* 26). Since the churches provide for the needs of itinerant preachers, giving them food, funds, means of transportation, information on routes,¹³ etc., the apostle concludes: “Take good care of Zenas the lawyer and Apollos, so that they may lack nothing” (*hina meden autois leipe*, Titus 3:13).

¹ *BGU* 1782, 12: *περὶ τοῦ μηδένα λόγον λείπεσθαι*; *P.Mich.* 182, 37: *ε—άν μὲν λείπηταιί τι πρὸς τὰ μὴ (τάλαντα) τοῦ χαλκοῦ*; *P.Apoll.* 82, 13: *λείπεται νομίσμ. χνβ? κεράτι. ι?*; *P.Oxy.* 2195, 155; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 24, 10; *SB* 10530, 8, 23; S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 41, 12: *λείπεται δραγμαὶ ρνε?*. Cf. the clause *μὴ ε—λαττουμένου* (H. A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, Munich, 1971; G. Hage, “Die MH ΕΛΑΤΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ-Klausel in den griechischen Papyri Aegyptens,” in *Proceedings* XII, pp. 195–205).

² Cf. Wis 19:4—“They fill up the punishment for what is lacking in their torments” (*τὴν λείπουσαν τοι—ς βασάνοις*); *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 2547 (vol. 1, p. 146): *ε—ξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος αὔξεται καὶ λείπεται*; *P.Mert.* XXIV, 10: *to the extent that you fulfill your obligations, you will not be lacking my part (οὐ λείψει σε)*; *P.Ryl.* 583, 18–19; *P.Hib.* 198, 9: *the brigand and the one who deserts the boat (ὁ ληστής καὶ ὁ τὴν ναῦν λελοιπώς)*; *Sib. Or.* 3.416: “an Erinys . . . will abandon the vast sea of Europe and Asia”; *CII* 61, 4; *said concerning death: βίον λει—πε* (*SB* 7289, 4; 8960, 12), *of the loss of a child (I.Thas.* 370, 5; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 14, 25; *P.Dura* XII, 5). A metrical epitaph for a *bestarius* at Philippi: *ἔλιπον φάος τὸ γλυκὸν κόσμον*, I have left the sweet light of the world (L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, n. 25, 6; cf. 296, 11); one loses one’s strength or courage (*ibid.*, 124, 5). On the aorist *ἔλιπον-ἔλειψα* in the Koine, and the formation of the perfect *λέλοιπα* by adding *α* to the primitive root, cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, §18 *j, p*; B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, n. 306, 13.

³ Luke 18:22 (cf. Mark 10:21: *ἐν σε ὑστερεῖ—*; 1Cor 1:7—*μὴ ὑστερεῖ—σθαι ε—ν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι*). *T. Abr.* A 14: Abraham says to the archangel, “Michael, what does this soul still lack for being saved?” (*τί ἔτι λείπεται τῆ ψυχῆ εἰ—ς τὸ σῶζεσθαι?*).

⁴ Jas 1:4-5; cf. J. A. Kirk, “The Meaning of Wisdom in James,” in *NTS*, vol. 16, 1969, pp. 24–38.

⁵ “The emphasis rests essentially on the first two terms; the negative parallel that follows adds nothing to the idea but amplifies the sentence and rounds it out with a concluding cadence” (J. Marty, *L’Épître de Jacques*, p. 12), who cites the Stoic proposition: πάντα δὲ τὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα τέλειον εἶναι λέγουσι διὰ τὸ μηδεμια—ς ἀπολειπεσθαι ἀρετῆς (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.7.11; vol. 2, p. 98, 15). Cf. the ordinance of Ptolemy Alexander I, granting, in 97–96 BC, the right of asylum to the temple of Horus at Athribis, “a first-class, remarkable temple, one of the oldest and most celebrated, has obtained other honors, but it is lacking in that it is not a place of asylum” (λείπεσθαι δὲ ἐ—ν τω— μὴ εἶναι ἄσυλον, *SB* 620, 6 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 64).

⁶ Cf. Aristotle, *Gen. An.* 4.1.766a26: emasculated animals do not fall far short of females in appearance (μικρὸν ἐ—λλείπουσιν τοῦ θήλεος τὴν ἰ—δέαν); *P.Fouad* 85, 3: “Nothing remains for you (οὐθὲν λείπει) but to come and find your bed all made.”

⁷ Jas 2:15. On τῆς ἐ—φημέρου τροφῆς, cf. the parallels cited by F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 236.

⁸ Cf. the epitaph of Alabanda, where Polyneikes was not surpassed in the technique of combat, ἄλειπτος . . . οὐχὶ τέχνη λειφθείς (L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, n. 169). Ἀλειπτος means “undefeated” (*I.Magn.* 181, 17; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11, pp. 338ff.). A decree of Gonnoi, in the third century BC: “The people should not lag behind (μηθενὸς λείπεσθαι) with respect to honors and recognition for those who choose to be benefactors of the people” (*NCIG*, n. 11, 15 = *I. Gonn.*, vol. 2, n. 109).

⁹ Cited with numerous examples by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11, p. 330, who comments: “A common meaning of λείπεσθαι, in the passive and not in the middle, is ‘be surpassed, be left behind, be defeated.’ The phrase is used first of all for runners; it is used for all manner of inferiority and defeat in a wide variety of authors, in both prose and poetry.”

¹⁰ Cf. Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.29; 4.72.80; *P.Turner* 1, col. VIII, 35: λελει—φθαι τῇ κρίσει; *P.Oxf.* 14, 12 (with the editor’s note); Josephus, *War* 3.482—“You and I are on trial. . . . How could I dare present myself, if you abandoned me?”

¹¹ 2 Macc 4:45; cf. the master of the undefeated (ἀλείπτεος) athlete who gives in to corruption (Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 4.82).

¹² Titus 1:5: ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ε—πιδιορθώσῃ (this latter verb is not attested outside of *CIG* 2555, 9). To represent the word-play ἀπέλιπον . . . τὰ λείποντα, we could translate “I left you to complete what was left.” Τὰ λείποντα = the backlog (*P.Mert.* 73, 14; *P.Princ.* 117, 29); τοι—ς λιποῦσιν τὴν τάξιν could be stragglers (*I.Car.* 149, 15). Cf. Philo, *Flacc.* 124: “You give a flicker of good hope for the reestablishment of all the rest” (περὶ τῆς τω—ν λειπομένων ε—πανορθώσεως).

¹³ 3 John 6; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 618, 5; 800, 29; cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol.2, pp. 809ff.; P. Gauthier, *Symbola*, pp. 19 *et passim*. E. Wipszycka, *Les Ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Egypte du IVe au VIIIe siècle*, Brussels, 1972, pp.115ff., etc.

λειτουργέω, λειτουργία, λειτουργικός, λειτουργός

leitourgeo, to perform official service for a civic or religious community; *leitourgia*, civic or religious (priestly) service; *leitourgikos*, serving, ministering; *leitourgos*, official, minister

leitourgeo, S 3008; *TDNT* 4.215–229; *EDNT* 2.347–349; *NIDNTT* 1.551–553; MM 372–373; L&N 35.22, 53.13; BAGD 470–471 | ***leitourgia***, S 3009; *TDNT* 4.215–229; *EDNT* 2.347–349; *NIDNTT* 3.551–553; MM 373; L&N 35.22, 35.25, 53.13; BAGD 471 | ***leitourgikos***, S 3010; *TDNT* 4.231; *EDNT* 2.347–349; *NIDNTT* 3.551–552; MM 373; L&N 35.24; BAGD 471 | ***leitourgos***, S 3011; *TDNT* 4.229–231; *EDNT* 2.347–349; *NIDNTT* 3.551–553; MM 373; L&N 35.23; BDF §27; BAGD 471

Whatever their semantic evolution, these terms retain their etymological significance: *leitourgos* = *leitōs* (Ionian, “public, relating to the people”) + *ergon* (“work”).¹ Sometimes the emphasis is on the work and its toilsome nature, sometimes on its official and somewhat statist character; the denominative verb *leitourgeo* means “carry out a service” and the *leitourgia* in the inscriptions and the papyri are duties or functions.²

(1) Originally the verb *leitourgeo* was used for the execution of a voluntary service for the state; people would of their own volition undertake a patriotic or public project.

(2) Later, it was used for services that the state imposed on citizens who were specially qualified by virtue of their intelligence or wealth.³ “The use of compulsory service, based on *leitourgia*, was built into an institution in Egypt under Roman rule.”⁴ The burden was so heavy that a number of those who were liable for service took flight (*BGU* 372; *P.Oslo* 79) or submitted multiple petitions to trade assignments or be exempted.⁵ No matter how much the *strategos* promised to apportion public duties fairly,⁶

certain persons were nevertheless shielded from any obligation while others had several *leitourgiai* imposed on them.⁷

(3) *Leitourgeo* came to mean any kind of service, whether that of a worker for his master (Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.5.1278a12); of tailors (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59477, 13: *hoson an chronon leitourgomen soi*, “for whatever length of time we work for you”); for an actor’s role (Epictetus 1.2.12); for a peasant who works in another’s place (*P.Oxy.* 1067, 19); for musicians (*P.Oxy.* 731, 4; AD 8–9; 1275, 12; *P.Corn.* 9, 5; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 54, 10); for dancers (*P.Grenf.* II, 67, 6; *P.Oxy.* 475, 18); and even for prostitutes. In the LXX, the Hebrew *’ebed* is taken to mean “slave” and *’abôdâh* “service” or “work,” as opposed to inaction: *corvée*.⁸ The Hebrew verb *’abad* is translated by *leitourgeo* as well as by *ergazomai* and *douleuo*.

(4) At least since Aristotle,⁹ and frequently in the papyri, these terms have a religious meaning: “Thaues and Taous, the twins, who serve in the great temple of Sarapis at Memphis.”¹⁰ This in the most common significance of these words in the LXX, which gives them sacerdotal connotations having to do with the priests and Levites who officiate at or carry out the worship services in the sanctuary: *pas ho leitourgon en te skene tou martyriou*.¹¹ In Isa 66:6, the *leitourgoi* are in parallel with the *hiereis*: “You shall be called priests of Yahweh, officiants of God” (*leitourgoi theou*; cf. Joel 1:9, 13; 2:17).

These various meanings are found also in the NT:

(1) Service rendered by one person to another: to help one’s neighbor is a *leitourgia*. Thus Epaphroditus was delegated by the Philippians to see to Paul’s needs (*hymon de apostolon kai leitourgon tes chreias mou*);¹² he carries out a friendly or brotherly “office.” The collection for the saints of Jerusalem is an obligation, a debt of gratitude that the pagan converts cannot shirk, even while its performance is voluntary: “If the Gentiles have shared in their spiritual goods, they should in turn help with their temporal goods” (Rom 15:27). The reference to monetary contributions places this text in agreement with secular usage (cf. *P.Oxy.* 2924 and 2941, the *leitourgos* responsible for distributing wheat or bread). But this same collection has religious connotations in 2Cor 9:12: “the ministration of this holy service”¹³ will bring thanksgiving to God.

(2) In calling imperial officials (*archontes*, Rom 13:3) *leitourgoi theou*, in a sense ministers who are appointed by God and who apply themselves to carrying out their responsibilities well (verse 6) in order to promote good order and assure the well-being of the people, St. Paul uses the word *leitourgos* in the sense found in the papyri: municipal officials, functionaries responsible for a particular area.¹⁴ It is an obligation that is imposed,¹⁵ and financial responsibilities go along with it (verse 7).

(3) In the religious sense, the angels are ministers of God in the service of the elect,¹⁶ that is, they are spiritual beings who carry out public functions under the authority of a sovereign. They do not act on their own initiative.

The are under the orders of the Lord, who constantly sends them out to serve. Just as Athens and the other cities send their *leitourgoi* to represent the city on diplomatic missions,¹⁷ God sends Paul as a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles (Rom 15:16). His job is to be a *leitourgos*, which in itself implies no cultic functions; but he goes on to say “for the *hierourgia* of the gospel,” so his is in fact a sacred ministry and, more than that, a priestly function.¹⁸ Paul’s whole apostolate is conceived as a *leitourgia*, since he accepts the shedding of his blood as a libation “for the sacrifice and oblation of the faith” of the Christians (*epi te thysia kai leitourgia tes pisteos hymon*, Phil 2:17). It is generally agreed that “of your faith” is a genitive of explication and that *leitourgia* describes the sacrifice,¹⁹ emphasizing its public character and the ritual value of the offering, analogous to that of the temple. The sacrifice offered is faith itself, extending to take in all the moral activity that it enjoins (1Thess 1:3; 2Thess 1:11), which constitutes a new and spiritual worship, a pleasing fragrance to God (Phil 4:8; 2Cor 2:14-17; Rom 12:1). Thus the Christian life is a sacrificial offering or a liturgical sacrifice.

(4) All the other NT texts have a priestly meaning. “When the days of his ministry (*hai hemerai tes leitourgias autou*) were accomplished, Zechariah returned to his house” (Luke 1:23). At Antioch, the prophets and teachers hold a worship service (literally, “doing service to the Lord,” *leitourgounton de auton to Kyrio*) and appoint Paul and Barnabas as missionaries.²⁰ Ministers stood (Deut 10:8; 17:12; 18:7), and Heb 10:11 says, “Every priest stands each day and performs his religious functions (*leitourgon*), often repeating the same sacrifices.”

Heb 8:2, having described the resurrected Christ as the heavenly high priest, calls him “*leitourgos* of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle prepared by the Lord, not by a human.” *Ton hagion leitourgos* is the priest in charge of the sanctuary, the one who presides at worship there.²¹ A double nuance must be retained. On the one hand, this minister is active, since the *leitourgos* is a worker;²² thus his intercession to God is constant. On the other hand, since it is emphasized that this tabernacle is pitched not by any human but by God, the accent falls on the absolute nature of Christ’s accomplishment: in carrying out his priestly duty, he obeys the will of God. This faithfulness is indispensable for a mediator (Heb 8:6), since it assures him of a hearing with God. These two latter texts offer the assurance that he carries out a priestly function in heaven, a much more efficacious ministry than that of the old covenant. Obviously, Hebrews borrows the word *leitourgos* from the vocabulary of the LXX and retains its religious and specifically sacerdotal meaning, but for Greek ears this word evokes an official function carried out by a person who has been put in charge on behalf of a group. Thus it would be plain that the exercise of the heavenly liturgy is something other than a sinecure. The title of heavenly high priest is not some sort of honorific title for the heavenly Christ; it is the

appropriate description for the *archegos* who is always interceding for the salvation of humans (Heb 2:10).

¹ Plutarch, *Rom.* 26.4: “It seems likely that the *c* in the title of the *lictors* is an insertion and that originally it was *litores*, from the Greek λειτουργοί; for still today the Greeks use the word λήϊτον for service to the state and the word λαός for the people.” *P.Ryl.* 91, 1–2: ε—κ βιβλιοθήκης δημοσίων [λόγων], ε—κ γραφῆς λιτουργω—ν; *P.Oxy.* 82, 3: ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀναδόσεις τω—ν λιτουργω—ν ποιήσασθαι ὕγιω—ς καὶ πιστω—ς (oath of office for a *strategos*).

² Cf. the Latin *munera* (O. Casel, “λειτουργία—munus,” in *Oriens Christianus*, 1932, vol. 3, 7, pp. 289–302). N. Hohlwein, *Termes techniques*, pp. 312ff.; W. Barclay, *NT Wordbook*, pp. 74–75; F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, Leipzig, 1917; A. Romeo, “Il termine λειτουργία nella greco biblica,” in *Miscellanea Mohlberg*, Rome, 1948, pp. 467–519; N. Lewis, *Leitourgia Papyri*, Philadelphia, 1963 (= *P. Leit.*); Strathmann, “λειτουργέω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 215–222; the bibliography should be filled out with that given by F. De Visscher, *Les Edits d’Auguste découverts à Cyrène*, Louvain, 1949, p. 88; N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology, vol. 3), New Haven-Toronto, 1968–1975.

³ *P.Bru.* 21. “People capable of carrying out the task entrusted to them” (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 223); *P.Cair.Zen.* 59323, 16; *I.Priene* 102, 7; 113, 16. It refers to “certain public services rendered by individuals from private means” (J. Barr, *Semantics*, p. 149; cf. C. Kunderewicz, “Evolution historique de la responsabilité des fonctionnaires dans l’Egypte ptolémaïque,” in *RIDA*, 1957, pp. 168ff.). Daremberg and Saglio define λειτουργία: “every service [French *toute prestation, tout service*] carried out for the state or imposed by law” (*DAGR*; H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l’éducation*, pp. 173–174, nn. 543–544 = ET, pp. 163, 507), the *archithetria* to defray the expenses of ambassadors sent by the state to official or sacred events, the *trierarchia* to pay for outfitting the fleet in wartime, the *sitologia* (*BGU* 188; 462; *P.Amh.* II, 139; *P.Lond.* 1159; vol. 3, p. 112, cf. N. Lewis, “Leitourgia Studies,” in *Proceedings IX*, pp. 233–245); cf. the list of *leitourgiai* in Demosthenes, *1 C. Boeot.* 39.7–8; by Lysias, *Def. Anon.* 21. Cf. *CIG* 3936 = *IGRom.* IV, 861: “The council and the people (of Laodicea) have honored Tatia, daughter of Nicostratos son of Pericles, who died young, on account of the public offices, *leitourgiai*, and superintendancies of public projects carried out by her father.” In Egypt, municipal duties were called λειτουργίαι, and names from a list of appointees maintained by the town clerk (κωμογραμματεύς) (*BGU* 6; cf. *P.Fay.* 23 a; *P.Lond.* 199, vol. 2,

p. 158; *P.Oslo* 86) were drawn by lot by the viceroy (ε—πιστρατηγός) (*BGU* 194). For the εὔποροι (cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, p. 408), their personal revenue (πόρος) varied from 200 to 4,000 drachmas (*BGU* 6; 18; 91; 194; *P.Flor.* 2). “Corvées” (cf. *P.Sorb.* 42, 12) have to do mostly with the upkeep of dikes and canals (*BGU* 176), maintaining locks (*P.Mich.* 233), irrigation projects (*P.Leit.* 2); “I completed a *leitourgia* of guarding the city in the Heroum quarter” (*P.Oxy.* 3114, 17). The γραφή λειτουργῶ—ν τῆς κώμης is the list of “town *leitourgoi*” (3184, *a* 10; *b*, 9); cf. R. Koerner, “Zu Recht und Verwaltung der griechischen Wasserversorgung nach den Inschriften,” in *APF*, 1974, pp. 155–202; D. Bonneau, “Liturges et fonctionnaires de l’eau à l’époque romaine: Souplesse administrative,” in *Proceedings* XIII, pp. 35–42. In the Byzantine era, ἀπολειτουργει—ν τὸν βίον was a metaphor for death, *P.Lond.* 1708, 29; *P.Cair.Masp.* I, 67023 = *Jur.Pap.*, 12, 14.

⁴ G. Chalon, *T. Julius Alexander*, pp. 104, 165.

⁵ *P.Mich.* 426; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 2 and 3; *P.Brem.* 38; *P.Cair.Isid.* 82; *P.Yale* 64, 14; *P.Oxy.* 2130; *P.Leit.* 4, 5, 6. Various petitioners cited age, 70 years, γέρας ἀλειτουρησίας (*P.Flor.* 57, 62; 312, 4–5; *P.Oxy.* 889, 18; *PSI* 1103), an eye disease (*P.Flor.* 382, 27) or some other illness (*P.Mich.* 426; *BGU* 560, 22; *Stud.Pal.* IV, 72, 208; *Apokrimata* 37 = *SB* 9526, 91 *P.Fam.Tebt.* 41), dangers (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 10, 14), or the losses suffered by a peasant required to leave his field at harvest time (*P.Flor.* 6; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59451, 14); cf. *SB* 7696; 8900, 8ff.; *P.Würzb.* 9. *P. Phil.*, pp. 11–23. N. Lewis, “Exemption from Liturgy in Roman Egypt,” in *Proceedings* X, pp. 69–79; idem, “Exemption from Liturgy in Roman Egypt,” in *Proceedings* XI, pp. 508–541). In AD 111, among various administrative measures, the prefect contemplates the case of dispensation from *leitourgiai* and the assuming of pseudonyms, which were one of the means used to obtain such exemptions (*P.Oxy.* 2754, 1–7; cf. N. Lewis, “Notationes legentis,” in *BASP*, vol. 13, 1976, p. 7).

⁶ *P.Oxy.* 82, 3; *P.Mich.* 529, 5. *C.Ord.Ptol.* 54, 18; J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 20, 13: “so that each one, carrying out equal functions, may contribute to the maintenance of the post for the people.” Antiochus of Commagene: κόσμον τε καὶ λιτουργίαν πα—σαν ἀξίως τύχης ε—μῆς καὶ δαιμόνων ὑπεροχῆς ἀνέθηκα (Dittenberger, *Or.* 382, 74 = *IGLS* 1); *P.Oxy.* 2407, 13, 24, 25, 31, 36; 2664.

⁷ *PSI* 1406; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2110, 8, 10. There were partial (κουφοτελεία; Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 26) or total immunities (ἀτελεία; *P.Oxy.* 2476, 5). “It accords with the favors granted by the Augusti that the citizens of Alexandria, even if they live in the countryside out of zeal for their work,

should not be compelled to undertake any rural *leitourgia* (χωρικὴν λειτουργίαν). You have often asked for this privilege, and I uphold it: no citizen of Alexandria will be required to undertake rural *leitourgia* ” (edict of Tiberias Julius Alexander, Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 32–34 = *SB* 8444); *P.Oslo* 126. Exempt were the scholars of the Museum of Alexandria (ἄτελει—ς, *BGU* 73; 231, 729; *P.Flor.* 68), public physicians (*P.Oxy.* 40, 6; *P.Fay.* 106, 24), certain victorious athletes (*P.Lips.* 44), veterans during the five years that followed their *honesta missio* (*BGU* 180; 628), members of the musical association (*ibid.* 1074; *P.Lond.* 1178; vol. 3, p. 214), certain priests (*I.Perg.* 40, 15), weavers (*P.Phil.* 1, 39–40 = *BGU* 1570); but this exemption was not always honored (cf. *P.Lond.* III, 846; *P.Stras.* 371; cf. vol. 3, 1973, p. 125). —Αλειτουρησῖα is *immunitas* (Strabo 13.1.27; H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 103).

⁸ Cf. Ezek 29:20—ἀντὶ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ, “for his toil, because they did it for me.” The “liturgy” of the Levites is a work of furniture moving: putting up and taking down the tabernacle, unpacking and repacking the objects pertaining to worship at each stage of the journey (Num 4:33, 37; 7:5, 7; cf. *Par. Jer.* 3.9, 11: τὰ σκεύη τῆς λειτουργίας). S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans les Septante*, Paris, 1966, pp. 55–118.

⁹ Aristotle, *Pol.* 1330a13: αἱ— πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς λειτουργίαι. Cf. *I.Rhamn.* 24, 9: ε—μφανίζει λειτουργηκέναι ε—ν τω— ι—ερω— τω— ε—ν Ῥαμνοῦντι τῆς —Αγδίστεως (first century BC). Dittenberger, *Syl.* 717, 29: ε—λειτούρησαν ε—ν τω— ι—ερω— εὐτάκτως; 736, 73: τοὺς λειτουργήσοντας ἔν τε ται—ς θυσίαις. In *UPZ* 175 a 43, λειτουργία = the performance of funeral rites. Other references in Strathmann, “λειτουργέω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, p. 211.

¹⁰ *P.Paris* 26, col. I, 2: οἱ— λειτουργοῦσαι ε—ν τω— πρὸς Μέμφει μεγάλῳ Σαραπιείῳ; *P.Lond.* 22, 17 (vol. 1, p. 7); *P.Tebt.* 302, 30: ε—κτελοῦντες τὰς τω—ν θεω—ν λειτουργίας (AD 71–72); *BGU* 1201, 7: πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας καὶ θυσίας τω—ν θεω—ν (AD 2); *C.Ord. Ptol.* 47, 11: “the religious services purchased for the temple”; 53, 66: “those who fill the sacerdotal positions in the temples, the posts of prophets and scribes and other functions” (καὶ ἄλλας λειτουργίας); 62, 21: “so that I may fulfill the service of the gods” (ε—πιτελω— τὰς τω—ν θεω—ν λειτουργίας); *I.Magn.* 98, 17; *I.Cos* 40 A 6; Michel, *Recueil*, 1559, 4; Diodorus Siculus 1.21: τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς χώρας αὐτοί—ς δοῦναι πρὸς τὰς τω—ν θεω—ν θεραπείας τε καὶ λειτουργίας; Plutarch, *An seni* 17; Plutarch, *De def. or.* 13: λειτουργοί—ς θεω—ν. Other references in A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 140ff.

¹¹ Num 4:41; cf. 16:9. Neh 10:37—“the priests who serve in the abode of our God”; Sir 7:30—“With all your strength love the one who made you (your Creator) and do not neglect his ministers”; 45:15—Aaron’s mission is to perform the worship of God and also to be priest, λειτουργει—ν αὐτω—ᾶμα καὶ ι—ερατεύειν; 50:14, 19; Wis 18:21—prayer was the weapon Aaron used in his ministry; 1Macc 10:42—“That belongs to the priests who perform the liturgical service”; 2Macc 3:3; 4:14—“the priests showed no more zeal for the service of the altar”; *Ep. Arist.* 95: λειτουργοί = the officiants; 53, 92, 94, 98: λειτουργία = the cultic ceremonies, the rites; 87: “the vestment of the priests carrying out the liturgical service” (τὸ κλίμα τω—ν λειτουργούντων ι—ερέων); 96; cf. A. Pelletier, *Josèphe adaptateur*, p. 177. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.218: λειτουργει—ν κατὰ τὸ ι—ερόν; *War* 1.39; 6.299; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.82: λειτουργει—ν τὰς ι—εράς λειτουργίας.

¹² Phil 2:25, cf. verse 30: Epaphroditus risked his life “in carrying out the service that you yourselves were not able to render” (τῆς πρὸς με λειτουργίας). We might compare Sir 8:8—the instruction of the wise teaches how to serve the great (λειτουργῆσαι μεγιστα—σιν); 10:2—“as is the judge of the people, so will his ministers be” (οι— λειτουργοὶ αὐτοῦ); 2Sam 13:18—Ammon’s servant, his confidential aide, is called his λειτουργός (Hebrew *mesharet*).

¹³ Ἡ διακονία τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης (appositive genitive). Cf. A. Ambrosiano, “La ‘Colletta Paolina’ in una recente Interpretazione,” in *AnBib* 18, Rome, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 591–600.

¹⁴ *P.Princ.* 104, 7: τοι—ς λιτουργοι—ς τῆς κώμης; *SB* 9258, 8–9; *P.Oxy.* 792.

¹⁵ Cf. N. Hohlwein, *Stratège du nome*, p. 136.

¹⁶ Heb 1:7 (Ps 104:4; cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, pp. 18–19). In *T. Abr.* A 15, God calls Michael ὁ ε—μὸς λειτουργός. For Iamblichus, the daemons are λιουργοί (*Myst.* 9.2, with the note of E. des Place, on this text; cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 13); Heb 2:14—λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα, literally liturgical or officiating spirits (cf. Philo, *Virtues* 74: ἄγγελοι λειτουργοί; *T. Levi* 3.5: ἀρχάγγελοι οι— λειτουργοῦντες καὶ ε—ξιλασκόμενοι πρὸς Κύριον; *Jub.* 2.2). According to Philo, the angels are consecrated and assigned to the worship of the Father, who uses them as servants and ministers in charge of mortals (*Giants* 12). —The adjective λειτουργικός, unknown in secular literary texts, refers in the papyri to a sum due for a work, the tax to support statute labor (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 53, 49 = *P.Tebt.* 5; cf. 102; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59604, 5), but also “service days” during which the priests officiate, as at Kerkeosiris in 115–114 BC (*P.Tebt.* 88, 3; 853, 25); they are

under obligation during this period of time. Its six occurrences in the LXX are all religious: Aaron's sacred vestments (Exod 31:10; 39:1); the objects used in worship services (Num 4:12, 26), the ceremonies in the tabernacle (7:5); so its could be defined as "pertaining to the worship services." Cf. Heb 9:21—"the tabernacle and all the liturgical vessels" (πάντα τὰ σκεύη τῆς λειτουργίας)."

¹⁷ Honorific decree for Orthagoras of Araxa, who "carried out other missions well, without asking for traveling expenses" (ἄνευ μεθοδίων λελειτούργηκεν, J.Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 4, 69).

¹⁸ M. J. Lagrange translates ι—ερούργέω *administrer en prêtre* ("administer as a priest"). F. J. Leenhardt comments: "The apostle is liturgical minister [*leitourgos*] because he exercises a priestly function (ι—ερούργοῦντα) through the preaching of the gospel, thus offering to God a sacrifice that is well pleasing; namely, the converted Gentiles who are sanctified by the Holy Spirit. . . . It brings the sinner to the obedience flowing from faith in Christ, the sacrificial victim who replaces every other" (*Romans*, pp. 367–368). Cf. A.-M. Denis, "La Fonction apostolique et la liturgie nouvelle en Esprit," in *RSPT*, 1958, pp. 403ff.; J. Murphy O'Connor, *Paul on Preaching*, pp. 282ff.

¹⁹ Cf. A.-M. Denis, *RSPT*, 1958, pp. 617, 650; J. Murphy O'Connor, *Paul on Preaching*, pp. 281ff. Cf. Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 66; *Heir* 84; *Post. Cain* 185.

²⁰ Acts 13:2. This liturgy includes preaching, prayer, songs (hymns and canticles), charismatic manifestations, celebration of the Eucharist; cf. *Did.* 15.1: λειτουργία τω—ν προφητω—ν καὶ τω—ν διδασκάλων. This service is conducted by qualified ministers, cf. *1Clem.* 44.3.

²¹ Cf. A. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, St. Meinrad, 1960, pp. 168ff.; L. Sabourin, "Liturgie du sanctuaire et de la Tente véritable," in *NTS*, vol. 18, 1973, pp. 87–90.

²² To the texts cited above (for paragraph 3 in the first part of this article), we may add *P.Yale* 37, 8–9 (= *SB* 9258), *P.Petr.* 46, col. III, 5: οι—κοδόμοις καὶ λειτουργοι—ς (the construction of a building); *P.Oxy.* 1412, 20: τὰς τω—ν λιτουργω—ν χειροτονίας (grain transport, 284 BC); 1415, 10; *P.Hib.* 96, 15 and 32: a military worker = a sapper; cf. Polybius 3.93.7: "he had the servants leave the camp"; 5.2.5; 10.29.4 (pioneers); 1Kgs 10:5; 2Kgs 4:43; 6:15; *Ep. Arist.* 186: λειτουργία, service at a dinner. In Philo, λειτουργβός is often synonymous with θεραπευτής (cf. *Spec. Laws* 1.242; H. G. Schönfeld, "Zum Begriff 'Therapeutai' bei Philo von

Alexandrien,” in *RevQ*, vol. 10, 1961, pp. 224, 233). In the fourth century, a deacon improperly appointed to the *leitourgia* of the collection of the *annona* asks to be released so that he may consecrate himself to divine service (ὅπως εὖρη σχολὴν τῇ λειτουργείᾳ αὐτοῦ, *P.Stras.* 154,7–8).

λεπίς

lepis, peel, shell, strip, sheet, scale, scab

lepis, S 3013; *TDNT* 4.232–233; *EDNT* 2.349; MM 374; L&N 8.57; BAGD 471

As we would expect from the meaning of the verb *lepo* —“to peel, strip, or bark”—*lepis* refers to “any covering that one peels off or breaks,”¹ whether skin, hull, or shell; but it can also be a metal strip, a plaque used as a facing, like that with which the altar was covered.² This is the meaning that constantly recurs in the papyri: “metal plates and nails for the wagons” (*lepidas kai helous tais hamaxais*, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59782 a 68); iron plates (*lepidas sideras kistas*, *BGU* 544, 8); a silver plate (*eis lepida argyran auto to onoma grammaton ρ?*).³ In the sixth century, a double measure of wine is given to Makarios, a maker of nails, for putting a veneer on a boat.⁴

But in Aristotle: “what feathers are to a bird, scales are to a fish” (*HA* 1.1.486b21). Similarly, five of the six occurrences of *lepis* in the LXX refer to fish scales: “All that has fins and scales and lives in the water, whether in the sea or in the river, you may eat. But that which has neither fin nor scale (Hebrew *qasqeset*) will be for you an abomination” (Lev 11:9-10; Deut 14:9-10).

None of these meanings fits in the account of instantaneous healing of Saul’s temporary blindness when Ananias laid hands on him: “Something like scales (*hos lepidas*) fell from his eyes and he regained his sight” (Acts 9:18). This sense of *lepis* —scale or scab on an injury—is peculiar to the medical writers.⁵ It is not surprising to find this word coming from the pen of Doctor Luke, who perhaps had in mind the father of Tobias: “When his eyes began to hurt, he rubbed them, and the white films scaled off from the corners of his eyes” (*kai elepisthe apo ton kanthon ton ophthalmou autou ta leukomata*, Tob 11:12).

¹ A. Bailly, *Dictionnaire grec-français*, 2d ed., Paris, 1950, on this word; cf. λέπισμα: peeled bark (Gen 30:27).

² Num 17:3 (16:38 in English Bibles): ποιήσον αὐτὰ λεπίδας ἐ—λατάς; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.149: “each side of the altar was decorated with bronze plaques” (χαλκεΐαις λεπίσιν); cf. Diodorus Siculus 20.91: “the three sides

of the machine (ε—λέπολις) were covered with strips of sheet metal nailed one on the other.”

³ A phylactery, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 258 (vol. 1, p. 80). Cf. in an inventory of the treasuries of the temples of Delos: θυμιατήριον ὑπόχαλκον, λεπίδα ἀργυρα—ν ἔχον (C. Michel, *Recueil*, 833, 11; third century BC).

⁴ *P.Oxy.* 2480, 2; cf. in the same period the diminutive λεπίδιον, 2195, 141: ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ἡλῶν καὶ λεπίδιον καὶ ὑγροπίσσης, where the editors mention definition given by LSJ on the basis of Hero, *Spir.* 1.3: “small plate, capsule, used to close a tube.” In a list of pharmaceutical products from the Byzantine era, λεπίδες could mean a plant (*Lepidium latifolium*) used against scurvy (*P.Michael.* 36 B 2), but *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 4 (p. 52), suggests it should be understood to mean λεπίδες χαλκοῦ.

⁵ Numerous examples, notably in conjunction with ἀποπίπτω, from Hippocrates, Galen, and Dioscorides, are cited by W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 39ff. Cf. Rufus of Ephesus: the sutures of the bones of the skull come together in the form of scales (*Onom.* 34.133).

λήρος

leros, delirium, babbling

leros, S 3026; *EDNT* 2.351; MM 374–375; L&N 33.380; BAGD 473

This noun, practically unknown in the papyri,¹ is a technical term in the medical vocabulary for the delirium caused by a fever, especially in the clinical observations of Hippocrates: Python, “first day; acute fever, delirious” (*pyretos oxys, leros*, Hippocrates, 3 *Epid.* 1.1; first patient); Chaerion, “fifth day, generally worse, delirious” (*panta paroxynthe, leros*, *ibid.* 1.2; fifth patient); Herophon, “sixth day, raving,”² etc. This meaning seems too strong as a description of the remarks of the holy women to the effect that they had found the tomb empty on Easter morning. According to Luke 24:11, their words appeared to the apostles to be *hosei leros*, “drivel, and they did not believe them.”³ Here the word is understood in its sense from familiar, sarcastic conversation. A good example is supplied by Aristophanes, who, having compared tragedy to a woman (*Ran.* 95, 939ff.), declares “what before you was tragic trumpery” (1005), playing on the two senses of the word *leros*: prattle, and baubles or trinkets, women’s cheap jewelry.⁴ Similarly Menander: “Sostratus, see how embarrassed I am before these women—You are babbling” (*Dysk.* 872). Antiochus to Eleazar, when the latter refuses to eat pork: “Will you not wake up from the foolishness (*apo tou phlyarou*) that your philosophy produces? Will you not

abandon your ravings (*ton leron*)?” (4Macc 5:11). Philo describes the mythological tales of paganism as empty babbling (*mythikon leron*, *Post. Cain* 165; *Prelim. Stud.* 62); and Josephus: “If these words are nothing more than the vain babbling (*leros*) of someone who is trying to turn aside the storm that he has stirred up” (*War* 3.405).

¹ Only one occurrence has been cited (*PSI* 534, 16; from the third century BC): οὔτε λήρων, or perhaps the participle ληρω—ν. The verb ληρέω is better attested. In a petition to the *strategos* in 47–48: Petesis and Tephereus have lodged a complaint “not without reason” (ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐ ληρήσαντες, *P.Mich.* 231, 17). Do not listen to nonsense (concerning prices) (μὴ οὖν πρόσεχε τοι—ς ληροῦσιν, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59823, 3); *P.Athen.* 62, 22 (a letter from the first-second century); *P.Fay.* 114, 21: μὴ οὖν ληρήσης τὸν ε—κτιναγμὸν σου, in which the latter term should be taken in the sense of ruin, liquidation (cf. *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 4, p. 29). Cf. ληρώδης, 2Macc 12:44—“If he had not hoped that the fallen soldiers would be resurrected, it would have been superfluous and foolish (περισσὸν καὶ ληρω—δες) to pray for the dead”; Philo, *To Gaius* 168: “silly and worn-out jokes”; *BGU* 1011, col. II, 15: πολλὰ ληρωίδη καὶ ψευδῆ, much stupidity and lying (second century BC).

² *1 Epid.* 3.13; cf. *7 Epid.* 8.25: fourth day, “in the night, the fever became more acute and there was some delirium. . . . The fifth day, a bad night, delirium”; 8.26: “groaning and much delirium.” Other texts in W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 178.

³ The translation of M. J. Lagrange, “un radotage et ils ne les crurent pas.” Cf. Xenophon, *An.* 7.7.41: “I know well that for Heracleides the most important thing is getting money, and that the rest is only drivel” (λήρος πάντα δοκεῖ— εἶναι).

⁴ J. Taillardat, *Images d’Aristophane*, n. 780, who cites the comedy of Pherecrates titled Λῆροι (which was about these baubles). Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 5.101: καὶ ἄλλους δέ τινας κόσμους ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ—κωμωδοδιδάσκαλοι λῆρον ὀχθοίβους, etc. Hesychius, λῆροι: τὰ περὶ τοι—ς γυναικείois χιτω—σι κεχρυσωμένα.

ληστής

lestes, brigand, bandit

lestes, S 3027; *TDNT* 4.257–262; *EDNT* 2.351–352; *NIDNTT* 3.377–379; *MM* 375; *L&N* 39.37, 57.240; *BDF* §27; *BAGD* 473

Derived from *leis* (“plunder”; cf. *leizomai*, “carry off as plunder”), *lestes* should not be considered to be synonymous with *kleptes*, as is shown by the fact that many texts use both terms together as designating distinct categories of malefactors.¹ A *kleptes* is simply a thief who contrives to appropriate another’s property, like Judas (John 12:6), working by night when possible (Matt 24:43; Josephus, *War* 4.402). A *lestes* is a brigand² who uses violence (cf. *harpax*), carries out armed theft and pillage (cf. Plutarch, *De superst.* 3: “the one who guards his house does not fear *lestai*, ” *ou phobeitai lestas ho oikouron*), like Barabbas, a *lestes* according to John 18:40, who according to Luke 23:19 “had been thrown in prison for an uprising in the city and for murder” (*kai phonon*); cf. Mark 15:17. That *lestai* are also murderers is attested by Ezek 22:9, where these brigands “shed blood.”³ So what is the biblical conception of the *lestes* ?

Thieves and brigands are often described as bold (*tis ton leston, ho tolmerotatos*, Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 5.25.1), courageous (*ton leston tous andreiotatous*, Josephus, *Life* 77), strong (*hoi ischyontes*), taking what they want (Ep Jer 57), despite doors, locks, and bolts (verse 17). Their shrewdness (Jer 18:22—they dig a pit, they set traps) and their rapacity, which keeps up with their greed, are such that they carry off more than they need (Obad 5), they ransack everything (Hebrew *shadad*), and the havoc they wreak is like that due to war (Ep Jer 13; cf. Philo, *Good Man Free* 37: *e kata lesteias ... e kata polemon*; Dio Cassius 55.28.3: “The Isaurians then by their brigandage started a war that became quite serious”; Josephus, *War* 2.65: “These men filled all Judea with a veritable brigands’ war,” *lestrikou polemou*). But while the simple *kleptes* sneaks into a house, the *lestes* or highwayman⁴ waits *en te hodo*.⁵

Lestai came primarily from among runaway slaves, bankrupt peasants, and military deserters⁶ and made up an armed band (Hebrew *geçûd*), which is precisely a characteristic of brigandage,⁷ and that is why *lestai* are so often mentioned in the plural), notably in the parable of the Good Samaritan, where the man who was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho “fell into the hands of brigands who robbed and beat him, then went on their way, leaving him half dead.”⁸ They attack people but also raid flocks⁹ (for numerous examples see *m. B. Qam.* 6.1 *et passim*) often enough that they are particularly feared by shepherds (*m. Pe’a* 2.7; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.272) and are compared to ferocious beasts (*theriodous*, in an edict of Agrippa I [or Ii_ ; Dittenberger, *Or.* 424, 2). It is known that these *lestai* hid in caves or grottos (*spelaiion*), which are plentiful in the hills of Judea and which served as repositories for booty and as refuges.¹⁰ The Lord alluded to this when he combined Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11 (Hebrew *paris*): “It is written, ‘My house shall be called a house of prayer,’ and you have made it a brigands’ cave” (Matt 21:13; cf. Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46).

It would appear that brigandage reached epidemic proportions in Syria-Palestine;¹¹ but it wreaked havoc throughout the ancient world, whether in Egypt,¹² where certain police officers (*lestopiastai*) were given the specific duty of putting down banditry and everyone was expected to cooperate in the effort.¹³ In Asia Minor, brigandage was never eliminated; not only were the mountainous regions particularly conducive to it,¹⁴ but its coastline provided choice sites for piracy, “brigandage at sea”;¹⁵ so much so that Seneca could write: “If anyone has not fallen into the hands of pirates, it is because they have been spared by shipwreck” (Seneca, *Ben.* 6.9.2). Italy’s lot was no better,¹⁶ nor was Spain’s.¹⁷ In these circumstances, we can understand that not only does romanesque literature constantly have brigands interrupting its heroes’ wanderings,¹⁸ but all the writers point out the dangers that these highwaymen pose for travelers.¹⁹ In the first century AD, any major trip was a dangerous adventure. So it is neither a mere figure of speech nor an exaggeration when the apostle, referring to his missionary activity, mentions “long trips, often on foot, in danger from floods, in danger from brigands” (*kindynois leston*, 2Cor 11:26); these dangers must be understood in terms of the references given above.

Of course, such a plague, “the scourge of piracy,”²⁰ had to be combatted not only by the people who were attacked—it was permitted to kill a thief who was caught in the act²¹—but especially by the duly constituted authorities, either by the arrest and trial of bandits²² or by punitive expeditions. In Judea, the emperor, the procurators, and notably Herod took the initiative in this repression.²³ We can understand what an insult it was to the Lord when they came to arrest him like a common criminal: “You have set out to capture me as if I were a brigand (*hos epi lesten*), with swords and clubs.”²⁴

At Rome, brigands fell within the scope of the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis* (Paulus, *Sent.* 23.1) and later were condemned to be killed by beasts or crucified.²⁵ In Palestine in the first century, “a day did not pass that Festus did not put many *lestai* to death” (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.161; cf. 20.168); the leaders of bands, like Tholomaïos and Menahem, were executed (20.5; *Life* 21). This is why two *lestai* were crucified at Calvary.²⁶ The evangelists’ phrase “with Jesus” (*syn auto*) emphasizes the infamy of the treatment inflicted on the Lord and suggests that Pilate also wanted to impress the people with his disdain for a Jewish messiah, a revolutionary: since he claims to be the Christ, he is a king of bandits.²⁷

¹ Hos 7:1; Obad 5; Ep Jer 57; John 10:1, 8. Cf. the royal decree ordering the arrest of οἱ τε λησται καὶ οἱ—λοιποὶ κακοῦργοι (*P.Hib.* 198, 93; cf. line 98; frag. 16 r; 62, 3–4; *BGU* 1764, 20). Cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 16, 32–33: κλεπτοδημόσιοι and λησταιί; *P.Ant.* 97, 10.

² Josephus, *War* 1.204, 304, 347, 349, 398, 399. In practice, the vocabulary is very fluid (cf. Pfaff, “Latrocinium,” in *PW*, vol. 12, pp. 978–980); R. MacMullen, “The Roman Concept Robber-Pretender,” in *RIDA*, 1963, pp. 221–225). Normally, theft consists of fraudulently removing another’s property, and the thief is one who surreptitiously diverts something. The brigand steals and pillages violently; brigandage by sea is piracy. The bandit (from the Italian *bandito*, “exile”) is a malefactor who lives as an outlaw, thieving and murdering. The Talmud distinguishes between theft and brigandage (*b. Sanh.* 8.3). Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* 5.11.13.1131a6) distinguished between clandestine theft and theft committed in broad daylight by violence, like assault and battery and murder, which increase the gravity of the crime. This distinction between *furtum manifestum* and *non manifestum* was retained in Roman law (cf. M. Lemosse, “Les Actions pénales de vol dans l’ancien droit civil romain,” in *Droits de l’antiquité et sociologie juridique*, Paris, 1959, pp. 179ff.; cf. p. 394, n. 2), but originally violence was considered only as a circumstance aggravating the theft, since it adds to the removal of the property an offense against the person: “Whoever carries off things that do not belong to him commits a theft. For does not carrying something off that does not belong to you constitute the ultimate offense against the will of the owner of that thing? Such a person is rightly called a dishonest thief. But under the heading of this crime the praetor added a special action, called ‘lawsuit for property carried off by violence,’ which involves fourfold damages if carried out within a year, and simple damages once this term has expired” (Gaius, *Inst.* 3.209; cf. G. Humbert, “Furtum,” in *DAGR*, p. 1423). This distinction was retained in theology, cf. C. Spicq, *Péchés d’injustice*, pp. 99ff., 175ff. It is emphasized by R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 157.

³ Cf. the tomb inscriptions: “. . . eques filius annorum XX a latronibus occisus” (*CIL* II, 2968); “. . . caeditur infesto concursu latronum” (3479). —Αλλά νιν ἸΑδης σὺν ληστῆσιν— μάρψας αὐτὸς ἔχει σφάγιον (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1942, p. 357, n. 159); cf. a merchant no doubt killed by pirates: ἔμπορον ε—ν ληστῶ—ν (ibid. 1939, p. 462, n. 92; cf. idem, *Hellenica*, vols. 11–12, pp. 132, 139, 175–176). Metrodorus, the head of a police troop, was “killed in combat with brigands” (inscription from the Musée de Brousse, in L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 97). “One is already a brigand even before staining one’s hands with blood, because one is armed with a view to killing and intends to rob and kill” (Seneca, *Ben.* 5.14.2). According to Josephus, *War* 2.264: γόητες and ληστικοί threaten with death those who submit to Roman domination and declare that they will suppress by force (πρὸς βίαν) those who willingly accept servitude; 2.441: “The high priest Ananias was taken in the moat of the royal palace, where he was hiding, and killed by brigands together with his brother”; *Ant.* 18.7: “raids are carried out by large hordes of brigands,

and men of the highest rank are assassinated”; brigands are assimilated to *sicarii* (20.186, 210). On this use of violence by λησταιί and on *lêstîm* in the rabbinic literature, cf. M. Hengel, *Zealots*, pp. 24–46; Rengstorf, in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 257–260; these often identify them as Zealots; which was already the opinion of R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 159, and is commonly thought in our day (cf. I. J. Twomey, “Barabbas Was a Robber,” in *Scripture*, 8, 1956, pp. 115–119; W. R. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus*, New York, 1956, p. 197; O. Cullmann, *Dieu et César*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1956, p. 46 = ET *The State in the New Testament*, New York, 1956, p. 43); but this is not necessarily the case.

⁴ Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 10.9: “He carried one of those brigand’s (ληστρικόν) weapons that are called δόλωνες.” Cf. *BGU* 2339, 6, denouncing people who stealthily break into houses at night (νυκτὶ . . . τινὲς ληστρικῶ—τρόπῳ—, AD 17).

⁵ Hos 8:1. His mobility is revealed by Sir 36:26, which, in praising domestic stability, compares the bachelor to a εὐζώνῳ ληστῆ bounding from city to city: “such is the man who has no home and lodges wherever he is when night falls.” He seeks the hospitality of those he meets by chance and does not gain their confidence. He has neither the social standing nor the moral authority that accrue to the married man. People are suspicious of him because he is like the marauder who does not stay put, moving about so rapidly that he seems to be everywhere at once.

⁶ Cf. *P.Hib.* 198, 96: ὁ ληστής καὶ ὁ τὴν ναῦν λελοιπῶς; Philo, *Flacc.* 5: soldiers who do not receive their pay are incited to “banditry and rapine”; Dio Cassius 74.2.5: “a large segment of Italian youth turned to brigandage and gladiatorial fighting.”

⁷ Josephus, *War* 2.265: “divided up by bands.” *Brigand* derives from the Italian *brigante*, “going about in a troop.” The band of brigands (and sometimes their hideout) is called ληστήριον, *P.Tebt.* 920, 23; *P.Hamb.* 10, 7; *P.Stras.* 233, 2; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 229, 6. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.160: “Judea was infested by a band of brigands”; 20.161: “the son of Dinaios had organized a band of brigands.” C. K. Barrett translates ληστής as “*guerrilla*, a nationalist rebel” (“The House of Prayer and the Den of Thieves,” in *Jesus und Paulus: Festschrift W. G. Kümmel*, Göttingen 1975, p. 16).

⁸ Brigands and pirates attack people as well as property, and it is a courageous deed to free their prisoners (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11, Paris, 1960, pp. 133ff., 272ff.). “The many references to robbers in Talmudic literature (M. Ber. i.3; M. Shab. ii.5; M.B.K. vi.1, etc.) give the impression that bandit raids were by no means rare. We are often told of

raids which were feared, or actually took place, particularly in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and of the necessity of controlling this outlawry” (J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, p. 32, who also cites Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1889, reprinted Darmstadt, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 503ff. and S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, Leipzig, 1910–1912, reprinted Hildesheim, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 315ff. See also the index in Jeremias under “Brigandage.”).

⁹ John 10:1, 8 (for the textual criticism and the bibliography, cf. R. Schnackenburg, *John*, vol. 2, pp. 281–282, 504, 291, 507). These brigands who break into the fold, without passing through the door, are messianic pretenders with revolutionary tendencies (Acts 5:37; 21:38); cf. R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, Göttingen, 1941, p. 283 (=ET *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray, R.W.N. Hare, and J. K. Riches, Philadelphia, 1971, pp. 376–377).

¹⁰ At Arbela, Herod had his troops root out the brigands ε—ν σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.415); cf. ε—πὶ τοὺς ε—ν τοι—ς σπηλαίοις ληστᾶς (ibid. 14.421; 15.346).

¹¹ Josephus, *Ant.* 20.166–167: “The deeds of the λησταιί infested the city”; 20.124, 160, 185: “Judea was laid waste by brigands”; 20.256: the Jews were unable to endure the scourge of the brigands, who forced them to give up their land and flee; 15.346: “It was not easy to put an end to the brigandage, since the people had made it a habit and a way of life”; 16.271: before Herod, the inhabitants of Trachonitis had been free to practice brigandage; 20.164ff.; *War* 2.235: the brigands and the rebels had as their leaders Eleazar . . . and Alexander . . . who massacred the inhabitants . . . and burned the villages”; 2.238: “Many, encouraged by the lack of punishment, turned to the occupation of brigandage”; 2.278: “Gessius did everything but proclaim throughout the country that everyone could practice brigandage.” “Brigands who hid daggers in their bosom were called *sicarii* ” (2.425). In his role as apologist Josephus wrote: “Our ancestors did not turn to brigandage (πρὸς ληστίας) like the others, nor to war . . . although the country had tens of thousands of men who were not lacking in boldness” (*Ag. Apion* 1.62). In any event, his contemporaries armed a fleet of pirate ships and raided the whole coast of Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt (*War* 3.416); “In the other areas of Judea, brigands who had until then been inactive went to work” (4.406); cf. Strabo, 16.2.37; Dio Cassius 75.2.4: “A brigand named Claudius devastated Judea and Syria.”

¹² *P.Cair.Zen.* 59044, 25 (= *SB* 6787), 59313, 8; *P.Paris* 46, 7: ε—ν τοι—ς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροι—ς ληστω—ν ε—πικειμένων (= *UPZ* 71; S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 47); *BGU* 1764, 6; 1780, 7 (50 BC); *P.Stras.* 233. Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephes.* 5.4.1: brigands infested Egypt; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 1.5.3: “There live all the Egyptian brigands, organized into a city.” Hence the complaints to the police against this brigandage (ληστρικός), *P.Ryl.* 127, 11 (in 29); 129, 7 (in 30); 130, 6 (in 31); 134, 18 (in 34); 135, 7 (in 34); 136, 8 (in 34); 137, 12 (in 34); 140, 13 (in 36); 146, 11 (in 39); 148, 16 (in 39); *P.Athen.* 32, 12 (in 39); *P.Mich.* 230, 6 (in 48); 421, 5 (reign of Claudius); *P.Stras.* 216, 6; 296 recto 12; verso 8); *SB* 9622, 3; *P.Berl.Zill.* 8, 8; *BGU* 1832, 10; 1858, 1; *P.Oxy.* 1408, 23. The nightmare about a raid that a frightened child tells his father about is quite understandable (*P.Oxy.* 1873, 3); cf. the real tribulations of an entire Cretan family (*I.Cret.* II, 5; Axos, 19; vol. 2, p. 65 = Dittenberger, *Syl.* 622).

¹³ *BGU* 325, 2; *P.Cair.Isid.* 79, 16; *P.Mil.* 47, 3; *P.Oslo* 20, 1; *P.Ostr.Mich* 102, 10, 12; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 76, 4; *SB* 9406, 305; 10439, 3; 10556, 20, 25; 10929, col. III, 3, establishing the scope of the prefect’s powers: ὁ ἡγεμὼν διαγνώσεται . . . περὶ ληστειω—ν; cf. J. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 264ff.

¹⁴ Xenophon, *An.* 1.2.25–27; Strabo 12.7.2; Plutarch, *Cic.* 36.6; Dio Cassius 55.28.3; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.23.9, 11; *SEG* 8.497.

¹⁵ Philo, *Good Man Free* 121, Plutarch, *Caes.* 2.597; 30.6; Dio Cassius 20–21, 35; cf. Diodorus Siculus 15.95.1; 20.82.4–5; 20.83.1; 20.97.5; Polybius 2.4.8–9; Cicero, *Flac.* 13.30–31 (cf. M. Holleaux, *Etudes d’épigraphie*, vol. 4, pp. 28ff., 79ff. G. Biraghi, “La Pirateria greca in Tucidide,” in *Acmè*, vol. 5, 1952, pp. 471–477; L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners*, New York, 1959, pp. 201–205). The senate and the emperors organized many punitive expeditions, notably a veritable war directed by Pompey in 67 BC (cf. M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, 2d ed., New York, 1970, pp. 77ff.; C. Spicq, *Epîtres aux Corinthiens*, 385). On the law ordering the repression of piracy engraved on the monument of Aemilius Paulus at Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes* III, 4, 1; pp. 41ff.), cf. E. Cuq, “Un fragment de loi romaine d’après une inscription de Delphes,” in *RHDFE*, 1925, pp. 541–565. The distinction between πειρατής (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 521, 4, 15) and ληστής dates from modern times, cf. P. Ducrey, *Le Traitement des prisonniers de guerre dans la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1968, pp. 172ff.

¹⁶ Horace, *Epist.* 1.2.32: “To cut a man’s throat, brigands arise in the night”; Seneca, *Ira* 16.1; *Ben.* 1.10.5; 2.18.6; Suetonius, *Tib.* 37.1; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.85; Dio Cassius 55.28.1: “Brigands made such frequent raids that for three years Sardinia, instead of being governed by a senator, was

handed over to soldiers and generals taken from the equestrian order”; Varro, *Rust.* 1.16.2.

¹⁷ Augustus put a price (250,000 drachmas) on the head of Corocottas, ληστήν ε—ν —Ιβηρία ἀκμάσαντα (Dio Cassius 56.43.3). According to Appian, the Romans battled “bands of brigands” in Spain (*Hisp.* 6.68; cf. 6.77).

¹⁸ Cf. Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephes.* 2.13.4; 4.1–5; 5.2.1–7; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 1.1.1ff.; 1.3.1–6; 1.4.1; 2.22.4; 5.2.7; 5.20.7; 5.22.8ff.; 5.31.3; 6.13.2; 7.1.2; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. et Clit.* 3.5.5. For a later period, cf. D. Gorce, *Les Voyages, l’hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde chrétien des IVe et Ve siècles*, Paris, 1925, pp. 85ff.

¹⁹ *P.Cair.Zen.* 59659, 4: going to Philadelphia with two companions, the writer of the letter was robbed, λησταὶ παροινήσαντες ἡμα—ς; Josephus, *War* 2.228: “Near Bethoron, on the public highway, brigands attacked a certain Stephanos, a slave of Caesar, and robbed him of his baggage”; Epictetus 3.13.3: “When traveling, it is especially upon falling into the hands of brigands that we say we are isolated”; 4.1.91–98: “It is said that the route is infested with brigands. . . . Where to hide? How to get through without being robbed? . . . If my traveling companion himself turns against me and becomes my robber?” The Essenes traveled armed so as to be able to defend against any surprise: διὰ δὲ τοὺς ληστὰς ἔνοπλοι (Josephus, *War* 2.125), while in principle the poor could take comfort: “The traveler with empty pockets can thumb his nose at the brigand” (Juvenal, *Sat.* 10.22).

²⁰ Strabo 3.2.5; cf. 11.1.6; 11.2.12; 11.7.1; 11.12.4; 11.13.3, 6; cf. ληστηρία, *I.Ilium*, n. 102, 6. *P.Yale* inv. 1606, 13, published by N. Lewis, in *Hommages à Cl. Préaux*, Brussels, 1975, p. 760.

²¹ Law of Draco on murder, 8 and 10; cf. *RIJG*, vol. 2, p. 4.

²² *P.Hib.* 198, 86, 110; *C.P.Herm.* 48, 7; *P.Oxy.* 1981, 22. Accomplices were likewise punished: “Receptores adgressorum itemque latronum eadem poena adficiuntur qua ipsi latrones” (“Those who harbor attackers and brigands are visited with the same punishments as the brigands themselves,” Paulus, *Sent.* 5.3.4); Ulpian, *Dig.* 1.18.13 prol.: “[Praeses] sacrilegos latrones plagiarios fures conquirere debet et prout quisque dereliquerit in eum animadvertere, receptoresque eorum coercere, sine quibus latro diutius latere non potest” (“Governors must must search for temple-robbers, brigands, kidnappers, and thieves, and whoever has neglected to do so should see to it that he confines those who harbor them;

for without accomplices a brigand cannot long hide”); 48.13.7; 50.16.118: “Hostes hi sunt, qui nobis aut quibus nos publice bellum decrevimus; ceteri latrones aut praedones sunt” (“Enemies are those who have publicly declared war on us, or we on them; the rest are brigands or robbers”); cited by M. Hengel, *Zealots*, pp. 30–31); cf. *P.Ant.* 87, 13; “The bandit’s wife is like the bandit himself” (*y. Ketub.* 26d 38; cf. *y. Sanh.* 19b 18).

²³ Josephus, *War* 1.398: “the emperor ordered that this nest of bandits should be exterminated” (cf. *Ant.* 15.343–348); Cumanus (*Ant.* 20.121); Felix (*War* 2.253: “the brigands that he crucified and the common folk convicted of complicity whom he punished were numberless”); Herod (2.56; *Ant.* 14.159; 16.281–285; 17.23–28; 17.271). According to Dio Cassius 54.12.1, certain generals celebrated triumphs for merely capturing brigands, ληστὰς συλλαμβάνοντες. Cf. ληστολογήσας in *I.Bulg.* 1126, 8, with the editor’s note.

²⁴ Matt 26:55; cf. Mark 14:48; Luke 22:52; P. Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus*, Berlin, 1961, pp. 44–50, 171–174.

²⁵ Paulus, *Sent.* 5.23.1: “humiliores vero in crucem tollantur aut bestiis obiciuntur” (“the more base are crucified or thrown to the animals”); thus the brigand Felix Bulla, condemned to be thrown to the beasts (Dio Cassius 66.10.7), or the *famosi latrones*, condemned to be crucified (*Dig.* 48.19.28, 15); Petronius 111.5: “Imperator provinciae latrones iussit crucibus adfigi” (“the provincial commander ordered the brigands to be put on crosses”); Seneca, *Ep.* 7.5: “sed latrocinium fecit aliquis: quid ergo meruit ut suspendatur” (“but one committed brigandage, which earned him the right to be hanged”); cited by M. Hengel, *Zealots*. Cf. Diodorus Siculus 16.82.3; Arrian, *Anab.* 3.2.5; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 454, 18. L. Flam-Zuckermann, “A propos d’une inscription de Suisse (C.I.L. XIII, 5010): Etude du phénomène du brigandage dans l’Empire romain,” in *Lataomus*, 1970, pp. 451–473.

²⁶ Matt 27:38, 44; Mark 15:27. In the rabbinic writings, crucifixion is always mentioned together with ληστεία (cf. E. Bammel, “Crucifixion as a Punishment in Palestine,” in *The Trial of Jesus*, London, pp. 162–165); in Palestine crucifixion goes back to the second century BC, cf. E. Stauffer, *Jerusalem und Rom im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Berne, 1957, pp. 123–127.

²⁷ Cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, p. 781.

λίθοι ζω—ντες

lithoi zontes, living stones

lithoi zontes, S 3037, 2198; TDNT 4.270–271; EDNT 2.352–353; NIDNTT 3.393; L&N 2.23; BAGD 472(2)

Nothing is more normal than for stones to be called large (Matt 27:60), beautiful (Luke 21:5), or precious (1Cor 3:12; Rev 17:4; 18:12, 16; 21:11, 19), but it is odd that they could be living, given that stone is so inert that it is used as a symbol of death;¹ to be petrified is to remain motionless (Isa 50:7). Still, stone is also, and perhaps preeminently, a symbol of firmness, solidity, and immutability,² and in NT usage the metaphor and its meaning are expressed simultaneously to the point that the latter wins out over the former. Furthermore, the idea of life is not contradictory to that of stone. After all, “God can raise up children for Abraham from stones” (Matt 3:9; Luke 3:8; a pun on the Hebrew *‘a<^>banîm*, “stones,” and *habanîm*, “children”); and if the disciples are silent, the stones will begin to cry out (Luke 19:40; cf. 4 Ezra 5:5).

Now Simon bar-Jona, who received from the Lord the unusual nickname *Lithos*, reflected on its meaning and elaborated a “theology of stone”: “As you draw near to him, the living stone (*lithon zonta*) rejected by men, but with God chosen, precious . . . you yourselves, like living stones (*hos lithoi zontes*), be built into a spiritual house. . . . See, I am putting in Zion a choice stone, a cornerstone, precious. . . . This stone that the builders rejected has become the head of the corner and a stone of stumbling” (1Pet 2:4-8). Christ is like a stone of great price chosen by God³ to become the “cornerstone” of the church-temple⁴ that he will build (John 2:19; Eph 2:20-22) and which will therefore not be built by human hands (Mark 14:58; Acts 7:49). To the contrary (*men . . . de*), the builders scorned and rejected this stone,⁵ and it became an occasion for falling, a “stone of stumbling” for unbelievers (*hos lithou proskommati*, Isa 8:14; Rom 9:32-33).

Since believers are “transformed in the same image” as their Lord (2Cor 3:18), it is natural for them to take the form of “living stones” so as to be built into the same structure. Since the turn of phrase is unusual, St. Peter softens it with *hos: like* or *as* stones. No doubt he borrowed the idea from the Latin language, in which a stone is considered to be “living” if it has not yet been cut out of the mountain, “the mother country of rocks” (Ovid, *Met.* 7.204), “a living rock still held in the earth by its roots” (ibid. 14.713), still lodged in its natural abode.⁶ In this sense, the repetition “living stone—living stones” would imply that Christians, far from being added to Christ like heterogenous elements in the building of the church, share in the same nature and in its value for building, since they remain forever an integral part of it (cf. Deut 32:18; Isa 51:1). This nuance does not exclude the idea of growth, which is demanded by the context, so the image is that of the ongoing concretion of these living stones.⁷

¹ Philo reports a very old tradition according to which “those who dare to look at the Gorgon’s head are immediately transformed into stones and rocks” (εὐθὺς λίθους καὶ πέτρους γίνεσθαι, *To Gaius* 237; cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 10.47, describing the Gorgon as “petrifying death”).

² Yahweh is “the Rock, the God of truth” (Deut 32:4; cf. 2Sam 22:32, 47); “the Rock of Israel” (2Sam 23:3; Isa 30:29), the unshakable support for his people’s faith (Ps 18:3; 19:15; 62:3, 7).

³ —Εκλεκτόν, ἔντιμον, come from Isa 28:16 (J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem Jahwes Königssitz*, Munich, 1963, p. 168); cf. 1QS 8.7–8; 1QH 6.26; 7.8–9, J. de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament*, Leiden, 1965, pp. 54ff. J. M. Ford, “The Jewel of Discernment: A Study of Stone Symbolism,” in *BZ*, 1967, pp. 109–116; M. Black, “The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament,” in *NTS*, vol. 18, 1971, pp. 11ff.

⁴ —Ἀκρογωνιαί—ος can be the foundation stone (introduced in the rock of Zion or built into the base of the wall built there, cf. R. J. McKelvey, “Christ the Cornerstone,” in *NTS*, vol. 8, 1962, pp. 352–359) or the capstone that crowns the building: the summit or keystone (cf. Jer 51:26; P. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, p. 24; J. Jeremias, “ἄκρογωνιαί—ος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 1, p. 792; *ibid.* λίθος, vol. 4, pp. 269–280), or better, the extremity of the corner (ἄκρον being sometimes “peak, height,” sometimes “edge, limit, end”); the corner blocks in a building, blocks of very hard stone, reinforce the sections of the walls (cf. A. K. Orlandos, *Technique architecturale*, vol. 2, pp. 5, 119; R. Martin, *Manuel d’architecture grecque*, pp. 165, 219, 235, 459, 462). The image suggests Christ’s unparalleled position (cf. Zech 4:7; Abraham, the cornerstone of the world, Str-B, vol. 1, pp. 733, 875ff.), the bonding power of believers who adhere to him (cf. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im N.T.*, Gütersloh, 1971, p. 188; R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 195ff.). See also O. Betz, “Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde,” in *ZNW*, 1957, pp. 49–77. J. Pfammatter, *Die Kirche als Bau*, Rome, 1960, pp. 97ff., 169ff. K. T. Schäfer, “Zu Deutung von ἄκρογωνιαί—ος,” in *Festschrift J. Schmid*, Regensburg, 1963, pp. 223ff.

⁵ The prophecy of Ps 98:22, which Jesus applied to himself (Matt 21:42; Mark 12:10; Luke 20:17—ἀποδοκίμασαν); cf. Acts 4:11—ὁ ἐ—ξουθενηθεὶς = scorned. P. Sciascia, *Lapis reprobatus*, Rome, 1959; J. Duncan M. Derrett, “The Stone that the Builders Rejected,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 4, pp. 180–186 (giving the bibliography).

⁶ Ovid, *Met.* 5.315; Virgil, *Aen.* 1.166; 3.688. The inhabitants of Halicarnassus “promise to seat the foundations of the temple on living rock” (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.55); cf. J. C. Plumpe, “Vivum Saxum, Vivi Lapides: The Concept of ‘Living Stones’ in Classical and Christian Antiquity,” in *Traditio*, vol. 1, 1943, pp. 1–14.

⁷ Cf. St. Augustine: “It is at the present time that the city is being built. The stones are cut in the mountains by the hands of the preachers of the truth; they are squared to form part of an eternal structure. Many stones are still in the worker’s hands to be brought to that perfection which will fit them to the structure of the temple” (Augustine, *En. in Ps.* 121 4). St. Paul usually evoked this ecclesial vitality by the image of the growth of a body (Col 2:19; P. S. Minear, *Images of the Church in the New Testament*, London, 1961), St. Peter by that of a “spiritual dwelling” (1Pet 2:5), the church being “the house of the living God” (1Tim 3:15).

λιθόστρωτος

lithostrotos, pavement

lithostrotos, S 3038; *EDNT* 2.353; MM 376; L&N 7.71; BAGD 474

“Pilate sat down in judgment at the place called *Lithostrotos*, in Hebrew Gabbatha.”¹ Etymologically, *lithostrotos* is “[a place_ paved with stone.”² The word is attested by four papyri from the third-fourth century, always as an adjective: the Sosias bank is to the south of the Colonnade, on the paved avenue (*epi tou lithostrotou dromou*, *P.Oxy.* 2138, 15); on the paved avenue of the god Hermes Trismegalos (*epi tou lithostrotou dromou Hermou theou trismegalou*, *P.Flor.* 50, 97). By correcting the text slightly, H. Schmitz (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 17, p. 256) brings a reading from another papyrus into conformity with this: *pros to lithostroto dromo Hermou theou trismeg* (*P.Amh.* 98, 2). There is also a mutilated administrative letter from Hermopolis, *epi tou lithostrotou* (*P.Stras.* 138, 7; republished in *SB* 8020).

As a noun, *lithostratos* commonly means the pavement of the temple,³ and in John 19:13 it is a proper place-name. At Delos, the dedication of a pavement in the first century: *Poplios Plotios Leukiou Rhomaios to lithostroton*.⁴ A century later, at Kourion, when J. Seppius Celer was consul, Trajan built or extended a *lithostrotos*, a paved route, to the propylaeum leading to the Paphian Way.⁵

¹ John 19:13. On the identification of the site as the Fortress Antonia or Herod’s Palace, cf. L. H. Vincent, “Le Lithostrotos évangélique,” in *RB*, 1952, pp. 513–550; P. Benoit, “Prétoire, Lithostroton et Gabbatha,” *ibid.*,

pp. 531–550 (reprinted in *Exégèse et théologie*, pp. 316–339 = ET, vol. 1, pp. 167–188); Sr. Marie Aline de Sion, “La Forteresse Antonia à Jérusalem et la question du Prétoire,” Jerusalem, 1955; J. Starcky, “Lithostroton,” in *DBSup*, vol. 5, 398–405.

² Cf. Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 7.121, λιθόστρωτον ἔδαφος καὶ λιθολόγημα καὶ λελιθωμένον.

³ 2Chr 7:3—All the sons of Israel fall to their knees on the pavement (Hebrew *rispâh*; cf. the palace of Ahasuerus at Susa, Esth 1:6; but Cant 3:10, concerning the throne of Solomon, is not clear); *Ep. Arist.* 88: “the floor of the temple is entirely paved” (τὸ δὲ πα—ν ἔδαφος λιθόστρωτον καθέστηκε); Josephus, *War* 5.192; 6.85: “Julian the centurion slipped running across the pavement” (κατὰ λιθοστρώτου τρέχων); 6.189: “crushed by this weight against the pavement, he died immediately.”

⁴ Edited by P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne*, Paris, 1916, p. 422, published again in *Inscriptions de Délos: Dédicaces postérieures à 166 av. J.-C.*, Paris, 1937, n. 2302. Among the inscriptions from the sanctuaries of Egyptian gods at Delos, τὸν πυλω—να καὶ . . . τὸ λιθόστρωτον (P. Roussel, *Les Cultes égyptien à Délos*, Paris-Nancy, 1915–1916, n. 144, 3–4), τὸ λιθόστρωτον καὶ τὰς κινκλίδας (ibid. n. 146), τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ το λιθόστρωτον καὶ τὰς σφίγγας (ibid. n. 173, 9); “Hermogenes built me and also the pavement” (καὶ τὴν λιθόστρωτον, *IGLS*, n. 1115, 3); “Apollonia had the steps put over the pavements” (τὰς βαθμίδας ται—ς λιθοστρώτοις ἐ—πέθηκε, ibid., n. 1259, 58); likewise at Sidon and at Amathonte, inscriptions cited by L. Robert (*Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 2, p. 900), who offers this definition: “Λιθόστρωτος refers to a pavement (French *un pavage, un dallage*), whether of a court or an avenue.”

⁵ Λιθόστρωτον κατεσκεύασεν τὴν λείπουσαν ἀπὸ τῆς προούσης λιθοστρώτου μέχρι τοῦ φέροντος εἰ—ς τὴν Παφίαν ὁδὸν προπύλου, *I.Kour.*, n. 111, 7–9 (with the observations of R. S. Bagnall, T. Drew-Bear, in *ChrEg*, 1974, pp. 190–194); inscription found in 1939. Cf. the avenue (δρόμος) of the temple of Heliopolis, which had a stone pavement (Strabo 17.1.28, λιθόστρωτον ἔδαφος), or the soldiers playing on the municipal *lithostroton* (Appian, *BCiv.* 3.26, ε—ν λιθοστρώτῳ πόλει).

λικμάω

likmao, to winnow, shake, scatter, pulverize, destroy

likmao, S 3039; *TDNT* 4.280–281; *EDNT* 2.353; MM 376; L&N 19.47; BAGD 474

After quoting Ps 118:22 (“The stone that the builders rejected is become the head of the corner”—Luke 20:17), Jesus adds this comment: “Whoever falls on this stone will be shattered, and the one on whom it falls will be broken to pieces” (*eph’ ho d’ an pese likmesei auton*, verse 18). At least this is the translation suggested by the context for the NT hapax *likmao*.¹ But in secular texts this denominative verb, formed from *likmos*, “winnowing basket,” means “to winnow,”² *likmesis* is the winnowing,³ the *likmetes* is the winnower (*P.Phil.* 17, 10 and 23; cf. *likmainontes andres*, *Ostr. Tait-Préaux* 1723, 8; second century), and there is a winnowing tax (*likmetra*, *P.Oslo* 33, 15, AD 29; *SB* 7373).

In the LXX there is another meaning, derived from the one just discussed: first “shake” (“I will shake the house of Israel, as one shakes with a sieve”—Amos 9:9, Hebrew *nûa’*), then “carry off, scatter to the wind.” The wicked person, carried off as if by a gale, becomes a wanderer, “the wind will chase him away from his place” (Job 27:21; Hebrew *sa’ar*, in the piel); “the nations are dispersed like dust before the wind” (Isa 17:13); “I will scatter them to the winds” (Jer 49:32; Hebrew *zarâh*, in the piel); “They will destroy the ramparts of Tyre and demolish its towers; I will sweep away her dust” (Ezek 26:4; Hebrew *sahâh*, in the piel). Still with an agricultural connection, Isa 30:24 prophesies: “Your oxen and asses will eat fodder spread out with the shovel and the fork” (Hebrew *mizreh*). So we get to the well established meaning of *likmao* as “scatter, disseminate,” which is used predominantly with the technical sense of divine punishment: “I will scatter the Egyptians (*diaspero*) and disperse them (*likmeso autous*)” (Ezek 29:12; repeated in 30:23, 26); “I scattered them (*diespeira*) and they were dispersed (*elikmesa*)” (36:19). To punish Israel’s sins, Yahweh “will disperse them beyond the River” (1Kgs 14:15; cf. Isa 30:22; Wis 11:20). Hence the axiom of divine justice: “The one who dispersed Israel will gather him together again” (*ho likmesas . . . synaxeï auton*, Jer 31:10).

There is a transition from the idea of winnowing to that of sorting, culling; then chase away, scatter, reduce to dust, and finally destroy or crush.⁴ The best parallel to Luke 20:18 is Dan 2:44 (Theodotion’s version): “He will pulverize and break up all these kingdoms” (*leptynei kai likmesei pasas tas basileias*).⁵

¹ Matt 21:44 is a gloss borrowed from Luke 20:18. For the opposing view, see R. Swaeles, “L’Arrière-Fond scripturaire de Mt. XXI, 43 et son lien avec Mt. XXI, 44,” in *NTS*, vol. 6, 1966, pp. 310–313.

² Joseph decides “the harvest must be gathered in bundles, without any threshing or sorting . . . , so that each year prosperity may be recalled; the men shall thresh and winnow” (ἀλοώντων καὶ λικμώντων, Philo, *Joseph* 112). Barley is winnowed: γραφάτω τω—παρ αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι ἀργήσας τὰ

λοιπὰ λικμῆσαι (*BGU* 1872, 9; cf. line 12, 15, 23; from 50 BC; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1482, 3); one winnows τὴν ἄλωνίαν, the threshing-floor (*P.Ryl.* 442, 3 = *SB* 9408, 94, 97, 100, 103; 9409, col. VII, 26–28; 9410, col. VI, 10). Same meaning in Ruth 3:2—“Tonight he must winnow the barley on the threshing-floor” (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 5.328).

³ *P.Petaus* 53, 12 (second century AD); *SB* 9409, col. VII, 78. In a lease for a vegetable garden in the third century, reference is made to “all my expenses from sowing time to harvest and winnowing” (ἀπό τε κατασπορα—ς μέχρι συμκομιδῆς καὶ λικμῆσεως, *P.Mich.* 609, 22), “after the winnowing we will share the produce equally” (line 27).

⁴ F. Delebecque, observing that λικμάω presents an image, and recalling that “winnow” means to separate the grain from the chaff, cites Luke 3:17, the “winnowing shovel,” and chooses the meaning “pulverize.” Hence his translation: “The one on whom [this stone_ falls will be ground to powder by it” (*Evangile de Luc*, p. 126).

⁵ The corresponding Hebrew verb is *sûp*, “perish, cease to exist, disappear.” A. Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, p. 225) cites *BGU* 146, 8 (second-third century) where λικμάω would be synonymous with συνθλάω (break, grind together; cf. the Vulgate at Luke 20:18—*comminuere*; Matt 21:44—*conterere*): ε—πῆλθαν —Αγαθοκλῆς καὶ δοῦλος Σαραπίωνος —Οννώφρευς καὶ ἄλλος ξένος ε—ργάτης αὐτοῦ τῆ ἄλωνία μου καὶ ε—λίκμησάν μου τὸ λάχανον καὶ οὐχ ὀλίγην ζημείαν μοι ε—ζημιωσάμην; these rogues smashed to bits, destroyed my bean vegetable harvest; cf. λάχανον in Josephus, *War* 4.541: “Whoever ventured outside the gates to gather vegetables or dead wood. . . .”

λόγιος

logios, eloquent, articulate, learned, eminent

logios, S 3052; *TDNT* 4.136–137; *EDNT* 2.356; *NIDNTT* 3.1081, 1106, 1117; *MM* 378; *L&N* 27.20, 33.32; *BAGD* 476

A Jew of Alexandrian origin, Apollos was upon his arrival at Ephesus introduced as an *aner logios* (Acts 18:24; biblical hapax). This is a term of honor that was current in the first century BC,¹ but it is not easy to translate, because it can refer to rather varied qualities.

(a) The most widespread meaning of *logios* would seem to be “eloquent, articulate, speaking well.” “Eloquent men tend to make long expositions and long speeches” (Philo, *Post. Cain* 53); “Does not a slight sickness suffice to paralyse the tongue, to stitch shut the mouth of seasoned

orators?” (*ton pany logion, Cherub. 116*). “You are the most unjust of men not to be grateful at all when, mute that you were, I made you eloquent” (*logios men ex aphonou*).² Plutarch associates *hoi logiotatoi kai kalliphonotatoi* (“having the best voices,” *De sol. an. 973 a*; cf. *Con. praec. 17: hoi philologoi logious*). “I myself might justly rebuke those eloquent Greeks . . . who sit in judgment and revile” (Josephus, *War 1.13*). “Timothy remembered Philopappos and Maximus Statilius . . . those most eloquent and very dear men.”³ If the gods who preside over arts and letters are *theoi logioi*,⁴ Hermes is the one for whom this epithet is most suitable: “Hermes passed for the most eloquent of the gods” (Lucian, *Gall. 2*; cf. *Pseudol. 24*). Beginning in the fifth century, and especially with Justinian, it is the normal description for a lawyer, and especially for the *defensor civitatis*, corresponding to the Latin *eloquentissimus: to logiotato ekdiko Herakleous poleos*.⁵ Lawyers are usually addressed *logiotate ekdike kyrie* (*P.Oxy. 902, 18; 1885, 17; P.Flor. 377, 18*) or *lamprotate ekdike, logiotate kyrie* (*P.Oxy. 1883, 10*). This sense of the word—mastery of the art of oratory—would be quite suitable for Apollos, who is fairly bubbling with enthusiasm and fervor (*zeon to pneumatii elalei*, Acts 18:25), preaching with *parresia* (boldness, verse 26), with contagious assurance and conviction, which won him such prestige in the community at Corinth (1Cor 1:12; 3:4-6, 22; 4:6; 16:12).

(b) Eloquence often goes along with erudition,⁶ and *logios* also means “learned, scholarly, well-read.” “There were more sensible and learned youths than he (Tiberius) in his day” (Philo, *To Gaius 142*). “Learned people (*hoi logioi*) thought that the security of the temple was dissolving by itself” (Josephus, *War 6.295*). Plutarch: *tous sophous kai logious* (*De prim. frigid. 955 d*); “the most learned of the Romans” (*Num. 12.2*), “the most learned of the Delphians” (*De def. or. 42*); “Aristotle, the most learned of the philosophers” (*Alex. 7.2*); “She does not refuse to converse with the learned” (Heliodorus, *Aeth. 2.33.7*; cf. 3.19.3). Since Phrynichus notes that the ancients called *logios* a person who knew the costume of each people and could thus make them known (ed. Lobeck, p. 198), this term can be given the nuance “informed” or “competent,” like Diodorus Siculus, according to Eusebius (*Praep. Evang. 1.6.9*). Thus well-informed writers tell about marvellous cures effected by Sarapis (Strabo 17.1.7); “we have received a very old tradition handed down by well-informed men from all of Greece” (Philo, *To Gaius 237*); “These truths were already known among the most illustrious learned ancients” (*Post. Cain 162*); “Judas the son of Sariphaeus and Matthias the son of Margalothus, the most learned of the Jews and peerless interpreters of their ancestral laws” (Josephus, *Ant. 17.149*); “the most learned (*hoi logiotatoi*) of the natives retell a myth” (Diodorus Siculus 2.4.3; cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 5.17.3; 6.1.2). The adjective is applied especially to the Egyptians who passed on to the historians their knowledge of their ancient traditions: “The account that I

had from the most learned high priests of this learned land of Egypt.”⁷ So *logios* could be translated “expert,” as with Hippodamus of Miletus, who “professed to be an expert (*logios boulomenos*) about all of nature” (Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.8.1.1267b), the Etruscan *haruspices* (*hoi logioi*) in interpreting dreams (Plutarch, *Sull.* 7.7; cf. *De def. or.* 433 d: *hoi logiotatoi Delphon*), Akosinos the expert physician (*iatros logios*, Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 4.7.4). Applied to Apollos, this meaning of the word is particularly felicitous, since he was “powerful in the Scriptures . . . and taught accurately about Jesus” (Acts 18:24-25). Thus he passed on a tradition concerning which he was perfectly informed, and he had a complete mastery of the Holy Scriptures. He was a scholar who could communicate his convictions energetically.

(c) Finally, *logios* is a title of honor,⁸ and this nuance is not to be ruled out in Acts 18:24, where we could take *aner logios* to mean an “eminent or quite distinguished man.” Thus in the third century, *huios logios* means “noble son” (*P.Oxy.* 2476, 4). “To His Magnificence the archon and his very distinguished colleague” (*kai to logiotato autou sympono*, 1919, 2; seventh century); *archontos Pyrrakou tou logiou*.⁹ “Timothy was remembered . . . by his very distinguished and very dear friends” (*emnesthe . . . ton logiotaton kai philtaton*, Dittenberger, *Or.* 408). This nuance of affection and admiration¹⁰ is probably involved in the use of the term by St. Luke, who was clearly impressed by the prestigious young Alexandrian academician.

¹ In the first century BC, *P.Lond.* 2710, 6 describes Petesouchos as ἄνδρα λόγιον (ed. J. Seyfarth, “Φράτρα und φρατρία im nachklassischen Griechentum,” in *Aeg.* 1955, p. 17; republished in *SB* 7835). Plutarch says that Pittheus was an ἀνὴρ λόγιος (*Thes.* 3.2). Cf. the praise of Zeno: πλὴν ε—πεὶ λόγιον ἄνθρωπον ε—παινοῦμεν (A. Traversa, *Index Stoicorum Herculanensis*, Genoa, 1952, p. 13).

² Plutarch, *Pomp.* 51.8; *De frat. amor.* 16; *Ti. Gracch.* 2.1; *Cic.* 49.5. On the cultural and social importance of the art of oratory in the Hellenistic Period, cf. H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation*, pp. 269–291 = ET, pp. 267–281; Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.183: “the sound of fame . . . reveals to orators and to poets”; Pindar, *Nem.* 6.51: “Songs and speeches tell of their great deeds.” The λογικός is a master of rhetoric or eloquence (*MAMA* 6.126.4; cf. *I.Car.*, p. 196); cf. Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 405 a.

³ Τω—ν λογιότατων καὶ φιλότατων (J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois à Thèbes*, Cairo, 1920, n. 76, 5); cf. *CCAG* 8; IV, 178, 17: λογίους μὲν πάνυ ποιει— καὶ φίλους βασιλέων; 184, 10: λογίους πεπαιδευμένους.

⁴ Cf. E. Orth, *Logios*, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 86ff.

⁵ *Stud.Pal.* XX, 129, 1 (fifth century); *P.Oxy.* 902, 1: To Flavius Isaac, τῷ λογιωτάτῳ σχολαστικῷ ε—κδίκῳ (fifth century); 2177, 37–40; *PSI* 76, 11: διὰ τοῦ λογιωτάτου ε—κδίκου τῆς —Αλεξανδρέων (sixth century); *BGU* 836, 7: διὰ τοῦ λογιωτάτου ε—κδίκου τῆς —Αρσινοϊτών (from the time of Justinian); cf. 401, 7 (seventh century); *P.Lond.* 1732, 4; *P.Apoll.* 46, 5: “I have proposed in the presence of the most holy bishop, the most holy counsel (τοῦ λογιωτάτου ε—κδίκου), the Lord Basilios . . .” (eighth century). *Jur.Pap.*, n. 20, 81. Cf. E. von Druffel, *Papyrologische Studien zum byzantinischen Urkundenwesen im Anschluß an P. Heidelberg 311*, 2d ed., Munich, 1970, pp. 40, 52.

⁶ Philo, *Virtues* 174: the proud person “thinks that he is the most just, the most eloquent, the most learned” (δικαιότατος, λογιώτατος, ε—πιστημονικώτατος). Menecrates of Sosandra: ι—ατρὸν καὶ φιλόσοφον, ἥρωα, λό[γιον] (or —γιστήν), στρατηγόν (V. Nutton, “Menecrates of Sosandra, Doctor or Vet?,” in *ZPE* XXII, 1976, p. 93).

⁷ *Ep. Arist.* 6. Herodotus 2.2: “The priests of Heliopolis are held to be the most learned of the Egyptians”; 2.77: “Among the Egyptians, those who inhabit the part of Egypt where grains are sown . . . are by far the most learned”; Philo, *Moses* 1.23: the learned (or competent, *hoi logioi*) Egyptians passed on to Moses the knowledge of the sciences and philosophy. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.165; 2.75; Plutarch, *Sol.* 26.1: “Psenopis of Heliopolis and Sonkhis of Saïs were the most learned of the priests”; according to Theophrastus, the Egyptian race is the most cultivated (τὸ λογιώτατον, in Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.5; cf. Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 1.9.7).

⁸ Cf. *P.Lips.* 37, 24: τῇ σῆ λογιότητι (fourth century); *P.Oxy.* 902, 13 (fifth century), *SB* 6000, col. 6 (sixth century); 4490, 9 (seventh century); Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 1.9.7)

⁹ C. Michel, *Recueil*, 1170 (first century); Dio Cassius 60.19.1: “Aulus Plautius, distinguished (λογιώτατος) senator.” Frequently used for πρυτάνεις in the inscriptions, cf. E. Orth, *Logios*, pp. 70ff.

¹⁰ Cf. the introduction of Lamprias by Plutarch (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.622 e). A woman says of her husband: μετὰ συναινέσεως Μάρκου τοῦ λογιωτάτου μου συμβίου (*P.Oxy.* 126, 6; from the sixth century). Λογιότης became a title of respect in the protocol for Christian letter-writing, *SB* 8003, 8 (fourth century); *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 9, 19 (= M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 77). L. Dinneen, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography*, Washington, 1929, pp. 47–48.

λοιδορέω, λοιδορία, λοίδορος

loidoreo, to insult; *loidoria*, insult; *loidoros*, insulter

loidoreo, S 3058; *TDNT* 4.293–294; *EDNT* 2.359; *NIDNTT* 3.346–347; MM 380; L&N 33.393; BDF §§152(1), 420(2); BAGD 479 | ***loidoria***, S 3059; *TDNT* 4.293–294; *EDNT* 2.360; *NIDNTT* 3.346; MM 380; L&N 33.393; BAGD 479 | ***loidoros***, S 3060; *TDNT* 4.293–294; *EDNT* 2.360; *NIDNTT* 3.346–347; MM 380; L&N 33.395; BAGD 479

The meaning of these terms evolved within biblical Greek, even though a number of usages have parallels in the secular language.¹ In the LXX, they are used especially to translate the Hebrew *rîb*, “to quarrel,” and in the Pentateuch often refer to the dispute of Meribah.² This is also the meaning of these terms in the Wisdom writings, with respect to the quarrelsome woman (Prov 25:24; 27:15; Hebrew *madôn*) and the quarrelsome man (26:21), and it is specified that “it is an honor for a man to refrain from dispute” (20:3). The sense becomes more pejorative in Prov 10:18—“insult,” Hebrew *dibâh*—and in Ben Sirach (22:24; 27:21), where insults go together with curses (29:6) and the insulter with the proud (23:8). Finally, the coarsest insults go together with blasphemies (2Macc 12:14) and are the expression of hatred (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.37).

In the NT, the Pharisees abuse the man born blind (John 9:28), and when St. Paul called the high priest a white-washed wall, he was accused of insulting him (Acts 23:4); *loidoria* is thus a form of *hybris*.³ Words lead to blows; insults provoke fights, and blood flows.⁴ Christ was subjected to insults and blows,⁵ and Christian slaves are urged to imitate his determined silence: “Abused, he did not abuse in return.”⁶ The apostles give an example: they do not fail to reply with patience and forgiveness,⁷ and all Christians should likewise refrain from returning harm for harm (1Pet 3:9), blessing those who curse them (Luke 6:28; Rom 12:14). The Lord abolishes the *lex talionis* (Matt 5:38-39), replacing it with the response of love.

This is not without merit, for every insult is an offense against one’s honor,⁸ especially since it is often accompanied by scornful mocking.⁹ But St. Paul does not tolerate any concession, but places the mocker between the idolator and the drunkard as being unworthy to be called a brother (1Cor 5:11) and excluded from the kingdom of God (6:10). This severity is astonishing. We must remember, however, that the entire Bible similarly denounces sins of speech¹⁰ and that “most people enjoy listening to insults” (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.4). People insulted each other for the most trifling reasons.¹¹ There were even “insult duels” (Philo, *Husbandry* 110; Stobaeus, *Flor.* 19.4; vol. 3, p. 530). Common folk went at it no holds

barred. Epictetus presents the man who, at the theater, took sides in an improper way: “So why did they insult you? Because everyone detests whatever hampers him. They wanted to give the wreath to someone, you preferred someone else. They were hampering you and you them. You turned out to be stronger. They did what they could—insulted the one who hampered them. . . . Don’t farmers revile Zeus when he hampers them? Don’t soldiers revile him? Is Caesar not reviled endlessly . . . ?” (3.4.6–7).

If the texts that are hardest on *loidoria* are those in 1 Cor, the reason must be that this vice was especially widespread among the lower-class folk descended from the freedmen with whom Caesar had populated the city in 44 BC, whose numbers were swelled by colonists so vulgar that they provoked the complaints of the poets Alciphron (Alciphron, *Ep.* 3.15) and Crinagoras (*Anth. Pal.* 9.284). We also know what a passion they had for the Cynics, who specialized in uncouth aggressiveness: “Here are your outstanding characteristics: being impudent and rude and insulting everyone equally, kings like commoners; that is how you attract attention and make yourself seem manly . . . all the traits of a wild beast or a savage animal. Far from you are modesty, decency, and moderation.”¹²

¹ For example, Jer 29:27—“Why did you not reprimand Jeremiah?” (Hebrew *ga’ar*). Cf. 1Tim 5:14—the conduct of the young widows should not give occasion for any *λοιδορία*, any injurious accusation, any damaging criticism; Xenophon, *Symp.* 4.32: “When I was rich, I was often criticized harshly for visiting Socrates”; Plutarch, *Nic.* 2.1: “His birth (he was called a foreigner, having been born on Cos) brought him harsh attacks”; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59840, 14: “It is not without dispute that I have occupied the premises.”

² Exod 17:7; cf. verse 2; Num 20:3, 13, 24; Deut 33:8.

³ The two terms are associated, *PSI* 222, 14; as are *λοιδορος* and *ὑβρις* (*T. Benj.* 5.4), *λοιδορέω* and *ὑβρίζω* (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1109, 75, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 24, 37: λέγει μοι λοιδορεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὰ πλειοστά ἀδίκως καὶ ὑβριστικῶς).

⁴ Exod 21:18—“When men quarrel and one strikes his neighbor with a stone or with his fist”; Sir 22:24—“Before bloodshed come insults”; Philo, *Dreams* 2.168: a meeting of drinkers “full of anxiety, dejection, brawling, insults, blows, and injuries, of people who are muttering, yelling, grabbing each other by the throat, wrestling, pulling at each other’s ears, nose . . .”; *P.Oxy.* 237; col. VI, 21: ε—πὶ φθόνῳ δὲ μόνον λοιδορούμενος καὶ δεινὰ πάσχων ἀπὸ ε—μοῦ; *Acta Alexandrinorum* XVIII, col. I, 2: λοιδοροῦντα καὶ βιάζοντα.

⁵ Cf. Matt 27:39, 41, 44; Mark 15:29; Luke 23:11, 35-36; John 19:2-5.

⁶ 1Pet 2:23—ὅς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδορεῖ. Cf. Philo, *Decalogue* 75: “In these petitions, they envisioned not oaths, but curses that would provoke their anger and stir them up to lash back with insults and invective of their own”; Josephus, *War* 2.302: “Florus ordered that those who had insulted him should be sent to him, adding that they would taste his vengeance if they did not turn over the guilty parties to him. The eminent people ... begged for pardon for those who had spoken ill of Florus.”

⁷ 1Cor 4:12—λοιδορούμενοι, εὐλογοῦμεν; cf. L. Cerfaux, “L’Antinomie paulinienne de la vie apostolique,” in *RSR*, 1951, pp. 221–235.

⁸ Xenophon, *Hier.* 1.14: “what is more painful to hear, namely, insult.” Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 4.5–6: “You insult Cornelia, who brought Tiberius into the world!”; Plutarch, *Dem.* 22.3; *Cic.* 26.7. Cf. *P.Tebt.* 44, 16: ε—λοιδορήσέν με καὶ ἀσχημόνειν; C. Spicq, *Justice*, vol. 2, pp. 369–392.

⁹ Cf. this witness who, while walking down the street, saw Athenaïs mock and strike Chrysis (*P.Hib.* 200, 7).

¹⁰ Cf. C. Spicq, *Justice*, vol. 2, pp. 105ff., insults, defamation, bickering, mockery, etc.

¹¹ Xenophon, *An.* 7.5.11: “Seuthes started insulting Heracleides for not having invited Xenophon as well”; Theophrastus, *Char.* 28.5: “If someone has just left a group, the slanderer straightaway sets upon the absent party, and once he has started, insults his entire family”; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.148: “Apollonius did not tie up his gripes in a bundle like Apion; instead he broadcast them here and there, sometimes insulting us as atheists and misanthropes . . .”; Plutarch, *Pel.* 8.8: “Chlidon asked for the bridle. His wife, caught unprepared, told him that she could not give it to him because she had lent it to a friend. There followed insults, then ill-omened words”; Diodorus Siculus 20.33: “Lysiscus, who had had some wine, was spouting insults against his prince. Nevertheless, Agathocles . . . replied only with jokes to this violent attack. But his son Archagathus could not contain himself and went on the attack. After dinner was over . . . Lysiscus began insulting Archagathus along the way. . . . Archagathus, beside himself with anger and unable to contain himself, took a pike from one of the guards who was nearby and plunged it into the side of Lysiscus, who died on the spot”; *P.Oxy.* 2264, 43. —In Galen there are insulting tirades against his colleagues (B. P. Reardon, *Courants littéraires grecs*, Paris, 1971, p. 61). Derision, mockery, sarcasm were forms of criticism in ancient literature (G. W. Coats, “Self-Abasement and Insult Formulas,” in *JBL*, 1970, pp. 14–26).

Lucian is no doubt the richest source of these (J. Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain*, pp. 473–484). Cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, pp. 86–88; 150, n. 3; 503; vol. 2, pp. 610, 686.

¹² Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 10; editor T. Beaupère comments: “Lucian misses no opportunity to stigmatize the uncouthness of the Cynic. Boisterous (βοω—ντος, 11), foul-mouthed and aggressive, he is generally characterized by the insults that he dispenses as unsparingly as a barking dog (ύλακτήση, 7) after those who draw near (cf. *Fug.* 14: βοα—ν, μα—λλον δὲ . . . ύλακτει—ν καὶ λοιδορει—σθαι ἅπασι; and *Fug.* 27: λοιδορον; *Nec.* 4: λοιδορούμενον)” (Paris, 1967, vol. 2, p. 51, n. 96).

λουτρόν

loutron, bath

loutron, S 3067; TDNT 4.295–307; EDNT 2.361; NIDNTT 1.150–153; MM 381; L&N 53.43; BAGD 480

This is not the place for a theological study of baptism (Eph 5:26; Titus 3:5), on which the secular texts shed no light. But if a sacrament is a sign of a sacred reality, it is important to ask what that sign represented for first-century Jew or Greek. In the case of *loutron*, there are three meanings: the place where one bathes, the bathroom;¹ bath water (Sophocles, *Ant.* 1201: *lousantes hagnon loutron*); the action of bathing. This third meaning is the one used in the LXX.²

(a) The bath, public and private, was quite widespread in antiquity,³ and the papyri supply abundant documentation for these bath houses, their founders, their employees, their management, their functioning,⁴ and their prices.⁵ The bath is in the first instance a hygienic practice, a cleansing—one washes to be clean⁶—but there are many other motives: bathing for pleasure or enjoyment in the rivers,⁷ baths for relaxation, to dispel cares,⁸ bathing to counter the heat (Sus 15, Theodotus; Aesop, *Fab.* 73), baths to complement athletic exercises,⁹ remedial baths to treat sickness¹⁰ or for the aged, and for farmers exhausted by their toils: *gerontika loutra therma* (Plato, *Leg.* 6.761 c).

(b) If bathing is first of all due to the desire for cleanliness, water is also a means of achieving purity and getting rid of moral stains. Philo highlights this correspondence between the efficacy of water for the body and the symbolism of the soul: “They cleanse their bodies with baths and lustrations, but they do not wish to be bothered to cleanse their souls of life-staining passions” (*Cherub.* 95); “By thus washing away that which makes dirty, by making use of the lustral waters of intelligence and its means of purification, it should shine splendidly” (*Change of Names* 124;

cf. *Plant.* 116, 162). Similarly the Pythian Oracle: “Proceed with purity of heart, stranger, into the sanctuary of the pure god. Wash at the spring of the nymphs. A few drops suffice for the good; but the ocean would not be enough water to purify the wicked” (*Anth. Pal.* 14.71; cf. Euripides, *Hipp.* 317: “my hands are pure; it is my heart that is stained”). Thus the bath has a religious significance and is a rite practiced not only in Israel and by Jewish sects¹¹ but also among the Greeks, and perhaps among all peoples,¹² especially when drawing near to the deity: “One cannot enter the sanctuary without first washing the body in a complete bath” (Philo, *Unchang. God* 8). This purifying effect of bathing is highlighted in Eph 5:26—“Christ loved the church; he gave himself up for it, so as to sanctify it by purification through the washing of water with a word (*to loutro tou hydatos en rhemati*), because he wanted to present it to himself all shining, without spot or stain or anything of the sort, but holy and pure.”¹³ The instrumental dative *to loutro* specifies the manner—“purification carried out by means of and in the form of a bath with water,”¹⁴—qualified by *en rhemati*, a reference to the sacramental formula. This is a reference to baptism, which washes away sins (*apolouesthai*, Acts 22:16; 1Cor 6:11) and whitens the soul (*leukaino*, Rev 7:14).

The whole pericope teaches that the union of Christ with humanity¹⁵ is the model for conjugal love in the church: a love that is intimate, a love that is fecund.¹⁶ From that point on *loutron* does not envisage cleanliness or a purification that is necessary after a sexual act,¹⁷ but the fecundity which for the Greeks was the principal purpose of marriage.¹⁸ It is reminiscent of the prenuptial bath of young women, the *loutron . . . nymphikon*;¹⁹ since water was for the earth a source of fertility,²⁰ the nuptial bath would be a fertility rite, intended to enhance the likelihood of procreation; at the very least it enhances access to a new mode of existence (Euripides, *IT* 818). In Eph 5:26, purification-cleanliness (*katharizo*) is also sanctification-consecration (*hina auten hagiase*): Christ takes as his bride the church, which he has washed of its sins (cf. Acts 22:16).

(c) If water is the condition of life and fertility, then bathing or immersion, by the very structure of the act—entering and leaving—symbolizes also the erasure of the past, the end of a former existence, and makes a renewal possible: one is born again of the water and of the Spirit.²¹ The baptized person is a new creation.²² The rite of the *loutron* symbolizes this transformation.²³ Having been begotten by the bath, one comes out from it strong and well. Hence Titus 3:5—“He saved us, according to his mercy, by a bath of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit.”²⁴ St. Ambrose comments accurately: “The father has begotten you by the washing” (*Sacr.* 5.19; Sources Chrétiennes, 25, p. 93).

¹ Ps.-Xenophon, *Ath.* 2.10; *P.Oxy.* 1252, verso 22; *BGU* 14, col. III, 18; Dittenberger, *Or.* 339, 33; cf. L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques*, p. 131. J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology*, pp. 12, 21, 62ff.

² Cant 4:2; 6:5—“Your teeth are like a flock of sheared sheep coming out after bathing (ἀπὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ; or from the watering place; Hebrew *rahshah*)”; Sir 34:25—βαπτίζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ καὶ πάλιν ἀπτόμενος αὐτοῦ, τὸ ὠφέλησεν ε—ν τω— λουτρῶ— αὐτοῦ, i.e., someone who plunges or immerses himself (in water) after defiling contact with a corpse, then touches it again—what does he profit from his washing (his purifying bath, ablution)? Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.356: “In his grief the king took no bath and no food”; *Ag. Apion* 1.282: the healed leper is commanded to undertake “certain purifications: washing in spring water. . . .”

³ R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutiké: Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque*, Paris, 1962. Plautus, *Poen.* 217ff.: “From daybreak till now you and I have been doing only one thing: bathing ourselves, rubbing ourselves down, drying ourselves, dressing up, polishing up, polishing up again.”

⁴ *P.Oxy.* 1252, verso 22; 892, 11; 1889, 8; 1921, 12–13 (mica panes fitted as windows for two bath houses, cf. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 2, p. 933), 1925, 38: ε—πάνω τῆς θύρας τοῦ λουτροῦ; 2006, 2: βαλανεὺς τοῦ λουτροῦ; 2569, 7; 2599, 31; 2718, 12; *P.Mich.Zen.* 38, 33; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 22, 5; 30, 1, 5; *P.land.* 146, col. XI, 5 (rental agreement for a bathing tunic); *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 46, 1; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 238, verso 8. Women complain that they were struck and chased from their bath, in a public bath (*P.Enteux.* 83) or burned by hot water (*P.Enteux.* 82; on hot baths, cf. Xenophon, *Oec.* 5.9; Athenaeus 1.18 c; 5.207 f; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 888, 124: θερμῶ—ν ὑδάτων λουτρά; Vitruvius, *Arch.* 5.11.2; Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 7.166; Stobaeus, *Flor.* 97.31; vol. 5, pp. 814–815). Cf. *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 5, pp. 91ff. H. Maehler, “Zwei neue Bremer Papyri,” in *ChrEg*, 1966, p. 346; R. Etienne, *La Vie quotidienne à Pompéi*, Paris, 1966, pp. 411–425. Benefactors offered λουτρά to the ephebes (*I.Priene* CXII, 76–77) or to their city (“Inscription de Iotapè,” in L. Robert, *Documents* p. 75).

⁵ Theophrastus, *Char.* 9.8; *LSAM*, n. 23, 10. On ritual baths, cf. *LSAMSup*, n. 25 A 9; 108, 6 (Rhodes, first century AD). *LSCG*, n. 52, 22 (Athens, first century AD).

⁶ John 13:10. Hence the accessories: sponge, strigil, soap; the latter from a potash or alkali base (Job 9:30; Jer 2:22; *P.Enteux.* 82; cf. R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutiké*, p. 142), sometimes perfume from the iris (Athenaeus 9.409 e; cf. Plutarch, *Dem.* 27).

⁷ *Sib. Or.* 4.165: “Bathe your whole body in streams of fresh water” (around AD 80). Heated baths: εἰ—ς μακαρίαν τὸ λουτρόν (Antiphanes, frag. 245; in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 290), accompanied with unguents and perfumes (Isa 57:9; Sus 15; cf. 2Sam 11:2); cf. in 92 BC at the mysteries of Andania: ἀλείμματος καὶ λουτροῦ, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 736, 106 = *LSCG*, n. 65. On the art of the bath (βαλανευτική), which goes together with adornment (κοσμητική), cf. Plato, *Soph.* 227 a; Plato, *Plt.* 282 a.

⁸ Λουτρόν ἀλεξίπονος (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1961, n. 854).

⁹ Aristophanes, *Av.* 140: “you meet my son leaving the gymnasium, all bathed”; *SEG* XIII, 488, 9: ὕδωρ εἰ—ς τὴν παλαίστραν, Cf. J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*, Paris, 1960, pp. 304–311 et passim.

¹⁰ Cf. Naaman’s bath (2Kgs 5:1-14); Hippocrates, *Acut.* 18 (ed. Littré, vol. 2, pp. 365ff.); Pausanias 2.27.6; probably prescribed by the Ebionites and the Elchasaïtes. Charlatans forbid baths for epileptics (Hippocrates, *Morb. Sac.* 1; ed. Littré, vol. 6, p.355).

¹¹ Lev 15:21ff.; 17:15-16; 22:6; Isa 1:16—“Wash yourselves, purify yourselves”; Ezek 36:25—“I shall pour out pure water on you and you will be pure; I will purify you from all your stains”; Ps 51:4—“Wash my guilt away completely, and purify me of my sin.” The translators of the LXX wash their hands before praying and before translating the sacred text (*Ep. Arist.* 305). The Essenes replaced the cultic sacrifices with baths, and thus they made themselves worthy to sit at the common table (Josephus, *War* 2.129); running water, which is the purest water, is used for purification (2.138; cf. *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 1, pp. 321–336. H. Braun, “Die Täufer taufe und die qumranischen Waschungen,” in *Theologia Viatorum*, vol. 9, 1963, pp. 1ff.). The hermit Banous “took numerous purifying baths, day and night, in cold water” (Josephus, *Life* 11); the Hemerobaptists “bathed each day in water to wash themselves and purify themselves of all guilt” (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 17); likewise the Nasareans, the Masbotheans, and the Sabeans; cf. J. Thomas, *Le Mouvement baptiste en Palestine et en Syrie (150 av. J.-C.–300 ap. J.-C.)*, Gembloux, 1935. Christ was reticent about ablutions and washings, cf. Matt 15:1-20; 23:25-26; Mark 7:1-23.

¹² Aristophanes, *Ran.* 355: the hierophant excludes from initiation one who is not pure in spirit, γνώμην μὴ καθαρεύει. An inscription of the temple at Epidaurus: “Let no one who is not pure enter this fragrant temple; to be pure is to have a pure conscience” (Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.19; Clement of

Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.1; *PG IX*, 28); Theophrastus, *Char.* 16; Euripides, *Or.* 1602–1603; Aristophanes, *Av.* 958, 959; *Pax* 956. Cf. A. J. Festugière, “La Grèce: La Religion,” in M. Gorce, R. Mortier, *Histoire générale des religions*, Paris, 1944, vol. 2, pp. 54ff., 115; L. Moulinier, *Le Pur et l’impur dans la pensée des Grecs*, Paris, 1952, pp. 25ff., 102ff. et passim.

¹³ J. Cambier, “Le Grand Mystère concernant le Christ et son Eglise, Ephésiens V, 22–33,” in *Bib*, 1966, pp. 43–90; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, p. 289; M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 2, pp. 691ff.

¹⁴ H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, Düsseldorf, 1957, p. 257. Cf. Heb 10:22—ῥεραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρα—ς καὶ λελουσμένοι τὸ σῶ—μα ὕδατι καθαρω—; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.258, 261.

¹⁵ On this ι—ερός γάμος, cf. A. Robert, R. Tournay, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, Paris, 1963, pp. 355ff.; E. des Places, *La Religion grecque*, Paris, 1969, p. 29, 88, 90; H. Graillot, “Hiéros gamos,” in *DAGR*, vol. 3, pp. 177–181; A. Klinz, in *PW*, Suppl. 6, 107–113; M. Launey, “L’Athlète Théogène et le ΙΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ d’Héraclès Thasien,” in *RArch*, 1941, 2, pp. 22–49; L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*, pp. 119, 423; R. A. Batey, “Jewish Gnosticism and the ‘Hieros Gamos’ of Eph. V, 31–33,” in *NTS*, vol. 10, 1963, pp. 121–127; G. Freymuth, “Zum Hieros Gamos in den antiken Mysterien,” in *MusHelv*, 1964, pp. 86–95; J. G. Février, “A propos du hiéros gamos de Pyrgi,” in *Journal Asiatique*, 1965, pp. 11–14; Y. Grandjean, *Arétalogie d’Isis*, p. 57.

¹⁶ J. A. Robillard, “Le Symbolisme du mariage selon saint Paul,” in *RSPT*, 1932, pp. 243–247.

¹⁷ Cf. *I.Perg.*, 264 (second century AD, republished in *SEG IV*, 681; *LSAM*, n. 14; cf. 18); *I.Lind.* 487.

¹⁸ Solon saw marriage as “a union for life of a man and a woman in order to have children” (Plutarch, *Sol.* 20.6; cf. 22.4). According to Lycurgus, one marries girls “only so that they may have children” (*Num.* 26.1–3); Ps.-Demosthenes, *C. Neaera* 122; Xenophon, *Oec.* 7.10–14; Philo, *Rewards* 139: “women whom they married legitimately in order to have legitimate children”; Josephus, *War* 2.161: the Essenes “marry not for pleasure but to procreate children.”

¹⁹ Aristophanes, *Lys.* 378: “If by chance you need to wash, I will give you a bath, myself . . . and a nuptial bath besides”; cf. Aristophanes, *Pax* 843ff.; Euripides, *Phoen.* 347: “Nor did Ismenus associate with your wedding by supplying a nuptial bath”; Aeschylus, *PV* 556: “The wedding song that I

sang around the bath and around the bed for your marriage”; Thucydides 2.15.5: “This water (of Callirhoe) is used for marriages and for other sacred acts”; Hippolytus, *In Dan.* 16.3. A. Médebielle (*Epîtres de la captivité*, Paris, 1938, p. 67) correctly cites Ezek 16:4, 9; cf. 36:25-27; Plutarch, *Amat. nar.* 772 b; R. Ginouvès (*Balaneutiké*, pp. 267ff.), the lexicographers, Eustathius, *Suda*, Photius, who mention this bath, practiced before the celebration of a marriage. Cf. M. Collignon, “Louthrophoros,” in *DAGR*, vol. 3, 1317; J. Leipoldt, *Die urchristliche Taufe im Lichte der Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1928; G. Wagner, *Pagan Baptism and Pagan Mysteries*, Edinburgh-London, 1967; Oepke, “λούω,” *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 298–300. In Israel, cf. *b. shabb.* 77b 27; ‘Abot R. Nat. 41 (Str-B, vol. 1, p. 506, c).

²⁰ Cf. Isa 55:10—“the rain will cause the earth to bring forth” (hiphil of *yalad*). P. Reymond, *L’Eau, sa vie et sa signification dans l’Ancien Testament*, Leiden, 1958, pp. 1–8, 241ff.

²¹ John 3:5. Cf. F. M. Braun, *Jean le Théologien*, vol. 3, Paris, 1966, pp. 85ff.; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 61–102.

²² 2Cor 5:17; Rom 7:6; Gal 6:15; 1Pet 2:2; “The water makes entirely new the old person whom it has received” (inscription of a Constantinian baptistry, cited by P. T. Camelot, *Spiritualité de baptême*, Paris, 1960, p. 145).

²³ Cf. πίπτειν ε—ς γένεσιν (Porphyry, *De antr. nymph.* 13); Hymn to Mandoulis: “After being bathed in the holy water of immortality, you appeared as a child” (*SB* 4127, 14); cf. A. D. Nock, “A Vision of Mandulis Aion,” in *HTR*, 1934, pp. 53–104; A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 1, pp. 49–50.

²⁴ Διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου. A. J. Dey, *Παλιγγενεσία*, Münster, 1937; to the references given by C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 2, p. 653, add F. M. Braun, *Jean le Théologien*, pp. 154ff.; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament*, London, 1962, pp. 210, 223, 231; R. Le Déaut, *Nuit Pascale*, pp. 239–257; J. K. Parrat, “The Holy Spirit and Baptism,” in *ExpT* 82, 1971, p. 271. Cf. the myth of the restoration of the youth of Pelias, in Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.27: ποιήσει νέον; Diodorus Siculus 4.41–52 (P. J. Sijpesteijn, “The Rejuvenation of Pelias,” in *ZPE*, 1972, p. 109, col. II, 38).

λύκος

lykos, wolf

lykos, S 3074; TDNT 4.308–311; EDNT 2.362; MM 381; L&N 4.11, 88.121; BAGD 481

The biblical wolf (Hebrew *ze'ab*) is a predator, a ferocious beast, associated with the lion (Jer 5:6; Prov 28:15; *Jos. Asen.* 12.9–10), feared for its voraciousness.¹ It tears its prey to pieces: *lykos harpax* (Gen 49:27; Ezek 22:27). A common carnivore in Transjordan and more ferocious than the jackal, it terrorizes shepherds. It is described as “thirsty” (*lykos dipson*, Prov 28:15; the Hebrew has “bear,” *dob*), the wolf of the steppes (Jer 5:6), the wolf of the evening.²

The wolf has always been mentioned as attacking above all ewes or lambs. Between them no truce is possible,³ and the golden age, when all living creatures will be at peace, is described as a time when wolves and lambs will live and feed together.⁴ In a metaphorical sense, the wolf became a literary cliché, symbolizing the wicked exploiter of the weak (Prov 28:15), especially leaders, rulers, and judges who ruin their subjects, extort from them, or reduce them to servitude.⁵ This shows how fearsome a prospect the Lord set before his disciples: “I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves” (Matt 10:16; Luke 10:3). They are in danger of being devoured!

In principle, the flock is in the care of a shepherd who will defend them against wild beasts, but “the hireling . . . sees the wolf coming, leaves the sheep, and runs away—and the wolf ravages and scatters them (*kai ho lykos harpazei auta kai skorpizei*)—because he is a hireling and does not care for the sheep.”⁶ For “the wolves hunt down and catch the one that is deprived of protection” (Xenophon, *Eq. Mag.* 4.18), and the wage-earning servant is not interested in the flock because it does not belong to him. Just the opposite of the Good Shepherd, he sees to his own safety before that of the sheep.

False prophets, teachers of lies, present the most reassuring exteriors (*en endymasi probaton*), but in reality they are “ravening wolves” (*lykoi harpages*)⁷ who destroy or disturb the faith and life of the disciples. So St. Paul exhorts the Ephesian elders to be watchful: “I know that after I leave grievous wolves will enter in among you and will not spare the flock.”⁸

¹ SB 9125, 4: κατέφαγεν τί ὡς λύκος. It devours even corpses: when the door of a tomb was left open, certain corpses that were still in good condition were eaten by wolves (UPZ 187, 19 = *P. Paris* VI, 19; from 129 BC). Aristophanes, *Lys.* 629: “The Lacedaemonians, who are not to be trusted any more than a wolf with a gaping maw”; Epictetus 1.3.7: “It is because of this relation with the flesh that certain ones among us, inclining towards it, become like wolves, faithless, treacherous, pestilent; others

become like lions, cruel, brutal, savage . . .”; Marcus Aurelius 11.15.5: “Nothing is more hateful than the friendship of the wolf”; Plutarch, *Dem.* 23.5.

² Hab 1:8; Zeph 3:3 (ὄξύτερος); the Massoretes read *‘ereb*, “evening”; but the Hebrew *‘arabâh*, “steppe, desert,” would mean “Arabian wolf”; cf. Marcion, “that wolf of Pontus” (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.13.4).

³ Sir 13:17—“How could the wolf be the companion of the lamb?” When the Greek warriors threw themselves against the Trojans, “one would say that baneful wolves pounce on goats and lambs, catching them apart from the sheep, when the shepherd’s thoughtlessness has left them in the mountains, separated from the flock” (Homer, *Il.* 16.352–355); “Returning hate for hate, I shall rush upon the enemy like a wolf” (Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.84): “A war . . . that is undeclared and that admits of no truce: the war of the wolves against the lambs, of all wild beasts, in the sea and on land, against all humans; no mortal is in a position to put an end to it” (Philo, *Rewards* 87).

⁴ Isa 11:6; 65:25. Cf. Aristophanes, *Pax* 1976: “It does not please the blessed gods to end the cries of war until a wolf shall marry a ewe.”

⁵ Ezek 22:27; Hab 1:8; Zeph 3:3. J. Dupont (*Discours de Milet*, pp. 209ff.) cites Plautus, *Pseud.* 140: “One would rather leave wolves with the sheep than such guards with you”; Terence, *Eun.* 832: to entrust a young woman to an unworthy man is to “hand over the sheep to the wolf”; Ovid, *Ars am.* 2.363–364: “Fool, to entrust timid doves to a vulture, a well-filled sheepfold to the wolf of the mountains”; 3.8: “you open the fold to a fierce she-wolf”; cf. *Met.* 11.365–375; Cicero, *Phil.* 3.27: “O praeclarum custodem ovium, ut aiunt, lupum”; Dio Cassius 56.16: “You send to tend your flock neither dogs nor shepherds but wolves”; Themistius, *Or.* 1.9 *d*, addressing the emperor: “Do not allow the one whom you have appointed to tend the flock to escape the judgment he deserves if he proves to be a wolf rather than a shepherd”; cf. 4 Ezra 5:18—“in the hands of hateful wolves” (the Romans); *2Clem.* 5.2–4.

⁶ John 10:12; cf. *P.Mert.* 24, 12: παρακαλω— σε, οὕτως αὐτω—ν ε—πιμέλου μὴ ὡς μισθωσίμων ἀλλὰ ὡς ι—διοκτήτων σου; Apollonius of Tyana 8.22: ἵνα μὴ ε—μπίπτωσι τῇ ποιμνῇ οἱ— λύκοι.

⁷ Matt 7:15; cf. *Did.* 16.3; Dio Chrysostom 14.2. G. Otranto, “Matteo VII, 15–16 a e gli ψευδοπροφήται nell’esegesi patristica,” in *Vetera Christianorum*, Bari, 1969, pp. 33–45; O. Böcher, “Wölfe in Schafspelzen:

Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund von Matth. VII, 15,” in *TZ*, vol. 24, 1968, pp. 405–426.

⁸ Acts 20:29—λύκοι βαρει—ς. The adjective βαρύς, “heavy,” is used for a burden (Matt 23:4), hence “difficult to bear or remove” (of serious accusations, Acts 25:7; of overwhelming commandments, 1John 5:3; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.299), “tyrannical” (2Cor 10:10) and here “disastrous” or “cruel.” On the disturbances caused by false prophets in the Christian community, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 278–285; E. Cothenet, “Prophétisme,” in *DBSup*, vol. 8, 1273ff.; O. Böcher, “Wölfe in Schafspelzen”; G. W. H. Lampe, “‘Grievous Wolves’ (Acts XX, 29),” in B. Lindars, S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament* (C. F. D. Moule Festschrift), Cambridge, 1973, pp. 253–268. Cf. at Qumran the “Teachers of Ephraim” (4QpNah 2.8) and the preacher of falsehood, A. M. Denis, *Les Thèmes de connaissance dans le Document de Damas*, Louvain, 1967, p. 106.

λυπέω, λύπη, λυπηρός

lypeo, to pain, make sad, grieve; *lype*, grief, distress, sorrow; *lyperos*, causing or marked by grief, pain

lypeo, S 3076; *TDNT* 4.313–322; *EDNT* 2.362–364; *NIDNTT* 2.419–420; MM 382; L&N 25.275; BDF §§196, 235(3); BAGD 481 | ***lype***, S 3077; *TDNT* 4.313–322; *EDNT* 2.362–364; MM 382; L&N 25.272, 25.273, 25.285; BAGD 482 | ***lyperos***, BAGD 482

Grief or displeasure (*lype*) can affect the soul (*lypeo*, “make sad, sadden”; in the middle, *lypeomai*, “be distressed, be sad”) with more or less force; but it is always the opposite of joy, elation, happiness.¹ It is used first of all for the physical suffering associated with childbirth (Gen 3:16, Hebrew *‘isabôn*; cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.200, 216–219) and of man’s painful toil (Gen 3:17; 5:29; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 121), both being part of the human condition in punishment for sin: “Short and painful is our life.”²

Since “pain is preceded by fear and followed by grief” (4Macc 1:23; cf. Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 119), grief resides in the heart³ or in the soul (Bar 2:18; Sir 30:21; Matt 26:38); it is true torment (Sir 37:2), bitterness and dejection (Matt 26:37, *erxato lypeisthai kai ademonein*), accompanied by groanings (Isa 35:10; Ps 55:2; Wis 11:12), by tears and pangs of anguish (2Cor 2:3–4; Tob 3:1); makes everything mournful (Isa 1:5; Lam 1:22; Hebrew *daway*); saps one’s strength of body (Sir 38:18), of character (1Macc 6:4; Philo, *Heir* 270; *Decalogue* 144), of mind; and dries out the bones (Prov 15:13; 17:22). Sadness causes sleeplessness but can also cause drowsiness (Luke 22:45—*koimomenous . . . apo tes lypes*).

The sorrowing person lets himself go (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.356) and becomes ill (1Macc 6:8–9), may even die: “I am dying of deep grief in a foreign land” (6:13). Sarah, daughter of Raguel, “was so deeply grieved that she wanted to hang herself” (Tob 3:10). This is the kind of deep grief that Jesus calls “sorrowing unto death,”⁴ and St. Paul warns against letting a person “be overwhelmed by excessive grief” (*me pos te perissotera lype katapothē ho toioutos*, 2Cor 2:7). Such excessive sorrow⁵ can even lead a person to curse God (Isa 8:21).

The pagan Isidoros prayed to Isis to deliver him from all sorrow,⁶ and the *Letter of Aristeeas* asks “How can a person be free of all sorrow?”⁷ Ben Sirach prescribes: “Do not give your soul over to sorrow. . . . Remove grief far from you, for it has destroyed many, and there is no profit in it.”⁸ The wisdom writers denounce those who bring grief to others,⁹ especially the son who grieves his mother (Prov 10:1; Tob 4:3—*me lypeses autēn*; 10:13; cf. Bar 4:8) and the daughter who grieves her father.¹⁰ The NT is more subtle and recognizes that there is such a thing as virtuous grief:¹¹ that which is stirred by unfortunate events¹² or by the acceptance of servitude in conformity with the divine will.¹³ Peter is distressed that the Lord seems to doubt his loyalty (John 21:17, *elypethē*); the apostles are all sad at the announcement that Jesus will die (Matt 17:23; *elypethesan sphodra*) and at his leaving.¹⁴

While the apostle clearly renounces coming to Corinth *en lype*, since his visit could only bring grief to the community (2Cor 2:1; cf. Dio Chrysostom 30.9), he is not sorry that his severe letter brought sorrow to the recipients;¹⁵ for, he says, there are two kinds of sorrow: that which is “according to God” (*to kata theon lypethenai*, 2Cor 7:11), and which stirs to repentance (*eis metanoian*, verse 9; cf. Plutarch, *De tranq. anim.* 19; *Desol.n.* 3), fervor, zeal, and faithfulness;¹⁶ and a “worldly sorrow” that brings death;¹⁷ this would be the sorrow of the rich man who was attached to his goods and refused to follow Jesus (“he went away sorrowing”),¹⁸ of the Christian who gives alms unwillingly.¹⁹ It is also the displeasure of Herod when Salome asks him for the head of John the Baptist (Matt 14:9; cf. Dan 6:14).

There is another series of texts in which the meaning “grief, sorrow, distress” cannot be retained, and where we must substitute “irritation, indignation, disgust.” This is especially clear in the parable of the Unmerciful Servant, whose master had unconditionally annulled his enormous debt (ten million dollars!), but who refused to listen to the plea of one of his fellow debtors who owed him an insignificant sum and threw him into prison. His fellow workers, according to Matt 18:31, *elypethesan sphodra*—were outraged or shocked at such conduct.²⁰ This connotation of exasperation with *lypeomai* comes from the LXX, which sometimes links this verb with another denoting anger,²¹ sometimes gives it the meaning “irritation, exasperation,” translating the Hebrew verbs *harah* ²² and

especially *qasap*²³—nuances that are known both in Greek and in the Koine.²⁴

This is certainly how we must interpret the *lype* of the Twelve when the master tells them that one of them will betray him (Matt 26:22; Mark 14:19); of course they were deeply grieved, but first and foremost they were indignant. Similarly, in the conflict between the strong (*dynatoi*) and weak (*astheneis*) at Rome over the issue of foods, St. Paul raises the point of brotherly love: “for if your brother is grieved on account of food” (*ei gar dia bromo ho adelphos sou lypeitai*, Rom 14:15). This is a euphemism. The brother is not envisioned as being saddened or even annoyed, but shocked, hurt.²⁵ Finally, “Do not grieve the Holy Spirit” (Eph 4:30) means do not offend him.²⁶

¹ Sir 12:9; Prov 14:10, 13; Isa 35:10; 51:11; John 16:20-22: the disciples are overwhelmed by sorrow, but their λύπη—sorrow at the death of Jesus—will change into joy because of Christ’s resurrection (20:10; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1874, 21: the Lord will change sorrow into joy), like the woman who experiences pain when she is giving birth but rejoices that she has brought a person into the world. 2Cor 2:2-3; 6:10—despite all indications that the apostles are afflicted, they are actually joyful: ὡς λυπούμενοι, ἀεὶ δὲ χαίροντες; 7:9; 9:7; Heb 12:11—in the raising of children, correction always causes grief (Plutarch, *De sera* 3) and is not felt to be a cause for rejoicing; 1Pet 1:6—even in their present afflictions (λυπηθέντες), Christians rejoice (ἀγαλλία—σθε), thanks to the certainty of their salvation. This paradox of joy in the midst of painful trials was taught by Jesus (Matt 5:12), lived by Jesus (John 15:11) and his apostles (Acts 5:41), taught to converts (Rom 5:3-4; 1Pet 4:13), preached to all believers (Rom 8:18; 2Cor 4:17; 6:10; 7:4; Jas 1:2; W. Nauck, “Freude im Leiden,” in *ZNW*, 1955, pp. 68–80). Cf. Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.2.1356a15; *Eth. Nic.* 10.1–5 (ἡδονή is a good, λύπη is a κακόν); Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.1.32; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 124, 140; *Change of Names* 163, 167; *Abraham* 22: “The multitude . . . joyful about that which should cause them to weep, grieving (λυπούμενος) over that which should bring joy”; 151: the soul vacillates and changes, from sorrow (λύπη) to joy (χαρά), to fear, to anger . . . ; *To Gaius* 15: “as they left behind the life of luxury, their faces darkened . . . with a sorrow (λύπη) equal to the joy (χαρά) that had preceded it”; *Jos. Asen.* 9.1: Aseneth was gripped by joy, sorrow, and great fright.” *T. Jud.* 25.4: οἱ—ε—ν λύπη τελευτήσαντες ἀναστήσονται ε—ν χαρᾷ; *IGLS* 343, 2: “joy of enemies, grief of children” (other references in Bultmann, “λύπη,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 313–314). To remedy sorrow, the sages recommend consolation or encouragement (Sir 38:17; Wis 8:9), the Lord’s favor (Tob 7:17), even intoxicating drinks (Prov 31:6; Philo, *Dreams* 2.165).

² Wis 2:1—ὀλίγος ε—στὶ καὶ λυπηρὸς ὁ βίος ἡμῶ—ν; Jer 15:18—“Why is my sorrow (Hebrew *ke’eb*) endless and my wound incurable?”; Jacob: “You will bring down my gray hairs in sorrow to Sheol” (Gen 42:3; cf. 44:29, 31; Tob 3:10; Isa 50:11: ε—ν λύπη κοιμηθήσεσθε; *Enoch* 102.5–7); Philo, *Abraham* 202: “The human race is subject to sorrow and fear”; 204: “Let no one imagine that joy descends unmixed from heaven to earth, free of admixtures of sorrow”; 207; *Rewards* 71; *Virtues* 200: sorrows and fears are divine punishments; *Pss. Sol.* 4.17.

³ Deut 15:10; Isa 1:5; Prov 15:13; Sir 26:28; 48:18, 20; Lam 1:22; John 16:6; Rom 9:2—“I have great sadness and unceasing sorrow in my heart.”

⁴ Matt 26:38; cf. Jonah 4:9; Sir 37:2; cf. *UPZ* 18, 13: ἀποθνήσκει ε—κει—, ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.337: Saul, rendered speechless by sorrow, ἄφωνος ὑπὸ λύπης; *Jos. Asen.* 29.9: “Pharaoh will weep for his first-born son and make himself sick with grief.”

⁵ Λύπη μεγάλη, λυπει—σθαι σφόδρα, Rom 9:2; Gen 34:7; Tob 3:6; 9:4; Jonah 4:1; Dan 6:15; 1Macc 10:68; 14:16; *T. Abr.* A 7; *T. Job* 7.8; 34.5; *Jos. Asen.* 8.8: “When Aseneth heard Joseph’s words, she was overcome with grief and began to sob . . . and her eyes filled with tears”; 24.1: Pharaoh’s son was downcast and deeply grieved (ε—βαρει—το . . . καὶ ε—λυπει—το σφόδρα) because of Aseneth, suffered (ἔπασχε κακῶ—ς; cf. 24.11–12). In the fourth century, the physician Eudaimon writes to his mother and his brothers to ask for news: “Many fellow-citizens have returned with no letter (from you) and we are very disturbed (ε—λυπήθημεν) . . . you have not consoled us (παρηγορι—τε) by reassuring us of your health” (*P.Fouad* 80, 4); in the second century, Tabetheus writes to his brother Tiberianos: “I am very upset” (ε—λοιπήθην πολλά, *P.Mich.* 473, 9; line 26: “I am tortured by the pain that he caused me,” ε—θλίβην λυπηθεὶς ὑπὸ αὐτόν); “I am deeply pained by what is happening to Ptolemaios” (*P.Tebt.* 760, 22; third century). Soëris writes to his sister Aline: “I hear that you are not sick, which had made me very sad” (*P.Brem.* 64, 7). Obviously there are lesser griefs: an annoyance (1Macc 10:22), a vexation (10:68), the emotion caused by the announcement at Sparta and Rome of the death of Jonathan (14:16), cares (Wis 8:9). This is the most common meaning in the letters among the papyri: Apollonius is asked to pay off a debt: “Otherwise, we shall be in a predicament” (*P.Tebt.* 767, 13; second century BC; cf. *UPZ* 113, 13); Isidoros sends his instructions to Chenanoubis: “See that you do not act otherwise or cause us trouble” (*P.Yale* 78, 11; second century AD); “Do not be disturbed about what has happened to the village” (*P.Copenhagen* 10, 4; republished in *SB* 9423); “Do not be troubled about that” (*P.Michael.* 38, 9); “You cannot grieve about this sojourn at Coptos” (*P.Mich.* 214, 10). Apollonios to his

brother Terentianos, a soldier: “Do not worry about your children; they are in good health.... Do not be concerned about us, and take care of yourself” (ibid. 464, 8 and 16). Apollonios to his brother Sempronios: “When I went to Rome I learned that you you had left before my arrival, and I was very sorry not to see you” (ibid. 487, 5); “Alexander was annoyed at not finding you here” (ibid. 497, 15); μὴ λυποῦ περὶ τῆς μητρός, ἤδη γὰρ κομψω—ς ἔχι (*P.Athen.* 60, 8); “If it had been a cloak, I would not have worried about it” (*P.Tebt.* 278, 29). Menas writes to two *comites* briefly, so as not to bother them (*P.Oxy.* 1841, 1). “Do not be troubled” (*P.Ross.Georg.* III, 3, 17; cf. *SB* 6263, 22; 9249, 5; *UPZ* 146, 38); “I am troubled about this” (*P.Ross.Georg.* III, 15, 2); “I see that you love your friend; I can’t be distressed about it” (*P.Oxy.* 1865, 4). “What is it about me that displeases you?” (λυπηρόν, Menander, *Mis.*, in *P.Oxy.* 2656, 309; cf. 2860, 14).

⁶ Λύπης μὴ ἀνάπαυσον ἀπάσης (*SB* 8138, 36 = *SEG* VIII, 548; cf. V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 18).

⁷ *Ep. Arist.* 232; cf. 268: “What should we grieve about? —The misfortunes of our friends. . . . For those who have died and are therefore freed from all evils reason admits no sorrow; but it is for themselves and their own interests that all people grieve.” This sentiment agrees with a tomb inscription that is common for Jews, pagans, and Christians alike: “Do not grieve; no one is immortal” (*SB* 6133, 10; 6200, 1; 6222, 34; 7305, 3; 10059, 10; 10067, 711; 10483, 3). There are such only in Paradise, where there will be no ὀδύνη, no λύπη, no στεναγμός, ibid. 7428, 12; 7429, 8; 7430, 9; 7906, 8; 8235, 10; 8763, 9; *P.Ness.* 96, 6; *Enoch* 25.6.

⁸ *Sir* 30:21, 23; 38:20. Obviously, death is the greatest cause of grief (1Thess 4:13), but Ben Sirach says to moderate expressions of sorrow at funerals (30:5; 38:17). A father is not grieved at the death of a son whom he has raised well (*Sir* 30:5; cf. 4Macc 16:12—the mother of the Maccabees “was not sad when her sons died”; but ματέρι πένθος ἔφυς, λύπη πατρί, in *CIRB* 146, 8). Letters of consolation say how much the writer shares in the grief of the bereaved: ε—λυπήθην ἀκούσας . . . ὅτι παιδίον ε—τελεύτησε (*SB* 8090, 5); πολὺ ε—ληπίθιν (*P.Oxy.* 1874, 9; cf. 115, 3); *P.Lund* II, 3, 5; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 2, 4.

⁹ *Sir* 36:20—“The perverse heart brings grief” (cf. J. Strugnell, “Of Cabbages and Kings’ or Queens: Notes on Ben Sira XXXVI, 19–21,” in J. M. Efrid, *Studies in Honor of W. F. Stinespring*, Durham, 1972, pp. 204–209); 4:2—“Do not grieve a person who is hungry”; 18:15; Prov 10:10—“The one who winks (the good-for-nothing) causes grief”; 15:1. Cf. *T. Benj.* 6.3: ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ . . . οὐ λυπεῖ— τὸν πλησίον.

¹⁰ Sir 22:4; cf. 3:12; Tob 9:4—“If I delay too long, my father will be greatly distressed”; 10:3, 13; *Ep. Arist.* 238: “How can one give one’s father and mother all the thanks that they deserve? —By not causing them the least bit of grief.” Conversely: “Pamper a child, and he will terrify you. Play with him, and he will cause you grief” (Sir 30:9).

¹¹ The OT characterizes remorse as a λύπη ἁμαρτιω—ν (Sir 14:1; cf. Isa 32:11; Bar 4:33), an expression retained by theologians: “sin, by its very nature, begets sorrow in the sinner” (St. Thomas Aquinas, I-II, q. 87, a. 2; cf. q. 35–36; 39, a. 1). Cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.211; *Spec. Laws* 1.314; *Rewards* 170. For the Stoics, grief is the punishment for disobedience to divine laws (Epictetus 3.11.2–3; 3.24.43; 4.4.32).

¹² In healing Epaphroditus, God spared Paul sorrow upon sorrow, ἵνα μὴ λύπην ε—πὶ λύπην σχω— (Phil 2:27; cf. *SB* 7354, 7: ε—ποίησα δύο ἡμέρας λυπούμενος; second century AD).

¹³ 1Pet 2:19—It is noble for Christian slaves to endure troubles that are inflicted unjustly (ὑποφέρει τις λύπης πάσχων ἀδίκως). Cf. *P.Ryl.* 27, 211: through divination a slave learns that he “will become a master and be freed from all sorrow” (δεσποτεῦσαι καὶ πάσης λύπης ἀπαλλαγῆναι); *P.Berl.Zill.* 14, 15.

¹⁴ John 16:6. The sorrow of separation from a dear friend (cf. Sir 37:2) is often mentioned in the epistolary papyri: “Do not be grieved at their leaving” (μὴ λυπει—σθε ε—πὶ τοι—ς χωρισθει—σι, *P.Grenf.* II, 36, 9; from 95 BC); “Since you left us we have been sad” (*P.Brem.* 58, 6). Isaios to his father: “the suddenness of your departure grieved me” (*P.Gron.* 17, 5; third-fourth century); “Your absence cause me great sorrow” (μάλιστα ε—λύπησέν με ἢ σὴ ἀπουσία, *PSI* 895, 3).

¹⁵ 2Cor 7:8. Bad news brings grief: “As I had just gone to bed, annoyed and upset by the letter that I had received” (Josephus, *Life* 208). “Finally I received the letter from Arabas; I read it and was grieved” (ἀνέγνων καὶ ε—λυπήθην, *BGU* 1079, 9; from AD 41); 1879, 10; cf. *P.Fouad* 86, 8: “Even if we do not write to let you know how deeply grieved we were by your being hindered from coming here” (sixth century).

¹⁶ There is also sorrow according to God in grieving over iniquity (πολλὴ δὲ λύπη μοί ε—στι, τέκνα μου, διὰ τὰς ἀσελγείας καὶ γοητείας ἅς ποιήσετε εἰ—ς τὸ βασίλειον, *T. Jud.* 23.1), or in sharing in a neighbor’s sorrow: ὡς λελυπημένον εἰ—ς ε—μέ (*P.Ryl.* 712, 5, *T. Abr.* B 12); in AD 107, Apollinarios writes to his brother Tasoucharion: “If you are grieved, I am distressed” (ε—άν γὰρ ὑμι—ς λυπησθε ε—γὼ ἀδημονω—, *P.Mich.* 465, 25;

cf. line 30: “I insist that you must not cause any grief for my Lady Julia”; C. Préaux, “Une source nouvelle sur l’annexion de l’Arabie par Trajan,” in *Phoibos*, vol. 5, *Mélanges J. Hombert*, Brussels, 1950–51, pp. 123–139). Tobias, when he has become blind: “All my brothers grieve over me” (Tob 2:10; cf. 7:7; 10:6).

¹⁷ 2Cor 7:10—ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου λύπη; i.e., distress or melancholy, discouragement that breaks the spirit, and which at worst chafes at reproach or punishment and becomes more obdurate in evil; whereas sorrow according to God admits its faults and tries to correct them—a decided benefit!

¹⁸ Matt 19:22; Mark 10:22—ἀπῆλθεν λυπούμενος; Luke 18:23—περίλυπος ε—γενήθη (cf. Isa 57:17; Dan 2:12). On this episode, cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, pp. 32–38; J. de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament*, Leiden, 1965, p. 34; A. F. J. Klijn, “The Question of the Rich Young Man,” in *Placita Pleiadia* (Festschrift G. Sevenster), pp. 149ff.; S. Légasse, *L’Appel du riche*, Paris, 1966, pp. 184–226.

¹⁹ 2Cor 9:7—Having the option of choosing freely (προήρηται) how much to contribute to the collection, the Christian should give μὴ ε—κ λύπης ἢ ε—ξ ἀνάγκης, “for God loves a cheerful giver” who does not feel weighed down by the sacrifice he is making (cf. Deut 15:10; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, pp. 227ff.). Collections were not popular, cf. *LSCG*, pp. 219, 243.

²⁰ On this parable, cf. C. Spicq, *Dieu et l’homme*, pp. 54–61; R. Sugranyes de Franch, *Etudes sur le droit palestinien à l’époque évangélique*, Fribourg, 1946; W. Thompson, *Matthew’s Advice to a Divided Community, Mt. XVII, 22–XVIII, 35*, Rome, 1970, pp. 203–237; J. Duncan M. Derrett, “The Parable of the Unmerciful Servant,” in *RIDA*, 1965, pp. 3–19 (reprinted in *Law in the NT*, pp. 32–47); J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, pp. 620ff.

²¹ Gen 45:5, Joseph addressing his brothers: “Now do not grieve and let there be no anger in your eyes”; Esth 1:12—“The king was very annoyed and his anger heated up”; Sir 26:28—“At two things my heart is grieved, and at three anger arises within me”; Jonah 4:1—“Jonah was greatly distressed and became angry”; 4:4—“Do you dwell to be grieved?”; 4:9; Prov 15:1; cf. Mark 3:5—περιβλεψάμενος αὐτοὺς μετ’ὀργῆς, συλλυπούμενος. . . .

²² Burn with anger, be irritated; cf. Gen 4:5 (Cain); 34:7—“They were greatly indignant because an outrage had been committed in Israel”; Neh 5:6—“I was very irritated when I heard their complaints and these words.”

²³ Become angry, be indignant; cf. 1Sam 29:4—“the lords of the Philistines were angry at David”; 2Kgs 13:19—“the man of God (Elisha) was angry at him”; Esth 2:21—“two of the king’s eunuchs, keepers of the door, were angry and sought to assassinate King Ahasuerus”; Isa 8:21—“when they are hungry, they will become exasperated”; 57:17; cf. 1Macc 10:68.

²⁴ Cf. indignation at a scandal (Demosthenes, *C. Con.* 54.4; *P.Col.Zen.* I, 6, 5); be disgusted: λυπει— τὴν ἀκοὴν τῶ— κόρω (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp.* 3).

²⁵ Cf. the nuance “to harm, wrong” in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Isoc.* 2; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 186–194.

²⁶ For the formulation, cf. 2Sam 13:21—“David did not grieve the spirit of his son Amnon, for he loved him.”

λύτρον, λυτρόω, λύτρωσις, ἀπολύτρωσις, ἀντίλυτρον

lytron, ransom; *lytroo*, to set free, redeem, deliver; *lytrosis*, *apolytrosis*, redemption, liberation, deliverance; *antilytron*, ransom

lytron, S 3083; *TDNT* 4.328–335, 340–349; *EDNT* 2.364–366; *NIDNTT* 3.189–192, 194–197; MM 382–383; L&N 37.130; BAGD 482 | **lytroo**, S 3084; *TDNT* 4.328–335; *EDNT* 2.366; *NIDNTT* 3.189–190, 192; MM 383; L&N 37.128; BDF §180; BAGD 482–483 | **lytrosis**, S 3085; *TDNT* 4.328–335, 351; *EDNT* 2.366; *NIDNTT* 2.189–190, 193, 198–199; MM 383; L&N 37.128; BAGD 483 | **apolytrosis**, S 629; *TDNT* 4.328–335, 351–356; *EDNT* 1.138–140; *NIDNTT* 3.189–190, 193, 199–200; L&N 37.128; BAGD 96 | **antilytron**, S 487; *TDNT* 4.328–335; *EDNT* 2.366; *NIDNTT* 3.189, 197; L&N 37.130; BAGD 75; ND 2.90, 3.72

We have to remember that these terms derive, directly or indirectly, from the verb *lyo*, “loose, destroy, dissolve,” because they almost always refer to an emancipation, a liberation.

I. — In the LXX (ninety times), the verb *lytroo* usually has God as its subject and corresponds to the Hebrew *ga'al*, “set free” (in the subject capacity as *go'el*);¹ or to *padâh*, “redeem, deliver, save”; or to *paraq*, “pull away” (from danger). God is the liberator, the *go'el* of his people: “I will deliver you from servitude (in Egypt). I will redeem you with outstretched arm.”² The issue is not the means, only the fact: deliverance from slavery, that of a foreign yoke. This is exactly the sense in which St. Luke understands *lytrosis*: “The Lord, the God of Israel, has come and he has carried out the deliverance of his people (from their enemies)” (Luke 1:68;

cf. Ps111:9; Mic 4:10); “Those who were awaiting Jerusalem’s deliverance” (Luke 24:38); the Emmaus disciples thought that Jesus “would deliver Israel” (*lytroomai*, Luke 24:21); the signs presaging the ruin of Jerusalem will allow the persecuted disciples to lift up their heads “because your deliverance draws near” (Luke 21:28, *engizei he apolytrosis hymon*).

If *lytroot* is ordinarily used for the liberation of a prisoner or a slave, it is also used for deliverance from difficulties, cares, some constraint, danger: “Yahweh has delivered my soul from all distress” (2Sam 4:9, Hebrew *padah*; 1Kgs 1:29); “awaiting the liberation of our body” (Rom 8:23, *apolytrosis*; cf. Eph 1:14; 4:30). Martyrs do not accept deliverance (*ten apolytrosin*) at the price of recantation, because they are counting on a better resurrection (Heb 11:35). Hence, *lytroot* is synonymous with *sozo* in its secular sense: “preserve safe and sound, spare”;³ this leads to its psychological and religious usages: “He is the one who will deliver Israel from all its sins.”⁴ In none of the texts hitherto cited is there any idea of providing compensation or a sum of money to “purchase” freedom.⁵ It is even said, “You were sold for free; you will be redeemed without money.”⁶

II. — In contrast, in the sphere of human relations, it is possible to “redeem” a field, a house, even a person who has become another’s property: “When your brother is in difficulty and sells his property, then his closest redeemer shall come and shall redeem (Hebrew *ga’al*) the thing sold by his brother” (Lev 25:25). If a brother has sold himself to a resident alien, “after he has been sold, there remains for him a right of redemption; one of his brothers shall redeem him.”⁷ This meaning of *lytroot* (recuperating one’s property by paying off its price) occurs constantly in the papyri: “You shall give to my friend Serapion a hundred drachmas and you shall recover my garments” (*lytrosasa mou to himatia*).⁸ Stratonikos writes to his wife, “A sign when I told you to redeem the new tunic (*semeion hote eipa soi lytrosai ton kainon chitona*) and give them the receipt that is in the nook (*thyris*) of the vestibule” (SB 7574, 3; cf. 9834 a 9). “The aforementioned mortgage shall remain valid and the borrower shall not be free (*lytrosontai*) until he has first paid the above-named sum with interest” (P.Mich. 333, 25; from AD 52; cf. P.Erl. 60, 9). A father, Cyrinus, “paid fifty solidi to deliver his son” (P.Ness. 56, 8). This is the meaning evoked by primitive catechesis in referring to salvation as redemption: Jesus Christ “gave himself for us in order to free us from all iniquity” (*hina lytrosetai hemas apo pases anomias*);⁹ “It is not with corruptible goods, with silver or gold, that you have been redeemed from the foolish way of life that you inherited from your fathers, but with precious blood” (1Pet 1:18; cf. Isa 52:3).

III. — Neither St. Paul nor St. Peter originated this metaphor for salvation (redemption); it comes from the Lord himself: “The Son of Man came . . . to give his life as a ransom for the many” (*dounai ten psychen autou lytron anti pollon*).¹⁰ Salvation is a liberation. The death of the just is

a ransom acceptable to God.¹¹ Humans, being slaves of darkness and sin (Rom 6:17, 20; Col 1:13) were incapable of liberating themselves (Matt 16:26), and Christ gave his life as the price for their emancipation.¹² This meaning of *lytron* —price of deliverance (of a slave or prisoner), ransom— is the meaning in the LXX,¹³ and the disciples understood it spontaneously, since emancipation from servitude or captivity upon the payment of ransom was so common in the first century.

For the liberation of a slave in 167 BC (*P.Hamb.* 96, 16 and 21); in AD 86, *P.Oxy.* 48, 6 (*epi lytrois*); in 88 for six drachmas (2843, 19: *lytron argyriou*); in the year 100 (49, 8; 349, 6; 722, 30, 40); in the second century (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 23, 7; 24, 6–7; *P.Stras.* 238, 21–22; SB 6294, 10); in the third century a *manumissio inter amicos*: “I free Helen, a slave born in my house, and I receive for her ransom two thousand two hundred Augustan drachmas.”¹⁴ In place of the *lytra* (the plural is the more common form), there is also the expression *timas argyriou* (*SEG* XVI, 355–360), which evokes the verbs of purchasing *agorazo* (1Cor 6:20; 7:23; 2Pet 2:1; Rev 5:9; 14:3–4) and *exagorazo* (Gal 3:13; 4:5), emphasizing the payment by Christ for the disciples whose Master and Lord he has become. If a slave did not have enough money to free himself, his friends got up a subscription; thus the Jewish community of Oxyrhynchus paid fourteen talents of silver to free a mother and her two children (*metaxy philon eleutherosamen*, *P.Oxy.* 1265, 8–9 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 473).

We are just as well informed concerning the liberation of prisoners of war. Often in antiquity wars were waged to acquire laborers, and the armies were followed by slave merchants.¹⁵ The axiom occurs constantly: “The one who is taken in war belongs to the conqueror” (Aristotle, *Pol.* 1.6.1.1255a6–7); the law of war transformed prisoners into slaves (Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 8.3.8; cf. 9.23.5; Philo, *Moses* 1.142). The prisoner, who was like captured booty (Plato, *Resp.* 5.468 a–b), took on an exchange value and would not be freed except for ransom.¹⁶ “According to the law, one who was ransomed from enemies became the property of the one who freed him and was not released except by ransom.”¹⁷ Here again, generous souls intervened. Thus Philopoemen spent the income from his expeditions to ransom captives (*lyseis aichmaloton*, Plutarch, *Phil.* 4.5; cf. *Arat.* 11.2, *lytrosin aichmaloton*); and a slave Antiochus was consecrated to Pythian Apollo “after he paid their ransom (that of his masters, who were captives abroad) to redeem them from the enemy” (*apeilaphotes par’ autou lytra ek polemion*).¹⁸

IV. — These sociological facts are illuminating, especially in that they show that the one freed is the property of the one who has paid the ransom, but the metaphor must not be reified. Philo often gives *lytron* a spiritual meaning: “Firstfruits and ceremonies constitute the ransom of our soul, because they deliver it from brutal masters and return it to freedom.”¹⁹ In an inventory of third-century BC offerings, “(someone)

dedicated . . . another small vial on the profit from ransoms” (*allo phialon to apo ton lytron*, *I.Did.* 428, 9). In an inscription at Koula, *lytron* means “presents this ransom.”²⁰ It can also be the payment of a debt to the deity (Lucian, *Dial.D.* 4.2). In this sense, a human sacrifice can be offered to deliver a people: “It was the custom of the ancients, in cases of grave danger, that the leaders of the city or of the people, in order to avert the destruction of everyone, would hand over the most beloved of their children to be sacrificed as a ransom to the avenging gods” (*lytron tois timorais daimosin*).²¹ This is the way in which the blood of Jesus had expiatory value. The “price” paid was the “precious” blood (1Pet 1:19, *timo haimati*).

This “redemption/deliverance” by means of ransom is in Heb 9:12 called “an eternal redemption” (*aionian lytrosin*),²² that is, forever valid.²³ Elsewhere what is at issue is the “remission of sins” (Eph 1:7; Col 1:14; cf. Rom 8:2), of “transgressions of the time of the first covenant” (Heb 9:15), linked with righteousness and sanctification (1Cor 1:30; Rom 3:24), always referred to using the compound form *apolytrolos*.²⁴ This term thus becomes almost synonymous with salvation. When the Holy Spirit is its author, it is the definitive consummation of the kingdom of glory (Eph 1:14; 4:30), but it is always “the redemption that is in Christ Jesus” (Rom 3:24), whereby the redeemed belong to God.²⁵

¹ As a legal term, the Hebrew *ga'al* refers to the power of the closest relative (the *go'el*) with respect to a member of his family whose property (Lev 25:25-28; Jer 32:7; Ruth 2:20; 4:4) or person have come into the possession of a stranger or whose blood has been shed (Num 35:12, 19, 21, 24ff.; Deut 19:6, 12; Josh 20:3, 5, 9; 2Sam 14:11; 1Kgs 16:11). It is the *go'el* 's responsibility to “redeem” this property or this person. He must marry the deceased's widow if the family name is in danger of extinction (Deut 25:5-10; Ruth 3:9-13; 4:6); but if there is a violent death, he cannot accept “reparation” (Hebrew *koper*; Num 35:31ff.). A. R. Johnson, “The Primary Meaning of *lag*,” in *VTSup* I, 1953, pp. 67–79; D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, London, 1956, pp. 268–284; J. L. Cunchillos, “Rachat,” in *DBSup*, vol. 10, col. 1045–1054.

² Exod 6:6; 16:13—“This people that you have redeemed” (= delivered); Deut 7:8—“Yahweh brought you out with a strong hand and freed you from the house of bondage”; 9:26; 13:6; 15:15; 21:8; Isa 43:1—“I have redeemed you . . . you are mine”; 44:6, 24; 47:4. Prov 23:11—“Their avenger (ὁ . . . λυτρούμενος αὐτούς = *go'el*) is mighty; he will overcome”; Jer 50:34.

³ Ps 7:2—“Yahweh, save me from all my persecutors; deliver me”; 25:22; 26:11; 31:5; 34:22; 44:26; 59:1; 106:10; Sir 51:2; Dan 6:28; 1Macc 4:11. Philo comments on Exod 13:13—“The word ‘redeem’ presupposes the

following interpretation: freeing the soul from a preoccupation that has no results, no end” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 114). M. Holleaux (*Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 1, p. 375) noted the equivalency of λυτρόω, σώζω, ἀνασώζω (likewise L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, Paris, 1960, p. 136, n. 1); cf. διασώζω (*I.Rhamn.* XV, 20: livestock left in a secure place for safekeeping); συνδιασώζω (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 341, 21). Cf. D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, pp. 49, 70ff.

⁴ Ps 130:8; cf. λυτρωτής, Ps 19:14—“Yahweh, my help and my Redeemer”; 78:35—“They remembered that Elohim . . . the Most High God is their Redeemer” (Hebrew *go'el*); Acts 7:35—God sent Moses “as leader and liberator.”

⁵ Λυτρόω, deliver by paying ransom, cf. *IG* II2, 283, 8; 399, 16; 1130; IV, 750, 25; 756, 15–16; XII, 3, 328, 11; XII, 5, 36 (= Dittenberger, *Syl.* 520); 284 B; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 604, 5. In the fourth century BC, a decree at Athens honors Eurylochos of Kydonia who “ransomed (λυτρωσάμενος) many Athenians and sent them back from Crete to their country” (*ISE*, n. 2). Cf. P. Brulé, *La Piraterie crétoise hellénistique*, Paris, 1978, pp. 59ff.

⁶ Isa 52:3; cf. Ps 49:7—“No rich person can redeem his brother or pay his ransom to God; the redemption of his life is too costly.”

⁷ Lev 25:48–49, 30, 33; 27:13—“If the one making the offering wishes to redeem the animal presented to the priest, one fifth is added to your estimate”; 27:19, 20, 15: a part of a field or an unclean animal is redeemed according to you estimate plus a fifth; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.116: “Houses in fields are always redeemable.”

⁸ *P.Oxy.* 530, 14 (second century); 114, 2: “Now take care to recover my things from Serapion” (νῦν μελησάτω σοι λυτρώσασθαι τὰ ε—μὰ παρὰ Σαραπίωνα, second-third century); 936, 19: “The cloak that I have not recovered” (third century); *P.Eleph.* 19, 9; *UPZ* 19, 18.

⁹ Titus 2:14. Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 828–849; L. Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*, London, 1955, pp. 35ff. S. Lyonnet, L. Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption, and Sacrifice*, Rome, 1970, pp. 79–103.

¹⁰ Matt 20:28; Mark 10:45 (with the commentaries of M. J. Lagrange, on this verse, and A. Médebielle, “La Vie donnée en rançon,” in *Bib*, 1923, pp. 3–40); cf. 1Tim 2:6—“There is only one God, and one Mediator between God and humans, the human Jesus Christ, who gave himself as a ransom for all” (ὁ δοὺς ε—αυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων). The compound ἀντίλυτρον has exactly the same meaning as the simple λύτρον and

corresponds to λύτρον ἀντί in the Synoptics (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.107: the priest Eleazar offered Crassus a gold bar, hoping that he would accept it instead of all the other things that he could take, λύτρον ἀντὶ πάντων ἔδωκεν). It is unknown in the papyri until the eighth century. Aristotle uses the verb ἀντιλυτρόω with regard to the precedence of obligations born of friendship: “by unanimous consent one must ransom one’s father rather than oneself . . . one must pay his debt” (*Eth. Nic.* 9.2.1164b35).

¹¹ Cf. Isa 53. C. K. Barrett refuses this dependence relative to the Suffering Servant (“The Background of Mark 10:45,” in A. J. B. Higgins, *New Testament Essays*, Manchester, 1959, pp. 1–18). In any event, the rabbis considered the death could be an act of expiation for oneself and for others (*kapparah*, cf. *m. Sanh.* 6.2; 2Macc 7:37ff.; 4Macc 17:22; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 121: “the wise man is the ransom of the wicked”; cf. 126, 128. M. J. Lagrange, *Le Messianisme chez les Juifs*, Paris, 1909, pp. 236ff.).

¹² This is not a pure substitution; this cannot be valid except as a function of solidarity of “the man Christ Jesus” (1Tim 2:6) with his brothers (Heb 2:11); cf. L. Sabourin, *Rédemption sacrificielle*, Paris, 1961, pp. 147, 247, 325, and *passim*.

¹³ Exod 21:30—“He shall pay the ransom of his life” (Hebrew *koper*); 30:12; Lev 19:20—“the slave . . . has not been freed” (*pidyôn*); 25:24—“You shall grant the right of redemption (Hebrew *geullâh*) to the land, because the land is Yahweh’s”; ransom of the firstborn, Num 3:46, 48, 49, 51; 18:15 (*padâh*); 35:31—“You shall not accept ransom (*koper*) for the life of a murderer who is liable to death, but he shall be put to death”; Isa 45:13—“He will send back our exiles for no payment and no recompense”; Prov 6:35—indemnity.

¹⁴ Ἑλληνην δούλην μου οἱ—κογενῆ ἠλευθέρωσα καὶ ἔσχον ὑπὲρ λύτρων αὐτῆς δραχμὰς σεβαστὰς δισκειλίας διακοσίας, *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 362, 19; *P.Oxy.* 3117, 32. On Mark 10:45, M. J. Lagrange cites the first edition of Dittenberger, *Syl.* 863 (not reprinted in the third edition): Ammia was redeemed by her freedwoman, who paid the λύτρα. Other cases cited by C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 836ff. Cf. M. Foucart, *Mémoire sur l’affranchissement des esclaves*, Paris, 1867; A. Calderini, *La manomissione e la condizione dei liberti in Grecia*, Milan, 1908, pp. 210–216. Λύτρα are also the price paid to free land sold as security; once “liberated,” this land reverted to its original owner (ἀπέχειν τὴν λύτρα τῆς σημαινομένης ἀρουραν μίαν, *BGU* 1260, 12). Harkonnesis “declares that he has received from Nahomsesis as ransom money (εἰ—ς λύτρα) for the fourth part of the grain field . . .” (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIX, 7, A4 and B 4); *SB* 5865, 4; *P.Turner* 19, 7.

¹⁵ 1Macc 3:41; cf. ἀνδραποδιστής (1Tim 1:10), ἀνδραποδοκάπηλος (Lucian, *Ind.* 24), ἀνδραπόδων κάπηλος (Philostratus, *VA* 8.7.161; cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 29); cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 834ff.; P. Ducrey, *Le Traitement des prisonniers*, pp. 238–246. Cato “especially bought prisoners of war when they were still little so that they could be raised and trained like young dogs or athletes” (Plutarch, *Cat.* 21.1).

¹⁶ Homer, *Il.* 11.104–112; cf. 6.46–48; 10.380; 11.131; Demosthenes, *Embassy* 19.166, 169; Aeschines, *Fals. Leg.* 2.100; Diodorus Siculus 9.13.1; 10.24.3; 17.54.1; 19.73.10; Arrian, *Anab.* 2.25.1; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.122; 3.150; *Joseph* 193; *Flacc.* 60; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.33, 46; 14.107, 371; *War* 1.274, 384; *Life* 419. On these literary texts, cf. Lammert, “λύτρον,” in *PW*, XIV, 1, col. 73–76. Darius asked Alexander to accept ten thousand talents as ransom for captives (Plutarch, *Alex.* 29.7; cf. *Flam.* 13.6–8; *Fab.* 7.5–6, 8).

¹⁷ Demosthenes, *C. Nicostr.* 53.11; cf. the law at Gortyn: if a free man is bought abroad, “he shall remain at the disposal of the one who has bought him until he has reimbursed what he owes” (*I.Cret.* IV, 72; VI, 46–50). A. Albertoni, “Redemptus ab hostibus,” in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. 17, 1925, pp. 358–378; 500–527. Obviously, the amount of the ransom varied greatly: ninety Jewish prisoners for one talent, according to 2Macc 8:11; but one talent for each young man or young woman according to Josephus, *Ant.* 12.209; cf. 25, 28. In Syria, Phoenicia, twenty drachmas per capita (*Ep. Arist.* 22). Cf. Diodorus Siculus 14.111.4; 17.14.4; 20.84.6; 28.13.

¹⁸ *RIJG*, vol. 2, p. 247. Cf. B. B. Warfield, “The New Testament Terminology of Redemption,” in *Princeton Theological Review*, vol. 15, 1917, pp. 201–249; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, pp. 49–81; M. Carrez, “Rachat,” in *DBSup*, vol. 10, col. 1055–1064.

¹⁹ Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 117; cf. *Conf. Tongues* 93; *Heir* 186; *Spec. Laws* 1.77; 2.95. “It is completely correct to call the Levites ‘ransom’; for nothing does a better job of freeing the intelligence than to make oneself a ‘refugee and suppliant’ with God. This is the testimony of the consecrated tribe of Levites” (*Heir* 124, on Num 3:12). Cf. Aeschylus, *Cho.* 48 (chorus): “Is there a blood ransom (λύτρον αἵματος) shed on the ground?”

²⁰ Cited by A. Deissmann, *Light*, p. 328, n. 1.

²¹ Philo of Byblos, in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 1.10.44; the king sacrificed his son as a λύτρον in the public interest.

²² This same expression is used in 1QM 1.12; 15.1; 18.11; and in the Palestinian Targum, where it is contrasted with “temporary redemption,” cf. R. Le Déaut, *Nuit Pascale*, p. 233, n. 53.

²³ In the LXX, the action noun λύτρωσις is used for the redemption of the firstborn (*geullâh*), Lev 25:29; Num 18:16; for the redemption of a life (Ps 49:8). God “has sent redemption to his people” (Ps 111:9, Hebrew *peçût*); “with Yahweh there is abundant redemption” (Ps 30:7, *peçût*). In the papyri, there is above all the sense of surety and guarantee; for example, that nothing further is owed to the treasury on the object sold or paid for (αὐτοῦ λυτρώσεως βέβαιοι ἀπὸ δημοσίων, *P.Rein.* 42, 5); gold objects are left as security (*P.Oslo* 130, 15; first century AD); recovery of security (εἰς λύτρωσιν ἰματίου, *P.Tebt.* 1091, 2 and 4); cf. *P.Ryl.* 213, 164; *SB* 9834 a 14.

²⁴ —Απολύτρωσις, ten times in the NT, unknown in the papyri, is found only once in the LXX, in the words of Nebuchadnezzar: ὁ χρόνος μου τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἦλθε (Dan 4:34). Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 12: “the liberation of the people deported from Judea by the king’s father”; Philo, *Good Man Free* 114, a Laconian child commits suicide “despairing of his redemption”; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.27: “the price of the ransom would have been more than four hundred talents.”

²⁵ Eph 1:14; cf. Acts 20:28; Titus 2:14—λαὸν περιούσιον (cf. Exod 19:5; Deut 14:2); 1Pet 2:9—λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (Isa 43:21). H. Schürmann, *Comment Jésus a-t-il vécu sa mort?*, Paris, 1977.

μαίνομαι

mainomai, to be furious, enraged, mad, insane

mainomai, S 3105; *TDNT* 4.360–361; *EDNT* 2.375–376; *NIDNTT* 1.527–530, 3.230; MM 385–386; L&N 30.24; BAGD 486

Occurring frequently in classical Greek (cf. Preisker, in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 360–361), this verb has two meanings in the Koine: “be furious, enraged,”¹ and “be raving mad, insane.” The latter meaning, which is the most common, is the only meaning in the LXX.² This madness often takes on the familiar sense of a person thought to be the self-deceived, like Rhoda when she announces that Peter is at the door and everyone knows that he is in prison: *Maine* —“You are raving!”³ Those people are called crazy whose words or actions fly in the face of common sense, whose reasoning or conduct is not understood,⁴ who do not observe propriety and

decorum. When St. Paul defends his cause before Festus and affirms the resurrection of Christ, the procurator interrupts him: “*Maine, Paule*. You are mad, Paul. Your great learning has driven you insane (*eis manian*).” To which he replies: “I am not mad, most excellent Festus. To the contrary, my words are true and sensible.”⁵ This could be compared to Philo: “You are raving, it is not possible, you are completely mad.’ ‘I am neither mad nor silly enough to lose sight of the course of an argument” (*Flacc.* 6).

This sort of madness is specifically that which is attributed to the preachers of a religion that one refuses to follow or to believers whose convictions are astounding. Thus it was said of Jesus: “He is possessed by a demon and has a deranged mind.”⁶

¹ Josephus, *War* 1.352: “The combatants, as if drunk with rage, rained blows on all ages indiscriminately”; 4Macc 7:5—“Eleazar broke the furious waves of passion”; cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.126: “mad with rage, beside themselves, they took up arms”; Menander, *Dysk.* 82: “Make way, I have a maniac on my heels!”

² Jer 25:16 “The nations will go mad (hithpolel of the Hebrew verb *halal*) because of the sword”; cf. Philo, *Cherub.* 32: “give a sword to a madman”; Jer 29:26—a madman (pual of *shaga'*) who acts as if inspired is to be handed over to stocks and leg irons; Wis 14:28—“Either they are delirious with joy, or they make false prophecies.” In 2Macc 4:4, *μαίνεσθαι* is an error for the proper name Menestheus (F. M. Abel, *Maccabées*, p. 330).

³ Acts 12:15. Cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 16: “That lout is completely crocked.” One not initiated or an unbeliever present at a worship service in Corinth where Christians are speaking in tongues will say “What a bunch of crazies!” (1Cor 14:23). Cf. Philo, *Flacc.* 162: “There was nothing to distinguish him from people who are mad”; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.210: “a person who is drunk or crazy often speaks and acts like a person who has eaten nothing.”

⁴ The constant meaning in Philo. “Are you wise or mad to imagine such a thing?” (*Cherub.* 69); “No mere slave is crazy enough to oppose a master” (*To Gaius* 233); “Have they not lost their reason? Are they not mad? —who try so hard to be unseasonably candid, daring to defy kings and sometimes tyrants in word or deed” (*Dreams* 2.83). “The worst of them, even if mad (*μανέντες*), would not underestimate . . .” (*Moses* 1.161). God judges the building of the tower of Babel as an act of folly (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.116); *P.Cair.Zen.* 59041, 11: ἅμα δὲ καὶ μαινομένου ὅτι οὐκ ἠβούλετο αἰ—τούμενος ἀργύριον δοῦναι; *T. Jos.* 8.3: ὡς οὖν εἶδον ὅτι μαινομένη κρατεῖ— μου τὸν χιτῶ—να.

⁵ Acts 26:24. Moulton-Milligan compare *P.Oxy.* 33, col. IV, 10, where the emperor replies calmly to the condemned Appian, who, threatened with immediate execution, is beside himself: “We are used to bringing back to their senses those who are mad and have lost their mind” (—Αππιανέ, ει—ὠαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖ—ς μαινομένους καὶ ἀπονενοημένους σωφρονίζειν). To which Appian replies: “I swear by your fortune that I am neither mad nor out of my mind” (νὴ τὴν σὴν τύχην οὔτε μαίνομαι οὔτε ἀπονενόημαι, line 14). Republished by H. A. Musurillo, *Pagan Martyrs*, p. 67, cf. pp. 218ff.

⁶ John 10:20—Δαιμόνιον ἔχει καὶ μαίνεται; cf. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.204: “The soothsayer and several others were angry and hurled curses at him. ‘Why are you raving, O unfortunate ones,’ he said.” Antiochus says to the seven young men: “I advise you not to give yourselves over to the same madness as this old man (Eleazar) who has just been tortured” (4Macc 8:5). They brought in the fourth brother and said to him: “Do not give yourself over also to the same madness as your brothers, but obey the king and save yourself” (10:13). G. Mussies (*Dio Chrysostom*, p. 114) cites as parallels Dio Chrysostom 8.36; 9.8; 12.8.

μακάριος, οὐαί

makarios, happy, blessed; *ouai*, woe

makarios, S 3107; TDNT 4.362–370; EDNT 2.376–379; NIDNTT 1.215–216; MM 386; L&N 25.119; BDF §127(4); BAGD 486–487 | ***ouai***, S 3759; EDNT 2.540; NIDNTT 3.1051–1054; MM 464; L&N 22.9; BDF §§4(2a), 58, 136(5), 190(2), 412(5); BAGD 591

The adjective *makarios* can have the most commonplace meanings, as to describe a “happy day” (Plutarch, *Oth.* 15.4) and “happy times,”¹ or a hero like Perseus, who had wings and could change irksome people into stone (Menander, *Dysk.* 153). It takes on an affective nuance in the interjection *o makari* (“my dear”)² and means “blessed” in religious texts.

In fact, it is the successor of *makar*, which Homer used as an epithet with the gods,³ almost synonymous with “immortal,” and which remained in constant use throughout the Hellenistic period.⁴ If the deity is by definition removed from the vicissitudes of existence here below, then the blessed deceased who live in the isles of the blessed (*makaron nesoi*) are likened to him.⁵ The adjective *makarios* makes its appearance with Pindar, who uses it to describe a mortal, Karrhotos, son of Alexibias;⁶ likewise Xenophon: “He considered himself most happy at the thought of having a right-hand man who would give him the leisure to do what he pleased” (*Cyr.* 8.3.48). But given the vicissitudes of existence here below, Aristotle said that a person could be called happy only after his death (*Eth. Nic.*

1.1100a11–1101a21; 10.1178b33ff.). In addition, if the term is still applied to the living in the Hellenistic period,⁷ it becomes more and more a description of the dead.⁸ A name is preceded by *ho makarios* (*he makaria*), which can be translated, depending on whether the person so described is pagan, Jewish, or Christian, “late,” “happy,” or “blessed.”⁹

The first biblical beatitude is that of Leah, who, when her servant gave birth to a second son of Jacob, stated, “I am happy, because my daughters will call me happy!” So she called his name Asher,” that is, Felix (Gen 30:13; cited by Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 95). The queen of Sheba exclaims before Solomon, “Happy are your wives, and happy are your servants here who stand constantly before you, hearing your wisdom” (1Kgs 10:8; 2Chr 9:7). These human macarisms are rare in the LXX,¹⁰ and not once is Yahweh called “blessed” after the fashion of the Greek gods.¹¹ On the contrary, it is God alone who grants humans happiness, and the originality of the OT lies in multiplying beatitudes in favor of those who believe, love, and adore Yahweh;¹² happy are those who hope in him, count on him, take shelter and find their strength in him!¹³

This “fear of Yahweh” is such that one takes pleasure in his commandments (Ps 1:1; 112:1; 128:1-2; Prov 8:32; Sir 34:15; *1 Enoch* 99.10) and sees the Lord’s hand in trials (Ps 94:12; Job 5:17; Tob 13:16; *Pss. Sol.* 10.1). The originality of the OT is to frame exhortations to virtue in macarisms.¹⁴ One can only be happy if one is purified of sin (Ps 32:1-2, quoted at Rom 4:7-8; Sir 14:2; 31:8; cf. Wis 3:13—“Happy is the sterile woman who has remained pure”), practices justice (Ps 106:3; Prov 20:7; Isa 56:2), walks in the law of Yahweh (Ps 119:1-2), cares for the poor (Ps 41:1), does not blunder with one’s lips (Sir 14:1; 28:19), and if having been told what pleases God (Bar 4:4) one has found wisdom (Prov 3:13; Sir 14:20; 25:9) and awaits the fulfillment of the prophecies about the events of the eschaton.¹⁵

Philo, expressing his Jewish faith in terms of his Greek culture, is the one who insisted the most on “the blessed and fortunate nature of God.”¹⁶ God is even the only one to know felicity, because he is the only true Beauty, the Uncreated, the Immortal,¹⁷ “the Being who knows immutability, felicity, and triple beatitude.”¹⁸ The man who has a “desire for immortality and a happy life” (Philo, *Contemp. Life* 13) “will live a life of felicity and beatitude, marked by the teachings of piety and holiness.”¹⁹ Hence the macarism, “Happy are those to whom it has been granted to use the potions of wisdom.”²⁰

All the thinkers of antiquity expressed their opinions on happiness. Homer identified it with wealth,²¹ that is, possession of the good things of life, which implies a good wife and children.²² Others think of power (Euripides, *IT* 543; *Bacch.* 904), fame or glory (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 3.1.106; vol. 3, p. 57, 12), a life of pleasure (Euripides, *Alc.* 169), “to be able to live in joy without suffering any disfavor of fate makes for happiness for mortals” (*El.*

1357–1359); hence freedom from any trouble or misery (Plato, *Resp.* 5.465 *d*), full, constant, unmixed satisfaction that is lacking in nothing; but the futility of this dream allows the conclusion that “Among humans none is happy.”²³ In addition, Aristotle (*Top.* 2.112a) defined the happy person, following Xenocrates (frag. 81), as “the one whose soul is virtuous” (cf. Marcus Aurelius 7.17; Isocrates, *De Pace* 8.143); but how can this be attained, since according to Livy “We can no longer endure either our vices or their remedies”?²⁴

It is in terms of this context that we must understand the nine beatitudes of Matt 5:3-12 and Luke 6:20-22.²⁵ They constitute not only the exordium of the Sermon on the Mount but the specific teaching of the Messiah to the members of the kingdom that he is founding,²⁶ and hence the essence of the gospel ethic,²⁷ which is summed up in the axiom “Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also” (Matt 6:21). More than a fundamental attitude of a person, this appeal is that of an option that is as radical as it is paradoxical. First of all, Jesus is making an appeal to happiness. It is impossible to insist too strongly on the meaning of this *makarios*, repeated ten times (in Matt) and intensified by the present imperatives “Rejoice and be glad (*chairete kai agalliaithe*), for your reward is great in heaven.”²⁸ This is much more than contentment; it is an interior joy that becomes external, elation translated into shouts, songs, acclamations. The explanation is that God will be the source of this beatitude. —Secondly, the new faith implies a reversal of all human values; happiness is no longer attached to wealth, to having enough, to a good reputation, power, possession of the goods of this world, but to poverty alone, because these beatitudes envision one or another aspect of the *ptochoi* of the OT.²⁹ These are essentially religious souls, in submission to God’s law, obedient to his will. God is their only recourse and their only hope, and they are entirely ready to accept his gifts. They are profoundly humble, modest, unassuming, the “little ones” who are not taken into account and who possess nothing on earth; they are starving and weeping. More than scorned, they are exploited by the powerful and the rich, who prey on them, oppress them, and persecute them. It is to these afflicted ones that the Holy Spirit promises happiness, consolation, and satisfaction. These are the little people whom God wished to save and to whom he wished to give justice.³⁰ It is therefore to them that the good news is announced (Matt 11:5; Luke 7:22), along with consolation (Sir 48:24) and peace (Isa 52:7). The poor are the beneficiaries of the coming or appearing of the reign of God and his justice,³¹ because they wait for it (Mark 15:43; Luke 2:25); their hearts are open to it, because their miserable condition makes them appreciate spiritual values, which are the only true wealth. Hence St. Matthew’s specification “poor in spirit,”³² which applies to the indigent as well as to the wealthy who are detached from their possessions. Poverty, according to Jesus, is that of all people who are

dissatisfied with earthly goods—all is vanity—and who have from the outset a sense of their own personal nakedness. Happy are those who are so aware of the nothingness of the earth and who cry out “Come, Lord Jesus!” (1Cor 16:22; Rev 22:20). Finally, their wage (*misthos*) will be “great in heaven” (Matt 5:12; Luke 6:23), surpassing in every way the efforts and sacrifices they have undertaken: “In good measure, shaken, pressed down, running over will it be given into your bosom” (Luke 6:38), literally unimaginable and unspeakable (1Cor 2:9). They will enter “into the joy of the Lord” himself (Matt 25:21, 23), which is an infinity of conscious perfection;³³ “being with Christ, which is better by far” (Phil 1:23).

In the NT, not until the Pastoral Epistles is God described as *makarios*: “the gospel of the glory of the blessed God” (1Tim 1:11); “the blessed and only Sovereign” (1Tim 6:15). It is correct to see here a polemical intention against the imperial cult,³⁴ because *makarios* describes the only *Dynastes* (Luke 1:52; Acts 8:27), a title of the Most High (Sir 46:5–6), who reigns in the heavens and over the world (2Macc 12:15; 15:4, 23). Humans owe him worship and absolute obedience.³⁵

Regarding Christ, happiness lies in recognizing him as he is, in not being “scandalized by him” (Matt 11:6; Luke 7:23), in seeing and hearing him (Matt 13:16; Luke 10:23). This discernment is a gift of the Father (Matt 16:17). It is the beatitude of faith, that of the Virgin Mary—“Blessed is she who has believed” (*makaria he pisteusasa*, Luke 1:45) the word of the Lord—but also a mother’s honor.³⁶ The last macarism pronounced by Jesus is for all those who believe without relying on a visible presence (John 20:29). To this we may join the beatitudes of hope. In the course of their earthly pilgrimage, Christians “await the blessed hope (*ten makarian elpida*) and appearing of the glory of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ” (Titus 2:13). Their life has meaning only in light of this “final end,” which is the object of all their hopes: their meeting with Jesus Christ, who is currently invisible. Describing this hope as “blessed” means that its object is at once infallible and divine. From now on he rejoices the soul: “Happy are they who are invited to the marriage feast of the Lamb” (Rev 19:9). They prepare for this and remain watchful (Rev 16:15); they wash their garments and remain pure in order to have the right to the tree of life (Rev 22:14). Since they have had a share in the first resurrection, the second death (that of sin and damnation) will have no power over them (Rev 20:6). They listen obediently and observe what God has taught them (Rev 1:3; 22:7). Rev 14:13 therefore can set forth this paradox: ‘Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from now on. Yes,’ says the Spirit, ‘for they rest from their labors; for their works follow with them.’”³⁷

The other beatitudes have to do with faithfulness, that of watchful and diligent servants who will be rewarded by their master (Luke 12:37, 38, 43; 24:46); of disciples who conform to the example of humble, loving service set by the Lord (“Happy are you if you do it”);³⁸ of the charitable, because

“it is more blessed to give than to receive.”³⁹ Happiness is envisaged not on the psychological but on the eschatological level, because God will reward the giver, as Jesus promised: “You will be happy in that they (the poor, the crippled, the lame, and the blind) will not be able to repay (your invitation), because they (God) will repay you at the resurrection of the just” (Luke^o4:14).

By virtue of this divine judgment, the happiness of Christians will always lie in perfect unity of loyalty and conscience⁴⁰ and in exact conformity to God’s will in every action: “The one who looks intently into the perfect law, the law of liberty, and remains (thus), and becomes not a forgetful hearer but a doer—this person will be happy in what he does” (Jas 1:25), even if he is abused and suffers for righteousness.⁴¹ One is then identified with Christ and, after enduring the trial, assured of receiving the “crown of life” (Jas 1:12). In the NT, *makarios* always describes persons, never actions (cf. 4Macc 7:22). It is therefore not poverty as such that is blessed, but the poor; and poverty is not a matter of possessing nothing but of being detached from everything.

St. Luke follows the beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount with what are quite improperly called four “maledictions” against the rich. Introduced by the adversative conjunction *plen*, “nevertheless, only,”⁴² they are designed to reinforce the beatitude of the poor, conformably to Semitic usage, which links blessing and cursing.⁴³ Here, however, rather than the traditional contrast between *eulogeo* and [*epi_kataraomai* (sole exception, Eccl 10:16-17: *ouai soi, polis . . . makaria sy*), St. Luke uses *ouai*, which is almost unknown in secular Greek,⁴⁴ but which attests that this is not a “malediction.”⁴⁵

So what is the meaning of this interjection? *Ouai* is a transliteration of the Hebrew *’ôy, hôy*, a sort of onomatopoeia,⁴⁶ a cry of pain, terror, indignation, and sometimes threat, a declaration of misfortune and a complaint against a certain person or group, given one’s misery or privations. According to the context it must be translated “Alas,” “Ah,” or “Woe.”⁴⁷ In the LXX, *ouai* is said of a nation or a city that is “lost”⁴⁸ or is sinning;⁴⁹ complaints are made about ills that beset (1Sam 4:8), betrayal (Isa 24:16; Jer 10:19), an enemy invasion (Jer 4:13; 6:4), but also of woes that are the consequences of our sins (Lam 5:16; cf. Isa 3:9). Complaints are voiced about “the one who is alone and falls, who has no one to help him up” (Eccl 4:10), but more often *ouai* expresses sometimes the terror experienced in the face of the horrible fate that awaits the wicked, the ungodly, the sinner,⁵⁰ “because today the time of their punishment has arrived” (Jer 50:27), sometimes the moaning that marks funerary lamentation and which takes this form: “Alas, my brother! Alas, my sister!” (Jer 22:18; 34:5; Amos 5:16; Ezek 2:10).

Thus the supposed Lucan “maledictions” of the Sermon on the Mount are at the same time a threat to and a lamentation over the rich, the

satisfied, those who feast, laugh, and are flattered by their friends.⁵¹ They are truly the most miserable of all people, because wealth makes it very difficult to get into the kingdom of God (Luke 18:24-25). Not that wealth is cursed—Jesus was surrounded by wealth (Mary of Bethany, the holy women, Zacchaeus, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, etc.)—but the satisfactions that it provides usually make it difficult to detect the attraction of spiritual goods; they fix the heart on earth (Luke 8:14; 12:34). When filled with earthly goods, what does one want from God? So, unfortunate indeed are those who have been deceived concerning true values and risk losing out on eternal beatitude. But, Jesus affirms, this depends on God alone and on his mercy—precisely for the rich (Luke 18:27).

More serious are the “maledictions” uttered against the “scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites . . . blind guides, because you close up the kingdom of heaven against men”;⁵² these evil teachers lead the people to spiritual ruin, making “sons of Gehenna.” To them applies the statement, “Woe to the world because of stumblingblocks . . . woe to the man through whom a cause of stumbling arises. It would be better for him to have a millstone hung around his neck and be thrown into the sea” (Matt 18:7; Luke 17:1). This is the case with Judas, who is not cursed, but for whom the Lord laments, “Woe to the one through whom the Son of Man is betrayed. It would have been better for him not to have been born” (Matt 26:24; Mark 14:21; Luke 22:22). How could one not bewail such a disastrous fate?

The other NT *ouais* are almost trivial in comparison with these spiritual catastrophes: “Woe to me if I preach not the gospel” (1Cor 9:16) means “I would be unfortunate and worthy of laments if I were not faithful to my calling.” In the time of the desolation of Judea, “Woe to those who (must flee and) are pregnant and those who are nursing in those times” (Matt 24:19; Mark 13:17; Luke 21:23). At the end of time, the distress will be such that the angels announce, “Woe, woe, woe to those who live on the earth.”⁵³ The two last lamentations have as their object the destruction of the wealth (Rev 18:16) of those who “enriched themselves” (18:19).

¹ SB 10288 a 10 (AD 125); Dittenberger, *Or.* 519, 9; Acts 26:2—“I count myself happy, King Agrippa, to make my defense today before you”; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.108: “We would be happy to have persuaded you.” Cf. μάκαρ: “a happy silence” (Synesius, *Hymn.* 5.22).

² Menander, *Dysk.* 103 (cf. the fragment of Menander in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 A, p. 349, line 66); but μαράριε ἄνθρωπε (ibid. 701) can be translated “My dear sir” (J. M. Jacques, “Mon cher Monsieur”) or better “Happy man” (V. Martin, “L’heureux homme”) who makes the most of good fortune; Aristophanes, *Av.* 1271: “O Pisthetairos, O happy one, O most wise, O most glorious . . .”; *Vesp.* 1275; *Eq.* 1206; Xenophon, *Hell.*

2.4.17: “Happy are those among us who as conquerors will see the best of days”; Plutarch, *Art.* 17.8—“You are admirable (μακάριος) to become angry for an old and miserable eunuch” (after the French of R. Flacelière).

³ Homer, *Il.* 24.99: “All the blessed everliving gods are seated grouped in assembly”; *Od.* 14.83; 18.426; Ps.-Homer, *H. Aphr.* 1.92—“Whichever blessed deity you are, Artemis or Leto or golden Aphrodite or noble Themis or Athena with the piercing eyes”; 1.195; Hesiod, *Th.* 33: “the race of the blessed everliving ones”; *Op.* 136, 139. The texts are noted by G. L. Dirichlet, *De veterum macarismis*, Giessen, 1914.

⁴ An epigram from Corcyra begins Ζεῦ μάκαρ (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1964, p. 175, n. 217). A monument of Agrius: “The twelve gods who with Zeus are called blessed” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 114, col. II, 11; cf. III, 12); dedication of a foot to Isis “the blessed” (ibid. 109, 2), “the most holy among the blessed” (ibid. 175, col. IV, 2; cf. 176, 19). Even in the fourth century, Bishop Synesius of Cyrene would sing of Christ as “blessed” (μάκαρ), creator and sovereign of the universe (*Hymn.* 1.21, 95, 113, 275, 303, 384, 496, 526, 570, 733; 2.26, 80, 92, 169, 240, 297; 6.2, “blessed, immortal”; 7.4).

⁵ Hesiod, *Op.* 171; Pindar, *Ol.* 2.127; Antoninus Liberalis, *Met.* 33.3; *IG XIV*, 1973, 2 (epitaph of Aelia Porte). Epitaph of an anonymous woman: “The gods sent me to the isles of the blessed and the sacred countryside of shady Elysium” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 38, 9); epitaph of Casius, who “has departed to the society of the blessed beneath the heavenly vault” (ibid. n. 27, 4); Serapias, “going up to the land of the blessed” (52, 2); a young man of Lycopolis who died at age 16: “the children of the immortals . . . dwell in the Elysian plain of the blessed” (73, 8; cf. 80, 10); “‘Who is this man?’ will ask one of those who walk along the tomb; ‘Who is so happy, so fortunate, hidden by you?’” (27, 8). If μάκαρ refers to the felicity known by the deceased and sometimes by those still living, it is thanks to divine favor (175, col. III, 7). “Happy son of Atreus, man favored by the gods and by destiny” (Homer, *Il.* 3.182; quoted by Plutarch, *De tranq. anim.* 11).

⁶ Pindar, *Pyth.* 5.47: “Honor to you; after your great work the noblest praises will perpetuate your memory”; Isocrates, *Evag.* 9.70: “Evagoras was from the beginning the most happy of men”; Plato, *Menex.* 249 d: “Aspasia is happy indeed if she, a simple woman, could compose such speeches”; cf. Libanius, *Autobiogr.* 1.1: “Happy (εὐδαίμων) because of the applause that my discourses received.”

⁷ Plutarch, *Art.* 12.6: “I pray the gods to make him rich and happy”; 14.2; 15.2: “He has made you happy and the envy of all”; Chariton, *Chaer.* 1.3.7: “Their parents judged themselves happy as they contemplated the perfect agreement of their children”; 8.1.11: “O happy woman, she has for herself the most attractive of men”; 8.8.16: “Grant that we may live in happiness” (βίον μακάριον); *P.Mich.* 202, 7, when Valeria asked her sister Thermution to come and raise a child, she assured her that she will be happy with her situation (μακερεία ε—άν ποιήσης, AD 105); cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 9.264: μακαρίους γὰρ ἔσεσθαι. *P.Got.* 21, 2–3 is a reproduction of the Letter to Abgar (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.13.10), in which the Lord congratulates and blesses his correspondent: μακάριος εἶς . . . καὶ μακαρία ἡ πόλις σου (cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, pp. 455–459).

⁸ Theognis 1.1013: “O happy one, fortunate, favored by fate, who hast descended into the dark abode of Hades before knowing battle . . .” From Plato on, Plato, *Hp. Ma.* 293, an irksome person is sent ε—ς μακαρίαν = to beatitude (the beatitude of the dead); Aristophanes, *Eq.* 1151; *Ran.* 85; that is, “Hades take you,” or “go to the devil.”

⁹ [French “feu, bienheureux ou béni.” In the opening paragraphs of this article Spicq uses *bienheureux* in pagan contexts, *béni* in Christian contexts. I have generally rendered his *bienheureux* “happy,” but in some cases the English “blessed” has to do for *bienheureux* as well as for *béni* (as with the μακάρων νῆσοι). English has no exact equivalent of *bienheureux*. —Tr.] *P.Erl.* 68, 1–2; *C.P.Herm.* 64, 1; *P.Oxy.* 1838, 1; 1887, 6; 2238, 4; 2416, 7; 2478, 29; *P.Princ.* 95, 2; 145, 15; *P.Lond.* 1915, 14; 1917, 26; 1921, 30; *P.Berl.Zill.* 6, 22; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 39, 5; *P.Ant.* 103, 11; *P.Apoll.* 51, 5–8; 57, 10; SB 9771, 2; 9776, 5; 10045 a 1; 10059, 1; B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. 73 a, 84, 91; *IGUR*, n. 842; E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 16, 4; 61, 5; *CII* 688; *IGLS* 727, 5–6; 728, 2–3; 1827; 2206; 2209. At Corinth (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1969, p. 458, n. 230), in Nubia (ibid. 1946–47, p. 370, n. 251; 1967, p. 564, n. 671). Often it is the memory of the deceased that is described as blessed (ibid. 1969, p. 458, n. 227; 1971, p. 523, n. 668); *P.Berl.Zill.* 7, 5; *P.Erl.* 67, 28; 73, 12. *C.P.Herm.* 30, 4, 25; *P.Alex.* 37, 5; *P.Giss.* 55, 6; *P.Oxy.* 1882, 10; 1890, 3; 1892, 7; 2237, 5; etc. Cf. Chariton, *Chaer.* 6.2.9: “I would have found felicity if I had been buried . . . in the tomb of Syracuse, but you kept me from dying.”

¹⁰ Cf. Ps 137:8-9: “Daughter of Babel, happy are those who will inflict on you the treatment that you inflicted on us. Happy are those who will take your children and smash them against the rock”; Eccl 10:17—“Happy is the land whose king is the son of free men”; Sir 25:8—“Happy is the man who lives with an intelligent woman”; 26:1; Isa 32:20—“Happy will you be to sow

every place where there is water.” Μακάριος translates the Hebrew *‘ashrê* followed by a determinative (a noun, or a pronomial suffix in the second person singular or plural); cf. W. Janzen, “*Ashrê* in the Old Testament,” in *HTR*, 1965, pp. 215–226; A. George, “La ‘Forme’ des béatitudes jusqu’à Jésus,” in *Mélanges Bibliques A. Robert*, Paris, 1957, pp. 398–403; M. Bouttier, “Heureux,” in J. J. von Allmen, *Vocabulaire biblique*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1954, p. 121; H. Cazelles, “Béatitude,” in *Catholicisme*, vol. 1, col. 1342–1346.

¹¹ The Bible has no instances of εὐτυχής, “favored by fortune,” ὄλβιος, “prosperous” thanks to the protection of the gods; cf. Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 3.2.4; *Anth. Pal.* 6.274.3; 9.485, 11; Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1286 (Juno, the august and blessed [ὄλβία] wife of Zeus), εὐδαίμων, “under the protection of a good genius,” cf. M. Heinze, “Der Eudaimonismus in der griechischen Philosophie,” in *Vorsokratiker: Demokrit, Sokrates*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 643–758; C. de Heer, *ΜΑΚΑΡ-ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ-ΟΛΒΙΟΣ-ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ*, Amsterdam, 1969; Marianne McDonald, *Terms for Happiness in Euripides*, Göttingen, 1978, pp. 292ff., 322ff.

¹² Benediction of Moses: “Happy are you, O Israel. Who is like you, a people saved by Yahweh, whose sword is your exaltation?” (Deut 33:29). “Blessed will be all those who love you forever” (Tob 13:14–15); “Happy is the nation who has Yahweh for its god. Happy are the people whom he has chosen for his heritage” (Ps 33:12; 144:15); “Happy are those who live in your house; they will always praise you” (Ps 84:4; 65:4). E. LipiĔski, “Macarismes et psaumes de congratulation,” in *RB*, 1968, pp. 321–367.

¹³ Ps 2:12; 34:8; 40:4; 84:5, 12; 146:5; Isa 30:18.

¹⁴ For this reason, the biblical beatitude fits into the wisdom genre. Some have found a cultic origin for it; but often it is a simple cry of admiration or joy, or even a simple observation and proclamation. Nevertheless, in the religious context in which it is inserted, the beatitude is almost always a benediction; cf. C. H. Dodd, “The Beatitudes,” in *Mélanges Bibliques A. Robert*, Paris, 1957, pp. 404–410; C. C. McCown, “The Beatitudes in the Light of Ancient Ideals,” in *JBL*, 1927, pp. 50–61.

¹⁵ Dan 12:12. Usually, the happiness mentioned is already present and includes—apart from peace of soul—earthly satisfactions (family, prosperity, etc.); but it can also be a guarantee of future felicity (Isa 30:18–26; Dan 12:12); “Happy are they who will live in those days to behold the happiness of Israel in the reunion of the tribes” (*Pss. Sol.* 17.50); “Happy are those who will live in those days to behold the benefits of the Lord that he will procure for the generation to come under the scepter of discipline of

the Lord Messiah” (*Pss. Sol.* 18.7–8); “Europe will be blessed with a fecund heaven, and for many years wholesome, without storm or hail . . . O happy one, the man or woman who shall live in those times” (*Sib. Or.* 3.368–372; cf. Luke 14:15; Rev 19:9). But to be assured of eschatological felicity is already now a source of happiness. This is the case with most of the NT macarisms: “be joyful in the hope” (Rom 12:12).

¹⁶ *Creation* 135: μακαρίας καὶ εὐδαίμονος φύσεως; 146; *Unchang. God* 108; *Decalogue* 104; *Heir* 111; *Spec. Laws* 1.329; 4.48; *Dreams* 2.230; *Abraham* 87. The linking of εὐδαίμων and μακάριος is constant (Plato, *Resp.* 1.354 a; *Leg.* 2.660 e; Isocrates, *Panath.* 12.288; Aristophanes, *Plut.* 655; Atticus, frag. 2.87, 118 etc.).

¹⁷ *Cherub.* 86; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 40, 95, 101; *Unchang. God* 26; *Spec. Laws* 2.53: “God alone possesses happiness and felicity, being exempt from all ill and filled with perfect goods . . . , who showers particular goods on heaven and earth”; *To Gaius* 5. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 10.278: “God, the blessed and immortal being”; *Ag. Apion* 2.190: “God, perfect and blessed, governs the universe”; Epicurus, in Diogenes Laertius 10.123(27).

¹⁸ *Spec. Laws* 3.178; 4.123. This superlative is found already in Homer, *Od.* 5.306 (τρισμακάρες); 6.153, 155; Aristophanes, *Ach.* 400: “O thrice happy Euripides, whose slave is so quick with an answer”; Philemon, frag. 93, 1 (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 98.34.13; vol. 5, p. 828); cf. Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 12, βίος τρισμακάριστος, a super-happy life!

¹⁹ Philo, *Creation* 172. Philo evokes the opinion of secular people: “those who are said to be happy and favored by fortune,” the rich and the powerful (*Decalogue* 4) and defines “this state of felicity that is freedom” (*Good Man Free* 157), but wonders whether the calm and serene life, with true felicity and happiness, is possible (*Heir* 285).

²⁰ Philo, *Dreams* 1.50; cf. *Abraham* 115; *Spec. Laws* 4.115; *Rewards* 122. Cf. Euripides, *Bacch.* 72: “Happy is the fortunate man, instructed in the divine mysteries, who sanctifies his life and make his soul fervent” (cf. A. J. Festugière, *Etudes de religion*, pp.72ff.).

²¹ *Il.* 16.596; 24.536; *Od.* 14.206; 17.420; 19.76. Cf. Plutarch, *Art.* 12.6: “I pray the gods to make you happy and rich”; 14.2; Polybius 3.91.6; Libanius, *Autobiogr.* 1.154: “You count happy those who have wealth.”

²² *Od.* 4.208; cf. Euripides, *Med.* 1025; *IT* 915.

²³ Euripides, *Med.* 1228. Cf. J. de Romilly, "Le thème du bonheur dans les Bacchantes," in *REG*, 1963, pp. 361–380.

²⁴ Livy, preface. Cf. A. Becker, *De L'Instinct du bonheur à l'extase de la béatitude*, Paris, 1967, pp. 46ff.

²⁵ The beatitudes in Matt are in the third person, are general in scope, and are benedictions; those of Luke are in the second person, have in view instead Jesus' immediate hearers, and are as much consolations as they are religious and moral imperatives. Cf. J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, 3d ed., Bruges-Louvain, 1958 (gives the bibliography, pp. 347ff.); vol. 2, 2d ed., Paris, 1969; vol. 3, 2d ed., Paris, 1973; L. Pirot, "Béatitudes évangéliques," in *SDB*, vol. 1, col. 927–939; J. Thomé, *Selig seid Ihr: Gedanken zur Bergpredigt*, Regensburg, 1937; R. E. Roberts, *The Happy Heart: A Study in the Beatitudes*, London, 1936; J. Theissing, "Die Seligpreisungen," in *Die Lehre Jesu von der ewigen Seligkeit*, Breslau, 1940, pp. 5–21; E. Percy, *Die Botschaft Jesu*, Lund, 1953, pp. 40–108; G. Braumann, "Zum Traditionsgeschichtlichen Problem der Seligpreisungen Mt. V, 3–12," in *NovT*, 1960, pp. 253–260; J. Merle Rife, "Matthew's Beatitudes and the Septuagint," in B. L. Daniels, M. J. Suggs, *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in Honor of K. W. Clark*, Salt Lake City, 1967, pp. 107–112; N. Walter, "Die Bearbeitung der Seligpreisungen durch Matthäus," in F. L. Cross, *SE*, 1968, vol. 4, pp. 246–258; S. Agouridès, "La Tradition des Béatitudes chez Matthieu et Luc," in *Mélanges Rigaux*, pp. 9–27; Hauck, "μακάριος," in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 362–364; G. Strecker, "Die Makarismen der Bergpredigt," in *NTS*, vol. 17, 1971, pp. 255–275 (French translation in M. Didier, *L'Évangile selon Matthieu*, Gembloux, 1972, pp. 185–208; in English, see *The Sermon on the Mount: An Exegetical Commentary*, Nashville, 1988, pp. 27–47); H. Frankmölle, "Die Makarismen' (Matth. V, 1–12; Luk. VI, 20–23)," in *BZ*, 1971, pp. 52–75; E. Schweizer, "Formgeschichtliches zu den Seligpreisungen Jesu," in *NTS*, vol. 19, 1972, pp. 121–126; A. J. Festugière, *Observations stylistiques sur l'Évangile de S. Jean*, Paris, 1974, pp. 87ff.; R. Guelich, "The Matthean Beatitudes: 'Entrance Requirements' or Eschatological Blessings," in *JBL*, 1975, pp. 416ff.; W. Zimmerli, "Die Seligpreisungen der Bergpredigt und das Alte Testament," in *Donum Gentilicium in Honour of D. Daube*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 8–26.

²⁶ Cf. A. Lemonnyer, "Le Messianisme des Béatitudes," in *RSPT*, 1922, pp. 373–389.

²⁷ Cf. Y. Trémel, "Béatitudes et morale évangélique," in *Lumière et vie*, vol. 21, 1955, pp. 83–102; S. Pinckaers, *La Quête du bonheur*, 2d ed., Paris, 1969.

²⁸ Matt 5:12; Luke 6:23. Χαίρω and ἀγαλλιάω are linked in Hab 3:18; Ps 125:2; Tob 13:15; Luke 1:14; John 8:56; 1Pet 1:8; 4:13; Rev 19:6-7. P. Humbert, “‘Laetari et exultare’ dans le vocabulaire de l’Ancien Testament,” in *Opuscles d’un Hébraïsant*, Neuchâtel, 1958, pp. 119–145.

²⁹ It is a modern deviation in pastoral theology to identify the gospel “poor” with today’s poverty-stricken people, those deprived of monetary resources; because these are most often a-religious, aggressive, and anti-authority, if not in outright rebellion. On the biblical “poor,” cf. I. Loeb, *La Littérature des pauvres dans la Bible*, Paris, 1892; H. Birkeland, *‘Anî und ‘Anaw in den Psalmen*, Oslo, 1933; C. van Leeuwen, *Le Développement du sens social en Israël avant l’ère chrétienne*, Assen, 1955; A. Gelin, *Les Pauvres de Yahweh*, Paris, 1953; idem, “Heureux les pauvres,” in *Grands thèmes bibliques*, Paris, 1958, pp. 79–83; P. van den Berghe, “‘Ani et ‘anaw dans les Psaumes,” in R. De Langhe, *Le Psautier*, Louvain, 1962, pp. 273–275; R. Martin-Achard, “Jahwé et les ‘anawîm,” in *TZ*, 1965, pp. 349–357.

³⁰ Isa 29:19-21; 25:4-5; 61:1-3; Lam 3:58-59; Ps 35:10; 40:18; 43:1; 54:3, 5.

³¹ Cf. R. Schnackenburg, *God’s Rule*.

³² This interiorized poverty is already indicated by Ps 34:19, “the crushed in spirit,” a humility of spirit taken up at Qumran (1QS 3.8; 4.2–3; 1QH 14.3). But in the *War Rule* (1QM 11.10; 14.7) the formula ‘anwê-rûah (cf. Isa 66:2), of which “poor in spirit” in Matt is a kind of copy (cf. J. Dupont, “Les Pauvres en esprit,” in *A la rencontre de Dieu: Mémoires A. Gelin*, Le Puy, 1961, pp. 265–272; idem, “Les πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι de Matthieu V, 3 et les ‘anwêy rûach de Qumrân,” in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze* (Festschrift für J. Schmid), Regensburg, 1963, pp. 54–64; S. Légasse, “Les Pauvres en esprit et les ‘volontaires’ de Qumrân,” in *NTS*, vol. 8, 1961–62, pp. 336–345). It follows that the Matthean beatitude has a good chance of being original, with Luke suppressing “in spirit,” a radicalism not surprising in an author who knew wealth and whose gospel so forcefully emphasizes its fragility, emptiness, and incompatibility with the service of God (Luke 16:13).

³³ To suggest what this beatitude is like, the NT uses images of a feast at Christ’s table (Luke 22:30), of a wedding (Matt 22:1-14), of thrones and crowns (= honor; cf. 1Cor 9:25; 2Tim 4:8; Jas 1:12; 1Pet 5:4; Rev 2:10), glory (2Cor 4:17; Eph 1:18), security (John 14:2), rest (Heb 4:10; Rev

14:13), stability (Heb 12:18), etc. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 292ff.

³⁴ Beginning with Sulla, who took the name Felix after being acclaimed savior and father of the country (Dio Cassius 44.5; cf. L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*, pp. 283–308), *Felicitas*, along with *Victoria Augusti* and *Aeternitas augusta*, were divine attributes connected to the *Imperium Majus* (G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2d ed., Munich, 1912, pp. 266ff.). The prince's Authority and Happiness went together (cf. Cicero, *Leg. Man.* 10.28; 16.47–49).

³⁵ Cf. the invocation of the Danaids to Zeus: “Lord of lords, Blessed One among the blessed, Sovereign Power over sovereigns, blessed (ὄλβιε) Zeus, hear us!” (Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 524–527).

³⁶ Luke 11:27-28: “A woman raising her voice from the midst of the crowd said, ‘Happy are the womb that bore you and the breasts that nursed you.’ He said to her, ‘Happy rather are those who hear the word of God and put it into practice.’” Mothers are commonly pronounced blessed; cf. Gen 30:13; Musaeus, *Hero and Leander* 138: “Blessed (ὄλβίη) is the mother who gave you birth, and most fortunate of all (μακαρτάτη) the womb that brought you into the world” (this superlative occurs already in Homer, *Od.* 6.158; Sophocles, frag. 410; cf. τρισμακάρες, *Od.* 6.154); Euripides, *Ion* 308: “Your mother is happy indeed”; *Hyps.*, in *P.Oxy.* 852, frag. I, col. I, 5; *2Apoc. Bar.* 54.10—“Blessed is my mother among those who bear; may she who brought me into the world be praised among women”; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 49:25—“Happy are the breasts that nursed you and the womb where you reposed.” Rabbi Johanan b. Zakkai: “Blessed is she who gave birth to you” (*Pirque ‘Abot* 2.8). —The opposite in time of calamity: “These are the days when they will say, ‘Happy are the women who are barren and the wombs that never gave birth, and the breasts that never nursed’” (Luke 23:29); cf. Euripides, *Andr.* 395: “Why did I have to have a son, and double with his the weight of my misery?”; *Alc.* 882: “I envy mortals who are strangers to marriage and paternity.” Hence 1Cor 7:40—the widow is happier if she does not remarry, being free to consecrate herself entirely to the service of God and neighbor.

³⁷ The happiness is strictly present (ἄρτι). Believers reach the next world at the same time as their works, which God will reward on the spot with “eternal rest.” There is no delay, no waiting; cf. 4Macc 10:15; 12:1; F. F. Bruce, “The Spirit in Apocalypse,” in B. Lindars, S. Smalley, *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament . . . in Honour of C. F. D. Moule*, Cambridge, 1973, pp. 342ff.

³⁸ John 13:17; cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 826: “Happy and fortunate is the one who knows everything about days and performs his toil without offending the Immortals, consulting the heavenly wishes and avoiding every fault.”

³⁹ Acts 20:35 (cf. Sir 4:31; Rabbi Meir, in *Eccl. Rab.* 5.14; *Did.* 4.5; *1Clem.* 2.1; etc.). Valuations on this subject are diverse. J. Dupont (*Discours de Milet*, pp. 324ff.) cites contrary opinions (Aristophanes, *Eccl.* 777–783; Athenaeus, *Deip.* 8.27), but the Lord’s judgment was already that of Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 4.1.7; Thucydides 2.97.4; Plutarch, *Caes.* 16.4; *Mor.* 173 d; 181 f; 778 c; Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 4.3: “making a gift and giving is better than receiving”; Pollux, *Onom.* 3.113. Cf. U. Holzmeister, “‘Beatum est dare, non accipere?’ Act. XX, 25,” in *VD*, 1949, pp. 98–101

⁴⁰ Rom 14:22. The concrete action matters little. What matters is to cast aside personal prejudices, to wish only to please God, to care for one’s neighbor.

⁴¹ 1Pet 3:14; 4:14 (a macarism of the persecuted, Matt 5:11; Luke 6:22). For the textual criticism, K. Aland, *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments*, 1972, p. 100. Cf. A. Garcia del Moral y Garrido, *Interpretación de Is. XI, 2 en I Petr. IV, 14*, Granada, 1962; J. Knox, “Pliny and I Peter: A Note on I Peter IV, 14–16 and III, 15,” in *JBL*, 1953, pp. 187–189.

⁴² Cf. Matt 18:7; Luke 6:24; 22:22. M. E. Thrall, *Greek Particles in the New Testament*, Grand Rapids, 1962, pp. 21–24.

⁴³ Deut 11:21-28: “Today I set before you blessing and cursing”; the song of Deborah: “Curse . . . Blessed be . . .” (Judg 5:23-24); Isa 3:10-11 (a beatitude and a *vae*); Tob 13:14—“Cursed will be all those who hate you; blessed will be all those who love you”; *2Apoc. Bar.* 10.6–7: “Happy is the one who was never born . . . but misfortune to us, the living who have seen the sorrows of Zion”; *1 Enoch* 99.10–11 (blessed are . . . woe to . . .); Rev 12:12—“Rejoice, O heavens . . . woe to the earth and sea”; *b. Yoma* 87a : “Happy are the just. Not only do they acquire merit for themselves, but they prepare merit also for their children and infants to the end of all generations. Woe to the wicked. Not only do they become guilty themselves, but they also make their children and infants guilty to the end of all generations”; *b. Ber.* 61b : “Happy are you, Aqiba, because you were arrested for the words of Torah. Woe to you, Pappos, because you were arrested for empty words”; *b. Sukk.* 56b : “Abbaye said, ‘Woe to the ungodly, woe to the one close to him! Happy the righteous, and happy the one close to him!’” (Cf. J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 1, pp. 229–342; vol. 3, pp. 28–40). A. Lefèvre, “Malédiction et bénédiction,” in *DBSup*, vol. 5, col. 746 (analyzes the Hebrew words for “curse”: ‘*arar, qalal, ‘alâh, qillel*).

⁴⁴ Only three or four examples are known. Epictetus 3.19.1: the profane person says, “Woe to me because of my child, or my brother; woe to me because of my father,” while the philosopher says, “Woe to me (οὐαί μοι) because of myself”; 22.32—“Woe to me (οὐαί μοι) because the Greeks are in danger.” A mime from the second century AD: οὐαί μοι, ταλαίπωρε, ἄκληρε (*P.Oxy.* 413, 184). An apocryphal gospel: οὐαί, τυφλοὶ μὴ ὀρω—ντες (*P.Oxy.* 840, 31 and 45). Cf. *P.Cologne Mani* inv. 4780 (= *ZPE* 19, 1975, p. 12): οὐαὶ, οὐαὶ, alas, alas, the blood flows (10, 4). This is thought to be an Alexandrian borrowing of the Latin *vae*, then adopted by Koine.

⁴⁵ Cf. W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelistische Fluchspruch*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969.

⁴⁶ In the funerary lamentations, “in its simplest form, it was a shrill and repeated cry, which Mic 1:8 compares to that of the jackal or the ostrich” (R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, p. 60). P. Humbert (*Problèmes du livre d’Habucac*, Neuchâtel, 1944, pp. 18–23) distributed the occurrences of *hōy* in the OT among imprecatory particle, exclamation of mourning, exclamatory particle, and threat. It fits especially into the prophetic vocabulary. The most elaborate study is that of J. Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l’Apocalyptique*, Paris, 1978, v 2, pp. 603–652.

⁴⁷ Cf. Prov 23:29—“Who has these *ahs*? Who has these *alases*?” (a warning against wine and drunkenness, cf. Isa 5:11, 22; 28:1). *Οὐαί* can be used alone and absolutely (Luke 17:1) or followed by a dative of person (Matt 11:21; 23:13), a vocative (Luke 6:25), repeated twice (Ezek 16:23) or three times (Rev 8:13), with the nominative for the vocative (Rev 18:10, 19); with the verb (1Cor 9:16—οὐαί μοί ε—στιν); as a substantive: “the woe” (ἡ οὐαί, Job 31:3; Jer 46:19; 51:2; Rev 9:12; 11:14).

⁴⁸ Num 21:219 (cited by Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.225, 231); Zeph 2:5; Isa 10:5; 18:1; Jer 48:1; Ezek 24:9; Jdt 16:17; Eccl 10:16-17; cf. Rev 18:10, 16, 19; Josephus, *War* 6.306: αἰ—αὶ (*sic*) Ἱεροσολύμοις.

⁴⁹ Isa 1:4; 5:18; cf. the prophetic complaint against Chorazin and Bethsaida (Matt 11:21; Luke 10:13). A. George, “Paroles de Jésus sur ses miracles,” in J. Dupont, *Jésus aux origines de la Christologie*, Gembloux, 1975, pp. 293ff.

⁵⁰ Isa 3:11; 5:20; 10:1; 29:15; 30:1; 33:1; Jer 13:27; Hos 7:13; 9:12; Sir 2:12, 13, 14; 41:8.

⁵¹ Cf. the threat of ruin: “Woe to the one who enriches himself with that which is not his own” (Hab 2:6, 12; Isa 5:8); 1QpHab 8.7: “Woe to the one who gets rich off of what does not belong to him”; 9.12: “Woe to the one who plunders wicked plunder”; 10.5; cf. 11.2; 12.4.

⁵² Matt 23:13-16, 23, 25, 27, 29; Luke 11:42-44, 46, 52. We may compare the diatribe against false teachers in Jude 11: “Woe to them, because they have followed the way of Cain; they have given themselves up to the error of Balaam for pay.” These are the ungodly, criminals, the greedy. Cf. G. H. Boobyer, “The Verbs in Jude 11,” in *NTS*, v 5, 1958, pp. 46–47.

⁵³ Rev 8:13; 9:12; 11:14; 12:12; 18:12; cf. G. Mussies, “ΔΥΟ in Apocalypse IX, 12 and 16,” in *NovT*, 1967, pp. 151–154.

μαραίνω

maraino, to wither, dry out

maraino, S 3133; *EDNT* 2.385; MM 388; L&N 13.94; BDF §72; BAGD 491

Jas 1:11 compares the fragility of wealth to that of vegetation scorched by the hot sun: “The sun arises with the searing wind and dries out the plant, whose flower is fallen and lovely appearance lost. Thus the rich person will wither in his undertakings” (*houtos kai ho plousios en tais poreiais autou maranthesetai*).¹ Used in cultured Greek from Homer on,² *marainomai* often refers to plants that dry out, flowers that fade.³ The best parallel is Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.311: God does not derive glory from wealth, or opinion, or sovereignty, realities that do not partake of the nature of a true good; “the time of their failure comes quickly, and they wither before they have fully come to flower.”⁴

This verb is also used for the sick and for people who are exhausted, or for a disappointed lover,⁵ but especially in epitaphs for those who died prematurely and unexpectedly: “Fate, which ends all things miserably, or the common law of death, consumed me.”⁶

¹ Πορεία: “walk, trip” (Luke 13:22) here has its derivative meaning “move, enterprise, line of conduct” (1*Clem.* 48.4); cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1955, p. 202, n. 46.

² Ps.-Homer, *H. Hermes* 1.140: extinguish or snuff out coals; cf. Aristotle, *Cael.* 3.6.305a11: “Fire can end in two ways: by the action of an opposite, when it is extinguished; or on its own, when it dies out” (μαραρινόμενον). Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 15.8; *Mar.* 27.6: the wind weakens or dies down; Aratus, *Phaen.* 862.

³ Job 15:30 (Hebrew *yabesh*); 24:24; Wis 2:8—“Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they fade”; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 31.5: “laurels that are dried out and completely withered”; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.56: beauty fades with time.

⁴ Καιρὸν ὀξὺν ἔχει τῆς μεταβολῆς, μαραινόμενα τρόπον τινά, πρὶν ἀνθῆσαι βεβαίως. *Unchang. God* 38: dead leaves; *Dreams* 2.109: the flowers of virtue wither; 199: “let this vine be sterile; let it never have green shoots; let it be forever withered.” As opposed to physical beauty (*Joseph* 130; *Spec. Laws* 1.325), beauty of soul does not fade (*Moses* 2.140). Cf. *Enoch* 96.6—“You will suddenly receive your recompense; you will be consumed and dried up because you have forsaken the fount of life.”

⁵ Josephus, *War* 6.274: “Many people worn out by hunger”; Plutarch, *Fab.* 2.4: “He advised letting Hannibal’s strength dissipate on its own”; Thucydides 2.49.6: “While the disease was active, the body was not exhausted (οὐκ ἐμαραίνετο); it even resisted in a surprising manner”; Hippocrates, *Epid.* 7.84: a painless swelling near the spleen suddenly went down; *Anth. Pal.* 5.3: I am consumed by all of these varied shameful sights; *T. Sim.* 3.3: ὁ δὲ φθονῶ—ν μαραίνεται.

⁶ The dead person who felt good (*SEG VIII*, 621, 5 = *SB* 7871 = E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 97); cf. *SB* 5199, 2; L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, n. 41, 8; Moulton-Milligan, on this word. Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 141: “When the whole sensible realm, which must die, is consumed”; *Dreams* 1.11: “When physical strength declines, weighed down by years.”

μάρτυς

martys, witness

see also αὐτόπτης

martys, S 3144; *TDNT* 4.474–408; *EDNT* 2.393–395; *NIDNTT* 3.1038, 1041–1044, 1046–1047; MM 390; L&N 20.67, 33.270; BDF §§396, 397(3); BAGD 494

The components of this term’s meaning can be analyzed as follows:
(a) A witness is a person who was present at a material fact or at the accomplishment of a legal action. He is informed because he was there; he saw or heard:¹ “I have seen and I bear witness (*martyreo*) that he is God’s Chosen One” (John 1:34; cf. verse 15); “We testify concerning that which we have seen” (3:11); “The one who came from heaven testifies concerning that which he has seen and heard.”² God, who knows

everything and is everywhere present, from whom nothing is hidden, is the witness par excellence, “faithful and trustworthy.”³

(b) The biblical *martyr* is not a mere eyewitness,⁴ simply present at a happening; he is active (cf. *C.P.Herm.* 31, 4: *martyras martyrountas*; 32, 25), called upon to tell what he has seen and heard, to proclaim what he knows.⁵ The mission of the Twelve is to bear witness to the resurrection of Christ: “You are witnesses of these things” (*hymeis martyres touton*, Luke 24:48); “You shall be my witnesses” (*esesthe mou martyres*).⁶ This proclamation is Paul’s calling: “The God of our fathers chose you in advance ... to see the Just One and hear the voice of his mouth, because you shall be a witness to him to all people concerning the things that you have seen and heard” (Acts 22:15; cf. 26:16; 1Cor 1:6; 2:1). The apostle testifies concerning Jesus,⁷ which is why St. John wrote his Gospel and his apocalypse.⁸ All missionary preaching is a *martyrion* announcing the advent of salvation (1Cor 1:6; 2:1; 2Thess 1:10; 1Tim 2:6; 2Tim 1:8), so that it can be said that the disciples “hold to the testimony of Jesus” (Rev 12:17; cf. 19:10; 20:4; Acts 22:20).

(c) These missionary-preachers are not content to tell about the deeds and words of Jesus—and this is where their testimony differs from a legal witness—they express their personal conviction and identify with the cause that they defend. In proclaiming of the Lordship of Jesus, they make public confession of their faith. It is not simply a matter of reporting facts—which need to be interpreted—but of speaking and vindicating the truth, of somehow insisting on doing it justice. In the secular world, legal actions were originally oral actions done in the presence of witnesses, and subsequently these actions done in writing, so witnesses sign and authenticate the document, guaranteeing its validity.⁹ The document could be a will, an adoption, a contract, the renewal of a lease, etc.;¹⁰ also “the witnesses’ names are written in the act” (*P.Magd.* 12, 3), and their deposition is often confirmed by an oath.¹¹ When there are a great many witnesses, as in 2Tim 2:2; Heb 12:1, their credibility is heightened, their persuasion is stronger, and the validity of their testimony is strengthened.¹² In many texts in the NT, as in the papyri, the witness does not stop at supplying proofs, “he vouched for the outcome of the matter in which he had taken part. The witness was originally a defender and assistant. He was responsible not only to tell what he had seen and heard, but more than that to intervene in the suit. The witness was really a guarantor and stood surety.”¹³ Testimony, in the prophetic and kerygmatic sense (Rev 11:3), is thus not only a means of persuasion (Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.1354a1–7), but it adds the seal of conviction, which guarantees the truthfulness of the message. It is above all in this sense of “guarantor” that we must interpret the expression “Jesus, the faithful and true witness” (Rev 1:5; 3:14; cf. *engyos*, Heb 7:22), just as God had stood surety for him (John 8:18; cf. 3:33; 6:27; 1John 5:9). The same thing is true of the *martyrion* embodied in

missionary preaching (2Thess 1:10; 1Tim 2:6; 2Tim 1:8), for the apostle devotes himself to it body and soul. The same is even the case with the scribes and Pharisees: “Woe to you, because you build the tombs of the prophets, when it was your fathers who killed them. Thus you are witnesses.”¹⁴

(d) So there is not only oral testimony; actions also are part of the act of testifying—*martyria ton ergon*.¹⁵ The supreme testimony, leaving no room for discussion, is the “testimony” of the self, the giving up of life: martyrdom. At the end of the first century, the name *martys* was given to the Christian who had sealed his profession of faith with his blood; for example, at Pergamum, there was “Antipas, my faithful witness, who was killed among you.”¹⁶

(e) Testimony is given before hearers (cf. Epictetus 3.24.113) who form an opinion on what has happened on the basis of the solidity of the account that they hear and the credibility of the *martys*. NT witnesses, if they are set on proclaiming the gospel message, have as their main goal to persuade: “so that you may also believe.”¹⁷

¹ Lev 5:1—“If someone sins in that he heard the adjuration to testify and, although he was a witness (Hebrew *‘ed*) and either saw something or knew something, did not testify, and thus incurred guilt. . . .”

² John 3:32; cf. 19:35; 21:24; 1John 1:2—“Life was manifested, and we have seen, and we bear witness (ε—ωράκαμεν καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν) and we announce to you . . .”; 4:14—“We have seen and we bear witness”; Rev 1:2. Cf. Jer 29:23—“It is I who know and bear witness”; John 8:14—“My testimony is true, because I know whence I have come and whither I am going.” “The creditor says that he has witnesses who know (μάρτυρας ε—πισταμένους) that the deceased owed him two solidi” (*P.Apoll.* 24, 5); “Stotoëtis says . . . that there were people present who could testify concerning the murder” (παρει—ναι τοὺς μαρτυρήσαι δυναμένους τὸν φόνον, *P.Amh.* 66, 35). In birth certificates, the witnesses who certify the identity are γνωστῆρες (*P.Oxy.* 1451, 27).

³ Jer 42:5; cf. Job 16:19; Wis 1:6—“God is a witness of a person’s inmost self, a sincere observer of his heart; and what his tongue speaks God hears”; Ps 19:8—“The testimony (μαρτυρία, Hebrew *‘edût*) of the Lord is sure”; Sir 31:23. In oath formulas, God is called as witness (θεὸς μάρτυς), cf. Gen 31:44; 1Sam 20:23, 42; Mal 3:5; Rom 1:9; 2Cor 1:23; Phil 1:8; 1Thess 2:5, 10. 1John 5:9—“God’s testimony is greater than that of humans”; Josephus, *War* 1.595; *Ant.* 1.209; *T. Levi* 19.3; cf. *SEG IX*, 7, 24 (=SB 9935), μάρτυρας δὲ τοῦτων ποιοῦμαι Δία τε τὸν Καπετώλιον καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους θεοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον (Cyrene, 155 BC; cf. T. Liebmann-Frankfort, “Valeur juridique et signification politique des testaments faits par

les rois hellénistiques en faveur des Romains,” in *RIDA*, 1966, pp. 73–94). *P.Oxy.* 471, 64: μαρτύρονται, Κύριε, τὴν σὴν τύχην; *P.Mert.* 46, 11: μάρτυρα ἔχω θεὸν τοῦ θεοῦ; Philostratus, *Gym.* 45; Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 2.6: διὰ θεοῦ—ν μαρτύρων; Philo, *Decalogue* 86: “An oath is God’s testimony invoked concerning contested matters”; *Joseph* 265: “I call God as witness to my conscience, to guarantee my loyalty to my commitments.” The verb μαρτύρομαι, “I solemnly attest, I swear” (Acts 26:22; Gal 5:3; Eph 4:17; 1Thess 2:12), is often confused in the Koine with μαρτυρέω, “I am witness”; cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 62, 25; 66, 18; 70, 9; *P.Oslo* 128, 16; *P.Princ.* 38, 5; *SB* 7518, 10; 8265, 4; *P.Thead.* 21, 16: “I address this petition to you and can prove it through witnesses.”

⁴ Ἀυτόπτης, Luke 1:2. Like Xerxes at the battle of Salamina (Herodotus 8.69), Titus is present at the siege of Jerusalem, not as a mere spectator, but as a judge to punish or reward the actions of the soldiers, αυτόπτης καὶ μάρτυς (Josephus, *War* 6.134). In Wis 1:6, God is a witness in order to punish. Cf. the deposition of a witness, telling what he has seen (*P.Hib.* 200), and his response to the judge’s questioning (*P.Amh.* 30; *UPZ* 119 and 120; cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59347; *SB* 6762).

⁵ Sometimes in the most commonplace sense: to attest to someone’s good conduct, testify concerning services performed: 2Cor 8:3; Luke 4:22; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.355; 12.134; 15.130; *P.Oxy.* 930, 16; 2407, 4; 2775, 10; *P.Brem.* 61, 19: οἶδα γὰρ πω—ς με τειμα—ς καὶ μαρτυρω— πολλάκις πα—σι ἃ πεποίηκάς μοι; *P.Mich.* 203, 16; 499, 10; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 374, 37; *IGLS* 1303, 15; *MAMA* VI, 97, 12 (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 3, p. 22; L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, pp. 343–350).

⁶ Acts 1:8; cf. 1:22; 2:32—“That God raised this Jesus we are all witnesses”; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39–42: “We are witnesses of all that he did in the land of the Jews and at Jerusalem. . . . God raised him on the third day and allowed him to be seen, not by all the people, but by witnesses chosen in advance by God, us who ate and drank with him, after he was raised from the dead; and he commanded us to preach to the people and to bear witness (κήρυξαι καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι) that he is the judge, appointed by God, of the living and the dead”; John 15:27; Acts 4:33. Cf. E. Burnier, *La Notion de témoignage dans the N.T.*, Lausanne, 1939; L. Cerfaux, “Témoins du Christ,” in *Angelicum*, 1943, pp. 166–183 (reprinted in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 2, pp. 157–174); P.H. Menoud, “Jésus et ses témoins,” in *Eglise et théologie*, 1960, pp. 1–14; H. Anderson, “The Easter Witness of the Evangelists,” in *Essays in Memory of G. H. C. MacGregor*, Oxford, 1965, pp. 35–55; E. Güttgemanns, *Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr*, Göttingen, 1966; O. Michel, “Zeuge und Zeugnis,” in *Neues Testament und*

Geschichte (Festschrift O. Cullmann), Tübingen, 1972, pp. 15–31; A. A. Trites, *New Testament Concept of Witness*, Cambridge, 1977.

⁷ Acts 22:18—σου μαρτυρίαν περὶ ἐ—μοῦ; cf. 23:11; 26:22; 1Cor 15:15—“If Christ is not risen . . . we are false witnesses of God, because we have testified in spite of God that he raised Christ.” The mission of John the Baptist was to provide a μαρτυρία for Jesus that would identify him (John 1:7, 15, 19).

⁸ John 19:35—“The one who has seen bears witness—and his testimony is truthful—and that one knows that he speaks the truth”; 21:24; Rev 1:9.

⁹ The persons called to witness seal the document: ἐ—μαρτύρατο τοὺς τόδε τὸ μαρτυροποιήμα σφραγίζειν μέλλοντας (*P.Oxy.* 1114, 23); cf. *P.Princ.* 38, 5; *SB* 7518, 10; 8265, 4.

¹⁰ *P.Ryl.* 160 a 6: “We ordered the witnesses to sign” (from AD 14–37; cf. 582, 21). The plural μάρτυρες, introducing the names of witnesses, appears from the third century BC (*P.Corn.* 2, 15; *P.Sorb.* 15, 15). In the second century, there would be as many as six witnesses (*P.Tebt.* 818, 23 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 24), seven (N. Lewis, “A Centurion’s Will Linking Two of the Fourth-Century Karanis Archives,” in *Proceedings XIII*, pp. 227ff.), and even fourteen, on an act of emancipation at Delphi (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 42, 11; cf. *CII* 709–711); but *P.Oxy.* 1298, 10: “I have you as my only witness”; *P.Oxy.* 1162, 14: “Emmanuel is my witness.” Cf. *P.Fouad* 32, 17: “presenting this copy, and producing as witnesses, among those who witnessed the will, Dionysius, Diogenes, Sarapion,” etc.; *P.Dura* 15, 7; 17, 9; 19, 18; *P.Cair.Isid.* 74, 14; 79, 16; *P.Mich.* 287, 15; *P.Mert.* 6, 30; 75, 20; 91, 15; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 6, 31; *SB* 8974, col. III, 42; 9377, 13; 9642, col. I, 17; col. IV, 18. Similarly μαρτυρέω, *P.Oxy.* 105, 13: Σαραπίων . . . μαρτυρω—, “I Sarapion, am witness”; *P.Dura* 23, 13–15; 27, 5–7; 29, 23–24; 31, 56–58; *P.Oxf.* 16, 19–21; *P.Princ.* 82, 91–94; *P.Ness.* 16, 45; 45, 13–14; *P.Rein.* 107, 7: “I am a witness of the guarantee that I heard from Eiot, who is also the contracting party”; *P.Apoll.* 57, 3: “Papnouthis, notary of Apollonopolis of Amont . . . I witness to the present contract”; 58, 4; *P.Alex.* 38, 7; *P.Oxy.* 2237, 23: μαρτυρω— τω— γραμματίῳ ὡς πρόκειται; *Pap. Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 13, 17–22.

¹¹ *P.Hal.* 222–223; cf. E. Seidl, *Der Eid im Ptolemäischen Recht*, Munich, 1929; W. Hellebrand, *Das Prozeßzeugnis im Rechte der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri*, Munich, 1934. In the Hellenistic period, in Greece and at Rome, a witness is called in to help one of the parties in a legal process, which is an *agon*, (cf. Heb 12:1). By the position that he takes he manifests his solidarity with one of the parties in the facts to which he testifies; he

confirms or denies (μαρτυρει—ν) the deposition (μαρτυρία) that is given to him (cf. C. Préaux, “La Preuve à l’époque hellénistique principalement dans l’Egypte grecque,” in *La Preuve*, Recueils de la Société J. Bodin XVI, 1, p. 213; B. Cohen, “Testimonial Compulsion in Jewish, Roman and Moslem Law,” in *Iura*, vol. 9, 1958, pp. 1–21). Hence the expression μαρτυρει— μοι, “He bears witness for me” (*P. Enteux*. 86; *P. Cair. Zen.* 59347; *SB* 6762), and the μαρτύριον of Matt 10:17; Mark 13:9; cf. Matt 24:14.

¹² In a criminal case, the testimony of a single witness cannot be accepted (Deut 19:15; Matt 18:16; 2Cor 13:1; 1Tim 5:19; Heb 10:28; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.219; H. Van Vliet, *No Single Testimony*, Utrecht, 1958). In Heb 12:1, the “cloud” is a noble image for a crowd; cf. Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 9.5.10; Aristophanes, *Av.* 295, 578 (cf. J. Taillardat, *Images d’Aristophane*, p. 378). Cf. Ps.-Longinus, *Subl.* 14.2: great heroes are our judges and witnesses; Tacitus, *Germ.* 7.4; Plutarch, *De gen.* 24. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.17, contrasts οι— πολλοί and ἅπαντες μεμαρτυρήκασιν, and notes that Gaius considered it impossible to break his word “before so many witnesses” (*Ant.* 18.299).

¹³ F. Pringsheim, “Le Témoignage dans la Grèce et Rome archaïque,” in *RIDA*, vol. 6, 1951, p. 162; cf. vol. 10, 1963, p. 260; B. Moreau, “La Notion d’évangélisation chez saint Paul,” in *LTP*, 1968, p. 264; N. Brox, *Zeuge und Märtyrer*, Munich, 1961; idem, “Témoignage,” in *Encyclopédie de la foi*, Paris, 1967, vol. 4, pp. 285–294.

¹⁴ Luke 11:48—ἄρα μάρτυρές ε—στε. The builders seal the crime of their ancestors. They take part in it and stand surety for it; cf. Bo Reicke, “Zum Begriff ‘Martys’” in *Nuntius*, vol. 7, 1952, p. 52.

¹⁵ John 10:25, 37-38; 5:36; cf. μαρτύριον ὀρθοῦ βίου (Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 397, 1; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.346: τὴν μαρτυρίαν ε—π ἄρετῆ; *IGLS*, I, 53: ε—μῆς εὐσεβείας ἔχη μάρτυρα; *SB* 5628, 4: “their heart performed well; I was witness.” Cf. in the fourth century, “the canal that he had cleared out, not without toil” is a “testimony to the valiant Alexander” and a reward for his labors, in E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 124, 2). Through his conduct, the witness demonstrates his conviction: μαρτυρίαν ποιήσασθαι (*P. Fay.* 21, 22; *P. Ant.* 100, 3; *P. Dura* 17, 28; Epictetus 1.29.47–49, 56; 3.22.86; 4.8.32). Cf. *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* VI, 38, 15; *SB* 7363, 15; *P. Ant.* 88, 12 (cf. J. Bingen, “La Pétition P. Ant. II, 88,” in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (American Studies in Papyrology), vol. 1, New Haven, 1966, pp. 231–234). Thus the testimony of the believer is distinguished from that of the false witness, 1Cor 15:15 (cf. C. Beffré, “Le Témoignage comme expérience et comme langage,” in E. Castelli, *Le*

Témoignage, Paris, 1972, pp. 291–307). The false witness prefers lies (Prov 6:19; 12:17; 14:5, 25; 19:5, 9; 21:28), deceives his hearers (Prov 24:28) and can be the object of legal action (*P.Hal.*, pp. 24–78). Greedy or miserly Christians would be denounced by their gold or silver, εἰς μαρτύριον ὑμῶν—ν ἔσται (Jas 5:3; cf. Gen 21:30; 31:44; Deut 31:12, 26). The true witness is characterized by objectivity and rectitude: ἀγαθοῦ γὰρ ταῦτ ἔσται μάρτυρος ὡς ἀρεψίας καὶ ὀρθότητος σημει—α (*SB* 7183, 2; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 344, 43). On competence to give testimony, cf. the minimum age (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59491), slaves (*P.Lille* 1, 29; *PSI* 406, 43), women (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59443; *P.Amh.* 30; *P.Enteux.* 4, verso 11); women were refused in rabbinic jurisprudence (*Gen. Rab.* 20 (13c 33); *Pirqe R. El.* 14; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.219; cf. Str-B, vol. 3, p. 251), but with exceptions (*m. Rosh Hash.* 1.8; cf. Str-B, vol. 3, p. 560).

¹⁶ Rev 2:13 (cf. G. Mussies, “Antipas,” in *NovT*, 1964, pp. 242–244; T. Holtz, *Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes*, Berlin, 1962, pp. 55ff.); 6:9; cf. 17:6—“I saw the woman become drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus” (μεθύουσαν ἐ—κ τοῦ αἵματος τῶ—ν μαρτύρων —Ἰησοῦ); Acts 22:20. *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 55, 7: “Justos, *oikonomos* of the holy church of the great martyr Theodoros”; *P.Oxy.* 1357, 5; *IGLS* 297, 1; 2513; 2524, 3; 2530; *I.Thas.*, n. 363; *SB* 7439, 8; cf. T. Camelot, “L’Engagement chrétien: Du baptême au martyre,” in *Nova et Vetera*, 1949, pp. 326, 348; T. W. Manson, “Martyrs and Martyrdom,” in *BJRL*, 1957, pp. 463–484; P. Rossano, “Le Témoignage du nom chrétien dans les Actes des Martyrs du IIe siècle,” in Castelli, *Le Témoignage*, pp. 331–340; A. A. Trites, “Μάρτυς and Martyrdom in the Apocalypse,” in *NovT*, 1973, pp. 72–80; E. Günther, *ΜΑΡΤΥΣ: Die Geschichte eines Wortes*, Gütersloh, 1941; *idem*, “Zeuge und Märtyrer,” in *ZNW*, 1956, pp. 145–161.

¹⁷ John 19:35; cf. 1:7. Cf. Socrates: “I want to prove to him (βούλομαι ἀντὶ— μαρτυρηῆσαι) that the love of the soul is better than that of the body” (Xenophon, *Symp.* 8.12). Cf. I. de la Potterie, “La Notion de témoignage dans saint Jean,” in *Sacra Pagina*, Paris-Gembloux, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 193–208; *idem*, “Jean-Baptiste et Jésus témoins de la vérité dans le IVe Evangile,” in Castelli, *Le Témoignage*, pp. 317–329; B. Trépanier, “Contribution à une recherche de l’idée de témoin dans les écrits johanniques,” in *Revue de l’Université d’Ottawa*, vol. 15, 1945, pp. 5–63; C. Masson, “Le Témoignage de Jean,” in *RTP*, 1950, pp. 120–127; J. C. Hindley, “Witness in the Fourth Gospel,” in *SJT*, 1965, pp. 319–337; J. M. Boice, *Witness and Revelation in the Gospel of John*, Grand Rapids, 1970; J. Beutler, *Das Zeugnisthema im Johannesevangelium unter Berücksichtigung der Johannesbriefe*, Rome, 1971.

μαστιγῶ, μαστίζω, μάστιξ

mastigoo, *mastizo*, to whip; *mastix*, whip, scourge

mastigoo, S 3146; *TDNT* 4.515–518; *EDNT* 2.395–396; *NIDNTT* 1.161–164; MM 390; L&N 19.9, 38.11; BAGD 495 | ***mastizo***, S 3147; *TDNT* 4.515–518; *EDNT* 2.396; *NIDNTT* 1.161–162; MM 390; L&N 19.9; BAGD 495 | ***mastix***, S 3148; *TDNT* 4.518–519; *EDNT* 2.396; *NIDNTT* 1.161–163; MM 390; L&N 19.9, 23.153; BAGD 495

The whip (*mastix*) was not only used for correcting horses (Prov 26:3; cf. Nah 3:12; Diodorus Siculus 17.60.4) but was the special implement of Israelite discipline (Hebrew *mûsar*), whether wielded by the father against his children,¹ by the authorities against lawbreakers,² or by God himself for the perfecting or purifying of his own people³ as well as for the punishing of sinners.⁴ The *theia mastix* (2Macc 9:11; cf. 3:26), obviously metaphorical,⁵ encompasses all the evils inflicted upon humans, especially sicknesses and diseases—“as many as had afflictions” (*hosoi eichon mastigas*)⁶—which were considered to be punishment for sins.

Beatings were painful and cruel⁷ and could lead to death (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.3.18; Cicero, *Verr.* 2.4, 39, 85, “*moriere virgis*”; *Dig.* 48.19.8.3: “*plerique dum torquentur deficere solent*”). Beginning with Deut 25:2-3, whipping is a judicial punishment⁸ and a method of torture.⁹ In use in the first century, it was applied to the disciples: “They will whip you in their synagogues” (Matt 10:17); “I send you prophets, sages, scribes. Some of them you will kill and crucify, and some you will whip in your synagogues and chase from city to city.”¹⁰ In the Greco-Roman world, the whip was a punishment or torture reserved for slaves,¹¹ at least according to the law;¹² thus it is understandable that St. Paul should have said to the centurion, “Are you permitted to whip a Roman citizen who has not been condemned?”¹³ Customarily whipping was carried out after a death sentence had been passed (Matt 27:26; Mark 15:15). But according to John 19:1, “then Pilate took Jesus and had him whipped”; the procurator was not satisfied that the accused was guilty, but only wanted to give some satisfaction to the accusers by having Jesus punished so that he could then set him free.¹⁴

Because the custom (*synetheia*, John 18:39) was to free a prisoner at each Passover,¹⁵ Pilate offered to release Jesus or Barabbas. Was this really a pardon (*indulgentia*) or an *abolitio* to forestall sentencing, carried out at the great festivals? Exegetes differ as to the legal character of this proceeding, which has no basis in imperial law.¹⁶ But that is just the point: this is not a matter of official, written law, but a custom that varied from country to country, depending more or less on the will of the authorities, whereby amnesty was granted to prisoners on the occasion of a great festival.¹⁷ The twofold witness of Mark and John is beyond suspicion.

According to John 18:39, in Palestine this ritual was attached to the Passover, the religious festival celebrating the anniversary of the liberation of the chosen people.¹⁸ A case in which an official took similar initiative has been pointed out by A. Deissmann;¹⁹ it is the account of a hearing in the year 85, in which the prefect of Egypt, G. Septimus Vegetus, addresses Phibion: “You deserve to be whipped (*axios men es mastigothenai*) . . . however, I will pardon you as a concession to the crowd.”²⁰

¹ Sir 30:1—“Whoever loves his son will continually whip him”; 22:6—“Rods and discipline belong to wisdom”; cf. Jer 5:3; 6:7; Prov 19:25.

² 1Kgs 12:14; 2Chr 10:11, 14; Prov 19:29; Sir 40:9—for sinners, “death, blood, discord, the sword, distress, destruction, the whip”; 2Macc 7:1, the king wants to compel the seven brothers, “by torturing them with whips and cords, to partake of the pork, which was forbidden by the law.” Cf. 4Macc 6:3, 6; 9:12; Acts 22:24—the chiliarch orders that Paul be whipped and questioned. The policeman (μαστιγοφόρος, *P.Tebt.* 179) effectively whips delinquents (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59080, 4).

³ Heb 12:6; Jdt 8:27; Jer 5:3; Tob 11:15; 13:2, 4, 10; Prov 3:12; Wis 12:22.

⁴ Ps 89:33—“I will punish their transgression with the rod and their guilt with blows”; 32:10 (cited by *1Clem.* 22.8); 39:11; Sir 23:11; Wis 16:16—“the godless have been whipped with the strength of your arm”; cf. Job 21:9—“the rod of God is not upon them”; Heliodorus is “scourged by heaven” (2Macc 3:34). Eschatological punishment is referred to as an “eternal whip” in the epitaph of Gemellus of Emeneia in the third century: λήψεται παρὰ τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ μάστιγα αἰ—ώνιον (published by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, Paris, 1960, pp. 436–439); a formula more Jewish than Christian, cf. *Pss. Sol.* 10.1—“Happy the man whom the Lord has remembered to correct, who has been turned away from evil with the whip”; the citation of Ps 91:10—“the whip will not approach your tent,” in *IGLS*, 1483; *Enoch* 22.11; 25.6.

⁵ Like Sir 23:2—“Who will apply the whip to my thoughts and training in wisdom through discipline to my heart?”; Ps 73:5, 14; and above all “the whip of the tongue,” a scourge that wreaks such havoc; Job 5:21; Sir 26:6; 28:17; *1Clem.* 56.10.

⁶ Mark 3:10; cf. 5:29, 34; Luke 7:21 (J. F. Craghan, “A Redactional Study of Lk VII, 21 in the Light of Dt XIX, 15,” in *CBQ*, 1967, pp. 353–367); cf. G. Crespy, *La Guérison par la foi*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1952; J. Hempel, “Heilung als Symbol und Wirklichkeit in biblischen Schriften,” in *Nachrichten der*

Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen, I, Philolog.-histor. Klasse, n. 3, Göttingen, 1958, pp. 237–314; G. von Rad, OT Theology, vol. 1, pp. 272ff.

⁷ 2Macc 6:30, cf. 3:38; Sir 30:14; *PSI* 28, 4: πικραι—ς μάστιξιν; cf. Horace, *Sat.* 1.2.41: “ille flagellis ad mortem caesus”; 1.3.119: “horribile flagellum.”

⁸ Cf. Diodorus Siculus 1.77; Josephus, *Life* 147: “I had the most ambitious of the band (of brigands) beaten severely, I ordered that his hand be cut off and he be hanged by the neck, and in this condition I sent him back to those who had sent him to me”; *P.Oxy.* 2339, 10–11 (first century); *PSI* 816, 6; *P.Tebt.* 797, 11; *UPZ* 119, 39 and 44.

⁹ Heb 11:36—“Others endured mocking and whipping”; Philo, *Flacc.* 85: “The Jews were whipped, hanged, put on the wheel, tortured, and put to death”; Josephus, *War* 2.306–308: “Florus, at his tribunal, had whipped and crucified those men of equestrian rank who, although they were Jews by birth, had that Roman dignity”; 5.449, the Jerusalemites captured during Titus’s siege, “whipped and tortured in the cruelest fashion, were crucified by the Romans opposite the rampart”; *SEG* VIII, 246, 17. On the linking of insults and whipping, cf. *UPZ* 12, 39.

¹⁰ Matt 23:34. There is a tendency to consider verses 34–36 as a quotation from an otherwise unknown Jewish writing in which Wisdom is speaking; Jesus would be using the text for his own purpose (S. Légasse, “Scribes et disciples de Jésus,” in *RB*, 1961, pp. 323–332). M. D. Dubarle compares the Ethiopic version of *Jub.* 1.12 (“L’Inspiration de la Septante,” in *RSPT*, 1965, p. 222, n. 7). Cf. O. J. F. Seitz, “The Commission of Prophets and ‘Apostles’: A Re-examination of Matthew XXIII, 34 with Luke XI, 49,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 4, pp. 236–240.

¹¹ Tob 3:9, the servants to the daughter of Raguel: “Why are you whipping us?”; Epictetus 4.1.39; *P.Oxy.* 903, 9; 1643, 11: if a runaway slave is caught, he is thrown in prison and whipped. In the second century BC, a regulation by the *astynomoi* of Pergamum forbids the polluting of public fountains. If the offender is a free man, he is fined and his cattle confiscated; if he is a slave who has acted on his master’s orders, he is shackled and beaten with fifty lashes. If he acted on his own initiative, he will be beaten with a hundred lashes and will remain in chains for ten days; when he is freed, he will receive not less than fifty lashes (Dittenberger, *Or.* 483, 177 = *SEG* XIII, 521, 190ff.). A legal fragment from the third century AD, “let the one who received the slave have him beaten with at least a hundred lashes and marked on the forehead, conformably to the terms of the regulation” (*P.Lille* 29, col. II, 34; but col. I, 15: “no one shall be allowed

to sell slaves for export, nor to mark them, nor to whip them”); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 33, 20: μαστιγοῦν ὡς δούλους (AD 147). In the fourth century, the *praeses* of the Thebaid, Aurelius Herodes, declares that the use of the whip (ι—μάντες) for slaves is distressing (ἀνιαρόν) if not forbidden outright, but that for free men it is illegal and unjust (*P.Oxy.* 1186).

¹² Cf. under Tiberius, “not only were slaves tortured for testimony against their masters, but also free men and citizens” (Dio Cassius 57.19). On Jewish and Roman laws concerning whipping, cf. C. Schneider, “μαστιγῶω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 515–519.

¹³ Acts 22:25; the verb μαστιζῶ, used here, is not as strong as the intensive μαστιγῶω or the Latinizing φραγελλῶω (Matt 27:26; Mark 15:15), although they are both used to translate the Hebrew *najâh* (Num 22:25; cf. Wis 5:11—the air beaten by the wings of a bird) and can be synonymous (*Gos. Pet.* 9); here it seems to be deliberately chosen as a euphemism.

¹⁴ Luke 23:16, 22; cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society*, pp. 24–47; T. A. Burkill, “The Condemnation of Jesus,” in *NovT*, 1970, pp. 321–342.

¹⁵ Cf. Mark 15:6—“at each feast, he freed a prisoner for them, the one for whom they interceded.” J. Colin (*Les Villes libres de l’orient gréco-romain et l’envoi au supplice par acclamation populaire*, Brussels, 1965, pp. 36–37) proposes that Herod must have suggested to Pilate that he assemble the crowd (συνηγμένων) to decide the fate of Jesus. This popular intervention in criminal trials was expressed in the Greco-Roman world by cries (ε—πιβόησις, ἀναβόησας; cf. Matt 27:22–23; Mark 15:18; Acts 25:24), which amounted to a vote of condemnation or grace (cf. H. Z. Maccoby, “Jesus and Barabbas,” in *NTS*, vol. 16, 1969, pp. 55–60). Thus the governor of Lyon, to please the crowd—τω— ὄχλῳ χαριζόμενος—would hand over Attalus to the beasts (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.50; republished by H. Musurillo, *Christian Martyrs*, p. 78). Cf. the demands of the people at the coming of Archelaus, “crying out to him to free the prisoners” (Josephus, *War* 2.4) and *b. Pesah.* 8.6a, which mentions as a guest at the Passover “the one who has been assured that he will be freed from prison” (C. B. Cheval, “The Releasing of a Prisoner on the Eve of Passover,” in *JBL*, 1941, pp. 273–278); Cf. J. Blinzler, *Trial of Jesus*, pp. 205–221.

¹⁶ See C. K. Barrett, *St. John*, p. 448; R. E. Brown, *John*, vol. 2, p. 855.

¹⁷ Cf. vol. 2, p. 455, n. 14; some cite as a Roman analogy the *lectisternia* (Livy 5.13; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 12.9), but the prisoners were only freed from their chains for a week, after which they were put back in irons.

¹⁸ Even if Passover, a spring festival, is admitted to be a feast of the new year, celebrated by family rites independent from the sanctuary and the altar (L. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover, from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70*, Leiden, 1963), it must be acknowledged that the ritual “actualized” the original liberation. Since it was a memorial of deliverance, it is natural enough that it should have been celebrated by the liberation of a prisoner, like those carried out elsewhere with other themes, but with a legal basis.

¹⁹ A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 269–270.

²⁰ *P.Flor.* 61, 59, 61: χαρίζομαι δέ σε τοι—ς ὄχλοις καὶ φιλανθρωπότερός σοι ἔσομαι; republished by *Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 80. Cf. A. Steinwenter, “Bibel und Rechtsgeschichte,” in *JJP*, vol. 15, 1965, p. 9. —On χαρίζομαι, “concede, grant” as a favor, especially with respect to “making a gift of” a prisoner (Acts 3:14; 25:11, 16; Phlm 22; Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 4.3), cf. J. Dupont (“Aequitas Romana,” in *RSR*, 1961, pp. 359ff.), who concludes: “Luke uses χαρίζομαι in the precise sense that the verb has with reference to a magistrate who, rather than holding to the letter of the law, departs from it in order to oblige those who appeal to his leniency” (p. 361).

μεγαλει—ος, μεγαλειότης, μεγαλοπρεπής, μεγαλύνω,
μεγαλωσύνη, μέγεθος

megaleios, sovereign, mighty, magnificent; *megaleiotes*, greatness, grandeur; *megaloprepes*, magnificent; *megalyno*, to magnify, exalt, call great; *megalosyne*, majesty, greatness; *megethos*, greatness

megaleios, S 3167; *TDNT* 4.541; *EDNT* 2.398; MM 392; L&N 76.8; BAGD 496 | ***megaleiotes***, S 3168; *TDNT* 4.541–542; *EDNT* 2.399; *NIDNTT* 2.424–426; MM 392; L&N 76.2, 87.21; BAGD 496 | ***megaloprepes***, S 3169; *TDNT* 4.542–543; *EDNT* 2.399; MM 392; L&N 12.6, 79.14; BAGD 497 | ***megalyno***, S 3170; *TDNT* 4.543; *EDNT* 2.399; *NIDNTT* 2.424–425; MM 392; L&N 33.358, 79.124, 87.15; BAGD 497 | ***megalosyne***, S 3172; *TDNT* 4.544; *EDNT* 2.399; *NIDNTT* 2.424–426; MM 392; L&N 12.5, 87.21; BAGD 497 | ***megethos***, S 3174; *TDNT* 4.544; *EDNT* 2.401; MM 393; L&N 78.2; BAGD 498

I. — According to Sir 45:24, God granted to Phinehas and his descendants “the sovereign dignity of the priesthood” (*hierosynes megaleion*). In AD 37, *to megaleion* is used for the emperor (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 798, 4). In the third-fourth century, it is a title used for an authority to whom a petition is addressed (*deomai tou sou megaliou*, *P.Michael.* 30, 10), whether the prefect,¹ the *strategos* (*P.Oxy.* 1204, 10; 2113, 21;

P.Mert. 91, 18; *P.Panop. Beatty* 2, 157), the *logistes* (*PSI* 767, 12; *P.Oxy.* 2187, 6, 22), the *defensor civitatis* (*P.Ross.Georg.* V, 27, 11). But when the crowd at Pentecost is said to have marveled at hearing in their own languages *ta megaleia tou theou* (Acts 2:11; NT hapax), the expression is based on the LXX, where the word is used only with a religious meaning:² God's grandeur (Deut 11:2, Hebrew *godel*), power (Sir 43:15; 2Macc 3:34; 7:17), wisdom (Sir 42:21), glory (17:13). The word suggests mighty deeds, magnificent works,³ such as creation, the miracles surrounding the exodus, or salvific manifestations (3Macc 7:22). They are evident, and they bring praise to their author.

The noun *megaleiotes* similarly refers to the grandeur of God,⁴ but also to that of his people (Dan 7:27; Hebrew *rebû*) and of Solomon (2Esdr 4:10). In the papyri, it is used for the greatness of the pyramids (Dittenberger, *Or.* 666, 26 = *SB* 8303, first century) and as an honorific title (*P.Oslo* 83, 13; *P.Oxy.* 2131, 17; 3028, 6), especially for the emperor from the first century on. Claudius writes to the Alexandrians in 41: "Each one reading this letter individually will wonder at the majesty of our god Caesar and show gratitude."⁵

II. —According to Anaximenes, *to megaloprepesteron* is the opposite of *to tapeinoteron* (*Rhet. ad Alex.* 2.3.32; cf. 2.6.4). In 112 BC, Hermias asks Horus to receive the Roman senator Lucius Memmius with special magnificence.⁶ *Megaloprepes* is the adjective for Jeremiah in 2Macc 15:13, and in the papyri of the fifth to seventh centuries is it used for anyone at all who is being honored or asked for a favor: a secretary (*P.Oxy.* 1843, 1), a benefactor (*PSI* 1425 recto 9), a master (*P.Lond.* 1786, 2, 30; *P.Ant.* 198 verso), an archon (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 8, 6; *P.Mert.* 43, 16, 25; *SB* 9453, 4), a *praeses provinciae*,⁷ and consuls (*P.Stras.* 317, 1; *P.Ness.* 15, 1). In the eighth century, the term became purely a stock phrase used in letter-writing, as can be seen in the papyri of Apollonos Ano, which are weighted down with "your magnificent Brotherliness" (*P.Apoll.* 9, 1; 15, 1; 26, 1; 55, 2) or "Friendliness" (21, 1) and the ridiculous "I embrace your Magnificence through this letter" (31, 6; 46, 11). But in the Bible, *megaloprepes* always retains its meaning as a designation for God (Deut 33:26; 2Macc 8:15). At the transfiguration, the voice comes from "the magnificent glory," meaning the divine glory;⁸ cf. the *megalosyne* of Heb 1:3.

III. —There is no meaningful pagan parallel to the biblical *megalyno*,⁹ which in some instances is used in a secular way,¹⁰ for if a person¹¹ or a kingdom¹² grows in stature and in power, this increase is the fruit of divine blessing (Gen 12:2; 1Chr 29:25; 2Chr 1:1; Sir 45:2; Wis 19:22). The word has religious meaning in that the faith confesses that God is great,¹³ as are his grace (Ps 57:10) and his works (1Sam 12:24). Furthermore, to call God great, or magnify him (*megalyno*) is to exalt or celebrate him,¹⁴ which is the principal business of the psalmist: "I will exalt the name of Elohim through thanksgiving" (Ps 69:31). So also the Virgin Mary: "My soul

magnifies the Lord.”¹⁵ Again, it is in line with the LXX use of the word when St. Paul speaks of magnifying Christ by his life or by his death, i.e., giving him glory and praise, because the Lord is exalted when the gospel is proclaimed.¹⁶ This nuance can already be detected in 1Cor 10:15—“As your faith grows, we shall be enlarged in our sphere of action, among you and even beyond” (cf. 1QH 5.25; *Odes Sol.* 29.1, 11).

If God’s mercy shows his greatness (Luke 1:58), believers proclaim it (Acts 10:46; 19:17); and they also exalt his apostles (5:13).

IV. — *Megalosyne*, unknown in the papyri,¹⁷ is a divine attribute: “Yahweh is great and worthy of praise, and his majesty (Hebrew *geʿôlâh*) is unsearchable,”¹⁸ sometimes associated with his power,¹⁹ sometimes with his mercy.²⁰ Finally, the word is used as a name for God himself: the great high priest has taken his seat on high, in the heavens, “at the right hand of the Majesty.”²¹ Hence David’s doxology, “Thine, O Yahweh, is the majesty, the might, the splendor, the glory” (1Chr 29:11), taken up by Jude 25: “To the only God, our Savior, through Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty, dominion, power, before all ages and forever, Amen.”²²

V. — In Eph 1:19 (the extraordinary or infinite greatness of the divine power, *to hyperballon megethos tes dynameos autou*), the NT hapax *to megethos* recalls Exod 15:16 (Hebrew *gadol*); and 2Macc 15:24, which thus describes the arm of God. In the LXX, it ordinarily translates the Hebrew *qômâh*, referring to the loftiness of an object,²³ or the height of plants and people (1Sam 16:7; Cant 7:8; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.4.3). In the latter case, moral and social stature can be the point;²⁴ which is a point of contact with the usage of the papyri, where from 60 BC (*BGU* 1816, 25) *to megethos* is a term of honor,²⁵ especially for the prefect, analagous to *megaloprepes*, and is an essential element of petitions addressed to him.²⁶ Even loftier expressions are required for the emperor (Dittenberger, *Or.* 519, 24), and the nuance of might appears in the third-century formula “I take refuge with your Majesty” (*epi to son megethos katapheugo*, *P.Tebt.* 326, 4; *P.Stras.* 5, 6; cf. Xenophon, *Symp.* 8.1). But the exact parallels to Eph 1:19 come from Philo: “In approaching the altar . . . you must keep your eyes fixed on the greatness of God” (*to tou theou megethos apoblepon*, *Spec. Laws* 1.293); “God grants his benefits not in proportion to his own grace, which is infinite and endless, but according to the capacity of those who receive them.”²⁷

¹ *P.Oxy.* 71, col. II, 5: “I make this request of your Greatness in all confidence”; 2133, 5, 26; 2343, 11; 2407, 5; *P.Thead.* 13, 6; 19, 5: “Your Greatness, Lord Prefect, is accustomed to render justice to wronged orphans”; *P.Cair.Isid.* 66, 19; 73, 17; 74, 18; 76, 3; *P.Ryl.* 659, 3; *SB* 9188, 3.

² With the exception of Tob 11:15, where Tobias tells his father about the “important” things that have happened in Media.

³ Ps 71:19—ε—ποίησας μεγαλει—α (Hebrew *geʿolōt*); 105:1; 106:21; Sir 17:8–9; 18:4; 36:7.

⁴ The divine μεγαλειότης appears in a miracle (Luke 9:43); Pseudo-Peter is supposed to have seen the μεγαλειότης of Christ at Tabor (2Pet 1:16). Artemis (μεγάλη ἑά) could be robbed of her majesty by conversions to the new Christian faith (Acts 19:27); cf. Jer 33:9 (Hebrew *tip’eret*); 1Esdr 4:40; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.168: “This conception of God . . . agrees with nature as with the divine grandeur”; *Ant.* 1.24; 8.111: “We cannot but praise your greatness and give thanks” (Solomon’s prayer).

⁵ *P.Lond.* 1912, 8; cf. the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander, in AD 68, “as for the most important questions, those relating to the power and majesty of the emperor, I shall make them known in all truth” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 9).

⁶ *P.Tebt.* 33, 6. Cf. Clement of Rome’s praise for the lavish hospitality of the Corinthians: τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας ὑμῶ—ν ἦθος (*1Clem.* 1.2); and the high priests who carried out their office with the greatest magnificence (μεγαλοπρεπω—ς). L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, n. 80, 12 (Sinope), n. 100 (Attaleia), n. 164, 10 (Stratonicea, second century).

⁷ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 8, 6; *P.Oxy.* 1880, 3; 1885, 15; 1888, 2; 1919, 2; 2480, 62; a consul: Εὐτυχῶ—ς ε—πὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου Παύλου ὑπατικοῦ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο (C. H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais*, Chicago, 1962, p. 211, n. 10); the *strategos* (*P.Oxy.* 1899, 3: τῶ— μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ ε—νδοξοτάτῳ στρατηγῶ—; *P.Harr.* 157 verso 3; cf. *P.Alex.* 216, p. 44: τῆς ὑμετέρας μεγαλοπρεποῦς δόξης), above all for the *comites*, beginning in the fourth century (*PGrVindob* inv. 25838, 8, in *Proceedings* X, p. 118; republished in *SB* 9840); “the most magnificent count John” (*P.Fouad* 87, 2); *P.Ant.* 92, 4; *C.P.Herm.* 24, 6; *P.Mich.* 160, 4; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 10, 7; *SB* 6311, 2; 8028, 1; 9398, 5; 9588 verso; 9598, 3; 9616, recto 15. Plutarch, *Cic.* 50.2. As if the superlative were not enough, modifiers were piled up: μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ κώμητι (6270, 2; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1841, 6; 1856, 9; 1897, 1; 1942, 1; 1982, 3), etc. Cf. J. O’Callaghan, “Epitètos de trato en la correspondencia cristiana,” in *SPap*, 1964, p. 89. For the adverb μεγαλοπρεπω—ς, cf. *I.Sard.*, LV, 7; L. Robert, in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, p. 267, n. 9.

⁸ 2Pet 1:17. The rabbis refer to God as ἡ μεγάλη δόξα (*T. Levi* 3.4; *Enoch* 102.3; *Asc. Isa.* 11.32; cf. J. Bonsirven, *Judaïsme palestinien*, vol. 1, p.

131). Cf. E. Dabrowski, *La Transfiguration de Jésus*, Rome, 1939, pp. 13, 43, 181; A. M. Ramsey, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ*, 2d ed., London, 1967, 148–151; M. Sabbe, *La Rédaction du récit de la Transfiguration*, Rech Bib, vol. 6, Bruges, 1962, pp. 72–100.

⁹ A sixth-century letter, *P.Ant.* 100, 1, is probably Christian, and the verb is restored: σεμνύνεταιί τε καὶ με[γαλύνεται? . . .

¹⁰ Gen 43:34 (Hebrew *rabâh*): surpass, become more abundant (cf. Zech 12:7); Amos 8:5—making the shekel (a unit of weight) bigger; cf. have worth (1Sam 26:24; Jdt 12:18); cf. Eccl 2:9—“I became great and surpassed those before me in Jerusalem”; 1:16; 2:4.

¹¹ 1Sam 2:21, 26; 3:19; Ezek 16:7 (Hebrew *gadal*). Cf. Xenophon, *Ap.* 32: “Socrates, praising himself before the tribunal”; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 14.6: “exalted by their praises”; *Lys.* 7.5: “exalting justice when it profited him to do so”; Thucydides 8.81.2: “Alcibiades, exaggerating his influence over Tissaphernes.” Epigram from around 200 BC for a winner in the Nemean games: “Do not glory in your ships alone, O Sidon” (*NCIG*, n. 35, 11 = J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme*, n. 64).

¹² 2Sam 5:10 (2Chr 6:9); 22:51; 1Kgs 1:37, 47; 10:23; 2Chr 9:22; Ps 18:51; cf. Dan 4:29.

¹³ Ps 40:17; 70:5; 92:6; 126:2; Mal 1:5.

¹⁴ 2Sam 7:22—“You are magnified, Yahweh Elohim, for there is no one like you” (prayer of David); 7:26; 1Chr 17:24—“may your name always be magnified in these terms: Yahweh of hosts, God of Israel, is a God for Israel”; Ps 34:4—“Magnify Yahweh with me, and let us exalt his name together”; Sir 43:31—“Who will exalt him in accord with what he is?”

¹⁵ Luke 1:46. No doubt a reminiscence of this text is found in a letter of a Christian woman to her spiritual father: “When I received your letter, my lord Father, I felt very honored and joyful, that such a father should think of me” (ε—δεξάμην σου τὰ γράμματα, κύριέ μου πάτερ, καὶ πάνυ ε—μεγαλύνθην καὶ ε—γαλλείασα ὅτι τοιοῦτος μου πατήρ τὴν μνήμην ποιει—ται, *P.Oxy.* 1592, 3; from the third-fourth century).

¹⁶ Phil 1:20; cf. *T. Levi* 18.3: “his star rises in the sky . . . the light of knowledge shines . . . καὶ μεγαλυνθήσεται ε—ν τῇ οι—κουμένη”; 1QM 11.15: “to show your greatness and holiness in the eyes of the rest of the nations.”

¹⁷ Used uncharacteristically for the majesty of the cedars (Zech 11:13), of a city (Jer 33:9; cf. *Enoch* 98.2), of a king (Theodotion's version of Dan 4:19, 33; 5:18-19; cf. 1Macc 9:22), of the "great thing" accomplished by God (2Sam 7:21, 23; 1Chr17:19).

¹⁸ Ps 145:3; *Enoch* 5.4: "You offend his majesty"; Wis 18:24—"your majesty was on the diadem on his [Aaron's] head"; *T. Levi* 3.9—"the face of his majesty"; 18.8.

¹⁹ Ps 79:11—"By the greatness (Hebrew *godel*) of your arm, preserve those condemned to death"; Prov 18:10—ε—κ μεγαλωσύνης ι—σχύος ὄνομα Κυρίου (Hebrew *migdal*).

²⁰ Sir 2:18—"As is his majesty, so also is his mercy"; 18:5—"Who can measure the strength of his greatness? And who will attempt to tell of his mercy?"; *Ep. Arist.* 192: God does not smite those whom he does not hear according to their sins "or according to the greatness of his might (κατὰ τὴν μεγαλωσύνην τῆς ι—σχύος); mildness (ε—πειικεία) is God's demeanor."

²¹ Heb 1:3; 8:1. At Qumran, the "Words of the Book that Michael Spoke to the Angels" (4QMilMik) call God "the Majesty, the Master of the world" (A. Starcky, in *RB*, 1956, p. 66).

²² Cf. Sir 44:2—"this majesty from eternity." Liturgy magnifies this μεγαλωσύνη; Deut 32:3—δότε μεγαλωσυνὴν τω—θεω—ἡμω—ν; Tob 14:2—"He continues to bless God and give thanks to God's majesty" (a); Ps 145:6—"I will tell of your majesty"; 150:2—"Praise him for the fullness of his majesty"; Dan 2:20—"May the name of God be blessed from eternity to eternity, for wisdom and greatness belong to him."

²³ The loftiness of the cedars (2Kgs 19:23; Ezek 31:3, 4, 10, 14), a vine (Ezek 17:6; 19:11), the wooden cherubim (1Kgs 6:23; cf. 7:35). Cf. *P.Mich.* 465, 20: διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὁδοῦ (AD 107); *P.Tebt.* 815, frag. 4, verso 2: μέσος μεγέθει μελίχρως; also frag. 8, verso 7, 11, 15. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.370: "Herod was not disheartened by the magnitude of the danger."

²⁴ Wis 6:7—"The Lord of all will not regard persons; he will not show favor for greatness"; 13:5—"Beginning from the grandeur and the beauty of creatures, by analogy one contemplates their author." Cf. "Mandoulis, glad for the glory of the Romans, because of their grandeur he gave the Pythian oracles" (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 168, 27).

²⁵ *P.Fouad* 83, 8; *P.Oxy.* 1938, 2, 5; 2107, 8; 2187, 13; 2343, 3; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 32, 7, 12; *P.Mert.* 91, 2: “I received the request, with the benevolent signature of the hand of your Majesty”; *P.Cair.Isid.* 62, 24: “We wish to inform your Majesty”; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 54, col. II, 14; 128, 5, 9.

²⁶ *P.Oxy.* 71, col. I, 4: “I address this request to you in full confidence that I will receive justice from your Majesty” (fourth century); 1467, 18: προσφωνω— τω— σω— μεγέθι; 1876, 3; 1877, 3; 1878, 3.

²⁷ Philo, *Creation* 23. Cf. the inscription of Bouzos: ε—νορκιαιζόμεθα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους δαίμονας, ed. W. M. Ramsay (*The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, Oxford, 1897; vol. 1, 2, p. 700, n. 635*), who thinks he sees a Christian influence.

μεθοδεία

methodeia, method, technique, machination

methodeia, S 3180; *TDNT* 5.102–103; *EDNT* 2.401; *NIDNTT* 3.935, 943; *MM* 394; *L&N* 88.158; *BDF* §23; *BAGD* 499

This noun is unknown in Greek before Eph 4:14; 6:11. It is derived from the verb *methodeuo*, “follow closely,” then “pursue by devious means,” hence “capture, trick, seduce.”¹ The noun *methodos* is also used in both positive and negative senses.² In the papyri, *methodeia* does not appear before AD 421, and it is always used in the administrative and financial sense of “method” of collecting taxes.³ But in Eph 4:14, it refers to the shrewdness (*panourgia*) of the false teachers, whose “devices” lead people into error (*plane*), and in Eph 6:11 it has to do with the devil’s ambushes or ensnaring maneuvers. So this *methodeia* can be defined as the well-thought-out, methodical art of leading astray, what we would call “machinations.” The *Suda* gives this definition: *methodeias: technas e dolous*.

¹ A hapax in the LXX (2Sam 19:28), it translates the piel of the Hebrew *ragal*, “to spy.” The same pejorative meaning occurs in Philo, *Moses* 2.212: “Philosophy, not that practised by the wordmongers and sophists” (οὐκ ὅπερ μεθοδεύουσιν οἱ— λογοθῆραι . . .). In the papyri, the verb appears for the first time in AD 102, with the same nuance, “trick” or “dupe” the *strategos* (*P.Oxy.* 2342, 27). Well attested in the fourth to sixth centuries, it seems to have been used mostly in financial jargon, with respect to taxes “received (collected) on the sacred revenues of the land” (μεθοδεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τω—ν τῆς γῆς εὐσεβω—ν εἰ—σφορω—ν, *P.Ryl.* 659, 21; from the

fourth century; cf. *P.Mert.* 45, 2; *P.Lund* II, 5, 13; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 139, 9; *SB* 8092, 13; 9608, 6: τοὺς ὑπὸ ε—μαὶ κτήτορας οὐκ ε—δυνήθην μεθωδεύσαι). In scientific language, “all that is determined methodically by science (τὰ τέχνη μεθοδευμένα) must lead to infallible conclusions” (Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 17.24); “Predictions drawn from meteorological prognostications . . . are not scientifically or systematically (μεθοδεύοντα) established” (XVII, 6), following the French translation of G. Aujac (Geminus), who offers this definition: “The verb and the noun indicate a reasoning process involving rigor, logic, and scientific reasoning” (p. 192).

² 2Macc 13:18—“The king, having tested the bravery of the Jews, tried to attack the place using stratagems” (or tricks, διὰ μεθόδων). In a favorable sense (cf. *PSI* 1335, 17; from the third century), μέθοδος refers to a collection of mathematical proofs, lines of reasoning, and operations directed toward a determinate result (cf. C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, p. 282). Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 5.165, associates ἀμφισβήτησις, καὶ ε—πιδικασία καὶ μέθοδος.

³ *P.Oxy.* 1134, 9; cf. 136, 17, 24; *P.Amh.* II, 149, 15; *P.Got.* 45, 6.

μεριστής

meristes, apportioner, distributor

meristes, S 3312; *EDNT* 2.409; MM 398; L&N 63.25; BAGD 505

“Someone in the crowd said to him, ‘Master, tell my brother to share the inheritance with me’ (*merisasthai met’ emou*). He said to him, ‘Man, who appointed me a judge or apportioner (*kriten e meristen*) between you?’ (Luke 12:14). Derived from *meris*, “part,” *meristes* can mean nothing else in this context but “apportioner, distributor.”¹ “Here it can mean only the person who arranges things in actual fact, as opposed to the *krites*, who gives a legal solution” (M. J. Lagrange, on this verse). But this term is rare, though far from unknown.² It is an epithet for Sarapis³ and a function of Ammon: “His maternal grandfather is the distributor of life, Ammon, who is also Zeus of Greece and Asia.”⁴ These are “distributions” in Magnesia: “to give them distributions for sacrifice” (*dounai de autois tous meristas eis thysian*, *I.Magn.* 54, 36); and in Istria financial officials known as “distributors,”⁵ who are thus the best parallel to the biblical text.

We do not know what difference of opinion set the two brothers in Luke 12:14 at odds, but A. Steinwenter has noted the legal importance of the text⁶ and we know from “house-by-house inventory declarations (*kat’oikian apographai*)” how frequent transfers of real property were,⁷

notably “dividings of inheritance,”⁸ where the origin of the property ownership is noted (“having belonged to,” *P.Brux.* 1–18) and respective parts that revert to each of the co-owners (*hekasto meros*, *P.Brux.* 16), a third (11), two-thirds (18), a fourth (16). A whole property can be owned jointly by four (10) or three (*P.Wisc.* 18) brothers, or two, as in Luke 12:14. One understands the difficulty of specifying the rights of each one and the ease of abusive claims.⁹ To illustrate the difference of opinion in the Gospel, we may cite the case of Aurelia Maria, from the village of Hermopolis. She complains to the prefect that her deceased parents had left her all their human property (*panta ta anthropina*), but her brother Onnophris seized them and sold some. She appeals to the prefect’s “philanthropy” to compel him to restore everything and proceed to “an equitable distribution” (*ex isou diameristhenai*, cf. *PSI* 452, 8: *ex isoumerous*).¹⁰

¹ Cf. G. Redard, *Noms grecs en -ΤΗΣ, -ΤΙΣ*, pp. 43ff., persons who carry out a trade or fulfill a function, cf. *τεχνίτης, τραπεζίτης, etc.*

² Cf. Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 4.24.176, regarding weights (σταθμω—ν ὀνόματα), names *μερισταί* between *ε—μερίσω* and *ἀντιμοιρει—*; 8.10.136, on Athenian tribunals, associating *νεμηταί καὶ μερισταί*. The *Suda* has only *μερίτης*, which it defines ὁ τινὸς πράγματος μεταλαγχάνων, and refers to Polybius 8.29.6.

³ *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 13, 638: *κοσμοκράτωρ, μυριώτατος, μέγιστε, τροφεῦ, μεριστά, Σάραπι.*

⁴ Hymn to Isis from the first century BC: *Μητροπάτωρ τούτου δ ε—στὶν ζωῆς ὁ μεριστής, Ἄμμων . . .* (*SEG* VIII, 551, 25 = *SB* 8141 = V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, pp. 63, 70 = E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 175, col. IV, 25). Cf. Y. Grandjean, *Aréologie d’Isis*, p. 18, line 26: Isis “instituted justice so that each of us . . . might live also in conditions of equality” (*ζῆν ἀπὸ τω—ν ἴσων εἰ—δη*). *Vettius Valens* 62.4: lord of the horoscope, *μεριστής χρόνων ζωῆς*.

⁵ *Τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δοῦναι τὸν οἰ—κονόμον, μερίσαε δὲ τοὺς μεριστάς* (*SEG* XXIV, 1099, 16); cf. D. M. Pippidi, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte Histrias in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Berlin, 1962, p. 41; *ISE*, II, n. 128.

⁶ A. Steinwenter, “Bibel und Rechtsgeschichte,” in *JJP*, v 15, 1965, p. 16. He refers to H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der graeco-aegyptischen Papyrusurkunden*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1919, pp. 95ff. R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 222ff.

⁷ The list of these *apographai* was prepared by M. Hombert, C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l’Égypte romaine*, Leiden, 1952 (= *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* V), pp. 172ff., completed by G. Nachtergaele, *P.Brux.*, pp. 51ff. Cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 2, pp. 652–660. Cf. *SB* 10630–10638, 10759 (AD 33–34).

⁸ *Divisio*, διαίρεσις, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 23, col. I, 22; *P.Fouad* 35, 9 (προδιαίρεσις; AD 48). Inherited goods fall into three groups: (1) property shared under the present contract; (2) goods that will be shared under a new contract, within a fixed time; (3) goods that will be divided under a preliminary, friendly sharing, prior to the drawing up of the legal contract in proper form at the notary’s.

⁹ Cf. *P.Ant.* 88: at Hermopolis, Taapollon died, leaving as his heirs two children, a son and a daughter (Peues and Aïas). The latter took over the property that had belonged to her mother and held that she owned it legitimately, or at least she did nothing to see to its division. Hence the accusation of Peues, who claims that his sister wants to evict him from the inheritance of which she wants to defraud him: ε—πέρχεται ἀφαρπάζειν περιωμένη (line 7): good interpretation by J. Bingen, “La Pétition P. Ant. II, 88,” in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (American Studies in Papyrology, vol. 1), New York, 1966, pp. 231–234. Compare the claims of heirs in succession to a grandfather, an uncle, etc., *P.Enteux.* 16–19.

¹⁰ *P.Lond.* 406, vol. 2, p. 280 = *P.Abinn.* 56 = *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 128.

μεσίτης

mesites, mediator, intermediary

mesites, S 3316; *TDNT* 4.598–624; *EDNT* 2.409; *NIDNTT* 1.372–376; *MM* 398; *L&N* 31.22, 40.6; *BAGD* 506

Unknown in classical Greek and derived from *mesos*, the noun *mesites* is commonly used in the Hellenistic period, especially in literary writings; it is less frequent in the papyri and rare in the inscriptions. It is used for someone who stands or walks in the middle, between two persons or two groups; the context indicates the reasons for this intervention. For example, Herod intervened on behalf of those who were seeking something from Agrippa (*ton par’ Agrippa tinon epizetoumenon mesites en*, Josephus, *Ant.* 16.24). He had “great influence in persuading Agrippa to perform good deeds, although he was not slow to do them on his own. Thus he reconciled the inhabitants of Ilium with Agrippa when he was

angry with them” (*Ant.* 16.25–26). Thus this vague term “intermediary” can refer to very different persons,¹ but it usually has legal connotations.

I. — Its only occurrence in the LXX refers to an arbiter in a dispute (Job 9:33, Hebrew *bayin*), which is the most frequent meaning in the papyri: the *krites mesites*, “Akylos, judge-arbiter in the trial of Apollonios.”² In a judicial register from the third century, it is recounted that the opposing parties “accused each other; they shall appear within ten days. . . . We appointed Dorion as arbiter for them” (*P.Lille* 28, 11; cf. *P.Mil.Vogl.* 25, col.IV, 36).

II. — If the mediator intervenes in business transactions as a negotiator or business broker (*P.Tebt.* 406, 10), he is most often mentioned as a peacemaker whose business it is to reconcile opposing parties. The *Suda* gives this definition: *mesites: ho eirenopoios*. It is significant that in speaking of a mediator-conciliator, Philo always mentions that he intervenes in an atmosphere of “paralyzing fear” (*Dreams* 1.142) and where someone is frightened.³ The mediator’s commonest role is to have a treaty signed by two enemy states. The consul Q. Marcius Philippus asks the Rhodians to intervene between kings Antiochus and Ptolemy, who are fighting (*tous Rhodious mesitas apodeixai*).⁴

III. — The *mesites* also plays the part of a witness, in the legal sense of the word, and thus the term becomes synonymous with *martys* (*BGU* 419, 8). At a marriage between a soldier and a widow, the inventory of the *paraphernalia* was done before *andron hikanon mesiton* (men who were capable witnesses, *P.Dura* 30, 13) who could recognize the existence of a debt (*P.Cair.Isid.* 62, 15; reprinted in *SB* 9167), being present at the paying of a sum of money.⁵

IV. — Finally, *mesites* designates one who stands surety, thus becoming synonymous with *enguos*.⁶ The *mesites* is the guardian of oaths (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.133; Epictetus, *Ench.* 33, 5; Heraclitus, *All.* 23.8), of deposits,⁷ and of contracts: Medea, Jason’s repudiated wife, wanting to take vengeance on her husband, cut her children’s throats, fled from Corinth, and took refuge at Thebes with Hercules, “for he, the guarantor of the pact concluded at Colchis (*touton gar mesiten gegonota ton homologion*) had promised to protect her if Jason should break faith” (Diodorus Siculus 4.54.7). The friendship of Orestes and Pylades is placed under the protection and the guarantee of the deity; thus it takes on a changeless character.⁸

It is Philo who first gave *mesites* a religious meaning (cf. also *T. Dan* 6.2), attributing a mediating and conciliating character to the angels (*Dreams* 1.142–143) and to Moses (*hoia mesites kai diallaktes*) making prayers and supplications and asking forgiveness for sins (*Moses* 2.166). St. Paul also makes this last attribution.⁹ But 1Tim 2:5, setting forth a baptismal profession of faith or a liturgical acclamation, stipulates “for there is one God, one mediator between God and humans, the human Christ

Jesus.”¹⁰ Not only does this text describe Christ as a mediator, placing him in the middle as an intermediary between God and humans, the sole valid representative of both parties; but it also specifies that “he gave himself as a ransom for all” in order to actualize the salvation willed by God. Thus he reconciled those whom sin had set at variance. This is not a temporary assignment, but his permanent function: the God-Man was, so to speak, born to be the Peacemaker!

In Heb 8:6; 9:15; 12:24, where Christ is portrayed as the great high priest, mediation becomes a new chapter in NT Christology. It is specified that the essence of his priestly mediation is not simply to intercede on our behalf (Heb 7:25) but first and foremost to offer himself as a sacrifice and thus redeem our sins; but it is also stated that he opens the heavens and provides access to the blessed city. The fact that Christ’s mediation is always set in relation to the *diatheke kainē* (new covenant) shows that Christ is first and foremost the pledge or guarantee of the covenant; his shed blood is the surety that guarantees God’s performance of all of its clauses and which is valid for all humankind.¹¹ This meaning—“guarantee+surety”—is to be noted in favor of the soteriological optimism of the new covenant.

¹ *P.Ant.* 94, 11: “The intermediary Philip asked the eminent person . . . to pay” (Christian letter of the sixth century). In the Byzantine period, the μεσίτης was a representative of the taxpayers (*P.land.* 154, 6; cf. *Stud.Pal.* XX, 21, 3; 128, 3). Cf. L. Mitteis, “Zur Papyruspublication IV: Μεσίτης,” in *Hermes*, 1985, pp. 616ff.

² *P.Rein.* 44, 3 (second century AD); *P.Catt.* I, 3 (*Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 88, col. I, 3); *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 29, col. III, 5: “If it seems good to you, give us an arbiter so that the opposing party may restore to the plaintiff the . . .”; *P.Abinn.* 46, 3; *BGU* 1676, 6: οἱ—μεσίται ἀκούσαντες ἀπὸ τῶ—ν ἀντιδίκων σου; *P.Oxy.* 1298, 19; *SB* 7264, 4: ἔδωκε Ἡρώνα δικαστὴν καὶ μεσεῖτην τοῦ πράγματος; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 86, 10. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 16.118: “Before the emperor, the supreme master and our arbiter in this circumstance (ε—πὶ τῶ— πάντων δεσπότη . . . μεσιτεύοντι), here is the arrangement that we propose”; Thucydides 4.83, 3–5: μέσῳ δικαστῆ. Aristotle called this mediator or arbiter in cases of disagreement μεσίδιος (*Eth. Nic.* 5.4.1132a23; cf. *Pol.* 5.6.1306a28). Cf. B. Cohen, “Arbitration in Jewish and Roman Law,” in *RIDA*, vol. 5, 1958, pp. 165–223.

³ *Moses* 2.166; cf. *Plant.* 10: “the divine Logos . . . intercedes in the midst of enemy threats by mediation and persuasion (μεσιτεύοντες) and performs his arbitration.” Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 7.193: Joab, having been asked by Absalom to placate his father, goes to intercede with the king,

ε—μεσίτευσε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα; Dittenberger, *Or.* 437, 76: Sardis and Ephesus conclude a pact to put an end to their disagreements and decide that in case of conflict they will have recourse to the mediation of Pergamum. Athena intervenes as a mediator (μεσι—τιν) to calm the wrath of Achilles against Agamemnon (Heraclitus, *All.* 20.12); “the peace concluded thanks to the mediation of the Carthaginians” (τῆς μεσιτευθείσης ει—ρήνης ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων, Diodorus Siculus 19, summary).

⁴ Polybius 28.15.8; cf. 11.34.3: Euthydemus of Magnesia asks Telea to intervene to reestablish peace, μεσιτεῦσαι τὴν διάλυσιν εὐνοϊκω—ς. The peoples of Acragas, Gela, and Messina make peace with Agathocles through the mediation of the Carthaginian Hamilcar (Diodorus Siculus 19.71.6; cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 9.59.5). The soldiers offer to be mediators of a reconciliation, μεσιτεύειν τὰς διαλλαγὰς (Nicolaus of Damascus, *Vit. Caes.* 99.29.4).

⁵ *P.Dura* 129, 4: ε—πὶ μεσιτω—ν. In *CPR* I, 19, lines 10, 14, 16, 23, the witness—a priest of a Christian community who was present at the signing of a commercial agreement—is successively called μεσίτης, ὁ μεταξύ, ὁ μεταξύ μεσίτης.

⁶ Cf. Heb 7:22. This is the equivalent of the Attic μεσέγγυος, which the *Suda* defines as μεσίτης, ε—γγυητής; cf. *P.Lond.* 370, 6, 9, 14 (vol. 2, p. 251); *P.Stras.* 41, 14; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 193, 1: Κυρίῳ μεσίτη μεγάλων ὀρίων; cf. 168, 1; 170, 3. cf. Z. W. Falk, “Zum jüdischen Bürgschaftsrecht,” in *RIDA*, 1963, pp. 43–54.

⁷ Unlike loans, which are agreed upon by contract in the presence of witnesses, the accepting of a deposit is secret: “This transaction, which is not seen, has as its witness an absolutely invisible God (μεσιτεύει θεός). It is he whom the parties logically take as witness” (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.31). From the sense of “answer for, give a guarantee” (*P.Stras.* 284, 4; *SB* 7339, 11; Heb 6:7—“God intervenes with an oath” = offers himself as guarantor, answers for), the verb μεσιτεύω comes to mean “place a deposit” (*P.Berlin* 11808, 11; published as *P.Berl.Möller* 2, 11; p. 29) and becomes synonymous with μεσιδιόω, “to place a deposit with a third party, entrust to a neutral party” (*P.Rein.* 7, 22; *P.Magd.* 30, 3; *PSI* 551, 10). Thus a pact of friendship between Miletus and Heraclea was “deposited” at Priene (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 633, 87).

⁸ Lucian, *Am.* 47: θεὸν δὲ τω—ν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παθω—ν μεσίτην λαβόντες ὡς ε—φε—νὸς σκάφου τοῦ βίου συνέπλευσα. Lucian also has the feminine μεσι—τις (*Am.* 27, 54); a single papyrological attestation of the feminine is

found in *P.Jena*, inv. 23, 13, from the second century, published by F. Uebel, “Eingabe eines Frauenvormunds,” in *P.Coll.Youtie* I, p. 216: ἀποδεδωκέναι διὰ χειρὸς παρούσης αἰδος μεσεΐτιδος). The substantive μεσιτεία, which does not appear before the first century AD—Josephus, *Ant.* 20.62: “Izates wrote to the Parthians advising them to receive Artabanus, offering them his good faith, his oaths, and his mediation (δεξιᾶς καὶ ὄρκους καὶ μεσιτεΐαν) to assure them that their deeds would be forgotten”; cf. *P.Fouad* 85, 14: “hasten to safeguard your rights, either by the intervention of Cleticos or by that of your friends.” Cf. in the second century the meaning “central position, median,” in the mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa (*Ar.* 1.7.2; ed. R. Hoche, Leipzig, 1866), and “undertaking, transaction” in the fabulist Babrius (*Myth.* 93.8; ed. O. Crusius, Leipzig, 1897; cf. 39.2: the crayfish who wanted to make peace between the dolphins and the whales). In the papyri, it figures in contracts for loans, sales, and mortgages in the sense of “guarantee.” Cf. *SB* 10294, 10; *P.Stras.* 324, 15; *P.Bour.* 15, 137, 141; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 11, 5; *P.Lond.* 1173, 11; *BGU* 78, 9; 445, 9; 1676, 5; *P.Mich.* 232, 7, 13 (AD 36 = *SB* 7568); 238, 3, 17; 333, 23, 27, 37, 44 (AD 52). A. B. Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 144; *Chrest.Mitt.*, 1, p. 131.

⁹ Gal 3:19-20; A. Stegmann, “ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐ—νὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, Gal 2:20,” in *BZ*, 1934, pp. 30–42; cf. *As. Mos.* 1.14; 3.12 (cf. M. P. Nilsson, “The High God and the Mediator,” in *HTR*, 1963, pp. 101–120; J. Scharbert, *Heilsmittler im Alten Testament und im alten Orient*, Freiburg, 1964, pp. 294ff.); *Words of the Heavenly Lights* 2.11: “Moses had asked pardon for their sin.” On Moses, the man of God, advocate, intercessor, and mediator, cf. N. Johannson, *Parakletoi*, Lund, 1940, pp. 5, 67, 161. The rabbis have no term for mediator and simply transcribe *Nwsym*. They use *Nwsrs* (Aramaic *srswra*) for an intermediary who negotiates, for a business broker, and only give it a religious meaning late by applying it to God or to Moses, *Deut. Rab.* 3.12; 201a; *Exod. Rab.* 43.32.11; 3.3.13; 6.2.2; *b. Meg.* 74.12f. Cf. *Str-B*, vol. 2, 302ff.; vol. 3, 512ff.; 556.

¹⁰ Εἷς γὰρ θεός, εἷς καὶ μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς —Ιησοῦς. Cf. E. Miguéns, “Unus Deus, Unus Mediator,” in *De Mariologia et Oecumenismo*, Rome, 1962, pp. 59–69.

¹¹ D. Bornhäuser, “Der ‘Mittler,’” in *NKZ*, 1928, pp. 21–24, 552–553; J. Gründler, “Noch einmal: Der Mittler,” *NKZ*, 1928, pp. 549–552; G. Redard, *Noms grecs en -ΤΗΣ, -ΤΙΣ*, pp. 25, 260, 1; M. Schulze, “Der Mittler,” in *Reinhold Seeberg Festchrift*, vol. 1 Leipzig, 1929, pp. 225–238; A. Richardson, *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament*, London, 1958, pp. 229ff.; Y. Congar, *Jésus-Christ, notre Médiateur, notre Seigneur*, Paris, 1969 = *ET Jesus Christ*, trans. L. O’Neill, New York, 1966;

A. Oepke, “μεσίτης,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 598–624; C. Spicq, “Médiation,” in *DBSup*, vol. 5, 1020–1083.

μεταλλάσσω

metallasso, to exchange, leave, pass away

metallasso, S 3337; *TDNT* 1.259; *EDNT* 2.414; *NIDNTT* 3.166–167; MM 403; L&N 57.142, 68.50; BDF §179(2); BAGD 511

Allasso and almost all of its compound forms (*diallasso*, *katallasso*) have the basic meaning “to change”; but just as *apallasso* often has the nuance “put an end to, cease,” *metallasso*, in the Koine, almost always has the sense of “pass away.” This is its only meaning in the OT¹ and by far its predominant meaning in the papyri. In AD 124, a contract for remarriage successively takes up the eventuality of the death of each spouse: “If the same Eleaios, son of Simon, should die (*metallazei . . . ton bion*) before the same Salome. . . . If Salome, daughter of John Galgoula, should die (*metallazei ton bion*) before the same Elaios” (*P.Mur.* 115, 10, 12); “If one of the two dies” (*P.Dura* 17, 35; *BGU* 1574, 11; 1662, 6; 1783, 11); in the will of Taptollion at the beginning of the second century, “If any of them should die childless and intestate.”²

If, in literary Koine and several papyri or inscriptions, *metallasso* retains its classical meaning “leave” a place or “change, exchange,”³ the usage just discussed shows how radical a change is envisioned: it is a substitution. Hence the nuance “exchange” in Rom 1:25-26: the pagans have turned aside and distanced themselves from the true knowledge of God and traded him for the lie of idols (*metellaxan ten aletheian tou theou en to pseudei*). This is not an evolution but a substitution.⁴ The punishment that followed was the perversion of sexual relations: a traffic contrary to nature.⁵ The verb *metallasso* in the second verse is used to mark the strict correspondence between moral deviation on the one hand and the “replacing” of God with idols on the other hand. It looks like a weaker usage, but it nevertheless evinces a subversion and even a sort of contradiction between two attitudes.

¹ Esth 2:7 (Hebrew *mût*); 2Macc 4:7—“Seleucus had departed this life (μεταλλάξαντος δὲ τὸν βίον) and Antiochus had succeeded him”; 6:31; 7:7, 13, 14; 4:37—“Antiochus wept when he remembered the prudence and moderation of the deceased” (τοῦ μετηλλαχότος); 5:1; 7:40—“Thus the young man passed away”; 14:16—“Thus it was that he died.” Cf. Berossus: “Nabopalassar died after a reign of twenty-one years” (in Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.136); *Sib. Or.* 7.96: μεταλλάξη ε—ς τέφρην.

² *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 13, 12: ε—άν δέ τις αὐτω—ν μεταλλάζει ἄτεκνος καὶ ἀδιάθετος; cf. *P.Mich.* 530, 14; 549, 7. All the possibilities are covered; the wife declares that her first husband is now deceased (ibid. 14, 3; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1282, 18, in AD 83; *BGU* 1148, 8, from 13 BC; *P.Mert.* 13, 7: “the property left by my former husband Heron, now deceased,” in 98–102; 1833, 5; 1849, 16; *P.Mil.* 226, 13; *SB* 9642, col. I, 3; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 13, verso 9), the husband says that his wife is deceased (*P.Fuad I Univ.* 13, 8; *P.Mil.* 84, 3; *P.Corn.* 18, 6; *SB* 9377, 3), parents certify that their son is dead (*P.Oxy.* 477, 14; *P.Fouad* 35, 6: “Tathoonas, who is of age, the daughter of his deceased son Sarapion,” in AD 48; *P.Oslo* 130, 3; *P.Ryl.* 659, 6; *SB* 7333, 28; cf. the princess Berenice, μετήλλαξεν τὸν βίον, Dittenberger, *Or.* 56, 55; cf. 326, 15. In 142 BC, a pregnant woman who has been brutalized fears that her child has died: ὃ ἔχει ε—γ γαστρὶ παιδίον ἔκτρομα γίνεσθαι μεταλλάξαν τὸν βίον, *P.Tebt.* 800, 31); children fear that a brother is dead (*P.Mich.* 171, 6; from AD 58; *P.Mert.* 14, 17; *P.Oslo* 141, 7; *P.Tebt.* 785, 10, from 138 BC; *SB* 6291, 10; 7284, 15) or that their father (*BGU* 1793, 8, from 50 BC; 1818, 3; *P.Tebt.* 780, 4) or their mother (*P.Ryl.* 108, 9; *P.Cair.Isid.* 62, 9; *SB* 9201, 11) is no longer alive, etc.

³ *BGU* 1761, 6 (50 BC); *SEG* III, 674, 24; *I.Thas.* 192, 22. Certain Egyptians wished “to change and adopt Jewish citizenship” (Philo, *Virtues* 108).

⁴ Cf. the total, reciprocal, and universal reconciliation expressed by ἀποκαταλλάσσω, Col 1:20–22; Eph 2:16.

⁵ Rom 1:26—μετήλλαξαν τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν εἰ—ς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν; cf. with respect to Sodom: ε—νήλλαξε τάξιν φύσεως (*T. Naph.* 3.4). On this vice, cf. *Aroc. Pet.* 32.

μετανοέω, μετάνοια

metanoëo, to know after, change one’s mind, repent; *metanoia*, repentance

metanoëo, S 3340; *TDNT* 4.975–1008; *EDNT* 2.415–419; *NIDNTT* 1.357–359; MM 403–404; L&N 41.52; BDF §235(2); BAGD 511–512 | **metanoia**, S 3341; *TDNT* 4.975–1008; *EDNT* 2.415–419; *NIDNTT* 1.357–358; MM 405; L&N 41.52; BAGD 512; ND 4.160

Repentance in the literal sense is very close both to *metamelomai* (“be afflicted, troubled by a certain misdeed that one has committed”), which can express every kind of regret, sorrow, and disgust,¹ and also to *epistrepho* (“turn toward, pay attention, turn back, convert”).² This is proved

by the fact that these terms are often linked³ or even used in each other's place.⁴ Nevertheless, *metanoeo*, in accordance with its very etymology, has a meaning of its own, attested in secular literature as well as in Scripture.⁵

I. — Just as *pronoeo* means “know before, foresee,” *metanoeo* is literally “know after,”⁶ the particle *meta* indicating proximity or concomitance. This is the sense of its earliest known use, by Epicharmus (460 BC): “The wise man must not know after but know before” (*ou metanoein, alla pronoein chre ton andra ton sophon*).⁷ To repent is first of all to change one's mind (Plato, *Euthd.* 279 c; Diodorus Siculus 1.67.5), change intentions (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.322), change plans (*Ag. Apion* 1.274), and reflect,⁸ which implies a time later than the first knowledge (Wis 12:10—*topon metanoias*; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.106: “God grants time to repent”); one “reconsiders” a first opinion (Isa 46:8).

II. — Still in line with its etymology, *metanoeo* has to do first of all with a change of mind or feelings resulting from this after-knowledge: “But when we reflected . . . we had to change our minds.”⁹ According to the *Tabula of Cebes* 10, the function of *metanoia* is to introduce “a new form of thought and feeling”; after coming under the influence of Deception (*apate*), whence derive ignorance and error, there is no other recourse than Repentance.¹⁰ For Philo, the soul declares that it repents of its errors in past judgments, the fruit of thoughtlessness; it must open itself to repentance, which is the younger sibling of perfect innocence (*Dreams* 1.91; cf. *Virtues* 180; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.264); in the face of difficulties, it changes its conceptions (*Dreams* 1.182), but it can “return to better feelings.”¹¹

III. — What characterizes this evolution is that it is accompanied by regret, sorrow, or shame at the former opinion or attitude: “The next day regrets (*metanoia*) developed, with the reflection (*analogismos*) that the resolution settled upon was cruel and serious—to wipe out an entire city rather than the responsible parties alone.”¹² “He will not have to reproach himself, do battle against himself, repent, torment himself” (Epictetus 2.22.35); “The Athenians were taken by profound repentance and deeply missed (*pothos*) Cimon” (Plutarch, *Per.* 10.3); “Blame and reprimand beget shame and repentance (*metanoian kai aischynen*), the former being similar to sorrow, the latter to fear.”¹³ “They will speak to one another with regret (*metanoountes*) and with anguished spirits they will moan” (Wis 5:3); “Those who repent and anguish (*tous metanoountas kai achthomenous*) of their former error say, ‘Unhappy people that we are.’”¹⁴ Aristobulus, full of remorse over the murder of his brother, falls ill, afflicted with great pain and vomiting blood (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.314).

If *metanoia* “is a sort of reproach (*epilepsis tis*) that one addresses to oneself when one thinks that one has let something useful go by . . . an honest man would never be able to repent of letting a pleasure go by”

(Marcus Aurelius 8.10), the regret can simply be over being caught in some deed (Philo, *Virtues* 152) or having given up some good (*Virtues* 208), or even over having done something good, as when Pharaoh repented of having let the Hebrews leave (*Moses* 1.167; cf. *Flacc.* 181; *To Gaius* 303, 337, 339). Plutarch, *Tim.* 6.4: “Repentance makes us ashamed of even a good action, while determination based on science and reason does not vary, even when our undertakings have failed.”

IV. — Normally repentance follows the offense (Plutarch, *Cam.* 38.5); in any event, it entails a change of conduct or of future status,¹⁵ and in principle it could be for the better or for the worse, as with two murderers who spared a child because it smiled at them but then repented (*metenoesan*) and sought to kill it (Plutarch, *Conv. sept. sap.* 21). “The person who claims to have repented while still committing injustices is not in his right mind” (*Flight* 160); it is all a question of loyalty and faithfulness: “The law orders giving absolution to a person on the condition that he proves the sincerity of his repentance not by a simple promise but by actions” (*Spec. Laws* 1.236); “I would pardon him for the past if in the future he would repent and be loyal to me” (Josephus, *Life* 110); “I promised pardon on the condition that they would change their attitude” (*Life* 262). In the OT, the object of repentance is sins committed (*Wis* 11:23; 12:19; *Sir* 17:24; 48:15) as much as the malice that inspired them (*Jer* 8:6; 18:6), but it is not simply a case of a psychological evolution of a person coming around to himself, but of satisfying God’s requirements. *Metanoia* becomes a religious idea, because it is God who leads the human heart to repentance¹⁶ and pardons only those who are repentant.¹⁷ *Ep.Arist.* 188 inherits this conception: “The best thing you can do to maintain the royal power is to imitate God’s indefectible mercy; for in showing magnanimity and in punishing the guilty with more indulgence than they deserve, you will turn them away from evil and lead them to repentance.”¹⁸

V. — In the NT, *metanoeo* and *metanoia* (56 occurrences) retain this basic meaning, “change opinions, regret, be grieved about something,” but they are used almost exclusively for the attitude of unbelievers and sinners returning to God,¹⁹ and they are laden with a new theological density; they form an essential part of the kerygma lexicon, urging “conversion” to Christianity. There is no longer any question of distinguishing between change of thoughts, of heart, of actions. The change is that of the soul, of the whole person (the new creature), who is purified of stains and whose life is transformed, metamorphosed. It is significant that the present imperative *metanoete* sums up the preaching of John the Baptist in the wilderness (*Matt* 3:2; *Mark* 1:15) in connection with faith, entrance into the kingdom of God, and purification from sins.²⁰ This latter is not just any regret or repudiation²¹ but affliction, “remorse” that inspires a desire to make reparation, even expiation.²² Jesus defined his mission: “I did not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance” (*Luke* 5:32); “If you do

not repent, you will all perish”;²³ and he sends the Twelve to make the same proclamation: “They preached repentance” (*ekeryxan hina metanoosin*, Mark 6:12; Luke 24:47).

St. Peter would be faithful to this assignment on the day of Pentecost: “Repent (*metanoesate*, aorist imperative) and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins” (Acts 2:38; cf. 3:19). He requires Simon Magus to make this break with wickedness (8:22); and if he presents Christ as Savior “in order to give Israel repentance and remission of sins” (5:31), St. Paul would understand that this gift was for the Gentiles (11:18) and all people (17:30; 20:21).

The apostle Paul knows that no one can be converted unless led by divine mercy: “God’s kindness calls you to repentance” (Rom 2:4; 2Pet 3:9), but he fears that many will not have repented of the impurities that they have committed (2Cor 12:21). According to Heb 6:1, *metanoia* is part of the first baptismal catechism, “repentance from dead works and faith in God”; but the renewal of repentance is impossible for an apostate (Heb 6:6), as it was for Esau, although he sought it with tears (Heb 12:17; cf. Wis 12:10). In Revelation, Christ urges “lukewarm” or discouraged Christians to correct themselves, to return to their first works and have zeal (2:5, 16, 21, 22; 3:3, 19), but he denounces the “rest of humankind,” unrepentant idolaters, fornicators, blasphemers.²⁴

The modern pastoral definition of repentance—“remorse at having offended God with the firm intention of making up for one’s offenses and falling into them no more”—is quite in line with Revelation. Nevertheless, the essence is missing: namely, that this contrition is inspired by the knowledge of God and has as its effect eternal salvation.

¹ Matt 21:32; 27:3; 2Cor 7:8; Heb 7:21; cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 258.

² Acts 3:19; 9:35; 11:21; 14:15; 26:18, 20; 1Thess 1:9; Jas 5:19; Epictetus 2.20.23. Cf. M. Méhat, “Pour l’histoire du mot ε—πιστροφή: aux origines de l’idée de conversion,” in *REG*, 1955, p. IX; P. Aubin, *Le Problème de la “conversion”*: *Etude sur un terme commun à l’hellénisme et au christianisme des trois premiers siècles*, Paris, 1963; W. Barclay, *Turning to God*, London, 1963.

³ Isa 46:8—“Repent, you who err, turn back from the bottom of your heart”; Jer 18:8; Joel 2:14—“Who knows whether the Lord will not turn back and repent”; Luke 17:3-4; Acts 3:19—“Repent and be converted so that your sins may be forgiven”; 26:20—“I preached repentance and conversion to God by the practice of works fit for repentance.”

⁴ Notably in Rev 2:5, 16, 21, 22; 3:3, 19; 9:20, 21; 16:20, where μετανοέω has the sense “be converted.”

⁵ Cf. L. Alvarez Verdes, “Μετάνοια—μετανοει—ν en el Griego extrabiblico,” in *Homenaje a J. Prado*, Madrid, 1975, pp. 503–525; E. F. Thomson, “Μετανοέω and Μεταμέλει in Greek Literature until 100 A. D.,” in *Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature related to the N. T.*, 2d series, vol. 1, Chicago, 1909, pp. 358–364; A. H. Dirksen, *The New Testament Concept of Metanoia*, Washington, 1932; E. K. Dietrich, *Die Umkehr im A. T. und im Judentum*, Stuttgart, 1936; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 1913, pp. 134ff.; H. Pohlmann, *Die Metanoia als Zentralbegriff der christlichen Frömmigkeit*, Leipzig, 1938; R. Schnackenburg, “Typen der Metanoia-Predigt im N. T.,” in *MTZ*, vol. 1, 1950–1954, pp. 1–13; H. Braun, *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*, Tübingen, 1961, pp. 70–85; J. Dupont, “Repentir et conversion d’après les Actes des Apôtres,” in *ScEccl*, 1960, pp. 137–173; B. Michiels, “La Conception lucanienne de la conversion,” in *ETL*, 1965, pp. 42–75; B. W. Blackwelder, *Light from the Greek New Testament*, 2d ed., Grand Rapids, 1976, pp. 45ff., 85ff. J. Guillet, “Metanoia,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 10, col. 1093–1099; F. Bovon, *Luc le théologien*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1978, 290–307. Würthwein, Behm, “μετανοέω, μετάνοια,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 948–1008.

⁶ Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.6.26.5: “Repentance (μετάνοια) is late knowledge, while knowledge (γνώσις) is primitive innocence.” Cf. A. Méhat, “Remarques sur quelques passages du I^{er} Stromate de Clément d’Alexandrie,” in *REG*, 1956, pp. 41–49.

⁷ In Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.14 (vol. 3, p. 6); likewise Democritus and Gorgias (H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, pp. 158, 14; 302, 28). Cf. *BGU* 747, col. I, 11.

⁸ Prov 14:15—As opposed to the simple person who believes everything, the prudent person gives himself time for reflection (ἔρχεται εἰς μετάνοιαν); 20:25; 24:32; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.58: “Some people are so foolish that they do not even leave themselves any room for a change of heart” (εἰς μετάνοιαν).

⁹ Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.1.3; cf. *Hell.* 1.7.19: “The best means of learning the truth and not having to repent later”; Demosthenes, *2 C. Aristog.* 17: “What decree has he proposed that you have not decided to abandon after being at first persuaded?”; Plutarch, *Alex.* 11.7: Alexander wished to allow the city of Thebes to report its decision; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.125: a change of heart (μετάνοια) cannot heal certain hatreds.

¹⁰ This is by no means a Stoic notion. For the Stoics, *metanoia* is not a virtue but a *πάθος*, a passion unworthy of the wise man (cf. Chrysippus, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.7.11 *m*; vol. 2, p. 113, 5ff.). Rather, it is a Neopythagorean conception, according to R. Joly, *Le Tableau de Cébès et la philosophie religieuse*, Brussels, 1963, p. 38. Thanks to repentance, the chastised soul becomes reasonable again (R. Joly, “Note sur μετάνοια,” in *RHR* 160, 1961, pp. 149–156).

¹¹ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.18. Cf. the *metanoia* of Chaereas, which is a change of feelings (μεταβαλλόμενος); Chariton, *Chaer.* 1.3.7; 1.14.10.

¹² Thucydides 3.36.4; Antiphon, *1 Tetr.* 12: “Be afraid that one day you will recognize your fault and repent of it (μὴ μετανοήσαντες τὴν ἀμαρτίαν γινώ—τε), for in such a case repentance is without remedy”; Sophocles, *El.* 581: “If you wish to establish this principle for all, do you not risk establishing your own unhappiness and having to repent of it?”

¹³ Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 12; *Aem.* 41.11: “Timoleon, prostrate with repentance and sorrow”; *De adul. et am.* 12 (δηγμός); *Ant.* 24.10—“When Antonius became aware of offences, he felt sharp remorse and he acknowledged them before those who had suffered from them”; *Conv. sept. sap.* 12: “wealth spent without regret” (μήτε δαπανώ—σι μετάνοία); Ps.-Plutarch, *De lib. ed.* 14; Plutarch, *De sol. an.* 3: λύπη δι’ ἀλγηδόνης ἦν μετάνοιαν ὀνομάζομεν. Jer 31:19 has Ephraim say, “I repented; I was ashamed and confounded.”

¹⁴ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.211; *Joseph* 87: “Healed of the long illness that had afflicted their souls, they now cursed their past acts and repented of them.” For Philo, *metanoia* is a healing, like recovery from an illness (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.60; 3.106; *Spec. Laws* 1.253), or a return to one’s country (*Cherub.* 2), a solid and salutary rock on which the shipwrecked land (*Post. Cain* 178). Only God, “the One who is, experiences no regret” (*Unchang. God* 33, 72; *Moses* 1.283; cf. 1Sam 15:29—“The glory of Israel [God] does not change or repent, for he is not a man that he should repent”), but the wise person repents in hope of pardon (*Flight* 99, 157) and orients himself toward that which is better (*Abraham* 17; 26–27; *Virtues* 176). What is more, Moses offers “repentant sinners great rewards” (*Virtues* 175); “Admirable are the precepts that call to repentance, by which we learn to transform the order of our lives and make them pass from disorder to a better state” (*Virtues* 183). *Metanoia* “grasps ardor and love for the better, is urgent to leave behind covetousness and deep-rooted injustice to reach soberness, justice, and the other virtues” (*Rewards* 15, 22). “The person who is penitent is saved” (*Spec. Laws* 1.253). Cf. Josephus, *War* 5.415:

“There remains for you a way of salvation, if you wish it, because God is willing to be appeased by those who confess and repent.”

¹⁵ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.221: to repent of seditious undertakings. Because Enoch “was translated” elsewhere, he became “an example of repentance” (Sir 44:16). Cf. *IGLS* 297, 10, the Christian Silvanus “knew how to change his life according to the Holy Scriptures.”

¹⁶ Cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.213: “There are many souls that God has not granted repentance even though they desired it”; *Spec. Laws* 1.187: the Day of Atonement is “a day of purification and deliverance from sins which are pardoned by the grace of the merciful deity, who honors repentance equally with perfect innocence”; *Change of Names* 235: “The priest appeases God by means of three species of (cultic or ritual) repentance: cattle, birds, or white flour.”

¹⁷ A good number of texts evoke God’s repentances (thirty-seven, according to A. W. Argyle, “God’s Repentance and the LXX,” in *ExpT*, vol. 75, 1964, p. 367). Sometimes God does not change and does not repent (1Sam 15:29) because he is incensed (Zech 8:14): “I have decided and I shall not repent and I shall not go back” (Jer 4:28); sometimes “Yahweh repented of this; It will not be, says Yahweh” (Amos 7:3, 6; niphal of *naham*); God is merciful, “repenting in the face of calamity” (Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Jer 18:8); sometimes one remains in doubt: “Perhaps Elohim will turn back and repent” (Jonah 3:9-10); this depends on the honest conversion of sinners. Μετανοέω then means “change a decision.” This is the case with the only three papyripublished since Moulton-Milligan, *BGU* 1816, 9, 13; *P.Oxy.* 2270, 12–13; *P.Michael.* 41, 49 (leaving out of consideration papyri from the Byzantine era, *P.Flor.* 298, 54, μοναστήριον τῆς μετανοίας; *P.Oxy.* 1354, 4, εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Σερῆνον ἡμέρα μετανοίας).

¹⁸ Cf. 2Tim 2:25—those who oppose must be taught gently, because God can “grant that they will repent and recognize the truth.” Δοῦναι μετάνοιαν is a traditional turn of phrase, with God always as the subject (Wis 12:10, 19; Acts 5:31; 11:18; *Sib. Or.* 4.168); cf. 2Pet 3:9—God “shows patience toward you, not wishing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.”

¹⁹ The only (relative) exception would be 2Cor 7:9-10: “You were grieved to the point that you repented (ε—λυπήθητε εἰς μετάνοιαν) . . . grief (λύπη) according to God works unto salvation a repentance that is not regrettable (μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον).”

²⁰ Matt 3:8—“Then show forth fruit worthy of repentance” (καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας, cf. Luke 3:8; Acts 26:20, ἄξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα); the good works are carried out in the desire to set past offenses aright and live better. John’s baptism “by repentance” is received with feelings of contrition in preparation for the remission of sins (Matt 3:11), κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (Mark 1:4; cf. Luke 3:8; Acts 13:24, 19:4).

²¹ Cf. the letter of Attalus I to Amlada: “Seeing that you had repented of your former offenses” (θεωρῶν οὖν ὑμᾶς μετανοηκότας τε ἐπὶ τοῖς προημαρτημένοις, Dittenberger, *Or.* 751, 10 = C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 54, 9); cf. 2Cor 12:21.

²² Jesus reproached Chorazin and Bethsaida for not having repented, when Tyre and Sidon “would have repented in sackcloth and ashes” (Matt 11:20-21; Luke 10:13; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 7.153), as “the men of Nineveh repented at Jonah’s preaching” (Matt 12:41; Luke 11:32). Our word “penitence” comes from the Latin *poenitere*, “repent,” which derives from the Dorian ποινά, “compensation paid for an offense,” “amends, punishment” (A. Ernout, A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris, 1932, p. 747). To repent is to suffer privations.

²³ Luke 13:3, 5; cf. 15:7—“There will be more joy in heaven for one sinner who repents than for ninety-nine righteous people who have no need of repentance”; 16:30, the wicked rich man thinks that his brothers will repent and change their conduct if they see someone from the dead; 17:3-4: if a sinning brother repents, one must forgive him.

²⁴ Rev 9:20, 21; 16:11, 20; cf. Rom 2:5—“Through you hardening and your impenitent (ἀμετανόητος) heart, you store up wrath. . . .” This adjective (biblical hapax), attested in the first century (*T. Gad* 7.5) is common enough in the legal papyri (donations, sales) to express an unchangeable willingness, *P.Grenf.* II, 68, 4; *P.Stras.* 29, 31; *P.Berl.Zill.* VI, 14: ἐκουσία γνώμη καὶ προαιρέσει διὰ ἀμετανοήτω καὶ ἀδόλω βουλήσει; *C.P.Herm.* 35, 13; *SB* 9193, 2; 9464, 11. Cf. C. Spicq, “ἀμεταμέλητος in Rom. VI, 29,” in *RB*, 1960, pp. 210–219.

μετέχω, μετοχή, μέτοχος

metecho, to share, participate; *metoche*, participation; *metochos*, partner

metecho, S 3348; *TDNT* 2.830–832; *EDNT* 2.420; *NIDNTT* 1.635–636, 639; MM 405; L&N 23.2, 34.31, 34.32, 57.6; BDF §169(1); BAGD 514 | ***metoche***, S 3352; *TDNT* 2.830–832; *EDNT* 2.420; *NIDNTT* 1.635–636;

MM 406; L&N 34.7; BAGD 514 | **metochos**, S 3353; TDNT 2.830–832; EDNT 2.420; NIDNTT 1.635–636, 639; MM 406; L&N 34.8; BDF §182(1); BAGD 514; ND 1.84–85

Only the context permits a judgment as to whether a given *metochos* is an ordinary companion or an associate in the legal or moral sense.¹ It is synonymous with *koinonos*² and indicates a certain *de facto* or *de jure* alliance;³ for example, those who share a house (*P.Petaus* 13, 14; 14, 13, 16, 58, 112), *georgoi metochoi* (farmers; *SB* 266, g 5; cf. *P.Petaus* 126, 2), especially those who have a common profession⁴ or public function, in particular tax collectors.⁵ Beginning with the third century BC, we see associates, like Zeno and Crito, and eventually Sostratos, acting as *metochoi*, pooling their funds and making them available to the actual farmers, Demetrios and Hippocrates; they takes risks, but they also get a large part of the profits.⁶ A century later: “Paid to the bank of Hermouthis for a quarter of the fishermen of Memnoneia . . . by Pamonthes, son of Teos and his associate, 1,800 drachmas” (*Pamonthes . . . kai ho metochos*, *P.Rein.* 125,5). These are parallels to Luke 5:7—“Simon and the others who were in the same boat . . . signaled to their associates (*metochois*; cf. verse 10: *koinonoi*) in the other boat that they should come help them.” These men not only worked and fished together; they pooled their resources to pay for boats, nets, and the right to fish on the lake, and they divided the fishing revenues according to their respective interests in the partnership.⁷ So we must think of Peter and the first apostles not only as living in community but also as being partners in the firm of “Simon and Co.,” so closely associated that they were together to hear John the Baptist on the banks of the Jordan, that they went back to fishing together, and that, in full agreement, they abandoned “their net” and their business to follow Jesus. The participation together (*metoche*) constituted a perfect community (cf. Ps 122:3—*he metoche autes epi to auto*) and better: a mutual affinity.⁸

A *metochos* can have a share in material goods or in spiritual realities;⁹ the emphasis is then on matching rights of ownership, as with the baptized, who are “sharers of the heavenly calling” (*kleseos epouraniou metochoi*, Heb 3:1), “sharers of the Holy Spirit” (*metochous genethentas pneumatou hagiou*, 6:4), “sharers in Christ” (*metochoi gar tou Christou gegonamen*, 3:14). Since they are all sons of God (2:9, 13), belonging to the same family (2:11), brothers of Christ (2:12), Christians share Christ’s lot, have common use of his riches (6:4), and are associated with him in the closest possible way.¹⁰

This nuance of intimate sharing, of assimilation, already suggested by the use of the verb *metecho* for eating¹¹ or instruction,¹² is revealed by its interchangeability with *koinoneo*: “So, since children have flesh and blood in common (*kekoinoneken*), he also shares (*meteschen*) in these

same things.”¹³ If *metecho* is used for a band of malefactors,¹⁴ it is used above all for sharing in honors and responsibilities: “I have reached the age of sixty-eight and I should be enrolled among the members of the *gerousia* who have lived the same number of years, so as to share in the privileges of the *gerousia*.”¹⁵ Finally, one may share in priestly and cultic functions. A decree from Delphi for Telesagoros of Abai stipulates “that he have a share (*metechein*) in the exercise of every office and every priesthood to which the noble families of Delphi have a share (*metechousi*)” (*SEG II*, 294, 11; first third of the first century AD). An epigram of Serenos: “It was for libations and sacrifices that we came here (to Philae), desiring to participate in them” (*deomenoi kai touton metaschein*, *SB* 8681, 8; second century). At Imbros: “Let the *praktores* participate in the sacred affairs (*metechein ton hieron*) like all the other Imbrians.”¹⁶ This sacred meaning is that of 1Cor 10:17, where the Christians share in a single Loaf: *hoi gar pantes ek tou henos artou metechomen* (cf. verse 16, *koinonia*); and 10:21, where it is said that one cannot participate in the Lord’s table and in the table of demons. One takes part by communing with others.¹⁷

¹ In the sense of companion, *Eccl* 4:10—“If one falls, the other helps his companion up”; *T. Benj.* 2.5; *P.Mich.* 188, 10; 189, 15–16; 583, 9, 11, 30, 32 (AD 78); 597, 4 (AD 51); *P.Lips.* 106, 11 (AD 98); *P.Giss.* 32, 2; *P.Hib.* 263, 31; *P.Princ.* 132, 4; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 29, 1, 10; *P.Oxy.* 2236, 15; *SB* 9674 a 3: ὁ μέτοχός μου; 9699, 435. In the sense of associate, *1Sam* 20:30; *Ps* 119:63; *Prov* 29:10—ἄνδρες αἰ—μάτων μέτοχοι = bloody men; *Hos* 4:17—“Ephraim is the associate of idols”; *Enoch* 104.6. Cf. *P.Lille* 60, 1: “Dorotheos to his associate, greetings”; *P.Adl.* 12, 7; 14, 13, 21, col. II, 7 (98 BC); *P.Bon.* 11 d, col. I, 4; *BGU* 1598, col. I, 4: “Akousilaos and his associates” (16 BC); 1893, 156; 1897, 134; 1897 a 23; 1898, 24, 30; 1900, 18, 21; etc. On associated weavers, cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, “Receipts for Various Taxes, Penthemeros Certificates, and Customs House Receipts,” in *P.Coll.Youtie* I, pp. 287ff., n. 34, 7; 39, 4; 40, 4.

² Cf. *BGU* 1123, 4: ὁμολογοῦμεν εἶναι τοὺς τρεῖς μετόχους καὶ κοινωνοὺς καὶ κυρίου ἕκαστον κατὰ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον τῆς προκειμένης μισθώσεως (from the time of Augustus); *P.Bour.* 13, 1: ὁμολογοῦσι τεθεισθαι πρὸς ε—αυτοὺς μετοχὴν καὶ κοινωνίαν (February 27, 98). Cf. H. Seesemann, *Der Begriff KOINΩNIA im Neuen Testament*, Giessen, 1933; P. C. Bori, *KOINΩNIA: L’idea della comunione nell’ ecclesiologia recente e nel Nuovo Testamento*, Brescia, 1972.

³ The corresponding Hebrew *haber* signifies a link, an attachment, a joining. God anointed Moses “in preference over his companions” (*Ps* 45:8 = *Heb* 1:9), princes or sovereigns who had likewise received the royal

anointing. Cf. the colleagues of the priesthood (*APF*, 1962, pp. 124–129); *P.Brem.* 26, 3: καὶ μετόχων πρεσβυτέρων κώμης —Ιβιω—νος; *BGU* 63, 5; *P.Lond.* 847, 8 (vol. 3, p. 54). The corresponding Hebrew $h<\emptyset>a<\hat{\ }>barîm$ (Job 11:30) = the confederates, the Hebrews. The Pharisees call themselves $h<\emptyset>a<\hat{\ }>berîm$, “confreres,” members of a religious assembly, forming a sort of congregation; cf. M.J. Lagrange, *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1931, p. 276.

⁴ Bankers, *P.Corn.* 41, 5: ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαμήδους καὶ μετόχων τραπέζης Διονυσιάδος (AD 151); *P.Mil.* 62, 9; *P.Oxy.* 2720, 2 (first half of the first century); 2961, 6; 1962–2969; *SB* 9296, 9; 9514, 9; cobblers (*P.Oxy.* 2767, 5); business persons: “Petosiris . . . and Petermouthis . . . , both sellers of cooked lentils at Memphis, affirm that they have formed an association and partnership beginning with the month of Kaisareios . . . Petosiris having farmed for the same year . . . of Isidoros and his farming partners . . . the *agoranomia* and the other taxes on vetch-selling (ὄρβιοπωλία) in the nome of Memphis” (*P.Bour.* 13, 2); “the weavers of Philadelphia, acting through Triadelphos, have paid to the cashier at Lucius . . . and associates, tax-collectors . . . 116 drachmas” (*P.Phil.* 24, 4; *BGU* 1591, 4; *P.Stras.* 411, 5). But peasants (and priests) are sometimes content to refer to their companions merely as οἱ—λοιποὶ (*P.Stras.* 307, 2; cf. 449, 2; 462, bis 6).

⁵ *P.Ryl.* 189, 1; 192, 5; *P.Mert.* 64, 3; *P.Oslo* 89, 14; 90, 8; 91, 6, 27; *P.Rein.* 135, 1: “Paniscos and his fellow collectors”; μέτοχοι πράκτορες (*P.Alex.* 16, 2, 11; 124, 4; p. 28; 464, 2, p. 29; *BGU* 1584, 4, 17, 23; 1585, 5; 1586, 6; *P.Corn.* 16, 3; 42, 3; *P.Fouad* 66, 4; *P.Mich.* 384, 3; 385, 36; 386, 3; 387, 4; 390, 4; *P.Oslo* 116, 1; *P.Oxf.* 9, 5; *P.Princ.* 44, 3; 125, 3; *P.Stras.* 199, 1; 357, 5; 365, 4; 411, 3; *P.Petaus* 124, 3; *SB* 8982, 3; 8983, 3; 8124, 6; 9128, 4; 9142, 1: Πικω—ς πράκτωρ καὶ μέτοχοι —Ωρυσ Ψεναμούσιος Πεκύσιος; 10778, 1; 10791, 1; 10960, 4, 9; *ZPE*, vol. 6, 1970, p. 94: Μω—ρος καὶ μέτοχοι πράκτορου στεφανικοῦ κώμης θεογονίδος Ἡερακλείδης etc.); μέτοχοι σιτολόγοι (*P.Oxy.* 2840, 4, from AD 75; 2841, 5, from AD 85; 2842, 4, from AD 29; *P.Oslo* 28, 4; *P.Mert.* 16, 4; *P.Oxy.* 2185, 2; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 13, 5; *P.Mil.* 103, 11; 171, 3; 172, 4; 176, 2, 8; 245, 4; 246, 4; *P.Mich.* 391, 5; 392, 3, 393, 6; 394, 3; *P.Stras.* 369, 4; 372, 4; 457, 5; *SB* 9087, 12; 9244, 5; 9378, 11; 9382 a 1; 9493, a 6; 9652, 3; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XI, 19, 4); μέτοχοι ε—πιτηρηταί (*P.Fouad* 64, 1; *P.Mich.* 224, 5604 *P.Oslo* 117, 5; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 37, 6; *SB* 9427, 3; 10206, 6; 10310, 1: —Απολλώνιος καὶ μέτοχοι ε—πιτηρηταὶ τέλους; 10339, 1; 10340, 1; 10425, 1; 10583, 1); μέτοχοι ἀγορανόμοι (*P.Fouad* 35, 17; from AD 48; *P.Giss.* 28, 15; *SB* 10248, 26).

⁶ Cf. O.Wilck. pp. 544ff. C. Préaux, “La Société grecque en Egypte au IIIe siècle avant notre ère,” in *JJP*, 1956, vol. 10, pp. 387ff. On farming

partners, cf. Harper, “The Relation of ἀρχώνης, μέτοχοι, and ἔγγυοι to Each Other, to the Government and to the Tax Contract in Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *Aeg*, 1934, pp. 269–285; C. Préaux, *Economie royale*, pp. 450–459.

⁷ Cf. A. Biever, “Au bord du lac de Tibériade,” in *Conférences de Saint-Etienne*, Paris, 1911, pp. 304ff. A seine was very expensive, costing more than fifteen hundred dollars; the fishing license cost even more. At Mippur, the Murashû bank outfitted five Jews with five nets and was to receive as a rental fee “five hundred fish of good quality” within twenty days (cf. G. Cardascia, *Les Archives de Murashû*, Paris, 1951, p. 171; cf. pp. 136, 197).

⁸ 2Cor 6:14—μετοχή is parallel to συμφώνησις (J. Gnllka, “II Kor. VI, 14–VII, 1 im Lichte der Qumranschriften und des Zwölf-Patriarchen-Testaments,” in *Festschrift J. Schmid*, Regensburg, 1962, pp. 86–99; reprinted in J. Murphy O’Connor, *Paul and Qumran*, London, 1968, pp. 48–68; J. A. Fitzmyer, *Semitic Background*, pp. 205–217; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the N.T.*, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 49ff.; R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 93ff.). Cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.22: “participation in the intelligible”; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59362: when Philemon disputes with his father-in-law concerning the respective shares in an orchard (περὶ μετοχῆς τοῦ παραδείσου), their case comes before the *strategos*; *P.Dura* 25, 6, 24: τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς ἀμπέλου μετοχῆς; *Jur.Pap.*, n. XI, 62: εἶναι τέ σε μάλιστα . . . ἄμοιρον παντελω—ς πάσης μετοχῆς καὶ σχέσεως κληρονομίας; L. Robert (*Etudes épigraphiques*, p. 131): foreigners in transit have the right to share in any liberality, banquet, distribution of oil, etc. (μετοχῆς δὲ καὶ τοι—ς παρεπιδ[ημοῦσιν]); *P.Lond.* 941, 8; vol. 3, p. 119: κατὰ μετοχὴν τοῦ ἄλλου ἡμίσιους τω—ν ὅλων οἰ—κοπέδων.

⁹ Heb 12:8—“If you receive no reproof—in which all have their share (ἡ—ς μέτοχοι γεγόνασιν πάντες)—then you are bastards and not sons.” An epitaph of a Teian: “Meli, who had a share in perfect piety” (ὄς πάσης εὐσεβίας μέτοχος, E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. II, 2). Epitaph of a young Jew who rests in his tomb “without having had a share in marriage” (οὐδὲ γάμου μέτοχος, *CII* 1512, 3 = *SEG* I, 572).

¹⁰ The Peshitta glosses, “We are mixed in with Christ,” and Chrysostom comments “Together with him we are but one . . . , we are consubstantial (συνουσιώθημεν) with Christ.”

¹¹ Wis 16:3; 1Cor 9:10; 10:30; Heb 5:13 (cf. Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 29: “This race . . . which has no need of an early rearing comparable to nursing”; *Joseph* 196: the governor gives the order “to invite these people to share the table

and the salt”). Other meanings: “Do not let a stranger share your wife” (Prov 5:17); “The priests, neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to the wrestling arena to take part in the unlawful exercises” (2Macc 4:14); Jason “had no place in the tomb of his fathers” (5:10); Judas Maccabeus ate only vegetables “so as not to share in defilement” (πρὸς τὸ μὴ μετασχει—ν τοῦ μολυσμοῦ, 5:27).

¹² Sir 51:28—μετάσχετε παιδείας; *Ep. Arist.* 248: to desire that the children should share in σωφροσύνη is an effect of the divine power; 264: “to share principles of conduct”; Philostratus, *Gym.* 14: “I will explain the extent to which gymnastics shares in each of these sciences (medicine and training).”

¹³ Heb 2:14; cf. *I.Magn.* XLIV, 17, 19: μετέχειν τα—ς τε θυσίας καὶ τοῦ ἄγω—νος ... τοὺς κοινωνησοῦντας τα—ς τε θυσίας; *P.Oxy.* 1408, 26: εἰ—σὶ δὲ ὑποδεχομένων πολλοὶ τρόποι οἱ— μὲν τὰρ κοινωνοῦντες τω—ν ἀδικημάτων ὑποδέχονται, οἱ— δὲ οὐ μετέχοντες μὲν κα[. . . . On shared blood, cf. Heb 7:13—“The one for whom these things were said belonged to another tribe” (φυλῆς ε—τέρας μετέσχηκεν); cf. this decree of Canopus: μετέχειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ε—κ τῆς πέμπτης φυλῆς τω—ν Εὐεργετω—ν θεω—ν τω—ν ἄγνειω—ν (Dittenberger, *Or.* 56, 31 = *SB* 8858).

¹⁴ *I.Thas.* 18, 3: “If the denouncer (of an insurrectionist movement) is in on the plot (τις τω—ν μετεχόντων), he shall receive the bonus.” For participation in farm work, cf. *P.Tebt.* 309, 20; *P.Corn.* 15, 17; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59294, 16; 59474, 12.

¹⁵ *P.Ryl.* 599, 11: ὡς τὸ μετέχειν τω—ν τῆς γερουσίας τιμίων. An honorific decree from Samothrace: “have a share (μετέχοντα) in all of the other privileges that the other *proxenoi* share (μετέχουσιν),” (*I.Thas.* 169, 16–17, 21); *Ep. Arist.* 224: “Everyone wants to share in this honor”; *P.Oxy.* 2918, 16: “that I may be able to take part in the common privilege” (τῆς κοινῆς φιλανθρωπίας μετασχει—ν).

¹⁶ *NCIG*, n. 21, 2; cf. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.31: “one who shares in the priesthood” (τὸν μετέχοντα τῆς ι—ερωσύνης); 1.232: “Amenophis seemed to share in the divine nature.”

¹⁷ Cf. the request to participate in a distribution—many references given in Index X to *P.Oxy.* XL, p. 132.

μετεωρίζομαι

meteorizomai, to be raised, suspended, exalted; to be in suspense, be anxious

meteorizomai, S 3349; TDNT 4.630–631; EDNT 2.420; MM 405; L&N 25.232; BAGD 514

After prescribing “Take no thought for what you shall eat or what you shall drink,” Jesus adds *kai me meteorizesthe* (Luke 12:29). The Vulgate translates literally *et nolite in sublime tolli*. And indeed the ordinary meaning of the verb is “to be raised, suspended” in a physical sense;¹ but it is hard to see what sense this definition makes of the text, which urges confidence and denounces anxiety.

With the support of Thucydides 8.16.2, which uses *meteorizo* for a boat driven to the open sea, some have leapt to the conclusion that this verb can mean “agitate (with disquiet),” a meaning nowhere else attested.² As for other meanings, the sense of prideful exaltation or haughtiness, the preponderant denotation in the LXX, does not fit here.³

M. J. Lagrange (on Luke 12:29) is right to point out that the moral sense of *meteoros*, which started from “to be on high, be suspended” and evolved into “be in suspense, be anxious.” He cites Josephus, *Ant.* 8.218: the crowd is agitated, anxious to hear what Rehoboam will say; *War* 4.118: “Titus knew that many, giving in to private hatred and personal hostility, would denounce innocent people if he sought out the guilty. So it was better to leave the guilty party in suspense and fear” (*einai meteoron en phobo*).⁴

The denominative verb *meteorizomai* is well-attested in this sense: Herod, when he named his successors, was very disturbed (*memeteoristo polla*) because of their rivalry and the hopes that he had given his sons (Josephus, *Ant.* 16.135).⁵ In the second century, Julius Clemens writes to his brother Arrianus: “You know that I am anxious (*ginoskon hoti meteorizomai*) if you do not write me frequently concerning your affairs” (*P.Mich.* 484, 5–6); “I am very anxious and astonished concerning this” (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 1,13, 2). In the following century, Appia urges his mother Serapias: “Do not be upset; we are doing well” (*Kyria, me meteorizou, kalos diagomen*). Thus we can with complete certainty translate Luke 12:29 “do not be anxious.”⁶ This is not a *crux interpretum*.

¹ Mic 4:1—“the mountain of the house of Yahweh will be raised above the hills” (niphral of the Hebrew verb *nasa'*); Ezek 10:16, 17, 19—the cherubim are raised above the earth (Hebrew *rûm*); Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.159: “hoist to the top of a gallows”; *P.Oxy.* 904, 6: καθ ε—κάστην ἡμέραν μετεωρίζομενον σχοινίοις καὶ πληγαι—ς κατακοπτόμενον κατὰ τὸ σω—μα; cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 395: “If I take him in my arms, once airborne

(μετέωρος) he clamps his teeth onto a branch”; *T. Abr.* A 2.14. The adjective μετέωρος denotes height (Sir 22:18; 37:14), “high mountain” (Ezek 17:23), “raised hill” (Isa 30:25; 57:7), “above = heaven” (Jer 31:37), the loftiest boughs of a tree (Isa 17:6); “the platform, that lofty place” (Philo, *Flacc.* 142); “reason raises its thoughts to the heights” (*Drunkness* 128). Aristotle’s ὀχετοὶ μετέωροι (*Ath. Pol.* 50) are open drain-pipes to the ground (cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1958, p. 215, n. 134). “The rest of the route was at high elevations, where the air was entirely healthy” (Diodorus Siculus 19.20.2). In geometry: that which is situated above a plane (C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, pp. 290, 291). E. Delebecque translates “do not be the wind’s plaything” and observes that the verb μετεωρίζομαι, “like the adjective μετέωρος, is used literally or figuratively for a person or a thing that leaves the ground behind and rises into the clouds or takes to the high sea; thus becoming, like the Socrates of Aristophanes’ caricature, whose feet are not on the ground, the plaything of the wind, or like a ship or a city that is in danger, the plaything of the waves. Hence the idea is not ‘anxiety’ It is rather ‘useless agitation’ . . . and even more ‘instability’; if the expression were not a bit too familiar, the verb could be translated ‘perdre le nord’ [literally ‘lose the north’; meaning lose one’s bearings, lose one’s head], the ‘north,’ i.e., God, being the exclusive direction of the voyage of life; and this direction is given by faith. . . . Without it, one loses one’s equilibrium, becomes disoriented, the plaything of the wind” (*Evangile de Luc*, Paris, 1976, p. 83). In astronomy, meteors are various phenomena that pass between heaven and earth, for which the atmosphere is the cause or the locus (comets, falling stars, rainbows); the comparative μετεωρότερος, “higher and higher,” occurs frequently; cf. Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 5.31; 13.13.

² It would be a *transitus de genere ad genus* to cite μετεωρισμός (Hebrew *mishbar*), “wave, breaker,” in Ps 42:8; 88:7; Jonah 2:4. Elsewhere, Agathocles “encouraged (μετεωρίζων) a good many people with his promises” (Diodorus Siculus 19.6.6); but this historian uses the verb for revolutionary agitation and seditious movements (17.5.2; 17.29.4; cf. 17.72.3—stirred up by drunkenness).

³ Ps 131:1; Obad 4 (hiphil of the Hebrew *gabah*); 2Macc 5:17: “Antiochus was exalted in his own mind”; 7:34; Polybius 3.70.1: “Sempronius, proud and lifted up by success”; cf. μετέωρος: the haughty (2Sam 22:28; Isa 2:12-13; 18:2); used especially for an insolent look (Isa 5:15; cf. Sir 23:4; 26:9); Epictetus 3.24.75: “You may find joy again and go about with head lifted up (μετέωρος πορεύη) at Athens.” The pejorative nuance, lift oneself up = be swollen with pride = be carried away with delusions = become unnaturally bombastic, recurs constantly in Philo, *Heir* 71, 269; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.186; *Post. Cain* 115; *Spec. Laws* 1.44; *Moses* 1.195; 2.139; *Drunkness* 93; cf.

Dreams 2.16. *Anth. Pal.* 9.528 attributes an epigram to “Palladas the proud”; P. Waltz rightly sees in the pejorative epithet μετέωρος in this text the equivalent of ἀλαζών and rejects its interpretation by certain commentators as “suspended, hence incredulous” (“Sur quelques épigrammes ‘protreptiques,’” in *REG*, 1946–47, p. 209).

⁴ We might add Polybius 5.18.5: “their minds were in suspense”; 3.107.6: “the allies were hesitant in their thoughts” (τω—ν δὲ συμμάχων πάντων μετεώρων ὄντων ται—ς διανοίαις). In the papyri, τὰ μετέωρα means “difficulties” (*P.Mich.* 476, 17; second century AD; cf. *P.Köln* 56, 14), pending matters, not finished (479, 16; *P.Ryl.* 144, 10, from AD 38; *P.Brem.* 3, 6), in litigation (*P.Mich.* 477, 36–37; *P.Brem.* 20, 13), notably contracts that are not legally complete or that have disputed clauses (*P.Oxy.* 238, 1, from AD 72; 1219, 5; *P.Fay.* 116, 12; from AD 104). In *BGU* 417, 4, 6, τὰ μετέωρα is in opposition to ἀμέριμνος (line 7; cf. Moulton-Milligan, on this word). Thus in 280 BC, Samos drafts a decree for the judges from Miletus, Myndos, and Halicarnassus “to regulate contracts in litigation” (ε—πὶ τὰ μετέωρα συμβόλαια, *SEG* I, 363, 3 and 6); cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 364, 43. *P.Mich.* inv. 855, 12: πολλὰ μετεωρίζομαι = I still have much unfinished business (ed. H. C. Youtie, in *ZPE*, vol. 27, 1977, p. 149).

⁵ [Note that neither the text nor this interpretation of it is certain. Niese reads μεμετεώριστο, but the readings νενεωτέριστο and ε—νεωτέριστο are found in the codices. LCL follows Niese, but translates “there was already considerable unrest.” Cf. *War* 1.466–467, which contrasts the discord among the sons with Herod’s fond hopes for unity among them.]

⁶ The Old Latin got it right: *nolite solliciti esse*; likewise the Peshitta. On the other ancient versions, cf. J. Molitor, “Zur Übersetzung von μετεωρίζεσθε, Lk 12, 29,” in *BZ*, 1966, pp. 107–108,

μετριοπαθέω

metriopatheo, to suffer (or experience emotion) with moderation; to sympathize

metriopatheo, S 3356; *TDNT* 5.938; *EDNT* 2.421; MM 406; L&N 88.65; BDF §187(7); BAGD 514–515

According to Heb 5:2, the high priest must be able to sympathize with the ignorant and the straying (*metriopathein dynamenos*). At least that is the sense suggested by the context, which insists that Jesus was really human, that he was in every respect like his brothers, and that he learned

to be merciful through his experience of human weakness. But according to its etymology (*paschein metrios* or *kata to metron*) the biblical hapax *metriopatheo*, which unknown in the papyri and the inscriptions and is a term of school philosophy, would mean “suffer with moderation,” as at *Ep. Arist.* 256: philosophy requires “properly carrying out the present responsibility while remaining within measure” (*metriopathe*).

According to Aristotle (see Diogenes Laertius 5.31; *De vit. et poes. Hom.* 135), followed by the Stoics, *metriopatheia* —“patience, the daughter of moderation” (Plutarch, *De frat. amor.* 18)—is the golden mean between indifference or insensitivity (*apatheia*) and extreme reaction, hypersensitivity, frantic excitement (*ametria ton pathon*). The sage must be neither too easily moved (*pathetikos*) nor unfeeling (*apathes*) but *metriopathes* (cf. Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 12; Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 3 and 22; Plutarch, *De cohib. ira* 458 c; *De frat. amor.* 489 c), far from excess.¹ This is an eminently Philonian virtue: “The excellent and profitable lessons of reason . . . neither immoderate convulsions . . . nor impassibility . . . preferring the golden mean to the extremes, holding to moderation in the emotions (*metriopathein*)” (*Abraham* 257); “In my view, modesty, truthfulness, moderation in the emotions (*metriopatheia*), humility, and innocence are weighty . . . ; immodesty, lying, excess in the emotions (*he ametria ton pathon*), pride, wickedness are enemies” (*Virtues* 195); “Moses thinks that he must remove and suppress the short-tempered element of the soul, because what he prefers is not moderation in the emotions (*ou metriopatheian*) but the total absence of the emotions” (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.129); “Aaron strives for moderations in the emotions” (ibid. 3.132); “The one who is perfect thinks of nothing petty or base; moderating the emotions is not his desire (*oude metriopathein bouletai*); he goes well beyond this, having entirely suppressed the passions everywhere” (ibid. 3.134); “Well-trained in misfortune . . . I have been treated as a prisoner, I have lived as a foreigner, I have worked for wages, I have toiled at another’s bidding, I have been threatened even with death . . . I have personally suffered a thousand unendurable evils. Through it all, I have learned to moderate my emotions (*eph’ hois paideutheis metriopathein*), and I have not given in” (*Joseph* 26).

On the basis of these texts, some commentators interpret Heb 5:2 to mean “who can restrain his anger against the ignorant and the wayward.”² As opposed to Moses, who gave in to unbridled wrath stirred up by sin (Exod 32:19), the high priest should be mild, though not weak and not excessively indulgent. But this golden moderation, this balance, has no point of contact with the immoderate spectacle of Christ’s suffering at Gethsemane (Heb 5:7-8), nor with the fact that he learned compassion for his human brothers and sisters precisely through being engulfed in weakness himself (5:2). Moreover, Philo made of *metriopatheia* a virtue of those who were on the way (like Aaron), whereas *apatheia* was for him the

virtue of those who had achieved perfection, like Moses (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.144); and it is impossible to detract in the slightest from the perfection (*teleiosis*) of the high priest of the new covenant, which is so insistently affirmed by Hebrews—a major element of which is merciful lovingkindness.

So it seems preferable to consider *metriopatheo* in the vocabulary of this letter as a synonym of *sympatheo* (Heb 4:5), associated with feelings of magnanimity,³ of *epieikeia*,⁴ of *praotes*.⁵ These connotations of goodness, kindness, patience suggest that Christ's *metriopatheia* is not to be understood in terms of the traditional Stoic vocabulary, nor even, as is often the case with compound forms, according to its etymology. Rather, it means that commiseration, sympathy is innate in the priest's nature. Being weak himself (5:2), he puts himself on the level of sinners (Gal 6:1); his moderation in compassion comes from within, from his experience of his own weakness (*astheneia*, Heb 4:15; 5:2; cf. Matt 26:41), though without sin. This innocence makes him even more merciful.⁶

¹ Cf. the physician's attitude, according to Hippocrates: "being in the forefront and being lavish stir scorn, even when it would be useful" (Hippocrates, *Medic.* 1). With Plutarch, *μετριοπαθεία*, often associated with *πραότης*, is above all a good disposition of character, cf. Plutarch, *De sera* 551 c; *Adv. Col.* 1119 c.

² E. J. Yarnold, "Μετριοπαθει—ν apud Hebr. V, 2," in *VD*, 1960, pp. 149–155.

³ Just as Vespasian and Titus demonstrate long-suffering toward the Jews (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.128, *μεγαλοφροσύνη*).

⁴ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.96: "The most conciliatory and least passionate men."

⁵ Plutarch, *De frat. amor.* 18; cf. *De cohib. ira* 10; *Publ.* 6.5–6; Brutus having ordered the execution of his two sons and having taken part in it without showing any sign of emotion, R. Flacelière comments: "Plutarch, employing the philosophical vocabulary, wonders whether this is a case of *ἀπάθεια* (domination of emotion by reason) or of *ἀναλγησία* (lack of feeling owing to violent wrath), and remarks that neither of the two is normally appropriate for a human, the one being characteristic of the gods and the other of savage beasts" (*Plutarque: Vies*, vol. 2, Paris, 1961, p. 56).

⁶ J. Roloff, "Der mitleidende Hohepriester" in *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie* (Festschrift H. Conzelmann), Tübingen, 1975, pp. 143–166.

μιμνήσκομαι, μνεία, μνήμη, μνημονεύω, μνημόσυνον

mimneskomai, to remember, mention; *mneia*, memory, mention; *mneme*, memory, mention, faculty of memory; *mnemoneuo*, to remember, keep in mind; *mnemosynon*, monument, memorial, thing remembered

mimneskomai, S 3403; TDNT 4.672–678; EDNT 2.430; NIDNTT 3.230, 233, 240–242, 245; MM 412–413; L&N 29.7, 29.16; BDF §§26, 155(1), 175, 311(2), 341, 396, 416(2); BAGD 522 | ***mneia***, S 3417; TDNT 4.678–679; EDNT 2.434; NIDNTT 3.230, 238, 242, 246; MM 414; L&N 29.7, 29.18; BAGD 524 | ***mneme***, S 3420; TDNT 4.679; EDNT 2.435; NIDNTT 3.230–231, 238, 240; MM 415; L&N 29.7; BAGD 524–525 | ***mnemoneuo***, S 3421; TDNT 4.682–683; EDNT 2.435–436; NIDNTT 3.230, 240–243; MM 415; L&N 29.7; BDF §175; BAGD 525 | ***mnemosynon***, S 3422; EDNT 2.436; NIDNTT 3.230, 233, 236, 238, 242; MM 415; L&N 29.12; BDF §110(2); BAGD 525

From Homer¹ to the papyri, the verb *mimnesko* in the middle voice means “have in one’s head, think about, remember, mention,” and is normally construed with the genitive for the object of memory.² Its meanings can be divided into three principal groups: (a) “put oneself in mind of, recall”:³ “Farewell, and remember the things that I have said” (*erroso kai memneso ton eiremenon*, *P.Mert.* 12, 26; AD 58); “You know the one I am talking about” (*P.Mert.* 85, 6); “For it is necessary to remember your nobility” (*anankaion gar esti mimneskesthai tes kalokagathias sou*).⁴ Sometimes there is a legal nuance: “inform, make appeal”; in a letter from the first half of the first century, Nemesios protests against the decision of an *archaimachirophoros*: “It is necessary that they inform (or appeal to) the *strategos*.”⁵ Sometimes the nuance is affective (“I evoke for you”) and expresses commonality of feelings: “Remember us, as we remember you” (*P.Ant.* 44, 16); “Every time I think of you . . . I weep” (*P.Mich.* 465, 9); “with us he constantly mentioned you.”⁶

(b) To mention is also to evoke the memory of, recall, commemorate;⁷ it is in this sense that the verb appears in tomb inscriptions⁸ and takes on a religious value. A pilgrim in his *proskynema* associates his wife and children;⁹ “I heard (the voice of Memnon) four times and I remembered (*kai emnesthen*) Zeno and Arianus, my brothers.”¹⁰ A husband carries out an act of adoration by proxy for his absent wife.¹¹ In letters, the writer asks to be remembered in prayers (*BGU* 2006, 3; second century BC; *C.P.Herm.* 9, 9; 47, 6).

(c) To remember is again to “take care, concern oneself with,” a reason for acting:¹² *kata touto memnemenos* (*P.Oxy.* 2407, 34); “You did not write me at all, and you took no thought for the security of the house” (1070, 48); “Take care to send me the letter from Evangelus by the hand of someone trustworthy” (*mnestheti pempasai moi . . . ten epistolen*, 2984, 11).

These meanings are also found in the LXX,¹³ which almost always translates the Hebrew verb *zakar* with *mimneskomai*,¹⁴ giving it considerable theological resonance. To be sure, the psychological meaning (“memory of the past”) is attested a number of times: people remember the fish eaten in Egypt (Num 11:5; cf. Ezek 23:27; Ps 137:1, 6) and things that happened in a foreign land (Wis 19:10), money left on deposit (Tob 4:1), and fatherly words of command (6:15), but the evocation of the past is blurred in favor of the nuance “consider, reflect,” usually with a view to beneficent intervention. This sort of memory is first of all attributed to God, who “remembers” to put aside evil and bless people.¹⁵ It is an expression of his faithfulness: he remembers his covenant in answering prayers (Exod 2:24; Ps 105:8; 106:45; 111:5). He remembers that men are of flesh (Ps 78:39; 88:5; 89:47; 103:14; 136:23); his mercy stirs wonder: “What is man that you remember him, the son of Adam that you concern yourself with him?” (Ps 8:4 = Heb 2:6-9), despite his smallness! The faith of Israel is expressed in this conviction: “Yahweh remembers us; he will bless us,”¹⁶ and “religion” means beseeching God to remember.¹⁷ God is asked not to remember ancestors’ offenses (Ps 79:8; Bar 3:5) or personal transgressions (Ps 25:7); “Even in your wrath, remember with pity” (Hab 3:2; Jer 31:20), because the Lord acts according to his grace (Ps 25:6; Isa 64:8), remains attached to his own (Ps 74:2; 106:4) and remembers their sacrifices and offerings (Ps 20:3). Confidence is absolute: “Remember me and take care of me.”¹⁸

On the human side, the great moral principle is to think of Yahweh, after the fashion of Tobias: “I remembered God with all my soul”:¹⁹ remaining mindful of all his marvelous deeds,²⁰ notably the whole history of Israel under the manifest guidance of Providence (Deut 7:18; 8:2, 18; 9:7; 15:15; 16:3, 12; 24:18, 22; 32:7), but also remembering the Lord’s commandments and the law of Moses to do them (Exod 20:8; Num 15:39-40; Deut 5:15; Josh 1:13; Ps 103:18; Isa 68:11; Mal 3:22); one takes into account prophecies (Tob 2:6) and the words of an angel (Tob 8:2). So this memory is a source of obedience, a taking into consideration that inspires courage and faithfulness (Amos 1:9), especially in times of distress (Isa 20:16, Hebrew *paqad* = look upon with attention and interest). It is expressed also in worship, where the Lord’s benefits are celebrated: “Remember that his name is exalted” (Isa 12:4; 63:7); “Remember to magnify his work, which is sung by men” (Job 36:24; Bar 2:32); “I want to commemorate your name in every generation” (Ps 45:17; 71:16; 78:35; Isa 17:10); close relations are associated with this celebration, as when Jonathan writes to the Spartans, “We do not cease to remember you on our feasts and other holy days in the sacrifices that we offer” (1Macc 12:11).

This memory, which is in reality a reflection, is a preponderant element in Israelite moral pedagogy. The wicked do not think about doing

mercy (Ps 109:16), take no thought for the poor (Eccl 9:15; Sir 16:17), have no interest in wisdom (Sir 15:8; Bar 3:23; Isa 57:11); but the wise person remembers his parents with gratitude (Sir 7:28; 23:14), remembers that “we all will die” (8:7) and that the divine wrath will not be slow in coming (7:16). Thus “memory” has bearing on the future: “In all your actions, remember your end and you will not sin.”²¹ Moral conduct is determined by this “memory,” this judicious judgment,²² informed by the experience of the past²³ and by human psychology.²⁴

The meanings of the verb are less numerous in Philo and Josephus, where the meaning “mention, cite” is by far the most frequent²⁵ and “remember the past” only a little less so: “the intelligence thinks the present, remembers (*memnetai*) the past, awaits the future.”²⁶ But one also remembers the future: according to Solon, it is in the fifth cycle of life that “man thinks of marriage” (Philo, *Creation* 104), is preoccupied with it (cf. *Heir* 12); “Remember that you will even have to make war against the Romans” (Josephus, *Life* 209). That is to say, this remembering consists of thinking, meditating, reflecting,²⁷ and finally “taking into account” certain information in view of an action to be undertaken.²⁸ Only Philo uses the verb with a religious sense: God is “the one who ought to be remembered constantly”;²⁹ “If you remember your own nothingness . . . you will also remember God’s transcendence” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 55); finally, the meaning of memorial: in celebrating a sacred meal, one remembers the sacrifices (*Plant.* 162: *ton thysion memnemenoi*; cf. *Decalogue* 94).

In the NT, “remembering” has lost much of its importance, probably because of what was completely new in the covenant instituted by Jesus.³⁰ God’s remembering is mentioned only four times: first, in the words of the Virgin Mary (Luke 1:54) and of Zacharias (Luke 1:72), in terms that partake very much of OT language (Ps 98:3; 106:8), to celebrate the *mirabilia Dei*, God’s merciful intervention in messianic salvation; then in two texts in Hebrews that are simply quotations. Heb 2:16 quotes Ps 8:5 (“What is man that you should remember him?”);³¹ Heb 8:12 quotes Jer 31:34 (“I will remember their sins no longer”).³²

On the other hand, the human activity of remembering is often mentioned, notably with regard to the recent past (“If you remember that your brother has something against you” [Matt 5:23]), and especially with regard to words that have been uttered: the Pharisees and the chief priests remember that Jesus had announced his resurrection (Matt 27:63), and Peter remembers that the Master had predicted his denial; but this is a matter of recalling a prophecy to memory, as for example when the angels remind the holy women (Luke 24:6, 8), and this is not a simple evocation but includes understanding, as when the apostles come to understand the purification of the temple while meditating on Ps 69:10 (John 2:17, 22), or the triumph of Palm Sunday in light of Zech 9:9 (John 12:16). In baptizing the centurion Cornelius, Peter remembers what Jesus had said concerning

the baptism in the Holy Spirit (Acts 11:16). To remember words “spoken aforetime” (*proieiremenon*) by the prophets, the apostles, and the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ means not only to accept and believe them but to obey them, because this submission is the rule of thought and of life (Jude 17; 2Pet 3:2). In addition, St. Paul praises the Corinthians for remembering him (*mou memnesthe*) “and holding to the traditions just as I transmitted them to you.”³³

As in the wisdom writers, “remembering” can be a simple recollection that allows reflection,³⁴ but also the origin of beneficent and helpful conduct,³⁵ and there is mixed with it a positive affective reaction to helping the unfortunate.³⁶ St. Paul, imprisoned at Rome, remembers Timothy’s tears (2Tim 1:4), probably on the occasion of the apostle’s arrest. The captive cannot get this wrenching farewell scene out of his mind.

Mneia. — This substantive has two meanings: “memory” and “mention” (to make mention of someone). In the former case,³⁷ it is used especially with the verb *echo* (“keep the memory”).³⁸ In this sense, “you always keep a good memory of us” (*echete mneian hemon agathen pantote*, 1Tim 3:6).

Classical Greek and the LXX usually use the formula *mneian poieo*, “make mention of.”³⁹ The inscriptions from the Hellenistic era give a religious value: “I, Menelaos, come to the great goddess Isis, and I mention (*mneian poioumenos*) my own people for good.”⁴⁰ It appears many times in letters, beginning in the third century with the correspondence of Zeno: “making mention on every occasion” (*em panti kairo mneian poioumenoi*, SB 6720, 3); “to make mention of us” (*peri hemon mneian poesai*, 6784; 8142 = SEG VIII, 552). The soldier Antonius Maximus writes to his sister Sabina: “making mention of thee before the gods here” (*mneian sou poioumenos para tois enthade theois*).⁴¹ A woman, Isias, writes to her “brother” Hephaestion (her husband?), a refugee at the Serapeum at Memphis: “All those who are in the household continually make mention of you” (*hoi en oiko pantes sou diapantos mneian poioumenos*).⁴² So we can see that Paul was conforming to good contemporary usage from his first letter (“always making mention concerning you all,” *pantote peri panton hymon mneian poioumenoi*)⁴³ to his last (“without ceasing I keep your memory” [2Tim 1:3]).

Mneme. — This action noun is quite often synonymous with the preceding word, but it especially evokes the faculty of memory⁴⁴ and not the objective memory itself (*mnema*, a commemorative monument, tomb, etc.). Facts are entrusted to memory (2Macc 2:25); one remembers what is past (Wis 11:12). In making psalms, one remembers the holiness and goodness of God (Ps 30:4; 97:12; 145:7); but according to Eccl 1:11, the memory of the ancients, the wise (2:16), the dead is lost.⁴⁵ *Mnemen echo* is to retain the memory,⁴⁶ *mnemen poieo* is to mention, evoke, bring to mind.⁴⁷ This latter meaning is that of the NT hapax: “I will be zealous that

on every occasion after my departure you will be able to bring these things to mind” (*tentouton mnemen poieisthai*, 2Pet 1:15; parallel to *hypomimneskein peri touton*, 1:12, and *en hypomnesei*, 1:13). To evaluate this effort, we should remember that Philo wrote his treatise *On the Special Laws* “to awaken the memory of lovers of knowledge” (*Spec. Laws* 4.238), because “the ancient tradition is transmitted . . . to the memory of contemporaries and of the generations that follow” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 78). Indeed, Philo is the theologian of *mneme*, an innate faculty (*Creation* 18; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.43; 3.91–93; *Spec. Laws* 1.334), but one given by God, so that it is almost always seen as beneficent, forgetfulness being an illness of the memory (*Prelim. Stud.* 39–41; *Change of Names* 84; *Virtues* 176). Of course, it is first of all the recording of the past⁴⁸ and “through memories, the flame of noble qualities is kept alive” (*Migr. Abr.* 16; *Dreams* 2.37); but for Philo, the memory is above all a religious faculty: a memory of the good (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.18; *Husbandry* 133); “memory is for keeping and observing the holy precepts”⁴⁹ and it is indispensable to the disciple for profiting from the Master’s counsel.⁵⁰

Mnemoneuo. — This denominative verb, which is construed either with the genitive or with the accusative, is practically synonymous with *mimnesko*,⁵¹ like its meaning “recall, remember” both in the classical literature⁵² and in the papyri: “I exhort you to remember me in your holy prayer”;⁵³ “urging you to remember me also” (*parakalon mnemoneues kamou*, *C.P.Herm.* 8, 10); “Remember your oath concerning the holy church.”⁵⁴ Likewise in the LXX, where one remembers the past,⁵⁵ but this evocation is especially a reflection, a thinking that determines conduct.⁵⁶

Philo gives *mnemoneuo* its exact nuance “keep in mind” in his commentary on Gen 2:15—“‘keep’ (*phylatto*) means ‘remember’ (*mnemoneuo*)” (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.89). Quite fundamental for the soul: “a memory free of forgetfulness, keeping everything that merits being kept.”⁵⁷ This is the meaning of the verb that the evangelists place exclusively in Jesus’ mouth: “Do you not retain the memory (*ou mnemoneuete*) of the five loaves that fed the five thousand?”⁵⁸ Likewise St. Paul, who keeps in mind the virtues of the Thessalonians (1Thess 1:3), exhorts Christians to remember him affectionately (Acts 20:31; 1Thess 2:9; col. 4:18) and to be faithful to his teachings (2Thess 2:5) or to those of Christ (Acts 20:35). Converted Gentiles must retain the memory of the time when they were “without Christ” (Eph 2:11), and this evocation is always a call to faithfulness⁵⁹ and devotion (Gal 2:10). Consequently, to “retain the memory of Jesus Christ” (2Tim 2:8) is not simply the act of remembering but thinking and deepening one’s faith by drawing out the consequences.⁶⁰

According to Heb 11:15, the patriarchs did not hold on to the memory of (attachment to) their native land, and on his deathbed Joseph calls to mind the exodus of the Israelites.⁶¹ The exhortation to preserve the memory of the *hegoumenoi*⁶² is always a recommendation to faithfulness.

Mnemosynon. — This neuter noun, a substantivized form of the adjective *mnemosynos*, normally means that which one remembers or “that which evokes a memory.”⁶³ Herodotus uses the word in the sense of material constructions or creations that perpetuate the memory of a person: “Queen Nitocris left monuments (*mnemosyna*) which I will describe” (1.185); “Moeris built as a monument of his reign” the propylaea of the sanctuary of Hephaestus.⁶⁴ In the LXX, *mnemosynon* means “the one evoked” when it translates the Hebrew *zeker*,⁶⁵ but it is part of the liturgical vocabulary and translates sometimes the Hebrew *‘azkarah* regarding an oblation: “the priest shall burn the memorial portion on the altar” (Lev 2:2, 9, 16; 5:12; 6:8; Num 5:26; Sir 15:16), this good odor which is pleasing to God (cf. Sir 38:11; Tob 12:12); sometimes *zakarôn*: Passover in the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Exod 12:14; 13:9), the stones in the ephod (Exod 28:12; 39:7; Josh 4:7), the breastplate (Exod 28:29; 30:6), the bells (Sir 45:9, 11; 50:16) are calls to remembrance for Israel, especially the remembrance of their offenses.⁶⁶ In any event, the sacrifice of the righteous is acceptable, “his memorial will not be forgotten” (Sir 35:7).

Given the spiritualization of the cult in the Hellenistic period⁶⁷ and the Israelite tradition guaranteeing that the memory of the righteous will be a blessing, we can understand the reward Jesus gave Mary of Bethany, who anointed his body with a view to his burial: “Everywhere throughout the world . . . what she has done will be told in memory of her” (*eis mnemosynon autes*),⁶⁸ that is, in her honor. Following the LXX, we must understand that this *zakarôn* will be universally remembered and applauded,⁶⁹ but also that it is acceptable to heaven, where God blesses this woman. Similarly, the angel affirms to Cornelius, “Your prayers and alms have ascended as a memorial before God,”⁷⁰ that is, have been accepted with favor.

¹ F. Bader, “Notes sur les emplois homériques de μμνήσκομαι,” in *RevPhil*, 1968, pp. 49–53; the middle imperative can have causative value. On the infix σκ, cf. A. Debrunner, “διδάσκω,” in *Mélanges E. Boisacq*, Brussels, 1937, vol. 1, pp. 261ff.

² There is also the construction with ὅτι, cf. Matt 5:23; John 12:16; *P.Brem.* 53, 10; *P.Stras.* 334 b 10; *P.Laur.* 64, 19; *SB* 9440, 7.

³ Homer, *Il.* 5.263: “Do not forget to make a dash against the horses of Aeneas”; 6.222: “I do not remember Tydeus”; 17.364: “They did not forget to stay always in groups”; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.6.3: “I remember hearing you say”; 1.6.8: “I remember that you said that”; Thucydides 2.45.2: “If I must evoke feminine memories”; Ps.-Phocylides 109: “If you are rich, remember that you are mortal”; *P.Oxy.* 2779, 4: “He told me to remind you regarding

the subject of sowing” (from 3 BC); 3022, 7: Emperor Trajan remembers the benefits granted by his father.

⁴ *P.Hamb.* 37, 4; 182, 7; *SB* 10653, 5: μνησθεῖς τω—ν ἀνανκω—ν; *P.Bon.* 42, 2: μνήσθητι τω—ν τρητω—ν (cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, p. 323); *P.Hamb.* 129, 29: σὺ δὲ μνήσθητι τοῦ πορφυρίου; *P.Oxy.* 2599, 33: “remember the oath when you come”; *P.Princ.* 169, 5; *BGU* 1578, 13: μνημισκομένην τω—ν ἀπ̄ ε—μοῦ εἰ—ς αὐτὴν πάντων; *P.Apoll.* 40, 1: “I remember having received from our master . . . the order to . . .”; *P.Ryl.* 81,21.

⁵ *P.Mich.* 656, 9: δεῖ— ε— δὶ αὐτοῦς στρατηγῶ— μνησθῆναι; *P.Lille* 8, 11: “You will do well to remind Theodoros that he orders him to return my animals”; 12, 1: “I verbally reminded (ε—μνήσθην σοι) you of the matter of the hundred *arourai*”; *BGU* 451, 14; *P.Lond.* 2056, 3 and 8: “Be so good as to inform Euthychos regarding the assistant Harendotes”; 2066, 1; *SB* 4303, 1; *P.Cair.Isid.* 73, 16; *P.Oxy.* 2416, 17: “does not mention this in the appended summary”; 3357, 12.

⁶ *P.Mich.* 497, 17; *P.Oslo* 47, 3 (AD 1); *P.Warr.* 14, 16; *SB* 9399, 16; *P.Tebt.* 410, 18; *C.P.Herm.* 5, 5: “It is normal—like you when you write to others—that you should remember us.” Polite monastic remark in the sixth century: “I beg you to remember my meager self” (*P.Fouad* 88, 5; 89, 5).

⁷ Homer, *Od.* 4.151: “I was remembering him” (ε—γὼ μεμνημένος); 4.331: “remember now these things for me”; Herodotus 1.36: “Croesus, remembering the dream that he had had”; Pindar, *Isthm.* 8.59: “the council of the Blessed Ones has not forgotten him”; Plato, *Lach.* 200 d: “each time that I evoke this subject . . .”; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.2.12: “They would not have dared mention anything disagreeable concerning Cyrus”; Philostratus, *Gym.* 1: “admirable athletes, worthy to be remembered” (θαυμασίους καὶ μεμνησθαι ἀξίους); *P.Oxy.Hels.* 48, 7: “not once did you mention me (in your correspondence).”

⁸ Commemorating a mother, a good wife (*ISE*, n. 479, 672, 869: ἀεὶ μνησθοι—ς); *SB* 9022, 7, 3: Εἰ—ς ἀεὶ μνηστὸν τὸ ὄνομα. Excellent inventory in A. Rehm, “MNHΣH,” in *Philologus*, 1941, pp. 1–30. Since then, J. and L. Robert have often noted inscriptions with ε—μνήσθη (“Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1953, p. 193, n. 232; 1955, p. 263, n. 201; 1958, p. 312, n. 438) or μνησθῆ (1953, p. 180, n. 205; p. 182, n. 206; 1958, p. 340, n. 55), etc.

⁹ Epigram of Celsus: “I dedicated this writing remembering my wife and my dear children” (E. Bernand, *Philae*, n. 166, 2 = *SB* 8423). The members of

a *thiasos* “came to adore the Venerable Isis, remembering the members of their households” (μνησθέντες τῶ—ν οἰ—κείων, *Philae*, n. 157, 8 = SB 4094); Lucius Anianus Similis “mentioned (to the deity) Polla and Theodoros” (*Philae*, n. 272, 2).

¹⁰ A. and E. Bernand, *Memnon*, n. 69, 4 (= SB 8257); 78, 5.

¹¹ A. and E. Bernand, *Memnon*, n. 102, 4: “Act of adoration for my wife Apollonarian, after my visit and after remembering.” Cf. “May Severus . . . owner of the ship, remember Ioannes and Claudia” (A. Bernand, *El-Kanaïs*, n. 57, 1 = SB 4028). One must remember the feast of Isis at the Serapeum (*P.Oxy.* 525, 9).

¹² Homer, *Od.* 18.267, Ulysses to Penelope: “Take care of everything. Think (μνησθαι) of my father and mother; for them, remain always the same in our palace.”

¹³ P. A. H. de Boer, *Gedenken und Gedächtnis in der Welt des Alten Testaments*, Stuttgart, 1962; B. S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel*, London, 1962; W. Schottroff, “Gedenken” im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament: Die Wurzel “zakar” im semitischen Sprachkreis, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1964; A. Solignac, “Mémoire,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 10, col. 991–1002.

¹⁴ H. Gross, “Zur Wurzel zkr,” in *BZ*, 1960, pp. 227–237; M. Thurian, *L’Eucharistie, mémorial du Seigneur*, 2d ed., Neuchâtel-Paris, 1963, pp. 32ff.

¹⁵ When God remembers Noah, it is to stop the flood (Gen 8:1; 9:15-16); he remembers Abraham when he makes Lot escape catastrophe (Gen 19:29) and by bringing his people out of Egypt (Ps 105:42; cf. 98:3); he remembers Rachel to open her womb (Gen 30:22). Certainly God also remembers to punish the wicked (Hos 7:2; 8:13; 9:9; Jer 14:10; Ps 9:12; 74:22; 89:50; 87:7; Sir 49:9; 1Macc 7:38), as Ahasuerus remembered Vashti to punish her (Esth 2:1); but memory is often beneficent (1Sam 25:31; Judg 9:2; 2Macc 9:26); it is said of Pharaoh that he remembered (Hebrew *nasa’*) his chief cupbearer when he restored him to his post (Gen 40:13-14, 20), and anger is expressed that one who has been helped does not remember his benefactor (Gen 40:23; 2Chr 24:22).

¹⁶ Ps 115:12; cf. Samson: “Lord Yahweh, deign to remember me and make me strong” (Judg 16:28), Hannah (1Sam 1:11, 19), Hezekiah (2Kgs 20:3 = Isa 38:3).

¹⁷ Isa 62:6—“They oblige Yahweh to remember”; Lev 26:42; Deut 9:27; 2Chr 6:42; Neh 1:8; 5:19; 6:14, 31; 1Macc 4:10; 2Macc 1:2; Jer 14:21; Lam 3:19-20; 5:1; Ezek 16:60; Tob 3:3; Job 7:7; 10:9; Ps 119:49; 132:1.

¹⁸ Jer 15:15; cf. 2:2—“I remember the piety of your youth”; Isa 43:25—“I will no longer remember your sins”; Jer 31:34; 33:8; Bel 38: “You remembered me, O God, and you did not abandon those who love you.”

¹⁹ Tob 1:12; 2:2; Neh 4:8 (14): “Remember the Lord, great and mighty, and fight for your brothers”; Ps 42:6—“I remember you in the land of Jordan”; 77:3, 11; 119:55—“and I observed your law”; Jonah 2:8—“and I prayed”; Eccl 12:1—“Remember your Creator.”

²⁰ Isa 44:21—“Remember these things, Jacob. . . . I formed you, you shall not forget”; 46:8-9; Jdt 8:26—“Remember all that God has done” with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the miracles and the liberation from Egypt (Judg 8:34; Neh 9:17; Ps 78:42; 106:7); “Remember the marvels that he has done, his prodigies” (Ps 105:5); “I will recall the works of the Lord” (Sir 42:15); “I remember your mercy, Lord, your work from eternity” (Sir 51:8); 1Macc 2:51; 4:9.

²¹ Sir 7:36; 14:12; 18:24; 28:6; 38:20; 41:3; Isa 47:7; cf. “the man who has gratitude remembers what will come after” (Sir 3:31; Lam 1:9).

²² “He hardly thinks about the days of his life, because God occupies him with the joy of his heart” (Eccl 5:19; 11:8; Prov 31:7); “he does not hold a grudge against his neighbor” (Sir 28:7); “he remembers that it is bad to be grudging” (Sir 31:13).

²³ Ps 42:4; 77:6; 143:5; Job 4:7—“Remember then; who is the innocent person who has perished”; Isa 65:17; Mic 6:5; 4Macc 15:28.

²⁴ “In the day of evil one no longer remembers the good” (Sir 11:25; 18:25; Isa 54:4).

²⁵ *Alleg. Interp.* 1.33, 90; 2.68; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 11; *Worse Attacks Better* 99, 108; *Unchang. God* 119; *Plant.* 160: “Why did I mention this? To show . . .”; *Drunkenness* 210; *Migr. Abr.* 221; *Heir* 286; etc. Josephus, *War* 4.180; 5.336; *Ant.* 1.26, 93–94, 118, 133, 159; 2.177; 4.159; 7.101, 369; 8.144, 260, 324; 10.219; 12.113; *Ag. Apion* 1.144, 168, 172, etc.

²⁶ *Alleg. Interp.* 2.42; *Cherub.* 76; *Husbandry* 136; *Decalogue* 6; *Prelim. Stud.* 40: “The soul of the one who remembers (τοῦ μεμνημένου) brings all that it has learned to fruition”; *Dreams* 2.29, 114: “I remember having

heard”; 2.232; *Moses* 1.173; *Spec. Laws* 2.216: know by heart; 4.215; *To Gaius* 19, 30. Josephus, *War* 1.634; 4.34; *Ant.* 4.120, 194; 8.209; 14.255; *Ag. Apion* 1.243: recall a prediction.

²⁷ Philo, *Joseph* 265: “Should we not think only the father who is created?”; *Moses* 1.89; *Flacc.* 5; Josephus, *War* 6.107: “Remember that I address these exhortations to you as your fellow-countryman.”

²⁸ Philo, *Moses* 1.28; *Flacc.* 133; *To Gaius* 44. A much commoner meaning in Josephus: “Taking into account Josephus’s instructions, these men stopped their ears against the cries” (*War* 3.266; 4.69; 7.18; *Ant.* 7.386); taking account of benefits received (*Ant.* 1.194; 2.56; 14.358; 18.358; *Life* 353), keeping in mind (*Ant.* 5.95; 6.251; 12.280). To remember the laws is to observe them (5.333; 6.234); to remember an oath is to be faithful to it (6.241; 7.111). Cf. the legal meaning: “It would be ridiculous for me to refer to my own decree” (*Ant.* 19.306).

²⁹ *Decalogue* 62; cf. *Unchang. God* 73: “God remembers from his perfect goodness” and saves the human race from destruction; cf. *Ep. Arist.* 155: to remember the great marvels worked by the Lord (τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά); 168: Scripture reminds us of God’s sovereign domain (μεμνημένοι τοῦ δυναστεύοντος θεοῦ).

³⁰ Nevertheless ἀνάμνησις, the “remembering” of the Eucharist (Luke 22:19; 1Cor 11:24-25) takes on exceptional importance. Just as the Israelite celebration of the Passover “recalled” the deliverance from Egypt (Exod 12:14), the Eucharist “commemorates” salvation by the cross; but in reality it actualizes all the effects of Calvary and does not merely evoke a memory (cf. Heb 10:3); hence the substitution of the word *anamnesis*.

³¹ Cf. H. Cazelles, “Note sur le Psaume 8,” in *Parole de Dieu et sacerdoce*, Paris, 1962, pp. 79–91; M. Adinolfi, “De mariologicis Lyrani Postillis,” in *Anton*, 1959, pp.321–326; J. Coppens, “La Nouvelle Alliance en Jér. XXXI, 34,” in *CBQ*, 1963, pp.12–21; R. Martin-Achard, “La Nouvelle Alliance selon Jérémie,” in *RTP*, 1962, pp. 81–92; W.H. Schmidt, “Gott und Mensch in Ps. 8,” in *TZ*, 1969, pp. 1–15; O. Linton, “Le Parellelismus membrorum dans le Nouveau Testament,” in *Mélanges Rigaux*, pp. 489–507; C. F. D. Moule, “Neglected Features in the Problem of ‘the Son of Man,’” in *Neues Testament und Kirche, für R. Schnackenburg*, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1974, pp. 413–428.

³² Cf. B. Kipper, *De Restitutione Populi Israel apud Prophetam Jeremiam*, São Leopoldo, 1957.

³³ 1Cor 11:2 (cf. L. Cerfaux, “La Tradition selon saint Paul,” in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 2, pp. 253–263); Herodotus 9.45; Chariton, *Chaer.* 6.5.1. These traditions of “received religion” are first of all the word of God, the gospel, the message of Christ transmitted by the apostles commissioned by the Lord, but also the organization of the communities, the principles of liturgy and rules of conduct (for example, that regarding women in worship meetings). St. Paul had the mission and the authority to put them into effect and to determine their concrete formulation so as to assure the uniformity of the Christian life in all the churches.

³⁴ Luke 16:25—Abraham said to the wicked rich man, “Remember that you had good things during your lifetime and Lazarus ill. . . .”

³⁵ Luke 23:42, the repentant thief: “Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom”; cf. Gen 40:14.

³⁶ Heb 13:3—“Remember prisoners, as if you were imprisoned with them”; we feel and share in their misfortune when we remember them as if their misfortune were ours; through compassion we become “coprisoners.” — The sense “memorialize” is attested in Acts 10:31, where the angel tells Cornelius, “Your alms have been remembered before God.” He has been informed concerning them. Rev 16:19—“Babylon the great was remembered before God to give her the cup of wine of God’s wrath.”

³⁷ Menander, *Dysk.* 67: “I leave to my friend a memory of the manner in which I treat these sorts of matters.”

³⁸ Plato, *Menex.* 244 a: μνείαν ἔχειν = keep the memory of war deaths; Sophocles, *El.* 392. The LXX transcribes the Hebrew superlative, μνεία μνησθήτη = a profound memory (Deut 7:18; Jer 31:20). To keep the memory is the opposite of “forget” (Ezek 21:37; 25:10; Wis 5:14).

³⁹ Plato, *Prt.* 317 e: “Now is the time to remind me of what you were saying just now regarding this young man”; Plato, *Phdr.* 254 a: “to propose the joys of love”; Ps 111:4—“He has caused his marvels to be remembered”; Isa 32:10; 23:16; 26:8; Zech 13:2; Job 17:13; *Ep. Arist.* 158, 161; *I. Priene* 50, 10: the inhabitants of Erythrae decide to reward a judge from Priene “so that they may see that the people remember good men” (μνείαν ποιούμενος τω—ν καλω—ν καὶ ἀγαθω—ν ἀνδρω—ν); *I. Magn.* 90, 16.

⁴⁰ E. Bernand, *Philae*, n. 43, 3 (= SB 8673); 46, 4; 130, 3 (28 BC, = SB 8672); 132, 4 (= SB 8655); 151, 4 (AD 4, = SB 4086).

⁴¹ *BGU* 632, 5 (second century AD), cf. A. Deissmann, *Light*, p. 184.

⁴² *P.Lond.* 42, 6; vol. 1, p. 30 (from 172 BC) = *UPZ* 59, 6; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 685, 79; *Or.* 257, 3–4.

⁴³ 1Thess 1:2; cf. Rom 1:9—“Without ceasing I make mention of you, constantly asking in my prayers . . .”; Phil 1:3; Eph 1:16; Phlm 4.

⁴⁴ Aristotle composed a treatise *Περὶ μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως* in which he insists on the application of memory to the past alone and notes that “studies conserve the memory by leading to recollection” (*Mem.* 451a). *P.Ryl.* 233, 12: one keeps the memory of the price of what one has bought; *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VI, 30; very often in epitaphs: *μνήμης χάριν* (T. Drew-Bear, *Phrygie*, pp. 80, 92, 93, 101, 102, 108; *IGUR*, n. 614, 690, 992; *IGLS* 45, 89, 155, 161, 712, 736, 2851, etc.). Theognis 798: “No one retains the memory of worthless people”; Herodotus 4.144: because of a remark that he made, “Megabazus left an imperishable memory”; Thucydides 2.54.3; Diodorus Siculus 5.73.1: Jupiter sees to it that “the memory of his children shall endure forever among humans”; Sophocles, *OT* 1131, the servant responds to Oedipus’s question, “Did you meet him?”—“Not so that my memory (*μνήμη*) should respond so quickly”; Plato, *Tim.* 26 *b*: “I do not know if I could retrieve the memory (*ε—ν μνήμη λαβει—ν*) of all that I heard yesterday”; *Leg.* 6.783 *c*: “Let us keep in mind what we have just heard”; cf. *Euthd.* 275 *d*: “In beginning my account I need to invoke the Muses and Memory”; Philo, *Plant.* 129; on the goddess Mneme, cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 985, 11; Pausanias 1.17.1; on the *μνήμη θεοῦ*, cf. Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 56; *Spec. Laws* 2.171; *Virtues* 165; *Contemp. Life* 26; Epictetus 2.18; Marcus Aurelius 6.7; 10.6–8 (H. J. Sieben, “Mnèmè Theou,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 10, 1407–1414).

⁴⁵ Eccl 9:15; but the *mneme* of the righteous will be a benediction (Prov 10:7; cf. 2Macc 7:20); “May the memory of the young who volunteered for their country endure forever” (*μνήμη διαμένη*; at Thespieae, under Marcus Aurelius; cf. *NCIG*, n. XV, 23), whence the meaning “memorial” (Plato, *Leg.* 5.741 *c*: “They will deposit records in the temple as a memorial for the future”) and “commemoration,” cf. Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.5.1361a34: “The parts of honor are sacrifices, commemorations (*mnemai*) in verse or in prose . . .”; *SB* 8421, 4: *ει—ς μνάμαν*; cf. Philo, *Decalogue* 62. In the Byzantine period, *Mnemosyneme* is qualified hyperbolically: *τῆς λογίας μνήμης* (*PSI* 786, 6), *τῆς περιβλέπτου μ.* (*P.Oxy.* 2478, 9; 2780, 10; *SB* 11079, 10), *τῆς ἀρίστης μ.* (*P.Warr.* 3, 6; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 135, 4; *P.Oxy.* 2995, 1; *BGU* 2146; 2155, etc.), *τῆς ὑπερφυοῦς μ.* (*Stud.Pal.* XX, 216, 5), *τῆς λαμπρα—ς μ.* (*P.Mich.* 611, 3; *BGU* 2185, *P.Erl.* 67, 6; *P.Stras.* 319, 2; *P.Warr.* 3, 3; *PSI* 963, 12), *τῆς ε—νδόξου μ.* (*P.Erl.* 87, 8; *P.Oxy.* 3204, 4), *τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μ.* (*P.Hamb.* 68, 21; *PSI* 1367, 7; *P.Laur.* 26, 24; *SB* 8949, 7); *τῆς εὐλαβοῦς*

μ. (*P.Princ.* 82, 6; *P.Mich.* 612, 3; 659, 88, 154, 327; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 243, 7), τῆς μακαρίας μ. (*P.Erl.* 67, 28; 73, 12; *P.Oxy.* 1320; *BGU* 2149, 2202; *P.Wash.Univ.* 17, 5–6).

⁴⁶ *Ep. Arist.* 159 (cf. 153, 279); Sophocles, *OT* 1246; *OC* 509; *El.* 346; *BGU* 2351, 5: ε—ν μνήμη ἔχω.

⁴⁷ Herodotus 1.15: “I will mention Andys, son of Gyges”; Polybius 2.7.12; 2.71.1; Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.12.4.1414a; <I+>*P.Fay.* 19, 10: τω—ν πραγμάτων μνήμην ποιει—σθαι; *P.Lond.* 1929, 10: “I will do justice to you in the belief that you mention us in every place” (ποιει—ς ἡμω—ν μνήμην); *P.Oxy.* 3150, 32. Cf. G. Petzl, “MNHMHΣ (MNEIAS) mit Dativ und Genetiv,” in *ZPE*, vol. 41, 1981, p. 106.

⁴⁸ *Abraham* 11; *Dreams* 2.209–210; *Moses* 1.48; 2.263; *Spec. Laws* 4.82; etc.

⁴⁹ *Alleg. Interp.* 1.55; *Worse Attacks Better* 65; *Post. Cain* 62; *Plant.* 31; *Sobr.* 5, 28–29; *Heir* 170; *Spec. Laws* 3.21; 4.142, 161.

⁵⁰ *Post. Cain* 148–153; *Flight* 200; *Change of Names* 101, 212, 270; *Spec. Laws* 4.107; *Unchang. God* 43; *Drunkenness* 137; *Migr. Abr.* 154, 205; *To Gaius* 310.

⁵¹ Cf. the letter of Jonathan to the Spartans: “At all times we do not cease to remember you (μιμνησκομεθα) . . . as it is right and fitting to remember brothers (μνημονεύειν ἀδελφω—ν)” (1Macc 12:11). Compare “make mention” in an unfavorable sense, Rev 16:19; 18:5; Plutarch, *Them.* 32.1: “Plato mentions Cleophanthus as an excellent horseman”; *P.Bour.* 20, 31: “because you mentioned a trustee. . . .”

⁵² Herodotus 1.36: “Croesus, remembering the dream that he had had”; Aeschylus, *Pers.* 783: “My son does not remember my words”; Plato, *Resp.* 5.480 a (with ὅτι): “Do you not remember that we said these last days . . .”; Sophocles, *Phil.* 121: “Do you recall my counsels well?”; Aristophanes, *Eccl.* 264; Plutarch, *Oth.* 1.1: “the new emperor invited Marius Celsus not to remember his liberation” (τῆς ἀφέσεως μνημονεύειν).

⁵³ Παρακαλω— ὅπως μνημονεύσης μου ε—ν τε—ς ἀγίαις εὐχε—ς σου, *P.Lond.* 1923, 12 (letter from the fourth century). Moulton-Milligan cited *P.Heid.* 6, 15, from the same period: παρακαλω— [ο]ὔν, δέσποτα, μνημον[ε]ύης μοι ει—ς τὰς ἀγίας σου εὐχάς; *PSI* 651, 2: καλω—ς ἂν ποιοι—ς (cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, p. 326) μνημονεύων ἡμω—ν (third century BC); *P.Stras.* 41, 40: “I do not remember having taken part in the

negotiations”; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 284, 8: μνημονεύων (ὁ δῆμος) ἀεὶ τω—ν εὐεργετω—ν καὶ ζώντων καὶ τετελυτηκότων (fourth century BC); 620, 25.

⁵⁴ Μνημόνευσον τὸν ὄρκον σου περὶ τῆς ἀγίας ε—κκλησίας, *PSI* 973, 5; *P.Princ.* 102, 16; *SB* 6262, 17: μνημόνευσον δὲ ε—ρχόμενος ὧν ἔγραψά σοι πολλάκις; 8303, 23; 8393, 3; 9608, 7; 9763, 12, 20; *P.Ant.* 44, 15–16; *P.Bon.* 22 a 1, 9: μνημονευθέντων κακούργων; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 42, 26, “what none of our ancestors has done in human memory.”

⁵⁵ Exod 13:3; 2Kgs 9:25 (ὅτι); 1Chr 16:12, 15; Ps 6:5; 43:18; 2Macc 10:6.

⁵⁶ The woman of Tekoa says to the king “that the king should deign to remember Yahweh, your God” (2Sam 14:11; Tob 4:5); remembering God’s might (Jdt 13:19) and his judgments (Sus 9 [Theodotion], hence the future), recommendations for putting them into practice (Tob 4:19); one thinks of one’s friends (Sir 37:6; Ps 63:6), which brings up the affective aspect of memory; Antiochus writes to the Jews: “I remember you affectionately” (ὕμω—ν δὲ ε—μνημόνευον φιλοστόργως, 2Macc 9:21).

⁵⁷ Philo, *Virtues* 176: τω—ν ἀξίων μνημονεύεσθαι. Cf. Wis 2:4—“No one will remember our actions” (οὐθεὶς μνημονεύσει); Sophocles, *Aj.* 1273: “Did you not remember the day when you were blocked up in your enclosure?”; Xenophon, *An.* 4.3.2: “The numerous trials that they had just endured passed through their minds” (μνημονεύοντες). Regarding Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses: “All that we wish to preserve in our memory (μνημονεῦσαι) of what we have seen, heard, or thought of for ourselves” is imprinted in this wax (Plato, *Tht.* 191 d).

⁵⁸ Matt 16:9 = Mark 8:18; Luke 17:32—“Keep in mind Lot’s wife” (E. Delebecque’s French: “Conservez en mémoire la femme de Lot”); John 15:20; 16:4, 21: a woman who has brought a child into the world does not retain the memory of her pains.

⁵⁹ Rev 2:5; 3:3. Cf. S. E. Johnson, “Christianity in Sardis,” in A. Wikgren, *Early Christian Origins: Studies in Honor of H. R. Willoughby*, Chicago, 1961, pp. 81–90.

⁶⁰ Cf. P. Trummer, *Die Paulustradition der Pastoralbriefe*, Graz, 1976, pp. 234ff.

⁶¹ Heb 11:22—ε—μνημόνευσεν περί. We could also translate “remembered” with reference to Gen 15:13–16. But Joseph’s brothers had to promise to return his body to the Holy Land, hence “he called to mind” this prophecy. This repatriation is explained by Philo, *Dreams* 2.102–110

(J. Laporte, *De Josepho*, Paris, 1964, pp. 22–23). Contrary to Israelite customs, Joseph’s body was embalmed and placed in a coffin (Gen 50:26; cf. J. Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte*, Louvain, 1959, pp. 197ff.).

⁶² Heb 13:7. Etymologically, *hegoumenos* means “leader, guide” (cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, on this text), but in usage it refers to a head or chief, for example the Roman authorities (*SEG XVIII*, 143, 5; in AD 43), the *princeps* (*ZPE*, vol. 17, 1975, p. 144, n. 14), the governor of the Thebaid (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 78, 126, 143, 385), the heads of a village (*P.Bon.* 20, 21; *P.Yale* 62, 1), the president of the council of elders governing the Jewish community at Alexandria (*Ep. Arist.* 309–310), the head of a school (*P.Petaus*, p. 166; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Amm.* 1 7); cf. *I.Car.*, n. VI, 9; p. 107, n.1.

⁶³ There is also the meaning “mark.” Hippocrates, *Prorrh.* 2.20: a rough and thick scar “leaves an ineffaceable mark” (μνημόσυνον ὑποκαταλιπει—ν); Ps.-Aristotle, *Mir. Ausc.* 838a32: the traces of Hercules’ journey through Italy; Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 538, 559 and Plutarch, *An ignis* 2.957 b: notes taken as a reminder; *Mir. Ausc.* 943b12 and Plutarch, *De vit. aere al.* 2.831 d: proof, memento of love. The term is unknown in the papyri.

⁶⁴ Herodotus 2.101; cf. 4.88: dedication of a painting sacred to Hera—a *mnemosynon* of the bridge of boats at the Bosphorus; 4.166: “Darius wanted to leave as a monument of his reign something that no other king had accomplished.” At Amphipolis, there is a monument of the reign of Brasidas (Thucydides 5.11.1); a “memorial monument” (Dio Cassius 54.23.6); *IGLS* 1425: Ruphinus (?) raised this memorial.”

⁶⁵ Exod 3:15; Deut 32:26; Hos 12:6. If the memory of Yahweh endures from generation to generation (Ps 102:12; 135:13), that of the wicked disappears (Job 18:17; Ps 9:6; 34:16; 109:15; Sir 10:17; 44:9), while that of the righteous will be eternally remembered (Ps 112:6; Sir 39:9; 45:1; 46:11; 49:1, 13; Esth 9:27-28; 1Macc 3:7). The memory of Wisdom is sweeter than honey (Sir 24:20; cf. Hos 14:8), but that of death is bitter (Sir 41:1). It is noted that by his death Eleazar left a μνημόσυνον ἀρετῆς (2Macc 6:31), ordinarily translated “a memorial of virtue” but better “a mark, a proof,” like the “trace” left in the world (Wis 10:8; cf. Neh 2:20) and the faithful remnant of Israel (Bar 4:5). S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante*, Paris, 1966, p. 231; cf. 160, 226ff., 236.

⁶⁶ Num 5:15, 18; cf. 16:40 [17:5]—the coverings of the altar are a “memorial for the sons of Israel.” One writes in a book for a memorial (Exod

17:14; Mal 3:16). A treaty engraved on bronze tablets is “a document of peace and alliance” (1Macc 8:22; cf. 14:23).

⁶⁷ H. Wenschkewitz, *Die Spiritualisierung der Kultusbegriffe Tempel, Priester und Opfer im N.T.*, Leipzig, 1932.

⁶⁸ Matt 26:13 = Mark 14:9. Cf. J. Jeremias, *Abba*, pp. 115–120.

⁶⁹ The exceptional diffusion of the memory of the event could be compared to the “trumpet blasts” of the great Sabbath (Lev 23:24).

⁷⁰ Acts 10:4 (cf. Tob 12:12); W. C. van Unnik, *Sparsa Collecta*, vol. 1, Leiden, 1973, pp. 213–252. We note that ‘azkarah in Lev 24:7 was translated *anamnesis*; cf. Heb 10:3.

μισθός, μισθόομαι

misthos, reward, compensation, wage, punishment; *misthoomai*, to hire or lease

see also ὀψώνιον; δοῦλος, οἰ—κέτης, οἰ—κει—ος, μίσθιος, μισθώτος, μίσθωμα; ὑπηρέτης

misthos, S 3407; TDNT 4.695–728; EDNT 2.432–433; NIDNTT 3.138–139, 141–145; MM 413; L&N 38.14, 57.173; BAGD 523 | ***misthoomai***, S 3409; TDNT 4.695–728; EDNT 2.432; NIDNTT 3.138–139; MM 413–414; L&N 57.172; BAGD 523

It is not right that *misthos*¹ is usually translated “wage” in most NT texts,² even though the meaning “reward, counter-gift” is basic. Hector says to the Trojans, “Who among you will undertake to accomplish the deed (*ergon*) of which I speak, for a great reward (*doro epi megalō*)? The price of his trouble will be assured him (*misthos de hoi arkios estai*);”³ “We have come on Zeus’s command to hire our services out by the year to the noble Laomedon for an agreed wage” (*mistho epi rheto*).⁴ The price is freely agreed to, pursuant to an understanding between the two parties;⁵ it is justly payable, because it corresponds to the value of that which is supplied.⁶ The *misthos* is remuneration for work.⁷ Plato gave the definition: “Those who sell the use of their strength, calling *misthos* the price of their trouble, are described as *misthotoi*” (*Resp.* 2.371 e).

Wages are mentioned constantly in papyri that record contracts (*P.Tebt.* 815, from the third century BC, *misthoi* rise from three or four obols to one drachma four obols). In AD 99, a twenty-six-year-old woman, Tenetkoueis, is hired by an olive presser; she will receive a wage at the same rate as the workers from the village of Euhemeria (*P.Fay.* 91, 23). In

48, Menodoros takes on Fuscus as an apprentice flax-weaver: “I will pay you (Fuscus’s father) a monthly wage of four drachmas. . . . He will have three days off each month, for which I will not dock his salary. . . . If I breach this contract at any point, I will immediately pay you damages and expenses, the wages due from me.”⁸ In contracts for wet-nurses,⁹ certain bonuses are added to the wage: Helen undertakes “to nurse Corinthia at home with her own milk for two years ... receiving for her expenses and nursing a monthly wage of ten drachmas plus two *kotylai* of oil, one *keramion* of wine . . .”¹⁰ *Misthos* is used for the wages of agricultural workers (*P.Apoll.* 48, 2, 5, *georgoi misthioi*) as well as for the pay of sailors¹¹ or stonecutters (*P.Mich.* 37, 2, 15), grooms (*P.Oxy.* 1862, 27; 1863, 8), brickmakers (*P.Mert.* 44, 2), harvesters (*P.Mert.* 91, 12), camel-drivers (*P.Oxy.* 1911, 156), shepherds (*P.Princ.* 152, 8), a barber (*P.Magd.* 15, 3, verso), a building contractor (*P.Köln* 104, 9: *oikodomou*; *P.Oxy.* 2875), a gilder (*P.Köln* 52, 16, 18, 64, 66, 71), a domestic.¹² It is often noted that wages are paid daily.¹³

A ruler or general pays his troops in many different ways (*opsonion*, *metrema*, *doma*, etc.), and first of all in rations (*trophe*, food allowance) and *misthos*, wages in kind¹⁴ 227–228.

(“Eumenes promised his men that he would pay them in three days”);¹⁵ but this usage is completely exceptional in the papyri (*P.Ross.Georg.* V, 61 A, 11).

Misthos can have wider meanings, both literal and figurative. Panouptaeiom specifies to his wife that the man who has come to her should receive a reward of forty drachmas (*misthou tou erchomainou epise*, *P.Ant.* 43, 22). Pindar evoked the “sweet reward” (*misthos glykys*) that every man draws from his labors (*Isthm.* 1.41), and Aristophanes refers to a drink as “a bowl of wages to gulp down” (*Eq.* 905). In addition, *misthos* — which always refers to a compensation—often takes on the nuance of an emolument, an honorarium, reward, notably in the realm of arts and letters: “You wish to give Protagoras money to pay him for his lessons” (Plato, *Prt.* 311 *b*); a sophist gives himself out “as a master in education and in virtue, daring to claim at the outset a wage in exchange for his lessons.”¹⁶ King Attalus II of Pergamum makes a foundation at Delphi in 169–159 “so that the regular wages of teachers may be guaranteed.”¹⁷ Honoraria for physicians are justified: “Physicians receive their honoraria for having healed their patients” (*arnyntai ton misthon tous kamnontas hygiasantas*).¹⁸ For the construction of the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, “Theodotus, the architect, receives an annual salary of 352 drachmas” (C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 584, 9). There are emoluments for poets (Aristophanes, *Ran.* 367), actors (*P.Oxy.* 1025, 19), dancers, and flute-players.¹⁹

There are “allowances” for officials and magistrates,²⁰ who for all that are not wage earners, but they are granted a *misthos* —which can be an

honor²¹—because those who fulfill an *arche* in the city serve the interests of the citizens (Plato, *Resp.* 1.345 e –347 d); this reward is like an honor and privilege (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5.1134b6ff.). Also, *misthos* often means “costs, expenses, disbursements,” as for funeral expenses (*misthos tois erkasi auton*, *P.Fay.* 103, 3), expenditures for clothing (*IG XI*, 2; 110, 17); “We will pay your travel expenses.”²² Hence the meaning “present, bribe,”²³ so often pejorative: Balaam was bought “for money (*epi mistho*) by the enemies” (Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 114); Lampon, the corrupt bailiff, “got his accursed wage (*ton eparaton misthon*), or better, his bribe (*to misthoma*).”²⁴ Euripides reports an accusation of venality against soothsayers: “Teiresias, you want to be paid well (*misthos pherein*) for observations of winged omens as well as sacrificial victims” (*Bacch.* 257). *Misthos* refers to honoraria that priests received for their cultic activities (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 42, 91 and 130). An ordinance of Ptolemy II and Cleopatra II protects temple revenues, notably earnings on workshops and wages (*P.Tebt.* 6, 25 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 47). Eating consecrated bread is a privilege granted to priests “as a reward (*misthon*) for the services that they provide.”²⁵

In classical and Hellenistic Greek, *misthos* sometimes has the figurative sense of “retribution, punishment,”²⁶ sometimes “recompense.” Isocrates: “For a sophist, the noblest and greatest recompense (*misthos*) is that some of his disciples should turn out to be men of courage and intelligence, esteemed by their fellow citizens” (*Antid.* 15.220); Pindar: “Glory in sincere praise is the recompense that befits good men” (*Nem.* 7.63); “I will go to seek at Salamis the gratitude of the Athenians as recompense” (*Pyth.* 1.77; cf. Euripides, *IT* 593); Ps.-Plutarch: “Agamedes and Trophonius, after building the temple at Delphi, asked Apollo for their reward.”²⁷ Christianity would retain this meaning, using *misthos* to describe the recompense that God gives his elect.²⁸

In the semantic evolution of *misthos* (Hebrew *sakar*), the language of the LXX accentuates first of all the “worker’s wage” by accentuating its moral character as “justly due.” It contrasts it with “free service,”²⁹ it is a compensation for labor (Tob 2:14; 5:3; 12:1; Eccl 4:9; Wis 10:17; cf. Philo, *Moses* 1.141–142), the price of works produced (2Chr 15:7; Jer 31:16) and of services rendered (Deut 15:18). Its sum is freely agreed.³⁰ Not only is it a very serious thing not to pay the worker his wage (Jer 22:13; Mal 3:5; Sir 34:22—*misthon misthiou*), but it is insisted that it must not be deferred,³¹ because the hireling counts on it (Job 7:2; cf. Philo, *Husbandry* 5; *Plant.* 36), even if he wastes it (Hag 1:6), because it is thanks to his *misthos* that he can feed himself and rest (Sir 11:18). Otherwise, and above all, the LXX uses *misthos* in the sense of reward, usually divine, beginning with the text where Yahweh declares to Abram, “Fear not, I will be your shield; your reward will be very great.”³² Boaz says to Ruth, “May God return what you have done to you, and may your reward be perfect from Yahweh” (Ruth 2:12). As much as the godless cannot expect any remuneration (Wis 2:22),

so much “the one who sows righteousness has an assured reward” (Prov 11:18); “the righteous live forever; their reward is with the Lord” (Wis 5:15); “You who fear the Lord, have confidence in him; your reward will not be lost” (Sir 2:8); “The Lord’s blessing is the recompense of the godly person” (Sir 11:22; cf. Isa 40:10; 62:11); “The Lord gave me my tongue as my reward; with it will I praise him.”³³

In the four Gospels, the word *misthos* is found exclusively in the sayings of Christ, notably in the Sermon on the Mount, where it retains its OT meaning of “compensation, recompense,”³⁴ but at the same time enriches and focuses it in terms of the interiority and spirituality of the new ethics. If the principle of reward—a major aspect of a religious ethic—remains fundamental (God repays each one according to his or her works), it is applied in an original manner under the new covenant, which is contrasted with the old covenant, especially in St. Matthew. The first text is the beatitude: “When they insult you and persecute you and speak all manner of evil against you falsely *on my account*, rejoice and be very glad, because your reward will be great in heaven” (*hoti ho misthos hymon polys en tois ouranois*).³⁵ This formulation recalls Gen 15:1—the clear sense is that the persecuted will receive ample compensation for their suffering—but its grandeur suggests that it is not a case of just remuneration. In addition, the recompense is not for the suffering, but for the virtues of endurance, even gladness, that were displayed, and these are the fruit of the Holy Spirit.

Finally, and especially, it has to do with disciples of Jesus who are persecuted “because of him” (*heneken emou*) and who will receive their reward from God “in heaven,” which can only be eternal beatitude. So this is not a just wage but a free and lavish gift, even though it is granted because of evils borne. In the same sense: “If you love those who love you, what reward will you get for that (*tina misthon echete*)? Do not the publicans do the same?”³⁶ The question, addressed to the disciples, as opposed to sinners (publicans), teaches that benevolent deeds inspired by mere natural goodness by virtue of purely human sympathy or friendship, do not deserve any particular “reward”; the Most High is not grateful for them. The disciples must show respect and benevolence toward their neighbor (friend or enemy) by the love of God. Then God will take notice of what is done for him and will grant what is more than a wage: his favor.

More straightforward still is the exhortation not to practice one’s “righteousness” in order “to be seen by men (*pros to theathenai*), lest you have no reward with your Father who is in heaven (*misthon ouk echete para to patri hymon*).”³⁷ When a person practices Jewish acts of righteousness—alms, prayer, fasting³⁸—in order to “be seen” so as to be praised, these honors given by humans are the only compensation that one will be able to receive; there will be none other. One must therefore live righteously, religiously, that is to say, for God and before God, in order to

please him, in God's sight alone, who will then give a reward according to his own measure (which means a magnificent reward) for that which was done for him; hundredfold is more than a wage.

Almost all the other uses of *misthos* by Jesus have in view the apostles as missionaries, and first of all the hospitality given them: "The one who receives a prophet as a prophet³⁹ will receive a prophet's reward (*misthon prophetou lepsetai*), and the one who receives a righteous person as a righteous person will receive a righteous person's reward."⁴⁰ For a disciple of Jesus, God is the only "rewarder" who is worth anything, even with regard to insignificant gestures: "Whoever gives a glass of cold water to one of these little ones (thirsty representatives of the gospel) *because he is my disciple*, I tell you truly, will not lose his reward."⁴¹ This "little one" (Hebrew *qaton*; cf. *Sipre Deut.* 345) is the Lord's property (cf. Mark 9:41—*hoti Christou este*, "because you are Christ's"). His human worth matters little; the kindness shown him has a sure reward, which here must be the living water that wells up to eternal life (John 4:14). Remarkable bonus or recompense! The apostles might have had scruples about being a burden to hearers who received them, but Jesus reassures them: "Remain in that house, eating and drinking whatever they have, for the worker is worthy of his hire" (*axios gar ho ergates tou misthou autou*).⁴² Here the wage is room and board (cf. Matt 10:10—*axios gar ho ergates tes trophes autou*). What one receives in a receptive home is not alms; it is the due of those sent by God.⁴³ The Lord applies the requirement of Israelite law to his disciples and consequently understands *misthos* in its meaning of a just remuneration for work done or service rendered.

This is especially so in the parable of the Workers in the Vineyard,⁴⁴ where the owner makes a series of hirings (*misthosasthai ergatas*, Matt 20:1, 7) at the first hour of the day, at nine o'clock, at noon, at three o'clock, and even at five o'clock. He agrees on a wage (*symphonesas*, 20:2) and promises to give what is just (*ho ean e dikaion doso hymin*, 20:4). That same evening, conformably to Deut 24:15, he orders his steward to distribute the wages ("give them their wage," *apodos autois ton misthon*, 20:8), that is, the freely agreed and equitable reward for the labor provided. We are familiar with the indignation of the workers hired at daybreak at receiving the same wage as those who had worked only one hour (20:17). Was this a breach of justice? No. The master emphasizes to the complainant, "I have done you no wrong; you had an agreement with me; take what is due you" (20:13-14). But, as master and lord, he is autonomous and free if it pleases him to grant more to someone else "because I am good" (20:15). This is the essence of the parable: if the righteous are justly remunerated by God, God can without offending against anyone give freely to sinners. That is to say that entrance into the kingdom is not a wage or a reward but a gift. This parable makes clear and

explicit the fundamental teaching of the Gospels: God is the only payer of a *misthos* that is worth anything in the spiritual order, and that says something about the role that his justice and *agape* play; the theology of “merit” must take this into account.⁴⁵

With St. Paul, *misthos* almost always means “wage.”⁴⁶ Paul and Apollos had worked together, but in different ways, for the “edification” of the church at Corinth: “The one who plants and the one who waters are one; but each will receive his own wage according to his own work.”⁴⁷ It is clear that there is a reward and that it is proportional to the work (*idion* twice repeated: his own wage, his own work) and individual (for each one, *hekastos*); moreover, there are different degrees of *misthos*, because there are good (1Cor 3:14) and mediocre (3:15) workers; consequently, the wage is not eternal life, but a particular gift. Finally, gospel workers are like hired servants whose *kopos* (labor) God values and consequently rewards: he pays them for what they have done.⁴⁸ Still regarding his ministry, the apostle writes “If I work willingly (according to my own initiative, *ei hekon touto prasso*), I have a wage (*misthon echo*); but if I am compelled (*akon*), it is a stewardship (a responsibility, *oikonomian*) that is entrusted to me. What then is my wage (*tis oun mou estin ho misthos*)? —That in evangelizing, I may set forth the gospel free of charge.”⁴⁹ This text is difficult, but we recall that a slave who does only his duty does not expect a reward from his master (cf. Luke 17:10). If the apostle wants to obtain a reward from God, it will not be for his stewardship of the preaching of the gospel; he must do something more: preach free of charge, without counting on receiving any material advantage in return. It is the disinterestedness that will be rewarded. This initial gratuity suggests the gratuity of the divine compensation.

2John 8 preserves the metaphorical meaning of spiritual reward. By following the heretical teachers, Christians would lose the fruit of their apostles’ labor: “Take care that you do not lose what we have gained but receive a complete (or perfect) wage,”⁵⁰ that is, heavenly beatitude, the recompense for orthodoxy and fidelity, resulting from the “what we have done” (*ha ergasametha*) of the preachers. The supreme rewards will be given at the end of the world (Rev 11:18, *dounai ton misthon*), but will have to do especially with reward, since punishment and recompense (admission to the heavenly Jerusalem) will be distributed by the sovereign Judge (cf. Isa 40:1; 52:11) according to the disposition of each: “Behold, I come quickly, and my recompense is with me (*ho misthos mou met emou*) to render to each as his work is (*hos to ergon estin autou*)” (Rev 22:12). For the faithful, Christ draws upon *his* goods to pour out his generosity upon them: “Bringing my reward with me’ almost means ‘I am your reward.’”⁵¹

Misthoo. — Its only NT occurrence is the aorist middle infinitive⁵² at Matt 20:1, 7 (*misthosasthai ergatas*), a form used constantly in the papyri

and meaning “hire for oneself,” the object being sometimes a thing, a house, a field, sometimes a person. It will suffice to cite some examples, first for the hiring of workers (*P.Lips.* 111, 11, *misthosai ergatas*) or the leasing of two slaves for a year,⁵³ but more often it has to do with the leasing of land,⁵⁴ whether a field (for example, for one year, with the rent being half of the harvest)⁵⁵ or a farm,⁵⁶ or fruit groves (*P.Stras.* 321, 3; AD 93–94), a palm and olive grove (“I propose to you that I lease [*misthosasthai*] the olive and date harvest for the past year 13 and coming to maturity this year 14 from the palm and olive grove that belongs to the town of Philadelphia”),⁵⁷ but also a lease of a flock (*P.Alex.* 12, 5; *C.P.Herm.* 27, 11), of a dwelling,⁵⁸ a room (*BGU* 2204, 9, 28) or several rooms (*P.Yale* 71; *P.Stras.* 338, 7), a butcher shop (*P.Alex.* 32, 6; *P.Oxy.* 1890), a windmill (*P.Mil.Vogl.* 53, 7), a cellar (*P.Oxy.* 3203, 9), a grange (*BGU* 606, 16), baths (*P.Mich.* 312, AD 34), a weaving shop (*P.Oxy.* 1035, 1), a perfumery and ointment factory (*P.Fay.* 93, 6), even fishing rights (*P.Oxy.* 3270, 8), or the farming out for a year of the *phoretra* (transport expenses) revenues.⁵⁹

¹ Μίσθωσις and μισθωτής are not used in the NT.

² E. Will (“Notes sur ΜΙΣΘΟΣ,” in J. Bingen, *Le Monde grecque: Hommage à Claire Préaux*, Brussels, 1975, pp. 426–438) has taken a stand against this overuse of “wage,” which suggests a material remuneration paid (by an individual or a collective) to a worker (either for a professional or a manual worker). In fact, the first four occurrences of *misthos* in Josephus require four different translations: reward (*War* 1.356), subsidy (1.571), wage (1.605; cf. 2.296), price (2.109; cf. 5.419; *Ant.* 16.336). Cf. O. Schulthess, “μισθός,” in *PW*, vol. 15, 2078ff. E. Würthwein, H. Preisker, “μισθός,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 695–728.

³ Homer, *Il.* 10.303–304; cf. E. Benveniste, *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indoeuropéennes*, Paris, 1961, pp. 163–167.

⁴ Homer, *Il.* 21.445; cf. Herodotus 8.4.2: the Euboeans convinced Themistocles—with the help of a sum of thirty talents (ε—πὶ μισθω—) —to see to it that the fleet remained in place.

⁵ In an apprenticeship contract for a shorthand-writing slave, in AD 155: “the wage agreed between us: one hundred twenty silver drachmas” (μισθοῦ τοῦ συμπεφωνημένου, *P.Oxy.* 724, 5); *PSI* 962, 31.

⁶ Plato, *Prt.* 328 b: “I believe that I am better able than anyone to render others the service of making them perfectly raised men, and that I therefore deserve the wage that I claim” (ἀξίως τοῦ μισθοῦ ὃν πράττομαι).

⁷ *I.Cret.* II, 5, 1 (Axos); *P.Köln* 144, 26: wage for each *aroura* (152 BC); *P.Got.* 9, 12: annual wage of Aurelius Victor for his work as dyer and tapestry-maker; *P.Oslo* 137, 6; Demosthenes, *Corona* 18.51: “How did you deserve Alexander’s hospitality? I would not call you . . . Alexander’s friend . . . since at least one ought not to call harvesters or those who do something else to earn a wage (τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας) friends and guests of those who pay them (τω—ν μισθωσαμένων).” So the wage is a profit (Xenophon, *Oec.* 1.4), but it is contrasted with free service: “Who is more disinterested than I, who accept from no one any gifts or wages” (οὔτε δω—ρα οὔτε μισθὸν δέχομαι, *Ap.* 16). The formula ἄνευ μισθοῦ can mean “without unfortunate consequence, without expense, without cost” (Plato, *Leg.* 1.650 a; *P.Gen.* 34, 5; *P.Oxy.* 2586, 20; *BGU* 1067, 15), but also “without pay.” A sick and aged smith asks Antonius Philoxenus “that I may fulfill my service at your feet . . . so that I may fulfill the works that you want without wages (ἄνευ μισθοῦ), with the iron supplied by you” (*P.Rein.* 113, 13). In 120–118, Ptolemy Euergetes II and Cleopatra III forbid requiring “flax weavers, makers of linen cloth and garments, to work for free or at reduced wages” (*P.Tebt.* 5, 251 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53 and 55). At Delphi, the amphictyonic regulation regarding the Pythian Games (380/79 BC) forbids (regarding lodgings in religious centers) “that anyone should not pay rent to anyone” (μισθὸν μηδένᾶ φέρειν μηδενί, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 145; *LSCG*, n. 78, 23; G. Rougement, *Delphes*, I, n. X, 23). This text with *P.Mich.* 666, 22 (τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ξυλίνης ὀργάνης) and Dittenberger, *Syl.* 975, 40–42 (cf. 502, 11); Exod 22:14 proves that *misthos* can have the meaning “rent” (against D. Behrend, *Attische Pachturkunden: Ein Beitrag zur Beschreibung der μίσθωσις nach den griechischen Inschriften*, Munich, 1970, p. 29). — *Ἄμισθοι* are unpaid volunteers (Dittenberger, *Or.* 266, 56).

⁸ *P.Fouad* 37, 3, 5, 6, 9 (cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, p. 192). In the year 10, the apprenticeship contract of Pasion in his two brothers’ weaving workshop: “We have provided the weaving tax and the wage of our brother Pasion” (*P.Tebt.* 384, 20), *P.Lond.* 846, 10 (vol. 3, p. 131); “I undertake to work for you at my own trade for the wage . . . for one year beginning . . .” (*P.Rein.* 105, 3).

⁹ *BGU* 1106, 14: μισθὸν τοῦ τε γάλακτος (13 BC); *P.Athen.* 20, 17, 30, 38.

¹⁰ *P.Bour.* 14, 13 (second century). Cf. *P.Ant.* 91, 9; *P.Alex.* 13, 3: the ass-tender Horion is to receive wine in payment for his work with animals; cf. the reimbursement with the temporary use of a camel (*BGU* 21, col. II, 14; III, 20).

¹¹ *C.P.Herm.* 69, 21: τω—ν μισθω—ν ναυβίων; *P.Apoll.* 28, 3, 4, 20; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2,209; *SB* 9760, 3: μισθοῦ μαυτω—ν; 10299, 166 and 201; P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *P.Vindob.Tandem*, n. 31, 7 and 11; A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht*, Zutphen, 1978, p. 81, 14.

¹² *P.Enteux.* 48, 4: Pistos accompanied the Thracian holder of a hundred *arourai*, Aristocrates, in the army. Perhaps Aristocrates did not pay his wages in full, generating the following complaint: “I concluded a contractual agreement with him . . . whereby I was to accompany him in the army as his servant for a monthly wage, the sum of which was set by agreement between him and me”; *SB* 9653, 15.

¹³ Τὸν ἡμερήσιον μισθόν (*P.Fay.* 91, 23; *P.Brem.* 15, 12; *P.Oxy.* 2721, 13; *P.Ross. Georg.* II, 18, 302; *SB* 7557, 8–9; *P.Corn.* 9, 9: λαμβανόντων ὑμω—ν ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ καθῆμέραν ε—κάστην). The verb λαμβάνω is the most used (*P.Cair.Isid.* 81, 24; *PSI* 873, 11; *P.Mich.* 241, 28; 574, 10; *P.Oxy.* 2586, 36; 2875, 28; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 18, 18; IV, 4, 6; *SB* 7676, 13, 24; 8026, 17; 9267, 5; *P.Vindob.Sal.* 8, 7), but also κομίζομαι (*P.Corn.* 5, 11; *C.P.Herm.* 19, 7), ἀπέχει τὸν μ. (*BGU* 1511, 10; 1647, 13; 1663, 16), παρέχω (*P.Hamb.* 68, 38), πληρόομαι (*C.P.Herm.* 69, 8; *P.Mert.* 38, 6; *P.Oxy.* 2721, 30; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 3, 7; 5, 15), ἔχω (*P.Cair.Isid.* 123, 4: I received from you my son’s wages), εἰ—μί (*P.Ryl.* 583, 19 and 67), δέχομαι (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 4, 2, *P.Mil.* 48, 8; *O.Bodl.* 1751; *P.Mich.* 624, 5; *SB* 9011, 8; *P.Vindob.Sal.* 9, 9), δίδωμι (*P.Mich.* 349, 5; *P.Oxy.* 1970, 24–25, 2153, 13; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 2, 12).

¹⁴ Cf. M. Launey, *Armées hellénistiques*, pp. 725–733. He cites (p. 400) a governor of Maronea who offers thanks for services rendered, particularly in advance of pay (εἰ—ς τοὺς μισθοὺς τοι—ς διαφυλάξασι Τράλεσι); cf. *JG*, XII, 8, 156, lines 11–12 and Dittenberger, *Or.* 595, 10 and 26: τὸν μισθὸν τῆς στατίωνος (the station of the Tyrians at Puteoli). The language varies; in the third century BC the wages of a gardener (*PSI* 336, 14; 1013, 2) or of a vintner (369, 8), paid in denarii, is called ὀψώνιον; but this is converted into wine in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59615, 3; cf. T. Reekmans, “Notes sur quelques papyrus du 3e siècle avant J.C.,” in *Antidorum W. Peremans*, Louvain, 1968, pp.

¹⁵ Xenophon, *An.* 1.2.11; cf. 7.3.13; 7.6.1; *Hell.* 6.2.16; Thucydides 1.143.2: “for the sake of a few days’ high pay”; 8.45.6.

¹⁶ Plato, *Prt.* 349 a, μισθὸν ἀξιώσας ἄρνησθαι; cf. Philo, *Joseph* 125: “sophists for a wage” (ε—πὶ μισθω—); *Spec. Laws* 4.163: “professional scribes” (οἱ—μισθοῦ γράφοντες); Philo, *Moses* 1.24: “advocates paid with

money”; Ps.-Aristotle, *Rh. Al.* 36.1444a35–b3: “If someone says that we argue a case for a *misthos*, we admit it ironically. . . . We must establish distinctions for you between the different types of *misthoi* ” (ε—πὶ χρήμασιν, ε—πὶ χάρισιν, ε—πὶ τιμωρίαις, ε—πὶ τιμαί—ς).

¹⁷ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 672, 10 and 20; *P.Oxy.* 2190, 31 (first century). Pensions are guaranteed in the fourth century BC, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 244, I, 58, 60; II, 56; 252, 36. At Thespieae, an annual wage of four minas is provided for the one who trains adolescents for military service (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1971, p. 441, n. 339).

¹⁸ Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.16.1287a7; cf. Theognis 1.434; Aristophanes, *Plut.* 408. N. van Brock (*Vocabulaire médical*, p. 71) notes the constant use of *misthos* for this bonus: Heraclitus, frag. 58; Diodorus Siculus 1.82: “In military expeditions and in voyages, the Egyptians, when they fall ill, receive care without paying any honorarium. The physicians are maintained at the expense of the public treasury”; Tabula of Edalion (Cypriot, *GDI* 60, 2–4): King Stasikypros and the citizens of Edalion ordered Onasilos the physician . . . to care free of charge (ἄνευ μισθοῦ) for men wounded in combat. Hippocrates, *Jusj.* 1: “I will teach without pay” (ἄνευ μισθοῦ); Hippocrates, *Praec.* 4: “You shall not be concerned with fixing your pay, because we think that this concern is harmful to the patient in an acute illness.” Pollux, *Onom.* 4.177.

¹⁹ Josephus, *War* 3.437; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 54, 12, 14; *P.Grenf.* II, 67, 11.

²⁰ A judge’s pay (Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 605ff.; cf. J. Taillardat, *Images d’Aristophane*, n. 686, 688), pay for *dikastai* (*SB* 8988, 42).

²¹ In the first century, *misthos* suggests above all a sum of money (Philo, *Flacc.* 141; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.81; *P.Amst.* 91, 3: ἀπόλαβε τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ μισθοῦ; cf. Thucydides 6.8.1). Cf. the *stipendium*, J. Lesquier, *L’Armée romaine d’Egypte*, Cairo, 1918, pp. 248ff.

²² *P.Wisc.* 74, 14; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 245, col. I, 33; Josephus, *Life* 297–298: “I was wrong to pay the commission at the cost of the public treasury” (τὸν μισθὸν ε—κ τοῦ κοινοῦ); *Ant.* 1.250; bonus for generous hospitality.

²³ Sophocles, *Ant.* 294: “They stirred up the guards to act as they did by paying them”; Pindar, *Pyth.* 3.55: “gold will tempt him also to snatch a man from the jaws of death for a magnificent wage.”

²⁴ Philo, *Flacc.* 134; cf. *To Gaius* 172: the Alexandrian delegates bribed Gaius in secret with enormous commissions (ε—μεμίσθωντο αὐτὸν

μεγάλοις μισθοι—ς); Josephus, *Ant.* 14.485: poor compensation for the murder of so many citizens; 19.131: the price of denunciations; *Ag. Apion* 2.32: “to pay the Alexandrians for the honorary citizenship he received from them”; *War* 4.207: “many Jews bribed poor citizens and sent them to keep their places”; *Ant.* 7.127; 9.77; 11.174: pay assassins.

²⁵ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.183; cf. 1.156: the tithe was established as a salary for the temple servants and constitutes their part of the inheritance; 4.98; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.206: a prostitute’s wage cannot be used to offer sacrifices; 6.48: “the prophet did not receive a wage.” Cf. Num 18:31—the Levites can eat the portion they reserve of their victims, “because it is a wage for you in exchange for your service in the Tent of Meeting”; Mic 3:11—“the priests teach for a wage.”

²⁶ Herodotus 8.116: when the six sons of the king of Bisaltae disobeyed by entering the service of the Persians against the Greeks, this was their punishment (τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον): their father gouged their eyes out; Callimachus, *Hymn. Art.* 263: “the son of Atreus paid dearly for his boasting”; Euripides, *Hipp.* 1050: “behold the retribution of a godless person”; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.68: the price of disobedience; *Ag. Apion* 2.249; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 10.51; Stele of Moschion: “the just wage of foolishness” (μισθὸν ἀμαθίης, E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 108, 17); 2Macc 8:33—Callisthenes and others were burned up in one house and thus “received the just wage of their profanation.”

²⁷ Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 14: αἰ—τει—ν παρὰ τοῦ —Απόλλωνος μισθόν; Philo, *Heir* 26: Abraham to God, “What was I that you should agree with me upon a reward (ἵνα μισθὸν ὁμολογήης), which is much more perfect than a grace and a gift (χάριτος καὶ δωρεα—ς ἀγαθόν)”; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.309: a recompense given by God.

²⁸ Cf. the epitaph of Makaria: “as a reward for her trials (μισθὸν ἔχουσα πόνων), she has heavenly crowns” (*SB* 5719).

²⁹ Cf. the “wage” given Jacob by Laban (Gen 29:15, Hebrew *maskoret*, 30:28, 32, 33; 31:7, 8, 41); Josephus, *Ant.* 1.298; 6.7: price, payment of what is due; 7.121; 9.190; of a debt (18.306).

³⁰ Exod 2:9—“Pharaoh’s daughter said, ‘Take this child and nurse him for me; I will give you your pay’” (Philo, *Moses* 1.17); 1Kgs 5:20; Solomon to Hiram: “I will give as compensation to your workers whatever you tell me” (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.52); Tob 5:14–15: “Tell me what wage I will have to pay you.”

³¹ Lev 19:13; Tob 5:14; Deut 24:14-15: “You shall give him his pay on that very day”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.195–196; *Virtues* 88; *Flacc.* 140; *Good Man Free* 86: the Essenes put into a common pool all that they receive for their day’s work.

³² Gen 15:1 (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.183). Philo had a work called Περὶ μισθῶ—ν, concerning “rewards” (*Heir* 1–2). In her edition of this latter work (Paris, 1966, p. 18, n. 1), M. Harl notes the five or six Philonian terms that refer to the idea of reward: ἀγαθόν, δωρέα, ἄθλον, γέρας, μισθός, χάρις; cf. the promise of reward: διαθήκη, ὑπόσχεσις. On Gen 30:18 (“Issachar is my reward”), Philo comments: “which means, the work is not without end, but is crowned and recompensed (μισθοδοτούμενος) by God” (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.80; *Plant.* 134; *Dreams* 2.34: “Issachar is the symbol of rewards”); Josephus, *Ant.* 1.308. Cf. E. Pax, “Studien zum Vergeltungsproblem der Psalmen,” in *Studia Biblica Franciscana* 11, Jerusalem, 1960–61, pp. 56–112.

³³ Sir 51:22; cf. Philo, *Plant.* 136: “For the one who gives thanks, the very act of giving thanks is a quite sufficient reward”; *Drunkennes* 94.

³⁴ The theme has often been studied in terms of theological preoccupations (merit—a word that does not occur in the Bible—disinterested ethics, etc.), cf. L. Ihmels, *Der Lohngedanke in der Ethik Jesu*, 1908; F. K. Karner, *Der Vergeltungsgedanke in der Ethik Jesu*, Leipzig, 1927; K. Weiss, *Die Frohbotschaft Jesu über Lohn und Vollkommenheit: Zur evangelischen Parabel von den Arbeitern im Weinberg, Matth. XX, 1–16* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, XII, 1927); O. Michel, “Der Lohngedanke in der Verkündigung Jesu,” in *ZST*, vol. 9, 1931–32, pp. 47–54; M. Wagner, “Der Lohngedanke im Evangelium,” in *NKZ*, 1932, pp. 106–112; 129–139; P. S. Minear, *And Great Shall Be Your Reward*, New Haven, 1941; B. Reicke, “The New Testament Conception of Reward,” in *Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne* (Mélanges M. Goguel), Neuchâtel-Paris, 1950, pp. 195–206; W. Pesch, *Der Lohngedanke in der Lehre Jesu verglichen mit der religiösen Lohnlehre des Spätjudentums*, Munich, 1955; M. F. Berrouard, “Le Mérite dans les évangiles synoptiques . . . dans les épîtres de saint Paul,” in *Istina*, 1956, pp. 191–209; 313–332; G. Bornkamm, “Der Lohngedanke im Neuen Testament,” in *Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum*, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 69–92; R. de Ru, “The Conception of Reward in the Teaching of Jesus,” in *NovT*, 1966, pp. 202–222.

³⁵ Matt 5:12; cf. Luke 6:3, 35; J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 2, pp. 349ff.

³⁶ Matt 5:46; cf. Luke 6:32—ποία ὑμῶν χάρις ἐστίν; C. Spicq, *Agarè*, vol. 1, pp. 16–27; J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, p. 261.

³⁷ Matt 6:1; cf. J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, pp. 245ff., 260ff.

³⁸ Matt 6:2, 5, 16 denounces first alms given publicly (ε—λημοσύνη = *sedakâh*), (with the sounding of a trumpet; cf. Sir 31:11; Str-B, vol. 1, pp. 388ff.) in order to garner human praise, then prayer in which one situates oneself so as to be witnessed by everyone, and finally fasting in which one mars one's appearance in order to appear to be fasting. In all three cases, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶ—ν. Human acclaim is contrasted with divine approval; the former is worthless; only the latter is valuable, precisely because it amounts to much more than a strict compensation. Cf. B. Gerhardsson, "Geistiger Opferdienst nach Matth. VI, 1–6, 16–21," in *Neues Testament und Geschichte (Festschrift O. Cullmann)*, Zurich-Tübingen, 1972, pp. 69–77.

³⁹ Ει—ς ὄνομα προφήτου is a Hebraism: ει—ς ὄνομα = *leshem* = in the name of, in the capacity of, as (cf. *Sipre Deut.* 306; *Mek.* on Exod 12:21; *t. Ber.* 2.11). Here, the preacher is received on account of his relationship to the Lord who sends him. This is not hospitality practiced out of mere politeness, or even out of benevolence, but because one has to do with a "man of God" (1Tim 6:20). So it is as if one were receiving God himself (John 13:20). Consequently, the reward will be given by God himself—and logically, this will be intimacy with him (Rev 3:20).

⁴⁰ Matt 10:41. It would seem that here a "righteous person" is a teacher in the Christian community, cf. D. Hill, "ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ as a Quasi-Technical Term," in *NTS*, vol. 11, 1965, pp. 296–302.

⁴¹ Matt 10:42—οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. On ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν, cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, pp. 353ff.

⁴² Luke 10:7, quoted by St. Paul with regard to presbyters, especially teachers (1Tim 5:18): sacred ministers have the right to remuneration (cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, on this verse).

⁴³ Cf. John 4:36—"the harvester receives a wage (ὁ θερίζων μισθὸν λαμβάνει) and gathers fruit for eternal life," i.e., souls whom he has led to God; Jas 5:4—"Behold the wage of the workers (ὁ μισθὸς τῶ—ν ε—ργατῶ—ν) who have harvested your fields and whom you have failed to pay"; ε—ργάτης is very often an agricultural worker, laborer, or harvester (Wis 17:16) hired by an owner who is required to remunerate him, cf. J. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, London, 1910; J. Marty, *L'Épître de Jacques*, on this verse.

⁴⁴ Matt 20:1-16; cf. D. Buzy, *Les Paraboles*, Paris, 1932, pp. 205–237; J. Dupont, “La Parabole des ouvriers de la vigne,” in *NRT*, 1957, pp. 785–797; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, pp. 158ff.; J. B. Bauer, “Gnadenlohn oder Tageslohn (Mt. XX, 8–16),” in *Bib*, 1961, pp. 224–228; J. D. M. Derrett, “Fresh Light on the Parable of the Wicked Vinedressers,” in *RIDA*, 1963, pp. 11–41 (= Derrett, *Law in the NT*, pp. 286–312); J. Jeremias, *Parables*, pp. 37ff., 136ff.; A. Feuillet, “Les Ouvriers envoyés à la vigne,” in *RevThom*, 1979, pp. 5–24; F. Manns, “L’Arrière-plan socio-économique de la Parabole des ouvriers de la onzième heure et ses limites,” in *Anton*, 1980, pp. 259–268. Str-B (vol. 4, Excursus 10, pp. 484–500) cites the Talmud: When a worker received a full day’s pay after two hours of work, his companions complained about the inequity. The master responded, “Ah, but this man did more in two hours than you did all day long” (p. 493).

⁴⁵ We must take account at the same time of the maxim of Antigonus of Soko (second century BC): “Do not be like servants who serve their master with an eye on reward; be like servants who serve their master without thinking about receiving a reward; then the fear of heaven will be upon you” (*Pirqa ‘Abot* 1.3); and that of St. Thomas: “Our works derive their merit from the fact that they proceed from the grace of the Holy Spirit” (*In Rom.*, chap. 6, lect. 4, end); “All good that belongs to man comes from God” (I-II, q. 114, a. 1). In Acts 1:18, the question concerns the wages of iniquity (μισθὸς τῆς ἀδικίας) that Judas received; likewise regarding Balaam in 2Pet 2:15 (cf. Jude 11; G. H. Boobyer, “The Verbs in Jude 11,” in *NTS*, vol. 5, 1958 pp. 45–47; Str-B, vol. 3, 771), a type of the self-interested teacher who seeks monetary profit (Philo, *Moses* 1.268; *b. Sanh.* 106a ; *Num. Rab.* 109a , 189b , 192b), and finally of false prophets and false apostles who “will be paid back with harm as the wage of their iniquity” (2Pet 2:13); this retribution is in conformity with classical and Hellenistic Greek, cf. above.

⁴⁶ G. P. Wetter, *Der Vergeltungsgedanke bei Paulus*, Göttingen, 1912; F. V. Filson, *St. Paul’s Conception of Recompense*, Leipzig, 1931.

⁴⁷ 1Cor 3:8 (cf. G. Didier, *Désintéressement du Chrétien: La Rétribution dans la morale de St Paul*, Paris, 1955, pp. 47ff.). There is always a correspondence between work done and the payment of the just wage: “For the one who works (τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ) the wage is not counted as a favor (χάρις); it is a debt (ὀφείλημα)” (Rom 4:4); cf. P. Bonnetain, “Grâce,” in *DBSup*, vol. 3, col. 1230–1234; W. Pesch, “Der Sonderlohn für die Verkündiger des Evangeliums (I Kor. III, 8, 14f. und Parallelen),” in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze* (Festschrift J. Schmid), Regensburg, 1963, pp. 199–206.

⁴⁸ Same concept of reward for works in 1Cor 3:14—“If a person’s work (τὸ ἔργον) that he has added in building endures (resists the trial by fire that will make its quality known), he will receive a wage (μισθὸν λήμψεται),” which is not salvation, “since those are saved who do not receive it” (G. Didier, *Désintéressement du Chrétien*, pp. 48ff.). It is an eschatological gift granted for work of genuine worth, which is recognized as such after verification (*dokimasia*). It is wrong to apply this text to Purgatory, a place of purification; cf. C. Spicq, “Purgatoire,” in *DBSup*, vol. 9, col. 560ff.; J. Michel, “Gerichtsfeuer und Purgatorium zu 1 Cor. III, 12–15,” in *AnBib* 17, Rome, 1963, pp. 395–401; C. W. Fishburne, “I Corinthians III, 10–15 and the Testament of Abraham,” in *NTS*, vol. 17, 1970, pp. 109–115.

⁴⁹ 1Cor 9:17-18. G. Didier (*Désintéressement du Chrétien*, pp. 64ff.) sums up the traditional exegesis thus: “Only a free worker has the right to a wage; the worker who is under compulsion earns nothing (verse 17 *a*). Thus Paul earns no wage (from God) for the work of evangelization. How can he nevertheless obtain a wage (from God; verse 17 *b*)? —By adding something else to his apostolate, which is a forced labor: namely, his refusal of any human reward (verse 18). This something additional is done freely and hence earns a wage.” But this interpretation gives the second *misthos* the sense of “claim to a wage,” which it never has elsewhere, and gives the present indicative πράσσω the value of an optative: “If the initiative were mine in this task, I would have the right to a reward.” In reality, this is not an unreal hypothesis but Paul’s actual case: acting of his own free will, the apostle has the right to a wage; compelled, he is nothing but a steward-slave. So what is his wage? —the gratuity of his ministry. G. Didier cites St. Augustine (*Op. Mon.* 8.9; *PL* 40.555): Paul renounces all earthly wages; his *misthos* is to place the preaching of the gospel above any suspicion of venality!

⁵⁰ Μισθὸν πλήρη ἀπολάβητε (B); cf. Xenophon, *An.* 7.5.5: Xenophon reproaches Heraclides for not taking to heart the interests of Seuthes; “otherwise, you would have come with the full pay” (πλήρη τὸν μισθόν); Ruth 2:12—“May Yahweh return to you what you have done, and may your recompense from Yahweh be perfect” (γένοιτο ὁ μισθός σου πλήρης).

⁵¹ L. Cerfaux, J. Cambier, *L’Apocalypse de saint Jean aux Chrétiens*, Paris, 1955, p.197.

⁵² The denominative active μισθόω means “lease out,” cf. the accounts of an *agonothetes* for the Basileia at Lebadaea in the second century BC: “I leased out the hippodrome for . . . drachmas, it was leased by Melesias” (ε—μισθωσα δὲ τὸν ἰ—ππόδρομον . . . ε—μισθώσατο Μελησίας, *NCIG*, n. 22, A 31–32). The μίσθωσις is the act of leasing, lending, or farming out; ὁ

μισθωσάμενος (*IG*, XII, 7, 62, line 1; Amorgos, rental contract for the precincts of Zeus Temenites; fourth century BC) or μεμισθωμένος (*P.Phil.* 14, 21; *P.Amst.* 41, 7, 14; *P.Köln* 149, 25; *P.Soterichos* 1, 12, 18; 2, 11) is the tenant (lessee); ὁ μισθώσας is the hirer-out (lessor).

⁵³ *P.Princ.* 151; cf. Plato, *Resp.* 9.580 *b*: “Shall we hire a herald, or must I myself proclaim that . . .”; *Prt.* 347 *c*: “they rent at a high price a voice that is not their own, the voice of flute-players”; *Leg.* 7.800 *e*; Menander, *Dysk.* 665: the cook Sicon, “if someone hires me again”; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.164: the high priest Jodas hired stonecutters and carpenters; 9.188: Amasias hired 100,000 soldiers for one hundred talents of silver; 9.192.

⁵⁴ At Heraclea, in the fourth century BC, “The lessees shall have the fruits in perpetuity so long as they provide guarantees and pay the rent every year. . . . On these terms they have leased (ε—μισθώσαντο) the first plot . . .” (*RIJG*, vol. 1, pp. 200, 100; 212, 179; cf. p. 236, 3, 10, 11, 15, 19). In 109 BC, lease on the land called “The Point,” where the tenant, Techratis, undertakes to plant wild chickling (ἄρακος); no rent is imposed, but she must give the produce of one-half *aroura* to the owner, Totoes, who will in exchange supply two *artabai* of wheat (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 19; 3, 5). Cf. Lysias 17.8: “Those to whom I leased the estate of Sphettos”; Josephus, *War* 1.362: “Herod leased, for an annual rent of two hundred talents, the lands that had been detached from his realm”; 1.398; *Ant.* 16.291: the Arabs did not pay the rent for the lands that they had leased from Herod; cf. 15.96.

⁵⁵ *P.Ant.* 89, 5; cf. in the third century BC: “the land that he had rented from the royal treasury” (ἦν ε—μεμίσθωτο γῆν, *P.Lille* 3, 75); *P.Mich.* 565, 3; 634, 6 (in AD 25–26); 314, 1; 315, 1 (AD 44–45); *P.Soterichos* 3, 4 (AD 69–90); *P.Warr.* 11, 5 (AD 98); *BGU* 1644, 7; 1646, 6; 2036, 12; 2133, 5; 2137–2139, etc.; *P.Berl.Zill.* 5, 9; 7, 9; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 8, 27; 10, 10; *P.Oxy.* 2137, 13; 3255–3260; *C.P.Herm.* 22, 8; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 63, 9; 83, 3; 89, 7; 130–141; etc. *PSI* 30, 2; *P.Stras.* 465, 8, etc.

⁵⁶ *P.Corn.* 8, 11 (first century); 10, 4, 11, 5, 20; *P.Rein.* 99, 4 (30 BC), a public farmer guarantees by his oath to Augustus a lease of public land which he contracted as the lessee; *P.Phil.* 13, 3 (second century), lease proposal for the rental for four years of a fifteen-*aroura* grain field; 15, 6; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 5, 2; 28, 4; *P.Mich.* 184, 5; 630, 5 (lease and sub-lease of seed).

⁵⁷ *P.Phil.* 12, 4; *P.Ryl.* 600 (AD 8); *P.Mich.* 562, 4; 564, 5; *P.Stras.* 336 *a* 10; *P.Phil.* 13, 4: “I propose to you that I lease (μισθώσασθαι) for the harvest set out during the eighteenth year and coming to maturity the next year, the nineteenth, the palm grove belonging to you and located at . . .”;

P.Hamb. 99, 6 (first century); *P.Oxf.* 13, 5 (second century); *P.Mich.* 631, 2; *BGU* 2333, 4 (barley harvest).

⁵⁸ *BGU* 2202, 7, 23; *P.Mert.* 76, 16, 32, 38; *P.Mich.* 612, 8; cf. Demosthenes, *C.Aphob.* 1; 27.15: οἶκον μισθοῦν.

⁵⁹ *P.Alex.* 11, 4: μισθώσασθαι παρ ὑμῶ—ν. Cf. the adjudication of the price of 300 talents for the building of the temple of Delphi (Herodotus 2.180) and the rental of a ship (Herodotus 1.24; Epictetus 3.9.14).

μίσθωμα

misthoma, (agreed) price, pay, rent; rented dwelling
see also δοῦλος; μισθός, μισθόομαι; ὑπηρέτης

misthoma, S 3410; *EDNT* 2.433; *NIDNTT* 3.138–139; MM 414; L&N 57.175; BAGD 523

Acts 28:30—*emeinen de dietian holen en idio misthomati*: During his stay at Rome, Paul lived for two whole years in the lodgings that he rented. At least that is how most commentators translate this text, understanding *misthoma* from the context to mean “rented dwelling”: the apostle lived “in his own private home,” where he received visitors and friends.

But *misthoma*, unknown in the papyri, never has this meaning. It always refers to an agreed-upon price, a wage. For example: “The Delphians had to pay a fourth of the (agreed) cost of the building of the temple”;¹ a ban on “carrying a prostitute’s hire to the temple” (*misthoma pornes*, Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.280; cf. 104; Machon, in Athenaeus 13.581 a); Lampon, the corrupt clerk, “got his accursed pay (*misthon*), or rather his payoff (*to misthoma*)” (Philo, *Flacc.* 134). The same usage is found in the inscriptions of the fourth-third century BC. At Amorgos, in a rental contract on the precincts of Zeus Teminites, “the lessee shall put down a security deposit ... and pay the lease each year in the month Thargelion.”² At Naxos, in a mortgage on the property of some minors, the tenant agrees that each year until the children are of age he will pay a rent of 400 drachmas to secure 3500 drachmas of capital: “For the house and the tile roof mortgaged for the benefit of the minor children of Epiphron, for a capital sum of 3500 and an annual lease of 400 drachmas.”³

The interesting point about the epigraphical data is that it attests the frequent use of *misthoma* in contracts for the lease of real estate. Through the *locatio-conductio*, one person agrees to allow another the use of a property in return for a fixed price. This is how the Vulgate interprets Acts 28:30—in *suo conducto*⁴—and this usage of *misthoma* is seen as a latinism. Certainly *en idio misthomati* could be interpreted to mean “at his

own expense”;⁵ but it seems preferable to give to this noun the meaning that French tourist agencies give the word *location*, the action of taking a lease. Hence it would mean the apartment or lodging that Paul had personally rented.⁶

¹ Herodotus 2.180: τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος; Isocrates, *Areop.* 7.29: “They auctioned off the most sacred ceremonies cheap”; Demosthenes, *Embassy* 125; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 47.2: μισθοῦσι δὲ τὰ μισθώματα πάντα, the ten sellers (πωλήται) carry out all state auctions.”

² J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 35, 4: καὶ τὸ μίσθωμα ἀποδώσει ε—μ μηνὶ θαρρηλιω—νι.

³ *NCIG*, n. 25, D, 7: τω—ν μισθομάτων τετρακοσίων δραχμω—ν τοῦ ε—νιαυτοῦ ε—κάστου. Cf. an Athenian decree relating to the cult of Poseidon and Erechtheus: ἀναλίσκεν δ ὅ τι γίγνεται ε—κ τω—ν μισθωμάτων (*LSCG*, n. 31, 9); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 204, 67; 271, 28; 1024, 38; 1106, 14; 1200, 15: ὑποτελεῖ— δὲ μίσθωμα Νικήρατος Κτησεφω—ντι καθ ἕκαστον ε—νιαυτὸν ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς πεντακοσίας ἀτελεῖ—ς. We know that μισθός, with its quite varied meanings (pay for work; benefits, honoraria, bonuses for professionals; wages; cf. Plato, *Resp.* 1.345 e—347 d; 2.372 e; recompense, price, cf. the Gospels; E. Will, “Notes sur μισθός,” in *Le Monde grec: Hommages à C. Préaux*, Brussels, 1975, pp. 426–438), used also for the rent for a building (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 145.22–23; 975, 40–42), the fee charged for an apartment (*LSCG*, n. 78). Not only does it follow upon a contractual agreement; it is a fiscal term. Cf. the horsemen and hoplites who have to pay to Apollo a tax on their μισθός, which is deducted at the source by the τόξαρχος, *IG* 12, 79.

⁴ It is worth noting that J. J. Wettstein—apart from an erroneous reference to Philo (ε—ν μισθώματι οἰ—κει—ν)—cites Latin texts almost exclusively; Seneca, *Ben.* 7.5.2: “I rented your house (*conduxi domum a te*). So there is something in it that belongs to you, something to me. The building is yours; the use of it is mine. . . . Inasmuch as it is leased to me (*conductum meum*), even though you are the owner you have no right of entry”; Martial, *Epigr.* 11.83: “No one lives with you for free, unless he is rich and childless. No one, Sosiabanus, pays more rent for his house than you”; Juvenal, *Sat.* 3.235: “You will procure . . . a very pleasant house for the annual rent that you pay at Rome for an ill-lit slum” (*quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum*); Suetonius, *Vit.* 7: Vitellius, “putting up in a rented apartment his wife and children, whom he left at Rome, rented out his own house for the rest of the year.” Cf. Theophrastus 23.9: καὶ ε—ν μισθωτῇ οἰ—κίᾳ οἰ—κω—ν, “although he is only a tenant in the house where he lives.”

⁵ Cf. E. Haenchen, *Acts*, p. 726, who compares Acts 28:16—μένειν καθ' ε—αυτόν; 28:23—ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν ἐι—ς τὴν ξενίαν. Completing the data given by H. J. Cadbury (“Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts, III: Luke’s Interest in Lodging,” in *JBL*, vol. 45, 1926, pp. 319ff.), who mentions this translation by Ephraem in the fourth century, E. Hansack (“‘Er lebte . . . von seinem eigenen Einkommen,’ Apg. XXVIII, 30,” in *BZ*, 1975, pp. 249–253) cites several very minor attestations (a *Life of Chrysostom* by George Alexandrinus in the eighth century, its translation into Slavic from the ninth-tenth century, its reconstruction by Symeon Metaphrastus in the tenth century) and concludes that the apostle lived in Rome on the income he earned by working with his hands.

⁶ E. Jacquier comments on μίσθωμα: “money paid on a lease, or that which is leased by paying rent. Paul rented a home, either with funds that he earned through his own trade or with money that he received from the Philippians (Phil 4:10, 14, 18). According to the Aramaic version of the commentary of St. Ephraem on Acts, the money came from Paul’s sale of his cloak and his books” (*Actes des Apôtres*, Paris, 1926, p. 761).

μνηστεύω

mnesteuo, to seek a woman’s hand in marriage, become engaged, marry

mnesteuo, S 3423; *EDNT* 2.436; MM 415; L&N 34.74; BDF §§68, 188, 191(4), 316(1); BAGD 525

The Homeric occurrences of this verb (“seek a woman’s hand in marriage”)¹ show that this specialized meaning derives from a broader meaning (“solicit, seek”),² whence come all the various nuances in the matrimonial process: “court,”³ seek a wife (Theognis 1112), aspire to marriage (Plato, *Leg.* 6.773 *b*, *mnestheuein gamon*), ask for a woman’s hand (the youngest son of Astraeus asks for Helen’s hand in marriage).⁴ Iphigenia, having set out on a journey to join her fiancé, declared that “his marriage proposal made her leave the land of the Greeks.”⁵ In the LXX, the verb translates the Hebrew *‘aras* and usually means “become engaged,”⁶ but it means marriage when the angel says to Tobias, “I will speak to Raguel so that he will give you his daughter in marriage” (Tob 6:12), and the ambiguity remains when God promises eternal engagement/marriage, with no rupture forever.⁷

In the NT, the verb is used only three times, always in the passive, and always referring to the Virgin Mary, and the meaning “engaged” is incontestable in the first two occurrences. Regarding Christ’s genealogy: “Mary, his mother, was engaged to Joseph (aorist participle,

mnesteutheises tes metros autou); before they had lived together, she was found pregnant by the power of the Holy Spirit.”⁸ Likewise when the angel was sent “to a virgin engaged to a man named Joseph (perfect participle, *emnesteumenen andri*), and the virgin’s name was Mary.”⁹ The title *parthenos*, written up front, before the young woman’s name, is a personal title of honor *par excellence*, and the perfect tense of the participle suggests that this virginity abides. As for the coming to Bethlehem for the census “with Mary, his fiancée, who was pregnant” (Luke 2:5), we can still understand the perfect participle (*emnesteumene auto*) as referring literally to engagement, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the marriage had been accomplished, so “wife” is also a possible translation.

¹ Homer, *Od.* 6.34: the noblest of the Phaeacians “seek your hand”; 14.91: “they will not court decently”; 18.277: the suitors seek to please the noble daughter of a rich house.

² Herodotus 1.96: “Deioces aspired to power”; Isocrates, *De Pace* 8.15: seek votes; Plutarch, *Caes.* 58.1; Josephus, *War* 2.414: incite to war; *Ant.* 17.2: intrigue.

³ Euripides, *Alc.* 720; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.7.5: Hercules courted Deianira; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.286. *Jos. Asen.* 1.9: Aseneth had many suitors.

⁴ Theocritus 18.6; cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.4.37: Alexander “tried to win the hand of Jason’s widow” (ε—μνήστειε); Callimachus, *Hymn. Art.* 3.265: wishing to attempt the virginity of Artemis, Otos and Oarion “sought a wedding not for their good (to Artemis).”

⁵ Euripides, *IT* 208. In Isocrates, *Hel.* 10.39, Helen was of marriageable age.

⁶ Deut 20:7—“the man who has become engaged to a woman and who has not yet taken her” (verse cited by Philo, *Husbandry* 148, the only time he uses the verb); 22:23: “if a young virgin is engaged to a man”; 22:25, 27, 28. We may hesitate over the translation of 1Macc 3:56, μνηστευομένοις γυναίκας: “those who had just taken wives” (= young marrieds) or “those who had just become engaged”; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.298.

⁷ Hos 2:21-22. Both meanings are found also in Josephus: “If a man marries a virgin . . .” (*Ant.* 4.246). God blesses the union (1.255); but usually reference is to a man’s asking for a young woman’s hand in marriage (*Ag. Apion* 2.200; *War* 1.508; *Ant.* 1.245; 9.197; 13.80). To the two papyri pointed out by the dictionaries (*P.Flor.* 36, 4; *P.Cair.Masp.* 6,

col. II, 8) we can add only a text from Stesichorus included in *P.Oxy.* 2618, frag. I, col. II, 8: a mother seeking a wife (μναστεύσοισα) for her son.

⁸ Matt 1:18. M. J. Lagrange (on this verse) specifies that μνηστεύω is in the middle voice when it refers to someone who takes a wife, but in the passive for the young woman who is given.

⁹ Luke 1:27. Cf. G. M. Perrella, “Bma V. M., cum caelestem exceptit nuntium, So Joseph sponsalibus solis non vero nuptiis juncta erat,” in *DivThom*, 1932, pp. 378–398.

μορφή

morphe, stature, form, condition, feature, external appearance, reproduction
see also εἰ—κῶν

morphe, S 3444; *TDNT* 4.742–752; *EDNT* 2.442–443; *NIDNTT* 1.705–708; MM 417; L&N 58.2, 58.15; BAGD 528

Current in classical and Hellenistic Greek, with a wide range of meanings—“stature, form, condition, feature, external appearance, reproduction”—*morphe* is used relatively little in the Bible. Gideon asks Zebah and Zalmunna, “What were the men like that you killed at Tabor?” They said, ‘They were like you, each of them having the features (Hebrew *to’ar*) of sons of kings” (*hos eidos morphes huion basileon*, Judg 8:18). Eliphaz did not recognize the features (Hebrew *temûnâh*; a representation of a person or thing) of the person before him (*ouk en morphē pro ophthalmōn mou*, Job 4:6; cf. Wis 18:1). In many sacred and secular texts, the word refers to good looks, an attractive appearance, charming features.¹

Beginning with Isa 44:13, where the sculptor of idols gives them a human form (*hos morphēn andros*), this meaning of distinctive or characteristic form or structure (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Dem.* 50, 54; Heraclitus, *All.* 65.2) is applied especially to a person, notably in Philo: “The body was created when the artist took a lump of clay and shaped it into a human form” (*Creation* 135; Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 3); “When the woman in turn had been fashioned, the man saw a sister appearance (*eidos*) and a kindred form (*syngene morphēn*), and he rejoiced.”² But *morphe* is used especially for a form *represented* in an image or sculpture: “Gaius filled the synagogues with images (*eikonon*) and statues in his own form (*tes idias morphes*)” (Philo, *To Gaius* 346; cf. Josephus, *Life* 65); “This sanctuary . . . had never admitted an image fashioned by human hand” (ibid. 290); “the golden shields bore no figure nor any other forbidden thing” (ibid. 299).

This meaning recurs constantly in epigrams, notably those of the *Palatine Anthology*: “It was a god who caused this metal to flow into the likeness of his bodily form” (2.314, *eidei morphes*; 1.34; cf. 36. 50; 11.412) “Painter, you capture only the forms; the voice is beyond your grasp” (11.433). Hence the meaning “feature, bearing”: “The image of my form (*eikona morphes*), once engraved by bold Eros in the burning depths of your heart” (5.274; cf. Moschus, *Eur.* 2.10: the woman “had the features of a foreigner”; Euripides, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 34.33; vol. 5, p. 836); “Everything about his features (*morphe*) inspired veneration.”³ Next it comes to mean the “look, physique” of a person,⁴ “countenance, portrait”: “A messenger of Zeus, Callistratus, offers you this likeness of him” (13.2; cf. 13.24; cf. Plutarch, *Ages.* 2.4: We have no portrait of him, *tes de morphes eikona ouk echomen*), often with an aesthetic sense.⁵ Thus Antiochus I of Commagene has himself “represented” in the mid-first century BC.⁶

In the tomb inscriptions, *morphe* is commonly used to refer to the former or the present “form” of the deceased, the two not being the same. At the end of the high imperial period, the epitaph of a black slave at Antinoöpolis contrasts *psyche* and *morphe*: “My soul embellished the blackness of my appearance . . . ; in the tomb I have hidden everything, my thoughts and the form that clothed me before”;⁷ “His sons prepared the likeness of their noble father with a body of stone (*morpheenta lithou*) as a memorial.”⁸

Although *morphe* is often very close in meaning to *eikon*,⁹ and later on even becomes synonymous with it in Gnosticism,¹⁰ the texts cited disallow identifying them, as does this inscription from Laodicea, which distinguishes the two terms: “I bear the (bodily) form of Docticius, but the image of his divine virtue is carried on the lips of each person.”¹¹ This should be taken into account in the translation of Phil 2:6-7 (*hos en morphē theou ... morphēn doulou labon*), which the *Bible de Jérusalem* correctly renders “Lui, de condition divine . . . prenant la condition d’esclave.”¹² It is characteristic of *morphe* to be modified, to appear to be changed, to take on new features,¹³ like the risen Lord appearing to the disciples at Emmaus *en hetera morphē*.¹⁴ He had a new mode of being and a new appearance, analogous to that at the transfiguration (*metamorphousthai*, Matt 17:2). This is why in epiphanies of heavenly beings the *morphe* is indeed said to be different, but not without affinities with earthly forms.¹⁵

This changing of *morphe* is to be compared on the one hand with the theme of “descent and ascent” because of the double *morphe* in Phil 2:6-7 (*morphe theou, morphē doulou*)—which owes nothing to the gnostic redeemer myth, which had not yet been concocted—and on the other hand with the consistent meaning of this term in the magical papyri. Whereas the Christian faith affirms that God is invisible and that no human has seen him or can see him (John 1:18; 6:46; 1John 4:12; Rom 1:20; 1Tim 1:17; 6:16), the magicians call upon the deity as having a “form”¹⁶ and pray him to

appear in his “true form.”¹⁷ This is a signal favor, for the *Eight Books of Moses* acknowledge that no one has been able to see this true divine form.¹⁸ The devotee of Hermes Trismegistos knows that his god appears in the East in the form of an ibis, in the West in the form of a dog’s head, in the North in the form of a serpent, and in the south in the form of a wolf.¹⁹ What the mystic wishes to contemplate and be united with is “the sacred form” (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 216; vol. 1, p. 78; cf. XIII, 271; vol. 2, p. 101), the “gracious or joyous form,”²⁰ and in the case of Aphrodite, her beauty made manifest: *epikaloumai se . . . deixasa ten kalen sou morphen.*²¹

It is clear from all of these examples that the use of *morphe* in the hymn in Phil 2 is entirely to be expected in a context of metamorphosis or incarnation, but that it would be risky to give it a precise theological meaning.

² Tob 1:13; Dan 1:9, 15; (Theodotion 4:36; 5:6; Aramaic *zîn*); Pindar, *Ol.* 6.76; 9.65; *Nem.* 3.19; 11.13; Plutarch, *De E ap. Delph.* 18: “our exterior (εἶδος), our form (μορφή), and our thought never remain identical”; an inscription from Epidaurus from 320 BC, νεανίσκον εὐπρεπῆ τὰμ μορφάν (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1168, 119); in 161, Ptolemy asks Sarapion: ἀνδαποδω—σοί χάρειν καὶ μορφήν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα (*UPZ* 53, 30), a formula repeated *ibid.* 33, 9; 34, 6; 35, 13, 29; 36, 11, 24; 52, 26 (cf. P. M. Fraser, “Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World,” in *Opuscula Atheniensi*, vol. 3, Lund, 1960, p. 41). Cf. the texts in C. Spicq, “Note sur ΜΟΡΦΗ dans les papyrus et quelques inscriptions,” in *RB*, 1973, pp. 38ff. In classical Greek, “μορφή means ‘form,’ where form entails a whole that is in principle harmonious. . . . The word can be equivalent to ‘beauty’” (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 174, who cites Sandoz, “Les Noms grecs de la forme,” thesis, Neuchâtel, 1971, pp. 55–68, 107–119).

³ *Creation* 151; God does not have a human form (οὐ . . . ἀνθρωπόμορφος, Philo, *Change of Names* 54; *Prelim. Stud.* 115; *Conf. Tongues* 135). At the burning bush, “in the midst of the flame, there arose an extremely beautiful form (μορφή) unlike any visible object, an image truly divine in appearance . . . a form that might be taken to be the image of the One who is” (ει—κόννα τοῦ ὄντος, *Moses* 1.66); *To Gaius* 211: the Jews carry their laws in their soul like divine statues, whose forms and contours they contemplate (τύπους καὶ μορφάς, *Spec. Laws* 1.47); cf. 4Macc 15:4: “We marvelously implant in a child as in a figurine the likeness of our soul and our body” (ψυχῆς τε καὶ μορφῆς ὁμοιότητα); *Sib. Or.* 3.8: “you humans, who have a form fashioned by God in his own image” (ἔχοντες ε—ν ει—κόνι μορφήν); Lucian, *Syr. D.* 14: “Derceto has the form of a fish” (μορφήν ι—χθύος); Hyginus, *Poet. Astr.* 30: “ibi figuran piscium forma mutasse.” The virtues of Cato and of Phocion have “the same appearance” (Plutarch, *Phoc.* 3.8).

⁴ *Anth. Pal.* 2.324; cf. 6.20. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Din.* 8, the country-dweller differs from the denizen of the city not in bodily form but in bearing (τῆς μορφῆς). On nuances of bearing or figure, cf. *Anth. Pal.* 2.88; 15.9.

⁵ The physique of Ulysses, which no one but his dog recognized (11.77); cf. Polybius 4.21.2: “we differ from each other in physique” (μορφαι—ς); *P.Oxy.* 3008, 8ff., διαφορά δὲ φαινομένη τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε σχήματος οὔτε χρώματος οὔτε μεγέθους οὔτε μορφῆς (third century).

⁶ “In addition to the elegance that was mine before (ε—πὶ μορφῇ τῇ πρίν), I now have an even more striking brilliance” (1.13); “Is it not your beauty (μορφῇ) that saved you by smiting the heart of Neoptolemos” (2.102); “The child received Eros’s own name and beauty” (7.628); “On the face of Ajax shone the charm of fatherly beauty” (2.272; cf. 2.280, 285; 5.15, 139, 154; 6.18, 200, 354); cf. Xenophon, *Oec.* 6.16: “I could understand that certain ones hid entirely perverse souls under an attractive physical appearance”; *SB* 8363, 1 (= A. and E. Bernand, *Memnon*, n. 30, 3): “You are charmed by the pleasing beauty of our queen”; Ps.-Theocritus 20.14: “Eunica’s beauty (τα— μορφα—) caused a great deal of trouble”; Ps.-Theocritus 23.2, 14; Bion, *Adon.* 1.31: “The charms of Adonis perished with him”; frag. 11.5: “Eros, gifted with a soul, had nothing like his beauty” (μορφα—); 12.1; Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.4.3: Hera was jealous of Side’s beauty. This meaning—graceful figure—is frequent in the papyri, cf. C. Spicq, “Note sur ΜΟΡΦΗ,” pp. 41ff.

⁷ Dittenberger, *Or.* 383, 27; republished in *IGLS*, n. 1 and 52; H. Waldmann, *Die kommagenischen Kultreformen*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 17ff.; J. Waldis, *Sprache und Stil der großen griechischen Inschrift vom Nemrud-Dagh*, Heidelberg, 1920, pp. 64–65.

⁸ *SB* 8071, 10 (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 26, 10); cf. Bion, *Epith. Achil.* 3.7; Philo (*Etern. World* 5) cites Euripides (frag. 839): “nothing dies of all that exists; but being scattered here and there, it presents a new form to the eyes”; *ibid.* 79: “destruction is the result of the suppression of the dominant quality; for wax, when you change its form, or when you smooth it so thoroughly that it does not even show the outline of a new form” (τύπον μορφῆς). Cf. Aeneas Tacticus, *Polior.* 40.4, to defend their city, the inhabitants of Sinope gave women’s bodies a masculine appearance (τω—ν γυναικω—ν . . . σώματα μορφώσαντες . . . ὡς ε—ξ ἄνδρας).

⁹ *IG* III, 716. A dedication from the third century BC, in *SEG* II, 355 (republished by G. Klaffenbach, *IG*, vol. 9, part 1, editio minor, fasc. 1, n.

51, 5); in the second century, *I.Did.*, CXVIII, 8; in the second-first century, a stele of Panticapaeum: μορφὰν δ' ἐ—ν πέτρᾳ λεύσσει σέω (*GVI*, vol. 1, n. 1989, 13; republished in *CIRB*, n. 130); *I.Bulg.*, n. 1611, 2; B. D. Meritt, *Corinth VIII, 1: Greek Inscriptions*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, n. 89, 1–2: τίς μορφήν τῆ δ' ἐ—νέγλυψε λίθῳ; μορφήν λαοτόμος μὲν ἐ—ῆ μειμήσατο τέχνη; Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, n. 1118.

¹⁰ Plutarch, *Per.* 31, 3; in describing the fighting of the Amazons, “Pheidias had chiseled a figure in his form (μορφῆν) . . . and he had made a very handsome likeness of Pericles”; *Corp. Herm.* 1, 12: “the man was very handsome, reproducing the image (εἰ—κόνᾳ) of his Father; for it is truly with his own form (τῆς ἰ—δίας μορφῆς) that God fell in love.” A funerary epigram referring to the bodies of two young people (ἡλικίην μορφήν διοίην γεγόμεσθα) mentions that two images (εἰ—κόνᾳς) have been placed near their tomb (*I.Bulg.*, n. 1611, 12). Cf. Rom 8:29: συμμόρφους τῆς εἰ—κόνος τοῦ υἱ—οῦ αὐτοῦ; 2Cor 3:18—τὴν αὐτὴν εἰ—κόνᾳ μεταμορφούμεθα (C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 741, n. 2–3).

¹¹ Cf. J. Jervell, *Imago Dei*, Göttingen, 1960, pp. 167, 204, 230. But in Aristotelian rhetoric, εἰ—κὼν meant “comparison”: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰ—κὼν μεταφορά, “comparison is also a metaphor. . . . Comparison is useful even in prose. . . . An example of comparison is that which Androtion let fly at Idrieus” (Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.4.1406b).

¹² *MAMA VI*, 14, 1: Δοκτικίου μορφῆς μὲν ἔχοι τύπον εἰ—κόνᾳ δ' αὖτε θεσπεσίας ἀρετῆς φορέει στόμα φω—τος ἐ—κάστου. Republished with commentary by L. Robert (“Les Inscriptions,” in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, p. 339), who also edits a Hellenistic epigram of Chios (Kaibel, *Epigrammata* 866) issuing from the presbyters for a personage (ἄρξαντα τοῦ πρεσβυτικοῦ). It is said of the κλεινὰ πρεσβυτέρων ξύνοδος, in line 3: εἰ—κὼν ἀναστήσασα σέθεν, μορφα—ς τύπον ἔμπνουν.

¹³ Text cited in the third century, in *P.Egerton 3* (H. I. Bell, T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel 2*, 84). Excellent analysis by P. Henry, “Kénose,” in *DBSup*, vol. 5, pp. 18ff. Cf. the splendid station of life of orators, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Proem.1.

¹⁴ Rom 12:2—μεταμορφοῦσθε; 2Cor 3:18—μεταμορφούμεθα (cf. G. Terrien, *Le Discernement dans les écrits pauliniens*, Paris, 1973, pp. 141ff.); cf. Plato: “A long interval suffices to change the name, the form (μορφήν), the nature, the fortune” (in *Anth. Pal.* 9.51). Poseidon gives Periclymenos the power to change his appearance (μεταβάλλειν τὰς μορφάς, Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.9.9; cf. 2.1.3; 2.5.11; 2.7.3; 3.4.3; 3.5.6). Water can take the most varied forms (Heraclitus, *All.* 22.3). Athena takes

on the form of Mentor (ibid. 63.8). Caligula disguises himself, changing “the substance of one body into many forms” (Philo, *To Gaius* 80). It is only for the μορφή θεοῦ that there are no counterfeits, as with counterfeit coins (ibid. 110). The French *forme* is defined as “the changeable appearance taken on by something whose nature remains unchanged” (P. Robert, *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, Paris, 1963, vol. 3, p. 106).

¹⁵ Mark 16:12. Jesus’ outward appearance had indeed changed, since the disciples took him for just another traveler, the apostles thought he was a ghost, and Mary Magdalene thought she was dealing with the gardener. The apocryphal writings multiply instances of metamorphosis: ἔβλεπον τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἐ—νηλλαγμένον ἐ—ν ἐ—τέρᾳ μορφῇ (*Acts Thom.* 8); ὁ κύριος —Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐ—ν μορφῇ παιδίου (*Acts Pet. Andr.* 2, 16); *Acts Phil.* 148; *Mart. Matt.* 23; *Acts John* 28: τοιοῦτός ἐι—μι τῇ μορφῇ τὸν κύριόν σου . . . σχήματος μορφῆς; *Sib. Or.* 8.458. Philo mentions those who try to learn the forms of bodies (σωμάτων μορφάς, *Abraham* 147). Plutarch, *De E ap. Delph.* 5; *De Pyth. or.* 29; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1238, 13, link μορφή and σχῆμα.

¹⁶ The apostles saw the soul of Mary placed in the hands of St. Michael; her soul “had a human form in all its details” (*Apocryphum de Dormitione BMV* 35; ed. A. Wenger, *L’Assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine*, Paris, 1955, p. 232); “The angels of the sun have a like appearance (like that of the solar cock). Although they do not actually have a form, they appear to us under this form, since we are locked up in a form” (Proclus, *Art. sacr.*, ed. J. Bidez, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, vol. 6, Brussels, 1928, p. 150). The appearance to Gideon, νεανίσκου μορφῇ (Josephus, *Ant.* 5.213), that of the death of Abraham, in the form of an archangel, bright and shining like the sun, τὴν ἡλιόμορφον μορφήν (*T. Abr.* A 17; cf. 16, 18).

¹⁷ Ὁ ζῶ—ν θεός, ὁ ἔχων μορφήν (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* II, n. XII, 80 = p. 62); ἠ—κέ μοι, ὁ δεσπότης τῶ—ν μορφῶ—ν (ibid. XII, 50, p. 60). The expression θεοῦ μορφή is found in Philo, *To Gaius* 110; *Corp. Herm.* 1.14; Dio Chrysostom 29.9 (cf. 7.148: σχῆμα δούλου).

¹⁸ —Ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε, Κύριε, ἵνα μοι φανῆς ἀγαθῇ μορφῇ (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* 13, 73 and 584; pp. 91, 115). According to Moschus, Zeus, metamorphosed into a bull, “by another change took on his own form” (μορφῇ, *Eur.* 2.163). The demigods, like Proteus, have the ability to change and reshape the substance of their own bodies into a multitude of different forms (Philo, *To Gaius* 80; cf. Heraclitus, *All.* 66.1).

¹⁹ *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 13, 70 and 581, pp. 90, 114. The *Orac. Chald.* emphasize the appearing of the form and the view or knowledge that results from it (frag. 37, 145,148).

²⁰ Invocation to Hermes Cosmocrator in the fourth century: “Appear to me graciously in your form . . . let your gracious form (μορφήν ι—λαράν) appear to me” (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* 5.415; vol. 1, p. 194); *P.Lond.* I, 46, 416–417). Cf. a prayer of the third century that the deity transform the medium, a child, into a shining, immortal form (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* VII, 563; vol. 2, p. 25; *P.Lond.* 121).

²¹ *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 3221, vol. 1, p. 178; *P.Lond.* 121, 241 (*Morpho* is an epithet of Aphrodite, Pausanias 3.15.18). Finally, these magical invocations have as their object to obtain favors, grace, food, success, power, from Hermes: δός μοι τήν χάριν, μορφήν, κάλλος (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* 8, 27; vol. 2, p. 46); cf. III, 580 (vol. 1, p. 56): “Give me a good appearance, beauty in the eyes of all who see me.”

μόχθος

mochthos, toil, labor, misery
see also κοπιᾶω, κόπος

mochthos, S 3449; *EDNT* 2.444; *NIDNTT* 1.262; MM 418; L&N 42.48; BAGD 528

This noun is a Pauline word in the NT and always refers to the difficult conditions under which he carries out his ministry, at Thessalonica (1Thess 2:9; 2Thess 3:8) and throughout his whole life (*en kopō kai mochthō*, 2Cor 11:27). This must be a traditional pairing (cf. Euripides, *Ion* 103: *ponous ek paidos mochthoumen aei*), for it is attested not only in Jer 20:18; Sag 10:10; *T. Jud.* 18.4; but also in Philo, who, citing Num 23:21, “there will be no misery in Israel” (Hebrew *‘awen*), glosses: “there will be no misery or distress among the Hebrews” (*ouk estai ponos e mochthos en Hebraiois*, *Moses* 1.284). Job’s wife complains to her husband, “In vain have I toiled in misery” (*eis kenon ekopiasa meta mochthon*, *T. Job* 24.2). In an ordinary figure of speech of this sort, it is not possible to distinguish precisely the meanings of the components.¹

Be that as it may, the word is much used in the LXX, notably twenty-two times in Ecclesiastes, where it refers to the miserable toil and trouble of humans under the sun, translating the Hebrew *‘amal* (cf. Deut 26:7). Its use to translate *perej* (Lev 25:43, 46, 53; Ezek 34:4) and *ye’ōa’* (toil, exertion, Isa 55:2; Jer 3:24; Ezek 23:29) shows both the variety of its connotations and the miserable nature of the work or tribulations so described. Pauline

mochthos should be compared to the Hebrew *tela'âh*, “fatigue, misery, adversity, evil,” used by Moses when he tells his father-in-law “all the difficulties he had encountered on the way” (Exod 18:8) and when he addresses the king of Edom, “You know the difficulties that we have encountered” (Num 20:14; cf. Neh 9:32).

Mochthos is rare in the papyri and does not appear before the fourth century (*P.Ryl.* 28, 117; cf. *P.Lond.* 1674, 63; from the sixth century). In two inscriptions where it is used it has the same meaning as in St. Paul: the trials of life. In an epitaph, a young man who died at age nineteen addresses his father: “By way of consolation I address these words to you. . . . Sheltered from sorrow, I led a good life before leaving for Hades. With you I had an abundance, I knew no deprivation, I never experienced misery in my life.”² Twice each year Agrios offers a banquet for the people of Panopolis “inviting the priests of each class and his comrades in toil.”³

Philostratus (*Gym.* 47; cf. *mochtheo*, 42) uses this term for athletic exercises; Xenophon (*Symp.* 2.4) uses it for the toils of free men; Vettius Valens (12.2; cf. 77, 14) and Manetho (6.383) for the hard labor of porters.⁴

¹ “The expression must above all be taken as a whole, without putting too much weight on its parts” (B. Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, p. 423).

² Οὐδέ ποτ' ε—ν βιότῳ μόχθον; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 75, 6.

³ Μόχθων τε συνεργούς; monument of Agrios, *ibid.*, n. 114, col. IV, 4. *IGLS* 1125, 6: “the underworld is for us the end of vain misery.” A woman to her husband: Οὐ μόχθων κοινωνὲ, παρήγορε, σεμνὲ, Διονύσιε, ε—ν τάχι μ' ἔλιπες (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1953, p. 175, n. 194; cf. p. 194, n. 238; these critics show that μόχθοι, πόνοι are poetic terms for the woes and fatigue of governors, *ibid.*, 1961, p. 220, n. 536; *Hellenica*, vol. 4, p. 21, n. 3, where a noteworthy citation is this epigram from Ephesus—τήνδε φιλαγρύπνον ὀλίγην χάριν εὔραο μόχθων—after H.Grégoire, *Asie Mineure*, n. 99).

⁴ These are cited by F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, p. 104, n. 2.

μῦθος

mythos, discourse, account, myth, fable, legend

mythos, S 3454; *TDNT* 4.762–795; *EDNT* 2.445; *NIDNTT* 2.643–645, 647; *MM* 418–419; *L&N* 33.13; *BAGD* 529

This word, which can be transliterated “myth” or translated “fable, legend” (cf. Aesop), is used only once in the OT,¹ but Titus and Timothy are told that in their teaching they must not make any concession to fables (1Tim 1:4; 4:7, *paraitou*), which are opposed to the truth (Titus 1:14; 2Tim 4:4). 2Pet 1:16, connecting the object of faith with historical reality, says: “It was not by following sophistic fables that we acquainted you with the power and advent of our Lord Jesus Christ,² but having beheld his majesty with our own eyes.”³ Thus it is amazing that modern exegetes and theologians have undertaken to demythologize the Bible⁴ and that literary types use the term and the idea of myth quite ambiguously.

In classical Greek, *mythos* has some very commonplace and very diverse meanings: word (Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll. 2: mythos eumenes*, a friend’s kindly word), discourse, conversation, proverb, message, order, rule, opinion, counsel (as opposed to *ergon*), story, tale.⁵ Beginning with Pindar, however, it takes on a technical value. Sometimes it means “fable, story, apologue,⁶ allegory, fiction used for instruction”⁷—and is thus often synonymous with dupery, illusion, the unreal,⁸ as opposed to a veracious account (*logos*), one that is credible (*pistos*), true (*alethes*).⁹ Sometimes it means myth proper, i.e., the whole collection of legends or traditional stories concerning the gods, the demigods, or events before the first known historical facts: mythology or cosmogony.¹⁰ In the beginning, after all, in Greece as in the ancient orient, myth and cult were closely linked; no people on the earth, except the Hindus, had a world so rich in myths as the Greeks,¹¹ especially with Homer, who was supposed to have taught in myth concerning all religious, moral, and human truths. But how to “add faith to Homer and his fables” (Epictetus 3.24.18) when the gods sleep, lose their temper, lie, become frightened, commit multiple adulteries and rapes and other outrageous acts? Furthermore, beginning in the sixth century BC with Xenophon of Colophon and Theagenes of Rhegium, then with Plato and the Pythagoreans, in reaction to the traditional religion, a theological reinterpretation of the myths was elaborated:¹² thanks to allegory, the immoral legends were transposed and purified to yield a deeper, covert meaning (*hyponoia*), an idea or reality that was not accessible or utterable in straightforward language.¹³ Thus myth becomes a didactic literary genre, a form of exposition, a means of demonstration that expresses reality in a pictorial form¹⁴—what the rhetor Heraclitus calls a “philosophy in symbols.”¹⁵ It matters little that “these things never happened but always are so,”¹⁶ and it is a “pious investigation”¹⁷ to discern beneath the material component and the symbolic expression a certain religious truth or moral idea. The heterodox Ephesians and Cretans, trained according to the currently fashionable principles of hermeneutics, must have applied this method of symbolic and allegorical interpretation to the Bible, producing all kinds of intellectual fantasies.

But the pagans themselves denounced the fallacious character of the legendary accounts: “Those who risk speaking or writing about those countries must be seen as ignorant or as spinners of tales” (*agnoein kai mythous diatithesthai*, Polybius 3.38). Strabo, contrasting history against myth and lies (5.1.9; 9.3.11–12), mentions that honors supposedly awarded at Rhea and on Crete belong to the realm of legend and not history (*tous de legontas mythologeion mallon e historein*, 10.3.20). With respect to the stories about the Amazons: “In the case of all the other peoples, myth and history each have their own domain and are cleanly separated: myth is the name given all that is ancient, fabulous, or outlandish; while history is the label for the truth, whether the event be ancient or recent, and with rare exceptions does not admit anything fantastic” (11.5.3; cf. 11.6.2, *philomythia* = love of legends). With regard to the production of electrum, Diodorus Siculus observes: “A number of the ancients recorded fables (*mythous*) that we do not believe at all and which are refuted by the facts. . . . We must hold fast to historical truth” (*prosekteon tais alethinais historiais*, 5.23; cf. 4.8.4; 4.77.9). Plutarch contrasts tales and fictions (*mythode kai plasmatian*) to a true account (*alethei logo*, *Cam.* 22.3; cf. *De glor. Ath.* 4: *ho de mythos einai bouletai logos pseudes eoikos alethino*; *Art. 1: mython apithanon kai paraphoron* . . . *pantodapen pylaian*; *De def. or.* 46.1; *De Pyth. or.* 2); “The terra firma of history rests on facts; I could with justification speak on more remote ages. Beyond that lies the land of marvels and tragic legends, populated by poets and mythologers, and there one finds no proof, no certitude” (*Thes.* 1.2–3). In *De Is. et Os.* 20, Plutarch notes that this history of the two divinities “in no way resembles the contradictory fables, the vain fictions that the poets and mythologers, after the fashion of spiders weaving their webs, spin out from themselves and build upon with no foundation . . . despite the difficulties that myth presents when it narrates the woes suffered by the gods.”¹⁸ “It is history that separates the truth from legend” (*tou mythodous apekrithe to alethes*, *De Pyth. or.* 24). *Mythos* is “a useless fabrication” (*plasma kenon*, *De def. or.* 46).

This negative evaluation of the *mythoi* is shared by Jewish authors,¹⁹ notably by Philo, who calls them surmises (*Post. Cain* 2), contradictory fabrications (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 13), fiction (*Decalogue* 56). He constantly writes of the *mythou plasma* and the commandment to flee it (*Rewards* 8), because this counterfeit is opposed to the truth (*Flight* 42); “they left behind mythical fictions to stand in the clarity of the truth” (*ibid.* 102); “the life devoted to unreason is fiction and myth . . . a life submerged in lies, always missing the truth” (*Prelim. Stud.* 61; cf. *Migr. Abr.* 76); “shameless Pleasure, creator of prodigies and spinner of tales, decked out like a tragic actor” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 28) is contrasted with austere—but true—Virtue. “Those who pursue fictionless truth rather than imaginary myths” (*Rewards* 162; cf. *Heir* 228); “going to dwell with Truth and the veneration

of the only venerable Being, far from mythical fictions” (*Spec. Laws* 4.178; cf. 1.43). “Among lawmakers, some prescribed, baldly and in the open, that which was just in their eyes; others encompassed their thought in superfluous swelling, deceived the multitudes with clouds of illusion, masking the truth under mythic fictions . . . a lying strategy, full of fraud” (*Creation* 1–2; cf. 157). “Perhaps someone thinks that the lawmaker (Moses) is alluding to the fables of the poets concerning giants (cf. Gen 6:4), but tale-weaving is entirely foreign to him, and he walks in the footsteps of truth itself” (*Giants* 58); “let no one see a myth in his words” (*ibid.* 7; cf. *Husbandry* 97).

The rejection of myth in the Pastorals and in 2Pet 1:16 is along the same lines. We must insist on the definition given by *Suda*: “myth: a false account posing as the truth” (*mythos: logos pseudēs eikonizōn ten aletheian*). Dreamed-up tales, fables that are invented and hence unreal, are opposed to the *logoi* of the true faith (1Tim 4:6; 2Tim 4:4).

¹ Sir 20:19. The use of this word in Wis 17:4 is an error in *A* for μυχός. The μυθολόγοι of Bar 3:23 are fortune-tellers or interpreters of parables.

² Cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, Proem. 4, μύθοις ε—ξακολουθήσαντες; *P. Berlin* 7927, 8: μυθολογίαις ε—πακολουθοῦσι; Xenophon, *Cyn.* 13.5: “words not facily thrown together” (τοι—ς ὀνόμασιν οὐ σεσοφισμένοις); Ps.-Phocylides 130, βέλτερος ἀπλήεντος ἔφω σεσοφισμένος ἀνήρ (ed. Young, 1961, p. 106); Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 1, 38, 41–42, 72–73.

³ The apostles, witnessing facts and passing on that which they have seen and heard, are contrasted with speculators who elaborate unfounded, entirely fabricated doctrines (cf. J. Munck, “The New Testament and Gnosticism,” in *Essays in Honor of O. A. Piper*, London, 1962, pp. 224–238; G. Lindeskog, “Empirie und Glaube im Neuen Testament,” in *Verborum Veritas: Festschrift G. Stählin*, Wuppertal, 1970, pp. 294ff.). Commenting on Gen 19:26, Philo affirms: “Moses did not invent a fable” (*Flight* 121); and his editor, E. Starobinski-Safran (Paris, 1970, p. 284) dedicates a note to this point, demonstrating that “in the eyes of the Alexandrian, fable-making is entirely foreign to the Scriptures”; cf. *Conf. Tongues* 2–14 (cf. G. Dellings, *Studien zum Neuen Testament und zum hellenistischen Judentum*, Göttingen, 1970, pp. 114–129); this was already the conclusion of *Ep. Arist.* 168.

⁴ The psychologist C. G. Jung extended the concept of the “mythic” to embrace all religions, especially Christianity (cf. S. Bartinas, “Mitos astrales en la Biblia,” in *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, 1968, pp. 327–344; G. Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament*, pp.

196ff.). “Modern biblical criticism incorporates the Bible and the biblical world under the category of myth . . . because myth is the ancient world’s universal and autonomous mode of thought, representation, and expression” (H. Fries, “Le Mythe et la révélation,” in *Questions théologiques aujourd’hui*, Paris, 1964, vol. 1, pp. 17–18). See E. Castelli, *Mythe et foi*, Paris, 1966 (with the revisions of J. P. Audet, in *RB*, 1967, pp. 438ff.); P. Barthel, *Interprétation du langage et théologie biblique*, 2d ed., Leiden, 1967; L. Malevez, *Le Message chrétien et le mythe*, Brussels-Bruges-Paris, 1954.

⁵ In Homer, Plato, Aeschylus, Isocrates, Euripides; *Ep. Arist.* 137; Philo, *To Gaius* 112; *Plant.* 130; *Worse Attacks Better* 178; *P.Oxy.* 2192, 36; *P.Mur.* 109, 3; etc. Cf. H. Fournier, *Les Verbes “dire,”* pp. 49, 215ff. E. Cassirer, *Sprache und Mythos*, Leipzig, 1925; O. Cullmann, “Le Mythe dans les écrits du N.T.,” in *Numen*, 1954, vol. 1, pp. 120–135 (reprinted in *Etudes de théologie biblique*, Neuchâtel, 1968, pp. 132ff.); H. Riesenfeld, “The Mythological Background of New Testament Christology,” in W. D. Davies, D. Daube, *Essays on the Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology*, pp. 81–95; C. K. Barrett, “Myth and the New Testament,” in *ExpT*, vol. 68, 1957, pp. 345–348, 359–362; W. Aly, “Mythos,” in *PW*, vol. 16, 1374–1403; Stählin, in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 762–795; P. Grelot, *La Bible, Parole de Dieu*, Paris-Tournai, 1965, pp. 124ff.

⁶ Dio Cassius calls the apologue of Menenius Agrippa a μῦθος (1.33). Μῦθοι are especially old stories (cf. Plato, *Resp.* 10.621 *b*; *Leg.* 7.804 *e*: μύθους παλαιούς; 9.865 *d*: ἀρχαίοι μύθοι) that women tell children (*Resp.* 1.350 *e*; 2.377 *a*; *Grg.* 527 *a*); Aristotle, *HA* 8.24.605a5: “The stories in circulation . . . are above all fables dreamed up by women and magicians”; Aristophanes, *Lys.* 781, 805; Polybius 12.24.5: “In his own explanations, he is full of visions, prodigies, and unbelievable fables (μύθων ἀπιθάνων); is a word, of base superstition and womanish fantasies”; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. et Clit.* 1.8.4; Plutarch, with respect to the lives of separated souls on the moon: “it is good to tell to women, because it is romantic” (διὰ τὸ μυθω—δες, *De aud. poet.* 16 *e*); Strabo 1.3.2; Numenius: “These marvelous things sometimes happen to people. So are we told not only by those who may be suspected of inventing fables (μυθοποιοῦντες), but also those who have given long proof of their philosophical rigor . . .” (frag. 29; ed. E. des Places, p. 80). Galen heaps his scorn on a Pamphilus who prescribes certain incantations during the gathering of medicinal herbs: “This person has been taken in by old wives’ tales and the magical practices of Egyptian drivelers” (Galen, *De simpl. medicam. temp.*, 6, proem.; in C. G. Kühn, *Medicorum Graecorum Opera*, vol. 11, p. 972).

⁷ Fables are invented or used by speechmakers and lawyers (Lycurgus, *Leoc.* 95; Seneca, *Ben.* 1.4.6); fable is a rhetorical figure related to historical examples and parables, used to explain or defend a cause (Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.20.1393a-b; cf. I. Heinemann, “Zur griechischen Allegoristik,” in *Mnemosyne*, 1949, pp. 9ff.; A. Garcia Calvo, “Dialectica y mito,” in *Acta del Congreso español de estudios clásicos*, Madrid, 1964, pp.300–317; J. G. Griffiths, “The Tradition of Allegory in Egypt,” in *Religions en Egyptehellénistique et romaine* [Strasbourg colloquium, 1967], Paris, 1969, pp. 45–57). On the meaning of μῦθος in Lucian—the telling of an anecdote, a historical vignette, a stylistic device learned from rhetoric—cf. J. Bompaigne, *Lucien écrivain*, p.444, n. 4.

⁸ Demosthenes, *C. Poly.* 50.40: “words in the air”; Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 566; Plutarch, *Thes.* 28.1; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 76; *Prelim. Stud.* 62: “Esau, the opposite of Jacob in every way, is . . . the companion of all that is fiction, fabrication, mythical nonsense, or rather theater and myth personified.”

⁹ Theognis 2.1035–1036; Pindar, *Nem.* 7.22–23; *Ol.* 1.28–29: “sometimes the sayings of mortals leave truth behind; fables ornamented with clever fictions deceive us” (ε-ξαπατω-ντι μῦθοι); Plato, *Phdr.* 229 c –230 a; Aristotle, *Poet.* 9.1451a-b; *HA* 6.31; Euripides, *Cyc.* 376; Sophocles, *Trach.* 66; Isocrates, *Panath.* 12.1; Callimachus, *Epigr.* 13; Strabo 5.32: τὰ μὲν μυθώδη, τὰ δ ε-γγυτέρω πίστεως; “Those who have spread this idea have sacrificed to mythological invention rather than to history” (10.3.20; cf. 10.3.22, 23); Polybius 3.38.3: “Those who speak or write of it know nothing about it and only retell fables”; Plutarch hesitates to retell the myth of Thespesios, thinking that his account (λόγος) could be taken for a fable (μῦθος) (Plutarch, *De sera* 561 B); “this narrative has more in common with fable . . . than with sensible words (λόγοις)” (*De gen.* 21); Maximus of Tyre 10.1: εἶτε μῦθος εἶτε καὶ ἀληθῆς λόγος. Cf. W. Nestle, *Vom Mythos zum Logos*, 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1942.

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* 1381, 172: τὸν τῆς κοσμοποιΐας . . . μῦθων; Cornutus, *Theol. Graec.* 8: “what the learned priests tell of the ancient stories” (μύθω τω-ν παλαιω-ν); cf. Plato, *Leg.* 9.872 d–e; Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1.2; 11.8; A. and E. Bernand, *Memnon*, n. 29, 4; 36, 4; 101, 4; R. Follet, “Mystères,” in *DBSup*, vol. 6, pp. 3–10; J. Henninger, H. Cazelles, R. Marle, “Mythe,” *ibid.* pp. 225–267.

¹¹ Cf. A. H. Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, Paris, 1930; M. P. Nilsson, “Mythologie,” in *Histoire générale des religions: Grèce*, ed. M. Gorce, R. Mortier, 5 vols., Paris, Quillet, 1944, pp. 151–289. J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, Salzburg, 1964.

¹² Plato (*Resp.* 2.377. c–e; 378 d; *Tim.* 26 e) expels the μυθοποιοί from his city (*Resp.* 3.398 a; *Leg.* 12.941 a–d); “Plato declares that no poet must be allowed in the republic, and he excludes Homer . . . to keep the true conception of God from being obscured by his fables” (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.256). “Vult (Chrysippus) Orphei, Musaei, Hesiodi, Homerique fabellas accommodare ad ea quae ipse in primo libro de dis immortalibus dixerat, ut etiam veterrimi poetae, qui haec ne suspicite quidem sunt, Stoici fuisse videantur” (“[Chrysippus] wishes to accommodate the tales of Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, and Homer to the things that he himself has said in his first book on the immortal gods, so that even the oldest poets, although they had no inkling of these things, might seem to have been Stoics,” Cicero, *Nat. D.* 1.15). Cf. P. Decharme, *La critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs*, Paris, 1904; A. Delatte, *Etudes sur la littérature pythagoricienne*, 1915, pp. 109ff.; F. C. Grant, *Hellenistic Religions*, New York, 1953, pp. 71ff.; R. Pettazzoni, *La Religion dans la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1953, pp. 180, 236ff.; J. Carcopino, *De Pythagore aux apôtres*, Paris, 1956, pp. 24–26, 79–85; J. Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie*, Paris, 1958, pp. 190ff.; above all F. Buffière, *Les Mythes d’Homère et la pensée grecque*, Paris, 1956.

¹³ “Who then dares call Homer impious?” asks the rhetor Heraclitus (*All.* 3.1); “A colossal suit has been filed against Homer for his irreverence toward the gods. He is all impiety, if nothing in him is allegory. Sacrilegious stories (ι–ερόσυλοι μύθοι), the delirious fabric of blasphemous follies is unfurled across the two poems” (1.1–2); “To avert this impiety, there is only one recourse: show that the (Homeric) story is an allegory” (ἡλληγορημένον τὸν μῦθον, 22.1; cf. 24.2, 8; 70.13). “If there are people who, in their ignorance, do not understand Homer’s allegorical language, who have not been able to penetrate the hidden reaches of his wisdom, who cannot recognize the truth and reject it; who do not understand the philosophical meaning of a myth and hold on to the fictitious appearances, let these people stay clear of our path” (3.2; cf. 53.2); cf. Philo, *Contemp. Life* 28; Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 20. 68; *Quaest. conv.* 1.1, 3; *De aud. poet.* 4.

¹⁴ Plato, *Prt.* 320 c; *Tim.* 29 d. “Λόγος is, properly speaking, ἀ–λήθεια, the unveiling, the exposing of the reality that is imagined and obscurely glimpsed in μῦθος” (F. Romano, *Logos e mitos nella psicologia de Platone*, Padua, 1964, p. 233). J. Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain (Lucien écrivain*, pp. 191–200) has demonstrated the existence of a school mythology, a reflection of the poetic mythology, as attested, for example, by the treatise of Ps.-Menander, Περὶ ε–πιδεικτικῶ–ν, which recommends the use of

myths on multiple occasions. If the sophists show a particular taste for these legends, they are being faithful to a rhetorical tradition.

¹⁵ *All.* 75.1: συμβολικῶς ἐφιλοσόφησε. Y. Vernière, *Symboles et mythes dans la pensée de Plutarque*, Paris, 1977.

¹⁶ Sallustius, *De Deis et Mundo* 4.9: ταῦτα δὲ ἐγένετο μὲν οὐδέποτε, ἔστι δὲ ἀεὶ.

¹⁷ Heraclitus, *All.* 68.9: εὐσεβῶς ἐρευνα—ν.

¹⁸ Cf. Sallustius, *De Deis et Mundo* 3.1ff. *Corp. Herm.* 23.50: “an incredible fable that there existed a Chaos”; *SB* 8217, 4: ἔπλασε μῦθον (second century AD). For Lucian, myths are lies (Lucian, *JConf.* 1–2; *JTr.* 40); cf. H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament*, p. 24; K. Barwick, “Die Gliederung der Narratio in der rhetorischen Theorie,” in *Hermes*, 1928, pp. 270ff.

¹⁹ *Ep. Arist.* 322 concludes its exposé: I think that his account will interest you more than the books of the mythologers, τὰ τῶν μυθολόγων βιβλία; cf. in Eusebius: ἔκτοποι μυθολογίαι = outlandish mythical tales (*Praep. Evang.* 1.9.17; 1.10.40–41), fictions, ἀναπλάσματα (1.9.18; 1.10.55).

μυκτηρίζω, ἐκμυκτηρίζω

mykterizo, ekmykterizo, to turn up one’s nose at, ridicule, mock

mykterizo, S 3456; *TDNT* 4.796; *EDNT* 2.445; MM 419; L&N 33.409; BAGD 529 | ***ekmykterizo***, S 1592; *TDNT* 4.796–799; *EDNT* 1.419; L&N 33.409; BAGD 243

Translating Gal 6:7 “God is not mocked” is accurate—even though the context means “God is not trifled with, is not duped”¹—but does not convey the nuance or ridicule and humiliation, disdain, scoffing insult, which would be better conveyed by our expressions “thumb one’s nose at” or “hold up to ridicule.”

Derived from *mykter*, “nostril,” these verbs mean “turn up or wrinkle the nose” as a sign of mockery or scorn.² Mockery and derision are expressed by words or deeds, by tricks of facial expression: laughing and making faces, ridiculing someone, letting him know how little one thinks of him, thus reducing him to a sort of psychological, moral, or social nothing. This amounts to an assault on that person’s dignity, on the right that everyone has to respect from others, on the basic need to be thought well of by others, which is an important element in human happiness.³

In this farcical mimicry that constitutes mockery of another person, the ancients attached a particular sense of scorn or disgust to wrinkles (Latin *ruga*) of the nose: *Naso rugato*; ⁴ Horace, *Sat.* 1.6.5–6: “You do not turn up your nose at men of low birth” (“[non] naso suspendis adunco ignotos”); *Sat.* 2.8.64: Balatron turns up his nose with each word (“suspendens omnia naso”); Persius, *Sat.* 3.87: “These things make the public and the brawny youths wrinkle their noses and double up with bursts of laughter”; 5.91: “Let anger fall from your nose and a wrinkled grimace” (“ira cadat naso rugosaque sanna”); Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.3.80: “Scorn, contempt, and loathing are usually signaled with the nose” (“Naribus . . . derisus, contemptus, fastidium significari solet”).

In the LXX, *mykterizo* and *ekmykterizo* sometimes translate the Hebrew *hatal*, “mock,” as with Elijah’s sarcasm at the expense of the prophets of Baal (1Kgs 8:27), but most often they translate *la’ag*, which has connotations of shame and ridicule (Jer 20:7; Ezek 23:32; Job 22:19; 34:7; Ps 2:4; 44:14; 80:7). In Neh 3:36 and Prov 11:12; 15:20; 23:9, the verb *bûz* emphasizes the scorn or shame endured, like *na’as* (Prov 15:5). To be the butt of sarcasm⁵ is bitter (2Macc 7:39). When scorning a neighbor and letting him know that one has a low opinion of him, one often shakes one’s head to express mockery (2Kgs 19:21 = Isa 37:22; Ps 22:8; cf. Job 6:4), grinds one’s teeth (Ps 35:16), or even spits: Nicanor, in mocking the priests and treating them with scorn, went so far as to defile them (1Macc 7:34). In the NT, *ekmykterizo* is used for the Pharisees and officials who turn up their nose at Jesus (Luke 16:14; 23:35); for scornful laughter (*katagelao*, 8:53); for making sport of him (*empaizo*, Matt 27:29, 31, 41; Luke 23:36). They abuse him (*oneidizo*, Matt 27:44), insult him (*blasphemeo*, Luke 22:65), they shake their heads (Matt 27:40), just as the apostles would be derided (*chleuazo*, Acts 17:32; *diachleuazo*, 2:13).

To laugh at God and scorn him is to attack his transcendence, for he is the very essence of perfection; hence it is a blasphemy radically opposed to faith.

μυκτηρίζω, ε—κμυκτηρίζω

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To laugh at God and scorn him is to attack his transcendence, for he is the very essence of perfection; hence it is a blasphemy radically opposed to faith.

¹ M. J. Lagrange, *Galates*, p. 159; E. D. Burton, *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 340.

² In the sense of turn in another direction, in Hippocrates, *Epid.* 7.123: “nature, having burst in, turned aside (ἀπεστράφη); having turned aside, there was a discharge from the nose (ε—μυκτήρισην).” Cf. Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 2.78, on diseases of the nose, head colds, polyps, etc., cites Lysias: μυκτηρίζειν δὲ, Λυσίας, καὶ τὸ μυσάττεσθαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ μυκτῆρι ε—νδείκνυσθαι τὸ δυσχεραίνειν. At the beginning of the second century BC, in a letter severely reprimanding a subordinate who risks breaking his neck by playing the fool: If he continues thus, they will mock him, ὑπὸ τούτων μυκτηρίζεσθαι (*P. Tebt.* 758, 11). Caesar Augustus writes to Livy concerning Claudius: “We must not expose ourselves along with him to the mockery of people who are accustomed to mock and ridicule such things” (τὰ τοιαῦτα σκώπτειν καὶ μυκτηρίζειν εἰ—ωθόσιν, Suetonius, *Claud.* 4).

³ Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1.3.1095a22, b24ff.; 4.7.1123b1ff.; *Rh.* 1.5.1360b–1361a; 1.11.1371a; cf. C. Spicq, *Péchés d’injustice*, pp. 374ff.

⁴ The nose is the locus of mocking, scorn, and anger. “The arrogance of the wicked is expressed by . . . a turning up of the nose in Ps 10:4” (P. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, p. 81). “Often the nostrils are somewhat contracted, as if to tighten their openings. At the same time a slight whistling is produced, a brief inhalation. These actions are the same as those produced by the perception of a disagreeable odor that we want to avoid or be rid of. . . . We seem to want to convey to the person whom we scorn that he smells bad” (G. Dumas, *Nouveau traité de psychologie*, Paris, 1933, vol. 3, pp. 310–311).

⁵ Μυκτηρισμός; cf. the references to the word in D. B. Durham, *Vocabulary of Menander*, p. 80.

⁶ M. J. Lagrange, *Galates*, p. 159; E. D. Burton, *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 340.

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⁸ Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1.3.1095a22, b24ff.; 4.7.1123b1ff.; *Rh.* 1.5.1360b–1361a; 1.11.1371a; cf. C. Spicq, *Péchés d’injustice*, pp. 374ff.

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¹⁰ Μυκτηρισμός; cf. the references to the word in D. B. Durham, *Vocabulary of Menander*, p. 80.

μωραίνω, μωρία, μωρολογία, μωρός

moraino, to be dazed, mad, foolish, act stupidly; lose savor, become insipid; *moria*, disorder, folly, nonsense; *morologia*, foolish talk, nonsense; *moros*, foolish, dull, insipid

moraino, S 3471; *TDNT* 4.832–847; *EDNT* 2.449–450; *NIDNTT* 3.1023, 1025; L&N 32.59; BAGD 531 | ***moria***, S 2472; *TDNT* 4.832–847; *EDNT* 2.449–450; *NIDNTT* 3.1023, 1025–1026; L&N 32.57; BAGD 531 | ***morologia***, S 3473; *TDNT* 4.832–847; *EDNT* 2.450; *NIDNTT* 3.1026; MM 420; L&N 33.379; BAGD 531 | ***moros***, S 3474; *TDNT* 4.832–847; *EDNT* 2.449–450; *NIDNTT* 3.1023–1026; MM 420–421; L&N 32.55, 32.58; BDF §§13, 263(4); BAGD 531

A denominative formed from *moros*, the verb *moraino* is sometimes intransitive (“be dazed, besotted, mad; to speak or act foolishly”), sometimes transitive (in the passive, “become mad”).¹ But since *moros* also has the meaning “dull, inert,”² “flat, insipid” (Dioscorides 4.19: *rhixai geusameno morai*), we can understand that the corresponding verb might mean “lose savor, become insipid.” Thus Jesus compares his disciples to a salt acting on humankind; they are intended to give it a new quality: “You are the salt of the earth, but if the salt becomes tasteless (*ean de to halas moranthe*), with what will it be salted? It is no longer good for anything other than being thrown out and trodden underfoot” (Matt 5:13). Salt has a

double function: preserving and seasoning the foods to which it gives taste and savor. That is to say, “it has no worth apart from its action on other objects.”³ If it becomes tasteless,⁴ it loses its property⁵ and becomes *analon*, “saltless” (Mark 9:50), ceases to be salt; thenceforth it is unusable, because it is impossible to imagine what could be used to season it anew, a salt to salt it with.⁶ Thus the disciple—salt that ought to add seasoning—if he loses the “virtue” of the gospel, is no longer good for anything.⁷ Certainly it is impossible to imagine “desalted” salt, but the aorist passive subjunctive *moranthe* is to be taken metaphorically as applying to disciples who are no longer worthwhile in the spiritual order; they are denatured or nonexistent, “nothings.”

This is a monstrous evolution. St. Paul denounces it from the other direction, in pagans or thinkers: the most cultivated of people have substituted for the worship of the true creator God the worship of human or animal images! Concerning this idolatrous perversion, he says, “Claiming to be wise, they became stupid” (*phaskontes einai sophoi emoranthesen*).⁸ Here the verb *moraino* has its LXX meaning, “be foolish, do something stupid” (Hebrew *ba’ar*); cf. “All men are beasts, lacking in knowledge.”⁹

This very pejorative meaning belongs to the adjective *moros* and the noun *moria*. The first means “blunted, dazed, stupid” in classical Greek¹⁰ and in Koine: “Was he so stupid that he did not understand that this way would lead to this end?” (Epictetus 2.2.16); “deceits of foolish words of ventriloquists.”¹¹ *Moria* similarly means disorder, extravagance, stupidity, nonsense. Herodotus 1.131: “The Persians accuse of folly those who erect statues of gods, temples, and altars”; 1.146: “It is nonsense to say that the Ionians of Asia are more Ionians than the other Ionians”; Plato, *Leg.* 7.818d: “It would be foolish to believe that these sciences are not necessary to those who seek understanding.”¹²

But in the LXX, *moros* has become a religious¹³ and wisdom adjective, especially in Ben Sirach, where the “foolish person” is especially one who lacks judgment (*moros* is synonymous with *aphron* and *anous*, Ps 49:11; and with *asynetos*, Ps 92:7), who is misguided and thinks only in insanities (Sir 16:23), is incapable of learning (21:14; 22:7, 10) because lacking intelligence (22:11) and memory. He is a weak mind (42:8), lacking character (22:18) and nobility (Isa 32:5), incapable of keeping a secret (Sir 8:17). So he must be avoided (4:27), because his speech is as stupid (20:16—“A fool says, ‘I have no friend’”; 19:11; 20:20) as it is irritating (21:16; 27:13); he speaks without thinking (21:26) and says nothing (33:5) even though he speaks up loudly (21:20) to set forth his nonsense (Isa 32:6). His conduct is all just as stupid (Sir 21:18); he makes insults (18:18) and knows no discretion (21:22). It is impossible to love him (20:13; 25:2), above all because he is a schismatic (50:26). According to the literal sense of the texts, the *moros* would be a fool, an uncouth being, lacking education and culture, with no discernment, circumspection, or wisdom,

committing countless blunders. But this lack of intelligence is contrasted with the wisdom and “good sense” that are God’s gifts,¹⁴ so that the *moros* cannot discern God’s ways; he is lacking in spiritual sense and remains as it were in a stupor in the face of the revelation of the divine mysteries and the divine will.

Such is the meaning of *moria*, *moros*, *moraino* —whose crudity must be retained—in 1Cor 1:18-27: “The language of the cross is nonsense (*moria*) for those who are en route to perdition. . . . Has God not smitten the wisdom of the world with nonsense (*emoranen*)? . . . It pleased God, through the nonsense (*dia tes morias*) of preaching to save those who believe . . . a crucified Christ, nonsense (*moria*) to the Gentiles, but the power of God and the wisdom of God. . . . God’s nonsense (*to moron*) is wiser than men. . . .” Is there anything more absurd for a reasonable person to hear than a preacher’s declaration that a Jew who was poor, condemned to death by the highest political and religious authorities of his nation, was crucified like a slave? He is risen! This is the Son of God, and he has saved the world! The proclamation of this ignominy is not folly—it is nonsense.¹⁵ God’s making folly of the “wisdom of the world,” which wants the means to be proportional to the end, is what confirmed the vocation of the first Christians. God did not choose them from among the philosophers, the wealthy, the powerful, but from the small, the humble: “God chose the stupid things (*ta mora*) of the world to shame the wise” (1Cor 2:27). That means that people must believe, must give themselves over to God in adherence to mysteries that derail human logic and human good sense: “Let no one be deceived! If anyone believes that he is wise among you in this world, let him become stupid (*moros*) in order to become wise, for this world’s wisdom is stupidity (*moria*) with God.”¹⁶

There remain three NT texts where *moros* functions in accord with current usage without any theological meaning. The most trivial is the parable that is unfortunately called the parable of the Ten Virgins;¹⁷ it is simply a matter of young women of whom five were little twits (*morai*; Matt 25:2, 3, 8) and the others “sensible” (*phronimoi*). The most serious is that of the man who in anger calls his fellow a fool: *more!* This insult is punished by “the gehenna of fire,”¹⁸ because it is an expression of hatred, and “whoever hates his brother is a murderer” (1John 3:15). Finally, the Lord himself twice calls the scribes and Pharisees *moroi kai typhloi* (fools and blind, Matt 23:17) in denouncing their casuistry, which set the gold in the temple above the sanctuary itself—which is absurd.¹⁹

¹ Aristotle, *HA* 9.3.610b30: “goats (when grasped by the beard) halt as if dazed”; *Eth. Nic.* 7.6.1148b2, Satyros invoking his father as a god: “this was pure folly” (λίαν γὰρ ε—δόκει μωραίνειν); 2Sam 24:10, David, after ordering the numbering of the population, confessed, “I have behaved like a true fool, I have acted stupidly” (ε—μωράνθην σφόδρα, translating the

niphal of the Hebrew *sakal*). Euripides, *Med.* 614: “If you refuse these offers, woman, you will be foolish” (μωρανει—ς); *Andr.* 674: “a wife committing folly (μωραίνουσαν) in his halls”; Aeschylus, *Pers.* 719: “the wretch attempted this folly”; *Cherub.* 116: “the artisan of lies, the bearer of illusions, the mad one (ὁ μωραίνων), shows himself to be the very opposite of saneness (ἄνους) in his delirium.” The only papyrological attestation is from the second century AD; a letter from a woman to her brother Apollonius, who is in poor health: οὐκ ἄγνοει—ς, πω—ς πάλιν ὁ μωρὸς διενοχλει— μοι χάριν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ μωραίνων καὶ οὐκ ἔχων σε τὸν ε—κτινάξοντα αὐτοῦ τὴν μωρίαν (*P.Brem.* 61, 27).

² Hippocrates, *Genit.* 2.1: “The nerves having become hard and inert (νεῦρα σκληρὰ καὶ μωρὰ) by obstruction, cannot be tender and relax”; Aristotle, *HA* 9.41.62816: among wasps at the approach of winter, “the workers seem sluggish” (μωροί).

³ M. J. Lagrange, *Matthieu*, on this text.

⁴ M. J. Lagrange (on this text) observes that “in Greek, as in Latin, σοφός, wise, is connected to the idea of flavor [*insipidus* and *insipiens*; cf. *fatuus*, tasteless and foolish; Hebrew *tapel*, *tiplâh*, tasteless and foolish, Job 1:22; 6:6; Lam 2:14] . . . Salt was first of all wisdom: if the truly wise lose the taste for divine things, how can it be restored to them? They cannot be salted, as is the case with foods; the question is how to restore to the salt its original vigor. St. Hilary noted that in reality salt does not become tasteless. This is true of very pure salt (sodium chloride), but commercial salt is weakened by humidity. Hence salt that has become tasteless has no more strength for anything: εἰ—ς οὐδὲν ἰ—σχύει (cf. Jer 31:14).”

⁵ E. H. Riesenfeld (“Salz als Katalysator und Antikatalysator,” in *Die Naturwissenschaft*, vol. 23, 1935, pp. 311–320; J. Schroeter, “Le Sel dans l’antiquité et dans la préhistoire,” in *Revue Ciba*, 1944, col. 1406–1412) claims that salt can really become tasteless. He mentions Arab butchers, who to stoke up the fire cover the bottoms of their ovens with sheets of salt, using dried camel and donkey manure for fuel. The salt sheets catalyze the combustion of these materials; but after several years, due to the effect of the heat, the small salt crystals are transformed by chemical reactions; rather than stirring up the flame, the salt hinders the fire. It is tasteless, so that there is nothing to do but throw it out, since it is no longer good for anything, even manure (cf. Pliny, *HN* 31.40: “Any field where there is salt is barren and produces nothing”); likewise L. Köhler, “Wo nun das Salz dumm wird,” in *Kleine Lichter: Fünfzig Bibelstellen erklärt*, Zurich, 1945, pp. 74–76; J. B. Bauer, “Quod si sal infatuatum fuerit,” in *VD*, 1951, pp. 228–230; R. De Langhe, “Judaïsme ou Hellénisme en rapport avec le Nouveau

Testament,” in *L’Attente du Messie* (Recherches bibliques 1), Bruges, 1954, pp. 165ff. — It seems preferable to think of the salt of the Dead Sea, a mixture of pure salt, lime, and other elements. When it rains, the salt dissolves, and the solid residue is then salt only in name (O. Cullmann, “Que signifie le sel dans la parabole de Jésus?” in *RHPR*, 1957, pp. 36–43); cf. R. Schnackenburg, “Irh seid das Salz der Erde, das Licht der Welt: Zu Matthäus V, 13–16,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, pp. 365–387; G. Bertram, “μωρός,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 832–847.

⁶ Matt 5:13—ε—ν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται; Mark 9:50—ε—ν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε; Luke 14:35—ε—ν τίνι ἀρτυθήσεται; cf. L. Vaganay, “‘Car chacun doit être salé au feu’ (Marc, IX, 49),” in *Mémorial J. Chaine*, Lyon, 1950, pp. 367–372. M. Black (*Aramaic Approach*, pp. 166ff.) compares the Babylonian Talmud: “Salt, if it become ‘putrid’ (*seri*), wherewith shall it be salted?” (*b. Bek. 8b*), which could be a well-known saying; cf. Pliny, *HN* 31.41: “rain makes salt milder.” F. Perles, “La Parabole du sel sourd,” in *REJ*, 1926, pp. 122–123.

⁷ “The salt is thrown out, according to the everything-in-the-street law, which was the principle of garbage disposal in the ancient Orient. Understand that the disciple will be excluded from Jesus’ following . . . will be trodden underfoot; an image of the scorn—even on the part of humans—that is the lot of disciples who have fallen away from their fervor” (M. J. Lagrange).

⁸ Rom 1:22 (E. Klostermann, “Die adäquate Vergeltung in Rom. I, 22–31,” in *ZNW*, 1933, pp. 1–6; S. Lyonnet, “Notes sur l’exégèse de l’Épître aux Romains,” in *Bib*, 1957, pp. 35ff. J. Jeremias, *Abba*, pp. 290–292). Cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59534, 49: ἵνα δοκῆ μωρὸς εἶναι.

⁹ Jer 10:14; cf. 51:17; Isa 19:11—“The princes of Tanis are fools”; 44:25—“I reduce their knowledge to folly”; Sir 23:14—“Remember your father and your mother . . . lest you behave as a fool.”

¹⁰ Regarding persons: “begin by knowing before saying that I am either sensible or mad” (ἢ φρονούσαν ἢ μώραν, Sophocles, *El.* 890); “O great fools (ὦ πλει—στα μω—ροι), so you have lost your heads (φρηνω—ν τετώμενοι)” (*El.* 1326); “He speaks like the fool that he is” (Euripides, *Bacch.* 369); regarding things: “Could I know that you speak only foolishness?” (Sophocles, *OT* 433); “You seem quite naive” (Sophocles, *Aj.* 594); “It is not fitting that you should speak folly” (Euripides, *Heracl.* 682). Cf. the substantive τὸ μω—ρον, “the folly of love” (Euripides, *Hipp.* 966).

¹¹ *Sib. Or.* 3.226; cf. *P.Tebt.* 750, 20: “If they think that Petosiris and his brothers will look after the animals, they are crazy” (second century BC); 278, 35; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 31, 2, μωροὶ ἄνθρωποι εἰ—σιν; *SB* 9549, col. I, 5; 7655, 22: οὐδὲν τω—ν λεχθέντων ὑμι—ν ε—στὶν ἀληθὲς πλὴν ὡς μω—ρος καὶ παιδίον καὶ ἀνόητος; *P.Berlin* 16336 (in C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 280, 4: μὴ δὴ με μω—ρον ὄντα; third century AD).

¹² Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1670: “You will pay me dearly for today’s folly”; Euripides, *Hipp.* 644: “The resourceless woman is kept from folly by the limits of her wits”; Thucydides 5.41: “The Lacedaemonians found this to be folly”; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.209: “foolish demands”; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.70: the faculties of perception without intelligence “are caught in the act of folly and stupidity”; *Unchang. God* 164: prudence (φρόνησις) is between wiliness (πανουργία) and naivete (μωρία); Philo, *Sobr.* 11: “Through folly and unreason (μωρία καὶ ἀνοία) adults often fail in the responsibilities imposed by the accomplishment of an upright life”; *SB* 10773, 8: πάμπολλα γὰρ μωρὰ ε—ποίησα καὶ οὐκ ε—νόησα (letter in the fifth century); *P.Mich.* 530, 25: “It would be nonsense (μηδεμίαν μορίαν, sic) for you to affirm under pretext . . .”; *P.Vindob.Sal.* 22, 7: τὴν μωρίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (= arrogance). In the LXX, two occurrences of *moria*: “Better a man who hides his folly than a man who hides his wisdom” (Sir 20:31; cf. 51:15).

¹³ Deut 32:6—“Is that how you will pay back Yahweh, you stupid and senseless people” (λαὸς μωρός [Hebrew *nabal*] καὶ οὐχὶ σοφός, quoted by Philo, *Sobr.* 10). Cf. Ps 94:8—“Understand then, you senseless ones among the people, and you fools, when will you come to your senses?”; Sus 48: “Are you so foolish, sons of Israel?”; it is absurd to condemn without having exercised judgment. Cf. W. Caspari, “Über den biblischen Begriff der Torheit,” in *NKZ*, 1928, pp. 668–695. — Μωρολογία is a sin in speech: “Profane talk (αι—σχρότης), nonsense (μωρολογία, Latin *stultiloquium*), jokes (εὐτραπελία) are not fitting” (Eph 5:4). Buffoonery was especially in vogue at Ephesus (Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 3.1), but μωρολογία is denounced as a vice of the garrulous person. Aristotle, *HA* 1.11.492a: “Large ears show foolishness and verbosity”; Plutarch, *De garr.* 4.504 *b*: “Philosophers define drunkenness as folly spouted by a drunkard”; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.115: “Apion overburdens the pack-ass, that is, himself, with folly and lies.”

¹⁴ Neh 9:20; Job 32:8; Prov 2:1-6; Wis 8:21; Dan 2:21 (cf. C. Spicq, “La Vertu de prudence dans l’Ancien Testament,” in *RB*, 1933, pp. 1–24). In this sense, Jesus pronounces those people stupid who hear his words and do not put them into practice, like a person who builds his house on sand

(Matt 7:26). We may quote Rabbi Eleazar ben Azaria: “To what shall we compare a person who abounds more in knowledge than in works? To a tree with abundant branches and scanty roots: when the wind comes, it pulls it up and turns it over” (*Pirque ‘Abot* 3.17).

¹⁵ “These terms (*moria*, *moraino*) express not so much the notion of folly in terms of wild possession (which would be *μανία*, etc.) as they do the idea of stupidity, mindlessness, nonsense, silliness” (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, under *moros*); “What is *μωρία*? Something worse than a ‘folly’ that could appear as a grandiose rapture in its disorder; *μωρός* means first of all ‘dull’ or ‘flat,’ and the corresponding substantive means something poor, mean, the product of a weak imagination, in short, nonsense, stupid naivete, stupidity. . . . *Μωροί* are people who are scorned, who get no attention, rather than dangerous madmen who must be combated. . . . The gospel of the Crucified One was flimsy nonsense for those who thought that a new message of salvation should necessarily present itself as a new philosophy, . . . that considered stupid something that was beyond them” (E. B. Allo, *Première Epître aux Corinthiens*, p. 14). Cf. 1Cor 2:14—“The natural (NRSVmg) person (who does not understand the arguments of natural reason) does not receive the things of the Spirit of God; for him they are stupidity”; 4:10—“We are fools (*moroi*) because of Christ, but you are wise (*φρόνιμοι*) in Christ.” Cf. the Christian letter of the sixth century, τὰ γὰρ μωρὰ ἐ—ξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα κατασχύνῃ (*SB* 11144, 3).

¹⁶ 1Tim 3:18-19; cf. 2Tim 2:23—“Have nothing to do with nonsensical and undisciplined arguments” (= Titus 3:9). This has to do with stupid, pseudo-theological speculations, representing the incompetence of nebulous, self-taught rhetors (Eph 4:14; cf. ἀπαίδευτος, 2Pet 2:16; *P.Mert.* 81, 11; Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 88: ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας; Sir 51:23); these sophists teach things they know nothing about (1Tim 1:7).

¹⁷ M. Meinertz, “Die Tragweite des Gleichnisses von den zehn Jungfrauen,” in A. Wikenhauser, *Synoptische Studien*, Munich, 1954, pp. 94–106; F. A. Strobel, “Zum Verständnis von Mt. XXV, 1–13,” in *NovT*, 1958, pp. 199–227; K. L. Donfried, “The Allegory of the Ten Virgins,” in *JBL*, 1974, pp. 415–428; W. Schenk, “Auferweckung der Toten oder Gericht nach den Werken: Tradition und Redaktion in Matthäus XXV, 1–13,” in *NovT*, 1978, pp. 278–299.

¹⁸ Matt 5:22. A. Schlatter (*Der Evangelist Matthäus*, p. 169) cites the *Mek.* on Exod 15:1 and 20:2—the parable of a king who appoints two stewards, one over straw, the other over treasures. The first, having come under suspicion, complains at not having received responsibility for treasures; the

other says to him, “Fool (*requa*)! You were unfaithful with the straw,” a *fortiori* for the treasures. *M. Ed.* 5.2—“Better for me to be called idiot my whole life long than to spend one hour as a godless person before the Place.” Cf. P. Wernberg-Möller, “A Semitic Idiom in Matt. V, 22,” in *NTS*, vol. 3, pp. 71–73.

¹⁹ We may compare not only Philo, *Cherub.* 75—“You do not know, O fool (ὦ μωρέ), that . . .”—but also the frequency of the word as a kind of nickname: Μάρων ε—πικαλούμενος μωρός (*BGU* 1046, col. II, 22). Herminos, also called Moron, is enrolled as a member of a club (*P.Lond.* 1178, 41; vol. 3, p. 217); *P.Petaus* 118, 4: Κάστωρ ὁ μορός. At Dura-Europus, μωρά is added three times to names of women (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1946–47, p. 356, n. 200). This epithet can be affectionate: Φοῦσκος Σαραπίωνι τω— ἀληθινω— μωρω— πλει—στα χαίρειν (*SB* 10557,1).

ναύκληρος

naukleros, ship’s owner and manager

naukleros, *S* 3490; *EDNT* 2.458; *MM* 422–423; *L&N* 54.29; *BAGD* 534; 4.16, 17

It took a storm and the wreck of a great ship and its two hundred seventy-six passengers at the island of Malta to get the word *naukleros* into the Bible: “The centurion paid more attention to the pilot and the ship’s owner (*to kybernete kai to nauklero*) than to what Paul said” (Acts 27:11); but even though this person is mentioned abundantly, from the sixth-fifth century BC, in literary and papyrological texts,¹ it is very difficult to define his role,² although this was a major figure in the maritime world and in associations of seafaring folk.³ Each translator of Acts 27:11 gives it a different meaning.⁴

What is remarkable is that here St. Luke associates the *naukleros* with the *kybernetes* (like Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.186; *Dreams* 2.86; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.209; *P.Lille* 24, 3–4; *P.Hib.* 39, 5–6; 98, 12–13) as constituting the principal personages on board and forming together with the *proreus*⁵ a sort of senior staff of the vessel.⁶ We can understand, then, that the centurion would consult with the authorities, whose judgment in matters of navigation would obviously carry more weight than the opinion of his prisoner.

The *kybernetes* is rightly named first, because of his technical knowledge of maritime questions⁷—whereas the *naukleros* is not necessarily an expert—and he commands the sailors;⁸ he is a professional navigator, and it is he who, if need be, will order jettisoning the cargo (*ho*

kybernetes ekeleue , Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. et Clit.* 3.2.9; cf. 1.1.5; Athenaeus 2.37 c). So he is clearly the master on board, at the head of the hierarchy.⁹ This is why he is called *kyrios* (Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.23), and his authority is often likened to that of a political leader;¹⁰ but then what has the *naukleros* come to do here?

According to the etymology—*naus*, “ship” and *kleros*, the “lot” or “share” allotted by fate—the *naukleros thalassios* (*P.Oxy.* 87, 6–7), or *magister navis*,¹¹ does not in principle direct the navigation of a ship, but he is its owner, and hence its manager (Xenophon, *An.* 7.2.12; Strabo 2.3.4), especially in the classical period.¹² This means that he is an important person whose opinions must be heard and taken into consideration,¹³ because he is also the ship’s operator, and—unlike modern shipowners—he travels on his own ship (*nauklerokybernetes ploiou idiou* or *idiotikou*)¹⁴ and is a merchant (*naukleros emporos*, *naucerus mercator*, Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 1109–1110; 1175–1182; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.5). Now there were risks both for merchant and for maritime transporter: paying back the loans that were made for the big venture, seeing to it that the merchandise arrived at the agreed place, preserving them from any deterioration;¹⁵ but there are also all the dangers of the sea, pirates, serious damage (*P.Magd.* 11, 3–4 = *P.Enteux.* 27), storms, and the possible necessity of jettisoning the cargo and of shipwreck.¹⁶ Thus he has his say in all of these conjunctures, and we can understand that the centurion in Acts should have insisted on consulting him; but as the *naukleros* could be simply the owner’s agent (*P.Lond.* 1940, 63) and the charterer of the vessel (*P.Lille* 22 and 23; cf. *P.Tebt.* 823–825; 1034–1035; *P.Ryl.* 576), or even an anonymous mariner,¹⁷ we cannot say for certain what kind of person the *naukleros* in Acts 27:11 was. It would seem that he was the owner, but this possibility would be excluded if his ship was carrying the *annonae* (the Roman tax in kind on the grain harvest), for then it would belong to the imperial fleet. In that case, he would be the public transport official. It is best to consider him to be the *naukleos agoges*, the transport official (*P.Magd.* 11, 5).

¹ Cf. *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 5, pp. 150–153, n. 14013–14045; L. Robert, “Listes de nauclères de Nicomédie,” in *RevPhil*, 1939, pp. 170–171; 1943, pp. 187–188; H. Hauben, “An Annotated List of Ptolemaic Naukleri with a Discussion of B.G.U. X, 1933,” in *ZPE* 8, 1971, pp. 259–275; idem, “Nouvelles remarques sur les nauclères d’Egypte à l’époque des Lagides,” *ZPE* 28, 1978, pp. 99–107; idem, “Le Transport fluvial en Egypte ptolémaïque: Les Bateaux du roi et de la reine,” in *Pap.Bru.* XIX, 1979, pp. 68–77; idem, “A Jewish Shipowner in Third-Century Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *Ancient Society*, vol. 10, 1969, pp. 167–170; J. Scherer, “Reçu de loyer délivré à un nauclère pour la location d’un bateau (*P. Sorb. inv.* 2935),” in

BASP, 1978, pp. 95–101. The papyri usually know only *naukleroi* from the Nile, but some travel to Phoenicia and Palestine (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59010) or connect Caunos, Rhodes, and Alexandria (*P.Lond.* 1979), Ashkelon (*SB* 9571). *Naukleria* became a *leitourgia* (*P.Oxy.* 1418, 8; U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, I, 1, p. 377).

² “A complex and changing personage, the *naukleros* appears sometimes as the shipowner, sometimes as a simple transporter of merchandise, or again as the captain of a boat. As much as the date, it is the nature of the witness that allows us to define or specify the quality of the *naukleros*” (Julie Vélissaropoulos, *Les Naoclères grecs*, Geneva-Paris, 1980, p. 1). Cf. J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l’organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l’Empire romain*, Paris, 1966.

³ We cite the epitaph of Telesphoros, βουλευτής καὶ ναύκληρος (*SEG* XXVII, n. 828); “Let Severus . . . the *naukleros* remember Ioannes and Claudia” (*SB* 4028 = A. Bernand, *El-Kanaïs*, n. 57); three “Siegelstempel”: Πέτρου ναυκλήρου, Πέτρου ναυκλήρου, —Ιωάννου ναυκλήρου ι—νδικτιω—νος ε? (R. Merkelbach, *I.Chalced.*, n. 109). A “receipt” from a *naukleros*, *BGU* 2400 (with the bibliography, p. 85).

⁴ E. Jacquier, *Actes*, p. 728, lists modern correspondences: owner, lessee, charterer, captain, ship’s manager. . . . In general, it would be best to consider the *naukleros* a transport contractor, responsible for the cargo, which he has previously accepted and measured (*diacheiristikon*), and which he often accompanies. He is also responsible for the payment of the crew.

⁵ But the *proreus* (“bow officer”), not mentioned here, was subordinate to the *kybernetes* (“stern officer”). Cf. Xenophon, *Oec.* 8.14: “The second to the captain, who is called ‘prow officer’ (πρωρέυς)”; Plutarch, *Agis* 1.4: “the watchers on the prow (οι—πρωρει—ς) see before the *kyberneteis* what is coming up ahead, but they fix their eyes on them and execute their orders”; Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 1.35: “Above the rower is the chief of the rowers on board, and above him the helmsman, above him the pilot, and above him the ship’s commander”; cf. Aristophanes, *Eq.* 542–544: “One must start out by being a rower before setting one’s hand to the rudder, then become helmsman (πρωρατεῦσαι) and observe the winds, then finally commander (κυβερνα—ν) in one’s own right”; Ezek 27:29.

⁶ How much more romanticized is the account of the storm that threatened to sink Jonah’s ship as he went from Jaffa to Tarsus in Cilicia: “The sailors (οι—ναῦται) and the pilots (καὶ κυβερνήται) and even the captain (καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ναύκληρος) began to pray” to escape danger, and as Jonah was

suspected of being the cause, he was thrown into the water (Josephus, *Ant.* 9.209, 212). Cf. the historian's own shipwreck (*Life* 15).

⁷ Ὁ κυβερνήτης τοῦ πλοιαρίου (*PSI* 431, 4; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59514, 4–5; *P.Col.Zen.* 71, 7; *UPZ* 180 a, col. 46, 1). The *kybernetes* is responsible for the rudder (Plautus, *Poen.* 272 e; Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.20.4; Plutarch, *Mor.* 812 e) and watches over the sails (Plato, *Hipparch.* 226 b), but he is much more than a helmsman (Xenophon, *An.* 5.8.20). “While seeming to be led by the ship that he governs, he leads it and makes it go to the ports that he wants to reach” (Philo, *Husbandry* 69). In an aretology of Isis, from *P.Oxy.* 1380, 69, the goddess is described as κυβερνήτις of navigators (cf. 121–122). Y. Grandjean, *Arétalogie d'Isis*, p. 61.

⁸ Plato, *Resp.* 1.341 c: “the *kybernetes* is the chief of the sailors”; Ps.-Plato, *Alc. Maj.* 125 d: “What is the trade that makes a man capable of commanding those who participate in the sailing of a ship? —The trade of pilot”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.186: “The relation of the king to his state is of the same sort as that . . . of the general to his army, and admiral to his troops and crews, or again of the *naukleros* to his cargoes and barges, like that of the *kybernetes* to his sailors.”

⁹ Tertullian, *Apol.* 47.7; cf. J. Vélissaropoulos, *Les Naucières grecs*, pp. 79ff.; J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain*, pp. 224ff.

¹⁰ Aeschylus, *Sept.* 2–3: “the leader who, in his toil at the rudder of the city, takes the helm in his hand and does not let his eyelids close”; Epictetus 4.1.118; Dio Chrysostom, *1 Mon.* 29; *3 Mon.* 28; Themistius, *Or.* 15; Maximus of Tyre 40.5; Athenaeus 5.209 c.

¹¹ Livy 29.25.7–12; *Dig.* 14.1.1.1: “It is to him that the care of the entire ship is entrusted” (“magistrum navis accipere debemus cui totius cura mandata est”); Plutarch, *Mor.* 807 b; Hesychius, on this word: ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ πλοίου (M. I. Finkelstein, “Ἐμπορος, ναύκληρος, and κάπηλος: A Prolegomenon to the Study of Athenian Trade,” in *CP*, vol. 30, 1935, pp. 320–336). P. Chantraine (*Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 737) specifies that “the ναύκληρος does not sail at the ‘head’ of the ship, that is, the prow, but he commands it.” The term is applied also to the master of a house; cf. Isaeus, *Philoct.* 6.19: “a freedman managed (ε—ναυκλήρει) an apartment building at the Piraeus”; Pollux, *Onom.* 1.74.10; 10.20.

¹² J. Vélissaropoulos, *Les Naucières grecs*, p. 50, quotes (from Demosthenes) Hegestratus (*C. Zenoth.*), Apaturius (*C. Apat.*), Hyblesius (*C. Lacr.*), Dionysodorus (*C. Dionys.*), Nikippus (*C. Poly.* 17), Lampis (*C.*

Arist. 211). Cf. a *naukleros* from Phoenicia, the owner of two ships, who goes to Athens, then Delos (Athenaeus 4.173 b–c), or the Samian Kolaios, who discovered the mines at Tartessus, which made him rich (Herodotus 4.152); *SEG XXI*, 37, 4. Cf. H. Hauben, “An Annotated List of Ptolemaic Naukleroï with a Discussion of B.G.U. X, 1933,” in *ZPE* 8, 1971, pp. 259–275; idem, “Nouvelles remarques sur les nauclères d’Égypte à l’époque des Lagides,” *ZPE* 28, 1978, pp. 99–107; in reply to the complaints of the exiled Cicero, the philosopher Philiscus writes in 58 BC: “*Naukleroï* do not let great losses get them down; they are right to say, ‘The sea gave us this wealth, the sea has taken it away from us’ (Dio Cassius 38.20.4); cf. *P.Lond.* 1979; *SB* 8754. A ship can be the property of a number of *naukleroï* (ibid. 9571); *P.Vindob.* 19792, 6: συνναυκλήροις; cf. L. Casson, “New Light on Maritime Loans,” in *Symbolae R. Taubenschlag*, Warsaw, 1957, vol. 2, pp. 89–93.

¹³ The *naukleros* must nevertheless submit to the decisions of the authorities: “Not one *naukleros* would have brought me not just against the will of Dionysius but even without an express embarkation order from him” (Plato, *Ep.* 7.329 e); Xenophon, *An.* 7.2.12: “He forbade *naukleroï* to transport the troops.”

¹⁴ *P.Flor.* 75; *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 14; *Stud.Pal.* 1, 34; P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, “Documents on Transport by Ship,” in *ZPE* 20, 1976, p. 158, line 1; *Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 434, 4. Philo almost always links *naukleros* and *emporos* (Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 116; *Rewards* 11; cf. *Good Man Free* 67). J. Vélissaropoulos is correct to write “*Naukleros* ... escapes every modern definition. None of the terms of today’s maritime vocabulary supplies the equivalent of *naukleros*. . . . The owner of the ship was at the same time the transporter of his own merchandise and a navigational expert. This is no longer the case in our days. Moreover, the contemporary charterer is neither the owner nor the shipper” (*Les Nauclères grecs*, pp. 48–49). B. Bravo, “Remarques sur les assises sociales, les formes d’organisation et la terminologie du commerce maritime à l’époque archaïque,” in *DHA*, III, Besançon-Paris, 1977, pp. 26–32.

¹⁵ The transporter was obliged to deliver the merchandise “safe and sound, free of any nautical fraud” (*SB* 8754, 17–18; *P.Oxy.* 2125, 28–29; 3111, 14; 3250, 19–20; *P.Theod.* 47, 9; *P.Laur.* 6, 7; *P.Warr.* 5, 9–10; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 18, 129; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 32, 20–22). Cf. J. Vélissaropoulos, *Les Nauclères grecs*, pp. 311ff.

¹⁶ Cf. St. Augustine, *In Psalm.* 136, 3: “In a shipwreck, you are naked and are you right to lament”? St. John Chrysostom, *Ep. Theod.* 2 (*PG* 47.309): “No merchant stops sailing because he has suffered shipwreck and lost his

cargo, but he goes to sea again, to its waves and its vast expanses”; *Hom. 3 in Laz. et Div., PG* 48.966. On the “Rhodian law,” cf. J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l’organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l’Empire romain*, pp. 397ff.

¹⁷ Cf. Philo, *Creation* 147: “merchants and sailors (ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι), seekers after purple, and all those who fish for shellfish”; *Flacc.* 57: after episodes of pillaging, “neither sailor nor merchant (μὴ ναυκλήρου μὴ ε—μπόρου) nor artisan was up to devoting himself to his former occupation.” Ναυκληρία is maritime commerce (Ps.-Plutarch, *X orat.* 834 e).

νοσφίζομαι

nosphizomai, to set aside, remove, divert, steal

nosphizomai, S 3557; *EDNT* 2.478; MM 430; L&N 57.246; BAGD 543–544

Christian slaves are not to steal anything at all (Titus 2:10, *me nosphizomenous*). But Ananias and Sapphira kept back a portion of the price of the sale of their property (Acts 5:2-3). Derived from *nosphi* (“apart, aside,” *SB* 8511, 10), *nosphizesthai apo* means “set aside” (*P.Rev.*, col. 27, 10; *I.Thas.* 336, 2: “Fate took away my life at the age of eighteen”), “remove,” and hence “divert to one’s own profit, steal,” as with Menelaus, who “stole several gold vases from the temple” (2Macc 4:32; cf. Josh_j:1).

In the Hellenistic period, *nosphizo* occurs commonly in the literature, sometimes with respect to plunder,¹ sometimes with respect to fraudulent removal or restitution.² Its use is identical in the papyri, where the dishonesty of these diversions is emphasized.³ Moulton-Milligan cites this oath from the third century AD, in which a man swears that he will “peculate” nothing (*oute autos nospheioumai*) and adds that if he finds out that someone is stealing (*nosphizomenos*) he will denounce him.⁴ The guilty party must make double restitution.⁵ In AD 25, a contract for *paramone* (continued service by a slave whose manumission is deferred) provides for sanctions if something belonging to Harmosis is damaged or stolen (*e katablaptousi e nosphizomenos halisketai ton Harmosios, P.Mich.* 587,20).

¹ The discourse of Cyrus on the dividing of spoils: “I am not unaware that it is possible . . . for us to carry off (νοσφίσασθαι) as much as we want” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 4.2.42). Cf. Philo, *Moses* 1.253: After their victory over the

Caananites, the Israelites “carry out all their promised thanksgivings, not diverting anything as plunder.”

² Memmius accuses Marcus “of diverting large sums of money” (Plutarch, *Luc.* 37.2). Capito, a tax collector in Judea who was poor when he arrived, “made a fortune by appropriating funds that he had fraudulently diverted” (Philo, *To Gaius* 199). When someone finds an animal at large and cannot identify the owner, he can keep it, taking God as his witness that he has not “appropriated another’s property” (μὴ νοσφίζεσθαι ἀλλότρια, Josephus, *Ant.* 4.274).

³ Cf. νοσφισμός. *P.Berl.Zill.* I, 94: μηθεῖς ε—κ τω—ν κατὰ μέρος γένηται κλοπιμὸς τούτων νοσφισμός; *P.Mich.* 587, 29.

⁴ *P.Paris* III, 56 b 10, 12. In the second century AD, a woman’s conscience is tormented *περὶ ὧν ε—νοσφίσαστο ἔν τε ε—νδομενεῖα καὶ ἀποθέτοις* (*P.Ryl.* 116, 10). *P.Cair.Zen.* 59484, 4: ε—φάνη ε—π ἀληθείας ὅτι νενόσφισθαι ἀπὸ τω—ν ἀμφιτάπων.

⁵ *P.Yale* 26, 3: ε—άν δέ τι κλέπτων ἢ νοσφιζόμενος ἀλίσκηται Πόρος, ἀποτεισάτω τὸ βλάβος διπλοῦν (third century AD). Cf. νόσφισμα (in a servant’s contract from the first century): τὸ δ ε—πιδειχέν κλέμμα ἢ νόσφισμα διπλοῦν (*PSI* 1120, 4).

νουθεσία, νουθετέω

nouthesia, admonition, reprimand; *noutheteo*, to instruct, lecture, admonish, reprimand

nouthesia, S 3559; *TDNT* 4.1019–1022; *EDNT* 2.478; *NIDNTT* 1.568–569; MM 430; L&N 33.339; BAGD 544 | ***noutheteo***, S 3560; *TDNT* 4.1019–1022; *EDNT* 2.478; *NIDNTT* 1.567–568; MM 430; L&N 33.339; BAGD 544

A compound of *nous* and *tithemi*, the verb *noutheteo* basically means “put something in someone’s mind,” hence “instruct, lecture,” sometimes by way of refreshing the memory, sometimes by way of making observations or giving warnings. In the latter case, *nouthesia* often means “reproach” or “reprimand” (Wis 16:6). These meanings are common to secular and biblical Greek, although the latter places greater emphasis on corporal punishment,¹ punishment being above all an element of child-rearing.

Eliphaz says to Job: “You instructed many people.”² This is not so much a matter of doctrinal teaching as of instruction aimed at developing the ability to reflect,³ correcting errors and reinforcing what is good. Events, warnings, punishments are practical lessons that make one aware of faults

committed, warn the guilty and dispose them to correct themselves: a disaster is “a warning to all those who are able to reflect”;⁴ how much more the reprimands of those who have the competence and the authority!⁵ In other words, *nouthesia* is a major component of education (*paideia*): “If you desire to become the slave of the wise person, then you will accept your share of reprimands and correction” (*nouthesias kai sophronismou*), which make up for a lack of moral training (*apaideusia*, Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.193); “What is good and profitable for those who need to be rebuked is admonition” (*nouthesia*, *Prelim. Stud.* 157); “ill treatment according to the law gives the world a perfect good: admonition, which cannot be praised too highly” (ibid. 160); the irrational powers are mastered “with blows of reprimand and correction” (*Worse Attacks Better* 3); “After training the people entrusted to his rule through relatively mild directives and exhortations, then by more severe threats and admonitions, Moses called upon them to give a practical demonstration of the lessons they had learned” (*Rewards* 4; cf. *Migr. Abr.* 14).

Obviously, parents are responsible to reprimand, admonish, and correct their children;⁶ and divine *nouthesia* is nearly always described as fatherly child-rearing, which reprimands and punishes with moderation, with regret, and as little as possible;⁷ God corrects or warns people with great consideration (*Ep. Arist.* 207). He admonishes to avoid having to punish (Philo, *Moses* 1.110). This is a model for the training of believers by the leaders of the community,⁸ in particular by St. Paul, who never ceased warning or reprimanding with tears each Ephesian⁹ or Corinthian Christian: “I write these things not to shame you, but as to beloved and respected children, to set your minds aright. . . . You do not have many fathers.”¹⁰ All apostolic pastoral care can be summed up in these warnings-admonitions: “Warning every person and instructing every person in all wisdom, in order to make every person perfect in Christ.”¹¹ In the brotherly life, after all, reciprocal warnings waken the conscience of the delinquent¹² and lead back to the right path those who have gone astray (*T. Benj.* 4.5; *T. Jos.* 6.8); “reprimands and rebukes bring about repentance and shame, one of which leads to sorrow and the other to fear” (Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 12; cf. *De adul. et am.* 28). The exact nuance varies from case to case: “Teach each other in all wisdom, admonishing one another” (*didaskontes kai nouthetountes heautous*, Col 3:16); “Rebuke those who are disorderly” (1Thess 5:14); but even the disobedient person must not be treated as an enemy—“reprimand him as a brother” (2Thess 3:15; cf. in the Roman period: “do not take it too hard that I write to rebuke you,” *me bareos eche mou ta grammata nouthetounta se*, SB 6263, 26; third century; 7975, 18 = PSI 1334). Brotherly correction presupposes that Christians are spiritual adults and are, like the Roman Christians, “able to warn each other” (Rom 15:14).

¹ Cf. G. Bornkamm, “Sohnschaft und Leiden,” in *Festschrift J. Jeremias*, Berlin, 1960, pp. 188–198; but these sanctions are not unknown among the Greeks: ῥάβδου νουθέτησις (Plato, *Leg.* 3.700 c); πληγαί—ς νουθετεῖ—ν (9.879 d; cf. *Resp.* 8.560 a); ζημίας καὶ νουθεσίαις (*P.Stras.* 226, 15; minutes of a hearing, from AD 90).

² Job 4:3 (piel of the Hebrew *yasar*). P. Dhorme comments correctly: “The characteristic meaning of the verb *yasar* in the piel is ‘redress, correct,’ either verbally, hence ‘to lecture,’ or by punishment, hence ‘to punish.’ The twofold meaning ‘lecture’ and ‘punish’ is found also with *mûsar*, ‘lesson’ (5:17; 20:3), ‘warning’ (36:10), but also ‘punishment’ (Isa 53:5)” (*Le Livre de Job*, Paris, 1926, p. 39). St. Augustine defines the Israelite παιδεία: “per molestias eruditio” (Augustine, *En. in Ps.*, on Ps 118:66). At Qumran, cf. A. M. Denis, *Les Thèmes de connaissance dans le Document de Damas*, Louvain, 1967, pp. 91ff. In rabbinic Judaism, cf. J. A. Sanders, *Suffering as Divine Discipline in the Old Testament and Post-biblical Literature*, Rochester, 1955; E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, Göttingen, 1955, pp. 25–37; 193–203. In Greece, cf. J. Coste, “Notion grecque et notion biblique de la ‘souffrance éducatrice,’” in *RSR*, 1955, pp. 481–523; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, p. 29; *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 571ff., 589ff. Clement of Alexandria analyses the twelve possible forms of νουθέτησις, which he defines: “Warning is a reproach that is full of concern, that renders the mind informed. This is what the Pedagogue does . . .” (Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.76.1), and he concludes: “To reprimand is also to warn. Moreover, warning is etymologically that which makes the mind informed; thus reprimands produce intelligence” (1.94.2). This is probably more accurate than Cicero’s definition: “Admonitio est quasi lenior objurgatio” (cited by R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, p. 112).

³ Cf. the translation by νουθετέω of the hithpael of the Hebrew *bîn*, “understand, perceive, attend to” in Job 37:14; 38:18; cf. *bînâh*, 34:16; 36:12; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.141: “He claimed that the blows (πληγὰς) were intended only to teach a lesson (ἔνεκα νουθεσίας)”; *Post. Cain* 68: “cattle without reason and defenseless, left with no attendant to monitor them and train them” (τοῦ νουθετήσοντός τε καὶ παιδεύσοντος); Diodorus Siculus 17.7.2.

⁴ Philo, *Rewards* 133: πρὸς νουθεσίαν τω—ν δυναμένων σωφρονίζεσθαι; cf. *Prelim. Stud.* 118; Wis 12:2, 26; 1Cor 10:11; Alcibiades is “kept by his circle of flatterers from listening to one who wished to admonish and instruct him” (τοῦ νουθετοῦντος καὶ παιδεύοντος, Plutarch, *Alc.* 4.2; cf. *Sol.* 29.5); “I would have sent this child to Rome after correcting him with blows” (πληγαί—ς νουθετήσας, *Sert.* 19.11; cf. *P.Brem.* 61, 31); “I have no

idea how he could be forced to become better nor how his mind could be changed by remonstrating” (ἄν μεταπει—σαι νουθετω—ν). “The law is what defends him from compulsion; against persuasion, his character” (Menander, *Dysk.* 252).

⁵ Athletes who give themselves over to the pleasures of Venus must be reprimanded (Philostratus, *Gym.* 52); “Heracles by his many recommendations smote the ignorance of each of the men with many wounds” (Heraclitus, *All.* 34.2); “Whatever the name is of the priest who alone can correct us and make us wiser” (ὕφ ου— νουθετηθῆναι καὶ σωφρονισθῆναι, Philo, *Unchang. God* 134); the high priest Jonathan often reproached Felix for his poor administration of Judea (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.162). *2Aporc. Bar.* 44.2–4. Cf. the ranking official who asks the bishop to admonish an offender (παρακαλω— . . . νουθετῆσαι αὐτόν, *P. Grenf.* II, 93, 3).

⁶ “Parents, do not exasperate your children; but in raising them, use training and correction inspired by the Lord” (Eph 6:4; cf. the parallels given by G. Mussies, *Dio Chrysostom*, pp. 188–189). Eli is blamed for not having rebuked his sons, who had cursed God (1Sam 3:13); Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.232: “Fathers have the right to admonish their children severely”; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.260: parents are the first to admonish their children verbally (λόγοις αὐτοὺς νουθετεῖτωσαν), because they have the authority of judges over their offspring; 8.217: his father punished him with the whip (μάστιξιν . . . ε—νουθέτει); *T. Reub.* 3.8—νουθεσίας πατέρων αὐτοῦ.

⁷ Wis 11:10—ὡς πατήρ νουθετω—ν; *Pss. Sol.* 13.8—“God will correct (νουθετήσει) the just as a beloved son, and his punishment (ἡ παιδεία) is like that of an eldest son.” Citing Deut 8:5—“like a man, God will discipline his son by correction”—Philo comments: “Thus it is for the effectiveness of the correction and admonition (παιδείας ἔνεκα καὶ νουθεσίας) that this is said” (*Unchang. God* 54); God does not exact punishment in proportion to the sins of the people, but does as fathers do with their children (οι—πατέρες ε—πὶ τοι—ς τέκνοις, Josephus, *Ant.* 3.311); *T. Job* 37.8—νουθέτησόν με πρὸς πάντα, εἰ— σὺ εἶ ὁ θεράπων τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁸ 1Thess 5:12—“Those who are your leaders in the Lord and who rebuke you”; Titus 3:10—“Break with a heretical person after two or three warnings.” Cf. Moses’ pedagogical prudence: “At the outset, the lawgiver takes to task and reprimands (νουθετεῖ—ν τε καὶ παιδεύειν) only one desire” (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.96). “Those who are of good will he admonishes and makes wiser through his excellent laws, which the good obey willingly, the wicked unwillingly” (*Virtues* 94).

⁹ Acts 20:31; cf. J. Dupont, *Discours de Milet*, pp. 229ff.

¹⁰ 1Cor 4:14. For textual criticism and commentary on this verse, cf. P. Gutierrez, *Paternité spirituelle*, pp. 119ff. Ὡς (τέκνα) denotes the quality or tenor of the apostle's view of his children, and even very small children, because their rivalries and jealousies are childish (cf. 4:10), so that νουθετω—ν has here the sense of returning to reason or to good sense rather than of reprimanding. —Αγαπητά expresses respect as much as affection, the former sentiment being in opposition to ε—ντρέπων. Cf. Philo, *Post. Cain* 97: “the switch is the symbol of education (παιδεία): if no one makes you feel shame, and if no one gives you blows for some fault, there is no way you will accept an admonition (νουθεσίαν) and correct yourself (σωφρονισμόν)”; cf. Dio Chrysostom 31.104.

¹¹ Col 1:28—νουθετοῦντες . . . καὶ διδάσκοντες; cf. Plato, *Prt.* 323 d, νουθετει—ν καὶ διδάσκειν; *Resp.* 3.399 b: διδαχὴ καὶ νουθέτησις; Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.2.21:νουθετικοὶ λόγοι; Plutarch, *De cohib. ira* 2: παραινήσεις καὶ νουθεσίαι.

¹² For Philo, the conscience “teaches, reprimands, exhorts to changes in one's life” (διδάσκει, νουθετει—, παραινει— μεταβάλλεσθαι, *Decalogue* 87), “is not ashamed to reprimand, using sometimes violent threats, sometimes more moderate warnings (μετριωτέραις νουθεσίαις), threats against those who seem to be sinning deliberately, warnings to those who are sinning in spite of themselves, through lack of foresight, that they may not stumble in this way” (*Creation* 128).

νωθρός

nothros, dull, sluggish, negligent, stupid

nothros, S 3576; *TDNT* 4.1126; *EDNT* 2.483; MM 432; L&N 32.47, 88.249; BAGD 547

Setting out to explicate a lofty theological theme, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews is worried about the receptivity of his readers, “since you have become *nothroi* in hearing” (*epei nothroi gegonate tais akoais*).¹ The three occurrences of *nothros* in the LXX belong to the Wisdom writers.² Julius Pollux (*Onom.* 1.3.43) gives as synonyms *bradys*, *nothes*, *ameles*, *argon*, *diagon*; ³ so it means “slow, lazy, faltering, slack, timid, negligent.” In Polybius, it is applied above all to the intellectual faculties: “Hanno showed his stupidity” (1.74.13); “There was not one who was foolish enough or stupid enough (*oudena houtos alogiston oude nothron*) to hope ever to return to his country by fleeing” (3.63.7); “This same man

was slow of thought (*nothros men en tais epinoiais*), timid in accomplishment (*atolmos d' en tais epibolais*), and incapable of facing danger head on.”⁴

But dullness is seen also in achievements: “Minucius denigrated Fabius in front of everyone, presenting him as a man who, in the conduct of operations, acted with laxity and laziness” (*hos agennos chromenon tois pragmasi kai nothros*, Polybius 3.90.6); “Aratus, in every undertaking and in all combat operations, showed timidity and indolence” (*pasi tois tou polemou pragmasin atolmos echreto kai nothros*, 4.60.2); Parmenion was “slow and not very active” in battle (Plutarch, *Alex.* 33.10). “Why do we continue to be lazy, careless, apathetic, and looking for excuses not to work?”⁵ Incompetent trainers, through their poor technique, get their athletes into bad shape, make them lazy, sluggish, less daring, not in a condition appropriate to their age.⁶ A Christian inscription from Eumeneia: “Aurelius Zotikos (?) Lykidas, I call God to witness that I built this tomb at my own expense, since my brother Amianos was negligent (*nothros echontos Amianou tou adelphou mou*), and I order that Phronime and Maxima, my sisters, be placed in it.”⁷ The brother (apparently the older brother) did not prepare and maintain the tomb of the two sisters.

So *nothrotēs* is culpable negligence, the failure to perform an obligation or a customary duty (cf. *UPZ* 110, 95), and it is this inertia or lackadaisical attitude toward Christian doctrine that the author of Hebrews denounces in his readers. Whereas when they were converted they must have been eager to learn about Christ and the tradition of the church (Heb 2:3; cf. Acts 2:42), they subsequently became—and remain, cf. the perfect *gegōnate*—listless, in a depressed state, as it were, like people weakened by sickness after the fever has fallen.

This medical meaning is well attested in the papyri, even though it is not a technical term but corresponds to our expressions “to be unwell, to suffer from an illness,” especially in letters: “I feel very poorly (*leian de nothreuomai*); perhaps it is the climate? I do not know” (*P.Mert.* 82, 14; second century; cf. *nothron de estin leian*, in W. H. S. Jones, *The Medical Writings of Anonymus Londinensis*, Cambridge, 1947, p. 104; *Hermes Trismegistus*, frag. 24, 14: “The south produces limpness, because it receives clouds that the atmosphere creates through condensation”); “I did not find anyone to send to you because I was sick” (*P.Mich.* 477, 36); “Until today I was worried about you because you were doing poorly when you left me”;⁸ *P.Tebt.* 421, 5: “Your sister is ill” (cf. 422, 5). Psychological health depends on the body; bodies are fitted to the souls that descend to become incarnate: “for lively (*oxesi*) souls, lively (*oxea*) bodies; for sluggish (*bradesi*) souls, sluggish (*bradea*) bodies; for active (*energesin*) souls, active (*energe*) bodies; for lazy (*nothrais*) souls, lazy (*nothra*) bodies, for strong (*dynatais*) souls, strong (*dynata*) bodies.”⁹

Thus *nothros* is used in reference to body and soul alike, for interior dispositions as well as practical accomplishments. The “dull” or “listless” recipients of Hebrews suffer first of all from a kind of depression, a lower intensity in their spiritual life; but this also translates into indolence and laziness in intellectual labor, notably in devotion to the exegesis of the Word of God.

¹ Heb 5:11 (cf. 6:12; not elsewhere in the NT); *νωθοὶ ται—ς ἀκοαι—ς* (cf. Herondas 4.53: “a slave’s ears are stopped by laziness”; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 5.1.5: *νωθρότερος ὄντην ἀκοήν*) should be understood figuratively of recipients who are “slow to comprehend”; in German *denkfaul*; in English, *dull*; J. Héring s.b. *Hébreux*, p. 54 translates: “votre intelligence s’est émoussée” (“your understanding is blunted”).

² Sir 4:29—“Do not be brash (*θρασύς*) in your speech, nonchalant and careless in your deeds (*νωθρός καὶ παρειμένος ἐ—ν τοι—ς ἔργοις σου*”); 11:12—“Such a person is slow (*νωθρός*) and in need of help, lacking in strength and abounding in poverty”; Prov 22:29—“A person who is eager for toil will enter the service of kings, but he will not remain in the service of obscure men,” (*ἀνδράσι νῶροι—ς*). Cf. *νωθοκάρδιος*, translating the niphal of the Hebrew *‘awâh*, “be crooked, bent, prostrate” in Prov 12:18; *νωθρότης* in 3Macc 4:5—*τὴν ἐ—κ τοῦ γήρωσ νωθρότητα ποδω—ν ἐ—πίκυφον*; *P.Amh.* II, 78, 15: *ἐ—ν νωθρία μου γενομένου* (second century).

³ Cf. Philo, *Heir* 254: “The wicked person is slow, a laggard, always ready to postpone works of education”; Plutarch, *Fab.* 1.5: “his slowness and his difficulty in taking instructions given to him” (*βραδέως δὲ καὶ διαπόνως δεχόμενον τὰς μαθήσεις*); Aesop, *Fab.* 66, end: “Better to be led by men who are dull but not wicked than by men who are muddleheaded and wicked.”

⁴ Polybius 4.8.5; cf. 12.25 c 3: “Strato the physician gives the impression of being much sillier and stupider than he is” (*εὐηθέστερος αὐτοῦ καὶ νωθρότερος*). This meaning comes from Plato: “Those who are steadier are dull to apply themselves to study and prone to forget” (Plato, *Tht.* 144 b); in Aesop, *Fab.* 199 (the lion, the fox, and the hart), “the bear is an oaf.” Cf. *νωθρότης*, “dullness of wit,” Diodorus Siculus 2.50; John Chrysostom, *Sacerdot.* 3.12; *PG*, vol. 48, p. 649.

⁵ Musonius, frag. 44, line 1 (ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 138); cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 8.1.7: “on account of our full freedom, we fell into negligence and sloth” (*ἐ—πὶ χαυνότητα καὶ νωθρίαν*). On *P.Mil.Vogl.* II, 44, 19, M.

Papathomopoulos comments: “After the participle ὑποκριθει—σα, we must expect a direct object, perhaps νωθρείαν, ‘dejection, weariness, torpor, indifference, negligence’”; cf. *P.Amh.* II, 78, 15: καὶ ε—ν νωθρία μου γενομένου, “as I was indisposed” or “as I had given in to indolence, as I had neglected by affairs” (“Un argument sur papyrus de la Médée d’Euripide,” in *RechPap*, vol. 3, Paris, 1964, p. 44); cf. Josephus, *War* 1.203.

⁶ Philostratus, *Gym.* 46: ἀργίαν γυμνάζουσι καὶ ἀναβολὰς καὶ νωθροὺς εἶναι καὶ ἀτολμοτέρους τῆς αὐτῶ—ν ἀκμῆς. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9.597: “I was paralyzed . . . missing my former vigor”; Plutarch, *Phoc.* 6.2: Chabrias was “usually listless and difficult to stir up”; Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 1.6: “in his studies Cato was lazy and slow to catch on” (νωθρὸς ἦν ἀναλαβει—ν καὶ βραδύς); Callimachus, *Hec.*, frag. 275: νωθρὸς ὀδίτης.

⁷ Ed. L. Robert (*Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, Paris, 1960, p. 430), who comments: “The genitive absolute contains the explanation, and probably the condemnation, of the abstention of the brother Amianos. The words νωθρός, νωθρεύειν, νωθρῶ—ς indicate laziness and listlessness (‘pignis, piger, torpidus,’ according to the Thesaurus—characteristic examples that have this unique meaning in *TDNT*, vol. 4, p. 1126 under the word νωθρός). It is because of the lazy indifference of Amianos that Lykidas had to substitute for him. It is not impossible that Amianos had a good reason and that his health was to blame; for numerous papyri of the second-third century clearly give νωθρία and νωθρεύειν the meaning ‘to be not well.’ . . . In that case, Lykidas’ words would be by way of excuse for his brother, for whom he had to substitute. It seems more likely to me that this is a criticism of his brother’s negligence.” Cf. *SB* 10801, 12: διὰ δὲ τὴν νωθρίαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὐκ εὐτοήσα (letter of the third century).

⁸ *P.Mich.* 479, 7, διότι νωθρευόμενος ἀπ ε—μοῦ ε—ξήλθες; *P.Brem.* 61, 15: “I worry every day that you may fall ill again” (μὴ πάλιν νωθρὸς ᾗς); *BGU* 449, 4: “I found out that you were ill.” Cf. the hapax νωθραίνω, *P.Oxy.* 2609, 6: ὁ υι—ός μου Ἐλενος νενώθραντε ὀλίγας ἡμέρας (fourth century; cf. the editor’s note); *PSI* 1386, verso 6 (first century); νωθρία, *SB* 7571, 4. *P.Wisc.* 84, 5.

⁹ *Corp. Herm.*, frag. 26, 4; cf. 26, 22: the portion of earth that they received made them heavy and dull (βαρέα καὶ νωθρά), the portion of air made them agile (εὐκίνητα). Iamblichus, *Myst.* 5.16.221: “When we purify the soul of ancient defilements, free it from disease, fill it with health, or rid it of heaviness and dullness (τὸ βαρὺ καὶ νωθρόν) to give it nimbleness and dynamism or acquire some other good for it.”

ξενία, ξενίζω, ξενοδοχέω, ξένος

xenia, a house, apartment, or room for guests; *xenizo*, to receive and give lodging to a guest; to startle through novelty, surprise by being unusual; *xenodocheo*, to receive a guest, show hospitality; *xenos*, strange, foreign; stranger, foreigner, guest

see also παρεπίδημος; φιλοξενία, φιλόξενος

xenia, S 3578; *TDNT* 2.1–36; *EDNT* 2.485; MM 433; L&N 7.31, 34.57; BAGD 547 | ***xenizo***, S 3579; *TDNT* 5.1–36; *EDNT* 2.485; MM 433; L&N 34.57; BDF §§126(2), 196; BAGD 547–548 | ***xenodocheo***, S 3580; *TDNT* 5.1–36; *EDNT* 2.485–486; *NIDNTT* 1.686; MM 433; L&N 34.57; BAGD 548 | ***xenos***, S 3581; *TDNT* 5.1–36; *EDNT* 2.486; *NIDNTT* 1.686–689; MM 433–434; L&N 28.34; BDF §182(3); BAGD 548

In the Bible, *foreigner/stranger* is not a technical or official designation. It refers to anything that is foreign whether in the category of language, land, social groups, or religion (Acts 17:18—*xenon daimonion* . . . *katangeleus*; Achilles Tatius 2.30: *deomai pros theon xenon kai enchorion*; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.251, 267), and the emphasis is on the psychological reality.¹ The *xenos* is sometimes simply a guest,² sometimes a traveler (2Sam 12:4, Hebrew *‘arâh*), a passerby,³ or a traveler who has no place to sleep (Matt 25:35, 38, 43, 44) and is seeking shelter.⁴ Most often it refers to immigrants or non-natives,⁵ who are not part of a town, city, or country;⁶ these can be business travelers (*P.Oxy.* 1672, 4; first century AD; *Pap.Lugd. Bat.* XVI, 29, 17), but the Egyptian papyri that supply lists of them designate as *xenoi* above all “foreign laborers”⁷—most often, it would seem, construction workers.

Among the foreigners, some held important posts or carried out important functions, as attested by various honorific decrees;⁸ others had significant and more or less durable relations with a given community.⁹ Sometimes they were tolerated,¹⁰ and sometimes viewed with suspicion or scorn,¹¹ but a helpful and hospitable attitude is also attested. There was always a place for Hellenistic philanthropy,¹² and one of its most common manifestations was hospitality. Thus *xenos* means “guest-friend,” as Ariaeus was the guest-friend of Menon (Xenophon, *An.* 2.4.15); and in Rom 16:23 Gaius of Corinth (1Cor 1:14) provides lodging not only for St. Paul, but for every traveling Christian, and probably opens his house for meetings of the community as well.¹³ Nevertheless, the foreigner per se is usually a mysterious, unfamiliar person (*P.Hib.* 27, 38)—at least unexpected—who is hard to understand and hard to get on with. Furthermore, the adjective *xenos* is used for unusual rains (Wis 16:16), a strange death (19:5), remarkable or odd tastes (16:2–5), “differing and strange” or surprising doctrines.¹⁴

These remarks do not yet account for Eph 2:12—“At that time, you were without Christ, excluded from the commonwealth of Israel, strangers to the covenants of the promise (of salvation)”—and 2:19—“You are no longer strangers or sojourners (*ouketi este xenoï kai paroikoi*) but fellow-citizens of the saints, you belong to the household of God” (cf. Philo, *Cherub.* 120ff.). *Xenos* here has its classical Greek technical—political and legal—function. If the cultural foreigner is a barbarian, one who does not speak Greek,¹⁵ he is politically excluded from the *polis* and deprived of citizenship¹⁶ both in his home city and in the city to which he has come;¹⁷ he is in a sense an outlaw, possessing neither right nor privilege, unable to own land or marry a citizen; he is an inferior being, a second-class person (Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 1.6) who can be expelled (Thucydides 2.39.1), under the jurisdiction of the tribunal for foreigners (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 364; 619, 50; 647, 35). It is to this privation of rights that St. Paul refers; Christ’s work was to assimilate the Gentiles completely to Israel in the house of God. Already in the OT, God loved and protected the “sojourner” (Hebrew *ger*; Lev 19:10; 23:22; Deut 10:18; Philo, *Moses* 1.36), who was in a way integrated by the law into the chosen people (Exod 12:48; 20:10; Deut 14:29; cf. Ezek 47:22). This people had been a “stranger” in Egypt (Exod 22:20; 23:9) and was obligated to show hospitality to the stranger and love him as one of its own (Lev 19:34; cf. Stählin, “ξένος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp.9–10).

The verb *xenizo*, “to lodge, receive a guest,” has no theological connotations in the Bible.¹⁸ The biblical hapax *xenodocheo*, condemned by Atticists,¹⁹ is used with respect to the Christian widow who should be written on the church roll “if she has shown hospitality” (1Tim 5:10), this eagerness to put up guests being one of the prime works of charity,²⁰ practiced notably by women,²¹ and widows excelled at it (1Kgs 17:10).

In the Bible, *xenia*, derived from *xenizo*, refers to the house or apartment, the place where friends or strangers are received.²² Thus St. Paul asks Philemon: “Prepare me a room” (verse 22). This is by far the commonest meaning in the papyri: “I am writing so that you may be able to help Apis and put him up” (*xenian de auto poieses*, *P.Oxy.* 1064, 10; cf. 118, verso 18); someone asks for purple in order to be able to show hospitality (931,7); in the building of a house, provisions are made for chapels and for guest quarters.²³ The preparation of the door for such a room by carpenters is noted a number of times in accounting records.²⁴ But *xenia* is also a gathering and dinner to which acquaintances are invited.²⁵ Since *ta xenia* also refers to gifts given on the occasion of a visit by a VIP,²⁶ some have wished to give the word this meaning in Acts 28:23, where the Jews of Rome come to see Paul *eis ten xenian*; ²⁷ which, however, seems to refer to his apartment.

¹ Ruth says to Boaz: “How have I found favor in your eyes that you should recognize me when I am a foreigner” (Ruth 2:10; Hebrew *nojrîâh*); cf. 2Sam 15:19; Ps 69:9—“I became a stranger to my brothers”; Lam 5:2—“Our houses have been handed over to foreigners.” The Ethiopians are a foreign and formidable people, ξένον λαὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν (Isa 18:2). “Dear friend, you are acting faithfully in what you are doing for the brothers, even though they are strangers to you” (3John 5).

² 1Sam 9:13 (Hebrew *qara*); cf. in the second century BC, the distinction between the members of a club (σύνδειπνοι) and the guests (χένοι), *P.Tebt.* 118, 4.

³ It is inserted with this meaning in tomb inscriptions: ὦ ξένε! (*SB* 7423, 14); “Paeonia was my country, stranger, but Fate did not give me the thread that would have brought me to old age” (*I.Thas.* 339, 1; cf. *I.Lind.* 487, 24); *SB* 7475, 13; in the sense of “dear guest” (Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 23); “fugitive,” cf. *P.Apoll.* 9, 4: “If there are any foreign ship-caulkers in your pagarchy, arrest them as well.”

⁴ Job 31:32, Hebrew *ger*; Heb 11:13—the patriarchs avowed that they were “foreigners and exiles on the earth,” ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι. On παρεπίδημος: a foreigner temporarily sojourning outside of his homeland, cf. 1Pet 1:1; 2:11; *P.Tor.* 8, 6: τω—ν παρεπιδημούντων καὶ κατοικούντων ε—ν ταύταις (κώμαις) = *UPZ* 196, 14; *C.P.Herm.* 6, 13; Dittenberger, *Or.* 268, 9; 339, 29; cf. J. Modrzejewski, “Servitude pour dettes ou legs de créance,” in *RechPap*, vol. 2, Paris, 1962, p. 93. For the union with πάροικοι and κάτοικοι, cf. C. Spicq, *Vie chrétienne*, pp. 60ff.

⁵ Matt 27:7—“They bought the potter’s field as a cemetery for foreigners” (those who died while staying at Jerusalem; cf. “foreign land holds my body,” *I.Thas.*, 339, 6); Acts 17:21—“all the Athenians and the resident aliens” (οι— ε—πιδημοῦντες ξένοι); Philo, *Flacc.* 54: ξένους καὶ ε—πήλυδας; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1157, 80ff.

⁶ Philo, *Husbandry* 65; *Conf. Tongues* 76–82; *P.Corn.* 22, 1, 30, 128, 129 (first century); *O.Mich.* 165, 1; *BGU* 1843, 8; *P.Petaus* 118, 12; *SB* 9025, 8. “There came here, among the foreigners, the foreigner Ariston of Naupactus” (A. Bernand, *El-Kanaïs*, n. 6, 1–2); *I.Lind.*, n. 51, c 1, 27; n. 88, 286–288. Cf. P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 91ff. The bibliography is considerable, cf. Stählin, “ξένος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp. 1–2. —The expression ε—πὶ ξένης (2Macc 5:9; cf. 9:28) means “to be far off” (*PSI* 1161, 7; 1230, 10; *P.Oxy.* 2479, 9–10). “Do not worry about me because I am far from home (ὅτι ε—πὶ ξένης εἰ—μὶ); I am getting acquainted with the places (αὐτόπτως γὰρ εἰ—μὶ τω—ν τόπων), and I am not a stranger here

(καὶ οὐκ εἰ—μι ξένος τῶ—ν ε—νθάδε)” (*P.Oxy.* 1154, 7–10; first century); “it is better for you to be at home, whatever may happen, than far away” (ἢ ε—πὶ ξένης, *P.Fay.* 136, 10). A woman was attacked and robbed while her husband was away (τοῦ ἀνδρός μου ὄντος ε—πὶ ξένης, *BGU* 22, 34); cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 18–26; A. Calderini, “οἱ—ε—πὶ ξένης,” in *JEA*, 1954; H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 70.

⁷ —Εργάζεται ξένοι (*P.Ryl.* 650, 3; cf. 642, 12, 16; *P.Mich.* 620, 40; *SB* 9406, 236). “I investigate strangers who come from anywhere at any time to settle here” (*C.P.Herm.* 6, 13); “Send me the list of foreigners who are in your pagarchy. . . . Have the foreigners pay three solidi per capita” (*P.Apoll.* 13, 5–6; cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 126, 5; *PSI* 1266, 3). At Euhemeria, in the fourth century, “there are no foreigners in our town” (*P.Ross.Georg.* III, 8, 13).

⁸ Ambassadors, judges, athletes, physicians, actors. They were given privileges (*P.Oxy.* 2106, 18; 4210, 14; 2476, 6; cf. *O.Bodl.* 1999, 6 = *SB* 6096); cf. C. Préaux, “Les Etrangers à l’époque hellénistique,” in *L’Etranger* (Recueils de la Société J. Bodin, IX, 1), Brussels, 1958, pp. 141–193; L. Robert, “Les Juges étrangers dans la cité grecque: Ξένιον,” in *Festschrift für Pan. J. Zépos*, Athens-Freiburg-Cologne, 1973, pp. 765, 782; E. Olshausen, *Proposographie der hellenistischen Königsgesandten* (Studia Hellenistica 19), Louvain, 1974; G. Nachtergaeel, “Envoyés royaux d’époque hellénistique,” in *ChrEg*, 1975, pp. 249–262.

⁹ Mercenaries, “foreign forces,” who could be laid off (1Macc 11:38; cf. 2Macc 10:24; *I.Rhamn.*, n. 20, 7; with the editor’s note. At Cos, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1953, p. 158, n. 152); or allies, cf. P. Gauthier, “Les ΞΕΝΟΙ dans les textes athéniens de la seconde moitié du Ve siècle av. J.-C.,” in *REG*, 1971, pp. 44–79.

¹⁰ Diodorus Siculus 20.84.2. On this indifference, cf. a distressed man who feels quite alone even though he knows many foreigners (*P.Apoll.* 70, 8).

¹¹ Plutarch, *Lyc.* 27.6–9. The inhabitants of Sodom are μισόξενοι (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.194; cf. 5.141ff.). The plaintiff in a theft case notes that the guilty party refused to make restitution, “treating me as a nobody because I am a foreigner” (*P.Magd.* 8, 11; third century BC; cf. *PSI* 1161; *P.Bour.* 25, 11–12). Among the ξένοι there were individuals who cannot be assimilated, undesirable refugees, political exiles, and criminals (*P.Cair.Isid.* 139: ξένους τῆς κώμης ὄντας). The Jews in Egypt were permitted to stay only for a determinate period (*Ep. Arist.* 108–110), forced to take up residence (Josephus, *War* 2.495; Philo, *Flacc.* 55; *To Gaius* 132), excluded from the grain distributions (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.60–63); and Claudius even forbids them to immigrate (*P.Lond.* 1912, 96–98).

¹² Cf. this request for intervention on behalf of a foreigner: χαρειει—ς καὶ τούτω ε—πει ξένος ἄνθρωπός ε—στι (*P.Mich.* 506, 11). In AD 210, Flaviania Philokrateia donates ten thousand Attic drachmas “so that during the three days of the festival all may have the right to anointings with oil—citizens, foreigners, and slaves” (*I.Bulg.* 2265, 26); *T. Abr.* A 3. Cf. φιλόξενος (1Tim 3:2; Titus 1:8; 1Pet 4:9), φιλοξενία (Rom 12:13; Heb 13:2).

¹³ Cf. Wis 19:14: εὐεργέτας ξένους. Numerous inscriptions link ξένος and φίλος (cf. L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, p. 142; *I.Thas.* 186, 12), likewise Xenophon, *An.* 2.1.5; *IGLS* 1999, 3; *T. Abr.* A 1. On the evolution from ξενία to προξενία, cf. P. Gauthier, *Symbola*, pp. 18ff. Idem, “Notes sur l'étranger et l'hospitalité en Grèce et à Rome,” in *Ancient Society*, vol. 4, Louvain, 1973, pp. 3ff.

¹⁴ Heb 13:9; cf. 1Pet 4:12; Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.3.1406a 15: “Unusual expressions make the style less commonplace and give it a foreign flavor”; Josephus, *War* 2.414: “strange innovations in worship”; Philo, *Moses* 1.213. In the account of a cure by Sarapis in the third century AD: “A certain Libyan suffers from a strange illness” (Λίβυς τις ἀνὴρ πάσχει νόσον ξένην, *Sel.Pap.* III, p. 426). —Similar ξενίζω: to startle through novelty, surprise by being unusual: “These are strange words that you speak to us” (Acts 17:20); “Do not be surprised at the fiery trial” (1Pet 4:12; cf. verse 4); “Antiochus had inflicted varied and novel tortures on the bowels of others” (πολλαι—ς καὶ ξενιζούσαις συμφοραι—ς, 2Macc 9:6; cf. 3Macc 7:3—ξενιζούσαις . . . τιμωρίαῖς). Cf. Polybius 1.23.5: “The Carthaginians . . . disconcerted by this paraphernalia”; 3.68.9: “at first they were surprised by this unexpected result”; 3.114.4: “From all this resulted a strange and terrifying appearance”; Marcus Aurelius 8.15: “just as one would be ashamed to be surprised at the fig tree’s producing figs.” This is the commonest meaning in the papyri: “I am surprised and astonished at this, sir . . .” (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 13, 2); “I am astonished that you should have sent the workers . . .” (*P.Ross.Georg.* III, 14, 1); officials sought to give farm laborers “rural and provincial duties that were foreign to them” (ται—ς τε ἀγροικικαι—ς καὶ χωρικαι—ς ξενιζούσαις, *C.Ord.Ptol.* 76, 25 = *SB* 7337; cf. *UPZ* 146, 6).

¹⁵ Plutarch, *De def. or.* 5; cf. Homer, *Il.* 2.867; Herodotus 8.20; 9.43; Rom 1:14; 1Cor 14:1. Cf. A. Aymard, “Les Etrangers dans les cités grecques,” in *L'Etranger* (Recueils de la Société J. Bodin, XI, 1), Brussels, 1958, pp. 119–139. On βάρβαρος in *P.Col.Zen.* 66, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 2, p. 793.

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Sol.* 24.4; *Per.* 37.2–5; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 26.4; *SEG IX*, 1. Philo (*Post. Cain* 109) and Josephus (*Life* 372) contrast citizens and foreigners, οἱ—πολι—ται καὶ ξένοι (likewise *IGLS* 51, 45). Of course, exceptions were made because of services rendered to the city (Plutarch, *Agis* and *Cleom.* 8 and 32); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 117, 742; *Or.* 229); cf. ε—πιδαμία (*Syl.* 1248).

¹⁷ Cf. R. Taubenschlag, “Citizens and Non-Citizens in the papyri,” in *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, pp. 211–221.

¹⁸ *Sir* 29:25; *Acts* 10:6, 23; 21:16; 28:7; *Heb* 13:2 (= *IGLS* 1963). Cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1025, 40 (fourth-third century BC); *PSI* 1241, 30: ξενίζομαι δὲ ε—γὰ καὶ ὁ σὺν ε—μοὶ πλεύσας Σαραπίων . . . εἰ—ς τὴν ῥύμην—Ωριγένους ε—ν οἰ—κία Ἡρακλείδου (republished *SB* 7562).

¹⁹ Phrynichus: πανδοχει—ον, οἱ— διὰ τοῦ χ’ λέγοντες ἀμαρτάνουσιν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦ κ’ χρῆ λέγειν πανδοκει—ον καὶ πανδοκεύς καὶ πανδοκεύτρια (ed. C. Lobeck, p. 307). In the papyri (ξενοδοχει—α does not appear in them before the sixth century, cf. G. Husson, “L’Hospitalité dans les papyrus byzantins,” in *Proceedings XIII*, pp. 174ff.), ξενοδοχει—ον is “the hospitality,” the place set aside for guests in a monastery (*P.Oxy.* 2044, 18; 2480, 44; cf. 1910, 4). According to Dio Cassius, the soldiers of Antoninus “spent the winter in the houses, consuming the property of their hosts” (πάντα τὰ τω—ν ξενοδοκούντων σφα—ς, 78.3). Theophrastus correctly wrote ξενοδοκία: how to find a good welcome with strangers (*Char.* 23.9).

²⁰ *Matt* 25:35; *Rom* 12:13; *Heb* 13:2 (C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 809–815; P. Miquel, “Hospitalité,” in *Dict. spir.*, vol. 7, pp. 808ff.). *P.Lond.* 1917, 4 and 14 puts φιλοξενία in relationship with the Holy Spirit. Hospitality is a virtue that was practiced marvelously by the pagans from the time of Homer (H. I. Kakride, *Notion de l’amitié*; V. T. Avery, “Homeric Hospitality in Alcaeus and Horace,” in *CP*, 1964, pp. 107–109). At Chersonesus, a benefactor of the city is praised for having practiced personal hospitality toward the citizens of the city in times of scarcity (B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, vol. 3, n. 68, 25). Cimon, the most hospitable of the Greeks (Plutarch, *Cim.* 10.4) had a meal prepared at his home each day for a large number of people, including poor people, and surpassed the ancient hospitality and beneficence of the Athenians (10.1, 6). In AD 43, Junia Theodora “does not cease, through her devotion, to offer hospitality to all the Lycians and receive them in her own home” (*SEG XVIII*, 143, 25ff.). Judaism particularly praises the hospitality of Abraham (Philo, *Abraham* 107–118; *T. Abr.* A 1, 4, 17) and of Job (*T. Job* 10, 14).

²¹ *2Kgs* 4:8; *Luke* 10:38; *Acts* 16:15; *Rom* 16:1–2; *Heb* 11:31; *Jas* 2:25.

²² Soldiers have the right to lodging (edict of Germanicus, AD 19, *SB* 3924, 8). This was a very heavy burden; the inhabitants of Phana in Syria built a ξένων to avoid having to receive soldiers into their homes (edict of the legate Julius Saturninus; Dittenberger, *Or.* 609). In AD 49, an edict of the prefect Cnaius Vergilius Capito bans abuses: “Let traveling officials receive nothing but lodging, and nothing that is not provided for by the rules of Maximus” (ibid. 665, 20 = *SEG* VII, 794 = *SB* 8248). The *Suda* and Hesychius give as an equivalent term κατάλυμα, and the latter adds καταγωγει—ον. In Sir 29:27—“My brother is here; I need lodging”—the manuscripts *S* and *A* have translated with οι—κίας instead of ξενίας; cf. the ordinance of Domitian in *IGLS* 1998, 11 (with the editors’ note).

²³ *P.Brem.* XV, 4: ξυλικὰ ἔργα τω—ν τε ι—ερω—ν καὶ τῆς ξενίας (second century); cf. *P.Oslo* 87, 12. A raid on a neighboring town caused an influx of guests at the hostelry of Pinuris: ἔβαλον γὰρ εἰ—ς κώμην εἰ—ς τὴν ξενίαν (*P.Oxy.* 1853, 3; sixth-seventh century). In the fourth-fifth century, προβῆ τὸ ἔργον τῆς μικρα—ς ξενίας τῆς περὶ τὴν ληνόν (*PSI* 50, 16). Cf. ξενίδιον (diminutive of ξενία, cf. οι—κία—οι—κίδιον), a small house for strangers, premises designed for dwelling, *P.Tebt.* 335, 17.

²⁴ *SB* 9406, 122 and 201: θυρουρω— ξενίας μέτρα (ἔξ); 9408, col. 124; 9409, col. I, 112: Κοπρέα θιλουρὸς ξενίας μέτρα πέντε; col. III, 80 (third century).

²⁵ An Athenian decree from the fourth century BC asks that “the envoys Sotis and Theodosios be praised for their good offices on behalf of travelers going from Athens to the Bosphorus, and that they be invited to dinner (ε—πὶ ξένια) at the πρυτανει—ον the next day” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 206, 52). In the second-third century, “The decurion invites you to his soirée (εἰ—ς τὴν ξενίαν ε—αυτοῦ) the sixth before Calends, at eight hours.”

²⁶ *O.Wilck* I, pp. 389ff. H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*, Utrecht, 1939, pp. 218ff., 231, 343. Cf. *P.Grenf.* II, 14 *b* verso 2 (third century BC); *P.Tebt.* 33, 11 (112 BC).

²⁷ Thus Moulton-Milligan, citing *SB* 3924, 7: καὶ ε—πὶ σκηνώσεις καταλαμβάνεσθαι ξενίας πρὸς βίαν (AD 19); ε—ὰν γὰρ δέη, αὐτὸς Βαίβιος ε—κ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ δικαίου τὰς ξενίας διαδώσει (ibid., line 17). Cf. τὰ ξένια, “hospitality gifts” or “products imported from abroad,” A. Bernand, *Pan*, n. 86, 11, p. 259.

ὄγκος

onkos, bulk, mass, weight, fullness, turgidity

onkos, S 3591; *TDNT* 5.1–36; *EDNT* 2.491; MM 437; L&N 13.149; BAGD 553

This biblical hapax (Heb 12:1) has at least three meanings. (a) “The bulk of a body, its mass, or its volume.”¹ What Plato called *ton ton sarkon onkon*,² Aristotle³ and Philo label *onkos somatikos*: “We must offer the first fruits of our bodily mass, which is truly built of earth and wood” (*Prelim. Stud.* 96); “When our crowded and noisy element desires the houses that are in Egypt, that is, the bodily mass, it lapses into pleasures that bring death.”⁴ (b) “Weight, heaviness.” Cf. Philostratus: “Those who eat to excess have sagging brows, shortness of breath, hollows under their collarbones, flabby sides; they show a certain heaviness” (*onkou ti endeiknymenoi*, *Gym.* 48); “When the mind is grasped by one of the themes of philosophical contemplation, it submits to its impulse and follows it until it forgets all bodily heaviness” (*ton somatikon onkon*);⁵ (c) “fullness”; in a positive sense, “gravity”;⁶ in a pejorative sense, “turgidity, distension.” In Hippocrates, Diodorus Siculus, and Aelian, it often refers to obesity; but usually it means a fatuousness, an outgrowth of pride or vanity. Hesychius gives this definition: *onkos: physema, hyperephania, eparsis, megethos.*⁷

The sports metaphor in Heb 12:1—“casting aside every weight” (*onkon apothemenoi panta*)—conforms on the one hand to the traditional discipline of the athlete who runs stripped (*gymnos*), unburdened of every weight, with complete freedom of movement.⁸ On the other hand, it fits in with the Philonian principle of what could be called “spiritual unballasting,” which is necessary for all virtuous people.⁹ Commenting on Gen 37:17—“they are gone from here”—where he sees an allusion to the weight of the body (*somatikon onkon*), Philo understands Moses to be showing that “all those who, in order to attain virtue, persevere in the effort, after leaving behind the terrestrial regions, have decided to rise without dragging along with them any of the miseries of the body. He declares that he has heard them say, ‘Let us leave for Dothan.’ Now Dothan stands for suitable detachment” (*Worse Attacks Better* 27); “Our soul often moves by itself, having shed all the weight of the body (*holon ton somatikon onkon ekdysa*) and cleared away the press of the senses” (*Dreams* 1.43); “If you seek God, O my thought, seek him after exiting yourself; as long as you abide in the weights of the body (*menousa de en tois somatikois onkois*) or in the presumptions of the intelligence, you are not in pursuit of divine things” (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.47). At this point it is difficult to remove the author of Hebrews from the spirituality and vocabulary of the Alexandrian philosopher.

¹ Aristotle, *Cael.* 3.1.299b7: “The dense differs from the rare in being more abundant in an equal volume” (ε—ν ἴσῳ ὄγκῳ); Aristotle, *Part. An.* 3.13.674a5: “The viscera are distinguished from the flesh not only by their volume (τω— ὄγκῳ τοῦ σώματος) but also by the fact that the flesh is on the outside of the body, whereas the viscera are on the interior.” Cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 773.

² Plato, *Leg.* 12.959 c; we must not think that “the being that is ours is this heap of flesh that is in the process of being buried.”

³ Aristotle, *Ph.* 4.1.209a3: “Supposing that place exists . . . the question is what it is, whether it is so to speak a bodily mass or some other nature.” Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 5.485 c.

⁴ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.77. A letter from the fourth century: “having for this reason borrowed a large sum of money” (ε—κ τούτου ὄγκον ἀργυρίου δανεισάμενος, *P.Lond.* 1915, 20); cf. the horoscope from the first-second century, ε—πίτριτος ὄγκῳ (ibid. 130, 107 = vol. 1, p. 136).

⁵ Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 191; cf. *Alleg. Interp.* 3.149: “There is no proportion between the weights of the body (τοι—ς σωματικοι—ς ὄγκοις) and the desire of a soul that does not have self-mastery”; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 63: celebrating the Passover “having taken upon ourselves the weight of the flesh (τὸν σάρκινον ὄγκον), I mean our sandals”; Plutarch, *De def. or.* 20. A metrical epitaph: τίς θάνεν—Ἡρωῖς—Πω—ς καὶ πότε—Γαστρὸς ἔχουσα ὄγκον ε—ν ὠδει—σιν θηκαμένα τε βάρος (*SEG VIII*, 802 = *SB 7288*, 2). P. Roussel (“Une inscription funéraire d’Egypte,” in *REA*, 1914, pp. 349–350) compares Euripides, *Ion* 16: γαστρὸς δῖνηεγκ ὄγκον and Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 2d ed., anon. n. 186: πλήρει γὰρ ὄγκῳ γαστρὸς αὔξεται Κύπρις.

⁶ Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.6.1407b26: ὄγκος τῆς λέξεως, a stately style; Philo, *Joseph* 65: “the austere and rigid person . . . who always shows himself to be grave and solemn” (ὄγκῳ καὶ σεμνότητι); Josephus, *War* 4.319: “Ananias, despite the gravity of his noble birth, his dignity, and his honors, loved to treat the most humble folk as his equals”; 7.443: “Catullus inflated the affair considerably”; Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 22: “We want the voice and the utterance of the Pythia . . . to be in rhythmic cadence, with gravity (ὄγκῳ), modulations, stylistic figures, and the accompaniment of a flute”; cf. 29.

⁷ Cf. Sophocles, *Aj.* 129: “Do not be swelled up with pride any more”; Philo, *Drunkness* 128: “Reason increases its volume not by the vain swelling of pride, but by the immense development of virtue”; *Prelim. Stud.* 128: “to swell up, to be full of clouds of vanity, to be all decked out in excessive pretension”; *Creation* 1, certain lawmakers surround “their thought with superfluous swelling”; *Decalogue* 43: “Since I am a man I will allow myself neither splendor (ὄγκον) nor grand tragic airs”; *Moses* 1.153; *Worse Attacks Better* 113; *Husbandry* 61; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.222; Plutarch, *Cor.* 13.4: “Marcius, all swelled up with self-importance and pride” (μεστὸς ὦν ὄγκου καὶ μέγας); Plutarch, *De gen.* 579 f 11: “pretentious invention”; Plutarch, *Agis* 3.9: ostentation. *De audiendo* 4; Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 25: “without emphasis or studied elegance . . . a tragic and emphatic style.” *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 10, 25; IV, 27; I d 5.

⁸ The athlete must “submit to all kinds of abstinence” (1Cor 9:25), “hold to a strict discipline, eat according to the rules, give up cakes” (Epictetus, *Ench.* 29; cf. Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.24.2). His diet especially was supervised (Seneca, *Lucil.* 2.17.1), because everything had to be eliminated that could hinder breathing or the free movement of the limbs, i.e., all clothing, and if possible all superfluous fat (ἀποτίθημι: put away from oneself, out of oneself, Rom 13:12; Eph 4:22; Col 3:8).

⁹ Cf. Philo, *Contemp. Life* 27: each evening, the Therapeutai “pray that their souls, completely cleansed of the tumult of the senses and the objects of sensory perception . . . may follow the paths of truth” (ὄχλου must be read and not ὄγκου; cf. the possible confusion of ὄκνος and ὄγκος in *P.Lond.* III, 1164, h 8; T. C. Skeat, in *Hommages à C. Préaux*, Brussels, 1975, p. 792).

ὀθόνη, ὀθόνιον

othone, othonion, linen cloth, strip, bandage

othone, S 3607; *EDNT* 2.493; MM 439; L&N 3.153; BAGD 555 | ***othonion***, S 3608; *EDNT* 2.493; MM 439; L&N 6.154; BAGD 555

In their various usages, these two nouns are nearly synonymous,¹ and the diminutive—usually occurring in the plural—is diminutive in form only, retaining the same meaning as the noun from which it is derived.² The basic meaning is “linen cloth” of whatever shape or size (cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59594, 3: *epanekein diaphora ton othonion*; *P.Mich.* 607, 30: *othonion Tarsikon Aigyption*); but the emphasis is on its fineness and whiteness.³ At Joppa, Peter saw an “object” (*skeuos*) descend from heaven, like a large piece of cloth.⁴

The three occurrences of *othonion* in the OT refer to garments of finecloth (Judg 14:13; Hos 2:5, 9), which is the dominant meaning in the papyri.⁵ It is known that in Egypt the production of these fine materials was monopolized by the state workshops and the temples, which paid a fee to the treasury for the right to make them: *telos othonion*.⁶ Hence the abundance of texts beginning with the third century BC: while Petosiris was at the temple of Moithymis, brigands entered his house, robbed his wife and his mother of their clothing, and took his daughter's "linen robe worth one hundred drachmas."⁷ *Othonia* and linen tunics are bequeathed in wills (*P.Oxy.* 15, 12), a woman wears one to her home as a dowry (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 5, 17). They are mentioned in inventories along with names of garments such as *himation*, *chiton*, *chlamys*, *hypokamisa*, *sindon*, etc.⁸ In various instances a *kainon othonion* is specified (*P.Hib.* 793, col. VI,1), the color saffron (*P.Oxy.* 1679, 5), children's clothing (*P.Alex.* 39, 11, *hyper othonion ton teknon*) or a mother's clothes (*SB* 9876, 7; cf. *P.Lond.* 1942, 4–5), or the fact that someone lacks *othonia* (*S. Witkowski, Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 1, 3).

On the basis of these usages, a number of modern interpreters identify the *othonia* which according to St. John covered the body of Jesus in the tomb⁹ as the winding-sheet (*sindon*), the piece of cloth mentioned by the Synoptics.¹⁰ Thus the *othonia* would be a large linen sheet of fine weave.¹¹ But this interpretation accounts for neither the plural form, which should at least be translated "linens" (these are mentioned a number of times in burials),¹² nor the force of the verb *deo* in John 19:40, where we are told that Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus "took Jesus' body and bound it with *othonia*."¹³ We may compare Lazarus leaving the tomb, wrapped hand and foot in bandages. Jesus says to them, "Unbind him and let him go" (John 11:44). If he had been simply wrapped in a shroud, he could have freed himself; but he could not, because he was fettered, bound hand and foot. Clearly the *othonia* are precisely these wrappings, these bandages, which hold the body fast and allow the close fitting of the large shroud,¹⁴ conformably to Jewish custom.¹⁵

If this meaning of *othonion* is not attested in the papyri, it is current in the medical vocabulary¹⁶ and was remarked upon by Dom Augustin Calmet and J. J. Wettstein (on Luke 24:12). Hippocrates knew the meaning "fine linen,"¹⁷ but he repeatedly uses the plural for the strips that the physician uses for fractures and dislocations (*Liqu.* 1.2; 5.2; 7.1); they have to be strong, but also light, fine, supple, clean, and appropriately sized (*Off.* 8, 11, 12, 22). If they are wrapped too tight, the compression causes swelling,¹⁸ etc. Among the objects in the physician's supply chest, J. Pollux mentions the *othonion* together with bandages and ties, *desma*, *epidesma*, *telamon* (*Onom.* 4.181).

So even though the translation "bandages, strips of linen" did not appear in French Bibles until 1879 with the versions of E. Reuss and L.

Second, E. Delebecque is quite right to translate Luke 24:12 “He saw only the bandages,”¹⁹ and F. M. Braun was right to translate John 19:40 “They wrapped him in linens, binding him with bandages, according to the burial custom of the Jews.”²⁰

¹ Cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, on this word. —Οθόνη is not used in the LXX, and ὀθόνιον is not used in Philo.

² Cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, p. 114, 26 s.

³ Philo, *Dreams* 1.217: “The finest linen does not tear . . . when it is perfectly clean, it has a glittering and shining whiteness.” Hence the variant at Acts 10:11—ὡς ὀθόνην λαμπράν in *Const. App.* 6.12.6. Cf. *Acts Thom.* 168: ἤνεγκαν οὖν ε—νδύματα κάλλιστα ὀθόναις πολλαι—ς. The fineness of Egyptian linens was famous, cf. F. Cumont, *L’Egypte des astrologues*, p. 118, n. 4.

⁴ Acts 10:11; 11:5 (ὀθόνη). In the fourth century AD, Theophanes, an official in the Roman administration, while traveling from Egypt to Antioch, prepared a list of the things that he was taking with him (ἀναγραφὴ σκευω—ν), including clothing: ὀθονίων ὁμοίως (*P.Ryl.* 627, 9; cf. J. Blinzler, “—Οόνια und andere Stoffbezeichnungen im Wäschekatalog des Ägypters Theophanes und im N.T.,” in *Philologus*, 1955, pp. 158–166). The dimension of a “cloth” can be considerable, since ὀθόνη refers to the sail of a ship, in Philo, *Moses* 2.90: “pieces of fine linen (ὀθόναι), like the sails of a ship, were fitted to the columns” of the tabernacle; *Mart. Pol.* 15.2: “The fire presented the likeness of a room, like the sail (ὀθόνη) of a ship filled by the wind, walling in the body of the martyr.” C. Lavergne, “La Preuve de la résurrection de Jésus d’après Jean XX, 7,” in *Sindon* III, 5–6 (Turin) 1961, pp. 8ff.

⁵ Cf. in addition the vestments of the high priest (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.84), the light tunic (ibid. 2.20: λεπτήν ὀθόνην; cf. Aeneas Tacticus 18.12), worn in summer (*Contemp. Life* 38); Josephus, *Ant.* 5.290; 12.117 (= *Ep. Arist.* 320): the king sent to Eleazar some pieces of fine linen or cambric (βυσσίνης ὀθόνης); Rosetta Stone: “Ptolemy put back in the royal treasury two-thirds of the flaxen cloth that was delivered in the temples” (Dittenberger, *Or.* XC, 18); *P.Eleph.* 27 a 16: βυσσίνων ὀθονίων; *P.Stras.* 91, 16. Cf. Rev 18:12, 16; 19:8, 14. E. Wipszycka, *L’Industrie textile dans l’Egypte romaine*, Warsaw, 1965, pp. 109ff.

⁶ *O.Bodl.* 1068–1070; εἰ—ς τιμὴν ὀθονίων βασιλικω—ν (ibid., part 4, n. 6, p. 154; second century BC); *P.Rev.* (ed. J. Bingen, col. 93, 7; 98, 9); *P.Amh.* 29, 13; *BGU* 1376; *P.Tebt.* 5, 63: “remission of the arrears due on

the tax of the ε—πιστάται and on the exchange value of the supplies of fine linen”; *P.Oxy.* 1414, 11: a request to readjust the wages of the λινόφοι οί— μέλλοντες ὑφαίνειν τὴν ὀθόνην τοῦ ι—εροῦ ἀναβολικοῦ; *P.Rein.* 120, 3; 121, 3: Psenchonsis has paid to the bank of Diospolis first two thousand drachmas, then one thousand, on the price of the royal linens; *P.Hib.* 67, 10; 68, 6 (third century BC). Hence the instruction given by a διοικητής to a subordinate who was supposed to visit the workshops where the linen was woven and see that the linen was good (*P.Hib.* 703, 88, 97). Cf. U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraca*, vol. 1, pp. 266–269; U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, I, 1, pp. 245ff.; I, 2, n. 308.

⁷ *SB* 9068, 22; cf. 9867, 7; *P.Grenf.* 38, 14. —Οθόνια are bought and sold (*ibid.* 9557, 38, 43, 48); *P.Hib.* 794, 12; *P.Stras.* 174, 4; S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 41, 5: πέπρακα τὸ ὀθόνιον (δραχμῶ—ν) φ? καὶ τὸ εἰ—μάτιον (δραχμῶ—ν) τπ?; they are sent out (*Stud.Pal.* XX, 149, 7; *P.land.* 151, 8; *P.Hamb.* 106, 4: ἀπεσταλμένα σοι ὀθόνια); the price is often mentioned (*P.Hib.* 211, 8; 769, 45; 890, 32; *P.Lond.* 29, 2; vol. 1, p. 163; *SB* 9557, 48), but it varies: “I have heard that you have ὀθόνια at a good price” (*P.Giss.* 68, 11); a night shirt (ὀθονιον ε—γκοιμήτριον) costs one thousand drachmas in the second century BC (*UPZ* 85, 8); “I gave Demetrios two ὀθόνια for five thousand drachmas” (*UPZ* 85, 42; cf. *P.Bon.* 38 A, col. I, 11). In the third century BC, weavers offer their services and specify what they will be paid: three qualified men and a woman would have to work six days to weave a fine piece of linen: ε—πιβάλλει ε—κάστω ὀθονίῳ σώματα γ—, γυνὴ μία καὶ ε—ν ἡμέραιθ ἕξ ε—κτήμνησαι (*PSI* 599, 11–14).

⁸ *Stud.Pal.* XX, 245, 8, 13, 14; *P.Apoll.* 104, 1; *SB* 9535, 11; 9568, 1; *P.Oxy.* 1741; *UPZ* 91, 4; 93, 4; 101, 20; *P.Madrid*, inv. 16, 1 (published by P. Photiades, “Un papyrus documentaire de la collection de Madrid,” in *Emerita*, 39, 1961, pp. 117–119); *P.Sorb.*, inv. 2142, 4 (published by A. Bataille, “Un inventaire de vêtements inédits,” in *Eos XLVII = Symbolae R. Taubenschlag*, vol. 2, pp. 83–88 = *SB* 9750). *P.Ryl.* 627, 9; cf. Ps.-Callisthenes 1.3.3: ὀθόνην ἀμφιασάμενος οἷα προφήτης Αἰ—γύπτιος.

⁹ John 20:5—John leans over and βλέπει κείμενα τὰ ὀθόνια; verse 6, Peter in turn θεωρεῖ— τὰ ὀθόνια κείμενα; verse 7: the shroud, rolled up separately, οὐ μετὰ τῶ—ν ὀθονίων. Luke 24:12: Peter βλέπει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα. Cf. A. Vaccari, “Ἐδησαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις (John XIX, 40),” in *Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach*, Montserrat, 1953, pp. 375–386; S. Bartina, “—Οθόνια ex papyrorum testimoniis linteamina,” in *SPap*, 1965, pp. 7–38; R. E. Brown, *John*, vol. 2, p. 941.

¹⁰ Matt 27:59; Mark 15:46; Luke 23:53. P. Savio, “Sindone e sudario,” in *Salesianum*, 1954, pp. 408–416; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 3.110, 112, 153; but the σινδών in Mark 14:51-52 is a dressing gown.

¹¹ At Lagina, a priest offered τὰ ὀθόνια, fine linen fabric, for the adorning of the goddess (L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 552). Josephus, *War* 5.212, 213. There were fine linens in Aseneth’s room (ὀθόναι ἐπίσημοι, *Jos. Asen.* 2.7). According to *Adam and Eve* 48.4 (= *Apoc. Mos.* 40.2), God orders the archangels to wrap Adam’s body in fine linen cloth; but *T. Jud.* 26.3 says not to wrap the deceased in expensive material. A similar ban appears in *P.Berlin* 3115 (from 110–107?): “Do not give linen or a ceremonial veil to a man of Djeme who has died” (edited with commentary by F. de Cenival, *Les Associations religieuses en Egypte d’après les documents démotiques*, Cairo, 1972, pp. 125, 127).

¹² In the third century BC, ἄλλα εἰς ταφὰς ὀνόναι (*P.Hib.* 794, 5); in the second century AD, Arsis asks Apollonius to buy fine linens (ὀθόνια εὖωνα) to bury his son Charemon (*P.Giss.* 68, 11, 25).

¹³ M. J. Lagrange comments “ὀθόνιον in the plural, as at Luke 24:12, to indicate a sheet cut up into strips, or simply strips” (on this text); cf. C. K. Barrett, *St. John*, p. 465. Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* 5.72.2: ἐν ὀθονίῳ . . . ἐνελήσας ὀθονίῳ.

¹⁴ So we should picture the body of Jesus rolled up in a large linen cloth (Matt), bound up with bandages (like Lazarus), with a cloth or shroud on the head, the hands and the feet wrapped separately; cf. J. Blinzler, *Trial of Jesus*.

¹⁵ S. Safrai, “Home and Family,” in *Jewish People in the First Century*, Assen-Amsterdam, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 776ff., cites *m. Šem.* 12.10: “Men may wrap and bind men, but not women. Women may wrap and bind both men and women.” The Talmud refers to linens for wrapping corpses as *sadin* and *takrikim*, cf. Str-B, on Matt 27:59, vol. 1, p. 1048.

¹⁶ W. K. Hobart (*Medical Language*, pp. 218–219) gives numerous references to Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides (2.68; 3.84), etc. Cf. Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1176; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.152, 3.154; *War* 5.232: “the wrapping that attached the garment at the chest was made of five pieces, embroidered with flowers; the colors were gold, purple, scarlet, linen, and violet.” —Ἀρχαὶ ὀθόνης refers to the ends or tips of the bandage.

¹⁷ Hippocrates, *Acut.* 7.2: an infusion is filtered through a linen (δι’ ὀθονίου).

¹⁸ Hippocrates, *Fract.* 20–21, 27, 32–48; cf. 4, 7, 9–11, 24–26, 31: “Those who for lack of bandages (μὴ ἔχοντες ὀθόνια) are forced to use wool for fresh wounds are to be excused entirely. When there are no bandages (ἄνευ ὀθονίων), there is hardly anything better for these cases than wool”; *Art.* 50, 62.

¹⁹ “Il voit les bandelettes, seules,” *Evangile de Luc*, Paris, 1976.

²⁰ “Ils l’enveloppèrent dans les linges, le liant au moyen de bandelettes, selon la manière d’ensevelir pratiquée chez les Juifs,” F. M. Braun, *Le Linceul de Turin et l’Evangile de Jean*, Tournai-Paris, 1939, p. 30. R. Schnackenburg (*John*, vol. 3, p. 297) translates: “bind it in linen cloths.” In *Gos. 12 App.* 21, Jesus says to Thomas: “I will show you the hands of Lazarus, bound in their bandages, wrapped in shrouds, who arose thence, coming out of the tomb” (PO, II, 2, p. 137). *Ibid.* 25: “Lazarus came out, wrapped in bandages with a shroud over his face. His head was tied up with *kouria* ” (p. 141). *Ibid.* 56: “They found the shrouds on the ground with no one there . . . if someone had taken the body (they would have taken) the bandages as well” (p. 172).

οι—κονομέω, οι—κονομία, οι—κονόμος

oikonomeo, to administrate, manage affairs; *oikonomia*, management of a household, a city, or the world; *oikonomos*, steward, household manager, city treasurer

oikonomeo, S 3621; *EDNT* 2.498–500; *NIDNTT* 2.253–255; MM 442; L&N 46.1; BAGD 559 | ***oikonomia***, S 3622; *EDNT* 2.498–500; *NIDNTT* 2.253–256; MM 442; L&N 30.68, 42.25, 46.1; BAGD 559–560 | ***oikonomos***, S 3623; *TDNT* 5.149–151; *EDNT* 2.498–500; *NIDNTT* 2.253–255; MM 442–443; L&N 37.39, 46.4, 57.231; BAGD 560; ND 4.160–161

Oikonomos and *oikonomia* are derived from *oikonomeo*, a compound of *oikos*, “house,” and by extension “things pertaining to the house,” and *nemo*, “distribute, apportion,” and then “administrate, rule.” *Oikonomeo* can mean “manage one’s affairs” (Ps 112:5) as well as “make an inventory” (2Macc 3:14), “make arrangements, arrange” (*PSI* 584, 17; 597, 3); “distribute” parts of sacrificial animals (*Fouilles de Delphes* III, 3; 238, 6). But in the literal sense of the word, *oikonomia*, which suggests good order, is as much an art (*techne*) as a science (*episteme*), whether it means taking care of property (cf. Xenophon’s *Oeconomicus*) or seeing to the relations between master and slaves (cf. Aristotle’s *Oeconomica*). In the

first century, *oikonomia* means the management of a household (*oikos*), the administration of a city (*polis*), the running of the world (*kosmos*), and, in a religious sense, the governing of the universe by God.¹

The first mention of *oikonomos* in the NT is Luke 12:42—“Who then is the faithful and prudent steward whom the master will set over all his household to distribute the ration of wheat at the appointed time?”² For the *oikonomos* is chosen for his abilities to carry out this function: hard-working, zealous, competent, circumspect.³ “What is required of stewards is that they be found faithful,”⁴ worthy of the master’s confidence. The person in question is a slave⁵ who distributes the work or the pay among his colleagues. We are quite familiar with these *oikonomoi*, these majordomos “over the household” (2Kgs 4:6, Hebrew *‘al-habayit*; 16:9; 18:3), notably Eliakim (2Kgs 18:18, 37; 19:2; Isa 36:3, 22; 37:2), a confidential aide and sometime ambassador of King Hezekiah, associated with the elders and the priests, the court archivists and scribes, and in charge of administrating the royal property;⁶ he is master of the palace. Similarly, Artemidorus is “chief of the household” for Apollonius (the *dioiketes* of Ptolemy II Philadelphus): *ho epi tes oikias*,⁷ who distributes the rations to the servants, for the most part slaves, and accounts for the cost of the upkeep of their clothing.⁸ Above all, there is Zeno, the steward and business agent of the same master: he oversees the livestock (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59166; 59340), directs the brewery (59297), processes the oil (*P.Rev.* col. 40, 2–8; 46, 8–20; 47, 1–9; 51, 19), controls the textile revenues (*ibid.* 107, 1–2; cf. *P.Tebt.* 703,87–117), the brick-making labor (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59451), the dikes (59296) and irrigation works (59277; 59825), constructs buildings, hires staff (59329, 59610; *PSI* 345), makes decisions about the farming land (*P.Mich.Zen.* 76): “I have sent you the *oikonomos* Heracleides as you asked so that he may make the arrangements for the grape harvest” (*P.Fay.* 133, 2); he also manages the workforce (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59062; 59342), especially the reapers (59301; 59451; *P.Mich.Zen.* 73), whose wages he pays (*P.Col.Zen.* 45; *P.Wisc.* 1). He buys and sells, is responsible for transfers of funds (*P.Col.Zen.* 75; *P.Rev.* 41, 14–19), has an account at the bank at Philadelphia (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59022; 59297; *P.Mich.Zen.* 38). On occasion, he settles disputes and acts as police chief.⁹ Such freedom of action, extensive authority, and power¹⁰ cannot have been free of abuses, but these are rarely attested.¹¹ In Luke 16:1-3, the *oikonomos* is not a slave like the steward of a woman of consular rank (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1960, p. 195, n. 355; J. Schmidt, *Vie et mort des esclaves dans la Rome antique*, Paris, 1973, p. 24), but a free man like Arion, who managed all the wealth of Hyrcanus (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.199–200: *hos hapanta to en Alexandria chremata autou dokei*). He was steward over extensive property and was guilty of misappropriation of funds: “There was a rich man who had a steward (*hos eichen oikonomon*) who was accused of squandering his

wealth. . . . 'Prepare the accounts of your administration, for you can no longer be steward.' So the steward said to himself, 'What shall I do? For my master is taking the *oikonomia* from me?'"¹² "Prepare the accounts of your administration" (*apodos ton logon tes oikonomias sou*, cf. Matt 25:14-30; Luke 19:11-27) is the start of an accounting operation through which the official gives an account to his master¹³ in accord with the precise rules set forth by Callistratus (*Dig.* 35.1.82). P. Jouanique¹⁴ groups these rules under four headings: (a) Examination of records ("legendas offerre rationes"): presentation of receipts, of papers that give evidence of receipts and disbursements, etc.; (b) Verification of figures ("computendas offerre rationes"): comparison of the balance to cash on hand; (c) Material payment of the balance in cash ("reliqua solvere"); (d) Settlement of account ("subscribere rationes"). We know how the *oikonomos* falsified the acknowledgements of debt—that was an easy matter¹⁵—but what is remarkable is his statement of his intentions. "I know what I will do, so that they will receive me into their houses when I have been removed from the *oikonomia* " (Luke 16:4) corresponds exactly with the words of Sostratus: "Money is an unstable thing. If you are sure that you will have it forever, keep it and do not share with anyone. But if you are not its master . . . do not refuse to be generous with it. . . . To the extent that you have control over it, use it generously, help everyone, enrich as many people as possible through your own means. There is an imperishable treasure. And if ever your fortunes change, you will get your recompense. It is better to have a true friend before you than hidden riches that you keep buried in the ground" (Menander, *Dysk.* 797–812).

An *oikonomos* in the NT may be not only the majordomo of a household or the overseer of a rural estate but a city treasurer, like Erastus, *ho oikonomos tes poleos*.¹⁶ This official is not a mere cashier, although it is his job to pay for an inscription or provide the crowns for benefactors,¹⁷ but a financial administrator with very wide-ranging powers (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 24, 3; 33, 9) who organizes banquets (*I.Magn.* 101, 89) and provides for sacrifices, at which he is associated with the priests.¹⁸ This must have been a person of some importance, since *oikonomoi* are mentioned so often in the inscriptions—for example, "Diodorus the younger, being *oikonomos*, dedicated the statue of Agathe Tyche, under the *strategia* of Claudius Proclus Cestianus"¹⁹—and since King Ptolemy Euergetes II and Queen Cleopatra address them together with high officials: "to the *stratego*i, garrison commanders, *epistatai* of the guards and police chiefs, *epimeletai*, *oikonomoi*, and *basilogrammateis*, and other officers of the royal administration."²⁰ In an official letter, the *oikonomos* is to be consulted on the same level as the *epistates*, the police chief, and the royal scribe (*P.Ryl.* 572, 41; cf. 575, 8).

So when St. Paul asks: "Let people think of us as servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God" (*hos hyperetas Christou kai*

oikonomos mysterion theou, 1Cor 4:1; cf. 9:17), or when he stipulates that “the *episkopos* must be blameless as God’s steward” (*hos theou oikonomon*),²¹ he positions this post precisely: having governmental authority over subordinates, but more importantly being itself subordinate to God. No matter how extensive the powers of *oikonomoi*, they are not the owners of the treasures of truth²² and grace that are entrusted to them; as they administer these treasures they must remain aware of their dependency and of the accounting that they will have to give. Hence their obligation to be faithful.

This extension of *oikonomia* to the religious sphere is not novel.²³ The apostle uses it especially in the prison epistles: “the *oikonomia* of the fullness of time,”²⁴ “the *oikonomia* of the grace of God, which he has entrusted to me for you” (Eph 3:2), “the *oikonomia* of the hidden mystery” (3:9); “I have become a minister (of the church) according to God’s *oikonomia* (plan of salvation), the carrying out of which has been entrusted to me for you” (Col 1:25). *Oikonomia* is the activity of the *oikonomos* (Luke 16:2-4), in the form of the dispensation of salvation, its actualization for each one, thanks to the minister of God. In the papyri, *oikonomia* certainly refers to the act of administering,²⁵ but more often to legal or judicial action: “He is debarred, from such time as he receives a copy of the present petition, from carrying out any legal proceedings against me or molesting either my person or the above-named guarantors” (*P.Rein.* 7, 34; second century BC). A mother of three children who knows how to write pleads for the right to sign, without being represented by a *kyrios*, in any transaction (*choris kyriou chrematizein en hais poiountai oikonomiais*, *P.Oxy.* 1467, 8; cf. *P.Magd.* 32, 6; Epictetus 3.24.92: a ruling and a well-ordered measure); a transaction (*P.Tebt.* 30, 18), a procedure (*P.Tebt.* 318, 18), a sale contract (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 7, 27), a proxy (*P.Fouad* 36, 32; *P.Mil.* 39, 5), an agreement (*P.Mich.* 262, 10; AD 35), an arrangement (*P.Tebt.* 764, 24; *SB* 9454, 9), any contract.²⁶ Ministers of the church are therefore written into the new “covenant” to actualize the redemptive purpose and plan of salvation; their job is to put it into effect as well as possible. They are dispensers of salvation,²⁷ but only in that they “put into effect the measures” (cf. *Ep. Arist.* 24; Polybius 4.67.9) taken by God from all eternity.

¹ God is like a διοικητής (cf. Wis 12:18; 15:1) who is in charge of the world (*Ep. Arist.* 143, 201, 254; cf. Philo, *Creation* 17; *Decalogue* 53; *Quest. Gen.* 4.110; *Quest. Exod.* 2.39) and carries out his purposes through intermediaries: Destiny, the heavenly bodies, nature, the λόγος, and even each human individual (Epictetus 3.22.2; cf. Luke 12:42-47; 1Pet 4:10; Philo, *Rewards* 113). Diodorus Siculus calls historians who write universal history “ministers (ὑπουργοί) of divine providence . . . allocating to each

individual the portion allotted to him by destiny” (1.1; cf. 5.1); Polybius 1.4.1–4; 5.31; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.24; 4.47; 18.284; *War* 3.6. Cf. J. Reumann, “OIKONOMIA—Terms in Paul in Comparison with Lucan Heilsgeschichte,” in *NTS*, vol. 13, 1967, pp. 147–167; A. J. Festugière, *Dieu cosmique*, pp. 77ff. H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 71.

² Τὸ σιτομέτριον = *dimensum cibum* = *peras*; cf. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 158ff.; E. J. Bickerman, “The Maxim of Antigonus of Socho,” in *HTR*, 1951, p. 155.

³ *P.Tebt.* 27, 21: φρόντισον ὅπως . . . πρὸς ται—ς οι—κονομίαις καὶ ἀρχιφυλακείαις προχειρισθ—σιν ἀξιόλογοι (114 BC). Pliny, *Pan.* 78. The οι—κονόμος is the *dispensator*, cf. *CIG* 3738: Γενέαλις Καίσαρος δούλου οι—κονόμος ε—πὶ τοῦ σείτου = *CIL* III, 333: “Genialis Caesaris Augusti servos verna dispensator ad frumentum.” Οι—κονόμοι may be promoted: the *dispensator* is a former *actor* or *villicus*. A *villicus* advances from one *statio* of the *portorium* to another (cf. G. Boulvert, *Les Esclaves et les affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Aix-en-Provence, 1964, vol. 2, pp. 607ff., 619; cf. vol. 1, p. 156). Cf. S. J. de Laet, *Portorium*, Bruges, 1949, pp. 287ff.; 274, n. 3; 380ff.; 394, 414.

⁴ 1Cor 4:2—ἵνα πιστός τις εὑρεθῆ; cf. Num 12:7 (Sir 45:4; Heb 3:2; Moses); 1Sam 22:14 (David); Neh 9:8 (Abraham); 1Sam 2:35 (the priests); Matt 25:21; Luke 16:10 (the disciple); Eph 6:21; Col 4:7 (Tychicus); cf. *ChrEg*, 1951, p. 366.

⁵ This is why St. Paul does not expect to be rewarded for his stewardship of the apostolate (1Cor 9:17; cf. J. Reumann, “Οι—κονομία = Covenant: Terms for Heilsgeschichte in Early Christian Usage,” in *NovT*, 1959, pp. 282–299). Cf. a freed slave, *MAMA* VIII, 386.

⁶ Cf. R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, vol. 1, pp. 122, 129–130. Cf. Esth 1:8—“The king had ordered all the stewards of his household (Hebrew *rab-bayit*) to serve each one as he wished” and the act of adoration to Isis done in 89 by Trypho “for Castor, the king’s kinsman, *idios logos*, and *oikonomos*” (Κάστωρος τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ πρὸς τω— ι—δίῳ λόγῳ καὶ οι—κονόμου τοῦ βασιλέως, Dittenberger, *Or.* 188 = *SB* 8403; cf. the commentary of A. Bernand, *Philae*, I, n. 32, 3; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.190; 8.164—Salome sends her ships μετὰ τω—ν ι—δίῳν οι—κονόμων). With this authority, οι—κονόμος is assimilated to ε—πίτροπος (2Macc 11:1; 13:2). While still a child, the heir is master of his inheritance but cannot exercise his rights, “being in submission to tutors and stewards” who manage his property (Gal 4:2); cf. the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander: “I order that every imperial procurator or *oikonomos* have his seat here” (ε—πίτροπος τοῦ Κυρίου ἢ

οι—κονόμος, Dittenberger, *Or.*, 669, 22; cf. J. S. Callaway, “Paul’s Letter to the Galatians and Plato’s *Lysis*,” in *JBL*, 1948, pp. 353–355).

⁷ *P.Cair.Zen.* 59159, 16; cf. *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 1, n. 62–64. The list of *oikonomoi* is supplied, n. 1002–1097; vol. 2, n. 2510–2513; vol. 8, pp. 81ff. *P.Tebt.* 703, 87–117 is a “steward’s manual.”

⁸ *P.Cair.Zen.* 59398; 59539; 59698–59700, 59707, 59709. Among these servants are a table steward and a gardener (59059), porters (59292, 58, 76; 59326, 190; 59333; 59493), slaves (59076; 59606), a harp player (59028; 59059; 59087, 59699).

⁹ *P.Lille* 4; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59368; *PSI* 359; *P.Lond.* 208, 4. All of this is extracted from C. Préaux, *Les Grecs en Egypte d’après les archives de Zénon*, Brussels, 1947; C. Préaux, *Economie royale*; cf. A. Swiderek, “Les Κάϊσαροι οι—κονόμοι de l’Egypt romaine,” in *ChrEg*, vol. 45, 1970, p. 158.

¹⁰ Whether with respect to property, procurement, sales, or a will, the verb οι—κονομέω is used for a sovereign right to act: “Anthistia Cronous shall have possession and ownership of the property designated below . . . and shall dispose of it as she sees fit” (καὶ οι—κονομει—ν περὶ αὐτῶ—ν ὡς ἄν θέλῃ, *P.Phil.* 11, 19); Thesis gives her husband Ptolion full authority to collect sums that are due to her, to bring in the harvests, and to manage all of her property as he will” (καὶ οι—κονομει—ν περὶ αὐτῶ—ν ὡς ε—άν αι—ρήται, *P.Fouad* 35, 9; in AD 48; cf. 39, 7; *P.Mich.* 428, 9; *P.Oxy.* 2134, 22; 2136, 11; 2236, 26; *P.Stras.* 314, 24; *P.Ryl.* 709, 9; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 30, 13); “Artemis shall have full ownership of this house; she shall receive all of its produce and use it and dispose of it as she sees fit” (*P.Thead.* 1, 14). The right to arrange, inhabit, administer, build, sell, transfer, give, do anything whatsoever with authority and without hindrance (*C.P.Herm.* 25, 14; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2270, 6), “oversee and administer and control all the affairs of the monastery” (*P.Lond.* 1913, 13; from the fourth century; cf. *P.Michael.* 40, 30; 42 A 23). With respect to Isa 22:21 (Hebrew *memshalâh*), J. Reumann has emphasized this mastery of the *oikonomos* (*NTS*, vol. 13, 1967, p. 151). The best explanation of the tasks of the *oikonomos* is provided by the instructions given one by a διοικητής (*P.Tebt.* 703; cf. V. Poláček, “*P.Tebt.* 703: Its Significance Then and Today,” in *Proceedings XII*, pp. 411–426). Cf. Harmachis, ὁ παρὰ Ὁρου τοῦ οι—κονόμου (*P.Stras.* 563; cf. 113, 7; *P.Tebt.* 825 b 7–8). This important local representative of the *oikonomos* receives from him the order to conclude a transaction with the agent of the σιτόλογος (*P.Stras.* 562): a shipment of grain from Alexandria to the royal θησαυρός (granary) at Techto (?); cf. W. Clarysse, “Harmachis, Agent of the Oikonomos,” in *Ancient Society*, vol. 7, 1976, pp. 185–207.

¹¹ For example, mismanaging revenues (*P.Rev.* 19, 15–16; 46, 4); attaching the wages of a pseudo-debtor who owed nothing (*P.Enteux.* 87).

¹² In Isa 22:19, Yahweh deposes Shebna, the majordomo of Hezekiah, and installs Eliakim, a good steward, in his place (cf. Pharaoh and Joseph: παραδίδωσιν αὐτῷ— τὴν οἰ—κονομίαν, Josephus, *Ant.* 2.89; cf. 2.57). Cf. A. Rücker, “Über das Gleichnis vom ungerechten Verwalter,” in *Biblische Studien*, vol. 17, 1912; A. Feuillet, “Les Riches Intendants du Christ,” in *RSR*, 1947, pp. 30–54; A. Descamps, “La Composition littéraire de Luc XVI, 9–13,” in *NovT*, 1956, pp. 47–53; F. Maas, “Das Gleichnis vom ungerechten Haushalter,” in *Theologia Viatorum*, vol. 8, 1962, pp. 173–184; D. R. Fletcher, “The Riddle of the Unjust Steward,” in *JBL*, 1963, pp. 15–30; E. Kamlah, “Die Parabel vom ungerechten Verwalter,” in *Festschrift O. Michel*, Leiden, 1963, pp. 276–294; H. Kosmala, “The Parable of the Unjust Steward in the Light of Qumran,” in *ASTI*, vol. 3, 1964, pp. 114–121; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 371, 438, n. 2; R. G. Lunt, “The Parable of the Unjust Steward,” in *ExpT*, vol. 77, 1966, pp. 132–136; H. Drexler, “Zu Lukas XVI, 1–7,” in *ZNW*, 1967, pp. 286ff. G. Hubrecht, “Essai de commentaire juridique de la Parabole de l’Intendant infidèle,” in *Mélanges J. Brethe de la Gressaye*, Bordeaux, 1967, pp. 325–330. J. M. Derrett, *Law in the NT*, pp. 48–77; J.A. Fitzmyer, *Semitic Background*, pp. 161–184; E. Kraemer, *Das Rätsel der Parabel vom ungerechten Verwalter: Lk XVI, 1–13*, Zurich, 1972; J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, pp. 118ff.; G. Schwarz, “. . . lobte den betrügerischen Verwalter? (Lukas, 16, 8ff.),” in *BZ*, 1974, pp. 94–96; E. Delebecque, *Etudes grecques*, pp. 89–97.

¹³ Cato, *Agr.* 5.3. Cf. *P.Hib.* 69, the steward and chief banker Asclepiades gives this order to Clitarchus, banker of the τοπαρχία of Koites: “Come on the eighth of Aphyr and bring the accounts of Phaophi and of the balance of cash assets.” At Elephantine, in 223–222, Euphronius, on a tour of inspection, did not find Milo at his post; he orders him to come and find him, bringing written records to justify his whole administration, and giving oral explanations: κομίζων πάντα τὰ γράμματα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὠικονόμηκας καὶ ὧν πεποίησαι διαγραφῶ—ν τὰ ἀντίγραφα (copies of estimates), βουλόμεθα γὰρ συνλαλα—σαι περὶ ὧν ε—πέστειλα (*P.Eleph.* 9, 4–7). Cf. *P.Vindob.Worp* 15, 3: “send me the information by the steward” (*ZPE*, vol. 14, 1974, p. 44). Under the Lagids, the verification of accounts was called διαλογισμός.

¹⁴ P. Jouanique, “Rationem reddere,” in *BAGB*, 1961, pp. 228–233.

¹⁵ Cf. H. Erman, “La Falsification des actes dans l’Antiquité,” in *Mélanges Nicole*, Geneva, 1905, pp. 111–134. In addition, a number of documents

bear the words “the debtor undertakes to maintain the certificate καθαρὸν ἀπὸ ε—πιγραφῆς καὶ ἀλείφατος, i.e., he will refrain from adding anything by way of surcharge (or above the lines?) and from erasing anything (*BGU* 578, 15; 666, 31; 717, 24; *P.Giss.* 96, 15; *P.Lips.* 10, col. II, 4; *P.Tebt.* 396, 19; *P.Oxy.* 719, 27 *P.Ryl.* 163, 17)” (J. Vergote, “Le Nouveau Testament et la papyrologie juridique,” in *Symbolae R. Taubenschlag dedicatae*, Warsaw, 1957, vol. 2, p. 158). Consequently, J. Vergote notes that Col 2:14—ε—ξαλείψας τὸ καθ ἡμω—ν χειρόγραφον τοι—ς δόγμασι ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμι—ν should be translated “He has erased (not “destroyed”) the certificate of debt on our account which was, through its clauses, directed against us.”

¹⁶ Rom 16:23; cf. H. J. Cadbury, “Erastus of Corinth,” in *JBL*, 1931, pp. 42–58, who uses the collection of P. Landvogt, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen über den OIKONOMOS*, Strasbourg, 1908. Add to this documentation the texts edited by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 10, p. 83, n. 3; *Etudes anatoliennes*, pp. 241–243; 263, n. 1; 310. Cf. *Chrest.Wilck.*, vol. 1, pp. 150–152. Cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1252: πόλεως Κώων οι—κονόμου; *Or.* 669, 22; A. E. Samuel, “P. Tebt. 703 and the Oikonomos,” in *Studi E. Volterra*, Milan, 1971, pp. 451–460.

¹⁷ Cf. *I.Priene*, 6, 30; 83, 10; 99, 13; 109, 266; cf. 108, 347 and 376. *I.Magn.* 12, 19; 89, 85; 94, 9; 97, 84; 100 a 39; 101, 82 and 89. At Ephesus, M. Ulpius Augusti libertus Pepentinus qui “dispensavit in provincia Asiae annis triginta” (*CIL* III, 7130). At Mylasa, each tribe had two *oikonomoi* (C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 725, 19). In the Fayum, the οι—κονόμοι σιτικω—ν carried out the λειτουργία of the grain distribution (Dittenberger, *Or.* 177, 8; 179, 7). “The owners of flocks shall declare to the *oikonomos* appointed in each ὑπαρχία . . . the exempt and the taxable cattle” (*SB* 8008, 1 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 21; 22, 5). On the *oikonomos* -treasurer, cf. *P.Copenhagen* 11, col. I, 3; IV, 7; *P.Tebt.* 296, 12; *P.Oxy.* 2116, 11; 2408, 7, 9, 12; 2588, 4, etc.

¹⁸ Cf. *LSAM*, n. 32, 11; 33, 73; 34, 5.

¹⁹ Inscription from Smyrna, edited by H. W. Pleket (*Rijksmuseum*, n. 7) and translated by L. Robert (*Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, pp. 228–230), who notes that Diodorus must have been the city *oikonomos* and that “the participle οι—κονομω—ν shows that Diodorus was not a permanent, professional ‘steward,’ like the slave of a property owner, but someone carrying out a term of office, probably for the city or for an association.” Cf. idem, *I.Sard.Rob.*, pp. 33ff.

²⁰ *C.Ord.Ptol.* 47, 4 (140 BC); cf. 53, 142: “No one shall exact any contribution ... for the profit of the *strategoï*, the *epistatai* of the guards, the police chiefs, the *oikonomoi*, their agents, or other functionaries.” Cf. “Metiochus, the *oikonomos* of our most divine master Emperor Severus Pertinax” (*P.Achm.* 8, 13; cf. *P.Oxy.* 929, 25); “Zenodorus, *oikonomos* and *toparchos*” (*P.Hib.* 240, 1–2). In the Byzantine papyri, where *oikonomoi* of monasteries appear quite frequently (*P.Ant.* 189, 4; *P.Fouad* 86, 12; *P.Oxy.* 1898, 19; 1917, 26; 2206, 4; 2419, 3; 2478, 7), they are described in quite laudatory terms: καταξιώσατε τὸν εὐλαβέστατον οἰκονόμον (*P.Oxy.* 1875, 10; 1900, 7; *P.Stras.* 318, 9; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 55, 6).

²¹ Titus 1:7 (C. Spicq, “L’Origine évangélique des vertus épiscopales,” in *RB*, 1946, pp. 36–46); cf. 1Tim 1:4.

²² The Cynic preacher was as a “servant of Zeus, the father of all” (τοῦ κοινοῦ πατρὸς ὑπηρετής, Epictetus 3.22.82, 95), his *oikonomos* (3.22.3).

²³ Cf. in 163 BC, the men approved for the affairs of the temple of Sarapis and Asclepius (οἱ πρὸς τοῖς χειρισμοῖς ἐν τῷ Σαραπειεῖῳ καὶ Ἀσκληπιεῖῳ τεταγμένοι, *UPZ* 42, 19–20, 34; cf. 56, 7); *O.Joach.* 1, 7; 5, 6; 6, 3; 7, 6; 8, 7; 13, 7; 17, 7 (texts mentioned by J. Reumann, “Stewards of God’: Pre-Christian Religious Application of Oikonomos in Greek,” in *JBL*, 1958, pp. 339–349); Dittenberger, *Or.* 50, 12; 51, 26. S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 2, 2: γίνωσκέ με τὸν ἰεροποιῶν ὠικονομημένον.

²⁴ Eph 1:10. *Oikonomia* can be translated either “plan, dispensation, strategy” (Heilsgeschichte), that is secret, a revealed mystery—the meaning in Jewish apocalyptic writings and in the magical papyri (cf. J. T. Sanders, “Hymnic Elements in Ephesians I–III,” in *ZNW*, 1965, pp. 230ff.); or “the business activity of an administrator of the interests of a private individual or a city”—a definition that suits the office of the apostle or *episkopos* (1Cor 4:1–2; 1Tim 1:4; Titus 1:7); cf. M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 1, pp. 86ff.

²⁵ *BGU* 1818, 11 (first century BC); 1865, 3; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 1, 29 (first century AD). The foundation of King Attalus II of Pergamum includes: “In the future, let the nomination of the commissaires and the administration be done as follows” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XIII, 33). *P.Sorb.* 10, 4: “Write me quickly to say how you fulfilled your charge” (τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἣν πεποίησθε). In the sense of working things out, cf. *P.Mert.* 76, 10 (second century); Xenophon, *Cyr.* 5.3.25. In *SB* 8886 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 177, Philometer, “*oikonomos* of grain taxes of the circumscription of Herakleides” decides how to allocate food to those who work in his

circumscription (first century BC; likewise SB 8888 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 179). In *T. Abr.* B 7, Michael explained to Abraham “the whole plan” concerning him (ἤκουσας τὴν οἰ—κονομίαν σου; cf. Diodorus Siculus 1.81.3: “the *oikonomia* of the private life”). Οἴκοι are posts, *stationes*.

²⁶ *P.Mich.* 340, 15 (AD 45); 276, 14 (AD 47). Οἰ—κονομία often has the meaning “document”: ὁ νομικὸς ὁ τὴν οἰ—κονομίαν γράψας (*BGU* 361, col. III, 2; cf. 1573, 5–6, 14; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 20, 8); διὰ τω—ν περὶ τούτων οἰ—κονομείων δηλοῦνται (*P.Mich.* 186, 11, from AD 72; 187, 8; 235, 10, from AD 41; 262, 31; 303, 8; 322 a 17, 18, from AD 46; 341, 2, from AD 47; *P.Mil.* 191, 14–15; 192, 13–14). Cf. L. Robert, “Les Inscriptions,” in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, p. 270.

²⁷ Cf. J. Reumann, “Heilsgeschichte in Luke,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 4, pp. 86–115; K. Duchatelez, “La Notion d’économie et ses richesses théologiques,” in *NRT*, 1970, pp. 267–292 (with bibliography).

ὀκνέω, ὀκνηρός

okneo, to hesitate, delay; *okneros*, lazy, idle, negligent, burdensome

okneo, S 3635; *EDNT* 2.505; MM 444–445; L&N 67.125; BDF §392(1b); BAGD 563 | ***okneros***, S 3636; *TDNT* 5.166–167; *EDNT* 2.506; MM 445; L&N 22.8, 88.250; BAGD 563

In literary Greek of the first century, *okneo* means “hesitate.”¹ This is often its meaning in the LXX (Tob 12:13), where, however, it translates the niphal of the Hebrew *‘asal*,² always with negation: “Do not hesitate to set out” (Judg 18:9); “Do not be slow to give thanks to God” (Tob 12:6); “Let this comely slave not delay to come to my lord” (Jdt 12:13). In Sir 7:35, *me oknei* is synonymous with *me amelei*: “Do not hesitate to visit the sick, for it is for such deeds that you will be loved.” When the disciples of Joppa ask Peter to come without delay, they use the same turn of phrase as Balak to Balaam in Num 22:16—*me okneses dielthein*.³

The adjective *okneros* (Hebrew *‘asel*) is always pejorative in the Bible.⁴ It refers to the lazy person, or the loafer, who stays in bed (Prov 6:9; 26:4), whose “hands refuse to work.”⁵ Such a person is eminently worthy of scorn, inspires disgust,⁶ even has the face to justify his inactivity.⁷ This is the case with the wicked and idle servant (*ponere doule kai oknere*) of the parable of the talents (Matt 25:26), who not only has failed to work to produce a profit on his master’s property but in addition makes excuses for his idleness.⁸

The nuance of culpable unconcern in Rom 12:11 (*te spoude me okneroi*) is well attested in the papyri, where the author of a letter forbids

the neglect of his instructions (*P.Mich.* 221, 14; *P.Oslo* 82, 9; 128, 12; *P.Oxy.* 2190, 44; 2275, 9; 2596, 11; *SB* 9497, 26). The recipient is expected to be active, diligent, quick to act (*P.Mert.* 22, 3; *P.Oxy.* 1775, 8: *ouk oknesa oute palin emelesa*; *PSI* 837, 15; Menander, *Mis.*: *okneros kai tremon eiserchomai*, in *P.Oxy.* 2656, 266), especially when it comes to helping someone in need: *spoudasate auto aoknos . . . kai hemis ouk oknesomen* (*P.Lond.* 1916, 16; cf. 2090, 6; *PSI* 1414, 21).

As for the remark in Phil 3:1—“To write the same things to you is not burdensome to me” (*ta auta graphein hymin, emoi men ouk okneron*)—is not only a common formula in letters, but an expression of fervor and zeal in affection, used with loved ones: “It is not burdensome for me to write to you” (*ou me okneso soi graphin*, *P.Mich.* 491, 14); “Do not be afraid to write letters, because I am extremely glad to get them” (*ibid.* 482, 22); “Dearest brother, do not hesitate to write to me” (*glykytate adelphe, graphon moi me oknei*, *P.Mert.* 85, 16); “Do not hesitate to write me concerning your health” (*me okneses graphein moi peri tes hygias sou*, *P.Harr.* 107, 15; cf. *P.Mich.* 490, 12; *SB* 10652, B 11); Diogenes writing to his mother in the first century: “If you write to me about anything at all that you need, do not hesitate to write to me; you know that I will do it immediately.”⁹

¹ Philo, *Etern. World* 84: “I hesitate to say what is not permitted to think”; Josephus, *Life* 251: “When informed about the matter, I did not hesitate to show myself”; *Ag. Apion* 1.15: “They do not hesitate to narrate the same events in the most contradictory fashion” (same meaning: ὀκνηρός ἦν, Pharaoh hesitated to kill Moses, *Ant.* 2.236). 4Macc 14.4: “None of the seven young men trembled, none hesitated before the death sentence.”

² Except at Num 22:16, the niphal of *mana'*, “refuse”: “Do not decline to come to me.”

³ Acts 9:38; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1769, 7: μὴ ὀκνήσεις οὖν προσελθί—ν αὐτῷ— περὶ οὐ—ε—ὰν χρήζης (third century AD); *P.Mich.* 213, 14; cf. *P.Tebt.* 752, 2: μὴ ὀκνήσης τοῦ εἰ—ς οἶκον ἀποστει—λαι.

⁴ Prov 6:6, 9; 20:4; 26:14-15; 31:27—the virtuous woman “does not eat the bread of idleness” (Hebrew *aslūt*).

⁵ Prov 21:25; 26:15—“The sluggard dips his hand in the dish, but it is too much trouble to bring it back up to his mouth”; cf. Sir 37:11.

⁶ Sir 22:1–2: “The sluggard is like a defiled stone . . . like a heap of manure.”

⁷ “The sluggard says, ‘There is a lion outside, I will be killed on the street’” (Prov 22:13; cf. 26:13).

⁸ Hence the “supreme disdain” (M. J. Lagrange, on this verse). Πονηρός here has the sense of “contemptible, vile” as in Matt 18:32 (cf. C. Spicq, *Dieu et l’homme*, p. 59, n. 3). It is an adjective used for sycophants (Demosthenes, *C. Eub.* 57.32) and rogues (J. Taillardat, *Images d’Aristophane*, p. 241, n. 430). Cf. Philo, *Heir* 254: τὸν φαῦλον ὡς βραδὺν καὶ ὀκνηρὸς, “The wicked person is slow, sluggish, always ready to postpone deeds of training, and not those of intemperance”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.99: the abuse of wine “enervates the bodily faculties, makes the limbs difficult to move, increases the tendency to idleness, and produces irresistible sleepiness”; Plutarch, *Them.* 2.3: Themistocles was a lazy student (ὀκνηρῶ—ς καὶ ἀπροθύμως), not motivated for the pleasurable arts.

⁹ *P. Corn.* 49, 10: μὴ ὀκνί— μιν γράφειν, εἰ—δῆα ὅτι ἀνόχως ποιήσο; cf. *P. Oxy.* 743, 39 (= S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 71, cf. 25, 7: εὐχαριστήσεις οὐμ μοι σαυτοῦ τε ε—πιμελόμενος καὶ μὴ ὀκνω—ν γράφειν ἡμ—ν); *PSI* 621, 6; 971, 26. On the expression βραδέως γράφων, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 2, pp. 629–651; *ZPE*, vol. 22, 1976, p. 51.

ὀλοκληρία, ὀλόκληρος

holokleria, wholeness, health; *holokleros*, whole, intact, without defect, healthy

holokleria, S 3647; *TDNT* 3.767; *EDNT* 2.508; MM 446; L&N 23.131; BAGD 564 | ***holokleros***, S 3648; *TDNT* 3.766–767; *EDNT* 2.508; MM 446; L&N 59.30; BAGD 564; ND 4.161–162

Holokleros —one of many compounds of *kleros* —means first of all “whole, intact,” the state of being complete, not mutilated. In the LXX, it refers to rough stones, not worked by iron tools, that are used for building the altar of Yahweh (Deut 27:6; Josh 8:31; 1Macc 4:47; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.318), seven full weeks (Lev 23:15), intact wood, untouched by fire.¹ Hence “complete justice” (Wis 15:3) and “perfect, mature piety” (4Macc 15:17). Priestly and cultic regulations require that the priest and the sacrificial victim be *holokleroi*, i.e., without any defect, absolutely whole physically.² On the spiritual level, Jas 1:4 notes as a fruit of endurance “that you may be perfect and complete, lacking in nothing”; and 1Thess 5:23, “May the God of peace himself sanctify you wholly and preserve you wholly (*holokleron*)—body, spirit, and soul—without fault.”³

The inscriptions and papyri from the imperial period make *holokleria-holokleros* synonymous with *hygieia-hygies*:⁴ good health. For example, two female feet in a votive offering to Artemis, at Kula in Lydia: “For the wholeness of my feet” (*hyper tes holoklerias [ton] podon*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1142, 3; first-second century). In the same city, a woman who appeared at the temple with an unclean cloak recovered her health and offered this votive inscription: *egenomen holokleros* (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 10, 1955); at the *prytaneion* at Ephesus, Favonia thanks the gods “because I am well” (*hoti hololkerousan me*, *ibid.*). At Sardis, after a dream, a barber dedicated an Asclepius to the nymphs for his health (*anetheken tais Nymphais autou holokleria Asklepeion*, *I.Sard.* VII, 94).

The papyrological attestations are even more numerous: from the third century: “Above all I pray for your health” (*pro men panton euchome soi ten holoklerian*, *P.Mich.* 214, 4; cf. 216, 4; 219, 2, 5; 221, 3; *P.Oxy.* 1158, 2; 2598, 4; *P.Alex.* 627, 4; *P.lond.* 100, 4; *PSI* 831, 4; 972, 3; 1412, 4; *P.Lond.* 1917, 3; *P.Princ.* 73, 3; 101, 4; *SB* 6222, 2; 9605, 6); “I pray that you may be entirely healthy” (*errosthai se holoklerounta euchomai*, *P.Oxy.* 1490, 11; cf. 1495, 4); “You wrote nothing concerning your health . . . write back to me about your health” (*antigrapson moi proton men peri tes holoklerias sou*, 1593, 5–9; 2601, 28; *P.Ryl.* 624, 11); “Having made careful inquiry concerning your health” (*akreibos pynthanomenos peri tes holoklerias sou*, 1667, 3; cf. 1668, 2–3; 1670, 3; 1678, 2; 1680, 3; 1683, 6; *C.P.Herm.* 14, 5). It is in this sense of the word that St. Peter declares concerning a miraculous healing, “Faith gave him this perfect health (or this complete healing)” (*ten holoklerian tauten*, Acts 3:16).

¹ Ezek 14:5 (Hebrew *tamîm*); cf. *P.Mich.* 612, 12 and *P.Genova* 22, 11; *P.Princ.* 84, 5, 10; *PSI* 1239, 8; *P.Lond.* 935, 7; *P.Oxy.* 3126, col. II, 7; *P.Mil.* 37, 12; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 29, R 2; *P.Berl.Zill.* 5, 12; *C.P.Herm.* 35, 18; *P.Stras.* 190, 14; 247, 8, 10; 248, 7; 238, 13; 417 bis, 10: a whole house; *P.Yale* 71, 9: a whole banquet room; 61, 9: three full days; 66, 12 and *P.Oxy.* 2270, 3: total price; *P.Fouad* 21, 15: “Let the imperial constitution be applied to you in its entirety,” etc. Philo, *Abraham* 47; Epictetus 3.26.7: “a man in perfect condition”; 25: “an intact vase”; 4.1.66, 151; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 2.3: “That which is whole precedes that which is cut off”; *Phoc.* 7.5; Lucian, *Philops.* 8.

² Zech 11:16; Plato, *Leg.* 4.759 c; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.283: “intact mind”; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.278; 8.118; 14.366; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 736, 10 (Andania); 1009, 10 (Chalcedon); 1012, 5 (Cos). *LSAM*, n. 42, B 6 (at Miletus, a victim that is healthy, in good condition); *LSCG*, n. 85, 1: ι—ερεϊ—α τέλεια . . . ὀλόκληρα.

³ We may compare ὀλόκληρον . . . τηρηθείη with an inscription from Asia Minor: ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας καὶ διαμονῆς (cited by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 10, 1955, pp. 96–103), then the magical papyrus *P.Lond.* CXXI, 590: διαφύλασσε μου τὸ σω—μα τὴν ψυχὴν ὀλόκληρον (vol. 1, p. 103); Diogenes Laertius 7.107: “the wholeness of bodies”; Dio Chrysostom 12.34. For the exegesis, cf. A. J. Festugière, *Idéal religieux*, pp. 196–220.

⁴ This point has been established by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 10, 1955, pp. 96–103, and taken up anew by N. van Brock, *Vocabulaire médical*, pp. 187–190; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 3, pp. 58–59; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1012, 8: ἅ δὲ πριαμένα ἔστω ὑγιῆς καὶ ὀλόκληρος; *P.Genova* 38, 5: περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγίας καὶ ὀλοκληρίας; *LSCG*, n. 162, 14. *SB* 10772, 4: γινώσκιν ὑμα—ς θέλω ὅτι μέχρι τούτου ὀλόκληρός εἰ—μι (letter from Sarapammon to his family); 10841, 3: πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαι τὴν ὀλοκληρίαν σου παρὰ τω—κυρίῳ θεω— ὅπως ὀλοκληροῦντα σε ἀπολάβω (Christian letter from the fourth century).

ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὁμόφρων

homothymadon, together, unanimously, in unity; *homophon*, of one mind

homothymadon, S 3661; *TDNT* 5.185–186; *EDNT* 2.511; *NIDNTT* 3.908–909; MM 448; L&N 31.23; BDF §122; BAGD 566 | ***homophon***, S 3675; *EDNT* 2.517; MM 450; L&N 30.21; BAGD 569

Homothymadon, which occurs especially in Job (14 times) and in Acts (10 times) and corresponds to the Hebrew *yahad*, *yahdaw*, has at least three meanings:

(a) “Together,” when said of people, a crowd, a mass of individuals: “They threw themselves all together” upon Steven (Acts 7:57); at the silversmiths’ riot at Ephesus, “They rushed all together to the theater.”¹ As the adverb *yahad* often means “also, likewise” (cf. Job 6:2; 17:16; 31:38; 34:15), *homothymadon* expresses simultaneity: “All the people answered at once,”² as one person.

(b) Conformably to its etymology (*homos*, “same,” and *thymos*, “soul” or “heart”), *homothymadon* designates not only a gathering of persons, but their agreement together, even their unanimity. The authorities at the Jerusalem Council decide: “It seemed good to us, being of one accord, to chose men and send them to you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul.”³ When approaching someone “together,” whether “to sympathize with him and comfort him,” as when Job’s friends come (Job 2:11), or to offer congratulations (Jdt 15:9), the point is that the feelings of the participants are in harmony.⁴ Thus the apostles and the believers are “together” at

Solomon's Portico (Acts 5:12), and thus the Samaritan crowds follow Philip's preaching (8:6).

(c) *Homothymadon* expresses in a unique way the brotherly communion of believers praying to God.⁵ Unity of hearts in one and the same movement is the characteristic of prayer, so much so that the prayer of a "discordant" Christian will not be heard. *Homothymadon* became a technical term for the unity of the Jerusalemites in calling upon the Lord⁶ and for the unity required of all disciples by Rom 15:5-6: they must try to have a common mind (*to auto phronein*) in Christ, "so that with one heart and one mouth you may glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

This oneness of heart is described as brotherly harmony by 1Pet 3:8—"Finally, be of one mind, sympathetic, brotherly, with motherly tenderness" (*pantes homophrones, sympatheis, philadelphoi, eusplanchnoi*).⁷ As early as Homer, *homophrosyne* is praised as a virtue,⁸ establishing accord and harmony of thoughts and feelings,⁹ among fellow-citizens or members of a group,¹⁰ between spouses,¹¹ especially between brothers. This is precisely the nuance of 1Pet 3:8. According to Strabo, "The Lacedaemonians thought it difficult to face the Parthians head on, because of their numbers, their perfect harmony, and the fact that they regarded each other as brothers" (*pantes homophronas, hos an allelon adelphous nomizomenous*, 6.3.3). In a funerary epigram for the two brothers Letoios and Paulos: "Farewell, two brothers with one heart (*o glykero kai homophrone*)! On your tomb there should be erected an altar to Concord (*bomos Homophrosynes*)." ¹² Philo thought that Moses in his legislation envisaged "agreement, community feeling, concord (*homophrosyne*), a balance of temperaments, all that could bring homes and cities, peoples and countries, and the whole human race to supreme happiness" (*Virtues* 119). Christian harmony will be more intimate and more binding: "that they may be one" (*ina osin hen*, John 17:22).

¹ Acts 19:29; cf. 12:20; 18:12; Num 27:21—"he and all the sons of Israel with him, the whole community"; Jdt 15:5—"The sons of Israel all together threw themselves" upon the enemy; Job 16:11; 19:12; 3:18—"the group of prisoners"; 21:26; 24:4; 40:8; Jer 26:21—"They fled together"; Wis 18:5, 12; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.357; *UPZ* 110, 93: πα—σι τοι—ς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὁμοθυμαδὸν (second century BC). In AD 22, the inhabitants of Bousiris honor the general Cn. Pompeius Sabinus: συνελθόντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν τάδε ε—ψηφίσαντο (*SEG VIII*, 527, 3 = *SB 7738*, 3).

² Exod 19:8; Lam 2:8—the ramparts and the walls fell down simultaneously; Philo, *To Gaius* 356: "We cried out together, 'Lord Gaius, that is a slander against us'"; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.277; cry out in one voice; *Ep. Arist.* 178: "In a single voice, everyone, participants and newcomers,

replied, 'Hail, O King!"; *Sib. Or.* 3.458: "An earthquake will annihilate entire troops, and large numbers of shades will enter Hades simultaneously."

³ Acts 15:25; *T. Naph.* 6.10—πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἠγαλλιασάμεθα. In 85 BC, at Ephesus, the creditors agree to exonerate their debtors: ὁμοθυμαδὸν πάντων τῶ—ν πολιτῶ—ν (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 742, 13; cf. 1104, 28: unanimity of the synod in 57 BC); "The inhabitants of the town are unanimous in seeking your protection" (*P. Tebt.* 40, 8; second century BC); according to a leaf of the journal of a *strategos*: μετὰ τῆς πλείστης σπουδῆς καὶ χαρᾶ—ς ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐφημοῦντων κατήντησεν ε—πὶ τὸν . . . ι—ερὸν (*BGU* 1768, 7); ε—πιβούλους ὁμοθυμαδὸν σκῆψιν (fourth century). Cf. the honorific decree in honor of M. Alfidius, line 35 (published by M. Merkelbach, in *ZPE*, vol. 18, 1975, p. 147).

⁴ Cf. the Hymn to Isis: καὶ πτηνω—ν τε γένη ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔκλυεν αὐτοῦ (*SB* 8141, 15). Polybius 5.71.1: "The inhabitants all rallied to him with one accord."

⁵ Jdt 4:12—"They all called upon the God of Israel together"; 13:17; Wis 10:20—"They gave thanks with one accord to your saving hand"; Philo, *Moses* 1.72: "Each one individually and all together began to supplicate and pray with one accord"; *Flacc.* 122: "Standing in the most open place, they intoned with one accord . . . 'O very great King of mortals and immortals.'"

⁶ Acts 1:14—"They all persevered in prayer with one accord"; 2:46—"Each day they continued to meet with one accord in the temple"; 4:24; cf. J. M. Nielen, *Gebet und Gottesdienst im Neuen Testament*, Freiburg, 1937, pp. 145ff., 172, 218; P. H. Menoud, *La Vie de l'Eglise naissante*, Neuchâtel, 1952.

⁷ Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 787ff.

⁸ Homer, *Il.* 22.263: "wolves and lambs do not have hearts to agree with each other"; Theognis 1.81: "Companions, who, having one heart (ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες), can share sorrows as well as joys"; Dio Chrysostom 38.15.

⁹ Dittenberger, *Or.* 515, 4: κοινὴν ὁμόφρονα γνώμην (second century AD); *CIRB*, n. 147, 6: τὴν στήλλην ἔθεμεν ὁμόφρονες ὁμονοοῦντες; *GVI*, n. 690, 2.

¹⁰ Cf. the oath of the Athenian ephebes in the fourth century (in Stobaeus 43.48; vol. 4, p. 14, line 14): they undertake to obey the laws established

by the agreement of the majority, οὓς τινὰς ἂν ἄλλους τὸ πλῆθος ἰδρύσῃται ὁμοφρόνως (cf. L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques*, pp. 298, 302). Philo: “This is no way to honor someone . . . teaching the inhabitants of the other cities to scorn harmony” (ἐ—ν ται—ς πόλεσιν ὁμοφροσύνης ἀλογει—ν, *Flacc.* 52).

¹¹ Hierocles the Stoic, *Marriage*, in Stobaeus 22.1.24 (vol. 4, p. 505): συμπαθοῦς εὐνοίας . . . ὁμοφρονέοντε; cf. the epithalamium wishing the spouses ὁμοφροσύνη, E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente*, 2d ed., Göttingen, n. 25, 4; 37, 19. Moses’ father and mother were more deeply united by their virtuous ὁμοφροσύνη than by blood relationship (Philo, *Moses* 1.7).

¹² *Anth. Pal.* 7.551.7. Cf. a very mutilated Jewish epitaph from Theon, second century AD, in which ὁμοφροσύνη is followed by φιλάδελφος (*CII* 1489, 6; *C.Pap.Jud.* III, n. 1489; *SEG* VIII, 374; *GVI*, n. 1143).

ὁμολογουμένως

homologoumenos, incontestably, obviously, as agreed by all

homologoumenos, S 3672; *TDNT* 5.199–220; *EDNT* 2.516–517; *MM* 449–450; *L&N* 33.276; *BAGD* 569

This adverb (a biblical hapax), formed from the present passive participle of *homologeō*, introduces the hymn to the risen Christ at 1Tim 3:16—“and *homologoumenos* great is the mystery of godliness” (*mega estin to tes eusebeias mysterion*); this mystery is the object of “the common faith” of the church (Titus 1:4). This adverb may have either a rhetorical or a legal meaning. In the former case, it means “incontestably, ineluctably” and describes an indubitable axiom or the conclusion of an unimpeachable argument;¹ thus it is almost synonymous with “obviously.”² This is how the Vulgate interprets the text: “manifeste magnum . . .”

But in the Stoic vocabulary, *homologoumenos* means that which must be affirmed or confessed, that which must be agreed to,³ and refers to an agreement.⁴ Thus it is used by jurists for something that supports testimony, a fact that is universally recognized, is beyond dispute, “in everyone’s opinion.”⁵ This meaning of unanimous consent is the most widely attested: “Then everyone was unanimous in this opinion of them” (Polybius 2.39.10); “Zeus, the first of the gods, as we all recognize” (*ho ton theon megistos homologoumenos*);⁶ “All people, if you ask them, will agree” (Sallustius, *De Deis et Mundo* 1.2); Melchizedek is recognized as a “just king, by unanimous consent”;⁷ “Iberians and others, unanimously recognized as the most warlike of the barbarians in those parts”

(Thucydides 6.90.3). So we must translate 1Tim 3:16: “Yes, as all agree, great is the mystery of godliness.”⁸

But given the theological context, *homologoumenos* calls to mind the *homologia* of the baptismal credo (Rom 10:10), which is not a mere contractual agreement but a proclamation and a promise.⁹ Here it is “as a spontaneous cry”¹⁰ on the part of all Christians: “omnium confessione” (Ambrosiaster).

¹ Xenophon, *Oec.* 1.11: “Incontestably, Socrates, our argument is progressing”; Epictetus 1.4.7; Polybius 2.14.4; 3.47.2.

² Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.3.38: “It was a matter . . . of handing over to the courts those who were obviously sycophants”; *UPZ* 162, col. V, 32: ὅστε ὁμολογουμένως ε—αυτοῦ καταμαρτυροῦντα συμφανὲς καθεστακέναι (117 BC); hence “officially, publicly”; *ibid.* 161, 65: ὁμολογουμένως δ ε—πὶ συκοφαντία καὶ σεισμω—ε—παγειοχότος τὸ ἔγκλημα (119 BC); cf. *Ep. Arist.* 24: “Professing (the manuscripts vary between ὁμολογουμένως and ὁμολογούμενοι) to do justice to everyone, we have decreed.”

³ 4Macc three times says: “Admittedly, devout reason rules over the passions” (6:31; 7:16; 16:1).

⁴ Epictetus 3.1.25: “What does ‘rationally’ (λογικω—ς) mean? It means in agreement with nature and perfectly (φύσει ὁμολογουμένως καὶ τελέως).”

⁵ Demosthenes, *C. Con.* 54.25.44; Demosthenes, *C. Aphob.* 3.14.39; Isocrates, *Evag.* 9.68. Cf. Philo, *Flight* 205: τὰ ὁμολογούμενα = that which is admitted by all; Anaximenes, *Rhet. ad Alex.* 12.6: ὁμολογουμένων πίστεις ε—πιφέρων; Polybius 3.105.9: “At Rome we can see indisputably how . . . important a general’s prudence is.”

⁶ Diodorus of Sinope, in Athenaeus 6.239 *b*; cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 A, p. 220. *Diodorus Siculus* 17.21.4.

⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 1.180: ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁμολογουμένως; 2.229: everything points to Moses’ being the noblest of the Hebrews.

⁸ The initial καὶ is emphatic and thus reinforces the statement. It is not a coordinating conjunction but an adverb, frequently in the papyri having the sense of “really, truly, certainly”; cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* 2/3, pp. 141, 144.

⁹ On the *homologia* of faith, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 265ff., vol. 2, pp. 846ff.; V. H. Neufeld, *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, Grand Rapids, 1963; N. Hofer, “Das Bekenntnis ‘Herr ist Jesus’ und das Taufen auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus,” in *Tübinger theol. Quartalschrift*, 1965, pp. 1–12; W. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*, London, 1966, pp. 15ff.; P. von der Osten-Sacken, “Christologie, Homologie,” in *ZNW*, 1967, pp. 255ff. The *homologia* of hope, cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 336, n. 5; of love (vol. 2, p. 510), of gratitude (vol. 1, p. 458, n. 2). As opposed to the Roman consensus (cf. F. de Visscher, *Le Droit des tombeaux romains*, Milan, 1963, p. 122), Hellenistic *homologia* is based on the certified commitment of a number of persons (1Tim 6:12-13; cf. A. Manzmman, *Griechischen Stiftungsurkunde*, Münster, 1962, pp. 81–87; D. Simon, *Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel*, Munich, 1964, pp. 3ff.; W. Barclay, “The New Testament and the Papyri,” in *Essays in Memory of G.H.C. MacGregor*, Oxford, 1965, pp. 77–78; H. F. von Soden, *Untersuchungen zur Homologie in den griechischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian*, Cologne-Vienna, 1973). The *homologia* of the baptized should be compared with the OT *berit*, which means first of all a personal commitment or promise, a mutual agreement, covenant, cf. E. Kutsch, *Verheißung und Gesetz: Untersuchungen zum sogenannten “Bund” im Alten Testament*, Berlin–New York, 1973.

¹⁰ G. Delling, *Worship in the New Testament*, London, 1962, p. 78.

ὀνειδίζω, ὀνειδισμός, ὀνειδος

oneidizo, to reproach, blame, curse, mock, blaspheme; *oneidismos*, reproach, cursing, mockery, blasphemy; *oneidos*, reproach, shame, disgrace

oneidizo, S 3679; *TDNT* 5.239–240; *EDNT* 2.517–518; MM 450; L&N 33.389, 33.422; BDF §152(1); BAGD 570 | ***oneidismos***, S 3680; *TDNT* 5.241–242; *EDNT* 2.517–518; MM 450; L&N 33.389; BAGD 570 | ***oneidos***, S 3681; *TDNT* 5.238–239; *EDNT* 2.517–518; MM 450; L&N 87.73; BAGD 570

These terms have an especially wide range of meaning (cf. the Hebrew *harap*, *herpâh*), from simple reproach to cursing and blasphemy, with invective, mockery, affront, insult, and abuse included in between. In the language of the LXX, *oneidizo* has a technical meaning, because it goes along with declarations of war,¹ is the deed of enemies.² It is also an Israelite term for the period of slavery in Egypt and for all the defeats suffered by the chosen people: a dishonor.³ When directed toward God *oneidismos* is impious blasphemy,⁴ and Israel suffers *oneidismos* “on

account of” the Lord.⁵ Whatever its source, *oneidismos* is shameful, causes blushing, and is dreaded above all else, because it implies scorn,⁶ as with the Sabbaths that are the object of derision (1Macc 1:39).

We must remember this semantic resonance when we hear the beatitude concerning insults and persecutions,⁷ the insults directed at Christ by the bandits crucified with him (Matt 27:44; Mark 15:32), and the application to Christ of Ps 69:10 (“The insults of those who insult you have fallen upon me,” Rom 15:3). In three instances, *oneidizo* has the meaning “cast blame” for a real or imagined fault,⁸ in conformity with a usage well attested in the OT.⁹

The substantive *oneidismos*, unknown in the papyri, is used for the candidate for the episcopacy (who would be subject to ridicule and derision, if he did not have “a good reputation with outsiders” [1Tim 3:7]); and for Christians in the world, insulted and persecuted for their faithfulness to God, the emphasis being on insults and shame (Heb 10:33). They are exhorted to go outside the camp,¹⁰ that is, to give up on Mosaic religion, worship, laws, and observances to join Christ “in bearing his shame” (Heb 13:13). The Lord was condemned as a blasphemer, ridiculed by his people, crucified like a slave; his passion was the supreme ignominy (*aischyne*, 12:2). Those who are his will experience similar shameful treatment when they break ranks with their former coreligionists; they will be humiliated, despoiled, ostracized. In faithfulness they will not fall short of Moses, who deemed “the shame of Christ a superior wealth to the treasures of Egypt” (11:26). By way of anticipation, he took his share of the abusive treatment of which the coming Savior would be victim. Christians continue to do so.¹¹ Reading these uses of *oneidismos*, which are all in agreement, may give us a precise idea of the words meaning, but it cannot make real to us the emotive density of this term in the world of the first-century Christians.

¹ Goliath insults Israel (1Sam 17:10, 25, 26, 36, 45; 2Sam 21:21; 1Chr 20:7; Sir 47:4), as do the Moabites and the Ammonites (Zeph 2:8). David and his gallants insult the Philistines (2Sam 23:9). In this latter, text, ὀνειδίζειν ε—ν (= the Hebrew preposition ל’) is a Hebraism, repeated by 1Pet 4:14.

² Ps 42:11, 55:13; 74:10. Insults are also forthcoming from the proud (Sir 27:28; 23:15) and the insane (18:18; 20:15; Ps 74:22).

³ Josh 5:9; Neh 1:3; 5:9; 1Macc 4:58. These humiliations are considered to be divine punishment, Isa 43:28; Jer 23:40; 24:9; 25:9; 42:18; 44:12; Bar 2:4; 3:8; Ezek 22:4; Dan 9:16; Tob 3:4; Jet 4:12; cf. Joel 2:19.

⁴ 2Kgs 19:4, 16, 22, 23; 2Chr 32:17; Isa 37:4, 6, 17, 23, 24; cf. Ps 74:18; 79:12; 89:50-51; 102:8; Isa 55:7.

⁵ Jer 15:15; 20:8; Ps 69:7, 9. An insult affects those close to the one insulted, Tob 3:10; Sir 41:7; 1Macc 10:70; cf. Judg 8:15.

⁶ Neh 4:4; Tob 3:7—Sarah, daughter of Raguel, is insulted by her father's servant girls because she has no child (cf. Isa 37:3); Ps 44:10-11: "Shame covers my face at the voice of the insulter and the blasphemer"; 69:20—"the derision has broken my heart . . . I await compassion"; 119:39—"turn away from me the disgrace that I fear"; Isa 50:1; 54:4; Jer 15:9—"she is ashamed and confounded" (Hebrew *hapar*, blush with shame); 51:51—"We were ashamed when we heard the insults, dishonor covered our faces." — Thus one must not insult those who are close (Ps 14:3; cf. Sir 29:23), especially friends, Sir 22:20, 22; 31:31; 41:25. Cf. *BGU* 1024, col. VII, 20: αι—σχω—ς τὴν ε—π̄ ἀνθρώποις τύχην ὀνειδίζουσιν. —The NT hapax ὀνειδος (Luke 1:25, the disgrace of barren women; cf. Gen 30:23), emphasizes shame: the foreign land prepares only dishonor for the rich (*Ep. Arist.* 249), εἰ—ς ὄλεθρον Βελίαρ καὶ ὀνειδος αι—ώνιον (*T. Reub.* 6.3). Is it likely that these people "would have accepted laws made against themselves to their own shame and at their own expense?" (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.285). "They will hide the idols in the crevasses of rocks by way of contempt" (*Sib. Or.* 3.607); *PSI* 1337, 15. Perhaps Menander, *Dysk.* 245: "If an adventure comes to her, the shame affects me as well" (V. Martin's restoration).

⁷ Matt 5:11; Luke 6:22 (cf. J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 2, pp. 290–292; vol. 3, pp. 81, 84, 331); 1Pet 4:14 (cf. the passive, οὐκ ὀνειδισθήσεται ἡ τῆς ἀτιμίας παρασημείωσις, *P.Giss.* 40, col. II, 5). For the textual criticism, cf. K. Aland, *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin, 1972, p. 100; for the exegesis, cf. A. Garcia del Moral y Garrido, *Interpretación apostólica de Is. XI, 2 en I Pdr. IV, 14*, Grenada, 1962; J. Knox, "Pliny and I Peter: A Note on I Peter IV, 14–16 and III, 15," in *JBL*, 1953, pp. 187–189; C. Spicq, *Epîtres de saint Pierre*, pp. 155ff.

⁸ Matt 11:20—Jesus reproaches Chorazin and Bethsaida for not repenting; and he reproaches the Eleven for their unbelief (Mark 15:32; cf. Dio Chrysostom 77.8.38). According to Jas 1:5—"God gives to all liberally and without reproach"; cf. Sir 41:25—"After giving do not reproach"; 18:13–16; Philo, *Flight* 30: cast blame; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.139: reproach for ingratitude; 4.189; 18.360; 19.319; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 7.27.5: reproach for casualness; Plutarch, *De adul. et am.* 22: πα—σα μὲν γὰρ ὀνειδιζομένη χάρις ε—παχθῆς καὶ ἄχαρις καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτῆ; *P.Oxy.* 2110, 34 (on the ethics of the donor, cf. Dio Chrysostom 12.77 and other references in H.

Almqvist, *Plutarch und das Neue Testament*, Uppsala, 1946, p. 130); other parallels in J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, 3d ed., London, 1910, pp. 39ff., “Aeschines reproached Demosthenes for his corruption” (Diodorus Siculus 17.4.8; cf. 17.15.2).

⁹ Wis 2:12—“The just reproach us for our offenses against the law.” Sir 42:14—“The woman covered with shame draws reproaches”; 8:5—“Do not reproach the man who repents of his sins.”

¹⁰ Just as the Teacher of Righteousness, on account of the profanation of the sanctuary, urged his followers to “go out of Judea” (CD 4.11; 6.5; 7.13; 20.22, 27; 1QpHab 8.11–13; 9.5).

¹¹ St. Thomas Aquinas: “*Improperium Christi*, id est, pro fide Christi; eadem enim est fides antiquorum et nostra.” Cf. K. H. Schelkle, *Die Passion Jesu in der Verkündigung des N.T.*, Heidelberg, 1949, pp. 108ff.

ὄνος

onos, ass, donkey

onos, S 3688; TDNT 5.283–287; EDNT 2.522; MM 452; L&N 4.31; BAGD 574

A distinction is made between the wild ass (the *onos agrios* or onager, Gen 16:12; Isa 32:14; Job 39:5-8; Ps 104:11), which is described as “swift” (Hebrew *pere’*) or “fleeing” (Hebrew *arôd*), and the domestic ass,¹ which is bigger and faster than the Western variety.² It is a valuable commodity for inhabitants of Palestine,³ because, at very little expense, it is good for everything: beast of burden (Gen 42:26; 45:23; 1Sam 25:18; Neh 13:15; Josephus, *Life* 119; *P.Oslo* 48, 5; *P.Ryl.* 142; *BGU* 362, col. I, 6; *PSI* 1037, 10) and trace animal for farm jobs,⁴ it serves as a mount (Exod 4:20; Num 22:21; *P.Oxy.* 112; *P.Fouad* 28, 4: *epikathemenos ono*; AD 59), because it is sure-footed and easily governed;⁵ she-asses (Hebrew *atôn*), which are even more peaceable and manageable, are preferred by women (Num 22:23, 33; 2Kgs 4:24). Originally, the great and the wealthy rode asses (Judg 5:10; 10:4; 12:14), but later they reserved for themselves the horse, which was used in the army.⁶ So Zech 9:9 announced that the Messiah, the modest prince of peace, would enter the capital “riding an ass, the colt of an ass.”

This prophecy was effectively realized when Jesus made his messianic entry into Jerusalem.⁷ One of the interests of the Matthean redaction is to note the relation of the colt,⁸ which was male,⁹ with its mother: “the colt with her” (*polon met’ autes*, Matt 21:2). Because this foal

had never been ridden,¹⁰ its mother was led along with it to make it more docile: “they led the ass and the colt” (*egagon ton onon kai ton polon*, 21:7). We have numerous papyri relating the sale of an ass with her young and giving the description of one or the other (*BGU* 982; *PSI* 882; *P. Grenf.* II, 46; *P. Wisc.* 15; *P. Oxy.* 3145; etc.) notably *P. Stras.* 251 (AD 69–79), and this latter published with a learned commentary by Sophia M. E. van Lith in *CPR* VI, 3, n. 2: In AD 114, in the Arsinoite, an ass and her male offspring were sold for eighty-eight drachmas;¹¹ the color, sex, [teeth], and age of the animal are specified: *peprakenai auto onon theleian myochroun kai ton epakolouthounta polon arrena melanon anaporriphous*. The mother is referred to as a “female ass” (*onon theleian*), gray in color;¹² her colt is male (*polon arrena*) and full-grown (*epakolouthounta*). The last term, *anaporriphous*, used constantly in the sale of slaves or animals, is a guarantee against hidden faults and can be translated, “not subject to rejection” or “no annulment of sale possible.”¹³

¹ Hebrew *h<Ø>a<^>môr*; about a hundred occurrences in the OT, cf. Exod 13:10; 32:33; 23:4; Isa 1:3; 32:20; etc.

² Jacob blessed Issachar with the title “bony ass” (Gen 49:14), i.e., solidly built.

³ The thirty sons of Jair of Gilead, one of the judges of Israel, rode thirty donkeys (Judg 10:4); the forty sons and thirty grandsons of Abdon rode seventy (Judg 12:14). Job’s livestock holdings comprised “seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses” (Job 1:3). Exod 20:17 forbids coveting a neighbor’s ass, along with his wife, his servant, and his ox. In an inheritance, the asses are divided (*P. Oxy.* 2583). In the second century AD, there is a tax on asses in the Theban region (*P. Sorb.* 67).

⁴ Isa 30:24; 32:20; cf. *μύλος ὀνικός*, Matt 18:6; Mark 9:42 (cf. A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 81). We have toll receipts (*BGU* 1593–1595; *P. Rein.* 95; *SB* 10906–10908, 10910–10912), for example for the entry of nine *artabai* of vetch seed divided up between three asses, for which a certain Pauties paid three taxes charged at the toll posts controlling the traffic of merchandise between the Arsinoite and the desert (*P. Köln* 92–93). The triple taxation then could apply to one and the same transport. It was sometimes impossible to procure pack animals (*P. Köln* 110); but supplying beasts for the transport of grains collected into the public granaries as taxes was a *leitourgia* (*P. Köln* 116–118). Cf. F. Vigouroux, “âne,” in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 1, col. 566–573; W. Corswant, *Dictionnaire d’archéologie biblique*, p. 28. According to the late rabbis, the ass played a role in Jewish eschatology, cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, p.

608; K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, 1954, pp. 118–120; O. Michel, “ὄνος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp. 283–287. In Greece, as in our day, “ass” could be pejorative. According to Lysippus, “If you have not seen Athens, you are only a clod. If you have seen it and not been taken with it, you are only an ass. If you are content to go far from it, you are only a pack-saddled ass” Ps.-Dicaearchus, frag. 59, 1–5, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. 2, pp. 254–255). But one also takes care of one’s ass: παρακληθεῖς προνόησαι ἡ—ς σοι ἔπεμψα ὄνου (*P.Köln* 161, 5).

⁵ It can be ridden without a saddle; a covering of thick cloth is stretched over its back and tied around or strapped up to keep it from slipping (Gen 22:3; Judg 19:10; 2Sam 16:1; 17:23; 19:27; 2Kgs 4:24). Menander, *Dysk.* 403: “These accursed women tied four donkey-loads on my back.” The apostles laid out their garments on the ass that Jesus borrowed to ride (Matt 21:7; Mark 11:7).

⁶ *Pss. Sol.* 17.37; cf. C. W. F. Smith, “The Horse and the Ass in the Bible,” in *ATR*, 1945, pp. 86–97.

⁷ Matt 21:2, 5, 7; John 12:14–15; cf. K. Pieper, “Zum Einzug Jesu in Jerusalem,” in *BZ*, 1913, pp. 397–402; J. D. M. Derrett, “Law in the New Testament: The Palm Sunday Colt,” in *NovT*, 1971, pp. 241–258; R. Bartnicki, “Das Zitat von Zach. IX, 9–10 und die Tiere im Bericht von Matthäus über den Einzug Jesu in Jerusalem (Mt. XXI, 1–11),” *NovT*, 1976, pp. 161–166.

⁸ Πω—λον (Matt 21:2; *P.Lond.* 339; vol. 2, p. 200); *P.Oslo* 134; *P.Sarap.* 3 (declaration of asses; cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 2, pp. 1021ff.). *P.Cair.Isid.* 77, 12; 136, 4–6; John 12:15—ὄνάριον (a little ass; Epictetus 2.24.18; 4.1.79; *P.Oxy.* 63, 11); ὄναρίδιον (*P.Ryl.* 239, 21); cf. *P.Mert.* 120: τὸν ὄνον ἔχουσιν ὑποτίθιον.

⁹ Hebrew *‘ayir*; cf. R. de Langhe, “Judaïsme ou Hellénisme en rapport avec le Nouveau Testament,” in *L’Attente du Messie* (Recherches bibliques 1), Bruges, 1954, p. 163.

¹⁰ Mark 11:2; Luke 19:35. Symbolically, the colt’s never having been ridden before would be a sign of Christ’s transcendence, like being born of a virgin or buried in a new tomb. It has also been envisaged as a “type” of Christ’s triumph over the Gentiles, whereas the ass would represent the synagogue, which had long borne the yoke but today was no more than a cipher; cf. A. Durand, “Pro Consensu Evangelistarum,” in *RSR*, 1911, pp. 298–300.

¹¹ One hundred drachmas in 69–79 (*P. Stras.* 251; *P. Oxy.* 2846); 108 in AD 98 (*BGU* 1066), 48 in 131 (*P. Mich.* 552). In the second century, 56 drachmas (*P. Fay.* 92), 60 (*P. Aberd.* 55), 106 (*P. Grenf.* II, 46), 270 (*P. Stras.* 504), 280 (*P. Mich.* 551), 306 (*PSI* 38). In the third century, 600 drachmas (*P. Oxy.* 1707), 1500 (*PSI* 79), 3800 (*P. Stras.* 139 = *SB* 8021), 4000 (*P. Mert.* 106).

¹² Μυόχρους (as at *P. Gen.* 23, 5; *PSI* 882, 1ff., 1417, 8; *P. Dura* 97; *BGU* 1568, 4) or μυόχρωμος (*P. Corn.* 13, 12; *P. Mert.* 20, 3; *SB* 11015); other she-asses are white or black (λευκὸς μυόχρους, μέλας μυόχρους); *P. Cair. Isid.* 84, 8; *P. Mert.* 15, 25; *P. Mil. Vogl.* 82. —Αμμόχρωμον appeared for the first time as a color in *CPR* VII, 4, n. 36, 6.

¹³ Cf. *BGU* 584, 806, 987; *P. Oxy.* 94; *P. Mich.* 264–265 (lines 9 and 22); *P. Athen.* 27; *P. Gen.* 23. M. J. Bry, *Essai sur la vente dans les papyrus gréco-égyptiens*, Paris, 1909, p. 295; F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale*, Weimar, 1950, pp. 481–483. Isocrates, a wine producer (οἰνοποιός) wants to fence off his land so that the asses cannot eat his fruit (*P. Athen.* 4 = *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XX, 52, 12). “Two jars for transport by ass” (τὰ ὄνικα μώστια δύο, *SB* 6801, 29 = *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XX, 54, 29; cf. ὄνικα σάγματα, *PSI* 527, 2).

ὀρέγομαι, ὄρεξις

oregomai, to extend oneself, reach out, aim for, aspire to; *orexis*, passionate desire

oregomai, S 3713; *TDNT* 5.447–448; *EDNT* 2.531; *NIDNTT* 1.460–461; MM 456; L&N 25.15; BDF §171(1); BAGD 579–580 | ***orexis***, S 3715; *TDNT* 5.447–448; *EDNT* 2.531; *NIDNTT* 1.460–461; MM 456; L&N 25.16; BAGD 580

In the Bible these terms do not have the technical meaning that they have as part of the Stoic vocabulary.¹ The NT hapax *orexis* in Rom 1:27—“the men were consumed with desire one for another”—has the banal sense of our word *passion*.²

The verb *orego* in the middle voice (“extend oneself, stretch oneself out”), when used with the genitive, means “tend toward, aim for, aspire to, try to reach.” In a pejorative sense, it is used of the greedy, whose *orexis* for money causes them to flaunt the demands of faith and morality;³ in a positive sense, it is used for the patriarchs, who aspired to the heavenly country.⁴ In both cases, the inclination is so intense that it requires the sacrifice of other good things; thus an *orexis* is a passionate desire.

Oregomai has the sense of “be ambitious” in 1Tim 3:1—“If anyone aspires to the episcopacy, he desires a noble work.”⁵ This desire for a duty or a function has no philosophical connotation; it is almost a literary commonplace: “Of the things that God offers and gives, what is there that is not great and worthy of aspiration?” (*oregei*, Philo, *Abraham* 39); “John dreamed (*oregomenon*) only of revolution and burned to have command (*epithymian echonta*)” (Josephus, *Life* 70); “angry that they wanted to change the status quo and aspired to novelties” (*kai neoteron oregoito*);⁶ “they each aspired to this first place” (Thucydides 2.65.10); “Tyndarides having aspired too openly to the supreme power.”⁷

¹ Cf. “The treatises on desire and aversion” (τὰ περὶ ὀρέξεως δὲ καὶ ἐκκλίσεως, Epictetus 4.4.16; cf. 4.1.84); the philosophers teach that desire has good things as its object, and aversion, evil things (ibid. 1.4.1; cf. 2.2.4). Ὀρεξις is the spontaneous movement that underlies the intervention of reason, cf. Aristotle, *De An.* 2.3.414b2; 3.9.433a6; *Pol.* 3.6.3.1278b21: “People desire to live together”; Plutarch, *De E ap. Delph.* 1: “an appetite of the soul that propels toward truth.”

² Cf. Sir 18:30—“Depart from your covetings”; 23:6—“May sensual attraction not take hold of me”; Wis 15:5—passion awakened in the fool; 16:2–3: appetite; Philo, *Dreams* 1.140: the angels “have never desired terrestrial things”; *Abraham* 96: “all the desires that draw one toward pleasure were taken from him”; *Giants* 35: “Let our appetites not be stirred up by contact with any friend of the flesh at all”; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.115: “in the region of the belly and beneath the belly resides desire, an unreasoning tendency” (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ κατοικεῖ ἐπιθυμία, ὀρεξις ἄλογος); 4Macc 1:33—“Is it not reason that has the power to tame this appetite?” Tamar wanted to escape the violence of passion (Josephus, *Ant.* 7.169). Cf. Plutarch, *De laude* 18: to stir up and sharpen the appetite (τὴν ὀρεξιν); Plutarch, *De cupid. divit.* 2, the desire to drink (ὀρεξις) corresponds to the desire to eat (ἐπιθυμία).

³ 1Tim 6:10; cf. *Ep. Arist.* 211: μὴ πολλῶν ὀρέγου, “do not seek fortune, but only what you need to reign”; Wis 14:2—“desire for gain”; Dio Chrysostom 17.12. This is the sense of Hesychius’ definition: ὀρέγεται: ἐπιθυμεῖ—.

⁴ Heb 11:16; cf. Philo, *Virtues* 218: Abraham wanted to be part of the divine family, τῆς πρὸς θεὸν συγγενείας ὀρεχθέντα; *P. Michael.* 27, 11: ὀρεγούση τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρᾳ ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ (magical papyrus from the third-fourth century). Cf. those who aspire to better things and those who aspire to worse things: τοῖς τῶν κρείττωνων ὀρεγομένοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν χειρόνων (Musonius 7; ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 58, 5).

⁵ Εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται, καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ—. It was necessary to exalt the episcopacy in a time and a milieu where people valued above all the gifts of teaching (apostles, prophets, teachers), then those of power (miracles, healings; 1Cor 12:8ff., 28ff.). “Administration” is in the next to last place, like leadership (Rom 12:6-8) and pastors (Eph 4:11). Compared with “prophecy,” administrative duties have little allure (1Cor 6:4; 14:1; *Did.* 15). Hence the exhortations to honor those who preside and toil (1Thess 5:12), leaders who stay alert (Heb 13:17), and the official who must bear the burden of hospitality (1Tim 3:2; cf. C. Spicq, “Si quis episcopatum desiderat,” in *RSPT*, 1940, pp. 316–325). In the demotic papyri, the regulations consider it a fault to refuse the duty of “representative” of the association when one is appointed to it, cf. F. de Cenival, “Les Associations dans les temples égyptiens,” in *Religions en Egypte hellénistique et romaine*, Colloquium, Strasbourg, 1967, Paris, 1969, p. 12).

⁶ Plutarch, *Sol.* 29.4; cf. Plutarch, *Art.* 8: κελεύεις με τὸν βασιλείας ὀρεγόμενον ἀνάξιον εἶναι βασιλείας; Plutarch, *Phoc.* 17.1.

⁷ Diodorus Siculus 11.86; cf. 15.50, Thebes prepared for the war “full of enthusiasm and aspired to greater undertakings”; 16.65; Polemo, *Declam.* 35: ἔρωτι δόξην καὶ μεγάλων ἔργων ὀρεγόμενον. Cf. the inscription of New Colophon in the third century BC, ὀρεγόμενος τῶν καλλίστων, in M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 2, p. 59. Charidemus is suspected of having the ambition to command (τῆς στρατηγίας ὀρέγεται, Diodorus Siculus, 17.30.4); “If Darius aspired to the highest rank” (17.54.6).

ὀρθοποδέω

orthopodeo, to walk steadily, without wobbling

orthopodeo, S 3716; *TDNT* 5.451; *EDNT* 2.531; *NIDNTT* 3.351–352; *MM* 456; *L&N* 41.36; *BDF* §120(4); *BAGD* 580

Gal 2:14—*hote eidon hoti ouk orthopodousin pros ten aletheian tou euangeliou*. M. J. Lagrange translates: “When I saw that they were not walking straight according to the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas . . .” and comments: “*orthopodein* has not been found elsewhere: it can mean only ‘walk straight’ (the classical *euthyporein*) in contrast to those who walk to the side, like a boat tacking into the wind. In ethical terms, it means to act with uprightness and loyalty.”¹ But the *Bible de Jérusalem* translates: “Quand je vis qu’à l’égard de la vérité, leur marche manquait de fermeté” (“When I saw that with respect to the truth of the gospel their walk was lacking in firmness”; cf. *NJB*, “When I saw, though, that their behaviour was

not true to the gospel.”) So should we translate “walk straight” or “have a firm step”? The question is settled by three papyri:

(a) A letter of December 7, AD 117: *ne ten sen moi soterian kai ten tou tekniou mou kai orthopodian*; ² (b) a papyrus at the University of Michigan (inv. 337): *to pedeion orthopodei en emoi hina*; ³ (c) Nicander of Colophon (Alex. 419): *orthopodes bainontes anis smygeroion tithenes*.

In each case, the word refers to children who are beginning to get around on their own two legs without having to hold the nurse’s hand to keep from falling. Thus our verb would be the opposite of *choleuein*, “walk unsteadily, limp” (Heb 12:13); “the unbeliever will have twisted feet, as it were, and will be entirely unable to walk right.”⁴ So *orthopodeo* is just the right word for indicting Peter’s vacillations at Antioch, “hobbling back and forth” (cf. Gal 2:12).

¹ “Lorsque je vis qu’ils ne marchaient pas droit selon la vérité de l’évangile, je dis à Céphas”—M. J. Lagrange, *Galates*, p. 44. G. D. Kilpatrick (“Gal. II, 14,” in *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann*, Berlin, 1954, pp. 269–274) understands ὀρθοποδέω to mean being on the right path, which leads to the truth; hence “they were not walking straight toward the gospel.” He continues: “First, ὀρθοποδεῖ—ν is a verb of motion used metaphorically. Second, πρὸς has its primary meaning of ‘to, toward.’ Third, ὀρθο- in ὀρθοποδεῖ—ν signifies ‘straight’ or ‘upright’ of position, or direction.” F. Mussner (*Der Galaterbrief*, Freiberg-Basel-Vienna, 1974, p. 144) translates: “Sie gehen nicht auf dem geraden Weg (geradewegs) auf die Wahrheit des Evangeliums zu,” and notes that this is the interpretation not only of the church fathers and the Latin versions (“recta via incederent,” Ambrosiaster, Pelagius; “rectam viam incedeunt,” *d*), but also the counterpart of the Hebrew *yasar* in the piel; cf. Prov 9:15b, 15:21b; 1QH 7.14.

² *P.Mil.* 24, 2; commented on by C. H. Roberts, “A Note on Galatians II, 14,” in *JTS*, 1939, pp. 55–56.

³ Published by J. G. Winter, “Another Instance of ὀρθοποδεῖ—ν,” in *HTR*, 1941, pp. 161–162; republished by H. C. Youtie (“P. Mich. inv. 337,” in *ZPE*, vol. 22, 1976, pp. 63–68), who translates “For what does go right for me?” and cites for the noun ὀρθοποδία *P.Mil.Vogl.* 24, 8: γράφεις μοι λέγων “ε—άν δυνηθῆς ἀνάπλευσον” νῆ τὴν σὴν μοι σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ τεκνίου μου καὶ ὀρθοποδίαν. *P.Phil.* 35, 4 (a letter from Longinus to his brother; end of the second century) is obscure: θαυμάζω πω—ζὀρθοποδοῦτες καὶ πέμπσαντος μου καὶ ε—πιστόλιν διὰ Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ Νεστοποικίτου. No doubt we should read ὀροποδοῦντος. The editor

gives up on proposing a likely interpretation: “I am astonished . . . I sent you a letter by the hand of Valerianus, from the hamlet of Nestos.”

⁴ Ὁ ἄπιστος ἔσται πού καὶ διεστραμμένος καὶ κατ’ οὐδένα τρόπον ὀρθοποδεῖ—ν εἰ—δώς—Cyril of Alexandria, commenting on Matt 17:17, in J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, Berlin, 1957, p. 220.

ὀρθοτομέω

orthotomeo, to handle correctly

orthotomeo, S 3718; *TDNT* 8.111–112; *EDNT* 2.531; *NIDNTT* 3.351–352; *MM* 456–457; *L&N* 33.234; *BDF* §119(1); *BAGD* 580

Timothy must dispense the word of truth correctly, *orthotomounta ton logon tes aletheias* (2Tim 2:15). *Hodon temnein* means to trace or follow a route (Herodotus 4.136; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.309); “Archelaus opened straight routes” (*hodous eutheias eteme*, Thucydides 2.100.2); and because “whatever is drawn with a straight ruler is necessarily straight,”¹ the expression “make a path straight” took on a metaphorical sense (Prov 3:6; 11:5; 1QH 12.34). This is especially so in rhetoric, where *orthon legein* means to express oneself correctly (Aristotle, *Gen. Cor.* 1.314b13; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 1.3 = 7.13), with the nuance of the golden mean: “No matter which of us has spoken more correctly (*orthoteron eireken*); everyone must follow a middle path (*meson tina temnein*)” (Plato, *Leg.* 7.793 a); “to advance along the route that our present discussion has started out on” (*ten nyn ek ton paronton logon tetmemenen hodon*, *ibid.* 800 e; cf. Xenophon, *Oec.* 18.2, *mesotomon*). For the rule in Greek dialectic is *orthoepia*: expressing oneself with exactness and precision, without error or flaw, respecting the linguistic proprieties.² Thus it is diametrically opposed to distortions and falsifications of the Word of God (2Cor 2:17; 4:2) by bad exegetes who twist texts (2Pet 3:16). The Vulgate translates well: “recte tractantem verbum veritatis.” As opposed to the mythologizing orators and fabulists who adulterate the revealed teaching, Timothy will be faithful to convey its traditional meaning (2Tim 2:2, 8) and express it in adequate terms (cf. 1Cor 2:13).

¹ Philo, *Giants* 49. According to J. W. D. Skiles (*CP*, 1943, pp. 204ff.), 2Tim is copying Sophocles, *Ant.* 1195: ὀρθὸν ἀλήθειᾷ ἀεί.

² Plato, *Phdr.* 267 c; cf. ὀρθοποδέω (Gal 2:14); cf. the “sharp” sword of the word of God (Heb 4:12) and the French expression “trancher net” (literally “cut clean”), speak frankly, openly, without concealment. Cf. the apology of

Quadratus, which demonstrates “apostolic exactitude” (ἀποστολικὴ ὀρθοτομία), and hence orthodoxy (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.3.1).

ὀροθεσία

horothesia, the determining of boundaries

horothesia, S 3734; *EDNT* 2.533; MM 459; L&N 80.5; BDF §119(3); BAGD 582

In his Mars Hill discourse, St. Paul says that God fixed the limits of human dwelling: *tas horothesias tes katoikias auton*.¹ Derived from *horothetes* (from *horos*, “boundary, limit,” and *tithemi*, “assign, fix”), “marking a limit,”² the substantive *horothesia*, meaning “the delimiting or determining of boundaries” more than “boundary, limit,” was unknown³ until the discovery in 1903 of a rather mutilated Fayum papyrus (*BGU* 889, 17: *tes ... horothesias tou th . . .* ; from AD 151; cf. *P.Apoll.* 63, 20, from the eighth century, *horothesia tou lakou oinou*, the limit of a vat of wine?) and in 1906 of *I.Priene* XLII, 8: *dikaian einai ekrinan ten Rhodion krisin te kai horothesian*, “they decided that the Rhodians’ decision and demarcation were fair” (after AD 133). H. J. Cadbury adds a Greco-Latin inscription from first-century Romania⁴ that gives a series of decisions by Roman legates concerning the borders of the former Milesian colony of Histria at the mouth of the Danube. These decisions are confirmed by the governor of Mesia, Marius Laberius Maximus, beginning thus: “Horothesia Laberiou Maximou hypatikou. Fines Histrianorum hos esse constitui” (“I establish this as the border of the Histrians”). *Horothesia* is *limitatio*, the determining of boundaries.

¹ Acts 12:26. This could mean either habitable land, as opposed to the sea (Gen 1:9-10; Ps 74:17; 104:9; Job 38:8-11; Prov 8:28-29; cf. W. Eltester, “Gott und Natur in der Areopagrede,” in *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann*, Berlin, 1954, pp. 202–227) or for the boundaries between different peoples (Gen 10; Deut 32:8; Job 12:23; Dan 2:21).

² Cf. *I.Cret.* III, 3, n. 25: Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Και—σαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροβάμονας ἀποκατέστησεν διὰ Κ. Πακωνίου—Αγριππίνου ταμίου τὸ β? καὶ ὀροθέτου (first century AD); a landmark in Thrace between pastures: ὑπὸ Φλαυίου Σκελήτας κρίτου καὶ ὀροθέτου (around 155).

³ The neuter plural ὀροθέσια is found in Galen, *Def. Med.* 2 (ed. Kühn. vol. 19, 349); cf. Hesychius, ὀροθεσία: τὰ χωρίζοντα τὴν γῆν.

⁴ H. J. Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History*, London, 1955, pp. 36ff.; an inscription accessible today in *SEG I*, 329; republished and commented on by D. M. Pippidi, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte Histrias*, Berlin, 1962, pp. 133–153.

ὄρος

oros, hill, cliff, mountain, necropolis; land bordering the desert, boundary

oros, S 3735; *TDNT* 5.475–487; *EDNT* 2.533–534; *NIDNTT* 3.1009, 1013–1014; MM 459; L&N 78.44; BDF §§48, 126(1*b*); BAGD 582

With the relative exception of Galilee, Palestine is a mountainous region¹—in the most general sense of the term, since *oros* often means a mere hill (Luke 4:29; *P.Ness.* 31, 37; cf. Matt 18:12; *T. Job* 13.1–3) and the mount where Jesus was tempted is described as a “very high mountain” (Matt 4:8). In the papyri and in a geographical sense, *to oros* means both mountain and desert, as opposed to the valley and inhabited areas.² It can mean a simple escarpment, a more or less steep cliff next to the walls of a city (*P.Monac.* 13; *SB* 7800, 7), a high place where an irrigation system stops (*P.Oxy.* 729, 7 and 9), threatened with silting up.³ *To oros* comes to mean the area near the desert, a border zone or a band of land more or less distant from the town,⁴ and finally “limit.”⁵

Brigands flee to⁶ or do their marauding in the desert regions: “we fell into a den of thieves at Mount Maro.”⁷ Thus it is not surprising that the devil should appear to tempt Jesus on a mountain or in the desert (Matt 4:1, 8). But it is also on these uninhabited heights that cemeteries are established,⁸ so *oros* can mean necropolis (*P.Ryl.* 153, 5); thus the Gerasene demoniac stayed “in the tombs and in the mountains” (Mark 5:5).

Mountains always have religious significance: the throne of God, a cultic center, a place of sanctuary⁹—“Our fathers worshiped on this mountain” (John 4:20). Thus, according to the Hymn to Isis of Isidorus, at the New Moon the royal statue was paraded *en orei*, i.e., in the desert.¹⁰ According to the NT, not only did Jesus climb a mountain “to be apart” (Matt 17:1; cf. Mark 9:2; Luke 9:28; 2Pet 1:18), “alone in that place” (Matt 14:23; cf. Mark 6:46; Luke 6:12; John 6:15), i.e., to seek solitude for prayer; but it was also there that he taught the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:1; cf. 8:1; 15:29; John 6:3), chose his apostles (Mark 3:13), and appeared to them after his resurrection (Matt 28:16). The mountain is the place for communications from God (Gal 4:24–25; Heb 8:5; 12:20) and the symbol of heaven (Heb 12:22; Rev 14:1; 21:10).

Beginning in AD 334 (*P.Lond.* 1913; the Meletian monastery of Hathor), *oros* together with the name of a founder or patron signifies a

monastery¹¹—this religious establishment situated at the most distant borders of cultivated land.¹²

¹ Cf. F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris, 1933, pp. 59ff., 334ff.

² *P.Tebt.* 801, 28: desert mountains; *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 78, 6–7: δι' ἀνύδρων ὄρω—ν; *P.Tebt.* 383, 61: Κερκεσουχών Όρους = Kerkesucha-in-the-desert; *SB* 5174, ε—ν τω—ει—ρημένω ὄρει; cf. Acts 7:30: an angel appeared to Moses “in the desert of Mount Sinai”; Heb 11:38, the OT believers wandered “in deserts and mountains.” —Hence the suggestion by numerous commentators that τὸ ὄρος in Mark 3:13 (“He climbed the mountain” north of the lake) should be understood in the sense of the Palestinian Aramaic *tura*, which means sometimes “mountain,” sometimes “countryside, distant place, isolated region” as opposed to “city”: Jesus went away into the neighboring countryside.

³ *P.Tebt.* 60, 42; 826, 9; cf. the analyses of H. Cadell, R. Rémondon, “Sens et emplois de τὸ ὄρος dans les documents papyrologiques,” in *REG*, 1967, pp. 343–349.

⁴ *P.Lond.* 483, 7, 10, 16, 31, 37: ε—ν τω— ὄρει κόμης Ταναίθεως; *P.Flor.* 285, 4; *P.Cair.Masp.* 67001. So the mountain can be inhabited; cf. *C.P.Herm.* 31, 3: “his mother lives on the mount of Scinopoeus.”

⁵ A stele found at Eleusis: ὄρος οἰ—κίας ὑποκειμένης, “boundary of the mortgaged house (*NCIG*, n. 25 A 2); cf. 25 C 1: “boundary of the house sold”; 25 F 1: “boundary of the house given in dowry mortgage”; 25 B 1: “ὄρος χωρίου, boundary of the land and of the house”; 25 D 1: “boundary of the lands, the house, and the roof”; E 1. *IGLS* 1260: “[officially] fixed boundaries of the shops and garden of Adonis”; 1481; 1570 (twice); 1675 (three times); 2002: “limits of asylum”; 2513; 2560; 2984. Cf. B. Schmidlin, “Horoi, pithana und regulae: Zum Einfluß der Rhetorik und Dialektik auf die juristische Regelbildung,” in *ANRW*, 1976, vol. 15, pp. 101–130.

⁶ *P.Mich.* 421, 15 (reign of Claudius), the malefactor flees εἰ—ς τὸ ὄρος. The police watch over the desert, *P.Achm.* 7, 36; *P.Tebt.* 736, 4. In a positive sense, to flee to the mountains is to seek solitude, 1Macc 9:40; Matt 24:16; Mark 13:14; Luke 21:21; Josephus, *War* 1.36; *Ant.* 14.418.

⁷ —Εμπεπτόκαμεν εἰ—ς ληστήριον εἰ—ς τὸ ὄρος Μαρώ, *P.Stras.* 233, 2; cf. A. Oguse, “Note sur le papyrus de Strasbourg 233,” in *ChrEg*, 1964, pp. 150–156.

⁸ Cf. the epitaph of the perfumer Casios, *SB* 4229, 2; *P.Oxy.* 274, 27; *P.Tebt.* 967, 7; *P.Grenf.* II, 77, 22. On the “mount of the dead,” cf. R. Rémondon, “A propos de deux graffiti grecs d’une tombe siwite,” in *ChrEg*, 1951, pp. 156–161.

⁹ 2Chr 3:1; *Ep. Arist.* 83; Wis 9:8; 1Macc 4:46; 11:37; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.125, Sinai “the holiest of the mountains that are found in that area”; cf. J. Jeremias, *Der Gottesberg*, Gütersloh, 1919; idem, *Golgotha*, Leipzig, 1926; H. Riesenfeld, *Jésus transfiguré*, Copenhagen, 1947, pp. 90ff., 180, 217–222; L. H. Vincent, “La Notion biblique du haut-lieu,” in *RB*, 1948, pp. 245–278, 438–445. Bibliographic references in BAGD, on this word, and Foerster, “ὄρος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp. 475–487.

¹⁰ E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 175, col. IV, 36 = V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 64. An act of adoration by Pachrates “to Pan of the Mountain, for his own salvation” (A. Bernand, *Koptos*, n. 150); cf. *PSI* 1018, 11; 1020, 6; *SB* 8883, 40; 9506, 6. A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, Cairo, 1952, pp. 60–61, 96.

¹¹ Cf. *P.Oxy.* 1890, 6; *PSI* 9333, 2; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 48, 1; *P.Genova* 40, 1–5; *P.Lond.* 483, 7 (vol. 2, p. 325); *IGLS* 1217.

¹² H. Cadell and R. Rémondon, *REG*, 1967, pp. 343–349, distinguish monasteries proper from other religious establishments (*P.Lond.* 1007; *PSI* 786) or groupings of these establishments “in the mountains,” thus outside of town (*Stud.Pal.* X, 219, 8; *SB* 5174; 5175: ε—ν τω— ει—ρημένω μοναστηρίω).

ὀψώνιον

opsonion, ration, wage, pay, compensation
see also μισθός, μισθόομαι

opsonion, S 3800; *TDNT* 5.591–592; *EDNT* 2.555; *NIDNTT* 3.144–145; *MM* 471–472; *L&N* 57.118, 57.166, 89.42; *BDF* §§111(4), 126(2), 141(8); *BAGD* 602; *ND* 2.93

A compound formed from *opson*, “cooked fish, fish,” hence “food,” and *oneomai*, “to buy, acquire,” the substantive *opsonion* occurs quite frequently in Koine, where it is almost synonymous with *misthos*,¹ which it tends to replace; it is condemned by Phrynichus, who derides Menander for saying “*opsoniasmos* and *opsonion* . . . and countless other unlearned, bastardized expressions.”²

In a military context, *opsonion* is the wage paid in cash³ to which is added a compensation in kind, a certain quantity of grain, i.e., provisions.⁴ According to this definition, “Antiochus opened his treasury and distributed a year’s pay to the soldiers” (1Macc 3:28); Simon, son of Mattathias, “spent much of his own wealth supplying weapons to the men in the army and paying them a wage” (1Macc 14:32). John the Baptist counsels the customs officers, “Do not harrass anyone, do not make false accusations, and be content with your wages.”⁵ These *strateuomenoi* are not soldiers in the strict sense of the word but auxiliaries to the publicans, hence police officers; and their *opsonion* perhaps does not have the technical meaning of “pay”; it would rather be the “ration” that they get, even their usual “profit.”

In fact, from its first occurrence, *opsonion* refers to a purchase of food⁶ and means provisions, the supplying of provisions, or resources, notably in the papyri,⁷ but the commonest meaning is that of remuneration for a given task. In AD 8–10, a worker, setting forth the conditions of his hiring, asks that he be paid either a daily wage or an annual wage (*misthos*) and that even when there is no work his employer pay thirteen drachmas, two obols for his daily means (*dosete moi kat’ opsonion argyriou drachmas dekattris dyo obolous*, *P.Oxy.* 731, 10; cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59176, 71–76, 92–93; *PSI* 332, 33). *Opsonion* is used for the pay of the *rhabdouchos* at the sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios,⁸ the remuneration for the teachers at Pergamum, the pay of officials (*I.Priene* 121, 33–34; 125, 4), the wages of a secretary (*P.Mich.* 371, 4), of guardians (*P.Mert.* 27, 4; *P.Princ.* 96, 3: *ops. paidarion*; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 19, 7, *ops. hydrophylakon*; VI, 24, 64: *ops. bibliophylakon*), of a harpist (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59028), of slaves (*ibid.* 59027; 59043, 59059: *opsonia ta tois somasi*), of farmers (*P.Mich.Zen.* 89), of gardeners (*PSI* 332, 13), of vine-dressers (*ibid.* 414, 4 and 10), of a fisherman,⁹ remuneration for services (*P.Oxf.* 10, 21; *P.Oxy.* 2474, 42); cf. receipt for wages (*P.Ryl.* 559: *Maron peri tou opsoniou*). So when St. Paul says that he has despoiled the Macedonian churches in order to have sufficient resources to carry out his ministry at Corinth in complete freedom, we must not translate *labon opsonion pros ten hymon diakonian* (2Cor 11:8) as “accepting wages or pay from them” but rather “subsidies”: gifts, food, clothings, money, the cash to provide for his own subsistence.¹⁰

This would also be the sense of 1Cor 9:7, which is usually translated “Who, serving in an army, ever supports himself with his own pay (*idiois opsoniois*)? Who plants a vineyard and does not eat its fruit? Or who shepherds a flock and does not drink of the milk of the flock?” The soldier does not have to provide for his own subsistence.¹¹ The emphasis is not so much on costs or expenditures as on food and provisions, as suggested by the two other texts and by the Lord’s pronouncement: “The worker is worthy of his upkeep” (*axios esti tes trophes autou*, Matt 10:10). The gospel worker must be free of all personal cares and any extraneous

business to devote himself fully to his apostolic task. As for death as the wages (Latin *stipendium*) of sin (Rom 6:23), this exceptional metaphorical usage of *opsonia* contrasts with the free gift (*charisma*), the *donativum*, the largess handed out by the emperor or a victorious general. The *opsonia* of sin are thus not a payment, but rather a wage, or a price, or better a just and necessary reward, even a “compensation” due for the impious work that is *hamartia*, which cannot go unremunerated.

¹ *P.Oxy.* 136, 31; 19120, 7; 1911, 81; 1912, 130; 2195, 89; 2243, 81. Cf. ὀψώνιον, “wages,” *P.Lille* 3, 42: “the compensation due to us,” τὸ καθήκον ἡμῶν ὀψώνιον (third century BC); *P.Oxy.* 2195, 89; 2243 a 81: τῶν προνοητῶν λόγῳ ὀψωνίου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος; 2244, 1; *BGU* 1750, 6; *P.Oslo* 94, 9: ὁμολογῶ— ἔχειν παρά σου ε—γ πλήρους τὰ ὀψώνια τὰ ὀφειλόμενα. *P.Mich.* 620, 162–167: Σερμῆ ταυρελάτη ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίου; Πωλίῳ ὀνηλάτῃ ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίου; 214, 275: ε—μοὶ —Αλκιμέδοντι ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίου πυροῦ ἀρτάβηα?; J. Day, C. W. Keyes, *Tax Documents from Theadelphia*, New York, 1956 = *P.Col.* I, verso 3, line 169, 172, 181, 197, etc. In the accounts of the family of Tiberius Julius Theones, the monthly salary ranges from 24 to 32 to 40 drachmas (P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Julii Theones*, Amsterdam, 1976, n. 3, 5; 17, 5; 18, 7; 28, 5; cf. 1, 7; 29, 5); but ὀψώνιον can also be a tax, cf. idem, in *P.Coll.Youtie* I, p.297.

² Τὸν λέγοντα . . . ὀψωνιασμός καὶ ὀψώνιον . . . καὶ ἄλλα κίβδηλα ἀναρίθμητα ἀμαθῆ, C. A. Lobeck, *Phrynichi Eclogae*, 2d ed., Hildesheim, 1965, p. 418.

³ Polybius 1.66.5: “The Carthaginians, persuaded that the mercenaries (τοὺς μισθοφόρους) would give up part of their back pay”; 1.66.11: “Certain ones exaggerated their back pay”; 1.69.3–8; 4.60.2: “The Achaeans proved negligent in the payment of their wages to the mercenaries”; 3.25.4; 5.33.3; 5.36.3; a decree of Ptolemy Philadelphus: “The king orders that a supplement be added to the pay” (*Ep. Arist.* 20, 22; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.28). Eumenes will pay the soldiers the four months’ wages that he agreed to pay them, a sum that will not be included in the reckoning of future wages (*I.Perg.* XIII, 7 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 266; 263 BC; cf. the treaty of alliance between Rhodes and Hierapythna, in the second century, Dittenberger, *Syl.*, 581, 34). The pay of the garrison at Techtho (*P.Stras.* 103–104), of the soldiers of Ito (*P.Würzb.* 7, 10–11; second century BC). Apollonius, included in 157 among the *epigonoι* of Memphis, will receive a monthly wage of 150 drachmas as rations three ἀρτάβαι of wheat (*UPZ* XIV, 47–49, 71–72). The remuneration of the soldiers accompanying a shipment by water (*P.Lille* 25, 45–49), etc. When the ὀψώνιον is paid before the work is done, in the guise of provisions or a deposit, it is called πρόδομα (*P.Eleph.*

28; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59002,4–5 = *SB* 6708; *P.Tebt.* 769; cf. M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 3, p. 138, n. 1). Cf. J. Lesquier, *Les Institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, Paris, 1911, pp. 101f.; E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 95; R. Marichal, "La Solde des armées romaines d'Auguste à Septime-Sévère," in *Mélanges Is. Lévy* (Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves, vol. 13), Brussels, 1955, pp. 399–421.

⁴ The σιτομετρία. Ten Arabs from Philadelphia receive at the same time as the φυλακίται their pay (ὀψώνιον) and rations (σιτομετρία) for twelve months (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59296, col. I, 7–11; II, 22–24; cf. 59421, 6–7; 59498; 59507; *PSI* 408, 421, 443; cf. T. Reekmans, *La Sitométrie dans les archives de Zénon*, Brussels, 1966). Cf. Polybius, 1.68.8–9: τὰ μετρήματα καὶ τὰ ὀψώνια. The people of Smyrna will see to it that the royal treasury pays the mercenaries their wages and their provisions in kind or in costs (τὸ τε μετρήματα καὶ τὰ ὀψώνια τᾶλλα ὅσα εἰ—ῶει, Dittenberger, *Or.* 229, 107; commented on by M. Launey, *Armées hellénistiques*, vol. 2, pp. 669ff., 725, 750); cf. the order of Ptolemy II Philadelphus: "if they have received their vouchers for wages, grain rations, and provisions" (*P.Amh.* II, 29, 8–13); *P.Fay.* 302; *P.Tebt.* 723, 4 (137 BC), etc.

⁵ Luke 3:14—καὶ ἀρκεῖ—σθε τοι—ς ὀψωνίοις ὑμῶ—ν (on the ban on extortion, cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 230ff. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, pp. 364–372). E. Delebecque comments: "The word ὀψώνιον probably does not mean 'pay' ('la solde') but rather 'stipend' ('prêt') and probably 'independent stipend' ('prêt franc'). The 'stipend' is the sum given by the army for the subsistence and upkeep of a soldier; but the 'independent stipend,' or 'freelance stipend,' is a sum allotted to the soldier himself to provide his own subsistence; and it is easier for a man provisionally separated from his unit to abuse his power in order to supplement a 'stipend' that is not very high" (*Évangile de Luc*, p. 19).

⁶ Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 7.38, on the derivatives of ὄψον, cites Thugenides: ἤτησεν εἰ—ς ὀψώνιον τριώβολον. J. Edmonds (*The Fragments of Attic Comedy* vol. 1, p. 197) translates "begged (me) for three pence for a bit of fish" and dates Thugenides in the middle of the fifth century BC. Text cited by C. C. Caragounis, "—Οψώνιον: A Reconsideration of Its Meaning," in *NovT*, 1974, pp. 35–57; likewise Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1506: "See, I have provisions for food"; Athenaeus 4.141 c: ἔτι δὲ εἰ—ς ὀψωνίαν περὶ δέκα . . . ὀβολούς; Hesychius, ὀψώνιον δαπάνη, κέρδος. The *Suda* similarly gives to the plural ὀψώνια the meaning κέρδη. For Menander, cf. D. B. Durham, *Vocabulary of Menander*, p. 83. Cf. J. Kalitsunakis, "ὄψον und ὀψάριον," in *Festschrift Kretschmer*, Vienna, 1926, pp. 105ff.

⁷ *P.Fuad I Univ.*, p. 98; *UPZ* 91, 13; *BGU* 665, col. II, 14; *PSI* 368, 16: —Αμορται—ς μηνός ὡτ ἕως Μεχεῖρ τριακάς μῆνας ἕξ ὀψωνίου ἔλαβον παρὰ Ἡροδότου κεράμιον οἴνου (250 BC); *P.Oxy.* 898, 31: χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ ὀψώνιον μοι ε—χορήγησεν ἔτι πρὸ μηνω—ν τριω—ν (AD 123); 531, 21, Cornelius to his father: “Until Anoubas arrives you must pay for the provisions, until I send you something” (second century); 1159, 3, a husband to his wife: “I should not be responsible for the provisions, because I wrote him that I would come the thirtieth”; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 410, 19; 627, 15; 700, 25.

⁸ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1157, 26–28 (after 116 BC); republished and commented on by L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 5, pp. 16–28.

⁹ *P.Tebt.* 701, 151; cf. *P.Mil.* 25, col. III, 9; ε—κ τούτου γὰρ ε—λέγχεται ὀψωνίου μὲν ὑπηρετω—ν (second century AD). On the function of the ὑπηρεταί in the distribution of wages, cf. H. Kupiszewski, J. Modrzejewski, “ΥΠΗΡΕΤΑΙ,” in *JJP*, vol. 11–12, 1958, pp. 155ff. Most of the references are given by M. Launey, *Armées hellénistiques*, vol. 2, pp. 726ff.

¹⁰ Theodoret: τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν. J. Héring (*La Seconde Epître de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1958), translates correctly: “en acceptant d’elles de quoi vivre, pour vous servir” (“accepting from them the wherewithal to live, in order to serve you”). The ὀψώνιον is not only the payment of a functionary (*P.Stras.* 622, 6); it can also be a recompense, a pension, as it were, left to a victorious athlete in a will (*P.Ryl.* 153, 25).

¹¹ Cf. *P.Enteux.* 48, where the Thracian horseman Aristocrates hires a certain Pistos, a Persian by descent, to follow him in the army and serve him. In Herodotus 8.17, “Clinias, son of Alcibiades, went to war at his own expense” (ὅς δαπάνην οἰ—κλήην παρεχόμενος ε—στρατεύετο).

παιδαγωγός, παιδευτής

paidagogos, servant working as a child’s guardian and tutor; *paideutes*, teacher, instructor

paidagogos, S 3807; *TDNT* 5.596–625; *EDNT* 3.2; *NIDNTT* 1.370, 3.775, 778–779; MM 473; L&N 36.5; BAGD 603 | ***paideutes***, S 3810; *TDNT* 5.596–625; *EDNT* 2.3; *NIDNTT* 3.775–778; MM 474; L&N 33.244, 38.5; BAGD 603

These two terms are not synonymous. The first, unknown in the OT, is used twice by St. Paul and in a pejorative sense: “You may have ten thousand *paidagogoi* in Christ, but at least you do not have many fathers,

for in Christ Jesus, through the gospel, I am the one who fathered you.”¹ “The law was our *paidagogos* until Christ” (Gal 3:24). In both cases, the *paidagogos* is in an inferior position, and in the second case a temporary position; for the law, imposing discipline and punishments on the Israelites, played the role of an overseer or guardian until Christ ushered in the age of liberation.²

Etymologically, the *paidagogos* is one who shows the way to a child, thus one who teaches a child how to behave.³ Until the age of six or seven, the Greek child was cared for almost exclusively by its mother (cf. Plato, *Prt.* 325 *cff.*). *At that age, it was not allowed to go out alone but was entrusted to a paidagogos* who went with it on its walks and took it to school,⁴ keeping it away from possible accidents or dangers,⁵ carrying its bags, watching over its outward bearing and behavior, and seeing that it completed its daily program of lessons, games, and various duties (Plutarch, *An virt. doc.* 2; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.7.54–55). Usually *paidagogoi* were slaves, foreigners or invalids incapable of performing other work.⁶ Brutal and often drunk (Clement, *Paed.*), they were not sparing with blows, and when the children—in whom they inspired fear—became adolescents, they saw their oversight as a form of tyranny.⁷ Such is the classic portrait of the *paidagogos*.

But in the Hellenistic period, the “accompanying” role of the *paidagogos* expanded and became nobler; his protection was not exclusively negative. He formed the child’s character and morality⁸ and even became its private tutor, if not its teacher. The Persian kings chose for their children “the wisest, the most just, the most moderate, the most courageous” (Ps.-Plato, *Alc.* 121 e); some received the title of citizen,⁹ and the Egyptian papyri attest that they not only received honoraria¹⁰ but became objects of respect. Funerary monuments even attest to a certain veneration.¹¹ In the second-third century, a mother, after writing to her son, “see to it that you devote yourself to your *paidagogos* as it is fitting to do to a teacher,” (*melesato soi te kai to paidagogo sou kathekonti kathegete se paraballein*) concludes: “Greet your highly esteemed *paidagogos* Eros” (*aspasai ton timiotaton paidogogon sou Eroti*, *P.Oxy.* 930, 18ff.). It is most likely with this nuance of esteem that Paul refers to the tutor-teachers of the Corinthians (1Cor 4:15), who nevertheless could not be on the same level as the father who conceived his child and retains his full rights as its educator.

Thus the *paidagogos* comes close to being a teacher-instructor (*paideutes*), in the first instance because in the Bible the *paidagogos* is seen as an educator who corrects and punishes,¹² and also because the *paideutes* is an example and a teacher of life and wisdom more than of knowledge.¹³ Finally, like the *paidagogos* who contributes to the education of the children, the *paideutes* trains disciples: “you who bear the name of Jew . . . being taught by the law . . . a guide of the blind, a light to those

who are in darkness, an educator of the ignorant (*paideuten aphronon*), the teacher of infants (*didaskalon nepion*).¹⁴ But it is still the case that the *paideutes* proper is a teacher (Sir 37:19), an instructor. In 169 BC, Attalus II of Pergam sent the necessary funds “so that his foundation should remain in perpetuity and the regular compensation of the instructors should be guaranteed.”¹⁵

¹ 1Cor 4:15; cf. P. Gutierrez, *Paternité spirituelle*, pp. 119ff. M. Saillard, “C’est moi qui, par l’Evangile, vous ai enfantés dans le Christ Jésus (I Cor IV, 15),” in *RSR*, 1968, pp. 5–42.

² The law played the role of a jailer. The emphasis is on the absence of freedom (cf. K. Stendahl, “La Loi, surveillant qui conduit au Christ,” in *SEA*, vol. 18–19, 1955; cf. *RB*, 1956, p. 282); it is in this sense that Cain replied to God that he was not his brother’s overseer or guardian (οὐκ εἶναι παιδαγωγὸς καὶ φύλαξ αὐτοῦ, Josephus, *Ant.* 1.56). Cf. παιδαγωγέω τὰς ἐπιθυμίας—control, discipline one’s desires (Musonius frag. 7, line 27; frag. 12, line 40; ed. C. E. Lutz, pp. 56, 86).

³ Cf. E. Schupe, “Paidagogos,” in *PW*, vol. 18, 2375–2385; H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l’éducation*, pp. 202, 207 = *ET*, pp. 201, 207; H. M. Gale, *The Use of Analogy in the Letters of Paul*, Philadelphia, 1964, pp. 46ff.

⁴ Demosthenes, *C. Euerg.* 47.56. Cf. Plato: “Are you allowed to govern yourself (ἄρχειν σεαυτοῦ) or is this right refused? —How could it be granted? —Then you have someone who governs you? —Yes, the *paidagogos* whom you see here. —A slave, perhaps? —Of course, our slave. —Strange thing for a free person to obey a slave! And what sort of government does he carry out over you? —He takes me to the house of the schoolmaster” (ἄγων δῆπου εἰς διδασκάλου, *Lysis* 208 c; cf. *Resp.* 3.406 *aff.*). *This tutelage ceases when the youth reaches the age of eighteen, cf. Philo, To Gaius* 53: “Here is the teacher (διδάσκαλος) of the one who has no more need of learning, the *paidagogos* of the one who is no longer a child, the admonisher (ὁ νοθετητής) of one who is more sensible than himself”; Epictetus, frag. 97: παι—δας μὲν ὄντας ἡμα—ς οἰ—γονει—ς παιδαγωγῶ— παρέδοσαν, ἐπιβλέποντι πανταχοῦ πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλάπτεσθαι ἄνδρας δὲ γενομένους ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσι τῇ ἐνφύτῳ συνειδήσει φυλάττειν.

⁵ Cf. Plutarch, *Lyc.* 17.1: “Old men watch over young men. . . . Far from having only superficial control, they all see themselves as it were as fathers, *paidagogoi*, and leaders of all the young”; *De aud. poet.* 14; *Quaest. conv.* 3, prol.: “Stripping us of all affected attitudes, shielding us

from the surveillance of the rules, like children who get away from their *paidagogos*”; Dio Chrysostom 72.10.

⁶ Josephus, *Life* 429; Ps.-Plutarch, *De lib. ed.* 7; Plutarch, *Mor.* 4 *a–b*; Plutarch, *Fab.* 5.5; Ps.-Plato, *Alc.* 122 *b*: “Pericles gave you as a *paidagogos* one of his slaves who was so old as to be utterly useless.”

⁷ Plautus, *Bacch.* 422ff. Ps.-Plato, *Ax.* 366 *e*: the *paidagogos* is the first of the evils that the child had to undergo at the age of seven; Suetonius, *Nero* 37: “Paetus Thrasea kept the frowning face of a *paidagogos*.” Cf. *SB* 9050, col. IV, 10: ἔγραψα τῷ στρατηγῷ ... ἵνα μὴ παιδαγωγὸν ἔχω ἄνθρωπον φιλαίτιον (first-second century).

⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* 18.212. Hence the title of *Paidagogos* given to Christ by Clement of Alexandria, who explains: “The *paidagogos* is an educator . . . his goal is to improve the soul . . . he leads a person into the virtuous life” (*Paed.* 1.1); cf. O. Navarre, “Paedagogus,” in *DAGR*, vol. 4, 1, pp. 273ff.

⁹ Herodotus 8.75; another example of a citizen-*paidagogos*, at Athens in the third-second century BC, in J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1959, n. 140, who refer to *REA* 1940, p. 303.

¹⁰ *Stud.Pal.* XX, 85 *r* 11 (p. 76); *P.Tebt.* 112 (p. 473); *PSI* 809, 7: Μακαρίῳ παιδαγωγῷ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ἰματίου; *SB* 9581, 10.

¹¹ Epitaphs for *paidagogoi* are numerous; since P. Roussel announced the discovery of one at Constantinople (“Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1934, p. 241), many others have been discovered at Athens, Bithynia, etc. Cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1941, p. 260, n. 139; 1971, p. 431, n. 281. A. Oepke cites *CIL* VI, 1, 2210: “Paidagogo suo καὶ καθηγητῇ item tutori a pupillatu, ob redditam sibi ab eo fidelissime tutelam” (*Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater*, Leipzig, 1937, p. 67).

¹² Hos 5:2—“I am the one who punishes you” (εγὼ δὲ παιδευτῆς ὑμῶν, Vulgate *eruditor*); Heb 12:9—“We have our fathers according to the flesh as correctors (εἵχομεν παιδευτὰς) and we incline toward them”; *Pss. Sol.* 8.29—σὺ παιδευτῆς ἡμῶν εἶ.

¹³ 4Macc 5:34—“O law that instructs us, I shall never betray you”; 9:6—Eleazar, “this old man, our master”; Philo, *Good Man Free* 143: “The poets are life-teachers in everything”; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.59: παιδευτῆς σοφίας.

¹⁴ Rom 2:20. M. J. Lagrange observes that these two latter expressions are almost synonymous; cf. Plutarch, *Cam.* 10.3.

¹⁵ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 672, 10: οἱ—μισθοὶ τοῖς παιδευταῖς εὐτακτέωνται; cf. line 20, 35, 42: “let the instructors be paid each year.” In the papyri, παιδευτής appears only once, in the sixth century (*SB* 5941, 2). In the inscriptions, the παιδευτής is associated rather often with the physician (*I.Bulg.* 30, 5; J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1938, p. 454, n. 332; 1960, p. 176, n. 261) or the sophist (1955, p. 259, n. 194); cf. 1949, p. 141, n. 167; 1959, p. 183, n. 138 a.

πανήγυρις

panegyris, festal assembly, sacred festival

panegyris, S 3831; *TDNT* 5.722; *EDNT* 3.9; MM 476; L&N 51.4; BAGD 607

“You have drawn near to Mount Zion and the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and myriads of angels in festal assembly” (*panegyrei*, Heb 12:22). A NT hapax, *panegyris* (a compound formed from *pan* and *ageiro*) retains the richness of its usual meaning in secular Greek,¹ which must therefore be outlined.

(a) The emphasis is first of all on the number and universality of the participants at a meeting (*megale xynodos*, Thucydides 3.104.4). Usually it is an assembly of all the people of a city or a country, even of people of the same race, hence a public meeting (*P.Oxy.* 41; cf. Theophrastus, *Char.* 6.7), a general or plenary assembly whose members are quite diverse.² In the *panegyris* of Heb 12:22, we may thus see a reference to the density of the heavenly population, a reiteration of *myriades angelon*: the angels make up a varied multitude that is beyond counting, as is also the case in the demography of the heavenly court in Revelation.

(b) The fundamental meaning of *panegyris* is “festival”: a major gathering of people to celebrate a formal occasion. This is its meaning in its four occurrences in the OT, where *panegyris* is always associated with *heorte* (“feast”; Hos 2:11; 9:5; Amos 5:21; Ezek 46:11). In fact, this meaning is so predominant that *panegyris* is normally synonymous with joy: “The usual sorrow is doubled especially on the occasion of feasts for those who cannot celebrate them, for they miss the delight that a large gathering brings.”³ “Full of gratitude for your gifts, those to whom you have dispensed wealth and great favors for their perpetual possession reserve a tithe for you, celebrating each year on the occasion of your festival.”⁴ Even though these celebrations, which were accompanied by banquets where the wine flowed freely, sometimes degenerated into occasions for license, in

themselves they provided rest for the body and joy for the soul;⁵ so much so that the word *panegyris* was used even for small get-togethers: “You are invited to celebrate the birthday of my son Gennadius (*ten panegyria tes genethliou*) by dining with us on the sixteenth at seven o’clock.”⁶ Surely this connotation is at the forefront in Heb 12:22—the society of the angels is a joyful assembly, the heavenly Jerusalem a place of beatitude. The message for Christians who are on their way there is that they will find happiness and exultant joy.⁷

(c) Given the abundant, quasi-technical usage of *panegyris* for the Olympic, Isthmian, Pythian, Nemean, etc., games,⁸ we must include a sports meaning in Heb 12:22. These competitions not only attract the largest crowds, they also celebrate a victory (cf. Strabo 5.2.7), and here a reward.⁹ In effect, Hebrews defines the Christian life as an athletic trial, describes the conditions for training and winning, points to the prizes offered and the crowd of spectators who admire and encourage the athletes of faith (12:1-2). So it is not surprising that the epistle uses a compatible metaphor to evoke the glory and joy that are in store for the victors, namely, the metaphor of the jubilant *polis*, of a *panegyris* at which the whole assembly of the elect celebrates and sings the praises of the garlanded competitors.

(d) All of the Greeks’ great national festivals, and especially the Olympic Games, had a religious character.¹⁰ The crowd came together with the priests around a common sanctuary where sacrifice was offered.¹¹ *Panegyris* or “sacred festival” is constantly associated with *thysia*.¹² This meaning of liturgical observance is clearly present in Heb 12:22, where the heavenly joy is tinted by religious seriousness and reverence.¹³ On the one hand, the epistle pictures heaven as a place of worship, where the great high priest and *leitourgos* officiates (8:2); on the other hand the myriads of angels are *leitourgika pneumata* (1:14), born agents of divine worship, occupying themselves with praising God and proclaiming God as sovereign and universal judge: “and let all the angels of God worship him” (*kai proskynesatosan auto pantes angeloι theou*, 1:6).

(e) There is one last meaning of the pagan *panegyris* that may have been assumed by the writer of Hebrews. Before it came to refer to the praise of a personage,¹⁴ *panegyris* (Latin *laudatio*) was used for ceremonial orations written or declaimed by sophists, rhetors, or orators at a great festival before a large audience.¹⁵ This rhetorical meaning shows up in the context of Heb 12:22, where the old and new revelation are contrasted. The ones who heard at Sinai asked that they be spoken to no more, so terrified were they at the manifestations of divine power. The beneficiaries of the new covenant can draw near to Zion and come to the *panegyris* of the angels, for they are united with the mediator Jesus, whose blood *speaks* better things than that of Abel (verse 24). So they are invited—and this is the point of the image of the heavenly Jerusalem—not to refuse to hear the one who

speaks from highest heaven (verse 25). The throne of God is not only an object of worship, an altar to be approached in a liturgical procession (4:16), but is also the source of oracles promulgated on earth, exactly as in Revelation. The *panegyris* of Hebrews, religious and joyful as it is, is also eloquent. It is no longer the praise of Athens, as uttered by Lysias or Isocrates, but the praise of the glory of God, the expression of his will, the *panegyris* of the city of the living God, that abides as a perpetual feast.¹⁶

¹ Cf. L. Ziehen, "Panegyris," in *PW*, vol. 13, 3, pp. 581ff. E. Saglio, on this word, in *DAGR*, vol. 4, 1, p. 313; C. Spicq, "La Panégyrie de Hébr. XII, 22," in *ST*, 1952, pp. 30–38.

² "Flaviane Philokrateia has given ten thousand Attic drachmas for anointings with oil, so that with the income from this sum, during the three days of the *panegyris*, all may have the right to anointings with oil—citizens, foreigners, and slaves" (*I. Bulg.* 2265, 10–17). Josephus, *Ant.* 2.45: "It was the custom for these women to join in the general assembly" (εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν). *Panegyris* refers to the press of the crowd at the theater (Plato, *Resp.* 10.604 e; *P. Oxy.* 2127, 4; *P. Princ.* 61, 15), political meetings (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 845; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1048, 17), athletic meets (*P. Oxy.* 42, 3; 2476, 12; *SB* 1416, 2 and 16; 5225, 9; 5424, 16), panhellenic fairs which were attended by people from all over (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 298, 19); "Acara, Regium Lepidum, Macri Campi, where each year there is a *panegyris*" (Strabo 5.1.11; cf. 10.5.4: ἢ τε πανήγυρις ε—μπορικόν τι προ—γμα; Pausanias 10.32.9; *P. Fay.* 93, 11; on the annual livestock fairs, cf. Varro, *Rust.* 2, pref. 6). It is because of this diversity of participants that Pythagoras compared life to a *panegyris* (Diogenes Laertius 8.8. Cicero, *Tusc.* 5.3.9; Epictetus 3.5.10); cf. Wis 15:12—"Life is only a fair (πανηγυρισμός) organized for profit." A. Causse, "La Vision de la nouvelle Jérusalem (Esaïe LX) et la signification sociologique des assemblées de fête et des pèlerinages dans l'Orient sémitique," in *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, Paris, 1939, pp. 739–750.

³ Philo, *Flacc.* 118. At *panegyreis* one sees "people dressed in white, heads garlanded, beaming, radiating good humor by the gaiety of their countenances . . . attractions, diversions . . . pleasures of all sorts and for all the senses" (*To Gaius* 12; cf. *Cherub.* 92); *Husbandry* 91; Aristophanes, *Pax* 342: "Do not yet allow yourself to celebrate; you are not yet sure of anything. But when we hold her, then rejoice, cry out, laugh; for this will be the time for sailing, living, loving, sleeping, going to *panegyreis*, feasting, playing the Cottabus, living like Sybarites, singing tra la la"; *P. Oxy.* 2084, 6; *P. Cair. Zen.* 59341 a 2 and 11; *SB* 6760, 2ff. The linking of feast and *panegyris* is constant (*Spec. Laws* 2.176; 3.183; *Moses* 2.159; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 6.1.10; Athenaeus 6.259 b; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 867, 52; *Or.* 56, 33 and

69; 90, 49). Alexander celebrates a feast for nine days in honor of Zeus and the Muses (Diodorus Siculus 17.16.4).

⁴ Hymn to Isis (*SEG* VIII, 549, 24; with the comments of E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 645; V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, pp. 46ff.). Cf. the *panegyris* of Pharos, where God is thanked for benefits that are always new (Philo, *Moses* 2.41), or the solemn *panegyris* in honor of Ptolemy III Euergetes I and Queen Berenice: “Each year there will be a *panegyris* at state expense, in all sanctuaries in the whole land ... the day on which the star of Isis rises, which is recognized in the sacred texts as the new year” (Decree of Canopus, in Dittenberger, *Or.* 56, 34–35). Παναηγυρίζω is synonymous with ε—ορτάζω, cf. Isa 66:10—“Rejoice, O Jerusalem, and exult in her (πανηγυρίσατε), all you who love her”; Philo, *Moses* 2.211: “Those who were enrolled on the list of citizens . . . had to celebrate a *panegyris*, spend time celebrating, abstain from work and activities directed toward profit-making . . . ; they had to give themselves some time off and free themselves of all bothersome and tiring cares”; Strabo 11.8.4; 14.1.44; *BGU* 863, 3; *PSI* 374, 15; *P.Oxy.* 705, 35; 2561, 3.

⁵ Cf. the nuance of happiness expressed by “the joy of the eyes” (ὀφθαλμω—ν πανήγυρις, Aelian, *VH* 3.1). Since participation in sporting festivals entailed a truce between warring parties, the idea of peace is associated with these meetings, cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.*, 483, 7; *P.Oxy.* 1380, 133; *SB* 4224 (with the commentary of C. G. Brandis, in *Hermes*, 1897, pp. 509–522).

⁶ *P.Oxy.* 1214, 3; likewise *PSI* 1242, 1 (first century BC); the wedding ceremony is referred to as a *panegyris* by Heliodorus (*Aeth.* 4.15.3); cf. the new year’s festival, *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 18, 31 (with commentary, p. 107).

⁷ We may refer to Heb 3:11-4:11 (κατάπαυσις, σαββατισμός), emphasizing the nuances of rest and inviolable peace, to which *panegyris* adds the idea of brotherly harmony. As Philo says concerning the sacred Sabbath: “All the festivals of the year are in reality daughters of the sacred Sabbath, which is like a mother. . . . In their ceremonies and in the joy that they stir up, one tastes pleasures unmixed with anxiety and bitterness, filling both body and soul, the former with the pleasures of life, the latter with the teachings of philosophy” (*Spec. Laws* 2.214).

⁸ Pindar, *Isthm.* 4.28: “They did not fail to send their curved chariot to the great *panegyreis*, and they were glad to pay what it cost to send their horses to strive with all the peoples of Hellas”; Plato, *Hp. Mi.* 363 c: “It is my custom to go to Elis where I live, to Olympia, to the *panegyris* of the Greeks every time the games take place”; Demosthenes, *Corona* 91: “Let

the Byzantines and Perinthians send delegations to the Greek *panegyreis*, the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympic, and Pythian games”; Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.3.1406a22; Strabo 8.3.30; Pausanias 5.4.5; *SEG* XVI, 55, 8; inscription from Pergamum: πανηγυρικὸν γυμνάσιον (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1962, p. 135, n. 55; cf. 1956, p. 152, n. 213: κατὰ τὴν Ἡερακλήων ἀγώνων πανήγυριν; 1959, pp. 169–170, n. 66; L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, Geneva-Paris, 1966, pp. 18–46); *BGU* 1704, 9 (cf. Viereck, in *Klio*, vol. 8, pp. 49ff.); cf. the πανήγυρις —Αδριανή at Gaza (*RB*, 1931, p. 29) and the games of Daphne described by E. A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library, Glory of the Hellenic World*, London, 1952, pp. 42ff.

⁹ Cf. Heb 10:35; 11:6, 26. Isocrates, *Paneg.* 1: “I am often amazed that the founders of *panegyreis* and the organizers of gymnastic competitions should think physical advantage to be worthy of such great rewards”; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.108: “Work to be crowned . . . with a noble and glorious crown that no *panegyris* among humankind offers”; *Husbandry* 91, 117; Dio Cassius 53.1, τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐ—πὶ τῇ νίκῃ; Manetho 4.74; Critodemus, in *CCAG*, VIII, 1, pp. 259, 12; 260, 24; *P.Oxy.* 1416, 16.

¹⁰ Josephus, *War* 5.230: The high priests ascended the altar “only on the Sabbath, the new moon, the celebration of a national festival, or a public observance” (ἢ πανήγυρις πάνδημος); *SB* 8334, 25. Cf. E. N. Gardiner, *Olympia: Its History and Remains*, Oxford, 1925; idem, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1930, A. J. Festugière, “La Grèce: La Religion,” in *Histoire générale des religions*, Paris, 1944, vol. 1, pp. 66ff. M. P. Nilsson, “Festivals,” in *OCD*, p. 435; Herodotus 2.59ff.; Strabo 5.2.9; 5.3.5; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 95; 298; 589; 635; 714; 736; 867; *Or.* 305 (a number of these inscriptions have been republished in *LSCGSup*, see the index). *P.Hib.* 27, 76 and 163; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59820, 3.

¹¹ Isocrates, *Paneg.* 43: “It is right to praise those who established the *panegyreis*, because, thanks to the practice they left behind, after libations and the abolishing of existing hatreds, we come together, and then, pooling our prayers and sacrifices, we recall how we are related to each other.” The liturgical ceremony includes a procession, songs, sacred rites (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 298; Petosiris, in *CCAG* VII, 133, 11). M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, vol. 1, p. 778; *ET History of Greek Religion*.

¹² Amos 5:21—θυσίας ἐ—ν ται—ς πανηγύρεσιν; Herodotus 2.62; Strabo 10.5.2; 14.1.20; Pausanias 10.32.14–16; Philo, *Moses* 2.159: “Many sacrifices were of necessity celebrated each day, and especially in the *panegyreis* and festivals, either of private individuals or publicly on behalf

of all”; *Decalogue* 78; *Spec. Laws* 3.183; Nicolaus of Damascus, frag. 62 (ed. C. Müller, vol. 3, p. 396); *SEG* 4.664.19: τὰς θυσίας εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν; *I.Lind.* 419, 6 and 55; *LSCG*, n. 156 B 31; 159, 5–6.

¹³ Cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.160, uniting honor and admiration in the *panegyris*, θαυμάσαι τε καὶ τιμῆσαι πανηγύρεως ε—κεχειρία. In the cult of Athena: τῆς περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν εὐκοσμίας (*LSAM*, n. 81, 17). Cf. in the ecclesiastical language of the sixth-seventh century, Menos writing to Theodorus to guard his health in order to be able to celebrate the *panegyris* (feast) of Holy Epiphany for many long years (*P.Oxy.* 1857, 5).

¹⁴ —Εγκώμιον, cf. L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, pp. 21ff. F. Durrbach, *Choix*, n. 84, 112. On the praise of a city, cf. L. Robert, “Sur des lettres d’un métropolitain de Phrygie,” in *Journal des savants*, 1962, pp. 151ff.

¹⁵ Cf. the *Olympic Discourse* of Gorgias, the *Olympic* of Lysias, the *Panegyric* of Isocrates; Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.1408b15; Philo, *Good Man Free* 96; Plutarch, *Tim.* 37.4; Heraclides Ponticus in Iamblichus, *VP* 58–59; *P.Oxy.* 2084.

¹⁶ “While the other *panegyreis* meet at long intervals and break up quickly, our city is for those who sustain a perpetual *panegyris*” (Isocrates, *Paneg.* 46; cf. Thucydides 2.38.1; Ps.-Xenophon, *Ath.* 3.8).

παραγγελία, παραγγέλλω

parangelia, command, order, *parangelo*, to pass the word along, order, prescribe
see also ε—ντολή

parangelia, S 3852; *TDNT* 5.761–765; *EDNT* 3.16–17; *NIDNTT* 1.340–341; MM 480–481; L&N 33.328; BAGD 613 | ***parangelo***, S 3853; *TDNT* 5.761–765; *EDNT* 3.16–17; *NIDNTT* 1.340–342; MM 481; L&N 33.327; BAGD 613

According to its etymology, the first meaning of *parangelo* is “announce from one to another,” hence, pass the word within the group, give a password, pass along a notice, communicate a message, make known.¹ Thus Claudius Lysias “made known” to Paul’s accusers that they should speak against him (Acts 23:30; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.311), and Judas “had his orders passed to those who were with him.”² In the papyri, in AD 75/76, a borrower is *notified* that he must make good his debt (*P.Yale* 64, 18 and 22); and in the third century, a Roman citizen *informs* Epimachos of the terms of his will.³

But even more frequently this verb and the corresponding noun⁴ mean “order, prescribe.” The subject is God⁵ or his Word (*P.Lond.* 1915, 4), Moses or Virtue with their commands (Philo, *Heir* 13; *Prelim. Stud.* 63), the prefect,⁶ the *strategos* (Onasander, *Strategikos* 25; *P.Oslo* 84, 15; *P.Oxy.* 1411, 16), the *topoteretes* (*P.Apoll.* 12, 5), an imperial officer (*P.Oxy.* 2268, 5), the *riparius* (*P.Oxy.* 2235, 23), a local VIP (*P.Oxy.* 1831, 6, *meizon*), the *prostates* or president of a club (*P.Mich.* 243, 4; under Tiberius), the gymnastic teacher vis-à-vis athletes (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.98), above all military commanders: “Holophernes gave the order to his whole army . . . to strike camp . . . and join combat” (Jdt 7:1); Antiochus ordered his troops to parade armed (2Macc 5:25; cf. 13:10; 1Macc 5:58).

Consequently, *parangelia* would normally be an injunction, command, order (Philodemus of Gadara, *Rh.* I, pp. 78ff.; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 15, 144; *P.Lond.* 1231, 16; vol. 3, p. 109), even a summons (*P.Ness.* III, 29, 3). In this sense the high priest and the Sanhedrin formally forbid the apostles to preach (Acts 4:18; 5:28) and the praetors at Philippi order the jailer to guard their prisoners carefully.⁷ But context gives each occurrence of the word a particular nuance that cannot always be specified precisely. When Paniskos writes to his wife Ploutogenia *parengeila soi exerchomenos hoti me apelthes eis ten oikian sou* (*P.Mich.* 217, 3; third century, republished SB 7249), it is possible to translate either “I asked you” or “I ordered you, when I am gone, not to go back to your house.” *Parangelia* can take on the mild sense of exhortation or counsel,⁸ and it is also known to correspond to the *litis denuntiatio*, the summons to appear in court.⁹

In light of these usages, we can see that Jesus gives instructions to the Twelve (Matt 10:5; Mark 6:8) and strongly advises the cleansed leper not to tell anyone about the miracle.¹⁰ But he sharply forbids the apostles to reveal his messianic identity (Luke 9:21—*epitimesas autois parengeilen*), and he commands the unclean spirit (8:29), as he orders the Twelve not to leave Jerusalem (Acts 1:4) and to preach to the people (10:42).

St. Paul similarly orders the prophetic spirit of the servant woman (Acts 16:18), but it seems that his *parangeliai* are ethical prescriptions, rules for Christian living (1Thess 4:2; 2Thess 3:4, 6; 1Cor 11:17), with regard to marriage, for example (1Cor 7:10), or the obligation to work (1Thess 4:11; 2Thess 3:10). The verb is imperative,¹¹ and the commands are repeated;¹² but this is still as much teaching as commanding, giving both doctrine that must be received and rules that must be followed.¹³

In the Pastorals (and the word *pastoral* here means a *mandamus*, like a bishop’s letter), St. Paul passes on his instructions to his favorite disciple, who must in turn teach and command:¹⁴ “I asked you to remain faithfully as Ephesus *hina parangeiles* ” (1Tim 1:3; cf. 6:17). Timothy must act with authority; for him this is a serious obligation: *teresai se ten entolen* (1Tim 6:13-14). But if the verb *parangello* retains all the force of a military command addressed to a soldier (1:18; 2Tim 2:3), the substantive

parangelia means rather “mandate, obligation, duty”;¹⁵ “This is the mandate that I entrust to you, my child Timothy” (1Tim 1:18); “The goal of this command is love” (1:5), which is the essence of the gospel and of the whole Christian life.

¹ Cf. Diodorus Siculus 17.72.4: they urged each other to form a triumphal procession.

² 2Macc 12.5; cf. 2Chr 36:22—“Cyrus had a proclamation communicated (παρήγγειλε κηρύξαι) throughout his kingdom” (hiphil of the Hebrew *‘abar*); 2Esdr 1:1. The LXX uses this verb to translate the Hebrew *shama’*, “call together” (1Sam 15:4; 23:8; 1Kgs 15:22; Jer 50:29; 51:27), the hiphil of *sapaq* (1Sam 10:17), of *za’aq* (Judg 4:10), the niphil of *ya’as*, “consult, take counsel” (1Kgs 12:6).

³ *P.Oxy.* 2474, 40; cf. *P.Sorb.* 33, 26: “and indeed Apollonius informed me” (καὶ γὰρ ε—μοὶ παρήγγειλλεν —Απολλώνιος). In *P.Mich.* 243, 4, the notices or meetings of a club are mentioned; cf. 624, 29; *P.Fouad* 30, 23: “We ask that a copy of this *hypomnemna* be sent to them by the hand of the bailiff, so that having written *notification* (ἵνα ἔχοντες ἔνγραπτον παραγγελίαν) . . . they may know that they are responsible” (second century); the *publication* of the edict of the prefect Subatianus Aquila was carried out in each town (*P.Yale* 61, 12), like the notification by the *strategos* of the inhabitants of different parts of the city (*P.Oxy.* 1187, 30); the Blemmyes notified the τοποτηρητής (*P.Apoll.* 15, 5); *P.Ryl.* 81, 9; *SB* 7331, 7.

⁴ Not in the LXX, cf. παράγγελμα (Hebrew *mishma’at*), 1Sam 22:14.

⁵ Philo, *Post. Cain* 29; cf. the divine precepts in Cornutus (*Theol. Graec.* 9), the commands revealed by Zeus (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 985, 2; Philadelphia, first century). Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 8.7: “The command given by the laws and by the oracles to offer sacrifices in accord with ancestral customs”; Diodorus Siculus 17.4.9; 17.65.4; 17.107.1.

⁶ *P.Princ.* 20, 9 and 14; *P.Cair.Isid.* 66, 21. The prefect Valerius Eudaemon in his edict of AD 138: “I bid them refrain from such treachery” (*P.Oxy.* 237, col. VIII, 12). The edict of the prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander says: “I enjoin (παραγγέλλω) them not to do . . . anything unless the prefect has passed on the matter. In addition, I order . . . (κελεύω δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.)” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 52; with the commentary of G. Chalon, *T. Julius Alexander*. Κελεύω is often associated with παραγγέλλω in the papyri, cf. *P.Oxy.* 1204, 10; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 283, 7) and in literary Greek (Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.1.4). A. Pelletier, *Josèphe adaptateur*, pp. 277–288.

⁷ Acts 16:23-24. The jailer receives the order (παραγγελίαν τοιαύτην λαβών). The authority gives the order: παρ. διδόναι (1Thess 4:2; SB 7835, 12) or παρ. ποιει—ν (Josephus, *Ant.* 16.241; BGU 1774, 11).

⁸ Commanding goes hand in hand with exhorting (1Thess 4:11; 2Thess 3:12; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1840, 4). Plutarch's πολιτικά παραγγέλματα (*Praecepta gerendae rei publicae*) are “political advice” (cf. T. Renoirte, *Les “Conseils politiques” de Plutarque*, Louvain, 1951); cf. the collection of ethical principles: Δελφικά παραγγέλματα (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 985, 3).

⁹ SB 4416, 26: παραγγελείαν παραγέρονται ει—ς τὸ ι—ερώτατον βῆμα; *P.Tebt.* 14, 5; 303. 14; 434 (in 104); *P.Grenf.* I, 40, 6; *P.Oxy.* 484, 18; 2343, 7; *P.Oslo* 2, 19; *P.Mich.* 526, 21; *P.Dura* 20, 19; 21, 10; *P.Michael.* 30, 12; *P.Ness.* 19, 3; UPZ 71, 17; Philo, *Flacc.* 141; cf. *Chrest.Mitt.*, 1, pp. 36ff.; A. Boyé, *La Denuntiatio introductive d'instance sous le principat*, Bourdeaux, 1922; R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, p. 382.

¹⁰ Luke 5:14 (in Mark 1:44, λέγει); cf. 8:56; Acts 23:22; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.244: recommend hiding the statues; Diodorus Siculus 17.57.6.

¹¹ 2Thess 3:4—“You are doing and will continue to do the things that we command.” Cf. Acts 15:5, where the Jerusalemites want to compel the converts to observe the law of Moses.

¹² 1Thess 4:11; 2Thess 3:10 (παρηγγέλλομεν, imperfect for customary action); cf. SB 7404, 38: ε—γώ σοι καὶ πρότερον παρήνγειλα καὶ νῦν παραγγέλλω παραλαμβάνιν τὰ βιβλία.

¹³ Cf. 1Tim 4:11—παράγγελλε ταῦτα καὶ δίδασκε.

¹⁴ The supreme authority transmits orders through intermediaries, cf. Dan 3:4 (LXX): “The herald cried . . . ‘You are commanded thus’”; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.31: I charge you to see to it that each one practices his religion seriously; SB 6097, 4; cf. D. M. Stanley, “Authority in the Church,” in *CBQ*, 1967, pp. 555–573; H. Maehlum, *Die Vollmacht des Timotheus nach den Pastoralbriefen*, Basel, 1969.

¹⁵ The Παραγγελίαι of Hippocrates are not a treatise *De Praeceptis* but *De Officio*: acting as a physician; cf. Plutarch, *Crass.* 15.4: παρ. = candidacy for the consulate; Appian, *BCiv.* 1.21; cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 579.

παραδειγματίζω

paradeigmatizo, to make an example by punishment or public derision; to disgrace, dishonor

paradeigmatizo, S 3856; TDNT 2.32; EDNT 3.17; NIDNTT 2.291, 293; MM 481–482; L&N 25.200; BAGD 614

Unknown in the papyri and rare in literary Greek, this verb means to make an example of a malefactor by punishing him;¹ then make an example of by exposing to derision, to public scorn; and finally to disgrace, to dishonor.² A NT hapax,³ *paradeigmatizo* in its four OT occurrences always emphasizes the idea of publicness and has connotations of shame (Jer 13:22, Hebrew *hamam*) and exemplary punishment, as with the hanging of the leaders of Israel (Num 25:4; hiphil of *yaqa'*; cited by Philo, his only use of the word, *Dreams* 1.89) or Esther's prayer: "Make an example of the one who took the initiative against us."⁴ These usages correspond to our term "to pillory," meaning to expose a guilty party to public scorn.

So we translate Heb 6:6—"The apostates crucify the Son of God on their own account and ridicule him publicly." Their official repudiation of their sworn faith is an insult to Christ, like an insult hurled at him, a sort of repetition of Calvary in caricature, especially of the scenes described by Matt 26:67-68; 27:38-43. The apostate who professes to be one and proves the claim by his actions tramples the Son of God underfoot with the whole world looking on! But in the case in point, it is he who openly manifests his scorn.

¹ Polybius 2.60.7: "Aristomachus (tyrant of Argos) had to be led across the Peloponnesus to be made an example through his punishment" (μετὰ τιμωρίας παραδειγματιζόμενον); cf. Menander: "If I catch one of them coming near my window and do not make an example of him (παράδειγμα ποιήσω) for the whole region, you may take me for a man like the rest" (*Dysk.* 484; cf. παράδειγμα φέρω, 863).

² Plutarch, *De curios.* 10: Archilochus disgraced himself (ε—αυτὸν παραδειγματίζοντος).

³ In Matt 1:19 the correct reading is δειγματίσαι, "expose to public disparagement," rather than παραδ. (a, C).

⁴ Esth 4:17 *q*; cf. Ezek 28:17—"I exposed you before kings to make a spectacle of you" (Hebrew *ra'a^hwâh*); cf. *Pss. Sol.* 2.14—"Before the

face of the sun their criminal deeds have been revealed” (seems to have been inspired by Num 25:4).

παραδίδομι

paradidomi, to hand over, give back, become ripe, commend (oneself), transmit, deliver, betray

paradidomi, S 3860; TDNT 2.169–172; EDNT 3.18–20; MM 482–483; L&N 13.142, 21.7, 23.110, 23.200, 33.237, 37.12, 37.111, 57.77; BDF §§187(1), 323(1), 390(3), 402(2); BAGD 614–615

Among the very numerous forms of *didomi* with a prefix,¹ the compound *paradidomi* is by far the commonest in the NT; its semantics is interesting, as much because of its orthographic variations, especially in the papyri,² as because of its multiple meanings. But given the Koine’s taste for expressivity, this compound is often purely synonymous with *didomi*.³

I. — The first meaning is “hand over, give something to someone” (*tini ti*). Thus Jesus “bent his head and gave over [his] spirit” to his father.⁴ Human beings are handed over: a slave to his master⁵ or a child to its mother (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.217), a young woman to her husband (Tob 7:13; *Jos. Asen.* 4.10), but also objects: a scepter (Esth 4:17), a sword (2Macc 15:15), the helm of a ship to a pilot (Philo, *To Gaius* 149), grain (Josephus, *Life* 73; cf. 69), weapons (*War* 2.450). Raguel “handed over to Tobit Sarah his wife and half his property: slaves, cattle, and money” (Tob 10:10); Judith “handed over to the servant the head of Holophernes” (Jdt 13:9). God hands over Canaan to Israel (“I swore to give the land to your fathers”),⁶ a city,⁷ a stronghold,⁸ the royal palace (Josephus, *War* 1.143). The government is given into the hands of the great (*War* 1.169), the care of the affairs of the land (*Life* 226, *pragmaton epimeleian*), the administration of Egypt to Joseph (*Ant.* 2.89, *oikonomian*; cf. 6.32), the power (7.30, *archen*; 7.110, 351; 9.104; 11.321, 334; 14.104; *hegemonian*, 8.53), the kingdom (7.93, *basileian*; 7.256; 9.280; 10.48, 82; 16.92), the high priesthood to Aaron (4.18; 5.361), the responsibility of offering sacrifices is given to the priests (11.137). In the papyri, things left by the deceased are given over to the heir (*ha kai paredothe*, *P.Tebt.* 406, 9), bundles of reeds to a friend (*P.Oxy.* 742, 7; second century BC), oil to a factory (*P.Tebt.* 728, 3; second century BC), cats to a third party (*P.Tebt.* 764, 32; *ta Horou ktene*), a she-ass to its buyer (*P.Corn.* 13, 9), a letter personally delivered (*P.Ant.* 43, verso 1), ankle bracelets (*P.Apoll.* 8, 17), the responsibility for sacred vestments,⁹ etc.

II. — The thing given can be simply restitution, a “giving back.” Demetrius asks Jonathan to give hostages back to him.¹⁰ This meaning

occurs frequently in the papyri, notably in cases where *paradidomi* is correlated with *paralambano* (cf. 1Cor 11:2, 23; 15:3): “At the end of the lease, I will give back to you (*paradoso*) goats and sheep in equal numbers, adults of good quality, just as I received from you (*parelabon*)”;¹¹ “After the time I will give back the two *arourai* free of weeds as when I received it”;¹² “at the expiration of the lease, I will return the lot to you: two *arourai* just planted in legumes . . . three *arourai* cleared of stubble” (*P.Bour.* 17, 4).

III. — In the parable of the Growing Seed, the farmer finally takes the sickle and harvests when the fruit is ready (*hotan de paradoi ho karpos*, Mark 4:29; cf. Joel 4:13), literally, when it “renders,” that is to say, when it is ripe, when the time has come. We may compare Gen 27:20, where Jacob says, “God gave over (Hebrew *qarâh*) the game to me,” and Exod 21:13—God provides, brings (Hebrew *anâh*) the occasion, permits favorable circumstances.¹³

IV. — *Paradidomi* also means to give oneself over “to the one who judges justly,”¹⁴ and thence “commend.” Paul and Barnabas are commended to the grace of God (Acts 14:26; 15:40), that is, are placed under the Lord’s protection, entrusted to his power, as much for their personal safety as for the success of their mission. This meaning is homogeneous with that of the preceding uses of *paradidomi* —one delivers or abandons oneself into another’s hands.¹⁵

V. — When one parts with a possession (a material or moral good, an opinion, a word, a writing . . .) to give it to others, one “transmits” it. This meaning of *paradidomi*, particularly frequent in the NT, especially regarding doctrine that is thus made known, is constant in secular Greek: “The ancients transmitted this tradition to us” (Plato, *Phlb.* 16 c; Plato, *Ep.* 12.359d); “The various sciences are preserved and transmitted to posterity forever only by means of letters.”¹⁶ The epitaph of the perfumer Casios: “rewards and numerous crowns which he was the first to wear and which he passed on to his children” (*SB* 4299, 6); “Andromache passes my letter (*ta grammata*) on to you.”¹⁷ Likewise in the LXX: “It is possible for you to observe, not so much according to the ancient histories that have been transmitted to us, as in examining what happens under your feet” (*Esth* 8:12 g); “whatever you deal out (*ho ean paradidos*), let it be by number and weight” (*Sir* 42:7). *Wis* 14:15 has to do with idolatrous religious traditions: a father who had lost his son passed on mysteries and initiations to his subjects (*paredoke tois hypocheiriois mysteria kai teletas*).¹⁸

Philo uses *paradidomi* with meanings from “pass on” a calf from the stable to a servant (*Abraham* 108) and the “transmission” of old fables¹⁹ to the passing down of knowledge, of arts and letters,²⁰ of cultic ceremony (*To Gaius* 298: *threskeia*; cf. 237), and of the sacred books, “passed on for the use of those who are worthy of them” (*Moses* 2.11). Likewise Josephus, who speaks of passing on a password (*Ant.* 19.31, 188) and of

history passing on memories for those who want to learn,²¹ but especially the transmission of facts recorded in the sacred books (*Ant.* 2.347; 3.89); and of Moses as the one who transmitted the laws.²²

In the NT, it is the first instance the divine revelation that is passed on: “Everything has been passed on to me by my Father (*panta moi paradothe hypo tou patros mou*), and no one knows the Son but the Father. . . .”²³ What is involved is (1) revelation (*apokalypto*), (2) the transmission of knowledge (*epiginosko*) that is (3) total or universal, the sum total of revealed doctrine. According to Luke 1:2, the facts of the gospel have been passed on to us (*kathos paredosan hemin*) by “those who were from the beginning eyewitnesses and servants of the word.”²⁴ Believers are those who accept this testimony: “You were obedient from the heart to the rule of doctrine that was passed on to you” (*hypekousate de ek kardias eis hon paredothete typon didaches*).²⁵ “I praise you that in all things . . . you hold to the traditions as I passed them on to you” (*kathos paredoka hymin tas paradoseis katechete*, 1Cor 11:2); the traditions of the universal church, to which every believer must submit, have to do with doctrinal teaching, ethics, and discipline, and even usages and customs (the deportment of women in liturgical assemblies). Regarding traditions of worship and especially articles of faith—for example, the institution of the Eucharist—the apostle takes care not to claim paternity for himself (through personal revelation), and he emphasizes the origin: “I received (*parelabon*) from the Lord (*apo tou Kyriou*) the same thing that I passed on to you (*ho kai paredoka hymin*).”²⁶ Likewise the most primitive and most essential article of the *credo*, Christ the Redeemer: “I passed on to you in the first place what I myself received (*paredoka hymin en protois ho kai parelabon*), that Christ died for our sins . . . and was resurrected.”²⁷ Finally, the whole content of the faith, that is, the whole truth revealed by God, is transmitted to the faithful by an immutable tradition, like a deposit entrusted lest it vary.²⁸

Paradidomi in the NT is also a transmission of power. At the ascension, Jesus proclaims, “All power has been given to me (*edothē moi pasa exousia*) in heaven and on earth.”²⁹ Again, it is a passing down of property, entrusted with a view to its bearing fruit (Matt 25:14); also of civil and religious laws, institutions and rites which are supposed to be inviolable, and which were passed down by Moses (Acts 6:14, *ta ethe*); and finally the decrees or decisions of the Jerusalem Council, which Paul and Timothy passed along in the cities that they visited so that they would be observed (Acts 16:4, *ta dogmata*).

VI. — The predominant sense of *paradidomi* (Hebrew *natan*) in the OT is pejorative; God is almost always the subject, and very often the verb is reinforced with a prepositional phrase: God “is delivering into your hand” your adversaries, enemies, oppressors whom the Lord hands over unconditionally to his people.³⁰ It is an exceptional case when *paradidomi*

with this meaning has a favorable sense,³¹ because one is normally “delivered” into subjection, troubles, evils, suffering, and woe—as when Job is given over to the power of Satan (*paradidomi soi auton*, Job 2:6; *T. Job* 20.3) or Samson is given over into the hands of the Philistines (Judg 15:12; 16:23-24)—and especially to death;³² but the links between this “delivering” and God and justice show that often punishment is involved, which is why he so often “delivered” the chosen people. “The children of Israel did that which was evil in the eyes of Yahweh and Yahweh delivered them into the hands of Midian for seven years”;³³ “You have handed us over because of our sins” (Isa 64:6; Sir 4:19); “I hand you over for devastation” (Mic 6:16).

The NT inherits this theology: God gives up his people and lets them give themselves to the worship of stars;³⁴ he gives idolaters over to impurity and servitude to dishonorable passions,³⁵ and “he did not spare the angels who sinned, but handed them over to the dark dungeons of Tartarus, where he holds them in reserve for judgment.”³⁶ In the same sense of the word, Paul hands over the incestuous Corinthian man to Satan—who will afflict him with sickness, frustrations, defeats, and ruin—“for the loss of his flesh”;³⁷ or Hymenaeus and Alexander, who had shipwrecked their faith and were consigned to Satan “to learn not to blaspheme any longer.”³⁸ Satan is as it were God’s official agent of punishment, carrying out the sentences of the heavenly Judge, just as the king handed over the merciless debtor to the torturers.³⁹

What is new is that *paradidomi* is made a technical term for Jesus’ passion.⁴⁰ This verb is used by the Master in his predictions of his passion (“The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of men”)⁴¹ and by the evangelists;⁴² and St. Paul mentions it: “The Lord, on the night that he was handed over (*en te nykti he paredideto*) took bread. . . .”⁴³ The term is to be taken first in its legal and judicial sense,⁴⁴ but it conveys moreover a moral or psychological nuance and a theological value. *Paradosis* was also used for treason (*prodosia*). Judas Iscariot is always called *ho paradidous*, “the traitor,”⁴⁵ the one who betrays or betrayed Jesus. The verb rather often also connotes this nuance of criminality: desertion to another camp, breach of sworn faith, betrayal of someone’s trust.⁴⁶ It is certain that the first Christians saw Christ’s crucifixion less as an atrociously painful form of torture than as an ignominy and a result of perfidy.⁴⁷ To say that Jesus was handed over, then, means that he was betrayed.

Moreover, *paradidomi* is also used for people who give themselves in self-sacrifice for God or neighbor, like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who “delivered their bodies rather than serve and worship any other god than their God.”⁴⁸ And it was predicted that the Servant of Yahweh would be handed over to death for redemption from sins (Isa 53:6, 12). This religious meaning is inseparable from *paradidomi* in the death of Jesus: God gave him over (Rom 4:25; 8:32), or he gave himself over (Gal 2:20),

offering himself as a sacrifice of acceptable savor (Eph 5:2, *hyper hemon*, “for us”). The accent is as much on the love that inspires this offering as on the totality of the gift and its cost: our redemption. Consequently to “deliver oneself” to God or neighbor becomes a major principle of Christian ethics.⁴⁹

VII. — *Paradidomi* often has the judicial meaning “deliver to court or to prison.” In 248 BC, Pyrrhus wrote to Zeno: “Know that Etearchos delivered me to the *praktor* on the tenth of Epeiph” (*P.Mich.* 58, 6; cf. “to the *nomophylax*, ” *P.Oxy.* 3190, 3); “If you arrest the slave, hand him over to Semphtheus, who will bring him to me” (*P.Hib.* 54, 21; 245 BC); “Send us under good guard the woman who gave you the contraband oil in her possession” (*P.Hib.* 59, 3); “Deliver Pamoun to the police officer whom I have sent.”⁵⁰ Likewise, the princes of the priests and the elders of the people led and delivered Jesus to Pilate (Matt 27:2; Mark 15:1; cf. John 18:30, 35); the scribes and the chief priests appoint men “to deliver him to the power and authority of the governor” (Luke 20:20; cf. 24:20, *eis krima thanatou*); Paul and certain other prisoners are remanded to the care of a centurion (Acts 27:1); “Pilate gave them the centurion Petronius and some soldiers to guard the tomb” (*Gos. Pet.* 31). The apostles will be handed over before courts (Matt 10:17, 19, *eis synedria*; cf. 24:9; Mark 13:9, 11; Luke 21:12), and every debtor is exhorted to be reconciled with his creditor before the latter delivers him to the judge (*to krite*) and the judge to the officer (*to hyperete*), lest he be thrown in prison.⁵¹

¹ Cf. ἀντι-, “give in exchange”; ε—ν-, “give over, abandon”; ἀνα-, ἀπο-, δια-, ει—ς-, ε—κ-, κατα-, μετα-, προ-, etc.

² Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, n. 92, 219, 308, 374, 385, 393, 394, 412, 540 (1), 681, 728, 741, 742.

³ Cf. Matt 25:14-15: παρέδωκε . . . ἔδωκεν. Both verbs are used indifferently by the manuscripts A and B (Judg 1:4; Dan 1:2; 2:38; 7:25; etc.); 1Sam 17:44—Goliath proposes to give David’s flesh to the birds of the sky and the beasts of the field; Hos 8:10; Esth 2:13—they gave Esther everything that she wanted to have with her; Philo, *Creation* 139; *Unchang. God* 92; *Flight* 45; *Change of Names* 113; *Post. Cain* 107; *Spec. Laws* 1.21; Josephus, *War* 1.46; 3.33; *Ant.* 7.280, 379; 8.32; *P.Ant.* 92, 9: “Give him the four *solidi* ”; *P.Lond.* 1916, 22: “We gave him what we were able to find.”

⁴ John 19:30—παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα (cf. Luke 23:46—ει—ς χειράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου and the variant from the Syriac mentioned by L. Abramowski and A. E. Goodman, “Luke 23:46 ΠΑΡΑΤΙΕΜΑΙ in a Rare Syriac Rendering,” in *NTS*, vol. 13, 1967, pp. 290–291); *T. Abr.* B 12: Sara

παρέδωκε τὴν ψυχὴν; Xenophon, *An.* 4.6.1: “Xenophon gave this man to Cheirisophus to serve him as guide.”

⁵ Deut 23:16; 1Sam 30:15; Prov 30:10; Bel (Theodotion) 29–30; Jdt 10:15; Esth 2:3—the young women who have been assembled are given over to the care of Hegai, the king’s eunuch; 1Macc 11:40—Trypho went to the Arab Imalkue “to urge him to hand over the child”; 2Macc 14:31, 33; Judg 11:21—“Yahweh delivered Sihon and all his people into the hands of Israel, who defeated them”; 11:30, 32; 12:3; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.120; especially troops (1Macc 3:34; Josephus, *War* 1.183, 249; *Ant.* 7.233; 12.298; 13.225).

⁶ Deut 1:8, 21 (Hebrew *natan*); Josh 2:24; Tob (Sinaiticus) 14:7—“the land of Abraham will be given to the sons of Israel.”

⁷ Deut 20:13; Jericho (Josh 6:2, 16); Ai (8:18); Jdt 8:9, 33; Jerusalem (Isa 36:15; 37:10; Jer 21:10; 32:28, 36; 34:2; etc.), Ephron (1Macc 5:50), Ptolemais (12:45); cf. 15:30; 16:18; Josephus, *War* 5.361, 392, 397, 499; *Ant.* 10.125; 13.180, 190, 202, 388; 14.58.

⁸ 1Macc 12:34; Josephus, *War* 1.167; 2.41, 486; 4.518; 7.209.

⁹ *P.Achm.* 8, 17: “Take care to put the cargo up for sale, and if no one offers more, to send them back”; the weavers make and deliver the ordered vestments (*P.Phil.* 10, 18; *P.Cair.Isid.* 54, 8–9; *P.Oxy.* 2230, 12); wine is delivered (*P.Oxy.* 3111, 14), or a boat in good condition (*P.Warr.* 5, 7). Lessees agree, “At the end of the term, we will give over four *arourai* as fallow forage land” (*P.Phil.* 14, 22); “I will give back the olive orchard fertilized and with the picking done” (*P.Phil.* 12, 29; 13, 19); “we have returned 45,700 pounds to the steward of Akanthon” (*P.Cair.Isid.* 13, 22). In a contract for service: ὁμολογῶ— παραδόσειν σοι τὸν υἱ—όν μου . . . ὥστε ὑπηρετεῖ—ν (*BGU* 1647, 3; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2353, 3; 2586, 45); in a marriage contract, Marcellina παραδεδοκέναι ε—αυτὴν ε—κ χηρείας πρὸς γάμου κοινοεῖαν (*P.Dura* 30, 10). In a metaphorical sense, “Destiny and the Fates delivered me to Hades” (epitaph at Telesion, in E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 36, 3).

¹⁰ 1Macc 10:6, 9; Lysander gave back the city to its former citizens (Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.3.7); “I give you back these two men” (*An.* 6.6.34); Antiochus was compelled to return Samosata (Josephus, *War* 1.157, 322).

¹¹ *P.Thead.* 8, 25; cf. *P.Alex.* 12, 19 (first-second century); *P.Hamb.* 20, 14. “Order that each one shall receive back his private property” (*P.Oxy.* 3288, 6).

¹² Μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώσω τὰς ἀρούρας καθαρὰς ὡς καὶ παρέλαβον, *BGU* 1018, 24; cf. 1564, 13; 1644, 24; 1645, 18; *P.Mich.* 184, 18 (121 BC); 185, 24 (122 BC); 310, 12 (AD 26–27); 315, 24 (AD 44–45); 558, 20; 563, 18; 587, 31; 633, 25; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 269, 26; 286, 34; *P.Cair.Isid.* 98, 15; 99, 23; 100, 17; 101, 11; *P.Soterichos* 2, 32 (AD 71); *P.Amst.* 41, 80 (first century BC); *P.Vindob.Bosw.* 8, 20; 9 b 6; *P.Berl.Zill.* 5; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 45, 11; 47, 25; *P.Mert.* 10, 20; 123, 4; *P.Sorb.* 51, 11 (third century BC): “You took from him the land that he has farmed for many years and gave it to others” (ε—τέροις παραδεδωκέναί). Buildings are also given back: παραδότω τὴν οἰ—κίαν (*P.Köln* 150, 13; cf. *BGU* 2034, 14; *P.Erl.* 72, 7; *P.Mil.* 55, 18; *P.Mert.* 76, 23; *P.Stras.* 348, 1), for example a bathing establishment (*P.Mich.* 312, 30).

¹³ Cf. Herodotus 5.67: the god not permitting (authorizing) what he had planned; 7.18: “act so that with God permitting, nothing may be lacking on your part”; Isocrates, *Phil.* 5.118: give occasion.

¹⁴ 1Pet 2:23—the innocent person appeals to God, trusting in the purity of his cause. This was not without danger, cf. Str-B (vol. 3, p. 164), who cite (vol. 1, p. 36) the case of Rabbi Eliezer, who is accused of heresy before a Roman judge and tells him, “I stand before the just judge,” meaning God; but the magistrate thought he meant himself and thanked the accused (*t. Īul.* 2.24). Philo, *Virtues* 171: the law sets the proud before the judgment seat of God alone.

¹⁵ This meaning “abandon” occurs already in Plato (*Euthd.* 285 c, ε—μαυτόν), seen clearly in John 19:30 (π. τὸ πνεῦμα); 1Cor 13:8 (τὸ σω—μα; cf. Josephus, *War* 7.355), is traditional (Philo, *Husbandry* 132; *Migr. Abr.* 18; *Moses* 1.3), notably in metaphorical usages: delivered to desolation (2Chr 30:7), to darkness (*Spec. Laws* 3.6), to oblivion (λήθη παραδοθῆναι, *Spec. Laws* 1.28; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.352); cf. “keep silence” (σιγῇ παραδίδοσαν, *Ant.* 17.122; 18.168; 19.48, 132), leave in forgetfulness (σιωπῇ π., *P.Flor.* 309, 5), entrust to memory (Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 65); throw, deliver to fire (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.199, 254; 2.215; Philo, *To Gaius* 356; Josephus, *War* 2.358).

¹⁶ Diodorus Siculus 12.13.2; Demosthenes, *C.Aristocr.* 23.65: “Elsewhere there is no Areopagus—a tribunal concerning which many fine stories are transmitted . . . some certified by our own testimony.” History allows an understanding of the character and mores of the hero (πρὸς κατανόησιν ἥθους καὶ τρόπου παραδιδούς, Plutarch, *Nic.* 1.5). “Through these constructions, Herod transmitted his family and friends to immortality without forgetting his own memory” (Josephus, *War* 1.419). “Theudion,

having received a poison from Antiphilos, passed it on to Pheroras” (1.592).

¹⁷ *P.Mich.* 213, 8; cf. the documents (τὰ βιβλία) transmitted by their first holder (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 15, 21, 31, 35, etc; 24, 32); τὰ τῆς τάξεως παραδω—σι βιβλία (*PSI* 1361, 5).

¹⁸ Cf. Diodorus Siculus 5.48.4: “Jupiter transmitted to him the rites of the mysteries that were celebrated in Samothrace in ancient times”; Strabo 10.3.7: “The authors of accounts of Cretan and Phrygian traditions (οἱ—παραδόντες) and of the sacred rites (τῶν—εργουργίαις) that they involve, which pertain to the celebration of the mysteries (ταῖς—μυστικαῖς)”; the aretology of Isis (*I.Cumae*, n. 41, 36); *P.Lond.* 46, 335 (vol. 1, p. 75); *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 475: παραδοτὰ μυστήρια; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 2.8.3: τοὺς παραδεδομένους . . . μύθους. On the mystery tradition, cf. A. J. Festugière, *Idéal religieux*, p. 121, n. 4; D. B. Reydens, “Paradosis,” in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 1933, pp. 155–191; J. Dupont, *Gnosis*, Louvain, 1949, pp. 59–62.

¹⁹ *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 76; *Plant.* 127; cf. *Decalogue* 55: “the names of the stars have been passed down by the mythographers”; *Change of Names* 95: envy, jealousy, disputes, and rivalries are “passed down” from parents to children.

²⁰ *Flight* 168–169, 200; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 64, 78: “The ancient tradition of noble deeds that the historians and the whole tribe of poets have transmitted to the memory of contemporaries and of the generations that followed”; *Moses* 1.23; *Creation* 78: “men have passed on the art that is most necessary and most useful for life”; *ibid.*, 159; *Drunkennes* 198; *Spec. Laws* 4.231.

²¹ *Ant.* 1.12, 29, 73; 7.269, 454; 9.208; 15.425; 19.298; *Ag. Apion* 1.15; cf. *War* 6.105: “fame, passing from age to age and always fresh, transmits his immortal memory to posterity.” Science and astronomy are transmitted (1.167; *Ag. Apion* 1.181), but also traditional superstitions concerning the deity (*Ag. Apion* 1.211). The Pharisees pass on to the people commandments that are not in the law of Moses (*Ant.* 13.297; 18.12).

²² *Ant.* 3.280; 4.57, 302, 304; *Ag. Apion* 1.60: “Observing laws and pious practices that have been transmitted to us conformably to these laws, the most necessary work in life”; 2.279: we call time to witness for the virtue of our legislator and the revelation that he transmitted to us from God—time, which puts every undertaking to the test.

²³ Matt 11:27; Luke 10:22 (H. Mertens, *L'Hymne de jubilation chez les Synoptiques*, Gembloux, 1957, pp. 51ff.; *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 3, pp. 139–169). Jesus reproaches the Pharisees for annulling the word of God in favor of tradition (their school's teaching), “the tradition that you have handed down” (τῆ παραδόσει ὑμῶ—ν ἡ— παρεδώκατε, Mark 7:13).

²⁴ The αὐτόπται and the ὑπηρέται, bearers of the tradition, *heard* the words with their ears and *saw* the acts of Jesus with their eyes (E. Delebecque, *Evangile de Luc*, on this text), and they transmitted them orally to a new generation of disciples (ἡμι—ν).

²⁵ Rom 6:17. Τύπος means a body of teaching and moral rules conformable to Christ's teaching, a correct presentation of his doctrine. Cf. A. Fridrichsen, “Exegetisches zum Neuen Testament,” in *ConNT*, vol. 7, 1942, pp. 6–8 (has in mind a Jewish technical term); J. Kürzinger, “Τύπος διδαχῆς und der Sinn von Rom. VI, 17,” in *Bib*, 1958, pp. 156–176; F. W. Beare, “On the Interpretation of Romans VI, 17,” in *NTS*, vol. 5, 1959, pp. 206–210; C. H. Dodd, “The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus,” in *Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson*, Manchester, 1959, pp. 106–118; U. Borse, “‘Abbild der Lehre’ (Rom. VI, 17),” in *BZ*, 1968, pp. 95–103; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 584, n. 1).

²⁶ 1Cor 11:23. The apostle received it from the only authorized source, not by direct transmission (παρά), but through the channel of (apostolic) tradition, with its source or origin (ἀπό) in Jesus. He only delivered it, communicated it, entrusted it to the believers. O. G. Evenson, “The Force of ‘Apo’ in 1 Cor. XI, 23,” in *Lutheran Quarterly*, 1959, pp. 244–246; G. Bornkamm, *Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum*, Munich, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 116ff. J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, pp. 129–131.

²⁷ 1Cor 15:3. Cf. J. Schmitt, “Le ‘Milieu’ littéraire de la ‘tradition’ citée dans I Cor. XV, 3b–5,” in E. Dhanis, *Resurrexit*, Vatican City, 1974, pp. 169–184.

²⁸ Jude 3: “I had to write you to exhort you to struggle for the faith delivered once for all to the saints” (τῆ ἅπαξ παραδοθείση τοι—ς ἁγίοις πίστει); 2Pet 2:21—“It would have been better for them not to know (ε—πεγνωκέναι) the way of righteousness than having known it (ε—πιγνωόντων) to turn away from the holy commandment that was entrusted to them (ε—κ τῆς παραδοθείσης αὐτοί—ς ἀγίας ε—ντολῆς).” The baptismal *entole* is faith in Christ and brotherly love, and also instruction in wisdom (Prov 2:1; Eccl 8:5), God's educative pedagogy (Prov 6:23; 19:6), the expression of his will becoming a moral rule (Ps 19:8; 119:98; Rom 7:12), the doctrine of the Revealer (John 16:48-49), and his sovereign authority (1Tim 6:14), to which one submits by faith (2John 6).

²⁹ Matt 28:18 (cf. Dan 7:14—*kai edothe auto exousia*). In *Corp. Herm.* 1.32: “You are blessed, Father. The one who is your man wants to lend you aid in the work of sanctification, just as you transmitted all your power to him” (καθὼς παρέδωκας αὐτῷ τὴν πα—σαν ε—ξουσίαν). In Luke 4:6, Satan claims that “all power has been given to me” (ε—μοὶ παραδέδοται).

³⁰ Gen 14:20 (hiphil of Hebrew *nagar*); Exod 23:31; Lev 26:25; Num 21:2, 34; Deut 1:27; 2:24, 30, 31, 33, 36; 3:2-3; 7:24; 21:10; 23:15; Josh 10:8; Judg 1:4; 4:14, Deborah to Barak: “Arise, for this is the day when the Yahweh has delivered Sisera into your hands”; 8:3; 1Sam 23:4; 24:5; 2Kgs 3:18; Ps 27:12; 51:2; 68:10 (they will be delivered into the hands of the sword); 74:19; 78:48; 119:121; Isa 19:4; 34:2; Dan 11:11. To be “delivered” is to be in someone else’s power. Holofernes orders his servants to “hand over Achior to the sons of Israel” (Jdt 6:10); “Glorious men were delivered into the hands of others” (Sir 11:6).

³¹ Deut 19:12—“The elders of the city shall deliver the murderer into the hands of the blood-avenger”; 1Macc 15:21—the Roman consul Lucius decided that “pestilent people” will be “handed over to the high priest Simon, so that he may execute justice on them in the king’s name.”

³² 1Sam 11:12—“Deliver these men so that they may be put to death”; 2Chr 32:11—“deliver to death (εἰ—ς θάνατον) by hunger and thirst”; Jer 26:24; 38:16; Mic 6:14; Ps 118:18—“God has not delivered me to death (θανάτῳ)”; 2Macc 1:17—“May our God be blessed in all things, he who delivered the ungodly to death”; Philo, *Flight* 53: “If one man kills another because God put him in his power”; 65, 93; Josephus, *War* 6.360: a Roman horseman is “delivered to Ardalas to be put to death”; *Ant.* 6.215, Saul’s intention is to have David judged and put to death” (παραδοὺς ἀποκτείνῃ); 8.390; 20.200—the Sanhedrin accuses James, the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ, of having broken the law and condemns him to stoning; *Ag. Apion* 2.206: “The law delivers the guilty for stoning”; *Life* 425: “Vespasian condemned Jonathan to death and handed him over to be killed” (παραδοθεὶς ἀπέθανεν); Philo, *Flacc.* 96 (βασανισται—ς); Josephus, *War* 1.655; cf. delivering over to insults (2.246), deliver in chains (1.269; *Ant.* 5.313: δεδεμένον ἄγειν παρέδοσαν); Philo, *Change of Names* 173: δεσμωτηρίῳ παραδοῦναι; *T. Abr.* A 20 (delivered to the grave); *Jos. Asen.* 4.12 (into slavery).

³³ Judg 6:1; 2:14—“Yahweh’s anger was inflamed against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of marauders who pillaged them”; 13:1; 1Sam 28:19; 1Kgs 8:46; 14:16; 2Kgs 21:14; 2Chr 6:36; 24:24; 28:5, 9; Isa 65:12; Jer 22:25; Bar 4:6; Ezek 7:21; 11:9; 16:27, 39, etc.; Dan 1:2; Zech

11:6; Sir 23:6—“Do not deliver me to a shameless soul”; Job 16:11—“God delivers me to unrighteous people”; Ps 106:41; Josephus, *War* 4.370.

³⁴ Acts 7:42—παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς λατρεύειν τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (cf. Ezek 20:7, 8, 13; Amos 5:25-27); punishment for worshiping the golden calf.

³⁵ Rom 1:24 (εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν), 26 (εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας), 28 (εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν); Eph 4:19 (ἀσελγεία). Moral disorder is a consequence of and punishment for religious error.

³⁶ 2Pet 2:4. The dungeons of Tartarus, a prison, the deepest pit for pure spirits (Philo, *Rewards* 152); cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres de saint Pierre*, on this text.

³⁷ 1Cor 5:5. These “temporal” torments have as their end to provoke conversion and assure the salvation of the soul (J. Cambier, “La Chair et l’esprit en 1 Cor. V, 5,” in *NTS* 15, 1969, pp. 221ff.). J. D. M. Derrett, “Handing over to Satan”: An Explanation of I Cor. V, 1–7,” in *RIDA*, 1979, pp. 11–30). Cf. C. Bruston, “L’Abandon du pécheur à Satan,” in *RTQR*, 1912, pp. 450–458.

³⁸ 1Tim 1:20; cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, on this text. T. C. G. Thornton, “Satan—God’s Agent for Punishing,” in *ExpT* 83, 1972, pp. 151ff.; J. Dauvillier, *Les Temps apostoliques*, Paris, 1970, pp. 585ff.

³⁹ Matt 18:34—παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τοῖς βασιανισταῖς; cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.93–94; *T. Abr.* B 10; *SEG* VIII, 246, 8; *BGU* 1847, 26; *P.Ant.* 87, 13–14; C. Spicq, *Dieu et l’homme*, pp. 54ff.; J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the NT*, pp. 32–47; R. Haase, “Körperliche Strafen in den altorientalischen Rechtssammlungen,” in *RIDA*, 1963, pp. 55–75.

⁴⁰ W. Popkes, *Christus Traditus: Eine Untersuchung zum Begriff der Dahingabe im Neuen Testament*, Zurich-Stuttgart, 1967; N. Perrin, “The Use of (παρρα)διδόναι in Connection with the Passion of Jesus in the New Testament,” in *Der Ruf Jesu und die Antwort der Gemeinde* (Festschrift J. Jeremias), Göttingen, 1970, pp. 204–212.

⁴¹ Matt 17:22 (Mark 9:31; Luke 9:44); Matt 20:18-19: “They will hand him over to the Gentiles to mock him” (Mark 10:33; Luke 18:32); Matt 26:2—“The Son of Man must be handed over to be crucified”; 26:45—“will be delivered into the hands of sinners” (Mark 14:41; Luke 24:7).

⁴² Matt 27:26—“Pilate had Jesus whipped and handed him over to be crucified” (παρέδωκεν ἵνα σταυρωθῆ, Mark 15:15; John 19:16); Luke 23:25—“he handed Jesus over to their will.”

⁴³ 1Cor 11:23. The historical fact of the institution of the Eucharist is chronologically determined; this is a mention of the arrest of Jesus and “probably also of his betrayal” by Judas (A. Jaubert, *La Date de la Cène*, Paris, 1957, pp. 93ff.); but “it does not say ‘the eve of his death’” (Jaubert, “Le Mercredi où Jésus fut livré,” in *NTS*, vol. 14, 1968, pp. 145–164; G. Schille, “Das Leiden des Herrn,” in *ZTK*, 1955, p. 181). Cf. *Gos. Pet.* 5: Herod “delivered [Jesus] to the people on the eve of Unleavened Bread, their feast.”

⁴⁴ Cf. Matt 4:12, John the Baptist had been handed over to Herod Antipas; Mark 1:14; Acts 8:3—Saul dragged off men and women and had them thrown in prison (ει—ς φυλακήν); 12:4 (the incarceration of Peter); 21:11 (Paul will be handed over to Gentiles); 28:17.

⁴⁵ In the list of the apostles, Matt 10:4—“Judas Iscariot, the same one who betrayed him” (ὁ καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτόν) (Mark 3:19); Matt 26:15—“What will you give me, and I will betray him” (παραδώσω αὐτόν, 26:16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 46, 48); 27:3-4: “I sinned in handing over innocent blood”; Mark 14:10, 11, 18, 21, 42, 44; Luke 22:4, 6, 21, 22, 48; John 6:64, 71; 12:4; 13:2, 11, 21; 18:2, 5, 36; 19:11; 21:20.

⁴⁶ Josephus, *War* 4.523: “Jacob told Simon that he would betray his country to him, on the basis of the promise that he would always continue to enjoy honors”; 6.387–391: a priest hands over objects from the sacred treasury in order to save his life; *Ant.* 5.131; 6.345. In his edict, Tiberius Julius Alexander denounces certain functionaries who, “on the pretext of state interests, having others’ credits ceded to themselves, have had certain persons incarcerated in the *praktoreion* (a prison reserved for debtors to the treasury) and in other prisons” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 15). In the time of the persecutions, people become public accusers or witnesses against members of their own families in order to save their lives: “Brother will hand over brother to death, and a father his children . . .” (Matt 10:21; 24:10; Mark 13:12; Luke 21:16).

⁴⁷ Cf. Matt 27:18—“Pilate knew that they were handing him over because of jealousy”; Mark 15:10; Acts 3:13 (Peter to the Jerusalemites): “Jesus, whom you handed over and whom you denied before Pilate,” the accursed occupier.

⁴⁸ Dan 3:28; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.137: Joseph’s brothers offer themselves to be punished in order to save Benjamin; 148, 159; 10.230: Jechonias “voluntarily gave himself up (παραδόντι . . . ε—κουσίως αὐτόν) with his wives and his children in order to save his native city (ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος);” cf. 9.75; *War* 6.433. Objects are given over or consecrated εἰ—ς λειτουργίαν οἴκου θεοῦ (2Esdr 7:19); the Levites set apart the whole burnt offerings “to give them to the children of the people” (2Chr 35:12), and Yahweh “gives over as victims” the cities and peoples of Palestine.

⁴⁹ Acts 15:26—Barnabas and Paul, “men who have given over their lives for the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ,” do not hesitate to risk death in proclaiming the saving divinity of Jesus; 2Cor 4:11—“We who continue to live are delivered to death (εἰ—ς θάνατον παραδιδομένα) because of Jesus” (διὰ indicates the reason); Eph 5:25—“Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the church and gave himself for it.” Love made manifest and effective—which is what *agape* is—is translated in Christ by a total and definitive act of giving that involves forgetfulness of self and limitless devotion to his church (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 1, pp. 285–294); thus by virtue of his marriage the husband no longer belongs to himself but is at his wife’s service, devoted to her happiness; “no one lives for himself” (Rom 14:7-8); it is like a religious consecration, according to the model of Christ, who was entirely given over to those who are his.

⁵⁰ *P.Cair.Isid.* 129, 2; *P.Berl.Zill.* 8, 23: place in the hands of the police. There is also εἰ—ς φυλακὴν παραδιδοῦσαν (*SEG* 9.5.67); παράδος τοι—ς φυλακίταις (*BGU* 1912, 3; *P.Lille* 3, 59; *UPZ* 124, 19); παραδώσων ε—ν δημοσίῳ τόπῳ (*P.Mert.* 98, 13; *P.Oxy.* 2478, 24; 3204, 20; *P.Brem.* 26, 4; 41, 29).

⁵¹ Matt 5:25; cf. Luke 12:58. J. Vergote, “Le Nouveau Testament et la papyrologie juridique,” in *Eos* (Symbolae R. Taubenschlag), 1957, vol. 2, pp. 152ff.

παραθήκη

paratheke, deposit

paratheke, S 3866; *TDNT* 8.162–164; *EDNT* 3.22; MM 483–484; L&N 35.48; BAGD 616; ND 2.85

In the Pastorals, St. Paul three times uses the expression *paratheken phylassein*,¹ in a metaphorical sense, in accord with contemporary usage, because not only was money entrusted to the care of a third party,² but so could be a person (*P.Oxy.* 2600, 7; cf. 1Pet 4:19; *Jos. Asen.* 13.11–12) or a

harvest of grain (*P.Oxy.* 3049) or of words, i.e., secrets.³ According to Philo, the divine gifts entrusted to humans are like deposits that must be guarded carefully,⁴ especially in carrying out a public (*Spec. Laws* 4.71) and sacred function: “Not everyone gets to guard the deposit of the divine mysteries” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 60, *parakatatheken phylaxai*). In this sense the Jews received the oracles of God as a deposit (Rom 3:2).

Ulpian would later define this term contract, the establishment of which required no formality other than the freely expressed consent of the one accepting the deposit: “that which is placed in someone else’s custody” (“quod custodiendum alicui datum”);⁵ the object is deposited for its protection. It remains the property of the depositor;⁶ it does not belong to the depositary, and the depositary cannot dispose of it. Not only must he guard it “like something sacred and divine” (Josephus, *Ant.* 4.285), but he must immediately return it intact when asked, without delay or discussion.⁷ This is the meaning of the constant repeated appearance in the contracts of the phrase “according to the law of deposits.”⁸ In addition, Ps.-Plato gave this definition: *parakatatheke: doma meta pisteos* (*Def.* 415 d). Whether a literal or a metaphorical deposit is intended, the emphasis is always on the good faith and fidelity of the depositary: “The setting up of a deposit is the most sacred thing done in social life, because it depends on the good faith of the depositary.”⁹ Thus the protection of the gods is invoked,¹⁰ and it was common to deposit valuables in the temples, which became savings banks;¹¹ such was the case with, among others, the temple at Jerusalem¹² and the Artemision of Ephesus.¹³ People often left agreements, documents,¹⁴ and especially wills¹⁵ in these places of safety. The word *paratheke*, not found in other Pauline letters, fits quite well in 1 and 2 Timothy, which are precisely Paul’s last will and testament, instructing his favorite disciple to preserve intact and inviolable the wealth of teaching that he has passed on to him throughout his life.

Sometimes this *paratheke* has been taken to mean the pastoral office entrusted to the Ephesian pastor; but in the context of these two epistles, it is much more likely that it refers to the preservation of the “wholesome teaching” (*hygies didaskalia*)¹⁶ which must be kept from the degradations or corruptions of heterodoxy. The disciple can draw on supernatural resources for preserving the gospel¹⁷ and the tradition and sheltering them from adulteration, namely, the Holy Spirit who indwells us (2Tim 1:14) and is supposed to act with particular efficacy in the organs of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

¹ 1Tim 6:20; 2Tim 1:14 (where the deposit is modified by *καλός*, i.e., precious or magnificent, because it is God’s deposit; cf. similarly Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 65); at 1:12 it is not entirely clear whether the “depositor” is God or Paul (cf. C. Spicq, *Épîtres Pastorales*, vol. 2, pp.

719ff.). Classical Greek has παρακαταθήκη (cf. Phrynichus, ed. Lobeck, p. 313). The verb παραθεκάζω means “pay a παραθήκη” (G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 202, 10). The technical term θέμα was used for the deposit of grain in the public granary (*P.Oxy.* 501, 517, 518, 1444; *P.Mert.* 14; *P.Stras.* 127; *P.Lips.* 112–117): ε—ν θέματι δημοσίῳ (*BGU* 2126, 12–14); cf. N. Hohlwein, *Termes techniques*, pp. 267ff. M. Lewis, “Notationes legentis,” in *BASP*, vol. 13, 1976, pp. 167ff.

² *SB* 9291; 10722, 6; *BGU* 2042; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 2; *P.Tebt.* 556 (from AD 33, ed. J. G. Keenan, “Two Papyri from the University of California Collection,” in *Proceedings* XIII, pp. 207ff.). Δεπόσιτα were cash deposits made by soldiers who received a bonus, cf. *Ign. Pol.* 6.2. The papyrological attestations are considerable; cf. “St. Paul et la loi des dépôts,” in *RB*, 1931, pp. 481–502. For example, cf. *P.Lond.* 298 (vol. 2, p. 206): “The eighth year of Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, the fifth of the month of Gorpiaeus, at Ptolemaïs Euergetis, in the nome of Arsinoïte. Primus Samba, son of Primus, of Persian descent, about fifty-five years old, having a scar on the front of his left leg, declares to Heraclides, son of Treadelphos son of Anoubion, of the deme of Ailanabatis, which is also Althaea, about twenty-five years old, having a scar on his right wrist, that he holds from this latter—he, Primus, the author of the contract—through the bank of Dionysius, which is also Chaeremon, on the street of the Sacred Gate, two thousand silver drachmas, as a surety deposit against all risk and exempt from any charge. As for the two thousand drachmas of the deposit, Primus acknowledges that he must return them to Heraclides whenever Heraclides chooses, without recourse to legal action or judgment or any other delay of any sort or any subterfuges. If he does not turn it over in accord with what is written, he must pay Heraclides double the deposit, in accord with the law of deposits.” Cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, vol. 1, pp. 264ff. E. Kiessling, “Über den Rechtsbegriff der Parathèkè,” in *Proceedings* VIII, pp. 71–77; P. Frezza, “ΠΑΡΑΚΑΤΑΘΗΚΗ,” in *Eos* (Symbolae R. Taubenschlag), 1956, vol. 1, pp. 139–172; A. Ehrhardt, “Parakatatheke,” in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*, 1958, pp. 32–90; 1959, pp. 480–489; K. Kastner, *Die zivilrechtliche Verwahrung des gr.-ägypt. Obligationenrechts*, Erlangen, 1962; K. Wegenast, *Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus*, Neukirchen, 1962, pp. 144ff. H. A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, Munich, pp. 51ff. W. Hellebrand, “Parakatheke,” in *PW*, vol. 18, 2, col. 1186–1202. On the irregular deposit (authorization to use money, collection of interest, etc.), cf. W. Litewski, “Le Dépôt irrégulier,” in *RIDA*, 1974, pp. 215–262; 1975, pp. 279–315.

³ Philo, *Prov.* 2.16; *Worse Attacks Better* 65: “Watching (or guarding) is something that is complete, which consists in committing to memory

principles of holy things learned by practice. That is what it means to entrust a noble deposit of learning to a faithful guardian.” Herodotus 9.45.1; Anaxandrides, in Stobaeus (*Flor.* 41.2; vol. 3, p. 757). Secrets are “word deposits” (Ps.-Isocrates, *Demon.* 22); Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 28: life is a deposit that must be returned when the gods ask for it. Cf. Isocrates 1.22. In the Hermetic literature, the sacred Book or “Monad” or “Eighth Book of Moses,” on the holy Name, holds as a deposit the name of the Lord (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* 13, 742 = vol. 2, p. 121); cf. A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 1, pp. 344–345.

⁴ *Heir* 104: “Consider that which has been given you to be a loan or a deposit and return it to the one who entrusted and loaned it to you”; 105–106: “Let the one who made the deposit have no reason for criticizing the manner in which you kept it. For the creator of life has entrusted you with the deposit of a soul, of speech, of sensation. . . . Some people immediately divert these deposits to their own profit through selfishness; others on the contrary hold them back in order to make restitution at the most appropriate time.”

⁵ *Dig.* 16.3.1 proem.; Diodorus Siculus 17.23.5. Aristotle placed it among the συναλλάγματα ε—κουσία (*Eth. Nic.* 5.1131a4). Someone leaves a deposit with someone else (*I.Thas.* 376, 3–4), a receipt is given: ὁμολογῶ—ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ ε—ν παραθήκη κ.τ.λ. (*P.Mich.* IX, 571, 7 = SB 9247); *P.Brem.* 51, 9; *P.Hib.* 198, 196; *P.Mert.* 67, 14; *BGU* 1653, 12; *P.IFAO* III, n. 1 (AD 100); restored, *P.Oxy.* 2975.

⁶ The law from Ephesus from 85 BC lists types of debt: maritime loans, unsecured loans, deposits in the form of pledged real estate (παραθήκαι), mortgages, second mortgages, etc. (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 742, 50ff., with the commentary of R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, p. 251; H. Kühnert, *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens*, Freiburg, 1965; P. Drewes, “Die Bankdiagraphie in den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri,” in *JJP*, 1974, pp. 107, 136ff.).

⁷ Almost all the contracts mention the integrity, ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας; *P.Alex.* 10, 10 (AD 69–79); *P.Mert.* 67, 17; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 6, 15–19; *P.Tebt.* 386, 22 (12 BC); 556, 13–16; *P.Oxy.* 71, 6 (ἀκίνδυνον καὶ ἀνυπόλογον); 1713, 10; 3049, 14; *BGU* 637, 702, 729, 856; SB 11040, etc. Cf. the precision and the fullness of the attestation, and the restoration of a deposit in the second century, *P.Oxy.* 2975; cf. N. Lewis, “Notationes legentis,” in *BASP*, vol. 11, 1974, pp. 59–59.

⁸ Κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῶ—ν παραθηκῶ—ν; *P.Lond.* 943, 9; *P.Ryl.* 662, 15; *P.Oxy.* 1039, 12; 2677, 6; 3134, 9; *P.Athen.* 28, 24 (October 16, 86);

P.Tebt. 556, 17; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 45, 9; cf. 2Macc 3:15. J. Modrzejewski, “La Règle de droit dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque,” in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (American Studies in Papyrology, vol. 1), New Haven, 1966, p. 156; W. D. Roth, *Untersuchungen zur Kredit-ΠΑΡΑΗΚΗ im römischen Ägypten*, Marburg, 1970; H. C. Youtie, “P. Michig. inv. 829: ΠΑΡΑΗΚΗ,” in *ZPE*, vol. 24, 1977, pp. 125–127; *P.Mich.* 671 (gives the bibliography, p. 111).

⁹ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.30; cf. 4.32: “The person who contests the existence of a deposit (that has been entrusted to him) should know that he is committing a major crime in cheating the depositor, in disguising the villainy of his own character with specious words, in camouflaging his disloyalty with a mask of false loyalty, and finally in destroying the agreement that he sealed with his own hand, and along with it the usefulness of oaths; so that he ridicules human and divine law and renegs on two deposits: that of the friend who entrusted his wealth to him, and that of the eminently truthful Witness who sees the actions and hears the words of all”; *Unchang. God* 101, cf. *Plant.* 101; *Cherub.* 14. Hence the scandal of a depositary who takes advantage of the ignorance of a depositor (illiterate and not having understood the text of the contract) and refuses to pay back the deposit, as Aurelius Sotas did to Aurelius Demetrius, who in turn lodged a complaint with the prefect (*P.Oxy.* 71, 10–11). The association of παραθήκη with πίστις is constant; cf. Epictetus 4.13.13: “You trusted a faithful man”; Dio Chrysostom 31.65. St. Ambrose, the lawyer, comments on 2Tim 1:14—“Fides pignori prima debetur” (on Luke 1:12); the historian Conon, in the first century (in *F.Gr.H.*, vol. 1, p. 204).

¹⁰ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.34. Theogenes invokes Thea and Helios against a woman who stole his savings, which were deposited with her (*I.Delos* 2531); cf. *I.Lind.* 419, 2: περί τὰς παρακαταθήκας τα—ς —Αθάνας (AD 22); Lucian, *Symp.* 22.

¹¹ *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 18, 65 and 94; *I.Lind.* II B 43; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1005, 1015, 1039; cf. ἀμετάθετα δηνάρια (*I.Did.* 331, 7); *LSAM*, p. 38; *LSAMSup*, n. 90, 2; idem, *LSCG*, p. 271; cf. T. R. S. Broughton, “New Evidence on Temple-Estates in Asia Minor,” in P. R. Coleman-Norton, *Studies . . . in Honor of A. C. Johnson*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 236–250; H. Vidal, “Le Dépôt ‘in Aede,’” in *RHDFE*, 1955, pp. 545–587; C. Préaux, “De la Grèce classique à l’Égypte hellénistique,” in *ChrEg*, 1958, pp. 243–255; N. G. Hamilton, “Temple Clearing and Temple Bank,” in *JBL*, 1964, pp. 365–370; R. Bogaert, *Les Origines antiques de la banque de dépôt*, Leiden, 1966, N. 97, 130, passim.

¹² 2Macc 3:10–15; 4Macc 4:3–7; cf. M. Delcor, “Le Trésor de la maison de Yahweh,” in *VT*, 1962, pp. 353–377.

¹³ Cf. C. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros*, Paris, 1922, pp. 82–90; R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, pp. 245ff., 263, 331ff.

¹⁴ With respect to the libraries of the Ptolemies, Zosimus writes: “Some of these writings were deposited in each temple, particularly in the Sarapieion” (cited by A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 1, p. 268, 10).

¹⁵ Caesar (Suetonius, *Iul.* 83), Augustus (idem, Suetonius, *Aug.* 101; Dio Cassius 56.32), and probably Tiberius and Claudius (Dio Cassius 59.1; 61.1) left their wills at the temple of Vesta. Cf. Ulpian, *Dig.* 43.5.3; 28.4.4; F. Dumont, “Le Testament d’Antoine,” in *Mélanges Lévy-Bruhl*, Paris, 1959, pp. 87ff. *RIJG*, vol. 1, p. 113, vol. 2, pp. 69ff.

¹⁶ 1Tim 1:10; 6:3; Titus 1:9, 13; 2:1, 2, 8; 2Tim 1:13; 4:3. Cf. S. Cipriani, “La dottrina del depositum,” in *AnBib* 17–18; Rome 1963, vol. 2, pp. 128–140; P. Médebielle, “Dépôt de la foi,” in *DBSup*, vol. 2, 374–395.

¹⁷ Cf. 1Tim 1:11—“The gospel of the glory of the blessed God that has been entrusted to me”; cf. 2Tim 2:8; 3:10; Col 1:25ff.

παρακοή

parakoe, disobedience

see also εἰ—σακούω, ε—πακούω, ὑπακούω, ὑπακοή

parakoe, S 3876; *TDNT* 1.223; *EDNT* 3.29; *NIDNTT* 2.172, 175; MM 485; L&N 36.27; BAGD 618

Unlike the verb *parakouo*, which occurs rather commonly, the substantive *parakoe* is rare. It is unknown in the LXX and in the papyri earlier than the eighth century.¹ The word would hardly be worth discussing except for its theological importance in Rom 5:19. After characterizing Adam’s sin (*he hamartia*, verse 12) as a transgression (*he parabasis*, verse 14) and a false step (*paraptoma*, verses 15–18; cf. Wis 10:1), St. Paul defines it as disobedience (*parakoe*), the original human transgression, punishable by death:² “Just as through the disobedience of one man (*dia tes parakoes*) all became sinners, so also through the obedience of one (*dia tes hypakoes*) will all be justified.”³ This disobedience of Adam, the antithesis of Christ’s obedience,⁴ has as its effect the constituting of humankind as a race of sinners. “The notion of

original sin is affirmed again, because *kathistemi*, ‘institute, constitute, establish,’ indicates more than a juridical assessment.”⁵

While *sin* or *transgression* can mean the violation of a law, the failure to observe a commandment, *parakoe* expresses above all a refusal to listen, turning a deaf ear.⁶ This etymological nuance is retained in Heb 2:2, where because the *logos* pronounced by the angels was valid (*bebaios*), i.e., authoritative and obligatory, all corruption, whether commission (*parabasis*, Rom 2:23; Gal 2:15) or omission (*parakoe*, the willful and culpable refusal to take the divine word into consideration) was sanctioned by a just penalty.⁷

In 2Cor 10:6, as in Rom 5:19, *he parakoe* is contrasted with *he hypakoe*; the apostle will punish all disobedience—those who do not submit to his oral teachings and precepts—once the obedience or submission of the community is complete, i.e., firm and unanimous.⁸

¹ *P.Lond.* IV, 1345, 36; 1393, 52, cited by Moulton-Milligan, remain the only known occurrences; cf. the new and much improved edition of the latter papyrus in *SB* 7241; παρακοή is associated with καταφρόνησις, “scorn.”

² Cf. A. M. Dubarle, “Le Péché originel dans saint Paul,” in *RSPT*, 1956, pp. 213–254; S. Lyonnet, “Le Péché originel et l’exégèse de Rom. V, 12–14,” in *RSR*, 1956, pp. 63–84.

³ Rom 5:19. οι— πολλοί = πάντες; the multitude means the crowd, the group as a whole; like the “many” at Qumran; cf. CD 14.6; 15.8; R. Marcus, “Mebaqqer and Rabbin in the Manual of Discipline VI, 11–13” in *JBL*, 1956, pp. 298–302; H. Huppenbauer, “byr, br, Mybr in der Sektenregel (1QS),” in *TZ*, 1957, pp. 136–137; J. Jeremias, “πολλοί,” in *TDNT*, vol. 6, pp. 536–545.

⁴ Ὑπακοή, as at Heb 5:8, is acquiescence (cf. the obedience of the faith, Rom 1:5; to the truth, 1Pet 1:22). In submitting to divine revelation (1Pet 1:2, 14), the Gentiles become children of obedience; whereas they were formerly ε—ν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ.

⁵ M. J. Lagrange, *Romains*, pp. 111ff.; Cf. F. J. Leenhardt, *Romans*, p. 147–148.

⁶ Cf. Jer 11:10; 35:17; Acts 7:57 (συνέσχον τὰ ὦτα); Matt 18:17 (παρακούω); C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 592ff.

⁷ Ἐνδικον μισθαποδοσίαν. This compound, unknown in biblical and secular Greek, emphasizes the direct correlation (confirmed by ἔνδικος)

between the sin and the punishment; the retribution is deserved and required (Heb 3:17; 8:9; 10:28; Gal 6:7-8).

⁸ J. Héring (*La Second Epître de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1958, p. 79) gives the aorist πληρωθῆ an inchoative sense, taking it to mean “when the time has come to make your submission effective and complete, then there will be *ekdikesis*, if there is occasion.”

παραμυθέομαι, παραμυθία, παραμύθιον

paramytheomai, to advise, encourage, console, comfort; *paramythia*, comfort, encouragement, support; *paramythion*, comfort, encouragement

paramytheomai, S 3888; TDNT 5.816–823; EDNT 3.32; NIDNTT 1.328–329; MM 488; L&N 25.153; BAGD 620 | ***paramythia***, S 3889; TDNT 5.816–823; EDNT 3.32; NIDNTT 1.328–329; MM 488; L&N 25.154; BAGD 620 | ***paramythion***, S 3890; TDNT 5.816–823; EDNT 3.32; NIDNTT 1.328–329; MM 488; L&N 25.154; BDF §111(4); BAGD 620–621; ND 3.79; 4.14, 166

A compound of the rare denominative verb *mytheomai*, “speak, retell, converse,”¹ and the prefix *para*,² the verb *paramytheomai* belongs especially to cultivated Greek.³ In the Hellenistic period it almost always has affective connotations, with the highly nuanced meanings of “advise, encourage, console, comfort, speak calming words to, appease, soothe.”

I. — A number of these occurrences have no particularized meaning,⁴ but most are found in a context of trials, difficulties, or sorrow.⁵ One goes to the troubled person *eis paramythion* (*SB* 10652 B 10; beginning of second century; *I.Lind.* 441, 9: *eis paramythian tou patros*), to console or to comfort.⁶ Calm and gentle speech can reassure the heart (*P.Ryl.* 653, 6), dissipate fear (Plutarch, *Alc.* 13.6; *Sert.* 16.2: *epeiratoparamytheisthai dia logon* — “he tried to console with words”), comfort the afflicted (Lucian, *Peregr.* 13). Thus many Jews from Jerusalem “had come to Martha and Mary to console them concerning their brother” (*hina paramythesontai autas peri tou adelphou*, John 11:19, 31). We know that consolation, which was practiced among the rabbis as among the Greeks and Romans, was considered a “work of love”;⁷ but the Johannine use of *paramytheomai* for consolation is in accord with contemporary usage, since this verb and the nouns derived from it apply especially to consolation and comfort concerning a death.⁸ It is likely that these visitors from Jerusalem gave the sisters at Bethany reasons to hope (cf. John 11:22-27); in any case, hope and consolation go together in a large number of texts.⁹ Finally, we should note that the term *psephismata paramythenica*

(“decrees of consolation”) is used for decrees that are intended both to honor a deceased person and to console the grieving family.¹⁰

II. — The meaning “comfort, encourage” is even more widespread than the previous meaning;¹¹ it is a properly divine activity¹² and in the Bible has a religious meaning. Judas Maccabeus encourages (*paramythoumenos*) his companions: “with the help of the Law and the Prophets, by reminding them of the battles that were already behind them, he filled them with renewed zeal.”¹³ In St. Paul’s language, *paramytheomai* and the related nouns have a technical meaning, *paraklesis* that teaches, persuades, stimulates. Apostolic “exhortation,” at root doctrinal, is the source of courage: “We exhorted you, encouraged you, adjured you to walk worthy of God.”¹⁴

The emphasis is sometimes intellectual: reasoning in order to persuade or advise.¹⁵ Courtiers persuade the authorities to shed innocent blood (Add Esth 16:5); “philosophy reasons with it gently” (*erema paramytheitai*).¹⁶ This calm, gentle manner of speaking, which reassures and comforts, is a form of *paraklesis*, especially effective for smoothing out opposition within a community.¹⁷ In any event, the prophet, by virtue of his charism, has a divine power to persuade that contributes to the solid edification of the Christian church: “speaks to humans for their edification, encouragement, and comfort” (*anthropois lalei oikodomen kai paraklesin kai paramythian*, 1Cor 14:3).

With respect to Christians who are fearful or timid (*oligopsychoi*), victims of fears, doubts, or scruples, or who lack strength to deal with daily hardships or with persecution, the brethren must encourage them: *paramytheisthe tous oligopsychous* (1Thess 5:14).

III. — In these words (*paramythion*, *paramythia*, *paramytheisthai*), there is more than comfort or encouragement, but a real stimulation, strength for overcoming difficulties.¹⁸ The word is used not only for reassurance (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.8.1; *paremythounto*), and for encouraging and prodding to action (a letter to Emperor Hadrian: *paramythoumenon kai protreponta*, *P.Fay.* 19, 6); but for supplying a lack (Lucian, *Dom.* 7: *paramytheomai to endeon*), bringing help (cf. *P.Oxy.* 1631, 13: *paramythike ergasia*; cf. *P.Ryl.* 653, 6: maintaining the irrigation system). Such, it would seem, is the meaning of *paramythion* in Phil 2:1—“If there is any exhortation in Christ, if there is any stimulation to love (*ei ti paramythion agapes*), if there is any fellowship in the Spirit, if there is any tender mercy and compassion, then complete my joy . . .”¹⁹

The meaning “sustenance, support” is attested especially for *paramythia*. In 332, three people from Theadelphia complain to the prefect about the number of their fellow-citizens who are evading public service, moving to neighboring nomos and abandoning their own town, “and so we beseech your Mightiness, in our poor and neglected condition, to order the *epistates* of the peace to hand over our townspeople so that we may

through this strengthening (*dia tautes tes paramythias*) live in our town and always give thanks to your glorious Fortune.”²⁰ In the Byzantine period, *paramythia* referred to the compensation or surety on a mortgage (*P.Flor.* 382, 65), the security, which was an application of the classical notion of *paramythia*;²¹ and the word came to mean “salary, compensation,” especially in the bookkeeping formula *hyper paramythias*.²²

¹ Cf. H. Fournier, *Les Verbes “dire,”* pp. 49, 215.

² Which allowed the translation *alloquor* (cf. French “allocution”) as in the Old Latin (at John 11:31); cf. P. Joüon, “Explication de la nuance méliorative des verbes tels que *alloquor*, παραμυθέομαι,” in *RSR*, 1938, pp. 311–314; Stählin, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp. 816–823.

³ The references for classical Greek are given by Stählin, loc. cit., and C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 252–265. Alexander sends one of his friends to comfort the wife and mother of Darius (Diodorus Siculus 17.37.3); “They would have for their consolation in their misfortune the similar fate of their companions” (17.69.6). In desperate straits, Demetrius wanted to kill himself. “Nevertheless his friends surrounded him and tried to comfort him” (παραμυθούμενοι, Plutarch, *Demetr.* 49.9).

⁴ Cf. Epictetus 4.1.13: “That Caesar is the common master of all should not be a consolation for you (μηδέν σε τοῦτο παραμυθέσθω); you must admit that you are a slave in a large household”; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.1.2: “We would have an excellent way of consoling ourselves for our ignorance” (τῆς ἀμαθίας παραμύθιον); 2.1.2: in telling what they have seen, the travelers find “a compensation for their troubles” (τῶ—ν πόνων παραμύθειαν); *Luc.* 44.3: leisure, calm, the study of letters are the consolation that is most fitting for an old man; *De laude* 2 (539 e), *De sera* 13 (557 f), *Alex.* 30.10: “Tireos begged him not to take away his greatest consolation in his troubles.” Hence the nuance “provide help” (for the saving of the city, *I.Bulg.* XIII, 28, προσπαραμυθούμενος); wealth makes up for the deficiencies of old age (Musonius 17, ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 110, 20; cf. 9, p. 68, 1); *BGU* 1024, col. VIII, 11–21: help from the law for victims, τοῦ βίου παραμυθείαν (fourth-fifth century); cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, p. 555; *P.Flor.* 332, 19: ἵνα ἔχω παραμύθιον τῆς προελεύσεώς μου (second century); *P.Oxy.* 1298, 2: “To my incomparable master, the consolation of his friends.”

⁵ Job: “The kings came . . . to visit me and comfort me,” *T. Job* 28.2; cf. 34.2, 5; Symmachus ordinarily translates the Hebrew *naham* with παραμυθέομαι; cf. H. van Dyke Parunak, “A Semantic Survey of *Naham*,” in *Bib*, 1975, pp. 512–532). Lucian, *Nav.* 14: “I have come to console you in

your misfortune”; Plutarch, *Per.* 15.2: console the discouraged; *Amat.* 22: παραμυθία τοῦ πάθους; *De Is. et Os.* 27: Through initiation into his mysteries, Osiris establishes “a lesson in piety and encouragement for men and women who may fall into like adversities”; Dio Chrysostom 30.6; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 3, 2 and 19 (third century); *IGLAM* 114, 7: τῆς ε—π ε—μοὶ λύπης παραμύθιον ε—μ φρεσὶ θέσθε τοῦτον (republished by G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata* 298).

⁶ Funerary honors are often presented in the inscriptions as expressions of consolation. At Thessalonica, the city honors the young Claudius Rufrius “for the consolation of his father” (εἰ—ς παραμυθίαν τοῦ πατρός, *IG X*, part II, fasc. 1, n. 173, 15), or wishes to honor and console the father and the grandfather of Baebia Heliodora (τειμῆς καὶ παραμυθίας τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦς χάριν, *ibid.* 180, 14–16); cf. 207, 13.

⁷ 4 Ezra 10:49—“She was mourning her son, and you went to console her”; *MAMA VIII*, 408, 11; 409, 4 and 8; 412, a 11, b 15, c 16; cf. Str-B, “Excursus 23: Die altjüdischen Liebeswerke,” vol. 4, pp. 582–607; Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 2, 6, 7, 9, 32, 37. Seneca, *Marc.*, *Helv.*, *Polyb.*, etc. K. Buresch, *Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque scriptarum historia critica*, Leipzig, 1886; R. Kassel, *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur*, Munich, 1958.

⁸ Xenophon, *Ap.* 26: “I have another consolation, the memory of Palamedes, whose death was like mine”; Philo, *Abraham* 196: “joys that considerably lighten (οὐ μικρὰ παραμύθια) the sorrow connected with the memory of the child who was sacrificed”; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.61: Herod consoled the grieving women with splendid funerals; 20.94: Helen, deeply grieved by the death of Izates, finds consolation (παραμυθία) in learning that her eldest son will be the heir; *War* 1.627: “Antipater consoled me in the sorrow I felt for the victims”; 3.194: for the inhabitants of Jotapata, “even if they must die, Josephus will be their highest consolation” (παραμυθία); 6.183: “It was a consolation for the dying soldiers to see the sadness of the one in whose service they had given their lives”; 7.392: “the thought of the evils that they would have to endure at the enemy’s hand [the Roman army] was a consolation (παραμύθιον) to them [the Jews at Masada] for having to kill them [their wives and children]”; Thucydides 2.44.1: “I offer not so much pity as consolation to the parents (of the dead)”; Dio Chrysostom 27.9. Hence the epitaphs, for example that of the silversmith Canopus: “Here stands this spotless monument, thanks to the care of my wife, a consolation from the one who shared my life” (παραμυθία συνζοίης, E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 19, 10); of an anonymous deceased nineteen-year-old from the imperial period, who addresses his father: “As consolation, I address this to you” (τοῦτο δέ σοι

πέμπω παραμύθιον, *ibid.* LXXV, 13); of an Egyptian epebe (πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς Στρατόλας παραμύθιον εἶναι, G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata* 951, 4); cf. *GVI*, n. 811, 7: οὐδὲν δ' ἐ—ξεύροντο κακοῦ παραμύθιον οἴκτου (Cyprian funerary stele from the first century); 1198, 13; 1499, 2: “Child you were a source of consolation for your parents”; *SB* 4313, 11 (first-second century). According to *T. Abr.* B 13, Death greeted the patriarch, “consolation of travelers in their pilgrimage.”

⁹ Wis 3:18—“They will have neither hope nor consolation” (παραμύθιον); Philo, *Rewards* 72: Hope is “a consolation implanted in human nature” (συμφυῆς παραμύθιον); *Moses* 1.137: “He was deprived of the hope of consolation”; Thucydides 5.103.1: ἐ—λπὶς δὲ . . . παραμύθιον οὔσα; Caesar reassures and offers hope to the Romans who expect to endure countless evils (παρεμυθήσατο τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐ—πήλπισεν, Dio Cassius 43, 15, 2). Cf. *P.Oxy.* 939, 26: Demetrius writes to Flavian that he is comforted by his unceasing expectation that he will come.

¹⁰ L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 3, pp. 14–31; vol. 13, pp. 229, 231 (citing numerous examples); M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 2, p. 39; cf. *I.Lind.* 441, 9: *IGLAM* 1604, 1633: παραμυθει—σθαι λυπουμένους περὶ τῆς τω—ν φιλτάτων ἀποβολῆς (republished in *MAMA* VIII, 408, 409; cf. vol. 3, 8: λύπης τω—ν γονέων παραμύθια); *SEG* VI, 189; *IG* Vol., 2, 517; XII, 7, 239, 394, 399; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 796, 13: παραμυθησομένην τοὺς τε γονεῖ—ς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν πάππον; 866; the most fully developed is 889, 20ff.: παραμυθήσασθαι δὲ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ τὴν σύνβιον αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ τοὺς γλυκυτάτους ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ τοὺς θεῖους αὐτοῦ Ἄρ. Ζώσιμον καὶ Ἡρακλείδην καὶ τοὺς γένει προσήκοντας γενναίως φέρειν τὸ συνβάν (third century).

¹¹ Onosander 36.2: when the general had been defeated, he comforted (παραμυθησάμενος) the soldiers who had survived the battle; Xenophon, *Cyn.* 6.25; Philo, *Moses* 2.50: to command without encouraging (ἄνευ παραμυθίας) is the deed of a tyrant addressing not free men but slaves.

¹² Josephus, *Ant.* 6.38: “When the divinity appears to us and comforts us” (παραμυθει—ται); cf. Καλλιόπη παραμυθουμένη (E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente*, 2d ed., Göttingen, 1963, n. XXVI, 9); a Greek translation of the Aeneid: “solabar fatis” = παρεμυθοῦμην μοίραις (*P.Ryl.* 478, 15).

¹³ 2Macc 15:9. “This is not a mere reading from the Holy Scripture, as at 8:23, but an exhortation fed by the Law and the Prophets” (F. M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées*, p. 472). This is what Rom 15:4 calls “the *paraklesis*

of the Scriptures”; cf. Luke 24:31—when Jesus comments on them, the sacred texts cause the heart of the hearers to burn. Cf. the oratorical exercises of the general according to Onasander 1.13: ἡ τοῦ λόγου παρακέλευσις . . . ἡ τοῦ λόγου παρηγορία τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνέρρωσε ... ὥστε παραμυθεῖσθαι τὰς ἐν στρατοπέδοις συμφοράς.

¹⁴ 1Thess 2:12—παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς καὶ παραμυθούμενοι καὶ μαρτυρούμενοι. The linking of παρακαλέω and παραμυθέομαι is found again at 2Macc 15:8–9; 1Thess 5:14; 1Cor 14:3; Phil 2:1.

¹⁵ Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 29: παραμυθούμενοι . . . καὶ πείθοντες; *De gen.* 20: παραμυθεῖται τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας; *De tu. san.* 22: μιὰρὰ παραμυθία = harmful advice; *De fac.* 17 (an objection’s persuasive force); *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 13 (together with διδάσκω); Athenaeus 8.363 e 13; 471 e; *T. Job* 28.1; 34.2, 5.

¹⁶ Plato, *Phd.* 83 a; cf. *Resp.* 5.476 e: “Could we not find a way to calm him and persuade him gently, without letting him know that he is not in his right mind?”; Aeschylus, *PV* 1063: “Give reasons that may convince me”; Lucian, *Philops.* 27. Pythagoras introduced music to the soul “in order to charm it” (ἐνεκα καὶ παραμυθίας, in Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 3).

¹⁷ Plato, *Prt.* 346 b: “The good cast a veil over them and make themselves praise them; and if they are irritated by some wrong committed by their parents or their country, they calm themselves, they try to be reconciled, they even force themselves to love and praise them”; Plutarch, *Them.* 22.5: “ostracism is a means of appeasing jealousy.” *Paramythion* is an appeasing (Plato, *Leg.* 4.704 d; Plato, *Critias* 115 b; Sophocles, *El.* 130; Ps.-Theocritus 23.7; Plutarch, *Brut.* 6); cf. παραμυθία, Plato, *Leg.* 1.625 b; Plutarch, *Tim.* 5.3: “He wanted to go and calm him”; *Cic.* 37.1: Cicero tried to calm Caesar and Pompey.

¹⁸ Thucydides 5.103.1: ἐλπίς δὲ, κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὔσα—hope inspires risk-taking; Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 115: “Through soft words, he persuaded (παραμυθούμενος) him not to wear the short cloak or go outdoors.”

¹⁹ Cf. Bo Reicke, “Unité chrétienne et Diaconie, Philip. II, 1–11,” in *Freundesgabe O. Cullmann*, Leiden, 1962, pp. 203–212; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 518ff. *Paramythion* could have the meaning of persuasion or its more traditional sense, consolation-encouragement (J. Gnifka, *Der Philipperbrief*, Freiburg-Basel, 1968, p. 102, translates “Zuspruch,” exhortation-consolation), but in its place between παράκλησις and κοινωνία this term should refer to love’s power to stir to action (cf. Gal

5:6—πίστις δι ἀγάπης ε—νεργουμένη). *Agape* is a subjective genitive, corresponding to Christ and the Holy Spirit (same order in 2Cor 13:13). It is from this objective source that the Philippians will draw their “resources” for Christian living and brotherly love.

²⁰ *P.Thead.* 17, 17; cf. Wis 19:12—“For their relief, quails came up for them out of the sea”; Plutarch, *Sert.* 10.1: “At at time when the barbarians were in the greatest need of relief.”

²¹ *P.Grenf.* II, 89, 8; 90, 11; *PSI* 48, 2–5; *P.Michael.* 43, 17; *C.P.Herm.* 64, 4; *P.Oxy.* 1913, 7 (λόγος παραμυθίας); cf. P. M. Meyer’s note on *P.Hamb.* 30 (p. 128, n. 1). In monastic Greek, *paramythia* means “refection, collation,” cf. A. J. Festugière, *Etudes d’histoire*, p. 187.

²² *P.Michael.* 43, 15; *P.Princ.* 96, 6–7; *P.Oxy.* 136, 28, 31; 2024, 11; 2038, 14; 2195, 123; *SB* 5285, 35; 10810, 4; *P.Lond.* 1497, 10 (an ε—γγυτική ὁμολογία); 1452, 12 and 32. The editor of this papyrus, H. I. Bell, comments on *paramythia*: “The sense would seem to be something like *softness*, perhaps a (sailor’s) gift upon going on duty”; but J. Maspéro observes: “the word is much more precise; quite probably it is an equivalent for the Latin *solatium*, which means an official’s ‘compensation’ or a certain portion of this compensation” (in *REG*, 1912, p. 222; cf. S. Daris, “Frammento di lettera [?] bizantina,” in *SPap*, 1963, p. 9). In *P.Berlin* inv. 13916, 4 (fifth century): “I have received . . . for the tax on the *annonae* . . . twenty gold *keratia* and for the *paramythia* one *keration*”; the editor, E. Wipszycka (“Deux quittances d’impôts du Ve et VIe siècle,” in *Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin, 1974, pp. 459ff.), refers to a register of taxes paid by the inhabitants of Aphrodito (*P.Flor.* 297, 243 and 433; sixth century), but neither this papyrus nor *P.Berlin* allows us to specify the nature of the fiscal charge called παραμυθία. E. W. proposes two possible interpretations: (a) a supplementary payment (cf. *P.Lond.* V, 1781; *BGU* 1020, where the word refers to a supplementary payment, gifts customarily offered to the owner); (b) “a wage, compensation, bonus”; in a receipt, this would be the sum meant for the tax collector.

παραπλήσιον, παραπλησίως

paraplesion, near, similar to, like; *paraplesios*, similarly, likewise

paraplesion, S 3897; *EDNT* 3.33; MM 489; L&N 64.9; BDF §184; BAGD 621 | ***paraplesios***, S 3898; *EDNT* 3.33; MM 489; L&N 64.9; BAGD 621; ND 3.79

The preposition and the adverb, both unknown in the LXX, are NT hapaxes; and the adverb seems to be attested nowhere in the papyri. Both are formed from *plesios*, “near, close, neighboring,” and etymologically refer to either the closeness of a place¹ or a more or less total resemblance (“almost alike”), at least in classical Greek; but in the Koine the meaning often blurs into “nearly.”

Paraplesion in Phil 2:27 retains the nuance of approximation: Epaphroditus was ill, quite near to or actually on the point of dying; he had a brush with death. In the papyri, it is used to mean “analogous,”² for comparing facts, people, or things that are equivalent or “of the same sort”;³ so the meaning is “similar, like,” like writing the same things to another correspondent.⁴ The similarity can even amount to identity: “It is and will be the same with Pontus, and this is coming about already.”⁵ “It is impossible that after the conflagration the world should become like coal” (= “become coal”—Philo, *Etern. World* 90).

The same difficulty of evaluating the degree of similarity appears for *paraplesios* in Heb 2:14, where Christ shares the human conditions after the fashion of his brethren according to flesh and blood. Should we understand this to say “in exactly the same manner” or “in a manner nearly like”—in order to preserve Christ’s sinlessness, his human nature not being corrupt⁶—in which case we would say “in his own way,”⁷ or perhaps in a vague sense “similarly, likewise,” neither including nor excluding some particular difference. This last interpretation is the best attested in the first century: “An equality of the same order is seen in the members of living beings” (Philo, *Heir* 51); “likewise in all the towns” (Josephus, *Life* 187); “the people of Asochis, like those of Japha, gave them a noisy reception” (ibid. 233); “to become a good distance runner, one must have robust shoulders and neck, like an athlete who competes in the pentathlon”;⁸ “Orpheus made a vow to the gods of Samothrace, just as he did the first time.”⁹ It would seem that the nuance of Heb 2:14 is that cited by the Greek fathers—“with no difference”¹⁰—a translation that follows the context. Christ assumed a human nature exactly like that of other mortals, even though its principle of existence was the person of the Word of God—but this is a distinction made by later theology. Nevertheless the choice of the word *paraplesios* seems to hold some nuance—could it be that of the virginal conception?

¹ Cf. John 4:5—“Sychar was near (πλησίον) the field” Jacob gave to Joseph = *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 333: “near the theater” (τὸ παραπλήσιον τοῦ θεάτρου); Diodorus Siculus 17.55.5; 17.75.6.

² *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53, 15 (taxes); 72 (sanctuary); 240 (artisans of analogous condition); *PSI* 1401, 3; *P.Tebt.* 703, 268; 788, 11; 790, 14; *UPZ* 110, 159:

other officials of the same rank; 162, col. III, 22; *BGU* 1768, 12. The shape of the city of Alexandria is very close to that of a *chlamys* (Diodorus Siculus 17.52.3), the system as a whole gave the impression of a city (17.52.5).

³ Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 63: “other fruits of the same sort”; 127: “through these words and others of the same sort”; 138: “as other idiots say, Egyptians and others like them”; the word is a favorite of Strabo, 11.8.4: “The Sacae launched invasions like those of the Cimmerians and the Treres”; 11.8.7: “The funeral customs and the mores of these peoples are analogous”; 11.10.2: “Margiana is similar to Aria”; 11.11.3; 11.13.9. The Romans suffer reverses when they take on the sea, but they are victorious when they attack men, adversaries of like nature to their own (Polybius 1.37.8); Plutarch, *Ant.* 45.4.

⁴ *PSI* 491, 13 (third century BC); cf. Onias’ desire to build in Egypt “a temple like the one at Jerusalem” (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.63); “two candelabra like those in the sanctuary” (*War* 6.388); the praetorium is built “after the fashion of a small temple” (3.82).

⁵ Polybius 4.40.10; 3.33.17: “we have acted just like those historians who wish to present their lies in a plausible manner.”

⁶ Cf. Rom 8:3; Phil 2:7; Heb 4:15—“just as we are, yet without sin”; A. Vanhoye, *Exegesis epistulae ad Hebraeos cap. I–II*, Rome, 1968, pp. 194–195.

⁷ Cf. Philo, *Abraham* 162: “thought, in its own way, is under the influence of a passion.”

⁸ Philostratus, *Gym.* 32; cf. 25: “the chest must be as prominent as the hips.”

⁹ Diodorus Siculus 4.48; cf. Herodotus 3.104: “In the middle of the day, the sun burns Indians and other people equally (or almost equally?).”

¹⁰ Cf. Plutarch, *De curios.* 3: “Just as a chicken on a farm, in spite of the feed put in front of it, will often hide in a corner to scratch around where a grain of barley appears amidst the manure, in the same manner (παραπλησίως) . . . the hidden and secret vices of each household will peck about” (following J. Dumortier’s French translation). But Strabo (11.2.2) contrasts the not-well-known origins of the Nile (παραπλησίως) with its course, which is perfectly known (πολὺ τὸ φανερόν); 11.14.12: the sanctuaries of Armenia were destroyed almost as was the temple of Abdera.

παραφέρω

paraphero, to bring, carry off, remove

paraphero, S 3911; *EDNT* 3.35; MM 491; L&N 15.162, 31.75, 90.97; BAGD 623

This verb presents no other difficulty than its multitude of meanings, which can be sorted out only according to context.

I. — The first meaning, “bring,” appears in Judg 6:5, where the Midianites bring their tents beyond the borders of their kingdom.¹ The sense is that of carrying something, sometimes in a physical sense, like “waterless clouds carried by the wind,”² and sometimes in a mental sense, as when David, pretending to be mad, appears deranged.³ Compare the English expressions “carried away” and “transports of delight.”

II. — The exhortation of Heb 13:9 (*didachais poikilais kai xenais me parapheresthe*) uses the passive in a figurative sense: “to varied and strange doctrines do not let yourself be led”; or “do not be carried off, away from the right path,” by these teachings. This epistle often uses compound verbs in *para-* to express a deviation, a turning aside, a marring, a positioning next to the right place: *pararreō* (2:1), *paradeigmatizo* (6:6), *paraiteomai* (12:25), *parapikraino* (3:8, 15-16), *parapipto* (6:6).

III. — The second aorist imperative (*parenenke . . . ap' emou*, Mark 14:36; Luke 22:42; cf. Matt 26:39—*parelthato*) should be translated “remove (or take back) this cup from me.”⁴

¹ Cf. Xenophon, *Cyn.* 5.27: the animal’s speed allows it to get out of sight of each object (παραφέρει τὴν ὄψιν) before determining what it is”; Philostratus, *Gym.* 44: “bringing the cooks and the impish kitchen boys”; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.168: Amnon asks his sister to have his meal brought (served) in his room. In a marriage contract, the woman brings (παραφερομένην) her belongings with her (*P.Dura* 30, 12). From this meaning, “cause to appear” (and confront, *P.Oxy.* 1853, 5), “produce” (a copy of a mortgage, *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 40, 16 = *SB* 7364; cf. G. Rosenberger, *Griechische Verwaltungsurkunden von Tebtynis*, Giessen, 1939, n. 53, 10 and 14), “keep ready” a bath and some food (*P.Amh.* 81, 12; *P.Oxy.* 131, 14). In the papyri, παραφέρω is a technical term in receipts for the *delivery* of wheat (*P.NYU* 7, 12; 9, 1, 10; 11, 1, 5), meat (6, 1), grains (5, 8, 15, 26, 34, 39, 45; 8, 3; 10, 1, 5, 10; 11 *a*, 1; *P.Cair.Isid.* 16, 28, 37, 42; 46, 4; 47, 9, 23, 28, 32), clothing (*P.Oslo* 119, 1 and 9), cattle (*P.Oxy.* 2118, 8). The usual formula for deliveries is παρήνεγκεν—sometimes κατέβαλεν—ὁ δει—να ὑπὲρ κ?ι—νδικτίονος κομητῶ—ν

Καρανίδος; sometimes ἔσχαμεν παρά σου (*P.NYU* 5, 1–7, 20–25, 50–55; 11 *a* 162–166; *P.Mich.* 649, 1, 8, 16, 30); receiving clerks attest the receipts: ὑποδίκται κόμης Καρανίδος; for example: “Valerius, son of Antiourios, delivered to the city gate for the third new *indictio*, for the account of the *comites* of Karanis, thirty-two and eleven-twelfths *artabai* of barley . . .” (*P.NYU* 5, 8; cf. the note of the editor, N. Lewis, p. 10); cf. the ostraca of Karanis, in *P.Mich.* VI, 779, 3; 781, 1; 782, 1; 784, 2; 785, 2; 786, 2; VIII, 1008, 1; 1009–1022. Delivery is made to a storeroom (*P.Cair.Isid.* 56, 1; 57, 13) or to the ὀριοδικτία (*P.Mert.* 30, 1); cf. *SB* 7361, 12 (cf. *ZPE*, vol. 15, 1974, p. 149); 9032, 2; 9070, 9, 23, 28; 10729, 1, 11. In guarantee contracts (ε–γγύη), this formula is used: “I will deliver and transport”; τούτους ἢ τοῦτον παραφέρω καὶ παραδώσω ε–ν δημοσίῳ τόπῳ (*P.Mert.* 98, 12; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2203, 3; 2238, 15; 2420, 16; 2478, 23–24; *SB* 9512, 15), or in the aorist παρήνεγκα καὶ παρέδωκα (*P.Gen.* 36, 15; *BGU*, 974, 5).

² Jude 12 (the passive, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων παραφερόμενα; cf. 2Pet 2:17—ε–λαυνόμενα = driven along); cf. Plutarch, *Tim.* 28.9: “Many were carried off by the river and . . . drowned”; Marcus Aurelius 4.43: “Hardly is something in sight when it is carried off”; 12.4.5: “If the whirlwind carries you off, let it take your body, your breath, all the rest. It will not take your intelligence.” In AD 42, Papaï transported five μετρήται of oil from the oasis of Baharia to Memphis (*P.Fuad I Univ.* 34, 2; cf. *P.Mich.* 493, 14). In the sixth-seventh century, Victor asks George to send someone to transport some VIPs from Thmoinepsobthis (*P.Oxy.* 1853, 6). Cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.2.4: “The cook made a third round (περιέφερε τὸ τρίτον) for the rest of the distribution (τῆς περιφορα–ς)”; *Ep. Arist.* 316: “just when he was going to borrow (παραφέρειν) some passage from the Scripture, he was stricken with cataracts.” A curious metaphorical (?) example from *T. Abr.* B 6: Sarah says to Abraham, “I add (?) and say that (παραφέρω καὶ λέγω ὅτι) this is one of the three men who were our guests.”

³ 1Sam 21:14, where the LXX uses παραφέρετο well to translate the hithpoel of the Hebrew *halal*, “lose one’s reason”; cf. Plutarch, *Tim.* 6.1: “Our judgments . . . are easily shaken up and thrown off (σειόνται καὶ παραφέρονται) by the praise or blame of the first person to come along.”

⁴ F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 39), translating the active with a passive, translates, “Turn aside, cause (or suffer) to pass by,” and cites Plutarch, *Pel.* 9.6: “Phyllidas sought to divert the conversation” (παραφερόντος τὸν λόγον); 10.6: “The first had hardly passed (παραφερομένου) when Fortune raised up a second against them.” Moulton-Milligan adds Aratus, *Phaen.* 43: τότε μὲν οὖν παρήνεγκε τὸ ῥηθέν

and *P.Eleph.* 11, 5: σὺ δὲ ἕως τοῦ νῦν παρενήνοχας . . . πάνθ ὑπερθέμενος. But in Mark 14:36; Luke 22:42, the meaning is determined by ἀπ ε—μοῦ.

παρεισφέρω

pareisphero, to bring in alongside or in addition

pareisphero, S 3923; *EDNT* 3.37; MM 492; L&N 68.64; BAGD 625

This biblical hapax (2Pet 1:5), “bring in alongside or in addition,” rare in classical Greek, is attested in only one papyrus dating from 113 BC: “A certain Thracian from Kerkesephis, whose name I do not know, fraudulently brought oil (*pareisenenochota elaion*) into the house where Petesuchos lives.” It means “bring an amendment” in Demosthenes (*C. Lept.* 20.88) and corresponds to *eispherein psephisma* in the inscriptions, which means “introduce or propose a decree,”¹ “pay a fine” (*MAMA VI*, 11). This second verb is used for bringing absolute courage into a just war (Onasander 4.2), and the expression *eispherein pasan spouden* is used constantly in the sense of putting one’s zeal into something, bringing all one’s good will to bear.²

Everyone agrees that this is clearly the meaning in 2Pet 1:5, where the compound form corresponds to the Koine’s common preference: “So therefore bring all your diligence to bear to add to your faith virtue. . . .” (*kai auto touto de spouden pasan pareisenenkantes epichoregesate en te pistei hymon ten areten*).³

¹ *I.Magn.* C b 32; cf. LV, 22; *I.Sinur.*, n. 9, 16 (decree for the building of a sanctuary); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1102, 10.

² Josephus, *Ant.* 11.324: Sanballates brought all his zeal to bear on the building of the Samaritan temple; 20.204: the procurator Albinus brought all his efforts to bear to pacify the region and rid it of *sicarii*; Polybius 22.12.12; Diodorus Siculus 1.83; *I.Magn.* 85, 11; a decree from Stratonicea in Caria, at the beginning of the imperial period, in honor of Zeus Panhemerios and Hecate: καλω—ς δὲ ἔχι πα—σαν σπουδὴν ι—σφέρεσθαι ι—ς τὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦς εὐσέβειαν (*CIG II*, 2715, a 10; cf. J. Chaine, *Les Epîtres catholiques*, Paris, 1939, p. 15); decree of Abdera (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 656, 14; cf. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, pp. 320–326; *Syl.* 694, 16).

³ Compare the honorific decree from the first century BC celebrating Herostratos, “a good man, distinguished by his faithfulness, virtue, justice, piety” (ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον καὶ διενένκαντα πίστει καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ

δικαιοσύνη καὶ εὐσεβεία . . . τὴν πλείστην εἰ—σενηνεγμένον σπουδῆν, Dittenberger, *Or.* 438, 6–9); cf. C. Spicq, *Agarè*, vol. 2, p. 354.

παρεπίδημος

parepidemos, foreigner temporarily in a place, sojourner
see also ξενία, ξενίζω, ξενοδοχέω, ξένος

parepidemos, S 3927; TDNT 2.64–65; EDNT 3.38; NIDNTT 1.690; MM 493; L&N 11.77; BAGD 625

Among the foreigners, distinguished from the natives in a city in Egypt or Greece were the *katoikountes* (cf. the *paroikoi*, Exod 12:45; Lev 22:10), or residents, who had obtained the right of domicile; and the *parepidemoi*, or sojourners, foreigners who were only passing through the city, not establishing themselves there;¹ for example, they stayed only long enough to unload cargo or to settle a business matter.² Neither category of people has the right to citizenship, but the second are only passing through; their stay is temporary.³ The verb *parepidemeo* and the substantive *parepidemia* occur much more commonly than *parepidemos*, but they always mean a brief sojourn outside one's customary home. For example: foreigners who find themselves temporarily at Priene (*ton parepidemounton xenon, I.Priene*, 111, 139; cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 268, 9; SB 1568, 4, *hoi parepidemountes en to Arsinoite*); praise is given “to the delegates Aristodamos, Aristeus, Antanor, because they sojourned (*parepedamesan*) and reported in a fashion entirely worthy of the city of Magnesia and the people of Epirus” (*I.Magn.* 32, 40); “Whereas the transients at Philae, *strategoï, epistatai* . . . compelled us to pay the costs of their presence. . . .”⁴ “The Messenian ephors suffered much on account of the sojourn of Dorimachos.”⁵

In the third century BC, Zeno, a native of Caunus, calls himself or is labeled a *parepidemos* in Egypt.⁶ In a will from the same period, a certain Philo leaves to his heirs (his wife and his daughter) a debt of 150 silver drachmas owed him by the Syrian *parepidemos* Apollonios, also called in Syriac Jonathas.⁷ The LXX gives this term a religious meaning, since in prayer the Israelites present themselves as nomads, without hearth or home, whose only security and support is in Yahweh,⁸ and also since Abraham says at Hebron “I am a resident alien and a sojourner in your midst”;⁹ a saying that is evoked at Heb 11:13, where the patriarchs are supposed to have confessed that they were “strangers and exiles on the earth” (*xenoi kai parepidemoi eisin epi tes ges*).

This profession of faith and of hope was influenced by Philo, who said that “every wise soul has received heaven as its country, the earth as a foreign (*xenen*) land; it considers the corporeal dwelling as someone

else's property in which it must sojourn (*parepidemein*)."¹⁰ When St. Peter addresses "the elect, strangers in the Diaspora" (1Pet 1:1), he means that the recipients of his letter are not natives and citizens of an earthly country, where they are making only a provisional, relatively brief sojourn; their abode is elsewhere: in heaven (cf. Phil 3:20). This exile is strongly emphasized by repetition: "Dear friends, I urge you as aliens and strangers (*hos paroikous kai parepidemous*) to abstain from carnal desires."¹¹ This is not a chance metaphor but an adequate summary of the supernatural condition of Christians (*hos* = "as, being"). For them, life is a pilgrimage (Gen 47:9; 2Cor 5:6-8); they are only "passing through" on earth, so they have the mindset of travelers who do not adopt the thoughts or customs or mores of the country that they traverse;¹² they have a different set of values than the natives that they rub shoulders with. The citizens of heaven keep themselves from all that could sully their holiness (1Pet 1:13-15).

¹ Cf. Plutarch, *Tim.* 38.2: "they led the foreign travelers into his house" (τω—ν ξένων τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας ἄγοντες εἰ—ς τὴν οἰ—κίαν); Polybius 30.4.10; Diodorus Siculus 1.83. Cf. P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, pp. 55–59, 92–97; N. Hohlwein, *Termes techniques*, pp. 335, 351; *Chrest. Wilck.*, I, 1, 1, pp. 40–55.

² For example, peasants passing through Alexandria stay too long and neglect their farm work; "the king forbade sojourning in the city (περεπιδημει—ν) for more than twenty days" (*Ep. Arist.* 110); cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 714, 30; *P.Tor.* 8 = *UPZ* 196, 13: τω—ν παρεπιδημοῦντων καὶ κατοικούντων ε—ν ταύταις ξένων; J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," in *REG*, 1955, p. 268, n. 216: honors given by τοὶ κατοικεῦντες καὶ γεωργεῦντες καὶ ναυκλαρεῦντες καὶ παρεπιδαμῶντες ε—ν Φύσκῳ. Cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, vol. 2, p. 23; idem, *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, p. 190; vol. 2, pp. 216ff. P. Gautier, *Symbola*, pp. 117ff., 375.

³ Cf. *SB* 1568, 4: traveling functionaries (cf. Polybius 27.7.3); 9228, 16, βουλόμενος περεπιδημει—ν πρὸς καιρὸν τῇ Σοήνῃ ε—τω—ν; *P.Oxy.* 473, 2; *P.Petr.* II, 13, 19: ὅπως τοῦτόν γε τὸν χρόνον παρεπιδημῆς (republished S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 8, 12). Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 257–180 BC): "A metic is someone from a foreign city who lives in the city, paying a tax according to certain established needs of the city. For a certain number of days, such a person is called a transient foreigner (παρεπίδημος) and is not taxed (ἀτελής); if he exceeds the fixed period, he then becomes a metic and is taxed" (frag. 38; in A. Nauck, *Aristophanis Byzantini Grammatici Alexandrini Fragmenta*, 1848). In Gen 14:13, Abraham is called an 'ibri, which is translated περάτης (biblical

hapax) by the LXX and commented on thus by St. Jerome: “Hebrew, i.e., transient” (*Epist.* 71.2; 78.33; *Quaest. hebr. in Gen.* 14.13; *in Ezek.* 7.6; *in Jonah* 1.9; *in Jer.* 1.14—“Hebraeus, id est περάτης et peregrinus transitorque”). Is *Habiru* an ethnic term designating a nomadic, wandering people, to be compared to the *‘Ibrîm* (R. de Vaux, in *RB*, 1956, pp. 261–277, n. 4; 288, n. 2), or a name meaning “refugees, uprooted people,” always foreigners in the places where they are so called (*sic*, J. Botéro; cf. G. Cardascia, “Le Statut de l’étranger dans la Mésopotamie ancienne,” in *L’Etranger*, Recueils de la société J. Bodin IX, 1; Brussels, 1958, pp. 112ff.)? In any event, the *habiru* and the *‘Ibrîm* are both transient and temporary, even if not foreign (H. Cazelles, “Hébreux, Ubru, Habiru,” in *Syria*, 1958, pp. 198–217; cf. M. L. Ramlot, in *RevThom*, 1961, p. 435).

⁴ —Επεὶ οἱ— παρεπιδημοῦντες εἰς τὰς Φίλας στρατηγοί (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 52, 22 = *SB* 8396; Dittenberger, *Or.* 139; A. Bernand, *Philae*, I, n. 19); cf. *C.P.Herm.* 6, 13: “I find out about foreigners who come from somewhere else on some occasion to establish themselves here”; *P.Oxy.* 1023, 4; *P.Fouad* 79, 4: “transient in the nome of Oxyrhynchus”; *P.Brem.* 20, 7: Πλουτίωνα παρεπιδημοῦντα οὐχ εὐ—ρον; *BGU* 1762, 5 (first century BC); *P.Oslo* 111, 27 and 88; *SB* 7746, 35; etc. Diodorus Siculus XIX, 61, 1: “Antigonus convened a general assembly composed of soldiers and sojourners” (τῶ—ν τε στρατιωτῶ—ν καὶ τῶ—ν παρεπιδημούντων), French trans. by F. Bizière (*Diodore de Sicile: Bibliothèque historique, Livre XIX*, Paris, 1975, p. 85) who comments (p. 162): “That is to say, those who came with Alexander . . . the translation that seems best to fit the sense of παρεπιδημει—ν, since this verb is used in the inscriptions to refer to transients, especially foreigners sojourning briefly in a city, cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* n. 640, 5 and 714, 30.”

⁵ Polybius 4.4.2 (τῇ παρεπιδημίᾳ); a decree of Delphi in honor of Lykinos of Thebes, “who came to sojourn in our city and acted during his stay (παρεπιδαμίαν, *l. ε—πιδαμίαν*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 738) in a manner worthy of his own people and our city” (*NCIG*, n. X, 20); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 772, 2 (25 BC); 734, 10 (AD 94).

⁶ *P.Col.Zen.* 72, 1; *PSI* 389, 3; *P.Mich.* 66, 6, 14, 26; Dittenberger, *Or.* 383, 150; cf. *PSI* 385, 4.

⁷ *P.Petr.* III, 7, 15; republished in *C.Pap.Jud.* 126, corrected and commented on by J. Modrzejewski, “Servitude pour dettes ou legs de créance?” in *RechPap*, vol. 2, Paris, 1962, pp. 75–98.

⁸ Ps 39:13—“Hear my prayer, for I am a resident alien with you, a sojourner like my forebears” (ὅτι πάροικος ε—γώ ει—μι παρὰ σοὶ καὶ παρεπίδημος); Hebrew *tôshab*.

⁹ Gen 23:4—πάροικος καὶ περεπίδημος ε—γώ ει—μι μεθ ὑμῶ—ν. P. Dhorme comments: “*ger w^{etôshab}*, a foreigner who has been received as a resident in a neighboring country but does not have the rights of a native.”

¹⁰ Philo, *Husbandry* 65; cf. *Heir* 267; since the fall, man is a fugitive and an exile (*Cherub.* 1ff.; *Rewards* 16–20; cf. Heb 6:18—οἱ—καταφυγόντες; *Pss. Sol.* 17.19). For the vocabulary, cf. *Conf. Tongues* 76ff.: “They have not sojourned as in a foreign land (οὐχὼς ε—πὶ ξένης παρω—κησαν). . . . If they had come only for a short stay (παρεπιδημήσαντες), they would have withdrawn again, whereas by establishing themselves solidly, they oblige themselves to stay put indefinitely.” For the theology, cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 1, pp. 83, 123, 269ff.

¹¹ 1Pet 2:11; cf. J. B. SouÛek, “Pilgrims and Sojourners,” in *Communio Viatorum*, Prague, 1958, pp. 3–17; H. v. Campenhausen, “S’expatrier ‘à cause de la foi,’” in *ÔSpir*, 459; 1959, pp. 162–181; J. F. Fontecha, “La vida cristiana como pregrinación según la Ep. a los Hebreos,” in *Studium Legionense*, Léon, 1961, vol. 2, pp. 251–306; M. Adinolfi, “Temi dell’Esodo nella I Pt,” in *Studii Biblici Franciscani*, Jerusalem, 1966, pp. 299–317; idem, “Stato civile de cristiani ‘forestieri e pellegrini’ (Q Petr. II, 11),” in *Anton*, 1967, pp. 420–434; C. Spicq, *Vie chrétienne*.

¹² Cicero defined the attitude of a foreigner toward the country in which he resides: remaining indifferent to and uncurious about what happens (Cicero, *Off.* 1.34.125).

παρθενία, παρθένος

parthenia, virginity; *parthenos*, unmarried young woman, virgin

parthenia, S 3932; *EDNT* 3.39; *NIDNTT* 1.1072; MM 494; L&N 23.64; BAGD 626–627 | ***parthenos***, S 3933; *TDNT* 5.826–837; *EDNT* 3.39; *NIDNTT* 3.1071–1072; MM 494; L&N 15.86, 85.25; BAGD 627; ND 4.222–226

There is no known etymology for *parthenos*,¹ which usually refers to a “young woman” who is not yet married or a “virgin,”² as distinct from “woman” (*gyne*): “leaving behind the name of virgin, a young woman is called a woman (or wife).”³ So this term is usually linked with the idea of

youth (*parthenou koras* = the young virgin),⁴ of beauty, and even of nobility.⁵ It can then be meant in the strict sense of purity and literal virginity: “My soul is virgin” (*parthenon psychen echon*, Euripides, *Hipp.* 1006); “water that flows from a pure spring” (*parthenou peges*, Aeschylus, *Pers.* 613); in the Argolid a fountain was shown in which Juno recovered her virginity each year by bathing (Pausanias 2.38.2–3). In AD 37, the inhabitants of Assos took an oath “by our pure and virgin” (*hagnen parthenon*) city-guardian goddess.⁶ In the classical and Hellenistic periods, not only is this esteem for virginity affirmed—as with Atalanta, who when she “came to the age of puberty wished to remain a virgin”⁷—along with an association between youth and innocent living, but also virginity takes on religious meaning. Virgin goddesses like Artemis,⁸ and better, the warrior Athena,⁹ are honored. The pagan cults attest to the consecrated virginity of their priestesses and their prophetesses, which presupposes that their innocence is valued by the gods, so that their intervention is especially efficacious. The case of the Vestals is only one example,¹⁰ but there are also the Pythia, who drew near to the god “with a virgin soul” (Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 22), and many others: “She claims that she will remain a virgin all her life; she is consecrated to the cult of Artemis. . . . She exalts virginity and does not fall far short of divinizing it. She calls it pure, unpolluted, immaculate.”¹¹

The papyri and especially the inscriptions confirm these meanings: *parthenoi* are “girls.”¹² Epitaphs, especially Jewish ones, use the word to point to the youthfulness of the deceased,¹³ who had “reached the flower of age” (*CII* 1508), or was of marriageable age.¹⁴ The term takes on areligious coloring in the fourth century BC at Cyrene, where “young women” have to be purified, and are associated with young brides (*nympha*) before the consummation of their marriage, and with women (*gyna*).¹⁵ Cult regulations associate them with children in taking part in cultic ceremonies; they sing hymns in processions.¹⁶ With the decree of Canopus in the third century, “sacred virgins” appear at festal assemblies in honor of the gods;¹⁷ in a regulation for the Andanian mysteries, one of the “virgins” is identified as the priestess of Apollo Karneios (*hai parthenoi hai hierai*).¹⁸ This has nothing to do with physical integrity or with virtue; it is a functional title.

The LXX uses *parthenos* (Hebrew *betûlâh*) for an adolescent girl who has not been engaged (Exod 22:15-16), “who has not belonged to a man” (Lev 21:3), sometimes emphasizing youthfulness,¹⁹ sometimes physiological virginity: “young virgins who had not had relations with a male” (Judg 21:12). This point is as novel as it is constant (“Here is my daughter, who is a virgin”),²⁰ but it implies nothing about the virtue or the personal feelings of the one so described: she is a virgin, since she is not married and everyone thinks she is one.²¹ This is what confirms the meaning of *partheneia* (Hebrew *betûlîm*): physical integrity, the distinctive

index of virginity.²² Only two texts translate the Hebrew *‘almâh* as *parthenos*. The first concerns Rebekah (Gen 24:43); the second speaks of the miraculous sign of salvation given to Ahaz: “The adolescent (*he parthenos*) will become pregnant and will bear a son; you shall call his name Immanuel” (Isa 7:14). Matt 1:23 attests its literal messianic meaning.²³ It has been consecrated by the Christian tradition, which refers it to the virgin birth of Jesus.

Philo seems to be the first to have understood *parthenia* as an actual virtue²⁴ and gives it its distinguishing traits,²⁵ always including nobility and beauty.²⁶ This has to do not only with physical integrity, nor even with simple purity, but with an interior and very spiritual orientation that allows one to enter into relationship with God. God communes “with the nature that is undefiled, pure, in all truth virgin. . . . When God begins to have commerce with the soul, he makes a virgin again of what has become a woman.”²⁷ His model would be the female Therapeutae, contemplatives who serve and honor God, for the most part “aged virgins (*gerai ai parthenoi*) who have not observed chastity (*hagneian*) by constraint—like some Greek priestesses—but on their free resolve, from a passionate desire for wisdom: seeking to imbue their lives with it, they have renounced bodily pleasures.”²⁸

Luke 2:36 is faithful to the language of the LXX when it specifies that the prophetess Anna had lived “with her husband seven years *apo tes parthenias*.” On the other hand, St. Matthew no longer understands *parthenos* to mean “young woman” (Hebrew *‘almâh*) but literally “virgin,” since the point is that Joseph is being reassured concerning his fiancée’s virtue (Matt 1:23). The meaning of the term in Luke 1:27 is much disputed: Gabriel is sent from God “to a virgin engaged to a man named Joseph . . . the virgin’s name was Mary” (*pros parthenon emnesteumenen andri . . . to onoma tes parthenou Mariam*).²⁹ This text is not to be taken in isolation; it plays an important role in the design of Luke 1–2;³⁰ the strict meaning “virgin” was retained by the whole tradition, in which the religious meaning has great weight,³¹ the ideal of virginity not being unknown among contemporaries (Epictetus 3.22.26–27), notably the Essenes.³² Not only does Luke write *parthenos* first, before the name of the young woman, but he repeats it and wants to emphasize its weight; it is the title par excellence of the person whom the angel addresses with such great respect, the one whom Christian tradition calls “the Blessed Virgin Mary.”

On the other hand, once more, the title of the “parable of the Ten Virgins” (*deka parthenois*, Matt 25:1, 7, 11) is wrong. M. J. Lagrange noted: “The ten virgins are young women, friends of the fiancée, and the fact of their virginity has no bearing on the parable” (on this text). We might even say that the question of their virginity does not arise; here *parthenos* retains its secular and OT sense, “young women”; they are the bride’s young companions and friends, and they participate in the joyful procession

planned for the marriage ceremony; they surround the bride when she goes to meet her fiancé, who is escorted by young men who are his friends.³³ Five of them are foolish (*morai*), scatterbrained, idiots who bring lamps with no oil; and five are sensible (*phronimoi*)—their lamps are filled. Acts 21:9 is more difficult to interpret. At Caesarea, the evangelist Philip “had four virgin daughters who prophesied” (*thygateres . . . parthenoi propheteuousai*). The clearest point to be made is that there is a certain connection between virginity and prophecy;³⁴ but *parthenos* could also be interpreted simply as meaning unmarried young women, thus noting a fact but allowing no conclusion that these *parthenoi* intended never to marry and had a vow of virginity. Otherwise, in pointing out that these young women were virgins, Luke may have intended to point out their singular circumstance: they were really virgins and even had that virtue.

The definite text on virginity in the NT is 1Cor 7:25-34 (“And concerning virgins,” *peri de ton parthenon*), which means men as well as women (*Jos. Asen.* 4.9; 8.1); the Lord had given no precept on this matter. The apostle gives his reasoned opinion: virginity is better than marriage for both sexes, first because marriage is inopportune given the dramatic eschatological circumstances, but especially on the spiritual level because the person who is *agamos* has no concern other than the Lord and ways of pleasing him. What is more, the virgin remains holy in both body and spirit.³⁵ Virginity means freedom for consecration to the Lord; it means not only bodily purity, but essentially the will of the heart to belong more completely to Christ and to be available for his service.³⁶ The case of the father who hesitates to let his *hyperakmos* (7:36, about to pass the flower of age) daughter (*parthenos*) marry resembles that of Phokos, who “kept on moving back the time for his daughter’s marriage” (*Ps.-Plutarch, Amat. nar.* 4.774 e). All things considered, such a father does well if he lets his daughter marry (*kalos poiei*, 7:36), but he does better (*kreisson poiese*) if he does not give her in marriage.³⁷

Since the OT had portrayed Yahweh as the husband of the nation of Israel, and in Eph 5:22-32 Christ is the husband of the church, St. Paul presents himself as best man in the uniting of the Corinthian community with the Lord, or “as a father gives his daughter to the chosen husband” (E. B. Allo): “I betrothed you to one man (*heni andri*) as a pure virgin (*parthenon hagnen*) to be presented to Christ.”³⁸ The metaphor refers to all souls that are purified from their sins. The same interpretation has been made with the 144,000 virgins before the Beast and its worshipers:³⁹ they have been redeemed from the earth; they sing a new song in honor of the Lamb, whom they follow wherever he goes; “these are the ones who have not defiled themselves with women, because they are virgins (*parthenoi gar eisin*) . . . they are immaculate (*amomoi eisin*).” “Virgins” is to be taken literally, but it is impossible to apply it to all Christians, notably those who are married and could not have been defiled (*emolynthesan*) by virtue of

their marital relations. This must have to do with an elite among the redeemed, a definite category of ascetic Christians, separated from other people, the “firstfruits” taken from the whole of the Christian assembly and consecrated exclusively for the service of God and the Lamb, for whom they constitute a sort of bodyguard.⁴⁰ They would have been “defiled” if they had defaulted on their resolve (cf. 1Tim 5:12—*ten proten pistin athetesan*, “they annulled their first commitment”). As things stand, however, they are beyond reproach. We may think of the “eunuchs who make themselves such for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.”⁴¹ There is no more energetic way of expressing the will to definitive self-renunciation with regard to sexual satisfactions for the love of God; which is the very definition of Christian virginity.

¹ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, on this word. Cf. G. Delling, “παρθένος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp. 826–837. — The feminine ἡ παρθένη is exceptional, cf. *UPZ* 101, 21 (AD 156).

² Homer, *Il.* 22.127: “young man and young woman whisper softly together”; Plato, *Leg.* 794 c: “for boys and girls (παρθένοι) above six years, separation of the sexes is enforced”; 8.834 d: “little girls or young women” (παι—δας ἢ παρθένους); Aristophanes, *Nub.* 530: “since I was still a girl, I was not permitted to give birth.” Marciana, Sirica, Procla, Castar, Asther, and Domna are young women who died at the ages of 15, 18, 19, 14, and 22 years (*CII*, n. 45, 168, 386, 588, 733, 381, 1169); unmarried, without any definite indication as to literal virginity (cf. Plutarch, *Mulier. virt.* 20; *Con. praec.* 2), since παρθένιος means “born of a young woman” (Homer, *Il.* 16.180) who has behaved badly (Pausanias 3.7.7); cf. young married women (Aristophanes, *Eq.* 1302: ὦ παρθένοι = “O young women”; J. Taillardat, *Images d’Aristophane*, n. 647, 767). Cf. A. Brelich, *Paidēs e parthenoi*, Rome, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 303ff. [In accord with contemporary English usage, “young woman” is used in this English translation where the original French, not only in this article but throughout the work, uses “jeune fille.” It seems from the examples given that the term is meant to refer to unmarried females from the teen years into the twenties. It should also be noted that English uses two words (“wife” and “woman”) where both French (“femme”) and Greek (γυνή) use one. —Tr.]

³ Sophocles, *Trach.* 148: ἀντὶ παρθένου γυνή; Ps.-Theocritus 27.65: “I came here a virgin, and I return home a woman”; Philo, *Cherub.* 49: “Union for the sake of procreation makes virgins women”; Diodorus Siculus 5.73. Hesiod, *Th.* 514. In *I.Did.* 496 A 5, the gods appear to worshipers of the goddess Demeter Thesmophoros (διὰ παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν—ν)—whose worship is reserved for women—then to men (literally, to males) and

underage children (δ ἄρρένων καὶ νηπίων). L. Robert (*Hellenica*, vol. 12, Paris, 1960, pp. 544ff.) reckons that the gods appear in different human forms. Cf. P. Lambrechts, “L’importance de l’enfant dans les religions à mystères,” in *Hommage à W. Déonna*, pp. 322–333.

⁴ Euripides, *Phoen.* 1730; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 950: “young woman and old woman” (παρθένος χῆ γραιῦς); Hippocrates, *Genit.* 2.3: “Girls, while they are young, do not menstruate”; *Nat. Puer.* 20.2; Menander, *Dysk.* 4: “Sostratus, smitten with the young woman” (τῆς παρθένου); 34: “the young woman behaves as she was trained”; 290; *Mis.* 306, 465 (*P.Oxy.* 2656).

⁵ *Il.* 2.513: “the noble virgin”; Plato, *Hp. Ma.* 287 e: “what is noble, in all truth, is a beautiful virgin”; Aristotle, frag. 675 (ed. Rose, 2d ed.): Arete, the beautiful virgin goddess; Menander, *Dysk.* 682: “I let the rope slip three times while looking at the young woman”; 968: “the noble virgin Nike”; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 4.10.3: “the noble name of virgin”; Philo, *Rewards* 53; *Prelim. Stud.* 124; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.162, 343–344; 11.196–197.

⁶ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 797, 21; cf. Dio Cassius 7.8.11: the Vestal Virgins, παρθενεύειν διὰ βίου; “Heracleia died still pure” (ἀγνεύουσιν, *GVI*, n. 1697); Menander, *Sik.*: “Your daughter (τὸ θυγάτριον) still lives and in excellent circumstances.’ ‘Is she still preserved in herself (αὐτὸ τοῦτο)?’ ‘Yes, she is still a virgin and knows no man (παρθένος γ’ ἔτι. ἄπειρος ἀνδρός)’” (A. Blanchard, A. Bataille, “Fragments sur papyrus du ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΣ de Ménandre,” in *RechPap*, vol. 3, 1964, pp. 148–149).

⁷ Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.9.2: παρθένον ε—αυτὴν ε—φύλαττε; cf. 8.2: ὤμοσεν μαι—ναι παρθένος. Παρθένοι are young women who sacrifice their lives for their country (σώτειραι); Plutarch, *An seni* 24; Ps.-Plutarch, *Reg. et imp. apoph.* 184, 1; *DKP*, vol. 4, 531. Texts relating to this aspiration to purity in C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 818ff.

⁸ Artemis remains a virgin: παρθένος ἔμεινεν (Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 1.4.1); her name comes from her integrity (τὸ ἀρτεμέης), “because of her love of virginity” (Plato, *Cra.* 406 b). Cf. L. Séchan, P. Lévêque, *Les Grandes Divinités de la Grèce*, Paris, 1966, pp. 353ff. K. Warnicke, “Artémis,” in *PW*, vol. 2, 1, col. 1375–1396.

⁹ Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.35: “She is bad for courtesans and adulterous women, and also for those who wish to marry, because the goddess is a virgin” (παρθένος γὰρ ἡ θεός); Plutarch, *Demetr.* 26.5.

¹⁰ “Numa also had watch over the sacred virgins, called Vestals. . . . The pure and incorruptible substance of fire had to be entrusted to pure,

spotless beings” (Plutarch, *Num.* 9.9–10; cf. 10.3–4; *Publ.* 8.8; Aulus Gellius, *NA* 1.2). T. Worsfold, *The History of the Vestal Virgins of Rome*, London, 1932; P. Grimal, *Histoire mondiale de la femme*, Paris, 1965, vol. 1, pp. 406ff. On the name *virgo Vestalis*, cf. G. Radke, “Die *dei penates* und *Vesta* in Rom,” in *ANRW*, vol. 17, 1, pp. 369ff.

¹¹ Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 2.33.4–5. Cf. ἰ—εῤῥὰ παρθένος (*P.Mert.* 73, 1). Virgin priestess of Apollo at Epirus (Aelian, *NA* 11.2); of Poseidon, on the island of Calaurea (Pausanias 2.33.2); of Aphrodite, in Sicyonia (Pausanias 2.10.4–5); of Heracles, at Thespieae (Pausanias 9.27.6); of Cybele, at Cyzicus and in Caria; of Anaitis at Ecbatana (Plutarch, *Art.* 27). On the isle of Sein, there were priestesses—*perpetua virginitate sancta*—called Gallizenae (Pomponius Mela 3.48). The ordeal for proof of virginity is located in the cave of Ephesus (Achilles Tatius 6.13ff.). Cf. *IGLS* 2928; E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, Giessen, 1910; J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, Paris, 1972, pp. 374–375.

¹² *P.Ryl.* 125, 28 (AD 28–29); cf. *P.Lond.* 983, 4 (vol. 3, p. 229); *P.Apoll.* 41, 6; *SB* 8545 B 16 a. This is an identity for “girls” who work on a farm (*P.Fay.* 102, 30; *BGU* 894, 6; Philo, *Moses* 1.57). Cf. the proper name Parthenos (*CII* 168 a).

¹³ *CII* 45: “Marciana, a young woman of 15 years, rests here”; 106, 168, 320, 381, 385 (at Rome), 588 (at Venice); *IGUR*, n. 927; *SEG* II, 874, 6 (in Libya); *SB* 6167, 2; 6701, 6; 6839; 8366, 2; *CIRB* 130, 4 and 11; 139.

¹⁴ *Stud.Pal.* XX, 15, 6. This “virginity” is temporary, since certain “girls” are married while still young (*P.Amst.* 40, 7).

¹⁵ F. Sokolowski, *LSCGSup*, n. 115 A, 75–76.

¹⁶ A decree relating to the cult of Zeus Sosipolis in 197–196 (*I.Magn.* 98 = Dittenberger, *Syl.* 589; *LSAM*, n. 32, 20), on the occasion of the installation of the statue of Artemis Leukophryene (first half of second century); χοροὺς παρθένων αἰ—δουσω—ν ὕμνους εἰ—ς Ἄρτεμιν (*I.Magn.* 100 = Diodorus Siculus 695 = *LSAM*, n. 33, A 29); at Athens, in the cult of Apollo in 129–128: αἰ— δὲ παρθένοι φερέτωσαν τὸ ἰ—εῤῥόν (F. Sokolowski, *LSCGSup*, n. 14, 46). Cf. L. Robert, “Les Inscriptions,” in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, pp. 299ff.

¹⁷ Cf. *SB* 8858 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 56, 65: τὰς παρθένους τῶ—ν ἰ—εῤῥέων; 68: ἀναφέρειν τὰς ἰ—εῤῥὰς παρθένους; *P.Mert.* 73, 1: a declaration for “Taophryonis, sacred virgin”; *P.Oxy.* 3177, 2–3: Aurelia Tanentiris declares

that her mother was a sacred virgin and that her daughter has become one as well.

¹⁸ LSCG, n. 65, 29, 32, 96 = Dittenberger, *Syl.* 736 (92 BC).

¹⁹ Gen 24:14, 16, 43, 55 (Hebrew *na'ar*); 34:3; Deut 22:23—παῖς παρθένος; 22:28; 33:25—νεανίσκος σὺν παρθένω; 2Chr 36:17—Nebuchadnezzar “spared neither young man nor virgin, neither old man nor gray head”; Isa 23:4; Jer 51:22; Lam 1:18; 2:21; Ezek 9:6; Esth 2:17; Job 31:1; Ps 45:11; 78:63; 148:12; Sir 9:5; 1Macc 1:26—“maidens and youths.” With Rebekah (“the young woman was beautiful and was a virgin,” Gen 24:16) and in Amos 8:13 (“beautiful virgins”) an aesthetic quality is noted: “All young virgins (κοράσια παρθενικὰ) and beautiful to behold” (Esth 2:3). Aseneth: “Eighteen years old, a virgin, gracious, surpassing in beauty all the virgins of the land” (*Jos.Asen.* 1.6; cf. 2.11; 15.8).

²⁰ Judg 19:24; Lev 21:13-14: the high priest shall marry a woman who is still a virgin (cf. Ezek 44:22); 1Kgs 1:2—David seeks “a young virgin” (παρθ. νεάνιδα); Lam 5:11—“They have violated the women (γυναῖ—κας) of Zion, the virgins (παρθένας) of the cities of Judah”; 2Macc 3:19. Cf. G. J. Wenham, “Betulah, a Girl of Marriageable Age,” in *VT*, 1972, pp. 326–348.

²¹ Deut 22:19. The virgin daughter of Zion is sometimes Jerusalem (2Kgs 19:21), sometimes the nation (Isa 37:22; Jer 18:13; 31:4, 21; Lam 1:15; 2:13). Since Israel has had lovers, this metaphor is taken as a title of nobility that erases the past but commits the future.

²² Deut 22:14, 15, 17, 20: “I took a woman and drew near to her, but I did not find virginity in her”; Judg 11:37-38: Jephthah’s daughter, whose womanhood would be wasted. Cf. Antoninus Liberalis, *Met.* 11.1: “With violence Chelidonis was robbed of her virginity”; 13.7; Achilles Tatius 5.21.1: Clitophon “said to be a virgin, if at any rate there is a male virginity” (εἴ τις ἐ—στι ἐ—ν ἀνδράσι παρθενία); *CIG* IV, 8784 *b*; *Jos. Asen.* 4.9—“Joseph is a pious man, chaste and virgin” (ἀνὴρ θεοσεβῆς καὶ σώφρων καὶ παρθένος); 8.1; Rev 14:3. — παρθενία (-εία) always translates the Hebrew *ne'ûrîm*, “youth,” whence γυνὴ παρθενίας, “wife of youth,” that is, the fiancée when she receives her husband (Jer 3:4; Sir 15:2; 42:10); cf. Prov 5:18; Joel 1:8—“the husband of her youth” (ἐ—πὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς τὸν παρθενικόν); *CII* 319—Eirena, the παρθενικὴ σύμβιος of Claudius; cf. 81; H. J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome*, Philadelphia, 1960, p. 130). Cf. *PSI* 41, 5: ἀνδρὶ Παγένει ᾧ συνήφθην ἐ—κ παρθενίας; *SB* 11221, 4: ἐ—κ παρθενίας ἀνδρὶ ἐ—γαμήθη Πανίσκω; *P.Lond.* 1711, 18; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 983, 18: ἀπὸ παρθενίας. Cf. Panopolis papyrus 28, 4: ἐ—κ παρθενίας ἀνδρὶ ἐ—γαμήθη Πανίσκω, in *ZPE*, vol. 10, 1973, p. 131;

reprinted in *P.Panop.* On the Roman inscriptions *a* or *ab virginitate*, cf. M. Humbert, *Le Remariage à Rome*, Milan, 1972, pp. 64ff., 346ff.

²³ This text has been the object of countless studies (cf. L. Dennefeld, “Le ‘Signe’ de la prophétie d’Emmanuel,” in *RSR*, 1927, pp. 69–86), notably concerning the meaning of *‘almâh*, an unmarried young woman. J. Coppens (“La Prophétie de la ‘Almah, Isa 7:14-17,” in *ETL* 1952, pp. 648–678). Add J. Massingberd Ford, “The Meaning of ‘Virgin,’” in *NTS*, vol. 12, 1966, pp. 293–299; M. Rehm, “Das Wort ‘almah in Isa VII, 14,” in *BZ*, 1964, pp. 89–100.

²⁴ *Cherub.* 52: God “spreads like seed the ideas of the immortal and virgin virtues of virginity. . . . You should live as a virgin (παρθενεύεσθαι) in the house of God.”

²⁵ *Prelim. Stud.* 124: “beauty that is undefiled, without stain, truly virginal” (παρθένιος); *Spec. Laws* 3.74.

²⁶ Philo, *Husbandry* 158: “The intelligent man hopes to marry a virgin of good birth and pure”; *Joseph* 43; *Spec. Laws* 1.101. Not only is grace virginal (*Change of Names* 53; *Post. Cain* 32; *Migr. Abr.* 31; *Flight* 141; *Moses* 2.7), but also there is “a virgin soul” (παρθένον ψυχήν, *Cherub.* 51; *Migr. Abr.* 224; *Virtues* 37; cf. Euripides, *Hipp.* 1006); “all the virtues are those of virgins” (*Rewards* 53; *Change of Names* 196); there are pure and virgin thoughts (*Dreams* 2.185; *Spec. Laws* 2.30), “hands that are pure, and, if one may dare to use a term that entails some imagery, virginal” (*Virtues* 57) and the “virgin number seven” (*Decalogue* 102; *Spec. Laws* 2.56; *Rewards* 153). Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* 3.682: αἰ—δῶς παρθενίη = virginal modesty.

²⁷ *Cherub.* 50; *Post. Cain* 134; *Migr. Abr.* 225; *Quest. Exod.* 2.3.

²⁸ *Contemp. Life* 68; cf. 1QM 7.3–4: “No child, minor, or woman shall come into their camps (of warriors)” at the time of the messianic liberation, because the sons of light, associated with the heavenly host, “consequently find themselves near to God and obliged to lead an angelic life” (G. Vermès, “Quelques traditions de Qumrân,” in *Cahiers Sioniens*, vol. 9, 1955, p. 42), sheltered from any risk of impurity.

²⁹ E. Delebecque (*Evangile de Luc*) notes: “*Engaged*: the Greek verb (ε—μνηστευμένην) can also mean ‘married.’ The choice between the two matters little because the Jewish betrothal ceremony gave the fiancé full rights over the fiancée. The word that is set in relief and repeated is ‘virgin.’ Luke underlines the unprecedented paradox of a woman who is engaged—

or married—yet is still a virgin.” Perhaps the evangelist was thinking of Lev 21:13-14: the high priest shall marry a woman who is still a virgin.

³⁰ R. Laurentin, *Structure et théologie de Luc I-II*, Paris, 1957, pp. 176ff. (gives the bibliography, pp. 191ff.). Cf. M. J. Lagrange, “La Conception surnaturelle du Christ d’après saint Luc,” in *RB*, 1914, pp. 60–71; 188–208; R. P. Lavaud, “La Virginité dans le Nouveau Testament,” in *ÔSpir*, 1941, pp. 180–190; Sr. Jeanne d’Arc, “La Chasteté et la virginité dans l’Ancien et le Nouveau Testament,” in *La Chasteté*, Paris, 1953, pp. 11–36; L. Legrand, *La Virginité dans la Bible*, Paris, 1964.

³¹ *Prot. Jas.* 9.1—παρθένον κυρίου; 19.3; *Odes Sol.* 19.6, etc. Cf. G. Graystone, *Virgin of All Virgins: The Interpretation of Luke I, 34*, Rome, 1968; F. Dreyfus, “L’Actualisation de l’Ecriture, III: La Place de la tradition,” in *RB*, 1979, pp. 326ff., 337ff. Cf. J. McHugh, *La Mère de Jésus dans le Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1977, pp. 217–390; J. Winandy, “La Conception virginale dans le Nouveau Testament,” in *NRT*, 1978, pp. 706–719; R. E. Brown, K. P. Donfried, J. A. Fitzmyer, J. Reumann, *Mary in the New Testament*, Philadelphia-New York, 1978; B. M. Nolan, *The Royal Son of God*, Fribourg-Göttingen, 1979, pp. 63ff.

³² A. Guillaumont, “A propos du célibat des Esséniens,” in *Hommages à A. Dupont-Sommer*, Paris, 1971, pp. 395–404; cf. J. Blinzler, “Zur Auslegung von Mt. XIX, 12,” in *ZNW*, 1957, pp. 254–270; J. Dupont, *Mariage et divorce dans l’Evangile*, Desclée De Brouwer, 1959, pp. 162ff., 200ff.; C. Daniel, “Esséniens et eunuques (Mt. XIX, 10–12),” in *RevQ*, vol. 23, 1968, pp. 353–390; H. Hübner, “Zölibat in Qumran?” in *NTS*, vol. 17, 1971, pp. 153–167; J. Coppens, “Le Célibat essénien,” in M. Delcor, *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, Paris-Gembloux-Louvain, 1978, pp. 295–305; cf. 379.

³³ Cf. D. Buzy, *Les Paraboles*, Paris, 1932, pp. 475ff.; G. Schwarz (“Zum Vokabular von Matthäus XXV, 1–12,” in *NTS*, vol. 27, 1981, pp. 270–276) reckons that *parthenos* must correspond to the Aramaic *shôshbîntâ’* = maid of honor.

³⁴ “As virgins, they were better suited to carry out their function as prophetesses” (E. Jacquier, on this text), cf. Joel 2:28-29; Acts 2:17; 1Cor 11:5.

³⁵ E. Alzas, “L’Apôtre Paul et le célibat: Etude exégétique sur I Cor. VII, 24,” in *RTP*, 1950, pp. 226–232; M. Thurian, *Mariage et célibat*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1955; J. J. O’Rourke, “Hypotheses Regarding I Corinthians VII, 26–36,” in *CBQ*, 1958, pp. 292–298; X. Léon-Dufour, “Mariage et continence

selon saint Paul,” in *A la rencontre de Dieu: Mémorial A. Gelin*, Le Puy–Lyons–Paris, 1961, pp. 319–329; J. Massingberd Ford, “St Paul, the Philogamist (I Cor. VII in Early Patristic Exegesis),” in *NTS*, vol. 11, 1965, pp. 326–348; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, Paris, 1965, vol. 1, pp. 562–566; 816–827; D. Daube, “Pauline Contribution to a Pluralistic Culture,” in *Jesus and Man’s Hope*, Pittsburgh, 1971, pp. 231ff. J. K. Elliott, “Paul’s Teaching on Marriage in I Corinthians,” in *NTS*, vol. 19, 1973, pp. 219–225; P. Menoud, “Mariage et célibat selon saint Paul,” in *Jésus-Christ et la foi*, Neuchâtel–Paris, 1975, pp. 13–22; T. Matura, “Le Célibat dans le Nouveau Testament d’après l’exégèse récente,” in *NRT*, 1975, pp. 481–500, 593–604; R. Penna, “San Paolo (I Cor. VII, 29b–31a) e Diogene il Cinico,” in *Bib*, 1977, pp. 237–245.

³⁶ This status of virginity is absolutely new; but we should note that Paul is careful to explain the superiority of virginity to recent converts from paganism in secular terms: “beauty/nobility,” a Greek word connoting honorableness, excellence, and moral good (τοῦτο καλόν, 1Cor 7:26; καλω—ς ποιει—, 7:37–38).

³⁷ 1Cor 7:36–38. Cf. L. A. Richard, “Sur I Corinthiens (VII, 36–38): Cas de conscience d’un père chrétien ou ‘mariage ascétique’?” in *Mémorial J. Chaine*, Lyon, 1950, pp. 309–320; cf. R. Castellino, “I Cor. VII, 36–38 nel diritto orientale,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, pp. 31–42; W. G. Kümmel, “Verlobung und Heirat bei Paulus (I Kor. VII, 36–38),” in *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann*, 1974, pp. 275–295.

³⁸ 2Cor 11:2 (P. Andriessen, “La Nouvelle Eve, corps de nouvel Adam,” in *Aux origines de l’Eglise* [Recherches bibliques 7], Desclée De Brouwer, 1965, pp. 95ff.). Ἄγνός, which literally means “undefiled, pure, consecrated,” suggests Philonian “virginity of soul.” The emphasis is on “the freshness of a virginal purity” (E. B. Allo). The expression παρθένος ἄγνή is common; cf. Philo, *Rewards* 159; Philo, *Cherub.* 50; *Joseph* 43; 4Macc 18:7–8; *Jos. Asen.* 15.1, 8; 19.2; *IGUR*, n. 768; *GVI*, n. 1184, 1997.

³⁹ Rev 14:4. These virgins would be all those who have not let themselves be seduced by the great prostitute Babylon (M. E. Boismard, “Notes sur l’Apocalypse,” in *RB*, 1952, pp. 161–181). Cf. K. Rückert, “Die Begriffe παρθένος und ἀπαρχή in Apk. XIV, 4–5,” in *TQ*, 1886, pp. 391–448; 1887, pp. 105–132; R. Devine, “The Virgin Followers of the Lamb (Apoc. XIV, 4),” in *Scripture*, vol. 16, 1964, pp. 1–5; J. M. Ford, “The Meaning of ‘Virgin,’” in *NTS*, vol. 12, 1966, pp. 293–299; C. H. Lindijer, “Die Jungfrauen in der Offenbarung des Johannes XIV, 4,” in *Studies in John* (Festgabe J. N. Sevenster), Leiden, 1970, pp. 124–142.

⁴⁰ The exegesis of E. B. Allo (on this text), of E. Stauffer, “γαμέω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 1, pp. 652–653; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 557, n. 2.

⁴¹ Matt 19:12. Cf. Q. Quesnell, “Made Themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven,” in *CBQ*, 1968, pp. 335–358; F. J. Moloney, “Matthew XIX, 3–12 and Celibacy,” in *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 1979, vol. 2, pp. 42–60.

παρουσία

parousia, presence, arrival, visit, manifestation

parousia, S 3952; *TDNT* 5.858–871; *EDNT* 3.43–44; *NIDNTT* 2.887, 898–903, 907, 932–934; MM 497; L&N 25.158, 28.29; BAGD 629–630; ND 4.167–168

Just as the verb *pareimi* has the two meanings “be present” and “become present (arrive),” the substantive *parousia* means sometimes the presence of persons¹ or things;² sometimes arrival, coming, visit.³ In the Hellenistic period, it refers (except in commonplace uses) either to a divine manifestation⁴—often very close to *epiphaneia* (1Tim 6:14; Titus 2:13; 2Tim 4:1, 8) and *phanerosis*, and even *apokalypsis*⁵—or the formal visit of a sovereign, his “joyous entry” into a city⁶ that honors him as a god (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 814, 36: “the gods always present at his side to protect and preserve him”). Receiving Demetrius Poliorcetes, the Athenians compare him to Demeter because of the similarity of their names and sing “Like the greatest and best loved gods, they now present themselves to our city (*ge polei pareisin*); for this auspicious occasion has brought us Demeter and Demetrius together.”⁷ The days of the prince’s sojourn are considered “holy days” (*hiera hemera tes epidemias tou Autokratoros Traianou Adrianou kaisaros, I.Did.* 254, 10; cf. *P.Tebt.* 116, 57: *en tois [chronois] basileos parousias*) and sometimes as marking the beginning of a new age. An inscription from Tegea is dated “the sixty-ninth year of the first *parousia* of the god Hadrian in Greece” (in *BCH*, vol. 25, 1901, p. 275). Beginning with the third century BC, there is the *parousia* of a Ptolemy (*P.Petr.* II, 39, e 18), then of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra (*UPZ* 42, 18; cf. 109, 12), of Ptolemy II Soter (*P.Tebt.* 48, 13), of Ptolemy Philopator (3Macc 3:17), of Germanicus (*SB* 3924, 34 = *Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 413), and those of Hadrian.⁸

In line with these usages, the NT uses *Parousia* for the glorious coming of the Lord Jesus at the end of time, his Second Coming.⁹ This return of Christ must somehow be filled out with the pomp and magnificence that characterized royal and imperial “visits.” There were great feasts, *panegyreis*, including speeches of praise, gifts, games,

sacrifices, dedications; statutes and buildings were erected, coins and medallions were struck, sentences were commuted,¹⁰ gold crowns were given (Dittenberger, *Or.* 332, 26–39), honors were multiplied. Glory and joy on the part of the people were in response to the prince’s active and beneficent presence.¹¹ All of this pales in comparison to the coming of the Pantokrator, but it explains why the NT uses the term *parousia*.

¹ Jdt 10:18—“the noise of Judith’s presence spread throughout the tents”; 2Macc 15:21—“Maccabeus, considering the presence of these crowds”; 1Cor 16:17—“I rejoice at the presence of Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus”; 2Cor 10:10; Phil 2:12, the contrast ε—ν τῇ παρουσίᾳ ε—ν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 903, 15: καὶ ὄμοσεν ε—πὶ παρουσίᾳ τω—ν ε—πισκόπων; 3112, 4: “It is necessary for Pasion to be present”; *P.Apoll.* 46, 5; 60, 5; *BGU* 1643, 17; *C.P.Herm.* 45, 2; *P.Mich.* 322, 31, 42 (from AD 46); *P.Gen.* 68, 11, the concluding of a contract ε—πὶ παρουσίᾳ Διδύμου καὶ Παύλου πρεσβυτέρου τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης; *P.Mich.* 427, 31: “without calling for the presence of the contracting parties”; *P.Oxy.* 2134, 26; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 28, 4; *CPR* I, 19, 7–8; *P.Flor.* 332, 5, μὴ ε—κδεχόμενόν σου τὴν παρουσίαν; *SB* 10311, 3: ἔσχομεν ὑπὲρ παρουσίας κριθῆς (AD 15; cf. 9905, 12; 10200, 26); *P.Petaus* 46, 3; 47, 3. Cf. Nero ordering the Greeks to meet (literally, be present) at Corinth on November 28, AD 67, *παρι—ναι ι—ς Κόρινθον* (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 814, 5).

² Cf. B. Rigaux, *Saint Paul: Les Epîtres aux Thessaloniens*, Paris-Gembloux, 1956, pp. 197ff. A. Oepke, “παρουσία,” in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp. 858–871.

³ 2Macc 8:12—the approach of the army; 2Cor 7:6-7: “God gave us relief through the coming of Titus”; Phil 1:26, Paul’s return; Josephus, *Life* 90: “having dispatched a courier to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming”; *War* 4.345: “the Idumeans began to regret that they had come”; *P.Fouad* 87, 35: “I kept the messenger here in my service until the arrival of the noble count”; *P.Lond.* 1913, 8, 12; *P.Petaus* 47, 3. Numerous papyrological references in N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, New Haven–Toronto, 1968–1975, under this word. *P.Oxy.* 486, 15: my adversary is absent—my presence is required; 1668, 25: we await your coming; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 730, 15; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 2.8: the coming of the angels; Diodorus Siculus 17.8.14; 17.9.1; 17.10.4; 17.48.2; 18.53.1; 17.77.2; etc.

⁴ Inscriptions from Epidaurus: τὰν τε παρουσίαν τὰν αὐτοῦ παρενεφάνιζε ὁ —Ἀσκληπιός (“Asclepius manifested his coming,” third century BC; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1169, 34). Diodorus Siculus 4.3.3 mentions the triennial

parousia of Dionysos in the Theban mystery cults; Aelius Aristides, *Orac.* 2.30–32, the *parousia* of Asclepius Soter. According to *Corp. Herm.* 1.22; 1.26 A, divinized souls have their *parousia* as new gods in their divine sphere.

⁵ Cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 15–44.

⁶ A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 368–373; L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*, pp. 422, 448.

⁷ Duris of Samos (*Hist.* 22, according to Athenaeus 6.62–63; cf. V. Ehrenberg, “Athenischer Hymnus auf Demetrios Poliorketes,” *Antike*, vol. 7, 1931, pp. 279–297; L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*, p. 182); cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 3.11: “the presence of god shining from on high”; 5.21; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.80, 203: the storm on Sinai signals the presence of God; 9.55; hymns to Isis, intervening to bring help, cf. *SEG* VIII, 548, 34; 550, 28. On the helpful presence of the deities, cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, pp. 129–131.

⁸ *SB* 9617; cf. B. A. Van Groningen, “Preparatives to Hadrian’s Visit to Egypt,” in *Studi in onore de Calderini*, Milan, 1956, vol. 2, pp. 253–256; *Chrest. Wilck.*, n. 412.

⁹ Matt 24:23, 27; 1Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; 5:23; 2Thess 2:1, 8–9; 1Cor 15:23; Jas 5:7–8; 2Pet 1:16; 3:4, 12; 1John 2:28; cf. J. Dupont, *L’Union avec le Christ*, pp. 49ff. A.L. Moore, *The Parousia in the New Testament*, Leiden, 1966; K. H. Schelkle, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Düsseldorf, 1974, pp. 61–78; A. Feuillet, “Parousie,” in *DBSup*, vol. 6, pp. 1331–1419.

¹⁰ Cf. *SB* 9316; L. Koenen, *Eine ptolemäische Königsurkunde*, Wiesbaden, 1957.

¹¹ The documents also attest that these festivities were very expensive. For example, this edict of Germanicus in AD 19: “Having learned that in view of my coming (εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν) there were requisitions of boats and animals, and that dwellings were taken by force for our lodging, and that private citizens were ill-treated . . .” (*Sel.Pap.* II, 211); cf. λόγος παρουσίας τῆς βασιλίσσης εἰς τράπεζα (*sic*) τῆς πόλεως (*O.Wilck.* II, 1481); Dittenberger, *Or.* 139, 9 (= *SB* 8396 = A. Bernand, *Philae*, n. 19); *Syl.* 495, 85; *P.Tebt.* 33; 48, 9: καὶ προσεδρευόντων διὰ τε νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας μέχρι τοῦ τὸ προκείμενον ἐκπληρωσαὶ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν ἀγοράν; *P.Oxy.* 1764; *O.Bodl.* 254, 972, 1504, 1540; *SB* 6276; 6724; 6992.

παρρησία

parresia, freedom of speech, candor, boldness, public speech, categorical affirmation

parresia, S 3954; *TDNT* 5.871–886; *EDNT* 3.45–47; *NIDNTT* 2.734–737; *MM* 497; *L&N* 25.158, 28.29; *BDF* §§11(1), 198(4), 264(3); *BAGD* 630–631

This word, a compound of *pan* and *rhema*, is specifically Greek; there is no corresponding Hebrew word.¹ It belongs to the literary language and is rather rare in the papyri and the inscriptions.

I. — In Greek literature, the first meaning of *parrhesia* is political: the right to make one's thoughts known, to say what one will.² It is a citizen's privilege, the sign of his political liberty, characterizing the democratic regime of the *polis*. The citizen has the right to express his opinions freely in the marketplace.³

This freedom of speech implies the truth of what is said,⁴ so that *parrhesia* means "candor, straightforwardness"; Demosthenes, *1 Philip*. 4.51: "I have laid my thoughts before you without hiding anything, in all candor"; *2 Philip*. 6.31: "I am going to speak to you openly (*meta parrhesias*); I will not conceal anything"; *4 Philip*. 10.53–54: "If I must speak the whole truth candidly";⁵ Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 12: "Moses said frankly that he did not speak easily"; 35: "I will hide nothing from you but say to you frankly";⁶ Diogenes: "I am the liberator of men and the physician of their passions. In short, I want to be the prophet of truth and of candor" (*aletheias kai parrhesias prophetes einai boulomai*, Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 8; cf. *Dial. Mort.* 11.3). Porphyry: "If it is necessary to speak without reticence and with all candor" (*ei gar dei meden hyposteilamenon meta parrhesias*, *Abst.* 1.57.1).

To speak candidly, proclaim the truth, and eschew evasions and lies exposes a person to danger (Josephus, *Ant.* 16.377) and presupposes the overcoming of obstacles; hence the third nuance of *parrhesia*: "hardiness, courage, audacity, confidence." According to Wis 5:1, "The righteous person stands boldly (*en parrhesia*) before those who have tormented him";⁷ Philo, *Joseph* 73: "I will give opinions that are conducive to the common good, even if they are not of such a nature as to please. . . . I leave flattering words to others. In my speeches I will pursue the salutary and the useful. I will distribute praise, warning, or blame without flaunting foolish and misplaced arrogance, but showing, to the contrary, a sober candor" (*nephousan parrhesian*).

This freedom of language, synonymous with candor (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 4.3) is sometimes contrasted with timidity or self-consciousness, sometimes with flattery (Dio Chrysostom 32.26–27). It is practiced between

friends who are not afraid to blame each other⁸ as well as toward superiors, even tyrants, with whom one must guard one's freedom of speech: "Boldness (*eutolmia*) and freedom of speech (*parrhesia*) are admirable virtues when they are addressed opportunely to superiors" (Philo, *Heir* 5, who cites Menander's *Paidion*; cf. Stobaeus, *Flor.* 62.19.19; vol. 4, p. 425). Even the servant, if he knows that he has committed no offense, retains this freedom of speech toward his master (*Heir* 6); "Famous people grant the humble free speech" (*Spec. Laws* 4.74); "The man who does not allow anyone in his household to speak freely is a petty tyrant" (*Spec. Laws* 3.138). *Parrhesia* does not fear the widest publicity; it proclaims its convictions: "Wisdom raises her voice publicly in the streets" (Prov 1:20); "Let those whose actions benefit all use full freedom of expression; let them go out in public and converse with large crowds" (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.321; Plutarch, *De exil.* 16).

This *parrhesia*, which is not confined to speech but includes conduct, does not depend on prejudices and what people will say (Philo, *Flacc.* 4). It is exalted by the philosophers, especially the Cynics, notably Diogenes, who considers it the best thing that can be found in people (*erotetheis ti kalliston en anthropois, epe parrhesia*, Diogenes Laertius, 6.2.69; cf. Aelius Aristides 2.401 and the collection of sayings "concerning *parrhesia*" in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 3.13; vol. 3, pp. 543ff.); "*parrhesia* is a completely indispensable good" (Philo, *Heir* 14); "The freedom of speech of the good man is so great that he dares not only to speak and cry out, but actually to shout out from real conviction and true emotion" (*Heir* 19). The soul addresses God: "You, master, are my country, my family, my ancestral home; you are my right, my freedom of speech, my abundant wealth" (*Heir* 27); the soul, "because there is something of divine inspiration in it, expresses itself freely" (Philo, *Change of Names* 136); an inscription from Pergamum: "He adorned his life with the noblest freedom of speech" (*kekosmeke ton autou bion te kalliste parresia*, Dittenberger, *Or.* 323, 10). But we know of the excesses of Diogenes and his disciples, who think that everything is permitted and breach conventions, the proprieties, and even good sense. *Parrhesia* degenerates into insolence or impudence toward humans and blasphemy toward the gods.⁹ In addition, Philo, who makes a virtue of candor, denounces excess and requires moderation in free speech: this freedom must not be used without respect for neighbor (*Heir* 29; *Dreams* 2.83ff.). Joseph addressed the king "with freedom of speech tempered by modesty" (*parrhesia syn aidoi*, *Joseph* 107), a candor without impudence (*parrhesian ten aneu anaischyntias*, *Joseph* 222); noble souls meet arrogant boasting with candor (Philo, *Good Man Free* 126). The right measure is hard to determine; on the one hand, one must not speak except with a pure conscience (*Spec. Laws* 1.203; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.52, 131) and according to the ties that bind you to your interlocutor;¹⁰ and on the other hand, virtuous *parrhesia* excludes verbiage with clarity and sobriety.¹¹ The

example of Burrus, “who employed great freedom of speech,” is instructive. When Nero asked him a second time about a matter that he had already explained, Burrus replied, “When I have once stated my mind, do not ask me again” (Dio Cassius 62.13). It is this form of *parrhesia* —categorical affirmation (cf. *parrhesiazomai*, Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 66)—that the Lord commanded: “Let your speech be yes [if it is yes], no [if it is no]. Anything in addition comes of evil” (Matt 5:37; cf. Jas 5:12).

II. — In the Gospels, *parrhesia*, always occurring as an adverbial dative (παρρησίᾳ) or in the locution *en parrhesia*, is used exclusively (except for John 7:13) regarding Jesus, and almost always with the verbs “say, speak”; it has the quite traditional sense of publicness and clarity. Jesus announces his passion “openly” to his disciples (Mark 8:32); “He said to them clearly (without ambiguity)” (John 11:14); “If you are the Christ, tell us frankly” (John 10:24); “The hour is coming when I will not speak to you in parables, but I will speak to you of the father in full clarity” (John 16:25, 29). The nuances of “publicness, freedom,” and even “boldness” are clear: “See, he speaks freely and no one says anything to him” (John 7:26; cf. 7:13); they apply not only to his words but also to his attitude and conduct: “No one does things in secret (*en krypto*) if he wants to become a public figure” (*en parrhesia*, out in the open, publicly; John 7:4); “Jesus did not show himself in public among the Jews” (John 11:43). This multiplicity of Johannine usages result neither from chance nor from purely literary considerations; it has a theological intention: the divine revelation is clear and is spread as widely as possible (Isa 45:19; 48:16; Prov 1:20). The Word made flesh announces the word of God with full assurance, is fully in control of its spread despite the opposition and schemes of his opponents, and thus announces it boldly, as a light shines in darkness. Summing up his ministry, he testifies to his divine authenticity on the basis of the fact that his testimony has been fulfilled with *parrhesia*: “I have spoken to the world publicly (παρρησίᾳ, openly). I always taught in the synagogue and in the temple, where the Jews meet; I have said nothing in secret (*en krypto*)” (John 18:20).

This courageous freedom of speech, this liberty of language, is still clearer in the Acts of the Apostles, where it becomes an apostolic virtue, with the emphasis being on the frankness of the preacher and thus on the truth of his message. Peter says, “Let me tell you with full assurance . . .” (Acts 2:29). The members of the Sanhedrin are amazed at the boldness of Peter and John, men with no education and no culture (4:13); the church prays the Lord to grant that his servants may speak his word with boldness, despite threats and hostility (4:29, 31). This is what Paul does at Damascus (9:27-28, *parrhesiazomenos*), at Pisidian Antioch with Barnabas (13:46), at Iconium (14:3), at Ephesus (19:8), and before King Agrippa in person (26:26); likewise Apollos (18:26). The church spreads, thanks to this free proclamation—full of assurance—of the word of truth. Hence the

conclusion of Acts: for two years at Rome, Paul taught “with full freedom and without obstacle” (*meta pases parrhesias akolytos*, 28:31). We could cite Plutarch: “You have hearers . . . who ask only to seek and know the truth, banishing any spirit of dispute and polemic, and granting you to say everything with complete freedom” (*syngnomes de panti logo kai parrhesias*, *De def. or.* 38.431 d).

III. — St. Luke’s theology is largely dependent upon that of St. Paul. The latter, from his first epistle, saw his preaching as the expression of a freedom of speech guaranteed by the missionary’s audacious assurance in the midst of direst danger.¹² Alluding to the events of Acts 16:11-40, he writes, “In spite of the sufferings and insults that we had just endured at Philippi, our God gave us the boldness to proclaim the gospel of God to you (*eparresiasametha en to theo hemon lalesai pros hymas*) amid strong opposition” (1Thess 2:2). The insistence on difficulties, obstacles, and persecutions shows that the point is not simply assurance, but exceptional courage that is not limited to the proclamation of the word but encompasses all of the apostle’s conduct. If he has to summon all his human resources, he is especially strengthened by God’s help; which explains why he was not vulnerable to fear or shame, but on the contrary was full of pride (cf. 2Cor 7:4, *kauchesis*; cf. Heb 3:6, *kauchema*). He did not give in to the temptation to falsify his message but was resolved to keep putting out the word no matter what it cost: “Nothing will confound me; to the contrary, I will remain fully assured” (Phil 1:20). This is expressed clearly in 2Cor 3:12—“Having such a hope, we exercise great boldness (*polle parresia chrometha*), not like Moses, who used to veil his face,” which is glossed by 4:2—“We have set aside all shameful pretense; we do not walk in deception, nor do we distort the word of God. Rather, by the manifestation of the truth we commend ourselves to every human conscience in God’s sight.” God is the giver of this *parrhesia*, which does not weaken (Eph 3:12) and grants it in answer to prayer (Eph 6:19). Sometimes it is a matter of the candor that one uses with a friend (Phlm 8) or of the broadest possible publicness: “Having despoiled the principalities and powers, Christ put them on display in public (*en parrhesia*, conspicuously), leading them in his triumphal procession” (Col 2:15). If deacons who carry out their function well “gain much assurance in the faith that is in Christ Jesus” (1Tim 3:13), we can understand that this subordinate office can be exercised with the pride of serving, or with frankness in action, a sort of tranquil audacity that allows bold, unswerving expression of convictions, after the fashion of St. Stephen. It allows one to approach one’s neighbor without any hesitation, not letting oneself be at all discouraged by criticism, taking initiative freely.

IV. — In the Epistle to the Hebrews, *parrhesia* has become the virtue of every Christian, linked with hope (Heb 3:6), as at 2Cor 3:12, and oriented no longer toward people but toward God, as at Job 27:10—the

evildoer cannot address God with assurance (*me echei tina parrhesian* [Hebrew *shadday*] *enanti autou*); but Joshua addresses the Lord boldly.¹³ This is reasoned confidence,¹⁴ a free and easy attitude: purified from sin, Christians can approach the throne of grace in security¹⁵ to receive mercy (Heb 4:16); they are sure to gain entry into the heavenly sanctuary, thanks to the blood of Jesus (10:19). There is no longer any obstacle; this is a right that eliminates hesitation and doubt and justifies boldness. It extends to allowing them to count on a reward: “Do not lose your assurance, which has a great and just reward” (10:35; cf. Dio Chrysostom 34.19—“I fear lest in the end you will abandon your confidence,” *dedoika me teleos apobalete ten parrhesian*). This certitude of salvation is obviously the product of the theological virtues.

This eschatological *parrhesia* is that of 1 John: “Abide in him (Christ), so that when he appears we may have assurance (*schomen parrhesian*) and may not be confounded by him (*me aischythomen*, dishonored, put to shame; cf. Phil 1:20) at the Parousia” (1John 2:28). “If our heart does not accuse us, we have assurance toward God” (*parrhesian echomen pros ton theon*, 3:21); “Love is perfected in this, that we have assurance on the day of judgment” (*hina parrhesian echomen*, 4:7). There is no better guarantee of salvation than a soul filled with love.¹⁶ *Agape* gives audacious confidence in the most fearful of all situations: the day of judgment, when no one is beyond reproach, and condemnations are without appeal. Love excludes worry and apprehension; it reassures. Johannine *parrhesia*, then, is always a boldness, consisting of freedom and confidence, that allows one to present oneself before a superior without fear, and also before persecutors or any interlocutor who may contradict or accuse. This same filial confidence is expressed in prayer: “See what assurance we have with him: if we ask anything according to his will, he hears us” (5:14).

¹ In Lev 26:13, “I made you walk with head held high” (ἡγαγον ὑμας μετὰ παρρησίας), the LXX uses this word to translate the Hebrew *qômmiyyût*, which is a good equivalent but not a translation. To the bibliography on *παρρησία* given under ε—λίς (above, vol. 1, p. 490, n. 38), add M. Radin, “Freedom of Speech in Ancient Athens,” in *AJP*, vol. 48, 1927, pp. 215–220; E. Peterson, “Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von *παρρησία*,” in *Reinhold Seeberg Festschrift*, Leipzig, 1929, vol. 1, pp. 283–297; H. Jaeger, “*Παρρησία* et *fiducia*: Etude spirituelle des mots,” in *SP*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1957, pp. 221–239; G. Scarpat, *Parrhesia: Storia del termine e delle sue traduzioni in Latino*, Brescia, 1964; W. C. van Unnik, *Sparsa Collecta*, vol. 1, Leiden 1973, pp. 200ff., vol. 2, pp. 269–305; H. Schlier, “*παρρησία*,” in *TDNT*, vol. 5, pp. 871–886.

² Isocrates, *Ad Nic.* 2.28: “Give freedom of speech (δίδου παρρησίαν) to sensible people in order to have counselors for embarrassing matters. Distinguish flatterers from devoted servants”; *De Pace* 8.14; Euripides, *Hipp.* 421: “May the sons whom I have brought into the world have a free man’s free speech” (ε—λεύθεροι παρρησία).

³ Demosthenes, *3 Philip.* 9.3: “If I tell you several truths frankly, I do not see that you have any reason to be angry about it. You want free speech on every other topic to be the law for everyone in our city”; Plato, *Grg.* 461 d–e: “Do I not have the right to talk as much as I please? Athens is the place in Greece where speech is freest”; *Resp.* 8.557 b, in a democratic state, “one is free in such a state, freedom (ε—λευθερία) reigns everywhere, with free speech (παρρησία), the ability to say what one pleases”; *Leg.* 3.694 b; Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 541: “Making use of the freedom with which all the women here present may speak”; Polybius 2.38.6: “It would not be possible to find a regime and an ideal of equality, of freedom (παρρησίας)—in a word, of democracy—more perfect than with the Achaeans”; 2.42.3; Epictetus 3.22.96; Musonius 9.

⁴ Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 4.13 (vol. 3, p. 466, 8): Παρρησίη ἀπὸ γνώμης ε—λευθέρης καὶ ἀληθείην ἀσπαζομένης προέρχεται.

⁵ Demosthenes, *C. Aristocr.* 23.204: εἰ—δει—μετὰ παρρησίας εἰ—πει—ν τᾶληθῆ; *C. Pant.* 37.55: “I am going to tell you candidly”; Plato, *Chrm.* 156 a; *PSI* 1335, 11, ἵνα μετὰ παρρησίας εἶπω; Prov 10:10—“The one who criticizes candidly gains peace”; *Ep. Arist.* 125: “friends ready to give useful advice with complete candor”; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.37: Alexander expresses his indignation frankly; *T. Reub.* 4.2; Diodorus Siculus 12.63.2: the ambassadors expressed themselves frankly.

⁶ Cf. *Plant.* 8; *Drunkenness* 149; *Conf. Tongues* 165; *Prelim. Stud.* 151; *Good Man Free* 95, 125, 152. In a marriage contract, the spouse commits himself freely and faithfully, with *parrhesia*, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, p. 300.

⁷ 4Macc 10:5—“Terrified by the audacity of these potent words, they cut off his hands and feet” (martyrdom of the third brother); Prov 20:9—“Who would be so bold as to say, ‘I am pure of sin?’”; Philo, *Husbandry* 64: one must respond bravely”; *Good Man Free* 150; *parrhesia* and certitude are linked (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 5.3.8); prediction through astrology: “Their arrogance will disappear and their property will be confiscated” (ἡ παρρησία αὐτῶ—ν ἀναίρεθήσεται, *P.Oxy.* 2554, col. II, 5; third century AD).

⁸ Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 9.2.1165a29: “We must grant friends and brothers the right to say everything to us frankly”; Plato, *Grg.* 487 a–b: “To find out if a soul sees well or ill, there must be three qualities: knowledge, goodwill, and candor. . . . An unfortunate timidity inhibits frank speech”; *Lach.* 188 e: “I have found Socrates deserving of the most complete freedom of speech.” Sir 6:11—“With those of your household, a friend speaks freely”; Philo, *Heir* 21: “*Parrhesia* is from the same family as friendship: to whom will a person speak frankly if not to a friend? . . . Assurance is the distinctive of a friend.” Macro addressed to Gaius “reprimands without dissimulation and in clear terms” (*To Gaius* 41).

⁹ Isocrates, *Bus.* 11.40: it is impious to invent legends and believe in them: “We will not say just anything about the gods” (ει—ς τοὺς θεοὺς παρρησίας ὀλιγορήσομεν); Plato, *Phdr.* 240 e: “unruly impudence of language”; *Symp.* 222 c: “These words of Alcibiades caused laughter because of their frankness”; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 16.6: Pisistratus’ amusement at the farmer’s candor. If 1Macc 4:18 allows seizing the plunder boldly, Sir 25:25 commands, “Allow a wicked wife no freedom of speech”; cf. the leprous Uzziah, no longer having the right to speak freely to whomever he wished (Josephus, *Ant.* 9.226).

¹⁰ Marcus Silanus “had important qualifications for his freedom of speech (to his son-in-law): lofty nobility and relation by marriage” (Philo, *To Gaius* 63).

¹¹ Contrary to what Plutarch seems to say: “The freedom of speech (ἡ παρρησία) that belongs to a plea for justice gives free rein to pomposity (τὴν μεγαληγορίαν)” (*De laude* 6.541 d–e).

¹² Cf. A. M. Denis, “L’Apôtre Paul, prophète ‘messianique’ des Gentils,” in *ETL*, 1957, pp. 249–259.

¹³ Josephus, *Ant.* 5.38 (Josh 7:7); 2.52—the faithful union of a woman and her husband brings joy, perfect confidence before God and before people (πρὸς τὸν θεὸν παρρησίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους); Job 22:26—“You shall lift up your face toward Eloah” (παρρησιασθήσῃ, hithpael of Hebrew ‘*anag*).

¹⁴ Παρρησία = confidence, *P.Mich.* 502, 9 and 12 (the mutual confidence of two brothers, second century AD). Cf. L. Engels, “*Fiducia* dans la Vulgate: Le Problème de la traduction παρρησία-*fiducia*,” in *Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva: Supplementa*, vol. 1, Nijmegen, 1964, pp. 99–141.

¹⁵ Cf. in the sixth century *P.Fouad* 86, 9 and 16: “If the said person finds an audience (εὔρη παρρησίαν) with the most eminent general and consul.”

¹⁶ Cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 292ff. P. Althaus, “Liebe und Heilsgewißheit bei Martin Luther: I Joh. IV, 7 a in der Auslegung Luthers,” in *Festgabe J. Lortz*, Baden-Baden, 1958, vol. 1, pp. 69–84. We may recall that *parrhesia* is set in relation with the Holy Spirit (Acts 4:8, 13, 31; cf. 2:4, 29; 18:25-26; 1John 3:21, 24), who guarantees the truth of the apostles’ witness.

πειθαρχέω

peitharchoo, to obey, be persuaded, comply willingly

see also εἰ—σακούω, ε—πακούω, ὑπακούω, ὑπακοή; πείθω, πείθομαι, πειθός, πεισμονή, πεποίθησις

peitharchoo, S 3980; TDNT 6.9–10; EDNT 3.62; NIDNTT 3.588–589; MM 500; L&N 36.12; BDF §187(6); BAGD 638–639

Normally construed with the dative case, but in Hellenistic Greek sometimes with the genitive,¹ this verb is ordinarily translated “obey,” and it is indeed true that in the literature, the papyri, and the inscriptions it often refers to strict obedience: of rulers to God,² servants to their masters,³ princes to their fathers (Josephus, *War* 1.454: *to patri panta peitharchein*), women to their husbands,⁴ private citizens or officials to their superiors,⁵ peoples to their conqueror.⁶ But on the one hand, there are different nuances with these different instances of submission; and on the other hand the proper verb for obedience in the NT is *hypakouo*, and the peculiar nuance of *peitharchoo*, which is not strictly synonymous with it, must be maintained. When during the storm St. Paul says, “You should have listened to me (*peitharchesantas moi*) and not left Crete” (Acts 27:21), he does not mean strict submission but voluntary consent. Similarly, when God gives the Holy Spirit “to those who are obedient to him” (*tois peitharchousin auto*, Acts 5:32), this expression means not so much those who remain flawlessly faithful as those who accept his word, submit gladly to his will and his inspiration, and conform to his providential arrangements. This meaning of *peitharchoo*—let oneself be persuaded, willingly comply with a rule—is well attested in literary texts and inscriptions: “It is necessary for the learner to be submissive to the orders of virtue” (*tois parangelmasin aretes peitharchein*, Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 63); “to give complete obedience to things that are ordered for the common good” (*peitharchein de pantos tois hyper tou koine sympherontos epitattomenois*, *I.Magn.* 114, 8; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 22, 7).

This consent or willingness to fall in with a given arrangement, to adapt to the requirements of an institution, given the nuance of St. Peter's famous principle: *peitharchein dei theo mallon e anthropois* (Acts 5:29), is ordinarily translated "It is necessary to obey God rather than men" (cf. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.293: "What is more just than obeying the laws," *peitharchein tois nomois*; Marcus Aurelius 5.9: "You submit to reason"). But Peter and John had said (Acts 4:19), "Whether it is just before God to listen to you (*akouein*) rather than God, judge for yourselves." Thus it is less a matter of material obedience than of recognizing authority, of submitting clearly and willingly to this or that hierarchy.

It seems that in Titus 3:1 *peitharcho* retains the sense of strict, concrete obedience—"Remind them to be in submission to the constituted powers and authorities, to obey, to be ready for every good work"—but the linking of *hypotassomai* and *peitharcho* enriches the latter verb with the meaning of the former: Christians, in submitting to the authorities, accept their subordinate position, consent to a social and political order, observe the norms of a public institution. Their obedience is not only faithfulness to the laws, but respect and a sort of loyalty toward a power that they are persuaded is legitimate.⁷ In this sense of the word, the attitude of the wise person toward Nature will be "a feeling of submission (*peitharchon*) and goodwill" (Marcus Aurelius 10.14).

¹ Cf. E. Nachmanson, "Die Konstruktionen von πειθαρχει—ν in der κοινή," in *Eranos*, 1910, pp. 201–203.

² Dan 7:27—"All dominions will be in submission to him and will obey him" (ὑποταγήσονται καὶ πειθαρχήσουσιν αὐτῷ— in the LXX, but in Theodotion δουλεύσουσιν καὶ ὑπακούσονται).

³ Sir 33:29; cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 370: ἔτοιμος πάντα πειθαρχει—ν, "I am ready to obey in everything."

⁴ In marriage contracts: δει— πειθαρχει—ν γαμετήν γυναι—κα ἀνδρός (*P.Oxy.* 265, 13, first century AD); "Apollonia will live with Philiscos and be obedient to him as wife to husband" (*P.Tebt.* 104, 14; first century BC); πειθαρχοῦσα αὐτῷ— ὡς προσήκει (*P.Tebt.* 974, 2; second century BC; Philo, *Creation* 167). In Philo, the verb πειθαρχέω is sometimes used for obedience in the strict sense of the word: of cows to the cowherd (*Dreams* 2.152; *Moses* 2.61), of members of the body (*Spec. Laws* 3.177), of humans to the laws of nature (*Spec. Laws* 1.306), to the commandments of the law (ibid. 1.153; 3.38; 4.150; *Virtues* 94), to kings and rulers (*Abraham* 226; *Spec. Laws* 2.234; 3.163; *To Gaius* 69), to a father's orders (*Drunkenness* 35; *Joseph* 12), to God (*Flight* 99; *Virtues* 63). But the idea

is less obedience under compulsion than voluntary submission, acceptance, and docility: “to hear’ is the most precise term for acquiescence, obedience” (*Prelim. Stud.* 68), as with Agrippa following his master’s advice (*Flacc.* 26; cf. *Good Man Free* 54), or the great voluntarily submitting to custom (*Change of Names* 104). In this sense, one must “submissively obey the directives of reasonable good sense and of education” (*ibid.* 206), defer to the commands of reason (*Moses* 1.26; *Good Man Free* 47), and above all submit to the requirements of virtue (*Drunkenness* 16; *Prelim. Stud.* 2, 63, 64, 176; *Spec. Laws* 4.95–96; *Moses* 1.329). Being submissive and obedient is the opposite of being stubborn (*Change of Names* 115).

⁵ Philo, *Moses* 1.164, 329. Athens in the third century BC, honors the *taxiarchoi* who “under all circumstances never failed to obey the orders of the *stratego*i, conforming to the laws” (*SEG* XIV, 17); a century later, the founding regulation of Eumenes II of Pergamum provides that “when the leaders shall have designated the people who are of age to run, if one of them does not wish to obey although he has the strength to do so, he shall be liable to a fine” (*Fouilles de Delphes* III, 3; 238, 17); in the same period, a regulation concerning the functions and duties of the *astynomoi* of Pergamum: “if the private citizens do not obey, the *astynomoi* shall put the works in litigation” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 483, 70 = *SEG* XIII, 521, 82); *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 211: π.τοι—ς κελευσθι—σι; *P.Oxy.* 2476, 12: οι—ἀγωνοθέται πιθαρχήσουσιν (third century AD).

⁶ Polybius 3.4.3: “All recognize the necessity henceforth of obeying the Romans and submitting to their will” (Ῥωμαίων ἀκούειν καὶ τούτοιθ πιταρχει—ν ὑπὲρ τω—ν παραγγελλομένων).

⁷ Cf. King Antiochus III: “If he bids (παρακαλῆ) someone carry out some action regarding his office, let those who belong to the sanctuaries and the others who owe him obedience (καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οὓς καθήκει πιθαρχει—ν αὐτοῦ) assist him. Certify that we order people to conform (ὑπακούειν) to all that he shall prescribe or order” (*IGLS* 992, 38).

πεῖθω, πείθομαι, πειθός, πεισμονή, πεποίθησις

peitho, to (try to) persuade; *peithomai*, to be persuaded; *peithos*, persuasive; *peismone*, persuasion, influence; *pepoithesis*, confidence, assurance, boldness
see also *πειθαρχέω*

peitho, S 3982; *TDNT* 6.1–9; *EDNT* 3.63; *NIDNTT* 1.588–593; *MM* 500–501; *L&N* 25.166, 31.82, 33.301; *BDF* §§101, 159(1), 187(6), 322, 341,

392(1e), 397(2); BAGD 639 | *peithomai*, TDNT 6.1–9; EDNT 3.63–64; NIDNTT 1.587–593; L&N 31.46, 36.12, 36.34; BAGD 639–640 | *peithos*, S 3981; TDNT 6.8–9; EDNT 3.63; NIDNTT 1.588, 592; MM 500; L&N 33.304; BDF §§47(4), 112, 474(4); BAGD 639 | *peismone*, S 3988; TDNT 6.9; EDNT 3.67; NIDNTT 1.588, 591–592; MM 502; L&N 33.303; BDF §§ 109(6), 488(1b); BAGD 641 | *pepoithesis*, S 4006; TDNT 6.7–8; EDNT 3.70; MM 503; L&N 31.82; BDF § 68; BAGD 643

The basic meaning of the verb *peitho* (conative), *peithomai* is “persuade, be persuaded,”¹ in whatever fashion: better if by reasoning and entreaty,² worse if by money or violence. It runs the whole gamut of nuances, from “convince, accept, believe,” to “conform, submit, give in, obey.”

All these meanings are found already in Homer, where *peitho* in the active and transitive sometimes means “persuade”: “Priam was not able to persuade the soul of Hector” (Homer, *Il.* 22.78); “I will persuade him to fight you face to face.”³ Sometimes it is in the middle: “admit, trust”; “without admitting yet (*epeitheto*) that it was indeed his father” (*Od.* 16.192); Athena to Ulysses: “humans place their confidence in weak friends” (20.45); “I am still too young to count on my arm.”⁴ The perfect expresses persistence in a state of confidence: “The young have confidence in their own strength” (*Il.* 4.325). Hence “hear and believe”: *oude me peiseis* = “I will not listen to you” (*Il.* 1.132; 6.360; 9.345); Zeus to Thetis: “so you will believe me” (*pepoithes*, 1.524); Athena to Ulysses: “Perhaps you will believe me” (*Od.* 13.344); “Thus spoke Athena, and the poor fool believed her” (*peithen*, *Il.* 4.104). To be convinced and believe is finally to obey: “How can an Achaean readily obey your orders?” (*peithetai*, *Il.* 1.150; cf. 79); “Son of Atreus, the Argive army will obey your voice above all others.”⁵

According to varying contexts, *peitho* can mean to convince others (*Od.* 14.123), to change someone’s mind (1.43; cf. Xenophon, *An.* 3.1.26), and notably to appease: “Let us think how to calm him, to convince him with friendly gifts, with soothing words” (*pepithomen*, *Il.* 9.112; *Od.* 3.146: he flattered himself that he appeased the goddess). The verb can mean “accept an invitation” (*Od.* 17.177) as well as “submit” (*Il.* 23.645) and “dupe” (*Od.* 2.106), but it also suggests the idea of stimulating, setting in motion: “persuading the storm-winds with the help of the north wind” (*pepithousa thyellas*, *Il.* 15.26).

In the classical period, the meanings of certitude and belief are well established, especially with the perfect.⁶ “I am sure (*pepeismai*) that Protagoras will have no trouble elucidating” the difficulty (Plato, *Prt.* 328 e); “I am sure (*pepoitha*) that for him the lightning will come, bringing fire.”⁷ Of course, “persuade, convince” remains the basic meaning.⁸ “Sostratus sought to persuade the brother” (Menander, *Dysk. hyp.* 6); “The law defends him against compulsion (*to biasasthai*); his character defends him

against persuasion (*to peisai*)” (*Dysk.* 254); “you who think of persuading a free young woman to sin” (*Dysk.* 290). So also the meaning “obey.” “They thought that the other Milesians would obey” (Herodotus 5.29; cf. 33); “for seven days they obeyed and did as ordered” (6.12); “we should obey him.”⁹ But our verb is not synonymous with *hypakouo*, first of all because it denotes following advice, giving in to reasons, taking an opinion into account,¹⁰ giving a favorable hearing; one draws inspiration¹¹ and conforms to it (Xenophon, *An.* 7.3.39), gives one’s approval (*An.* 5.6.29) or does as asked (Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.59; Hesiod, *Th.* 474). Finally, having been won over by persuasion (*pepeismenos*, Xenophon, *An.* 7.2.12), one decides,¹² and—this is the second point—it is a voluntary commitment to action, like a stimulus to participate in an undertaking.

Given the importance of personal conviction in the person from whom one wishes to obtain something, we can understand that Aristotle should have posed the question, “Must one obey one’s father in everything?” (*Eth. Nic.* 9.2.1164b22–23). He replies that one need not grant one’s father everything any more than one sacrifices everything to Zeus.¹³ Musonius also asks himself whether to obey in everything (*panta peithesthai*, frag. 16) and answers that one cannot submit to unjust or shameful commands: “He is obedient who listens to the voice of obligation and follows it assiduously.” One must obey Zeus, whose law ordains that people should be virtuous; so one must discern whether paternal orders are good, honest, and beneficent.

In the inscriptions, the meaning “persuade” is predominant from the fourth century BC on. The constitutive decree of the second Athenian confederation (377 BC) prescribes: “The people shall immediately appoint three delegates who shall go to Thebes to persuade (*peisousi*) the Thebans to act for the best.”¹⁴ But there is also the meaning “accord, consent” in the lease of a garden by the coreligionists (*orgeones*) of the physician Hero: “if a cordial understanding (*peithei*) comes about with Charops and the *orgeones*.”¹⁵ Then there is “convince” in the honorific decree of Istrus for Agathocles around 200 BC: “He convinced (*epeise*) the barbarians to do our city no harm”; “For six hundred *chrysoi*, he convinced Zoltes and the Thracians not to invade the territory”; “He convinced King Rhemaxus to give us five hundred horsemen for our defense.”¹⁶ Finally, there is “drag along, lead”: “as far as possible, without letting himself be dragged along by the one who has just breached (the texts written on the stele).”¹⁷

The papyri add hardly any new shades of meaning,¹⁸ but the frequency of the occurrences confirms the classical meanings while nuancing them, notably in Zeno’s correspondence: *pepeismai* = “I am persuaded.”¹⁹ To be persuaded is to be convinced and have confidence:²⁰ *pithontos soi* = having confidence in you (*SB* 7354, 5; cf. line 8: “look, do not trust,” *blepe, me pisthes*), rely on (*P.Fouad* 26, 41) and believe (*SB*

4630, 6), and finally being in accord (*P.Oxy.* 2562, 11: *episthemen pros heautous*), “agree, give one’s consent.” This is how the verb is often used in contracts where one subscribes to what is written or to what has been read: “with this agreement, with whom they also consent after reading it” (*te homologia taute, hois kai ex anagnoseos pepismenoi eisin, P.Mich.* 322 a 37; a division of property in AD 46; cf. lines 39, 43–47); “because I consent to it as it stands” (*dia to pepeisthai me kathos prokitai*).²¹ Not only does one attest to one’s good faith (“confidently without any guile,” *pepeismenos pantos dolou choris, BGU* 2203, 13; “willing and in agreement, without force or deception,” *hekon kai pepeismenos aneu bias kai apates, P.Köln* 157, 11); but this freely given consent is elaborated upon (“willing and in agreement, out of a self-chosen decision,” *SB* 8988, 49; 9586, 9; 9763, 25; “we think it good and we agree,” *eudokoumen kai peithometha*),²² with full knowledge of the facts (“we know and agree,” *oidamen kai pepismetha, P.Oxy.* 1868, 2). The meaning thus confirmed is a guarantee (“I will confirm and I agree to everything as it is set down,” *bebaioso kai pithomai pasi hos prokeitai, PSI* 1239, 23). Hence the meaning to obey, submit, be ready to carry out a certain decision or conform to given instructions.²³ In *Apokrimata* 56 (p. 7), we may translate the imperative *peithou* either “obey” or “execute” (cf. 12; *SB* 9526, 12 and 56).

For their part, the prefects or *epistratego*i use the euphemism *pepeismai* to express (in the repression of an abuse) their confidence in their subjects’ obedience to their decrees. For example, Tiberius Julius Alexander: “I am persuaded that in the future no one will any longer recruit farmers or tenants by force.”²⁴

With the LXX, the verb *peitho* takes on an entirely different tone. The meaning “persuade” is rare and late,²⁵ and “believe” is exceptional: “I believe (*pepeismai*) all that the prophet Jeremiah says.”²⁶ Rather, this verb almost always corresponds to the Hebrew *batah* or one of its derivatives and thus expresses confidence (Deut 28:52; Judg 9:26; 18:10, 27). But one can put one’s trust either in false supports or in the true God:²⁷ “What is the meaning of this confidence in which you trust?”²⁸ The faith of Israel is to put its trust in Yahweh,²⁹ which means relying on him (2Chr 14:10, niphal of the Hebrew *sha’an*; 16:7-8; Isa 10:20; 17:7) or taking shelter under his wings.³⁰ To have this confidence is to feel secure; also, the Hebrew *labetah*, Greek *pepoithos*, means that one dwells, lives, or walks in security;³¹ that is, one rests in quiet tranquility.³²

The Letter of Aristeas asks, “What is the end of eloquence?” and answers, “to persuade the adversary (*to peisai ton antilegonta*) . . . persuasion comes about by the power of God.”³³ Philo often gives the verb the meaning “persuade”³⁴ or “be convinced,” for example, of the existence of the Most High God,³⁵ but he is far from being the writer who uses it most often in the sense “obey”: *Cherub.* 9: “to obey virtue is fine”; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.95: “the man obeyed God’s counsels” (*Abraham* 252, 256); *Drunkenness*

33: “submit as a child does to its parents”; *Dreams* 2.24, 108: “a servant, I learned to obey them as masters.”³⁶

In the whole literature, it is the writings of Josephus that use this word most abundantly (nearly five hundred occurrences), obviously in rather varied meanings. “Persuade” and “convince” are predominant,³⁷ but with multiple nuances, because if no one consents and surrenders easily (*War* 1.32, 144, 254; *Life* 149; *Ag. Apion* 2.117, 153), others refuse their consent³⁸ and ingenious ways must be devised to gain it (*Ant.* 4.251; 7.172; *Ag. Apion* 2.200–201), being confident of success: “I will persuade Caesar” (*War* 2.201) and bringing proofs (*Ant.* 8.48). It is with words, speeches, and arguments that one succeeds in convincing.³⁹ Sometimes it is a matter of mere opinion,⁴⁰ sometimes advice,⁴¹ or requests (*Ant.* 20.121, 135, 142, 145, 161), even attempts to entice (*War* 1.274; *Ant.* 2.41, 50) or finally incite to action (*Life* 190) and hence “convince”;⁴² from there, one may urge, charge, or order.⁴³

The shades of variation with the meanings “accept” or “submit” are just as varied: one may be influenced (*Ant.* 5.243, 269, 315), respond to an invitation (5.168), give in to opinions or requests,⁴⁴ consent,⁴⁵ give one’s accord (*Ant.* 5.172; 20.32; *Life* 151), follow advice that is given.⁴⁶ Often, however, it is obedience in the strict sense and submission that is intended: the young must obey their elders (*Ant.* 3.47); one obeys God, the law and lawmakers (1.41, 190; 2.287; 5.152; 6.131, 136; *Ag. Apion* 2.162), the words of prophets (*Ant.* 9.51, 59, 267; 10.105), priests (*Ag. Apion* 2.194), officials (*Ant.* 14.232), justice (17.316), an edict (19.314), orders.⁴⁷

Finally, *peitho* has the meaning “put one’s confidence in, trust” (*War* 5.369; 6.348) promises, wealth or arms, numbers, persons.⁴⁸ One is “proud (*pepoithos*) of one’s tall and handsome figure” (*War* 2.57) or the influence of one’s father-in-law (1.447); but above all one must count on God’s help.⁴⁹ The NT, especially St. Paul, retained all this richness of meaning.

When transitive (in the present, the imperfect, and the aorist), conative *peitho* means “want or try to persuade.” At Caesarea, King Agrippa says to Paul, “You want to persuade me to become a Christian.”⁵⁰ Defining his ministry, the apostle declares, “Knowing (*eidotes*) what the fear of the Lord is, we try to persuade people”;⁵¹ but in the language of St. Luke, the verb has a technical meaning: “try to convince”⁵² an audience to act, to adopt a certain way of life, to “persevere in God’s grace.”⁵³ At Ephesus, the silversmith Demetrius noted that in almost all of Asia, the apostle had convinced and won over (*peisas*) a considerable crowd everywhere he preached (Acts 19:26). With regard to individuals, where the giving of opinions and advice is concerned, persuasion brings appeasement. The princes of the priests say to the guards at Jesus’ tomb: “If the matter reaches the ears of the procurator, we ourselves will appease him.”⁵⁴ Thanks to love shown in action, “we know that we are of the truth,

and before him we will set our hearts at rest (*peisomen*),”⁵⁵ we will convince it even while it is making accusations against us.

In the perfect and the pluperfect (with *epi*, *eis*, *en* plus the dative), *peitho* has the meaning, so common in the LXX and in Philo, of “have confidence, trust.”⁵⁶ In the parable about the expulsion of demons, the stronger one takes away from the vanquished the panoply in which he had placed his confidence.⁵⁷ It is assurance, like that of those who are sure that they are righteous (*tous pepoithotas hoti*, perfect participle) and scorn others (Luke 18:9), whereas they ought to place their confidence in God and God’s mercy.⁵⁸ This confidence, then, is certitude: “I give thanks, being sure of this (*pepoithos auto touto*): the one who has begun this excellent work in you will carry it through to completion on the day of Christ Jesus” (Phil 1:6); “To remain in the flesh is more necessary for your sake. In this certitude I know that I am going to remain with you all” (1:25; cf. 2:24). If the apostle’s confidence is so strong, it is because it is founded on the Lord,⁵⁹ but he also uses the perfect *pepoitha* as the papyri do, where a superior (diplomatically or pedagogically) expresses his conviction or desire that those subject to him will be obedient: “I am persuaded in the Lord that you will not think otherwise.”⁶⁰ The nuances of the middle and passive voices are varied; sometimes falling into line with an opinion,⁶¹ following a suggestion,⁶² expressing a more or less strongly held opinion;⁶³ sometimes, in fact usually, expressing an absolute conviction, faith in the literal sense: the brothers of the wicked rich man would not be persuaded even if they saw a dead person resurrected;⁶⁴ the people were convinced that John the Baptist was a prophet (20:6—*pepeismenos estin*, perfect passive participle). After St. Paul’s sermons at Thessalonica and at Rome, Luke notes that some were persuaded (= believed) and others did not believe.⁶⁵ Here again the apostle uses the perfect to express pedagogical optimism that is respectful and stimulating for his superiors: “I am persuaded (*pepeismai*) regarding you, brothers, that you are yourselves full of goodwill, having all knowledge, capable of admonishing each other.”⁶⁶ But when he speaks of his conviction in his faith, Paul’s certitude is as complete as it is well-founded: “I am sure (*pepeismai*) that neither death nor life . . . will be able to separate us from the love of God.”⁶⁷

Finally, the meaning “obey” is evident in Heb 13:17—“obey your leaders and be in submission” (present middle imperative, *peithesthe tois hegoumenois hymon*)—and in Jas 3:3—“We put bits in horses’ mouths so that they will obey us.” One obeys the truth (Gal 5:7) or unrighteousness (Rom 2:8); that is to say, one conforms to certain moral principles, submits to and remains faithful to their requirements, just as one joins with, is won over by certain persons (Acts 4:36-37, *epeithonto*, imperfect middle).

Peithos. — This adjective, corresponding to the classical *pithanos*, “persuasive,” is not only a biblical hapax, but is not attested elsewhere in

Greek: “My speech and my preaching (have) not (consisted) of persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of Spirit and of power.”⁶⁸ We must interpret this as meaning that faith is based not on the philosophy, rhetoric, logic, or wisdom of preachers who are able to entice minds, but on the public and incontestable (apodictic) testimony of the Hebrew, who manifests himself (*pneumatōs*, genitive of cause) in the assurance and the power inspired in preacher and hearers alike. It is the contrast between human discourse, demonstrative reason on the one hand, and on the other omnipotent outpourings or exhibitions of the Holy Spirit reaching the heart.

Peismone. — This noun does not appear in Greek before the biblical hapax in Gal 5:8. Before saying, “I am persuaded (*pepoitha*) regarding you...” (5:10) and after having asked, “Who has hindered you from obeying (*peithesthai*) the truth?” the apostle goes on, “This *peismone* is not from the one who calls you.” We can take the noun in a passive sense as referring to a new conviction of the Galatians, of which they have recently been persuaded; but more likely it has the active sense of a suggestion that cannot come from God, referring to the Judaizing preachers who must have inclined the Galatians to abandon Paul’s gospel. Thus *peismone* would have a pejorative meaning: a bad influence. This can still be detected in Ignatius of Antioch: “Christianity is not a work of persuasion but a work of power” (Ign. *Rom.* 3.3; quoted in the sixth century, *P.Lond.* 1674, 36).

Pepoithesis. — A late coinage from the perfect *pepoitha*, and unknown in the papyri, this substantive is a hapax in the LXX: “What is the meaning of this confidence (Hebrew *bittahôn*; cf. Isa 36:4; Eccl 9:4) in which you trust” (2Kgs 18:19); and in Philo: “Counting on the virtues of their ancestors” (Philo, *Virtues* 226); but Josephus uses it six times in the sense of assurance or boldness (regarding a quarrel, *Ant.* 11.299); of confidence in oneself (19.317), in one’s strength (1.73), in arms or money (3.45); it can be inspired by someone else’s attitude (5.74) or by God (*apo tou theou*, 10.16). One depends or relies on a *dynamis*. St. Paul is the only NT author to use this term (four times in 2Cor, out of a total of six)—which is very close to *parrhesia*. Usually it refers to his own personal confidence.

(a) Confidence in people. The apostle, henceforth certain of the Corinthians’ respect for him and the good welcome that they will give him, decided in this assurance (*taute te pepoithesei*) to go to see them (2Cor 1:15). In the meanwhile, he sends a brother to them to gather the collection; and this brother is all the more zealous because he has great confidence in them (*pepoithesei polle te eis hymas*), confidence gained either on his own visits to Corinth or from Titus’s accounts (2Cor 8:22). One can also depend on human advantages, Israelite privileges: a Hebrew, son of a Hebrew, Paul would have reason to put his confidence in the flesh (Phil 3:4—*kaiper ego echon pepoithesin kai in sarki*).

(b) One can also depend on God: Jesus Christ, “in whom we have boldness and access with confidence through faith in him” (*en ho echomen ten parrhesian kai prosagogen en pepoithesei dia tes pisteos autou*, Eph 3:12). Assurance and confidence bring access to God; they come from faith in the power and love of God, which make it possible to draw near to him. One is sure of being welcomed.

(c) This assurance is a personal feeling produced in the heart by Christ: “We have such assurance (*pepoithesin toiouten echomen*) through Christ before God” (2Cor 3:4). Paul’s confidence in the efficacy of his ministry is not an illusion, not vainglory, not presumption; it is based solidly on the certitude that a tree is recognized by its fruits. What is more, this certitude is produced in him by Christ in person. Much more than that, it is true and authentic in God’s presence, which means that it is valid and in line with God’s own judgment. Hence the apostolic authority and even boldness which Paul does not hesitate to put into play against his detractors (2Cor 10:2).

¹ S. Schulz, *Die Wurzel πειθ- (πιθ-)*, Fribourg, 1952: “The transitive active is perhaps secondary” (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 868); cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, 18, n, p; B. Mandilaras, *Verb*, 209, 802.

² Sophocles, OC 520: “Grant it (πειθου), for I myself granted your entreaty.” Πειθώ is the goddess Persuasion. “August Persuasion” (Hesiod, *Op.* 73; *Th.* 349); “The Athenians accompanied by two great deities, Persuasion and Compulsion” (Πειθώ τε καὶ —Αναγκαίην, Herodotus 8.11); “to help their mother, behold Desire (Πόθος) and the enchantress Persuasion (Πειθοι—), who has never been refused” (Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 1040; cf. *Ag.* 385); Alcman in Plutarch, *De fort. Rom.* 4.318 b; Menander, *Epit.* 338; Philo, *Post. Cain* 45; Nonnus, *Dion.* 3.95; O. Guéraud, P. Jouguet, *Un Livre d’écolier du IIIe s. av. J.-C.*, Cairo, 1938, p. 34, line 212; a dedication to Πειθοι— at Paros (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1938, p. 450, n. 289), at Cnidos (*ibid.*, 1954, p. 165, n. 228), at Cos (*ibid.*, 1967, p. 522, n. 434).

³ Homer, *Il.* 22.223; 9.587: “He did not persuade his heart in his chest”; 9.184: “that they may without too much difficulty persuade the proud soul of Aeacides.”

⁴ *Od.* 16.71 (perfect πέποιθα); 21.132; cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 10.100: “I put my trust in the kind hospitality of Thorax”; Homer, *Od.* 16.98: “the support that one expected from a brother” (πέποιθε); *Il.* 13.96: “Young warriors of Argos, I have confidence in you”; Aeschylus, *Cho.* 237: “Trust in your valor (πεποιθῶς); you shall recover your father’s palace.”

⁵ *Il.* 23.157; 16.171: rowers must obey their commanders; “Let us obey the black night and prepare our evening meal” (πειθόμεθα, 8.502; 9.65); “I think I know someone who will not obey” (οὐ πείσεσθαι, 1.289). Ulysses: “Do you think that I am of such an age as to remain in the huts, obeying a superior’s orders in everything?” (πιθέσθαι, *Od.* 17.21).

⁶ Herodotus 9.88: “They were persuaded (ε—πεποίθησαν) that with money they would pull through”; Sophocles, *Aj.* 769: “I am quite sure (πέποιθα) of winning the glory”; Aeschylus, *Eum.* 826, Athena: “I rely on Zeus” (κἀγὼ πέποιθα Ζηνί).

⁷ Aeschylus, *Sept.* 444; Euripides, *Hipp.* 1251: “I will never be able to believe that your son is wicked”; *Andr.* 870: πεισθεῖς λόγοις = trusting the words; Plato, *Ap.* 25e: “You will not get me to believe it, or anyone else in the world”; *Prt.* 338 a; Herodotus 1.8, 126; Xenophon, *Oec.* 20.15.

⁸ Plato, *Resp.* 1.327 c: “Would you be able to convince people who do not want to hear?”; 2.364 b; *Phdr.* 271 c; *Grg.* 453 a: “Rhetoric is a worker of persuasion”; Aeschylus, *Eum.* 724: Apollo persuaded the Parci to make humans immortal; Xenophon, *An.* 7.6.9: “After persuading us, they brought us here with our consent”; *Cyr.* 6.1.34: Araspas asks whether Cyrus “is capable of persuading such a woman”; *Hier.* 1.16, Simonides to Hiero, “a thing of which you could not persuade anyone”; Sophocles, *Phil.* 624: “I will allow myself to be persuaded after I am dead”; Thucydides 3.70.1: they knew how to persuade them to bring over Corcyra to Corinth; 3.75.1: “Nicostratus persuaded the Corcyreans to come to an agreement”; 3.31.1: “These words could not convince Alcibiades” (οὐκ ἔπειθε).

⁹ Plato, *Leg.* 4.714 b, πείθεσθαι; *Ap.* 29 d: “I will obey the god rather than you” (πείσομαι δὲ μα—λλον τω— θεω— ἢ ὑμι—ν); *Menex.* 248 a: “He will obey the proverb fully”; Sophocles, *Ant.* 67, Ismene: “I intend to obey the powers that be”; *Phil.* 1252: “Even if you use force, I do not intend to obey”; Pindar, *Nem.* 8.10; *Ol.* 13.79; Aeschylus, *Cho.* 297: “One cannot disobey such oracles” (χρησμοί—ς πεποιθέναι); Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.2.8: “Children are taught to obey their officials . . . whom the elders obey blindly.” Diodorus Siculus 4.31.5: “Hercules, forced to obey the oracle.”

¹⁰ Herodotus 6.100: “The Athenians followed (πείθονται) the advice of Aeschines”; 7.144: “On the advice of the god (τω— θεω— πειθομένου), the Athenians resolved to stand up to the barbarian”; Aeschylus, *PV* 1014: “If my reasons cannot convince you” (πεισθῆς λόγοις); 1063: “Give opinions that can convince me”; *Cho.* 781: “I will go and I will follow your advice” (πείσομαι λόγοις); Sophocles, *OC* 1442, Antigone to Polynices: “Give in to

me (ε—μοὶ πιθοῦ)—do not urge me to do what must not be done (μὴ πει—θ ἄ μὴ δεῖ—)”; Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.5.16: people urge (ἔπειθον) Agesilaus to attack separately. Menander, *Dysk.* 712: “None of you can make me change my mind about it” (μεταπει—σαι).

¹¹ Thucydides 2.2.4: “Rather than listening to those who had called them in (οὐκ ε—πειθόντο) . . . they decided . . .”; 6.33.1: “Not only do they not listen (οὐ πείθουσιν), but one is thought to be mad”; Menander, *Dysk.* 38: “The young woman inspired in us (πέπεικεν) a certain kind regard for herself.”

¹² Herodotus 1.163: “The Phocaeans did not let themselves be persuaded” (οὐκ ἔπειθε); 8.134: Mys convinced a man of Lebadeia whom he paid to go down into the cave of Trophonius (μισθω— πείσας); Lysias 21.10: “giving him the price, I hired Phantias as pilot”; Plato, *Euthd.* 272 c, Socrates to Crito: “I had already persuaded (πέπεικα) others to become my fellow disciples, and I will try to persuade even more to follow me here”; Euripides, *Med.* 982: “The veil’s charm and heavenly beauty will persuade her to put it on”; Sophocles, *Phil.* 901; Xenophon, *An.* 1.3.19: “Either he must persuade us to follow or we must convince him to send us back on friendly terms”; 5.1.14; Polybius 4.64.2.

¹³ *P.Hercul.* 176. In this same papyrus, a letter of Epicurus to an orphaned child says, “It is good for you to obey your grandfather and grandmother in everything (πάντα πείθη). . . . They all love you because you obey them in everything (ὅτι τούτοις πείθη πάντα,” lines 10 and 14; republished by G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, Cambridge, 1927, p. 6). Cf. *P.Ryl.* 77, 34: πειθόμενος τῇ ε—μαυτοῦ πατρίδι.

¹⁴ J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 27, 74. Cf. 33, 4, regarding the sale of citizenship in the third century: since the administrative assembly of the city has to vote according to the reasons explained for the admission of new citizens, it is provided that these will “enter into the *patre* (a tribe of the Thasians) that they persuade.” At Daphne, “We have appointed him high priest of these sanctuaries, being persuaded (πεπεισμένοι) that their administration will be seen to in a full and satisfactory fashion” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 244, 29 = *IGLS*, n. 992). In the hymn to Isis from the first century BC: “You persuade the Nile, which rolls gold along, and you bring it back to the Egyptian soil each season” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 175, col. II, 17 = *SB* 8139, 17). The epitaph of the *euergetes* (“benefactor”) Apollonius in the second century BC: “believe me” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques* 6, 22 = *SEG* VII, 768 = *SB* 8230).

¹⁵ *NCIG*, n. 27, 22 (fourth century BC). In the dedication of the Moschion to Osiris: σαφω—ς ε—ρει—ς πεισθεῖς ε—μοῖς (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions*

métriques, n. 108, 40 = SB 8026), we may interpret “surely you will say with me,” i.e., in accord with my voice.

¹⁶ *NCIG*, n. VI, 19, 31, 50, 55.

¹⁷ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 142, 24: a pact between Athens and Chios (fourth century BC).

¹⁸ Moulton-Milligan notes the parallels of *peitho* as a conative present, “Apply persuasion,” “seek to persuade,” as in Acts 26:28, the corresponding aorist ἔπεισα in *P.Tor.* 1, col. VIII, 36 = *UPZ* 162; *BGU* 164, 26; *P.Oxy.* 294, 22. For the second perfect πέποιθα with the dative, *BGU* 1141, 17 (cf. 2Cor 10:7; Phil 1:14; Phlm 21); the intransitive is construed with the genitive in *PSI* 538, 7. As for the middle or passive “I am persuaded,” we may cite *P.Petr.* II, 11 (1), 4 (S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 3 = G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, Cambridge, 1927, n. 3), a letter of Polycrates to his father: “If you come, I am sure (πέπεισμα) that I will easily be able to introduce you to the king”; *BGU* 1118, 40; *P.Oxy.* 268, 7: “the sum that they have each agreed to accept” (AD 58); 1293, 13; *P.Ryl.* 176, 3; *P.Fay.* 133, 12.

¹⁹ *SB* 9220 a 7; b recto 6; *P.Mich.* 29, 9: “If you examine the matter, you will be persuaded that we are useful to you”; cf. *P.Tebt.* 762, 4: “I am persuaded that, if God wills, he will be secure” (third century BC); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 24, 22: ε—γὼ πεπεισμένος μου τῇ διανοίᾳ (second century AD); *P.Oxy.* 2190, 23: He persuaded (ἔπειθεν) the sons of Apollonius to go to Didyma (first century); *P.Mich.* 502, 14: πείσης τὴν μητέρα = persuade our mother; *P.Hib.* 204, 6: “I will persuade my employers”; *P.Genova* 11, 3 (=SB 10730); 23, 2; *UPZ* 218, col. I, 17: “with effort, I have now convinced him”; *P.Princ.* 68, 8: γράφε μοι πεπεισμένος ὅτι . . . ; *P.Lond.* 1916, 27: “Write me so that we may have certitude”; *P.Tebt.* 768, 16; *SB* 10803, 7.

²⁰ *PSI* 1309, col. II, 7; 1413, 8; *P.Yale* 41, 10: “Apollonius will explain to you and convince you”; *P.Oxy.* 2980, 8: “You have no need to be persuaded of this”; 3106, 9; *P.Hamb.* 87, 16; *C.P.Herm.* 8, 14; 9, 22; *P.Mert.* 12, 9, a letter to a physician, in AD 58: “I have confidence that (πείθομαι ὅτι) I can retain a certain degree of serenity and be able . . .”; *P.Lond.* 1929, 10; *P.Mich.* 87, 6 (letter to Zeno): ε—πὶ σοὶ πεποιθώς = having confidence in your support; 485, 11: “Urge Valerius to write to Pius, having confidence (πειθόμενον) in my good faith”; *SB* 9450, 8.

²¹ *P.Mich.* 351, 31 (AD 44); 659, 291: πίθωμαι πα—σι ὡς πρόκειται; line 300; *PSI* 11246, 5: ε—ν πα—σι πέπεισμα; *SB* 8986, 27; 6266, 9: ὁμολογοῦμεν . . . καὶ πεπεισμένοι; 6704, 9; 7033, 77; 7668, 3; 11042, 24 (=

P.Col. VII, 188); 12215, 4; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 33, 8; *BGU* 1865, 2; 2168, 21; 2185, 18; *P.Lips.* 28, 28.

²² *PSI* 1239, 21; *P.Mich.* 659, 287 and 296; *SB* 9763, 54, 56; 9889, 6; 10784, 11; *P.Oslo* 129, 8.

²³ —Επιτρόπῳ, πεισθει—ς τοι—ς γραφι—σι, *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 85; 2, 86: τοι—ς προσταχθει—σιν πεισθείς; *P.Alex.* 25, 26: ε—ν τούτῳ ε—αυτοῦς πείσωμεν; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 19, 9: ὅπως πείθονται τοι—ς κεκριμένοις (= *SB* 9252, 9; cf. 9225, 6). It seems that πείθομαι means to be ready to stand as a candidate, to take on an office (in the second-third century), cf. *P.Oxy.* 1252, verso col. II, 28; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 58, col. I, 10; *P.Ryl.* 77, 34; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 40, 16, 17, 19.

²⁴ *BGU* 1563, 37 (= Dittenberger, *Or.* 669 = *SB* 8444); *P.Brem.* 2, 10; *P.Oxy.* 3025, 12; cf. *P.Oxy.Hels.* 47 b 21: “I am sure that you will do everything on your own.”

²⁵ *Jdt* 12:11; *Wis* 16:8; *2Macc* 7:26; 9:27: letter from King Antiochus: “I am persuaded (πέπεισμαι) that my son will follow my intentions scrupulously”; *4 Macc* 2:6; 9:18; 16:24; cf. win someone to one’s cause (4:45; 11:14) with money (10:20); convince him (4:34; *4Macc* 8:12).

²⁶ *Tob* 14:4; cf. assurance (πεποιθώς), *Prov* 14:16; *Jdt* 2:5—“You shall take men who are sure of their strength”; *4Macc* 5:16; “obey” (6:4; 8:17, 26; 10:13; 12:4–5; 15:10; 18:1).

²⁷ *Isa* 30:3; 31:1; 42:17; *Jer* 7:14; 48:7, 13; 49:11; *Bar* 3:17; *1Macc* 10:71, 77; *2Macc* 10:34; 12:14; *Jdt* 7:10; *Zeph* 3:2; *Job* 31:24; *Prov* 28:25; 29:25; *Wis* 13:7; 14:29; 16:24; *Sir* 32:24.

²⁸ *2Kgs* 18:19-22; *2Chr* 32:10, 15; *Isa* 30:12; 36:4-9; 50:10; 59:4; *Jer* 7:4, 8; 9:3; 46:25; 49:4; *Ezek* 33:13; *Job* 6:20; 39:11; *Po* 49:6; 135:18; 146:3; *Prov* 11:28; *2Macc* 8:18.

²⁹ *2Kgs* 19:20; *Isa* 12:2; 33:2; 37:10; *Jer* 17:7; 39:18; *Sus* 35; *Po* 25:2; 125:1; *Prov* 3:5; 16:20; 21:22; *Wis* 3:9; *2Macc* 7:40; 15:7.

³⁰ *Ruth* 2:12 (πεποιθέναι, Hebrew *hasâh*); *2Sam* 22:3 (cf. *Isa* 8:17, piel of the Hebrew *qawâh*); *Po* 2:12; 11:1; 57:1; 118:8; cf. *Isa* 22:24; hang (Hebrew *talâh*).

³¹ *Lev* 25:18-19; *Deut* 33:12, 28; *Judg* 8:11; *1Sam* 12:11; *Amos* 6:1; *Jer* 12:5; 23:6; 32:37; *Job* 11:18; *Prov* 10:9; *Sir* 4:15.

³² Isa 14:7 (Hebrew *shaqat*); 30:15; 32:17-19; 47:8; 58:14; Jer 28:15; 48:11; 1Macc 9:58.

³³ *Ep. Arist.* 266; cf. 252: “How can one be free of error? By doing everything with deliberation and reflection, without allowing oneself to be imposed upon (πειθόμενος, convince or seduce, bend) by unfavorable talk”; 5: “I am convinced (πέπεισμαι) that you will willingly learn what I want to recount”; one puts one’s confidence in might (147–148, 193).

³⁴ *Alleg. Interp.* 3.80: “royal intelligence imposes less than it persuades”; *Post. Cain* 55; *Prelim. Stud.* 107; *Dreams* 1.77; *Joseph* 189, 269; *Moses* 1.85; 2.257; *Spec. Laws* 1.79; *Good Man Free* 96.

³⁵ *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 60; *Worse Attacks Better* 131; *Husbandry* 56; *Decalogue* 87; *Virtues* 120; *Good Man Free* 95; *To Gaius* 3, 37, 198, 233, 240. Cf. *Husbandry* 63: “those who are convinced (οι—πεπεισμένοι) that they can master unreasonable forces”; *Spec. Laws* 1.45; *Flacc.* 174; “decide” (*Joseph* 225); “trust in, put one’s confidence in” (*Spec. Laws* 2.197; 1.62; 4.1, 174; *Abraham* 232).

³⁶ Philo, *Unchang. God* 50: reflection is like “an incorruptible judge who obeys the suggestions of right reason”; 183; *Husbandry* 40; *Sobr.* 33: “obeying the suggestions of right reason”; *Conf. Tongues* 59; *Abraham* 85: “the good man obeys an oracle”; 88, 192; *Spec. Laws* 2.230: “an army in submission to its leader’s orders.”

³⁷ Josephus, *War* 1.76, 365, 483; 2.340; 4.218, 230, 518; 5.528; 7.253, 410; *Ant.* 1.113, 276; 7.261; 8.308, 350; 10.9, 161; 12.164, 292, 300, 341; 20.97, 167; *Ag. Apion* 2.169. In the perfect passive, πέπεισμαι, “I am certain,” *War* 5.544; *Ant.* 5.90; 6.291, 317; 8.108, 11.3, 176, 315; 12.150; 13.246, 294; 14.308; 15.265; 16.304. The Essenes “were convinced that not one woman keeps faith with just one man” (*War* 2.121, πεπεισμένοι; cf. 1.107, 622, 643; *Ant.* 1.9); “these men who are now certain of holding on to victory” (2.437).

³⁸ *Ant.* 6.259; 10.115; *Life* 19: “I did not convince them”; 73; so one tries to change their minds, to win them over to our ideas (17, 56, 123, 193) and ends up persuading them (60, 77, 87, 103); they accept (63), but sometimes at a great cost (*War* 1.655; 4.104). *Peitho* is sometimes synonymous with “believe”: “to be convinced that God extends his watch and his authority over all and everywhere” (*Ag. Apion* 2.294), cf. *Ant.* 6.237: refusing to believe; 10.35; 16.79; *War* 1.482.

³⁹ *War* 1.613; 2.405; 3.201, 315, 345, 389; 4.185, 237, 321, 353, 504, 507, 639; 6.375, 502; 7.426; *Ant.* 1.167; 2.113, 271; 7.213; 8.245; 9.134; 13.79, 115, 217; 14.168, 184; 15.126; 16.108; 17.87; 18.3; 20.42; *Life* 113: “my arguments persuaded the crowd”; 308: “These words convinced them.”

⁴⁰ *War* 1.215: “Herod let himself be persuaded by these opinions”; 1.224; 6.134, 287; 7.415, 423; cf. *Life* 417: “Titus Caesar invited me (ἔπειθέν με) a number of times to take what I wanted for myself from the ruins of my country.”

⁴¹ *War* 1.114: Aristobulus “advised his mother to spare the lives” of threatened persons, 124, 360; *Ant.* 1.278; 6.208: “David, persuaded by this excellent advice”; 7.214, 235, 10.51; 11.197; *Ag. Apion* 1.100.

⁴² *War* 1.61: “Hyrcanus convinced Antiochus with three hundred talents to lift the siege,” 126, 290, 575, 603, 642; *Ant.* 2.139; 8.5; 9.143, 200, 232; 11.223; 12.387; 14.164; 17.55, 63; 18.42, 329; 20.70, 163, 236; *Life* 29, 42, 55, 65, 132, 271, 273, 391. Thus members of garrisons are “persuaded” (*War* 1.175, 187, 190, 248; 2.590; 3.357).

⁴³ *Ant.* 1.74, 109, 216; 2.291; 5.151, 321; 7.15, 17; 18.82; 20.62, 69, 120, 216, 220; *Life* 185.

⁴⁴ *War* 1.135, 267, 506, 538; 2.238; 5.128; *Ant.* 2.30; 18.268.

⁴⁵ *War* 1.159, 318; *Ant.* 5.282; 12.237; 16.322; 18.48; 20.78, 178.

⁴⁶ *War* 1.391, 434, 576; *Ant.* 6.249; 8.277; 9.148; 11.146; 12.283; 14.14. That is why πείθω is sometimes completely synonymous with “appease”: “Antipater appeased Murcus” (*War* 1.224, 227; *Ant.* 1.201); to persuade a crowd it to appease it (*Life* 388, cf. 140); “being agreeable to these orders, the soldiers remained calm” (*War* 2.621; *Ant.* 7.127).

⁴⁷ *Ant.* 11.218; 14.52, 88, 409; 18.89, 159; *Ag. Apion* 2.226: “obedience to the laws is a proof of virtue.”

⁴⁸ *War* 1.55, 202, 373, 374; 2.21, 41, 209, 361, 364, 378, 583; 3.463; 4.10; 6.24, 330, 372; *Ant.* 11.114; 13.298, 17.119; *Life* 116, 373.

⁴⁹ *War* 2.394; 3.484; *Ant.* 7.122; 8.256; 18.266.

⁵⁰ Acts 26:28 (present indicative, με πείθεις). The king adds ε—ν ὀλίγω, which commentators explain with χρόνῳ (“in a short time”) or πόνῳ (“with

little effort”), or λόγῳ (“with few words”), or even “at little cost”; it would be best to interpret “almost, yet a little” (cf. Josephus, *Life* 151).

⁵¹ 2Cor 5:11 (present indicative, πείθομεν). Paul is faithful in his ministry to the mission he received from God, the Lord to whom he belongs and whom he reveres. One can also understand from the context that he wants to conciliate minds and defend himself against suspicion, and so make people favorably disposed, win themselves over to him. Cf. Gal 1:10—“Is it the favor of humans that I want to win (πείθω) or that of God?” Cf. A. Feuillet, “Chercher à persuader Dieu’ (Gal I, 10 a),” in *NovT*, 1970, pp. 350–360.

⁵² At Corinth, Paul “tried to convince (conative imperfect ἔπειθεν) Jews and Greeks” (Acts 18:4) that Jesus is the Christ; at Ephesus, he argues and tries to convince the Jews concerning the kingdom of God (διαλεγόμενος καὶ πείθων, present participle, Acts 19:8), as every orator does with his audience (cf. Josephus). At Rome, Paul, giving testimony to the kingdom of God, tried to convince his hearers (πείθων) regarding Jesus by a demonstration relying on the Law and the Prophets (Acts 28:23).

⁵³ Acts 13:43 (imperfect ἔπειθον). It is not necessary for a crowd to be persuaded or convinced to mobilize; it can be convinced by any means or pressure whatsoever: “the princes of the priests and the elders convinced the crowds (ἔπεισεν, aorist indicative) to ask for Barabbas’ freedom and Jesus’ death” (Matt 27:20). At Lystra, the Jews of Antioch and Iconium convince the crowd (aorist participle, πείσαντες) and stone Paul (Acts 14:19). Tyrians and Sidonians request, win over to their view, and convince (πείσαντες) Blastus, Agrippa’s chamberlain, to support their request to the king (Acts 12:20).

⁵⁴ Matt 28:14, ἡμεῖς—ς πείσομεν (future indicative). On tomb violations and fraudulent transfers of corpses, cf. J. Schmitt, “Nazareth, (Inscription dite de),” in *DBSup*, vol. 6, col. 356.

⁵⁵ 1John 3:19 (Homer, *Il.* 9.112; Xenophon, *An.* 3.1.26). On the debate that takes place in the conscience, cf. Philo, *Quest. Gen.* 4.26; on the accusation of the heart, Prov 18:17; Augustine, *Perf. Just.* 28. Cf. A. Champdor, *Le Livre des morts*, Paris, 1963, p.84.

⁵⁶ Matt 27:43—“He trusted in God” (perfect indicative, πέποιθεν ἐ—πί) is a quotation of Ps 22:9. Heb 2:13—“I will put my trust in him” (πεποιθῶς ἔσομαι ἐ—πᾶν—) is a quotation of Isa 8:17.

⁵⁷ Luke 11:22 (pluperfect, ἐ—ῶ η— ε—πεποίθει); cf. Ps 48:7; Prov 11:28. S. Légasse, “L’‘homme fort’ de Luc XI, 21–22,” in *NovT*, 1962, pp. 5–9.

⁵⁸ Rom 2:19—the Jew is confident that he is a guide of the blind (perfect participle, πέποιθας), whereas God and his law are light, and not the person himself (σεαυτόν); 2Cor 1:9—“We have carried our death sentence in ourselves, so that we may not remain confident in ourselves (perfect participle, μὴ πεποιθότες), but in God who raises the dead”; 10:7—“if someone is persuaded that he is Christ’s” (with connotations of presumption); Phil 3:3—“We are the circumcision . . . we place no confidence in the flesh.”

⁵⁹ 2Thess 3:4—“We have placed our confidence in the Lord regarding you” (perfect indicative, πεποιθήσαμεν); cf. Phil 1:14.

⁶⁰ Gal 5:10; cf. 2Cor 2:3—“I had this confidence in all of you (πεποιθώς, perfect participle), that my joy is your joy,” because the solidarity of brotherly love requires sharing the same feelings: rejoicing with those who rejoice. Phlm 21: “I write with full confidence in your obedience.”

⁶¹ Acts 5:39, Gamaliel: if the work comes from God, it cannot be defeated; 27:21, in the storm, the centurion pays more attention to the opinions of the pilot and the shipowner than to Paul’s words.

⁶² Acts 23:21—Paul’s nephew denounces the plot against Paul to the tribune: “Do not believe them” (μὴ πεισθῆς, aorist passive subjunctive), do not trust them.

⁶³ Acts 26:26—“I do not believe (οὐ πείθομαι, present middle indicative) that he (King Agrippa) knows nothing of these matters”; 2Tim 1:5—“I am persuaded that the faith of your grandmother Lois and your mother Eunice is also in you”; Heb 13:18—“we believe that we have a clear conscience.”

⁶⁴ Luke 16:31. C. F. Evans, “Uncomfortable Words,” in *ExpT* 81, 1970, pp. 228–231.

⁶⁵ Acts 17:4; 28:24; cf. 21:14—during the farewells at Caesarea, Paul says that he is ready to be imprisoned and to die for Jesus; “as he would not be persuaded (μὴ πειθομένου, present middle participle), we remained quiet (ἤσυχάσαμεν).”

⁶⁶ Rom 15:14—the apostle includes all the Roman Christians without noting a single exception; Heb 6:9—“Even though we speak like this, dear friends, we are persuaded (πεπεισμεθα) that you are in a better situation, favorable for your salvation.”

⁶⁷ Rom 8:38—confidence based on the faithfulness of God’s love and on experience gained in daily trials; 2Tim 1:12—“I am sure (πέπεισμαι) that the one in whom I have placed my trust has the power to keep my deposit until that Day”; Paul is sure of his Lord and Savior; he affirms his full and complete conviction that the Almighty will without fail accomplish his promises; Rom 14:4—“I know and I am absolutely certain in the Lord (οἶδα καὶ πέπεισμαι) that there is nothing impure in you,” a total conviction because it rests on the teaching of Jesus, who rejected the distinction between clean and unclean foods.

⁶⁸ 1Cor 2:4—οὐκ ἐ—ν πειθοι—ς σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ ἐ—ν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως. Such is the text in a, B, D, E, F. Vulg. “in persuasibilibus sapientiae verbis”; Origen, *Cels.* 6.2 (cf. *RB*, 1957, p. 478); but the variants are numerous (cf. H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I–II2*, Tübingen, 1923, p. 11). The oldest manuscript, P46, omits λόγοις (P. Benoit, “Le Codex paulinien Chester Beatty,” in *RB*, 1937, p. 73); g 18 (Tischendorf) Sah. Arm. Ambrosiaster read the dative of the noun πειθώ: “in the persuasion (ἐ—ν πειθοι—) of the speech of human wisdom”; this reading preferred by J. Huby, in *Science religieuse: Travaux et recherches*, Paris, 1944, pp. 245–247; J. Héring, *La Première Epître de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1949 ET The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock, London, 1962, p. 15; and G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, London, 1953, pp. 23ff., who thinks that there never was an adjective πειθός; and yet it is never explained by the Fathers of the church, who thus seem to suppose that its meaning is well known to their audiences. For the rest, there is no difference of meaning between the two readings. Cf. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.223: Plato “surpassed all the other philosophers by the power of his talent and his persuasive eloquence”; 2.116. The substantive πειθώ means the faculty or talent of persuasion (Aeschylus, *PV* 172; Plato, *Leg.* 4.722 *b*), speech more fit for persuasion, eloquence (Euripides, *IA* 104; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 1398), the temptation that one has in mind (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 385, βια—ται δ ἅ τάλαινα πειθώ), obedience (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.3.19; 3.3.8); contrasted with constraint (Josephus, *War* 2.8, 562; cf. *Ant.* 17.209).

πει—ρα, πειράζω, πειρασμός, ἀπείραστος

peira, attempt, trial, testing, experience, proof; *peirazo*, to try, tempt; *peirasmos*, temptation, trial, testing; *apeirastos*, inexperienced, not susceptible to temptation

peira, S 3984; *TDNT* 6.23–36; *EDNT* 3.64; *NIDNTT* 3.798–799; MM 501; L&N 68.58; BAGD 640 | ***peirazo***, S 3985; *TDNT* 6.23–36; *EDNT* 3.64–7; *NIDNTT* 3.798–799, 801–802, 808–810; MM 501; L&N 12.36, 27.31,

27.46, 68.58, 88.308; BDF §§101, 171(2), 310(1), 392(1a); BAGD 640 | **peirasmos**, S 3986; TDNT 6.23–36; EDNT 3.64–67; NIDNTT 3.798–800, 802; MM 501; L&N 27.46, 88.308; BAGD 640–641 | **apeirastos**, S 551; TDNT 6.23–26; EDNT 1.119; NIDNTT 3.798–799, 802, 809; MM 56; L&N 88.309; BAGD 83

In classical Greek, *peira* means “attempt, trial, experience” and sometimes “a putting to the test”;¹ and these meanings are retained in the Koine. Zeno knows from experience whether or not the potter Pettukamis is capable (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59500, 1; cf. *P.Princ.* 169, 3); Ammonius asks his brother, “Try to do this for me.”² But the meaning “proof” is asserted: “He found a man to supply the proof” (Menander, *Dysk.* 722); “You have given me sufficient proof of your character” (*Dysk.* 770); Moschion “gave proof of a gifted mind”;³ hence an athletic “trial.”⁴ The LXX uses this word to translate the Hebrew *massâh* (Deut 33:8), and elsewhere uses it for an experience;⁵ likewise Philo: “Every day we have experience of it” (*Worse Attacks Better* 131); “I have had the experience for a long time”;⁶ but it is emphasized that these experimentations are sources or means of knowledge.⁷ Philo does not use *peirasmos*, nor does Josephus, who gives preference to *peira* meaning “proof,”⁸ “test” (*Ant.* 20.28), “trial” and “test”⁹ or “attempt,”¹⁰ but also “means, occasion, expedient.”¹¹

The expression *peiran lambano*, “to make an attempt, to experiment,” is traditional.¹² Deut 28:56 uses it for the woman “who will not venture to put the sole of her foot on the ground” (piel of the Hebrew *nasâh*); Heb 11:29, 36 for the Egyptians who tried to cross the Red Sea, and for martyrs who experienced derision and floggings.

In preference to the denominative *peiraomai*, the Koine uses *peirazo*,¹³ which is rare in secular Greek, but to which biblical language gives an altogether singular density,¹⁴ with the basic meaning “trial”¹⁵ and always translating the piel of the Hebrew *nasâh*. Its secular meanings are rather rare,¹⁶ but always it is a question of trial and exploration. Hence the religious and moral meaning, “temptation,” which is a trial of virtue by means of affliction or adversity, or even by Satan’s intervention.¹⁷ In the faith of Israel, God is always its author; it is a basic element of his pedagogy: *per molestias eruditio*. The two most significant instances are those of Abraham, whom God tested by asking him to sacrifice Isaac (Gen 22:1), and of the wandering of the chosen people in the wilderness (Exod 15:25). These trials are a sounding or a test that allows Yahweh to assess the quality of his servants; this purpose is mentioned endlessly.¹⁸ But the “temptation” reveals not only what is hidden, demonstrates not only the sincerity and the moral resources of the believer, but is also for the believer a means to perfection, because he has to suffer in order to remain faithful to his resolves and his decision for God; he emerges from the trial purified and more convinced than ever to serve his Lord, whose sovereignty over

him he thus confesses to be total.¹⁹ This is why Jdt 8:25 paradoxically urges giving thanks to “the Lord our God, who puts us to the test like our fathers”; and this is why David, who is so religious, asks, “Search me, Yahweh, test me, examine my heart and my mind” (Ps 26:2), because he knows that those whom “God has put to the test, he has found worthy of himself” (Wis 3:5). The wisdom writings insist on the benefits of this painful pedagogy by attributing it to the divine wisdom: “Wisdom tries her sons by her precepts” (Sir 4:17) and takes them on difficult paths. Her disciples are called to experience for themselves what is good or bad for their souls (Sir 37:27; 39:4). If they have thought they could find happiness in the joys of this world, they recognize that these pleasures are empty (Eccl 2:1), and that is the confession of their wisdom (7:23; cf. Wis 2:17; 19:5). Finally, on the psychological level, “The one who has not been tried knows little.”²⁰

People are thought to “tempt God”²¹ when they seek to obtain signs or proofs of his goodness or power, or when they make untimely demands; they irritate God because of their lack of faith and undue demands, which amount to a kind of defiance, which is monstrous on the part of a creature.

The substantive *peirasmos* did not appear in secular Greek before the first century,²² but it remained unknown in the papyri. The LXX gave it the meaning “temptation”:²³ “They called the place Massah (*Peirasmos*) because there they tempted God” (Exod 17:7; cf. Deut 6:16; 9:22; 29:2; Ps 95:8), and it is repeated that “in temptation Abraham was found faithful” (Sir 44:20; 1Macc 2:52), because “To the one who fears the Lord no evil will come; but if he is in trial, he will again be delivered” (Sir 33:1). The whole moral life of the wise person depends on his clear-headedness and victory in testing: “The furnace proves the potter’s vases. The testing of a person is in his reasoning” (Sir 27:5), which discerns the just and the unjust, the good and the evil, and makes good choices that are in accord with God’s will. Hence the universal maxim: “Child, if you wish to serve the Lord, prepare your soul for testing” (*eis peirasmon*, 2:1).

NT theology and language inherit these conceptions of *peirasmos*,²⁴ but the major “temptation” was that of Christ, which is reported by the three Synoptics²⁵ and which puts down “temptation” as an essential element in the life of disciples, like a wandering in the wilderness. The Devil submitted the Savior to an “examination” to find out about his identity, and he especially tempted him to substitute a political and earthly messianism for redemption by the cross, and finally to “tempt God” by performing wonders having no other point than to signal the vainglory of their author. Christ emerged victorious from these *peirasmoi* by quoting Scripture, that is, by conforming strictly to the will of God. In the course of his ministry, he underwent many other trials or temptations, all the difficulties of his existence, the traps set by his enemies, the reproofs of the religious leaders—which affected him deeply²⁶—and he says to the Twelve, “You are the ones who have stayed with me in my trials” (Luke 22:28—*en tois*

peirasmois). The trials of the agony at Gethsemane,²⁷ when he still had the chance to escape death and the tortures of Calvary, were certainly the most painful. The Epistle to the Hebrews gives them a major place in its Christology: the experience of suffering that Jesus underwent because of the likeness of his human nature to ours first taught him compassion for our weaknesses,²⁸ then gave him the power to “come to the aid of those who are being tried (or tempted),”²⁹ like a conqueror coming to the aid to those who are still embroiled in battle.

God is the one who tests, and the Christian, aware of his weakness, asks the favor of exemption from this examination: “Lead us not into temptation” (*me eisenenkes hemas eis peirasmon*).³⁰ *Eisphero* (here in the aorist subjunctive) means “lead, transport, bring, introduce,” and followed by *eis*, “cause to enter into” the *peirasmos*, which is not an incitation to evil, a wicked solicitation—which is what “temptation” suggests in modern English—but a difficult or painful trial. This test permits an assessment of the strength, the faithfulness, the love of the believer (which is a good thing), but it is dangerous, and that explains the humble request to be excused from it.

Pagans, Jews, and sinners often used the excuse that some deity had forced them to do evil,³¹ but Sir 15:11–15 protests that God can not urge evil, and Philo says that God is only the cause of good (*Decalogue* 176). Jas 1:13–14 takes up this teaching: “Let no one when he is tempted say, ‘I am being tempted by God.’ For God cannot be touched by temptations to evil³² and neither does he tempt anyone. In reality, each one is tempted when drawn away and enticed by his own covetousness.” The immediate cause of the temptation is internal: *epithymia*, that evil and imperious desire that each person has, which draws the heard and sets a snare³³—which takes account of the warfare described by St. Paul (Rom 7:14–24).

In this latter text, *peirazo* is clearly pejorative, as it is also in all the instances where the temptation is attributed to the devil. Just as Jesus was tempted by the devil—for no wicked inclination could come from his immaculate human nature (Matt 4:1)—it is Satan who intervenes to snatch away the word from human hearts in order to keep them from being saved (Luke 8:12). Christian spouses are not to deprive each other “lest Satan tempt you because of your trouble in remaining continent” (1Cor 7:5); he can even ruin the fruits of the apostolic ministry (1Thess 3:5). The source of the tribulations of the faithful sifts them, hoping that they will fail.³⁴ His sinister interventions are so universal and unrelenting that Jesus calls him *ho peirazon*, “the Tempter.”³⁵

All of NT pastoral theology emphasizes, after the fashion of the OT, the preponderant role of *peirasmos* in the life of believers. It occurs in various periods with greater or lesser intensity (*en kairo peirasmou*, Luke 8:13) and in varied forms, the most pronounced form being “tribulation,”

painful and dangerous personal or social conditions that put everyone's faithfulness to the test: "Dear friends, do not consider the fiery trial you are suffering something strange."³⁶ In fact, this *peirasmos* is providential, is a test of Christian authenticity, for the participants in Christ's sufferings (1Pet 4:13); it is a purification, like that of metal in a furnace.³⁷ This marvelous fruitfulness makes it possible to understand that for a believer under the new covenant the most dangerous and painful *peirasmos* can be a source of joy and even gladness. Jesus had commanded believers to bear fruit by persevering;³⁸ Jas 1:2 explains, "Always reckon it as joy, brethren, to be exposed to trials of all sorts (*peirasmois poikilois*), knowing that the trial of your faith produces patience."³⁹ "Happy is the person who endures trial, for after being proved he will receive the crown of life that [God] has promised to those who love him" (Jas 1:12). This is the blessedness of hope. 1Pet 1:6 goes one better: "This is what fills you with joy, even while at present you are afflicted—since it is necessary for a little while—by various trials."⁴⁰

On the other hand, there is a danger of succumbing when a Christian has committed an offense (*en tini paraptomati*) and someone who is "spiritual" attempts to restore him; the latter must act with gentleness (*en pneumaty prytetos*), "for you also are capable of being tempted" (Gal 6:1). No one is indefectible.⁴¹ This propensity to sin is particularly frequent with those who want to get rich (*hoi boulomenoi ploutein*); "they fall into temptation (*empiptousin eis peirasmon*) and snares and many foolish and harmful desires that plunge people into ruin and perdition."⁴² So missionaries who are false apostles are to be tested, like the Nicolaitans who disturb the community at Ephesus; as a result of this discernment they are recognized as liars.⁴³ Finally, Christians must also "test" themselves; the *peirasmos* that makes one turn in upon oneself is an examination of conscience.⁴⁴

Although *peirasmos* is painful and dangerous, God matches it to our strength, so that no one can ever say that it is insurmountable: "No temptation has come upon you that is not of human proportions, but God is faithful, who will not let you be tempted beyond your strength, but with this temptation will also produce this outcome (*ekbasin*, result) that you may bear it."⁴⁵ Jesus had taught that prayer is the secret of victory: "Watch and pray, that you may not come into temptation" (Matt 26:41 = Mark 14:38 = Luke 22:40, 46; cf. 1Pet 5:8ff.). He himself had prayed for Peter, that he should not fail (Luke 22:32). It is the faith of the church that "the Lord knows how to deliver the godly from testing" (2Pet 2:9), that is, those who seek divine help. To the church at Philadelphia, which imitated Christ's patience, Christ prophesied: "Because you have kept the word of my patience, I also will keep you in the hour of temptation that is ready to come upon the whole inhabited world to test those who dwell upon the earth."⁴⁶ We may add with 2Pet 5:7-8 that faith makes it possible to resist the devil's most violent assaults.

¹ Sophocles, *El.* 470: “the adventure that I am going to try may cost me dearly someday”; cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, on this word, who also points out the meaning “an attempt to seduce a woman,” and the compounds ε—μπειρία, “experience”; ε—μπειρικός, “experienced”; ε—μπειράομαι, “make trial of”; cf. ἄπειρος, “without experience, inexperienced” (Heb 5:13; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XX, suppl. C 7), ἀπείραστος, “having no experience” (Demosthenes, *Corona* 18.249); cf. below.

² *P.Oxy.* 3057, 18 (first-second century); cf. 1415, 29; *PSI* 377, 10; *BGU* 1027, 11: οἴου ὀλέθρου πίρας ε—ποιει—τε . . . ἢ πι—ρα πραγμάτων ε—πειδείξει; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1239, 18: πα—σι τοι—ς κακοι—ς πει—ραν δώσει.

³ *SB* 8026, 10 (ἔδωκε πει—ραν = *SEG* VIII, 464; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 108, 10); *P.Princ.* 119, 57 (= *SB* 10989; A. E. Hanson, “Memorandum and Speech of an Advocate,” in *ZPE*, vol. 8, 1971, pp. 15–27).

⁴ Preliminary trial (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1968, p. 439, n. 147); Philostratus, *Gym.* 11: “wrestling supplies a double proof, of what it knows and what it can do.”

⁵ *Wis* 18:20—πει—ρα θανάτου (cf. 2:24; S. Lyonnet, “Le Sense de πειράζειν in Sap. II, 24 et la doctrine du péché originel,” in *Bib*, 1958, pp. 27–36); 18:25, the experience of divine wrath; 2Macc 8:9—the general Gorgias was accustomed to the things of war, he had experience of them; cf. 4Macc 8:1—“the tyrant, conquered in his first attempt. . . .”

⁶ Philo, *Abraham* 251; *Spec. Laws* 1.106: “the woman who has had the experience of another marriage” (= *Virtues* 114); *Spec. Laws* 2.103; cf. the meaning “proof” (*Joseph* 37; *Moses* 1.306), “trial” (*Good Man Free* 103), “undertaking” (*Flacc.* 43, 53); “means, combination” (*Virtues* 34). Πει—ρα is close to δοκιμασία (*Flight* 149; *Spec. Laws* 4.153; cf. Josephus, *War* 2.161; Plutarch, *Mor.* 15.230 a ; Ps 95:9; 2Cor 13:5; Heb 3:9; Jas 1:2-3; 1Pet 1:6-7).

⁷ Philo, *Abraham* 209; *To Gaius* 216: “He knew not only by hearsay, but by experience”; 255: “before long you will know from experience.”

⁸ The Essene candidate must offer proof of his temperance (*War* 2.138; *Ant.* 5.184); give proof of one’s aptitude (*Ant.* 1.300); the proof that Elijah is

a true prophet (9.23), proof of courage (12.339), of loyalty (15.193; 16.48; *Life* 160), of strength (*Ant.* 3.19; 13.152).

⁹ *War* 5.516: “they tested the points of their swords”; 7.51, 81, 193; *Ant.* 2.293; 3.11; 5.107, 110: trial of facts; 8.166: convinced by experience, not by mere hearsay; 8.168, 219, 300; 15.316; 18.303.

¹⁰ *Ant.* 3.315; 5.40; 10.142; *Life* 219; *Ag. Apion* 2.183; attempted rape, 2.215; *Ant.* 2.55. The only religious meaning is “tempt God” (*Ant.* 4.107).

¹¹ *War* 2.200: the Jews did not give in before any of these means, 355; 3.218; *Ant.* 2.161; 5.325; 10.192; 14.473. Cf. verify a usage, experiment with a medicine (Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.*, pref. 15), controlled observation, scientific experimentation (Philodemus of Gadara, *Inf.* 7.34, 37; 15.20; 16.36).

¹² F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, pp. 232f., quotes Diodorus Siculus 12.24; 13.52; 15.48; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 73.1: “Pompey experienced defeat and flight”; Chariton, *Chaer.* 8.4.5: “Do not try to give him a mother-in-law”; Pausanias, 2.33.3; Achilles Tatius 6.20.3; Aesop, *Fab.* (ed. de Fur.). We may add Plato, *Grg.* 448 a; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 6.1.54: “he tried to have them pulled” (ε—λάμβανε τοῦ ἀγωγίου πει—ραν); Philo, *Abraham* 251; *Spec. Laws* 1.106; *Good Man Free* 103; Josephus, *War* 2.340, 581: “I will put your military discipline to the test before combat”; *Ant.* 2.60; 4.1, 191; 8.217; *Life* 125; Polybius 2.36.9: “tempt fortune”; *SEG VIII*, 574, 21; *UPZ* 110, 129: “If you do not want to experience sanctions”; *P.Oxy.* 1681, 10; 2704, 14; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59495, 4; *P.Tebt.* 712, 14; *SB 7452*, 21.

¹³ Πειράζω means “put to the test”; hence “try to make, seek to seduce” (a woman), in a favorable or an unfavorable sense: “mistreat, attack.” Cf. the Latin *periculum*, “danger, peril,” and *peritus*, “experienced.” Cf. Homer, *Od.* 9.281, Polyphemes to Ulysses: “He wanted to try me”; Plato, *Prt.* 342 a: “I want to try to expose you . . .”; Epictetus 1.9.29: “to test me, Rufus was accustomed to speak to me”; Plutarch, *Cleom.* 7.4: “troubled at the thought that they wanted to test him because they suspected him”; Polybius 2.6.9: try to get revenge; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 6.7.1: “Now I will try to speak (πειράσομαι λέγειν), to the extent that I understand.” In a monologue of Hercules, it has to do with an athletic trial (*P.Oxy.* 2454, 20); cf. *P.Yale* 32, 9: let him try to pour the olives without crushing them (257 BC); *P.Oxy.* 2410, 10: he tried to get rid of two *arourai* of our royal land; 2982, 12: “I will try to get there quickly”; *P.Oxy.Hels.* 49, 3: “try to send the letters as quickly as possible”; *PSI* 927, 25; *P.Alex.* 28, 23; *P.Lond.* 1917, 12: “captivated, I remained in the kitchen garden.”

¹⁴ It is worth noting that Philo uses this verb only four times, always in OT quotations (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.162, 167; *Prelim. Stud.* 163; *Dreams* 1.195). Its use is also rare with Josephus, but more personal: “Under the pretext of serving the law, these men were attempting something more profound” (*War* 1.654); “this wonder had already been experienced (noted) when the city was taken” (5.411); “have experience of widowhood” (*Ant.* 6.210); ὁ πειρασθείς = the one who experienced such an outrage (sodomy), *Ag. Apion* 2.215.

¹⁵ Cf. A. Sommer, *Der Begriff der Versuchung im Alten Testament und Judentum*, Breslau, 1935; J. H. Korn, *Πειρασμός: Die Versuchung des Gläubigen in der griechischen Bibel*, Stuttgart, 1937; M. E. Andrews, “Peirasmos: A Study in Form-Criticism,” in *ATR*, 1942, pp. 229–244; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 222–266; H. B. Oikonomos, *Πειρασμοὶ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ Διαθήκῃ*, Athens, 1965.

¹⁶ Judg 6:39—Gideon wants to repeat the “trial of the fleece”; 1Sam 17:39—David tries to walk in armor, “because he had never tried it”; 1Kgs 10:1, the Queen of Sheba comes to see Solomon “to test him with riddles” (1Chr 9:1); Sir 13:11—the powerful man learns and puts you to the test with his long speeches; Dan 1:12, 14: “prove your servants for ten days”; 1Macc 12:10—“We tried to send someone to renew our brotherhood.” The author of 2Macc tries to sum up the five books of Jason of Cyrene (2:23); Macron tries to administer the affairs of the Jews peacefully (10:12), Lysias tries to cooperate for their good (11:19). Cf. 4Macc 9:7—“Try then, tyrant” to compel us; 12:3, he seeks to persuade the youngest of the Maccabees; 15:16—their mother is tried by cruel suffering.

¹⁷ Job 1:9ff. Cf. J. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu*, Paris, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 179ff. A. M. Durable, “La Tentation diabolique dans le livre de la Sagesse II, 24,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, pp. 187–195.

¹⁸ Exod 16:4—“I test the people *to find out* if they will walk according to my law or not”; Deut 8:2—“*to know* what you have in your heart, if you will keep his commandments or not”; 13:3—“*to know* if you love Yahweh your God with all your heart and with all your soul”; Judg 2:22—“*to know* whether or not they will keep Yahweh’s ways, walking according to them, as their fathers kept them”; 3:4; 2Chr 32:31.

¹⁹ Exod 20:20—“Fear not, for it is in order to test you that Elohim has come, and so that the fear of him may be before your face so that you will not sin any more”; Dan 12:10—“Many will be purified, made spotless, and proved [by fire]. The impious will continue to act with impiety”; Wis 11:9.

²⁰ Sir 34:10. The Vulgate of 34:11 is more absolute: “Qui tentatus non est, qualis sit? He knows nothing; he does not know himself. He does not know his weakness or his great need of God’s help; he has not gained the power to triumph in life’s difficulties” (Job 7:1ff.). The Christian tradition takes up the axiom: stagnant water becomes foul and miry, but the waters of a river are more beautiful, clear, transparent, and the stones are what makes the brook sing; or again: just as the stars shine in the night and hide from us in the daytime, so true virtue cannot be seen at all in prosperity but shines forth splendidly in adversity.—This is what the Greeks meant by the formula *πάθει μάθος* (adversity makes wise, suffering brings understanding) taken up in Heb 5:8, cf. Herodotus 1.207; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 177, the comic poet Sotades (J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford, 1925, p. 244, n. 23 = J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 556), Memnon (*F.Gr.H.*, p. 356, 13). Philo, *Moses* 2.55, 280; *Migr. Abr.* 34; *Prelim. Stud.* 162; *Heir* 73; *Flight* 138; *Dreams* 2.107; cf. J. Coste, “Notion grecque et notion biblique de la ‘souffrance éducatrice’ (A propos d’Hébr. V, 8),” in *RSR*, 1955, pp. 481–523; H. Dörrie, *Leid und Erfahrung: Die Wort- und Sinn-Verbindung παθει—ν-μαθει—ν im griechischen Denken*, Mainz, 1956; K. Clinton, “The ‘Hymn to Zeus’ ΠΑΕΙ ΜΑΟΣ and the End of the Parodos of Agamemnon,” in *Tradition*, 1979, pp. 1–19.

²¹ Num 14:22—“These people who have tempted me ten times and who have not heard my voice”; Jdt 8:12; Ps 78:41, 56; 95:9; 106:14; Wis 1:2; Sir 18:23; cf. Isa 7:12.

²² Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* preface: τοὺς ἐ—πὶ τῷ—ν παθῶ—ν πειρασμούς. Philaenis, *Περὶ ἀφροδισίων*, in *P.Oxy.* 2891, frag. 1, col. 2: Περὶ πειρασμῶ—ν (a seducer’s attempts), cf. K. Tsantsanoglou, “The Memoirs of a Lady from Samos,” in *ZPE*, vol. 12, 1973, pp. 183–195.

²³ In the sense of a difficult trial, Deut 4:34; 7:19. Sir 6:7 recommends not having too much confidence in a new friend; the guarantee of a trial is needed (cf. 27:7). Eccl 3:10; 4:8; 5:2, 13; 8:16 use *πειρασμός* to translate the Hebrew *inyan*, “occupation, task, event.”

²⁴ In the secular sense, St. Paul, a new convert, makes many attempts to join the disciples at Jerusalem, who doubt his sincerity (Acts 9:26; imperfect tense for continued action, ἐ—πείραζεν); the missionaries “tried to enter Bithynia” (16:7); the Jews, “having taken Paul in the temple, tried to kill him” (26:1—imperfect middle ἐ—πειρῶ—ντο = repeated attempts); the meaning “painful trials” in 20:19. — Both of the great OT testings are reprised: Abraham (Heb 11:17; cf. Gen 22:1; Philo, *Abraham* 167–207; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.222–236; cf. T. Reik, *The Temptation*, New York, 1961) and the generation of the wilderness (Heb 3:8-9; cf. Ps 95:7-11); but we

have to eliminate ε—πειράσθησαν at Heb 11:37, which is a dittographic corruption of ε—πρίσθησαν (C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 1, p. 429; G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, p. 47; R. V. G. Tasker, “The Text of the ‘Corpus Paulinum,’” in *NTS*, vol. 1, 1955, p. 184). — Finally, the “temptation of God” by Israel in the wilderness is recalled at 1Cor 10:19; this is what Ananias and Sapphira did to see whether the Holy Spirit would illuminate Peter concerning their fraud (Acts 5:9); this is what the apostles and presbyters at Jerusalem would have been doing if they had not seen in the conversion of Cornelius a sufficiently clear sign of the divine will and had called for a more obvious miracle (Acts 15:10).

²⁵ Matt 4:1; Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2. The bibliography is considerable, cf. P. Ketter, *Die Versuchung Jesu nach dem Berichte der Synoptiker*, Münster, 1918; P. Samain, “L’Accusation de magie contre le Christ dans les Evangiles,” in *ETL*, 1938, pp. 484–490; R. Schnackenburg, “Der Sinn der Versuchung Jesu bei den Synoptikern,” in *TQ*, 1952, pp. 297–326; A. Feuillet, “Le Récit lucanien de la Tentation (Lc. IV, 1–13),” in *Bib*, 1959, pp. 613–621; Feuillet, “L’Episode de la Tentation d’après l’Evangile selon saint Marc (I, 12–13),” in *EstBib*, 1960, pp. 49–73; M. Steiner, *La Tentation de Jésus dans l’interprétation patristique de saint Justin à Origène*, Paris, 1962; H. Riesenfeld, “Le Caractère messianique de la Tentation au désert,” in *La Venue du Messie* (Recherches bibliques, vol. 6), Bruges, 1962, pp. 51–63; and especially J. Dupont, *Les Tentations de Jésus au désert*, Bruges, 1968 (gives the complete bibliography).

²⁶ Matt 16:33; Mark 8:33 (Peter’s wanting to turn Jesus away from the cross); Matt 12:38; 16:1; Mark 8:11; Luke 11:16 (the Pharisees ask for a sign); Matt 19:3; Mark 10:2 (the question about divorce, intended to test him); Matt 22:18; Mark 12:15 (tribute to Caesar); Matt 22:35 (the greatest commandment); Matt 27:40 (“Come down from the cross!”). Cf. *Gos. Truth* 19.18–30: “The wise [who are so] in their heart came testing (πειράζειν) the Master, but he confounded them, showing that they were empty.”

²⁷ Jesus’ soul was troubled (τετάρρακται, John 12:27) in this conflict (agony) between the horror of an undeserved death and submission to the Father’s will; Heb 5:7–8. Cf. T. Boman, “Der Gebetskampf Jesu,” in *NTS*, vol. 10, 1964, pp. 266–267; E. Best, *The Temptation and the Passion*, Cambridge, 1965; A. Feuillet, *L’Agonie de Gethsémani*, Paris, 1977.

²⁸ Heb 4:5. Christ, having sensitivities like our own, has the same reactions that we have in the face of pain and death; so he feels our troubles, participates in them, suffers with us (συμπαθει—ν). Cf. K. Bornhäuser, “Die Versuchungen Jesu nach dem Hebräerbrief,” in *Theologische Studien M. Kähler dargebracht*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 69–86; C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 1,

pp. 94ff. B. Gerhardsson, *The Testing of God's Son*, Lund, 1966; P. Pokorný, "The Temptation Stories and their Intention," in *NTS*, vol. 20, 1974, pp. 115–127.

²⁹ Heb 2:18. Since compassion was indispensable for the high priest of the new covenant, the Son of God had to take on human nature in order to acquire it, because participation in the same sufferings makes companions in misfortune compassionate and devoted. In addition, Christ henceforth lends his aid to humans. He is their βοηθός (Latin *adjutor*). *Boetheia* is a word used especially for medical care. A decree of Cos honors the physician Xenotimos, who "always brought help to those who needed it" (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 943, 12; third century BC; cf. *IG*, XI, 4, 633 and 693); Diodorus Siculus 14.71: "the help (or care, βοήθεια) of physicians became ineffective because of the seriousness of the illness. . . ." The βοήθημα is the "remedy"; cf. N. van Brock, *Vocabulaire médical*, Paris, 1961, pp. 244ff. — According to Luke 10:18; 11:21–22, Jesus is the "strong man" who expels Satan from sinful men whom he had possessed. The expulsions of minor demons were signs of the devil's defeat.

³⁰ Matt 6:13. A formula without OT parallel (cf. David: "Test me, try me," Ps 139, 23), but with equivalents in Rabbinic Judaism (cf. Str-B, vol. 1, p. 422). The best commentaries are those of J. Carmignac, "Fais que nous n'entrons pas dans la tentation," in *RB*, 1965, pp. 218–226; *Recherches sur le "Notre Père,"* Paris, 1969, pp. 236–304; cf. T. van Bavel, "Inferas—Inducas: A propos de Mtth. VI, 13 dans les œuvres de saint Augustin," in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1959, pp. 348–351.

³¹ Homer, *Il.* 19.86–87; *Od.* 1.32, 34; Euripides, *Or.* 285; *Phoen.* 1612ff.; Plautus, *Aul.* 4.10.7; Prov 19:3; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.19; *Decalogue* 176; *Flight* 15; *Worse Attacks Better* 32, 122; Josephus, *War* 2.164.

³² Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἀπειραστός ἐ—στιν κακῶ—ν could be interpreted three ways: (1) God cannot be tempted to evil; (2) God has no experience of evils; (3) God cannot be tested by wicked humans (P. H. Davids, "The Meaning of ἀπειραστος in James 1:13," in *NTS*, vol. 24, 1978, pp. 386–392). The verbal adjective ἀπειραστος (biblical hapax), capable of bearing many nuances (the manuscripts write also ἀπείρατος, cf. Josephus, *War* 3.307: escape a calamity; 5.364: it was not a new experience for them; 7.262: the Sicarii did not fail to implement any plan that aimed at the ruining of their victims). It is used especially in Christian literature: *Const. App.* 2.8.2: ἀνὴρ ἀδόκιμος ἀπειραστος; *Acts John* 57, the presbyter to the apostle John, "To tempt you would be to tempt someone who cannot be tempted"; 90; Ps.-Ignatius, *Ad Philip.* 11: "how to tempt the untemptable?" (other references in J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, 3d ed., London,

1910, pp. 51–53). In Jas 1:13, ἀπειράστος is taken in an active sense, *intensor malorum*, by the versions (Vulgate Sah. Boh. Ethiop.): God does not push anyone into sin; but for one thing, this interpretation makes the following proposition a tautology (πειράζει δὲ αὐτὸς οὐδένα), and for another, this adversative δέ supposes precisely another meaning in the preceding proposition. In addition, almost all moderns adopt the passive sense (cf. ἀνήκεστος = uncurable; ἀβίωτος = intolerable; ἀματάβλητος = unchangeable) and understand it to mean that God cannot be tempted by any evil; “untemptable” means that he has no experience of evil and no evil can seduce him.

³³ Cf. K. G. Kuhn, “Πειρασμός, ἁμαρτία, σάρξ im N.T. und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen,” in *ZTK*, 1952, pp. 200–222. The equivalent of the rabbinic “evil inclination” (*yesser hara’*). Cf. J. Bonsirven, *Judaïsme palestinien*, vol. 2, pp. 18ff. W.D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 2d ed., London, 1955, pp. 20–35; R. E. Murphy, “Yéser in the Qumran Literature,” in *Bib*, 1958, pp. 334–344; J. Cantinat, *Les Épîtres de saint Jacques et de saint Jude*, Paris, 1973, on this verse.

³⁴ Rev 2:10, to the church at Smyrna: “Do not fear what you are about to suffer. See, the devil is at hand to throw some of you in prison, so that you will be tempted” (ἵνα πειρασθῆτε). St. Augustine explains: “Deus tentat, ut doceat; diabolus tentat, ut decipiat” (“God tempts in order to teach; the devil tempts in order to ensnare,” *Serm.* 2.3; 57.9; 71.10; *En. in Ps.* 55.2, 9, 11).

³⁵ Matt 4:3 (Luke 4:13), repeated in 1Thess 3:5 (cf. 1Chr 21:1; Zech 3:1-2). At Qumran, an analogous attribution of temptation to Belial: “He acts in their heart” (1QH 6.21–22); “shares in the manifestation of their wicked nature” (7.3–4); CD 4.13–18 (the three snares of Belial), 5.18–19: “Belial stirred up Jannes and his brother in his malignity, when Israel was saved for the first time”; 4QFlor, frag. 1–2, 1.8–9 (*T. Benj.* 6.7 = 7.2; for *Jub.* 17.16, it is Mastema who tempts Abraham). Cf. E. Fascher, *Jesus und Satan*, Halle, 1949; H. A. Kelly, “The Devil in the Desert,” in *CBQ*, 1964, pp. 190–220.

³⁶ 1Pet 4:12. Christians are scandalized at being unpopular and ostracized; but the Lord predicted that they would be handed over before tribunals, hated, and beaten (Mark 3:9-13; John 15:18-20; 16:33). The image of the furnace suggests anguish and dire danger. — According to Gal 4:14, St. Paul’s malady, his “thorn in the flesh,” was a “trial” for the faith of the Galatians: how could God’s envoy be so infirm and so unprovided for? How to resist the temptation to scorn or disdain him? To the contrary,

the apostle says, the believers received the apostle “as an angel from God!”

³⁷ Cf. Ps 17:3; 66:10; Prov 27:21 (C. Spicq, “La Persécution, loi de la vie chrétienne,” in *Hommage aux Catholiques suisses*, Fribourg, 1954, pp. 87–99; B. Dehandschutter, “La Persécution des Chrétiens dans les Actes des Apôtres,” in J. Kremer, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, Gembloux-Louvain, 1979, pp. 541–546). Tertullian quotes a *logion agraphon*: “Neminem in temptatum regna coelestia consecuturum” (“No one can get into the kingdom of heaven without passing through temptation,” *Bapt.* 20); cf. J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings*, trans. R. H. Fuller, London, 1957, pp. 56–59.

³⁸ Luke 8:15. Cf. *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, 1962, vol. 3, pp. 111–122.

³⁹ Cf. J. Marty, *Epître de Jacques*, p. 28; *2Apoc. Bar.* 52.6—“Enjoy yourselves in the sufferings that you now endure.”

⁴⁰ Joy dominates in all forms of trials and temptations (cf. W. Nauck, “Freude im Leiden,” in *ZNW*, 1955, pp. 66–80), because these are considered providential and therefore beneficent. The Christian accepts them as coming from God himself—whatever secondary causes there may be—“it is necessary” (Mark 13:7; E. Fascher, “Theologische Beobachtungen zu δει—,” in *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann*, Berlin, 1954, pp. 228–254); cf. “the blessed passion.”

⁴¹ Rom 5:12—πάντες ἥμαρτον. Cf. H. Clavier, “Tentation et anamartésie dans le N.T.,” in *RHPR*, 1967, pp. 150–161.

⁴² 1Tim 6:9. Cupidity has grim consequences; this is a traditional theme (Sir 31:5—“the one who loves money will not be justified”; 8:2; 14:3ff.; 21:4; Prov 15:27; 23:4; 28:20; Matt 6:24; Mark 4:19; Luke 12:13ff.; Jas 5:1). St. Paul distinguishes riches (1Tim 6:17ff.) and those who want to get rich (Sir 27:1—ὁ ζητῶ—ν πληθύναι; Juvenal, *Sat.* 14.176: “dives qui fieri vult”; *Anth. Pal.* 11.2: ἤθελον ἄν πλουτεῖ—ν). These inevitably find occasion of sin in their path, and they fall (ε—μπίπτειν, iterative present): injustices, lies, exactions, frauds, swindles, thefts of all kinds, which are like so many baited snares that the greedy cannot resist; once caught, they cannot get free. Cf. Plutarch, *De cupid. divit.* (a sickness of the soul, a passion that is never satisfied); *Crass.* 1.4–5; 2.1; 3.1; 6.6; 14.5; Lucian, *Nav.* 27; at Qumran, 1QH 4.12; 3.26; CD 4.15–19. H. Kosmala, “The Three Nets of Belial,” in *ASTI*, Leiden, 1965, pp. 1–113.

⁴³ Rev 2:2. The apostles have ceaselessly warned the faithful against false apostles who seek to abuse them (Matt 24:1, 11, 24; 1Cor 6:9; 15:33; Gal

6:7) and exhort them to exercise spiritual judgment (Acts 20:29; 1Thess 5:21; 2Cor 11:13-15; Eph 4:14; 1John 3:7; 4:1—“Do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to discern whether they are of God”); at Qumran, preachers of lies, “teachers of Ephraim,” 4QpNah 2.8 (A. M. Denis, *Les Thèmes de connaissance dans le Document de Damas*, Louvain, 1967, p. 106). Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 278ff. E. Cothenet, “Les Prophètes chrétiens,” in M. Didier, *L’Evangile selon Matthieu*, Gembloux, 1972, pp. 299ff.; W. C. van Unnik, *Sparsa Collecta*, vol. 1, pp. 402–409; F. L. Hossfeld, I. Meyer, *Prophet gegen Prophet*, Fribourg, 1973; D. Hill, “False Prophets and Charismatics,” in *Bib*, 1976, pp. 327–348; M. Krämer, “Hütet euch vor den falschen Propheten,” *Bib*, 1976, pp. 349–377.

⁴⁴ 2Cor 13:5—“Test yourselves (πειράζετε) [to see_ whether you are in the faith; prove yourselves (δοκιμάζετε).” Cf. G. Therrien, *Le Discernement dans les Ecrits pauliniens*, Paris, 1973, pp. 46ff., 113.

⁴⁵ 1Cor 10:13. Cf. the opening of the *Orestes* of Euripides, quoted by Cicero: “There is no word so formidable, no bad fate, no evil that has come from the wrath of the heavenly beings, that human nature is not capable of bearing it” (*Tusc.* 4.9.63). Cf. the prayer of the Essene psalm (11QPsa 155.11 = 5ApocSyrPs 3.11): “Do not put me through a trial that is too difficult for me” (M. Philonenko, “L’Origine essénienne des cinq psaumes syriaques de David,” in *Sem*, vol. 9, 1959, p. 42).

⁴⁶ Rev 3:10. We can hardly be precise about whether this has to do with the persecutions of the first-second century or those of an Antichrist, a *Nero redivivus* in the course of history, or finally the troubles preceding the Parousia (cf. S. Brown, “The ‘Hour of Trial,’ Rev. II, 10,” in *JBL*, 1966, pp. 308–311). What is certain is that the Lord will keep his own from falling; their victory is secured in advance (John 16:33).

περιαίρέω

periaireo, to remove (from around)
see also ε—ξαιρέω

periaireo, S 4014; *EDNT* 3.73; MM 504; L&N 13.38, 15.204, 54.24, 68.43; BAGD 645

Common in the LXX, where it most often translates the hiphil of the Hebrew *sûr*, “take away, remove,” this verb means literally “remove from around,” i.e., take off something that one is wearing, especially a garment¹ or a veil (Gen 38:19), like Moses when he spoke with God.² Next comes the meaning “to detach,” for example the anchors from a ship;³ and finally

“remove” means “move away, cause to disappear,”⁴ as when hope of being saved from the storm fades to the point of disappearing altogether (imperfect passive, *perieraito*, Acts 27:20).

The sole theological usage of *periaireo* in the NT is in Heb 10:11, where the priests of the old covenant busy themselves with the offering of daily sacrifices, which, however, “can never take away sins.” The verb, like *aphaireo* (10:4) expresses first of all the idea of removing something that one has in oneself,⁵ the extraction of which is thought to be difficult (cf. Thucydides 1.108.3: rase fortifications). The idea is not that of a diverting or of an ordinary relinquishing but of a complete suppression. This nuance of abolition is well attested: the husband abrogates or annuls his wife’s vows (Num 30:13, 14, 16; hiphil of *parar*); the royal quality of the house of Saul is abolished;⁶ a dispute that is settled is said to be abolished (*P.Got.* 13, 11); the *stratego*i take away from the tax collectors any pretext or occasion for extortion (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 237; cf. *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 21, 23). In the religious sphere, God totally removes sins (1Chr 21:8), removes injustices (Zeph 3:15), takes away infirmities (Deut 7:15) and death.⁷ But sin is so deeply embedded in humans that the OT economy was powerless to root it out.⁸ Only the sacrifice of Jesus Christ succeeded in removing it.

¹ Gen 38:14; Deut 21:13; Jdt 10:3; Jonah 3:6; *UPZ* 122, 13 (with violence = despoil, snatch). One removes a ring from one’s finger (Gen 41:42; Esth 3:10; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.185), an adornment or jewelry (Exod 32:2-3, 24; 33:6); *Pss. Sol.* 2.22, a cloak (Philo, *Dreams* 1.100); a woman “with bare head, stripped of the symbol of modesty” (*Spec. Laws* 3.56); Moses “took off his body, which enveloped him like a shell” (*Virtues* 76; cf. 111; trim one’s nails); “when the rest had been suppressed” (*Rewards* 172).

² Exod 34:34; a text used at 2Cor 3:16; cf. J. Goettsberger, “Die Hülle des Moses nach Ex. XXXIV und II. Kor. III,” in *BZ*, 1924, pp. 1–17.

³ Acts 27:40 (cf. R. Ricard, “Les Navigations de saint Paul: La Tempête de quatorze jours en Méditerranée,” in *Études*, 1927, pp. 458ff.); cf. “cut off”: “Cyrus removed archery from the military exercises” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.1.21); in peace offerings, one removes the fat, the lobe of the liver with the kidneys (Lev 3:4, 9-10, 15; 4:8-9, 31, 35; 7:4). On administrative, financial, or judicial lists, one strikes the names of the deceased (*P.Tebt.* 300, 11; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 36, 8), or former owners (*P.Oslo* 105, 8; *SB* 6800, 7; 7360, 11; 10249, 12; from AD 59); a figure is crossed out (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59147, 3).

⁴ To remove foreign gods or mediums is to get them out of Israel (Josh 24:14, 23; 1Sam 7:3, 4; 28:3; 2Chr 32:12; 33:15; 34:33; Jer 4:1); cf. Prov

27:22—“his folly will not depart”; Bar 4:34—“I will take away the joy of his numerous population”; Josephus, *War* 1.179: “Crassus carried off two thousand gold talents” from the temple at Jerusalem; *Ant.* 20.212: “Herod plundered the Holy Land’s artistic treasures to decorate Berytus.” Cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59659, 7: thieves stole two asses belonging to Zeno.

⁵ Eli says to Hannah, “Rid yourself of your wine” (1Sam 1:14); cf. Ps 119:43—“Do not remove the word of truth from my mouth” (hiphil of the Hebrew *nasal*); cf. Exod 8:4, 7: “Take away the frogs from me and my people.”

⁶ 2Sam 3:10 (hiphil of *abar*); Zech 10:11; cf. 2Macc 4:38.

⁷ Exod 10:17; cf. Num 17:20 (hiphil of *shajaj*, cause to cease); Ps 119:22: “Remove insults and scorn far from me” (Hebrew *galal*); Jer 4:4—“Get rid of the hardness of your heart”; Prov 4:24; Philo: remove, cut off sin or impurity (*Plant.* 99, 103, 109; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.63; 3.21, 127); Marcus Aurelius 12.2.2: “If you grow used to doing likewise, you will deliver yourself from the thousand things that trouble you.”

⁸ With regard to a scheming monk in the sixth century: “I pray your fatherly Holiness . . . to be zealous in rooting out impiety from our monasteries” (*P.Fouad* 86, 18); *T. Job* 43.4—“Our sins are taken away, our iniquity is buried.”

περικάρμα, περίψημα

perikatharma, peripsema, wash-water, offscouring, filth; ransom

perikatharma, S 4027; *TDNT* 3.430–431; *EDNT* 3.74; *NIDNTT* 1.479–480, 3.102; MM 506; L&N 49.53; BAGD 647 | ***peripsema***, *TDNT* 6.84–93; *EDNT* 3.80; *NIDNTT* 1.479–480; MM 510; L&N 79.53; BAGD 653

1Cor 4:13—“We have become as the filth of the earth, the refuse of all, up to the present” (*hos perikatharmata tou kosmou egenethemen, panton peripsema heos arti*). These two terms, which are quite vulgar and very close in meaning (cf. Hesychius, *peripsema: perikatamagma*), are used for the wash-water and scrapings from dirty dishes, which is thrown out after washing or purification,¹ thus any kind of uncleanness or filth.² Finally, they are terms of abuse and base insult when applied to humans.³ No doubt this nuance of lowliness is to be retained in 1Cor 4:13. It is even probable that the apostle was treated as “filth” by the people in the course of some disturbance at Ephesus, Corinth, or elsewhere.

In Prov 21:18 (*perikatharma*, translating the Hebrew *koper*) and Tob 5:19 (*peripsema*), the two nouns have the sense of ransom.⁴ The second noun has a religious meaning in Dionysius of Alexandria: Christians “after caring for their brother (who had the plague) died themselves, having transferred to themselves the death of others . . . departing as the offscouring of their brothers” (*apiontes auton peripsema*, in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 7.22.7). The purifying agent, in effect, is thought to absorb the impurity of the purified object (cf. *P. Tebt.* 550: *perikath* [?]) and thus cleanse it; and since St. Paul adds a complement to each term (“of the world” . . . “of all”), his words recall the formula *peripsema hemon genou* (“become our offscouring”) pronounced at Athens, according to Photius (*Lex.*, p.425, 3) and the *Suda*, when criminals were thrown into the sea as expiatory victims for warding off public calamity.⁵ On the sixth and seventh of the month Thargelion, the city was purified (*polin kathairein*) by the cathartic ritual of the *pharmakoi*, which could be compared to the scapegoat of Lev 26:21-22: Two men who were driven through the city were supposed to take on its impurities. Then they were chased from the city to get rid of the uncleanness with which they were laden. Thanks to these “human cures,”⁶ the evil is abolished. We cannot exclude from 1Cor 4:13 this sense of sacrifice through which the guilt-bearer expiates and purifies those who offer him. Thus the meaning would be that St. Paul, scorned and rejected by people, sacrifices himself for them (2Cor 4:10ff.; 6:9; Phil 2:17); he is willing to become an expiatory victim, and by so doing he assimilates his apostolic function to that of the crucified Redeemer, Christ (Gal 6:17; Col 1:24-25).

¹ Ammonius, p. 143: καθάρματα τὰ μετὰ τὸ καθαρθῆναι ἀπορριπτούμενα; cf. Moulton-Milligan, on the word περικάθαρμα (intensive of κάθαρμα; cf. Hauck, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 3, pp. 430–431).

² Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 5.163: τῶ—ν ε—ν ται—ς τριόδοις καθαρμάτων ε—κβλητότερος, κοπρίων ε—κβλητότερος; synonyms: βδέλυγμα, σκύβαλα, κοπρός—κοπρία (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 1, pp. 73–74; idem, *Documents de l’Asie mineure*, pp. 72–73).

³ Demosthenes, *C. Mid.* 103: “The despicable Euctenon, that scum”; *Corona* 128: “What have you done, you slime, with virtue—you and yours”; Aristophanes, *Plut.* 454; Apollonius Rhodius: “Callimachus, the outcast (τὸ κάθαρμα), the butt, the hardhead” (*Anth. Pal.* 11.275); Philo, *Moses* 1.30; *Virtues* 174: “He considers the others as refuse, as nothing” (καθάρματα, τὸ μηδέν); Josephus, *War* 4.241: “The scum and offscouring of the whole country, these wretches . . . invaded the holy city”; Epictetus 3.22.78:

“Priam sired fifty no-goods” (περικαθάρματα); Lucian, *Hermot.* 81, ἀνδράποδα καὶ καθάρματα (cf. H. D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament*, p. 67; numerous references in Wettstein). But περίψημα is also used as a formula for unworthiness and humility, as in this epitaph from Carthage, where a widow has incised concerning her husband: εὐψύχει, Κύριέ μου Μάξιμε, ε—γὼ σου περίψημα τῆς καλῆς ψυχῆς (*CIL* VIII, 1, 12924); cf. *Barn.* 4.9; 6.5.

⁴ This meaning of περίψημα—the price of liberation from a fault—is confirmed by Hesychius, who gives as equivalents ἀντίλυτρα, ἀντίψυχα; by *P.Mich.* 473, 18 (beginning of the second century): “Since you caused me to lose 1,200 drachmas, consider that amount a ransom (reparation) for my son” (ὡς ἔβλαψές με χιλίας διακοσίας δραχμάς, περίψημά μου τοῦ υἱ—οὔ ἀπέλθωσιν, meaning so that the son of Tabatheus, who was guilty of killing Menas, might escape criminal prosecution); cf. J. Modrzejewski, “Quelques remarques à propos de l’homicide et la rançon dans le droit d’Egypte romaine,” in *Iura*, 1957, pp. 93–101). Less clear is the letter of Didumaris to Paniskos: ὅτι ε—σώθητε μετὰ τῶ—ν τέκνων ὑμῶ—ν καὶ περίψημα ὑμῶ—ν τὰ παρελ. οτα (*P.Petaus* 29, 5), which the editors translate, “Ich habe mich sehr gefreut zu hören, daß ihr mit euren Kindern gerettet seid und die vergangenen Ereignisse euch zum Heil gerieten (?)” (“I was very pleased to hear that you, together with your children, have been rescued and the things that happened have turned to your salvation”). They adopt the restoration παρελ. οτα = παρελθόντα and comment “Mit περίψημα in der Bedeutung ‘Sühnopfer, Sündenbock’ ergibt das als Sinn ‘Das, was geschehen ist, hat euch rein, frei gemacht.’ Faßt man περίψημα als ‘verachtenswerten Gegenstand, Diener’ usw., könnte man etwa ‘ihr seid Herr der Situation’ interpretieren. Beides ist nicht recht befriedigend.” (“With περίψημα understood to mean ‘atonement, scapegoat,’ the meaning is ‘what happened has cleansed you, freed you.’ If we understand περίψημα as referring to something to be scorned, a slave, and so on, then we could almost translate, ‘You are master of the situation.’ Neither is fully satisfactory.”) Cf. περικάθαρμα, *P.Oxy.* 2331, 10.

⁵ Cf. Ign. *Eph.* 8.1: περίψημα ὑμῶ—ν = “I am your expiatory victim”; 18.1: “my spirit is the victim of the cross.”

⁶ These φαρμακοί are attested at Ephesus, from the sixth century BC (Hipponax, frags. 4 and 37; ed. Bergk; cf. O. Masson, “Sur un papyrus contenant des fragments d’Hipponax: P. Oxy. 2176,” in *REG*, 1949, pp. 302, 311ff.), at Athens (the *Thargeloi*), Abdera (Ovid, *Ib.* 465–469), Apollonia (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 707), Cyprus (Strabo 14.8.3), Marseille (Servius, on *Aen.* 3.57; cf. PW, vol. 14, col. 2143), etc. Cf. L. Moulinier, *Le Pur et l’impur dans la pensée des Grecs*, Paris, 1952, pp. 95–100; E. des

Places, *La Religion grecque*, Paris, 1969, pp. 92ff. Stählin, “περίψημα,” in *TDNT*, vol. 6, pp. 84–93.

περιλείπομαι

perileipomai, to remain (after someone or something has been removed)

perileipomai, S 4035; *EDNT* 3.74; *NIDNTT* 3.247; MM 506; L&N 85.66; BAGD 648

This passive verb refers to the result of a subtraction, that which remains. According to 2Macc 1:31, after the liquid was poured on the wood and the sacrifice was consumed by fire, “Nehemiah ordered them to pour the remaining liquid on the large stones”;¹ in 8:14, it refers to the Israelites’ remaining property after the high priests have taken what they want.² It is used for ships that succeed in making it through (Polybius 1.37.2), fields that remain uncultivated (*UPZ* 110, 168), a remaining portion (*BGU* 1132, 12; from 13 BC), animals reserved for sacrifice (*PSI* 409, 12).

But this verb is also used for human survivors (*P. Giss.* 82, 23: *pros to hemas tous eti perileipomenous*), “the remnant of Israel and of Judah” (2Chr 34:21), old men who would have seen Solomon’s temple in its original glory (Hag 2:3), the survivors of a batallion received by Agesilaus (Plutarch, *Ages.* 22.8). It is in this sense that 1Thess 4:15, 17 contrasts the dead (literally, “those who have fallen asleep,” *tous koimethentas*), and “we who are (still) alive, those left” (*hemeis hoi zontes, hoi perileipomenoi*). The present passive participle *perileipomenoi* was current with this meaning in the first century: “Those of the priests who survive (*hoi perileipomenoi ton hiereon*) reconstitute the genealogies, extracts from the archives” (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.35); “Every time one of the brothers was led away, those who remained (*hoi perileipomenoi*) said, ‘Do not dishonor us, brother’” (4Macc 13:18); at the martyrdom of the seventh brother, the tyrant thought that the mother, “already having lost so many sons . . . would urge the one who remained to obey and save himself” (12:6; cf. Herodian, *Hist.* 2.1.7).

¹ Τὸ περιλειπόμενον ὕδωρ. C. Mugler comments on περιλείπειν, leave as a remainder: “a verbal expression indicating that a subtraction involving two geometric elements, lines, areas, or volumes leaves a remainder” (*Terminologie géométrique*, p.343).

² Τὰ περιλελειμμένα. Cf. *PSI* 571, 14: “I have nothing left”; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 852, 46: ἔτι πλείστη περιλείπετο ὕλη. —πειρλειπη in *SB* 8979, 12 is a false reading; cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 2, pp. 956ff.

περιπίπτω

peripipto, to fall around or beside, turn over, to befall, to happen upon
see also ε—μπίπτω; πίπτω

peripipto, S 4045; TDNT 6.173; EDNT 3.76; NIDNTT 1.608; MM 507; L&N 15.85, 37.11, 90.71; BDF § 202; BAGD 649

The primary sense of this word (“fall around, beside; turn over”) and the secondary sense (“collide,” Plutarch, *Them.* 15.4) are both found in 2Macc 9:7, where after Antiochus has suddenly tipped out of his chariot “all the limbs of his body were tortured because of the violence of his fall” (*dyscherei ptomati peripesonta*).¹

Things that happen to us are said to “befall” us (Epictetus 3.2.1; SB 8858, 15; 10654, 6; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 83, 30), or else we “fall into” them (2Macc 6:13; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.48); and when we meet people unexpectedly we “fall upon” them (Josephus, *War* 3.499; *P.Oxy.* 1639, 20). Usually the circumstance is unpredictable or unforeseen. This element of chance, whether lucky or unlucky, is expressed by the phrase *peripiptein periptomati*. Thus it was Ruth’s luck to happen upon a parcel of land belonging to Boaz (Ruth 2:3), and the messenger bringing news of Saul’s death happened to be on Mount Gilboa (2Sam 1:6; cf. *BGU* 1881, 8). The circumstantial character of the situation, event, or meeting is seen partly from the use of the verb predominantly with *ean* (*T. Dan* 4.5; *P.Mert.* 43, 5), *ei* (*PSI* 1265, 11; *P.Tebt.* 704, 20), *mepote* (*UPZ* 108, 34; 144, 33); cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 244: “If something should happen to her, the blame will touch me as well.”

All these examples are of untoward events or sad situations: to be suddenly stricken with a punishment (2Macc 6:13; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 20.48); touched by misery and need (*PSI* 767, 42; SB 9401, 7), danger (Josephus, *Life* 83), captivity and servitude (*Ant.* 8.229; *T. Jos.* 10.3), serpents and scorpions (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.84, 86), shipwreck (*T. Abr.* A 19), all sorts of misfortunes (Josephus, *War* 7.219) and evils (2Macc 10.4; Marcus Aurelius 2.11; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 495, 58), notably sickness,² all “that a person tries to avoid” (Epictetus 3.2.1; cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.224). It is with these connotations in mind that we read of the misadventure of the man who was traveling from Jerusalem to Jericho when “he suddenly fell into the hands of brigands” (*lestais periepesen*).³ Cf. the Pythagorean Hipparchus: “for this reason being about to fall into the hands of either brigands or a tyrant” (*e lestais dia touto mellontes peripiptein e tyranno*, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 108.81; vol. 4, p. 982; cf. Diogenes Laertius 4.50: *pleon . . . lestais periepese*; Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 3.65). In a context that is

just as catastrophic, the ship taking Paul to Rome washes up on the island of Malta where it strikes “a place between two seas.”⁴

Jas 1:2 uses the verb in a figurative and pejorative sense—as do Prov 11:5 (*periptei adikia*), *P.Tebt.* 278, 32 (*thymou peripesite*, beginning of the first century), and Philo (*Unchang. God* 73)—with respect to the various temptations to which Christians may be exposed (*hotan peirasmois peripesete poikilois*). There is no reason to limit these temptations to trials that come from without, but the choice of this verb—rather than *eisphero* (Matt 6:19), *eiserchomai* (26:41; Mark 14:38; Luke 22:40, 46), *lambano* (1Cor 10:13), *empipto* (1Tim 6:9), *hypomeno* (Jas 1:12)—emphasizes that they are unexpected, unlooked for;⁵ they are abrupt encounters, and one bumps into them as into obstacles. On the other hand, the encounter brings grief and regret; it tends to disturb the Christian’s peace. One is disoriented by this “putting to the test” of one’s faithfulness. Cf. 1Pet 1:6—“suffering grief in various trials” (*lypethentes en poikilois peirasmois*). This is why St. James urges the opposite response—“count it a complete joy”—because it is the occasion for a greater good.

¹ Diodorus Siculus 17.12.5: “The Theban horsemen fell down on their own weapons.”

² 2Macc 9:21; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.25; *Ag. Apion* 1.305, 313. Περιπίπτω is part of the medical vocabulary, cf. Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Galen (in W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 129ff.). In the course of a civil war at Gortyn in the third century BC, the physician Hermias of Cos “saved a good number of citizens smitten by wounds and by evils that were not benign diseases” (decree of Cnossos; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 528, 10). In the fourth century AD, the public physician Aurelius Eulogius, after examining the body of the εἰ—ρήναρχος of Teis, sends his medical certificate to the λογιστής of Oxyrhynchus: “lifeless corpse, no trace of wound or contusion, succumbed to an acute illness” (ὄξειῳ νοσήματι περιπεσῶ—ν, *P.Rein.* 92, 12).

³ Luke 10:30; cf. F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 61.

⁴ Acts 27:41, περιπεσόντες δὲ εἰ—ς τόπον διθάλασσον (the Vulgate transliterates, “in locum dithalassum”). It is not possible to identify this τόπος with certainty. Διθάλασσος (*bimaris*, Horace) was a term for Corinth, which is built on the isthmus that separated the Aegean Sea from the Ionian Sea; its two ports (Cenchraea and Lechaion) open onto these “two seas” respectively. Strabo explains that “the Euxine Sea is a sort of double sea” where two promontories (to the east and the west) narrow the intermediary channel and form two large basins (2.5.22); he judges that “it

is not likely that the Atlantic Ocean is divided into two seas (διθάλαττον) separated by isthmuses narrow enough to block a complete circuit” (1.1.8). At Malta, some have suggested a channel separating Malta and the isle of Salmonetta, where there is a promontory jutting out that is battered by waves on two sides. More likely, reference is made to a sand bank, a shoal where the water breaks. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 5.9 is cited: Syrta is famous because of its shoals (βραχέα καὶ διθάλασσα) and its long sand banks (καὶ ταινία μακρά); cf. J. Renié, *Actes des Apôtres*, Paris, 1949, p. 344; E. Haenchen, *Acts*, pp. 708ff.

⁵ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.293: καὶ μὴ τότε ἂ δει— ποιει—ν ε—πιζητοῦντες ἀπαρασκεύαστοι τοι—ς καιροί—ς περιπέσητε.

περιποιέομαι, περιποίησις

peripoieomai, to preserve, reserve, keep for oneself, acquire; to bring about, to effect for oneself; *peripoiesis*, an acquiring or preserving

peripoieomai, S 4046; *EDNT* 3.76; *NIDNTT* 2.838–839; MM 507; L&N 21.24; BAGD 650 | ***peripoiesis***, S 4047; *EDNT* 3.76; *NIDNTT* 2.838–839; MM 508; L&N 57.62, 90.74; BAGD 650

In the middle voice, the verb *peripoieo* means “preserve, reserve, keep for oneself.” “The one who seeks to preserve his life (*ten psychen autou peripoiesasthai*) will lose it (*apolesei auten*), and the one who loses it will save it (*zoogonesei auten*)” (Luke 17:33). This meaning of “saving a life” occurs repeatedly in secular Greek¹ as well as in the LXX,² where it often contrasts with *apothnesko* (Ezek 13:19; cf. Ps 79:11) and *apollyo* (“the profit that they had gained is lost,” Jer 31:36; cf. Prov 6:32; Heb 10:39).

The meaning “acquire for oneself” predominates, whether with respect to goods (Gen 31:18; 36:6; Hebrew *rajash*), a reputation (1Macc 6:44, with the reflexive pronoun, which is pleonastic: *peripoesai heauto onoma aionion*; cf. Xenophon, *An.* 5.6.17; *Ep. Arist.* 121; *P.Ryl.* 712, 4; *PSI* 1075, 7), power (Thucydides 1.9.2), the crown (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.386), the goodwill of another (Polybius 3.6.13), a friend.³ Thus God has acquired a people (Isa 43:21), the church.⁴ He has become its acquirer and owner;⁵ he has exclusive rights to the redeemed; they are his personal property, the people whom he has acquired (*laos eis peripoiesin*, 1Pet 2:9; cf. Exod 19:5). The emphasis is on the original acquisition and the strictly guarded ownership of the “holy nation,” over which God retains permanent mastery (cf. Sir Prologue 11), but there is an affective value; the *se^oulâh* (Hebrew) is a treasure that one possesses as one’s own.⁶

Peripoieomai also means “to bring about, to effect for oneself,” as when deacons “who serve well gain a good standing for themselves.”⁷ The meaning can be close to the active “procure” (cf. Prov 22:9; 2Macc 15:21), common in the inscriptions for “supply resources” for a people or a city. A decree from Samos in the third century BC, in honor of Boulagoras: “He procured many advantages and much profit for the city through his judgments” (*SEG* I, 366, 22); a century later, a decree of the Athenian *klerouchoi* for Euboulos of Marathon: “through his sustained efforts, he often secured the interests of the Athenians of Delos” (*I. Delos* I, 1498, 16); a decree of Hanisa in Cappadocia in favor of Apollonius, “bringing his zeal and ardor to bear, through a legal proceeding he procured for the people the inheritance (claimed by others).”⁸

The substantive *peripoiesis*, a technical term in business language, rare in the LXX and the papyri,⁹ is used three times in the NT in an eschatological sense, and in a formula that appears to be stereotyped: Christians are predestined *eis peripoiesin soterias*, i.e., for the possessing of salvation,¹⁰ or *eis peripoiesin doxes* (for the possessing of glory, 2Thess 2:14). In Heb 10:39—“We are not people for shrinking back and being destroyed (*eis apoleian*), but people of faith for the possessing of life (*eis peripoiesin psyches*; the *nomen actionis* for the act of possessing).” The saving of the soul, as opposed to perdition, is the definition of the spiritual salvation of a person, called *soteria psychon* in 1Pet 1:9.¹¹

¹ Xenophon, *Cyr.* 4.4.10, Cyrus says to the Assyrian prisoners: “Today by obeying me you save your lives” (τὰς ψυχὰς περιποιήσασθε); meaning to economize (Xenophon, *Oec.* 2.10; 11.10); cf. to spare (Isa 31:5; Hebrew *pasah*), to keep (1Sam 25:39, Hebrew *hasaj*; 2Sam 12:3; Jdt 11:9; Job 27:17).

² Ezek 13:18—“The lives of my people are ensnared, and they save their (own) lives” (καὶ ψυχὰς περιποιούντο, piel of the Hebrew *hayâh*); 2Macc 3:35, Heliodorus offers a thanksgiving sacrifice to God, who has preserved his life (τω— τὸ ζῆν περιποιήσαντι). Usually περιποιει—ν, “leave,” has no object and means “leave alive” (Gen 12:12; Exod 1:16; 22:17; Num 22:33; Josh 6:17; 9:20; Judg 21:11; 1Sam 15:3, 9, 15; 1Kgs 18:5). Cf. 2Chr 14:12—“So many Ethiopians fell that not one of them was left alive,” ὥστε μὴ εἶναι ε—ν αὐτοί—ς περιποίησιν (Hebrew *mihyâh*, literally surviving).

³ Menander, *Dysk.* 815: “You want to make a friend (βούλει περιποιήσασθαί τινα φίλον). Try—and good luck.”

⁴ Eph 1:14—ει—ς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποίησεως (*Inbesitznahme*, H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, Düsseldorf, 1957, p. 71; “The down payment on our inheritance, in consideration of the redemption that will be

its acquisition”; N. Hugedé, *Ephésiens*, p. 44, who gives *peripoiesis* an active sense: “the fact of possessing.” M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 1, p. 97, distinguishes between the act of saving or preserving life, acquiring a piece of property, the state of ownership; cf. 1Pet 2:9; Acts 20:28—τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἣν περιεποιήσατο. For the textual criticism of this verse, cf. E. Jacquier, *Actes*, pp. 615. For the theology, cf. J. Dupont, *Discours de Milet*, pp. 168ff.

⁵ The most common meaning of περιποιέω in the papyri is “acquire, obtain”; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2349, 38: τῷ περιποιηθησομένῳ (AD 70); *P.Brem.* 22, 4; *P.Lond.* 1915, 26; *P.Mich.* 87, 7; the sheep that I have bought for you (third century BC); *SB* 7246, 11; 8444, 63—“they often got nothing more.”

⁶ On the *se^oulâh*, cf. Deut 7:6; 14:2; 1Chr 29:3; Mal 3:17 (F. Dreyfus, “Le thème de l’héritage dans l’Ancien Testament,” in *RSPT*, 1958, pp. 15ff., 27, 38; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk*, Zurich, 1960); cf. *P.Oxy.* 1892, 34 (sixth century).

⁷ 1Tim 3:13. Βαθμός is a degree or rank. To the references given by C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, p. 416ff., add for this idea *P.Tebt.* 703, 276: “If you are irreproachable in your conduct, you will be considered worthy of advancement” (third century BC); inscriptions from Sardis and Side: κόμης πρώτου βαθμοῦ = “comes primi ordinis” (cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1968, p. 518, n. 478).

⁸ C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 546, 18 (commented on by L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, pp. 457ff.); cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 495, 135: οὐκ ὀλίγα χρήματα περιεποίησε τῇ πόλει (decree of Olbia for Protogenes); decree of Araxa in Lycia for Orthagoras: “He served all the interests of the city” (in J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. IV, 68). In the papyri: “I will secure two loads for you” (ἵνα σοι ἐν Μεμνονεῖοις περιποιήσω ἀγῶγια δύο, *SB* 6096,4 = *O.Bodl.* 1999); bring about a marriage (ibid. 8003, 4); *P.Oxy.* 2148, 17 (in AD 27); fulfill one’s military service (*UPZ* 14, 12).

⁹ 2Chr 14:12; Mal 3:17 (Hebrew *se^oulâh*); Hag 2:9—“In this place, I will give . . . peace of soul for the obtaining (of salvation) to whoever contributes to the building of this temple” (added to the Hebrew). In the three occurrences in the papyri, two mean property: *P.Tebt.* 317, 26, κατὰ τὸ τῆς περιποιήσεως δίκαιον (second century AD); *SB* 10537, 34: καὶ περιποιήσιν ἀποδείξαντες ἐμοῦ (third century); cf. *P.Rein.* 52, 2: “You have already been instructed in writing to give an accounting for the preserving (or acquiring, or keeping?) and shipping of the grain” (third-fourth century); *T. Zeb.* 2.8—ἵνα γένηται περιποίησις τῷ —Ἰωσήφ.

¹⁰ 1Thess 5:9 (cf. B. Rigaux, *Thessaloniens*, pp. 570ff.); Ps.-Plato, *Def.* 415 c: Σωτηρία: περιποίησης ἀβλαβῆς (“salvation: the act of preserving safe and sound”); Isa 31:5—περιποιήσεται καὶ σώσει; 1Macc 6:44—σω—σαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιποιῆσαι.

¹¹ That toward which faith is directed, its goal, is the salvation of the soul (cf. Jas 1:21), which will only be completed in the future (Jas 5:21). Cf. *Enoch* 48.8: “In the day of their trouble and their affliction, they will not save their souls”; *Book of Mysteries*: “They do not know what will happen to them, nor how to save their souls from the mystery to come” (1Q27 1.4); texts cited by G. Dautzenberg, “Σωτηρία ψυχῶ—ν (I Petr. I, 9),” in *BZ*, 1964, pp. 269–276; idem, *Sein Leben bewahren*, Munich, 1966; cf. *P. Tebt.* 56, 11: σω—σαι ψυχὰς πολλὰς (with respect to a famine; second century BC). In secular Greek, περιποιέω often means to save a city or a country (Thucydides 2.25.2; Josephus, *War* 1.180); in Philo, it usually means “procure for oneself, secure” wealth (*Conf. Tongues* 112; *Flacc.* 130), glory and liberty (*Good Man Free* 94, 138), joy (*Prelim. Stud.* 161), stability (*Heir* 125; *Good Man Free* 96), but above all “appropriate, acquire, enter into possession of” virtue (*Rewards* 27, 31, 51; *Dreams* 1.162; *Spec. Laws* 1.149; *Cherub.* 12, 13; *Worse Attacks Better* 64, 120), which allows a person to secure a perfect existence (Philo, *Husbandry* 157; *Drunkenness* 58; *Flacc.* 138; *Flight* 17); resting in God and the contemplative life especially gain peace and joy (*Flight* 174, 176); God himself supplies the victory (*Moses* 1.216) and the Powers that give quality to that which is without quality (*Spec. Laws* 1.47). It is God who grants that we may procure the Beautiful (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.136) and “enter into possession of that which was not ours before” (*Unchang. God* 86).

περιφρονέω

periphroneo, to be reflective, circumspect; to scorn, despise
see also καταφρονέω

periphroneo, S 4065; TDNT 3.633; EDNT 3.80; NIDNTT 1.461–462; MM 510; L&N 76.25; BAGD 653

This biblical hapax has positive and pejorative meanings. The positive sense is “to be reflective, circumspect.”¹ The pejorative sense is “to scorn, despise,” which is the meaning in Titus 2:15—“Let no one despise you” (*medeis sou periphroneito*). So it seems that this verb is synonymous with *kataphroneo*, since Paul wrote to Timothy “Let no one despise your youth” (*medeis . . . kataphroneito*, 1Tim 4:12). There is nevertheless a shade of difference; the latter verb means “turn up one’s nose at, have no respect for, take no account of, pay no heed to.”² Again

and again in the papyri of *P. Enteux*. complainants consider that this or that official pays no attention to them (44, 4; 68, 11) because they are orphans (9, 6), or aged (25, 8; 26, 9; 48, 7), or foreign (29, 11), or widowed (13, 6). In the case of Timothy, at the head of the church at Ephesus, his youth was a handicap because it inclined the believers to despise or simply ignore his authority.

Titus, on the other hand, had an energetic temperament. He gave firm instruction and corrected sinners. He ran the risk of running afoul of the weak points and the temper of the Cretans, who might stand up to him or at least react disdainfully. Thus the inhabitants of Corcyra, priding themselves on their superiority, treated the Corinthians disdainfully (*periphronountes*, Thucydides 1.25.4), and Pericles “out of a presumptuous confidence, for the pleasure of winning and to show off his strength, faced the Lacedaemonians.”³ Thus there is an element of insolence in *periphronesis*, as in the case of children who rebel against their parents’ authority and fail to show them the respect (*ten timen*) that is due them.⁴

Nevertheless, *periphrono* and *kataphrono* are often synonymous. Audacious and arrogant false teachers “despise authority” (*kataphronountas*, 2Pet 2:10); this is rejection and rebellion. For their part, Eleazar and the Maccabeus brother despise pain (4Macc 6:9; 14:1, *periphrono*); cf. Christ, who despised the shame of the cross (*kataphrono*, Heb 12:2), and in the papyri of the seventh-eighth century, where more than mere negligence or abstention is involved: “I had to abandon my humble occupation.”⁵

¹ Cf. *περίφρων*, describing Artemidora in her epitaph (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 58, 3), but 4Macc 8:28—the Maccabean brothers “were disdainful of passion”; cf. Plutarch, *Cam.* 6.3: “starting from such weak and despised origins.”

² The slave of two masters holds to one and pays no attention to the other (Matt 6:24); taking no account of little children (Matt 18:10), of the infinite goodness of God (Rom 2:4; cf. 2Cor 11:22); Christian slaves show inadequate respect for their Christian owners (1Tim 6:2).

³ Plutarch, *Per.* 31.1 (*περιφρονήσαι*); cf. *Thes.* 1.5: “when the fable boldly flaunts (*αὐθαδῶς περιφρονῆ*) credibility and is completely out of line with verisimilitude.”

⁴ Ὅσοι δ’ ἂν τῶν νέων περιφρονῶσι τοὺς γονεῖς, Josephus, *Ant.* 4.260 (cf. Deut 21:18); cf. 5.200—“their troubles were due to their contempt for the laws.”

⁵ *P.Apoll.* 27, 5: καὶ ἠναγκάσθην περιφρονῆσαι τοῦ ε—λαχίστου μου πράγματος; cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 51, 22; *SB* 4774, 9.

πίπτω

pipto, to fall, fail

see also ε—μπίπτω; περιπίπτω

pipto, S 4098; *TDNT* 6.161–166; *EDNT* 3.90–91; *NIDNTT* 1.608, 610–611; *MM* 514; *L&N* 13.59, 13.97, 13.122, 15.118, 15.119, 17.22, 20.60, 23.105, 24.40, 24.93, 30.107, 56.32, 68.49, 75.7, 87.56, 90.71; *BDF* §§77, 80, 81(3); *BAGD* 659–660

In the Bible, sparrows and grain fall to the earth.¹ When the subject is a human, sometimes the word refers to a fall,² sometimes to the act of throwing oneself on someone's neck.³ Usually one falls on one's face to venerate someone;⁴ directed toward God, this prostration is an act of adoration. Metaphorically, those who fall, as opposed to those who remain standing, are those who fail, sinners,⁵ with a connotation of degeneration: "Remember whence you have fallen" (*Rev* 2:5; cf. *Luke* 10:18).

But there are different sorts of falls. If the *paidotribes* teaches the ephebes "how to overcome enemies without falling on the ground" (*SEG* XX, 662, 10), it is nevertheless possible to stumble and fall but rise again (*Rom* 11:11—"Did they stumble so as to fall?"—*me eptaisan hina pesosin*), which is the situation of the just and of the Jews, and which gives grounds for hope.⁶

The interpretation of *1Cor* 13:8 is more delicate: *he agape oudepote piptei*,⁷ which has sometimes been understood to mean "Love never falls (from its rank)" (E. B. Allo) or "never loses its prerogatives."⁸ The apostle contrasts *agape* with the passing charisms that will disappear (*katargeomai*) and cease (*pauomai*), bringing together the present (the present indicative, *piptei*) and the future (*oudepote*, "never at any time") and making *ou . . . pipto* synonymous with *meno* ("abide").⁹ Clearly excellence is implied,¹⁰ and the context shows that staying power is involved. But is the point that love is long-lived or that it is permanent? In the latter case, the text would mean that love holds fast, does not yield, does not let itself be defeated;¹¹ consequently it does not cease to act and to inspire virtuous activity. But on the one hand, it must grow cold in the last days (*Matt* 24:12); and on the other hand *pipto* is predominantly used in the sense of "succumb, fall dead, perish"¹² or—when the subject is a house, a wall, a city—"collapse, be annihilated."¹³ While this meaning does not necessarily exclude the one discussed before, the text would mean that love is never abolished, never ceases to exist, even in heaven.¹⁴ It is indestructible, *en*

aphtharsia (Eph 6:24), whereas faith and hope are limited with respect to time.

¹ Matt 10:29; 13:4-5; Mark 4:4-8; Luke 8:5-14; John 12:24; cf. the mountains (Hos 10:8; Luke 23:30); hail (Exod 9:19), the sun (Rev 7:16), a hair (1Sam 14:45; 1Kgs 1:52), a cloak (2Kgs 2:14), a sword (2Sam 20:8; 2Kgs 6:6); someone falls from the roof (Deut 22:8); an animal falls into a clay pot (Lev 11:33). Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.275; 19.87; Strabo 2.5.8; Archimedes, *Spir.* 15.14—“one of the lines falls at the end of the spiral”; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 1.9.21: “the period falls before the Trojan War.”

² Mark 9:20; into fire or water (Matt 17:15), into a pit (15:14; cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 628: “He was going down when he slipped and fell”—καὶ πέτωκεν—to the bottom of a well), in the desert (Num 14:32; Heb 3:17); cf. *Gos. Pet.* 18: because of the deep darkness at Golgotha, “many went about with lamps, thinking that it was night, and they fell” (ε—πέσαντο [*sic*]).

³ Tob 11:9, 13. One throws oneself onto one’s bed (1Macc 6:8; *Jos. Asen.* 9.1); one falls into a trap (Tob 14:10; Ps 35:8; 141:10; Sir 28:26; Amos 3:5), into misfortune (2Macc 10:4; cf. Iamblichus, *Myst.* 2.10 = 93.8: τω—κακω—περιπίπτειν, fall into evil), under the blow of trouble or judgment (2Macc 3:6; Jas 5:12; *BGU* 1761, 14; 1812, 7), into disobedience (Heb 4:11).

⁴ Gen 17:3 (Hebrew *napal*); Num 14:5; 16:4; Matt 2:11; 4:9; 17:6; 18:26, 29; 26:39; Mark 5:22; Luke 5:12; 8:41; 17:16; John 11:32; Acts 10:25; 1Cor 14:25; Rev 1:17; 11:16; 19:10; 22:28. πίπτειν ει—ς, ε—πί, πρός, παρά, ἔμπροσθεν; cf. Josephus, *War* 1.621; *Ant.* 3.310.

⁵ Rom 11:22; 14:4; 1Cor 10:12 (cf. H. A. Brongers, “Darum, wer fest zu stehen meint, der sehe zu, daß er nicht falle, I Kor. X, 12,” in *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Fr. M. Th. De Liagre Böhl Dedicatae*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 56–70); this meaning is constant in Philo, *Abraham* 269; *Change of Names* 54–56; 154–156; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.100ff., cf. *Husbandry* 94, 122; *Pss. Sol.* 1.5; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.280; 19.294.

⁶ The turn of phrase is tradition: “They stumble and fall” (Ps 27:2); “if he falls he is not floored” (37:24); “seven times the just person falls and rises again” (Prov 24:16; cf. 25:26); “if I fall I rise again” (Mic 7:8); “many will stumble, and they will fall and be broken” (Isa 8:15); “she falls to rise no more” (24:20; cf. 28:13); “Does one fall and not rise again?” (Jer 8:4; cf. 6:15; 46:6, 12). A guard forces one of the Maccabeus brothers to get up

again every time he falls (4Macc 6:7–8; cf. 2.14). “The just person has stumbled . . . and fallen” (*Pss. Sol.* 3.5); “those who take a slippery path stumble and fall” (Philo, *Abraham* 269). Cf. Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 7.63 (vol. 3, p. 329, 12): βάλλομεν, οὐ πίπτουσι.

⁷ Certainly we must read πίπτει with a, A, B, C, Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives*), K. Aland–M. Black; against ε–κρίπτει, read by D, G, K, L, Tertullian.

⁸ J. Héring (*La Première Epître de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel–Paris, 1949, p. 120 ET = pp. 141–142); cf. M. F. Lacan, “La Charité jamais ne succombe” (“Les Trois qui demeurent, I Cor. XIII, 13,” in *RSR*, 1958, p. 325). On this verse, cf. W. Michaelis, “ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει,” in *Paulus—Hellas—Oikumene*, Athens, 1951, pp. 135–140.

⁹ 1Cor 13:13; cf. W. Michaelis, “πίπτω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 6, p. 165; H. Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, p. 255; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 93ff.; idem, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, p. 499. F. Dreyfus, “Maintenant la foi, l’espérance et la charité demeurent toutes les trois (1Cor 13:13),” in *AnBib* 17–18, 1961, pp. 403–412.

¹⁰ Cf. the fallen house of David (Acts 15:16; Amos 9:11); “she is fallen, Babylon the Great” (Rev 14:8; 18:2; Isa 21:9); Rev 17:10 (Hos 7:7; Amos 9:11); Sir 1:30—“Do not rise lest you fall”; cf. 2:7; 13:21; 19:1. None of Yahweh’s words fall to the earth (1Sam 3:19; 2Kgs 10:10) or fail to have an effect (Josh 23:14). Philo, *Rewards* 6: “Whole lives founder, and once ruined are difficult to restore”; Philostratus (*Gym.* 43): the athletes proved not to be inferior in these sorts of combat (οὐδὲ ε–κει–πίπτοντες) but worthy of the prize for valor and trophies.

¹¹ In this sense, cf. Exod 23:5—the ass gives out under its burden; Deut 22:4; Jdt 7:22—“women and young men, exhausted by thirst, fell in the streets of the city and in the roads leading to the gates and had no more energy”; Dan 10:9—“I fell exhausted”; Luke 16:17—“It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one word of the law to fall (disappear).” Cf. Plutarch, *Per.* 8.5: “When I leveled him in battle, he maintains that he did not fall.”

¹² Exod 19:21; 32:28; Lev 26:7–8; Num 14:3; Judg 5:27; Job 14:10; 1Macc 5:12; 6:42; 9:1, 18; 10:50; 11:74; etc. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.212; *Life* 24; *War* 1.102, 172; *I.Thas.* 332, 11; *SEG* XX, 661, 11: “Vanquished, he fell like a tree in a squall” (epitaph of a *paidotribes*, second-third century); *Jos. Asen.* 16.16: “The bees fell to the earth dead”; *P.Oxy.* 475, 25: “He fell and killed himself.” Philo, *Etern. World* 128: to fall, breathing one’s last; cf.

Xenophon, *Cyn.* 9.20: “the deer fall, winded”; *Anth. Pal.* 6.48: “Evening star, how have you disappeared?” (πω—ς ἔπεσε).

¹³ Josh 6:20; Judg 16:30; Ezek 13:11, 14; 38:20; Sir 49:13; 1Macc 12:37; Matt 7:25, 27: οι—κία οὐκ ἔπεσεν; Heb 11:30; Rev 11:13; 16:19; Josephus, *War* 3.254; *Ag. Apion* 1.192; *Ant.* 15.122; 16.18.

¹⁴ The papyri are no help. They use πέπτωκεν for what has been “paid,” recorded in a bank. *P.Mich.* 235, 3: “Paid at the bank of the *nomarchia*” (AD 41); *P.Tebt.* 279, 1 (third century BC); 350, 3 (AD 70); 580; *P.Hamb.* 169, 3; 182, 16; *P.Oslo* 140, 9: πέπτωκεν ει—ς ἀναγραφὴν διὰ Πτολεμαίου (a *paramone* contract, second century BC); *SB* 9297, 1 (the recording of a marriage contract; 86 BC), cf. 6942; 8965, 3; 8966, 3; 8967, 1; *P.Stras.* 336, a 15; b 16; cf. *P.Mich.* 32, 13: Since I arrived, nothing has been paid; πίπτειν = pay a tax (*P.Hib.* 66, 2; cf. a decree of the Acarnanian league, *IG IX*, 12, 5), use revenues (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 976, 87; 1116, 8; *I.Lind.* 419, 28, 37, 48. *C.Ord.Ptol.* 47, 18 = *P.Tebt.* 6, 29).

πιστικός

pistikos, trustworthy, authentic

pistikos, S 4101; *EDNT* 3.91; MM 514; L&N 79.97; BDF §113(2); BAGD 662

This adjective, used to describe the costly nard that Mary of Bethany poured over Jesus (Mark 14:3, Vulgate *spicatus*; John 12:3, Vulgate *pisticus*), does not occur in the LXX. It is most likely derived from *pistos*, “worthy of confidence, faithful,”¹ and it is usually used to describe humans² as “trustworthy persons,” especially with respect to the handling of money (*P.Apoll.* 83, 9; 87, 1 and 9; 97, col. II, 20). Since this meaning cannot apply to the perfume in the Gospel account, other explanations have been sought.³

But *pistikos* is in fact used to describe things, in particular oil,⁴ and there is nothing wrong with the translation “a perfume of true nard.”⁵ This is how Theophylact understood the text: “it means either a species of nard that is called ‘*pistike*’ or else genuine nard” (*pistiken de nardo noei, etoi eidos nardou, houto legomenon pistike, e ten adolon nardon*, on Mark, *PG*, vol. 123, 645 b). These perfumes were quite expensive and were often counterfeited.⁶ “Nard is counterfeited with pseudonard. . . . Pure (*sincerum*) nard is distinguished by its lightness, its reddish-brown color, the sweetness of its fragrance, its pleasant flavor” (Pliny, *HN* 12.26.12; cf. 13.1.16: “so many ways of counterfeiting”). Thus the perfume of Mary of Bethany was extremely expensive pure, “authentic”⁷ nard.

¹ Plato, *Grg.* 455 a: a believable opinion; Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.32: γυνή πιστικὸς καὶ οἰ—κουρός. The reading πιστικω—ς in Plutarch, *Pel.* 8.2 is erroneous (read πιστω—ς).

² *P.Ryl.* 692, 20: οἶδα γὰρ ε—γὼ τὸ ἀσφαλές σου καὶ γοργὸν καὶ πιστικόν (third century); *SB* 9608, 3: ἀπέστιλα εἰ—ς τὴν πόλιν διὰ πιστικοῦ ἀνθρώπου; 7241, 26 (= *P.Lond.* 1393); *P.Got.* 29, 5: ε—κέλευσεν ὁ πιστικός, ἵνα ἀπολύσουσιν ὅλα τὰ γαιδάρια (sixth-seventh century). At Daphne: “Here lies Callopios . . . having a most faithful soul” (ἔχων πιστικωτάτην ψυχὴν, *IGLS*, 1030, 2). —In *P.Cair.Isid.* 11, 39, 41, 43–46; 40, 2; 48, 2, 4; 49, 2–5, πιστίκιον is the winnowed spelt (Latin *spelta munda*) that the *sitologoi* hand over to the ἀποδέκται πιστικίου; cf. J. Bingen, “L’Edit du Maximum et les papyrus,” in *Proceedings XI*, p. 373.

³ A derivative of πίνω, hence “liquid,” or of πιέζω, hence “distilled,” a corruption of τῆς στακτῆς (a name for myrrh in small quantities, a very fragrant perfume, according to Polybius 26.10); cf. P. L. Couchoud, “Notes de critique verbale sur St. Marc et St. Matthieu,” in *JTS*, 1933, p. 128; cf. J. E. Bruns, “A Note on John XII, 3,” in *CBQ*, 1966, pp. 219–222), a scribal error for σπικάτον (Wettstein, cf. the Vulgate in Mark, “nardi spicati”). Galen 12.604 *k* is cited: τὰ πολυτελεῖ μύρατων πλουσίων γυναικω—ν ἅ καλοῦσιν αὐταὶ σπικάτα. Referring to the Sinaitic Syriac reading swqfsp, this would be nard with pistachio (M. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, pp. 223–225) or Indian picita, the name of the plant being *Nardostachus jatamansi* (R. Köbert, “NardosPistike—Kostnarde,” in *Bib*, 1948, pp. 279–281); C. K. Barrett, *St. John*, p. 343; cf. Pliny, *HN* 12.42–46; μαρδόσταχυς, in E. M. Husselman, “Lists,” in *P.Coll.Youtie II*, p. 560.

⁴ In a record of a payment of oil (λόγος ε—λαίου), *P.Got.* 18, 2: ὑπὲρ πιστικοῦ τῶν αὐτοῦ διαφόρων ε—λαίου (seventh century); a service contract, *P.Mil.* 48, 5 (= *SB* 9011): πιστικω—ν ἀποπληρω—σαι δίχα τῆς χρίας τοῦ μυροπολίου; cf. the mosaic of *pistikon* in the antechamber to the baptistry at Antioch (*IGLS* 778, 2). Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* 9.8.9: τοῦ πιστικοῦ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης κράματος.

⁵ “Un parfum de nard vrai,” the translation of P. Joüon, *L’Evangile de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1930, pp. 260, 534.

⁶ Cf. E. Nestle, “Die unverfälschte köstliche Narde,” in *ZNW*, 1902, pp. 169–171.

⁷ The translation of M. J. Lagrange, *Marc*, p. 367; *Jean*, p. 321. Cf. R. Schnackenburg, *John*, vol. 2, pp. 367, 522.

πίστις

pistis, faith, confidence, fidelity, guarantee, loyalty
see also ὑπόστασις

pistis, S 4102; *TDNT* 6.174–228; *EDNT* 3.91–97; *NIDNTT* 1.593–595, 597–606, 3.1211–1213; MM 515; L&N 31.43, 31.85, 31.88, 31.102, 31.104, 33.289; BDF §§163, 206(2), 233(2), 400(2); BAGD 662–664; ND 2.94

No secular text can offer a parallel to NT or OT “faith,”¹ but *pistis*, which derives from *peithomai* (“be persuaded, have confidence, obey”), connotes persuasion, conviction, and commitment, and always implies confidence, which is expressed in human relationships as fidelity, trust, assurance, oath, proof, guarantee.² Only this richness of meaning can account for the faith (*pistei, kata pistin, dia piteos*) that inspired the conduct of the great Israelite ancestors of Hebrews 11.³

The usage of *pistis* in the papyri is usually legal, and its predominant meaning is “guarantee, security.” Pursuant to a loan granted him by Zeno, Philo reckons that his creditor is claiming more than his due. The judges ask for a statement of credits and debts that both parties agree is correct, and they decide—with respect to the contested sums—that the adversaries must exchange guarantees (*pisteis*) in the Serapeum of Parmeniscos.⁴ In 108 BC, 150 *artabai* of borrowed grain are guaranteed by a mortgage on the cultivated lands owned by the borrowers; these ask the *epistates* of Akoris to require written guarantees from their lender.⁵ *Pisti Didymou* means “with Didymos’s guarantee” (*P.Warr.* 5, 15) or “Didymos stood surety” (*P.Princ.* 26, 5). *Pistis* must be given this meaning of “guarantee” in Acts 17:31—God has given a “guarantee” through a man that he will resurrect the dead; and that is the meaning of *hypostasis* in Heb 11:1—“Faith is the guarantee of things hoped for,”⁶ well translated in the Peshitta by *pyso*. The substantive *hypostasis*, literally “that which is placed beneath,” hence “support, base, foundation,” has already been used (Heb 1:3) in its philosophical meaning, “substance” as opposed to accidents, “reality” as opposed to appearances. Hence its psychological and moral meaning: “that which is at the bottom of one’s soul, firmness, confidence, courage”; but in the papyri, it also refers to a right of possession, the entirety of an inheritance (*P.Oxy.* 138, 26; 488, 17; 1274, 15; *P.Harr.* 90, 2), its guarantee (*P.Eleph.* 15, 3), or better, the collection of documents stored in the archives as surety and constituting the evidence for a property right (*P.Oxy.* 237, col. IV, 39; VIII, 26, 34, 42; *UPZ* 222). Thus faith is the true

title attesting to one's ownership of the heavenly property that one hopes for, and thus the guarantee that one will obtain them in the future.⁷

Faith is also "plighted faith," respect for a commitment, the carrying out of obligations (*P.Mert.* 32, 2), as with the young widows who "have rejected their first faith."⁸ This *pistis*, which encompasses good faith, loyalty, and fidelity, is described as "ingens vinculum fidei" ("the great bond of faith," Livy 8.28) and is the basis of all contracts.⁹ This is probably the sense of 2Tim 4:7—"I have kept the faith."¹⁰ This refers not to the conservation of the (theological) faith, but to fidelity (cf. Josephus, *War* 6.345: *pisteis eteresa* = "I kept my word"; *Ant.* 15.134), and more exactly to the fidelity shown by those who serve a superior, such as mercenaries, royal and imperial officials, those who have a duty.¹¹ Paul testifies to his painstaking faithfulness to his duty as apostle in the service of Jesus Christ.¹²

Pistis, then, implies complete loyalty (1Tim 1:5, *pisteos anypokritou*; *P.Abinn.* 59, 17: "I, Plas, will restore to you completely, in all loyalty"; *P.Mert.* 90, 12: *pisteos kai epieikias charin*). Heb 10:22 links fullness of faith and a true heart (*alethinos*), in other words, sincerity and fidelity, just as the papyri link *pistis* and *aletheia*; *P.Oxy.* 70, 4: "every valid written contract has *pistis* and *aletheia* " (*pasa kyria engraphos synallage pistin kai aletheian echei*); *P.Flor.* 32 b 14: "I swear . . . that I have made the copy truly and faithfully" (*exomnymi . . . ex aletheias kai pisteos ten apographen pepoiesthai*); *P.Stras.* 152, 14: "that I have made the copy truly and faithfully" (*ex aletheias kai peisteos ten apographen pepoiesthai*); *BGU* 1151, 17. Cf. 1Thess 2:13; 1Tim 2:7; Titus 1:1. The *pistos aner* is a man worthy of confidence (1Tim 1:12), loyal citizen, faithful friend, someone who is trusted: "if you find someone who is completely trustworthy among those who are with you" (*ean tina heures kata parontas echonta peisten pollen*, *P.Fay.* 122, 22); "being well-disposed and showing complete fidelity toward me" (*eunoouse moi kai pasan pistin moi endeiknymene*, *P.Oxy.* 494, 9); "thanks to his kindness, his faithfulness, and his family ties" (*eunoia kai pisti kai te tou genous oikeoteti*, *P.Tebt.* 326, 10); *BGU* 326, col. I, 15; *P.Lips.* 28, 31: "to watch over . . . with noble fidelity" (*phylaxai . . . meta kales pisteos*, an act of adoption). Testators often appeal to the fidelity of their executors or their heirs in carrying out their final wishes (*P.Oxy.* 1901, 48; 2474, 6, 22; *P.Stras.* 277, 7); but numerous complainants who had thought that their adversaries would show fidelity toward them declare that they have been deceived (*P.Cair.Isid.* 74, 11; *P.Mert.* 91, 12; *P.Oxy.* 71, col. II, 11). Normally a complainant expresses confidence in the judge (*P.Stras.* 296 r 16). *Pistis eunoias* is confidence inspired by the beneficence of the statesman (Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 28.821 b; *Ti.Gracch.* 33.7); cf. *pistin echein*: "have confidence in" (idem, Plutarch, *Mor.* 1101 c) or, more frequently, "merit or have the confidence of" (ibid. 91a; 146 b; 699 d; 984 f; *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 14.809 f; 15.812 f; 31.822 f).

In Luke 17:5, *prosthes hemin pistin*, the only instance in the Third Gospel where *pistis* is not preceded by the definite article, we must translate “Have faith in us.”¹³

It is often impossible to distinguish between practical fidelity and good faith.¹⁴ For example: “knowing the faithfulness (sincerity) of my goodwill” (*epi tosouton pistin eunoias mathousa*, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 73, 11); “trusting in my good faith and my assurance” (*peithomenon te eme pistei kai dexia*, *P.Mich.* 485, 12). In a stipulation of a contract (a deposit, a divorce, etc.),¹⁵ the signatory sometimes completes this common formula to emphasize his fidelity: “In good faith the buyer has asked and in good faith the seller has confessed” (*pistei eperotesen ho egorakos kai pistei homologesen . . . ho peprakos*, *P.Dura* 26, 28; 31, 32); “making good and urging in his own good faith, Hermeias Hephaistas” (*bebeiountos kai te idia pistei keleuontos Hermeiou Hephaista*, *BGU* 887, 4; *SB* 9219, 4, 24; *PSI* 1254, 8); “speak as an ambassador and a person worthy of trust” (*hos presbyteres kai pisteos axios eipe*, *P.Lips.* 32, 2); “from Deios, who professes his good faith” (*para tou Deiou exomologoumenou ten pistin*, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 25, col. III, 32; *P.Flor.* 86, 11). This good faith and goodwill are often called *kale pistis* (*P.Tebt.* 418, 15; *P.Oxy.* 2187, 29; *P.Cair.Isid.* 94, 11; *BGU* 1574, 18; *SB* 7523, 2; 7996, 7; 9174, 11; 9193, 7), but fidelity also enters in: “We will pay faithfully” (*meta kales pisteos*, *P.Oxy.* 913, 14; 3089, 16). This same idea is expressed by *he agathe pistis* (*P.Oxy.* 140, 16; *BGU* 314, 19; *P.Mil.* 48, 13 = *SB* 9011). This honesty of intent and action is often highlighted with the words *hygies-hygiaino* ([be_ sound, healthy), cf. *P.Oxy.* 1031, 18; 2120, 8: “carrying through soundly and with all fidelity” (*hygios kai meta pases pisteos diapraxamenos*); *SB* 8029, 13: “with sound fidelity, not negligently” (*meth’ hygiou tes pisteos akataphronetos*); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XI, n. 2, col. I, 10: carrying out a public service “soundly and faithfully, flawlessly” (*hygios kai pistos amemptos*); *P.Hamb.* 19, 17; *PSI* 86, 13; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 34; *P.Flor.* 2, 10, 45, 143; *P.Stras.* 177, 20; 532, 9–10. We may compare soundness in the faith (*hina hygiainosin en te pistei*, Titus 1:13; cf. 2:2).

In the NT, *pistis* is often linked with *agape* (1Tim 1:14; 2:15; 4:12; 6:11; 2Tim 2:22; Phlm 5) and once with *phileo* (Titus 3:15). In the first case, the ideas are specifically religious, but Greek and Roman ears were accustomed to hearing *fides* and *amicitia* together.¹⁶ Thus the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus showed their goodwill, faithfulness, and friendship toward the Romans (*he pros Rhomaious eunoia te kai pistis kai philia hen enedeixanto*, *P.Oxy.* 705, 32 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 450), just as the Alexandrian Jews commend their request to Claudius on the basis of their fidelity and friendship (*dia ten pros Rhomaious pistin kai philian*, Josephus, *Ant.* 19.289; cf. Polybius 2.11.5; 2.12.2; 20.9.12; 20.10.2).

¹ Obviously, the Christian papyri retain this theological meaning, *C.P.Herm.* 9, 20: ε—ν πίστει ἔχε; *P.Lond.* 1915, 15: “those who are weak in the faith” (quoting Rom 14:1); 1919, 19. On πίστις in the papyri, cf. Gerhard-Gradenwitz, “ΩΝΗ ΕΝ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ,” in *Philologus*, vol. 63, 1904, pp. 499–563; D. Schäfer, “Zu dem ptolemäischen ΠΙΣΤΕΙΣ,” *Philologus*, vol. 88, 1933, pp. 296–301; W. Schmitz, *Η Πίστις in den Papyri*, Cologne, 1964; A. J. Festugière, *Etudes d’histoire*, pp. 136ff. Διὰ τῆς σῆς πίστεως can be translated “responsibility,” cf. *P.Vindob.Tandem*, n. 4, 25.

² Cf. Demosthenes, *C. Lept.* 20.164: “Our city will show loyalty (πιστή), justice (δικαία), and fidelity (ἀψευδής) in all its obligations. . . . (Otherwise) it will be accused of disloyalty (ἄπιστος), envy, dishonesty”; Demosthenes, *C. Zenoth.* 32.16: “If you gave him the funds on his word (ει—ς πίστιν ἔδωκας), then why did you take security (τὰ βέβαλι ε—ποιοῦ) before the crime? If you did not trust him (ει— δ ἄπιστω—ν ε—τύγχανες) . . .”; Herodotus 9.92: the Samians take an oath to support the Greeks, πίστιν τε καὶ ὄρκια ε—ποιεῦντο; 9.106: the Samians and other islanders swear to remain faithful to the alliance, πίστι τε καταλαμβάντες καὶ ὄρκιοισι ε—μμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι; Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.3.4: πίστεις πεποιημένος, “having made an agreement”; Thucydides 4.86.2–3: “I offer quite substantial guarantees (πίστεις διδούς) . . .; they may have the greatest confidence”; 5.45: “Alcibiades persuaded the Lacedaemonians by a solemn assurance” (πείθει πίστιν αὐτοί—ς δούς); Menander, *Dysk.* 308: πίστιν ε—πιθείς διατελει—ν στέργων, “solemnly undertaking to love her always.” Cf. E. Fraenkel, “Zur Geschichte des Wortes fides,” in *RhMus*, vol. 71, 1916, pp. 187–199; R. Heinze, “Fides,” in *Hermes*, vol. 64, 1929, pp. 140–166; L. Lombardi, *Dalla “Fides” alla “Bona Fides,”* Milan, 1961; A. Piganiol, “Venire in Fidem,” in *RIDA*, vol. 5, 1950, pp. 339–347; W. Waldstein, “Entscheidungsgrundlagen der klassischen römischen Juristen,” in *ANRW*, vol. 15, 1976, pp. 68ff.

³ Heb 11 shows the influence of Philo’s kind of faith: confidence in God’s word, reliance on the divine guarantee, steadfast hope in what must come to pass, confident obedience, essential moral force (cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 1, pp. 76ff. A. Beckaert, *De Praemiis et Poenis*, Paris, 1961, pp. 21ff. E. Starobinski-Safran, *De Fuga*, Paris, 1970, p. 214, n. 2). Faith, “the proof of invisible realities” (Heb 11:1), can be compared to Philonian ἔλεγχος—“conviction” (*Flight* 118, 131, 203), argument, exhibit, means of proof (*Joseph* 107; *Virtues* 34, 46, 55; cf. V. Nikiprowetzki, “La Doctrine de l’elenchos chez Philon,” in *Philon d’Alexandrie*, Colloques du CNRS, Paris, 1967, pp. 255ff.)—but can also mean any sort of testimony (tablets, hearsay, a witness; cf. *LTGR*, p. 101), and derives in the first instance from Aristotle’s definition of rhetoric: “Among the modes of persuasion (τω—ν δὲ πίστεων), some are extrinsic to the art of persuasion (e.g., testimony,

confessions, documents), others technical (e.g., the character of the orator, putting the audience in a certain frame of mind, and the proof provided by the speech itself)” (Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.2.1355b35).

⁴ *P.Cair.Zen.* 59355, 102 and 127 (cf. A. Würstle, “Untersuchungen zu *Cair. Zén.* III, 59355,” in *JJP*, vol. 5, 1951, pp. 9–103); *P.Ryl.* 28, 187: πούς ἀριστερός ε—άν ἄλληται, σημαίνει αὐτὸν ε—πὶ λόγῳ καὶ πίστι πλανηθῆναι; J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 27, 30: “to those who have concluded the treaty with Athens and its allies . . . the people shall give guarantees.” This *pistis* is sometimes a formal obligation, an oath (ibid. 35, 24 and 34), which is a means of proof.

⁵ *P.Rein.* 18, 10 and 31; cf. *BGU* 1639, 16; 1662, 16; 1810, 3: δέδονθ ὑμι—ν πίστεις ἀπὸ ὑποκειμένης; *P.Tebt.* 14, 10; 41, 22: “the guarantees that we have obtained from Lysanias, cousin to the king and *strategos* ” (second century BC); *P.Oxy.* 94, 18; 486, 7; 506, 15; 1644, 20: *P.Mich.* 188, 18; 189, 21; 605, 16 and 24; *P.Ant.* 42, 5; *P.Oslo* 40, 33: “You have a guarantee for all that I cannot show a written receipt for”; *P.Harr.* 85, 13: “I will pay monthly interest with a guarantee on myself” (second century AD); *SB* 7636, 4: ἔχετε τὰς πίστεις, ε—ῶ ᾧ παραγενόμενοι ε—ργασθήσεσθε ε—ν τῇ κώμῃ (first century BC). The document embodying a pledge is itself a *pistis* (*UPZ* 119, 33; 124, 30; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2110, 38: ἡ πίστις τῶ—ν ὑπομνημάτων; *P.Lips.* 41, 6: κατὰ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ γραμματείου; *Chrest.Mitt.* 33, 6); and the term refers to a safe-conduct, *P.Tebt.* 741, 10–13: “Let safe-conducts be given to the persons mentioned so that they may apply themselves to the mission that they have undertaken until I arrive on site and examine their assertions with the requisite care” (second century BC); 895, 38, 117; *P.Yale* 60, 15: “all the safe-conducts that I have granted hitherto shall be invalid” (ἀκύρων οὐσω—ν καὶ ᾧν ε—άν ε—πενέγκω πίστεων); *BGU* 1811, 8; 1812, 4: “(the farmers) who have obtained safe-conducts from us shall not be arrested until they have finished the harvest” (49/48 BC); 1156: “until they are entirely cleared, let them not be allowed to answer us with safe-conducts, to take refuge at a sacred altar or in a place of asylum . . . to benefit from any protection” (cf. F. von Woess, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit und die spätere Entwicklung*, Munich, 1923, pp. 184–192); *P.Berlin* inv. 11837: “Nicholas to Pnepheros, Necthanoubis, and their father Petesouchos. Here are safe-conducts, on the condition that you work in person in your town, and no one will arrest you. . . . But you should not have left in this way without reason. Who could have forced you to go? Or what wrong did you suffer?” (cited by C. Préaux, *Economie royale*, p. 544). Thus *pisteis* are letters of protection for a given person (someone pursued by creditors or sought by officials) allowing him to keep at his work or take on the responsibilities of his post.

⁶ Ἔστιν δὲ πίστις ἐ—λιζομένων ὑπόστασις. Cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, p. 337; H. Dörrie, “Zu Hebr XI, 1,” in *ZNW*, 1955, pp. 196–202.

⁷ Faith in Hebrews already contains the germ of its final τελείωσις, because “it is impossible for God to lie” (Heb 6:18); not only does it persuade us of the existence of invisible realities, it confers a right to possess them; thus it is the guarantee of a hope that cannot be thwarted. We may note the frequent connection between faith and inheritance, Acts 26:18; Rom 4:16; Gal 3:14; Heb 6:12; 1Tim 3:13: “deacons have great assurance in (the guarantee of) faith, which is (based) on Jesus Christ.” Cf. Philo, *Abraham* 268: πίστις κληῖρος εὐδαιμονίας, “faith, the heritage of happiness.”

⁸ Τὴν πρώτην πίστιν ἠθέτησαν, 1Tim 5:12. Moulton-Milligan cite *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, App., ὑποκατέχετε ὑμεῖς αὐτὴν ταῖς ἐ—σχάταις τιμωρίαις ὅτι πρώτη ἠθέτησεν τὴν πίστιν πρὸς Φήλικα τὸν ἐ—αυτῆς ἄνδρα. We may compare Rev 2:13—οὐκ ἠρνήσω τὴν πίστιν μου; but ἀθετέω here has its legal meaning, annulling an obligation or agreement (Gal 3:15; Heb 10:28; cf. 2Macc 13:25; 14:28), an oath (1Macc 6:22). ἀθετέω πίστιν = “fidem irritam facere” (Polybius 8.36.5; 22.16.1; 23.8.7). The Essenes were persuaded that no woman kept faith with one man, τηρεῖ—ν τὴν πρὸς ἕνα πίστιν (Josephus, *War* 2.121). To revoke an agreement (1Macc 15:27) is perjury and treason against God (Isa 1:2; Jer 3:20; 5:11). “Numa was the first to raise a temple to Πίστις. . . . He made swearing by Faith the most important oath for the Romans, and it is still used today” (Plutarch, *Num.* 16.1; cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.75). *I.Thas.* 174, 7. At Delos, in 98–97, nine people, apparently slaves, dedicate a statue of Good Faith (Πίστις) to the gods, *I.Delos*, 1761; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 727, 19; P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, Paris, 1970, p. 617. Plighted faith is like divinized Fides, an expression of confidence based on the religion of good faith and fidelity.

⁹ Cicero, *Off.* 1.23; Polybius 7.12, Aratus to Philip V of Macedonia: “See whether it is not better to take your soldiers away and leave no other garrison than respect for your obligations”; 10.37.3; cf. J. Imber, “*Fides et nexum*,” in *Studi in onore V.Arangio-Ruiz*, Naples, 1953, vol. 1, pp. 339–363; P. Boyancé, “Fides et le serment,” in M. Renard, *Hommages à A. Grenier*, Brussels, 1962, vol. 1, pp. 329–341; idem, “Les Romains peuple de la fides,” in *BAGB*, 1964, pp. 419–435; J. Vogt, “De fide servorum,” in *Mélanges A. Piganiol*, Paris, 1966, vol. 3, pp. 1499–1514; S. Calderone, *Πίστις-Fides*, Messina, 1964.

¹⁰ Τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα. Cf. J. M. T. Barton, “Bonum certamen certavi . . . fidem servavi,” in *Bib*, 1959, pp. 878–884. Moulton-Milligan and A.

Deissmann (*Light*, p. 309) cite an inscription from the theater of Ephesus, where Marcus Aurelius Agathopus thanks Artemis ὅτι τὴν πίστιν ἐ—τήρησα, and Dittenberger, *Or.* 339, 47: προχειρισαμένου τοῦς τὴν πίστιν εὖσεβω—ς τε καὶ δικαίως τηρήσοντας (*GIBM*, Part III, n. 587 b 5). The formula τὴν πίστιν τηρεῖ—ν is well attested in the epigraphy of Asia Minor in the sense of faithfulness to a commitment.

¹¹ Πίστις refers to the powers that derive from the possession of the king's confidence (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, 1960, pp. 105–106, cites Polybius 5.41.2; 6.35.8; 16.22.2; C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 44, 1; 66, 11; 67, 13). Cf. the epitaph of the mercenary Diazelmis: "I gave the princes of Egypt my zeal and my fidelity" (E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 10, 8 = *SEG VIII*, 497); the epitaph of the officer Apollonius: γλυκερὰν τηρω—ν ἄμα πίστιν, "I was a devoted man, I respected sweet fidelity" (*ibid.* 5, 13); another: χρηστὸς, εὐγενής, ἀπλοῦς, φιλοβασιλεύς, ἀνδρεῖ—ος, ἐ—μ πιστεῖ μέγας (in C. Austin, *Comitorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 300, col. I, 3); a physician of Heraclea: ζω—ντα καλω—ς καὶ ἐ—πεικω—ς καὶ φιλανθρώπως . . . πιστεῖ καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη (*MAMA VI*, 114 B 9); "It is necessary to choose an overseer who in all fidelity and to the profit of the most sacred treasury will carry out the oversight of the ships" (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 50; cf. 169, 181, 186; *P.Oxy.* 727, 21). A Jewish epitaph for a certain Samuel links faithfulness and thankfulness: γνω—ναὶ δύνασαι πόσση πίστις ἠδὲ χάρις (*CII* 1451).

¹² Cf. *P.Stras.* 40, 18: "all my faithfulness toward his person"; *PSI* 1265, 4. We may compare the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* 18 (= *BGU* 1210): "Inheritances left in trust (τὰς κατὰ πίστιν γεινομένας κληρονομίας) by Greeks for Romans or by Romans for Greeks are confiscated by the decision of the divine Vespasian. Those who declared the trust, however (οἱ— μέντοι τὰς πίστει ε—ξωμολογησάμενοι), received half of the inheritance." The testator places on the putative heir, a trustee, the obligation to restore the inheritance to a third party who could not legally be named as heir; cf. *BGU* 326, 15; *P.Oxy.* 907, 7; 2348, 7; *SB* 7630, 11. M. Taylor, "The Function of ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ in Galatians," in *JBL*, vol. 85, 1966, pp. 58–76. C. Panagopoulos (*Vocabulaire*, pp. 225ff.) mentions that good faith is especially emphasized in financial operations, justice, and general administration. At Odessos, an *agoranomos* fulfilled his functions πιστω—ς (*I.Bulg.* 230 bis) and an upright official faithfully pleaded the cause of his fellow citizens (*ibid.* 63 bis). At Olbia, it is the virtue of a *strategos* (B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, vol. 1, n. 42, 13). According to Plutarch, fidelity is a prerequisite for a glorious public career; for example, in pleading against a powerful adversary for a weaker party (*Praec. ger. rei publ.* 805 B). One of the qualities of the man of politics is to know how to "find trustworthy and talented people" (*ibid.* 812 C).

¹³ E. Delebecque, *Etudes grecques*, p. 103.

¹⁴ In the power of attorney issued by Thaesis to her husband to allow him to collect funds due to her, “she gives her consent to all actions taken by her husband Ptollion conformably to the power of attorney, provided that he restores all to Thaesis by virtue of the good faith obligations that are incumbent upon him” (τῆς πίστεως περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης, *P.Fouad* 35, 11; cf. *BGU*, 1662, 16; *P.Oxy.* 506, 15). The person acting as proxy has obligations of loyalty to the principal; he must satisfy his obligations; he has a personal responsibility (τῆ ἰ—δίᾳ πίστει πράττει, *BGU* 388, col. II, 13; cf. *P.Fam.Tebt.* 27, 16; *P.Oxy.* 1634, 13; *SB* 8987, 9). We might compare ὑπακοὴ πίστεως (Acts 6:7; Rom 1:5; 16:26) and ἀξίως ἀνεστρέψαν αὐτῶ—ν τε καὶ τὰς ε—νχειρισθείσας αὐτοί—ς πίστεως (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 932, 7). In a decree of Delphi in 125 BC, Athens has taught the Greeks that “the greatest good for humans consists in relations of mutual good faith” (G. Daux, *Delphes au Ile et au le siècle*, Paris, 1936, p. 369). Cf. *P.Mich.* inv. 257, 18: πίστι ε—περώτησεν . . . πίστι ὠμολόγησεν (published by F. T. Gignac, in *BASP*, vol. 13, 1976, p. 95).

¹⁵ On good faith in contracts (ἡ πίστις τῶ—ν συναλλαγμάτων), cf. *PSI* 76, 3; J. G. Keenan, “The Case of Flavia Christodote,” in *ZPE*, vol. 29, 1978, p. 193.

¹⁶ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 675, 20; *Or.* 557, 16; cf. M. Lemosse, *Le Régime des relations internationales dans le haut Empire romain*, Paris, 1967, pp. 70, 77. Plutarch, *Cleom.* 21.5: “fill the city with friends and faithful and sure allies” (φίλων καὶ συμμάχων πιστῶ—ν καὶ βεβαίων); Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 12.6: a faithful servant; *C. Gracch.* 16.6: his most faithful friends; etc.

πλεονεξία

pleonexia, consuming ambition, greed

pleonexia, S 4124; *TDNT* 6.266–274; *EDNT* 3.102–103; *NIDNTT* 1.137–139, 2.845–846; *MM* 518; *L&N* 25.22, 88.144; *BAGD* 667

This substantive, which etymologically (*pleon-echo*) means “have more, want more,” can be used in a favorable sense for gain or profit;¹ but in practice it means either “consuming ambition” (Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.5.15; *Cyn.* 18.10; Diodorus Siculus 19.1.3) that aims at supremacy and is linked with arrogance (Philo, *Moses* 1.56; *T. Jud.* 21.8—“exalted [*hypsoumenoi*] in *pleonexia*”; cf. *T. Naph.* 3.1; *T. Gad* 2.4; 5.1; *T. Asher* 5.1; *T. Benj.* 5.1; Musonius, frag. 3; ed C. E. Lutz, p. 40, line 28) and is thus a social vice,

since equality rules out superiority (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.54—to *ison pleonexias allotrion*; cf. *Change of Names* 103; *Contemp. Life* 70); or more often “greed” for wealth, covetousness gone amuck, various forms of *epithymia* (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.253; Musonius, frag. 17, p. 108, line 13), the desire to have what is forbidden, more than one’s due²—for example, in a sharing out (Philo, *Moses* 1.324). Not only is *pleonexia* insatiable (Sir 14:9) and excessive (Philo, *Rewards* 121), it is also aggressive and does not hesitate to wrong a neighbor or gain his property through extortion. Thus it is synonymous with hardness and rapacity (Josephus, *War* 7.256), reducing a human to the level of the wild beasts, which were “born to live through violence” (*apo bias kai pleonexias*, Musonius, frag. 14; p. 92, line 22; Dio Chrysostom 38.31). It is a vice of rulers and officials.³ It should be compared on the one hand to the disinterestedness of St. Paul, who was never moved by flattery or greed;⁴ and on the other hand to the greed of the false teachers, who not only approach their ministry like business persons with an eye on the bottom line but even derive dishonest gain by exploiting those who are taken in by false exegesis, myths, and syrupy speech.⁵

The parable of the Foolish Rich Man, who values life in terms of material wealth, is a commentary on the warning “Guard against all *pleonexia*” (Luke 12:15; cf. Musonius 4, p. 48, line 9; frag. 6, p. 52, line 18; frag. 8, p. 62, line 17; Dio Chrysostom 13.32; 17.22), which is included in the sin lists of Mark 7:22 and Rom 1:29 (cf. Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 32), presented in the former as one of twelve evil things that come out of a man’s heart and defile him, in the second as the fruit of a perverted mind.⁶ In Mark, greed is associated especially with carnal disorders, as in Eph 4:19; 5:3; Col 3:5; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.173 (cf. 1Cor 5:10-11); in Romans, it is linked mainly with injustice and wickedness.⁷

The secular literature denounces greed as a very great vice: “Greed is a very great evil for humans; for those who wish to have their neighbors’ goods often fail and are vanquished.”⁸ St. Paul portrays it as the object of God’s wrath (Col 3:5) and excludes the greedy from a share in the kingdom of God (1Cor 6:10; Eph 5:5), and 2Pet 2:3, 14 calls them “accursed.”

¹ Judg 5:19—“They did not take a monetary profit”; Epictetus 2.10.9: “to acquire goodness of soul for the price of a head of lettuce, perhaps, or of a chair; what profit?” (ὄση ἢ πλεονεξία); cf. Philo, *Post. Cain* 162: “all that the body seeks to amass” (πλεονεκτεῖ—ν); Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.6.28, in a fight against wild animals, “you tried always to be in a better position than them (μετὰ πλεονεξίας) to fight them.” In scientific jargon, πλεονάζω means “to have a surplus,” cf. Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 8.40, 44, 45, 49, 58, 59; 13.24: one quantity, duration, or number exceeds another.

² Hab 2:9—“Woe to the one who gains a dishonest profit (Hebrew *besa’*) for his house”; Jer 22:17; Ps 119:36; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.6.29; Thucydides 2.84, 1; Diodorus Siculus 17.70.5: “The Macedonians in their plundering were excessively greedy.”

³ Ezek 22:27—“The leaders are like wolves . . . shedding blood, killing people to extract a profit”; Wis 10:11; Philo, *Decalogue* 155: “oligarchy and mob rule, those pernicious systems, give rise to anarchy and usurpation”; cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.43: αἱ— πλεονεξίαι καὶ ἀντεπιθέσεις; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.86; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 39.6: “Those who had to deal with him found him quite willing to put up with their greed and harshness”; *Ages.* 20.6: “He presented as evidence their mediocrity or greed in the performance of their duties”; Thucydides 3.82.8: “The cause of all these evils was the seeking of power out of greed and ambition”; cf. 1.40.1: “they are full of violence and greed” (βίαι καὶ πλεονέκται); *UPZ* 110, 68 and 136; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 135, 240; *P.Princ.* 20, 11: παραγγέλλω οὖν αὐτοί—ς παύσασθαι τῆς τοιαύτης πλεονεξίας (= *SB* 8072). Cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, pp. 81–84; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 186; S. Lyonnet, L. Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption, and Sacrifice*, pp. 50ff.

⁴ 1Thess 2:5. St. Paul sends the brethren to Corinth to organize the collection, so that it may be the expression of true generosity, not an act of plundering or extortion (καὶ μὴ ὡς πλεονεξίαν, 2Cor 9:5); cf. E. Klaar, “Πλεονεξία, -έκτης, -εκτει—ν” in *TZ*, 1954, pp. 395–397.

⁵ 2Pet 2:3 (ε—μπορεύεσθαι); 2:14; cf. “insidious greed” (Philo, *Good Man Free* 79); *T. Moses* 7.6—“Devouring the substance of the poor and claiming to do so in the name of justice” (E. M. Laperrousaz, “Le Plus Ancien Témoin de l’existence du Testament de Moïse,” in *Sem*, vol. 19, 1970, p. 64). *P.Oxy.* 1828, 4: ὁ ψεύστης καὶ ὁ πλεονέκτης is from *Herm. Sim.* 6.5.5 (cf. S. G. Mercati, “Passo del Pastore di Erma riconosciuto nel Pap. Oxy. 1828,” in *Bib*, 1925, pp. 336–338).

⁶ Cf. Eph 4:19—“dulled moral sensibility”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.5: “greed, a baneful passion and difficult to cure”; *Moses* 2.186—“our enemy and the source of our misery,” healed by the Therapeutai (*Contemp. Life* 2; cf. *Good Man Free* 78). In medicine, *pleonexia* is a state of excess that disrupts the balance of the humors and has harmful effects on the health (as does ἔνδεια, in the opposite direction, cf. Plato, *Tim.* 82 a); cf. Philistion of Locri (W. H. S. Jones, *The Medical Writings of Anonymus Londinensis*, Cambridge, 1947, xx, 35–36); Hippocrates, *Aff.* I, c. 20; Hippocrates, *Vict.* c. 71 and 77; *Loc. Hom.* c. 9; J. Jouanna, *Hippocrate: La Nature de l’homme*, Berlin, 1975, p. 256.

⁷ Cf. the linking of πλεονεξία and ἀδικία (*Ep. Arist.* 277; Philo, *Rewards* 15; *Contemp. Life* 70; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 32; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.86; Strabo 7.4.6; *PSI* 446, 9; Musonius, frag. 20, p. 126, line 18) or κακία (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.278; 2.52; *Contemp. Life* 2) and opposition to justice (*Good Man Free* 159; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.67). Usurpation is often associated with pillaging and banditry (cf. ἄρπαξ, 1Cor 5:10-11; 6:10), *T. Dan* 5.7—the sons of Judah ἔσονται ε—ν πλεονεξία ἄρπάζοντες; Philo, *Husbandry* 83; *P.Abinn.* 50, 3 (= *SB* 9690). It is not surprising that in petitions and lawsuits the greed and injustice of the adversary are denounced; *P.Tebt.* 735, 8; *P.Fay.* 124, 24; *PSI* 1052, 4; *P.Cair.Isid.* 62, 5 (= *SB* 9167; cf. 10564, 16). Cf. A. Vögtle, *Tugend- und Lasterkataloge*; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im N. T.*, Berlin, 1959.

⁸ Πλεονεξία μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις κακόν· οἱ— γὰρ θέλοντες προσλαβεῖν τὰ τω—ν πέλας ἀποτυγχάνουσι πολλάκις νικώμενοι—Menander, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 10.3 (vol. 3, p. 408). Plutarch, the greed of the rich and of the Macedonians (*Cleom.* 3.1; 16.1) links this vice with debauchery, soft living, and luxury (Plutarch, *Agis* 3.1; 10.5), injustice (*Ti. Gracch.* 9.2; cf. *C. Gracch.* 20.8). It motivates the lowest sort of compromises (*Agis* 5.4: πλεονεξίας ἔνεκα; cf. *Ti. Gracch.* 9.3). Cf. the description of insatiability (ἀπληστία) in Galen (*Anim. Pass.* 1.38) and of φιλαργυρία in 1Tim 6:10, with similar attestations in C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, p. 564; add to this *Sib. Or.* 2.115; 3.235; *Anth. Pal.* 9.394, and especially Plutarch, *De cupid. divit.* (*Mor.* 523cff.).

πληροφορέω, πληροφορία

plerophoreo, to convince fully, accomplish fully, fully discharge (a debt or obligation); *plerophoria*, fullness, richness

plerophoreo, S 4135; *TDNT* 6.309–310; *EDNT* 3.107–108; *NIDNTT* 1.733, 735, 737; MM 519; L&N 13.106, 33.199, 68.32; BDF §119(1); BAGD 670 | ***plerophoria***, S 4136; *TDNT* 6.310–311; *EDNT* 3.107–108; *NIDNTT* 1.733, 735; MM 519–520; L&N 31.45; BAGD 670

The noun, unknown in the LXX, is attested in the papyri by only one text that is so badly mutilated that it is not possible to determine in what sense it is used.¹ In three of the four NT occurrences, it means “fullness”: fullness of understanding (of the mystery of God),² of hope (meaning its definitive realization; Heb 6:11—*pros ten plerophorian tes elpidos achri telous*), of faith (meaning absolute certitude, without doubt or hesitation; Heb 10:22—*en plerophoria pisteos*; cf. *1Clem.* 14.1: *tis peplerophoremnos agapes*). In 1Thess 1:5, St. Paul declares that he has preached the gospel not only in words, but “with power (*en dynamei*) and

in the Holy Spirit and with much *plerophoria*. ” Given the absence of the preposition *en* before *plerophoria*, we could translate “complete assurance,” but if St. Paul had meant that, he would have written *en pase parresia* (Phil 1:20; cf. 2Cor 3:12; 7:4; 1Tim 3:13; *meta pases parresias*, Acts 28:31); and at any rate it would be odd for the apostle to emphasize his personal conviction. So it is better to translate “with power, with the Holy Spirit and every kind of richness.”³

The verb *plerophoreo* plainly has the meaning of full and complete conviction⁴ in the case of Abraham, who is convinced (*plerophoretheis*, aorist participle) that God has the power to make good on his promise (Rom 4:21); in the case of Christians who are unsure about what practical stance to take but who are to act only with a conviction that is thought out, mature, justified in their conscience (Rom 14:5—“let each one be fully convinced in his own mind,” *hekastos en to idio noi plerophoreistho*, present passive imperative); in the words of Epaphras, who prays for the Colossians “that you may stand perfect, fully assured in all the will of God.”⁵ This perfect passive participle *peplerophoremnoi* can also be translated “accomplished, well established,” but the important thing is that it is practically synonymous with *teleioi*, “perfect, complete,” and that it has to do with being confirmed, strengthened, stabilized; which is close to the sole use of *plerophoreomai* in the OT, “the heart of the sons of men is filled (*eplerophorethe en autois*) with [the desire_ to do evil.”⁶

But in 2Tim 4:5 (“Do the work of an evangelist, completely fulfill your ministry”—*ten diakonian sou plerophoreson*) and 4:17 (“The Lord helped me and strengthened me so that through me the proclamation might be carried out”—*to kerygma plerophorethe* —“and all the Gentiles might hear”), the verb clearly means “accomplish perfectly,” “carry out the best one can.” This meaning is found in the papyri with respect to carrying out a promise or an agreement: “Insofar as on each occasion I give you written confirmation with respect to the matters in this document, I will not be guilty of neglect” (*hoti hoson hekastote dia grammaton se plerophoro peri ton onton en tois enthade grammasin, ego ouk esomai aitios ameleias*, PSI 1335, 27; third century; cf. 1345; sixth-seventh century); “having been fully satisfied by the power that was exhibited” (*plerophoretheis malista ek tes dynameos tes emphaneistheises*, SB 8988, 38; eighth century). Sometimes the papyri give this verb the sense of completing a piece of business, of finishing with a subject.⁷ This usage confirms the nuance of 2Tim 4:17—the apostle is aware that he is crowning or putting the final touches on his calling as a *keryx* (1:11) by finishing off his ministry with this last proclamation at Rome. But in the papyri the commonest use of *plerophoreo* is “pay off a debt,” meaning either a financial or a moral obligation⁸—which emphasizes the force of the command in 2Tim 4:5, “Fulfill your ministry completely.” This *diakonia* is a sacred assignment from God (Acts 12:25;

Col 4:17; cf. 2Cor 4:1; 5:18; 1Tim 1:12). It is an obligation that cannot be shirked, a function that must be carried out perfectly and to the last.

Hence the narration *peri ton peplerophorememon en hemin pragmaton* (Luke 1:1) must be translated as in the versions (Old Latin, Vulgate, Palestinian Syriac, Sahidic and Bohairic Coptic), “an account of the deeds accomplished among us,”⁹ despite the fact that the Peshitta and Eusebius took this perfect passive participle to mean total conviction.¹⁰ The decisive events of salvation were brought to completion, perfected by Christ. There is perhaps a reference to the perfect fulfilling of the Scriptures,¹¹ the fullness of the accomplishment, and also completion.

¹ *P.Giss.* 87, 25 (cf. A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 86–87). Hesychius says πληροφορία: βεβαιότης = certitude.

² Col 2:2—ει—ς πα—ν πλοῦτος τῆς πληροφορίας τῆς συνέσεως; we could take it to mean “with full conviction,” but with “wealth” the sense is rather quantitative, and the redundancy—or pleonasm—functions as a superlative; cf. N. Hugedé, *Colossiens*, p. 102.

³ “En puissance, en Esprit Saint et abondance de toute sorte,” trans. B. Rigaux, *Thessaloniens*, pp. 77ff.

⁴ A meaning well attested by *1Clem.* 42.3: “So they received instructions and, full of certitude (καὶ πληροφορηθέντες) by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ,... they went out to announce the good news.” Ign. *Magn.* 8.2: “The prophets were inspired by grace, so that the unbelievers might be fully persuaded that there is only one God” (ει—ς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας); Hegesippus: πολλῶ—ν πληροφορηθέντων, “many were completely convinced” (in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.14); *Martyrdom of Pionius* 4.17: “the judgment of the world is imminent; we are completely convinced of it for many reasons” (κρίσις γὰρ τῷ—κόσμῳ ε—πίκειται, περὶ η—ς πεπληροφορήμεθα διὰ πολλῶ—ν, in H. Musurillo, *Christian Martyrs*, p. 140, 26).

⁵ Col 4:12—ἵνα σταθῆτε τέλειοι καὶ πεπληροφορημένοι ε—ν παντὶ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. the epitaph from a sarcophagus of Ravenna (cf. F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, p. 299), which should be read thus: “χαι—ρε καλλιφενῆς,” εἶποι σοι, “πληροφοροῦ ψυχῆ”—“May she (the goddess Isis) say to you, ‘Hail, O shining one; be fully assured, O soul’” (A. J. Festugière, “Initiée par l’époux,” in *Monuments Piot*, Paris, 1963, pp. 135–146). The husband assures his wife that through her initiation she can be sure that Isis will know her and welcome her.

⁶ Eccl 8:11 (Hebrew *mala'*). Cf. *T. Gad* 2.4—ε—πληροφορήθημεν τῆς ἀναιρέσεως αὐτοῦ, “we were resolved (literally, completely full of the intention) to kill him.” With this emotional flavor, cf. this letter from the sixth century: ε—πειδὴ πεπληροφόρημαι, ὅτι φιλεῖ—τε ε—μὲ ὀλοψύχως καὶ ε—γὼ καταρ [. . .] ἀγαπῶ— ὑμᾶς—ς (*SB* 7655, 6; cf. line 20: ε—πειδὴ χρεωστῶ— ὑμᾶς πληροφορηῆσαι, πίστευσον); or this magical papyrus from the third century: “let her give me complete satisfaction, let her love me, let her cherish me” (πληροφοροῦσα, ἀγαπῶ—σα, στέργουσα ε—μέ, *P.Lond.* 121, 910, vol. 1, p. 113; republished *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 7, 910); cf. in the sixth-seventh century: καὶ πληροφορήσῃ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν λαμπρότητα (*P.Erl.* 120, 5); ὅτι πληροφορεῖ— αὐτὸν ὁ θεός (*P.Berl.Zill.* 14, 6).

⁷ *P.Amh.* 66, 42 (second century AD): the *strategos* invites the complainant to produce witnesses ἵνα δὲ καὶ νῦν πληροφορήσω, “so that I may make an end of the matter”; cf. *BGU* 747, col. I, 11).

⁸ *P.Oxy.* 509, 10 (second century): πεπληροφορημένος τοι—ς ὀφειλομένοις μοι = I have received full satisfaction from my debtors; *BGU* 665, col. II, 2 (first century); *P.Lond.* 1164, g 11 (vol. 3, p. 163); *P.Fouad* 26, 43 (a complaint to the prefect, second century): “although he received the full interest at the rate of one *stater*”; *PSI* 737, 14 (second-third century): τοὺς ε—φετεῖους φόρους πληροφορεῖ—σθαι; 1411, 6: πεπληροφορηκέναι ἀποδοῦσαν πάντα τὰ αὐτῇ ε—πιβάλλοντα. According to S. Eitrem (*Symbolae Osloenses*, vol. 10, 1932, p. 153, n. 63; cf. *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 3, p. 179, n. 6944), the edict of Hadrian from 136 should be completed as follows: λέγει [καίπερ πληροφορηθεῖς] ἀντ[ὶ τοῦ] ε—π[ι]δεέστερ[ον] ἀναβῆναι (*P.Osl.* 78, 4–5); *P.Apoll.* 28, 13; 63, 9; 91, 13: “He has paid us that *kensistikos* of which we informed him” (payment receipt from the eighth century).

⁹ Cf. M. J. Lagrange, “Le Sens de Luc I, 1 d’après les papyrus,” in *Bulletin d’ancienne littérature et d’archéologie chrétienne*, vol. 2, 1912, pp. 96–100; H. Pernot, *Les Deux Premier Chapitres de Matthieu et de Luc*, Paris, 1948, pp. 124ff.; H. Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, vol. 1, p. 5. E. Delebecque, who sees in πληροφορέω the twofold idea of a complete fulfillment and a fulfillment of authentic acts, translates: “an account relative to the acts perfected (French “parachevés”) among us” and comments: “Luke uses a verb that is more expressive and richer in substance than the verbs close in meaning in the rest of his Gospel: πληρόω and its compounds . . . τελέω and the words of that family. . . . The verb πληροφορέω does quite well for expressing the ‘perfecting’ of acts that are out of the ordinary while at the same time guaranteeing their authenticity” (*Evangelie de Luc*, p. 2; idem, *Etudes grecques*, p.3).

¹⁰ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.24.15: “the account of things that he himself knew with complete certitude” (ὅν αὐτὸς πεπληροφόρητο λόγων).

¹¹ Cf. πληρόω, Luke 4:21; 9:31; 24:44; Acts 1:16; 3:18; 13:27; and πληροφορέω, Rom 4:21. Cf. E. Trocmé, *Le “Livre des Actes” et l’histoire*, Paris, 1957, p. 46.

πολιτεία, πολίτευμα, πολιτεύομαι, πολίτης

politeia, constitution, system of government, (right of) citizenship; *politeuma*, (place of) citizenship, act of administration, association, resident community of foreign nationals; *politeuomai*, to live (as a citizen); *polites*, citizen

politeia, S 4174; TDNT 6.516–535; EDNT 3.130; NIDNTT 2.801–804; MM 525; L&N 11.67, 11.70; BAGD 686 | ***politeuma***, S 4175; TDNT 6.516–535; EDNT 3.130; NIDNTT 2.801–805; MM 525–526; L&N 11.71; BAGD 686 | ***politeuomai***, S 4176; TDNT 6.516–535; EDNT 3.130; NIDNTT 2.801–804; MM 526; L&N 41.34; BAGD 686 | ***polites***, S 4177; TDNT 6.516–535; EDNT 3.130; NIDNTT 2.801–804; MM 526; L&N 11.68; BAGD 686

The “urban” or “civic” metaphors for the Christian life in the NT, and especially in St. Paul, are quite coherent. Heaven is like a city (*polis*); Christ is its sovereign (*Kyrios*), and it has its own laws and constitution (*politeia*), namely, the gospel. Christians are its citizens (*politai*; cf. this Christian letter from the fourth century: “for we believe that your citizenship is in heaven”—*pisteuomen gar ten politian sou en ourano*, SB 2265, 5) and are not treated as foreigners or sojourners there; they have the rights of citizenship (*politeuma*) and are fellow-citizens of the saints (*sympolitai*). Such a citizenship carries with it rights and privileges but also obligations and responsibilities. Each one is then required to “live as a citizen” (*politeuomai*), i.e., according to the laws and the spirit of this city, conformably to its statutes.

I. — The heavenly Jerusalem is the “city of the living God,”¹ the perfect and eternal city,² where the elect will be gathered together and to which they are constantly drawing nearer (*proselelythate*, Heb 12:22) during their pilgrimage on this earth. In other words, the city is first of all seen as a dwelling place, the center for a group or a populace.³ The citizen (*polites*) is one who—living in community with his compatriots⁴—is a legal subject and participates in the political life of the city (cf. Plutarch, *Cim.* 17.3). St. Paul was more than a little proud of his home city: “a citizen of Tarsus in Cilicia, no obscure city” (Acts 21:39); to which we may compare this third-century Roman inscription: “Tarsus, the first and greatest and most noble metropolis.”⁵

II. — The defining characteristic of a *polites* is possessing *politeia*, the right of citizenship.⁶ Rome and the Greek cities used to grant this honor⁷ to their benefactors, to particularly deserving persons, veterans and military leaders, politicians, men of letters, officials, physicians whose merits they wished to honor or reward or whose services they wanted to gain.⁸ Thus citizenship was a title of nobility (*eugeneia*) that placed its beneficiary in the ranks of the aristocracy.⁹ But this “decoration” could also be bought, not only in Greek cities that by this means bolstered their impoverished treasuries¹⁰ but also at Rome (at first only with difficulty—the price varied between 200 and 1,000 drachmas). Antony was generous in this respect (Cicero, *Phil.* 5.4.11); Claudius gave citizenship without restraint¹¹ and it became a veritable commodity, like merchandise with fluctuating prices.¹² In fact, the number of *cives*, one million in 70/69 BC, increased by a factor of four by 28 BC, of five by AD 14, nearly six by AD 47;¹³ and the prestige of the title was correspondingly diminished.

This information greatly enhances our understanding of the clash between the chiliarch Claudius Lysias, who boasted that he had purchased citizenship at a high cost (*ego pollou kephalaiou ten politeian tauten ektesamen*) and Paul, who answered “But it was mine by birth” (Acts 22:28-29). Inheriting the title greatly increased its value.¹⁴ Apart from the honor involved, citizenship conferred many practical advantages.¹⁵ Especially with respect to legal proceedings, the *civis* was free to choose his court in his own country and to be judged according to its laws or to appear before Roman magistrates.¹⁶ St. Paul used this right to appeal to the supreme jurisdiction of the emperor,¹⁷ just as he referred to the *lex Valeria* (c. 300 BC) and the *lex Porcia* (c. 198 BC) that prohibited the scourging of Roman citizens.¹⁸

Politeia also refers to the organization or system of government of the state, its constitution, its ancestral institutions,¹⁹ and finally “the commonwealth of free men,” the life of the citizen within his city, his political activity, all the forms of interaction with the life of the state.²⁰ Hence pagans—outsiders, “cut off from the commonwealth of Israel and foreigners to the covenants” (*apellotriomenoi tes politeias tou Israel kai xenoi ton diathekon*, Eph 2:12)—were not only incapable of being incorporated in the Israelite theocracy, but they were as alien as they could be to the covenants, “without Christ,” having no hope of salvation (Acts 26:6-7), without God’s providence and help. Only citizens benefited from the protection of the *polis* and its worship.²¹ But through baptism, the Gentiles became *sympolitai ton hagion*, “fellow citizens with the saints and members of the family of God”;²² their names are written in the rolls of the heavenly Jerusalem (Luke 10:20), and they possess full rights of citizenship and the attendant privileges, in particular equality with the “natives,” i.e., the Jews (cf. Eph 2:14-16) or the angels, those great elder denizens of the celestial city (Heb 12:23), and even brotherhood with them,

since they are henceforth members of the same family (*oikeioi*, Gal 6:10; 1Tim 5:8). They are no longer outsiders (*allogeneioi*).

III. —*Politeuma*, which is sometimes synonymous with *politeia* (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 543, 6), appears in the fourth century BC²³ and can refer to an act of administration, government, legislation (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.5; 11.157; *Ag. Apion* 2.145), the party in power (cf. the constitution of Carthage, Polybius 3.8.2), but more formally an association (*SB* 8929, 18: “for the provisions of the association”—*epi ton tou politeumatou euochion*); 9812, 3–6: an association of soldiers in Alexandria (*politeuma ton en Alexandria pheromenon stratioton* = *SEG* XX, 499), or a community, a civic body, a political entity.²⁴ *Ton Ioppiton politeuma* is the citizenry of Joppa (2Macc 12:7). The women of Panamara are invited as a group to the feasts of Hera and are distinguished as such from the men.²⁵ In the strict sense of the word, a *politeuma* is an organization of citizens from the same place, with the same rights (*isonomoi*) in the midst of a foreign state.²⁶ We have particularly full information for the Jewish communities at Berenice in Cyrenaica,²⁷ at Antioch (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.28–33; *War* 7.44ff.), and especially at Alexandria,²⁸ colonies of immigrants living in the midst of a populace of a different race, but having a religious character, professing the worship of the true God.²⁹

So we see how St. Paul could write “For our part, we are citizens of heaven,”³⁰ especially since the “community” at Philippi, largely made up of Antony’s veterans, and then Augustus’s (Strabo 8.331; Appian, *BCiv.* 5.3.11 and 13; Dio Cassius 51.4.6) enjoyed the municipal rights of the *jus italicum*. Not depending on a governor but reporting directly to the imperial capital, represented by a proconsular praetor, its inhabitants were proud of their “country” and their autonomy.³¹ The Pauline *politeuma* of Philippians, then, is not so much a reference to their citizenship, nor even their status as a “colony”; it should be understood in terms of their metropolis or capital city, which lists its members among its citizens.³² It is a community of foreign nationals (foreigners to paganism) with a threefold meaning: (a) local (the *polites* has ties to a place, a city)—our *politeuma* is in heaven; (b) political—like every analogous *civitas*, conferring liberty and equality on all its members, full rights; (c) constitutional and legal—exclusive dependency on the supreme authority of the *Kyrios*, Jesus.³³

IV. — Such a status brings with it a certain spirit and a certain way of life corresponding to the *polis* that one is a part of and the *politeuma* that one is under.³⁴ The Israelites had a particularly vivid awareness of their place in their people’s tradition and law, of what they called *politeuesthai*, “living as a citizen”;³⁵ which leads to personal behavior that is conformed to the common law, a nuance of public life. In this sense, St. Paul proclaims before the Sanhedrin: “I have lived before God with a clear conscience,”³⁶ observing the laws of the divine *politeia*. According to Xenophon (*Cyr.* 1.1.1), this verb means subscribe to a rule, submit to a discipline (*Ep. Arist.*

31; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 618, 12; the oath of Itanos: “I will live . . . according to the laws”—*politeosomai . . . kata tous nomous*, *I.Cret.* 4.8.28 = *Syl.* 526); it becomes synonymous with *peripateo*, *anastrepho*, *poreuomai*, *diexago*, *prasso*, but is always opposed to *idioteuo*, “to live as a private individual.”³⁷ It is with civic connotation that the apostle instructs Christians, “Live as a citizen worthy of the gospel of Christ,”³⁸ conforming as such to the laws of the celestial city. To live out one’s citizenship is to conduct oneself according to the demands of the *politeia*, which means first of all being willing to take on a public function, to consider oneself in all of one’s actions as a member of a social body,³⁹ and accordingly to say nothing and do nothing that is not appropriate for a citizen of heaven (cf. *UPZ* 110, 78 = *P.Paris* 63). But it is also a call to honor, to preserve one’s country’s spirit or mindset—*noblesse oblige*—and this nuance of praise is in literary terms in agreement with the usage of the inscriptions⁴⁰ and the papyri: “the rest of the citizens who choose to act more nobly.”⁴¹

¹ Πόλει θεοῦ ζῶ—ντος, Heb 12:22; cf. 11:10, 16; 13:14; Gal 4:26; Phil 3:20; Rev 3:12; cf. R. Knopf, “Die Himmelsstadt,” in *Neutestamentliche Studien: Festschrift G. Heinrici*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 213–219; K. L. Schmidt, *Die Polis in Kirche und Welt*, Basel, 1939; W. Bieder, *Ekklesia und Polis im Neuen Testament und in der alten Kirche*, Zurich, 1941; V. Ehrenberg, *The Greek State*, Andover, 1974; bibliography in O. Böcher, “Die heilige Stadt im Völkerkrieg,” in *Josephus-Studien* (dedicated to O. Michel), Göttingen, 1974, pp. 55–76.

² On the Greek *polis*, cf. Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*, 28th ed., Paris, 1924, p. 151; G. Glotz, *La Cité grecque*, 2d ed., Paris, 1953; C. B. Welles, “The Greek City,” in *Studi in onore di A. Calderini*, Milan, 1956, pp. 81–99; A. Aymard, “Les Etrangers dans les cités grecques,” in *L’Etranger* (Recueils de la société J. Bodin, IX, 1), Brussels, 1958, pp. 124ff. —On its government, cf. H. Francotte, *Mélanges de droit public grec*, 2d ed., Rome, 1964, pp. 225ff. D. Nörr, *Imperium und Polis in der hohen Prinzipatszeit*, Munich, 1966.

³ “The city” stands for its inhabitants, Matt 12:25; Luke 4:43; Acts 14:21; 16:20; cf. πα—σα ἡ πόλις, Matt 8:34; 21:10; Mark 1:33; Acts 13:44; 21:30; Strathmann, “πόλις,” in *TDNT*, vol. 6, p. 522–523. In the biblical vocabulary, “city” (Hebrew *ir*, *qiryâh*) can mean a mere town (cf. Sychar, John 4:5; Nazareth, Matt 2:23), a built-up area of any size.

⁴ Οι— δὲ πολι—ται κοινωνοὶ τῆς μι—ς πόλεως, Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.1–2.1261a; cf. 1.1.1252a1 and 8; 3.6.1278b19 (cf. M. Defourny, *Aristote: Etudes sur la “Politique,”* Paris, 1932; A. E. R. Boak, “Politai as Landholders at Karanis,” in *JEA*, 1954, pp. 11–14); cf. C. C. Richardson,

“The Meaning of πολιτευταί in Justin, I Apol. 65, 1,” in *HTR*, 1936, pp. 89–91. In the Bible, the πολίτης is the neighbor or companion (Hebrew *raʿ*; Jer 29:23; 31:34; Prov 11:9, 12; 24:43), the compatriot or kinsman (Gen 23:11; Zech 13:7; 2Macc 5:6, 8, 23; Luke 19:14; Heb 8:11 = Vulgate *proximum*; *T. Job* 29.1; cf. *I GLS* 4015, 7: τὸν ε—αυτω—ν πολίτην), the inhabitant (Luke 15:15) or citizen in the strict sense of the word (2Macc 4:5, 20; 9:19; 14:8; 15:30). Israelite citizenship depended on blood ties and was established by genealogical lists, cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, pp. 275ff., 284ff., 297ff. On the semantics of πολίτης, cf. G. Redard, *Noms grecs en -THΣ, -TIS*, pp. 20–31.

⁵ Τάρσος ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη καὶ καλλίστη μητρόπολις, *I GLAM*, n. 1480 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 578 = *I GUR*, n. 80. Other glorious titles of Tarsus in Ruge, “Τάρσος,” in *PWSup* IV, A 2, col. 2424ff.

⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* 19.281: “The Jews of Alexandria possessed ἴσην πολιτείαν with the other inhabitants”; *Ag. Apion* 2.39: “The people of our race who live at Antioch are called Antiochenes, because they were given citizenship (τὴν πολιτείαν) by the city’s founder, Seleucus” (cf. the excellent commentary of M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, Jerusalem, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 398–402). 4Macc 3:20—Seleucus IV Philopator recognized the Jews’ citizenship (τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτω—ν ἀποδέχεσθαι); Diodorus Siculus 19.2.8: “Timaeon of Corinth gave Syracusan citizenship to all who desired it.”

⁷ Τιμῆ; cf. *SEG* IX, 40, 58; Dio Cassius 41.24.1: “Caesar granted honors to many . . . he gave all the inhabitants of Cadix Roman citizenship. . . . He granted them this privilege. . . .”

⁸ In 46, Caesar awarded citizenship to any freeborn foreigner who would come to Rome to practice medicine or teach the liberal arts, hoping thus to establish them in the city (Suetonius, *Iul.* 42). In 40, Octavian granted citizenship to a *nauarchos* from Rhosos in Syria, “whereas Seleucus . . . campaigned with us . . . he often suffered and took great risks for us, never shrinking from enduring ills; he manifested his attachment and loyalty to the republic; he linked his own fortune with our preservation; he made all sacrifices for the Roman Republic; in our presence as in our absence he rendered service. . . . In recompense, he has received immunity and citizenship” (*I GLS* 718, 12–18, 91). The first important “Westerner” to receive Athenian citizenship was T. Trebellius Rufus of Toulouse, an *eques*, who was high priest in Gaul; he received a priestly appointment at Rome and was willing to be an archon and even a citizen at Athens under Domitian. The second person was the emperor Hadrian (cf. J. H. Olivier, “The Athens of Hadrian,” in *Les Empereurs romains d’Espagne*, Paris,

1965, p. 125); cf. H. Francotte, *Mélanges de droit public grec*, p. 306; A. Aymard, “Les Etrangers dans les cités grecques,” pp. 131ff. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1964, p. 237, n. 533.

⁹ Cf. the *honestas, dignitas, honor* that Antoninus Pius accorded Tymandenos in giving him citizenship (*MAMA* IV, 236). Cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 796; C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 45 (commentary by M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 3, pp. 199–254); G. Humbert, “Civitas,” in *DAGR*, vol. 1, 1217–1220.

¹⁰ Musicians, athletes, lower-ranking officers, and sophists paid dearly (μεγάλοις τιμήμασιν, Nicolaus of Damascus, ed. Müller, p. 354) to become citizens of Athens or Rhodes (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 1, pp. 37–42; idem, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, pp. 617ff. J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 33; R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, pp. 247, 358). Augustus forbade Athens to sell citizenship to anyone (Dio Cassius 54.7); Hadrian restored the right to do so; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 1, pp. 39–42.

¹¹ Dio Cassius 60.17: “sometimes individually, sometimes en masse.” Cf. the two great Alexandrian bankers, Tiberius Claudius Demetrius and Tiberius Claudius Isidorus, who were Roman citizens in the year 50 (*P.Oxy.* 2471, 3).

¹² By giving jars of wine to imperial freedmen, anyone could become a Roman citizen (G. Boulvert, *Les Esclaves et les affranchis impériaux sous le haut-empire romain*, Aix-en-Provence, 1964, vol. 1, p. 363).

¹³ Cf. *Res Gest. Divi Aug.* 8.1; Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.25. Whereas Roman citizenship was highly prized in Egypt in the first century, it no longer was in the second century (cf. I. Biezunska-Malawist, “L’Extension du droit de cité romaine en Egypte,” in *Proceedings IX*, pp. 277–285). By his edict of 212/213, Caracalla granted Roman citizenship to all inhabitants of the Roman world (*Dig.* 1.5.17; *P.Giss.* 40, 1).

¹⁴ Cf. in AD 92, this legionary declaring under oath “se civem Romanum esse” (V. Arangio-Ruiz, “Minima de Negotiis,” in *Studi in onore di U. E. Paoli*, Florence, 1956, pp. 2ff.). Paul obtained his citizenship in the best possible way, by legal filiation (R. Monier, G. Cardascia, J. Imbert, *Histoire des institutions et des faits sociaux*, Paris, 1956, pp. 415ff.), but we have no idea when or under what circumstances his ancestors gained this right (cf. J. Schwartz, “A propos du statut personnel de l’apôtre Paul,” in *RHPR*, 1957, pp. 91–96; P. Miguens, “Pablo prisionero,” in *Studii Biblici Franciscani*, vol. 8, 1958, pp. 74ff. W. Seston, “Tertullien et les origines de la citoyenneté romaine de S. Paul,” in *Freundesgabe O. Cullmann*, Leiden,

1962, pp. 305–312, who suggests that Paul’s mother was Roman). The *cognomen* “Paulus” would not be a reference to a Roman patron; it would have been chosen because it sounds like “Saul” (Acts 13:9; cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society*, pp. 151ff.).

¹⁵ Equality before the law, immunity, exemption from customs taxes and tribute, from public levies and burdensome duties. Inheritance rights and property rights were greatly enhanced (cf. *PSI* 1183, first century AD). Hence the praise of Aelius Aristides: “Of all the things that can be said in praise of the Romans, one thing is by far most worthy of attention: the magnanimity they have demonstrated in the matter of citizenship and even their very way of thinking of this right. Indeed, the world has never seen the like” (*Orat. Rom.* 59); cf. E. Volterra, “Manomissione e cittadinanza,” in *Studi in onore di U. E. Paoli*, pp. 695–715). Nevertheless, the Greek cities were even more generous, granting along with *politeia* inviolability of person and property (ἀσυλία, ἀσφάλεια), exemption from the taxes and levies payable by foreigners (ἀτέλεια), the right to acquire real property (ἔγκτησις), and προξενία, which made the foreigner a guest who received help and assistance from the city (*I.Bulg.* 41, 13; 42, 1–2; 307, 6–8; 309, 4–6; 312, 8–9; *I.Thas.* 179, 6; *I.Car.* 166, 30; *P.Lond.* 1912, 55, etc.). The *Sicyonios* was “a story of citizenship” (A. Blanchard, A. Bataille, “Fragments sur papyrus du ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΟΣ de Ménandre,” in *RechPap*, vol. 3, 1964, p. 111; cf. pp. 130–131, 135).

¹⁶ Cf. the privileges granted to Seleucus of Rhosos in 36–34, P. Roussel, “Un Syrien au service de Rome et d’Octave,” in *Syria*, 1934, pp. 33–74; J. Lesquier, *L’Armée romaine en Egypte*, Cairo, 1918, pp. 312ff., 333. H. Braunert, “Griechische und römische Komponenten im Stadtrecht von Antinoopolis,” in *JJP*, 1962, pp. 73–88; A. Stenico, “Civiltà romana e civiltà meroitica nella Bassa Nubia,” in *Atti del convegno di studi su la Lombardia e l’Oriente*, Milan, 1963, pp. 276–300.

¹⁷ Acts 25:11–12. Cf. A. H. M. Jones, “I Appeal unto Caesar,” in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, St. Louis, 1953, vol. 2, pp. 918–920.

¹⁸ Acts 16:37–38; cf. Cicero, *Verr.* 2.5.170: “If a Roman citizen is bound, it is an infraction; if he is struck, it is a crime; if he is killed, it is almost a parricide.” A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford, 1939; F. de Visscher, “Le Droit de cité romaine,” in *Acta Congressus Madvigiani*, Copenhagen, 1958, vol. 1, pp. 281–291). The context in Acts shows that *politeia* is a “virtual” privilege that the possessor can make actual at will, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1958, p. 180, n.16).

¹⁹ 2Macc 4:11; 8:17; 13:14; 4Macc 8:7; 17:9; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*; *Pol.* 2.6.1265a15; Philo, *Abraham* 242: “democracy is the best form of government”; *Decalogue* 155; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.245; Strabo 4.1.12: “The Cavari adopted the political system of the Romans”; *P.Oxy.* 1119, 21; cf. K. von Fritz, *The Theory of Mixed Constitution in Antiquity*, New York, 1954; A. Aalders, *Die Theorie der gemischten Verfassung im Altertum*, Amsterdam, 1968. *Politeia und Republica* (Palingenesia IV), Wiesbaden, 1969.

²⁰ Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.3; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 496, 173 (cf. C. Mossé, *Les Institutions grecques*, Paris, 1967, pp. 12, 196, 204, 208; M. A. H. El-Abadi, “The Alexandrian Citizenship,” in *JEA*, 1962, pp. 106–123; E. Pólay, “Der status civitatis,” in *JJP*, vol. 16–17, 1971, pp. 71–83). Strathmann (“πόλις,” in *TDNT*, vol. 6, p. 519) cites the meanings distinguished by Plutarch, *De unius in rep. dom.* 2: (a) μετάληψις τῶν ἐν πόλει δικαίων (the rights of citizenship; cf. *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* 47; *P.Oxy.* 65, 4); (b) βίος ἀνδρὸς πολιτικοῦ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττοντος (the life of a man who participates in public affairs); cf. *Hermes Trismegistus*, frag. 23.54: “the savage conduct of men”); (c) μία πράξις εὐστοχος εἰς τὰ κοινὰ (a public enactment or a governmental measure); (d) τάξις καὶ κατάστασις πόλεως διοικοῦσα τὰς πράξεις (the constitution of a state, form of government). We must add municipal territory as an administrative unit (*I.Bulg.* 2235, 125; *SEG* XII, 349: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ πολιτεία, with the commentary of F. Papazoglou, “Une signification tardive du mot ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ,” in *REG*, 1959, pp. 100–105; cf. *regio* in the sense of “city territory,” *IGLS* 2550, 8; with the commentary of the editors, V, p. 238).

²¹ Cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, vol. 2, pp. 18ff. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 422ff. E. A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century*, London, 1960, pp. 18–29. Around AD 15, the Ionians ask Marcus Agrippa to exclude, if not to force, the Jews from citizenship: “if they wish to be considered like their compatriots (συγγενεῖς), they must worship the same gods” (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.125–126; cf. Acts 19:34).

²² Eph 2:19. In Josephus, *Ant.* 19.175, *sympolitai* comprise a group larger than family and friends. The inscriptions and the papyri mention the affection and benevolence of which they were the object: “Having heard of the benevolence that you show toward all your fellow citizens” (*P.Col.Zen.* 11, 2); “Salus Antonis Priskos my fellow citizen” (*SB* 9017; XXIII, 7); “our compatriots join us in presenting this petition” (*P.Oxy.* 1119, 19). An honorific decree is voted for Theodorus, *συνπολιτευομένων εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκεν* (*SB* 9977, 5 = *SEG* XIII, 579, = Dittenberger, *Or.* 145; cf. 143, 6;

Syl. 504, 6). The verb συμπολιτεύομαι = live as a fellow citizen (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.306); “Do you not think that your fellow citizens (οἱ συμπολιτευόμενοι) will pursue you?” (Epictetus 3.22.99); οἱ—διάδοχοι καὶ εἰ—σαγγελεῖ—ς καὶ οἱ—ε—πισυνηγμένοι ε—ν Βοιωτοῖ καὶ οἱ—συμπολιτευόμενοι, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ε—ν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγράφεται (SB 6664, 12; second century BC); ξένοι —Ἀπολλωνια—ται καὶ οἱ—συνπολιτευόμενοι κτίσται, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπόκειται (ibid. 8066, 3; first century BC). In 7–4 BC, at Attaleia in Pamphylia, ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ—συνπολιτευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖ—οι honor M. Plautius Silvanus (SEG VI, 646). The συμπολιτεία is a confederation or community composed of citizens and incorporated members; it unites two or more cities, Strabo 14.636; *IGLAM* 394, 1290; cf. J. Pouilloux, *Choix* IV, 57–62 (honorific decree for Orthagoras of Araxa, second century BC), especially L. Robert, *Villes d’Asie Mineure*, pp. 54–64; H. Volkmann, “Sympoliteia,” in *DKP*, vol. 5, col. 447–449.

²³ Isocrates, *Areop.* 7.78; Plato, *Leg.* 12.945 d; diagramma of Ptolemy I Soter: πολίτευμα δ ἔστω οἱ—μύριοι (SEG IX, 1 = SB 10075, 5–6; bibliography in C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 426, n. 6); cf. W. Ruppel, “Politeuma,” in *Philologus*, 1927, pp. 268–312, 433–454 (clarification by M. Launey, *Armées hellénistiques*, vol. 2, pp. 1064–1085); summary by Strathmann, *TDNT*, vol. 6, p. 519–520.

²⁴ Strabo 3.4.8. Decree of Hanisa in Cappadocia: “Apollonius is without fail an excellent man vis-à-vis our community” (first century BC, C. Michel, *Recueil*, 546, 7; with the commentary of L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, pp. 476ff., who cites numerous epigraphic texts). *ISE*, n. 87, 20).

²⁵ Τὸ πολίτευμα τω—ν γυναικω—ν (W. Ruppel, “Politeuma,” pp. 449–452); cf. Philo, *Husbandry* 81, the best women, “enrolled in the community of virtue (τω— τῆς ἀρετῆς ε—γγεγραμμένα πολιτεύματι) under Miriam’s leadership.”

²⁶ Cf. the Idumeans at Memphis (Dittenberger, *Or.* 737, 2), the Phrygians domiciled in 3 BC in a city of Egypt (ibid. 658, 3), Caunians at Sidon (ibid. 592, 1; cf. L. Perdrizet, “Le πολίτευμα des Cauniens à Sidon,” in *RArch*, 1899, pp. 42–48), the Cretans in the Arsinoite nome (*P.Tebt.* 32, 17; second century BC), the Lycians at Alexandria (SB 6025, 4; 8757), the Boeotians from the Xoite nome (ibid. 6664, 9), the Cilicians from the Fayum (ibid. 7270, 5). On the known *politeumata* cf. J. Modrzejewski, “La Règle de droit dans l’Egypte ptolémaïque,” in *Essays in Honor of C. B. Welles*, New Haven, 1966, pp. 145ff. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora*, vol. 1, pp. 573ff.

²⁷ In 8–6 BC, its *politeuma* honors Decimius Valerius Dionysius (*CIG* 5362, 25–26; cf. J. and G. Roux, “Un décret du politeuma des Juifs de Bérénikè en Cyrénaïque,” in *REG*, 1949, pp. 281–296). In AD 25, it honors Marcus Tittius (R. Cagnat, *IG*, Paris, 1911, vol. 1, 1024; E. Gabba, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*, Turin, 1958, n. 19; M. Engers, “πολίτευμα,” in *Mnemosyne*, 1936, pp. 154–161; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.115).

²⁸ *Ep. Arist.* 310: “The elders of the group of translators and the delegates of the *politeuma* (of Alexandrian Jews) as well as the leaders of the people made this declaration . . .” (cf. the exegesis of V. A. Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, p. 9; cf. pp. 6, 32); Josephus, *Ant.* 12.108; 19.281; *Ag. Apion* 2.32ff.; *War* 2.487; Philo, *Flacc.* 74–80; *To Gaius* 194 (cf. J. Schwartz, “L’Egypte de Philon,” in *Philon d’Alexandrie*, Paris, 1967, pp. 38ff.); *PSI* 1160, 5 = *SB* 7448; *P.Tebt.* 700, 38 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 50; cf. H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, pp. 10–21.

²⁹ Cf. *SB* 6664, 9: ι—ερεὺς τοῦ πολιτεύματος; 7875, 3: ι—ερατεύσας τοῦ πολιτεύματος τω—ν Φρυγῶ—ν.

³⁰ Phil 3:20—ἡμῶ—ν τὸ πολίτευμα ε—ν οὐρανοί—ς ὑπάρχει (cf. A. Rolla, “La cittadinanza greco-romana e la cittadinanza celeste de Filippesi III, 20,” in *AnBib* 18, Rome, 1963, pp. 75–80; J. Lévie, “Le Chrétien, citoyen du ciel,” *ibid.*, pp. 81–88). The Vulgate translated “*conversatio nostra*”; cf. H. Hoppenbrouwers, “*Conversatio*,” in *Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum*, Supplementa I (Mélanges C. Mohrmann), Nijmegen, 1964, pp. 51ff.

³¹ P. Collart, *Philippes, ville de Macédoine*, Paris, 1937, pp. 223ff. P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale*, Paris, 1945, pp. 13ff. Military *politeumata* occur frequently—*SEG* XX, 499, 3: τὸ πολίτευμα τω—ν ε—ν —Αλεξανδρία . . . στρατιωτω—ν = *SB* 9812; G. Humbert, “*Colonia*,” in *DAGR*, vol. 1, p. 1311ff. E. Kornemann, in *PW*, vol. 4, 7, 511–588.

³² Cf. E. Stauffer, *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Gütersloh, 1948, p. 275 ET = *New Testament Theology*, trans. John Marsh, New York, 1956.

³³ Cf. Philo, *Joseph* 69: “I am free . . . I mean to be enrolled on the greatest and noblest civil register, that of this universe” (πολιτεύματι τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου); *Conf. Tongues* 78, the wise are like resident aliens (παροικοῦντες), “they consider their true country to be the heavenly place where they enjoy all their rights (πατρίδα μὲν τὸν οὐράνιον χῶ—ρον ε—ν ᾧ πολιτεύονται); the earthly expanse where they dwell is foreign soil”; cf. *Contemp. Life* 90: the Therapeutai are citizens of heaven.

³⁴ Lycurgus did not permit the Spartans to leave their country freely and travel elsewhere, where they would risk picking up foreign habits, imitating the ways of ill-formed peoples and accepting principles of government (πολιτευμάτων) different from his own” (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 27.6). In 20/19: τὸ πολίτευμα τω—ν —Αλεξανδρείων ἀκέραιον ὑπάρχον ἄθρεπτοι καὶ ἀνάγωγοι γεγονότες ἄνθρωποι μολύνωσι (*C.Pap. Jud.* 150, 5–6 = *SB* 7448); *P.Oxy.* 2266, 18. J. A. O. Larsen, “Lycia and Greek Federal Citizenship,” in *Symbolae Osloenses*, vol. 33, 1957, pp. 5–26.

³⁵ Esth 8:12—“The Jews govern themselves according to very just laws” (δικαιοτάτοις δὲ πολιτευομένους νόμοις); they live according to the laws of God (1Macc 6:11) and conform themselves to their ancestral customs (11:25). Cf. 3Macc 3:4—σεβόμενοι δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τω— τοῦτου νόμῳ πολιτεύόμενοι. To align one’s life with the law is to live according to the law or under the law (τω— νόμῳ πολιτεύεσθαι, 4Macc 2:8, 23; 4:23; 5:16). Moses taught “the people entrusted to his government” (τοὺς κατ’ αὐτὸν πολιτευομένους, Philo, *Rewards* 4). The Jews define themselves as a people living in accord with the laws contained in their books (*Ep. Arist.* 31). Josephus, at the age of nineteen, began to live in accord with the principles of the sect of the Pharisees (ἠρξάμην πολιτεύεσθαι τῇ Φαρισαίων αἰ—ρέσει κατακολουθω—ν, *Life* 12; cf. 262; *Ant.* 12.38), like Tiberius Polycharmus who “lived according to all the commands of Judaism” (ὅς πολειτευσάμενος πα—σαν πολειτείαν κατὰ τὸν —Ιουδαϊσμόν, *CII* 694, 6).

³⁶ Acts 23:1, πεπολίτευμαι τω— θεω—. Cf. in 164, ε—γὼ γὰρ πιστεύσας σοί τε καὶ τοι—ς θεοι—ς πρὸς οὓς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως πολιτευσάμενος ε—μαντὸν ἀμεμψιμοίρητον παρέσχημαι (*UPZ* 144, 14 = *P.Paris* 63); cf. the κόρη κόσμου, “the blessed life with the gods” (in Stobaeus 1.49.44; vol. 1, p. 395, 22).

³⁷ Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 159: ὁ πολιτευόμενος τρόπος = political mores; *Good Man Free* 76. A decree of Samos in the third century BC in favor of some judges who came from Myndos: “being desirous that the citizens who were at odds, once reconciled, should live in harmony” (ε—ν ὁμονοίᾳ πολιτεύεσθαι, *SEG* I, 363, 17); “May it please the council and the people that the Samians should be Athenian citizens, participating in public affairs (πολιτευομένους) as they see fit” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 23, 13; cf. 27, 20). In *P.Hib.* 63, 11: πολιτευσόμεθα ἀλλήλοις = have good relations. The price of an *artabe* of grain shall be conformed to that in effect at the market of Alexandria (κατὰ τὴν πολιτευομένην τιμὴν ε—ν τῇ ἀγορα— —Αλεξανδρείας, *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XI, 14,7).

³⁸ Phil 1:27, πολιτεύεσθε (cf. R. R. Brewer, “The Meaning of *politeuesthe* in Philippians I, 27,” in *JBL*, 1954, pp. 76–83; K. Bornhäuser, *Jesus Imperator Mundi*, Gütersloh, 1938); Pol. *Phil.* 5.1–2, ε—άν πολιτευσώμεθα ἄξιως αὐτοῦ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτω—; *1Clem.* 6.1: “An immense multitude of the elect have come to join these people who have lived in holiness” (ὀσίως πολιτευσαμένων); 21.1; 51.2; 54.4: ταῦτα οἱ— πολιτευόμενοι τὴν ἀμεταμέλητον πολιτείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

³⁹ Πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τινὰ means “behave properly, carry out one’s obligations toward someone”; cf. Diodorus Siculus 19.23.1: “Peucestes did what he had to”; 19.46.2: “Pytho conducted himself properly toward the whole army”; 19.79.7; 19.90.5. From the fourth century, the papyri use πολιτευόμενος to mean a functionary (*P.Fuad I Univ.* 16, 1), a venerable member of the municipal council (*P.Mil.* 45, 3; 64, 2; republished in *SB* 9515; 9503; *P.Oxy.* 2418, 8; 2718; *P.Mert.* 43. 2; *P.Lips.* 37, 2; *P.Lond.* 233, 4 = vol. 2, p. 273; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XI, 11, 4), a *curialis* (*P.Sorb.* 63, 1; *P.Oxy.* 1921, 2; *P.Mich.* 613, 2; 624, 3, 11; *P.Stras.* 272, 4; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XII, 10, 2; *C.P.Herm.* 52, 2; 53, 3; *P.land.* 40, 10; *P.Apoll.* 75, 4; *SB* 7425, 7; 8699, 12; 8988, 31; 9461, 20; N. Lewis, “Four Cornell Papyri,” in *RechPap*, 1964, vol. 3, p. 33, 5).

⁴⁰ B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, n. 420, 11: κάλω—ς πολειτευσάμενον; 425, 13: πολειτευσάμενον ε—ν πα—σιν ἄγνω—ς; 691, 7; κάλλιστον πολίτευμα ε—πολιτεύσατο (*IG IV2*, 81, 9; cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1941, p. 247, n. 58); τοι—ς εὐσεβέστατα καὶ κάλλιστα πολειτευομένοις καὶ παρὰ θεω—ν τις χάρις καὶ παρὰ τω—ν εὐεργετηθέντων ε—πακολουθεῖ— (*Dittenberger*, *Syl.* 708, 25); ε—νδόξως πολειτευσάμενον (F. K. Dörner, *Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien*, Vienna, 1952, n. 10, 25); ἄριστα πολειτευόμενον (*I.Olymp.* 441; 442; 447; 449); δικαίως πολειτευσάμενον (*ibid.* 468). “Let all of the Acarnanians appear without fail to celebrate with piety the worship of the gods, and even towards the peoples who are related or are friends, a noble politics, worthy of their ancestors” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 29, 59); a dedication from Thespia in the first century BC, to Athanias, “who carried out his political activity with great success and glory” (πολιτευσάμενον ἄριστα καὶ ε—νδοξότατα, *ibid.* 44, 9). In the Byzantine period, πολιτευόμενος often means “habitual, customary” (*P.Giss.* 105, 7–8; *P.Genova* 37, 5, where the editors make reference to Justinian, *Edict.* 11, pr. e 1; Justinian, *Nov.* 83, 8, 2; 52 pr.).

⁴¹ Οἱ— ἄλλοι πολι—ται οἱ— αι—ρούμενοι βέλτιον πολιτεύεσθαι, *SB* 8852, 15; cf. *P.Col.Zen.* 11, 5. In a list of groups of tax collections, διὰ τω—ν πολιτευομένων refer to a classification of taxpayers (*P.Apoll.* 75, 4). The

adjective *αι—δέσιμος*, which is sometimes used with them, is equivalent to our “Reverend.”

πολυτελής

polyteles, expensive, rare, luxurious, precious

polyteles, S 4185; *EDNT* 3.133; MM 527; L&N 65.3; BAGD 690

In its various usages, this adjective means “oppressively expensive” or “rare and luxurious,” even “sumptuous” (*SB* 10498, 6), in any event requiring a major outlay;¹ and hence “precious,”² like certain perfumes (Mark 14:3) or wines of a great vintage (*Wis* 2:7). It is the usual adjective for valuable stones, either as construction materials³ or as what we would call precious stones;⁴ and for rich clothing,⁵ sometimes with a pejorative nuance.⁶ Thus St. Paul asks Christian women to come to church correctly attired “not with braided hair, gold, pearls, or costly clothing.”⁷ This is not a ban on elegance or a certain sort of style, but on flashy luxury or a provocative appearance that not only could stir up envy or lust⁸ but also is altogether out of place when a sinful creature presents herself before God and comes to implore his mercy. Taking up the wisdom theme that places spiritual beauty high above all the joys of the world,⁹ St. Peter also instructs Christians to adorn themselves with virtues rather than with jewels and cloaks. “This is precious before God” (*ho estin enopion tou theou polyteles*, 1Pet 3:4) does not mean that a gentle and quiet *pneuma* is very costly, since its value is not monetary; but as with the “seven mountains of precious stones” of *Enoch* 18.6, which hold stones that are medicinal and beautiful (colored, etc.), we are to understand that the feminine virtues are very useful in God’s sight, for he regards and values them highly.

¹ Thucydides 7.27: keeping the thirteen hundred light troops “seemed too expensive.” The inscription of Rosetta mentions expensive work for the embellishing of the temple (ἔργα πολυτελή; Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 33; cf. *SEG* VIII, 784, 1). The inscriptions mention large expenditures by the *agoranomoi*: “Having been *agoranomos* at great expense (ἀγορανομήσαντά τε πολυτελω—ς) and having provided for the heating of two heatable porticos” (L. Robert, “Les Inscriptions,” in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, pp. 265, 267; cf. G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia* 7, n. 21, 23; 152, 7); *MAMA* VIII, 408, 7: ἀγορανομίαις πολυτέλεσιν; IV, 152, 5: ἀγορανομήσαντα πολυτελω—ς. This generosity was seen especially in banquets: μετὰ πάσης δαπάνης πολυτελοῦς (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 783, 41; first century BC; *Or.* 525, 5); πεποιημένον ε—στιάσεις καὶ ε—πιδόσεις ε—κ τω—ν ι—δίων πολυτελει—ς (*MAMA* VIII, 484, 18–19; cf. 471, 8–9;

Xenophon, *Hier.* 1.20: costly feasts), and the adverb is synonymous with πλουσίως (*I.Sard.* 55, 8 = *SEG* IV, 636) or πολυδαπάνως (*MAMA* VI, 372, 6; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 799, 14–15; Strabo 5.1.7; Diodorus Siculus 1.52.2; 17.70.5; 17.91.6; other references in L. Robert, *ibid.*, in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, p. 267). Cf. the θυσίας πολυτελει—ς offered by Antiochus I of Commagene (*IGLS* I, 1444).

² *P.Mil.Vogl.* 74, 4: πολυτελές ὕδωρ (second century). Cf. precious goods or property (Prov 1:13, κτήσις, Hebrew *yaqar*); costly materials used by the artisan (Philo, *Heir* 158; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.191; Philostratus, *Gym.* 42).

³ Isa 28:16; 1Chr 29:2; inscription of Rosetta (Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 34; cf. 132, 8); *SB* 8881, 8; what Herodian calls λίθοις τιμίαις.

⁴ Jdt 10:21; Esth 5:1; Job 31:24; Sir 45:11; 50:9; Dan 11:38; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.40; Plutarch, *De cohib. ira* 13; Callixenes (in Athenaeus 6.202 *d*), Lucian, *Im.* 11; *Ep. Arist.* 66, 79, 80, 114; *Jos. Asen.* 2.7; 3.10; 18.5; *T. Job* 28.5; 32.5. In Prov 3:15; 8:11; 31:10, the LXX translates the Hebrew *penîm*, “pearls,” or *penînim*, “coral,” as “precious stones.” On luxurious buildings, cf. Diodorus Siculus 17.52.3–4; 17.71.3; on luxurious presents and weapons, *ibid.* 17.76.8; 17.100.4.

⁵ Xenophon, *An.* 1.5.8: luxurious tunics; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 21: pleasure is “dressed in sumptuous clothings”; Josephus, *War* 1.605: during his stay at Rome, Antipater “bought expensive clothing”; Plutarch, *Apoph. Iac.* 7; *Mulier. virt.* 23: a young Gaul condemned to death by Mithridates “was wearing a rich and costly garment (καλήν ε—σθήτα καὶ πολυτελή) when he was arrested”; *Agis* 18.8; Diodorus Siculus 17.70.3; *PSI* 418, 19: “if you think that this coat (τὸ τριβώνιον) is too expensive”; 616, 25 (rug or blanket). Thieves tried to grab these magnificent garments, αἰ—σθήτι πολυτειμοτάτη (*P.Oxy.* 1121, 20; cf. C. Spicq, “Pèlerine et vêtements,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, pp. 400ff.).

⁶ Philo, *Dreams* 2.53: “Who then is the skilled artisan who makes these robes of ruinous purple?”; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.91: “Nothing was good enough for this extravagant (πολυτελει—) woman, who was enslaved to her greed.” Cf. the prodigalities of Demetrius (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 19.4).

⁷ 1Tim 2:9. Luxury in women’s clothing is also condemned by Musonius, οὐ τὴν πολυτελή καὶ περιττήν (frag. 19; ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 120, 19).

⁸ Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 12: “Listen, everyone! Here is a luxury item that calls for a rich buyer: a life full of sweetness, a life of super-happiness”; cf. Diogenes Laertius 2.75: οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ καλῶς ζῆν.

⁹ Prov 3:14-15; Wis 7:9–11; 1Pet 1:7.

πόνος

ponos, tiring labor, hard work, fatigue, suffering, pain

ponos, S 4192; *EDNT* 3.135; *NIDNTT* 1.262; MM 528; L&N 24.77, 42.49; BAGD 691

The first attested meaning of *ponos* is “tiring labor, hard work,” after which one rests,¹ and then “the product of labor,”² a meaning that is particularly common in the LXX: “A people whom you do not know will eat the fruit of your labor.”³ In various contexts, *ponos* refers to the work of one’s hands (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.113), physical efforts (*somatikon ponon*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 708, 11), spiritual efforts (*ponoi psyches*),⁴ brief suffering (2Macc 7:36), like the pain of childbirth (Isa 66:7), and other toils that are constantly renewed.⁵ Sometimes it is only a matter of fatigue produced by effort,⁶ which is linked to exercise (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.135: *askesei kai pono*; *Migr. Abr.* 31); sometimes pain (*Moses* 1.284: *ponos e mochthos*), all that is “bitter and unpleasant” (*Post. Cain* 156) and opposed to pleasure (4Macc 1, 4, 9, 20). The range extends from simple care (Philo, *Heir* 48) and simple difficulties (Wis 9:16; Sir 29:4), like those of a voyage (*P.Ryl.* 624, 4: *tous tes hodou ponous*), but accompanied by dangers⁷ and hence by moments of crisis (“I am in difficulty summer and winter,” *P.Col.* IV, 2, n. 66, 17) to evil of the most diverse sorts,⁸ what we call “trials,”⁹ misfortune (Isa 59:4), calamity (Obad 13, Hebrew *’ed*), sufferings that overwhelm the heart (Sir 3:27; Isa 53:11; 65:14; Jer 6:7; Bar 2:25); hence the pairing *kopos kai ponos*, trouble and woe.¹⁰

Effort, labor, and care vary with the circumstances, first of all in education: “the disciplinarian approach to education gives much trouble” (Plato, *Soph.* 230 a); “the effort of education” (*paideias ponon*, Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 223; *Spec. Laws* 2.240; *PSI* 875, 24); then in the assimilation of “sciences that cost much effort to learn.”¹¹ In the practice of a trade, the laborer “uses four times as much time and trouble preparing grain.”¹² In hunting, “the fawn pursued with effort (*syn pono*) will be caught by the dogs” (Xenophon, *Cyn.* 9.6); “one exhausts the animal with fatigue” (*pono*, *ibid.* 9.20; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.2, 334). In war, “It is for their country that they toil and fight with enemies.”¹³ In athletics, “those who go to work at gymnastic exercises” (Plato, *Leg.* 1.646 c); young people are “more exhausted by their efforts (*ponois*) than this type of exercise (*en agonía*)”

entails.”¹⁴ Finally, and especially, in the medical vocabulary: “With patients who have long fevers, there come . . . many pains in the joints” (*ta arthra ponoi*, Hippocrates, *Aph.* 4.44; cf. 45; Plato, *Phdr.* 244 *b*); with the Athenian fever, “the illness descended upon the chest” (Thucydides 2.49.3); those who have just been circumcised are in pain (Gen 34:25, Hebrew *ka’eb*); the trouble of insomnia.¹⁵

Antisthenes is the first to give *ponos* its technical moral meaning and consider it a good thing.¹⁶ The Stoics classify it as “indifferent” (Diogenes Laertius 7.102; cf. 7.166). Musonius poses the question: “The proposition that *ponos* is not an evil does not seem plausible to me; the contrary proposition, that *ponos* is an evil, seems more plausible, because every evil is to be avoided” (frag. 1); but he concludes that *ponos* is not an evil, and he reports the question posed by a young Spartan to the philosopher Cleanthes, “Is *ponos* a good thing?” (cf. Diogenes Laertius 7.172). He was “so well trained in virtue that he believed that *ponos* was closer to the nature of good than to that of evil.” This is also Philo’s opinion: “*ponos*, enemy of ease,” without which nothing noble is possible among mortals (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 35–41; 42–45), is rewarded by God (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.80), especially effort toward goodness and virtue (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 120; *Worse Attacks Better* 27). So he adds a great deal to the pagan ethic that exhorted disdaining *ponos* (Musonius, frag. 7).

Philo is the one who introduced *ponos* into the ethical vocabulary. He is the only one to praise effort or toil at length—*philoponia*¹⁷—to the point that he contrasts the virtuous with those who do nothing of effort (*Worse Attacks Better* 34: *ponon ouk eidotes*). Indeed, *ponos* is linked with zeal in the service of God (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 37): “All good things come from toil and increase with it” (ibid. 40, 41, 113, 115, 120). Nevertheless, it is not effort pure and simple that deserves praise, but effort carried through with art (*Worse Attacks Better* 17: *ho ponos . . . ho meta technes*) and with the goal of virtue.¹⁸ God “changes the bitterness of effort to sweetness” (*Post. Cain* 154); he does not let effort go unrewarded for those who struggle (ibid. 78, *tois asketais*). So one must persevere in “continuous, tireless *ponos*.”¹⁹

So when St. Paul writes of Epaphras that “he does not cease to struggle for you (*pantote agonizomenos*) in his prayers” (Col 4:12) and that he “exerts great efforts” (*echei polyn ponon*, 4:13) for the Christians of Colossae, Laodicea, and Hierapolis,²⁰ he is not only using a traditional athletic metaphor but also suggesting that this servant of Christ embodies a costly state of mind and activity, concerns and cares, efforts and fatigue, physical and spiritual suffering; that he is engaged in a taxing labor that requires overcoming a thousand difficulties. We would say “takes great pains, goes to a great deal of trouble.”

The three occurrences of *ponos* in Revelation have the meaning “suffering” or “calamity”: at the punishment of the kingdom of the Beast, the

godless “gnawed their tongues in agony” (*ek tou ponou*).²¹ The medical metaphor is used with regard to blasphemers: “because of their pains and their wounds” (*ek ton ponon auton kai ek ton helkon auton*, Rev 16:11). Finally, in the age to come there will be no (*ouk estai eti*) death, no mourning, no crying, no *ponos* (21:4), that is, no labor, fatigue, suffering, misfortune;²² it is the end of all trials, the abolition of sin’s punishments.

¹ Homer, *Il.* 1.467; 10.164; *Od.* 11.54; cf. the Christian inscription at Thasos, n. 370, 14, 16: “What endless pain (πόνος ἄπιρος) the death of a small child would have brought if Christ had not given its parents respite (ἀνάπαυμα)”; Menander, *Dysk.* 830: rather than “life in luxury at another’s expense, I prefer to get it by my work”; Philo, *Creation* 167: “Man knew labors (πόνους), difficulties, and sweat in order to procure the necessities”; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.38, 251; Philo, *Moses* 1.37; exhausting work (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.84; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 23; *Conf. Tongues* 92; *Spec. Laws* 1.125); labor, the enemy of ease (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 35), “without break or respite” (39); Josephus, *War* 3.74, 253; 4.373; *Ant.* 1.238; 3.254; 5.134. Synesius, *Hymn.* 1.495: ἄμπαυμα πόνων; *Wis* 5:1; 15:4; *P.Oxy.* 2704, 2: “Nothing can be expected from our farming and the labors expended on it” (καὶ τω—ν ε—π ἀὐτῇ πόνων). A monument at Agrios: “leading a simple life, in all sorts of labors, far from wealth and malicious envy” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 114, col. IV, 12).

² Pindar, *Pyth.* 6.54: “the ornamented work of the bees”; Euripides, *Phoen.* 30: “the fruit of my travail” (τὸν ε—μὸν ὠδίνων πόνον); Xenophon, *An.* 7.6.9: “he gathered the fruit of our toils” (τοὺς ἡμετέρους πόνους ἔχει).

³ Deut 28:33 (Hebrew *yegîa*’); Ps 78:46; 105:44; 109:11—“the fruit of his labor”; 128:2; Prov 3:9; 5:10; *Wis* 3:15; 8:7; 10:10; Sir 14:15; 28:15; Jer 20:5; Ezek 23:29; cf. Philo, *Moses* 1.53: profit from another’s labor; Philo, *Husbandry* 155; Josephus, *War* 2.598; *Ant.* 18.266; 20.265.

⁴ J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1952, p. 199, n. 188; cf. ἡδὺν πόνον (*GVI*, n. 1185, 3); Philo, *Husbandry* 91; *Prelim. Stud.* 166; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.38. Musonius asks what is the best means of livelihood for a philosopher (frag. 11) and replies: work in the fields, where the φιλόπονοι make bodily efforts (πονει—ν), but κατὰ φύσιν. This is the life of a free man who earns his own living by his work; farming leaves leisure to the soul to reflect and become wiser, which is what every philosopher wants to do, and it does not diminish his dignity.

⁵ Sophocles, *Trach.* 30; *SEG* VII, 527, 13: ἀναδεχόμενος πόνον ε—κ νυκτὸς καὶ μεθήμεραν; A. Bernand, *El-Kanaïs*, n. 8, 2: “Many times I was

tested by intensified troubles” (cf. E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques* 164 2). Simonides has Danae, holding her little son Perseus in her arms, say, “My child, great is my pain” (D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford, 1962, frag. 543, 7). Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 6.26.18: “It depends entirely on those who consent to take the trouble and put themselves out that these precepts should be serious and efficacious, or insignificant and useless.”

⁶ Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 114; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.135: “the shoulder is the symbol of effort and fatigue”; *Worse Attacks Better* 9; *Migr. Abr.* 221; *Change of Names* 193; Wis 10:9—“Wisdom delivers those who have served her from fatigue.”

⁷ Josephus, *War* 4.89; *Ant.* 17.271; *BGU* 1747, 22: οὐδὲ πόνον οὐδὲ κίνδυνον (64–63 BC) = *SB* 7410; M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 1, p. 95; J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1946–47, p. 348, n. 183; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.283; 16.94; 19.317.

⁸ Menander, *Dysk.* 179: “harshness, that is the ill that he suffers from”; Exod 2:11—“the burdens (Hebrew *sebalôt*) that weigh upon the Hebrews”; Num 23:21 (Hebrew *amal*); Jer 4:14; Ps 7:16; *SB* 6584, 6 (πόνου parallel to κακοῦ).

⁹ Pindar, *Nem.* 10.147: “Among mortals there are few faithful companions in trials (ε—ν πόνῳ), few who want to share our labors (καμάτου μεταλαμβάνειν)”; Plato, *Phd.* 247 b: “There [in the vault of heaven] the soul faces trial, there the supreme struggle (ἀγών)”; Wis 19:16—terrible trials; a Christian epitaph of Makaria: “She has heavenly crowns as recompense for her trials” (μισθόν πόνων, *SB* 5719, 6; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 60).

¹⁰ Ps 10:7, 14; 90:10; Jer 20:18; cf. Gen 41:41—“God made me forget all my trouble”; Job 3:10; 5:6; Prov 21:7. In the third century, a Roman citizen bequeaths his *arourai* to his steward Epimachus “in gratitude for the trouble he went to” for the sake of the prosperity of my affairs (*P.Oxy.* 2474, 37).

¹¹ Plato, *Resp.* 7.526 c; Philo, *Dreams* 1.6: “The approach to knowledge costs much toil and trouble”; 1.120; *Spec. Laws* 1.32; *To Gaius* 246; Josephus, *War* 1.16 (great efforts of the historian); *Ant.* 1.2, 9; 12.14; 19.321; *P.Grenf.* 1.1, 18: “it is a painful subject”; *SB* 8422, 3: the deciphering of an acrostic poem, the effort of interpretation is a simple, trouble-free labor; cf. *P.Hal.* XII, 7: ἵνα μὴ πόνος; which is contrasted with πλήρη πόνων (*BGU* 1024, col. VII, 29), μετὰ μεγάλου πόνου (*SB* 10529, B 7; Josephus, *War* 5.36; *Ant.* 7.138); cf. Philo, *Husbandry* 103. The opposite

of effort (πόνος) is negligence (ἀπονία, Philo, *Heir* 212) or slackness (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.201). Cf. the vision of Maximus: “My nature invited me to cultivate the mystique of labor” (μύστην πόνων), i.e., to write a poem (*SEG* VIII, 814; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, 168, 5; A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 1, pp. 47–49).

¹² Plato, *Resp.* 2.369 e; Josephus, *Ant.* 17.347. Cf. the *ponoi* of a governor (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1961, n. 220, n. 536).

¹³ Homer, *Il.* 17.158; cf. 6.77; 17.718; 21.524–25; Pindar, *Isthm.* 6.79: “Ajax, in the labors of Ares an extraordinary hero among all the warriors”; Hesiod, *Th.* 881 (war of the gods and the Titans); Ps.-Hesiod, *Sc.* 305: “the horsemen took great pains”; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 330: the exhausting wanderings of night fighting; *Pers.* 327; Xenophon, *Lac.* 4.7: “bear military labors” (στρατιωτικούς πόνους ὑποφέρειν). Philo, *Moses* 1.322; μνήμα πόνων Ἀρεως (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1952, p. 140, n. 43); Josephus, *Ant.* 5.130; 13.398; 18.7; 19.299.

¹⁴ Philostratus, *Gym.* 29; cf. 30: respiration is labored during exercises (ε—ν τοι—ς πόνους), 45, 48; Philo, *Dreams* 1.168: “athletic training preparatory to the efforts required by competition in the arena”; *Joseph* 223; *Spec. Laws* 2.98, 99; *Rewards* 27, 36; *Prelim. Stud.* 164; Plutarch, *De prof. in virt.* 4 (76 F): πόνος καὶ ἄσκησις. “The child braved the hard labor of the pancratium” (L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Rome, 1953, n. 55, 3; cf. n. 47; *I.Lind.* 699, b 8); the *ponoi* are the athletic trials themselves (*GVI*, n. 763, 5; *Anth. Pal.* 9.588.6), the ἀγών and the γυμνασία of the martyr (4Macc 11:20). Commenting on the epitaph of a pancratist from Phrygian Dorylaeum (*GVI*, n. 253, 5), L. Robert (*Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, Paris, 1960, pp. 342–349) strongly emphasized this agonistic meaning of *ponos*. Cf. the herald positions reserved for former athletes, μόνους τοὺς ε—ν ἀσκήσει καὶ πόνους γεγενημένους ἀγωνιστάς (*PSI* 1422, 29).

¹⁵ Sir 31:20; cf. 37:30 (discomfort); Isa 1:5; 53:4; Jer 14:18; 2Macc 9:18; 1Kgs 8:37 (Hebrew *mah<Ø>a<^>lâh*, sickness); *P.Oxy.* 234, col. II, 24 (against earache); *SB* 10762, 3, an amulet ἀπὸ πάσης νόσου καὶ πόνου κεφαλῆς (cf. *Jos. Asen.* 10.8—“I have a bad headache and am resting on my bed”); 11226, 3, a question to an oracle: εἰ—ε—ξοῦ μοι γέγονεν ὁ πόνος καὶ θεραπείαν μοι διδοι—ς; cf. 8026, 29 (stele at Moschion): “that the balm for my woes be revealed to you”; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, 167, 10 (hymn to Mandoulis): “that I may rejoin my family and my servants, in my country, without sickness and without painful fatigue” (χαλεποι—ο πόνου); 170, 10 (a *proskynema*): “May Herod return and regain his country, without sickness and painful fatigue” (χαλεποι—ο

πόνου). Aristophanes, *Ran.* 829: “what caused so much pain for the lungs” (πολὸν πόνον).

¹⁶ Diogenes Laertius 6.2. Cf. D. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism*, London, 1937, p.13).

¹⁷ Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 166; *Post. Cain* 157. *Philoponia*, joined with exercise (*askesis*), is particularly the virtue of the courageous athlete who spares himself no trouble; but it is also used for officials and judges who are zealous in their responsibilities, and for the *grammateus* who watches over his students, cf. C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, pp. 222ff.

¹⁸ *Drunkness* 21, 94; *Sobr.* 38, 65; *Migr. Abr.* 144, 167; *Prelim. Stud.* 108: “rugged struggles for the good”; 162: “the feast of the soul is effort that has reached its goal”; *Post. Cain* 95: “the Beautiful is a perfect good, *ponos* an imperfect advantage”; *Change of Names* 170: “effort goes along with the useful, ease (ῥαστώνη) with the harmful”; *Moses* 1.154; 2.183–184; *Good Man Free* 69; *Spec. Laws* 4.124. These thoughts derive from the Pythagorean doctrine of the Υ, where the hard toil of the route to the summit will be followed by rest. F. Cumont (*Lux Perpetua*, pp. 263–279) compares *Vers d’or* 66, Pythagorean: “after healing your soul you will save it from these toils” (ψυχὴν δὲ πόνων ἀπὸ τῶ—νδε σαώσεις, p. 404), and the tomb inscription of a disciple of Pythagoras who taught the obligation to work as the first rule of life (τὸν πόνον; F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, p. 422). Pagan mysteries insisted on it: “salvation comes from struggle” (ε—κ πόνων σωτηρία, Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22.1); ἀγαθὸν οἱ—πόνοι, αἱ—δὲ ἡδοναὶ ε—κ παντὸς τρόπου κακόν (Iamblichus, *VP* 85).

¹⁹ *Flight* 41; *Spec. Laws* 2.260; *Worse Attacks Better* 27; *Migr. Abr.* 220; *Change of Names* 86; cf. Sir 11:21; Menander, *Dysk.* 862: “everything is gained through perseverance in effort.”

²⁰ *SB* 9484, 13: ὁ πόνος γὰρ αὐτῶ—ν ε—πὶ τούτων ἄλλων (letter from the second century).

²¹ Rev 16:10; i.e., in order not to cry out and acknowledge their bankruptcy, not to expose their fears, or not to express their pain, their failed ambitions, their wounded pride, their ruined prosperity (E. B. Allo).

²² Synesius, *Hymn.* 1.419–420; 436–437 links πόνους and μερίμνας, ὀδύνας. Cf. the epigram dedicated to Apollonius of Tyana, son of Ouranos (of Heaven), ὅπως θνητῶ—ν ε—ζελάσιε πόνους, published by R. Merkelbach, *ZPE*, vol. 41, 1981, p. 270.

πορθέω

portheo, to sack, ravage, ruin, lay waste

portheo, S 4199; *EDNT* 3.137; MM 529; L&N 20.374; BAGD 693

This verb, unknown in the LXX, is current from Homer to the Koine with the meaning “sack, ravage, ruin” a city, “lay waste” a territory.¹ The word implies physical or moral violence against persons.² Its three NT occurrences pertain to the persecution of the church by St. Paul before his conversion, so that in Acts 9:21 (*ho porthesas . . . tous epikaloumenous to onoma touto*) several French translators make this verb synonymous with *dioko* (1Cor 15:9; Phil 3:6): “Is this not the one who persecuted (or hunted down) those who call upon this name at Jerusalem?”³

In Gal 1:13—“You have heard of my doings when I was in Judaism: I persecuted the church of God beyond measure and ravaged it” (*hoti kath’hyperbolen ediokon ten ekklesian tou theou kai eporthoun* [G: *epolemoun*] *auten*). *Eporthoun* should be taken as a conative imperfect, “I would have liked to annihilate it.”⁴ The imperfect *eporthoi* in Gal 1:23 is the same: the Christians of Judea said, “The one who once persecuted us (*ho diokon pote*) today preaches the faith that he then wanted to destroy (*hen pote eporthoi*).”⁵ Here *pistis* has its objective sense, “doctrine,”⁶ which matches the singular “church of God,” referring not to a particular community but to the whole primitive church.⁷

¹ Homer, *Il.* 4.308; *Od.* 14.264; Herodotus 1.84; 3.58; Aeschylus, *Sept.* 583: “destroy the city of his fathers, the gods of his race, by sending a foreign army against them”; Pindar, *Nem.* 4.26: “Telamon ruined Troy”; Isocrates, *Evag.* 9.62: “Evagoras ravaged Phoenicia”; Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 47; *Flacc.* 54; *Moses* 1.69; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.135, the sacking of Jerusalem in 586 (cf. *3Apoc. Bar.* 1.1—πορθῆσαι τὴν πόλιν); *War* 4.534, Simon of Gerasa “ravaged the towns and cities” (synonymous with λυμαίνεσθαι; cf. Acts 8:3); 4Macc 4:23, Antiochus “plundered their city”; around 200 BC, a decree of Istros honoring Agathocles mentions that the Thracians are besieging Bizona and laying waste its territory (τὴν τε χώραν πορθούντων, *NCIG*, n. VI, 26); in the sixth century AD, the inscription of King Silko in Nubia: ε—πόρθησα τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν (Dittenberger, *Or.* 201, 17 = *SB* 8536, 17).

² Euripides, *Phoen.* 565: “You will see many captive virgins suffer the brutal violence of their enemies” (βία πορθουμένας); Philo, *Flacc.* 54: “As at the capture of a city, Flaccus allowed those who wanted to do so to pillage the Jews” (πορθεῖ—ν—Ιουδαίου); 4Macc 11:4—“What have we done that you

should torture us so?"; *BGU* 588, 2: πορθοῦντες ὑμα—ς (first century AD); *P.Lond.* 1677, 26, 36, 52 (sixth century).

³ Persecuted or pursued. The *Bible de Jérusalem* translates *s'acharnait*, "dogged, went at fiercely and relentlessly," which gives the right idea (cf. *NJB*, "did such damage"), but the verb never has exactly this sense in known Greek; still less *malmenait*, "handled roughly" (E. Osty, J. Trinquet; cf. the English *mauled*). Better to say *maltraitait*, "mistreated" (Loisy).

⁴ Cf. A. Oepke, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater*, Leipzig, 1937, p. 22: "und sie am liebsten vernichtet hätte"; F. Mussner, *Der Galaterbrief*, Freiburg-Basel, 1974, p. 78: "und sie zu ruinieren suchte."

⁵ A. Oepke, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater*, p. 28, "den er einst verstörte."

⁶ Rightly refusing a weakened meaning for πορθέω and contrasting this verb with οἰ—κοδομέω, P. H. Menoud takes it to mean that before his conversion St. Paul attacked the faith of the believers rather than their persons; there was no blood on his hands. Paul undermined the faith of the church by trying to demonstrate from the Scriptures that the crucified one could not be the Messiah ("Le Sens du verbe ΠΟΡΘΕΙΝ, Gal. I, 13, 23; Act. IX, 21," in *Apophoreta: Festschrift E. Haenchen*, Berlin, 1964, pp. 178–186; reprinted in P. Menoud, *Jésus-Christ et la foi*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1975, pp. 40–47). Philo often uses πορθέω metaphorically: to sow devastation in the spirit (*Plant.* 159) or in the heart (*Good Man Free* 38); the passions lay waste the whole life of those who feed them (*Decalogue* 49; *To Gaius* 114).

⁷ Cf. L. Cerfaux, *La Théologie de l'Eglise suivant saint Paul*, 2d ed., Paris, 1965, p. 164, n. 1.

ποταπός

potapos, of what origin, from what country; of what sort, of what kind

potapos, S 4217; *EDNT* 3.141; MM 530; L&N 58.30; BAGD 694–695

Potapos, the only form of this word found in the Greek Bible, is the Hellenistic variation of *podapos*,¹ formed by popular assimilation to *pote*.² The basic meaning is "of what origin, from what country?" This meaning remains common in the Koine, in the literary language³ as well as in the inscriptions, for example in this Jewish epitaph from the first century: "Ask Samuel, son of Doras, who he is, whence he comes."⁴ This sense is perhaps not absent from Matt 8:27, where, after the miracle of the calming

of the storm, the people ask, “*Potapos estin houtos*, that even the wind and the sea obey him?” This could be just a synonym for the interrogative *tis*, “Who then is this?” (cf. the parallels at Mark 4:41; Luke 8:25), but we cannot rule out the nuance “What is his origin? Where does he come from?” Similarly, when the Virgin Mary is surprised by the very unusual greeting addressed to her by an invisible being: *dielogizeto potapos eie ho aspasmos houtos* (Luke 1:29; D reads *podapos an*). Certainly she is trying to understand the meaning of the angel’s words (*epi to logon*), but she is probably also trying to place the angel.⁵ In any event, this is the interpretation taken in *Prot. Jas.* 11.1—“She looked around her, to the right and to the left, (to see) where the voice was coming from” (*pothen haute he phone*).

All the other NT occurrences mean “of what sort, what kind,” synonymous with *poios* ⁶ but with an intensive nuance, pointing to a distinctive category:⁷ “If this man were a prophet, he would know who and of what sort this woman is (*tis kai potape he gyne*) who is touching him and that she is a sinner” (Luke 7:39). The nuance is admiration in Mark 13:1—“What stones, what a building!”; 2Pet 3:11—“Seeing that everything is to be dissolved in this way, what sort of people should you not be (*potapous dei hyparchein*) through the holiness of your conduct.” “What sort of persons” expresses originality and greatness, the distinctive nature of these great beings. It is almost an exclamation, as at 1John 3:1—“Behold what manner of (extraordinary) love the Father has given us (*potapen agapen dedoken hemin*) that we should be called children of God; such we are.” Here *potapos* seems to combine three meanings: *qualis, quantus, unde*. ⁸ The kind of love, *agape*, that we are given is an exceptional, prodigiously generous love, coming from heaven; its nature is divine.

¹ Cf. Phrynichus (ed. Lobeck, p. 45). Ποδαπός is still used in literary Greek, by Menander, *Mis.* (*P.Oxy.* 2657, 31); Josephus, *Ant.* 7.32; Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 3: Ποδαπός εἶ σύ, “What country are you from?” ‘From Samos.’”

² Cf. J. H. Moulton, W. F. Howard, N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 1, p. 95; vol. 2, pp. 112, 375; vol. 3, p. 48.

³ Menander, loc. cit., ποδαπός εἶ, ξένε; Erotian, writing about the “sacred disease” (epilepsy), so called because it could be sent by the gods, says that it could also have a natural origin, ποταπῶ— χρήται τύπῳ ὁ νοσῶ—ν (frag. 33, *De Morbo Sacro*, p. 108); *P.Oxy.* 413, 155: ποταπὰ περιπατεῖ—ς.

⁴ —Ερώτησον τίς, ποταπός—*CII* 1451, 8 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 1451 = *SB* 7904. This is a variant of the formula τίς, πόθεν, found often in epigrams (*MAMA* I, 176, 1–2; *I.Olymp.* 225, 8; *Anth. Pal.* 9.648). Numerous examples in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 2, p. 97; vol. 4, p. 47.

⁵ E. Delebecque (*Evangile de Luc*, p. 6) translates quite accurately, “She pondered from what country this sign of respect came” (Fr. “Elle calculait de quel pays provenait cette marque de respect-là”) and comments: “there is no reason not to give to the recent form ποταπός the meaning of the classical ποδαπός; cf. 7:39.”

⁶ Cf. the reading of D in Acts 20:18—“You know how (ποταπω—ς, read πω—ς) I conducted myself.”

⁷ *Sus* 54: “under what tree and in what place in the garden did you see them?”; Philo, *To Gaius* 370: “Terrified as we were, still asking ourselves what would be decided, what the finding would be, of what sort the verdict would be” (ποταπή γένοιτ ἢ κρίσις); *Alleg. Interp.* 1.91: “what intelligence is and of what sort”; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.39: after enduring all sorts of evils; 6.345: what sort of person = of what worth; 8.72: what sort of outcome, victory or defeat, would result from this battle; *War* 2.32; 1.390: “that the question will be what sort of friend I was (ποταπός φίλος) and not whose friend”; *Ag. Apion* 1.255: Amenophis had learned from another king what the nature of the gods was (ποταποί τινές ει—σι); *Aproc. Pet.* 4: ποταποί ει—σι τὴν μορφήν = so that we might see what their form was; Hymn of Isidorus to Isis: what is the name of this One? (*SB* 8141, 29 = *SEG* 8.551); Ptolemy, *Flor.* 3.8: ποταπός τις εἶη; *Acts Paul Thec.* 2: Titus had described Paul’s appearance to Onesiphorus; Lucian, *Par.* 22: ποταπός δὲ ου—τος ὁ φίλος, ὅστις οὐ βέβρωκεν οὐδὲ πέποικε μεθ ἡμω—ν. In the second century, *P.Mich.* 492, 21: “If you know that the town secretary put me down for a *leitourgia*, let me know what sort of *leitourgia* he assigned me to”; *SB* 9636, 10, a veteran seeking lodging, mentions the neighbors, ποταπούς κωμίτας ἔχωμεν; in the third century, “Write to tell me what sort (of purple) you want me to bring” (*P.Oxy.* 1678, 16).

⁸ Of what sort, how great, from where. The nuance “from where” is vital with St. John, who describes each being according to its origin: ε—πίγειος—ε—πουράνιος (*John* 3:12); ε—κ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ—ε—κ τῆς γῆς (3:31); ε—κ τω—ν κάτω—ε—κ τω—ν ἄνω (8:23); ε—κ τούτου τοῦ κόσμου—οὐκ ε—κ τοῦ κόσμου (8:23; 15:18; 17:14-15; 1John 2:16; 4:5-6; 5:4); ε—κ τοῦ διαβόλου—ε—κ τοῦ θεοῦ (1John 3:8-9), etc.

ποτίζω

potizo, to cause or give to drink, water, irrigate

potizo, S 4222; TDNT 6.159–160; EDNT 3.142; NIDNTT 2.274–275; MM 531; L&N 23.35, 43.9; BDF §§155(7), 159(1); BAGD 695

The first meaning of this verb, “cause to drink, give to someone to drink,”¹ is used first of all for people. Lot’s daughters decide, “Let us cause our father to drink wine” (Gen 19:32-35; *hiphil* of Hebrew *shaqâh*); Hagar “gave the boy to drink”;² a physician “gave the patient pure wine to drink” (Hippocrates, *Aph.* 7.46) and occasionally administered his potion badly.³ When Jesus was crucified, a soldier took a sponge, soaked it with vinegar, fastened it to a reed, and “gave him to drink” (*epotizen auton*, Matt 27:48; Mark 15:36), thus fulfilling the prophecy of Ps 69:21. Animals are watered: “On the Sabbath day, does not everyone water his ox or ass?”⁴ *Potizo*, finally, is used for the water that waters and moistens the surface of the ground (Gen 2:6; 13:10), a garden (2:10; Deut 11:10), a vineyard (Isa 27:3), trees (Eccl 2:6; Sir 24:31), plants.⁵

In the papyri, the verb is constantly used in the sense of “irrigate”;⁶ and in the third century BC (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59155, 3; *P.Tebt.* 787, 26; *P.Haun.* 9, 3); “water the ground immediately by hand” (*eutheos potison ten gen apo cheros*, SB 6733, 3; cf. *P.Stras.* 193, 5); Psentaes writes Zeno, “I irrigated (*soi epotisa*) half of the thousand *arourai* for you” (*P.Lond.* 2061, 3); “the water in the canal has not risen more than a cubit, so the ground has not been irrigated” (*potizesthai*, *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XX, A, p. 266; *P.Wisc.* 77, 37).⁷

By making God the subject of this verb, the LXX gives it a religious value: “I will give water in the desert and streams in the steppe to water my people, my chosen” (Isa 43:20); “God waters the sons of Adam with the torrent of his delights” (Ps 36:8); “floods of abundance” (78:15). Wisdom gives her disciple “the water of wisdom” to drink.⁸ Hence the catechetical commands⁹ that are taken over by the NT: “Whoever shall give one of these little ones even a glass of cold water to drink (*hos ean potise*) because he is a disciple, truly I tell you, that one shall not lose his reward” (Matt 10:42; Mark 9:41). In the parable of the Last Judgment: “I was thirsty and you did not give me anything to drink” (Matt 25:35, 37, 42)!

St. Paul uses the verb metaphorically: “I have given you milk to drink (*gala hymas epotisa*), not solid food” (1Cor 3:2); the image of the milk diet reserved for babies was current as a way of referring to elementary teaching, as opposed to the deeper doctrine fed on by the “spirituals.”¹⁰ “I planted, Apollos watered (*epotisen*), but God gave the increase. Now neither is the one who plants anything, nor the one who waters (*ho potizon*), but the one who gives the increase, namely, God. The one who plants and the one who waters (*ho potizon*) are but one . . . but each one will receive his own wage in proportion to his own labor.”¹¹ The one who

waters only works from the outside, but his *kopos* —which is tiring and useful—merits a reward, because he contributes to the fruitfulness of the planting.

The most important text from the theological point of view is the one where the apostle compares the church to the human organism, its unity and the solidarity of its members:¹² “We have all been watered by one Spirit” (*pantes hen Pneuma epotisthemen*, 1Cor 12:13). This aorist passive refers to baptism (cf. *ebaptisthemen*), which infuses new life and new power.¹³ Compare the image of drinking in John 7:37-39: “If anyone thirsts, let him come to me and drink . . . rivers of living water will flow from within him (Isa 48:21). He said this concerning the Spirit that those who believed in him were going to receive” (John 4:13-14). The filling of the Holy Spirit causes effects comparable to those of drunkenness (cf. Acts 2:13—“they are full of new wine”), but it is poured out from heaven: “The gifts of God, brought by the blowing (*epipneusthenta*) of the highest graces” (Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 38). From there on, the apostle’s thought was inspired not only by the OT, where God gives water to his own, but by the current of thought flowing from Philo, who had often underlined this teaching: “Melchizedek brings wine instead of water, and he gives it to souls to drink unmixed so that they may find themselves possessed by a divine drunkenness that is more sober than sobriety itself.”¹⁴ Those who are still at the preliminary stage of instruction, “thirsty as they are for knowledge, settle near the sciences that can quench their thirst and water their souls” (*potizein tas psychas auton*, *Flight* 187); “This well is the divine wisdom, from which drink . . . all souls that are enamored of contemplation, that are possessed by a love of perfection” (*Flight* 195); “The divine word goes forth like a wellspring of wisdom, after the fashion of a river, to water and irrigate the Olympian and celestial sprouts and plants of souls that are enamored of virtue, as if they were in Paradise” (*Dreams* 2.242).

So the choice of *potizo* in 1Cor 12:13 suggests first of all fullness and abundance. (The corresponding French word, *abreuver*, often has this nuance of “fill”—hence the magnificence of God’s gift, which floods even the mountains [Ps 104:13]—or “inundate,” cover with waters that overflow or come flooding in.) There are also nuances of excellence,¹⁵ of fervor (cf. drinking in someone’s words) and gladness (Philo, cf. the fruit of the Holy Spirit, Gal 5:22); of fruitfulness (cf. John 6:53-54), because dry lands are watered so that they will be productive; and finally of immanence, impregnation, and assimilation, because if one drinks to quench one’s thirst, the thirst is not satisfied until the liquid is swallowed, absorbed.

¹ In principle with a double accusative, τί τινά = something to someone (Gen 24:17), but cf. *Tabula of Cebes* 5.2, a Neopythagorean writing from the first century: τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους εἰς τὸν βίον ποτίζει τῇ

ε—αυτῆς δυνάμει (dative of the thing, accusative of the person); the opposite at 14.

² Gen 21:19; Rebekah caused Jacob to drink (24:18, 45); Exod 32:20; Num 5:24, 26; 20:8; 1Sam 30:11; Judg 4:19.

³ Aristotle, *Ph.* 2.8; 199a; cf. Philostratus, *Gym.* 14. For “cause to drink” Rufus of Ephesus used πίνω or ε—πιπίνω (*Ren. Ves.*, ed. Daremberg pp. 12, 3; 33, 6) or προποτίζω (p. 26, 6); “give to drink” (διδόναι πίνειν, pp. 8, 6; 28, 6).

⁴ Luke 13:15—ἀναγαγὼν ποτίζει; Gen 24:14—“I will also water the camels,” flocks (29:2, 3, 7), sheep (29:8, 10; Exod 2:16, 17, 19), all the beasts of the field (Ps 104:11). The charioteer waters the horses (Plato, *Phdr.* 247 e); “I am that Daphnis... who brought heifers and bulls here to drink” (Theocritus 1.121); Diodorus Siculus 19.94.9: the Nabateans lead their flocks to these reservoirs and water them three days in a row; Dittenberger, *Or.* 483, 169.

⁵ Philo, *Post. Cain* 125ff.; *Unchang. God* 37; Xenophon, *Symp.* 2.25: “When the deity waters the plants too much, they cannot stand up or let the wind blow through”; *Anth. Pal.* 1.100: “The Nile, with its floods, knows how to water the earth.”

⁶ Numerous references given in Moulton-Milligan, notably *P.Oxy.* 938, 5: since the oxen were in very poor condition and could not work, “as a result, the ground was not irrigated” (τῆς γῆς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ποτιζομένης); S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 18, 7, letter regarding a vineyard: ὀχιτεύομεν καὶ ποτίζομεν = we have made canals and irrigated. Cf. Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 38: the farmer puts his feet on the steps of the treadmill used for drawing water “when he wants to water his field” (ὅταν ε—θελήσῃ ποτίσαι τὰς ἀρούρας).

⁷ Likewise in AD 29–30: διόρυκος δι ου— ποτίζετε ὁ κλῆρος, *P.Mich.* 256, 4; cf. 263, 10; 267, 6; 272, 4; 273, 4; 327, 38; *P.Mert.* 11, 10, 13, 31 (AD 39–40); 27, 13; 79, 10; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 3, 14: διω—ρυξ δι η—ς ποτίζεται ἡ ἄρουρα (first century AD); 23, 10; *BGU* 1645, 11; *P.Oslo* 155, 3–4; *P.Amst.* 88, 4, 9; *P.Laur.* 11 A, 16–21; 14 A, 10; *P.Col.* VII, n. 172, 11, 13; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIX, 10, 14; *SB* 7379, 37; 7599, 31; 8546, 16; Dittenberger, *Or.* 200, 16.

⁸ Wis 15:3; Jer 35:2—“You shall give them wine to drink.” Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.86–87: “He himself watered the souls that are friends of God and quenched their thirst from a well that he himself brought forth out of his own

wisdom.” Often this “watering” is pejorative: God pours out a “wine of dizziness” (Ps 60:4), a “spirit of stupor” (Isa 29:10), poisoned waters (Jer 8:14; 23:15), a “wine of rage” (25:15; cf. Rev 14:8); “I will water the earth with your rotting (corpse)” (Ezek 32:6; to Pharaoh); “You will make them drink tears in abundance” (Ps 80:6).

⁹ Hab 2:15—“Woe to him who gives his neighbor a poisoned cup to drink until they are drunk so that he can behold their nudity”; Job 22:7: “You did not give drink to the thirsty”; Prov 25:21—“If your enemy thirsts, give drink to him,” quoted at Rom 12:20—ε—άν διψα—, πότιζε αὐτόν; Sir 29:25—“You shall give to eat and to drink without receiving thanks.”

¹⁰ 1Cor 3:1; cf. Heb 5:12-14; 1Pet 2:2; Philo, *Husbandry* 9; Epictetus 2.16.39; 3.24.9.

¹¹ 1Cor 3:6-8. Cf. W. Pesch, “Der Sonderlohn für die Verkündiger des Evangeliums (I Kor. XIII, 8, 14f und Parallelen),” in J. Blinzler, *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift J. Schmid*, Regensburg, 1963, pp. 199–206; M. A. Chevallier, *Esprit de Dieu, paroles d’hommes*, Neuchâtel, 1966, pp. 35ff. S. Fugita, “The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period,” in *JSJ*, vol. 7, 1976, pp. 30–45.

¹² Cf. J. Havet, “Christ collectif or Christ individuel en I Cor. XII, 12?” in *ETL*, 1947, pp. 499–520.

¹³ Cf. J. Héring, *La Première Epître de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, pp. 112f. ET = pp. 129–130. C. Senft, *La Première Epître de saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1979, p. 161; G. J. Cuming, “ε—ποτίσθημεν (I Corinthiens XII, 13),” in *NTS*, vol. 27, 1981, pp. 283–285 (translates “nous avons été arrosés, de l’eau a été versée sur nous” [we have been watered, water has been poured on us]). Following Clement of Alexandria (*PG* 74.889b), a certain number of exegetes connect this spiritual drink to the Eucharist (E. Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi*, Tübingen, 1939, p. 176; L. Cerfaux, *La Théologie de l’Eglise suivant saint Paul*, Paris, 1965, p. 219; A. Feuillet, *Le Christ sagesse de Dieu*, pp. 101ff.). Others, relying wrongly on St. John Chrysostom (*Hom. on 1Cor 30.2*; *PG* 61.251), think of confirmation (F. Prat, *La Théologie de saint Paul*, 6th ed., Paris, 1923, vol. 2, p. 316; J. Huby, *St. Paul: Première Epître aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1946, p. 289).

¹⁴ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.82; 1.84; Philo, *Post. Cain* 126–158. The Alexandrian returns often to this *sobria ebrietas*: *Creation* 71; *Drunkness* 146: filled with graces, the soul is joyful, carried away with enthusiasm; 152: “the soul that is filled with the pure wine of sobriety is no longer in its

whole being anything other than a libation, a libation offered to God”; *Flight* 21, 166: the wise person “found wisdom at hand, descended from heaven in the rain. He inhaled it in pure form, took pleasure in it, and remained drunk with sober drunkenness”; *Good Man Free* 13; *Moses* 1.187; *Contemp. Life* 89. Texts commented on by H. Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas*, Giessen, 1929.

¹⁵ The wife in Cant shows her love: “I gave you perfumed wine to drink, the nectar of my pomegranates” (Cant 8:2); cf. Jer 16:7—“drink the cup of consolation.”

πραγματεία, πραγματεύομαι

pragmateia, (civic or cultic) business; *pragmateuomai*, to tend to business, manage profitably

pragmateia, S 4230; *TDNT* 6.640–641; *EDNT* 3.144; *NIDNTT* 3.1155, 1158; MM 532; BAGD 697 | ***pragmateuomai***, S 4231; *TDNT* 6.641–642; *EDNT* 3.144; *NIDNTT* 3.1155, 1158; MM 532; L&N 57.197; BAGD 697

In the LXX, the noun and the verb are both used almost exclusively for royal and cultic matters.¹ *Pragmateia* retains the meaning of public business in the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander, who, with respect to the farming of taxes (*teloneia*) and term leases (*misthosis ousiake*) acknowledges: “some harm to *ta pragmata* has resulted from the fact that many people without experience in such an activity (*toiautes pragmateias*) have been compelled to undertake it” and orders: “It is fitting that those who are capable should carry out these activities (*pragmateuesthai*) of their own free will and with zeal.”² But the broad meaning “occupation” (*UPZ* 9, 13; *P.Mich.* 174, 8; second century AD) is the definition in 2Tim 2:4, which observes that no soldier involves himself in the affairs of this life (*empletetai tais tou biou pragmateiais*), conformably to the language of Philo, who uses *pragmateiai* for “the occupations that we live by.”³ In other worlds, the soldier on a campaign is engaged full-time, is on duty from morning to night and no longer occupies himself with working for his living. No other job demands such exclusive dedication to duty as that of the soldier.

The verb *pragmateuomai* can have the commonplace meanings “strive” (Plutarch, *Them.* 19.4; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.180), “give oneself over to one’s pursuits” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.4.26; Philo, *Flacc.* 57; *P.Oxy.* 2106, 16), “be busy about a matter” to bring it to completion (Philo, *Dreams* 1.53; *P.Tebt.* 812, 9). In the papyri, its most common meaning is “carry out a function.”⁴ When it is a private matter, the *pragmateuomenos* is a businessman or agent;⁵ when it is public business, the participle describes

the official (*P.Oxy.* 34, 2; *P.Hamb.* 168, a 12), especially in the royal administration⁶ and specifically the tax collector;⁷ all those who see to the king's business.

Given on the one hand this title of nobility and financial specialization, and on the other hand the religious or cultic use of the verb in the LXX, we can see what an appropriate word this is in the parable of the ten minas: the nobleman gives ten minas to his servants, telling them, "Turn them to good account until I return" (*pragmateusasthe en ho erchomai*, Luke 19:13), i.e., put them to work earning returns in business or in the bank while I am away. The *douloi* here are not slaves, but free men, more specifically officials in the service of the claimant to the throne who must demonstrate their competence and faithfulness by drawing a profit from what they have received. The emphasis is on this exploiting, this turning to good account;⁸ for this reason J. Dauvillier compared the parable to a provision in Sumero-Akkadian law,⁹ namely 99 in the Code of Hammurabi: the contract "for selling, buying, and investing for profit."¹⁰ *Ussâp*, from the verb *apasu*, "increase," is the distinctive element of the contract, referring to the profits to be made by the traveling agent who, in the course of his journeys will sell, then buy, then sell again and finally buy again; his enterprising spirit and his business acumen will allow him to realize considerable profits. So *pragmateuomai* means not "do business" but administrate, manage profitably the capital at your disposal.

¹ For building the house of Yahweh; 1Kgs 9:1; 10:22 (Hebrew *hashaq*, attach, link); 1Chr 28:21; Dan 6:4; 8:27. The only exception, 2Macc 2:31, where *πραγματεία* refers to the narration of events by the historian, as in Polybius 1.1.4; 1.3.1; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.5: ε—γκεχειρίσμαι πραγματείαν; 14.218: οι—ἀναγινώσκοντες τὴν πραγματείαν = the readers of this history; cf. Aristotle, *Ph.* 2.7.30.198a. In his *Géminos: Introduction aux phénomènes* (Paris, 1975, p. 203), G. Aujac establishes two meanings of this noun in the mathematician: "(1) a subject of studies (5.13), the manner in which a certain point is handled (8.55); (2) a treatise covering a certain question (5.24)." For the verb, cf. 6.9; 16.32.

² Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 12–13 = *BGU* 1563 = *SB* 8444 (AD 68); cf. public function (*P.Oxy.* 3025, 9; letter of the *epistrategos*, July 17, 118); *SB* 8393, 33 (letter of Diocletian to the inhabitants of Elephantine). But a commercial or personal matter: *περὶ πραγματείας*, η—ς καὶ ὁμολογῆκεις μοι (ibid. 6713, 16; third century BC; cf. 9050, col. VI, 5; *P.Oxy.* 806, from 20 BC). Nevertheless, a *πραγματευτής* is not necessarily a merchant (*P.Lips.* 64, 30; *P.Oxy.* 1880, 5), but is often a steward, a "businessman" (*P.Oxy.* 3041, 7; 3048, 15, 18; *IGLS* 1098; *MAMA* VIII, 182, 9; 385), cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 10, p. 83; vol. 11–12; p. 291; *Etudes anatoliennes*, pp. 241,

263, 310. In the papyri, *πραγματεῖαι* sometimes means “functionaries” (*UPZ* 20, 42, 53; 110, 25–26; *P.Tebt.* 5, 143, 161 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53). Commenting on the title *πραγματευτής* given to Aurelius Lucius in *BGU* 2126, col. II, 1, J. D. Thomas distinguishes three possible meanings: landowner (*P.Brem.* 74; *P.Oxy.* 512, 1257, 2130, 2271, 2421, 2668; *P.Michael.* 23), an auxiliary official in the collecting of taxes (*P.Tebt.* 307, 357, 360, 580, 605, 607; *P.Oxy.* 825, 2567; *P.Mert.* 15; *P.Princ.* 131; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 61), a subordinate agent to the *procurator* of the tax department (*P.Oxy.* 2265; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 26; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 210; “A Document Relating to the Estate of Claudia Isidora Reconsidered,” in *JJP*, 1974, p. 241).

³ Philo, *Moses* 2.211; “the activities that concern the earning and pursuing of the means of living” (2.219; cf. *Spec. Laws* 2.65); cf. *BGU* 1747, 20 (64 BC). Cf. the *epitropos* of the Thebaid, accusing before the *strategoī* the soldiers and sailors who were conducting business in the ports and the neighboring towns (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 102, *πραγματεύομενοι*); and Epictetus 3.24.36; Dio Chrysostom 3.66.

⁴ *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* 70: “People who occupy a public office do not have the right to buy or to lend at interest in the places where they carry out their function” (ε—ν οἷς πραγματεύονται τόποις).

⁵ *P.Dura* 13 a, 9 (acting in a real estate purchase); *P.Mil.* 71, 16, 25 = *SB* 9264 (transformation of an ἄγραφος γάμος into an ἔγγραφος γάμος); 9090, 3; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 50, 23; *P.Stras.* 284, 23; Plutarch, *Sull.* 17.2: “Quintus Titius, a well-known businessman.” In 4 BC, “an oath taken by the inhabitants of Paphlagonia and the Romans conducting business among them” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 532, 6 = F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, 66, who refers to many analogous formulas cited by Kornemann, *De Civibus Romanis in Prov. Consistentibus*, 1891, pp. 102ff.); cf. the oath from Assos: ἔδοχεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοι—ς πραγματευομένοις παρ ἡμι—ν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τω— δήμῳ τω—ν—Ασσίῳν (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 797, 10; AD 37).

⁶ *P.Grenf.* II, 37, 4; *P.Hib.* 198, 141 and 149 (= *C.Ord.Ptol.* 11, 1 and 9); *P.Tebt.* 840, 1; 904, 3 (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 47, 5; cf. 62, 5); *UPZ* 106, 5; cf. 172, 2; *P.Mich.* 232, 1 and 22 (= *SB* 7568; cf. 9316, col. II, 15 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 34); *SB* 9629, 6 and 9; *P.Rev.* col. XX, 15; *PSI* 1310, 27).

⁷ *P.Tebt.* 350, 5 (AD 70); *P.Col.Zen.* 120, 12 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 28, tax returns should be addressed to the tax farmer; *P.Hib.* 66, 2; *P.Mich.* 60, 2; *SB* 6275, 14: ει—ς ἀνάλωμα τω— πραγματευομένῳ (= *C.Ord.Ptol.* 25; cf. 17, 11; 18, 10 - *P.Rev.*, col. 36, 11; 37, 11); *P.Sorb.* 21, 7 and 17: director of the wool farms; cf. *O.Wilck.* I, 303.

⁸ Cf. Luke 19:16—προσηργάσατο = yielded; verse 18: ε—ποίησεν = produced; Matt 25:16—ἤργάσατο = bore fruit; ε—κερδήσεν = profited.

⁹ J. Dauvillier, “La Parabole des mines ou des talents et le 99 du code de Hammurabi,” in *Mélanges J. Magnol*, Paris, 1948, pp. 153–165. On the diffusion of Mesopotamian law in the first century, cf. J. Modrzejewski, “Note sur le P. Strasb. 237,” in *Eos* (Symbolae R. Taubenschlag) 1957, vol. 3, pp. 149ff. R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, pp. 505–526.

¹⁰ “If a businessman has given money to an agent to sell and buy and invest abroad, the traveling agent shall invest for profit the money that has been . . . to him.” Cf. οἱ—πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι, Roman merchants, as a group, enjoying their own rights in the Greek world, in *I. Assos*, n. XIII, 1; XIV, 2; XIX, 1; XX, 1; XXI, 1; XXVI, 10; XXVII, 16.

πράκτωρ, σπεκουλάτωρ

praktor, court officer; *spekoulator*, attending soldier or bodyguard available for special assignments

praktor, S 4233; *TDNT* 6.642; *EDNT* 3.145; *NIDNTT* 3.1157; MM 533; L&N 37.92; BAGD 697 | ***spekoulator***, S 4688; *EDNT* 3.263; MM 582; L&N 20.70, 33.196; BDF §§5(1*b*), 109(8); BAGD 761

“The judge will hand you over to the agent, and the agent will throw you in prison.”¹ The debtor here is one who would be wise to reach an amicable settlement with his creditor, because if the creditor files suit, the debtor will certainly be sent to prison for his debts. The carrying out of the judge’s sentence is entrusted to the *praktor*,² which is sometimes translated “police soldier” sometimes “court officer.” Well-attested in Greece in the classical period,³ this official is charged with collecting monetary fines at the demand of the magistrate who imposes them. A good parallel would be our bailiff, then our tax collector.⁴ The office is copiously attested in the papyri from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.⁵

Praktors appear very frequently in the papyri from the third century AD as agents of courts of justice, either as tax collectors and receivers or as executors of private debts.⁶ In the former case: “Chrysispos, *praktor*, asks that Asclepiades, son of Dorion, be forced to pay the (tax) money” (*P.Lille* 28, 13); in the latter, the complainant asks the *strategos* to make the *praktor* intervene to recover what a certain Peithias owes him (*P.Magd.* 41,5). Similarly, two tax collectors demand payment from Phileas for a debt of four silver drachmas (*P.Fay.* 14, 1; cf. *BGU* 530, 36). As a fiscal agent recovering debts owed the state, the *praktor* is described as *praktor*

tonbasilikon (*prosodon*; UPZ 153, 12, 24; 154, 11; 155, 12; SB 1178 a 12; 3937, 12; *P.Petr.* III, 26, 14–15). As a collector of private debts, he is called *praktor ton idiotikon*,⁷ but if *xenoi* (resident aliens) are involved, he is called *praktor ton xenikon*. Thus in a royal ordinance of the second century BC relating to taxes on transactions: “On slaves sold by the executors of private debts (*xenikon praktores*), the buyers shall pay 19 drachmas per 100, in addition to the action fee of 1 percent” (*P.Col.* 480, 15). Having been assaulted and struck by Peithias, a complainant—who cannot file a lawsuit—asks the king to write the *strategos* to send the *xenikos praktor* to “make Peithias pay the price of his violence and give it to me” (*P.Enteux.* 74, 17; cf. *P.Flor.* 55, 26; *P.Oxy.* 1203, 11; *BGU* 1325, 40; 1826, 47; 1827, 24; *PSI* 1105, 8; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 29, 15, 41; *P.Tebt.* 5, 221). These agents are stationed in particular towns (*P.Lund* IV, 1, 10; *P.Corn.* 16, 20; *O.Mich.* 126, 2; *P.Hamb.* 80, 1; 81, 1, 8; 82, 4; 83, 5; cf. *P.Ryl.* 659, 7), at Memphis (*UPZ* 118, 1, 15, 24), at Oxyrhynchus (*PSI* 1328, 5, 19, 61), at Bacchias (*SB* 11106, 3–4); thus it is easy for them to draw up papers; otherwise, they move (*P.Mich.* 505, 8; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59499, 46: *ho praktor elthen polon auten*; *P.Tebt.* 21, 3–5; 35, 8; *SB* 7244, 37; 7376, 20).

When the *praktor* collects taxes in kind, he is *praktor sitikon*;⁸ for taxes payable in money, he is *praktor argyrikon*.⁹ But these taxes or imposts are almost beyond numbering.¹⁰ Thus there are *praktores demosion* (*P.Ryl.* 141, 6), *laographias* (*BGU* 1892, 75; *P.Mich.* 582, 16; *P.Alex.* 16, 2, 11; *P.Ryl.* 595, 1 and 189; from AD 57; *P.Col.* I, recto, 1 a-b; *SB* 1026, 15; cf. W. L. Westermann, C. W. Keyes, *Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia*, New York, 1932, pp. 3ff. *O.Oslo* 8, 3; 10, 3), *politikon* (*PSI* 776, 2; *P.Oxy.* 1419, 2), *hieron* (*P.Eleph.* 17, 5; 25, 2); *metropolitikon* (*P.Oxy.* 1538, 18), *stephanikon* (*aurum coronarium*; *BGU* 62; 362, 542; 548; *P.Lond.* 474, 477; *PSI* 733, 5 and 38; *P.Stras.* 199, 2; *SB* 10293, 16; *P.Oxy.* 1441, 1), *balaneiou* (*BGU* 362; *P.Rein.* 130; *SB* 10424, 1, from July 2, AD 65), *annonas oxou* (*P.Mich.* 390, 4), *ousiakon* (for the lands attached to estates, *P.Mich.* 599, 1), *gerdiakou* (the tax on weavers),¹¹ *elaiou* (*P.Tebt.* 119, 54), *geometrias* (*P.Rein.* 134, 3; *O.Wilb.* 35–39), *chomatikou* (tax on dikes, *P.Sorb.* 65, 1), *naubiou* (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 35, 4; *P.Oxf.* 9,5), etc.

Obviously one official could not carry out all these tasks;¹² so there were not only associates who together with him formed a board in a given locality—*hoi metochoi praktores*¹³—but also numerous subordinates: *cheiristai* (*SB* 9203, 4; 9237, 1, 9, 25; *BGU* 345), *grammateis* (secretary, scribe, or clerk; *P.Sorb.* 65, 2; *P.Kroll* 2, 12), *boethoi* (*O.Mich.* 6, 4: *Hermogenes boethos ton praktoron*) and especially the *hyperetai*, who are by far the most commonly mentioned. These are often portrayed as assistants or adjuncts of the *praktor* with the power to represent him and act in his name,¹⁴ hence having the same powers. In Matt 5:25, a parallel text to Luke 12:58, the judge hands over the recalcitrant debtor to a

“beadle” or bailiff who has been incarcerated: *ho krites to hyperete* (cf. *UPZ* 118, 18, *tou kriteriou hyperetes*). But the very term *hyperetes* indicates that this is an underling, a subordinate officer.¹⁵ Furthermore, the *hyperetes* is almost anonymous, whereas the *praktor* is almost always named,¹⁶ because he is the titled officer. Finally, it is always mentioned that the action is done *dia praktoron* (*P.Erl.* 48, 31; *P.Lond.* 2016, 9; *P.Brem.* 43 r 20, 29; *P.Bon.* 33, 4; *SB* 7196 r, col. VI, 13; v col. IV, 16; 8972, 2, 5, 8) or *meta praktorsi* (*P.Erl.* 105, 86) and that the debtors address and pay only them,¹⁷ whereas these expressions are never used with *hypereteis*. In short, *hypereteis* act on the orders of their superiors: *hyperetes ho para tou praktoros* (*P.Hamb.* 168, a 19; third century BC).

Obviously, these tax collectors were not always tenderhearted folk, and sometimes they abused the modest circumstances (*metriotes*) of those subject to them (*P.Ryl.* 659, 7); the latter are rightly or wrongly “disturbed” by their investigations and lodge complaints (*P.Lond.* 2008, 7; third century BC; cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59460). Abuses are inevitable (*PSI* 1160, 8). Sometimes it even happened that with the connivance of his secretary or the town secretary the *praktor* tried to rip off a taxpayer (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 22, 7, 10, 16; *P.Mert.* 8, 19). But normally these court officers had the responsibility of carrying out judicial sentences;¹⁸ their functioning was strictly limited. For example, an ordinance of Ptolemy Euergetes II in 121–118 BC: “The collectors of private debts (*tous ton xenikon praktoras*) shall not arrest the royal farmers or their subordinate workers, nor the other subjects who according to earlier ordinances cannot be enslaved, under any pretext” (*P.Tebt.* 5, 222; cf. *P.Rein.* 18, 39–42). Already in the third century BC, *P.Hal.* I, 126 forbids the *praktor* and his assistants from arresting members of the privileged classes (royal emissaries, etc.): *mede ho praktor mede hoi hyperetai paralambanetosan toutous*. During the time of Claudius or Nero, someone declares “he never gave an armed guard to a tax collector” (*ouden dedoken tois praktorois machairophoron*, *P.Mich.* 577, 7).

Nevertheless, as we can see from Luke 12:58, it was indeed the *praktor* to whom the magistrate gave the arrest warrant (cf. *P.Oslo* 20, 3; *P.Tebt.* 34) so as to put the debtor in prison (*desmoterion*).¹⁹ It is surprising that imprisonment for debts was contemplated at this time, since an ordinance of Ptolemy VI Philometor or Ptolemy V Epiphanes (163 or 186 BC) had forbidden the practice, though only in Egypt:²⁰ “None of the *strategoï, epistatai, epimeletai*, tax collectors, . . . or other officials who manage the affairs of the king, the cities, and the temples shall arrest anyone for a private debt or offense or out of personal animosity” (*SB* 9316, col. II, 12). But was this execution of a writ against the person of the debtor ever actually suppressed? Not only do we see the practice eventually accepted by borrowers in the first century BC (*P.Oxy.* 1639, 16–17; *P.Yale* 60, 12–13; from the year 6–5) and actually carried out in AD 23

(*P.Oxy.* 259), but in 68, the edict of the prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Julius Alexander, has to intervene once again because of the imprisonment of debtors and reserve the *praktoreion* for debtors to the state alone: “As certain ones, under the pretext of serving the interests of the state, have had outstanding debts payable to others transferred to themselves and have imprisoned certain people in the *praktoreian* and in other prisons (*kai eis allas phylakas*), which I have heard were closed precisely in order that the recovery of debts should be carried out against property, not persons. . . . I order that in no case shall free men be incarcerated in any prison whatsoever (*eis phylaken hentinou*), unless they are criminals, nor in the *praktoreion*, except for debtors to the imperial treasury.”²¹ These liberal measures must have been unknown in first-century Palestine.²²

The *spekoulator* occasionally appears together with the *telones* and the *praktor* in accounts from the second century AD (*P.Cair.Goodsp.* 30, col. VII, 31; cf. real estate registries from the fourth century, *P.Flor.* 71, 652, 763, 811). This official also carried out the functions of the tax collector in the fourth century, as in this sworn declaration: “To Valerius . . . apion, *spekoulator* and gold and silver tax collector” (*spekoulatori apaitete chrysou kai asemou*, *P.Cair.Isid.* 127, 1; *P.Mich.* 644, 13). Hence the complaints about harrasing investigations in connection with the *embole tou sitou* (*P.Oslo* 88, 20; *P.Oxy.* 1223, 21) and even outright accusations (*CPR* V, 2, n. 12, 4). This person is in effect an official with wide-ranging responsibilities (*P.Ross.Georg.* V, 61, 61 A verso 2ff.; cf. I, 17, 22; *P.Oxy.* 3079, 6) and rather high in rank, since one is seen, still in the fourth century, addressing to the chief of police of Taampemou an order to immediately provide an ass and a guard to the sentinel he has sent to him (*P.Oxy.* 1193, 1). This appears to be a superior officer: “I handed you over to my lord Halladius, but also to my master Hesychius the *spekoulator*” (*parathemen de se kai to kyrio mou Helladio, alla kai to despote mou Hesychio to spekoulatori*, *P.Oslo* 59, 9). He is associated with the *eparchos* (*P.Oxy.* 1223, 21), with the *demosioi iatroi* (*P.Harr.* 133), and with the *frumentarii*.²³ He may have a certain amount of wealth,²⁴ or at least freedom of action. In the fifth century, the *spekoulator* Gennadios invites “his lord Makarios” to dinner to celebrate the birth of his son (*P.Oxy.* 1214,1). His dignity is apparent in the Lebanese inscription dedicated to the health and victory of the reigning sovereigns by “Severa . . . wife of Theodoros, former *spekoulator*” (*apo spekoulatoros*, *IGLS* 2980; cf. *P.Mich.* 469, 24; *P.Laur.* 42, 4).

Such are the features of this personage, unknown in the LXX, that can be drawn from the papyri, all rather late. None of this matches the name of the office (Hellenized from the Latin *speculator*) or the picture in Mark 6:27 of a low-ranking underling: “The king (Herod), immediately sent a guard (*spekoulatora*). . . . He went and decapitated him (John) in the prison, brought the head on a platter, and gave it to the young woman.”

Etymologically, a *speculator* is one who looks (from afar), observes,²⁵ then a scout, spy, explorer;²⁶ finally, one who brings news, a messenger, courier.²⁷ Since these men are always near the prince, waiting for his mail to be ready, they become bodyguards (Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.11; Suetonius, *Claud.* 35) and are called upon to perform quite varied services. In the imperial army, the *speculatores* perform different functions than in the pretorian guard (*CIL* III, 1650); they are attached to the headquarters staff of the provincial governor,²⁸ under the orders of an *optio* (*CIL* 141371) with the rank of *principalis*. In a given legion (*CIL* VI, 3358: “*speculator exercitus Britannici*”) they constituted a “*schola speculorum*” (*ibid.* III, 3524).

As underlings who were available for all sorts of assignments, *spekoulatores* could carry out an execution. M. J. Lagrange²⁹ compares Mark 6:27 to the Hebrew *rasîm*, runner-bodyguards who sometimes served as executioners; thus “the king (Saul) said to the runners who were with him, ‘Turn around and put to death the priests of Yahweh’” (1Sam 22:17; cf. 2Kgs 10:25). This meaning of *speculator* is current in the first century in Latin authors: “The centurion in charge of the execution ordered the guard to sheathe his sword (*condere gladium speculatorem jubet*) and led the prisoner back” (Seneca, *Ira* 1.18.4); “During the civil war, a master who was on the list of the proscribed was hidden by his slave, who put the rings of the condemned man on his fingers and his clothing on his back. He presented himself thus to the police (*speculatoribus occurrit*), saying that he asked nothing more than that they should carry out their orders and stretched out his neck to them” (Seneca, *Ben.* 3.25). So also in the acts of the martyrs. At the moment of his execution, St. Paul prayed in Hebrew, and while he was praying, “as the *spekoulator* relieved him of his head, milk spurted into the soldier’s garments” (*hos de apetinaxen autou ho spekoulator ten kephalen, gala epytisen eis tous chitonas tou stratiotou, Mart. Paul* 5; ed. Lipsius, p. 115, 17). In the *Acts of Appian*, the *spekoulator* could be a *speculator Augusti*, i.e., a member of the imperial bodyguards, chosen from the pretorian cohort.³⁰

So we must classify the *spekoulator* of Mark 6:27, a biblical hapax, as one of the Latinisms of the Second Gospel.³¹

¹ Luke 12:58—ὁ κριτής σε παραδώσει τω— πράκτορι, καὶ ὁ πράκτωρ σε βαλεῖ— ει—ς φυλακὴν. Cf. the inscription of the *astynomoi* at Pergamum: “The *astynomoi* shall conduct a hearing and pass sentence as seems right to them; if, even then, some (private persons) do not obey them, the *strategoï* shall impose the legal fine on them and entrust its collection to the *praktor*” (παραδότωσαν τω— πράκτορι πράσσειν, Dittenberger, *Or.* 483, 7); *P.Hal.* I, 126: μηδὲ ὁ πράκτωρ μηδὲ οἱ— ὑπηρέται παραλαμβανέτωσαν τούτους. The link between ἀντίδικος and πράκτωρ, already seen in Demosthenes, *C. Theocr.* 58.20, is also found in *P.Oxy.* 533, 11, 23 (second-third century).

² Πράκτωρ is used only here in the NT, and only once in the OT, where it translates the Hebrew participle *nogsîm*, “those who use force, compel, demand, treat roughly”; Isa 3:12—“O my people, your oppressors (πράκτορες) glean you.”

³ Andocides, *Myst.* 77, 79; Demosthenes, *C. Macart.* 43.71; *C. Theocr.* 58.20. 48 (cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1942, p. 355, n. 144; 1958, p. 300, n. 396). In the inventory of the treasury of Athena at Imbros (published by *NCIG*, n. XXI, 4, 14), the three πράκτορες, who made up a commission, were financial controllers. They established the inventory of the property belonging to the sanctuary and did the appraisals. Similarly, the association of the μύσται of the god Mandros set up a commission of πράκτορες to gather the funds for the purchase of a chair for this association (*I.Cumae*, 37, 15 and 49). In Aeschylus, *Eum.* 319, the Erinyes appear as πράκτορες αἵματος to make the criminal pay his blood-debt; the *praktor* is a watchful avenger (*Suppl.* 647; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 111). For the evolution of this institution according to the inscriptions, cf. H. Schaefer, “Πράκτωρ,” in *PW*, vol. 22, 2, col. 2538–2548.

⁴ In an act of donation from AD 87, the witness Pausanias is presented as εἰ—σαγωγεὺς καὶ πράκτωρ καὶ τω—ν σωματοφυλάκων, i.e., bailiff, tax collector, member of the bodyguard (*P.Dura* 18, 10, 32; 19, 19).

⁵ Cf. S. PlodzieĚ, “The Origin and Competence of the ΠΡΑΚΤΩΡ ΧΕΝΙΚΩΝ,” in *JJP*, vol. 5, 1951, pp. 217–227; J. Vergote, “Le Nouveau Testament et la papyrologie juridique,” in *Eos* (Symbolae R. Taubenschlag), 1957, vol. 2, p. 153.

⁶ *P.Hal.* I, 47, 54, 116, 119; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59136, 6; 59367, 9; 59460, 6, 12; 50490, 46, 53; *P.Col.* 480, 15; *P.Hamb.* 168 a 19; *P.Hib.* 30, 18,; 814, 2, 40. Cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 401ff., 410, 416.

⁷ *P.Col.Zen.* 54, 48; *P.Mich.Zen.* 71, 1; *P.Hib.* 34, 7; *SB* 7446, 1; 7450, 50.

⁸ *BGU* 414; 425, 457, 515; 2063; 12; *SB* 11025, 15; *P.Oxy.* 1196; 2235, 19: “No tax has ever been paid to the *praktōres* for this land”; *O.Mich.* 25, 2: Ἀὐρήλιος —Ωρος καὶ Κοπρίων πράκτορες σιτικῶ—ν κώμης Φιλαδελφίας; cf. *O.Aberd.* (ed. G. Turner) n. 22, 3; 31, 1; *O.Brüss.Berl.* (ed. P. Viereck), n. 8, 5; 65, 1.

⁹ *BGU* 15; 25; 41; 42; 1891, 467; *PSI* 1236, 6; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 183, 4; 237, 5; *P.Oslo* 29, 2; 116, 2; *P.Sorb.* 66, 1: “Apollonides and Antonios, cash tax collectors of Notos” give a receipt for the payment of taxes in cash; *P.Stras.*

188, 2; 195, 3; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 39, 11; *P.Corn.* 16, 3; 42, 3; *SB* 11259; 11245; *P.Wisc.* 42, 3 (cf. 38, 1: λόγος πρακτορείας; *C.P.Herm.* 22, 1; H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, p. 407, n. 29); *O.Ont.Mus.* II, 100–126, 130, 149, 202, 214; cf. n. 224: ἀχυροπράκτορες.

¹⁰ Cf. the tax rolls from Karanis; *P.Mich.* IV, 224, 6332, 6333, 6343, 6388, 6402, 6417; S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, Princeton, 1938 (index, p. 506); *O.Bodl.* III (index, pp. 197–199).

¹¹ *P.Mich.* 598, 2; from AD 49. In 91, the death certificate for a weaver-slave is addressed not to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς (*P.Mert.* 9; *BGU* 2021, 2087; *P.Phil.* 6; *P.Petaus* 4–9), nor to the γραμματεὶς μητροπόλεως (*P.Mich.* 579; *P.Oxy.* 2564, 2761; *P.Stras.* 528, 530; *P.Mert.* 84), nor to the κωμογραμματεὺς (*P.Stras.* 200, 306, 312, 522; *P.Mich.* 538; *P.Phil.* 7; *BGU* 2331; *P.Petaus* 3), but to the πράκτορες χειρωναξίου γερδίων (*P.Oxy.* 2957, 1); this is because the deceased is a taxpayer, cf. W. Brashear, “P. Sorb. inv. 2358 and the New Statistics on Death Certificates,” in *BASP*, vol. 14, 1977, p.8.

¹² In AD 185, to help the πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶ—ν, who did not have the personnel to collect all the numerous taxes, the *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome appoints four assistants to this *leitourgia* (*P.Mich.* 536).

¹³ *O.Mich.* 7, 5; *P.Oslo* 116, 2; *P.Princ.* 125, 4; 130; 18; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 39, 3; *P.Fouad* 66, 4; *P.Alex.* 16, 2, 11; 124 (p. 28), 464 (p. 29); *P.Corn.* 16, 3; 42, 3; *P.Hamb.* 81, 1, 8; 82, 4; 83, 5; cf. *P.Mich.* 647, 4: οἱ—κοινωνοὶ πράκτωρες. In the second century, at Tebtunis, the μέτοχοι πράκτορες collected the φόρος ε—δαφῶ—ν on a tract of land (*P.Mil.Vogl.* 283, 2 and 7).

¹⁴ *P.Hal.* I, 147: ὁ πράκτωρ ἢ ὁ ὑπηρέτης (a complaint against the depositions of false witnesses); lines 54, 116: ὁ πράκτωρ ἢ ὁ ὑπηρέτης πραξάτω καθάπερ ε—γ δίκης ε—κ τῶ—ν ὑπαρχόντων; line 119 (a complaint against assaults).

¹⁵ *Ep. Arist.* 111. In *P.Mich.* 505, 4–6, where the ὑπηρέτης and the πράκτωρ intervene, the former is only a bank clerk who gives a sum of money to the latter: δεδωκέναι τῶ—πράκτορι ὡς ἵνα σοι μεταβάληται. But αὐτοὺς τοὺς πράκτορας μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ὑπηρέτου (*SB* 7529, 15).

¹⁶ *P.Mil.Vogl.* 183 a 11: Τρύφων πράκτωρ; 237, 5: Ἡρωονος πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶ—ν; *BGU* 1851, 5: Ζώιλῳ πράκτορι; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59367, 9: Κράτωνα τὸν πράκτορα; *P.Rein.* 130, 6: Petemenophis the collector (*AD*

35); 134, 1: Chesmois, cash tax collector; 136,1: Asclas and Soter; 137, 1; *P.Ryl.* 595, 1: Nemesionos (AD 57); *UPZ* 153, 12, 14: Onomarchos; etc.

¹⁷ *P.Oxy.* 2140, 7; *P.Mich.* 383, 3, 17, 21; *P.Princ.* 70, 11: ἔδωκας τοι—ς πράκτορσιν λόγον (cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 2, pp. 891, 894); *P.Petr.* 13, 17, 6: παραγέγραμμαι τω— πράκτορι ὡς ὀφείλων πρὸς τὰ ἀμπελικά; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 26, 3, 9; *BGU* 530, 36 (first century AD). Cf. the receipts from πράκτορες: *BGU* 1891, 2, 467; 2028, 3, 7; 2067, 6; 2103, 4; 2288, 3; 2289, 5; 2290, 6; *P.Fay.* 35; 42; 47; 51; 53–55, etc.

¹⁸ *P.Lips.* 120; *P.Oxy.* 712; *BGU* 970; 1038; *UPZ* 118; *P.Tebt.* 707; *P.Mert.* 59. Cf. R. Sugranyes de Franch, *Etudes sur le droit palestinien à l'époque évangélique*, Fribourg, 1926, pp. 51ff.

¹⁹ *BGU* 1138, 12, 14 (twelfth year of Augustus); cf. *P.Mich.* 383, 8 (from AD 106–109). The πρακτόρειον was originally the place where the πράκτωρ worked, before it became a prison; cf. at Mylasa ε—μβάλλεσθαι ει—ς τὸ πρακτόρειον (Dittenberger, *Or.* 515, 32). At Theadelphia, in AD 3–4, the πράκτωρ is accompanied by a guard, τὸν φυλακείτην (*P.Mert.* 8, 19).

²⁰ Cf. C. Préaux, *Economie royale*, pp. 537–543. The Rosetta Stone (Dittenberger, *Or.* XC, 13–14).

²¹ Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 15–18 = *SB* 8444. G. Chalon, *T. Julius Alexander*, pp. 115ff.

²² Cf. the parable of the Unforgiving Servant (Matt 18:23–35), who “cast his debtor in prison (ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν ει—ς φυλακὴν) until he should pay what he owed” (verse 30); but the Master hands him over to the torturers (παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τοι—ς βασανισταί—ς). Cf. C. Spicq, *Dieu et l'homme*, pp. 54–61; J. Modrzejewski, “Servitude pour dettes ou legs de créance (Note sur CP Jud. 126),” in *RechPap*, vol. 2, Paris, 1962, pp. 75–98.

²³ *P.Mich.* 472, 16; *CIL* VI, 3358; cf. Fiebiger, “Frumentarii,” in *PW*, vol. 7, col. 123; F. Lammert, “Speculatores,” *ibid.*, series II, vol. 3 A 2, col. 1583–1586.

²⁴ Cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 32, 9: grain receipt from the third century, in the name of Ptolemaeus and Thaisarion, son of Penerates the *spekoulator*; *P.Erl.* 105, 34 (fourth-century accounts).

²⁵ Pliny, *HN* 11.8.8; Cicero, *Nat. D.* 2.140; Livy 31.24.

²⁶ Caesar, *B Gall.* 1.47.6; 2.11.2; 5.49.8; Livy 28.2. Cf. Ps.-Aristotle, *Mund.* 6.398 a: “slaves of the king, couriers and spies (ἡμεροδρόμοι τε καὶ σκοποί), messengers, and men who watch for signals.”

²⁷ *CIL* 5.271; *Bell. Afr.* 31.4: “in praetorio dedens per speculatores et nuntios imperabat”; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.73; Suetonius, *Calig.* 44; Livy 40.7. On these imperial couriers cf. “Essai sur le cursus publicus sous le haut-empire romain,” in *Mémoires... Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. 14, 1940, pp. 327–336.

²⁸ *BGU* 2332, 6 (deed of sale in the fourth century): Aurelius Hol receives from Flavius Adelpnos, *spekoulator* of the prefect’s *officium* in the province of Augustamnica (σπεκουλάτωρι τάξεως ἡγεμωνίας Αὐγουσταμνικῆς), an advance payment of 12,000 talents of silver for wine. It seems that these *spekoulators* functioned as quartermasters.

²⁹ *Evangile selon saint Marc*, p. 162.

³⁰ H. A. Musurillo, *Pagan Martyrs*, p. 213.

³¹ Like κεντυρίων (Mark 15:39, 44, 45), λεγιών (5:9, 15), δηνάριον (6:37; 12:15; 14:5), κοδράντης (12:42), ξέστης (7:4), etc.

πραῦπάθεια, πραῦς, πραῦτης

praypatheia, moderation, mildness, leniency; *prays*, moderate, mild, lenient; *praytes*, moderation, mildness, leniency

praypatheia, *TDNT* 5.939; *EDNT* 3.146; *MM* 534; *L&N* 88.59; *BAGD* 698 | ***prays***, *S* 4239; *TDNT* 6.645–651; *EDNT* 3.146–147; *NIDNTT* 2.256–264; *MM* 534; *L&N* 88.60; *BDF* §§26, 47(4); *BAGD* 698–699 | ***praytes***, *S* 4240; *TDNT* 6.645–651; *EDNT* 3.146–147; *NIDNTT* 2.256–259; *MM* 534; *L&N* 88.59; *BDF* §§26, 47(4); *BAGD* 699; *ND* 4.170

These terms, which have no etymology, are used relatively little in the inscriptions and are exceptional in the papyri; they belong to the literary language, where they have a rather curious semantic evolution. To be sure, their meaning has to do with mildness, but that definition is rather loose.¹

Praos, a word that is not found in Homer, appears for the first time in Herodotus, but it is the verb *prayno* that is originally most used. In Ps.-Homer, *H. Hermes* 1.417, Apollo, who is angry, lets himself be calmed by the lyre;² in Hesiod, patient mules are tamed (Hesiod, *Op.* 797; *Th.* 254). Xerxes seeks to calm his team (Aeschylus, *Pers.* 190; cf. Xenophon, *Eq.*

9.10: calm a horse); Darius counsels Atossa to calm their son with gentle words.³ In medicine, *prayno* expresses the diminution of evil: “the fever lessened.”⁴

In the classical period, *praotes*, a calm and soothing disposition, is contrasted with rage and savagery (Plato, *Symp.* 197 *d*). It implies moderation (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1125 *b*), which permits reconciliation (Chilon, in Stobaeus 4.7.24; vol. 4, p. 255). Solon makes it a precept: “Be mild toward your own” (*pros isthi*, Stobaeus 3.1.72; vol. 3, p. 115). Hero is a beneficent sovereign who is “full of mildness toward the citizens” (Pindar, *Pyth.* 3.71); and for the first time the kindnesses of this quality are specified: Jason, exuding affable words with a mild voice, set forth the bases of a conciliating debate (*Pyth.* 4.136). The *praotes* of the Spartan general Brasidas gained everyone’s sympathy.⁵

In the orators, *praotes* becomes a leniency and an indulgence—which is not without naivete—that is characteristic of the natural goodness of the Athenians.⁶ Andocides, for example, owes his impunity to the Athenians and their lack of leisure (Lysias, *C. Andoc.* 34); “The leniency of your character, Athenians, gives great help to the guilty” (Demosthenes, *C. Mid.* 184; cf. *Embassy* 104; *C. Timocr.* 51); “Will their impudent and criminal acts find leniency with you?”⁷ This forbearance, which implies mutual aid between associates,⁸ is the mark and the virtue of a political regime: “In a democracy, there is more mildness (than in an oligarchy);⁹ laws are rigorously established, but “in punishment there is more leniency than the laws ordain.”¹⁰ Also, *praotes* is synonymous with “moderation”;¹¹ it makes rulers more accommodating and humane.¹² “I want to urge you . . . to try mildness and humaneness. . . . Harshness (*chalepotes*) is painful for those who practice it and those who suffer it; *praotes* is well esteemed with humans and all other living beings” (Isocrates, *Phil.* 116); it “mellows” all relations (Isocrates, *Paneg.* 47; cf. 102; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.1.29) between citizens (Plato, *Resp.* 2.375 *c*) even while it remains implacable toward enemies (*Tim.* 18 *a*). Thus *praotes* spreads throughout the land (Isocrates, *Evag.* 49, 67; *Hel.* 37) and even adversaries are won over (Xenophon, *Ages.* 1.1.20). In AD 41, Emperor Claudius asks the Alexandrians to live with the Jews in mutual kindness: “If both sides will abstain from these things and live with mildness and philanthropy toward each other” (*ean touton apostantes amphotoi meta praotetos kai philanthropeias tes pros allelous zen ethelesete*, *P.Lond.* 1912, 101).

Since *praotes* is opposed to roughness and severity, corrects violence and the excesses of tyranny, and moves judges and the powerful to clemency, it became a constant epithet for the emperor, kings, and high officials. Agrippa considered it to be a trait of royalty more than a virtue (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.334). Plato attributed it to the kings of Atlantis (*Critias* 120 *e*); Agesilaus was indulgent toward private offenses and very mild toward his friends (Xenophon, *Ages.* 11.6.10; cf. 2). At Syracuse, Hiero II

“settled the situation with such moderation (*praos*) and generosity that the Syracusans . . . made him their general” (Polybius 1.8.4). Ptolemy VI Philometor, more than anyone else, was mild and good (Polybius 39.7.3; with Philip V, this meekness was a mere facade, 10.26.1). Demetrius had “a certain *praotes* that drew all hearts toward him” (Diodorus Siculus 19.81.4; cf. 11.67.3). According to Philodemus of Gadara, the *praotes* of the good king, who does not take vengeance for plots, wins sympathy.¹³

With Plato and Aristotle the contours of *praotes* come into focus. The former sees it as a quality of the good person (*Leg.* 5.731 *d*); the latter makes it a virtue, contrasting it with wrath and vengeance; the *praos* is inclined to forgive (*Eth. Nic.* 4.11.1125bff.; *Rh.* 2.3.1380a; Ps.-Aristotle, *Mag. Mor.* 2.7.1108a6). *Praotes* is without hatred and spitefulness (Plato, *Resp.* 6.500 *a*) and moderates the punishment of offenses (*Leg.* 9.863 *d*). But—and this is a notable innovation—the *praos* keeps his serenity in all the misfortunes that come his way, bearing them calmly and patiently: the wise man, if he happens to lose a son, a brother, wealth, “bears it as mildly as possible.”¹⁴ In a privileged fashion, the teacher learns *praotes* by remaining patient in the face of the errors and objections of his interlocutors: “Only put more mildness into your teaching so as not to force me to abandon it.”¹⁵

Menander shows how Cnemon, who is awkward and surly (*chalepos*, *dyskolos*), became accommodating; his *praotes* is the victory of goodwill.¹⁶ But in Plutarch “*praotes* has the place of honor” to an exceptional degree, as J. de Romilly puts it.¹⁷ He praises it in almost all his heroes and states that “deliberateness and mildness are the essential qualities of the statesman and are passed on to him by reason and education” (*Cor.* 15.4). Nicocles had said, “Temperament alone does not make sovereigns severe or mild. . . . Have less confidence in my mildness than in your virtue” (Isocrates, *Nic.* 3.55), and Epictetus 3.20.9 emphasizes that the trainer exercises the athlete’s patience, calmness, and mildness (*to anektikon*, *toaorgeton*, *to praon*). Likewise animals are taught to remain calm and docile,¹⁸ barbarians are “tamed” when they are made milder (*exeprayne*, Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 330 *a*), and honest people learn to maintain their serenity: “the person who is accustomed to apply himself to affairs with flexibility and moderation is very mild and agreeable in his dealings with other people” (*eukolotatos . . . kai praotatos*, *De tranq. anim.* 7.468 *e*; cf. *De frat. amor.* 17.488 *b*). This implies submission to reason (*De cohib. ira* 1.453b–c), moderation of the passions (*praotes pathon*, *De prof. in virt.* 83 *e*; cf. 78 *b*; 80 *b–c*), and self-mastery (*Fab.* 17.7). But then this balance between insensitivity and cruelty (*De virt. mor.* 445 *a*) is a virtue that is put between courage and justice (*ibid.* 2.441 *b*), and even a divine virtue,¹⁹ superior to purely intellectual qualities.²⁰

The *praos* has a mild look (Plutarch, *De cohib. ira* 6.456 *a*), a smiling countenance (4.455 *a–b*), a soft voice (Xenophon, *Symp.* 1.10), a tranquil

demeanor (*praotes poreias*, *Per.* 5.1; *Fab.* 17.7); is accommodating and affable (*Arist.* 23.1), courteous (*Alex.* 58.8), charming and gracious (*Ages.* 20.7; *Aem.* 3.6), but also quiet and reserved (*De frat. amor.* 16.487 c), and at the same time easygoing and welcoming toward all (*Praec. ger. rei publ.* 32.823 f). His character is conciliatory.²¹ He does not like quarrels (*Lyc.* 25.4) and remains patient as Socrates was toward a shrewish wife and stupid children (*Cat. Mai.* 20.3). In the event of a misunderstanding, he is not slow to be reconciled (*De frat. amor.* 18.489 c). His simple and affable ways (*Conv. sept. sap.* 3.148 d) may captivate opponents (*De frat. amor.* 16.487 c ; cf. *Luc.* 29.6; *Pomp.* 33.2); this is the triumph of *praotes*, because “the characteristic of mildness, pardon, and reconciliation, is to lift up, save, spare, fortify” (*De cohib. ira* 10.458 c).

Philo had already emphasized most of these traits, but meekness was not really part of his theological vocabulary (he preferred *hemerotes*). The virtue of *praotes* is put in action with peace and calmness (Philo, *Moses* 1.328, 2.279; *hesyche te kai praos*, *Creation* 81) and moderation that come easier with age, when the passions are more tamed (103, *epieikeia kai praotes*; cf. Dio Cassius 55.12). Thus it presupposes self-mastery (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 27) and translates into a friendly look and a soft voice (*Moses* 1.331; *Abraham* 153). Philo emphasizes tranquility, affability, and a sort of mellowness;²² the virtue is not to be impassible to or thrown into convulsions by misfortune, but to moderate one’s feelings, to “lighten the weight of events in quietness and calm” (*hesyche kai praos*, *Abraham* 257). The fat from the breast of the sacrificial victims, which is reserved for the priests, symbolizes “gentle mildness” (*Spec. Laws* 1.145). Masters are gentle with servants (*Decalogue* 167). Prudence “takes care to remain in kindness, mildness, and affability” (*ten eumene kai praeian kai hileon*, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.66). This discretion was that shown by Macro in reprimanding Gaius quietly and mildly (*hesyche kai praos*), bending over to speak in his ear so that no one else would hear (Philo, *To Gaius* 43). We might also say that this is God’s discretion.²³

In light of the secular parallels, it is not surprising that the OT attributed *praytes* to Moses²⁴ (*Num* 12:3; *Sir* 45:4; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 3.97, 316) to David (*Psalms* 132:1), to Artaxerxes (*Esther* 5:1 e), to the high priest Onias (*2 Macc* 15:12), and to the Messiah.²⁵ It is surprising, however, to see the LXX uses *prays* and *praytes* exclusively to translate the Hebrew words *ʿanaw*, *ʿanî*, *ʿa^ˆnawâh*, *ʿanâh*, always expressing humility and abasement;²⁶ *prays* is even synonymous with *tapeinos* (*Isa* 26:6; cf. *Sir* 10:14) to the point that unlike *chrestotes*, *praytes* is never attributed to God. This new meaning appears in the first occurrence of the term, regarding Moses, who was “very *prays* (Hebrew *ʿanaw*), the most *prays* man on earth” (*Num* 12:3). This can hardly have to do with “non-violence”—since the mediator of the covenant, in resisting Pharaoh’s oppression, had killed an Egyptian (*Exod* 2:12)—rather, it means a

religious quality involving radical submission to God and modesty in dealings with other people. As it happens, Moses shows “clemency” by praying for his sister Miriam when she is stricken with leprosy after plotting against him. It is worth noting that apart from Dan 4:19 (a soft voice), the OT never uses *prays* with a secular meaning. The *praeis* are the “humble of the earth” (Job 24:4), the abased, the poor, exploited by the wicked, to whom they have to give in. Therefore they are blessed by God (Zeph 3:12), who teaches them (Ps 25:9; cf. Matt 11:25), saves them (Ps 76:9; 147:6; 149:4), relieves them on the day of misfortune (Ps 94:13, *prayno*), and finally “toppling the thrones of princes makes the *praeis* sit in their stead” (Sir 10:14; cf. Luke 1:51-53). These “humble possess the land” (Ps 37:11) and rejoice to hear Yahweh’s praise (Ps 34:2). These, then, are religious people, whose outstanding model will be the Messiah-King, who appears not proudly on a noble war-horse but “humble, mounted on an ass,” to enter his capital (Zech 9:9; cf. Matt 21:5).

OT *praytes* is perfect submission to the divine will (Ps 132:1), and the Lord loves the combination of faithfulness and meekness (Sir 1:27; 45:4) that characterizes his people. In contrast to prideful exaltation, these folk always remain modest (Sir 10:28); if a poor person accosts them, they reply gently (Sir 4:8); if a woman expresses herself with modesty, her husband is no common mortal (Sir 36:23)! This absence of any immoderation characterized Onias, “of modest bearing and gentle manner (*praon de ton tropon*), distinguished in his speech and gifted from childhood with all the practices of virtue” (2Macc 15:12). A person who conducts himself in that manner is loved by all people who are accepted by God (Sir 3:17). This is no longer a matter of self-mastery or of reining in one’s anger, but of a heart disposition and comportment characterized by restraint and modesty. It is the distinctive mark of souls that belong to God and “fear” him, have a sense of his transcendence and of their own poverty. Having been tested, they have acquired an approachable manner, measured speech, reserved attitudes. Their *praytes* is not so much mildness as indulgence (French *mansuétude*). The Latin word *mansuetudo* derives from *mansuesco*, literally, “accustom to the hand,” hence “tame”; so *mansuetudo*, “taming,”²⁷ came to mean serene receptiveness, as opposed to impetuosity or insolence, hostility or gruffness. It is in a way the docile and respectful attitude of a servant toward his master, always ready to submit.

If the NT heightens and focuses these essential meanings, it does not change them by making *praytes* a major Christian virtue. It is notable that this noun is unknown in the Gospels and the adjective *prays* is found only in Matt (and at 1Pet 3:4), but with remarkable significance: “Blessed are the *praeis*, because they shall inherit the earth.”²⁸ This is a resumption of Ps 37:11, where *praeis* translates the Hebrew *‘a<^>nawîm*. So it means the poor, the small, the persecuted, and better—as the Syrians

understood—the “humble” in the moral sense. It is not the sociological condition that is exalted, but religious submission and confidence in God, which translates into patience and mildness.²⁹ The stable happiness of peace and security that is promised them is “possession of the land,” not occupation of the land (of promise), the land of Israel in the political sense; still less “all the land,” the whole world,³⁰ but entrance into the kingdom of God here below and ultimately in heaven. The “inheritance” here is blessedness for the destitute who have looked to God for everything.

Totally submissive toward God and meek toward people, Jesus presented himself as “meek and lowly of heart” (*prays kai tapeinos te kardia*) and on these grounds invites people to receive his teaching (Matt 11:29). Thus he reveals his innermost soul, but he also takes up a tradition that is constant from Pindar and Isocrates and that attributes *praytes* to teachers. Far from being despotic, the Master must be patient and discreet toward his students lest he discourage or offend them; in his condescension he puts himself on their level and answers their problems, being at their service. At the entrance of the Messiah-King into his capital on Palm Sunday, Matt 21:5 quotes Zech 9:9—“Your king comes to you, humble (*prays*, Hebrew *‘ani*), mounted on the foal of an ass,”³¹ the mount of the poor, and not on a horse, the warrior’s noble mount.

Using a bold metaphor, 1Pet 3:4, addressing Christians, appeals to “the secret person, the one of the heart, in the incorruptibility of a meek and calm spirit.”³² These women are to accept the dependency they are in vis-à-vis their husbands, whom they hope to convert to the faith (cf. the beatitude of the meek, Matt 5:4), with the help of the meekness that disarms opponents (2Tim 2:25), according to Israel’s experience (Ps 149:4-5). Aware of their weakness, docile, and submissive, these Christian women are “poor” folk who know no bitter zeal. They are often mistreated, even insulted, but they remain peaceful (Titus 3:2) and disposed to forgive (2Cor 10:1; Gal 6:1). Like the Messiah, they neither dispute nor cry out (Matt 11:29; 12:19). Thus they imitate the Suffering Servant and obtain the victory of good over evil.

As for *praytes* (eleven times in the epistles), it is first of all the characteristic of the apostle. “What do you want? Shall I come to you with a rod, or with love and in a spirit of meekness?” (*e en agape pneumatē te praytetos*)³³ is almost a quotation of Job 37:13, where God’s will is realized either by the rod (Hebrew *shebet*) or by lovingkindness (*hesed*) linked with justice; but St. Paul links *praytes* and *agape*. If the *rhabdos* (rod), used for punishment, symbolizes Israelite and Greek education,³⁴ the apostle’s love is that of a father, without violence, all gentleness and serenity; it persuades rather than rails. Moreover, it is not the man who commands; St. Paul exhorts “by the meekness and gentleness of Christ” (*dia tes praytetos kai epieikeias tou Christou*),³⁵ setting these opposite submission, because *praytes* disarms opponents.

This meekness is poured out into the hearts of all Christians by the Holy Spirit,³⁶ and it is what maintains unity and harmony between all members of the community: “I urge you . . . to lead a life worthy of the calling that you have received, in all humility, meekness, and patience; bear with one another with love”³⁷ without grumbling. “You, God’s chosen ones, put on compassion, kindness, humility, meekness, patience; bear with one another and forgive one another, if anyone has a complaint against another.”³⁸ So if one member of the community “is taken in a fault, you who are spiritual must restore him in a spirit of meekness, taking care for yourselves, for you yourselves are also capable of being tempted.”³⁹

The *praytes* of believers cannot be confined to relations with other Christians; it has to extend to all people. “Remind the faithful not to slander anyone, not to be quarrelsome, but conciliatory (*epieikeis*), showing constant humility toward all people.”⁴⁰ This receptiveness toward one’s neighbor, this affability, this kindness in relations, which are manifestations of love (*agape*), must be plain for all to see: “Who among you is wise and understanding? Let him show it by good conduct, by acts marked with the humility that belongs to wisdom” (*en prayteti sophias*, Jas 3:13). This then is a characteristic of Christian comportment, a touchstone of a person who possesses *agape*; such a person cannot be other than *prays*.

This virtue, which is required in teachers (Matt 11:29) and educators (2Cor 10:1; Gal 6:1) because it is persuasive (Matt 5:4), is especially necessary in dealings with the undisciplined or refractory: “A servant of the Lord must be not combative but affable (*epios*) toward all . . . instructing opponents with humility” (2Tim 2:25). After all, such people may be acting in good faith, so their objections must be accepted with patience, without annoyance. Through meekness, which unites humility and clemency (cf. Dio Cassius 48.3; 55.12, 17), one can remain calm and bring back the errant and the guilty. The aim is to save souls, not to triumph over a conquest. This is the same attitude that 1Pet 3:15 commands for all believers: “always ready to give an answer to anyone who asks the reason for the hope that is in you, always with humility and respect.”⁴¹

Praypathia (a biblical hapax), which seems to be synonymous with *praytes*,⁴² is commended by St. Paul to Timothy: “Man of God . . . pursue righteousness, piety, faith, love, constancy, meekness” (1Tim 6:11), all indispensable virtues for the pastor who will be serene, accessible to all, not given to violent reaction, fomenting peace.

¹ The major study on the question is that of J. de Romilly, *La Douceur dans l'apensée grecque*, Paris, 1970, who gives a comparative analysis of *philanthropia*, *sophrosyne*, *syngnome*, *epieikes*, *epios*, and observes at the outset that in the subjective sense, “mild” (or gentle or sweet, French *doux*) is the opposite of “bitter” (Fr. *amer*) and is synonymous with “pleasant”

(Fr. *agréable*; the sweetness of living, of seeing the light); as a human attitude it is the opposite of violence, harshness, and cruelty. In the sphere of ethics, “mildness means kindness of manners, benevolence shown toward others. . . . Toward the unfortunate, it becomes close to generosity and goodness; toward the guilty it becomes leniency and understanding; toward the unknown, people in general, it becomes humaneness and almost charity! In political life, likewise, it can be tolerance, or again, clemency, depending on whether one is dealing with citizens, or with subjects, or with conquered people. At the root of these various meanings, there is nevertheless a single disposition to accept others as those who are wished well” (p. 1).

² Ps.-Homer, *H. Ares* 10 (actually an Orphic hymn of the fourth-fifth century AD): “From on high shed your mild brightness on our lives.” An inscription from Lebadaea in the third century honors the mildness of Artemis (*JG VII*, 3101). Hymn to Isis (first-third century): —Εγὼ πραυ4νω καὶ κυμαίνω θάλασσαν (*I.Cumae*, n. 41, 43).

³ Aeschylus, *Pers.* 837; cf. Herodotus 2.121 δ: he pretended to calm down; 2.181: “unless the anger of Amasis was softened.”

⁴ Hippocrates, *Epid.* 7.118; Aretaeus, *SD* 1, 2, 3, for those who suffer with migraines, “darkness lessens their pain” (cf. N. van Brock, *Vocabulaire médicale*, p. 211). Cf. Prov 18:14—“A man’s spirit sustains him (πραυ4νει; pilpel of the Hebrew *kûl*) when he is ill.” The adjective *praos* is used in this sense by Plato: children ask a physician to care for them as gently as possible (*Lg.* 4.720 a). Philo (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 121) compares the wise person’s stance toward the wicked to that of a physician who “softens” a patient’s pain; *Unchang. God* 65. The epitaph of Cosmas, a Cretan veterinarian, presents himself as ὡς ἀληθω—ς πρα—ος καὶ ἡσύχιος ἀνὴρ (*I.Cret.* II, p.100, n. 8).

⁵ Thucydides 4.108.3; cf. Aristophanes, *Pax* 934: “Let them be mild-spirited (ἡπιοι). So we shall be lambs for each other, and with our allies more accommodating (πραότεροι);” 998: “a sweetening leniency,” substituting for violence, can unite the Greeks. Euripides, *Bacch.* 436, compares Dionysus to a dangerous animal who shows himself to be tame (*praos*).

⁶ Isocrates, *Antid.* 20: the Athenians, “the most merciful and mildest of all men,” 300.

⁷ Demosthenes, *C. Timocr.* 170; cf. 218: “To be indulgent toward such individuals . . . would be to habituate and instruct in crime the vast majority among you”; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 22.4: “the habitual *praytes* ” of the

Athenians permitted the supporters of the tyrants to stay when the tyrants themselves were ostracized; Polybius 1.72.2–3: the Carthaginians do not name as governors those who act toward their citizens “with mildness and humaneness”; much different is the *praotes* of the Romans (3.98–99; 28.3.2).

⁸ H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*, Utrecht, 1939, pp. 108–109.

⁹ Demosthenes, *C. Andr.* 51; cf. *C. Timocr.* 163; Isocrates, *Areop.* 67: “No one could praise the leniency of those people more than that of the democracy”; 20; *Panath.* 56: “These facts establish how much more moderate and mild we have shown ourselves in the practice of political affairs”; *Nic.* 2.8; 3.16–17, 32; *Antid.* 70: “the mildest of all regimes”; Plato (*Resp.* 8.558 a) notes that in a democracy certain convicted criminals freely circulate in public, as if no one cared about them or saw them.

¹⁰ Isaeus, in Stobaeus 4.7.25; vol. 4, p. 255; cf. Plato, *Leg.* 9.867 b: for murders committed in anger but without premeditation, milder penalties must be inflicted (τιμωρίαι πραότεραι).

¹¹ Isocrates, *Panath.* 56: “We have shown ourselves much more moderate and mild (μετριώτερον καὶ πραότερον) in the practice of political affairs”; 121; *Antid.* 125, Timothy treated the cities taken by force with greater mildness and faithfulness than any other allied city showed; *Ep. 7 ad Tim.* 5 and 12.

¹² Demosthenes, *Chers.* 33: “You political men ought to have accustomed yourselves to being *πράους καὶ φιλανθρώπους*”; Aristophanes, *Pax* 936: “we shall be lambs for each other, and more accommodating with our allies.”

¹³ *Hom.* 7.12–16. One cannot fail to attribute *praotes* to Pompey (Plutarch, *Pomp.* 33.2), Alexander (*Alex.* 58.7–8), Agis (*Agis* 21.5), Aristides (*Arist.* 23.1), Cimon (*Cimon* 6.2), Flamininus (*Flam.* 6.2), Lycurgus (*Lyc.* 28.13), Timoleon (*Tim.* 3.4; 37.6), Brutus (*Brut.* 30.6), Caesar and Augustus (Dio Cassius 43.20; 53.6; cf. Josephus, *War* 6.383: Titus, διὰ πραότητα, welcomed fugitives; *Ant.* 17.212; Archelaus) and other notables. At Amorgos, a man is praised for his *kosmietes* and *praotes* (*IG XII*, 7, 240), like Anicetus in Phrygia (*MAMA I*, 237), Lucius Antonius at Aphrodisias (*MAMA VIII*, 524, 7). At Pergamum, Aelius Isidorus is ὁ πραῶς ἰδίαι, mild in his private life (*IGRom.* IV, 504); at Megara, a young man who is “mild (*praos*) and kindhearted [is] beloved by all” (*IG VII*, 115–117; Kaibel, 462). In the sixth century AD, Theodorus is “mild, naturally generous,

accommodating” (*Anth. Pal.* VII, 606 = *GVI*, n. 485); cf. C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, pp. 216–222. L. Robert (*Hellenica*, vol. 4, Paris, 1948, p. 16; vol. 11–12, p. 551; pp. 223ff.) mentions Praos as a proper name at Athens in the fourth century, and also several personal names formed on this root (*IG II2*, 1928, 20; VII, 600).

¹⁴ Plato, *Resp.* 3.387 e; cf. Plato, *Lysis* 211 e; *Menex.* 249 c; *Crito* 43 b: Socrates has always had an even temper in his past life, but “never so much as in this present misfortune (imprisonment) . . . with such calmness, such mildness (ῥαδίως . . . πράως) you endure it.” Cf. Xenophon, *An.* 1.5.14: “He spoke tranquilly (πράως) of what he had suffered”; Epictetus 3.10.6: bear events with patience; 2.22.36; 4.7.12; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.167; 7.117; Plutarch, *Dem.* 22.3, after a bereavement, “to bear such losses with mildness and serenity”; *Per.* 34.1, “bore unpopularity and hatred calmly and in silence”; 39.1; *Cat. Mai.* 24.10, who “bore the death of his eldest son with calm and philosophy”; *De adul. et am.* 57 e; *De cohib. ira* 13.462 a: Nero endured the loss of the ship with more moderation; *De frat. amor.* 11.484 b: when Athenodorus had suffered great prejudice, he showed neither indignation nor regret, but bore his brother’s folly with indulgence and serenity; *De aud. poet.* 35 d; reading and listening to works of poetry teaches us to bear our own misfortunes with mildness.

¹⁵ Plato, *Grg.* 489 d; cf. *Euthd.* 302 c: “speak better and do not prepare your lessons so roughly” (μὴ χαλεπῶς); *Resp.* 1.345 a; *Meno* 75 d; *Phdr.* 268 e; Philostratus, *VS* 2.17. The teacher must impose his authority with meekness, even if he is contradicted (*P.Mich.* 219, 8; third century AD); Plutarch, *Pomp.* 60.8, who “endures this untimely scoffing with mildness.” In discussions and debates one learns to listen with calm and benevolence before formulating criticisms (*De audiendo* 40 b). Marcus Aurelius 11.18 urges that the most violent person should be admonished with meekness.

¹⁶ Menander, *Dysk.*, hyp. 12; 779; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2329, 24 (C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 256). Irritated, one calms down (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.267). Antigonus in his old age took things *epios* and *praos* (Ps.-Plutarch, *Reg. et imp. apoph.* 182 a). “How charming is a father who is mild and young at heart” (ὡς ἡδὺν πραῶς καὶ νεάζων τῶν τρόπων πατήρ, Menander, frag. 749, p. 211; ed. Kock).

¹⁷ Cf. H. Martin, “The Concept of *praotes* in Plutarch’s Lives,” in *GRBS*, vol. 3, 1960, pp. 64–73.

¹⁸ Isocrates, *Antid.* 211: by certain methods horses, dogs, and most animals, even lions (213), are given “more mildness”; mildness engendered

in the most ferocious animals inspires admiration (214). Cf. *Sent. Sextus* 545: παιδευτικὸς θέλων εἶναι ἄσκει πρᾶυτητα.

¹⁹ *De sera* 5.551 c: “mildness and longsuffering are divine aspects of virtue”; cf. *Lyc.* 28.13: “I judge Lycurgus’s character according to his meekness and his justice in all the rest. I see even the divinity itself add its testimony in his favor.” For Themistius, *praotes* can make the king godlike (Themistius, *Or.* 19.226 d; 229 a–b).

²⁰ *De def. or.* 1.395 a; this *praotes* is “a mildness full of good grace . . . that does not show sourness or harshness at retorts.” While in the NT *praotes* is a permanent and indispensable virtue for Christians, in Plutarch’s biographies it is often a purely occasional trait. Thus the *praotes* Artaxerxes (*Art.* 1.1; 2.1; 4.4) was nevertheless merciless toward Mithridates and had his own son Itarios put to death.

²¹ Without asperity. Cf. *De cohib. ira* 453 b: the farmer makes the land smooth and fertile, soft and workable, just as mildness disposes a person to good deeds; cf. Xenophon, *Oec.* 19.17: farming is a humane and kindly art, i.e., one that easily divulges its secrets; Pindar, *Ol.* 13.85: the bit that makes Pegasus docile. — The opposites of πρᾶυτης are ἀγριότης (Plato, *Symp.* 197 d), βίαιος (*Leg.* 1.645 a), ὀργιλότης (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 4.11.1125b26), ἀποτομία (Ps.-Plutarch, *De lib. ed.* 187), ὕβριστής (DioChrysostom, *Or.* 3.40), especially χαλεπότης (Plato, *Resp.* 1.354 a; 2.375 c; 6.472 f; 493b; *Leg.* 9.867 b; Aristotle, *HA* 9.1).

²² Cf. *Creation* 34: “the evening quietly (πράως) welcomes the burden of darkness”; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.42: “the gentle wind (πνοή) is like a breeze and a peaceable and mild exhalation (ἡρεμαία καὶ πραει—α)”; *Migr. Abr.* 101: like dew from heaven, God made “the rain of celestial intelligence fall upon us without violent inundation but tranquilly, mildly (ἡρέμα καὶ πράως), like a beneficent dew.” We could say of the Philonian *praos* that he is “all sweetness,” according to the designations of fruit trees in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59033, 12: σύκινα Χι—α, ε—ρινεά, Λύδια, πραέα, φοινίκεα, ὄλονθοφόρα.

²³ *Worse Attacks Better* 117: “The wellspring of divine wisdom flows more calmly and peaceably” (ἡρεμαιοτέρῳ καὶ πραοτέρῳ); 146: “God in his goodness will correct our offenses with mildness and indulgence” (ε—πεικω—ς τε καὶ πραοτέρῳ); *Pap. Graec. Mag.* 4, 1046: “To me, O Lord, show yourself to be ι—λαρός, εὐμενής, πρᾶυς, ἀμήνιτος.” In a fifth-century speech, οὐκ ε—πεικῆς οὐ πρα—ος, οὐκ εἰ—δὼς ε—ρυθρια—ν (published by K. Treu, in *Proceedings XV*, vol. 2, p. 14).

²⁴ Beginning with the third century BC the spellings *πραυ4ς*, *πραυ4της* substituted for *πρα—ος*, *πραότης* (cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. I, 1, p. 121; BDF §§26 and 47), but there is still *πρα—ος* in 2Macc 15:12 (cf. the genitive *πραέως*, 1Pet 3:4) and *πραότης* (Esth 3:13).

²⁵ Zech 9:9. According to *T. Abr.* A 1.1, the patriarch lived the 995 years of his life in quietness (*ἡσυχία*), gentleness (*πραυ4της*) and righteousness.

²⁶ Cf. C. Spicq, “Bénignité, mansuétude, douceur, clémence,” in *RB*, 1947, pp. 321–329; P. van den Berghe, “Ani et ‘Anaw dans les Psaumes,” in R. de Langhe, *Le Psautier*, Louvain, 1962, pp. 273–295. According to J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, pp. 25–29, the first meaning of the Hebrew ‘*anaw* would be “bent, abased, bowed down, prostrated,” hence the humble and modest person.

²⁷ Cf. A. Ernout, A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris, 1932.

²⁸ Μακάριοι οι— *πραει—ς*, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν, Matt 5:4. This is the second beatitude, which takes up the first (“Blessed are the poor”); cf. J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 1, pp. 251ff.

²⁹ J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, pp. 486–545.

³⁰ In this correlation between “merit” and “reward” in the beatitude, we must not nevertheless exclude a note of psychological attraction and seductiveness that the whole literary tradition attributes to *praytes*: meekness wins hearts, and its silent triumph, which knows no borders, may be universal.

³¹ Albertus Magnus saw the meaning well: “When everyone sees the Lord carried gently (by the colt of the ass), let people be built up to faith, and let them be ashamed not to be mildly disposed toward him to whom even a beast of little intelligence and hitherto unbroken was tame” (“Cum videntibus omnibus Dominum mansuete portari [a pullo asinae], homines ad fidem aedificarentur, et verecundarentur non mansuescere ad eum, ad quem animal parvi sensus, et adhuc indomitum mansuescebat,” *In Lucam* 19.30; ed. Borgnet, vol. 23, p. 582; *ibid.* 19.35, p. 586). Cf. R. Bartnicki, “Das Zitat von Zach. IX, 9–10 und die Tiere im Bericht von Matthäus über den Einzug Jesu in Jerusalem (Mt. XXI, 1–11),” in *NovT*, 1976, pp. 161–166.

³² Τοῦ πράεως καὶ ἡσυχίου πνεύματος; Musonius asks the philosopher to endure adversity peaceably: πράεως δὲ καὶ ἡσύχως οἴσει τὸ συμβάν (frag. 10, ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 78, 10).

³³ 1Cor 4:21; cf. D. Daube, “Paul a Hellenistic Schoolmaster?” in R. Loewe, *Studies in Rationalism, Judaism and Universalism, in Memory of L. Roth*, New York, 1966, pp. 67–71.

³⁴ Cf. Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 94; *Change of Names* 135 (cf. M. Alexander, *De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia*, Paris, 1967, p. 168, n. 2). The rod is used for the correction of delinquents (1QS 11.1; Thucydides 5.50; cf. *LSAM*, n. 9, 29; *LSCG*, n. 83, 24). Keepers of flocks are called “rod-bearers” (*P.Oxy.* 1626, 9; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 241, 274).

³⁵ 2Cor 10:1 (cf. Matt 11:29). R. Leivestad, “The Meekness and Gentleness of Christ,” in *NTS*, vol. 12, 1966, p. 159.

³⁶ Gal 5:23. After “love, joy, peace, patience” in the list of the fruit of the Spirit, come “faithfulness, meekness, temperance.” Jas 1:21 urges receiving “with humility (ε—ν πραυ4τητε δέξασθε) the word implanted (in you), which can save your souls.” Here *praytes* is not only fervent acceptance and submission but the initiative to hear the word of God and the assent of the heart to what it says (cf. Ps 132:1; 76:9).

³⁷ Eph 4:2; cf. M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 2, pp. 454–459.

³⁸ Col 3:12. Humility, self-effacement, is an antidote to self-love; *praytes*, which is completely gentle, avoids clashes; patience reins in irritation and assures the maintenance of peace.

³⁹ Gal 6:1. Meekness is a classical quality of the “corrector,” but here the motive is new: awareness of one’s own potential for failure in similar circumstance to those in which the offender fell. This honest and humble approach leaves no room for arrogance or harshness; cf. royal souls, some of whom are arrogant, others humble, τὰς δὲ ὑπερηφάνους, τὰς δε πραείας (*Hermes Trismegistus*, frag. 26.8).

⁴⁰ Titus 3:2; same linking of πραυ4της and ε—πεικεία, *MAMA* VII, 524, 7.

⁴¹ —Ἀλλὰ πραυ4τητος καὶ φόβου; these two latter words must constitute a hendiadys: deferential meekness. As for the ἄλλά, it must be understood as explained by J. Carmignac (“L’Importance de la place d’une négation . . . [Philippiens II, 6],” in *NTS*, vol. 18, 1972, p. 156): “after an affirmative proposition, ἄλλά means not ‘but,’ but ‘however, moreover,

notwithstanding, nevertheless.’ This meaning, which is already clearly attested in Homer, for example in the Iliad 1.116 and Odyssey 1.6, is altogether classical in Greek. Cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, p. 346, n. 78 n. ” This self-control in the heat of argument is commended by Plutarch, *De sera* 5; *De Pyth. or.* 1.

⁴² Cf. Philo, *Abraham* 213: Abraham usually gave in to quarrelsome and unruly people “because of mildness of temperament of their master”; *πραῦπαθής*: good-natured (*Spec. Laws* 4.93), accommodating (*To Gaius* 335); *πραοπαθει*—v: to be meek (*Flight* 6).

πρεσβεία, πρεσβεύω

presbeia, embassy, delegation; *presbeuo*, to act as ambassador

presbeia, S 4242; *EDNT* 3.147–148; *NIDNTT* 1.192–193, 197; MM 534; L&N 37.87; BAGD 699 | ***presbeuo***, S 4243; *TDNT* 6.681–683; *EDNT* 3.147–148; *NIDNTT* 1.192–194, 197; MM 534; L&N 38.88; BAGD 699

A *presbeutes* can be an emissary, a messenger, an envoy (2Chr 32:31; 1Macc 13:21; 14:21, 22, 40; 15:17), like a *presbys*,¹ hence a mere spokesman;² but normally, in the Hellenistic period, this was an ambassador in the full sense of the word, sent by the Greek cities to each other and to the kings.³

The role of these emissaries could vary—according to *P.Col.Zen.* 60, 5, there was a “treaty on embassies.” Sometimes they were tools in political intrigue, as when some fellow citizens of a claimant to the throne “sent an embassy after him (*apesteilan presbeian*) to say, ‘We do not want this man to reign over us’”;⁴ sometimes they defended financial interests, as at Samos in the third century BC, where “the citizens called for an embassy to be sent to Antiochus to recover their property and Boulagoras was designated ambassador . . . and performed with absolute zeal and devotion” (*SEG* I, 366, 9). Usually they establish or strengthen good relations between cities⁵ and above all negotiated treaties of alliance and friendship (1Macc 4:11; cf. 8:17; 15:17). It is in this sense that, finding himself in an inferior position, a king under attack “sends an embassy (*presbeian aposteilas*) to sue for peace.”⁶ Examples are common. Deut 20:10-12 prescribes: “When you draw near to a city to do battle with it, you shall invite it to come to terms . . . if it does not make peace with you, if it goes to war against you, you shall besiege it,” which Josephus paraphrases, “When you are about to go to war, send an embassy and heralds to those who are willingly hostile” (*mellontas de polemein presbeian kai kerykas pempein para tous hekousios polemious*, *Ant.* 4.296). “Trypho knew that Simon was on the verge of joining battle with

him; he sent him messengers (*presbeis*)” to ask for the money that he claimed Jonathan owed (1Macc 13:14). Around 200 BC, “when the Thracian, commanded by Zoltes, appeared with an army of consequence in Scythia, marching against the Greek cities that had submitted to Rhemaxos, Agathocles was elected ambassador. He crossed enemy territory, passing through a good number of tribes, not shrinking from danger, and he persuaded the barbarians not only to do our city no harm but also to track down and return all the livestock that had previously been carried off by the pirates.”⁷

As for the verb *presbeuo*, it is used only twice in the Bible, by St. Paul, who uses it for an ambassador of Christ: “On Christ’s behalf, then, we are ambassadors (*hyper Christou oun presbeuomen*), given that God is urging through us (*di’ hemon*). We ask on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God” (2Cor 5:20); “Pray for me that I will be given an open mouth to announce boldly the mystery of the gospel, of which I am ambassador in chains” (*presbeuo en halysei*, Eph 6:20). The apostle gives himself a title of nobility, for a legate is a noteworthy personage,⁸ at the top of the military hierarchy, and *presbeuon* and *presbeutes* are technical terms for imperial legates in the Greek Orient.⁹ For example, in the second century AD, when Emperor Claudius acknowledges receipt of the “gold crown” that a gymnastic club sent him on the occasion of his victorious campaign in Britain, his letter ends thus: “The ambassadors were (*hoi presbeuontes esan*) Tib. Cl. Hermas, Tib. Cl. Cyras, Dion son of Miccalos, an Antiochene” (*P.Lond.* 1178, 14; vol. 3, p. 216). A decree at Thespieae for young volunteer soldiers mentions the names of two delegates to the imperial authorities: “Envoys from the city (*hoi presbeuontes*): Eirenaios, Bentios. Eirenaios fulfilled this mission for the third time as a volunteer.”¹⁰

That the apostle indeed means *presbeuo* in the full sense of the word is proven by the very way in which he describes his mission: (a) *hyper Christou*, on behalf of Christ (cf. *I.Priene* 108, 164: “he served as ambassador on behalf of the township”—*epresbeusen hyper tou demou*, 129 BC; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 591, 5; 656, 15; 805, 7: “having often served as ambassador on behalf of his country”—*presbeusanta pollakis hyper tes patridos*); hence, not in the Lord’s place, but in his service; (b) the justification of this mission: “seeing that God exhorts through us.”¹¹ The sovereign speaks through his ambassador (*di’ hemon*; cf. 1Macc 10:51; Eph 6:19, *en anoixei tou stomatos mou*); the credit given the ambassador’s words corresponds with the authority of the sovereign. Paul is not the one who matters—he does not act in his own name, and his message does not originate with himself—he represents Christ, and when he speaks, his words are to be taken as coming from God;¹² (c) the goal of the apostolic embassy is to offer reconciliation with God, and Paul begs his hearers to accept this offer.¹³ Ambassadors (*hoi presbeuontes*) inform

(1Macc 14:21; *I.Delos* 175, 2) in the same terms with which they have been instructed (1Macc 10:51).

¹ Num 21:20; 22:5; Deut 2:26; Isa 39:1; 57:9; 68:9; an ambassador to peace talks, 1Macc 9:70; 10:51.

² An ambassador is sent with letters that specify the object of his mission (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.225, 227). Cf. Philo, *Giants* 16; *Abraham* 115; *Plant.* 14 (angels, cf. *Heir* 205; Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 8.137: ὁ δὲ πρεσβευτῆς εἶη ἄν καὶ ἄγγελος διάκονος). A letter of Augustus: “the *presbeis* whom you sent to me in Gaul” (*P.Oxy.* 3020, frag. 1, col. I, 4; col. II, 2); *Jos. Asen.* 7.4: the Egyptians sent Joseph their messengers with gold, silver, and precious gifts. A θεωρός was “a special ambassador with a sacred mission to a foreign land” (G. Daux, in *REG*, 1967, p. 294). *SEG* II, 257; XVIII, 235; 288; XIX, 381; *ISE*, n. 91; M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, pp. 433–448.

³ In the second century BC, a decree of Phalanna for the judges from Metropolis: “Thaumandros and Antisthenes were sent by our city on an embassy to the city of Metropolis to ask for a court to regulate trials and the rendering of accounts. . . . The citizens of Metropolis honored our ambassadors with appropriate honors” (*NCIG*, n. 12, 3, 10); a decree of Miletus (second century) in honor of Eirenias; “sent as an ambassador, he was zealous in his interview (with King Eumenes)” (*ibid.* VII, 9); “So that the Thasians may know of the piety of Hestiaios toward the gods, his zeal for our people, and the gratitude of this city, let an ambassador be appointed to take this decree to them” (*I.Thas.* 169, 27; cf. 170, 28; 174, A 3); *P.Corn.* 11, 1: “To Aurelius Apollonius, *presbyteres* of the most famous city of the Alexandrians”; *P.Dura* 38, 11: “To Flavius Antiochus, the emperor’s *presbyteres*”; *SB* 7263, 5; 7944, 2; Josephus, *War* 7.58. *Presbyteres* are constantly the recipients of honorific decrees, *I.Delos* 1621, 1699, 1855; *I.Car.* 166, 4, 8, 12, 19: “After ambassadors were sent regarding the interests of the city of Ktesicles . . . he thought to obtain what we were asking for”; *SEG* I, 151; VI, 555; XVIII, 216; XX, 28, 730; *SB* 8300, 3 (first century AD); *MAMA* VI, 103; considerable documentation in E. Olshausen, *Prosopographie der hellenistischen Königsgesandten*, Louvain, 1974.

⁴ Luke 19:14; cf. Philo, *To Gaius* 239: “As suppliants we ask for time to choose ambassadors and send them with a petition to the master (the emperor)”; the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians: “as if you lived in two cities that you should send two embassies” (*P.Lond.* 1912, 91); *PSI* 1160, 11 (= *SB* 7448); 1434, 5; decree for Orthagoras of Araxa, “sent on an embassy (ἀποσταλεις πρεσβευτῆς) by the people to each of the cities . . . he did not fail to carry out his mission (τὰς πρεσβείας) in a fashion worthy

of our people . . . then, sent on a mission to the ambassadors of Rome who were with Appius, and again on a mission to the Roman ambassadors who were with Poplius, he carried out his two missions in a manner worthy of our people and of the confederation, and he served all the interests of the city; he accomplished, moreover, many other missions, without asking for traveling expenses” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. IV, 5ff.). A decree from Apollonia from the second century BC honors Pamphilos, who had carried out numerous embassies: “When the ten legates came from Rome (τω—ν δέκα πρεσβευτω—ν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης) to set affairs in order with Cnaeus, the proconsul, at Apamea, Pamphilos went to them and conducted himself in an excellent and effective manner on behalf of his country . . . with all zeal and ardor he put each matter in order (the territorial standing of the front part of Asia Minor in the wake of the defeat of Antiochus III).” Next he was sent to Rhodes, where “he and his fellow ambassadors (μετὰ τω—ν συμπρεσβευτω—ν) fought against the natives who were our adversaries. . . . Having carried out numerous other embassies for the common good (ἄλλας τε πλείονας πρεσβείας πρεσβεύσας ὑπὲρ τω—ν κοινω—ν) and having behaved properly in all of them and having dealt correctly with matters, he continued to supply numerous advantages to the city” (*I.Car.* 167, 1ff., 9ff., 15ff.); L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 322. In the Byzantine period, πρεσβεία means intercession, supplication (*P.Ness.* 52, 1; *SB* 7428, 17).

⁵ A decree of Argos in the fourth-third century in honor of the Rhodians: “Argos sent an embassy to Rhodes . . . now they have sent an embassy to Philias . . . to give notice that Rhodes has never flagged in its devotion to Argos and that it will continue to pursue the same policy in the future” (*NCIG*, n. VIII, 9, 12); cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 412, 6; “the marvelous embassy” of Abraham’s servant, who chose Rebekah as wife for his son” (Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 11).

⁶ Luke 14:32, ε—ρωτα— τὰ πρὸς εἰ—ρήνην is a Hebraism that normally expresses greetings: Judg 18:15; 1Sam 10:4; 17:22; 25:5; 30:21; 2Sam 8:10—ε—ρωτήσαι αὐτὸν τὰ εἰ—ς εἰ—ρήνην; *T. Jud.* 9.7—αι—τοῦσιν ἡμι—ν τὰ πρὸς εἰ—ρήνην; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.405: τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην = ready for battle; cf. Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 14: τὰ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον = death is to be expected. J. M. Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, London, 1953, p. 195.

⁷ A decree from Istros in honor of Agathocles, in *NCIG*, n. VI, 17; cf. lines 28, 33: “once again chosen as ambassador to Thrace and to Zoltes the chief of the Thracians, he extended the pacts and agreements previously concluded with them”; line 49, 54; *I.Kour.* 87 (with the observations of R. S.

Bagnall, T. Drew-Bear, in *ChrEg*, 1974, pp. 188ff.). Cf. Dio Chrysostom 1.27.

⁸ Cf. the letter of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, proconsul of Macedonia, “to the council and people of Thasos. Your ambassadors . . . , worthy men and our friends, sent by a worthy people, our friend and ally, were presented before me . . .” (*I.Thas.* 175, 2). Cf. the honorific decree for a Tabenian in the first century AD who “was ambassador to peoples, to (Roman) leaders who came through (Asia) as consuls, and to *dynasteis*” (L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 325; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 374, 37); honorific decree of the province of Asia for Quintus Pomponius Flaccus, “who carried out the office of night *strategos* with all legality and went on an embassy to Rome at his own expense” (L. Robert, “Les Inscriptions,” in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, p. 265, 11); the questions asked of an oracle: “will I be ambassador (εἰ—πρεσβεύσω)? will I be senator?” (*P.Oxy.* 1477, 16). An ambassador is thus much more highly esteemed than a κῆρυξ (1Tim 2:7; 2Tim 1:11; Epictetus 3.21.13). Hence the sociable reception that Alexander, for example, gave to embassies (Diodorus Siculus 17.2.2; 17.4.9; 17.113.4).

⁹ Meaning cited by A. Deissmann, *Light*, p. 374, who makes reference to the examples furnished by D. Magie, *De Romanorum Juris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 89ff. Today we may refer to the examples and classification (ambassador, legate of the *hegemon*, the proconsul, the emperor) of H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, pp. 147, 153.

¹⁰ *NCIG*, n. XV, 25, 27. The disinterestedness of ambassadors is often mentioned in the inscriptions; cf. *MAMA* VI, 3, at Laodicea: “Terentius Longinus . . . after twice serving without pay on embassies to Lucius Aelius Caesar in Pannonia and to the great emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius at Rome.” Their devotion is similarly emphasized, as in the decree of the Athenian cleruchies for Euboulos of Marathon: “sent on several embassies, he often, through sustained effort, secured the interests of the Athenians of Delos” (*I.Delos* 1498, 14).

¹¹ Ὡς, followed by an explanatory participle, is epexegetic; it means not “as if” but “inasmuch as”; cf. T. Muraoka, “The Use of ΩΣ in the Greek Bible,” in *NovT*, 1964, pp. 60ff.

¹² Cf. P. E. Hughes, *Paul’s Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 4th ed., Grand Rapids, 1973, pp. 209ff.

¹³ J. Dupont, *La Réconciliation dans la théologie de saint Paul*, Bruges-Paris, 1953; J. F. Collange, *Enigmes de la deuxième Epître de Paul aux*

Corinthiens, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 266–274. In the fourth century BC, “the city of Argos sent an embassy to Polyperchon to beg him to free the people of Pallantion (who were taken prisoner) when the land of Pallantion was conquered by Menemachos, and Polyperchon freed the people and granted this favor to Argos” (SEG XI, 1094, 18). A century later, the inhabitants of Gortyn sent an embassy to Cnossos to ask for a physician (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 528, 2).

προβάλλω

proballo, to bring or put forward, present; to bud

proballo, S 4261; EDNT 3.152; MM 537; L&N 23.195; BAGD 702

At Ephesus, the Jews in the midst of the mob “pushed Alexander to the fore” (*proballonton auton*, Acts 19:33). This meaning—“bring forth, present”—recurs constantly in the papyri and the inscriptions.¹ “I had the misfortune of being nominated by the citizens as grain commissioner, although I was not of age to take on this *leitourgia* . . . I was put forward by certain persons who were acting out of jealousy” (*P.Mich.* 23, 3; third century BC); “You were wrong to nominate us for the office of *ktenarchos*” (*SB* 10202); “Having been officially presented by the inhabitants of the town for the above-mentioned jobs.”²

In the LXX, the physical meaning “bring out, cast forward” is seen when the third Maccabee brother “stuck out his tongue as soon as they asked” (to cut it off, 2Macc 7:10); when twenty youths throw themselves against the wall,³ when Razis “tore out his own entrails, took them with both hands, and threw them at the mob.”⁴ But in Judg 14:12, 13, 16, Samson sets forth a riddle.⁵

None of these texts is analogous to the use of *proballo* in the parable of the Fig Tree, Luke 21:30. Where Mark 13:28 and Matt 24:32 have “when the leaves have come out” (*ekphye*), Luke reads “when they have put forth.”⁶ Clearly this verb has a very wide range of meaning, and only the context can provide specificity.⁷ Here we must translate “when they are already budding.” The agricultural parallels from the first century have been cited. With respect to plants that flower and give off fragrances, Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* 2.205: “in the summer it produces a milky-white flower” (*theros de galaktinon anthos proballei*); 4.50: “in the autumn the leaves produce a smell” (*proballei de kata to phthinoporon ta phylla tragou osmen*); Josephus, *Ant.* 4.226: “if the plants produce fruit before the fourth year” (*an karpon probale ta phyta*); Epictetus 1.15.7: “Nothing great is produced suddenly, since it is not so even with the grape and the fig. If you said to me now, ‘I want a fig,’ I would answer that it takes time. Let the flowers appear first, then the fruit (*eita probale ton karpon*), and finally let it

ripen.” Since this meaning is not attested in the papyri, we must conclude that it belongs to literary Greek, where its usage attests to a traditional rhetorical topos.

¹ Moulton-Milligan cite *P.Ryl.* 77, 43: ε—μάθομεν τὸν —Αχιλλέα προβαλόμενον ε—αυτὸν εἰ—ς ε—ξηγητείαν (644, 6, 10 is too mutilated to yield a meaning); *P.Oxy.* 1424, 5; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1104, 29: ἡ σύνοδος . . . ὁμοθυμαδὸν προεβάλετο τοὺς εἰ—σοίσοντας αὐτοί—ς τὰς καθηκούσας τιμὰς; 797, 23: φίλους τε κρινεῖ—ν, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῆται, καὶ ε—χθρούς, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προβάληται.

² *C.P.Herm.* 21, 13; cf. *Stud.Pal.* XX, 54, 6: τοί—ς προβαλομένοις τὸν ἡμέτερον υἱ—όν . . . εἰ—ς κοσμητείαν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως (= *Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 402); *SB* 5231, 9 (first century); 7696, 45: εἰ—ς τὴν πρυτανίαν ταύτην; line 61: εἰ—ς κοσμητείας; *Fouilles de Delphes* III, 3; 239, 16: “Let the archons appoint those whom the majority shall nominate” (second century BC). In Prov 22:21—“those who put you forward” are “those who sent you” (Hebrew *shalah*). Often it is a question of “putting forward” an excuse; cf. Thucydides 1.27.4; 2.87.3; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 87, 154, 157; *SB* 8987, 36.

³ 2Macc 10:35; cf. Xenophon, *An.* 1.2.17: Cyrus “order the whole column to present arms and advance”; 6.5.16: “advance upon the enemy with shields in front”; Polybius 1.18.3; 1.48.10; 2.5.5; 3.72.9; 3.113.6 = deploy, place in advance.

⁴ 2Macc 14:46; cf. Plutarch, *Per.* 28.2: “He had their bodies thrown out with no burial”; Prov 26:18—“throwing words to men” (Hebrew *yarâh*).

⁵ Hebrew *hûd*. Cf. the use of προβάλλω for texts that set forth geometrical problems to be solved (C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, p. 356); Hippocrates, *Acut.* 8.1: “As a rule, physicians do not even raise such questions; and perhaps even if they were raised, they would not be answered”; Galen, *Anim. Pass.* 2.57: set forth as a problem.

⁶ Ὅταν προβάλωσιν ἤδη. E. Delebecque (*Evangile de Luc*) translates: “Tous les arbres, dès qu’ils poussent leurs pointes.”

⁷ In optics, προβάλλω refers to the changing field of vision as projected in front of the body by the eyes, “la projection du flux visuel suivant l’orientation des yeux, en avant du corps” (C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 321). In obstetrics, babies that stick an arm or leg out (Hippocrates, *Mul.* 1.69; other references in W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 75, 140ff.). In sports, for the boxer who is on guard, in a defensive posture (LSJSup, p.

125). Without a technical meaning: “keep before the eyes” (*Ep. Arist.* 212); in the Byzantine period: a party to a contract who did not know how to write and could not sign drew a cross with his own hand (προβαλόντος τῆ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ †, *P.Mich.* 607, 35). Philo, for whom this is a favorite verb, uses it in the pejorative moral sense of rebuffing or rejecting vice (*Abraham* 22, 104, 137, 210), those who dishonor virtue (*Moses* 2.9; *Spec. Laws* 2.60; *Virtues* 136, 200), with a nuance of aversion (*Post. Cain* 134; *Moses* 1.45–46).

προβιβάζω

probibazo, to instigate

probibazo, S 4264; *EDNT* 3.153; MM 538; L&N 33.299; BAGD 703

It is difficult to pin down the meaning of this NT hapax.¹ When Herodias asks for the head of John the Baptist, Matt 14:8 specifies *probibastheisa hypo tes metros autes*. This is usually taken to mean “urged on by her mother”;² but the two occurrences in the LXX mean inculcate, instill in the mind (Exod 35:4, hiphil of the Hebrew *yarâh*; Deut 6:7, piel of the Hebrew *shanan*), and this is the meaning retained by F. Field.³ Even though it is attested by only a single Byzantine papyrus (*P.Lond.* 1708, 262), it will do here, with the idea being “upon her mother’s instigation.” Support comes from Musonius, replying to the objection “Is it not unreasonable for a man who is capable of influencing the young to study philosophy (*probibazein neous eis philosophian*) to work the earth or busy himself with manual labor?” (ed. C. E. Lutz, frag. 11, p. 82, 23).

¹Certainly we must reject the reading προεβίβασαν in D2, Ψ, P, Chrysostom at Acts 19:33 and retain συνεβίβασαν, “they indoctrinated” (P74, a, A, B, E, cf. 1Cor 2:16), cf. E. Haenchen, *Acts*, p. 574.

² Προβιβάζω = cause to advance; cf. Dio Cassius 58.23: “Tiberius promised to elevate (literally, push) Caius to other duties”; *P.Mur.* 116, 15 (= SB 10305; remarriage contract, AD 124), προβιβάζεται δὲ —Ελεαιο—ος Σίμωνος τὴν αὐτὴν γαμικὴν κο[ινωνίαν]: if Eleaios, son of Simon, promotes the marital society; *P.Sarap.* 88, 4, letter to Heliodorus at Anoubion: τὸ πένθος μοι ἐ—κάστης ἡμέρας προβιβάζω, “my pain increases (or is prolonged) every day, because none of those who should have carried letters to you has left”; *P.Petaus* 27, 24: προβιβάζω αὐτά = I urge them along.

³ F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 11, who does not retain the connotation of temporal priority expressed by the Vulgate’s *praemonita*,

“instructed ahead of time”; but this is explained by Mark 6:24—“She went out and asked her mother, ‘What shall I ask for?’” This nuance—“instruct”—is the resolute choice of A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, London, 1952, p. 210.

προκοπή, προκόπτω

prokope, progress; *prokopto*, to progress, advance

prokope, S 4297; *TDNT* 6.703–719; *EDNT* 3.157–158; *NIDNTT* 2.128, 130–131; MM 542; L&N 13.57; BAGD 707 | ***prokopto***, S 4298; *TDNT* 6.703–719; *EDNT* 3.157–158; *NIDNTT* 2.128, 130; MM 542; L&N 13.57, 42.18, 59.64, 67.118; BDF §308; BAGD 707–708; ND 2.95, 4.36

The substantive is unknown in classical Greek¹ and the verb in the LXX. Both mean literally a move forward, an extension, and are used most often in the figurative sense of progress, growth, advancement.²

The meaning is often neutral (“Night has advanced; day is near”),³ sometimes pejorative (heretics will constantly get worse—*prokopsousin epi to cheiron*⁴—in the direction of impiety, 2Tim 2:16); but usually it has to do with improvement and success. Philip, prefect of Jerusalem, learns that Judas Maccabeus was progressing little by little (*kata mikron eis prokopen erchomenon*) and that his successes were becoming more and more frequent.⁵ This is the most common meaning of *prokopto* in the epistolary papyri, where the writer expresses the hope that his correspondent will be well and will prosper: *errosthai se euchomai kai prokoptein*;⁶ and it is in this sense of continual and effective advancement in knowledge and in morals that we read Gal 1:14—“Progressing in Judaism more than most of those of my age in my nation, surpassing them in zeal for the traditions of my ancestors.”⁷

Such progress becomes generally known and draws more and more esteem from those who know about it.⁸ Likewise, the arrest and trial of Paul turned out “rather for the advancement of the gospel, for throughout the praetorium and everywhere else, my chains have become well-known in Christ, and most of the brethren, encouraged in the Lord . . . are proclaiming the word with increased boldness.”⁹ In Phil 1:25, the apostle’s presence should contribute to Christians’ progress and joy in the faith.¹⁰ This moral and religious meaning is ever clearer in 1Tim 4:15—“Let your progress be manifest to all.”¹¹ Thanks to his training (verses 7–8), Timothy will no longer be seen as an inexperienced novice; he will progress continually.

Scholars traditionally mention that *prokope* is a technical term in Stoic philosophy,¹² and it is indeed true that this term is used for a person’s moral and spiritual evolution. According to Chrysippus, the sage is a

person who is progressing (*prokopton*) from folly to wisdom, from vice to virtue.¹³ But if the Stoa contributed greatly to the spread of this term in the first century and used it for moral values (*he prokope pros areten*, Epictetus 1.4.3ff.), this usage cannot be said to have influenced the NT writers, at least not directly, because the idea of *prokope* was so generally current without reference to origin or technical signification. Thus Philo—who was knowledgeable about contemporary philosophy—defines moral progress as “that which is incomplete and strives for completion,”¹⁴ and distinguishes two or three classes of people: the perfect person (*ton teleion*) and the one who is progressing morally (*ton prokoptonta*) have a strong and ardent desire for the good and already share in the divine fixity and stability (*Dreams* 2.234–237); “for the wicked (*ton phaulon*), God is Lord and Master; for those who are progressing and improving (*ton en prokopais kai beltiosesi*) he is God; but for the best and most perfect (*ton d’ ariston kai teleiotaton*), he is Lord and God” (*Change of Names* 19). If the capability for improvement and perfection (*Post. Cain* 78) never disappears (*Husbandry* 166; cf. Cleanthes, in Stobaeus, vol. 2, p. 65, 10), “all progress depends on God” (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.93; cf. *P.Lund* II, 1, 4 = SB 8088).

Epictetus sensibly observes: “It is ridiculous to imagine that one can progress in things that one knows nothing about” (2.17.4). Moreover, it is commonplace to keep track of progress in scientific knowledge,¹⁵ in moral education, and in the assimilation of wisdom. Ben Sirach says, “Progress came to me through wisdom.”¹⁶ Philo repeats that study and instruction make for progress toward perfection,¹⁷ and Josephus notes that wisdom produced progress in Daniel, Mishael, and Abednego (*sophias en prokope genomenous*, *Ant.* 10.189). It is in this sense that “Jesus grew in wisdom and in stature with God and with men.”¹⁸ We may cite this eulogy for a young citizen of Istropolis: “he laid a foundation for himself, progressing in stature and advancing toward godliness” (*hypestesato te te helikia prokopton kai proagomenos eis to theosebein*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 708, 18; first century BC). And we might add this epitaph from Aphrodisia: “children who departed in the midst of progress.”¹⁹

¹ The work of L. Edelstein (*The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity*, Baltimore, 1967) studies the idea, not the word.

² The substantive is often synonymous with αὐξήσις (Polybius 3.4.2: the growth and progress of the Roman power) and βελτίωσις (Philo, *Etern. World* 43: people are used to knowing growth, progress, improvement, or their opposites; *Abraham* 26). The first meaning of προκόπτω is transitive, “draw out, lengthen a metal plaque by hammering it”; hence “prepare, open a road” (Thucydides 4.60.2); in an intransitive sense: “advance along a route” (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.134, 340; 3.42; Thucydides 7.56.3).

³ Rom 13:12, ἡ νύξ προέκοψεν (K H. Schelkle, “Biblische und patristische Eschatologie nach Rom. XIII, 11–13,” in *Sacra Pagina*, Paris-Gembloux, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 357–372); cf. Josephus, *War* 4.298, τῆς νυκτὸς προκοπούσης = at the moment when night is coming on; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 17, 6, τοῦ χρόνου προκόψαντος = time having passed by; *P.Stras.* 180, 11.

⁴ 2Tim 3:9, 13; cf. the progress of sedition, Josephus, *Ant.* 4.59: τῆς ἐπι τὸ χειρὸν προκοπῆς; *T. Jud.* 21.8, προκόψουσιν ἐπι κακῶ; Polybius 5.16.9; cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.1.6: advance not at all, not arrive at the goal.

⁵ 2Macc 8:8; cf. Polybius 2.12.7: τῆς ἐπι τὸ βέλτιον ἤρξαντο προκοπῆς = the Romans began to get back on their feet; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.340: their qualities carried the Parthians to a high level of power (προὔκοψαν ἐπι μέγα δυνάμεως); Diodorus Siculus 14.98; 17.69.4: “those who could make progress in some sort of industry”; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 113: “Try to achieve progress and improvement (προκοπὴν καὶ βελτίωσιν), for it is progress that makes toil bearable.”

⁶ *P.Stras.* 140, 15 = *P.Sarap.* 100 = SB 8022; cf. *P.Mich.* 209, 4: πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομέσθαι ὑγιένειν καὶ προκόπτειν, “above all, I pray for your health and success”; *P.Hamb.* 104, ἐρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι διὰ βίου καὶ προκόπτοντα τὰ μεγάλα; *P.Ryl.* 233, 16: εὐχομαι σε τὸν Κύριον ἰδεῖν ἐν μείζοσι προκοπαῖς, ἐν ἀδραῖς εὐημερίαις; *P.Brem.* 15, 34: ποιῶν σε τὰς ἀδροτάτας προκοπάς; *P.Oxy.* 122, 15; *P.Gen.* 74, 3; *PSI* 1437, 8; *P.Tebt.* 276, 39: the alignment of certain planets will favor prosperity from birth, ἀπὸ νεότητος τὰς προκοπάς ἀποτελοῦσιν; *proskynema* of Maximus: “Grant me, O Lord, great success in the army. . . . I will pour out to you libations for this success” (*SEG XXIV*, 1224, 4, 7). Progress in the accomplishment of tasks, κατὰ προκοπὴν τῶν ἔργων (*P.Oxy.* 1631, 20; *P.Mert.* 24, 10).

⁷ Προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ —Ιουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου; A. Deissmann (*Light*, p. 179) compares *BGU* 423, 17, where Apion, a soldier in the Romano-Egyptian fleet of the second century, writes to his father: “Thou hast taught me well and I therefore hope to advance quickly, if the gods will.”

⁸ *Ep. Arist.* 242: “This conduct will advance us in their esteem”; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.205: καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπι μέγα προὔκοπτε δόξης, “each day the high priest Ananias advanced greatly in reputation.” *T. Gad* 4.5—τῶν εὐπραγούντων ἐν προκοπῇ ἀκούων καὶ ὀρώ; B. Latyshev (*Inscriptiones Antiquae*, n. 79, 6), μέχρι τὰς τῶν Σεβαστῶν γνώσεως προκόψαντος.

⁹ Phil 1:12, εἰ—ς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (cf. the reporting of victory and military progress in *P.Giss.* 27, 7: εὐαγγελίζονται τὰ τῆς νείκην αὐτοῦ καὶ προκοπῆς). Thus there is progress and victory for the *kerygma*.

¹⁰ Εἰ—ς τὴν ὑμῶ—ν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως.

¹¹ 1Tim 4:15: ἵνα σου ἡ προκοπὴ φανερὰ ᾖ πα—σιν. The emphasis is on the visibility of this progress and the perception of it by witnesses, as when an athlete's physique improves day by day and stirs admiration; this will help strengthen Timothy's authority in the eyes of the Ephesian Christians; cf. φανερός, Acts 4:16; *I.Priene* VIII, 42: ὅπως δ' ἂν ᾖ φανερὰ πα—σιν; *I.Bulg.* 659, 21; *P.Tebt.* 333, 12.

¹² A. Bonhöffer, *Epikte*, p. 128; E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 1911, p. 325 (who sees Pompey as a type of the *proficiens*); G. Stählin, "Fortschritt und Wachstum," in *Festgabe J. Lortz*, Baden-Baden, 1958, vol. 2, pp. 13–25; idem, in *TDNT*, vol. 6, pp. 703–719; O. Luschnat, "Das Problem des ethischen Fortschritts in der alten Stoa," in *Philologus*, 1958, pp. 178–214; G. T. Montague, *Growth in Christ*, Kirkwood-Fribourg, 1961, pp. 165ff.

¹³ Cf. Chrysippus, frag. 45, 217, 530, 532 (ed. *SVF*, vol. 3, 104, 18; 51, 37, 142, 17, 33); Bion (in Diogenes Laertius 4.50); Posidonius (ibid. 7.91: "The proof of the reality of virtue is that people like Socrates, Diogenes, and Antisthenes have progressed toward it"; cf. 127); Epictetus 1.4: περὶ προκοπῆς; idem, *Ench.* 48; Seneca, *Ep.* 71.36: "magna pars est profectus velle proficere"; cf. G. Verbeke, "Augustin et le Stoïcisme," in *Recherches Augustiniennes*, Paris, 1958, pp. 69ff.

¹⁴ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.249: προκοπή . . . ἀτελὲς ε—φιέμενον τοῦ τέλους; *Drunkness* 82: Jacob was going to exchange his progress for perfection; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 2.3.2: "progress is the middle ground between natural dispositions and perfection"; *De comm. not.* 10: "With respect to moral progress people resemble not the blind but the near-sighted, not those who have drowned, but those who are swimming and are near the port." Cf. W. Völker, *Fortschritt und Vollendung bei Philo von Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1938.

¹⁵ Philo, *Flight* 213: "You who were progressing and deepening your knowledge of the cycle of preliminary instruction"; Josephus, *Life* 8: "My great progress in studies earned me a reputation for memory and superior intelligence"; Plutarch, *De prof. in virt.* 10: νέω . . . ἀνδρὶ γευσσάμενω προκοπῆς ἀληθοῦς ε—ν φιλοσοφία; Marcus Aurelius 1.17.8: "I did not advance very far in rhetoric, poetry, and other studies"; Diodorus Siculus 16.6: "Dio had made great progress in the study of philosophy"; Lucian,

Hermot. 63; προύκοπτον ε—ν τοι—ς μαθήμασι; cf. G. Pire, *Stoïcisme et pédagogie de Zénon à Marc-Aurèle*, Liege-Paris, 1958, p. 65.

¹⁶ Sir 51:17: προκοπή ε—γένετό μοι ε—ν αὐτῇ (cf. σοφία, verse 17 *b*; παιδεία, verse 16). The Hebrew is different: “for me its yoke was an honor.” Cf. Plutarch, *De prof. in virt.* 7: ἀληθῆς προκοπή.

¹⁷ Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain*; cf. *Flight* 172: “the teacher is capable of effecting progress in us, but only God . . . can effect supreme perfection in us”; cf. *Husbandry* 166; *P.land.* 3, 5: ταχέως μὲν περὶ παιδείαν προκόπτει. Around the turn of the millennium, a decree from Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes* III, 4, 59) honors the rhetor Artemidorus who “manifested (toward the Delphians) the same zeal as toward his own country and his fellow citizens; by working together with the foremost and best citizens for progress in education and letters (ει—ς προκοπήν παιδείας καὶ λόγων), he procured worthy people for Delphi also” (L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, p. 491).

¹⁸ Luke 2:52—προέκοπτεν τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι; J. E. Renié, “Et Jesus proficiebat sapientia et aetate et gratia apud Deum et homines,” in *Studia Anselmiana* 27–28 (Miscellanea A. Miller), Rome, 1951, pp. 340–350; H. Riedlinger, *Geschichtlichkeit und Vollendung des Wissens Christi*, Freiburg-Basel, 1966, pp. 48–54; H. Temple, “Christ’s Holy Youth According to Lk II, 52,” in *CBQ*, 1941, pp. 243–250.

¹⁹ E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. XXXV, 12, ἦν λίπον ε—ν προκοπαι—ς.

προπετής

propetes, recklessly hasty, impulsive (with overtones of injustice)

propetes, S 4312; *EDNT* 3.160; MM 544; L&N 88.98; BAGD 709

Certainty is impossible in translating the two NT occurrences of this adjective. At the riot at Ephesus, the clerk asks his fellow citizens to do nothing *propetes* (*meden propetes prassein*, Acts 19:36), and according to 2Tim 3:4, people in the last days will be *prodotai*, *propeteis*. Literally, the term means “fallen forward,” hence “inclined toward.”¹ Figuratively, it expresses lack of control or quickness, in either a favorable or a pejorative sense;² in the latter case, it means reckless precipitousness.³

The adjective, unknown in the papyri, is used in the LXX only by the Wisdom writers for prattlers who talk without thinking, but the fact that they are abominated and promised ruin indicates that this is one of the gravest

sins of speech; moreover, *propetes* does not exactly match the original Hebrew.⁴

With respect to action, the *proteteis* are those who are impulsive, who get carried away⁵—like a bolting horse (cf. *proales*, Sir 30:8)—who cannot reason soundly and who make themselves known by their violence, people who wreck everything, who take wild chances. The Greeks grouped them with the reckless and the bold: *hoi thraseis propeteis* (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 3.10.1116a7); “giving free rein to your recklessness and boldness” (*te sautou propeteia kai thrasyteti*, Demosthenes, *C. Andr.* 22.63); “the Romans showed more boldness and daring” (*tharraleoteron kai propetesteron*, Polybius 3.102.11; contrasted with the prudence and circumspection of their adversaries); “quick to rush at everyone” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.4.4, contrasted with *aidous*); “Cleitos, a bold and reckless young man” (*thrasys te kai propetes neanias*, Josephus, *Life* 170); “Herod had enough self-control not to do something rash (*tou me propetes ti poiesai*) under the influence of passion.”⁶ At the beginning of the third century, a tax collector complains that his methods are criticized as unjust and violent (*prepetos epi tauta*, *P.Oxy.* 3028,7).

In light of these usages, we should understand the *propeteis* in 2Tim 3:4 to be frenzied and unjust; and the Ephesian rioters are warned against not “reckless precipitousness” but uncontrolled or ill-considered aggression.

¹ Hippocrates, *Prog.* 3: “the tendency to sink in the bed and slide toward the feet”; *Art.* 1: “the top of the humerus naturally inclines in this direction”; Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.3.15: Critias stooped (*προπετης ἦν*) to having many people executed”; 2.3.30: “He is the one who was most inclined to transform the democracy.”

² Aristotle, *HA* 9.1.5.608b: “the females have more liveliness”; Isocrates, *Demon.* 1.15: “Abstain from immoderate laughter (*γέλωτα προπετηῆ*) and presumptuous talk”; Aeschines, *In Tim.* 1.191: “unbridled sensual pleasure (*αι—προπετει—ς τοῦ σώματος*), passions that are never assuaged, these are the things that inhabit the haunts of brigands”; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.106 = without reason or motive; Diodorus Siculus 15.29.

³ Cf. the account for the allotment for a “five-day” work detail, from the third century AD: *τοὺς λόγους τῶ—ν πενθημερῶ—ν μὴ προπετῶς γράφης, ἕως ἂν ἔλθης εἰ—ς τὸ λογιστήριον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ* (*SB* 9925, 3; to be added to P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros Certificates in Greco-Roman Egypt*, Leiden, 1964).

⁴ Sir 9:18—“The person who speaks recklessly is hated for his volubility”; Prov 10:14—“The mouth of the foolish (Hebrew <I+>ewil) is a disaster in the offing”; 13.3: “the one who opens his mouth (Hebrew *pasaq*) to ruin.” Roman soldiers “catch those who speak thoughtlessly” (προπετει—ς), i.e., who speak ill of Caesar without thinking about who they are talking to (Epictetus 4.13.5) or without dreaming of the consequences, like Cyrus asking “impulsively (προπετω—ς), like a child who no longer fears anything” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.3.8); cf. dangerous procedures (πρὸς τὸ προπετω—ς τι πράττειν, Demosthenes, *C. Leoch.* 44.58).

⁵ Hotheaded, Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.175; *Dreams* 2.182 (vehement); *Unchang. God* 163.

⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* 15.82. Cf. the προπέτεια of Uzzah (2Sam 6:7). In Demosthenes, *C. Arist.* 23.130, *propeteia* corresponds to anger; both are opposed to moderation (μετριωτέρα); *P. Tebt.* 268, 47: ἡ σὴ προπέτεια (fragment of a classical work, third century AD; cf. *P. Cair. Masp.* 97, col. II, 42; sixth century). An ostrakon from the same period links indifference and rashness, προπετεία [δ] ἀνεπιστρεψία, εἰ—καιότης, ἕτεροι τοιαῦται [μυρία], in C. Austin (*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 318), who cites a mutilated fragment of Menander, where προπετω—ς ε—πι[. . . seems to have the sense of attacking (n. 257, 100; cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 A, p. 344).

προσκαρτερέω, προσκαρτέρησις

proskartereo, to be firm, endure, persevere, remain faithful to a person or a task; *proskarteresis*, constancy, diligence, perseverance, persistence

proskartereo, S 4342; *TDNT* 3.618–619; *EDNT* 3.172; *NIDNTT* 2.767–768; MM 548; L&N 34.2, 35.28, 68.68; BDF §202; BAGD 715 | ***proskarteresis***, S 4343; *TDNT* 3.619–620; *EDNT* 3.172; *NIDNTT* 2.767–768; MM 548; L&N 68.68; BAGD 715

Given the Koine’s love for compound forms and its tendency to reinforce the expressivity of words, we might think that *proskartereo* would hardly differ from plain *kartereo* —“be firm and courageous, endure,”¹ even “persevere” (2Macc 7:17), which is the meaning of *proskartereo* in Tob 5:8 (in a). When Moses commands the explorers of Canaan, “Be courageous” (Num 13:20), the LXX uses *proskarteresantes* to translate the hiphil of the Hebrew *hazaq*.

Nevertheless, the usage of *proskartereo* (usually with the dative) shows new connotations, whether of remaining faithfully attached to a person or of applying oneself exclusively to a certain thing, devoting

oneself to it tirelessly. In the first case, Simon the sorcerer, after being baptized, stuck close to Philip (*en proskarteron to Philippo*, Acts 8:13); the centurion Cornelius calls one of the soldiers who is in his service.² We may compare Mark 3:9, where Jesus asks his disciples “that a boat be kept ready for him” (*hina ploiarion proskartere auto*), i.e., at his disposal, so that he may use it when he wants.

According to Rom 13:6, the tax officials constantly apply themselves to their task (*eis auto touto proskarterountes*). This diligence is already clear in Daniel, where the two elders frequent the house of Joakim (*houtoi prosekarteroun en te oikia loakim*, Sus 6, Theodotion) and is not rare in the papyri:³ “The little one greets you; she is diligent in her studies” (*aspazetai se he meikra kai proskarterei tois mathemasi*, *P.Brem.* 63, 24). It is always a matter of persevering, not letting up,⁴ as is seen in the technical use of the verb in the legal vocabulary: the defendant and the complainant are at the disposition of the court until the final settlement of the suit, as in this summons from 104/5: “Let them keep themselves at the disposition of the court of the same governor until my claim against them is satisfied.”⁵ Thus *proskarteresis* has a connotation of waiting without lapse,⁶ but with a nuance of stubbornness, like that of the tribe of Ephraim besieging Bethel (Josephus, *Ant.* 5.130), and finally the verb refers to the exertion of great efforts, especially in military language: “Epaminondas bade his soldiers hold fast” (Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.5.14); “the soldiers, by persevering (or “with great effort,” *proskarteresantes*) dislodged four stone blocks” (Josephus, *War* 6.27); “the others pursued the operations with all their might” (Polybius 1.55.4; cf. Achilles Tatius 1.10.7: “if she remains obstinate, do not use force,” *kan men proskartere, episches ten bian*).

These components should be kept in mind when we look at the five NT texts that remark on or call for perseverance in prayer. The idea is constant diligence, effort that never lets up, confident waiting for results; and several times these characteristics are emphasized by the periphrastic construction of the participle with the imperfect of the verb to be, showing continuity and suggesting perseverance that does not falter or fail: “these were all persevering with one accord in prayer” (*houtoi pantes esan proskarterountes homothymadon te proseuche*).⁷ When the apostles refuse to wait on tables so that they may devote themselves to prayer and the ministry of the word (Acts 6:4), their dedication has connotations of exclusivity. The application of the verb *proskartereo* to prayer, a usage without parallel in secular Greek and in the LXX, is original to the NT authors; its frequency points as much to an actual state of affairs in the primitive church as to an apostolic demand. It is regrettable that the theological treatises on prayer did not explore the richness of the meaning of this expression, because it is the apostolic translation of the Master’s precept “that they ought always to pray . . . and never lose heart” (*to dein pantote proseuchesthai . . . kai me enkakein*, Luke 18:1; cf. 1Thess 5:17).

The substantive *proskarteresis*, “constancy, diligence, persistence” (Philodemus of Gadara, *Rh.* 1.11), unknown in the papyri, is a biblical hapax describing Christian prayer; it should be understood as having the same richness of meaning as the corresponding verb: “Live a life of prayer and supplication; pray always, in the Spirit. Keep at it with tireless perseverance (*eis auto agrypnountes en pase proskarteresei*), with intercessions for all the saints” (Eph 6:18). The word is found again in Jewish acts of emancipation at Panticapaeum in AD 80 in a rather enigmatic formula: *choris is ten proseuchen thopeias te kai proskartereseos*; ⁸ also *choris tou proskarterein te proseuche epitropeouses tes synagoges ton loudaion kai theon sebon*. ⁹ We translate: the slave shall be free “except [for his obligation] to attend the prayer service regularly”; the Jewish synagogue is the best example of a place for prayer to God.

¹ Heb 11:27; cf. Job 2:9; Sir 2:2; Philo, *Husbandry* 152; Epictetus 1.26.12; *T. Job* 4.10.

² Acts 10:7—τω—ν προσκαρτερούντων αὐτω—; cf. *P.Lond.* 196, 3 (vol. 2, p. 153), προσκαρτερει—ν τω— Νεοκύδει; *P.Brem.* 48, 17: προσκαρτερει—ν αὐτῇ (AD 118); *P.Giss.* 79, col. II, 9: “Epaphroditus has hitherto been guilty of no negligence but is devoted to us and to all your affairs” (ἀλλὰ προσκαρτερει— ἡμι—ν καὶ πα—σι τοι—ς πράγμασί σου— AD 117); *P.Oxy.* 530, 9: “I have long been devoted to the affairs of Pausirion.” Horus is attached (προσκαρτερήσαντι) to the baths for a salary of one drachma per day (P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Julii Theones*, Amsterdam, 1976, n. XV,4).

³ In AD 104, the command of the prefect Gaius Vibius Maximus for the census provides “that they devote themselves diligently to their farming” (τῇ προσηκούσῃ αὐτοί—ς γεωργίαι προσκαρτερήσωσιν, *P.Lond.* 904, 27; vol. 3, p. 125); cf. the request of two brothers selected as farm workers on the royal estate (δημόσιοι γεωργοί) that one of them be released “so that we may be able to devote ourselves also to our own farming” (ἵνα δυνηθω—μεν καὶ τῇ ε—αυτω—ν γεωργία προσκαρτερει—ν, *P.Amh.* 65, 3; republished in *SB* 9050, col. III, 3 and A. Kränzlein, “Die Papyri Vind. inv. 2582 a, 25824 b und Amh 65,” in *JJP*, vol. 6, 1952, pp. 195–237); the edict of the prefect Q. Aemilius Saturninus, ἵνα διὰ τὴν σὴν τύχην δυνηθω—μεν προσκαρτερει—ν τω— ἔργω (*P.Lund* IV, 1, 20; republished in *SB* 9340; second century); προσκαρτερω—ν τῇ στρατηγία ἀδιαλίπτως εἰ—ς τὸ ε—ν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι (*P.Oxy.* 82, 4; third century); ephebic inscription in honor of a *kosmetes* (καὶ τοῦ διατηρηθῆναι τὴν εὐφημίαν αὐτοί—ς

προσκαρτερω—ν ε—πιμελω—ς καὶ προσεδρεύων, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 717, 84); Polybius 1.59.12: ε—πιμελεία προσκαρτερω—ν.

⁴ *P.Brem.* 16, 15: “It is enough that Hierakion perseveres and to me . . .” (ἀρκετὸς γάρ ε—στιν Ἱερακίων προσκαρτερω—ν καὶ ε—μοὶ . . .); inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene at Nimrud Dagh, Arsameia, and Selik (*IGLS*, n. 1, 130, 168; 47, col. III, 17; IV, 2–3; 51, 14 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 383).

⁵ Προσκαρτερήσωσι τω— τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνος βήματι ἄχρι ου— ε—κβιβασθῆ ἃ ἔχω πρὸς αὐτούς, *P.Oxy.* 2852, 33; cf. 261, 12: Demetria pleads physical weakness as an excuse for being absent, οὐ δυναμένη προσκαρτερῆσαι τω— κριτηρίῳ διὰ γυναικείαν ἀσθένειαν (AD 55); 260, 14: προσκαρτερήσιν μέχρι ου— ἃ ἔχωμεν πρὸς ε—αυτούς ε—γβιβασθῆ (AD 59); 2597, 8; *P.Hamb.* 4, 7: προσκαρτερήσιν τω— ι—ερωτάτῳ τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος . . . βήματι (AD 87); *P.Oslo* 19, 4; *PSI* 806, 17 (cf. 1265, 8; E.Wipszycka, in *JJP*, vol. 16–17, 1971, p. 228); *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 27, 6; *P.Stras.* 196, 16; *P.Mich.* 533, 7: Heracleides swears to the prefect in 137 that he will be present at the tribunal until the sentence is handed down (προσκαρτερήσιν τω— βήματι μέχρι ου— διευθύνῳ ἃ πρὸς με ἔχει Ἡρακλείδης); *P.Fouad* 22, col. II, 13, a lawsuit between members of the same family, AD 125: Isidora takes an oath to appear at Alexandria to settle her dispute with Deios, “and I will remain at the disposal of his excellence the *archidikastes* until I have completed by business with Deios” (καὶ προσκαρτερήσιν τω— κρατίστῳ ἀρχιδικαστῆ ἄχρι ἂν ε—κβιβασῶ ἃ ἔχω πρὸς τὸν Δει—ον); *BGU* 628, 9; *P.Mert.* 91, 4, a petition to the *strategos*: the complainant asks that his adversaries be notified of his complaint so that they may be informed and may present themselves before the tribunal until the difference between them is settled (ἴν εἴδωσιν καὶ προσκαρτερήσωσιν τω— σω—+ δικαστηρίῳ ἄχρις ἂν τὰ μετοξὺ ἡμῶν πέρατος τύχη).

⁶ *Π.Οξψ.* 1764, 4: “Φορ α νυμπερ οφ δαψσ ωε η̄αε βεεν ωαιτινγ φορ Πηιλεασ τηε βυτχηερ” (πολλὰ ἡμέραι προσκαρτεροῦμεν Φιλέῳ τω— μοσχομαγείρῳ); *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 31, 11: “For a long while I waited for Hermaiscos to pay the seven staters; finally he gave me twenty-four drachmas”; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 189, 7; *PSI* 598, 7: προσκαρτέρησον οὖν ἕως ἂν —Ετέαρχος παραγένηται.

⁷ Acts 1:14; 2:42 (cf. P. H. Menoud, *La Vie de l'église naissante*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1952, pp. 23–24; J. A. Fitzmyer, *Semitic Background*, pp. 271–303); 2:46; 6:4; Rom 12:12.

⁸ B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, vol. 2, n. 52, 53, 364. *RIJG* (vol. 2, p. 299) translates “aller librement . . . excepté dans la maison de prière consacrée au culte et à la persévérance” (“go freely . . . except in the

house of prayer, which is consecrated to worship and perseverance”). J. B. Frey (*CII* 683, 14; 684, 21; 691, 20): total liberty for the freed slave “except with respect to prayer, to which he will owe devotion and diligence”; προσκαρτέρησις is attested in an inscription from Andros in the sense of devoting oneself to a profession (W. Peek, “Griechische Inschriften,” in *Ath. Mitt.* 1934, p. 69).

⁹ *CIRB*, n. 71, 6–7; Republished by B. Lifshitz, “Notes d’épigraphie grecque,” in *RB*, 1969, p. 95; cf. M. Hengel, “Proseuche und synagoge,” in *Tradition und Glaube* (Festgabe K. G. Kuhn), Göttingen, 1971, p. 174; ἡ προσκαρτερία (*I.Priene* 109, 101; from 120 BC).

προσλαμβάνομαι

proslambanomai, to take in addition, seize, conquer, take with oneself, aid, assist, take in, add, receive

proslambanomai, S 4355; *TDNT* 4.15; *EDNT* 3.175; *NIDNTT* 3.747–748, 750; MM 549–550; L&N 15.127, 15.167, 15.180, 18.2, 34.53; BDF §169(2); BAGD 717

This compound of *lambano*, “take, receive, possess,” can keep the same meaning; for example, Heracles says to his son, “Take me here to lift me up” (Sophocles, *Trach.* 1024; cf. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 202). But at *Ach.* 1215 (“Take [*labesthe*] my leg, take it again [*proslabesth’*], my friends”), Aristophanes retains the significance of *pros-* (“additionally”; Polybius 3.70.2; cf. Euripides, *Med.* 885; *Hipp.* 1011) added to the simple verb: “take in addition.” Thus one takes a food with one’s bread (Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.14.4; cf. *Symp.* 4.8) or “adds” dishonor to misfortune (Thucydides 5.111.3; *Tht.* 207 c; *Phdr.* 272 a). Hence the meanings “add,¹ adjoin, bring along”: “Cyrus took with him a large number of horsemen and peltasts” (bearers of light shields, Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.4.16); “If I had joined him to you as an ally” (*An.* 7.6.27; Sophocles, *OC* 378); then “come to the aid of”: Dio undertook a campaign against Dionysius and “with the help of the people (*proslabon ton demon*) expelled him” (Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.10.32); and finally “take, conquer” cities or lands (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.4.1). — In the middle voice, *proslambanomai* retains this latter meaning (Polybius 1.37.5), and likewise “take with oneself” (volunteers, Chariton, *Chaer.* 8.2.14); but above all it means “take part in an enterprise, come to the aid of, assist”: “It was right that you should lend me your help” (Plato, *Leg.* 10.897 d); “Clearchus put his own hand to the work . . . men who had passed the age of thirty also took part.”²

In the LXX, two occurrences have the meaning “add, adjoin,”³ one means “receive, accept” (those banished from Jerusalem, 2Macc 10:15),

and the other five have theological meanings. God is the subject of the verb, but in each case the underlying Hebrew is different: God decides to take Isr as his people (1Sam 12:22; *‘asâh* with the double nuance of acquiring and instituting); “From on high he stretched forth his hand, he grasped me, he drew me out of the great waters” (Ps 18:16, Hebrew *mashâh*); “If my father and mother were to abandon me, Yahweh would take me in” (Ps 27:10, Hebrew *‘asap*); “Happy is the one whom you choose and take for yourself to abide with you in your court” (Ps 65:4, Hebrew *qarab*, bring near, present); “You will guide me with your counsel, and then afterward you will receive me in your glory” (Ps 73:24, Hebrew *laqah*, “seize, take, conquer, carry off”). This usage in the Psalms shows that *proslambano* is an element in Isr’s religious language and could not fail to have an influence on NT usage.

With Philo, the meaning “add” is predominant. An illness of the soul is added to bodily illness (*Unchang. God* 66; *Migr. Abr.* 55), sorrow to sorrow (*Moses* 2.225), new joys to past happiness (*Virtues* 67); if there are too few people in the household, one takes a neighbor in addition to eat the lamb (*Heir* 193); tax collectors add to their brutality the immunity that is assured by their masters’ directives.⁴ The nuances “to take for oneself” (Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 119), “acquire” (*Decalogue* 136; *Good Man Free* 12, 159) and “take to oneself” (*Plant.* 64) are well attested; but we may emphasize “to master” (*Conf. Tongues* 110, the passions) and “seize” (*To Gaius* 347). In Josephus, “add” is less frequent,⁵ but “adjoin” (in the sense of taking on associates) and “receive help” recur endlessly;⁶ which attests the common social nuance of this verb in the first century. The meaning “take by force” is not absent: “the rebels sought to take the upper city in addition to the places that they already occupied” (*War* 2.424).

In the papyri, it is often a question of “receiving” what is due,⁷ but also of “adjoining” persons as witnesses (*P.Mert.* V, 32: “bringing with me the same Panas,” *proslabonta syn emoi ton auton Panan*), associates (*P.Dura* 13 a 10, *metochous proslabesai*), partners (*P.Oxy.* 3092, 4: *proslambanesthai autous koinonous*; *P.Amh.* 100, 4: *proselabeto ton Kornelion koinonon*), or collaborators (*P.Fay.* 12, 10: *proslabomenos synergon Ammonion*), who provide their services (*UPZ* 19, 25, *diakonein hemin*) and their help (*P.Oxy.* 71, col. II, 9: *eis boetheian*). In 157 BC a new meaning appeared, “to enlist” in an army. A *prostagma* of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II says, “To Demetrius. Enlist (*proslabesthai*) Apollonius the Macedonian in the company of Dexilaos” (*P.Lond.* 23, 21; vol. 1, p. 38 = *UPZ* 14, 14; cf. 208, 3; 214, 1). Similarly, in the same period, an honorific decree for Orthagoras of Araxa: “Our people were quite zealous toward them (the people of Orloanda) to obtain their liberty and their integration (*proslephthosin*) into the confederation of the Lycian people. . . . By his action he contributed to their integration (*eis to proslephthenai autous*) into the community of Lycians.”⁸ This reception

into a community is not merely official but also implies emotional ties (*UPZ* 144, 11: *proseilepsai philon*), as in the marriage contract in *P.Mur.* 115, 5, from the second century AD: the husband “has agreed and concluded to reconcile anew and take back the same Salome . . . as his legitimate wife.”⁹

In the NT, the verb *proslambano* is used only in the middle voice. The first text is difficult. When Jesus has announced his passion, Peter *proslabomenos auton* “began to rebuke him, saying, ‘God forbid, Master, it shall not be’” (Matt 16:22; Mark 8:32). How should this be translated? A. Schlatter cites Josephus, *Ant.* 18.4 as a parallel: Judas the Gaulanite “assured himself of the help of Saddok, a Pharisee” (*Saddokon Pharisaion proslabomenos*).¹⁰ St. Matthew, however, comments on *proslabomenos* with “began to rebuke him,” and it is difficult to see how the aorist participle here could mean “come to the aid of, help” Jesus. Other moderns see here a synonym of *paralambano*, “take along with oneself,” so that Peter “drew him aside” or “apart”; but this meaning is not attested. Why not refer instead to the numerous occurrences of this verb in the sense of “take by force, seize, master” and see here an illusion to the impetuosity of the apostle, who adds and opposes a claim against Christ’s affirmation, wanting to cause him to change his mind. This would account for the quite brusque character of Christ’s response: “Get behind me, adversary; you are setting up a stumbling-block” (*skandalon*, Matt 16:23), an obstacle on the way of the cross.

On the other hand, the five occurrences in Acts are completely traditional. At Thessalonica, “jealous Jews took as allies (*proslabomenoi*) some wicked men” (Acts 17:5); at Ephesus, Priscilla and Aquila, after hearing Apollos, “took him with them (*proselabonta auton*) and explained the way of God to him more precisely” (18:26). At the end of the storm, St. Paul says to his companions, “Today is the fortieth day that you have been in suspense and fasting and have taken nothing *more* to eat” (*methen proslabomenoi*). When the apostle himself started to eat, “all were encouraged and also took food” (*autoi proselabonto trophes*, 27:36). At Malta, “the barbarians showed us uncommon humaneness (*ou ten tychousan philanthropian*) ... receiving (*proselabonto*) us all, because of the rain and cold that had come on” (28:2). Note well this link between kind and beneficent humaneness and reception. Nothing has less of a juridical flavor than help given to shipwreck victims. Here, the heart receives and helps the neighbor. In this same way *proslambanomai* became with Paul a Christian virtue.

In four occurrences, the apostle Paul uses the present or aorist middle imperative (*proslambanesthe*, *proslabou*) three times. “Receive the one who is weak in the faith.”¹¹ This is not about taking aside a brother whose conduct is not in harmony with ours. The verb indicates that we must take him with us and introduce him warmly into our fellowship. This is

more than a manifestation of brotherly love; it is a primitive requirement of the Christian religion, formulated thus: “The one who eats must not scorn the one who does not eat, and the one who does not eat must not judge the one who eats, because God has received him” (*ho theos gar auton proselabeto*, Rom 14:3). He has chosen him as his own, taking him from the world to make him a believer and bring him into his church. How can this divinely established brotherhood be refused? The new exhortation is “Receive then one another, just as Christ has received you, for the glory of God” (Rom15:7). The two propositions correspond precisely: *dio proslambanesthe allelous* on the one hand and *kathos kai ho Christos proselabeto hymas* on the other. Christ’s welcome of all of his own without distinction with a view to the perfect unity of the community is the model for each Christian’s welcoming of all his fellow-Christians, and at the same time is an individual precept. This is an evocation of the hospitality which was the first manifestation of brotherly *agape* in the primitive church¹² and which must of course be present at the outset in every community.¹³

In a concrete case, St. Paul tells Philemon to observe this principle towards Onesimus, a runaway slave who would normally have been punished. “If you have any regard for the bonds that unite us, receive him as if he were myself” (*proslabou auton hos eme*, Phlm 17). According to the previously cited texts, he is not only being asked to receive this guilty person into his house, nor simply to pardon him, but even to treat him with complete respect, generosity, and attentiveness. As a parallel we may cite *BGU* 1141, 37, from 34 BC: “Twice I received him into my house” (*dis proselabomen auton eis oikon par’ eme*). We may add a Latin letter of recommendation addressed to a military tribune in the second century, in which Aurelius Archelaus commends to him his friend Theon: “I ask you, my lord, to look upon him as if he were myself, for he is such a man as should be loved by you.”¹⁴

¹ *Ep. Arist.* 2 quotes an iambic trimeter: προσμανθάνειν ἀεί τι καὶ προσλαμβάνειν (“Always to learn and enrich oneself”).

² Xenophon, *An.* 2.3.11–12; cf. Aristophanes, *Pax* 9: “help me, in the name of the gods”; Chariton, *Chaer.* 8.2.13: “I will not let you have regrets, with the help of the gods.”

³ Wis 17:10—“wickedness always adds to the difficulties”; 2Macc 8:1—Judas Maccabeus and his companions, recruiting partisans in the villages, join themselves to those who stand firm in Judaism.

⁴ *Spec. Laws* 2.93; cf. 3.101; *Decalogue* 25; *Joseph* 7; *Moses* 1.68: “the bush found still more splendor”; 133; *Virtues* 100: “Moses added something greater”; *To Gaius* 114, passion “receives the simultaneous help of vanity

and ambition”; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.23: “the vegetative power augmented by imagination”; cf. fetuses that stay longer in their mothers’ wombs (1.9).

⁵ *War* 1.35: “Bacchides with his natural cruelty exaggerated the godless orders of the prince”; 1.446: “Their hatred was doubled by frank speech”; 1.483; *Ant.* 1.306: “She added to this woman’s fame”; 4.296: add profit; 15.160: a new prestige; 19.351: he received in addition Judea, Samaria, and Caesarea. Hence “amass” (3.56). Cf. “increase one’s experience” (Thucydides 6.18.6); add new acquaintances to one’s collection (Isocrates, *Demon.* 1.18); “adding what we need to our assets” (Andocides, *De Pace* 3.23).

⁶ *War* 1.329: “Herod attached auxiliaries”; 2.67: “Varus attached an additional 1500 armed men to his forces”; 2.425, 427, 588; 4.138; *Ant.* 5.120: “having received Simeon’s help”; 6.108; 14.84, 452; 18.4; 19.60; *Life* 39: “they were obliged to take on the Galileans as allies”; *War* 1.561: “Alexander’s son could in addition rely on his father-in-law”; 1.567, 568: “the wife of Pheroras allied with her mother, her sister, and the mother of Antipas”; 4.616: Vespasian wrote to Tiberius Alexander “that he would gladly take him as a collaborator and helper”; *Ant.* 3.64: “Aaron, to whom Raguel was joined”; 5.63; *Ag. Apion* 1.241: “Osarsiph associated some of the other priests with himself.”

⁷ *P.Lond.* 2004, 30 (third century BC); *P.Cair.Zen.* 59355, 144 (= *SB* 6771; cf. 6727, 5; 9150, 7; 10308, 4); *P.Mich.* 67, 25; 84, 16. In 50 BC, a *prostagma* of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XII says, “Whoever reports violators of these dispositions to the *strategos* of the nome will obtain . . . if he is a slave, in addition to his freedom, the sixth part (of the fortune of the guilty party)” (*BGU* 1730 = *SB* 7419; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 73, 15; cf. 50, 31 = *P.Tebt.* 700, 51).

⁸ J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. IV, 56 and 61. Cf. Plutarch, *Pel.* 27, 3: “Pelopidas recruited mercenaries on the spot”; decree of Canopus: priests προσλαμβανομένων ε—κ τῆς πέμπτης φυλῆς τω—ν Εὐεργετω—ν θεω—ν ἄλλων πέντε (Dittenberger, *Or.* 56, 31). In the meaning “fix, attach,” cf. Aristotle, *Part. An.* 2.9.654b and 27; 3.7.670a14; *HA* 1.17a22.

⁹ Republished *SB* 10305 (cf. Xenophon, *Lac.* 1.9); cf. *P.Tebt.* 61 a s: τω—ν προσληφθέντων ει—ς τὴν κατοικίαν; *P.Petaus* 28, 14: ε—πὶ δὲ ὕβριν προσέλαβα. In a very mutilated Christian inscription from Baalbek, it seems that baptismal illumination is in view: προσλαμβάνων φω—ς (*IGLS* 2834, 4).

¹⁰ A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, p. 516.

¹¹ Rom 14:1. These “weak” ones, who appear suddenly in the vegetarian controversy, are ascetics who abstain from certain foods, or scrupulous folk—or better, converts—whose consciences have not been sufficiently enlightened by the new faith. Cf. J. Dupont, “Appel aux faibles et aux forts dans la communauté romaine (Rom. XIV, 1–XV, 13),” in *AnBib* 17, Rome, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 357–366.

¹² Rom 12:13—“pursue hospitality”; 1Tim 3:2—the bishop must be hospitable; 1Pet 4:9, all Christians must be φιλόξενοι; Heb 13:2; 3 John: the thoughtfulness and generosity of Gaius in receiving traveling Christians not known to him personally (C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 311–312) are praised by St. John in the manner of an “honorific decree” analogous the one that the Lycian confederation, the council and people of Myra, of Patara, and of Telmessos sent in AD 43 to the Roman Junia Theodora, who was staying in Corinth, and whose hospitality was so remarkable (*SEG* XVIII, 143, 25ff., 48, 75ff.); her beneficiaries testify for her (lines 9, 16, 32, 61). Cf. the honorific decree of Athens in 347/6: “Let the envoys Sotis and Theodosius be praised for their good offices on behalf of travelers from Athens to the Bosphorus” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 206, 49ff.). At Chersonese, a benefactor of the city is praised for having practiced personal hospitality toward the people of the city in time of famine (τ—διόξενοι, B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, III, n. 68, 25); cf. Cimon, the most hospitable of the Greeks, who had a large meal prepared every day for a large number of people (Plutarch, *Cim.* 10.4); all the poor were admitted (10.1). He surpassed the ancient hospitality and kindness of the Athenians (φιλοξενίαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, 10.6). Here pagan hospitality is not at issue, but the brotherly love commanded by the Master (Matt 25:35, 38, 43–44; J. Winandy, “La Scène du Jugement dernier [Mt. XXV, 31–46],” in *ScEccl*, 1966, pp. 169–186; P. Miquel, “Hospitalité,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 7, 808ff.). Whoever “receives” a brother receives Christ in person (Matt 10:40–42; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 809–815). This welcome was so universal and so generous that abuses occurred; *Did.* 11.3–6 reacts against these.

¹³ W. Barclay (*NT Wordbook*, pp. 107–109) interprets the apostle’s exhortations in terms of the LXX, where God “receives” his people (1Sam 12:22; Ps 27:10; 65:4) and in terms of the Greek meaning of *proslambanomai*: “take someone as an associate, aide, partner” and concludes that to “receive” a believer in the church is to treat him as an ally, an auxiliary, an assistant who brings his help to the life of the community; a stable and beneficent active member of the family, by no means a stranger. According to the papyri, we can see such a person as a soldier enrolled in an army. He has been enlisted in the Christian militia in order to be of

effective service there, which he can do only in union with his fellow soldiers. The verb *proslambanomai* meant all of this to Jesus' disciples.

¹⁴ "Peto domine ut eum ante oculos habeas tanquam me est enim tales omo ut ametur a te," *P.Oxy.* 32, 6–10 = R. Cavenaile, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum*, Wiesbaden, 1958, n. 249.

προτρέπομαι

protrepomai, to urge forward, stir up, exhort

protrepomai, S 4389; *EDNT* 3.182; MM 554; L&N 33.300; BAGD 722

Protrepo, "urge forward," is used above all in the transitive and with a figurative meaning, "stir up, exhort."¹ Nevertheless, the aorist middle participle, which is a NT hapax at Acts 18:27, is not without difficulty: from Ephesus, since Apollos "wanted to pass over to Achaëa, the brethren exhorted (him) and wrote to the disciples to receive him." This translation follows Chrysostom in supposing that *auton* should be understood between *protrepsamenoï* and *hoi adelphoi*, which is contrary to the usage in the papyri and the inscriptions.² And why exhort Apollos, since he himself has the desire to go to Corinth (*boulomenou de autou dielthein*)? We could translate, "the brethren encouraged him," but that is not exactly what the verb means.³ According to Codex Bezae and the Harclean Syriac, it was Corinthians at Ephesus who, having heard Apollos, asked him to come to their country (*parekaloun dielthein . . . eis ten patrida auton*); Apollos did not take the initiative for this apostolic mission. We can remove the difficulty by referring *protrepsamenoï* not to Apollos but to the Corinthians, who were urged to write a letter of recommendation (cf. Rom 16:1; 2Cor 3:1ff.; Col 4:10): having exhorted, the brothers wrote, or they wrote exhorting, or the brothers exhorted by means of a letter.⁴

The papyri offer numerous parallels to this invitation to make a voyage: "Theon, my brother, salutes you and urges you (*protrepetai se*) to come to see us at Bacchias" (*P.Mich.* 496, 19); "urge brother Castor, if he is going to come" (*protrepsai Kastora, ean melle elthein, embalesthai tous hemeterous*, SB 7349, 6); "we urged him to come with us to survey the flood plains" (*proetrepsamen exelthein ham' hemein epi ton horismon ton neson*, *ibid.* 10649, 5); "I urged the father of one of them to come with us to you" (*proetrepsa men oun ton patera tou henos auton katelthein met'auton pros se*, *ibid.* 9415, col. XVIII, 12); "when the envoy encouraged him and urged him to go to Egypt" (*tou presbeutou protrepsamenou kai parormesantos eis Aigypton elthein*, Josephus, *Ant.* 12.166). The urging is a function of affection or admiration,⁵ as with *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVII, 16, b 15—"for my friend urged me strongly"⁶—and SB 7517, 6, where the subject

of the verb is “benevolence”: “Your benevolence impels those who have been wronged to come to you fearlessly” (*he se eumeneia protrepetai tous adikethentas aphobos soi proseinai*).

The invitation is often very pressing, like the strong urging to serve in a *leitourgia*,⁷ to make payments or pay taxes (*P.Ryl.* 617, 12; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 9, 10), to meet one’s obligations,⁸ to carry out tasks (*SB* 9102, 17), and especially to take on a responsibility.⁹ The verb occurs commonly in honorific decrees mentioning that an athlete was “stirred up” to take part in a competition¹⁰ or an official was urged to accept his office.¹¹ It is possible that this noble sense of the word motivated the selection of this verb in Acts 18:27 to make the arrival of Apollos at Corinth somewhat official.

¹ 2Macc 11:7—“Maccabeus exhorted the others to risk themselves along with him to help their brothers”; 4Macc 12:7—“When his mother had exhorted (the seventh brother) in Hebrew”; 15:12—“the mother exhorted her children, together and individually, to die for the sake of piety”; 16:13—“she exhorted them, supplicating them to die for the sake of piety” (προετρέπετο ἰ—κετεύουσα); Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.2.14: “it is by making them weep that the law urges citizens toward justice”; Thucydides 8.63.3: Peisander’s delegation urged the noteworthy leaders to establish an oligarchy.

² *P.Ryl.* 77, 48: “we urged him to assume the office of *kosmetes*” (ἡμῶ—ν δὲ προτρεπομένων αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν κοσμητείαν); decree from the second century BC in honor of Eirenias, who “thanks to his own personal authority, stirred up King Eumenes to give the city 160,000 *medimnoi* of wheat for the building of a gymnasium” (προτρεψάμενος αὐτὸν δοῦναι τῇ πόλει δωρεάν, *NCIG*, n. VIII, 6).

³ Nevertheless, urging or incitement is often tempered and leaves room for the free initiative of the person urged; cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 128: “it would be well, if through a public announcement, προτρέψασθαί σε τοὺς βουλομένους πλέον προσκομίζειν ὄφελος τῶ—ταμείῳ”; *P.Oxf.* 12, 6: “since you engage me to join with you . . .” (contract for association in the second century); Dittenberger, *Or.* 339, 90: ἵνα . . . ζηλωταὶ μὲν τῶ—καλλίστων γίνωνται, προτρέπωνται δὲ πρὸς ἀρετήν; cf. Xenophon, *Mem.* 1.4.1; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.262: προτρεψαμένου τοῦ —Αμασα— at the suggestion of Amasa, all the Israelites did likewise.”

⁴ Cf. M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §262.

⁵ Cf. Wis 14:18—“The ambition of the craftsman impelled even those who did not know the king to intensify their worship” (ἢ τοῦ τεχνίτου προετρέψατο φιλοτιμία).

⁶ Πολλὰ γάρ με προετρέψατο ὁ φίλος. Republished in SB 10286 (second-third century). This nuance of affection often appears in letters; *P.Mich.* 496, 5: ἤδη προτρέπομαι ε—πιστέλλειν ἡμι—ν περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου, “I urge you to write me immediately concerning your health” (second century); *SB* 9533, 4: ἀσπάζομαι καὶ προτρέπομαί σε τὸ αὐτὸ ποιει—ν ὑπὸ χει—ρα (second century); 7335, 6: προτρέπομαι σε γράψαι μοι ἥδιστα ποιήσοντι; *P.Brem.* 21, 9, καὶ σὲ δὲ προτρέπομαι ε—πιτρέπειν μοι περὶ ὧν βούλει ὅς (*sic*) ἥδιστα ποιήσοντι.

⁷ *P.Oxy.* 2569, 14; *P.Cair.Isid.* 81, 9 = *SB* 7676. One is urged by the *strategos* and the people to such an undertaking (*UPZ* 110, 165; second century BC); cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 5.171: οὔτε προτρεπομένων οὔτε κωλύόντων.

⁸ *P.Mich.* 485, 10: “I pray you, brother, to act once again on my behalf and urge Valerius to write to Peios, having confidence in my good faith”; *P.Oxy.* 1252, verso 32.

⁹ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 15, 3: cf. the honorific inscription of an association for its president: αὐτοί τε ἅπαντες προτρεψάμενοι τοὺς δοκοῦντας ε—ν ε—αυτοί—ς εὐθέτους εἶναι τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης (*SB* 8267, 11; from 5 BC). An *agonothetes*, at his own expense, puts up a statue of a victorious athlete: ε—τείμησε Αὐρ. Μεννέας β? θέμεως ἀγωνοθέτης Αὐρ.—Αλέξανδρον Τιείου προτρεψαμένης τῆς πόλεως ε—νδόξως ἀγωνισάμενον πυθικῶ—ν πανκράτιον (*MAMA* IV, 132).

¹⁰ Inscription at Aphrodisias for Aurelius Achilles, ὅτι προτρεψαμένης αὐτὸν ὡς πατρίδος τῆς πόλεως εἰ—ς τὸ τελεώτατον τῶ—ν ἀγωνισμάτων. This athlete took the Olympic victory from Ephesus; that city had urged him to participate in its games, as if it were his own country (ed. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, p. 620, who gives numerous other references, p. 165); cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1073, 37, ε—πὶ πλει—στον ἀγωνίζεσθαι προτρεπόμενος.

¹¹ Honorific decree from 107 BC for the praetor Diophantos, ε—πὶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ε—νδοξότατα τὸν βασιλέα προτρεπόμενος (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 709, 5); cf. the decree of Lebedos for a judge from Samos, προτρέπωνται δὲ καὶ οἱ—λοιποὶ εἰ—ς τὰ παρακαλούμενα προθύμους ε—αυτοὺς ε—πιδιδόναι (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, p. 205, 19).

πρόφασις

prophasis, a reason proffered, pretext, excuse

prophasis, S 4392; *EDNT* 3.182; MM 555; L&N 33.437, 88.230; BAGD 722

Derived from *prophaino*, unknown in the OT (cf. 2Macc 3:26), *prophasis* is used five times in the NT, always in a pejorative sense; four of the occurrences are datives of manner and circumstance, used adverbially.¹ Its first meaning is “a reason that is proffered” without any psychological or moral connotation,² but it is most commonly used to mean “pretext,” a motive set forth deceitfully,³ as with the sailors who “let down the boat to the sea on the pretext (*prophasei*) that they had to distance the anchors from the bow” (Acts 27:30); the sailors wanted to flee, and they used a false pretext, but St. Paul saw their true intent.

Prophasis often takes on this nuance of lying and pretense: one acts on a hidden motive under the cover of one that is perceptible or respectable.⁴ This fallacious character appears in Mark 12:40; Luke 20:47, denouncing the scribes who make a show of praying at length.⁵ This hypocrisy, rejected by St. Paul,⁶ is that of certain preachers denounced in Phil 1:18 whose intentions are not pure; they preach the gospel out of “envy and strife” (*dia phthonon kai erin*), then “out of selfish ambition” (*ex eritheias*), and finally “not from pure motives” (*ouch hagnos*) and on a pretext (*prophasei*). This ministry is incited by jealousy, the purpose being to make the apostle’s chains heavier,⁷ that is, to supplant him and undermine his authority. Other Christians “preach Christ out of goodwill, acting in love” (verses 15–16). The apostle concludes, “What does it matter? In one way or another, under pretext or in truth (*eite prophasei eite aletheia*), Christ is preached, and in that I rejoice.” This dichotomy between true and false motives is classical: *prophaseis anti ton alethon pseudeis*.⁸

Prophasis finally has the sense of excuse—valid or not⁹—notably that of ignorance: *agnoias prophasin hypoteimesamenos* (*P.Oxy.* 1119, 11). In this meaning, John 15:22—“If I had not come and spoken to them, they would have no sin, but now they have not excuse for their sin”¹⁰ of willful blindness.

¹ Πρόφασει; cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, § 45 q; K. Deichgräber, “Πρόφασις,” in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, vol. 3, 1932, pp. 209–225.

² SB 8987, 38: εἰς τὴν τούτων πρόφασιν τε καὶ αἰτίαν. *T. Job* 8.5; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 3.1.27, Tigranes to Cyrus: “the offenses that we have committed probably give you reason to mistrust us”; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.427; *War* 2.348; *P.Lips.* 64, 8: διὰ τὴν πρόφασιν ταύτην = for this reason; *P.Oxy.* 1880, 12: ἔνεκεν τῆς προφάσεως; 1897, 5; 2110, 15, 34, 37; 2420, 16; 2478, 23; *P.Erl.* 105, 7, 9; 109, 7; 132; *P.Ant.* 44, 6: διὰ τῶν ἐπιπαισῶν προφάσεων = for the reasons mentioned; *P.Mert.* 98, 12; *C.P.Herm.* 2, 7: προφάσεις ἀπαραίτητοι, compelling reasons kept me from joining you; *P.Mich.* 486, 12: πρόφασις παρολκῆς, reason for a delay; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 888, 137: διὰ γὰρ τὰς προειρημένους ταύτας προφάσεις. F. Robert, (“Prophasis,” in *REG*, 1976, pp. 317–342) demonstrates that πρόφασις in the medical vocabulary means first of all “first manifestation, initial period, precursor phenomenon, preparatory phase,” then “observable, visible cause,” finally “cause” in general, synonymous with αἰτία. Similarly in Thucydides: ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις = the truest cause (1.23.6), with the nuance of intention, explanation (6.6.1).

³ “The high officials and satraps sought a grievance against Daniel, but they could find no motive or fault, because he was faithful. These men said, ‘Since we can find no grievance against Daniel, let us find something against him in the law of his God’” (Dan 6:5-6; Theodotion); cf. Demosthenes, *C. Olymp.* 48.39: “In all that he says, there is nothing but imaginary suspicions, false excuses, and bits of trickery” (προφάσεις ἄδικοι καὶ πονηρία); *ibid.* 48.42; 48.50; Menander, *Dysk.* 135: “He is quite pleased to have found a pretext”; 322: “I do not want to send you back on an empty pretext” (οὐ πρόφασιν εἰπὼν βούλομαι ἀποπέμψαι κενήν); Josephus, *War* 1.654: “These men, under the pretext of serving the law, were in reality serving a deeper design; thus they had to be punished for impiety”; 5.424; *Ant.* 15.185: in entrusting Mariamne and her mother Alexandra to the keeping of the Ituraean Soemus, Herod finds an occasion or a pretext to honor him; *War* 4.394: “They feared that their initial opposition would give him a pretext to act against them”; *Ag. Apion* 1.72: “After I have produced the evidence supplied by these peoples, I shall also mention those Greek historians who have spoken of the Jews, in order to deprive those who are jealous of us this last pretext for controversy against us”; Thucydides 5.53: “The same summer, war broke out between Epidaurus and Argos, the pretext being the sacrificial offering to Pythian Apollo that the Epidaurians were supposed to send for their pasture land, which they did not send”; SB 8444, 15 (= Dittenberger, *Or.* 669): “As some, under the pretext of the interests of the state, having the debts of others ceded to themselves, have had certain people incarcerated,” line 17, 37; *P.Mich.* 581, 14: “on the pretext that I was guilty of theft” (second century); 529, 50; 530, 25; 624, 12; *P.Oxy.* 903, 35; 2235, 13; 2407, 49;

Pap.Lugd.Bat. VI, 37, 13. The rebels gave Cleomenes a pretext for complaining (Plutarch, *Cleom.* 3.6; cf. *Ant.* 12.1; 42.1; 53.2).

⁴ Hos 10:4—λαλω—ν ῥήματα προφάσεις ψευδει—ς, “uttering words to disguise lies”; Josephus, *Life* 79: ε—ν προφάσει φιλίας, “under the cover of friendship”; 282: “on the pretext of an urgent call”; *SB* 9801, 14: “Everything indicates clearly that they sold the tomb ἀκαταχρημάτιστον under the guise of a lease (προφάσει μισθώσεως) . . . consequently, they will have to restore it” (first century, cf. F. De Visscher, *Le Droit des tombeaux romains*, Milan, 1963, pp. 197–224); *SB* 10044, 14.

⁵ Προφάσει μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι; a sentence repeated in Matt 23:14 (sometimes placed after verse 12), but absent from the Vulgate and rejected by the critics.

⁶ 1Thess 2:5—“We have never had recourse to flattery . . . nor disguised greed” (προφάσει πλεονεξίας, as translated by B. Rigaux, *Thessaloniens*). The Vulgate took this to mean “occasion”; a well-attested meaning of πρόφασις; Cleomenes asks Nicagoras of Messene what occasion brings him to Egypt (Plutarch, *Cleom.* 25.2); *P.Fay.* 20, 11: “on the occasion of my succession to the empire”; *BGU* 1024, col. VI, 21: “Finding the occasion, Zephyrios said”; *P.Mich.* 503, 22: ει— πρόφασιν ἔχεις ε—λθει—ν ει—ς —Αλεξάνδριαν, “if you have occasion to come to Alexandria”; *SB* 6751, 8; ἵνα τὴν πρόφασιν τω—ν ναυπηγῶ—ν λύσωμεν (third century BC); 8003, 6: ὡς ἔτυχεν περὶ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως (Christian letter, fourth century); 9557, 18: καὶ προφάσεις καὶ ἀναβολὰς καὶ ἀναδόσεις ποιησάμενος (cf. M. Hombert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1966, pp. 183–184); 10463, 1, 3: τῇ προφάσει δι’ ἧ—ς γράφω . . . ἢ δὲ πρόφασιν αὐτῆ ε—στιν . . . ; 10567, 43; *P.Gron.* 19, A 15; μὴ προπάσις (*sic*) σχῆς; *P.Oxy.* 2416, 15; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 3, 17; 11, 6.

⁷ Cf. Philo, *Moses* 1.247: “Those who are pained by a neighbor’s success find satisfaction in seeing ills befall him”; Heraclitus, *All.* 6.3: “Malevolent envy (ὁ φθόνος) always seeks to sully and denigrate”; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.122–123; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp.* 3: “The Lacedaemonians gave in to jealousy and fear” (φθόνῳ προφάσεις); *P.Thead.* 14, 34: “They accuse us out of jealousy”; *P.Ryl.* 144, 21; *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VI, 21; 533, 14, ἵνα μὴ ἔχωμεν στομάχους μηδὲ φθόνον; cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 244–252.

⁸ Demosthenes, *Corona* 225; falsifying the true motives for dealings (τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τω—ν πραγμάτων, *ibid.* 156); cf. the truest motive, τῇ ἀληθεστάτῃ προφάσει (Thucydides 6.6.1); ordinarily, “the truest reason is also the least avowed” (τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν,

ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, *ibid.* 1.23.6); the “pretext” is contrasted with the “true reason” or the underlying intention (διάνοια, *ibid.* 6.76.2); “the Athenians . . . march against us with considerable forces on the pretext (πρόφασιν) of helping the Segestans and reestablishing the Leontinians; in reality (ἀληθές) the motive was to possess Sicily and especially our city” (*ibid.* 6.33.2); *P.Tebt.* 27, 82, οὔτε γὰρ βίαν οὔθ’ ε—τέραν ἠνδηποτοῦν πρόφασιν προσδεξόμεθα.

⁹ Prov 18:1, προφάσεις ζητεῖ—; Plutarch, *Rom.* 35.1: “As for the faults that they commit, no plausible excuse is found for them” (ε—νδεα—προφάσεως); *P.Michael.* 17, 2: “they will have an excuse”; *P.Tebt.* 702, 17; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 24, 93: “no excuse for the lateness” (second century); *SB* 7404, 52; 8024, 10, ἔνδοξεν δὲ ε—κ τινος προφάσεως πονηροῦ δαίμονος (act of divorce, fourth century); *Stud.Pal.* XX, 86, 22; *P.Mich.* 486, 12; *T. Job* 11.11—“of all that I have entrusted to you in the interest of the indigent (προφάσει πενήτων) I shall take nothing from you.”

¹⁰ Νῦν δὲ πρόφασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν περὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶ—ν; cf. Josephus, *Life* 167: “they were lacking in loyalty to me, with no excuse” (ἄνευ προφάσεως). In the medical vocabulary, *prophasis* has the technical meaning “cause”; sometimes it refers to the phenomenon that precedes the sickness or is its point of departure; sometimes the apparent or triggering cause; sometimes the active cause, in which case it is synonymous with αἴτιον, cf. J. Jouanna, *Hippocrate: La Nature de l’homme*, Berlin, 1975, pp. 291ff.

προχειρίζομαι

procheirizomai, to choose ahead of time, establish, designate, appoint, destine

procheirizomai, S 4400; *TDNT* 6.862–864; *EDNT* 3.186; *NIDNTT* 1.475–476; *MM* 556; *L&N* 30.89; *BAGD* 724

In secular Greek, this verb in the middle voice and with a personal object in the accusative means “choose ahead of time, establish, designate, destine.”¹ In the LXX, it is used especially for people chosen beforehand for a certain mission;² and, with the exception of Dan 3:22,³ it is a noble term, because those entrusted with a mission have been elected or appointed on account of their competence and integrity. They are trustworthy envoys, qualified representatives of God, or the king, or of some other high authority.⁴

It is in this quasi-technical sense that Acts uses this verb—unknown in Philo and Josephus—regarding either Christ (“that God may send to you

Jesus, the one predestined to be Messiah”⁵ or Paul (“the God of our fathers chose you in advance [*procheirisato se*] to know his will,” Acts 22:14; “I have appeared to you to establish you as a minister and witness of the things that you have seen [*procheirisasthai se*] . . . ; the Gentiles to whom I am sending you [*apostello*],” 26:16). An official appointing or delegating is always referred to. In the inscriptions and the papyri, the verb figures in the vocabulary of administration, referring to functionaries or persons officially chosen to carry out a certain function: Boulagoras, in the third century BC, was “chosen by the people several times (*procheiristheis te pleionakis hypo tou demou*) as their representative in public litigation” (SEG I, 366, 20); in the second century, the chief of police of a town makes his report regarding “one of the guards of Tebtunis who was appointed by Ptolemaeus, the district *archiphylaktes*” (*ton ek Tebtyneos phylakiton procheiristhenton hypo Ptolemaiou, P.Tebt. 731, 3*); in the first century, in a rental contract, it means that Demetrius must make payments to the broker or to the treasurer of the association, who will be appointed.⁶

The perfect passive participle *prokecheirismenon* (Acts 3:20) is a stylistic element in formulas for registration. In AD 48, a contract was “recorded by [. . .], adjunct to Theon, the delegate of the association of *agoranomoi*.”⁷ In 53, in a sworn agreement, six elders, farmers of the province of Oxyrhynchus, “swear to the officially constituted inspectors of sowing for the nome.”⁸ From the same year we have the identical declaration of five elders, farmers from the village of Ares (*P.Fouad 19, 6*). Sometimes it is the inspectors of sowing that are designated (*P.Oxy. 2185, 5*; in 92); sometimes tax collectors (*hoi prokechirismenoi praktores, P.Fay. 14, 1*; from 124 BC); sometimes the geometer who draws up a certificate of measurement;⁹ sometimes a friend who designates his delegate: “For Castor . . . I Trypho, his fellow ephebe, whom he has appointed.”¹⁰

¹ The verb *προχειρίζω* is common in Galen, cf. W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 202–203.

² —*Αποστέλλω* or *ε—ξαποστέλλω*; cf. Exod 4:13 (the intermediary through whom God transmits his message, Hebrew *shalah*); 2Macc 3:7 (the king, having chosen Heliodorus, his prime minister, sent him); 8:9 (Ptolemy, having designated Nicanor, son of Patroclus, of the rank of the first friends, sent him without delay); 14:12 (Demetrius, having chosen Nicanor, sent him; cf. Josh 3:12; Polybius 3.40.2: “the Romans resolved to send”—*πέμπειν*); Diodorus Siculus 12.27.1.

³ In Dan 3:22 (LXX) it is talking about men who have “prepared” or delivered those condemned to the furnace and who were themselves burned by the flames.

⁴ Plutarch, *Caes.* 58.8; Plutarch, *Galba* 8.3; Polybius 1.11.3: “they chose one of the two consuls as the commander”; 2.43.1: “the cities electing in turn a secretary general and two generals”; in the second century BC, Pamphilos is the object of an honorific decree of Apollonia for having put the public finances in order, “the citizens chosen each year (τω—ν προχειριζομένων ἀνδρω—ν) directing each matter in accord with the decree such that there was no further loss” (*I.Car.* 167, 22); cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59042, 3; Dittenberger, *Or.* 339, 46: προχειρισαμένου τοὺς τὴν πίστιν εὐσεβω—ς τε καὶ δικαίως τηρήσοντας; cf. line 50. In the first century AD: the members of the association of Zeus Most High choose as their president Petesouchos, who is worthy of this position and the *koinon* (πρω—τον μὲν προχειρισάμενοι ε—π̄ ε—αυτω—ν ἡγούμενον Πετεσοῦχον Τεεφβέννιος, ἄνδρα λόγιον, τοῦ τόπου καὶ τω—ν ἀνδρω—ν ἄξιον, *SB* 7835, 5 = *P.Lond.* 2710; cf. C. Roberts, T. Skeat, A. D. Nock, “The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos,” in *HTR*, 1936, p. 40, 44); in AD 43, the members of an association voted unanimously to elect one of their members, an excellent person (προχειρίσαι τινὰ αὐτω—ν ἄνδρα ἀγαθώτατον), Cronion, son of Herodes, to be superintendent for one year (*P.Mich.* 244, 4); likewise, in 47, the salt merchants unanimously elect Apunchis, an excellent man, as inspector and collector of public taxes (*ibid.* 245, 4 = *SB* 8030). In the second century BC, it is mentioned that the persons appointed are competent to draw up contracts in accord with the law of the land: ἵνα ε—πιτήδειοι προχειρισεω—σιν καὶ συγκριθω—σι γράφειν τὰ συναλλάγματα ταῦτα (*P.Ryl.* 572, 30) οἱ πρεσβείαν . . . αὕτη προχειρίζεται τοὺς ε—πιτηδείους (*PSI* 1160, 12, first century AD).

⁵ Acts 3:20, καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμι—ν χριστόν, —Ιησοῦν, which can also be translated, “Jesus, who has been constituted as Christ for you”; several miniscules read προκεκηρυγμένον, “who was preached ahead of time”; Vulgate “qui praedicatus est.”

⁶ *P.Ryl.* 586, 8: τω—ν προχειρισθησομένω τοῦ κοινοῦ; cf. line 14, 23; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 601, 5; 873, 14: διὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα . . . ὃν προχειρίσασθε; *PSI* 1236, 2: “to Flavius, Marion, Discoros, and Apion, προχειρισθει—σι ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου . . . ε—πιστρατήγου”; *P.Lond.* 376, 5 (vol. 2, p. 77); *P.Oxy.* 2117, 2: “To their very dear friend . . . of the city of Oxyrhynchus, appointed by (προχειρισθέντι ὑπὸ) his excellency Claudius the *epistrategos*”; 2118, 5; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 18, 4: “Maron . . . keeper of the archives at Hericlides, also called Valerius, was appointed by Apollonides, *strategos* of the district of Polemon” (προχειρισθέντι ὑπὸ —Απολλωνίδου στρατηγοῦ) to be inspector of the Oxyrhynchite nome” (117–118); *P.Princ.* 127, 2: “To Zoilus, Trypho, and their associates, appointed to receive and transmit this statement” (προχειρισθει—σι πρὸς παράλημψιν καὶ κατακομιδὴν βιβλίων πεμπομένων εἰ—ς —Αλεξάνδρειαν, 159/160); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 254, 7: “the

following have been designated for the banquet, and today they have received this nomination” (προεχειρίσθησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας, καὶ σήμερον ἐπεστάλησαν οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι, with the names following); *P.Ryl.* 572, 63: τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν προξειρισθησομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπόταξον; *BGU* 1821, 14 (51/50 BC); *P.Berl.Zill.* 2, 22; *SB* 6794, 3; 7173, 9.

⁷ *P.Fouad* 35, 16: σὺν ἑόνι τῶν προκεχειρισμένων ὑπὸ τῶν μετόχων ἀγορανόμων κεχηρημάτισθαι; *P.Oxy.* 320, 25, in AD 59 (cf. M. V. Biscottini, “L’Archivio di Tryphon tessitore de Oxyrhynchos,” in *Aeg.* 1966, p. 266).

⁸ *P.Fouad* 18, 11: τοῖς προκεχειρισμένοις τὴν τοῦ νομοῦ κατασποράν; cf. *P.Rein.* 94, 13, a similar declaration under oath of two delegates of the “*hierotektones* of the temple of Thooris, of Isis, of Sarapis, and of the very great *theoi paredroi*, designated by their fellow *hierotektones*” (serving in a collegial association, προκεχειρισμένων ὑπὸ τῶν συνίεροτεκτόνων); *BGU* 1198, 2: παρὰ Σωτηρίχου τοῦ Νούχιος ἰερέως προκεχειρισμένου δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνιερέων Ἀρυώτου.

⁹ *UPZ* 117, col. I, 10: Ἐγραψεν Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ προκεχειρισμένος πρὸς τῆ γεωμετρία ὑπὸ Σαραπίωνος; repeated col. II, 4–5 (second century BC); cf. 126, 7.

¹⁰ *SB* 8403, 7 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 188, 7: Τρύφων ὁ συνέφηβος καὶ προκεχειρισμένος ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ (July 5, 89); cf. *P.Corn.* 16, 21: Ἐρμαίῳ προκεχειρισμένῳ παρὰ Πλουτίωνος; *P.Oxf.* 8, 1 (in 104/105, with the note of the editor, E. P. Wegener). In Polybius 3.40.14, the nuance of authority is clear: “the Romans sent to his aid armies that had been destined for Scipio” (τὰ τῶν προκεχειρισμένα στρατόπεδα; cf. προχειροτονεῖν, Acts 10:41).

πρωτότοκος

prototokos, firstborn

prototokos, *S* 4416; *TDNT* 6.871–881; *EDNT* 3.189–191; *NIDNTT* 1.667–669; *MM* 557; *L&N* 10.43, 13.79, 87.47; *BDF* §120(1); *BAGD* 726–727

Only five occurrences of this term can be cited from the papyri, and all of them are from the fourth century. One is in a certificate of adoption (*huion gnesion kai prototokon*, *P.Lips.* 28, 15); the others are in magical papyri, with respect to animals (*P.Oslo* 1, 312: “taking the umbilical cord of a firstborn ram”; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 1092, 1101, 3150). It is rare in the

inscriptions,¹ and the literary texts that attest it are Jewish- or Christian-inspired.²

So this is in effect a biblical term, used 130 times in the LXX,³ usually in the proper literal of the word, firstfruits of a (human or animal) mother's womb. There are religious connotations, because the firstborn is consecrated to Yahweh;⁴ a qualitative connotation, because it is the "firstborn of the father's vigor" (Gen 49:3; Num 1:20; Ps 78:51), it is the best or the most excellent (Ezek 44:30; cf. Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 98); an affective connotation, because it is the best-loved;⁵ an honorific connotation, since the firstborn, through the birthright, shares in the father's authority and is given much property.⁶

All of these nuances appear in figurative uses of the term, for example, when God says to Moses, "Israel is my firstborn" (Exod 4:22), and Luke probably had them in mind when he wrote concerning Mary, "She gave birth to her firstborn" (*eteken ton huion autēs ton prototokon*, Luke 2:7). He chose this word because of these connotations, and perhaps also to signal that this Davidic firstborn might be a claimant to messiahship.⁷ There is some surface ambiguity, because "firstborn" can be a reference to later offspring;⁸ but on the one hand, the title *prototokos* was given immediately after birth (Exod 13:2; 34:19; Philo, *Cherub.* 54); and on the other hand, the literature⁹ and the inscriptions attest that a "firstborn" can be an only child. At Leontopolis in Lower Egypt, the epitaph of a Jewish woman of Arsinoe in 5 BC mentions that she died bringing her firstborn into the world; obviously this child could have had no younger brothers: "Fate, through my labor pains with my firstborn child, brought me to the end of my life."¹⁰

Apart from Heb 11:28 (cf. Ps 78:51), the other occurrences of *prototokos* in the NT are figurative, all expressive of honor, dignity, or preeminence,¹¹ especially with respect to Christ, the "firstborn of all creation" (*prototokos pases ktiseōs*, Col 1:15), who has a primacy of excellence in the order of creation¹² that could be described as cosmic. He is also the firstborn with respect to the dead (*prototokos ek ton nekron*, Col 1:18) and thus has primacy in the order of resurrection, not simply because he was the first to come forth from the grave, but because he came forth as the all-powerful sovereign, the prince of a new humanity (Rev 1:5, *ho archon*); finally, Christ is honored with a primacy in the eschatological order, because in glory he will be "firstborn among many brethren" (*prototokos en pollois adelphois*, Rom 8:29); as the first one resurrected, he will be the source of all other glorifications,¹³ and "his brothers" will worship him in love.

A single NT text refers to creatures as firstborn in a figurative sense: Heb 12:23, "the assembly of the firstborn" (*ekklesia prototokon*), which exegetes take to mean either the patriarchs, or Christians who have already died, or the first converts and martyrs, or all the members of the

church militant, or the angels in heaven. In all cases, *prototokos* is a title of honor, suggesting the privileges discussed above.¹⁴

¹ At Myconos, around 200 BC, in a religious calendar, for a pregnant sow that is giving birth for the first time: υ—ν ε—κύμονα πρωτοτόκον (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1024, 16). A. Deissmann (*Light*, pp. 91–92) mentions two epitaphs, one from Trachonitis, where a pagan priest owes his office to his birthright, ι—ερεὺς γάρ ει—μι πρωτοτόκων ε—κτελετω—ν; the other is Roman: a firstborn who died at the age of two years (πρωτότοκον, διετέξ) is called son of the sun (ἡλιόπαις) because he was born on a Sunday.

² Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.138–139: the firstborn males; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.54; 2.313; 4.71; 5.31 (contrasting τοῦ πρώτου παιδός to τὸν νεώτατον τω—ν παίδων); 1QH 3.8: “Like a woman in travail with her firstborn child . . .”; *Sib. Or.* 3.627: firstborn lambs and goats that are sacrificed; *Jos. Asen.* 1.11: “the firstborn son of Pharaoh,” cf. 4.15; 23.1; 25.4; 29.9; *Anth. Pal.* 8.34: “It is not a vain sacrifice . . . of the firstborn that Nonna has offered to God”; 9.213: two children, the elder and the younger.

³ It translates the Hebrew *bejôl/bejîrâh*, except in Gen 25:25 (*ri’shôn*); Exod 34:20 (*petet*); cf. H. Cazelles, “Premiers-nés dans l’Ancien Testament,” in *DBSup*, vol. 8, 482–491.

⁴ Exod 13:2, 15; 22:19; Lev 27:26; Num 3:13; 8:17; Deut 15:19; Neh 10:37; cf. S. Daniel, *Philon: De Specialibus Legibus*, Paris, 1975, pp. 222–223.

⁵ 2Sam 13:21—“David loved Amnon as his firstborn son”; 1Chr 3:1; cf. Josh 6:26; 1Kgs 16:34; Jer 31:9; Mic 6:7; Zech 12:10; *Pss. Sol.* 13.8; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 4.8.6: “a mother whose beloved son has cost her many pains” (ὁ μοῦ πρωτοτόκος καὶ πολύθρηνος γενομένη).

⁶ 2Kgs 3:27—“The king of Moab took his eldest son, the one who was to reign in his place”; 1Chr 5:1–2; 2Chr 21:3—“He had given the reign to Joram, because he was the eldest”; Ps 89:28—“I will make him the highest firstborn of the kings of the earth, and my favor will rest on him forever, and my covenant will be faithful to him”; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 118, 119, 126.

⁷ Cf. H. Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, p. 104.

⁸ M. J. Lagrange (*Luc*), cites Lucian, *Demon.* 29: ει— μὲν πρω—τος οὐ μόνος, ει— δὲ μόνος οὐ πρω—τος; cf. A. Feuillet, “Premier-nés dans le Nouveau Testament,” in *DBSup*, vol. 8, 491–512. On the “brothers” or

cousins of Jesus, cf. J. McHugh, *The Mother of Jesus in the New Testament*, London, 1975, pp. 200–254, 451–452.

⁹ *Pss. Sol.* 18.4—“Your correction comes upon us as upon a firstborn, only son” (ὡς υἱ—ὄν πρωτότοκον, μονογενῆ); 4 *Ezra* 6:58—“We, your people, whom you have honored and whom you have called firstborn and unique, dear and well-beloved.”

¹⁰ —Ωδει—νι δὲ Μοι—ρα πρωτοτόκου με τέκνου πρὸς τέλος ἡγε βίου, *CII* 1510, 6 = *C.Pap.Jud.*, vol. 3, n. 1510 = *SEG* I, 570, = *SB* 6647 = *GVI*, n. 643; cf. J. B. Frey, “La signification du terme πρωτότοκος d’après une inscription juive,” in *Bib*, 1930, pp. 373–390.

¹¹ In this sense of the word, Joseph is called “the firstborn of God” (*Jos. Asen.* 21.3). Cf. A. Durand, “Le Christ Premier-Né,” in *RSR*, 1910, pp. 56–66; E. A. Cerny, “Firstborn of Every Creature (Col I, 15),” Baltimore, 1938; T. W. Buckley, *The Phrase ‘Firstborn of Every Creature’ (Col I, 15) in the Light of Its Jewish and Hellenistic Background*, Rome, 1961, H. J. Gabathuler, *Jesus Christus, Haupt der Kirche—Haupt der Welt: Der Christushymnus Kolosser I, 15–20*, Zurich-Stuttgart, 1965; A. Feuillet, *Christologie paulinienne et tradition biblique*, Paris, 1973, pp. 48, 170, 230.

¹² *Heb* 1:6—“When he brought forth his firstborn into the universe, he said, ‘Let all the angels of God worship him’”; cf. A. Vanhoye, “L’οι—κουμένη dans l’Epître aux Hébreux,” in *Bib*, 1964, pp. 248–253; W. Michaelis, “Die biblische Vorstellung von Christus als dem Erstgeborenen,” in *ZST*, 1954, pp. 137–157; idem, in *TDNT*, vol. 6, pp. 871–881.

¹³ Cf. B. Rey, “Créés dans le Christ Jésus: La Création nouvelle selon S. Paul,” Paris, 1966, pp. 177ff.

¹⁴ Cf. *Sir* 36:11—“Have pity, O Lord, on the people called by your name, and on Israel whom you have made like a firstborn” (πτωρογόνω, which a corrector of Sinaiticus read as πρωτοτόκω); L. R. Helyer, “The Prototokos Title in Hebrews,” in *Studia Biblica et Theologica*, vol. 6, 1976, pp. 3–28.

πύργος

pyrgos, tower, watchtower, fortress, palace, house, apartment

pyrgos, S 4444; *TDNT* 6.953–956; *EDNT* 3.300; MM 560; L&N 7.23; BAGD 730

This term refers to quite diverse structures, from a simple house in a town or a roof apartment¹ to a palace, like that at Malatha in Idumea, to which Agrippa retired (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.147), or the luxurious dwelling of Aseneth (*Jos. Asen.* 2.1–2; 14.5), a watchtower, a defensive tower jutting out over the walls,² especially one that dominates a city gate. There are also “towers set up before a port to break the threatening waves and guarantee a safe refuge for those who enter” (4Macc 13:6), not to mention the “wooden towers” that were strapped onto elephants (1Macc 6:37; cf. the *pyrgomachountes* who do battle in these towers, Polybius 5.84.2) or the towers with ladders that attackers threw against fortifications in order to be on the same level as the defenders (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.229; Josephus, *War* 5.292; Polybius 5.99.5: towers spaced at intervals of one hundred feet and provided with guard-doors). Metaphorically, a tower, because of its height and strength, can suggest the elaboration of a coherent and bold intellectual system (“the tower of atheism”)³ or, because of its very elaborate perfection, aesthetic splendor.⁴

The most famous tower in the Bible and in all of human history is the tower of Babel, “whose top is in the heavens” (Gen 11:4, 5, 8), a ziggurat, amply commented on by Philo, who saw it as the “sign of an extraordinary madness.”⁵ But the tower most often referred to in the OT is the walled fortress;⁶ these massive towers make it possible to get at attackers from the side and catch them in crossfire. They are usually for the defense of a port or a city. Sometimes *pyrgos* refers to a donjon (Isa—0:25; *T. Jud.* 5.5), sometimes the whole fortified city (Judg 8:9; Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 128, 130), sometimes to small forts scattered through the countryside (1Macc 16:10; 2Macc 10:36). The towers of the wall around Jerusalem were especially numerous and famous,⁷ and they had names.⁸ Thus according to Luke 13:4, the “Tower of Siloam” fell on eighteen people, killing them. It can perhaps be identified with the first foundations found of a tower built along the canal of Siloam.⁹ In any event, we may compare Josephus, *War* 5.292: Titus ordered the building of three towers fifty feet tall to be erected on each embankment, so that the defenders of the ramparts might thus be put to flight. In the middle of the night, one of these accidentally fell. Josephus relates the melee that followed and the panic that spread, even though no one died.

Another sort of *pyrgos* is the watchtower in the countryside (2Chr 26:10, 15; 27:4; cf. Judg 7:5), where a sentinel was posted (2Kgs 9:17; 17:9; 18:8) to watch for marauders, jackals, and the occasional fox that attacked fruits, crops, or flocks (watchmen are remunerated, cf. *P.Oxy.* 2024, 8 and 22: “for the tower guards, seven *artabai*, ” *ton phyllatton ton pyrgon art.* ζ?; 2197, 131). Such a tower is often conical and stands about three meters high. They could be used for storing provisions (1Chr 27:25). In Isa 5:2, the tower is presented as the complement of a fence or hedge

around a vineyard; this wording is taken up in the parable of the Vineyard and the Tenants (Matt 21:33; Mark 12:1).¹⁰

But there is also the man who wants to build a tower and must first sit down and “count the cost” (Luke 14:28). This is not an inexpensive vineyard tower built with dry stone, but a grandiose palace. One recalls that Herod was above all a great builder of towers. Notably, he built Hippicus, a square tower thirty cubits high; “above, a reservoir held rainwater, and above this was a two-story dwelling, twenty-five cubits high . . . the total height was eighty cubits” (Josephus, *War* 5.163–166). The height of the tower called Phasaël was ninety cubits (ibid. 5.169). The tower called Mariamme was only fifty-five cubits high,¹¹ but its apartments were more luxurious and ornate than those of the other towers.¹²

These texts show that *pyrgos* is a quite variable form in ancient architecture, not only because it may be square or cylindrical, but because it may be a defensive tower, a watchtower, or a dwelling (either a simple house or one part of an important residence)¹³—in the papyri, usually the main building of a farm.¹⁴ In the papyri, *pyrgos* appears in contracts for rentals, sales, mortgages, and marriage, in cadastres, even in complaints to the *strategos* or a police chief.¹⁵ *P.Tebt.* 779, 13: “By night he built a wall against our tower” (175 BC); *P.Ryl.* 138, 20 (AD 34): under the cover of darkness, a certain Orsenouphis broke into an estate belonging to the imperial family and stole from the tower five rakes, five hay sickles, fifteen measures of wool, and two hundred drachmas of silver.{NOTEEND} But while in the Bible *tower* often has religious value, referring to the strength and certainty of divine protection, it has only a secular meaning in the papyri.

In the inscriptions—which often mention or commemorate the building of a tower, whether as a military edifice,¹⁶ a rural estate,¹⁷ or an urban monument¹⁸—we note that the Olythian *proxenos* Heracleodoros dedicated “the tower and the hall and the statue to all the gods” (*theois pasin ton pyrgon kai ten exedran kai ton andrianta*, *I.Thas.* 376, 2). But the Christian inscriptions follow the biblical tradition of using *tower* not only as a safe refuge but as a sign of his protection and a pledge of his watchful care: “Lord, keep this tower and those who dwell in it” (*IGLS* 328); God through his providence has righted “a tower bent by time and the shaking of the earth” (ibid. 785, 4); “the construction of the tower (of the wall) is, with the help of God, the work of the Macedonian quarter” (ibid. 2828, at Baalbeck; cf. 478, 1). Hence the name “Tower of the Lord”¹⁹ and its religious meaning: “Christ Jesus, be for us a Protector-God, a house of refuge, and a mighty tower in the presence of the enemy” (ibid. 1811; cf. 1814); “In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, by the intercession of St. Mary, Mother of God and Virgin forever, and of the glorious archangels and chief apostles, this tower was built” (ibid. 1913).

² Herodotus 2.95: the Egyptians climb up to sleep in towers, where the mosquitos cannot reach them; Xenophon, *An.* 4.4.2: in Armenia, “most dwellings had towers”; *P.Giss.* 67, 16: “a bedroom on the tower” (time of Trajan and Hadrian). Cf. Judg 9:46-47: “all the leading people of the Tower of Shechem assembled”; 9:49, 51, 52; *m. B. Bat.* 1.1; *b. B. Bat.* 5b ; 1 *Enoch* 89.50—“A large, high tower was built on the house (Jerusalem) for the Lord of the sheep”; cf. 89.56; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 14, 19, in his will *per aes et libram* a veteran leaves a third of his tower (τρίτον μέρος πύργου μου), i.e., his house, to two slaves (second century AD). Pliny the Younger describes his property in the Laurentine: “There is also another tower. In this tower, one chamber overlooks the sunrise and the sunset; below that, there is a vast storeroom and stockroom; on the ground floor there is a dining room . . . that overlooks the garden” (Pliny, *Ep. ad Gallum* 2.17.13); cf. P. Grimal, *Les Jardins romains*, Paris, 1943, pl. X fig. 1; E. Rizzo, *Pittura ellenistico-romana*, Milan, 1929, pl. 157 a.

³ Neh 3:25-26; Ps 121:7—πυργόβαρις. The northern face of the establishment at Qumran was dominated by a massive two-story tower, partly jutting out, built in the first century BC, which gives the present ruins the appearance of a fort.

⁴ Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 196; cf. 113, 115: “our madmen symbolically build the arguments for their vice, as if they were building a tower”; 133; the nuance is pejorative (ibid. 83, *Dreams* 2.284: building unwholesome doctrines to the height of a tower; *T. Levi* 2.3) and can indicate unreasonable exaltation, cf. Aristophanes, *Pax* 749; *Ran.* 1004; J. Taillardat, *Images d’Aristophane*, n. 750.

⁵ Such are the comparisons of Cant 4:4—“Your neck is like the tower of David, built for a trophy”; 7:4—“like an ivory tower”; 8:10—“my breasts were like towers,” meaning both developed and guarded. Cf. Tob 13:17—“Jerusalem will be rebuilt . . . its towers and walls made of pure gold.”

⁶ Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 5; cf. 1, 107, 134, 142, 155, 158; *Post. Cain* 53; *Sib. Or.* 11.10, 11.12. Cf. H. Gressmann, *The Tower of Babel*, New York, 1929; A. Busink, *De Toren van Babel*, Groningen, 1938; idem, *De Babylonische Tempeltoren*, Leiden, 1949; L. H. Vincent, “De la tour de Babel au temple,” in *RB*, 1946, pp. 403–440; A. Parrot, *La Tour de Babel*, Paris, 1953.

⁷ 2Chr 14:6—“Let us surround these cities with a wall, with towers, gates, and locks”; 37:5—“Hezekiah rebuilt the whole crumbling wall and raised towers upon it”; Jdt 7:32; Isa 2:15; Ezek 26:4, 9; 1Macc 5:5, 65—“Judas burned the towers of the wall of Hebron”; 13:33; 2Macc 10:18, 20, 22.

Diodorus Siculus mentions that the Thebans had a declaration read from atop a high tower (17.9.5) and that Alexander shook the towers and the “curtains” (τὰ μεσοπύργια) with a battering ram (17.25.5), knocking them down to the foundations (17.25.5), or building a wooden tower one hundred cubits high, full of catapults (17.26.6; 17.45.2) with combat stations (17.45.5). He even built towers on ships, allowing him to put up flying bridges and to reach enemy walls (17.32.7–8; cf. 17.71.4; 17.87.5).

⁸ 2Chr 26:9—“Uzziah build towers at Jerusalem, at the Corner Gate, at the Valley Gate, and at the Angle, and he fortified them”; 1Macc 1:33—“They rebuilt the City of David with a large, very strong wall and strong towers”; 4:60; Ps 48:13—“Count the towers of Zion; consider her ramparts.” Josephus, *War* 5.156: “The walls were dominated by towers that were twenty cubits broad and twenty cubits high; they were square and solid like the wall itself. In their joining and their beauty, the stones did not fall short of those of the temple. Above the imposing mass of the towers . . . were magnificent chambers, and above these, upper chambers and cisterns for collecting the rainwater. . . . The third wall had ninety of these towers. The middle was had forty towers, the old was had sixty. . . . The tower Psephinus, near which Titus camped, was seventy cubits high . . . and was octagonal in form.”

⁹ The Tower of Hananel (Neh 3:1; Jer 31:38; Zech 14:10); “You, tower of the flock (Hebrew *migdal-‘eder*, cf. Gen 35:21), Ophel, daughter of Zion” (Mic 4:8); the Tower of the Ovens (Neh 3:11; 12:38). Cf. at Caesarea the Tower of Strato (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59004, 2); in Spain the *Turris Hannibalis* (Pliny, *HN* 2.71, 73) and the *Turris Augusti* (Mela 3.18), etc.

¹⁰ Attackers seize towers by tearing them down (Judg 8:17), by burning (1Macc 5:65), by opening breaches in them (13:43), or by forcing the door (2Macc 14:41; *P.Tebt.* 47, 16; second century BC). A tower is rebuilt from its foundations (*SB* 1598,5).

¹¹ Cf. Str-B, vol. 1, pp. 868ff. M. Hubaut, *La Parole des Vignerons homicides*, Paris, 1976, pp. 21ff. *Stud.Pal.* XX, 218, 16; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 14, 19; *P.Cair.Masp.* I, 67097: a contract to sell a farm, including a field with vines and date palms, a wine-press or cistern, a well, a tower, and a μονή; III, 67313. In *P.Fam.Tebt.* 23, 7–8, a certain Didymus sells part of his field and a fourth of his πυργομαγδών, his guard-tower, in the vicinity of Tebtunis. The *magdolon* (line 8) is the building where the watchman alerts the villagers who are busy in the fields to the presence of a marauder. These guard towers could be the property of a community that assesses a tax to pay the guards, the μαγδωφύλακες (cf. E. Kiessling, “Magdophylax,” in *PW*, vol. 14, 1, p. 300). In Africa, localities are called *Turris* for the

defensive works that guarantee the protection of the region; cf. S. Lancel, *Actes de la conférence de Carthage en 411*, Paris, 1972, vol. 1, p. 137; vol. 2, p. 712, 33; 846, 35; 849, 3 = Turris Alba; 894, 184, = Turris Blanda; *CIL* VIII, 8209; 22774.

¹² Josephus, *War* 5.171. Cf. 2Macc 13.5—“At Berea there was a tower fifty cubits high”; Jdt 1:3—Arphaxad “built towers a hundred cubits high at the gate of the city” (Ecbatana); 1:14. In a dream, the sleeper finds himself in Alexandria atop a high tower (με εἶναι ἐ—πάνω πύργου μεγάλου, *UPZ* 78, 29; second century BC; cf. 146, 27). The πυργίον of *P.Tebt.* 780, 11 is only ten cubits high (= twenty feet). Cf. the two-story tower (πύργος δίστεγος), which seems to be the most common variety (*P.Oxy.* 243,15; cf. π. διώρυφος, *SB* 9556, III, 9). But four- or five-story buildings in the form of a tower were not rare; cf. R. Martin, *L’Urbanisme dans la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1956, pp.232ff.

¹³ On friezes and architectural fittings, cf. R. Martin, *L’Urbanisme dans la Grèce antique*, pp. 202ff.

¹⁴ *P.Oxy.* 243, 15, 17, 38; 248, 29, from AD 80: a rural estate (ἔπαυλις) includes two courtyards, a tower, a dovecote, and commons (πύργος καὶ περιστερεῶν καὶ ἀύλαϊ καὶ ἕτερα χρηστήρια). The importance of a dwelling can be summed up in the number of its towers: ἐ—ν τοι—ς πύργοις (*BGU* 740, 5); cf. οἰ—κία διπυργία (*P.Gen.* 44, 12; *BGU* 2339, 9; *P.Hamb.* 14, 9; *CPR* I, 28, 10; *P.Lond.* 348, 12; vol. 2, p. 215; 1179, 32, 60; vol. 2, pp. 145–146; *P.Oxy.* 247, 23: τρίτον μέρος οἰ—κίας διπυργίας, ἐ—ν ἡ— κατὰ μέσον αἶθριον, from AD 90. *PSI* 1112, 21; 1159, 20; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 18, 360); cf. the purchase of the second story of the third *pyrgos* (*P.Stras.* 110; third century BC), τετραπυργία, Plutarch, *Eum.* 8.9: Eumenes gives his men the farms and homes in the country (τάς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐ—παύλεις καὶ τετραπυργίας; Polybius 31.26.11; Strabo 17.838.)

¹⁵ F. Preisigke (“Die Begriffe πύργος und στέγη bei der Hausanlage,” in *Hermes*, 1919, pp. 423–432) sees *pyrgos* only as “commons,” the farm buildings that shelter the workshops and the threshing floors (cf. *P.Mil.Vogl.* 251, 15; *BGU* 2033, 12; *P.Lond.* 371, 3, vol. 2, p. 244: πύργος ἐ—ν ᾧ βαφει—ον καὶ ἕτερα χρηστήρια: a dyer’s workshop on the ground floor), whether or not these buildings were in the form of a tower. It is true that the vast majority of papyrological documents refer to farms (*P.Mich.* 226, 21: θησαυρὸν ἐ—νεργὸν ἐ—ν ᾧ πύργος, from AD 37) and country houses: περὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ πύργου τῆς οἰ—κίας (*P.Mich.* 212, 17; from the second century. 666, 8: μονῆς καὶ πύργου καὶ ἐ—παύλεως; *ZPE*, vol. 13, 1974, n. 7–8; *P.Vindob.Tandem*, n. XXVIII, 10). But on the one hand the texts do not say if the tower is incorporated in the building (nevertheless, the *pyrgos*

of *BGU* 1273, 15 is at the corner of two streets; cf. the corner tower, πύργος ε—πιγώνιος, V. Martin, “Relevé topographique des immeubles d’une métropole: P. Gen. inv. 108,” in *RechPap*, vol. 2, 1962, p. 51 = *q* II, 5–6; cf. p. 40 = All, 32; again in *SB* 9902); on the other hand, sometimes the tower is distinct from the “outbuildings” (*P.Lond.* 216, 10, vol. 2, p. 186; *BGU* 650, 8: πύργος καὶ ἕτερα; *SB* 10696, 4: τὸν πύργον καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα), sometimes it is said to be inhabited (*P.Tebt.* 47; *BGU* 1273, 12), sometimes it is mentioned separately from the μονή, the small building where the farm workers live (σὺν λάκκο ὀλοκλήρο καὶ μονῆς καὶ πύργο, *P.Michael.* 60, 4; cf. 40, 66; 42 A 17; B 11; 46, 10; *P.Lond.* 1695, 8). Furthermore, on the basis of iconographic monuments (frescos, mosaics, etc.), P. Grimal (“Les Maisons à tour hellénistiques et romaines,” in *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, Paris, 1939, pp. 28–59) and Maria Nowicka (*La Maison privée dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque*, Warsaw, 1969, pp. 131ff; idem, “A propos des tours-πύργοι dans les papyrus grecs,” in *Archeologia* [WarsawÓ, vol. 21, 1970, pp. 53–61) have shown that the tower constituted a well-defined architectural type for both dwellings and working buildings.

¹⁶ J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1944, p. 217, n. 130 a; 1955, p. 277, n. 250; ὁ βοῦργος = small stronghold (M. Schwabe, “The βοῦργος Inscription from Caesarea Palaestinae,” in *J. N. Epstein Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem, 1950, pp. 273–283; B. Lifshitz, “Inscriptions grecques de Césarée en Palestine,” in *RB* 1961, p. 123, n. 16). Some say that the Latin *burgus* = *turris* was borrowed from the Greek πύργος (cf. M. Labrousse, “Les Burgarii et le cursus publicus,” in *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, Paris, 1939, pp. 151–167; S. Appelbaum, “Economic Life in Palestine,” in S. Safrai, M. Stern, *The Jewish People in the First Century*, Assen-Amsterdam, 1976, vol. 2, p. 644, n. 4; συντηρεία βουργαρίων, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 880, 54); but the origin is probably Germanic (*burg*), and the Latin *burgus* also entered into Hebrew, cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, p. 14.

¹⁷ J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1950, p. 183, n. 173; *IGLAM*, n. 425, 8: καὶ ἄλλον οἶκον πρὸς τω— πύργῳ. A rural estate is described, with its farm (αὐλή), dwellings (οι—κίαι), and tower (πύργος), cf. *I.Sinur.*, p. 86, n. 51, 11.

¹⁸ *I.Bulg.*, n. 12, 3 ([μονο]πύργον); 57, 8: τὴν σχοινίαν τὴν μεταξὺ τω—ν δύο πύργων οι—κοδομήσας καὶ στεγάσας (first century), 1730; *MAMA* VI, 2: dedication for a monumental gate of the city of Laodicea: τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὸ τρίπυλον; *IGLS*, 1610: “This tower (traveler’s quarters) was built in the year 837, in the month of Panemos”; 2507: “Under the very venerable and very holy . . . bishop, this tower was built”; cf. *I.Did.*, p. 53 b: τῆς

οι—κοδομίας τοῦ πύργου (?); *P.Oxy.* 2624, frag. 28 e: οὐ πόλισμα, οὐ πύργος, οὐ δόμος ε—ύκτιτος (?).

¹⁹ *IGLS* 2628; cf. 1630: “To protect his country with wisdom, John, abundant in good counsel and spending money unstintingly, presents this tower to his friends as a refuge, through the zeal of Paul the deacon”; 1726: “I Thomas, apostolic visitor by the grace of God, having made a vow and a request to God for the expiation of my sins, for the glory of his name, have raised this tower”; 1768: “the tower was raised, with God, for the salvation and health of the brethren and the servants.” A. J. Festugière, *Etudes d'histoire*, pp. 212–223. Cf. *3Apoc. Bar.* 2.7—τὸν πύργον τῆς θεομαχίας; 3.6; *Ps.-Philo, Bib. Antiq.* 32.15: “The knowledge of the Lord is there, which builds a tower in you” (*turrificat*, *πυργοποιει*—); 32.1: Israel is the tower built by God, as he drew Eve from Adam and Adam from the earth; *SB* 11240, 7: ε—τοίμος ἔχω οι—κοδομήσαι νέον πύργον. We note that in the Latin inscriptions, from the first century, *burgus* (originally meaning “a tower”) was the transliteration for πύργος; then βούργος came to refer to a “small stronghold” (Procopius, *Aed.* 4.6.36; cf. 4.6.21). Cf. B. Lifshitz, “Césarée de Palestine,” in *ANRW, Prinzipat*, vol. 8, pp. 512ff.

ῥαδιουργία

rhadiourgia, ability, unconcern, unscrupulousness, scheming

rhadiourgia, S 4468; *TDNT* 6.972–973; *EDNT* 3.207; MM 562; L&N 88.301; BAGD 733

At Cyprus, St. Paul denounces the *magus* Elymas as being “full of all guile and all *rhadiourgia*.”¹ This term, which appears only in the Koine (literary and popular), is a biblical hapax and could be translated “scheming.” But its meaning is very broad. First, it means facility at doing something: “We did not speak to those who were too young concerning the things of love, lest with facility added to the violence of their passions they should give themselves over to it without hesitation” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.6.34); thence easiness, unconcern, indolence,² then lack of conscience, unscrupulousness: “There are two ways of being struck. One corresponds to the case of the slave whose misdeeds have deserved the blows of the free man—who, having acted unconscionably (*dia rhadiourgian*), is stretched out on the wheel; the other is that of any inanimate object whatsoever.”³

The most common meaning is “deception, trickery.” In a case of fraud, Cato files suit.⁴ This dishonesty appears most often in financial matters: “The association of criminals and thieves (*rhadiourgoi kai kleptai*) usually founders in this fashion: through the lack of reciprocal justice and in

a general way mutual breach of trust” (Polybius 4.29.4). This meaning, “swindling,” is almost the only meaning attested in the papyri. In 216 BC, a woman complains that her coat has been stolen and asks the *strategos* for punishment of the theft (*peri de tes rhadiourgias, P.Magd. 35, 11*; republished *P.Enteux. 30*). In 114, Marres, priest of Soknebtunis, is angry at the falsification of a figure in his contract. The *synallagmatographos* had written down a rent of thirty-six *artabai* instead of thirty. This was a swindle (*topara touto rhadiourgemenas*); “I have been treated in a flagrantly unjust manner” (*edikemenos kath’ hyperbolen, P.Tebt. 42, 16*). A defenseless (*aboetheton*) woman asks the *oikonomos* that she not be defrauded of the guarantee of her dowry “because of the *rhadiourgia* of the accused” (*dia tou enkaloumenou rhadiourgian, P.Tebt. 776, 31*; cf. *BGU 226, 14*). In the second century AD, the prefect of Egypt stipulates that in order to contest a debt a person will have to declare that the contract is a fake or that fraudulent or deceptive means were used.⁵

In Acts 13:10, it is not a question of money or even of some particular action, but a character trait, a dominant vice. Elymas is called a “son of the devil,” who is the father of lies (John 8:44). The association with *dolos*, “ruse, trick, fraud,” invites us to translate, “full of all trickery and mischief.”⁶

¹ Πλήρης παντὸς δόλου καὶ πάσης ῥαδιουργίας, Acts 13:10; cf. C. K. Barrett, “Light on the Holy Spirit from Simon Magus (Act. VIII, 4–25),” in J. Kremer, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, Gembloux-Louvain, 1979, p. 289.

² Xenophon, *Cyr. 7.5.74*: “If we were to adopt an easy existence (*ῥαδιουργίαν*) and the enjoyment of a lax life (*ἡδυπάθειαν*), we would soon disgust ourselves”; Xenophon, *Mem. 2.1.20* = softness; Polybius 12.9.5: “The laws and customs of the Locrians of Italy do not correspond at all to the laxity of slaves (*οὐ τῆ τω—ν οι—κετω—ν ῥαδιουργία*) but to a colony of free men.”

³ Philo, *Cherub. 80*; cf. the adjective *ῥαδιουργός*, the unscrupulous man (*Worse Attacks Better 165*; *Conf. Tongues 152*), contrasted with *πιστός* (*SB 7241, 15–16*). The verb *ῥαδιουργέω*, “alter, distort”: “It is not easy to give credence to most of the historians of Alexander. They play with the facts” (Strabo 11.6.4); Plutarch, *Mor. 2.829d*.

⁴ Ῥαδιουργίας προὔθηκε κρίσιν, Plutarch, *Cat. Min. 16*; cf. Philo, *Post. Cain 43*: “a life of intrigue, of unscrupulous mischief, of trickery, mingled with passions and full of vices.” The *Suda* defines *rhadiourgos*: *πλαστογράφος καὶ ὁ κακοῦργος ἀπλω—ς*. *Rhadiourgoi* are swindlers (Philo, *Dreams 2.148*; cf. *Sacr. Abel and Cain 32*).

⁵ *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VIII, 15: εἴτε πλαστῶ—ν γραμμάτων ἢ ῥαδιουργίας ἢ περιγραφῆς ε—νκαλει—ν, cf. *UPZ* 162, col. VI, 3; *P.Stras.* 40, 30 (sixth century). The jurisdiction of the prefect of Egypt around 133–137 extends περὶ πλαστογραφίας καὶ ῥαδιουργίας (*SB* 10929, 10).

⁶ Eusebius denounces the “deceitful temptations” of the demon, πρὸς τὰς τοῦ δηλωθέντος κακοτέχνους ῥαδιουργίας.

ῥίπτω

rhipto, to throw, throw away, get rid of, lay out, scatter

rhipto, S 4496; *TDNT* 6.991–993; *EDNT* 3.212–213; MM 564; L&N 15.217, 16.10, 85.37; BDF §§ 13, 68, 101, 308; BAGD 736

This verb is used in the NT with the same meanings as in classical Greek and the LXX (Hebrew *shalaj*).

(a) “To throw.” For example, throwing a ship’s rigging and anchors into the sea.¹ It is better to be thrown into the sea—i.e., to die a cruel death—than to be a cause of stumbling.²

(b) “To throw away, rid oneself of.”³ The object may be things like money (Ezek 7:19), as when Judas, before going to hang himself, throws the pieces of silver in the temple (Matt 27:5); or persons, as with the demon who “having thrown the possessed person down in their midst came out of him, doing him no harm.”⁴ The nuance of abandonment and rejection is 14:9—“You have cast me behind your back”; Neh 9:26—“They have cast your law behind themselves”; Joel 1:7; Philo, *Flacc.* 37: cast off.

(c) “Unload, unburden oneself.” When this is done at the feet of someone of high station, there are connotations of veneration and confidence: the crowds cast their sick at Jesus’ feet (Matt 15:30), as Judah threw himself at Joseph’s feet to appease his anger (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.159), or as an old man threw himself to the ground and knelt before Dionysius (*P.Oxy.* 1089, 31; cf. *T. Job* 39.9). With respect to things, *rhipto* means “to leave” (on the spot, *P.Ryl.* 125, 25: “they left the box in my house empty”—*eripsan en te oikia mou ten pyxida kenen*) or “to replace,” for example, the lead weight on the opening of the ephah (Zech 5:8; cf. Judg 8:25).

(d) The LXX often uses the verb for throwing corpses into a field or into a tomb,⁵ especially the perfect passive participle *errimmenos* (Hebrew *napal*),⁶ which would be the equivalent of our “recumbent” or “laid out” (French *gisant*), as in Josephus, *Ant.* 6.362: “laid out on the ground” (*epi ges errimmenous*). The participle can also refer to beggars sleeping on the hard ground (Epictetus 3.26.6) and more generally to objects placed, arranged,⁷ or even scattered here and there (*Enoch* 21.3–4; *BGU* 1857, 9). This pejorative connotation is present in Matt 9:36—Jesus “took pity on

them because they were weary and lying on the ground (*hoti esan eskylmenoi kai errimmenoi*), like sheep without a shepherd.” They were not only exhausted but also abandoned, without resources, scattered and dispersed;⁸ only a pastor could gather them together and assure their survival.

(e) It is more difficult to interpret Acts 22:23—in the temple court, the Jews, exasperated at Paul, “cried out, cast (their) cloaks (*kai rhiptounton ta himatia*) and threw dust in the air.”⁹ This is reminiscent of Job’s three friends, who “raised their voices and wept; each tore his cloak (*rhexasantes hekastos ten heautou stolen*) and poured dust on his head.”¹⁰ But *rhipto* does not mean “to rend, tear” (*diarhesso*); it would be better to translate “tear off, pull off” (Isa 33:12) remembering that the motive is anger or indignation, as when Moses threw down the tables of the law and broke them (Exod 32:19; Deut 9:17). As Plato says, “What a statement you have just made! In setting it forth, you should expect to see a great number of people, and people not to be taken lightly, hurriedly cast off their garments (*hoion rhipsantas ta himatia*) and strip, take up whatever weapons are ready to hand, and rush at you with all their might.”¹¹

This is a theatrical gesture,¹² one customarily used by lawyers;¹³ it has with good reason been compared to the Roman *jactatio togarum*.¹⁴ But we do not know exactly what the gesture was. In any event, *rhipto* should mean “agitate” rather than “throw,”¹⁵ which is confirmed by the medical vocabulary, in which *rhipto* is used for convulsions¹⁶ and by the examples cited by F. Field,¹⁷ following Wettstein.

¹ Acts 27:19—τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου ἔριψαν (better attested than ε—ρίψαμεν, H, L, P, Harclean, Peshitta, Bohairic; the vague σκεῦος would be the usual term for a ship’s armament, cf. J. Vars, *L’Art nautique dans l’antiquité*, Paris, 1887, p. 61); Acts 27:29. Cf. cast into the sea, Xenophon, *Cyn.* 9.20; Achilles Tatius 2.11.5; 3.2.9: “the pilot ordered the cargo to be thrown [into the sea]” = *T. Job* 18.7; Exod 15:1, 4, 21; Neh 9:11; Exod 1:22 (in the Nile); Jer 51:63 (in the Euphrates); 2Kgs 2:21 (in the water); 2Kgs 2:21 (in the water); 2Chr 30:14 (in the Kidron); Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.102; *Drunkennes* 111; *Husbandry* 82; *Moses* 2.249; cf. *Good Man Free* 115; same meaning as ἀπορίπτω (Acts 27:32).

² Luke 17:2; cf. Plutarch, *Rom.* 18.1: “the Tarpeian Rock, from which criminals were thrown”; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 3.1.25: “they anticipate death by throwing themselves into the void”; Menander, *Dysk.* 583: “Nothing is left for you but to throw yourself into the abyss”; Josephus, *War* 1.150: “They threw themselves over the precipices in large numbers”; Judg 9:53—“A woman threw a millstone onto the head of Abimelech and fractured his skull”; 11:21-22; *P.Fouad* 29, 9: “one of them cast a stone, and my son . . .

sustained a head injury”; *P.Lips.* 40, col. I, 17; *T. Zeb.* 2.7—μὴ ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ ρίψωμεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἓνα τῶν ξηρῶν λάκκων τούτων; cast into the fire (Exod 32:24; Jer 36:23; Ezek 5:4; 4Macc 12:20; 17:1). A stone devoted to Isis bears this dedication: “Thrown by his horses (ῥιφθεὶς ἐξ ἵππων) from his carriage, Isidorus, for being saved, as an act of thanksgiving for his feet, has dedicated the image of his foot to the blessed (Isis)” (*SEG XX*, 501 = *SB* 10161; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 10, p.281).

³ Ῥίπτω is the technical verb for throwing away one’s weapons; Plato, *Leg.* 12.944b; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 4.2.33; Josephus, *War* 2.625; 1Macc 5:43; 7:44; 11:51; *BGU* 1024, col. III, 16; one sheds one’s clothing (2Kgs 7:15); *P.Tebt.* 48, 23: “throwing away his ἱμάτιον, he took flight”; *P.Fouad* 85, 13: “she promised either to bring him to an agreement or to have the case thrown out before the magistrate”; one rids oneself of all care (*C.P.Herm.* 10, 9; same meaning as ἐπιρίπτω, 1Pet 5:7; cf. Luke 19:35); cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 16.248.

⁴ Luke 4:35. Hagar, expecting her child to die, threw him under a bush (Gen 21:15); Joseph’s brothers threw him into a cistern (Gen 37:20); 2Sam 18:17; Jer 38:6; Dan 6:8, 13, 17, 24 (the lions’ den).

⁵ 2Kgs 9:25-26; 13:21; Tob 1:17; 2:3; Isa 14:19; Jer 22:19; 26:23; 41:9; 50:30; Ezek 19:12.

⁶ Judg 4:22; 15:15; 1Kgs 13:24-25, 28; Jer 14:16; 36:30; Ep Jer 71; Ps 88:6; Jdt 6:13; 14:15; 1Macc 11:4; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.191: the Philistines see Goliath lying on the ground, ἰδόντες ἐρριμμένον; Philo, *Dreams* 2.269; *Joseph* 25; leave unburied.

⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 3.7; *P.Lips.* 40, col. II, 20; *PSI* 404, 8: ἔστι δὲ ὑπαίθριον τὸ στιππύον ἐρριμμένον ἐν τοῖς Παταικίωνος (third century BC); *P.Cair.Zen.* 59467, 5; *P.Oxy.* 1915, 17; cf. Epictetus 1.23.10; *T. Abr.* A 5: “God placed the thought of Abraham’s death in the heart of Isaac” = B 4.

⁸ 2Macc 3:29—“This man lay silent, without hope, with no one to help”; Josephus, *War* 4.324: the priests “were nude, exposed to sight (ἐρριμμένοι γυμνοί), to be devoured by dogs and wild beasts”; *P.Paris* 19, col. II, 3: καλωσ οὐμ ποιήσεις ἐπιτροφήν μου ποιησάμενος, ἔρριμαι γὰρ κακῶς διακείμενος ἅπ ἐκείνου (third century BC). Cf. Philo, *To Gaius* 326: cast off into the darkness.

⁹ Interpreters have suggested that the Jews “tore” their garments as a sign of mourning (but this is not the right verb for that), or that they “took them

off” to prepare to stone Paul (which is not credible, given that they were in the sacred precincts). On the gesture of throwing one’s cloak (Luke 19:35), cf. the note of E. Delebecque, *Evangile de Luc*, p. 121.

¹⁰ Job 2:12 = *T. Job* 28.3; cf. Josephus, *War* 2.322: “the high priests could be seen covering their heads with dust, tearing their vestments, exposing their chests” (γυμνοὺς δὲ τὰ στέρνα τω—ν ε—σθήτων διερρηγμένων); 4.324; cf. E. Haenchen, *Acts*, p. 633, n. 1; Plutarch, *Cic.* 37.2: pulled in both directions (ῥιπταθείς).

¹¹ Plato, *Resp.* 5.474 a; cited by H. J. Cadbury (Excursus, “Dust and Garments,” in F. J. F. Jackson, K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, London, 1933, vol. 5, pp. 269–277; H. J. Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History*, London, 1955, pp. 38, 54), who sees these gestures as intended to ward off the curse that Paul’s attitude was expected to provoke.

¹² Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 6.8.3: Charicleia “was taken by fits of rage and despair, furiously undid her hair, tore her clothing (θοιμάτιον περιρρηξάμενη)” which she calls “the pantomime of our pain”; Plutarch, *De superst.* 3: Jewish women, ῥίψεις ε—πὶ πρόσωπον; cf. *T. Abr.* A 11: Adam, seeing the multitudes going to perdition, “grabbed his hair and his beard and threw himself at the foot of the throne, groaning and weeping.”

¹³ In the *Acts of Isidorus* (Recension B = *P.Lond.* inv. 2785, 37 = H. Musurillo, *Pagan Martyrs*, p. 22 = idem, *Acta Alexandrinorum*, Leipzig, 1961, p. 15) the lawyer makes a gesture with his hand and throws his cloak: ὁ ῥήτωρ τῆ δεξιά— . . . τὸ ι—μάτιον ἔρριψεν; cf. Dio Chrysostom 1.114; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or. Bas.* 15, *PG*, vol. 36, 516: “they cry, they throw dust in the sky (οὐρανῶ— πέμπουσι κόνιν), they beat the air.”

¹⁴ Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.74: “Revocate, Quirites, et date jactatis undique signa togis.”

¹⁵ Cf. Wis 18:18—“thrown down half dead, one here, one there”; Xenophon, *Cyn.* 9.20: the deer throw themselves into the sea or a body of water “with disorderly leaps.”

¹⁶ W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 2.

¹⁷ F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, p. 136; cf. Aristaenetus, *Ep.* 1.26 (admiration for a dancer): ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀνέστηκέ τε ὀρθὸς ἀπὸ θεύματος . . . καὶ τῶ— χει—ρε κινεῖ— καὶ τὴν ε—σθήτα σοβει—; Lucian, *Salt.* 83 (hamming up the role of Ajax μαινόμενος): ἀλλὰ τό γε θέατρον ἅπαν συνεμεμήνει τῶ— Αἴαντι, καὶ ε—πήδων, καὶ ε—βόων, καὶ τὰς ε—σθήτας

ἀπερρίπτουν. Cf. the texts of Anacreon, Melanippides, Timotheus, and the *adespota*, cited by D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford, 1962, n. 382 b; 501, 8; 758; 791, 165; 939, 19; 1037, 14; idem, *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, Oxford, 1974, n.477,11.

ῥυπαρία, ῥυπαρός, ῥύπος

rhyparia, dirtiness, filth; *rhyparos*, dirty, filthy; *rhypos*, dirtiness, filth

rhyparia, S 4507; *EDNT* 3.215; *NIDNTT* 1.479; MM 565; L&N 88.256; BAGD 738 | ***rhyparos***, S 4508; *EDNT* 3.215; *NIDNTT* 1.479; MM 565; L&N 79.52, 88.257; BAGD 738 | ***rhypos***, S 4509; *EDNT* 3.215; *NIDNTT* 1.479; MM 565; L&N 79.55; BDF §51(2); BAGD 738

The nouns mean “dirtiness, filth” (Plutarch, *De vit. pud.* 2: nurses scrub the dirt from small children; *Phoc.* 18.4: “a poor old man, dressed in a dirty cloak”; Plutarch, *De sera* 26) and the adjective “dirty.” They are used for impure metals (Dioscorides 5.74; cf. 1.56), for base and trivial remarks: “In describing the sublime, one must not stoop to dirty and disgusting details” (*eis ta rhypara kai exybrismena*, Ps.-Longinus, *Subl.* 43.5; *T. Jud.* 14.3, *en dialogismois rhyparois*). In the papyri, *rhyparos* refers to grain that has not been winnowed or purified,¹ and especially to debased coinage.²

In the Bible, the term “dirty clothes” (as opposed to festal clothes) appears in Zech 3:3-4 and again in Jas 2:2, contrasting the man with luxurious clothing and the poor man in a worn and dirty garment, just as when Pharaoh orders “that the prisoner be given splendid clothing instead of the filthy garment that he has.”³ Stains or dirt are washed away; 1Pet 3:21 points out that the purpose of baptism is not to get rid of bodily dirt.⁴

In classical Greek, moral stains are filth,⁵ and it is not surprising that Jas 1:21 gives *rhyparia* this figurative meaning of a stain that one washes away in order to be clean (*katharos*, John 13:10); similarly Teles and Plutarch use this term for sordid greed.⁶ The transition from the literal to the moral meaning of *rhypos* was clear in the LXX (“Who will draw the pure from the unclean? No one”)⁷ and common in literary texts: “Making your soul pure (*katharen psychen*) and washing away that which soils it”;⁸ “These meditations (on the stars) purify stains here below” (Marcus Aurelius 7.47).

¹ *P.Fay.* 16, 10 (first century BC); *P.Tebt.* 1057, 5; *P.Ryl.* 715, 3 and 8; *C.P.Herm.* 77, 3; *P.Oxy.* 1906, 1; 1910, 17; 1947, 2; *P.NYU* 11, 200; cf. *P.Athen.* 50, verso 4 and 14, ῥυπαροῦ μετρηταί; *O.Bodl.* 397, ὑπὸ δώματος ῥυπαροῦ. In *P.Oxy.* 234, col. II, 18, ῥυπω—δες = discolored. Cf. ῥυπαρω—ς, [to act] in a dirty way (Epictetus 2.9.4).

² *P.Tebt.* 238, 6: twelve devalued silver drachmas (AD 23); *P.Fay.* 52, a 3; *P.Ryl.* 194, 3; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 39, 4; *P.Mich.* 224 (3045); 225 (526); 372, col. II, 9; *P.Rein.* 134–137; *BGU* 1613 B, col. II, 20 (AD 69/70); 1898, 166; *P.Mert.* 64, 5, 9 (with the editors' note, p. 47); etc. Cf. V. B. Schuman, in *Aeg.* vol. 32, 1952, p. 249; idem, "The Income of the Office of the ΠΡΑΚΤΟΡΕΣ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΚΩΝ of Karanis," in *BASP*, vol. 12, 1975, pp. 34ff. Cf. the bath tax in *P.Cair.Mich.* 359 (*P.Cair.Mich.*, pp. 25ff., 33).

³ Philo, *Joseph* 105: καὶ ἀντὶ ῥυπω—σης λαμπτὰν ε—σθῆτα ἀντιδόντες; *Aproc. Pet.* 21, 30: ἄνδρες ῥάκη ῥυπαρὰ ε—νδεδύμενοι (in lieu of punishment); Josephus, *Ant.* 7.267: Memphibostos, ῥυπαράν τε τὴν ε—σθῆτα περικείμενος; *Sib. Or.* 5.188; Dio Cassius 65.20: "Vitellius put on a sorry-looking tunic, dirty and torn"; Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.3; *BGU* 1564, 10: ε—φ ᾧ ποιήσουσι τὸν ἰ—ματισμὸν ἔκ τε καλῆς καὶ λευκοτάτης ε—ρεα—ς χωρὶς παντὸς ῥύπου (second century); *P.Giss.* 76, 3: τρίγωνας ῥυπαρὰς β? καὶ στολὴν ὁμοίως λευκὴν; a law of Gambreion regarding mourning apparel, ἔχειν φαιὰν ε—σθῆτα, μὴ κατερρυπωμένην (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1219, 6; third century BC). Job 9:31 links refuse (ῥύπος) and clothing.

⁴ 1Pet 3:21—οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόσεις ῥύπου. The nouns ῥυπαρία and ῥύπος refer to something that is sticky and greasy, like suint (Hippocrates, *Fract.* 21) or earwax; idem, *Liqu.* 4.2; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2.10.87; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 36, 332: μι—ξον δὲ καὶ ται—ς κριθαι—ς καὶ ῥύπον ἀπὸ ὀτίου μούλας = *P.Oslo* 1, 332.

⁵ Cf. L. Moulinier, *Le Pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs*, pp. 25, 38, 60.

⁶ Teles speaks of people not using their wealth, οὐ χρωμένους δὲ τούτοις διάνελευθερίαν καὶ ῥυπαρίαν (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 97.31); Plutarch, *Mor.* 2.60 d: οἰ—κονομικὸς χωρὶς ῥυπαρίας = Pertinax was thrifty without being sordid (text inserted by some manuscripts in Dio Cassius 76.5). Cf. Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 3.116: μικροψυχία, ἀνελευθερία, μικροπρέπεια, καὶ ὡς Κριτίας, ῥυπαρία. The legend of St. Pelagia, p. 6, 30, concerning baptismal purification, is cited: ἀφῆκεν ε—ν τω— ὕδατι πα—σαν αὐτῆς τὴν ῥυπαρίαν.

⁷ Job 14:4—τίς γὰρ καθαρὸς ἔσται ἀπὸ ῥύπου (Hebrew *tame'*), cited by Philo, *Change of Names* 48; cf. Job 11:15; Isa 4:4—"when the Lord has washed the filth (Hebrew *so'âh*) from the daughters of Zion and rinsed the blood from the midst of Jerusalem." It is clear from Plutarch that ῥυπαρία is very pejorative: "We see no animal other than the pig taking so much

pleasure in the mire and in the unclean and filthy places” (τόποις ῥυπαροῖς—ς καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις, *Quaest. conv.* 4.5.3).

⁸ Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 3: τὸν ε—π αὐτῇ ῥύπον ε—κκλύσας; cf. Philo, *Unchang. God* 7: “If we make an effort to be grateful . . . we will purify ourselves of our faults and wash away the stains that taint our lives” (ε—κνιψάμενοι τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα τὸν βίον); *Rev* 22:11.

σανίς

sanis, plank, board

sanis, S 4548; *EDNT* 3.228; MM 568; L&N 7.79; BAGD 742

From its first occurrences, *sanis*, “plank, board,” was used for a leaf of a wooden door.¹ Thus the epitaph of Lysandros, dead at Karanis at age twenty, says, “During the night, my companions did not make the cedar doors resound”;² and thus the brothers who want to preserve their sister’s virginity propose barricading or blockading her: “If she is a door, we will set up planks of cedar against her.”³ This wood can be of all sorts, from that which is carried by camels,⁴ the lid of a trunk (*kiboton*) in which the priest Jehoiada bored a hole (2Kgs 12:9), and writing tablets,⁵ to the cedar floors in the rooms for eating and resting in the royal palace (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.134; *SEG* XXII, 114, 17, *en sanidi leleukomene* —1st century AD).

Sanis is especially used for ships, whether for the sides (Ezek 27:5; *Anth.Pal.* 9.415.6), the gangway (Euripides, *Hel.* 1556; Polybius 1.22.5), the planks, like those that saved the shipwreck victims in Acts 27:44,⁶ or the “floor” of a floating bridge burned by pirates (Philo, *To Gaius* 129).

¹ Homer, *Od.* 2.344; *Il.* 9.583: Oineus “shook the well-joined planks of the door”; 12.121: “He did not find the leaves of the gate closed, nor the long door-bar”; 12.453, 461: “the door groaned . . . the planks were smashed.”

² Κεδροπαγει—ς σανίδα, *SEG* I, 567, 6 = *SB* 6706 = *GVI*, n. 1680 (who dates the inscription to the third-second century BC).

³ Cant 8:9, Hebrew *lûah*, which is “said of objects with a smooth surface: a stone table (Exod 24:12ff.), metal panels (1Kgs 7:36), wooden planks (Exod 27:8; 38:7; Ezek 27:5). . . . [Here_ the word is used for planks used inside a door to bar its leaves. They are of cedar, a precious wood . . . strong and incorruptible” (A. Robert, R. Tournay, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, Paris, 1963, p. 311).

⁴ SB 9075, 8; cf. *P.Col.Zen.* 5, 57: “at Libanos, prices of woods”; Plutarch, *Per.* 28.2: Pericles had the soldiers of the Samian navy, already half-dead, tied to planks and finished off with clubs.

⁵ Dio Cassius 42.32: Antonius “broke the tablets on which these two laws were written”; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 975, 30: ἀναγράψαντες εἰς τὴν σανίδα; 1011, 15.

⁶ —Ἐπὶ σανίσιν; “the substantive σανίς could refer to the sides, which would mean that the hull of the ship was broken up, but most likely it refers to the boards used to secure the cargo in the hold and keep it from sliding when the ship rolled and pitched” (J. Renié, *Actes des Apôtres*, Paris, 1949, p. 344); cf. *P.Flor.* 69, 21 and 24: ε—ξηλοῦσι σανίδες [πλ]ατείας ε—τέρου τοίχου τοῦ προκειμένου πλοίου (fragment of an account from the third century BC); *P.Cair.Zen.* 59755, 12 (list of a ship’s furnishings), where the editor proposes the reading ε—στρωμένον, διὰ νηὸς σανίς, following *P.Lond.* 1164, h 7 (vol. 3, p. 164; third century AD).

σαργάνη, σπυρίς

sargane, *spyris*, basket

sargane, S 4553; *EDNT* 3.229; MM 569; L&N 6.148; BAGD 742 | ***spyris***, S 4711; *EDNT* 3.267; MM 586, 618; L&N 6.149; BDF §34(5); BAGD 764

These two substantives, unknown in the LXX,¹ seem almost synonymous, since St. Paul, in his escape from Damascus, was let down the wall *en sargane* according to 2Cor 11:33 (omitted by F, G) and *en spyridi* in Acts 9:25.²

Some have wanted to see *sargane* as a fish basket,³ while it is actually a woven wicker basket with varied uses: “*Peltai* (small shields) are hidden in large straw and wool baskets (*en angesin*), . . . smaller weapons in baskets full of raisins and figs (*en sarganais*), and daggers in amphoras of grain, dried figs, and olives” (Aeneas Tacticus 29.6). In the papyri, it is a container for grain or wine,⁴ or more precisely, a unit of measure,⁵ the weight of a shipment, valued at 150 pounds in *P.Cair.Isid.* 10, 4ff.; 13, 50; 16, 22; 17, 2ff.; SB 9176; 9384, 54, 62; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 152, col. II, 52, 59: *eis episkeuen sarganon*. There are smaller units, however: *sarganition hena* (*BGU* 236, 11; from AD 57); *sarganion* (*P.Lips.* 21, 18).

A *spyris* is also a woven basket, but more commonly used, although it is unknown in Josephus, and of smaller capacity. The word is used at Matt 15:37 and Mark 8:8, and also at Matt 16:10 and Mark 8:20, in each case referring to the baskets in which the pieces of bread and fish left over from the multiplying of the loaves were placed; the two latter texts place

spyris parallel with *kophinos*.⁶ Some have concluded that a *spyris* is a basket for bread or fish.⁷ But, apart from the fact that the *spyris* may be of different sizes (*spyridion*, *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 8, 13; *P.Tebt.* 414, 19; *P.Oxy.* 1293, 30), it is used for the picnic basket in which each one brings his own food,⁸ not only for a basket of good dates (*P.Oxy.* 116, 19), nuts (741, 2), or delicacies (1070, 31) but also dry pitch (*pisses xeras sphyridas*, *SB* 1, 9). So the word means a portable container and can be translated “bag” or “parcel.” The price of a parcel is figured, as with the baskets of nails in *P.Col.Zen.* 94, 7 (cf. *P.Fay.* 102, 3ff., in AD 105; *time spyridon*, *UPZ* 112, col. V, 18; from 170 BC), and receipt of the parcel is acknowledged in a business letter (*SB* 7572, 3; 9025, 19). There is no specifying the size or shape, since the word refers to an instrument of torture in Philo, who describes a tax agent torturing taxpayers: “He tied a cord with a sliding knot (*brochos*) to a basket full of sand (*ammou spyrida plere*) which he hung from their necks, a crushing burden” (*Spec. Laws* 3.160).

¹ Hebrew has four terms for “basket”: *sal*, for bread loaves and cakes (Gen 40:16; Lev 8:2; Num 6:15) or meat (Judg 6:19); *dûd*, for fruit (Jer 24:1-2, figs); *tene'*, for provisions (Deut 26:2, 4; 28:5, 17); *kelûb*, literally, “woven,” used for fruit (Amos 8:1-2) but also for a bird cage (Jer 5:27).

² On the parallelism of these two texts, cf. C. K. Barrett, *New Testament Essays*, London, 1972, pp. 95ff. This mode of transport, used for an escape in Josh 2:15; 1Sam 19:12, is also the way one can be hoisted up to the monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai.

³ Probably by making it a derivative of *σαργι—νος* (Aristotle, *HA* 9.2.610b, classes *σαργι—νοι* among fish that live in schools, between smelt [*ἀθερίναι*] and needle-shaped fish) or of *σαργός*, the sargus, another species of fish (*ibid.* 5.11.542b).

⁴ *P.Flor.* 269, 7: τὰς οἰ—νηγὰς σαργάννας; *P.Cair.Masp.* 67010, 19: μεμεσωμένας σ[αργάναι]ς σιτίνου τε καὶ ξηροῦ χόρτου (*Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 3, p. 34); *P.Flor.* 175, 32: ἔχουσι σαργένας (or σαργάννας) οἰ—νηγὰς (M. David, p. 58); *P.Lond.* 1770, 20: ἀχύρου σιτίνου σαργάννας (M. David, pp. 99, 271); *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 30, col. 23, 13 (second century).

⁵ *O.Mich.* 779, 5; 780, 5; 783, 3; 788, 1–2; *O.Bodl.* q., 17; *P.Oxf.* 16, 15: “Each year I will give you a *sargane* of combustible straw”; *P.Oxy.* 2272, 21; 2154, 23: “Send me at least one *sargane* of small straw”; *SB* 1970; 9003, 2; 9019, 2; 10299, 7, 14.

⁶ Normally, κοφίνος is used especially for working the earth (Ps 81:6); its measure varies (*PSI* 428, 52: ε—ν κοφίνω μεγάλω), from twenty to forty λίτραι, according to *P.Oxy.* 43 (AD 295).

⁷ Cf. Herodotus 5.16—“If you let an empty basket down into the lake with a rope, in a very little while you can pull it out full of fish”; Aristophanes, *Pax* 1005: “eels from Copais arrive by the basket”; *P.Ryl.* 127, 34: “a basket containing fifty loaves” (AD 29); *P.Oxy.* 936, 15: a small Kanopic basket with four loaves.” The *spyris* was probably part of a fisherman’s gear; according to Philip of Thessalonica, “a pair of rush baskets” (δισσὰς σχοινογενει—ς σπυρίδας, *Anth. Pal.* 6.5.4); and Julian, the prefect of Egypt, says, “a pair of well-woven baskets” (ζευγός τ̄ εὐπλεκέων σπυρίδων, *ibid.* 28, 5), “two baskets with some cork” (σπυρίδας θ̄ ἄμα φελλω—, *ibid.* 29, 3); but Leonidas of Tarentum specifies, “fish baskets” (τὰς ι—χθυδίκους σπυρίδας, *ibid.* 4, 2). Cf. “A Note by the Late Dr Hort on the Words κόφινος, σπυρίς, σαργάνη,” in *JTS*, 1909, pp. 567–571.

⁸ Epictetus 4.10.21: among the advantages of being consul is that of offering to dine from baskets, σπυρίσιν δειπνίσαι; Athenaeus 8.365 a: each one brings a meal in a basket, δει—πνον ἀπὸ σπυρίδος.

σάρξ, σαρκικός, σάρκινος

sarx, flesh; *sarkikos*, of the flesh, carnal; *sarkinos*, fleshy, of the flesh, carnal

sarx, S 4561; *TDNT* 7.98–151; *EDNT* 3.230–233; *NIDNTT* 1.671–672, 674–682; MM 569; L&N 8.4, 8.63, 9.11, 9.12, 9.14, 9.15, 10.1, 22.20, 23.90, 25.29, 26.7, 58.10, 88.279; BDF §§160, 266(2), 258(2), 272, 275(4); BAGD 743–744 | **sarkikos**, S 4559; *TDNT* 7.98–151; *EDNT* 3.229–230; *NIDNTT* 1.671, 764, 677, 682; MM 569; L&N 26.8, 41.42, 79.1, 79.4; BDF §113(2); BAGD 742 | **sarkinos**, S 4560; *TDNT* 7.98–151; *EDNT* 3.229–230; *NIDNTT* 1.671, 674, 682; MM 569; L&N 9.13, 26.8, 41.42, 79.4; BDF §113(2); BAGD 743

E. Schweizer noted that in Homer the word “flesh” was used especially in the plural,¹ a usage that remained common in literary Greek (cf. Hippocrates, *Peri sarkon*; Quintus of Smyrna, Dio Chrysostom, etc.). It refers to the flesh of the human body (Herondas, *Mimes* 4.6: “flesh that seems to palpitate, hot”) but more often, it seems, animal flesh.² It is associated with bones,³ muscles, sinews, veins,⁴ viscera,⁵ and blood.⁶

Sarx can be pale (Sophocles, *Phil.* 1157) or white (Euripides, *Med.* 1189), old (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 72), vigorous (*Sept.* 622) or torn (Euripides, *Hipp.* 1239, 1343). Being material, flesh finally meets death: “his old flesh

was torn from his bones” (Euripides, *Med.* 1217); “the daughter and the father lie dead” (1119); the vital force departs. *Sarx* is contrasted with *nous*,⁷ or the immortal *psyche*,⁸ or *logos* (Epictetus 1.3.5), or *pneuma* (Euripides, frag. 971: “He who, swelled with flesh, is extinguished like a star fallen from heaven, freeing the spirit for the aether”). It is notably the “miserable flesh” (Epictetus 1.3.5) that distinguishes humans from the gods.⁹ What is more, if sensations are detected by means of the sensitivity of the flesh (*paraisthesis sarkine*),¹⁰ thinkers from Epicurus on (Epictetus, *Against Epicurus* 2, frag. 6, col. 2) reflect on “pleasure according to the flesh” (*he kata sarka hedone*) as compared to pleasures of the *psyche* (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 5.1) and conclude around the turn of the millennium not only that the latter are greater,¹¹ but that the *pathe tes sarkos* (bodily sensations) are a crude sensual pleasure, usually an appeasement of sexual instincts.¹²

The LXX translates the Hebrew *basar* especially with *sarx*,¹³ referring to the whole living creature, human or animal,¹⁴ the very person (Lev 13:18; Eccl 4:5; 5:5; cf. my *sarx* = me, Ps 119:120), the whole being (Gen 2:23; Ezek 37:6, 8; Job 2:5; Ps 68:2; Eccl 5:5), and especially the body.¹⁵ But since the body’s vitality (Hebrew *nepeš*) is in the blood (Gen 9:4-5; Lev 17:1; Deut 12:23), the composite human is referred to by the expression “flesh and blood,”¹⁶ the locution *kol basar*; “all flesh,” means all human beings;¹⁷ and kinship is defined as the same biological origin, by blood as well as flesh.¹⁸ God formed the body in the mother’s womb (Job 12:10; 34:15—the God of all flesh), beginning with inert earthy matter, which he animated with his breath (Gen 2:7, cf. 6:3, 13); one lives only insofar as one breathes, which means that the body is capable of dying (Ps 104:23; Zech 14:12). Being a creature (Isa 31:3; Jer 17:5; Joel 3:1), it is characterized by weakness and fragility;¹⁹ this is one of the most obvious contrasts with the deity.²⁰ The Wisdom writers emphasize the devaluation of the flesh. A “body of flesh” is pejorative,²¹ as is “eyes of flesh” (Job 10:4), which see poorly: since they discern only appearances, they are deceived. We cannot speak of a dualism of flesh and spirit²² that would correspond to the opposition between good and evil, but fleshly being, which belongs to the earth, is not only separated from the world of the *pneuma*, which belongs to heaven (4 Ezra 3:1), but is inferior to it.²³

The Synoptic Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles mention flesh only rarely, and always with its OT meanings.²⁴ Likewise the Fourth Gospel, in which this word always occurs in Jesus’ speech.²⁵ Used six times regarding the Eucharist (John 6:51-56), and made more specific as “the flesh of the Son of Man” or “my flesh and my blood,” it refers to the body and soul of Jesus, his person given to communicate eternal life. Twice *sarx* is opposed to *pneuma*.²⁶ John 8:15 is pejorative: “You judge according to the flesh,” that is, according to appearances; this is a

superficial, incomplete, and false judgment. These nuances are traditional in Israel, and there is not the slightest theological elaboration.

In the Pauline writings, on the other hand, the “flesh” is constantly mentioned, and with meanings so different that one could almost say that they vary from verse to verse.²⁷ First, there are a large number of occurrences with the neutral biological meaning, “flesh” as a synonym of “body”: “No one ever hated his own flesh” (Eph 5:29); “I am absent in the flesh (physically) but in spirit I am among you.”²⁸ Then there is “human nature” in the noblest sense, since the incarnate Son of God was “born of the race of David, according to the flesh.”²⁹ The “body of his flesh” (Col 1:22) is his humanity. “Flesh” can also mean human existence (1Pet 4:6) here below (Eph 6:5) and its conditioning: Onesimus is a brother beloved “both according to the flesh and according to the Lord” (Phlm 16), which means humanly and divinely.

There is already a pejorative nuance in 1Cor 1:26, which observes that at Corinth there were “not many wise according to the flesh,” that is, humanly gifted;³⁰ and in 1Cor 7:28, where spouses experience “affliction in the flesh”;³¹ and also in 2Cor 5:16—“We no longer know anyone according to the flesh; even if we knew Christ according to the flesh, yet now we no longer know him.”³² This pejorative value of *sarx* is described as a “weakness”;³³ the flesh is ephemeral as the grass (1Pet 1:24; Isa 40:6) and mortal (2Cor 4:11); it is the seat of sensations and the emotions; it is passible.³⁴ Its infirmity and poverty are such that “no flesh (creature) may boast before God.”³⁵

It gets worse. St. Paul, probably inheriting something from the Qumran sect, or in any event depending on contemporary Jewish conceptions, sees the flesh as a source of evil, of dissolute actions,³⁶ always ready to break free (Gal 5:13), like an insolent slave (cf. Col 2:23, *plesmone tes sarkos*), rebelling and wishing to become an autonomous authority: “When we were in the flesh (under its orders, in a state of sinfulness), the passions ... acted in our members” (Rom 7:5); “no good dwells in me, that is, in my flesh” (7:18); “sin dwells in me” (7:21). This is not to say that what we today call the body is corrupt. *Sarx* is almost personified; more precisely, it retains here its basic meaning of “human nature,” but human nature as vitiated. It is the “whole person” that is corrupt, a perverse mind and will. Just as the arm and the hand are considered as autonomous and responsible for actions in which they are really just instruments, Paul treats the flesh—the inferior part of a person—as the locus of the passions and covetousness.³⁷ He attributes to it *epithymia*,³⁸ which is constantly opposing the *pneuma*: “the flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; these are (principles that are) opposed to each other (*tauta gar allelois antikeitai*) The works of the flesh are manifest; they are sexual immorality, impurity, debauchery, idolatry, magic, hatred . . .” (Gal 5:17-19). There is a radical opposition

between on the one hand *sarx* and *epithymia kake* (Col 3:5; 1Cor 10:6) and on the other hand reason, spirit, God's will.³⁹

The Pauline parenthesis is based on this experience: "With my reason I serve the law of God, but with my flesh the law of sin."⁴⁰ The Christian life is essentially defined as a liberation from *sarx* and a submission to *pneuma*: "We walk not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. Those who live according to the flesh have their minds set on the things of the flesh; those who live according to the spirit have their minds set on the things of the spirit."⁴¹ Indeed, "the inclinations (*to phronema*) of the flesh lead to death, but the inclinations of the spirit lead to life and peace (with God). This is why the inclinations of the flesh are enmity toward God, because they are not in submission to the law of God, nor can they be. Now those who are in the flesh cannot please God. But you are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if it is true that the Spirit of God dwells in you."⁴² "Take no thought for the flesh, (to satisfy) its lusts" (Rom 13:14; Gal 5:15); "Let us purify ourselves from every stain in flesh and in spirit, making ourselves perfectly holy, in the fear of God" (2Cor 7:1; cf. 1Cor 7:34). The conflict is such that "those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and lusts" (Gal 5:24). The last denunciation is that given by 1John 2:16—"All that is in the world—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, the pride of life—is not of the Father, but of the world."⁴³

Sarkikos. — This rare⁴⁴ adjective is used by St. Paul with the same nuances as the substantive *sarx*, first of all in the neutral, slightly depreciatory sense of "material goods" (*ta sarkika*), as opposed to spiritual goods (*ta pneumatika*, Rom 15:27, 1Cor 9:11), then in a pejorative moral sense: "carnal wisdom" (duplicity, hypocrisy, etc.) as opposed to the grace of God (2Cor 1:12); or "carnal weapons" (*ta hopla . . . sarkika*), which are weak rather than *dynata* (10:4). Finally, there is the most pronounced Pauline theological meaning, describing the human and earthly order: "When there is jealousy and strife among you, are you not carnal (*ouchi sarkikoi este*) and walking according to man (*kata anthropon*)?" (1Cor 3:3). 1Pet 2:11 emphasizes sinful tones that are discordant with the divine: "I urge you . . . to abstain from these carnal lusts which make war against the soul."

Sarkinos. — Used much more than the preceding verb, this adjective takes on varied meanings in the secular literature; it denotes the carnal nature of the body,⁴⁵ sometimes with the nuance "corpulent"⁴⁶ or "fleshy": "Look for the fleshy fish (*ton sarkinon ichthyn*) lest you starve to death";⁴⁷ sometimes "real."⁴⁸ The LXX uses *sarkinos* for weakness and powerlessness,⁴⁹ and St. Paul gives it the same pejorative meaning as *sarx*: "the law is spiritual (*pneumatikos*) but I am carnal (*sarkinos*), sold to sin";⁵⁰ "I was not able to speak to you as to spiritual people (*pneumatikois*), but as to carnal people (*sarkinois*), as to nursing infants in Christ" (1Cor

3:1); babies are only flesh; they are not anti-spiritual, but they are still non-spiritual.

¹ E. Schweizer, F. Baumgärtel, H. Meyer, “σάρξ,” in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 98–151. Cf. E. Schweizer, “Die hellenistische Komponente im neutestamentlichen σάρξ-Begriff,” in *ZNW*, 1957, pp. 237–253.

² Hesiod, *Th.* 538, Prometheus “had put beneath the skin flesh and entrails heavy with fat”; flesh of fish and small animals (Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* 2.4; Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 5.51). It can be only an isolated bit of flesh (Euripides, *Bacch.* 1130; 1136: scraps; Nicander, frag. 78, 16), notably sacrificial flesh (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1047, 7: γλω—σσαν καὶ σάρκας τρει—ς ; 1171, 5; *LSCG*, n. XI, B, 12; XXIX, 4; *Supplément*, n. XIX, 33; *LSAM*, n. XXIV, A, 16: σάρκας καὶ σπλάγχνα: portions of beef); one eats flesh (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1097; Euripides, *Tro.* 775; Antiphanes, frag. 326 = J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 308), but flesh thus consumed is more likely to be called κρέας (Rom 14:21; 1Cor 8:13; Theocritus, *Id.* 25.224).

³ Euripides, *Hec.* 1072, Polymestor: “gorge myself on their flesh, their bones”; Plato, *Phd.* 96 d: “flesh adds to flesh, bones to bones”; *Tim.* 84 a: “what joins the flesh to the bones”; Aristotle, *Part. An.* 2.9.655b23: “bone and flesh”; Aristotle, *Gen. Cor.* 1.5.321b19.

⁴ Homer, *Od.* 11.219: “The sinews no longer hold the flesh or the bones”; Plato, *Tim.* 74 b: “sinews and flesh”; 82 c; Aristotle, *Part. An.* 1.5.645a29: “what humankind is composed of, for example, blood, flesh, bones, vessels, and other such parts”; 2.1.546b15: “the parts that form the organs are composed of bones, sinews, flesh, and other such tissues”; Epictetus 2.9.18: “what is eaten and digested . . . has become sinews, flesh, bones, blooming complexion, healthy respiration”; 4.7.32.

⁵ Homer, *Od.* 9.293: “One would have said a lion . . . entrails, flesh (σαρκάς), marrow, bone, he did not leave anything”; Hesiod, *Th.* 538,

⁶ Plato, *Symp.* 207 d: “Every day a person is new . . . hair, flesh, bones, blood, the whole body.” Blood is the most closely related to flesh (Empedocles, frag. 98; cf. H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 8th ed., vol. 1, 346, 23), since the latter is produced from the former. “The mother’s blood coagulates, forming the flesh of the embryo, and in the midst of the flesh the navel is separated” (Hippocrates, *Nat. Puer.* 15–17). Cf. flesh and belly (*Loc. Hom.* 1.2), bones (3.1; 4.2; 13.3, 5), veins (3.6), is filled with phlegm (29.1); is tested by cold (10.2), is soft (*Fist.* 1.1), is cut into (*Morb.* 50.4), it swells (48.1); it develops or diminishes according to certain

exercises (*Vict.* 2.2; 9.3), long-distance races warm it (63.1), as do certain foods (78.1; 79.3); it is moist (56.7; 57.1; 60.3–4); at maturity a person is well fleshed-out (32.5); it is in the flesh that tumors grow (89.11) and dropsy (Hippocrates, *Acut.*, appendix 52.1); the juice of certain seeds is more laxative than their flesh (pulp; *Vict.* 45.4); rockfish have tender, light flesh (48.1–3; 49.3), etc.

⁷ Aeschylus, *Sept.* 622; cf. Euripides, *El.* 387; Empedocles, frag. 126 (= Diels, vol. 1, 362, 5): ἀλλογνώ—ς χιτῶν σαρκός = strange garment of flesh; used by Plutarch, *De esu carn.* 4 and Porphyry (in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.49, 60; vol. 1, p. 446, 21ff.); Philo, *Heir* 268; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.49.

⁸ Plato, *Symp.* 211 c; *Leg.* 12.959 a, “The *psyche* is superior to the *soma*; it is immortal,” and it is contrasted to the “bulk of the flesh (τὸν τῶ—ν σαρκῶ—ν ὄγκον) that is being buried”; Plutarch, *Adv. Col.* 20; *De sera* 17; epitaph of Philoxenos: “Kaunos (a city in Caria) consumed your flesh in a raging fire” (*SB* 4314, 6).

⁹ Epictetus 2.8.2: “What then is God really? Flesh? — Never”; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 3.11.1.

¹⁰ Philodemus of Gadara, *Piet.* 116, 13ff.; Philo, *Heir* 71; *Husbandry* 97; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.41; 3.158; *Abraham* 164; *Giants* 35.

¹¹ Diogenes Laertius 10.137; Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 13: “To live without being in submission to the slavery of the flesh (ἀδούλωτον τῇ σαρκί) and its passions, which draw the spirit (καὶ τοι—ς ταύτης πάθεσι), that is a good and happy fortune”; Plutarch, *De virt. et vit.* 3; *Mor.* 2.1096 c: ται—ς τῆς σαρκὸς ἐ—πιθυμίας. The flesh is the seat of the passions: ἐ—ν τῇ σαρκὶ ἢ ἡδονή (Epicurus, *Sent.* 18); “bodily passions, issuing from the flesh, in which they have taken root” (Philo, *Heir* 268); “carnal good is pleasure stripped of reason” (*Giants* 40); the way of wisdom is devoted to “attacks and rejections of every companion of the flesh” (*Unchang. God* 143; cf. *Husbandry* 97; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.49–50); 4Macc 7:18: “Only those who give themselves to piety with vigilance are able to rule the passions of the flesh.”

¹² Cf. the Epicurean Metrodorus, in Plutarch, *Adv. Col.* 30; *Suav. viv.* 14. Philo is especially pessimistic: the body and its passions draw people into sin (*Plant.* 43; *Heir* 296); sexual pleasure is the origin of evil (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.143, 159; *Creation* 151–164; *Spec. Laws* 1.192). Since for the soul the flesh is a weight, a servitude, a coffin, a funeral urn, a cadaver to drag about (*Giants* 31; *Heir* 268; *Migr. Abr.* 12; *Husbandry* 25; *Unchang. God* 2), an obstacle to growth in wisdom and to the flight of the soul toward God

(*Migr. Abr.* 14; *Dreams* 2.232), one must disengage from it through *askesis* (*Spec. Laws* 4.114; *Giants* 30; *Change of Names* 32; *Dreams* 2.67; *Unchang. God* 3).

¹³ One hundred forty-eight times (always in the singular, except *Prov* 14:30), but also κρέας (79 times), σῶμα (23 times), and χρώς (14 times, cf. *Acts* 19:12; literally, the skin, the epidermis); but σάρξ also translates the Hebrew *she'er*, “meat” (*Lev* 18:6; 25:49; *Num* 27:11—the flesh of his body). Cf. D. Lys, *La Chair dans l’Ancien Testament: Bâsar*, Paris, 1967; J. Scharbert, *Fleisch, Geist und Seele im Pentateuch*, Stuttgart, 1966, P. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, pp. 7–10, 113; J. Luzzi, “Basar en el contexto veterotestamentario,” in *Ciencia y fe*, 1958, pp. 3–28.

¹⁴ In the latter case, *sarx* is especially meat used as food (*1Kgs* 17:6; 19:21; *Num* 11:4, 13, 18ff.), which is more often called κρέας (*Gen* 9:4; *Exod* 12:8; *Deut* 12:15, 20; 14:8), notably the flesh of sacrificial victims (*Isa* 65:4; *Jer* 11:15; *Hag* 2:12; *Lev* 6:20; *Num* 18:18; *Deut* 16:4; *1QS* 9.4—“the flesh of the whole burnt offerings”); cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 78, 16.

¹⁵ *Gen* 2:23; *2Kgs* 5:10, 14; 9:26 (dogs devour Jezebel’s body); *Job* 6:12; 33:21. The corpse (*1Sam* 17:44; *2Kgs* 9:36). A part of the body (*Lev* 6:3; 15:2-3), muscles (*Sir* 19:12; 38:28; *4Macc* 9:20, 28), tendons (*Job* 10:11), skin (*Exod* 4:7; *Lev* 13:2-4, 11, 38, 39, 43; 13:18, 24; *Lam* 3:4; *Pss* 102:6; *Job* 19:20; *Prov* 14:30; *Josephus, Ant.* 15.236: the skin of the flesh), bone (*Job* 2:5; *T. Sim.* 6.2; *Jos. Asen.* 16), heart (*Pss* 73:26; 84:3; *Eccl* 2:3; 11:10; *Ezek* 11:29; 36:26—a heart of flesh = receptive to God’s will), the flesh of the foreskin (*Gen* 17:11, 14, 23-25; *Lev* 12:3); flesh of uncircumcision (*Gen* 17:11ff.; *Lev* 12:3; 13:10ff.), uncircumcision of the flesh (*Ezek* 44:7, 9; cf. *Jdt* 14:10; *Sir* 44:20; *Jub.* 15.13). Cf. stoutness = fat of flesh (*Isa* 17:4; *Dan* 1:15).

¹⁶ *Sir* 14:18; 17:31; *Wis* 12:5; cf. “all flesh in which is found a breath of life” (*Gen* 6:17; 7:15).

¹⁷ *Isa* 40:5; *Jer* 12:12; 25:31; 45:5; *Joel* 3:1; *Zech* 2:17; *Job* 12:10; 34:15; *1QSb* 3.28; *1Q34*, frag. 3; the population of a land (*Ezek* 21:4, 9); every living being, beasts included (*Gen* 6:17; 9:11; *Num* 18:15; *Pss* 136:25; *Dan* 4:9).

¹⁸ *Gen* 2:23—“flesh of my flesh”; the woman is the very own flesh (ἴδια σάρξ) of the man (*Sir* 25:26; *Adam and Eve* 3; *Gen* 29:14; *2Sam* 5:1; 19:13; *Judg* 9:2; *1Chr* 12:1; *Neh* 5:5; *Lev* 18:6; 25:49); between brothers and sisters (*Gen* 37:27; *Lev* 18:12-13; 20:19).

¹⁹ Ps 56:5; 78:39; 109:24; Job 6:12; 33:21; Sir 28:5; 31:1; 40:8; Isa 31:3; cf. 2Chr 32:8—“an arm of *basar*” (cf. 1QH 15.12—“a hand of flesh”); the military might of Egypt is only flesh (Ezek 31:3); much study is weariness of *basar* (Eccl 12:12); 1QH 4.29; 8.31–32; 15.12, 21.

²⁰ Isa 31:3; Jer 17:5; Ezek 40:5–6; Joel 3:1; Zech 14:12; Dan 2:11—“gods whose dwelling is not with flesh”; cf. 2:5ff.; CD 2.20—“all flesh that was on the earth succumbed and died” (W. D. Davies, “Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit,” in K. Stendahl, *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, New York, 1957, pp. 157–182; K. G. Kuhn, “New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament,” *ibid.*, pp. 94–113; R. E. Murphy, “BSR in the Qumran Literature and Sarks in the Epistle to the Romans,” in *Sacra Pagina*, Paris-Gembloux, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 60–76; J. Pryke, “‘Spirit’ and ‘Flesh’ in the Qumran Documents and Some New Testament Texts,” in *RevQ*, 1965, pp. 345–360); *Jub.* 7.4; 21.10; *SB* 2034, 2; 3901, 2; 4949, 2; 6035, 3; 7429, 2; 7430, 1; etc.

²¹ Sir 23:17 (Col 1:22; 2:11); *1 Enoch* 102.5; 1QpHab 9.2; Nah 2:6.

²² Jdt 10:13; Wis 7:1, 7; cf. 4Macc 7:13; *Pss. Sol.* 16.14; *Jub.* 2.2, 11; 1QH 18.21–24; *T. Abr.* B 13; *T. Job* 27.2, Satan to Job, “you who are flesh, I who am spirit”; 38.2—“Who are we to meddle in heavenly things when we are flesh?”; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.325; *War* 2.154; 6.47: the *psyche* separates from the flesh at the moment of death.

²³ 1QH 15.17. Following Jer 25:31 and Hos 4:1, the Qumran literature represents God putting “all flesh” on trial (CD 1.2)—i.e., sinful humanity—and emphasizes the relationship of flesh to sin: “I stumble because of the sin of the flesh” (1QS 11.12), “flesh of perversity” (9); “flesh of guilt” (1QM 12.11). A “spirit of flesh” (1QH 13.16; 17.25) is a perverse spirit (cf. Rom 8:1–9). Cf. *T. Jud.* 19.4—“I was ignorant, like man and like flesh, corrupted by sin.”

²⁴ Matt 19:56 (Mark 10:8; cf. 1Cor 6:16; Eph 5:31), regarding monogamous marriage, quotes Gen 2:24—“the two shall be one flesh,” a single being. Matt 24:22 (Mark 13:20; Luke 3:6; cf. Isa 40:5): “No flesh (no living being) could be saved”; Matt 26:41 (Mark 14:38; cf. Gal 2:16 = Ps 143:2)—“the flesh is weak” (contrasted with the *pneuma*); Luke 24:39—“a *pneuma* does not have flesh and bone” (no body). The phrase “flesh and blood” refers to humans as incapable of perceiving the divine (Matt 16:17) and inheriting the kingdom of God (1Cor 15:50; Gal 1:16). Acts 2:17 quotes Joel 2:28; Acts 2:26 quotes Ps 16:9; Acts 2:31—the flesh (the body) of Christ did not see corruption (cf. Ps 16:10).

²⁵ With the exception of the prologue, where 1:14 should be translated, “The Word became human,” i.e., took on a human nature. The depreciative nuance of passible, mortal flesh is an intentional contrast with the divine Logos (1:1), where the filial *doxa* is still evident. This Son of God has sovereignty over “all flesh” (17:2), i.e., over all people. S. de Ausejo, “El concepto de ‘carne’ aplicado a Cristo en el IV Evangelio,” in *Sacra Pagina*, Rome, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 219–234.

²⁶ John 3:6—“That which is born of the flesh is flesh; that which is born of the spirit is spirit” (cf. Gal 6:8). The flesh begets carnal beings, the spirit begets spiritual beings. St. Augustine emphasizes the contrast between these two types of generation as corresponding to two very different worlds: “Una de terra . . . de mortalitate . . . de masculino et femina . . . , alia de caelo . . . de aeternitate . . . de Deo et ecclesia” (on this text). John 6:63—“The spirit makes alive; the flesh (without the spirit) is of no avail” for communicating spiritual life. Cf. the eating of flesh (Rev 17:16; 19:18, 21; Quintus of Smyrna, *Posthomerica* 11.245) and flesh that is eaten away (Jas 5:3).

²⁷ E. D. Burton, *Spirit, Soul and Flesh*, Chicago, 1918; F. Prat, *La Théologie de saint Paul*, 6th ed., Paris, 1923, vol. 2, pp. 487–489; W. Schauf, *Σάρξ: Der Begriff ‘Fleisch’ beim Apostel Paulus*, Münster, 1924; H. Mehl-Koehnlein, *L’Homme selon l’Apôtre Paul*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1951, pp. 12–17; W. D. Stacey, *The Pauline View of Man*, London, 1956; A. Sand, *Der Begriff ‘Fleisch’ in den paulinischen Hauptbriefen*, Regensburg, 1967; E. Brandenburger, *Fleisch und Geist und die dualistische Weisheit*, Neukirchen, 1968; R. Jewett, *Paul’s Anthropological Terms*, Leiden, 1971, pp. 49–166.

²⁸ Col 2:5; cf. 2:1—“Those who have not seen my face in the flesh”; 1:24. Circumcision is an operation practiced on the flesh (Rom 2:28; Eph 2:11; Col 2:11, 13). “All flesh is not the same flesh, but there is one of men, another of beasts, another of birds, another of fish” (1Cor 15:39; in 15:39–41, sun, moon, and stars are referred to as σώματα, celestial bodies. J. Héring describes this meaning as the “chemical sense” of *sarx*). Abraham, “our father according to the flesh” (Rom 4:1; Heb 12:9); the Israelites are “our kinsmen according to the flesh” (Rom 4:1; 11:14; cf. 9:8; 1Cor 10:18). The OT liturgy could procure only fleshly purity (Heb 9:10, 13). The men of Sodom ran after “other flesh,” another kind of body, namely, that of angels (Jude 7). Paul’s thorn in the flesh (σκόλοψ τῆ σαρκί), “an angel of Satan to torment me” (2Cor 12:7), must be an allusion to Num 33:55, where Canaanites who are spared “will become thorns (σκόλοπες) in your eyes.” If we recall Gal 4:13–15 (“It was because of an infirmity of the flesh [δι’ ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός] that I first preached the gospel to you; even though

the infirmity of my flesh was a trial for you, you showed no scorn, no disgust. . . . You would have plucked out your eyes to give them to me”), we will conclude that Paul’s missionary activity must have been hindered by an affliction of the eyes, probably by an “eye migraine,” described by Dr. Uhle-Wettler (“Der Pfahl im Fleisch und die Fausthiebe Satans bei Paulus,” in *Hengstenbergs Evang. Kirchenzeitung*, 1913, pp. 130ff., 145ff.). This illness is distinguished first of all by an agonizing pain (*bohrende*, drilling, boring) in the head, as if the skull had just been smashed with a hammer. In certain cases, the eye was so terrible to look at that even the physician recoiled at the sight. The attacks recur periodically and are of unequal duration. Between attacks—sometimes periods of several years—the patient may have enormous energy. Cf. A. Lechler, *Des Paulus Pfahl im Fleisch*, Giessen, 1947; T. Y. Mullins, “Paul’s Thorn in the Flesh,” in *JBL*, 1957, pp. 299 (a personal enemy of Paul); P. Andriessen, “L’Impuissance de Paul en face de l’ange de Satan,” in *RSR*, 1959, pp. 462–468 (attacks and intrigues of the Jews); P. Menoud, “L’Echarde et l’ange satanique (II Cor. XII, 7),” in *Jésus-Christ et la foi*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1975, pp. 23–30 (Israel’s unbelief); H. Binder, “Die angebliche Krankheit des Paulus,” in *TZ*, 1976, pp. 1–13.

²⁹ Rom 1:3; cf. 9:5; Gal 4:23; Eph 2:14; 1Tim 3:16; Heb 5:7; 10:20; 1Pet 3:18; 4:1; John 1:14; 1John 4:2. Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology*, London, 1952, pp. 34–48; R. Batey, “The μία σάρξ Union of Christ and the Church,” in *NTS*, vol. 13, 1967, pp. 270–284; P. Bonnard, *Anamnèsis*, Geneva-Lausanne- Neuchâtel, 1980, pp. 187–193; M. Gilbert, “‘Une seule chair’ (Gen. II, 24),” in *NRT*, 1978, pp. 66–89; cf. G. Aicher, “Mann und Weib ein Fleisch,” in *BZ*, 1907, pp. 159–165.

³⁰ Cf. Gal 6:12—“those who wish to look good in the flesh,” make a good impression, εὐπροσωπῆσαι, cf. *P. Tebt.* 19, 12.

³¹ This could mean problems of a sexual nature that are difficult to overcome, or family cares, or “the ordinary course of this sad world” (E. B. Allo). Cf. 1Cor 5:5—the incestuous man is handed over to Satan εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός and so that his spirit may be saved. Cf. J. Cambier, “La Chair et l’esprit en I Cor. V, 5,” in *NTS*, vol. 15, 1969, pp. 221, 232.

³² Κατὰ σάρκα is the norm of judgment: from a human, purely natural point of view; J. Cambier, “Connaissance charnelle et spirituelle du Christ dans II Cor. V, 16,” in *Recherches bibliques*, vol. 5, Paris-Tournai, 1960, pp. 72–96; J. W. Fraser, “Paul’s Knowledge of Jesus: II Corinthians V, 16 Once More,” in *NTS*, vol. 17, 1971, pp. 203–313; J. T. Keegan, “Paul and the Historical Jesus,” in *Angelicum*, 1975, pp. 450–484; C. S. Voulgaris, “II Cor. V, 16 and the Problem of St. Paul’s Opponents in Corinth,” in

Theologica (Athens), 1975, pp. 3–19 (to know Christ according to the flesh would be to know him as a Jew, a descendant of Abraham, a great teacher in Israel; this would limit salvation to his people and exclude the Gentiles).

³³ —*Ἀσθένεια*, cf. Rom 6:19: “I express myself in human terms because of the (intellectual and moral) weakness of your flesh” means “I take your feebleness and your limitations into account”; 8:3—the resistance of the flesh robbed the law of Moses of its power (*ἡσθένει*); Gal 3:3—“After beginning with the Spirit, will you now finish with the flesh?” (circumcision, Judaism).

³⁴ 2Cor 7:5—“Since our arrival in Macedonia, our flesh has had no relief (*ἄνεσις*); we have been afflicted in everything.” J. Héring translates well, “notre pauvre être.”

³⁵ 1Cor 1:29; cf. Gal 6:13; 2Cor 11:18—“Many glory according to the flesh, boasting of human advantages” (birth, fortune, prerogatives); Phil 3:2, 4, place one’s confidence in the flesh.

³⁶ For example, duplicity, inconstancy, fickleness. II Cor 1:17—“Did I act lightly? Or do I want what I want according to the flesh (*κατὰ σάρκα*), so that with me there is ‘Yes, yes’ and ‘No, no’?”

³⁷ Cf. “inner man” and “outward man.” Cf. P. Bonnard, *Anamnèsis*, pp. 66ff.

³⁸ Rom 13:14; Gal 5:15-16; 1John 2:16; Eph 2:3—before we were Christians, we lived “according to the desires of the flesh, serving the caprices of the flesh and its (sinful) thoughts (*καὶ τῶ—ν διανοιω—ν*, cf. Col 2:18, *ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦς τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*), so that we were by nature given over to wrath (God’s judgment).” Sensualist false teachers “go after the flesh in impure covetousness” (2Pet 2:10); “they appeal to the debauched covetousness of the flesh and entice people who have barely left behind those who live in error” (2:18); they soil the flesh (1Pet 3:21; Jude 8; cf. 1Pet 2:11); the corruption defiles even the clothing that covers the *sarx* (Jude 23). Cf. H. Räisänen, “Zum Gebrauch von *ε—πιθυμία* und *ε—πιθυμει—ν* bei Paulus,” in *ST*, vol. 33, 1979, pp.85–99.

³⁹ Rom 7:25—“I am the same person, who by reason serve the law of God, but by the flesh, the law of sin”; Gal 6:8—“The one who sows in the flesh will of the flesh reap corruption; the one who sows in the spirit will from the spirit reap eternal life”; Rom 8:3—“Because of sin, God sent his son in a flesh (human nature) like that of sin, and so condemned sin in the flesh.” The incarnation of the Son of God in an innocent human nature is, by this very exemption from sin, a defeat for *hamartia* and brings about this defeat

in Christians, where it has been acting—“in the flesh”; its tyranny is broken (the sinful condition that issued from the first man, ε—φ ὃ πάντες ἥμαρτον, Rom 5:12; cf. Gen 8:21; Philo, *Unchang. God* 55).

⁴⁰ Rom 7:24-25. To the references given in C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 178; vol. 2, p. 636, add J. I. Packer, “The ‘Wretched Man’ in Romans VII,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 2, 1964, pp. 621–627; W. G. Kümmel, *Römer VII und das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament*, Munich, 1974; R. Schnackenburg, “Römer VII im Zusammenhang des Römerbriefes,” in *Festschrift W. G. Kümmel*, Gütersloh, 1975, pp. 283–500; M. Byskov, “Simul Justus et Peccator: A Note on Romans VII, 25 b,” in *ST*, 1976, pp. 75–87; Seiichi Yagi, “Weder persönlich noch generell—Zum neutestamentlichen Denken anhand Röm. VII,” in *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute*, vol. 2, 1976, pp. 159–173; J. M. Cambier et al., *The Law of the Spirit in Rom 7 and 8*, Rome, 1976; A. Feuillet, “Loi de Dieu, loi du Christ et loi de l’Esprit d’après les Epîtres pauliniennes,” in *NovT*, 1980, pp. 35–65.

⁴¹ The verb φρονέω (Vulgate *sentire*) is difficult to translate, because it is used for the faculty of thinking and feeling, intentions and will, opinions or evaluations, of a lifestyle, a disposition of the soul, a mentality. Here it has to do with convictions and sentiments, leanings and aspirations, “tastes.” Cf. P. N. Lockhart, “φρονεῖ—ν in Homer,” in *CP*, 1966, pp. 99–102; *P.Oxy.* 2594, 5: “You thought that I had other sentiments regarding you,” i.e., that I would react differently; *P.Ryl.* 624, 18, an allusion “to those in the city who do not think as we do” (τῶ—ν ἄλλω—ς φρονούντων); *P.Herm.*, p. 5, n. 33; *Ep. Arist.* 236.

⁴² Rom 8:4-9. Let us say again that *sarx* here is not material, as distinct from the soul, nor does it represent sexual desires alone; rather, it is deep-rooted evil which, by means of *epithymia*, leads to sin. Rom 8:12-13—“My brothers, we are not debtors (ὀφειλέται) to the flesh to live according to the flesh, because if you live according to the flesh, you will die. But if by the Spirit you put to death the works of the body, you will live”; 2Cor 10:2-3: “Some people expect to see us walk according to the flesh; we do indeed walk in the flesh (cf. Gal 2:20; Phil 1:22, 24; 1Pet 4:2), but we do not do battle according to the flesh.”

⁴³ Ἡ ε—πιθυμία τῆς σαρκός; this subjective genitive makes the flesh the subject of the action; it is the flesh that lusts; hence it is evil and one must not be attached to it. It belongs to this sinful world below. In the last analysis, it is God’s enemy. This Johannine dichotomy is less one of flesh and spirit than of earthly and heavenly; cf. N. Lazure, “La Convoitise de la

chair in I Jo. II, 16,” in *RB*, 1969, pp. 161–205; P. Bonnard, *Anamnèsis*, pp. 187–193.

⁴⁴ Unknown in the LXX, Philo, and the papyri. In the years BC, we can cite hardly more than Aristotle, *HA* 10.2.635a11: the color of the discharge “comes closer to that of flesh” (σαρκικώτερα); and Sotades of Maronea, frag. 19, 3 (in connection with skin, δέρμα), in J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford, 1925, p. 244. In the second century AD, *Par. Jer.* 6.6—the body is the “carnal house” of the heart (τῶν σαρκικῶν οἴκῳ σου). *Anth. Pal.* 1.107.3: “to triumph over all carnal defilements” (παντῶν σαρκικῶν μολυσμάτων).

⁴⁵ Plato, *Leg.* 10.906 c: illnesses ἐν σαρκίνοις σώμασι; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 3.12.1117b 3: boxers receive blows, “it is suffering, even if it is fleshly blows”; Hipparchus, ἐντι θνατοὶ καὶ σάρκινοι (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 4.44.81; vol. 4, p. 980, 15); Philodemus of Gadara, *Sign.*: “living creatures that share our bodily nature” (φύσεως σαρκίνης); Dio Cassius 38.21.3: “the body, since it is carnal (σάρκινον), finds in its substance a thousand pernicious germs.” Cf. *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 98–151.

⁴⁶ Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 2.233, quoting Aristophanes, frag. 711: ἄνδρα σάρκινον, and Eupolis, frag. 387: σαρκίνη γυνή. Cf. Plutarch, *De prof. in virt.* 8 (2.79 c): τὸ σάρκινον τῶν λόγων, fullness or density of discourse.

⁴⁷ Ps.-Theocritus 21.66. Cf. Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 63: “having taken upon ourselves the weight (or bulk) of the flesh” (τὸν σάρκινον ὄγκον); Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 2.20: “Was the rib that was left not fleshy?”; σαρκίνη seems to imply density.

⁴⁸ Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.35: “the gods appear to us in flesh and in bone” or in statues. Philodemus considers the gods to be *sarkinoi* (*Piet.* 59.21ff.; *D.* 3, frag. 6). The papyri offer only one occurrence: σχοινίων σαρκίνων (*P.Lond.* 1177, 169 = vol. 3, p. 186; from the second century AD), noted in the *Wörterbuch* of F. Preisigke, who translates “Stricke aus Darmsaiten gefertigt,” and in Moulton-Milligan, “leather ropes.”

⁴⁹ 2Chr 32:8—the arm of Sennacherib is of flesh, whereas the arm of God brings help to Israel. Esth 4:17 *p*, contrasts the carnal king (the idol) with the king of the gods; Prov 29:27. In a positive sense, the heart of flesh (Ezek 11:19; 26:26), contrasted with the heart of stone, is one that is not obstinate, is obedient to God’s will. Cf. the heart as a tablet of flesh that is written on (2Cor 3:3).

⁵⁰ Rom 7:14. M. J. Lagrange comments, “σάρκινος, with the ending -ινος, indicates the material of which a thing is made, cf. δερμάτινος (Matt 3:4); ἀκάνθινος (Mark 15:17).” In this sense, the carnal provisions of the old covenant, concerning the priesthood (ε—ντολῆς σαρκίνης, Heb 7:16), had bearing only upon physical requirements: carnal descent, privileges of race, bodily wholeness.

σβέννυμι

sbennymi, extinguish, quench

sbennymi, S 4570; TDNT 7.165–168; EDNT 3.235; NIDNTT 3.109–111; MM 570; L&N 14.70, 68.52; BDF §92; BAGD 745

The literal meaning of *sbennymi* is “put out a fire”;¹ the fire of Gehenna is not quenched;² the OT heroes of the faith “quenched the raging of the fire”;³ but lamps are quenched for want of oil (Matt 25:8; *T. Job* 43.5); the Messiah does not quench the smouldering wick (*linon*);⁴ and the shield of faith can put out the flaming darts of the Evil One.⁵

The metaphorical usages are constant, both in the LXX and in the secular literature, meaning “annihilate, cause to disappear.” The object can be offspring (2Sam 14:7; Prov 10:7), prosperity (Job 18:5; Prov 13:9; *Anth. Pal.* 9.178), thought and sound reason (Wis 2:3; Philo, *Dreams* 1.31; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.46), beauty (*Anth. Pal.* 5.62), love (Cant 8:7), wrath,⁶ pride (Job 40:12; *Anth. Pal.* 5.300), the power of the passions,⁷ tyranny (Plutarch, *Lyc.* 11.13; Josephus, *War* 2.296, the fire of war), the root of lawsuits,⁸ etc. But none of these usages clarifies 1Thess 5:19, “Do not quench the Spirit.”⁹ The context has to do with spiritual gifts, and the present imperative with *me* would mean to stop prohibiting those inspired by the Holy Spirit from communicating what they have received (cf. 1Cor 14:39, *me kolyete*). But the singular *to pneuma* points not to the charismatics but to the person of the Holy Spirit, or better the Holy Spirit’s inspiration,¹⁰ which is like a shining and burning flame.¹¹ Just as 2Tim 1:6 says to revive, rekindle God’s gift,¹² 1Tim 5:19 urges each believer not to suppress or restrain it,¹³ according to the principle of 1Cor 14:32—“the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets”—and its application in Rom 12:6-8. A divine communication must not be kept to oneself, since by definition it is intended for the edification of all; and it is even worse to cut oneself off from the source and refuse to hear “what the Spirit says to the churches” (Rev 2:11, 17, 29, etc.).

¹ Wis 16:17—“Water, which quenches all, gave the fire even more strength” (cf. Exod 9:22-26); Philo, *Plant.* 10: “fire is not put out with air”;

4Macc 18:20; 9:20—“the heaped-up coals were extinguished by the dripping blood”; Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.9: “the fire that goes out in the heart is an omen of poverty” (cf. Lang, “σβέννυμι,” in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 165–168).

² Mark 9:48, following Isa 66:26; cf. Lev 6:2, 5, 6: the fire on the altar of whole burnt offerings is not quenched (Hebrew *kabah*). Inextinguishable fire represents magnitude of punishment (Isa 1:31; 34:10; 66:24; Jer 17:27; Ezek 20:47-48; Amos 5:6); but the sun will disappear at the hour of judgment (*T. Levi* 4.1).

³ Heb 11:34 (an allusion to the three children in the furnace, Dan 3:49-50; 1Macc 2:59); cf. Josephus, *War* 7.405: the Romans undertook to extinguish the fire (at Masada); 6.243: Titus ordered his guard to put out the fire.

⁴ Matt 12:20—καὶ λίνον τυφόμενον οὐ σβέσει (quoting Isa 42:3); cf. 2Sam 21:17—“You will not quench the lamp of Israel”; 2Chr 29:7—“They closed the doors, they put out the lamps (of the sanctuary)”; Isa 43:17—“They are extinguished like a wick, they are consumed”; Job 21:17—“the lamp of the ungodly is extinguished”; Prov 20:20; 24:20; Sir 28:12—“If you spit on a spark, it will go out.”

⁵ Eph 6:16. *Pila ardentia* are javelins dipped in sulfur, resin, and pitch and set afire before they are thrown, cf. the Numidians at the battle of Zama (Sallust, *Iug.* 57; cf. Caesar, *BCiv.* 2.2.1; Thucydides 2.75.5, πυρφόροις οἰ—στοι—ς).

⁶ 2Kgs 22:17 = 2Chr 34:25; Jer 4:4; 7:20; 21:12; Plato, *Leg.* 10.888 a; Aelian, *VH* 5.11.

⁷ Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 15; Plato, *Leg.* 8.835 d; 4Macc 3:17; 16:4; cf. Sir 23:17; *P.Ryl.* 712, 2.

⁸ In the fifth-sixth century in the papyri, *C.P.Herm.* 31, 20; *SB* 7033, 34, 67; 9763,35.

⁹ Τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε. Cf. W. C. Van Unnik, “Den Geist löscht nicht aus,” in *NovT*, 1968, pp. 255–269.

¹⁰ H. Almqvist (*Plutarch und das Neue Testament*, p. 123) cites Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 17: “If the Pythia no longer prophesies in verse, it is either because she is no longer near the abode of the god or because the

inspiring exhalation has completely dried up and its efficacy ended”; on this “exhalation,” cf. *De def. or.* 42, 50.

¹¹ Acts 2:3—“tongues as of fire appeared to them, were distributed, and rested on each of them”; 18:25, Apollos, ζέων τω πνεύματι; Rom 12:11, τω πνεύματι ζέοντες; cf. John the Baptist, “a lamp that burned and gave light” (John 5:35).

¹² —Αναζωπυρέω; cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.2.3; C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 2, pp. 707ff.

¹³ The two meanings are equally attested. Sometimes σβέννυμι expresses a complete disappearance, notably with death: “when you are extinguished” (Ezek 32:7); epitaph of Apollos in the second-first century BC: “I was snuffed out at the age of twenty-seven” (*GVI*, n. 1002, 2; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 11), sometimes an attenuation, as with Metellus, diminished by age, ἤδη σβεννύμενον ὑπὸ γήρωσ, as bronze goes soft (Plutarch, *Pomp.* 8.6), springs or liquids dry up little by little (Aristotle, *HA* 3.21.4; *Anth. Pal.* 9.128), the joy of the Romans diminished upon the discovery of a new obstacle (Josephus, *War* 6.31); cf. the calming of sorrow (*Ant.* 11.40).

σεμνός, σεμνότης

semnos, serious, grave, dignified, majestic, respectable; *semnotes*, seriousness, gravity, dignity, majesty

semnos, S 4586; *TDNT* 7.191–196; *EDNT* 3.238; *NIDNTT* 2.91–93; MM 572; L&N 88.47; BAGD 746–747 | ***semnotes***, S 4587; *TDNT* 7.191–196; *EDNT* 3.238; *NIDNTT* 2.91–93; MM 572; L&N 88.46; BAGD 747

These terms, which express seriousness, gravity, dignity, and majesty, and which describe the venerable and august qualities of persons, occur often in classical Greek. They are used seven times by St. Paul; six of these occurrences are in the Pastoral Epistles. Their meaning in no way derives from Stoicism; it corresponds to common Hellenistic usage, as copiously attested in literary texts, honorific inscriptions, and funerary epigrams.

Semnos is a common modifier for divinities¹ and things pertaining to them: the temple (2Macc 3:12; Philo, *To Gaius* 198), the high priest,² the law (2Macc 6:28; *Ep. Arist.* 5, 171, 313), the Sabbath (2Macc 6:11), the sacred psalms (Philo, *Contemp. Life* 29), and religious clothing (ibid. 66). Applied to people and things, *semnotes* suggests grandeur, magnificence, solemnity, a quality that inspires respect, fear, or reverence.³ It refers

especially to honorable conduct, a dignified and level-headed existence, and a high standard of morality: *ho semnos bios* = the religious life.⁴ It is in this sense that 1Tim 2:2 expresses the hope “that we may lead a calm and tranquil life in all godliness and religious dignity” (*en pase eusebeia kai semnoteti*). The church is the household or family of God (3:5), and its members are a priestly congregation; the *semnotes* of each one is the dignity of a liturgy, a mode of existence defined by piety and worship, marked by the seriousness, gravity, decency that are fitting in God’s presence.⁵ The papyri,⁶ like the honorific decrees, emphasize the nobility or excellence of *semnotes*: “for a dignified life” (*epi te semnoteti tou biou*);⁷ a decree of Delphi for an *enkomiographos*: “exhibited worthiness of character” (*ethon epedeixato semnoteta*);⁸ at Magnesia, a son boasts of his father’s dignity: “because of the dignity of his character and the nobility he inherited from his forbears”;⁹ at Philadelphia in Lydia: “praised for character and for a dignified and stable life” (*epi te ethei kaibiou semnoteti kai eustatheia epainethenta*, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1900, p. 122, n.1); at Thyatira, “praised for dignified character and reasonable ways” (*epi te tou ethous semnoteti kai tropou epieikeia epainoumenon*, *Hermes*, 1930, p. 109).

Semnotes has to do not only with bearing and attitude (Philo, *Flacc.* 4), one’s comportment in general (*en pasi semnoteti*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 807, 14; *Or.* 567, 200), or even collective behavior (*to semnon tes philadelphias hymon*, *BGU*, 1024, col. VIII, 7; cf. *1Clem.* 47.5; 48.1), but with a religious and moral posture that bears the mark of excellence: “Whatsoever things are true, noble (*hosa semna*), just, pure, lovely, honorable . . . think on these things” (Phil 4:8; cf. Dio Chrysostom 31.6). The *episkopos* will raise his children in submission, *meta pases semnotetos* (1Tim 3:4), meaning that the dignity of those in authority inspires fear and respect,¹⁰ or better that the educator imparts flawless moral rectitude to his students.¹¹ Titus in his teaching is to maintain “purity, dignity (*semnoteta*), speech that is wholesome and unassailable.”¹² Deacons must be *semnoi* (1Tim 3:8), i.e., serious and honorable, because they carry out a public function that requires respectability in the minister¹³ and inspires respect and even praise in those who witness his life, like the high priest Ananus, “a venerable and just man who, despite his noble birth, his dignity, and his honors, loved to treat the humblest as his equals” (Josephus, *War* 4.319), or Caristianus, who is praised in the year 98 for having carried out his command over all Greece “with brilliance and in a praiseworthy manner” (*semnos kai axiologos*, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 4; n. 47, 7). There is nothing off-putting about this gravity; seriousness does not rule out kindness.¹⁴

“Likewise, the women [must be] dignified” (1Tim 3:11), after the fashion of Aphrodisia, a steady woman, involved in her husband’s business: *Aphrodeisia semnotate kai pistotate . . . gynaiki*.¹⁵ *Semnotes* is one of the

virtues that is praised in women: Hannah led a calm and austere life;¹⁶ Esther was the same when she appeared before Ahasuerus (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.234); the mother of the Maccabees shared the same virtue (4Macc 17.5). A woman is adorned not with gold and silver, but *hosa semnotetos, eutaxias, aidous* (Plutarch, *Con. praec.* 26). In the papyri, and especially in the inscriptions, *semnotes* is sometimes purely honorific,¹⁷ but usually it is an outstanding quality suggestive of reserve and restraint, discretion, self-mastery under all circumstances: *gynaika semnen*,¹⁸ whether with respect to young women,¹⁹ or especially married women (“the noble and most dignified wife,” *he kale kai semnotate symbios*, *P. Ross. Georg.* V, 6, 27), as at Sinope (“to his wife, Prokope, most reverent, known for her restraint and dignity”—*Prokope gynaiki heautou eusebestate kai semnoteti sophrosynes memartyremene*, *BCH*, 1920, p. 359), or Aurelia Philotera, who “lived with dignity and distinction” (*semnos kai epiphanos zesasan*, *IG X*, 2, n. 176, 11–13; cf. 194, 6–9: “the dignified and affectionate Pontia Kallistiane,” *ten semnotaten kai philostorgon Pontian Kallistianen*). *Semnotes*, frequently in the superlative,²⁰ is associated with *philandria* (*MAMA VIII*, 476, 514), *philoteknia* (*SEG VI*, 452), and *sophrosyne* (*MAMA VIII*, 470, 4). An epitaph from the third century AD: “The dignified Berous, daughter of Chrysippus, was a Penelope in deed and not in fiction, chaste in her marriage, prudent despite her youth, a good mistress of her house and her life” (*IGLS 721*, 2–3). Some Jewish women are named Semnous.²¹

Titus 2:2 requires old men to be sober, dignified (*semnous*), level-headed (*sophronas*); here we could translate *semnos* as “venerable” or “very respectable”; seriousness, which excludes eccentricity and peculiarity, is a characteristic of old age,²² as this epitaph from the high imperial period says: “You were so dignified, while still a child, that you seemed to have the intelligence of an old man.”²³

A Christian cannot have less virtue than the honest pagan whose epitaph reads “in everything you were dignified” (*en panti d’ estha semnos*, *SEG VIII*, 372, 11; second century; cf. *TAM II*, 422 a 17; b 15); his name is “revered, admired, worthy to be loved by all.”²⁴

¹ Aristophanes, *Av.* 727: Zeus sits in majesty in the clouds; 2Macc 8:15, the name of God is “august and majestic”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.7, 2.253; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.221; the *semnos theai* = *dii Sebastoi* are the venerable gods, especially Isis (*SB* 4094, 8; 8140, 3; 8434 = *SEG VIII*, 550 = E. Bernand, *Philae*, n. 157–158) and Poseidon (Sophocles, *OC* 55; Euripides, *IT* 1415; Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 322; C. Austin, “De nouveaux fragments de l’*Erechthée* d’Euripide,” in *RechPap*, vol. 4, Paris, 1967, p. 39, line 93); Aphrodite (Euripides, *Hipp.* 103); Athena (*P.Oxy.* 2619, ed. D. Page, *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, Oxford, 1974, p. 26); “Calliope, august among the muses” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 168, 15);

the Erinyes are the Fearsome Ones—Σεμναί (Aeschylus, *Eum.* 383, 1041); cf. Foerster, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, p. 191.

² Philo, *To Gaius* 296; Josephus, *War* 4.319. Chairestrate is “august priestess of the Mother of all things” (*GVI*, n. 421, 1).

³ *Ep. Arist.* 144: “All has been drawn up with this solemnity in order to inspire wholesome reflection and moral reform, through concern for justice”; 258: the king creates imposing (*semna*) edifices “so that those who see them will spare them because of their beauty”; Philo, *Rewards* 97: “majesty (*semnotes*), strength, and beneficence protect government from subversion”; *Joseph* 165, 257: impressed by the dignity of Jacob’s appearance, the king received him with all the trappings of respect and esteem. Cf. noble thoughts (*Ep. Arist.* 271), a royal task (Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 49), “noble combat” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 35 E), a theme that is “lofty and pleasing to the gods” (Ps.-Plutarch, *De mus.* 14). Aristotle defined *semnotes* as “a mild and becoming form of arrogance” (Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.17.1391a27); Plutarch, *De vit. pud.* 3: “a serious (*semnos*) man, grand and just.” In Strattis (*Lemn.*): σεμνοπρόσωπον (*P.Oxy.* 2743, frag. XVII, 6). Diodorus Siculus 17.34.6: the hieratic majesty of bearing of the Great King of the Persians; 38, 2: the august majesty that must surround the wife of Darius.

⁴ Philo, *Contemp. Life* 25: the life of the Therapeutai and Therapeutrides, which is not only a life dedicated to the worship of God, nor even the practice of the leading moral virtues, but a dignified and serious attitude, a sober bearing, even a nobility of appearance that expresses the quality of the soul (cf. a queenly bearing, Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 1.70: τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον φαιδρὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ σεμνόν); Philo, *Drunkennes* 149: Hannah’s sober and austere life; Josephus, *Life* 258: “Ask them how I lived; ask them if I carried out my functions in the land with all the requisite dignity and character” (ε—βίωσα . . . μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς).

⁵ Cf. Tertullian, *Praescip.* 43: “ubi metus in Deum, ibi gravitas honesta.”

⁶ *BGU* 1756, 15: σεμνότατε διοικητά (59/58 BC); 1843, 13: σεμνότατε στρατηγέ (50/49 BC); *P.Bon.* 46, 11; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 24, 5: ε—ρρω—σθαι ὡς ε—μὸν σεμνὸν κύριον (second century); *SB* 7530, 8: τω— σεμνοτάτω πολλά τε χαίρειν; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 22, col. IV, 3: “a worthy trainer named Hermocrates”; 106, 6: “the prefect’s noble and faithful messenger” (= *SEG* VII, 797 = *SB* 7905); 141, 1: “the venerable Memnon”; 168, 7: “I received from the gods the noble gift of eloquent thought.” The term is honorific when applied to cities (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 4, 2; *P.Stras.* 280, 2; *P.Oxy.* 2108, 17; 2476, 17, 34, 41; *SB* 6160, 5; 7375, 8; 7803, 6; cf. I.

Biezunska-Malowist, “Acte d’achat d’une esclave,” in *P.Coll.Youtie* II, p. 507), to a court (ibid. 8246, 7: τω—σεμνω—τούτω δικαστηρίω; cf. 9825, 5; *P.Oxy.* 2418, 2; *I.Bulg.* 1391, 4: σεμνω—δεσποσύνω), a dinner club (an ἔρανος: σεμνός σύνοδος, C. Michel, *Recueil*, 1563, 31); σεμνοτάτα καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτω συνεδρίω (*MAMA*, vol. 8, 523), to the *gerousia* (*TAM* II, 294, 325), to the *boule* (*IG* II–III2, n. 3962).

⁷ Honorific inscription of Iotape, in L. Robert, *Documents*, pp. 78–79.

⁸ Ed. L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, p. 18 (cf. p. 20, an inscription of Aphrodisias, τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον σεμνότητι καὶ σωφροσύνη). Idem (in *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, p. 681) cites an honorific decree from Delphi, διὰ τὴν εὐτονίαν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα τοῦ τρόπου; in another, διὰ τὴν τω—ν ἡθω—ν σεμνότητα καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου κοσμιότητα; at Rhodes, τω—ν ἡθω—ν σεμνότητος ἕνεκεν; *IG*, XII, 1, 84.

⁹ Διὰ τε τὴν τω—ν ἡθω—ν σεμνότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τω—ν προγόνων εὐγένειαν, *I.Magn.* 163, 1–3 (republished by L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, n. 152); 113, 12, a physician: ἀνάλογον πεποίηται τὴν ε—πιδημίαν τῇ περὶ ε—αὐτὸν σεμνότητι; *MAMA* VIII, 408, 6: ἡθω—ν τε σεμνότητε καὶ ε—ναρέτου βίου ἀγωγῇ; 409, 2; 410, 4: βίον σεμνὸν καὶ ε—νάρετον; 497,4: διὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου ἀρετὴν καὶ σεμνότητα; cf. 399, 2: τω—ν ἰ—δίω σεμνοτάτω μνείαςχάριν.

¹⁰ Cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.142; Diotogenes, in Stobaeus 48.9.62 (vol. 4, p. 268); the king’s majesty must be evident in his prudence, and his conduct must have nothing vulgar about it (ibid. 267); cf. Lucian, *Lucret.* 5: “all *semnoi* people and trustworthy witnesses.” Plutarch, *Ant.* 50.7: “a beautiful and noble sight.”

¹¹ Cf. Sasandros, a sober and dignified (*semnos*) young man, also studious (*MAMA* VIII, 263); *I.Bulg.* 1023, 2: ἡπιος, ἡδὺς ἰ—δει—ν, σεμνός, ἅπανσι φίλος.

¹² Titus 2:7. This “dignity” is above all religious, excluding from preaching profane elements (βεβήλους, 1Tim 4:7; 6:20), myths, and “sophisticated fables” (2Pet 1:16), which are so many profanations of the sacred. A “worthy word” is an utterance that is pure and holy (Prov 8:6; 15:26), showing respect for its object (4Macc 1:17); cf. *Ep. Arist.* 31: “the teaching (of the biblical books) is august and holy”; Philo, *To Gaius* 361; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.225: τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς ἡμετέρας θεολογίας; *1Clem.* 7.2.

¹³ Cf. the Latin *gravitas honesta*; O. Hiltbrunner, “Vir gravis,” in *Festschrift A. Debrunner*, Berne, 1954, pp. 195–207; J. Gaudemet, “Majestas Populi

Romani,” in *Synteleia* (Festschrift for V. Arangio-Ruiz), Naples, 1964, vol. 2, pp. 700ff. J. P. Lévy, “Dignitas, Gravitas, Auctoritas Testium,” in *Studi in onore di B. Biondi*, Milan, 1965, vol. 2, pp. 29–94.

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Nic.* 2.4: “the gravity (τὸ σεμνόν) of Nicias was in no way austere or off-putting”; *Per.* 5.3; *Quaest. conv.* 1.1.2: it is in jest that temperance and justice are accused of being too serious; 1.4.2: “one who is by nature serious and grim, not to say sour, relaxes when drinking and becomes more pleasant and friendly”; cf. Philo, *Moses* 1.20.

¹⁵ *MAMA* VIII, 182; with the commentary of L. Robert (*Hellenica*, vol. 13, p. 36), who compares this woman of Cyrene, ἦν πάντες σεμνήν γεινώσκουσιν . . . πολλῶ—ν πραγματιῶ—ν μέτοχος γενόμαν πιστὴ κατὰ πάντα (1Tim 3:11 requires *sempnas* deaconesses to be πιστὰς ε—ν πα—σιν). Plutarch loves to praise seriousness and respectability as a woman’s true adornment (Plutarch, *Con. praec.* 145 E–F), as in the case of Octavia, Cicero’s sister, “combining great beauty, seriousness (σεμνότητα) and intelligence” (*Ant.* 31.4; cf. 51.5); of magistrates (*An seni* 793 B–D; 801 D); a virtue that culminates in “royal majesty,” as with Demetrius Poliorcetes (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 2.21) but is proper to all who are well-born (εὐγένεια).

¹⁶ Philo, *Drunkenness* 149; same link in *Creation* 164; *Spec. Laws* 4.179; *To Gaius* 167; *SB* 6160, 2, 5.

¹⁷ “The venerable spouse of Emperor Hadrian” (*SB* 8211, 8); “you remembered his august and legitimate spouse” (*ibid.* 8212, 8); “venerable Persephone, daughter of Demeter” (epitaph at Thermion, first century BC; *ibid.* n. 8960, 3); “noble offspring” (epitaph of the Cretan Juliana, in E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 50, 2).

¹⁸ G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. XXXVII, 4; cf. L. and J. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1964, p. 238, n. 536; p. 252, n. 604; σεμνοτάτη πασω—ν; *1Clem.* 1.3.

¹⁹ Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.21.2; τὴν κούρην συνέσει τε καὶ ἤθεσιν ἔργοισι σεμνήν (F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* III, 80, 1); σεμνήν θυγατέρα (*SEG* III, 610, 6).

²⁰ *MAMA* VIII, 37, 116, 182, 370; *GVI*, n. 421, 1.

²¹ M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, *Beth She‘arim*, vol. 2, p. IX, a.

²² 4Macc 5:36—“You shall not defile the venerable mouth of an old man”; 7:15—“O venerable white hairs”; cf. Philo, *Etern. World* 77: “It is a property not of youth but of old age to discern that which deserves veneration and zeal”; *PSI* 41, 9: a woman declares that she is the offspring ε—κ σεμνω—ν γονέων καὶ εὐδοκίμων; *P.Oxy.* 2546, 388: θνητω—ν σεμνοτάτων γονέων.

²³ *GVI*, n. 1935, 11 = *SEG VIII*, 372 = E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 71.

²⁴ *1Clem.* 1.1: τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ περιβόητον καὶ πα—σιν ἀνθρώποις ἀξιαγάπητον ὄνομα.

σημει—ον

semeion, sign

semeion, S 4592; *TDNT* 7.200–261; *NIDNTT* 2.626–627, 629; *MM* 572–573; *L&N* 33.477; *BAGD* 747–748

In secular and biblical Greek, the basic meaning “sign”¹ is applied to very different things: the notice that bears a court’s verdict (Plato, *Resp.* 10.614, c), a seal or signature,² the engraving on a shield,³ a ship’s decoration (Thucydides 6.31.3), a landmark or milestone (Herodian 2.13.18), a flag (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.5.13), the ensign of a flagship.⁴

One of the most widespread meanings in the papyri is distinctive “mark” or identifying “sign,” whether with respect to things, animals, or people: “this marks the burial place” (*estin de semeion tes taphes*, *P.Paris* 18 bis, 10; cf. *SB* 9420, 8); “I sold the female camel whose distinguishing feature is described.”⁵ Gemellus complains to the *epistrategos* that he was appointed to a *leitourgia* under a false name and without regard to his characteristics.⁶ Just as a phylactery is a sign worn around the arm (*Ep. Arist.* 159), circumcision is a mark on the flesh signifying the covenant.⁷ These personal “marks” are not necessarily physical; virtues can also be “distinctives”: “I considered such things to be the signs of good men” (*hegoumen semeia agathon andron ta toiauta einai*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 831, 14; from AD 117). Such are the “signs” or “character traits” (Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 24.1: *ta ton ethon semeia*) by which an apostle may be recognized, according to 2Cor 12:12 (cf. *b. Sanh.* 98a–b ; 1QS 3.14).

So a *semeion* is noetic; developed from *sema*, it is very close to “signal,”⁸ “writing,”⁹ and “message”;¹⁰ literary¹¹ and papyrological texts often treat “sign” as the equivalent of “proof.” This is the authenticating or identifying sign which the Fourth Gospel uses in a theological way and which St. Paul exploits in 2Thess 3:17—“This greeting is in my hand, Paul’s hand, which is the mark (or proof) in every letter; this is how I write.”

The autographed greeting authenticates the letter.¹² Already in 255 BC, a certain Plato, requesting a service from Zeno, sends him as proof of his goodwill two *artabai* of chick-peas purchased at five drachmas apiece (*semeion de hoti soi apestella para Sosou erebinthou kriou artabas β? egorasmenas, P.Cair.Zen. 59192, 8*). A century later, Stratonikus, to prove to his wife that it is indeed her husband who is writing to her, mentions as a sign something that he had said to her in private: “Stratonikos to Senchnoubis his wife, greetings. Recognize as a sign: when I said to you to buy the new tunic with the money” (*Stratonikos Senchnoubei te gynaike chairein. Semeion hote eipa soi lytrosai ton kainon chitona apo ton chalkon ginouke, SB 7574, 2: a letter on an ostrakon*). In the second century AD, the sign to the recipient of a letter that the author is well-informed is that he knows that his wife went out to buy four obols worth of spices (*allo semeion soi grapho peri autou, hote he gyne sou exelthousa egorake obolon tessaron artymata to nautiko, P.Petaus 28, 8 and 17*). In the same period, Anthestianus, having sent Sarapammon to the potter Psois, who refuses to pay his debts, informs his debtor that he cannot cheat him, because he knows what Psois has said and done.¹³ In the fourth century, Probus asks his sister Manatine to pay one and a half talents to his confidential aide Petronius, and as proof that it is he who is writing (*semeiou de charin*) says “When I met you at the Caesareion, I said to you, ‘Give me a little of the money that you have from me, so that I may buy a cauldron,’ and you said to me . . .”¹⁴

Thus *semeion* is the sign whereby the recipient may recognize the identity of the sender; the sender mentions circumstances that only the two of them could know about.¹⁵ This meaning is also found in the epigrams: Bacchon sends his slave to borrow money from the perfumer Aischra and tells him that as a sign of his identity he should refer to his amorous exploits.¹⁶ Likewise, Pytias’s lover wants to summon her: “As proof that it is I, tell her that he came drunk, passing through thieves, guided by Eros the bold.”¹⁷

In the religious sphere, *semeion* has always meant a prodigy that is recognizable and provides proof for everyone.¹⁸ In the NT, it is a category of miracle, together with mighty works (*dynameis*) and wonders (*terata*, Acts 2:22; 2Thess 2:9; 2Cor 12:12; Heb 2:4); but it retains its value as a sign or demonstration.¹⁹ With the prophets, a “sign” is proof that a message is truly from God (Exod 3:12; 4:19; Judg 6:17; 1Sam 10:1, 7; Isa 38:7-8). For Philo, God performs *semeia* to indicate his will, to teach people, and to introduce them to the knowledge of heavenly things.²⁰ More clearly, according to Josephus, “God uses miracles to convince people” (*Ant. 2.274, 280*); they are designed to inspire faith (2.276). Hence the persistent demand of Jesus’ contemporaries: “We want to see a sign from you” (Matt 12:38; 16:1; Mark 8:11; Luke 11:16; John 2:18; 6:30). “The Jews seek signs” (1Cor 1:22).

This is how St. John sees miracles: they authenticate Jesus as the Messiah announced by the prophets.²¹ Since they are wonders and manifestations of power (Matt 9:28-29) as well as of mercy (11:5), they legitimate adherence to his teaching (11:20) and give him personal credibility.²² They show who he is: “He manifested his glory and his disciples believed in him” (John 2:11; 11:4). They are above all a sign of the Father’s favor: “No one can do the signs that you do unless God is with him.”²³ By referring to the *mirabilia* done by Jesus as “signs,” St. John shows that he understands them as data that allow the discovery of the glory (*doxa*) of the incarnate Word, the revelation that Jesus is with God or comes from God,²⁴ and finally the recognition of the testimony of the Father on behalf of his Son.²⁵

This theology enriches and adds subtlety to the concept of *semeion*. Should we translate “sign,” “indication,” or “proof”?²⁶ What is certain is that the sign itself needs to be verified. If it is a guarantee of the authenticity of the Sent One and of the truth of the teaching, it has demonstrative power only for souls that are well-disposed or believing. It can provoke astonishment or emotion, even admiration (John 2:23; 6:26; Acts 8:9, 13) without adherence: “Even though he had done so many signs in their presence, still they did not believe in him” (John 12:37). It is even possible to slip into superstition at the sight of wonders, like Alexander, according to Plutarch (*Alex.* 75.1ff.). The *semeia* of false prophets appear to confirm error (Deut 13:2-5), and according to 1Cor 14:22, speaking in tongues is a sign for believers, but not for unbelievers. In other words, the “sign” is intelligible only to the religious intelligence; it is a veiled manifestation that only the eyes of the heart can discover,²⁷ a propaedeutic to faith, attracting attention and prompting to an initiative, as with Nicodemus (John 3:2). Thus it is necessary to transcend the materiality of the deed in order to get to its meaning, or better, to the signified reality.²⁸

¹ Hebrew *‘ōt*, 79 times in the LXX; cf. C. A. Keller, *Das Wort twa als Offenbarungszeichen Gottes*, Basel, 1946.

² Plato, *Leg.* 9.856 a; *Tht.* 191 d; Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.1.30; *P.Rev.*, col. 26, 5: ἀποδειξάτωσαν τὸ ἐπιβληθὲν σημεῖον ἄσινές.

³ Herodotus 1.171; Euripides, *Phoen.* 142, 1111, 1114; cf. *P.Warr.* 15, 11: “during my absence, the weaver made tunics—ἤργασατο αὐτὰ δίχα σημείου,” i.e. of a certain design or model, or without hems or embroidery (Latin *clavus*); cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1954, p. 124, n. 88 a.

⁴ Herodotus 8.92. In the LXX, σημεῖον also translates the Hebrew words *nes*, “pole, flag, standard” (Num 21:8-9; Isa 11:12; 13:2; 18:3; 28:12, 27;

33:23); *siyûn* “pillar, monument,” and *taw*, “mark” (Ezek 9:4, 6; 39:15); *mô’ed*, smoke “signal” (Judg 20:38; cf. Josephus, *War* 2.579; 3.88, 105; 6.68; *Ant.* 5.46; 12.404; 18.61); *môpet*, “prodigy, wonder” (Exod 7:9; 11:9-10); cf. R. Formesyn, “Le Sèmeion johannique et le sèmeion hellénistique,” in *ETL*, 1962, pp. 856–894; *ôt* = “ensign” in 1QM 3.12; 1QpHab 6.4.

⁵ Πέπρακα τὸν κάμηλον θήλιαν οὐ— τὸ σημει—ον πρόκειται, *BGU* 427, 30; *P.Ross. Georg.* II, 18, 226; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 15, 7: an adult female ass, white, with a mark over the right eye; *SB* 5679, 6: ὄνου λευκῆς οὔσης, ε—χούσης σημει—ον ε—πὶ τοῦ τραχήλου; *P.Oxy.* 1635, 9 (first century BC). In a Samian law from the second century BC, the *prytaneis* are invited to place the landmarks (σημει—α ποιήσαντες) and limit the location of each division of the people (χιλιαστύς, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 976, 5).

⁶ Ἡ ἄλλο τι τω—ν ε—μω—ν σημείων, *P.Mich.* 426, 14; cf. *PSI* 897, 70: σὺν τοι—ς ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις καὶ σημείοις; 1118, 11 (from AD 25 or 37); *SB* 7662, 16: “Maris, the beneficiary, took your name and description” (ἔλαβεν σου τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὰ σημει—α καὶ λέγει ὅτι . . .); *P.Oxy.* 1463, 29–29: ἀκολουθῶς τοι—ς σημείοις τω— ὑπομνήματι ε—γγεγραμμένοις (according to *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 3, p. 137). Cf. J. Hasebroek, *Das Signalement in den Papyrusurkunden*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1921; G. Hübsch, *Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsmerk*, Berlin, 1968.

⁷ Σημει—ον διαθήκης (Gen 17:11); Rom 4:11—σημει—ον ἔλαβεν περιτομῆς; *b. shabb.* 137b ; cf. *b. B. Qam.* 119; *m. Kil.* 9.10; *b. Menah.* 37b ; *BGU* 347, 14; 1064, 18; *SB* 15, 17; 82, 9; 9027, 18: Σηρήνος ε—πύθετο τω—ν παρόντων ι—ερογραμματέων ει— σημει—ά τινα ἔχοιεν οι— παι—δες. The mark of Cain, cf. Gen 4:15; Philo, *Rewards* 72; *Worse Attacks Better* 177; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.59 (there are unfavorable signs; cf. Plutarch, *De vit. pud.* 1.528 c). Cf. “God’s mark on the just” and “the mark of perdition” on sinners in *Pss. Sol.* 11.8, 10.

⁸ Herodotus 9.59; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.404.

⁹ Philo, *Moses* 2.115; *Prelim. Stud.* 146; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 50, 7: ε—άν οὖν σημει—όν σοι ε—νέγκη ἢ ε—πιστολὴν (first century AD); *P.Oxy.* 724, 3; 1QS 10.4; *m. shabb.* 7.2; 12.3–4; Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 23.3: Cicero had the scribes instructed in “signs which, in a brief, shortened form, stood for several letters” (a shorthand system). On *semeion* as a geometrical point, from Autolycus, cf. C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, pp. 376–377.

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* 293, 6: οὔτε διὰ γραπτοῦ οὔτε διὰ σημείου (AD 27); *P.Fay.* 128, 7: ἔδωκεν ἡμι—ν σημει—ον; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 685, 70, 75; 2Macc 15:35— “Judas affixed the head of Nicanor to the citadel as a plain and visible sign

to all of God's help." Cf. the sign as portent, Plato, *Phdr.* 244 c; Polybius 3.112.8; Diodorus Siculus 16.27.2ff.; Dan 5:5-9; Philo, *Etern. World* 2; *Creation* 58: σημει—α μελλόντων; Josephus, *War* 6.285, 296; Sir 43:6; 1QH 12.8; 15.20; 1QS 10.4; 1Q27, frag. 1, 1.5; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 709, 25: προεσάμανε μὲν τὰν μέλλουσαν γίνεσθαι πρα—ξιν διὰ τω—ν ε—ν τω—ι—ερω— γενομένων σαμείων (107 BC); *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 1, 65: ἔσται δέ σοι διώκοντι τὸν λόγον σημει—ον τόδε; 74: ἔσται δέ σοι σημει—ον ε—ν τάχει τοιοῦτο. This is the meaning of the "signs of the times" (Matt 16:3), signs of the second coming of Jesus (24:3; Mark 13:4; Luke 21:7). These omens are warnings, *Sib. Or.* 3.457; Josephus, *War* 1.28; 3.404; Dio Cassius 66.17.2: there were omens that pointed to the upcoming death of Vespasian.

¹¹ Sophocles, *El.* 24; OT 710; Xenophon, *Ages.* 1.5; *An.* 6.2.2; Theophrastus, *Char.* 28.21; Polybius 4.44.3: "the proof of what I am setting forward"; Philo, *Flight* 204; *Moses* 2.18; *Prelim. Stud.* 92; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 80. Σημει—ον is synonymous with σύμβολον in Plato's letter to Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse (*Ep.* 13.360 a–b), where he refers to a conversation between them that only they knew about: "that the beginning of my letter should be at the same time a sign to you of its authenticity" (ἀρχή σοι τῆς ε—πιστολῆς ἔστω καὶ ἅμα σύμβολον παρ ε—μοῦ ε—στιν; cf. H. C. Youtie, "ΣΗΜΕΙΟΝ in the Papyri and Its Significance for Plato, Epistle 13 [360 a–b]," in *ZPE*, vol. 6, 2, 1970, pp. 105–116; republished in *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 2, pp. 963–975); cf. Appian, *BCiv.* 4.4.14; S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 34, 15: ἀπεδόθη τὰδ αὐτω— καὶ τὸ σύμβολον τω—ν ε—γ. If σύμβολον and σημει—ον are interchangeable in the sense of "conclusive piece of evidence" (cf. Plutarch, *Per.* 6.5), their semantics are quite different (cf. P. Gautier, *Symbola*, p. 72).

¹² Ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῆ ε—μῆ χειρὶ Παύλου, ὃ ε—στιν σημει—ον ε—ν πάση ε—πιστολῇ· οὕτως γράφω. Cf. Gal 6:11—"See what large characters I write to you with my own hand." Cf. the crosses or authors' marks in the papyri: σημει—ον —Απολλωνίου (*P.Rein.* 9, line 4 of the summary; 35, 3); σημει—ον Εὐσεβίου (*C.P.Herm.* 34, 32; with the editor's note); *SB* 9759, 4; 9914, 9. The sign is a designation in Philo, *Creation* 49, 98.

¹³ *P.Oxy.*, published in *ChrEg*, 1969, pp. 101–105: καὶ λόγον μὲν οὐκ ἔσχεσ τοῦ Σαραπάμμωνος ἀλλ' ἔφης αὐτω— ὅτι τὸ νῦν μοι συνχώρησον ε—πεὶ ἀπὸ ξένης ἦλθον μετὰ τῆς πίσεως μου ἵν εἰ—δῆς τὸ σημει—ον.

¹⁴ *P.Oxy.* 1683, 18 (M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto*, n. 65, 18). Cf. *SB* 8005: πάντως οὖν ἀπαρενόχλητον αὐτὸν ποιήσον, ε—μοὶ χαριζόμενος. σημει—ον ὅτι ἡ προθεσμία σου ε—νέστηκεν (with the punctuation of J. R. Rea, "The Use of σημει—ον in *SB V* 8005," in *ZPE*, vol. 14, 1974, p. 14.)

¹⁵ Cf. the kiss of Judas as a sign of recognition (Matt 26:48), and Tobias' asking his father, "What sign of recognition (σημει—ον) shall I give him that he may know me and give me the money?" (Tob 5:2, LXX).

¹⁶ *Anth. Pal.* 5.181.11: εἰ—πὲ δὲ σημει—ον· Βάκχων ὅτι πέντ̄ ε—φίλησεν ε—ξῆς; cited by R. Merkelbach, "Σημει—ον im Liebesepigramm," in *ZPE*, vol. 6, 1970, pp. 245–246.

¹⁷ *Anth. Pal.* 5.213: εἰ—πὲ δὲ σημει—ον, μεθύων ὅτι καὶ διὰ κλωπῶ—ν ἦλθεν.

¹⁸ Polybius 3.112.8: "Every temple, every house was full of signs and wonders"; Strabo 16.2.35; Plutarch, *Alex.* 75.1; *Conv. sept. sap.* 3; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.218; *Moses* 1.210; Josephus, *War* 1.28; *Ant.* 10.28; 20.168; *P.Oxy.* 2624, frag. 1, 8, etc. This is very close to τεκμήριον; but according to Aristotle's logic, (Aristotle, *An. Pr.* 70a11), a τεκμήριον is a demonstrative argument that is certain, whereas a σημει—ον is an argument that is probable; among the Stoics and the Epicureans, it becomes the point of departure for a deductive argument intended to produce certitude concerning the existence of a reality that is not observable, Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 8.142 e; Zeno, *Sign.* 1.14; Epicurus, *Epist.* 2.43; Philodemus of Gadara, *Sign.* 27.

¹⁹ Hymn to Mandoulis: "I have seen the brilliant signs of your power" (*SB* 4127, 3); cf. *Ep. Arist.* 44: "that is the sign of friendship and affection"; 150, 270; Diogenes Laertius 8.32: τὰ σημει—α νόσου καὶ ὑγείας; in the second century, Ptolemaeus writes to his father: "since you do not write to me, this will be the sign that you have forgotten me" (ε—πεὶ τῶ— μὴ γράφειν μοι, ἔσται σημει—ον τοῦ δηλοῦν μου ἀμνημονει—ν, *P.Mert.* 22,9).

²⁰ Philo, *Moses* 1.95: "God indicated his will to them . . . through signs and wonders" (διὰ σημείων καὶ τεράτων τὸ βούλημα δεδηλωκότος); 1.76: "If they no longer have confidence, they will change once they have received the teaching of the three signs that no human has yet seen and understood"; 1.82, 90, 91; *Etern. World* 2: "God would not refuse to introduce souls to the knowledge of heavenly things through dreams, oracles, signs, and miracles." Cf. Josephus, *War* 6.285: "God ordered them to ascend to the temple to receive signs of their salvation."

²¹ Cf. "Les Miracles, signes messianiques de Jésus et œuvres de Dieu," in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 2, pp. 41–50; K. Gatzweiler, "La Conception paulinienne du miracle," in *ETL*, 1961, pp. 813–846; M. E. Boismard, "Foi et miracle dans le quatrième Evangile," in *RB*, 1962, pp. 188ff. C. F. D.

Moule, *Miracles*, London, 1966; Rengstorf, “σημει—ον,” in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 229ff.

²² John 6:30; cf. 7:31—“When the Christ comes, will he perform more signs than this man?”; 10:42; J. Kallas, *The Significance of the Synoptic Miracles*, London, 1961.

²³ John 3:2; cf. 5:26; 10:38; 11:42. The most decisive miracle is the resurrection of the crucified, “the sign of Jonah” (Matt 12:39; 16:4; Luke 11:29-30); cf. A. M. Dubarle, “Le Signe du Temple, Jo. II, 19,” in *RB*, 1939, pp. 21–44; A. Vögtle, “Der Spruch vom Janaszeichen,” in *Synoptische Studien: Festschrift A. Wikenhauser*, Munich, 1954, pp. 230–277; R. Branton, “Resurrection in the Early Church,” in A. Wikgren, *Studies in Honor of H. R. Willoughby*, Chicago, 1961, pp. 35–47; J. Sint, “Die Auferstehung Jesu in der Verkündigung der Urgemeinde,” in *ZKT*, 1962, pp. 129–151; O. Glombitza, “Das Zeichen des Jona,” in *NTS*, 1962, vol. 8, pp. 359–360; R. A. Edwards, *The Sign of Jonas in the Theology of the Evangelists and Q*, London, 1971.

²⁴ John 9:33; J. P. Michaud, *Le Signe de Cana*, Montreal, 1963; M. Orge, “El σημει—ον de la ‘hora’ (Jo. XIII, 1–17),” in *Claretianum* (Rome), vol. 5, 1965, pp. 95–140; J. Ramos-Regidor, “Signo y poder: A propósito de la exegesis patristica de Jn. II, 1–11,” in *Salesianum*, 1965, pp. 499–562; 1966, pp. 3–64; L. Erdozáin, *La función del signo en la fe según el Cuarto Evangelio*, Rome, 1968; A. Geysler, “The Semeion at Cana of the Galilee,” in *Studies in John Presented to Pr. J. N. Sevenster*, Leiden, 1970, pp. 12–21; S. S. Smalley, “The Sign in John XXI,” in *NTS*, vol. 20, 1974, pp. 275–288.

²⁵ John 14:10; cf. J. P. Charlier, “La Notion de signe (σημει—ον) dans le IVe Evangile,” in *RSPT*, 1959, pp. 434–448; D. Mollat, “Le Semeion johannique,” in *Sacra Pagina*, Paris, 1959, vol. 2, pp. 209–218; W. Nicol, *The Semeia in the Fourth Gospel*, Leiden, 1972.

²⁶ Σημει—ον can also mean a symbol (Lucian, *Syr. D.* 33; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 1), a symptom (ibid. 43); an indication (*Moses* 1.188; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.211).

²⁷ There are clear signs (Philo, *Rewards* 31; *Abraham* 60; *Spec. Laws* 1.90; *Moses* 1.269); but in any event they must be interpreted (*Dreams* 1.197).

²⁸ C. P. Grelot, *Sens chrétien de l’Ancien Testament*, Paris-Tournai, 1962, pp. 261ff. H. Baltensweiler, “Wunder und Glaube im N. T.,” in *TZ*, 1967, pp.

241–256; M. Whittaker, “Signs and Wonders’: The Pagan Background,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 5, Berlin, 1968, pp. 155–158; J. Becker, “Wunder und Christologie,” in *NTS*, vol. 16, 1970, pp. 130–148; G. Dellings, *Studien zum Neuen Testament*, Göttingen, 1970, pp. 72–129, 146–159.

σηρικός (siriko/q)

serikos (*sirikos*), silk

serikos, S 4596; *EDNT* 3.242; MM 573, 575; BAGD 751

Inspired by the lamentation of Ezek 27:9-25 over the ruin of Tyre, the dirge in Rev 18:12 describes the lamentation of the “merchants of the earth” over the ruin of Babylon, the loss of the cargoes from their ships: “cargo of gold and silver, of precious stones and pearls, of fine linen and purple, of silk (*sirikou*) and scarlet cloth.” The text is interesting both because it evokes the importation of luxury items from Africa and the Orient¹ and also because of the use of the biblical hapax *serikon*,² which does not appear before the time of Augustus. It derives from *Ser* (plural *Seres*), referring to a people of the Far East, probably the Chinese,³ and also products originating in China: silk. At Vespasian’s triumph, where he was accompanied by Titus, “the emperors were unarmed, clothed in silk (*esthesin serikais*) and crowned with laurels” (Josephus, *War* 7.126).

It is a curious fact that the ancients thought that silk came from a plant. According to Strabo 15.1.20, “Nearchus said that (the wool that grew on certain trees) was used to weave fine materials used by the Macedonians for cushions and saddle pads; the serica also are of this kind, Byssus being dried out of certain barks.”⁴ Pausanias, writing in the time of Marcus Aurelius, is the one who corrects this error: “As for the threads from which the Seres make their clothing, they do not come from a husk but from a different origin, as follows. There exists in their land a small animal, called by the Greeks a *ser*. . . . Its size is double that of the largest beetle; for the rest, it resembles a spider. . . . The work of these animals is a fine web that is found rolled about their feet.”⁵

These silk fabrics, given their quality,⁶ enjoyed prodigious success in the first century, especially in the higher classes of society: “The empress’s silk robes, brought out from the palace armories” (Martial, *Epigr.* 11.8.5). A slave of Marcella, named Thymele, was her *siricaria*, responsible for the wardrobe of *sericae vestes* (*CIL* VI, 9892). Caligula was not afraid to appear in public dressed in silk (*processit aliquando sericatus*), but he was criticized by Suetonius (“dress unworthy of a Roman and even of a human being,” *Calig.* 52). In AD 16, a *senatus consultum* forbade men to wear silk (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.33; Dio Cassius 57.15). It was only in the sixth century that sericulture was introduced in the West, at least according to Procopius of

Gaza: monks from India, knowing how zealously Emperor Justinian tried to keep the Romans from buying silk from their enemies the Persians, explained to the emperor that it was possible to make silk in Roman territory, “because they said that silk was produced by a worm that nature taught the art and compelled to work. . . . These men brought some eggs to Byzantium; they succeeded in transforming them into worms, which they fed mulberry leaves; and so the Romans began to make silk” (*Goth.* 4.17).

¹ Cf. Pliny, *HN* 12.2: “the man came to ask for material from the Seres”; 12.84—“according to the lowest estimate, India, the Seres, and this peninsula take a hundred million sesterces a year from our empire; that is how dearly our women’s love of luxury costs us”; 34.145; cf. 7.21; 14.22; *Peripl. Erythr.* 39: from the city of Thinaï, “cotton, thread and material called *serikon* are brought by foot (in caravans) across Bactria . . . as far as Limyrica”; Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Top.* 2.45: “There are people who, in order to procure silk for miserable trade, think nothing of traveling to the ends of the earth.”

² The text has perhaps been altered (twice the case changes from genitive to accusative). The Jewish tradition (followed by older English translations) identifies the Hebrew *meshî* (fine material) of Ezek 16:10, 13, with which Yahweh wants to clothe Jerusalem, with silk; but silk did not appear before the time of Alexander. Cf. Aristotle: “Through metamorphosis from the larva there comes first a caterpillar, then a cocoon, then from this a nympa. . . . Certain women unwind the cocoons of this insect in order to weave a fabric from it. It is said that the first to practice this weaving was a woman of Cos, Pamphila, daughter of Plates” (*HA* 5.19; text copied almost literally by Pliny, *HN* 11.76). According to the French translator of this text, P. Louis, this has to do not with Chinese silk but with a related species acclimated to Asia Minor.

³ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, on this word. Cf. G. Coedes, *Textes d’auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l’Extrême Orient*, Paris, 1910 (reprinted as *Testimonia of Greek and Latin Writers on Lands and Peoples of the Far East*, Chicago, 1979); W. R. in *DKP*, vol. 5, p. 78.

⁴ Cf. Virgil, *G.* 2.121: “From the leaves of trees the Seres unwind fine fleeces”; Horace, *Epod.* 8.15–16; Propertius 1.14.22: “What good were his silks (*serica*) of varied texture?”; Ovid, *Am.* 1.14.6; Seneca, *Lucil.* 90.15; *Phdr.* 389: “the threads that the distant Seres gather from their trees”; *Herc.* 667; Pliny, *HN* 6.54: “The Seres, famous for the wool of their forests; they detach the white down from the leaves by watering them; then our women carry out the twofold task of unwinding and weaving it. Thanks to such

complicated operations, carried out in countries so distant, our matron can appear in public wearing transparent material”; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6.4; 17.595–596: “The Seres who dwell in the East see . . . their wool-laden woods whiten”; Statius, *Silv.* 1.2.122–123; Ammianus Marcellinus 23.6.67.

⁵ Pausanias 6.26.6–9; cf. Philostratus, *Imag.* 2.28: “Behold the spider that spins nearby. In the art of weaving it is not surpassed by Penelope or even the Seres whose fabrics are extremely fine and barely visible”; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.25.2: “the ambassadors of the Seres brought fabrics woven with the thread produced by the spider of their country, one robe dyed purple, another brilliant white.” Hence Hesychius: “Σῆρες: animals that spin silk; or the the name of the people from which ὀλοσηρικόν comes”; “Σηρω—v: the worms that make *serika*. Seres are worms.”

⁶ Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 4: “Why should not the same thing be fine and solid? Such is the case with materials of silk and linen” (ὥσπερ τὰ σηρικὰ καὶ τὰ βύσσινα); Dionysius Periegetes 752–757: “The barbarous tribes of the Seres . . . weave multicolored flowers of their desert country and with much art make precious garments with the brilliance of the prairie flowers, which the work of the spiders cannot rival”; Dio Cassius 43.24: Caesar had veils of silk (παραπετάσματα σηρικά) unfurled above the spectators; “Now this fabric is a work of the softness of the barbarians, and from them it has spread to us as a result of the excessive love of luxury of a people that has become completely effeminate.” Σηρικόν is attested only once in the papyri, in a list of various articles (*P.Oxy.* 1922, 3; fifth century). Moulton-Milligan cites *IG* XIV, 785, 4 (σιρικοποιός); *IG* III2, 3513, 2 (σιρικάριος).

σκληροκαρδία, σκληρός, σκληρότης, σκληροτράχηλος, σκληρύνω

sklerokardia, hard-heartedness; *skleros*, hard, dry, stiff, inflexible, rigid; *sklerotes*, hardness; *sklerotrachelos*, stiff-necked; *skleryno*, to harden

sklerokardia, S 4641; *TDNT* 3.613–614; *EDNT* 3.254; *NIDNTT* 2.152, 156, 180, 184; L&N 88.224; BDF §120(4); BAGD 756 | ***skleros***, S 4642; *TDNT* 5.1022–1024, 1028; *EDNT* 3.254; *NIDNTT* 2.153–156; MM 578; L&N 20.3, 76.15, 88.135, 88.136; BAGD 756 | ***sklerotes***, S 4643; *TDNT* 5.1022–1024, 1028–1029; *EDNT* 3.254; *NIDNTT* 2.153, 155; MM 578; L&N 88.223; BAGD 756 | ***sklerotrachelos***, S 4644; *TDNT* 5.1022–1024, 1029; *EDNT* 3.254; *NIDNTT* 2.153, 155; MM 578; L&N 88.224; BAGD 756 | ***skleryno***, S 4645; *TDNT* 5.1022–1024, 1030–1031; *EDNT* 3.254–255; *NIDNTT* 2.153, 155; MM 578; L&N 88.226; BAGD 756

The substantive *skelos* (cf. *skello*, in the active, “to parch, dry up”; passive, “to be parched, dry”) does not exist,¹ but there is *skleros*, “hard, dry, stiff,” often contrasted with *malakos*, “soft, supple.” In its literal sense, it is used for stone,² for metals and vegetables,³ for wood,⁴ for wind, air, or climate⁵—as in Jas 3:4, where boats of whatever size are driven by strongwinds (*hypo anemon skleron*)—or for crisp and loud claps of thunder (Hesiod, *Th.* 839; Herodotus 8.12). In Hippocrates and Aristotle, the adjective is often used for bones, skin, and various other parts of the body.⁶

In a figurative sense, the word is used to describe style (“forced” metaphors, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp.* 1.2.6), difficult circumstances or a cruel fate,⁷ but especially for divine cruelty⁸ or inflexibility (Sophocles, *OT* 36), for “kings who are kings’ sons, who are harsh and inhumane toward their subjects” (*Ep. Arist.* 289; cf. Matt 25:24—“I knew that you were a hard man”), and for people of rigid, forbidding, uncultured character (Plato, *Tht.* 155 e; Plutarch, *Cim.* 1.2), where hardness is rusticity.⁹

The first occurrences in the LXX describe speech: that which is not pleasing to an interlocutor and not acceptable,¹⁰ or which is expressed roughly; Joseph spoke harshly to his brothers.¹¹ The word is also used for hard work (Exod 1:14; 6:9; Deut 26:6; Isa 14:3; Philo, *Moses* 2.183), for hard battle (2Sam 2:17), and for heavy servitude;¹² but *skleros* takes on many more varied meanings in classical Greek, being used especially for persons, sometimes in a positive sense,¹³ but more often pejoratively.¹⁴ Finally, “hardening” becomes a religious idea, expressing rebellion, disobedience, or rejection of God’s will,¹⁵ to be sure, but with the emphasis especially on obstinacy, inflexibility (Cant 8:6). Sir 3:26–27: “The obstinate heart will fall into misfortune”; Isa 48:4—“I knew that you were obstinate, because your neck is made of iron sinews and your forehead is bronze”; Bar 2:33—“They will repent of their stiff neck . . . because they will remember the way of their fathers”; Deut 31:27.

The metaphor of the neck (Hebrew *’orep*), the part of the animal body that connects the head to the backbone, is taken from the draft animal, whose efforts to resist are localized in the neck.¹⁶ When the ass or horse refuses to go on, it tightens and stiffens its neck. So to be “hard- or stiff-necked” means stubborn disobedience, hardening or obstinacy in rebellion. To specify this condition, the Bible uses the compounds *sklerotrachelos*, six occurrences (out of nine) of which describe Israel,¹⁷ and *sklerokardia* (Hebrew *’arelat lebab*). A stiff or hard heart resists divine impulses, refuses to follow that path that God wants it to follow. It is not only closed and insensitive, but disobedient.¹⁸ This substantive is used only twice in the NT, and only by Jesus: “It is because of your hardness of heart that Moses allowed you to put away your wives”;¹⁹ “Jesus showed himself to the Eleven. . . . He rebuked their unbelief (*apistia*) and hardness

of heart, because they had not believed those who saw him raised (from the dead)” (Mark 16:14). *Sklerokardia* adds to simple unbelief in the resurrection the idea of *refusal* to believe in it.

The verb *skleryno*, unknown in Philo and rather rare in secular Greek,²⁰ is common in the LXX, where most of the occurrences have a moral and religious meaning:²¹ the Israelites stiffen their neck or their heart²² rather than return to Yahweh and submit to his will. But it is also said that God himself hardens the heart of the Egyptians (Exod 14:17), that of Sihon, king of Heshbon (Deut 2:30), and even that of Israel when they strayed from God’s ways (Isa 63:17). The most typical case is that of Pharaoh, whose heart God hardened (Exod 4:21; 7:3; 9:12; 10:1, 20, 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8); but it is likewise said that “Pharaoh’s heart was hardened” (Exod 7:22; 8:15; 9:35; 13:15). This simultaneity poses a theological problem, that of the union of divine action and human freedom, which St. Paul did not clarify by stating that “God shows mercy to whom he will and hardens whom he will”;²³ but he suggests the solution in Rom 2:5, where he denounces the hardness of the impenitent heart that scorns the infinite treasures of divine goodness. “By your hardening, by your impenitent heart, you are storing up for yourself a treasury of wrath for the day of wrath.” God is free in his justice to penalize one who obstinately refuses his light and his mercy. Pharaoh’s *sklerotes* is voluntary;²⁴ it has blinded him,²⁵ keeping him from giving in to the prodigious divine signs wrought by Moses. God uses this obstinacy to free his people, because it is his usual course of action to bring good from evil; just as by giving up his Son to crucifixion he gained the salvation of the world. This salvation, like the crucifixion, was decided from eternity.

¹ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, on σκέλλομαι. Cf. K. Dieterich, “Bedeutungsgeschichte griechischer Worte,” in *RhMus*, 1905, pp. 236–240.

² Dittenberger, *Or.* 194, 28 (= *SB* 8334): ε—κ σκληροῦ λίθου; *Syl.* 972, 96; *BGU* 952, 10; *Wis* 11:4; cf. *SB* 3919: ε—πὶ σκληροῦ βαθμοῦ. Cf. Xenophon, *Oec.* 16.11: “The ground was too hard to turn over with the team and plow”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.34: ground too hard and rocky (contrasted with marshy).

³ *P.Leid.* X, 1: “To get lead to harden, melt it, sprinkle it with flaked alum and vitriol, ground fine and mixed together; and it will be hard” (καὶ ἔσται σκληρός); cf. 3: hard silver; 80: tin (R. Halleux, *Les Alchimistes grecs*, Paris, 1981, p. 84), wax (Plato, *Tht.* 191 c), hard and resistant (Philo, *Heir* 181). Cf. “among sponges, there are some that are very hard and rough” (Aristotle, *HA* 5.16); water that is “hard” to the taste, like spring water or

rainwater (Athenaeus 33 *b* = 1.59); “pears are costive” (Hippocrates, *Vict.* 2.55.1).

⁴ Hippocrates, *Vict.* 2.65.2: “a body hard as wood”; Diogenes Laertius 6.21; a stick (Pindar, *Ol.* 7.29); Philo, *Flight* 42: “hard as an oak”; cf. κοίτης σκληρα—ς = sleeping on a hard surface (Plato, *Leg.* 12.942 *d*).

⁵ Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 1, segm. 110: άνεμος βίαιος, σκληρός; Polybius 4.21.5: the harshest climate in all Achaea; Dittenberger, *Or.* 194, 14.

⁶ Hippocrates, *Carn.* 3.7: “these bones are harder and more solid”; 15.1: “a hard and dry bone”; 12.1: “the teeth become harder than the bones”; *Acut.* 45.2: the body; *Aph.* 5.20; *Liqu.* 1.1; *Carn.* 5.1; *Acut.* append. 49 = hardened skin; *Aph.* 5.52–53: firm breasts (cf. *Genit.* 2.1); *VM* 18: the nose; *Acut.* append. 26.3: a hard inflammation of the eye; *Liqu.* 6.4: dry part; *P.Mert.* 12.21, letter to a physician: dry plasters (AD 58). A papyrus prescribing the diet for patients suffering from chronic constipation: τοι—ς μὲν σληράν ι—σχυρω—ς καὶ δυσήκεστον ἔχουσι τὴν κοιλίαν (in L. C. Youtie, H. C. Youtie, “A Medical Papyrus,” in *Scritti in onore O. Montevicchi*, Bologne, 1981, p. 432, line 5). Aristotle, *HA* 3.10: “the hair is stiffer”; *Part. An.* 3.3.4: the skin is hard; cf. Plato, *Tht.* 162 *b*: “I am already stiff at my age” (contrasted to young); Plutarch, *Ages.* 13.4: “big and strong athlete”; 59275, 9: bitter dishes.

⁷ Antiphon 3.3; Euripides, *Alc.* 500; Sophocles, *OC* 1615; Diodorus Siculus 14.105.2: hard conditions of the decision of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. Cf. Acts 26:14—“It is hard for you to kick against the goad,” an effort as useless as it is painful.

⁸ Aristophanes, *Nub.* 1264; Plutarch, *De def. or.* 21: σκληροὶ θεοί, Anatolian deities; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 7, Paris, 1949, pp. 50ff.

⁹ Σκληρότης is linked with ἀγριότης, ἀγροικία, Plato, *Resp.* 3.410 *d*; 607 *b*; Aristotle, *Poet.* 15.11; *Eth. Nic.* 4.8.

¹⁰ Gen 21:11-12: σκληρὸν ῥῆμα = Sarah asking Abraham to expel Hagar; 45:5, Joseph to his brothers: “Let it not seem to you to be a hard thing (σκληρὸν φαίνεσθαι) to have sold me”; Deut 1:17—τὸ ῥῆμα σκληρὸν = a matter too difficult for you; 15:8; 2Sam 19:44—“the word of the men of Judah was harder (ε—σκληρύνῃ) than the word of the men of Israel”; 2Kgs 2:10—“You ask me a difficult thing”; Tob 13:12—λόγον σκληρόν. Demetrius: ὁ λόγος σκληρός (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 3.8.20; vol. 3, p. 345, 17); *BGU* 140, 14: τοῦτο οὐκ ε—δόκει σκληρὸν εἶναι. All these texts help us understand John 6:60—after the announcement of the Eucharist, “many of

his disciples said σκληρός ε—στιν ὁ λόγος ου—τος.” An off-putting utterance, hard to accept (with the will; not “difficult to understand”). Likewise Jude 15: “hard (tough, provocative, insolent) words that godless sinners said against the Lord” (περὶ πάντων τω—ν σκληρω—ν ὧν ε—λάλησαν); cf. 1 *Enoch* 5.4; 27.2.

¹¹ Gen 42:7, 30: ε—λάλησεν σκληρά (Hebrew *qasheh*); 1Kgs 12:13—reply harshly; 2Chr 10:13.

¹² 1Kgs 12:4; 2Chr 10:4; 2Macc 6:30—“I endure cruel sufferings”; Isa 8:21—a distressed and hungry land; 19:4—a hard master; 21:2—a painful vision (cf. 1Kgs 14:6—a hard message); Isa 27:8—a fierce blast.

¹³ Job 9:4—“Who has remained strong (solid)?”; 22:21; 28:2—“Someone strong and powerful”; David acknowledged, “the sons of Zeruah are stronger than I” (2Sam 3:39).

¹⁴ Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were wicked or perverse (Hebrew *rasha'*) men, Num 16:26; Hannah declares, “I am a woman whose soul is troubled,” literally, “pained in spirit” = in great affliction (1Sam 1:15; quoted by Philo, *Drunkenness* 149–150); for cruel plans (Jdt 9:13). Nabal was a hard (or uncouth) and mean man (σκληρός καὶ πονηρός, 1Sam 25:3; quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* 6.296); μὴ γίνου σκληρός = do not become wicked (Eccl 7:17); cf. Sir 30:8—“an untamed horse becomes stubborn.”

¹⁵ Judg 2:19—“The Israelites corrupted themselves and followed a path of hardening” (= hardened conduct); Prov 28:14—“The one who hardens his heart will fall into misfortune” (hiphil of the Hebrew *qashâh*). Philo, who contrasts harshness and mildness (*Plant.* 133), the smooth and the coarse (*Migr. Abr.* 50; *Abraham* 239; *Creation* 62), denounces rebellious and hard characters (*Spec. Laws* 2.39), hardened and dried out souls (*Rewards* 114), but thinks that habit can make characters lacking in suppleness malleable and can reeducate them (*Spec. Laws* 4.218).

¹⁶ Cf. the French expressions “coup de collier” (put one’s back into it); “franc du collier” (hard-working). P. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, p. 93.

¹⁷ Exod 33:3, 5; 34:9; Deut 9:6, 13; Bar 2:30. A NT hapax, this adjective is uttered by St. Stephen: “People of stiff necks and uncircumcised hearts and ears, you always resist the Holy Spirit” (Acts 7:51; cf. Prov 9:1; Sir 16:11). Hippocrates noted, “Rigidity of neck (τράχηλος σκληρός) is harmful” (*Coac.* 2.14; ed. Littré, vol. 5, p. 640). Philo does not use this term; cf. the substantive σκληροτραχηλία in *T. Sim.* 6.2.

¹⁸ Deut 10:16 (quoted by *Spec. Laws* 1.305); Jer 4:4; Sir 16:10; cf. the adjective σκληροκάριδος, Prov 17:20; Sir 16:9; Ezek 3:7.

¹⁹ Matt 19:8. Here “hardness of heart” could mean: (1) an inability to understand the indissolubility of marriage; (2) a failure to obey the law established by God “at the beginning”; (3) recalcitrance of soul, tangible bad will, wickedness; (4) for his disciples, Jesus abrogates Moses’ temporary concession and reestablishes a law of perfection, because they have purified hearts.

²⁰ Hippocrates, *Liqu.* 2.7: “the dried-out body hardens”; 6.3; Aristotle, *HA* 5.16.7: “the wind and bad weather hardened the sponges.”

²¹ K. L. Schmidt, “Die Verstockung des Menschen durch Gott,” in *TZ*, 1945, pp. 1–17; F. W. Danker, “Hardness of Heart,” in *CTM*, 1973, pp. 89–100. Several secular occurrences, Ps 90:6—grass “withers in the evening, it is dried up”; Gen 49:7—the rage of Simeon and Levi is violent (Hebrew *qashâh*); Judg 4:24—“The hand of the sons of Israel became harder (grew heavier and heavier) over Jabin, king of the Canaanites”; 2Chr 10:4; Sir 30:12—“Beat his sides while he is still a child, lest he become hardened and refuse to obey you.”

²² Deut 10:16; 2Kgs 17:14; 2Chr 30:8, 29; 36:13; Neh 9:16; Ps 95:8 (quoted and commented on at Heb 3:8, 15; 4:7; cf. C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, p. 73; and Heb 3:13; cf. W. L. Lorimer, “Hébr. III, 13,” in *NTS*, vol. 12, 1966, pp. 390–391); Jer 7:26; 17:23; 19:15. In this last text, it is a refusal to hear the word of God, analogous to that of the Jews in the synagogue at Corinth: “As some of them hardened themselves, refused to believe (unbelief, disobedience), and cursed (spoke ill of) the Way (the Christian religion), Paul broke with them” (Acts 19:9). J. Pathrapankal, “Christianity as a ‘Way’ according to the Acts of the Apostles,” in J. Kremer, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, pp. 533–539.

²³ Rom 9:18. We cannot think that this means mere permission (H. H. Hobbs, *Preaching Values from the Papyri*, Grand Rapids, 1964, pp. 115–117, comparing the physician who is not the cause of a hardening in the patient and who adapts himself to the nature of the patient, recognizing his actual condition); still less does God stir people to evil; but taking the person’s refusal into account, he does not give him his grace (which is purely gratuitous), which would convert him, because this voluntary hardening corresponds with his plans to show mercy on his people, cf. M. J. Lagrange, *Épître aux Romains*, Paris, 1931, on this text.

²⁴ In the literal sense, σκληρότης is hardness, roughness. Aristotle distinguishes among physical characteristics “the soft and the hard, the smooth and the rough” (*HA* 1.4.8; 3.3.4); cf. Plato, *Resp.* 7.523 e: “Does the sense of touch adequately feel softness and hardness?” In the LXX, it is used for a sledge (*Isa* 28:27), for the cruelty of death (*2Sam* 22:6), and for Israel’s unbelief (*Deut* 9:27). *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 136: “Those who after working receive no knowledge because they are too hardheaded (διὰ σκληρότητα φύσεως) give up on it”; *Spec. Laws* 1.304 comments on uncircumcision of heart: “rebels because of their hardness of character, rebel stubbornly and shake off the yoke.”

²⁵ Concerning the πώρωσις τῆς καρδίας, cf. “L’Aveuglement d’esprit, dans l’Evangile de saint Marc,” in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 2, pp. 3–15.

σκύβαλον

skybalon, scrap, debris, refuse, dung, excrement

skybalon, S 4657; *TDNT* 7.445–447; *EDNT* 3.256; *NIDNTT* 1.480; *MM* 579–580; *L&N* 6.225; *BAGD* 758

It is not easy to translate this NT hapax at *Phil* 3:8, where St. Paul, renouncing confidence in the flesh, meaning his privileges as a Jew, says they are worthless, to be discarded (*hegoumai skybala [einai_]*),¹ in order to know Christ, gain him, be in him, share in the power of his resurrection.

I. — *Skybalon* often means “scrap, debris, refuse” (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59494, 16; *CPR* I, 175, 16; *PSI* 184, 7: *en skybalois chortou*), gleanings (*P.Ryl.* 149, 22: “grazed them on the gleanings of my vegetable-seed crop”—*katemenesan aph’ hou eichon lachanospermou skybalou*; in *AD* 39/40), that which remains (*SB* 9386, 49: *synlegontes skybala ergatai β? . . . oboloi ιβ?*) and is given to the dogs,² leftovers (*P.Mich.Zen.* 31, 15). This is the meaning intended by Philo in *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 109: “all the rest should be left as refuse (*hosper skybala*) to the mortal nature”; by Leonidas of Tarentum: “You shall not taste even the leftovers from my dinner” (*Anth. Pal.* 6.202.6); by Ariston: “the crumbs that fall from the table” (*ibid.* 6.303.4); by Philip of Thessalonica: the remains of a deceased person (*ibid.* 7.383.2); by Hegesippus: “the wreckage of a ship” (7.276.2; cf. an anonymous writer: “a half-eaten scrap”—*hemidaes skybalon*, 9.375); Achilles Tatius: “he reviled the catch and threw it out as refuse of the sea” (*eloidorei ten agran kai erripsen hos thalasses skybalon*, 2.11.5); *Sib. Or.* 7.58: “you will be the miserable refuse of war.”³

II. — *Skybalon* also has the sense “dung, filth” through popular association with *skor*, according to Moulton-Milligan, who cite *P.Fay.* 119, 7, where Gemellus informs his son that the donkey-driver has purchased “a

little bundle and rotten hay, the whole of it decayed—no better than dung” (*mikran dysmen kai chorton sapron kai holon lelymenon hos skybalon*, around AD 100). We may compare CD 4.19 (“the builders attached themselves to filth,” Hebrew *sô’*, in place of *saw*; cf. the LXX, and the Vulgate of Hos 5:11—*sordes*) and find a correspondence with the Hebrew *tô‘ebâh*, ordinarily translated *bdelygma* (“abomination”), but also *akatharsia* (“uncleanness”), *poneriai* (“wickedness”), *makrymmata* (something that is sent away because it is repulsive), and *molynsis* (“defilement, pollution”).⁴ In any event, “Debris and filth accumulate in the nooks and crannies of houses” (*sesorentai phorytos kai skybalon plethos*, Philo, *Prov.* 2.105), and in ethics the term suggests scorn or disgust: “As when the sieve is shaken the scraps (or impurities, *kopria*) remain, so does a person’s filth (or uncleanness, *skybala*) remain in his thoughts” (Sir 27:4; OT hapax). Sir 26:28 uses the verb *skybalizo* with respect to intelligent men who are scornfully rejected.

III. — Again, *skybalon* means “excrement,” for example in Artemidorus Daldianus (*Onir.* 2.25) and the medical writers (Aelian, *NA* 5.9; other references in Wettstein). This is how the Vulgate (*stercora*) and Symmachus understood the word in Ezek 4:12, 15. The ritual law of whole burnt offerings, as Philo understood it, was that “nothing should remain of the creature except the excrement and the skin” (*skybalon kai dermatos*). During the siege of Jerusalem, “many dug through the sewers and old cow dung in order to feed on this ordure; what they would have been unable to look at before became food for them.”⁵

IV. — In any event, the word means what must be eliminated.⁶ J. Huby’s comment is exactly right, in spite of the anachronism: “All of that is worth no more than the contents of a garbage can.”⁷ To convey the crudity of the Greek, however: “It’s all crap.”⁸

¹ The old French versions translated “balayure” (sweepings); Loisy, Crampon, and Bonnard: “ordure” (filth); Goguel and Monnier: “rebut” (scrap); Médebielle: “perte” (waste), with the comment “fumier” (dung); *Bible de Jérusalem*: “déchets” (scraps; cf. *NJB*, “filth”); M. Dibelius, J. Gnllka: “Kehricht” (sweepings); F. W. Beare: “rubbish.” C. Lavergne (*Diagnose des suffixes grecs du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1977, p. 251, 3): “σκύβαλον, a synthetic word built from the phrase ε—ς κύνας βλήμενον = thrown to the dogs. σκύβαλα in Phil 3:8 = refuse” (French “immondices”).

² Cf. the *Suda*, τὸ τοι—ς κυσὶ βαλλόμενον, κυσίβαλόν τι ὄν. In this sense σκύβαλον would be comparable to περίψημα-περικαθάρματα (1Cor 4:13), the residue from the scrubbing and cleaning of an object.

³ Σκύβαλον πολέμου λυγρὸν ἔσση. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 352 d: “The residue of foods, *the excess of the secretions*, is vile and impure, and it is

the result of a secretion that gives rise to wool, fur, hair, nails”; σκυβαλικός in *Them.* 21.4 is a bad reading in one manuscript for κυβαλικοι—σι. —The proper name Σκύβαλος is attested in the third and fourth centuries, *P.Oxy.* 43, col. III, 25; 2338, 30 (correct to Σκυβάλλου at line 28; cf. R. Coles, in *ZPE*, 1975, p. 202); *P.Harr.* 94, 2; *P.Oslo* 61, 8; *P.Michael.* 26, 9; *PSI* 1358, 1: Κοπρέα καὶ Σκύβαλον; cf. M. Vandoni, “Note di onomastica grecoegizia,” in *Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Brussels, 1975, p. 797.

⁴ This substantive refers to that which is defective, has a fault or vice, that which is considered impure . . . and for that reason inspires disgust, horror, aversion, is blamed and cursed” (P. Humbert, “L’Etymologie du substantif tō’ébâ,” in A. Kuschke, *Verbannung und Heimkehr*, Tübingen, 1961, pp. 157–160).

⁵ Josephus, *War* 5.571. Hesychius gives this definition: σκύβαλα: κόπρος; the same equation is made in *Sir* 27:4 and Didymus, *Zech.* 1.390, 394; cf. “lump of excrement” (βολβίτω κοπρίων), a term for the lazy (*Sir* 22:2), the euphemism ἀσχημοσύνη, *Deut* 23:14; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.151, 158 = ἀκαθαρσία; 2.27, 29. But κόπρια refers to dung in *Luke* 13:8; 14:35; Heraclitus, *All.* 33.6: “Heracles got rid of the large pile of manure, the disgusting condition in which humanity was stagnating”; similarly, the alchemists used κόπρος and βόλβιτον together (cf. M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, 2d ed., London, 1962, vol. 3, 165, 14; 167, 8; 199, 13; 317, 1 and 142, 19; 146, 15; 221, 22; 222, 13).

⁶ Cf. *Mark* 7:19; Plautus, *Truc.* 556: “amator, qui bona sua pro stercore habet”—“a lover who treats his goods as dung has them taken out . . . all that he has is swept outside.”

⁷ “Tout cela ne vaut pas plus que le contenu d’une poubelle,” J. Huby, *Les Epîtres de la captivité*, Paris, 1934, p. 335.

⁸ The translation of E. Osty, “Pour une traduction plus fidèle du N. T.,” in *Ecole de langues orientales anciennes: Mémorial du Cinquantenaire*, Paris, 1964, p. 82: “c’est de la crotte.” Also Lang, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 446–447 (“Dreck”); M. Dibelius, *An die Philipper*, 3d ed., Tübingen, 1937, p. 89; E. Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*, 12th ed., Göttingen, 1961, pp. 135ff. The idea and the word were retained in the patristic and ascetic tradition (*stercus*, *lutum*, βόρβορος = mire) to refer to the world, its allure and its vanity (P. Courcelle, “Les Sources patristiques de Sacy,” in *SP*, vol. 4, Berlin, 1961, pp. 401ff.). On the verbs σκυβαλίζω and ἀνασκυβαλίζω in the inscriptions, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1977, p. 400, n. 423.

σκωληκόβρωτος

skolekobrotos, worm-eaten

skolekobrotos, S 4662; TDNT 7.456–457; EDNT 3.256; MM 580; L&N 23.166; BAGD 758

This compound, which means literally “worm food,” i.e., “eaten by worms,” belongs to the agricultural vocabulary and is used for plants, trees, fruits, especially grains (Theophrastus, *Hist. Pl.* 3.12.6; 4.11.1; *Caus. Pl.* 5.9.1). It is attested in five or six papyri, all from before Christ. Eudemos asks Zeno to decrease the rent because the harvest has been eaten by worms (*eisig gar hemin skolekobrotou kai kakou sitou [arourai_ 1ε?*, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59433, 14; cf. *Berichtigungsliste* IV, p. 16); *ibid.* 59728, 5: “worm-eaten corpses” (*ten skolekobroton somata*); *P.Mich.Zen.* 96, 4: “that has become worm-eaten” (*tes gegenemenes skolekobrotou*, referring to sesame seed); *PSI* 490, 4: *ten genomenen skolekobroton apokechorekasin enkataleipontes tous georgountas ten gen* (a letter concerning a crop guardian); *P.Grad.* VII, 11: “seed that is not worm-eaten” (*spermatos askolekobrotou*); *P.Tebt.* 701, 74 and 81: “for the worm-eaten ground” (*eis ten skolekobroton gen*; cf. the possible restoration in 1008, 18). In 5/4 BC, *P.Oslo* 26, 14 attests the neologism *holoskolekobrotos*.

Since in the Bible “the punishment of the ungodly is the fire and the worm” (Sir 7:17; cf. Isa 66:24 = Mark 9:48), especially worms (Isa 14:11; Sir 19:3; 1Macc 2:62), which symbolize human emptiness (Job 7:5; 25:6) and the decay and decomposition of corpses (Job 17:14; 21:26; Sir 10:11), Acts 12:23 uses *skolekobrotos* for Herod Agrippa: “he was eaten by worms and died.” For all that, this is not a medical term;¹ but in the secular and religious literature it is used for the death of villains, like Judas (according to Papias)² and an uncle (also named Julian) of Julian the Apostate,³ false prophets like Alexander (Lucian, *Alex.* 59), cruel rulers like Pheretima, queen of the Cyrenians (“still alive, she was crawling with worms,” Herodotus 4.205); Sulla, who had a purulent intestinal abscess and an infection that caused his flesh to swarm with vermin (Plutarch, *Sull.* 36.3–4); Pherecydes (Aelian, *VH* 4.28); Herod the Great (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.169); and especially persecutors, from Antiochus IV Epiphanes (“the ungodly man’s eyes were crawling with worms,” 2Macc 9:9) and L. Hermianus, the governor of Cappadocia (Tertullian, *Scap.* 3) to Emperor Galerius (“his intestines were crawling with countless worms”).⁴

¹ Against W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 42; refuted by Lang, on this word in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 456–457; cf. H. J. Cadbury, *Book of Acts in History*, pp. 38, 54 n. 14. But this could be a case of helminthiasis, cf. Lesêtre, on this word, in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 3, pp. 583–585

(helminths are entozoans that take up residence in the intestines, but also in the blood, the muscles, the liver, etc., and can cause fatal illness); *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift*, 1963, pp. 287ff. W. Otto, “Herodes,” in PWSup, vol. 2, 143.

² Cf. P. Benoit, in *Exégèse et théologie*, vol. 1, p. 345 = ET, vol. 1, pp. 193–194.

³ Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.9.

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 8.16.4 (most of these examples are cited by E. Jacquier, *Actes*, p. 374); cf. Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.*

σπερμολόγος

spermologos, seed-gatherer, gleaner, prattler, buffoon

spermologos, S 4691; *EDNT* 3.264; *NIDNTT* 3.525; MM 583; L&N 27.19, 33.381; BDF §119(1); BAGD 762

At Athens, Paul dialogued (*dialegomai*, Acts 17:17) with the idlers that he met at the agora (cf. *agoraios*, 17:5; 19:38), who asked, using Athenian slang, “What does this *spermologos* mean?” (17:18). It is impossible to give the exact connotations of this biblical hapax, a word unknown in the papyri and, it seems, in the inscriptions as well. It is often translated “prattler, speechifier, driveler.” But the etymology is clear: *sperma legein* means to gather seeds or grains.¹ So as a noun, it refers to sparrows and other birds that peck at seeds scattered on the ground² and is in no way pejorative. Used figuratively, however, the word takes on more diverse meanings: the good-for-nothing who wanders about the market and collects the scraps and debris scattered here and there; cf. Demosthenes: “The accuser . . . a miserable gleaner (*spermologos*), an outcast from the marketplace” (*Corona* 18.127); or the prattler, chatterer who is always hunting for news and spreading it everywhere, running his mouth carelessly, who pretends to be in the know but actually spouts his gossip without understanding it: an ignoramus. This highly derogatory meaning is the most commonly attested sense of the word in the first-second century. Philo: “Helicon, a slave of high lineage, a seed-pecker and outcast from society” (*To Gaius* 203); Plutarch: Alcibiades is accused of abandoning the command of the fleet to “men who owe their influence to their drunkenness and buffoonery (*spermologias*),” (*Alc.* 36.2; cf. Plutarch, *Demetr.* 28.5); “When the soul founders, anger casts aside a jumble of violent, unrestrained words.”³

Given this definition, which makes the word almost an insult, it is difficult to understand how the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers could immediately afterward lead Paul to the middle of Mars Hill and ask him to expound his teaching before the assembly. M. A. Robinson⁴ suggests that Paul must have used the parable of the sower and that this accounts for the use of the word.⁵ Hence the play on words, which does not ridicule the preacher but takes aim at his teaching in a humorous way. It is best to translate *spermologos* as “this character.”⁶

¹ Cf. Hesychius, Σπερμολόγος: φλύαρος, καὶ ὁ τὸ σπέρματα συλλέγων, καὶ κολοιω—δες ζω—ον.

² Aristotle (*HA* 8.3.28.592b) includes among the birds “the wren and the rook (σπερμολόγος),” a variety of crow with a narrow beak, scientifically called *Corvus frugilegus*; Aristophanes, *Av.* 232: “Innumerable tribes of barley-eaters (κριθοτράγων), races of seed-peckers (σπερμολόγων)”; 579: “A cloud of sparrows must arise to peck at the seeds”; Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.20: “the small birds peck at the seeds (σπερμολόγοι) and thus find their food easily.” Synonymous with σπερμονόμος in insults εἰ—ς ἀτοραίους καὶ πολυπράγμονας καὶ φιλεγκλήμονας; cf. J Taillardat, *Suétone: Περὶ Βλασφημιῶ—ν*, Paris, 1967, p. 57.

³ Plutarch, *De cohib. ira* 6. The meaning “gossip” in Lynceus of Samos and Alexander of Myndos, in Athenaeus 8.22 (344 c); 9.39 (388 a); Dionysius of Halicarnassus 19.5.3. Wettstein cites in addition Maximus of Tyre 30.4 and Strabo 15, p. 1030. —This accounts for the proposed etymology σπεῖρω + λόγους, sower of words.

⁴ M. A. Robinson, “Σπερμολόγος: Did Paul Preach from Jesus’ Parables?” in *Bib.*, 1975, pp. 231–240.

⁵ According to the interpretation given by Jesus and according to a source anterior to Mark 4, which would be Peter (cf. Papias, in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15).

⁶ J. Renié, *Actes des Apôtres*, “ce pierrot.” The *NJB* translates “this parrot,” which overplays lack of intelligence; E. Osty and J. Trinquet translate “ce picoreur” and comment: “a derogatory term for any speechifier whose knowledge is made up of bits and pieces of doctrine gathered here and there and everywhere.” Cf. “superfluous refinements due to frivolity” (ταῦτα περίεργα καὶ σπερμολογικά, Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 4, q. 1).

σπιλάς

spilas, gust, squall, (under-sea) rock, boulder

spilas, S 4694; EDNT 3.265; MM 583–584; L&N 79.57; BAGD 762

Jude 12: *houtoi eisin hoi en tais agapais hymon spilades*.¹ This can be translated “These people are stumbling blocks in your love feasts” or “These people are stains on your love feasts.”² The biblical hapax *spilas*, unknown in the papyri, can mean “gust, squall,”³ but the predominant classical meaning is “rock, boulder”; cf. Sophocles, *Trach.* 678: “it dissolved on a rock on the ground”; Theocritus: “an inexhaustible, voiceless stream from the rocks”;⁴ “Here, beneath this sepulchral rock, O stranger, lies Demas.”⁵ Usually, *spilades* are rocks that are covered by water and thus dangerous: “the waves smashed their ships on the reefs” (Homer, *Od.* 3.298); “the narrow strait . . . hemmed in by narrow reefs” (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* 2.550; cf. 558); “the vessels, smashed by the waves against the reefs and promontories” (Polybius 1.37.2). In the area around the port of Jaffa, “there is a series of steep cliffs and reefs jutting far out into the water.”⁶ This meaning is reported by all the lexicographers: “*spilades* are rocks under the sea . . . rocks hidden by the sea” (*spilades hai hyphalos petrai . . . hai hypo thalassan kekrymmenai petrai*, *Etymol. Mag.*); “Apion says that *spilades* are rocks that form a hollow in the sea, but Heliodoros says they are rocks beside the sea that the waters wash over.”⁷ J. Pollux sums up precisely: “*spilas*, a reef, a hidden boulder, a stone, a jutting rock, a promontory, a prominence exposed to the wind, a knoll” (*Onom.* 1.9.115). In Jude 12, where a moral portrait of godless folk who slander the way of righteousness is being sketched, the metaphor is excellent; it suggests the pernicious influence of false teachers in promiscuity at banquets. They present a danger of shipwreck, scandal, or ensnarement for believers.⁸

The use of the masculine article *hoi* [*spiloi* ?] with the feminine *spilades* suggests that there might have been a popular confusion of this word with *spilos* (“stain on the skin,” and by extension any physical or moral stain).⁹ This is how the Vulgate interprets this text (“maculae”). The Orphic text *Lithica* 614 is cited: the good woman is “speckled with stains” (*katastiktos spiladessi*). This meaning would make the text less forceful.¹⁰ In any event, the meal of brotherly love in the Christian community requires greater holiness than the *nomos eraniston* from the imperial period: “Let no one enter into the most venerable meeting of the dinner club before he has been examined for purity, piousness, and goodness.”¹¹

¹ The reading ἀγάπαις (a, B, K, L, P72, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Arm., Eth.) is preferable to ἀπάταις (A, C, 44, 56, 96), which comes from 2Pet 2:13 (cf.

E. M. Laperrousaz, “Le Testament de Moïse,” in *Sem* vol. 19, 1970, p. 65) and εὐωχίαις (miniscules, 6, 66). On *agapai*, cf. P. Batiffol, “Agape,” in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 1, 551–556; idem, *Etudes d’histoire et de théologie positive*, Paris, 1926, pp. 283–325; H. Leclercq, “Agape,” in *DACL*, vol. 1, 775–848; L. Thomas, “Agape,” in *DBSup*, vol. 1, 134–153 (supplies the bibliography); E. B. Allo, *Première Epître aux Corinthiens*, pp. 285–293; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 345–351; J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, pp. 115–122; J. J. von Allmen, *Essai sur le repas du Seigneur*, Neuchâtel, 1966, pp. 65ff.

² On the basis of St. Augustine and Erasmus (“in dilectionibus vestris,” “inter charitates vestres”), some translate “They are stumbling blocks for your love”; but it is a bit of a stretch to translate ται—ς ἀγάπαις with a singular.

³ A definition defended by A. D. Knox (“Σπιλάδες,” in *JTS*, 1913, pp. 547–549; 1915, p. 78), from Plutarch (*De virt. et vit.* 3; Plutarch, *De tranq. anim.* 17; cf. Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 5.32.1: “the sea whipped up by a cyclone”), confirmed by the usage of the verb κατασπιλάζω (in Philo, *Quest. Gen.* 2.71, ed. R. Marcus, p. 165, n. i, R. Harris, p. 28; pointed out by H. S. Jones, *JTS*, 1922, p. 282); still the meaning in modern Greek: “violent wind, storm-wind, tempest”; cf. M. M. Kokolakis, *Πλουταρχει—α*, Athens, 1968.

⁴ In *Anth. Pal.* 9.437.6; Simonides: a priest of Rhea took refuge in a cave, literally under an isolated rock, ε—ρημαίνην ἤλυθ ὑπὸ σπιλάδα (ibid. 6.217.2); Philip of Thessalonica: “peace in the shelter of a wild rock” (ibid. 7.382, 4). In the first century, a man throws himself from a rock, ὅστέα μὲν καὶ σάρκας ε—μὰς σπιλάδες διέχευαν ε—ξει—αι (G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata* 225, 1).

⁵ Jewish epitaph from 117 BC: —Ωδ ὑπὸ τὸ σπιλάδος μέλαθρον, *SEG VIII*, 483, 1 = *SB* 6160 = *CII* 1490 = *C.Pap.Jud.* III, p. 152 = *GVI*, n. 700 = E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 14.

⁶ Josephus, *War* 2.420; Lucillius: “For ships that sail on the sea, submerged rocks are more dangerous than those that are plain to see” (τω—ν φανερῶ—ν σπιλάδων, *Anth. Pal.* 11.390, 6); cf. E. Hilgert, *The Ship and Related Symbols in the New Testament*, Assen, 1962, pp. 145ff.

⁷ Σπιλάδες, ὁ μὲν —Απίων αι— ε—ν ὕδατι κοιλαὶ πέτραι· ὁ δὲ Ἡλιόδοωος αι— παραθαλλάσσαι πέτραι, καὶ πεπιλημένοι ὑπὸ τω—ν ὑδάτων. Apollonius Sophista, *Lex.* (this reference and the one before it given by J. Chaine, *Les Epîtres catholiques*, Paris, 1939, p. 315); cf. Hesychius:

Σπιλάδες· αι— πειερχόμεναι τῇ θαλάσση πέτραι; the *Suda*: Σπιλάδες· αι— εν ὕδατι κοι—λαι πέτραι.

⁸ Cf. 1Tim 1:19. Cf. 1QH 4.10–19: “Teachers of lies and seers of falsehood” address seductive words to the members of the people of God and “to assuage their thirst they give them vinegar (Hebrew *homes*, a numbing drink) to drink, so that (once they are drunk with this denatured doctrine) they may gaze on their straying and their folly concerning the festivals,” i.e., so that they may sin, act insanelly.

⁹ 2Pet 2:13—greedy teachers are similarly insulted: “Stains and blemishes (σπίλοι καὶ μω—μοι), reveling in their dissipation, they carouse” (cf. Bo Reicke, *Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos in Verbindung mit der altchristlichen Agapenfeier*, Uppsala, 1951, pp.354–367); Eph 5:27; cf. σπιλόω, “make a mark” (Wis 15:4), then “a stain” (Jude 23; Jas 3:6).

¹⁰ Cf. in the fourth century the participation of a pagan in a Christian *agape* under deplorable circumstances: ε—ποίησεν δὲ καὶ ἀγάπην ε—ν ε—κίνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, Ἑλλην ὄν, διὰ τὸ ἀμάρτημα ὃ ε—ποίησεν (*P.Lond.* 1914, 28; cf. H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 59).

¹¹ Μηδενὶ ε—χέστω ε—πιέναι ει—ς τὴν συμνοτάτην σύνοδον τω—ν ε—ρανιστω—ν, πρὶν ἂν δικομασῇ ε—ι ἔστι ἄγνος καὶ εὐσεβῆς καὶ ἀγάθ, published by P. Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, Paris, 1873, p. 202.

σπλάγχνα, σπλαγχνίζομαι

splanchna, entrails, viscera, compassion; *splanchnizomai*, to have compassion, take pity

splanchna, S 4698; *TDNT* 7.548–559; *EDNT* 3.265–266; *NIDNTT* 2.593, 599–560; MM 584; L&N 8.58, 25.49, 25.50, 25.54, 25.55, 26.11; BAGD 763 | ***splanchnizomai***, S 4697; *TDNT* 7.548–559; *EDNT* 3.265; *NIDNTT* 2.599–600; MM 584; L&N 25.49; BDF §§108(3), 176(1), 229(2), 233(2), 235(2); BAGD 762

In the fifth-fourth century, *splanchna* meant the internal parts of a sacrificial victim,¹ mentioned in cultic regulations as part of the compensation of priests and priestesses,² so that the verb *splanchnizo* meant “consume the entrails.”³ This means the honorable parts, of course, since the word is also applied to humans,⁴ in whom seven viscera are enumerated (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.12; *Drunkness* 106; cf. *Spec. Laws* 1.62): “the internal parts are called viscera, these being the stomach, the

heart, the lungs, the spleen, the liver, and the two kidneys” (*Creation* 118). The word is also used for the intestines (*Abraham* 241) or the stomach area in general without any anatomical precision.⁵

The emotions are located in the entrails—since they are what is most intimate and hidden (*Post. Cain* 118; cf. Josephus, *War* 4.263)—which are therefore synonymous with what we today call the “heart”: “I suffer in my stomach and in my entrails” (*ten koilian mou kai ta splanchna mou pono*, *Pss. Sol.* 2.15); “Abraham, moved to the depths of his entrails, began to weep” (*T. Abr.* A 3, 5); “The consumption reaches to the entrails, causing through its oppression despair and distress.”⁶ When Aseneth falls in love at the first sight of Joseph, her entrails are smitten (*Jos. Asen.* 6.1), just as the entrails of the father are disturbed with each cry from his son (*Sir* 30:7), for children are said to be their father’s entrails (*hoi paides splanchna legontai*, Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 1.44; Philo, *Joseph* 25; 4Macc 14:13). But the entrails of the foolish are also said to be unstable (*Sir* 33:5), and blows to the entrails cause suffering (Philo, *To Gaius* 368). The nuance of pity is attested in 5 BC (*hyper splanchnou* = through pity, *BGU* 1139, 17).

This last meaning, unusual in secular Greek,⁷ is the predominant one in the Bible (cf. *Prov* 12:10; *Wis* 10:5), especially in the NT, where the entrails (corresponding to the Hebrew *rah<Ø>a<^>mîm*) are the seat of compassion (*Gen* 43:30; *1Kgs* 3:26; *Jer* 31:20). The feminine singular *rehem*, moreover, refers to the uterus, the mother’s womb; so that the entrails are the locus of the mother’s pity for her children (*Isa* 49:15) and are said to shudder (*Isa* 16:11; *Cant* 5:4), to resound and make noise (*Isa* 43:15), to bubble or seethe (*Lam* 1:20), or to be in turmoil.⁸ It follows that in the Synoptics, where this compassion is twice attributed to God (*Matt* 18:27; *Luke* 15:20), once to the Good Samaritan, and nine times to Christ—almost always to account for a miracle—the word means first of all a physical emotion, true compassion in the face of a neighbor’s misery,⁹ literally a movement of the entrails at the sight.¹⁰ So translating the passive *esplanchnisthe* as “he took pity” is almost opposite the true sense; “he was taken by (or moved with) pity” would be better. The exact sense is “he had a visceral feeling of compassion.”

The affective quality of the entrails is much emphasized by Paul: whereas the entrails of the Corinthians are constricted, those of Titus are open and go out to the believers (*2Cor* 6:12; 7:15); Philemon has calmed the entrails of Christians under trial (*Phlm* 7; cf. verse 20. The apostle loves Onesimus as his own entrails (*tout’ estin ta ema splanchna*, verse 12), hence as his own child; and he loves the believers in the entrails of Christ (*epipotho pantas hymas en splanchnois Christou Iesou*, *Phil* 1:8). This tender compassion is almost hypostasized;¹¹ every Christian must be clothed in it,¹² for it is the expression of brotherly love, with strong connotations of mercy.¹³

The compound *eusplanchnos* (Eph 4:32; 1Pet 3:8) should not be translated “benevolent, good-hearted”; it is intensive. But whereas in secular Greek having good or strong entrails means being courageous,¹⁴ in Christian terms it means to be tenderly merciful, compassionate: “so display your innate love and compassion and tenderness.”¹⁵ Jas 5:11 coins a new word for this: having long or abundant entrails (*polysplanchnos estin ho Kyrios kai oiktirmon*), the equivalent of *polyeleos* (Ps 102:8; SB 8726, 9).

¹ SEG XVII, 377 (Chios); 378 (Chios); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 57, 3; 1013, 3, 8; 1015, 12; 1016, 3; 1044, 39; etc.

² Cf. *LSCGSup*, n. 76, 3; 77, 6; 78, 5; *LSCG* n. 120, 10; 125, 4; 135, 89; 151 A -33; D 10, 12; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.216.

³ The only attestation of the active voice of the verb in secular Greek: a cultic calendar at Cos, fourth century (*LSCG*, n. 151, D, 14); 2Macc 6:8—take part in a ritual meal.

⁴ Koester (“σπλάγχνον,” in *TDNT*, vol. 7, p. 548) cites the *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum* XLVII, 1 (292, ed. E. Chambry), where a boy who has eaten too much *splanchna* says, “Mother, I am vomiting my entrails”; but she said, ‘Not your entrails, child, but the ones you ate!’” (ὦ μήτερ, ε—μω— τὰ σπλάγχνα· ἡ δὲ εἶπεν, οὐχὶ τὰ σά, τέκνον, ἃ δὲ κατέφαγες).

⁵ In the Bible, the entrails stand for whatever is deepest and most intimate (Prov 26:22, Hebrew *beten*; cf. Ps 22:15; 40:9; John 7:37); Bar 2:17—the spirit of the deceased has left his entrails; 2Macc 9:5–6: intestinal pain; Acts 1:18—Judas’ entrails spilled out; 4Macc 5:30; 10:8; 11:19—the entrails are burned or pierced through and drip with blood; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.359 (in the singular); *War* 2.612: “Joseph had them whipped until their entrails showed through”; Menander, *Dysk.* 548: “I cut out the entrails”; *P.Ryl.* 63, 6 (astrological text from the third century), the entrails are the province of Jupiter; SB 7452, 23: τω—ν τριχω—ν καὶ τω—ν σπλάγχνων ἀὐτῆς. In an epitaph from the imperial period, Termion suspects that she has been poisoned: “If anyone has ever launched against my entrails or my life the miserable furies of poison” (ibid. 8960, 7 = GVI, 1875 = L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 2, pp. 121ff.)

⁶ Philo, *Rewards* 151; cf. Aeschylus, *Cho.* 413; Sophocles, *Aj.* 995: “the most painful path to my entrails”; Euripides, *Hipp.* 118 (rage); Euripides, *Med.* 220; Aristophanes, *Ran.* 844: “do not overheat your entrails with anger”; 1006: “my entrails are indignant at having to speak to this man”;

Nub. 1036: “I was suffocating to the depths of my entrails, impatient to overturn these arguments”; Geminus calls love “the god that he carries in his heart” (*Anth. Pal.* 6.260.6); cf. Koester, *TDNT*, vol. 7, p. 549.

⁷ It is found late (fifth-sixth century) in *P.Fuad I Univ.* 43, 6 (a theological fragment); *C.P.Herm.* 16, 4: “I beg you to take pity” (cf. the editor’s note); *P.Flor.* 296, 23: οὐκ ε—σπλαγχνίσθη ὁ εἰ—ρημένος; *SB* 9402, 6: ὑπὸ τω—ν σπλάγχνων μου. But according to biblical language, God says: “Abraham is without pity for the sinner (οὐ σπλαγχνίζεται), whereas I am full of mercy for them (ε—γὼ σπλαγχνίζομαι)” (*T.Abr.* B12); “Let us be patient until the Lord takes pity and has mercy on us” (σπλαγχνισθεὶς ε—λεήσει ἡμα—ς, *T. Job* 26.5).

⁸ *Job* 30:27; cf. P. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, p. 111ff., 134ff. P. Lacau, *Les Noms des partie du corps en Egyptien et en Sémitique*, Paris, 1970, 219; G. Schmuttermayr, “RHM—Eine lexikalische Studie,” in *Bib*, 1970, pp. 499–532.

⁹ *Luke* 10:33 (E. Höhne, “Zum neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch,” in *ZWKL*, 1882, p. 10); cf. *Matt* 15:32 (*Mark* 8:2); 18:27; 20:34; *Mark* 1:41 (L. Vaganay, “Marc I, 41: Essai de critique textuelle,” in *Mélanges E. Podechard*, Lyon, 1945, pp. 237–252); *Mark* 8:2; 9:22.

¹⁰ *Matt* 9:36—ι—δὼν . . . ε—σπλαγχνίσθη; 14:14; *Luke* 7:13; 10:33; 15:20; cf. *1John* 3:17.

¹¹ God is said to cast his entrails upon the earth: ὁ θεὸς ἀποστελεῖ— τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ ε—πὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὅπου εὔρη σπλάγχνα ε—λέους, ε—ν αὐτῷ— κατοικεῖ— (*T. Zeb.* 8.2); ἄχρις οὐ— ἔλθη τὸ σπλάγχνον Κυρίου (*T. Naph.* 4.5; cf. *T. Levi* 4.14).

¹² *Col* 3:12—σπλάγχνα οἰ—κτιρμοῦ; cf. *Phil* 2:1—εἴ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰ—κτιρμοί (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 252ff.). The most common Greek equivalent for the Hebrew *rah*<Ø>*a*<^>*mîm* is οἰ—κτιρμοί; but the Hebrew explains the Greek plural (cf. *2Cor* 1:3).

¹³ Cf. *Luke* 1:78—διὰ σπλάγχνα ε—λέους θεοῦ ἡμῶ—ν; *T. Zeb.* 7.2—σπλαγχνιζόμενοι ε—λεα—τε; 7.3—συμπάσχετε αὐτῷ— ε—ν σπλάγχνοις ε—λέους. *1John* 3:17 denounces the rich person who sees the need of the poor person and nevertheless “shuts his entrails” (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 261ff.).

¹⁴ Euripides, *Rhes.* 192; cf. ἄσπλαγχνος, “cowardly” (Sophocles, *Aj.* 472); Chrysippus, in *SVF*, vol. 2, 249, 12ff.); cf. our expressions “to have guts,” “to have no guts.”

¹⁵ *P.Lond.* 1916, 31; cf. Pr Man 7: Κύριος ὑψιστος εὐσπλαγχνος, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος. A Roman funerary inscription: ι—ερὸς, εὐσπλαγχνος, φιλόξενος (in *IGUR*, II, n. 411). Ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν (*P.Ryl.* 470: a prayer to the Virgin Mary; cf. J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris, 1976, p. 314, n.983).

σπουδάζω, σπουδαι—ος, σπουδαίως, σπουδή

spoudazo, to hasten, apply oneself, devote oneself; *spoudaios*, hasty, diligent, virtuous; *spoudaios*, hastily, diligently; *spoude*, haste, urgency, zeal, diligence, gravity, seriousness

spoudazo, S 4704; *TDNT* 7.559–568; *EDNT* 3.266; *NIDNTT* 3.1168–1169; MM 585; L&N 25.74, 68.63, 68.79; BDF §§77, 392(1a); BAGD 763 | ***spoudaios***, S 4705; *TDNT* 7.559–568; *EDNT* 3.267; *NIDNTT* 3.1168–1169; MM 585; L&N 25.75, 25.75, 68.65; BDF §§102(1), 244(2); BAGD 763 | ***spoudaios***, S 4709; *EDNT* 3.267; MM 585; L&N 68.79; BAGD 763 | ***spoude***, S 4710; *TDNT* 7.559–568; *EDNT* 3.267; *NIDNTT* 3.1168–1169; MM 585–586; L&N 25.74, 68.63, 68.79; BAGD 763–764

It is not easy to specify the exact meaning of these terms, which were common in classical and Hellenistic Greek and which translators of the NT almost always take to mean “zeal, urgency.” They are absent from Matthew and John.

I. — The idea of “haste, rapidity, alacrity” is in the forefront, with no psychological or moral connotation. “When the sun rose, the angels urged Lot to leave” (Gen 19:15; *hiphil* of the Hebrew *’ûs*); “The servants hurried to leave”;¹ the shepherds hastened to Bethlehem (Luke 2:16); “Hasten to come to me, quickly” (*spoudason elthein pros me, techeos*, 2Tim 4:9; cf. *BGU* 2349, 5). A meaning well-attested in the papyri: “That has to be sped up” (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 78; cf. 218); “Please, sister, hurry to make my tunic” (*P.Fuad I Univ.* VI, 15); “Hurry to go and find my uncle’s wife.”² This is sometimes the meaning of the adjective *spoudaios* (*P.Brem.* 48, 28) and almost always that of the substantive *spoude* in the LXX: “You shall eat the lamb in haste.”³ The usage of the Koine is similar, whether in literary texts⁴ or (more rarely) in the papyri: “I sailed hastily for Alexandria” (*P.Mich.* 503, 2); “Please carry out the brickyard work as quickly as possible” (*P.Sorb.* 63, 2); “I wrote you quickly.”⁵ The only NT use of the word in this sense is perhaps Mark 6:45, where Salome, after asking her mother’s advice, returned “at once, in haste”; but here there seems to be a psychological

nuance,⁶ just as the Virgin Mary's departing "with alacrity" (Luke 1:39) means not only "hastily" but "with fervor."

II. — In effect, *spoudazo* with an impersonal object means above all "apply oneself to, actively involve oneself with" and with a personal object "devote oneself to, take the part of."⁷ In the papyri, the meaning "deal with, take care of" is predominant,⁸ often with connotations of going to some trouble⁹ and doing one's best.¹⁰ It is in this sense of "trying, applying oneself diligently to" and not "hastening" that the NT occurrences of this verb should be understood.¹¹

The adverb *spoudaios* has the same meaning in Titus 3:13, where the apostle's disciple must take care and do his best to provide for the trip of Zenas and Apollos; and in 2Tim 1:17, where Onesiphorus sought Paul in the Roman prisons with extreme care and without sparing himself any trouble—and succeeded in finding him.¹² Likewise, the substantive *spoude*, with this nuance of costly effort,¹³ is contrasted with indolence and inertia in Rom 12:11 (*te spoude me okneroi*) and 2Pet 1:5 (*spouden pasan pareisenegkantes*); it is not so much a matter of goodwill or zeal, but of making an effort; the formula is classical.¹⁴ Finally, *spoude* also means "gravity, seriousness."¹⁵ This seems to be the right characteristic for a leader of a Christian community, who must preside *en spoude* (Rom 12:8)—not with urgency or zeal, but with seriousness, dignity, or solicitude (*Ep. Arist.* 39); or even in such a manner as to win esteem, i.e., honorably (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.186; cf. 2.197; 9.182; Philostratus, *Gym.* 13). It would seem that it was this quality of seriousness that produced in the Corinthians "sorrow according to God," i.e., repentance (2Cor 7:11).

III. — Whatever the nuance of each particular text, the diligence, care, or effort manifested come from an initial goodwill, the pursuit of something one cares about, a desire to succeed;¹⁶ and *spoudazo*, in the first century AD, expresses the marks of an attentive benevolence, as thoughtful as it is efficient. In 41, Emperor Claudius takes pleasure in the tokens of attachment he has received from the Alexandrians (*P.Lond.* 1912, 25: *spoudasantes kai spoudasthentos*; cf. Severus and Caracalla, in *I.Bulg.* 659, 23), who are for their part impatient to receive tokens of his favor: *ha par' emou labein espoudakate* (line 52; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2558, 3: *Kaisaron spouden*; Dittenberger, *Or.* 723, 1). With regard to the Thasians, he receives "all the tokens of [their] diligence and piety" (*tes hymeteras spoudes kai eusebeias apodechomai pantas*, *I.Thas.* 179, 4), as Octavian wrote to the inhabitants of Rhosos: "Seleucus, my admiral, . . . has shown many tokens of his diligence and eagerness" (*pasan eispheromenos spouden kai prothymian*, *I.GLS* 718, 84). This goodwill includes ardor, care, and devotion: "we obtained this thanks to the careful effort of our friends" (*tes de ton philon spoudes tychontos epetychamen*, *P.Tebt.* 314, 9); a woman in the second-third century thanks her mother for sending a chair (*charin de soi oida, meter, epi te spoude tou kathedrariou*, *P.Oxy.* 963).

Someone who is asking a ruler to intervene calls upon the goodwill of the prospective benefactor: “I urge you, sir, to take the initiative in showing your concern for them.”¹⁷

Finally, *spoude* expresses fervor, zeal, and eagerness,¹⁸ as in 2Cor 7:12—“the zeal that you showed for us”; 8:7—“you excel in all diligence”; 8:8—“to prove by the zeal of others that your own love is sincere”; 8:16-17—Titus is fervent in his care for the Corinthians; Heb 6:11—the Hebrews must be ardent in their efforts to grow the good fruit of their hope. This is exactly the wording of the papyri: “with full eagerness and joy, of one accord” (*meta tes pleistes spoudes kai charas homothymadon*, BGU 1768, 7); “as far as possible, I will show my eagerness”;¹⁹ especially the adverb *spoudaios*: “Let us use creation with ardor while we are young” (Wis 2:6); the Jewish elders begged Jesus with fervor or insistently.²⁰ Telling of the effectiveness of a recommendation, the beneficiary writes, “He introduced me to Aemilianus without delay and eagerly” (*anoknos kai spoudaios synestake me*, P.Mich. 498, 14). Philoi shows that he is eager to serve (*hina pempomen Philoi spoudaioshem in prosenechthenti*).²¹ As for Jude 3, *pasan spouden poioumenos graphein hymin*, we could just as easily translate either “I was in a hurry”²² or “I greatly desired to write to you concerning our common salvation.”²³ All the commentators, following Wettstein, emphasize that the formula *pasan spouden poioumenos* has classical antecedents going back to Herodotus.²⁴

IV. — When St. Paul points out to the Corinthians that Titus has shown himself very eager (*spoudaioteros*) to go to them, of his own accord (2Cor 8:17), he wants to impress his recipients with the fact that this promptitude comes from the very heart of his envoy; but, nevertheless, he is using the epistolary formula “I know your devotion,” which became a cliché: “Knowing your devotion to everyone” (*eidou sou to spoudeon to pros pantas*, P.Oxy. 929, 3; cf. 1064, 6); “for I know your devotion and fairness.”²⁵ We have every right to think that in choosing the adjective *spoudaios*, he also gave it the connotations “good, excellent, virtuous” that are implied in other NT usages and which were so common in the Koine, that a Roman epitaph uses this word to sum up all the virtues of “Crispina, wife of Procopius, *spoudaia*, loving the law” (CIL 132). This moral meaning of *spoudaios* comes especially from Aristotle,²⁶ who probably borrowed it from Antisthenes (Diogenes Laertius 6.104–105). On the one hand, *spoudaios* means “serious, conscientious”; on the other hand, “meticulous, done well, virtuous.” There are games that are serious (*tas espoudasmenas paidias*, Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.11.1371a3–4) in that they require effort, and similarly the work or function (*ergon*) of moral virtue is the virtuous life (*zoe spoudaia*), which requires sustained diligence. Xenophon contrasts honest folk, who deserve respect (*hoi spoudaioi*) against rogues (*hoi phauloi*, in *Cyr.* 2.24) and the wicked (*poneroi*).²⁷ This vocabulary and doctrine were picked up by the Stoics. According to Zeno, there are two

classes of humans (*to men ton spoudaion, to de ton phaulon*), the former practicing virtue, the others doing evil (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.7.11; vol. 2, p. 99; cf. *SVF*, vol. 1, 216). Chrysippus says that the *spoudaios aner* is a rare person (Plutarch, *De Stoic. rep.* 31), is perfect and happy and does not fall into error.²⁸ Philo inherits this tradition and contrasts the good and the wicked (*to phaulon to spoudaio*, *Giants* 56); “The life of the virtuous person consists in deeds (*ho spoudaiou bios en ergois*), that of the wicked (*ho tou phaulou*) in words.”²⁹ As opposed to the slave, the *spoudaios* is not subject to compulsion (*Good Man Free* 60); “He is perfectly virtuous (*pantos spoudaios*), this man to whom it is said, ‘I am your God’” (*Change of Names* 31; cf. Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 124), “incapable of taking on the burden of any evil whatsoever” (*Creation* 73). As God is the author of all that is worthwhile (*spoudaia*, Philo, *Change of Names* 256), it is possible to specify that “God made all virtuous beings for the sake of their affinity with him” (*Creation* 74).

In everyday Greek, *spoudaios* refers to good quality: “I am sending you some good melon seeds” (*P.Oxy.* 117, 2); “we have no other that is good” (*P.Flor.* 338, 8); the adjective is also used for athletes,³⁰ good people (*P.Mich.* 213, 11), and true friends,³¹ precisely because they are zealous and eager.³²

V. — We cannot fail to note the connotations of excellence and honor in this term, especially when it is linked with *philotimia*,³³ as is the case in most of the honorific decrees. For example, a decree at Samos in honor of Boulagoras, “showing eagerness and absolute devotion” (*tem pasan epoiesato spouden kai philotimian antikatastas*, *SEG* I, 366, 11; second century BC); a decree conferring *proxenia* upon Nicias, who spared no zeal, expense, or devotion;³⁴ a decree at a city in Cappadocia in behalf of Apollonius;³⁵ a decree of Apollonia honoring Pamphilos: “With all eagerness and devotion, he set each of these matters in order” (*I.Car.* 167, 8); decree of Smyrna in honor of some Thasian judges: “for the zeal and devotion with which they acted.”³⁶ Heracleans of the Pontus send an embassy to Hadrian to intercede on behalf of their colony “using all zeal and all genuine affection.”³⁷

This link with *philostorgia* (“affection”) exploits the affective connotations of the word *spoude* during this period³⁸ and reveals not only the elements of affection, spontaneity, and unselfishness in Titus’s eagerness to go to Corinth³⁹ and the cordial aspects of brotherly assistance in the primitive church but also how the believers put their whole heart into bearing fruit.

¹ Jdt 13:1. Almost all the other occurrences correspond to the niphal of the Hebrew *bahal*, “be prompt, arrive suddenly” (Eccl 8:3), with a nuance of

suddenness and violence (Isa 21:3); hence “be frightened” (Job 4:5; 21:6; 22:10; 23:15-16).

² *P.Fouad* 85, 10: Σπούδασον ἀπελθει—ν πρὸς τὴν γαμετὴν τοῦ κυρίου μουῖου (note the frequency of the aorist imperative in the epistolary papyri and the construction of σπουδάζω with the infinitive: σπούδασον ποιῆσαι, *SB* 9875, 7; cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, vol. 2, 3, p. 49, n. 1); *P.Corn.* 52, 9: “Hasten to reply to me”; *P.Mich.* 516, 5: “Hurry to set sail”; *P.Mert.* 85, 18: “I want very urgently to hear news from you” (πολὺ σπουδάζω μαθεῖ—ν); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 291, 8 (republished in *SB* 9160); 255, 4 (republished *ibid.* 9654 a); *P.Princ.* 100, 8; 106, 1; *P.Oslo* 88, 26; 162, 13; *P.Oxy.* 2229, 3; Menander, *Dysk.* 148: “Such haste!”; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.119; *War* 2.559; cf. σπουδῆ, 7.190; *Ant.* 7.223; Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 4.3: “Why this haste? Why this rush?”; Diodorus Siculus 17.118.2.

³ Exod 12:11, μετὰ σπουδῆς (Hebrew *hipazōn*); verse 33 (piel of Hebrew *mahar*); Sus 50; Wis 14:17—“lead back in great haste”; Deut 16:3—“you left Egypt in haste”(ε—ν σπουδῆ); 2Macc 14:43—“because of the liveliness of the combat” (διὰ τὴν σπουδῆν); 1Macc 6:63—“departing in haste, he returned to Antioch” (ἀπῆρεν κατὰ σπουδῆν); cf. 1Sam 21:8; Dan 2:25; Sir 27:3. Whether with ε—ν, κατὰ, μετὰ, or διὰ, σπουδῆ refers to the hasty mode of action; it has adverbial value in the phrase σπουδῆν ἔρχομαι (Sir 20:18; 21:5; 43:22).

⁴ Xenophon, *An.* 6.5.14: “speaking brusquely”; 7.6.28: “The Thracians, being compelled to save themselves with great haste”; *Cyr.* 4.5.12: “He only sent his messenger the more hastily”; *Hell.* 6.2.28: “The last ones had to hurry”; Plutarch, *Rom.* 8.1: “He ran hurriedly to Numitor”; *Publ.* 4.2: “seeing them enter hastily”; *Sert.* 4.2: “Sertorius set about the task with zeal and dispatch” (σπουδῆν καὶ τάχος); Thucydides 1.93.2: the hurry to build; 2.90.3: “He gave the order to embark in great haste and against his will”; 5.66.2; Philo, *To Gaius* 338: “He was impatient to arrive as quickly as possible at Alexandria.”

⁵ *P.Ryl.* 231, 13 (AD 40); *P.Tebt.* 315, 8; *SB* 6745, 5; 9367, n. X, 14.

⁶ “The idea of quickness has already been expressed by εὐθύς; μετὰ σπουδῆς, then, is rather ‘with gusto’” (M. J. Lagrange, on this text); but “quickly” is not pleonastic and—in reinforcing “immediately”—can suggest the lack of reflection on the part of the daughter of Herodias, who was the mere vehicle of her mother’s wishes. Ardor and stubbornness go together (Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 10.5).

⁷ Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.3.11: “I will tell him that Astyages is seeing to it”; *Symp.* 8.17: “He concerned himself more with the honor of the eldest than with his own pleasure”; *Cyr.* 5.4.13; Epictetus 3.4.1: “they came to terms”; Plutarch, *Them.* 5.3: “applying himself to the cithara”; *Per.* 24.5: “Aspasia was the object of Pericles’ affection for her learning and her political wisdom”; *Cat. Min.* 14.4; *C. Gracch.* 8.2; Plutarch, *Demetr.* 3.1; *Ant.* 53.8.

⁸ *P.Fouad* 85, 13: “take care to safeguard your rights”; *P.Oxy.* 746, 8: “take care of this, as is just” (AD 16); 113, 24: “take care that Onnophoris buys what Irene’s mother told her”; 1842, 4; 2113, 19; *P.Lond.* 231, 12; 234, 10; 236, 12; 248, 5 (vol. 2, pp. 285, 287, 290, 306); *BGU* 1677, 10: εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις σπουδάσας ἀπαρτίσασθαι αὐτά (business letter, second century AD); 1764, 22; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 105; *P.Bour.* 20, 39: “Let Nonna take care to supply Dionysius faithfully with the half-loaf”; *P.Ryl.* 607, 5: “take care of spending all the Italian money on purchases”; *P.NYU* 25, 8: “you, above all others, deal with sending the replacement team”; *SB* 9843, 5 (letter for the preparation of a Jewish festival, in the second century): “take care to send me some wooden bars and some citrons” (*ethrog*; cf. B. Lifshitz, “Papyrus grecs du Désert de Juda,” in *Aeg*, 1962, p. 241).

⁹ A fiancé writes to his future mother-in-law: “you are preoccupied, and you took the trouble to prepare a house for me” (*P.Ant.* 93, 7); *P.Lond.* 1912, 34; 1916, 16: ἀναγκαίως οὖν πάνυ σπουδάσατε αὐτῷ—ἀόκνως; *SB* 9156, 9: ἵνα σπουδάσης τῷ—ἀνδρί; *P.Mich.* 503, 14; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.115: ἀπολείποντες σπουδῆς; *I.Bulg.* 1573, 11: τῆς περὶ παιδείαν καὶ λόγους σπουδῆς.

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* 1061, 16 (22 BC). A letter from the second century ends thus: “Do whatever is best, brother” (ἀλλὰ σπούδασον, ἀδελφέ, *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 15, 29); *P.Stras.* 154, 5: σπούδασον οὖν, ἄδελφε, ποιῆσαι; *SB* 8944. Cf. the letter from Heron to Ptollarion in the third century: “You lack diligence (τὸ ἀσπούδαστόν σου); I’ve known you longer than a day” (*P.IFAO* II, n. 17, 3). *I.Bulg.* 41, 9; *ISE*, n. 103, 15.

¹¹ Gal 2:10—St. Paul had always taken pains to help the poor (ε—σπούδασα); he tried to see the Thessalonians again (1Thess 2:17). Christians must make an effort to enter into God’s rest: σπουδάσωμεν οὖν εἰ—σελει—ν (Heb 4:11; cf. Eph 4:3; 2Tim 2:15; 2Pet 1:10; 3:14) [2Pet 1:15 is difficult: “I shall take care that after my departure you will have every occasion to remember these things”; the future σπουδάσω, “I shall do my best,” was changed to the present σπουδάζω by *a*, P72, Peshitta, Arm., and to the imperative σπουδάσατε]. When the apostle writes to Titus σπούδασον ε—λθει—ν πρός με (Titus 3:12), we cannot translate “hasten” as at 2Tim 4:9, because on the one hand Titus must await the arrival of

Artemas or Tychicus, and on the other hand, the meeting at Nicopolis is set only for the winter. So the sense is “try, endeavor.” Cf. Philo, *Virtues* 218: “trying to be a disciple of God”; 215: “to make harmony reign.”

¹² On the difficulty of finding and contacting a prisoner, cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, vol. 1, p. 145; vol. 2, p. 734. Plutarch, *Cim.* 8.3: “Cimon sought to find histomb” (ε—σπούδασε τὸν τάφον ἀνευρει—ν, he applied himself diligently to the search, 8.7).

¹³ Thucydides 4.30.3: “a greater effort was justified on the part of the Athenians”; Xenophon, *Symp.* 1.6: “It is truly worth the effort to hear me”; Philo, *Virtues* 215: Abraham set out to find the One who is one ἀοκνοτάτη σπουδῆ; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.222, 340; 4.214, 261; 8.187; 10.44. A Byzantine gloss contrasts leisure time (σχολή) with business time (σπουδή) in Theophrastus, *Char.* 3.5. After asking for the serious examination of a question (μετὰ σπουδῆς, as in Demosthenes, *Prooem.* 29, 42, 45, 49, 53, 54), Ps.-Plutarch says that it is not the longest life that is best, but the life in which one’s time is best spent, the life that is fullest (ὁ σπουδαιότατος), like that of the citharist, orator, or pilot who has practiced his profession perfectly (*Cons. ad Apoll.* 17). The Pythia is as it were “overcome by the relentlessness” of Alexander (*Alex.* 14.7). *I.Ilium*, n. 52, 7; 56, 8; 73, 13. *P.Mich.* 73, 6: τὴν πα—σαν οὖν σπουδὴν καὶ [ε—πιμέλειαν] ποιήσασθε; *P.Oxy.* 1840, 5: “I do not find that they made much of an effort” (σπουδὴν πολλὴν ε—ποίησαι); *P.Tebt.* 703, 90 and 184: τὴν πλείστην σπουδὴν ποιού (third century BC); *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 222; *I.Bulg.* 314 A 12; cf. τῆ σπουδῆ καὶ ε—πιμελία (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1953, p. 187, n. 218).

¹⁴ Ει—σφέρειν σπουδὴν, Polybius 22.12.12; Diodorus Siculus 1.83, speaking of Italians traveling in Egypt: οἱ—ὄγλοι πα—σαν ει—σεφέροντο σπουδὴν ε—κθεραπεύσαντες τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας τω—ν ἀπὸ τῆς —Ἰταλίας; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.324; 20.204; letter of Seleucus IV to Seleucia: προσηνέγκατο σπουδὴν ε—πὶ τοῦ βασιλέως (*SEG* VII, 62, 13); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 656, 14; 694, 15; inscription from Stratonicea: καλω—ς δὲ ἔχι πα—σαν σπουδὴν ι—σφάρεσθαι (*IGLAM* 519; cf. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 361); *I.Priene* 118, 7: πα—σαν ει—σφερόμενος σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν (first century BC); 42, 14: καὶ τω—ν ε—γδίκων πα—σαν προσενεγκαμένων σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν; *P.Tebt.* 33, 19: τὴν πα—σαν προσενέγκαι σπουδὴν; other references in M. Holleaux, *Etudes d’épigraphie*, vol. 2, pp. 87ff.

¹⁵ Plato links seriousness and fantasy (σπουδῆ—παιδία) as complementary ideas (Plato, *Symp.* 197 e; *Leg.* 769 a; 771, e; 803 c; *Ep.* 6.323 d; cf. R. Merkelbach, “ΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ,” in *ZPE*, vol. 20, 1976, p. 200);

likewise Xenophon, *Symp.* 1.1: “serious actions (ἔργα μετὰ σπουδῆς) are the opposite of diversions (ἐ—ν ται—ς παιδιαι—ς)”; 1.13: “If the company is entirely serious . . . perhaps they are lacking in gaiety”; 2.17: “Socrates, speaking quite seriously”; Plutarch, *Caes.* 11.4; Plutarch, *Per.* 8.4: “The comedies of the poets of his day took pot-shots at him, sometimes seriously, sometimes playfully”; *Phoc.* 8.3: “wise and serious people” (νήφων καὶ σπουδάζων) (contrasted with amusements); *P.Paris* 63, 131: the penalties were set in seriousness (μετὰ σπουδῆς). Similarly the adjective *spoudaios*: “These are the amusing and the serious things that were said under the tent” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.3.1); “You are wrong to ruin the most serious man in our army by getting him to laugh” (ibid. 2.2.16); “Every time there was nothing more serious to do, they amused themselves with this game” (ibid. 2.3.20); “No Athenian would dare to set about a serious task on that day” (σπουδαίου ἔργου, *Hell.* 1.4.12); Zeno: “All good things are useful, convenient, profitable, advantageous, serious (σπουδαι—α), appropriate, beautiful, suitable” (in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.7.5d = p. 69, 12). *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 107: “Your responsibility is to wait for that with as much seriousness as possible”; cf. a serious and dignified bearing, σπουδαίως καὶ εὐσχημόνως (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.3.1).

¹⁶ *P.Hib.* 77, 4: καθάπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς σπουδάζει, conformably to the king’s wishes, to what he seeks; *P.Bour.* 20, 36: τοῦτο γὰρ σπουδάζει, this is the proposed goal; *P.Mich.* 10, 10: περὶ ὧν ἂν σὺ σπουδάξης, this matter that you are concerned with (third century BC); edict of Cyrene, second century BC: “We are desirous (σπουδάζομεν) that no subject of our kingdom should be troubled” (*SEG* 9.5.53); ἐ—νεδείξατο πα—σιν σπουδῆν ἐ—ξ ἀρχῆς ἐ—ν λυκάβαντι ἐ—ώ (*I.Bulg.* 657, 5); *P.Oxy.* 2558, 3; *P.Lond.* 1178, 23 (vol. 3, p. 216); 1917, 23: μετὰ σπουδῆς ὅλης καρδίας (fourth century AD); line 22: μαιτὰ (*sic*) σπουδῆς πνεύματος ἀγίου. Cf. Philo, *To Gaius* 242; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.123; 5.120; 13.85; Diodorus Siculus 17.39.4.

¹⁷ Παρακαλω— οἶν, Κύριέ μου, ὑπάρξαι αὐτοί—ς καὶ τὰ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς, *P.Oxy.* 1068, 13; cf. 2239, 15: “I am prepared to bring all my concern to bear”; 3086, 6: “it is in these things that the active goodwill of friends is seen” (ἐ—ν γὰρ τούτοις αἰ— σπουδαῖ τω—ν φίλων φαίνονται); *P.Yale* 33, 7: “The *dioiketes* is acting diligently in this matter” (περὶ τούτων τὴν σπουδῆν ποιει—ται ὁ διοικητής, third century BC = *P.Hib.* 44); *P.Fouad* 86, 18; *P.Oslo* 58, 4; epitaph for a Christian jurist, who offered his diligence to all (σπουδῆν, ἣν εἶχον, πα—σι χαρίζομενος, *SEG* VI, 210, 20). Cf. the praise for the *spoude* of Junia Theodora at Corinth in AD 43 (ibid. XVIII, 143, 3, 17, 49, 55), a fancy for dancers (Plutarch, *De frat. amor.* 17).

¹⁸ Xenophon, *An.* 1.8.4: “they set at it with great ardor” (σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ); *Cyr.* 4.2.38: “They carried out with great eagerness that which

had been commanded them”; *Ep. Arist.* 4: “I performed with eagerness”; Philo, *Husbandry* 166: “the qualities of eagerness to learn (σπουδῆς), of progress (βελτιώσεως), of perfection (τελειώσεως) will never disappear”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.30, 36, 42: “the passion for study”; 79, 144: religious fervor; *Prelim. Stud.* 112: “true goods: instruction, progress, ardor (σπουδῆν), desire (πόθον), zeal (ζῆλον) . . . that Moses took along as provision for his journey”; *Dreams* 2.67: in holiness they consecrated their fervent zeal to piety; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.222, 256, 260; 10.25; 13.212; Plutarch, *Caes.* 7.2; *Cat. Min.* 25.11; *Ti. Gracch.* 7.3; cf. *SB* 9156, 4: ὡς πάντως σπουδάσει τῆ ε—ντολῆ αὐτοῦ.

¹⁹ *P.Lond.* 1924, 7; *P.Oxy.* 2107, 3; 2194, 9; *I.Magn.* 53, 61: ἀπόδειξιν ποιουμένους τῆς περὶ τὰ μέγιστα σπουδῆς (third century BC); 85, 12: ὅπως . . . σπουδῆ ἔγδηλος γένηται (second century).

²⁰ Luke 7:4. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.6: Bersabe promised to intercede zealously (σπουδαίως); cf. 16.85: recommendation made strongly (σπουδαιότερον); perhaps with the nuance “convincingly,” cf. διὰ σπουδῆς, 16.214). But St. Paul sends Epaphroditus “as quickly as possible” (Phil 2:28, σπουδαιότερως with superlative meaning); the meaning “with care, seriously,” in παραφυλάττειν σπουδαίως, παρακολουθεῖ—ν σπουδαίως (G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 31, b 27; a 29); *PSI* 742, 6: σπουδαίως μεταδοῦναι μοι διὰ γραμμάτων τὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως.

²¹ *P. Giss. Univ.* vol. 3, n. 20, 36.

²² Cf. the letter of the Christian Demetrius to Flavianus: ἕτερά σε γράμματα ε—πικαταλαβει—ν ε—σπούδασα διὰ Εὐφροσύνου, “I was in a hurry for you to receive another letter by way of Euphrosynos” (*P.Oxy.* 939, 18).

²³ Cf. H. Windisch, *Die katholischen Briefe*, 3d ed., Tübingen, 1951, p. 38; J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. Jude*, 2d ed., Grand Rapids, 1965, pp. 21ff., 89ff. J. Cantinat, *Les Epîtres de saint Jacques et de saint Jude*, Paris, 1973, p. 294.

²⁴ Herodotus 5.30: “I will notify with full willingness”; Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.43; *I.Priene* 53, 10: “his goodwill left nothing to be desired; to the contrary, he did all that he could” (to reconcile the adversaries—οὐδὲν ε—λλείπων προθυμίας, ἀλλὰ πα—σαν σπουδῆν ποιούμενος); 54, 9 and 39; 44, 13: διότι τὴν πα—σαν σπουδῆν προαιρούμενος ποιει—σαι; *PSI* 340, 19: δεόμεθα πα—σαν σπουδῆν ποιήσασθαι περὶ Πτολεμαίου; 584, 27: περὶ τῆς κυνὸς πα—σαν σπουδῆν ποιήσαι, οὐ γάρ ε—στιν ε—μή (third century BC); *P.Hib.* 71, 9: “From the time you receive this letter, put all your efforts

(τὴν πα—σαν σπουδὴν ποιήσαι) into finding the fugitive slave and send him to me under good guard”; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 255, 4.

²⁵ Οἶδα γάρ σου τὸ σπουδεον καὶ ε—πικέες, *P.Oxy.* 1218, 4; 2602, 10; *P.Ryl.* 243, 6; *P.Mich.* 211, 7; *P.Abinn.* 6, 5: οἶδαμεν τὸ σπουδεόν σου καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην σου εἰ—ς ἡμα—ς; *C.P.Herm.* 12, 4; *P.Lond.* 1918, 10; *SB* 9607, 2; cf. 9156, 2; 10295, 4. At Philae, in the Byzantine period, the pairing σπουδῆ καὶ ε—πικεία recur constantly (*ibid.* 7439; E. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 2, n. 194, 6; 219, 1; 220, 8; 221, 7; 224, 4; 225, 1; 228, 1) and already Josephus, *Ant.* 13.245.

²⁶ Aristotle, *On Nobility* (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 88, 52; vol. 4, pp. 723ff.; republished with commentary by J. Aubonnet, in P. M. Schuhl, *Aristote*, Paris, 1968, pp. 99–115); *Eth. Nic.* 5.6.1131a28; *Eth. Eud.* 22.1.1218b34ff.; cf. Harder, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 560ff.

²⁷ Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.3.19; cf. Plutarch, *Per.* 1.5: “Ismenias is a worthless fellow (μοχθηρός); otherwise he would not be such a good flute player (σπουδαι—ος ἀύλητής);” *Phoc.* 38.3.

²⁸ Cleanthes, frag. 566 (in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* vol. 2, p. 65, 11), ὅθεν ἀτελει—ς μὲν ὄντας εἶναι φαύλους, τελειωθέντες δὲ σπουδαίους; cf. *ibid.* vol. 2, p. 112, 8 (= *SVF*, vol. 3, 548), τέλειον ἄνδρα καὶ σπουδαι—ον; Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 7.405; Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 20; Plotinus, *Enn.* 1.4.14; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 32 (*SVF*, vol. 3, 586); Simplicius (*ibid.*, vol. 3, 238), Didymus (*ibid.*, vol. 2, 809). Cf. G. Binder, “Ein neues Epikurfragment bei Didymos dem Blinden,” in *ZPE*, vol. 1, 1967, p. 37; D. Tsekourakis, *Studies in the Terminology of Early Stoic Ethics*, Wiesbaden, 1974, pp. 127ff.

²⁹ *Dreams* 2.302; cf. 34; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.74; 3.67: “Sensation is among the things that are neither bad nor good (οὔτε τω—ν φαύλων οὔτε τω—ν σπουδαίων) . . . if it arises in a good person, it becomes good (σπουδαία).”

³⁰ Cf. L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, p. 26.

³¹ Menander, *Dysk.* 824. In Egypt, there are associations of *spoudaioi* (cf. E. Wipszycka, “Les Confréries dans la vie religieuse de l’Egypt chrétienne,” in *Proceedings XII*, pp. 511–525) and σπουδαι—ος φίλος refers to the zealous friend of an association, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1971, p. 465, n. 441.

³² It might be said the Philo has a theology of haste: good deeds are done “spontaneously, with no slowness or tardiness” (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 53); “obedient children do not delay, they do good actions with all the eagerness they are capable of” (μετὰ σπουδῆς πάσης, *ibid.* 68); Abraham acted “with all the eagerness, all the speed, all the ardor that he was capable of,” bidding Sarah act quickly (*ibid.* 59). “In giving thanks and honor to the Almighty . . . let us tolerate no delay” (*ibid.* 63). Even the priests hurry, “doing everything with eagerness and promptitude” (*Moses* 2.144), quick in religious service (2.145, 2.170); the tunic that they wear is symbolic of this promptitude (*Spec. Laws* 1.83; cf. 1.98–99; 2.83, 146; *Abraham* 62; according to *b. shabb.* 20a , “the priests are alert”). Commenting on Gen 24:20, “Rebekah hurried to tip the jar,” Philo observes, “In saying that she hurried, Moses shows her promptitude in doing good, the fruit of a disposition of soul from which all jealous feelings are perfectly absent” (*Post. Cain* 140). When Jesus sends the seventy-two disciples on their mission (Luke 10:1ff.), he exhorts them to promptitude (cf. C. F. D. Moule, *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*, London, 1967, pp. 66ff.). Cf. D. Daube, *The Sudden in the Scriptures*, Leiden, 1964, pp. 12ff., 18ff., 74.

³³ Cf. Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 59; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.105; 6.220.

³⁴ Ει—ς πα—ν σπουδῆς καὶ δαπάνης καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ε—νλείπων, *I.Gonn.* 41, 13 (second century BC); same formulation: σπουδα—ς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ε—λλείποντες in a decree of the confederation of Ainians (L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, p. 16); decree at Andros (*ibid.*, p. 56); at Delphi (Dittenberger, *Or.* 305, 4); at Abdera: τὴν πα—σαν σπουδὴν τε καὶ φιλοτιμίαν εἰ—σήνεγκαν προθυμίας οὐδὲν ε—λλείποντες (*Syl.* 656, 14; cf. P. Hermann, in *ZPE*, vol. 7, 1971, pp. 72–77); at Odessa (*I.Bulg.* 41, 9); Thessalian act of emancipation from the second century BC, σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐδὲν ε—νλείπων (L. Vidmann, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, Berlin, 1969, n. 102, 9).

³⁵ Σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν εἰ—σενεγκάμενος, C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 546, 18.

³⁶ —Ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ ἠ— ε—ποίησαντο, cited by L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, p. 2), like the decrees of Assos (p. 11), of Athens: τὴν πα—σαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος (p. 193), of Delphi for a physician from Corone (p. 256).

³⁷ Πάσαι σπουδαι— καὶ πάσα φιλοστοργία κεχραμένοι γνασίαι, B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, IV, n. 71, 6.

³⁸ Josephus uses *spoude* for the violent passion of the wife of Potiphar (*Ant.* 2.53, 225; cf. 14.283; 16.302; 18.292), Herod's devotion to Mariamne (*War* 1.431) or his eunuchs (*Ant.* 16.230). Already Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.1.9: "Those of the Spartans who are noble-hearted." In his letter to Rhosos, Augustus writes concerning his envoy: πα—σαν ει—σφερόμενος σπουδὴν καὶ προθυμίαν ὑπὲρ τω—ν ὑμει—ν συμφερόντων (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 2, p. 117); *P.Abinn.* 7, 4: Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τω— θεω— περὶ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας καὶ τῆς σπουδῆν (*sic*) σου; *P.Lips.* 119, col. II, 5: ει—ς χαράν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ σπουδῆς περὶ τὸ ὀρθω—ς.

³⁹ Cf. *P.Flor.* 304, 9, from the sixth century, where Apphous is enjoined to assume the office of *riparius* without remuneration but with this warning: "your zeal (or seriousness) will win you praises (ε—κ σπουδῆς γὰρ ε—παινεθήσαι); negligence will bring you serious danger"; contrasted with childishness in Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.314; cf. 2.2. Τὸ σπουδαι—ον σου = your fervor, an expression of friendship, *P.Oxy.* 2602, 10–14; P. J. Parsons, in *P.Coll.Youtie* II, p. 421; cf. pp. 565–566.

στασιαστής, στάσις

stasiastes, agitator, troublemaker, fomenter of rebellion; *stasis*, standing, controversy, rebellion, uprising

stasiastes, *EDNT* 3.267; *MM* 586; *L&N* 39.37; *BAGD* 764 | ***stasis***, *S* 4714; *TDNT* 7.568–571; *EDNT* 3.267; *MM* 586; *L&N* 13.72, 33.448, 39.34; *BAGD* 764

The biblical hapax *stasiastes*, used concerning Barabbas, who was in prison "with the seditious" (Mark 15:7), unknown in classical Greek, is attested from the third century BC by two papyri. Païs, a rug-maker, has already brought accusations against Nechtembes to Zeno; today he gives several proofs of his escapades. He has even corrupted other weavers; he is an agitator (*hos estin stasiastes*, *PSI* 442; republished as *P.Cair.Zen.* 59484, 4). A similar accusation brought by Petosiris against another Païs: "memorandum to Zeno from Petosiris: Païs, the agitator, the farmer" (*hypomnema Zenoni para Petosirios: Paeis ho stasiastes ho georgos*, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59499, 87). Josephus, *Ant.* 14.8 presents "a friend of Hyrcanus the Idumean, called Antipater . . . ; he was by nature a troublemaker and seditious."¹ The noun is derived from *stasiazo*, "be in dissension, plot an uprising" (Xenophon, *An.* 2.5.28), form parties (Thucydides 4.84.2), revolt.²

With the exception of Prov 17:14 (Hebrew *rîb*, a private quarrel), all the occurrences of *stasis* in the LXX fit the first meaning of the term: transitively, the act of standing something up; intransitively, the act of standing still,³ as the moon stood still (Josh 10:13); hence the connotations

of repose, stability, fixity so emphasized by Philo with moral or religious significance.⁴ But the NT uses this meaning—“stand, remain in place”—only once, with respect to the way to the heavenly sanctuary, which was not yet open “so long as the first tent (the tabernacle of the old covenant) remained” (Heb 9:8) or was functional (*echouses stasin*). This agrees with the usage in 2Chr 30:16; 35:10, 15; Neh 9:3; 13:11, because holding a place or a position is often synonymous with carrying out a function. Valerius Pius, for example, gives thanks and accepts the position of *secutor* and the assurance that he has been given (*euchariston auto kai epidechomenos ten genetheisan pros auton stasin kai dexian*, *P.Mich.* 485, 7; cf. Marcus Aurelius 6.41.2).

Standing up can mean standing up in opposition to or disagreement with someone. This sense of *stasis* is attested five times in Acts, with the same connotations as in contemporary Greek. It can be a matter of conflicting ideas, a source of controversy and polemics;⁵ these discussions bring out disagreements and stir up commotion and trouble⁶ that are hard to smooth over, between either individuals or social groups,⁷ like the violent dispute in Acts 23:10. Usually, *stasis* refers to social disorders,⁸ whether civil war (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 528, 4; third century BC, at Gortyn; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.22), revolution (Thucydides 7.33.5), revolt (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.117), an insurrection,⁹ an uprising (*P.Brem.* 11, 30 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 444, 30), a riot. Thus emperor Claudius refers to the *tarache kai stasis* of the Alexandrians against the Jews,¹⁰ and in a dream Martyrius sees the riots and madness at Lycopolis, followed by attacks and pillage (*P.Oxy.* 1873, 2). All these texts show the gravity and violence implied by Hellenistic *stasis* and help explain the connection between insurrection and murder in Luke 23:19, 25.

¹ Δραστήριος δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὄν καὶ στασιαστής, Josephus, *Ant.* 14.8; cf. *War* 6.157: “a large number of agitators, having nothing else to pillage . . . attacked the Roman posts en masse”; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.1.3; 6.70; Diodorus Siculus 10.11.1.

² Jdt 7:15: “You will inflict severe punishment on them for revolting”; 2Macc 4:30—“The inhabitants of Tarsus and Mallus revolted”; 14:6—“The Hasideans fomented war and insurrection, not letting the kingdom enjoy peace” (εὐσταθείας); Dio Cassius 10.32: “Violent insurrection led to a revolution against the state”; Zosimus 1.61: Aurelian “quickly subdued the Alexandrians who were agitating and dreaming of revolt” (στασιάζοντες καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἰδόντας).

³ Cf. E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, on this word. *Stasis* is the place (Deut 28:65; Nah 3:11; Dan 8:17; 10:11; Neh 8:7; Sir 23:12; cf.

Polybius 2.68.7: “He held his initial position at the summit”; workplace, *BGU* 1122, 18, 21; in 12 BC), especially for the feet (1Chr 28:2; 1Macc 10:72); but also the normal state of the house of God (2Chr 24:13), the stone pillar at Shechem (Judg 9:6, Hebrew *musab*; on this meaning, cf. Xenophon, *Cyn.* 2.8: “stakes”; the erecting of a structure, cf. *P.Petr.* 46, 3, 1; Xenophon, *Cyn.* 9.16: “the setting up of a trap”; A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 158ff.); also a “statute,” a pact, a royal edict (Dan 6:7; 1Macc 7:18). In astronomy, *στάσις* and *σύστασις* refer to the stability of the weather or the position of the planets in the zodiac, cf. Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 2.8–10; 17.3.47.

⁴ *Alleg. Interp.* 2.99: “conduct that upsets the stability of the created and perishable being is what causes misdeeds” (the passions); *Dreams* 2.237: “fixity, stability, and identity made eternal by his immutable, unchanging character” is an attribute of God; cf. 2.222; *Creation* 120; Philo, *Post. Cain* 29: “God orders . . . staying motionless with him”; 23: “the one who approaches God desires immobility”; one prays to obtain it (*Abraham* 58); “stability and unchanging rest are found with God” (*Giants* 49).

⁵ Acts 23:7—a controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees (*ε—γένετο στάσις*); cf. Philo, *Heir* 248: “The difficulty of finding and rooting out the truth caused dissensions of the spirit” (*στάσεις ε—γέννησε*); Josephus, *Life* 143: The Tarichaeans and strangers on the one side and the Galileans and people of Tiberias on the other had differing opinions and conflict arose (*γίνεται στάσις*); cf. Philo, *Drunkennes* 98: “surges of unreason created internal discord” (*στάσιν ε—μφύλιον*); *Post. Cain* 183: “having calmed the rebellion in him” (*καταπαύσας τὴν αὐτῷ—στάσιν*); 185; Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 13.2: seditious talk; *Cic.* 3.3: dissension.

⁶ Acts 15:2—the agitation at Antioch arose from a quarrel with the Judaizers. At Seleucia, life is marked by dissension between Greeks and Syrians (*ε—ν στάσει καὶ διχονοίᾳ*, Josephus, *Ant.* 18.374; 16.73).

⁷ *P.Col.Zen.* 74, 8, the protest of Paris, drafted against his will into the Egyptian military; *P.Rein.* 18, 16: “unjust quarrel” provoked by a creditor; 19, 12; *P.Stras.* 20, 10 (republished, 280): a contract of renunciation (*διάλυσις*), persons who have long been in conflict decide to make peace and end their quarrels (*στάσεις διαλύσασθαι*); Xenophon, *An.* 6.1.29: “There would be less division with a single leader than with several”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.108: “The law attempts to suppress animosities in the lives of the priests”; 3.192: “God destroys the factions in the cities”; Josephus, *War* 2.10; 5.98: “the factions revived the civil war”; *Ant.* 18.8; Plutarch, *Sert.* 4.7: “the faction of Marius.” On *στάσις* as a political party (like *μερίς*, *αἵρεσις*,

ε—ταιρεία), cf. K. D. Stergiopoulos, *Τὰ πολιτικά κόμματα τῶ—ν ἀρχαίων —Αθηνῶ—ν*, Athens, 1955.

⁸ Acts 24:5—the lawyer Tertullus accuses Paul of stirring up disturbances; cf. Josephus, *War* 2.175–176; *Ant.* 20.109; Philo, *Flacc.* 135: “Isidorus, very good at organizing στάσεις and θορύβους.” Diodorus Siculus 18, summary 1; 39.4.

⁹ Acts 19:40, the clerk of Ephesus: “We run the risk of being accused of insurrection for what has happened today”; Luke 23:25—“Pilate released the one who had been imprisoned for insurrection and murder”; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.59, 76; *War* 1.236; Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 28.6: “a law that introduced insurrection and civil war to Rome”; 45.7; 47.2; *Ant.* 53.11; *P.Bour.* 10, 18 (= *SB* 6643; 88 BC): “You will do well to watch the region, to be on the defensive, and, if individuals set out to disobey you and start a new insurrection, to arrest them.”

¹⁰ *P.Lond.* 1912, 73 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 153, 73. The ταραχή—στάσις link is common in Philo, *Dreams* 2.251; *Post. Cain* 119; *To Gaius* 113; *Prelim. Stud.* 176; Josephus, *Ant.* 20.174; Diodorus Siculus 13.33; cf. θόρυβος, *Flacc.* 135; *P.Brem.* XI, 26, 30; *I.Magn.* 114, 3–4, 11; φιλονεικία (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.243); cf. Delling, “στάσις,” in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 568–571. Josephus often emphasizes the damaging effects of *stasis*: troubles that force citizens into exile (*Ag. Apion* 1.194); violation of the laws (*Ant.* 20.117), the ruin of institutions (4.140), assassinations (4.376; 18.8), etc. Cf. the first Roman insurrection that ended in bloodshed, Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 20.1.

στέγω

stego, to hide, contain, bear up, endure

stego, S 4722; *TDNT* 7.585–587; *EDNT* 3.272; MM 587; L&N 25.176; BAGD 765–766

This verb, which is relatively rare in literary Greek, as well as in the papyri and inscriptions, derives from the Indo-European (s)*teg*, “cover, hide” (cf. Kasch, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, p. 585). It has diverse meanings, as summarized by Hesychius: “*stegei*: hide, contain, bear up, endure” (*kryptei*, *synechei*, *bastazei*, *hypomenei*). The word is used for covering a house with a roof, as in a dedication by a *thiasos* at Olbia (“They covered the synagogue”)¹ or for covering a container to keep a liquid from spilling.² Hence the connotations of protecting and defending,³ of enduring and resisting, either literally (“They bore up against the onslaught of the

barbarians")⁴ or in a moral sense: "Being able to endure the deprivations no longer" (Philo, *Flacc.* 64, *meketi stegein*); Moses was "unable to contain (*me stegon*) a feeling of reciprocal love and affection for his people" (*Virtues* 69); "For my father did me much evil, and I bore up until your arrival" (*ho gar pater mou polla moi kaka epoiesen, kai estexa heos elthes, P.Oxy.* 1775, 10); "it is necessary to be zealous, to bear up, to speak out" (*zelotypein gar dei stegein karterein, P.Grenf.* 1.18; second century BC); Palladas: "I cannot hold back this rage" (*Anth. Pal.* 11.340). It is in this sense that St. Paul, not taking advantage of his right to live off of the gospel, endures all his privations (1Cor 9:12; *panta stegomen*) or is unable to endure the impatience or distress caused him by lack of news from the Thessalonians: "no longer being able to bear it" (*meketi stegontes, 1Thess* 3:1, 5).

We may understand 1Cor 13:7 in the same way: "love bears all things" (*he agape . . . panta stegei*).⁵ It seems preferable, however, to give *stego* its classical sense, "keep secret, hidden,"⁶ which is its meaning in Sir 8:17—"Do not seek advice from a fool; he will not keep the matter confidential" (OT hapax); "remain silent." From Philo: "Not being able to keep quiet the secret of the greatness and beauty of virtue" (Philo, *Abraham* 261); from Josephus: "Once he was drunk, he could no longer keep secrets" (*Life* 225; cf. *Ant.* 19.48); a petition to the king, third century BC: "let him no longer hold out in the district on account of the preceding complaints" (*ouketi stege en to nomo dia tas prokeimenas aitias, P.Tebt.* 769, 74); or the edict of the prefect Cn. Vergilius Capito, December 7, AD 48: *kai toutous de stege monon dechesthai tous dierchomenous.* ⁷ Thus, in all circumstances, love is characterized by discretion; in particular, it keeps quiet about evils and does not record them on a balance sheet; it covers evil with silence and does not try to exploit it, as mothers excuse their children's faults and as Christ begged pardon for his executioners (Luke 23:34). So St. Paul says, "Persecuted, we show tolerance" (1Cor 4:12; cf. 1Pet 4:8 = *T. Jos.* 17.2). Far from complaining about all of the dishonest and base deeds that may do him harm, the long-suffering charitable person conceals them, in a way, and thus overcomes evil with good (1Thess 5:15; Rom 12:17, 21; 1Pet 3:9).

¹ *CII* 682, 9 = B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. 11; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 5.314: Samson is placed in a room where two columns support the ceiling; Plutarch, *Rom.* 20.6: "the earth covered the wood"; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59251, 7; *P.Ness.* 22, 20, 26. *Enoch* 14.11: αἱ—στέγαι = the roofs. Plutarch, *Dem.* 21.2; *I.Perg.* 158.

² Plato, *Resp.* 10.621 a: "no vase can contain the waters of the River of Forgetfulness"; *Critias* 111 d, soil strata made impermeable to rain by clay;

Thucydides 2.94.3: “their ships, which were not water-tight (οὐδὲν στέγουσαι) caused them concern”; an epigram of Catilius: “Halting your respectful steps, friend, examine me well” (*SB* 8422, 1); πολλοὶ ἅμα στείχουσι δαήμεναι (*ibid.* 8356, 5); εἶτ’ αὐτοὶ στείχετε σωιζόμενοι (*ibid.* 8382, 2). The verb στεγάζω in *P.Lond.* 1204, 18; *P.Ryl.* 233, 7: τὸ ἕτερον ὕδροψυγει—ον αὐριον στεγάζεται; cf. G. H. Whitaker, “Love Springs No Leak,” in *Expositor*, ser. 8, vol. 21, 1921, pp. 126–128.

³ Sophocles, *OC* 15: “towers protect the town”; Aeschylus, *Sept.* 797.

⁴ Polybius 3.53.2; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 135: “the vessel halts the assault of the sea”; Antipater of Thessalonica: “his hands no longer had the strength to support so heavy a burden” (*Anth. Pal.* 6.93.4); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 700, 23: ἔστεξεν τὴν ε—πιφερομένην τω—ν βαρβάρων ὀρμήν. On the στεγνά of a flock in the countryside, cf. M. Launey, *Armées hellénistiques*, vol. 2, p. 694.

⁵ St. Cyprian, who translated “omnia diligit” (*PL*, vol. 4, 632, 733) must have read στέργει. C. K. Barrett (*A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, London, 1968, p. 304: “supports all things”) cites Simeon the Just (third century BC): “By three things the world subsists: by the law, by the service (the temple worship), and by works of love” (*Pirqe ‘Abot* 1.2; cf. C. Spicq, *Prolégomènes à une étude de théologie néo-testamentaire*, pp. 156ff.).

⁶ Sophocles, *OT* 341: “Well, it will come what will, though I keep mute” (σιγῇ στέγω); *Phil.* 136: “What must I conceal, what must I say before this man?”; Euripides, *El.* 273: “They will keep your words secret and mine”; Thucydides 6.72.5: “their secrets would be better kept”; Polybius 4.8.2: “Aratus was skilled both at speaking . . . and at keeping secret what he had decided”; 8.14.5; Lucian, *Nav.* 11; cf. H. Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, pp. 223–224: “draw a veil of silence over”; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, p. 91. F. Field (*Notes on the Translation*, pp. 175f.) cites the proverb: —Αρεοπαγίτου στεγανώτερος.

⁷ *SEG* VIII, 794, 25 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 665 = *SB* 8248, 25. Cf. Stobaeus, *Flor.* 62.19.26 (vol. 4, p. 427): πιστὸν μὲν οὖν εἶναι χρὴ τὸν διάκονον τοιοῦτόν τ’ εἶναι, καὶ στέγειν τὰ δεσποτώ—ν.

στηρίζω

sterizo, to support, sustain, strengthen, fix firmly in place,

sterizo, S 4741; TDNT 7.653–657; EDNT 3.276; MM 589; L&N 30.80, 74.19, 85.38; BDF §§71, 74(1), 400(7); BAGD 768

The basic meaning of this verb is “support, sustain, strengthen,” and in the passive voice “lean, settle, be confirmed,”¹ but its nuances vary considerably in various usages. These are first of all cosmic: the “rainbows that the son of Kronos fixed on a cloud”;² “a wave appeared to us, touching the sky.”³ More common, however, is the meaning “set up, plant, fix.” “I did not have the means either to plant my feet or to climb the trunk”;⁴ the camel’s hump “is set on the rest of its body” (perfect passive of *esteriktai*, Aristotle, *HA* 2.1.499a17). Finally, in medical language, the illness or the pain settles in a certain part of the body.⁵ In a number of its late occurrences, *sterizo* has the nuance of steadfast determination,⁶ but apparently it never had a moral significance in classical Greek.

It was the LXX that gave it a religious and moral meaning. It preserves the secular meanings, as with Jacob’s ladder “leaning on the earth (*esterigmene*, Hebrew *nasab*) and reaching to the heavens” (Gen 28:12; cf. Philo, *Dreams* 1.3.; 1.133; 2.19), but it emphasizes the meaning “sustain”⁷ and “lean” (“If anyone leans on this broken reed that is Egypt, his hand will be pierced”).⁸ In so doing it gives *sterizo* a nuance of stability, of lasting fixedness, of solidity,⁹ so that the verb has to be translated “strengthen, make firm.” According to Exod 17:12, “Aaron and Hur held Moses’ hands (Hebrew *tamaj*), so that his hands were firm (*esterigmenai*, Hebrew *‘emûnâh*) until sunset” (cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.45). On the rare occasion this strengthening is pejorative,¹⁰ but almost always God is the one who does the establishing (Sir 6:37; 1Macc 14:14; *Pss. Sol.* 16.12), or the heart is what stands firm,¹¹ that is, what is strong, convinced, persevering. This is a virtue that goes with faithfulness.

Philo inherits this vocabulary: “the plaster must harden and acquire solidity” (*Husbandry* 160); “The feet are the support and the stable base of a man.”¹² Not only is the meaning “stability” emphasized, but it becomes a spiritual quality that the hesitant and the divided lack; they are “unable to find a permanent seat” (*Migr. Abr.* 148), “unstable beings, scattered, carried here and there, always moving away without ever establishing (*sterichthenai*) themselves anywhere” (*Prelim. Stud.* 58). It is precisely in the midst of the worst difficulties that changeless fixedness must be shown: “Do not let yourself be submerged or engulfed, but fix yourself firmly (*sterichtheis*) and energetically turn back the stream of difficulties that are pouring out on you with extreme violence from above to below, from here and there, from all sides at once.”¹³ This precept is taken up by Christian parenesis. This intensive sense of *sterizo* (“stand firm”) is owed to Philo, whose affinities with the vocabulary of the NT are never sufficiently noted.

There is nevertheless a Hebraism that Philo did not exploit, which consists in placing or fixing one’s eye or face toward or against someone.¹⁴

In the latter case, hostility is entailed, but “to set one’s face” to do something expresses an absolutely firm resolve, an unshakable decision or attitude, a definitive intention. This is exactly the meaning in Luke 9:51—at the beginning of the great journey to Jerusalem, during which Jesus crosses Samaria, Judea, the Jordan and even turns his back on the capital, the evangelist notes that “he set his face to go to Jerusalem” (*autos to prosopon esterisen tou poreuesthai eis Ierousalem*). Perhaps Luke is thinking of Isa 50:7, “I set my face like a flint”; in any event, he wants to point out Christ’s absolutely firm resolve—almost obstinacy—to get to the Holy City, whatever may be the dangers, the suffering, and the diverse circumstances of the pilgrimage.¹⁵

We must understand the same sense of absoluteness with “the great gulf solidly fixed (perfect passive, *esteriktai*)” that separates poor Lazarus from the wicked rich man (Luke 16:26). It is absolutely uncrossable, cutting off any communication. More important is Jesus’ order to Peter: “When you have returned, strengthen your brothers” (*sterison tous adelphous sou*, Luke 22:32). Not only does this verb here find its original technical parenetic meaning, taking on a moral sense, but it envisions a faith thenceforth indefectible: make your brothers unyielding. In his first epistles, St. Paul sees the goal of his apostolic ministry as being “to strengthen and encourage” the faith of the disciples, to establish them solidly, without oscillation, to make them capable of standing fast without discouragement or doubt,¹⁶ notably in the midst of the physical, moral, and doctrinal calamities of the end times. Just as Jesus had entrusted to Peter the responsibility of firmly establishing the apostles, who had been scandalized and disoriented by their Master’s passion (Matt 26:31), these in turn strengthen the faithful in the wait for the Parousia. Their resolution must be strong and sustained: “Have patience . . . strengthen your hearts, for the Lord’s coming is near” (Jas 5:8); “The God of all grace . . . when you suffer a little (while), he himself will equip you, strengthen you, fortify you, ground you” (*autos katartisei, sterixei, stenosei, themeliosei*, 1Pet 5:10; the reading with the verb *sterizo* must be kept). Peter addresses persecuted Christians who must remain unshakable in their faith, because their hearts—full of a vigor infused by God—have a sort of immovability in the midst of all the disasters (cf. 5:8, the devil like a roaring lion). The accumulation of the four verbs of stability points out well the importance of “firmness” among the Christian virtues. Once the baptized have committed themselves to the Christian *credo*, they will remain unchangeably fixed in it (*esterigmenous en te parouse aletheia*, 2Pet 1:12). No deficiency is to be allowed. The last occurrence of *sterizo* (in the imperative) in the NT is addressed to the church at Sardis: “Be watchful, and strengthen the rest that was close to perishing.”¹⁷

¹ In the third century BC, Philonides writes to his father: καλω—ς ε—πόησας σπουδάσας, ὅπως ἂν παρὰ Τελέστου γραφῆ στηριχθῆς (SB 7183, 2).

² Homer, *Il.* 11.26; 4.443—“her forehead will lean on heaven”; Aristotle, *Mete.* 376b23; Ps.-Aristotle, *Mund.* 4.395b4: τω—ν δὲ σελάων (the meteors) ἃ μὲν ἀκοντίζεται, ἃ δὲ στηρίζεται; Plutarch, *Mor.* 75 d, 938 a (of stationary celestial bodies); Aratus, *Phaen.* 10: αὐτὸς γὰρ τὰ γε σήματ᾽ ε—ν οὐρανῶ— ε—στήριξεν ἄστρα διακρίνας; cf. the mother of the Maccabees fixed (established) in heaven (4Macc 17:5).

³ Euripides, *Hipp.* 1207, οὐρανῶ— στηρίζον; cf. *Bacch.* 972, 1083; Hesiod, *Th.* 779: columns of silver πρὸς οὐρανὸν ε—στήρικται; Plutarch, *Sull.* 6.11: “a shining flame rose toward the sky.”

⁴ Homer, *Od.* 12.434; *Il.* 16.111; Hesiod, *Th.* 498: “Zeus fixed the stone on the earth”; Callimachus, *Hymn. Ap.* 2.23: “the rock set on the Phrygian shore”; *1 Enoch* 24.2— “mountains leaning against each other”; *T. Job* 32.7—“set up tables.” Leonidas of Tarentum: “I lean now on my staff” (*Anth. Pal.* 7.731; cf. Philo, *Creation* 84); Plutarch, *Eum.* 11.8: “the horses try to lean on their forelimbs.” Marcus “set himself up (in effigy, στερηκθέντα) on the field ceded inexpensively by Sperentios” (*IGLS* 2114, 8). Boundaries between towns are referred to by the stereotypical formula λίθον διορίζοντα κόμης Γασιμμέας καὶ Ναμαρρίων στηριχθῆναι (Dittenberger, *Or.* 612, 8; 769, 11; in Gaulanitis, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1956, p. 179, n. 335). Cf. *PSI* 452, 3: κανόνι στηρίζαι ὑπὸ θατέρου μέρους τω—ν κοινωνῶ—ν (fourth century).

⁵ Hippocrates, *Aff.* 3.3: ὀδύνη ε—στηριγμένη = the pain has settled (= *Acut.*, append. 25); 4.49.4: “the bilious humor, dispersed in the body or settled”; 4.50.5: “the blood, where it works the most, settles and heats up”; 4.51.8; 4.52.2, 4; 4.53.1–2; 4.54.6: the solitary worm attaches itself also to the back; *Aph.* 4.33: στηρίζει ἢ νοῦσος = the illness is fixed. With the Athenian plague, “the disease was fixed in the heart” (ε—ς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίζειεν, Thucydides 2.49.3).

⁶ *Sib. Or.* 3.27: “He himself fixed the type of appearance of mortals” (ε—στήριξε τύπον μορφῆς μερόπων); Diogenes Laertius 2.136: ε—πὶ δόγματος στηρίζειν = to hold to his opinion.

⁷ Gen 27:37—Isaac “sustained Jacob with grain and wine” (Hebrew *samaḥ*); Ps 104:15—“that bread may sustain the heart of man” (Hebrew *saʿad*); Cant 2:5—“Sustain me with cakes” (piel of *samaḥ*); Sir 13:21—“the rich person who falters is sustained by his friends”; Prov 15:25—“Yahweh

sustains (causes to stand, hiphil of *nasab*) the widow's boundaries"; Sir 3:9; Isa 59:16—"His righteousness sustained him" (*samaḵ*); Ps 51:14—"sustain me with an upright spirit" (*samaḵ*). This latter Hebrew verb is the one usually underlying στηρίζω. At Qumran, it means "give support, strengthen, sustain." 1QH 7.6—"I praise you, Lord, because you have sustained me with your strength"; 2.7—"You sustain my soul and strengthen my heart"; 1QM 8.7, 14—a sustained sound; 1QS 10.25—a solid border; 4.5 and 8.3—strength of character; 1Qhϕ.35—"a strong inclination"; 2.9—"a firm support for those whose hearts are anxious."

⁸ 2Kgs 18:21 (cf. Philo, *Husbandry* 75: the horseman "who does not clutch anything that he can depend on falls"); Sir 15:4—the one who relies on wisdom will not be moved; 1Macc 2:17—"supported by sons and brothers."

⁹ Dan 7:38—"The matter was fixed (kept, Aramaic *nitret*) in my heart"; Ps 111:8—"Your ordinances are fixed forever"; Sir 24:10—"In Zion I was established (settled)"; 38:34—the artisans "keep the fabric of the world stable"; 39:32—"From the beginning I have been convinced"; 40:19—"Children and the founding of a city establish a name"; 42:17—"in [God's] glory the universe stands firm" (Hebrew hithpael of *yasab*, subsist, resist). Cf. join with, share in an inheritance, 1Sam 26:19 (hithpael of *sapâh*).

¹⁰ 1Macc 2:49—"Now the reign of arrogance and outrage is established."

¹¹ Judg 19:5, 8: "Strengthen your heart" (Hebrew *sa'ad*); Ps 112:8—"His heart is firm, he does not fear"; Sir 5:10—"Stand firm in your knowledge"; 22:16—"The heart that is fixed on the thought of its plan will not be slack when the time comes"; 1Macc 14:26—"Simon stood firm" (ε—στήρισε αὐτός, intransitive).

¹² *Drunkenness* 156; *Creation* 67: "the seed deposited in the uterus is fixed there" (στηρίση); *Dreams* 1.144, 157: "the Lord, firmly established at the top of the ladder"; 1.241: "The universe rests solidly on the power of my word."

¹³ *Flight* 49 (on Gen 28:2); *Dreams* 2.11; *Spec. Laws* 2.202: "Reason, solidly strengthened (στηριχθείς), as on a path or road that is quite dry, will be able to make its journey without stumbling toward things that deserve to be seen and heard"; *Rewards* 30: "To lean and be established (στηρίσασθαι) only on God, with firm reasoning and unbending and unshakable faith (ἀκλινοῦς καὶ βεβαιοτάτης πίστεως): happy is that one in truth and thrice blessed."

¹⁴ It dates to Amos 9:4—“I will fix my eye on them for misfortune and not for happiness”; στηρίζω translates the Hebrew verb *sûm*, “put, place, establish, turn”; likewise Jer 24:6, but with the opposite meaning: “I will fix my eye on them with kindness.” Usually it is the face that is strengthened; Jer 3:12 specifies, “I will not set my face against you (Hebrew hiphil of *napal*), for I am merciful.” This is an exception, because ordinarily when God set his face against a given city or people, “the young women who prophesy on their own initiative” . . . it is “for evil and not for good” (Jer 21:10; Ezek 6:2; 13:17; 21:2). Moreover, it is the verb *natan* that is used, “give, give out, produce, establish, make”; cf. Ezek 14:8; 16:7; 21:2, 7; 25:2; 28:21; 29:2; 38:2.

¹⁵ Cf. J. Starcky, “Obfirmavit faciem suam ut iret Jerusalem: Sens et portée de Luc IX, 51,” in *RSR* (Mélanges J. Lebreton), 1951, pp. 197–202 (who translates, “Il durcit son visage et se dirigea vers Jérusalem” [“He hardened his face and set out for Jerusalem”]). E. Delebecque, *Evangile de Luc*: “Il fit sa marche vers Jérusalem sa perspective inflexible.” Cajetan emphasizes Christ’s force of soul and greatheartedness in facing danger and heading resolutely into it. Cf. H. Conzelmann, *Die Mitte der Zeit*, 1954 = *The Theology of St. Luke*, London, 1960, pp. 60–73; J. H. Davies, “The Purpose of the Central Section of St. Luke’s Gospel,” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1964, pp. 164–169; H. H. Farmer, “The Courage of Christ,” in *ExpT* 75, 1964, pp. 176ff. C. F. Evans, “The Central Section of St. Luke’s Gospel,” in D. E. Nineham, *Studies in the Gospels*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 37–53; G. Friedrich, “Lk. IX, 51 und die Entrückungschristologie des Lukas,” in *Orientierung an Jesus* (Festschrift J. Schmid), Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1973, pp. 48–77.

¹⁶ 1Thess 3:2, εἰ—ς τὸ στηρίζαι ὑμᾶ—ς καὶ παρακαλέσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶ—ν, τὸ μηδένα σαίνεσθαι; 3:13—“May the Lord make you grow and abound in love . . . to strengthen your hearts without reproach toward holiness”; 2Thess 2:17—“May God encourage and strengthen your hearts in every good deed and word”; 3:3—“The Lord is faithful, who will strengthen you and keep you from evil.” The initial goal of Rom 1:11 (εἰ—ς τὸ στηριχθῆναι ὑμᾶ—ς) is repeated in the final doxology (16:25, στηρίζαι). Cf. Acts 18:23—St. Paul, in the course of his third journey, crosses Galatia and Phrygia, στηρίζων πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς.

¹⁷ Rev 3:2—στήρισον τὰ λοιπὰ ἃ ἔμελλον ἀπαθανεῖ—ν; cf. S. E. Johnson, “Christianity in Sardis,” in A. Wikgren, *Early Christian Origins: Studies in Honor of H. R. Willoughby*, Chicago, 1961, pp. 81–90; C. J. Hemer, “The Sardis Letter and the Croesus Tradition,” in *NTS*, vol. 19, 1972, pp. 94–97.

στόμαχος

stomachos, orifice, throat, esophagus, stomach

stomachos, S 4751; EDNT 3.279; MM 592; L&N 8.66; BAGD 770

Derived from *stoma*, the biblical hapax *stomachos* is almost unknown in the papyri and inscriptions.¹ Its primitive meaning is “opening, orifice.” In Homer it refers to the throat, the gullet;² in Aristotle, the esophagus;³ in Hippocrates and the medical writers in general it means the stomach proper: “Suffocation results from the pressing of the liver and the belly against the diaphragm, and from the tightening of the orifice of the stomach.”⁴ Rufus of Ephesus defines this organ thus: “the stomach or esophagus is the conduit through which food and drink descend to the intestines” (*Onom.* 157); “it goes down between the pharynx and the neck vertebrae” (*Anat.* 24; cf. 38). But the *stomachos* is not only the stomach cavity; it is also the neck of the bladder or the cervix.⁵

When 1Tim 5:23 prescribes, “Stop drinking only water; take a little wine on account of your stomach and your frequent illnesses” (*meketi hydropotei, alla oino oligo chro dia ton stomachon kai tas pyknas sou astheneias*), all exegetes agree that *stomachos* means the stomach proper, even though the Hebrews, alone of all the peoples of antiquity, had practically no knowledge of this organ.⁶ It is impossible to diagnose Timothy’s trouble, because the lack of vigor (*a-stheneia*) is a very general reference to illness.⁷ Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman physicians are unanimous in pointing out overwhelming fatigue, torpor, general tiredness, chronic bouts of weakness (*BGU* 2065, 10; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 3, 29) as symptoms experienced by *kakostomachoi*,⁸ so this could just as well be a case of gastroenteritis as of varices of the esophagus, a gastric ulcer, etc.⁹ In any event, without resorting to magic, amulets, or phylacteries,¹⁰ ancient medicine was not without resources to combat stomach illnesses.¹¹

In prescribing wine, St. Paul was in agreement with the unanimous opinion of ancient physicians. They prescribed wine as a tonic, a prophylactic, and a remedy to facilitate digestion, combat anorexia, and suppress stomach-rumblings, especially wine sweetened with honey:¹² wine is a stimulant for the stomach.¹³ The wisdom of this treatment was recognized by secular writers: “For persons who have been weakened by stomach ailments and need a tonic remedy . . . physicians strengthen them with wine.”¹⁴

¹ There is almost nothing to add to the two references given by Moulton-Milligan and LSJ: *P.Leid.* W, 18, 36 (second century), ἀμφοτέρως (χει—ρας) ἔχων ἐ—πὶ τοῦ στομάχου, “with both hands on his stomach” (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* 13, 830, vol. 2, p. 124, 36); *P.Oxy.* 533, 14 (second-third

century), in a metaphorical sense, ἵνα μὴ ἔχωμεν στομάχους μηδὲ φθόνον, “so that we may not be caused vexation and annoyance”; *I.Cret.* I, 17, 11 (second century BC), a man miraculously cured of his illness by Asclepius: στομαχικὸν πόνον ἔχοντα. Add *P.Leid.*: “apply the right hand o the mouth and the throat” (ἔστω δὲ ἡ χεὶρ δεξιὰ προσέχουσα τῷ στομάχῳ, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 12, 128; vol. 2, p. 66, 22).

² Homer, *Il.* 3.292: “he cut the lambs’ throats”; 17.47: Menelaus spears Euphorbus through the base of the throat; 19.266: “he cut the boar’s throat.” Cf. Philostratus, *Gym.* 35: “those who have a small, convex chest have illnesses of the throat . . . their breathing is labored”; Epictetus 2.20.33: “They dream only of belching out their little problem and, after exercising their throats, of going to the bath”; Pliny, *Ep.* 9.36.3: “I read in a loud, firm voice, not so much from the larynx as from the chest” (“non tam vocis causa quam stomachi”); Celsus 1.8: “si quis vero stomacho laborat legere clare debet”; Suetonius, *Aug.* 84.2; *Nero* 25, 3; Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.3.19ff.

³ Aristotle, *HA* 1.16.495b19: “The top end of the esophagus is attached to the mouth, near the tracheal artery . . . at the other end, it crosses the diaphragm and reached the stomach” (εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν; cf. *HA* 3.3.664a20–35); Hippocrates, *Aff.* 4.56.8: “the human esophagus, always wide open, adjoins the stomach”; cf. Nicander, *Alex.* 379: στόμα γαστρὸς; 20–22, 120.

⁴ Καὶ τοῦ στομάχου τῆς γαστρὸς ἀπειλήμμεμον, Hippocrates, *Morb. Sac.* 6.374; cf. Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* 5.7; Soranus 1.15; Galen, *Comm. Hipp.*, p. 160, 11: “it is the stomach that is in charge of nutrition”; Plutarch, *Conv. sept. sap.* 15: “the organs of nutrition, the teeth, the stomach, the liver”; Marcus Aurelius 10.31.4: “a robust stomach digests all foods”; Athenaeus 3.79 f; *T. Naph.* 2.8.

⁵ Hippocrates, *Steril.* 217: “When the cervix is hard in its entirety or at the end” (ed. Littré, vol. 8, p. 418; cf. *Mul.* 1.90). Cf. P. Chantraine, “Remarques sur la langue et le vocabulaire du Corpus hippocratique,” in *La Collection hippocratique et son rôle dans l’histoire de la médecine* (Colloque de Strasbourg, 1972), Leiden, 1975, p. 40.

⁶ P. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, p. 133. Nevertheless, the observation of gastric symptoms was an established element of Sumerian medicine: “If a person has a distended stomach and rumbling noises”; “if the stomach is full of acid”; “if the patient is nauseous even when fasting . . . has bitter saliva, a bloated face, a distended stomach; if food and drink cause him pain . . . let him vomit . . . if the muscles are sore and weak”; if when he

eats “a person has pain accompanied by a burning sensation in the pit of his stomach and vomits bile” (cited by G. Contenau, “Assyriens et Babyloniens,” in *Histoire générale de la médecine*, Paris, 1936, vol. 1, p. 84). Likewise in Egypt: “If you find someone who suffers from an obstruction of the orifice of the stomach (stomach = *ro – ib*), if he has a heavy sensation after eating, if his belly is distended, if his heart fails when he walks”; “his belly is ordinarily heavy, his stomach always painful, burning, and fragile, his clothing is always burdensome, he cannot endure many clothes. . . . He has a bad taste in his mouth” (cited by Fournier-Bégniez, “Médecine des Egyptiens,” *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 102–103). *P.Ebers*, which is addressed to practitioners, contains eighteen “instructions for (caring for) someone who has a sick stomach” and for making it possible for the patient to take food. It diagnoses gastric troubles (which make the limbs heavy, like the onset of general fatigue), the distension of the stomach, gastric hemorrhages, etc. (cf. G. Lefèbvre, *Essai sur la médecine égyptienne*, Paris, 1956, pp. 124–130). Philo associates nausea of the stomach with intestinal maladies (*Rewards* 143); he notes that the top of the stomach, adjacent to the esophagus (*Spec. Laws* 1.217) is located between the viscera and the heart (*Creation* 118; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.12).

⁷ Gal 4:13; 2Cor 12:9; cf. Acts 4:9; 1Cor 1:11, 30; 2Tim 4:20; Plutarch, *Mar.* 33.6: Marius resigns his command on the pretext that illness has sapped his physical strength (ὡς ἐξασυνατω—ν τω—σώματι διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν); *P.Mich.* 618, 11: ἀσθενῆς τοι—ς ὀφθαλμοι—ς; 426, 3, 18ff. *P.Flor.* 382, 63.

⁸ Epictetus 4.8.34–35. *Stomachikoi* suffer from a burning sensation, lack of appetite, nausea, and spasms, have bad breath (Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* 4.38), cannot digest all foods (Marcus Aurelius 10.31.6), vomit (Epictetus 3.21.1), lose sleep (Galen, *Comm. Hipp.*, pp. 72ff.; 165, 9), have chronic pain (73, 20; 131, 3), acidity (24, 4), indolence (22, 10, νωθρός), etc.

⁹ Cosmas Indicopleustes complains of a “dryness of the stomach” that causes frequent illnesses (*Top. Chr.* 2.1; 72 D). It is very tricky to identify illnesses referred to by the ancients using words that we use today; for example, sciatica (*ischias*) can be either a pain in the hip or a neuralgia of the sciatic nerve; phthisis, apoplexy, pleurisy, erysipelas, and cardiology do not refer to the same things, cf. M. D. Grmek, “La Réalité nosologique au temps d’Hippocrate,” in *La Collection hippocratique et son rôle dans l’histoire de la médecine*, pp. 237–255.

¹⁰ A. Delatte, P. Derchain, *Les Intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, Paris, 1964, p. 56; cf. the legend on intaglio number 80: “Keep the stomach

of Proclus in good health” (Φίλαξον ὑγειῆ στόμαχον Πρόκλου); on numbers 89, 235, 307, 193: “Stomach, digest!” (στόμαχε πέπτε).

¹¹ Aristotle “placed a small skin of hot oil on his stomach” (Diogenes Laertius 5.10). Poultices and potions were prescribed by Assyrian and Egyptian physicians (*P.Ebers*). For Marcus Aurelius, whose stomach illness was such that he could “no longer take food without experiencing pain and no longer sleep without having nightmares” (Dio Cassius 71.6 and 24), Galen prescribed “a little pepper in some wine” and “applying to the stomach wool soaked in well heated oil of nard” (cited by P. Seidmann, in *Histoire générale de la médecine*, Paris, 1936, vol. 1, p. 403).

¹² Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* 5.7.1; Rufus of Ephesus, *Ren. Ves.* 2.26; cf. Strabo 6.1.14. On *vinum conditum* or *piperatum* (seasoned or peppered wine), cf. Apicius 1.1.2; *Anth. Pal.* 9.502; Theophanes Nonnus, *Cur. Morb.*, c. 156, line 12 (vol. 2, p. 12; ed. Bernard). But the various mixtures stabilized the wines and made their transport possible (Pliny, *HN* 14.126), “they work by biting into the stomach; they cause flatulence and help grind up foods” (Athenaeus 1.59 *d*). Applied in a lotion, wine disinfects (Luke 10:34) and stimulates. Hannibal “had his horses washed with old wine . . . it cured their illnesses and scabies” (Polybius 3.88.1).

¹³ Ἔστω δὲ καὶ οἶνος ε—ς ἀνάκλησιν τοῦ στομάχου, Aretaeus of Cappadocia, ed. Hude, Berlin, 1958, p. 146, 15. Other than wines valued for their very good taste (cf. *P.Sorb.* 19, 2: ἀστειότατος = an excellent vintage; 255 BC; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.4.2.620 *d*), distinctions were made between wines that were “good for the stomach” like that of Velitrae (Pliny, *HN* 14.27 *a* and *c*; cf. 23.63; Juvenal, *Sat.* 5.32), digestifs like that of Chios (Athenaeus 1.59 *a*, πεπτικός); “the wine called πρότροπος is good for the stomach” (idem 2.24 *e*). Cf. C. Spicq, “I Tim. V, 23,” in *L’Evangile hier et aujourd’hui* (Mélanges F. J. Leenhardt), Geneva, 1968, pp. 143–150); P. Boyancé, in *BAGB*, 1951, pp.3–19.

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 3.5.2; cf. Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 1.66: “To drink a little wine . . . and not get drunk is good.” There is no need to cite all the jokes of drunkards: “a drinker of water (ὕδωρ πίνων) will never do any good” (*Anth. Pal.* 13.20); “Oh, how I pity drinkers of water” (ibid. 9.406), etc. G. Gourevitch, “Stomachus et l’humeur,” in *RevPhil*, 1977, pp. 56–74.

στρατολογέω

stratologeō, to marshall or recruit an army

stratologeō, S 4753; TDNT 7.701–713; EDNT 3.280; NIDNTT 3.958, 964; MM 592; L&N 55.19, 55.20; BAGD 770

“No one who is serving as a soldier lets himself become entangled or involved in the affairs of this life; he seeks only to please the one who enlisted him (*hina to stratologesanti arese*).”¹ The biblical hapax *stratologeō*, “marshall or recruit an army,” is unknown in the papyri² but attested in several literary texts. When Pharaoh took Sarah, Abraham “enlisted the invincible Ally”;³ “Brasidas had a thousand Helots, and with the allied soldiers who had been enlisted (*ek te symmachon stratologethenton*), a considerable army was put together” (Diodorus Siculus 12.67.5; cf. 14.54). H.J.Mason gives this definition: *stratologeō*: *dilectum facere, epimeletes hodon kai en allois topois s . . .* (IGRom. III, 763; Phaselis Lyciae, 144–7 p.; vide St R. II, 1090 adn.). —*stratologia*: *dilectus, pemphtheis epi s [—] apo Rhomaion* (IGRom. III, 824; Thracia, II).⁴

¹ 2Tim 2:4. The thought is repeated by Ignatius of Antioch (Ign. *Pol.* 6); an analogous idea in Xenophon, *Cyr.* 5.3.48; Xenophon, *Eq. Mag.* 6.1; Aeneas Tacticus 16.5; Dio Chrysostom 3.66–67. On ἀρέσκω, cf. F. W. Danker, “Under Contract,” in *Festschrift to Honor F. W. Gingrich*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 198ff.

² Only “recruitment” (στρατολογία) is attested; *P.Lips.* 54, 10 and 13 (fourth century AD). To give one’s name is to be enrolled: ἔδωκεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἵνα στρατευθῆ (*P.Abinn.* 19, 14; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1022; *P.Ryl.* 609; J. F. Gilliam, “Enrollment in the Imperial Army,” in *Eos* (Symbolae R. Taubenschlag), 1957, vol. 2, pp. 207–216).

³ Josephus, *War* 5.380: τὸν ἀνίκητον αὐτῷ—βοηθὸν ε—στρατολόγησεν; cf. Plutarch, *Caes.* 35.1; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 11.24.

⁴ H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 87. (*Dilectus* [or *delectus*] is a Latin military technical term for a levy, recruiting.) On *dilecti*, cf. Lieberman, in *PW*, vol. 5, 591ff.

συγγένεια, συγγενής, συγγενίς

syngeneia, family, kin; *syngenes*, male relative; *syngenis*, female relative
see also συγγενής

syngeneia, S 4772; TDNT 7.736–742; EDNT 3.282; MM 595; L&N 10.5; BDF §110(2); BAGD 772 | **syngenes**, S 4773; TDNT 7.736–742; EDNT

3.282; MM 595; L&N 10.6, 11.57; BDF §§47(4), 48, 194(2); BAGD 772 | **syngenis**, EDNT 3.282; MM 595; L&N 10.7; BDF §59(3); BAGD 772

These noun forms, which do not appear before Pindar, correspond to the idea of “birth, race”¹ and are formed around *gignomai*, “be born,” then “become, occur.”² So *syngeneia* means “family,” “kinship”; *syngenes* means “belonging to the same *genos*, kin, related”; *syngenis* is a relative; but there are many nuances.

I. — The first meaning, which remains the commonest, is that of blood ties, the racial meaning,³ which relies on the concept of the family: “the paternal family” (*syngeneia patros*, Euripides, *Tro.* 754); “my father’s kinsman” (*Or.* 1233; *Phoen.* 291), “a relative’s blood.”⁴ Aristotle notes, “The same person is called son by one, brother by another, by someone else cousin or kinsman by blood, marriage, or affinity.”⁵ These degrees of kinship are specified as brother (Aeschylus, *Cho.* 199, *adelphos*, from *a*, “one,” and *delphys*, “womb”; cf. *Ep. Arist.* 7; *P.Grenf.* II, 78, 13), sister (Aeschylus, *Eum.* 691), cousin (*PV* 855); and relatives and friends are linked with them.⁶ Furthermore, *syngeneia* refers to the kinship of the human race with divinity, that is to say, the origin of humanity with and its likeness to divinity.⁷ Zeus is “father of gods and men” (Homer, *Il.* 1.544; Hesiod, *Th.* 546, 643; *Op.* 59, 169), “the common author of our two races”(Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 402). From this paternity there derives a resemblance: “Since man shares in the divine lot (*theias metesche moiras*), he attains this state of kinship (*syngeneia*) with the gods.”⁸ The Stoics Cleanthes⁹ and Aratus¹⁰ (quoted by St. Paul, *tou gar kai genos esmen*, Acts 17:28) affirm this divine filiation.

II. — From the physical sense we move on to the metaphorical meaning, “affinity, likeness.” Thus Plato, *Phd.* 79 *b–c*, which links likeness and kinship (*homoios* and *xyngenes*); 84 *b*, kinship and similarity (*xyngenes* and *toioutos*); 86 *b*: “of the same nature and family” (*homophyte kai xyngene*); *Resp.* 8.559 *d*. One learns “to know some things by other things if they have some relationship”;¹¹ the lover “does not cease to attach himself to that which is related to him.”¹² “Of all human activities, the one that is the most closely related to God’s activity (contemplation) is the most blessed” (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 10.9.1178b23; cf. 1179a26). Hence the meanings “of the same type, analogous, having the same properties.”¹³ From the meaning “natural” we move to “connatural.” “Avarice is more natural (innate, *symphyes*) to man than prodigality” (ibid. 4.3.1121b14; cf. 3.15.1119b9); “Connaturality (*syngeneia*) disposes children to obey their father.”¹⁴

III. — In usage, and according to their etymology, the terms *syngeneia* and *syngenes* take on nuances of solidarity, affection, and pride.¹⁵ “His native city, his comrades, his parents—that is what a man cherishes, that is what is sufficient for him” (Pindar, *Paean.* 4.33); “blood

ties (*to syngenes*) are terribly strong when friendship is added” (Aeschylus, *PV* 39; cf. 289); “family conversations (*hai syngeneis homiliai*) are a strong potion for hearts”;¹⁶ “real kinship produces solid friendship” (Plato, *Menex.* 244 a; cf. *Leg.* 5.729 c; 11.929 a). Aristotle insists on this more than anyone else: “Since whatever is conformable to nature is agreeable, and since things that are akin (*syngene*) have natural links between them, all things that are akin and all like things are mutually pleasant to each other most of the time” (*Rh.* 1.11.1371b12–13). “The species of friendship (*philia*) are comradeship (*hetaireia*), membership in the same household (*oikeiotes*), membership in the same family (*syngeneia*), and so on” (*Rh.* 2.4.1381b34); apart from the friendship of association (*en koinonia*), there is “friendship of kindred (*syngenike*) and friendship of comrades (*hetairike*)” (*Eth. Nic.* 8.12.1161b12, 16), friendship based on kinship (9.2.1165a19 and 30).

IV. — Finally, *syngeneia* has a social and political meaning. Plato had already used this term for the “great alliances” of the state (*Resp.* 6.491 c), but it becomes common in this meaning from the third century BC in the vocabulary of the inscriptions: cities unite in bonds of friendship and kinship.¹⁷ Thus Alabanda is “kin to the Greeks”;¹⁸ “whereas the Rhodians are a people related to the people of Argos.”¹⁹ The formula “kinsmen and friends” (*syngeneis kai philoi*) recurs endlessly: the Acarnanians “celebrate the cult of the gods with piety and conduct toward peoples that are kinsmen and friends a politics that is noble and worthy of their ancestors.”²⁰ The most notable case is that of a subdivision of the tribe (*phyle*) of Sinuri.²¹ This *syngeneia* administers the sanctuary; its members (*syngeneis*) “are pious toward the deity” (n. 9, 7–8) and can be the objects of honorific decrees; thus Nesaïos “conducted himself well toward the *syngeneia*” and becomes the brother of the *syngeneis* (n. 73). So this community was a fraternity.

V. — In the inscriptions, and especially in the papyri, *syngenes*, “king’s friend,” is a courtly title that usually precedes the person’s function (*strategos, epistrategos*). The Alexandrian Chrysermos is “kinsman of king Ptolemy” (*ton syngene basileos Ptolemaïou*).²² King Attalus III calls Athenaeus his kinsman (*hemon esti syngenes, I.Perg.* 248, 28). The papyri notably associate the “kinsman” with the legal guardian: “having as his legal guardian his kinsman Petearmouthos.”²³

VI. — The OT and the NT conform to current usage without adding any new nuance.²⁴ The LXX uses *syngeneia* to translate the Hebrew *mishpahâh*, “family,” in the larger sense of a clan or a tribe;²⁵ the NT always uses this word for kinship (Luke 1:61; Acts 7:3, 14). *Syngenes* in the words of Jesus is absolutely conformable to OT usage: “A prophet is not scorned except in his country and among his kinsmen (*en tois syngeneusin autou*) and in his household.”²⁶ St. Luke links it with neighbors (Luke 1:58, *hoi perioikoi*), with acquaintances (2:44, *tois*

gnostois), with brothers (that is, the closest relatives), and with wealthy neighbors (Luke 14:12, *geitonas plousious*), with friends (21:16), and with intimate friends (Acts 10:24, *tous anankaious philous*). For St. Paul, the Israelites are his brothers, his kinsmen according to the flesh (Rom 9:3), that is, they are of the same *genos*, the same race, sharing with the apostle the same Jewish descent, blood relatives;²⁷ but in the greeting in Rom 16:7, 11, 21, it is not clear why St. Paul would describe Christians in terms of their Jewish origins by calling them his compatriots (*syngeneis*); he must mean instead that they are related by birth in a way that is “oriental-style” (i.e., very broad), but that they are nevertheless related by common origin in the same family.

The biblical hapax *syngenis*,²⁸ the feminine of *syngenes*,²⁹ does not appear in the papyri before the second century AD (“having married my kinswoman”)³⁰ and does not specify any particular degree of relationship. In Luke 1:36, it means that Mary and Elizabeth were both of the Israelite race, but not that they necessarily belonged to the same tribe.

¹ Γένος, “race,” or better “lineage, descent,” unites all those who trace back to a common ancestor. So it first designated the family group, then in the classical period a group of families by virtue of distant ancestry. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 6.211: “That is the race, the blood, of which I boast to be descended”; Plato, *Euthphr.* 11 c; *Chrm.* 155 a; *Lysis* 205 c.

² P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, pp. 221ff. Idem, “Les noms du mari et de la femme, du père et de la mère en grec,” in *REG*, 1946–47, pp. 219–250; J. Wackernagel, “Über einige lateinische und griechische Ableitungen aus den Verwandtschaftswörtern,” in *Festgabe A. Kaegi*, Frauenfeld, 1919, pp. 40–65 (reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, Göttingen, 1956, vol. 1, pp. 468–493). E. des Places, *Syngeneia: La Parenté de l’homme avec Dieu d’Homère à la Patristique*, Paris, 1964.

³ Cf. συγγένεια associated with the notion of nature (φύα, natural property), Pindar, *Nem.* 1.27; 1.28: “when heredity (συγγενές, the innate, the inborn) makes us able” to make reason prevail; 5.40; 6.8; *Isthm.* 1.40; *Pyth.* 8.44: “his natural disposition (τὸ συγγενές) makes him follow in his father’s path”; συγγενής often means “inborn” (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 832).

⁴ Euripides, *Supp.* 148: ἀἶμα συγγενές; *Alc.* 532: “stranger, not related by birth”; *IT* 923; *Andr.* 887: “I want to inquire about a kinswoman”; Sophocles, *El.* 1202: “you are not here as a kinsman”; 1469; *OC* 771, 1157; Plato, *Plt.* 257 d, the kinship (συγγένεια) of Socrates with Theaetetus; 258 a; 298 b; *Grg.* 472 b (a large family); *Leg.* 1.627 c: “house and family”; 5.730 b: “friends, relatives”; 11.925 b. E. des Places (*Syngeneia*, pp. 86ff.) notes

three aspects of Platonic συγγένεια: analogy (especially of modes of being and modes of knowing), exemplarity and similitude (correspondence of a copy to the model), and relation between microcosm and macrocosm (sympathy uniting various realms of the world).

⁵ Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.3.7; cf. 2.4.1; 2.4.10; 2.8.20; *Eth. Nic.* 10.1180b6; *Ath. Pol.* 22.4, Hipparchus “was among the relatives (τω—ν συγγενω—ν) of Pisistratus”; cf. the tomb built ε—αυτοι—ς τε καὶ ε—κγόνοις καὶ συγγενέσι of the deceased (*IGUR*, n. 1005); J. Krauss, *Die Inschriften von Sestos*, Bonn, 1980, n. 10, 2: οὔτε δὲ τοι—ς τέκνοις οὔτε συγγενει—σιν.

⁶ Plato, *Alc. Maj.* 105 e: “neither your tutor (*epitropos*) nor your relatives (*syngenes*) nor anyone else is in a position to get for you the power that you desire”; Plato, *Leg.* 9.877 d: “relatives on both sides”; 11.929 b: “his own kin”; *Prt.* 337 c: “I consider you all kinsmen (συγγενει—ς), family (οι—κείους), and fellow-citizens by nature, if not by law.” Kinsmen and friends or family (*Resp.* 2.378 c; 5.470 b; 6.485 c; Plato, *Leg.* 5.729e: “the stranger without companion or kin”; 6.775 a; *Plt.* 306 c); Euripides, *Heracl.* 305; *HF* 1154. *P.Mich.* 189, 5: μετὰ κυρίου ε—αυτῆς κατὰ πατέρα συγγενοῦς; *C.P.Herm.* 31, 17: “neither brothers nor sisters, neither nephews nor nieces, neither kin (οὐ συγγενω—ν) nor cousins.”

⁷ Although he contrasts the human race (*genos*) with that of the gods (*Nem.* 6.1ff.), Pindar concludes, “Nevertheless we have some tie with the immortals in sublimity of spirit and also in our physical being” (5.5). Amphitryon “entered into the race of gods” (10.13). After death, the soul “still remains alive, an image of our being; for it alone comes from the gods” (Pindar, *Thren.* 2).

⁸ Plato, *Prt.* 322 a. Cf. *Leg.* 10.899 d: “your belief in the gods is perhaps due to some divine kinship” (συγγένεια θεία); 900 a. In the first century BC: “The initiates have a place of honor. . . . How could you not be one of the first to share in this honor, linked as you are to the gods?” (γεννητῆς τω—ν θεω—ν, Ps.-Plato, *Ax.* 371 d—e); Epictetus 2.8.11: “You have in you a part of this god. Why then would you be ignorant of your kinship (συγγένειαν)? Why not know your origin?”; Dio Chrysostom, *Olymp.* 12.27: “The innate (ἔμφυτος) notion of the gods that every reasonable being holds by nature because of his kinship with them.”

⁹ Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus* 4: ε—κ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ε—σμέν (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.1.12; vol. 1, p. 25). A. J. Festugière, *Dieu cosmique*, p. 211, observing that the line does not scan, corrects γ. ε. to γενόμεσθ and translates “we come from you.” He comments, “Zeus is our father, we are of his race”; and

cites *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4, 961 (ε—κ σοῦ γὰρ), 2836 (ε—κ σέο γὰρ πάντ᾽ ε—στί).

¹⁰ Aratus, *Phaen.* 5: τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰ—μέν, quoted also by the Jewish peripatetic Aristobulus (frag. 4) in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 13.12.6ff. Cf. E. des Places, “Ipsius enim et genus sumus’ (Act. XVII, 28),” in *Bib.* 1962, pp. 388–395; Musonius 17.

¹¹ Plato, *Cra.* 438 e; cf. *Tht.* 156 c; *Soph.* 227 b; *Plt.* 280 b; *Resp.* 7.531 d; Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.23.1398a22.

¹² Plato, *Symp.* 192 b; *Phlb.* 11 b, e; 59 c; 66 c; cf. *Resp.* 6.486 d: “truth is kin to measure”; 487 a: “a person is akin to truth.” In Philo, who links “brother” and “kin” (*Dreams* 2.166; *Moses* 2.220; *Spec. Laws* 1.253, 297; 3.65; *Virtues* 51; 176; *Prelim. Stud.* 36) or “sister and kin” (*Creation* 12: “eternity is sister and kin to the invisible and the intelligible”; cf. 151; *Contemp. Life* 7; *Post. Cain* 52; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.20; 3.242), *syngeneia* and *syngenes* have especially the meaning “affinity”: “its like and its kin, because of their affinity and their commonality” (*Worse Attacks Better* 164; *Post. Cain* 45); “virtuous beings have an affinity with God” (*Creation* 74, 106, 144, 147; *Migr. Abr.* 178; *Heir* 238; *Moses* 2.8–9; *Spec. Laws* 1.247; 3.192; *Good Man Free* 21) and kinship, relationship: “man has a close kinship with God” (*Spec. Laws* 4.14; *Virtues* 79, 218; *Rewards* 163); “the character that is good and the character that is holy are closely akin to each other” (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.17; 3.33; *Worse Attacks Better* 18, 82, 88, 109; *Giants* 8, 42, 66; *Unchang. God* 69; *Husbandry* 26, 141; *Conf. Tongues* 6; *Change of Names* 98; *Dreams* 1.169; 2.26; *Decalogue* 134; *Spec. Laws* 3.149; 4.69; *Virtues* 134, 196); hence “of the same nature, of the same species”: the body fashioned from the earth has “foods of the same nature, those given by the earth” (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.161; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 39; *Plant.* 15; *Sobr.* 61; *Heir* 146; *Flight* 17; *Spec. Laws* 3.28), “connatural” (*Post. Cain* 136), “sharing the same blood” (*Unchang. God* 4), “inborn” (*Drunkenness* 40, 90; *Moses* 2.243), “innate” (*Joseph* 77), “closely akin” (*Creation* 62, 163; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.4).

¹³ Aristotle, *Gen. Cor.* 2.1.329b29; *Mete.* 1.2.339a28; 1.3.339b36; *Ph.* 6.1.231a23; *Cael.* 1.2.268b29; 1.3.270a24; 3.2.301a4; *De An.* 1.4.408a8.

¹⁴ *Eth. Nic.* 10.9.1180b5–7. Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 178: the natural affinity of earthly and heavenly phenomena spares them from being separated; cf. the connaturality of pleasure, in Epicurus, *Men.* 129, 135; *Pyth.* 93, 116; *Her.* 72, 78. In the properly philosophical sense, the soul has a kinship with the Forms and the Ideas: “the philosopher is in harmony with the words of

reason” (τὸ συγγενὲς τῶ—ν λόγων, Plato, *Resp.* 6.494 d); *syngeneia* is a link with the intelligible world (6.490 b 3–4), a δεσμός (*Epin.* 991 e).

¹⁵ Cf. Homer, *Il.* 6.211: “That is the race, the blood, that I boast to be descended from.”

¹⁶ Euripides, *Tro.* 51–52; cf. *Med.* 257: “without mother, without brother, without relative (οὐχὶ συγγενῆ), with whom shall I drop anchor?”; *Heracl.* 6, 30, 224, 229, 240; *Or.* 733: “You, the dearest of my companions, my friends, my kinsfolk”; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.165; 12.338; 16.382; *Life* 81; Diodorus Siculus 1.92.1: the relatives of a deceased person “tell friends and family”; *P.Phil.* 2, 1; *P.Mich.* 203, 34. In the epitaph of the scribe Ammonius: “not without plunging kinsfolk into saddest mourning and grief” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 64, 7–8). Philo notes “all the seductions of *syngeneia* ” (*Abraham* 170) and distinguishes among family members (*syngeneis*) those whom we call our beloved (*Spec. Laws* 3.155). He constantly links “relative and friend” (*Unchang. God* 79; *Husbandry* 155; *Abraham* 65; *Moses* 1.39, 303, 307; 2.171; *Spec. Laws* 1.68; 2.19; 3.85, 90, 126; 4.141; *Virtues* 103; *Rewards* 17; *Good Man Free* 9, 35; *Contemp. Life* 14; *Flacc.* 60, 64, 72); *syngeneia* must be honored (*Joseph* 172).

¹⁷ “In the time of Alexander, in Asia and elsewhere, a number of cities or nations with a more or less superficial patina of Hellenism tried . . . by the expedient of mythical filiations to tighten their bonds with old Greece and to ennoble their origins. . . . This was the golden age of artificial συγγένεια” (M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 3, pp. 154–155). Thus the Hellenists of Jerusalem claimed that the Jewish people had a common origin with the Lacedaemonians and were thus “kin” (2Macc 5:9).

¹⁸ C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 252, 11–12. The three tribes of Olymos call themselves *syngeneiai* (*LSAM*, n. 58, 9–10); cf. the *syngeneia* of the Aganiteis (*SEG* II, 537, 2, 6; 538, 8; 546, 8); *IGLAM*, n. 334, 3, 7, 11, 13; 338, 11; 339, 4, 10; 360, 3.

¹⁹ *NCIG*, n. VII, 5 (fourth-third century).

²⁰ J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XXIX, 58 (third century BC); cf. Iasos and Rhodes (M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 4, pp. 147, 149, 315). *I.Magn.* 15, 10 (Cnidos); 38, 29 (Magalopolis); 47, 3 (Magnesians and Macedonians); 52, 17 (Mytilene); 65, 22 (Gortyne); 70, 2 (a city of Crete); 72, 22 (Syracuse); 97, 12 (Teos); 101, 20 (Larbenai); etc. Inscription 53, 5 has been republished by B. Helly, *I.Gonn.* 111: “whereas the peoples of

Magnesia-on-the-Maeander enjoy friendly relations with the people of Gonnoi and are their kin . . .”; *I.Lamps.*, n. 4, 25, 31.

²¹ *I.Sinur.*, n. 10, 11, 14–20, 30, 46, 50.

²² Dittenberger, *Or.* 104. Numerous references in A. Bernand, *Philae*; E. Bernand, *Fayoum*. In the papyri, *BGU* 1741, 12 (64–63 BC)–1745, 7; *P.Fouad* 16, 1; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 128, 1; *SB* 8881, 6; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 48, 3; 51, 7; 52, 33; 57, 3; 59, 6; etc. A very rich inventory prepared by W. Peremans, “Sur la titulature aulique in Egypte,” in *Symbolae van Owen*, Leiden, 1946, pp. 129–159. Cf. 1Esdr 3:7; 4:42; 1Macc 10:89; 11:31; 2Macc 11:1, 35.

²³ *P.Phil.* 6, 5; *BGU* 975, 13 (AD 45); 1579, 5, 25; *P.Alex.* 10, 5 (AD 69–79); *P.Mich.* 232, 4 (in AD 36); 262, 3; 266, 3 (AD 38); *P.Fam.Tebt.* 1, 31; 9, 9; 27, 6, 21; *P.Oslo* 97, 8; *P.Fouad* 22, col. II, 4, 22; *P.Mert.* 68, 2; *P.Warr.* 9, 6; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 227, 8; *P.Soterichos* 3, 1; 25, 6; *P.Erl.* 22, 4; *PSI* 923, 4; 1031, 12; 1119, 4; 1319. — Συγγενής also means “compatriot” (Josephus, *War* 7.262; 2Macc 5:6, συγγενει—ς κάτοικοι; *P.Tebt.* 61 b, 79; 62, 58; *UPZ* 14, 8, p. 158), and συγγένεια means “family” (*P.Oxy.* 487, 9; *P.Bour.* 25, 15; *SB* 8542, 8); cf. *Ep. Arist.* 241; Josephus, *War* 7.204; Diodorus Siculus 16.52.3: “Mentor was eager to have Artabazus and Memnon come to him with his whole family.”

²⁴ Lev 18:14; 20:20 uses συγγενής to translate the Hebrew *dôdâh*, “aunt.” Elsewhere, it is just a “relative” (2Macc 8:1; 12:39; 15:18; Tob 6:11), “member of the family” (Lev 25:45), linked with a husband (Sus 63), children, and household members (Sus 50).

²⁵ Exod 6:14; 12:21; Lev 20:5; Judg 9:1; 13:2; etc.; cf. Gen 12:1 (Hebrew *môledet*) and Num 1:20ff. (Hebrew *tôledôt*).

²⁶ Mark 6:4. On this declension, cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, 9 f. M. J. Lagrange comments, “τοι—ς συγγενεῦσιν by metaplasm for συγγενέσιν, since the singular is συγγενής; but there has been influence from the resemblance to γονεύς; συγγενεῦσι is already in Hippocrates 7.456 C, in Strabo, in Josephus . . . no man is great for his own people; Pliny, *HN* 35.36. . . . This feeling arises from jealousy, so common in small places, and from familiarity.” We may cite also Epictetus 3.16.11; Philostratus, *VA* 1.354.12; Dio Chrysostom (cf. G. Mussies, *Dio Chrysostom*, p. 64); and the rabbi (Str-B, vol. 1, p. 678). Cf. the logion, οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲι—ατρὸς ποιει—θεραπείας εἰ—ς τοὺς γινώσκοντες αὐτόν (*P.Oxy.* I, recto£–14).

²⁷ Cf. *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 2, pp. 339–364.

²⁸ Luke 1:36—“Elizabeth, your kinswoman (ἡ συγγενίς σου), has also conceived a son.” St. Ephraem took this to mean “your sister”; Isho’dad of Merv took it to mean “your cousin.”

²⁹ Generally συγγενής would be used as a feminine for a woman: γάμει τὴν συγγενῆ (Menander, frag. 929, in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3B, p. 876); Josephus, *War* 7.399; *Ant.* 8.249; ἡ δὲ συγγενής μου Διδυμάριον (*PSI* 1105, 8).

³⁰ *P.Amh.* 78, 9 (republished by *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 123). Cf. *IGUR*, n. 246, B 4; Chariton, *Chaer.* 5.3.7: “It was made known that the kinswoman of Pharnaces was there” (τὴν Φαρνάκου συγγενίδα); G. Cousin, “Voyage en Carie,” in *BCH*, vol. 24, 1900, p. 340, line 17: τῆς ἀνέκαθεν συγγενίδος ὑπαρχούσης. *PSI* 1119, 50: Διονύσιος ε—πιγέγραμμαι τῆς συγγενίδος μου κύριος.

συγγενής

syngenes, related; a relative

see also συγγένεια, συγγενής, συγγενίς

syngenes, S 4773; *TDNT* 7.736–742; *EDNT* 3.282; MM 595; L&N 10.6, 11.57; BDF §§47(4), 48, 194(2); BAGD 772

A compound of *syn* and *genos*, *syngenes* —attested for the first time in Pindar—means literally a “congener,” but in practice it means “related,” either closely or distantly, in either the literal or the figurative sense of the word.¹

I. — A *syngenes*, in the Hellenistic period, is first of all a member of a family, a blood relation (*Ep. Arist.* 7), a nephew (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.179, 1.316; cf. 1.252, 1.296), an aunt (Lev 18:14; 20:20), a legitimate wife (Sir 41:22), all those who are part of a household (Sus 30, 63; *T. Abr.* B 2; *Jos. Asen.* 5.3, 10; 7.2; 10.1; 22.2; 24.9), linked with children, brothers and sisters (Mark 6:4; Luke 14:12; 21:16; 2Macc 15:18; Philo, *Contemp. Life* 13; *P.Oxy.* 3014, 2; *TAM*, 2, 1, 259: *teknois kai engonois kai syngeneisi*; *C.P.Herm.* 31, 17), with neighbors (Luke 1:58, *hoi perioikoi*; 14:12, *geiton*), and with “acquaintances” (Luke 2:44, *tois gnostois*), so that it is not possible to specify how closely related “relations” are.² Quite often “relatives” and “friends” are associated,³ and sometimes the affection that binds *syngeneis* is mentioned.⁴

II. — The papyri constantly mention the “relative-guardian”: *meta kyriou tou syngenous* (*P.Alex.* 10, 5; first century AD); “having as legal guardian his relative Petearmouthos” (*P.Phil.* 6, 5; 7, 5; 8, 5).⁵ There is also

“relative and foster parent” (or “relative and nurse,” *syngenes kai tropheus*),⁶ but the latter designation is not for a function but is a title of honor.

III. — In the language of the inscriptions, the ties of friendship and alliance between two cities are often described as establishing relatedness: “Whereas the inhabitants of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander enjoy links of friendship with the inhabitants of Gonnoi and are their relatives”;⁷ a decree at Pitana: “Whereas the inhabitants of Pergamum, who are relatives and friends and have been well-disposed to our city from the beginning”;⁸ a decree at Lebedos around 200 BC, “to the Samians, who are friends and relatives of the city”;⁹ a decree of the Thessalian confederation: “Whereas the Teans are relatives and friends and are well-disposed toward the Thessalians.”¹⁰

Moreover, there are groupings called *syngeneia*¹¹ that are subdivisions of a tribe (*phyle*) or of a city (*polis*); their members are *syngeneis*, united as “brothers” (*I.Sinur.* 73, 1, 7). These usages show that *syngenes* can be understood in a very broad sense, meaning anything from “fellow citizen, compatriot” (2Macc 5:6, parallel to *homoethnes*; 8:1; Luke 2:4; Josephus, *War* 7.262), and “relative” through international friendship to relatedness with some other member of a certain group (*MAMA* VI, 116 = *I.Car.* 84). We understand that St. Paul refers to the Israelites as brothers and *syngeneis* “according to the flesh” (*kata sarka*, Rom 9:23); they are not only his compatriots, they share the same blood (cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.80, 82; *P.Fay.* 115, 4: two pigeons with the same range, *syngene chyridia*). It may also be this sort of affinity that unites him with Herodian (Rom 16:11; cf. *P.Grenf.* II, 78, 13: *syngeneis adelphoi*); so also with Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater (Rom 16:21); and even with Andronicus and Junia (16:7), though the additional phrase “my companions in captivity” would be a way of hinting at the strong bonds that are formed between those who endure trials together (cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.126, 155: “There is a kinship more intimate than blood relationship, namely, a shared attitude toward justice and virtue”; *Abraham* 31; *Moses* 2.171: “There is no other kinship or friendship than that with good people”). It has been suggested that he is referring to their belonging to the same tribe, Benjamin;¹² or even to “the very broad oriental kinship that can take in hundreds of persons who are dispersed without losing their memory of their common origin, a sort of clan” (M. J. Lagrange, on this text). Or he could mean that they are also from Tarsus (cf. *P.Tebt.* 61 b, 79; 62, 58: *syngeneis katoikoi*; second century BC). This mention of *syngeneia* has an affective connotation; it is even a testimony of honor.¹³

IV. — In 1Macc 10:89; 11:31, kings reward those whom they wish to honor by giving them the title “king’s relative,” the highest court distinction.¹⁴ Mostly *stratego*i and *epistratego*i seem to be so honored,¹⁵ but so is a *nauarchos* (*SB* 9970, 1), a *dioiketes* (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 61, 8; 64, 2),

even an *epistolographos* (secretary, *ibid.* 62, 17; 63, 12). It would be better to use the English translation “king’s kinsman.”¹⁶

V. — In a religious sense, there is a kinship of humans with God,¹⁷ which was strongly emphasized by the Stoics.¹⁸

¹ For example, the relationship between God and the soul (Marcus Aurelius 2.1.3; 2.13.3; 3.4.7; 3.11.4; 7.22.1–2; 9.9.4; 9.22.2; 11.9–12; cf. A. M. Festugière, “Sagesse et Christianisme,” in *RB*, 1931, pp. 401–415; E. des Places, *Syngeneia: La Parenté de l’homme avec Dieu d’Homère à la patristique*, Paris, 1964) or the affinity between the soul and the stars; Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 178; F. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, pp. 144, 159; Michaelis, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 736–742.

² Lev 25:45 = member of the family; Tob 3:15 = close relative; 2Macc 12:39; John 18:26, a servant of the high priest, “a relative of the one whose ear Peter had cut off”; *P.Phil.* 4, 17, the accusers of “his relative Cephalas”; *P.Mert.* 85, 23: ζήτει . . . ε—άν δυνηθῆς παρὰ τω—ν ἄλλων συγγενω—ν ἡμω—ν ὑπογραφὴν λαβει—ν. *P.Petaus* 6, 3; 9, 5; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.343; 7.270; Elizabeth is probably related to Mary by marriage (Luke 1:36, ἡ συγγενίς σου); cf. *PSI* 1105, 8; 1119, 50: Διονύσιος Διονυσίου ε—πιγέγραμμαι τῆς συγγενίδος μου κύριος; *P.Amh.* 78, 9: τῆ συγγενίδι μου . . . πρὸς γάμον συνελθών; *SEG IV*, 255, 4.

³ Συγγενει—ς καὶ φίλοι (a constantly recurring phrase in the inscriptions of Crete, notably in the decrees of asylum for Teians, where it alternates with φίλοι καὶ οἰ—κει—οι); Philo, *Moses* 1.322; 2.171; *Spec. Laws* 3.85, 90; 4.141; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.176; 6.59, 317; 7.43, 164; 8.367; 16.381; 18.23, 99; *War* 1.556, 620; *P.Phil.* 2.1; *P.Mich.* 203, 34: ἀσπάζου . . . πάντες τοὺς συγγενει—ς καὶ φίλους κατ’ ὄνομα. The centurion Cornelius “had invited his relatives and close friends” (τοὺς συγγενει—ς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους, Acts 10:24). On ἀναγκαί—ος φίλος and *necessarii regis*, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 7.350; 10.5; *P.Oslo* 60, 5; *P.Brem.* 50, 5; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 59, 13; *P.Flor.* 142, 3; *BGU* 625, 26; *Stud.Pal.* XX, 233, 2; *C.P.Herm.* 1, 6; *SB* 9415, n. XVII, 11; *IGLS* 2859, 7; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, p. 92; *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 6, p. XIX; Stählin, “φίλος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 9, p. 160, n. 114; J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1970, p. 418, n. 410.

⁴ Philo, *Moses* 2.225: caused by the death of their loved ones; *Virtues* 140: for parents and natural brothers, one puts one’s personal property at their disposal; Josephus, *War* 3.436; *Ant.* 6.74. Epitaph of the scribe Ammonius, whose death plunged his family “into the most lamentable cries of sadness” (*SEG XV*, 853, 7); *P.Mich.* 498, 15: συνέστακέ με ὡς συγγενῆν σου ὄν ἥδιστα ἔσχε.

⁵ Μετὰ κυρίου ε—αυτῆς κατὰ πατέρα συγγενοῦς, *P.Mich.* 189, 5; 232, 4 (AD 36); 266, 3 (AD 38); 282, 1; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 161, col. I, 9; 227, 8; *P.Oslo* 97, 8; *P.Stras.* 237, 10; 293, 2; *BGU* 1579, 5; *P.Erl.* 22, 4; *P.Fouad* 22, col. II, 4, 22; *P.Mert.* 68, 2; *P.Vars.* 10, col. I, 4, 5; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 1, 31; 9, 9; 27, 6, 21; XIII, 30, 10; *P.AdI.* 8, 5 (104 BC).

⁶ *SEG* XVIII, 575–577, 584, 585; *BGU* 975, 13 (AD 45); Dittenberger, *Or.* 148, 256; *SB* 1568, 8036; inscription from Cyprus (in *JHS*, 1937, pp. 35–36, n. 10); etc.

⁷ *I.Gonn.* 111, 5 (third century BC); occurs constantly in *I.Magn.* 15 a 11; 38, 52, 46, 3; 52, 17; 61, 11; 65, 22; 72, 22; 97, 12; 101, 19–20.

⁸ —Επειδὴ Περγαμηνοί, συγγενει—ς ὄντες καὶ φίλοι καὶ εὐνόως διακείμενοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμω—ν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, *I.Perg.* 245, 1, and 11 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 335; cf. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1969, p. 220 (gives other references).

⁹ Πρὸς Σαμίους, φίλους καὶ συγγενει—ς τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχοντας, L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, p. 205; cf. Olynthius and Rhodius (*SEG* XXIII, 547, 2), the Istrians (ibid. XIX, 468, 32); the Scythopolitans and the Jews (Josephus, *War* 7.364).

¹⁰ —Επειδὴ Τήιοι συγγενει—ς καὶ φίλοι καὶ εὐνοὶ ὑπάρχοντες ἐσσαλω—ν, in *ZPE*, vol. 16, 1975, p. 37. Cf. a decree of the Acarnanians (216 BC), who “with respect to peoples who are relatives and friends carry conduct politics in a noble fashion, worthy of their ancestors” (J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XXIX, 58). A decree at Argos (fourth-third century): “Whereas the Rhodians are a people related to the people of Argos” (*NCIG*, n. VIII, 5; gives as a reference for kinship between two cities Homer, *Il.* 2.563; Pindar, *Ol.* 7.19; Thucydides 7.57). *SEG* II, 257, 4; 450, 3; XIX, 468, 7, 22; L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, pp. 99–101.

¹¹ *SEG* II, 537: ἡ συγγένεια ἢ —Αγανιτέων; 546 = *syngeneia* of the Μαυνι—ται; C. Michel, *Recueil*, 476 (at Olymos, second century BC); *I.Sinur.* 9, 7; 11, 10; 15, 5; 16, 1, 10; 40; 44, 3; 46, 6, 10. Cf. *I.Sinur.*, pp. 26ff.

¹² Cf. *Jos. Asen.* 8.6: “A pious man will kiss his mother and the sister who belongs to his tribe and his family” (τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ε—κ τῆς φυλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συγγενείας αὐτοῦ); Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.126; 4.159: “A person of the same tribe and the same race shares with his fellow citizens profound links based on the supreme kinship (ἢ ἀνωτάτω συγγένεια), which

consists in the same citizenship, the same law, the same God”; 1.294: “people who are not your natural relatives”; cf. 317; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.267; 7.260; 14.396.

¹³ Cf. the expressions ὁμότιμοι τοι—ς συγγενέσιν, “given honor like that given relatives” (*P.Paris* 15, 20; *SB* 8886, 6) or ι—σότιμοι τοι—ς πρώτοις φίλοις (*APF*, 1920, p. 372). Diodorus Siculus 19.52.1: “Cassander wished to appear as a member of the royal family” (τῆς βασιλικῆς συγγενείας).

¹⁴ Diodorus Siculus 17.20.2; 17.21.1; 17.59.2; 17.31.1 (associated with “king’s friend,” cf. 35, 2–3); *I.Perg.* 248, 28; Dittenberger, *Or.* 104, 2 (commented on by F. Durrbach, *Choix*, p. 152, n. 90); 135, 5; 169, 5; *SEG* XVIII, 580–582; C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 36, 20; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.277; 13.102, 354; 16.156; 17.235; cf. W. Peremans, “Sur la titulaire aulique en Egypte au I^e et I^e s. av. J.-C.,” in *Symbolae van Oven*, Leiden, 1946, pp. 129–159; E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 42ff.; *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 1, n. 186–334; L. Mooren, “Über die ptolemäischen Hofrangtitel,” in *Antidorum W. Peremans . . . oblatum*, Louvain, 1968, pp. 161–180; idem, *The Aulic Titulaire in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography*, Brussels, 1975, pp. 165ff., 233ff. Idem, *La Hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque*, Louvain, 1977.

¹⁵ *P.Fouad* 16, 1; *P.Ryl.* 577, 1; 579, 1; *BGU* 1741, 12; *SB* 2100; 4098, 2; 4512; 4638; 6028–6031; 8035 a 5; 8401, 5 (AD 51); 8669, 3; *UPZ* 162; col. I, 17; 191, 3; 204, 210; 209, 6–8; Dittenberger, *Or.* 168, 49; J. David Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, vol. 1, Opladen, 1975, pp. 43ff. A. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 1, n. 19, 32; 20, 2; 41, 2; 51, 2; etc. *C.Ord.Ptol.* 48, 3; 51, 7; 52, 32; 57, 3; 58, 17; 59, 6; N. Hohlwein, *Stratège du nome*, p. 135; *Prosop.Ptol.*, pp. 104ff., cf. p. 47. The title of *syngenes* was given to *strategoi* of nomes only after 120 BC; cf. A. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 1, pp. 179ff.

¹⁶ [In French, cousin du roi. Cf. at 1 Macc 10:89, “Kings Cousins” (NJB); “King’s Kinsmen” (NRSV, NAB); “King’s Kinsmen” (REB).—Tr.] This was Voltaire’s translation, according to J. A. Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l’Egypte*, 2d ed., Aalen, 1974, p. 347, n. 1; who gives numerous references to Diodorus, Arrian, Athenaeus, etc.

¹⁷ Acts 17:28—we come from God, from whom we receive being and life; Hymn of Cleanthes 1–5; Epictetus 1.3.1–3; cf. E. des Places, *Syngeneia: La Parenté de l’homme avec Dieu d’Homère à la patristique*, who analyzes the physical, metaphorical, philosophical, and political meanings of *syngenes*.

¹⁸ Cf. also Epicurus, *Epist.* 3.124 (to Menoecus): the gods receive those who are like them; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 12.27.

συλλάω †

sylao, to pillage, plunder; to exercise a right of seizure, recover

sylao, S 4813; *EDNT* 3.285; *NIDNTT* 3.379; MM 596; L&N 57.234; BAGD 776

†Originally this article was two articles. They have been combined for the reader's benefit.

This verb is a hapax in the LXX,¹ and also in the NT (2Cor 11:8, *allas ekklesias esylesa labon opsonion pros ten hymon diakonian*), which is ordinarily translated, "I despoiled other churches, taking pay from them for serving you"—which is not particularly clear, due especially to the fact that *sylao* has a rich variety of meanings.²

The first meaning is that of "drawing" a bow from its case (Homer, *Il.* 4.105) or "removing" the cover from a quiver (4.116); and very often in Homer it means to remove an enemy's weapons, despoil him of his weapons, snatch them away from him,³ or despoil a corpse (*nekron sylao*, 10.343, 387; 6.71; Plato, *Resp.* 5.469 *d*). Thence the common classical meaning, "remove, steal, pillage," notably sacred treasures;⁴ hence "snatch away, carry off," notably with violence.⁵ But the meaning "plunder, despoil," well attested in the classical period, is confirmed in the Koine: "In time of war and in time of peace, they pillage (*sylosin*), they despoil, enslave, ravage, sack, insult, mistreat, destroy, dishonor, assassinate."⁶ In the papyri, the word means especially theft with breaking and entering (*P.Stras.* 296, verso 10) and violence ("they robbed me and carried me off," *esylesan me bastazontes*, *P.Erl.* 27, 9) or objects stolen, for example, tools in a tower (*P.Ryl.* 138, 19; from AD 34; etc; cf. *SB* 9534, 10), and most often a house that has been plundered.⁷ There is a softened expression in a letter of Serapias to his son Herminis asking him to bring his daughter to him as a favor: "Do not deprive me for the cost of renting a donkey, so that I may show you affection" (*me syla mou peri tou naulou tou onou, hina philiazo sou*, *P.Oxf.* 19, 7; third century AD). None of these meanings shed any light on the Paulinetext.

To the contrary, if we refer to the technical legal meaning of *sylao* ("retaliate by seizing"), the right of seizure being at the root of the exercise of retaliation.⁸ This was an official institution,⁹ cited by Demosthenes, *C.Lacr.* 35.26: "Without our having done them any wrong, without having any judgment against us, they carried out a seizure of our property

(*sesylemetha*)—they, Phaselites, as if a right of seizure (*sylon*), had been granted the Phaselites against the Athenians. What are we to call the refusal to give back what one has received? Is this not the removal by force of another's property?"¹⁰ Likewise Ps.-Aristotle, *Oec.* 2.2.10: since the Chalcedonians could not pay the foreign mercenaries, they "proclaimed that if anyone, citizen or resident alien, held right of reprisal (*sylon echei*) against a city or a private person, and if he wanted to exercise it, he had only to sign up. When a great number had signed up, the Chalcedonians—on the pretext of their legal right—seized (*esylon*) the ships that were leaving for the Pontus. . . . Thus they gathered a great deal of money . . . and they set up a tribunal to decide the claims" (*hyper de ton sylon diedikasanto*).¹¹

In Ep Jer 17, this verb means "pillage, plunder," which is its meaning in the papyri, where these pillagings are attributed to robbers who also commit assault and battery on persons, if the occasion arises.¹² The nuance of violence, common in classical Greek (Demosthenes, *Cor. Trier.* 51.13; Polybius 2.8.1–2, piracy; Plutarch, *Cim.* 8.3–4), is often absent in the Hellenistic period. A mother writes to her son: "Do not take the ass from me for the voyage, so that I may continue in my affection for you" (*me syla mouperi tou naulou tou onou, hina philiazo sou, P.Oxf.* 19, 7). In an act of emancipation at Delphi, it is provided that those present will be able to exercise the right of seizure on the freed slave as upon a free person, without incurring penalties or becoming subject to any lawsuit or penalty of any sort.¹³

This latter legal text illuminates the hyperbole in 2Cor 11:8—"I despoiled other churches, taking pay from them in order to be of service to you."¹⁴ St. Paul exercised a right of seizure (*sylon*)—a reply to a refusal to pay off a debt, the taking of security equivalent to the damage suffered, to the justice denied—hence a reprisal.¹⁵ "A private individual who considers himself the victim of a tort by a foreigner (assault, theft, unpaid debt) . . . will take justice into his own hands . . . ; he will seize the person or property of a fellow citizen of his adversary . . . ; hence the action of *sylan* represents a material compensation" (P. Gauthier, *Symbola*, p. 212). In this pseudo-judicial act, the one who is the object of the seizure has committed no wrong (Demosthenes, *C. Lacr.* 35.26), so the apostolic allusion to "other churches" suggests to the Corinthians the seriousness of the consequences of their own failure. Furthermore, *ekklesia* here refers to religion more than to community, since *sylao* is often used with the sacred wealth of a sanctuary (Herodotus 6.101); "Socrates never pillaged a temple" (*oude ton hieron esylesen ouden, Josephus, Ag. Apion* 2.263). An amnesty decree in 163 BC excludes "those who have committed murders and those who have robbed temples and sacred warehouses."¹⁶ In any event, the founder and apostle of the churches had a prior right, established and recognized, to live off of subsidies from these churches.

The use of the verb *sylao* calls this “right of seizure” to mind, but in a milder form, so that we might translate “we authorized ourselves to recover. . . .” The metaphor should be interpreted in light of the changed circumstances; the idea of seizure has receded, but the idea of collective responsibility is emphasized: each one is held accountable for the actions of all, because each one shares in the property of the community as a whole (cf. P. Ducrey, *Le Traitement des prisonniers de guerre dans la Grèce antique*, pp. 42–44).

So the hyperbolic and ironic metaphor of 2Cor 11:8 is clarified. The apostle means the just compensation, somehow legal, for subsidies that were not paid him by the Corinthians. By using and abusing the Macedonians’ accommodating attitude toward him, he exercised right of seizure=reprisal (*sylai*) against the compatriots of his debtors. That is why he states that he has plundered or despoiled other churches that he has conquered in his missionary campaign in Greece. He himself, having been deprived of everything, has taken from elsewhere the minimum salary (*opsonion*) that was due him from the Corinthians as an apostle. The final “for serving you” (*pros ten hymon diakonian*) emphasizes that the point is not personal profit, but in a way an official salary. It was the Corinthians’ default that was responsible for this legal action.

¹ Ep Jer 18: the temples are protected with doors, locks, and bars, lest the gods “be plundered by robbers” (ὅπως ὑπὸ τω—ν ληστω—ν μὴ συληθῶ—σι).

² Cf. L. Gernet, *Recherches sur le développement de la pensée juridique et morale en Grèce*, Paris, 1917, p. 264.

³ *Il.* 4.166; 6.28; 13.640; 15.428; 16.500.

⁴ Herodotus 5.36: “pillage treasures”; Pindar, *Ol.* 9.89: “carry off silver cups”; Aeschylus, *Pers.* 810: “plunder the statues of the gods”; Xenophon, *Hier.* 4.11: “Tyrants are often compelled to despoil unjustly both temples and men, because they always have new needs for money for necessary expenditures”; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.263: “Socrates had not pillaged any temple”; Philo, *Decalogue* 133; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 372, 5 (third century BC). An ordinance of Ptolemy IV Philometor (or Ptolemy V Epiphanes) excluded from amnesty those who had plundered temples (ι—ερω—ν ἀποδοχίων σεσυληκότων, *P.Kroll* I, 6 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 34 = *SB* 9316, col. I, 6); *IGLS* 2707, 5: “Samsigeramos plundered [the god’s treasury?], breaking his oaths” (edict of King Agrippa II).

⁵ Ps.-Hesiod, *Sc.* 480: “Kykmos despoiled by violence” (βίη σύλασκειν); Plato, *Leg.* 9.869 *b*; cf. Aeschylus, *PV* 761: “Who will snatch the almighty scepter away from him?”; Euripides, *Hel.* 669: “what god snatched you away from your country?”; Pindar, *Pyth.* 12.16: “the head of Medusa, carried off by him”; Euripides, *Ion* 917: “a child carried off by birds of prey.”

⁶ Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 47; *Decalogue* 136: thieves “despoil entire cities, caring nothing for punishment”; *Spec. Laws* 3.203: “What good are foods in abundance when one has been despoiled (σεσυλησθαι) and deprived of the implements necessary for eating them” (the teeth); *Alleg. Interp.* 3.20: “you have despoiled me of the power to think well” (ε—σύλησάς μου καὶ τὸ φρονει—ν); *T. Job* 11.10—debtors who have been “robbed” beg Job to show patience toward them.

⁷ *P.Tebt.* 330, 5: εὔρον τὴν οἰκίαν μου σεσυλημένην = I found my house pillaged; *P.Gen.* 47, 9; *P.Lond.* 412, 8 (vol. 2, 280); *BGU* 2242 *b* 1 (?); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 229, 5: ε—συλήθην τω—ν ε—ν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου ὑπὸ ληστηρίου ε—κπεφορημένων.

⁸ Herodotus 6.101: the Persians pillage and burn temples “in retaliation (συλήσαντες) for the burning of the sanctuaries of Sardis”; Demosthenes, *Cor. Trier.* 51.13: “When an undertaker of trierarchy sets out on an expedition, he carries out pillage everywhere; the profit is for him, but the first one of you who happens along suffers the loss: you are the only ones who cannot go anywhere without a safe-conduct, because of the seizures of persons and reprisals on property (διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνδροληψίας καὶ σύλας) that they have provoked.” Cf. R. Dareste, “Du droit des représailles principalement chez les anciens Grecs,” in *REG*, 1889, pp. 305–320; again in *Nouvelles Etudes d'histoire du droit*, Paris, 1902, pp. 38–47; K. Latte, “συλα—ν,” in *PW*, vol. 4 A 1, col. 1035–1040; Julie Vélissaropoulos, *Les Naoclères grecs*, Geneva-Paris, 1980, pp. 146ff.

⁹ Cf. in the fifth century BC, the convention established between Cnossos and Tylissos forbidding the pillaging of Cnossian territories and regulating the sharing of spoils (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 56), the seizures carried out on the Rhodians (Polybius 4.53), on the Boeotians (Polybius 22.4); Lysias, *C. Nicom.* 30.22: “The Boeotians carry out seizures (σύλας ποιουμένους) because we cannot pay them two talents”; the decree of the Acarnanians (*IG VII*, 1, 573, 5, 6, 9, 10), the convention between Oianthesia and Chaleion (*IG IX*, 12, 717), the right of seizure (περὶ τω— σύλω) in the treaty between Miletus and Magnesia (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 588, 47), between Delphi and Pellana (B. Haussoullier, *Traité entre Delphes et Pellana: Etude de droit grec*, Paris, 1917, pp. 20–25, 107), at Eresus (*IG XII*, 2; 527, 3–4); J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1964, p. 245, n. 565.

¹⁰ Cf. *Lacr.* 13: “a place where there are no rights of reprisal” (ὅπου ἂν μὴ σὺλαι ᾧσιν). The editor, L. Gernet, notes: “Σὺλαι are seizures carried out by the individual who has not been able to obtain justice from a foreigner against this foreigner’s compatriots.”

¹¹ P. Gauthier (*Symbola*, pp. 210–219), who distinguishes between three meanings of *sylao*: (1) the act of pillage: piracy, an act of vengeance or sacrilege; (2) a legal and justified act of reprisal, because of a harm for which the victim seeks compensation; the victim himself can seize the person or property of his adversary (even his slaves); (3) associated with a judicial decision, *sylon* is executory seizure, the *praxis* (*exagoge*), an act of self-defense, whereby restitution for harm is carried out by dispossessing the adversary. — Συλλάω can also mean “retake a person by force,” a freedman wrongly reduced to servitude. A decree of Gortyne stipulates: “No one will be able to reduce emancipated persons to servitude. If any such thing happens, and the guarantors of the emancipated person retake him by force (ὑπὸ τιτα—ν συλοι—το), the *kosmos* for foreigners shall not return him. If the guarantors do not retake him (αι— δὲ μὴ συλοι—εν), each of them shall pay the freedman one hundred staters. . .” (*RIJG*, p. 103 E, 4). In acts of emancipation at Delphi, it is constantly stipulated: If anyone tries to reduce Manes to slavery, “Manes shall have the right to defend himself by force, as a free man” (κύριος ἔστω Μάνης αὐσωτὸν συλέων ὡς ε—λευερος ᾧν); “Dorcis shall have the right to defend herself by force” (κύρια ἔστω αὐσαυτὰν συλέουσα). M. P. Foucart, who quotes these texts (*Mémoire sur l’affranchissement des esclaves*, Paris, 1867, p. 11), comments: “The word συλέειν, which refers to the rights of the emancipated person, has great energy; its primitive meaning is ‘steal, remove,’ and here ‘snatch away by force.’ The emancipated person thus enjoys the same rights as the free person and can offer material resistance to anyone who wants to attack his liberty.” Numerous examples in M. G. Colin, *Fouilles de Delphes*, 3, *Epigraphie*, fasc. IV, Paris, 1930, n. 70, 12; 71, 12; 78, 10; N. Valmin, *ibid.*, fasc. VI, Paris, 1939, n. 6, 19; 8, 21; 9, 24; 33, 8; 36, 10; 110, 11; 117, 21, etc.

¹² *P.Erl.* 27, 9: ε—σύλησάν με βαστάζοντες (second century); *BGU* 1036, 28; 1675, 22; *P.Ryl.* 138, 19: ε—σύλησέν μου ε—ν τω— πύργω ι—κανὰ ἀργαλει—α (AD 34); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 229, 5: ε—συλήθην τω—ν ε—ν τῆ οι—κία μου ληστηρίου ε—κπεφορημένων; *PSI* 1033, 2; *P.Stras.* 296, 9–10; *P.Tebt.* 330, 5: “I found my house pillaged”; *P.Lond.* 412, 8 (vol. 2, p. 280); *SB* 9534, 10, 15. Similarly in Philo, thieves despoil whole cities (Philo, *Decalogue* 136); in wartime and peacetime “they pillage, they plunder, they enslave” (*Conf. Tongues* 47; *Spec. Laws* 3.203; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.20); to

pillage a temple is to “defraud God of the holiest of his possessions” (*Decalogue* 133).

¹³ Οι— παρατυγχάνοντες κύριοι ε—όντων συλέοντες ὡς ε—λευθέραν οὔσαν (second century BC), in J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. 42, 11. Cf. this decree at Gortyn: “Let the guarantors of the freedman seize him by force. If the guarantors do not seize him, each of them shall pay one hundred staters” (*Inscriptiones Cretae*, Rome, 1950, vol. 4, n. 78, 3–4). Cf. συλαγωγέω (Col 2:8; unknown in the papyri): “carry off as booty, kidnap”; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.35; Aristaenetos, *Ep.* 2.22: τοῦτον κατέλαβον, ἄνερ, ε—γχειροῦσα συλαγωγῆσαι τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον.

¹⁴ Ἄλλας ε—κκλησίας ε—σύλησα λαβὼν ὀψώνιον πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶ—ν διακονίαν.

¹⁵ Ps.-Aristotle, *Oec.* 2.1347b20; cf. R. Dareste, “Du droit de représailles principalement chez les anciens Grecs,” in *REG*, 1889, pp. 305–321; P. Gauthier, *Symbola*, pp. 210ff., 252ff. K. Latte, “συλα—ν,” in *PW*, IV A 1, col. 1035–1040.

¹⁶ Τῶ—ν ε—κ τῶ—ν ι—ερω—ν ἀποδοχίων σεσυληκότων; *P.Kroll* 1, 6; republished as *C.Ord.Ptol.* 34; *SB* 9316. Cf. Xenophon, *Hier.* 4.11: “Tyrants are often compelled to despoil temples and people unjustly, because they always have fresh need of funds for necessary expenses” (συλα—ν . . . εἰ—ς τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας). Cf. P. Ducrey (*Le Traitement des prisonniers de guerre dans la Grèce antique*, pp. 295ff., 304ff.), who correctly points out “that the activities referred to by συλάω were not all reprehensible or dishonorable” (p. 307, n. 4). *ISE*, vol. 2, n. 90 and note 1 on p. 52.

συλλογίζομαι

syllogizomai, to calculate, reckon, take into account, summarize, conclude, reflect, meditate, reason

syllogizomai, S 4817; *EDNT* 3.285; *MM* 597; *L&N* 33.157; *BAGD* 777

The first occurrence of this word in Herodotus gives it the meaning “calculate, reckon,”¹ which remains its predominant sense, notably in the *LXX*;² and it is the only meaning attested in the papyri,³ even though the nuance “enroll in a list of accounts, be posted” is noted.⁴

From this financial usage we move into the intellectual realm: “calculate, take into account,” notably in Plato and Polybius,⁵ then “summarize, conclude.”⁶ But from Demosthenes on,⁷ the most common

meaning is “reflect, meditate, reason.” Thus Isa 43:18, “Do not reckon on the past” (*ta archaia me syllogizesthe*, Hebrew *bîn*, in parallel with “do not remember,” *me mnemoneuete*); Josephus, *War* 1.560: “Antipater, considering (*synelogizeto*) the hatred of the people for himself, their pity for the orphans, the zeal that the Jews had shown to his brothers while they were living . . . He then resolved to break these [forced] betrothals at any price”; Plutarch, *Brut.* 36.6: “While he was reflecting, absorbed in his thoughts, Brutus thought he noticed someone come in”; *Sert.* 17.8: “Sertorius reflected on it and consulted the people of the country”; *Pomp.* 60.3: “Having arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, . . . Caesar remained some time thinking (*pros heauton syllogizomenos*) about the magnitude of his audacious act.”⁸

So we are in a position to translate Luke 20:5, *hoi de synelogisanto prosheautous legontes*.⁹ Jesus had asked whether John’s baptism was from heaven or from men. His interlocutors, the chief priests, the scribes, and the elders, “*reflected together* and answered that they did not know.”¹⁰

¹ Herodotus 2.148: “If anyone should calculate the sum (*συλλογίσαιτο*) of the building and the works of art that the Greeks have produced”; cf. Plato, *Leg.* 7.799 *a*: count the feasts that must be celebrated in a year; Polybius 14.4.4.

² Lev 25:27—“If a man has no ‘redeemer,’ he shall calculate the years since his sale” (Hebrew piel of *hashab*); 25:50—“he shall calculate with his purchaser from the year when he was sold to him”; 25:52—“if few years remain before the year of jubilee, he shall calculate.”

³ *P.Cair.Zen.* 59598, 3: the commissioner asks Zeno to send him some money because he has calculated the price for the shipping (*συνλογεισάμενος οὖν τό τε φόρετρον*); 59710, 59; *P.Fouad* 26, 52, a petition to the prefect: “You can calculate what he received from me, and if it appears after the reckoning that money is due him in justice, he can receive it”; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 364, 13, a law regulating mortgage debts: “The funds shall be divided between the owner and the creditor according to the estimation of its value and of the sum of the debt” (*συλλογισάμενοι τό τε δάνεον καὶ τὴν τίμησιν*).

⁴ *P.Tebt.* 82, 3 (115 BC): sacred lands, αι— *συνλελογισμέναι τω— λόγω*; *P.Lond.* 259, 137 (vol. 2, p. 41; AD 90–95); *Stud.Pal.* I, 69, 371: ὁ δει—να *συνλελογισμένος τω— λόγω τω—ν ἀφηλίκων*; *PSI* 494, 6 (third century BC); *SB* 7193, verso 8; 7196, 6, recto I, 8. Cf. Num 23:9—“a people not taken into account among the nations” (Hebrew hithpael of *hashab*); Philo, *Joseph* 43: “seeing the posted quantities exhausted.”

⁵ Plato, *Leg.* 2.670 c: “They do not take into account that they do this without knowing the least detail about it”; *Grg.* 479 c; 498 e; Polybius 1.44.1: “The Carthaginians, calculating the requirements for a siege”; 1.63.8: “If one wishes to take into the account the superiority of these quinquiremes over triremes”; 3.61.2: “He calculated how long and difficult a voyage it was from Marseille to Etruria”; 3.81.12: “Hannibal used such calculations and such predictions. . . . He was not deceived in his plans”; 3.93.3; 4.71.1: “Philip, grasping and evaluating all these conditions”; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.37: Moses calculated the value of the pseudo-sage; in the sense of settling a score, cf. 2.99; 3.38: “Moses struck and settled his account with the friend of pleasure.”

⁶ Demosthenes, *Embassy* 19.177: “So I want to recapitulate my charges from the beginning”; Plato, *Resp.* 7.516 b: “He would conclude” concerning the sun; 517 c; 10.618 d: “drawing the conclusion from all that”; Josephus, *War* 4.125: “the people concluded (from the capture of Gischala) the fate that awaited if the city of Jerusalem was taken.”

⁷ Demosthenes, *Embassy* 19.47: “When one reflects on the circumstances when the decree was drawn up”; *Corona* 18.172: “This day called a man . . . who had reflected on the motives and goal of Philip’s acts.”

⁸ Cf. Polybius 1.32.2: “A Lacedaemonian considering the Carthaginians’ armaments, the numbers of their horses and elephants, reasoned (συνελογίσασατο) and declared.” Συλλογίζομαι became a technical term in dialectic from Aristotle on; dialectic “does not construct its syllogisms from whatever premises happen to be available” (*Rh.* 1.2.1365b35); the marshaling of proofs presupposes “an ability to reason syllogistically” (τοῦ συλλογίσασθαι δυναμένου, *ibid.* 1356a22). Diogenes of Sinope had the habit of reasoning as follows (συνελογίζετο): “Everything belongs to the gods. Now the sages are friends of the gods, and friends have all things in common. Therefore everything belongs to the sage” (Diogenes Laertius 6.37). The dialectician Euboulides set forth this sort of inexplicable reasoning: “If you have not lost something, you have it. You have not lost horns. Therefore you have horns.” The philosopher Chrysippus denounced this sophism πρὸς τὸν συλλογισάμενον ὅτι κέρατα ἔχει (Diogenes Laertius 7.187).

⁹ Cf. G. Mussies, “The Sense of συλλογίζεσθαι at Luke XX, 5,” in T. Baarda, A.F.J. Klijn, W. C. van Unnik, *Miscellanea Neotestamentica*, Leiden, 1978, vol. 2, pp. 59–76 (the parallels at Matt 11:25 and Mark 11:31 have διελογίζοντο).

¹⁰ M. J. Lagrange translates, “Ils firent entre eux ces raisonnements”; E. Osty: “Ils firent entre eux ce calcul”; E. Delebecque: “Eux échangeaient leurs raisonnements, en disant” (*Evangelie de Luc*).

συμπαθής, συμπαθέω

sympathes, sharing the same suffering or emotion, compassionate;
sympatheo, to share the same suffering or emotion, be compassionate

sympathes, S 4835; *TDNT* 5.935–936; *EDNT* 3.288; MM 598; L&N 25.58; BAGD 779 | ***sympatheo***, S 4834; *TDNT* 5.935–936; *EDNT* 3.288; *NIDNTT* 3.719, 722, 724; L&N 24.80, 25.57; BAGD 778–779

A compound of *syn* and *pathos*, *sympathes* refers to a person who is affected by the same suffering, the same impressions, the same emotions as another, or who undergoes identical trials, and finally “sympathizes” with this other person who is in some sort of trouble, has pity.¹

The first prerequisite for sympathy then is being “receptive” and easily influenced;² the second is being united to the other by a shared nature, society, condition (*P.Oxy.* 2190, 19), or ailment. Thus God, the Creator and Father, sympathizes with humans (4Macc 5:25); rulers with their subjects;³ above all, mothers with their children.⁴ In this tender sense of the word, 1Pet 3:8 prescribes, “Be like-minded, compassionate, brotherly, with motherly tenderness.”⁵ If compassion means participating in another’s pain,⁶ it is tinged with pity⁷ and includes a tendency to help the unfortunate.⁸ In battle, the victorious part of the army should come to the aid of the part that is struggling (*en to ponounti sympathein*, Josephus, *War* 2.579). In a letter of recommendation, the writer asks the prospective benefactor to intervene (*hin’ auto synpathete*, *P.Stras.* 174, 5; cf. *P.Lond.* 1345, 20; 1369, 12). This active meaning of the verb *sympatheo* is seen in Heb 10:34, which says that the compassionate recipients have effectively helped the prisoners.⁹ This nuance must be retained in Heb 4:15 with respect to the high priest of the new covenant, full of sure mercy, but also powerful and able to give effective help for the weaknesses of his human brethren. This ability is already indicated by the construction with the double negative “we do not have . . . not able,”¹⁰ which reinforces the affirmation that we are certain that Christ, through his compassion, will make up for our lack of strength.

¹ Cf. Michaelis, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 5, p. 935–936; BAGD (on this word) cites Philistion of Nicaea: ε—κ τοῦ παθει—ν γίγνωσκε καὶ τὸ συμπαθει—ν καὶ σοὶ γὰρ ἄλλος συμπαθήσεται παθῶν (ed. Kock, *Comitorum Graecorum Gragmenta*, II, n. 230).

² Aristotle, *Part. An.* 7.653b6: “The heat and the principle that are found in the heart are very receptive” (συμπαθέστατον), i.e., they experience the same ailments as the other parts of the body; Agathias Scholasticus: “taut cords are placed by nature in relations of reciprocal sympathy” (*Anth. Pal.* 11.352.8); Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.250; 4.202: they manifested their insensitivity (ἀνηλεές), showing no gesture of humanity or sympathy (ἀνθρώπινον καὶ συμπαθές).

³ Letter of Diocletian to the inhabitants of Elephantine and Syene (*SB* 8393, 9); Dittenberger, *Or.* 456, 66; 470, 24; Hyrcanus is moved by compassion (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.233), Agrippa was χρηστὸς καὶ συμπαθής (ibid. 19.330); likewise Antigonus (Plutarch, *Eum.* 18.5); Marcellus was “troubled by the thought of what was going to happen” (*Marc.* 19.2); *T. Sim.* 3.6.

⁴ Josephus, *War* 6.211: “Do not be more compassionate than a mother”; 4Macc 14:13—τὴν τω—ν σπλάγχων συμπάθειαν; 14:14—συμπάθειαν καὶ στοργήν; 14:18, 20; 15:4, 7, 11; brother for brother (13:23).

⁵ Πάντες ὁμόφρονες, συμπαθει—ς, φιλάδελφοι, εὐσπλαγχοι. The συμπάθεια-σύμπνοια link is common (Hippocrates, *Alim.* 23; Porphyry, *VP* 48–50) and may come from Chrysippus (cf. *SVF*, vol. 2, p. 154, n. 473; p. 264, n. 912). We know that in Posidonius “sympathy” refers to a rapport between man and the universe or the cohesion between parts of the universe, “cosmic” or “universal” sympathy. Geminus uses the word only in an astrological context, either for the influence of the stars on atmospheric phenomena (17.15, 17.17) or for correspondence between themes of fate for people born under certain signs of the zodiac (2.5, 13, 14, 15, 18). Cf. G. Aujac, *Géminos*, pp. 128–206.

⁶ Philo, *To Gaius* 273; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.102, 329; Plutarch, *Tim.* 14.2; Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 1: so soon after the death of your son, “what was necessary was to sympathize with your pain.”

⁷ Cf. the link with ἔλεος; Philo, *Moses* 2.228; *Spec. Laws* 2.115; Polybius 2.56.7; Diodorus Siculus 12.24.5: by telling of his sorrows, the father “moved all the soldiers to pity and inspired much sympathy” (ἄπαντας ἤγαγεν εἰ—ς ἔλεον καὶ πολλήν συμπάθειαν); 17.69.2; cf. 17.15.3; 17.36.1–2.

⁸ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.8: “the moon is the star that is most sympathetic toward terrestrial things,” i.e., intervenes favorably in them.

⁹ On the grammar of this verse, cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, § 9 d, 69 i, 71 b.

¹⁰ Οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα μὴ δυνάμενον συμπαθῆσαι ται—ς ἀσθενείαις; on this aorist infinitive, cf. R. A. Ward, “The Preacher’s Use of the Aorist,” in *ExpT*, vol. 71, 1960, p. 268 b.

σύμφυτος, συμφύω

symphytos, innate, natural; *symphyo*, to be born with, grow with; to be attached or united to or combined with

symphytos, S 4854; *TDNT* 7.766–797; *EDNT* 3.290; MM 598; L&N 89.117; BAGD 780 | ***symphyo***, S 4855; *EDNT* 3.290; BAGD 780

The verbal adjective *symphytos*, “born with,”¹ hence “innate, natural,”² means not only “of the same nature” (Euripides, *Andr.* 954) but also “growing together.”³ It is used in the LXX only with respect to agricultural matters,⁴ in accord with the usage of the papyri,⁵ which, beginning with the third century BC, use this term for cultivated land, no matter what sort of crop it is sown with.⁶ This is the meaning of the verb *symphyo*⁷ with respect to the seed that fell among thorns and grew up together with them (*kai symphueisai hai akanthai*, Luke 8:7).

In a broader sense, this verb means “to be attached or united to or combined with.” Aristotle: “Any body does not combine with any other body” (Aristotle, *Sens.* 438b2); “lovers want to combine their beings and make one being from two” (*Pol.* 2.4.6.1262b13); Philo: “together with each soul there dwells (*synoikon*) an appointed witness that is attached to it at birth.”⁸ In optics, *symphyomai* (Latin *cohaeresco*) is used from Plato on to express the idea that the visual flow merges with exterior light in a homogeneous body.⁹ In medicine, it refers to the healing of fractured bones and means specifically “to grow back in such a way as to connect the two fragments, to mend.”¹⁰ Hence *symphytos* also has this meaning of cohesion and interpenetration. Lycurgus, for example, trained the citizens “always to form one body with the community (*to koino symphyeis ontas aiei*) like bees, clustered around their leader.”¹¹ It is in this sense that we should understand Rom 6:5—“for if we have been conformed to the likeness of his death.”¹² Moderns rightly translate “if we have been joined to him” (*NBJ*), “if we have been united with him” (F. J. Leenhardt, *Romans*, p. 159); but the idea of growth must not be left out, because the very use of the word *symphytos* suggests the image of a “single plant” (Leenhardt, p. 160) that is getting bigger, and in which the life of the trunk conveys life and fruit-bearing strength to the branches. Through baptism, Christians share in the “virtue” of the crucified Christ.¹³ The members and the head make up a

unity; the two organisms are in a vital union, suggesting the “incorporating personality” of the Lord,¹⁴ “una persona mystica” (St. Thomas Aquinas, on this verse).

¹ Aeschylus, *Ag.* 107; Aristotle, *HA* 3.20.521b: “the liquids that we have just been speaking of almost always exist from the very beginning of the animal” (τὰ ὑγρὰ σύμφυτα).

² Hippocrates, *Vict.* 42.2: “innate heat”; 87.1: “surplus of fullness or of evacuation of natural substances”; *Genit.* 3.1: “Man possesses in himself a number of congenital humors” (συμφυέας); 3Macc 3:22—τῇ συμφύτῳ κακοηθεία τὸ καλὸν ἀπώσάμενοι; Philo, *Creation* 18: the memory that is innate in the architect; *Heir* 272, the evils that are congenital to our race; *Abraham* 160, *epithymia* is a beast that lives in us (τὸ σύμφυτον ἡμι—ν θρέμμα); *Moses* 1.198, ε—πεικεία and φιλανθρωπία are connatural to God, hence are divine attributes; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.42: “It is natural to the Jews (σύμφυτόν ε—στιν), from their birth, to regard these as divine decrees”; Antiphon the Sophist: τῇ φύσει ξυμφύτων (*P.Oxy.* 1364, 44).

³ Aristotle, *HA* 5.32.557b: “mites proliferate in wools.”

⁴ Amos 9:13 (οι—βουνοί); Zech 11:3 (ὁ δρυμός); Esth 7:7-8 (ὁ κῆπος).

⁵ *P.Cair.Zen.* 59596, 4; *P.Col.Zen.* 78, 28. In 104 BC, *P.Lips.* 1, 5 (contract for a sale of real estate): ἀμπελω—να συμφύτου means not a vineyard where (fruit) trees have been planted but one that is fully cultivated (cf. ἀσύμφυτος = not worked, abandoned, *P.Lond.* 1296, 18). M. Schnebel (*Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Munich, 1925, p. 245) mentions that the planting of a vine is called φυτεύειν (*PSI* 434; S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 18, 4, 15), a new planting νεόφυτον (*PSI* 371, 11; *P.Lond.* 131, 192; *P.Oxy.* 909, 16), a vine that is bearing fruit ζωόφυτος (*P.Giss.* 56, 6), ἔμφυτος (*P.Hamb.* 23, 16), σύμφυτος.

⁶ *BGU* 1118, 28, 33; 1119, 29; 1120, 36; *P.Fouad* 40, 15 (AD 35); *P.Mich.* 311, 13 (AD 34), ει—ς χόρτου σποράν σύνφυται καὶ κωπὴν ξηρασίας; 562, 18 (AD 119): “Sabinus, son of Socrates, shall return two fully cultivated *arourai* of olive trees” (ἀρούρας δύο ε—λαιω—νος συμφύτους); *P.Oxy.* 729, 22 (AD 137); 1631, 31; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 19, 4 (AD 141), κτῆμα σύμφυτον.

⁷ Unknown in the papyri, with the exception of *P.Ryl.* 427, frag. VIII, 8: τω—ν συνφυόντων (mutilated).

⁸ Philo, *Decalogue* 87; Josephus, *War* 6.155: “as if nature had tightly linked horsemen with their mounts” (καθάπερ δὲ συμπεφυκότες αὐτοί—ς); *Ant.* 13.63; cf. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 4.3.18.

⁹ Aristotle, *Sens.* 438a29–29: “vision combines with exterior light”; C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 376.

¹⁰ N. van Brock, *Vocabulaire médical*, p. 202. She cites Hippocrates, *Artic.* 14: “The clavicle mends quickly, as do all the other spongy bones”; Soranus (*Gyn.* 4.5.1), who thus refers to *symphysis*, the natural mode of joining for two bones; other references in W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 59.

¹¹ Plutarch, *Lyc.* 25.5; Theophrastus, *Caus. Pl.* 5.5.2: σύμφυτον γὰρ πα—ν τὸ ζω—ν τω— ζω—ντι, καὶ μάλιστα ὁμογενές, ὅταν ἀφελκωθῆ, καὶ γένηται μία φύσις. Dio Chrysostom says of the first humans in their relation to the divinity, οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ἀλλὰ ε—ν αὐτω— μέσῳ πεφυκότες μα—λλον δὲ συμπεφυκότες ε—κείνῳ (11.28).

¹² Εἰ— γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν τω— ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ. M. J. Lagrange, taking τω— ὁμοιώματι as an instrumental dative (“associated with Christ by resemblance to his death”) translates “For if we have been united to him to grow with him through the image of his death, we shall also be so with respect to his resurrection” (“Si, en effet, nous lui avons été unis pour croître avec lui par l’image de sa mort, nous le serons aussi quant à sa résurrection”).

¹³ Cf. P. Gaechter, “Zur Exegese von Röm. VI, 5,” in *ZKT*, 1930, pp. 88–92; F. Mussner, “Zusammengewachsen durch die Ähnlichkeit mit seinem Tode,” in *TTZ*, 1954, pp. 257–265; V. Warnach, “Taufe und Christusgeschehen nach Röm. VI,” in *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, vol. 3, 1954, pp. 284–366; E. Stommel, “Das Abbild seines Todes (Röm. VI, 5) und der Taufritus,” in *RQ*, 1955, pp. 1–21; J. Gewiess, “Das Abbild des Todes Christi (Röm VI, 5),” in *Historisches Jahrbuch* (Festschrift B. Altaner), vol. 77, 1958, pp. 330–346.

¹⁴ Cf. J. de Fraine, *Adam et son lignage*, Bruges, 1959.

συμφωνέω, συμφώνησις, συμφωνία, σύμφωνος

symphoneo, to agree, consent, be of the same feeling; *symphonesis*, accord, agreement; *symphonia*, the sound of musical or instruments or instruments and voices together; agreement; *symphonos*, agreeing, harmonious

symphoneo, S 4856; *TDNT* 9.304–309; *EDNT* 3.290; MM 598–599; L&N 31.15, 64.10; BDF §§179(1), 202, 227(2), 409(3); BAGD 780–781 | ***symphonesis***, S 4857; *TDNT* 9.304–309; *EDNT* 3.290; MM 599; L&N 31.15; BAGD 781 | ***symphonia***, S 4858; *TDNT* 9.304–309; *EDNT* 3.290; MM 599; L&N 14.83; BAGD 781 | ***symphonos***, S 4859; *TDNT* 9.304–309; *EDNT* 3.290; MM 599; L&N 31.15; BAGD 781

When the older son returns from the field, he hears “music and choirs” in his father’s house (Luke 15:25). *Symphonia* can mean the sound produced by a certain musical instrument¹ or of voices and instruments “in concert,” more specifically what we call a band or an orchestra.² This is the meaning here, given the subsequent detail “of choirs.” From Plato on (Plato, *Leg.* 3.689 *d*), the word is used for agreement or harmony of feelings and the union that results therefrom among humans,³ and the Stoics define *symphonia* as “agreement in teaching concerning things related to life” (*symphonian de homodogmatian peri ton kata ton bion*, Stobaeus, vol. 2, p. 74, 4). In the papyri, the preponderant meaning is “agreement, covenant.” In receipts from AD 67 and 102: “We have received the things from the agreement” (*eschomen ta apo tes symphonias*, *O.Bodl.* 1075, 4; cf. 1056, 4); “I have paid the costs pursuant to the agreement (*apo tes symphonias*) that you made the four workers on the basis of twelve drachmas per *arour* ’ (*P.Lond.* 1173, vol. 3, p. 207 = *P.Sarap.* 103); “He made the purchases in the name of his son Dionysius, after the time of the agreement entered into by him and Isadora-Tatrephes on the one side.”⁴

The biblical hapax *symphonesis*, unknown in the papyri,⁵ would normally mean the accord between two voices singing together. In 2Cor 6:15, which forbids all syncretism between Christian and pagan cults (“What *symphonesis* is there between Christ and Belial?”), the nuance of agreement, accommodation, emerges from the parallel terms: *metoche* (verse 14, participation, affinity), *koinonia* (verse 14, association, community), *synkatathesis* (verse 16, assent, accommodation).

The verb *symphoneo*, much used in the papyri, especially in a legal sense, can mean simple agreement (“The words of the prophets are in agreement with this”)⁶ and homogeneity (the piece of cloth taken from a new garment “will not match the old garment”).⁷ Hence, on a moral level: “to be of the same feeling, to agree together, to consent.”⁸ Such is the *symphonia* of disciples who agree concerning the object of their prayer (Matt 18:19) or of Ananias and Sapphira, who “agreed together to put the Spirit of the Lord to the test.”⁹ This is analogous to the *symphonia* of Ammonius and Antiphanes son of Heraclas,¹⁰ and to all those contracts in which the parties state that they have come to an agreement: “They made an agreement”;¹¹ “It was agreed between them.”¹² The most common formula is as follows: “I am in agreement with all that is written above”¹³ or

“The clauses hereunder are agreeable to us.”¹⁴ Often a simple *symphono* (“I agree”) is followed immediately by a signature.¹⁵

In the parable about the workers sent into the vineyard, when the master of the house “agreed with the workers for one denarius per day” (Matt 20:2, 13), the Vulgate (“conventionem facta”) rightly took this as an authentic work contract. The papyri constantly have *symphoneo* followed by a price. In AD 78, Maron received from Hermas the whole agreed price: one hundred drachmas paid from hand to hand;¹⁶ for the sale of a part of a house (*BGU* 1643, 20, eighty drachmas; *P.Thead.* 1, 11, ten talents of silver; 2, 8, nine talents; *P.Corn.* 12, 23; 13, 14; *P.Mich.* 428, 6; *P.Stras.* 370, 20), of a field,¹⁷ of a pasture (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 8, 10; 9 a 10; XIII, 2, 5; 15, 10), of an ass (*P.Thead.* 3, 7; *SB* 6001, 7), of a mare (*P.Thead.* 4, 6: 130 talents of silver), of a camel (*P.Stras.* 201, 22; *P.Vindob.Worp* 9, 8), of an acacia (*P.Oslo* 45, 3; cf. 134, 15), of a slave (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 7, 24: 2,200 drachmas; *P.Stras.* 264, 13), for a job: “I have received from you the 276 drachmas that was agreed on for the hay-making season.”¹⁸

Symphonos, has the same connotations of conformity, correspondence, and coincidence.¹⁹ But in the formula *ek symphonou*, used with respect to an interruption in conjugal relations “by mutual consent” or “common accord” (1Cor 7:5), we must not simply refer to the papyrological parallels (*P.Bon.* 24 a 10; *P.Oxy.* 1673, 28; *P.Ness.* 21, 26)—which usually write *kathos exymphonou*²⁰—with the legal severity of *ex conducto*. There is an aesthetic touch and something of moral delicacy and consonance,²¹ perceptible in 4Macc 7:7—Eleazar “echoes the law and philosophy of the divine life”; 14:7—“O holy seven, brothers united in harmony!” The will, desires, and aspirations of Christian spouses coincide in harmonious tonality; two freedoms that agree spontaneously, or better, two hearts that are joined in one precise euphony.

¹ Dan 3:5, 7, 10, 15 (Theodotion) = Nebuchadnezzar’s orchestra (cf. E. Gerson-Kiwi, “Musique,” in *DBSup*, vol. 5, col. 1432). Ordinarily *P.Flor.* 74, 5 is cited: συμφωνίας πάσης μουσικῶ—ν τε καὶ ἄλλων (181 BC); *P.Oxy.* 1275, 9: ὁ προεστὼς συμφωνίας ἀύλητῶ—ν καὶ μουσικῶ—ν; *P.Lond.* 968, (vol. 3, p. XLIX): ὑπὲρ συμφωνίας τυμπάνων. Cf. Str-B, “Excurs XV,” vol. 4, 1, pp. 396, 400; O. Montevicchi, *La papirologia*, Turin, 1973, p. 222.

² Aristotle, *Cael.* 2.9.3.290b. “Certain exegetes who think that *symphonia* is a sort of instrument are wrong; this word actually refers to collective singing, praising God in harmony; for the Greek word *symphonia* is translated by the Latin *consonantia*” (St. Jerome, *Epist.* 21.29). Cf. the dispute on this meaning between P. Barry and G. F. Moore, in *JBL* 1904, pp. 180ff.; 1905, pp. 116ff.; 1908, pp. 99ff. On a Roman epitaph: —Οστα— —Αγαθοῦτος συμφωνιακῆς —Οκταουίας (*IGUR*, II, n. 272). L. Moretti

comments, “Fuit Agathus symphoniaca, id est dominae suae Octaviae musicos concentus comparabat,” and cites *CIL* VI, 23369, 37765.

³ *Ep. Arist.* 302: “The translators set to the task, coming to agreement (σύμφωνα ποιούντες) on each point of confrontation. From the rest that resulted from this agreement (ε—κ τῆς συμφωνίας), Demetrius then had a copy prepared”; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.170: “agreement of the citizens in all matters”; 2.179: “absolute likeness in life and mores produces a very beautiful harmony (καλλίστην συμφωνίαν) in the character of humans.” According to 4Macc, the seven brothers formed a sort of choir (13:8; 14:8), hence their “holy and harmonious accord for piety” (14:3).

⁴ *P.Rein.* 44, 15: μετὰ τὸ τῆς συμφωνίας χρόνον (AD 104); cf. *P.Brem.* 15, 6 (of an architect): the agreed-upon two-leafed door; *P.Tebt.* 429, 9: “twenty-eight drachmas, pursuant to the agreement on the subject of irrigated land”; *P.Oxy.* 104, 20; 2559, 11: instruction sent by the *idios logos* περὶ τῆς συμφωνίας; *SB* 7173, 30: ἔνεκα ἀπαρτισμοῦ συμφωνίας οὐσιακω—ν χρο [. . .

⁵ In *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 14, 16, (second century AD): ε—πὶ τῇ προγεγραμμέν[η συμφωνήσει] is a restoration by the editor.

⁶ Acts 15:15—τούτῳ συμφωνοῦσιν. Cf. Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.181: “a single religious teaching conforms to the law”; 2.255: “their conception of God was in agreement with ours”; *Ant.* 1.107, the historians are in agreement with my exposition; 10.106: “the prophets were in agreement with all that he said”; 15.174: “the other sources do not agree with this account.”

⁷ Luke 5:36; cf. the four kings who joined forces in the valley of Siddim (Gen14:3).

⁸ 1Kgs 12:8—“the priests agreed not to take money from the people any more”; 4Macc 14:6—the young Maccabees were in agreement about dying for the cause of piety; Polybius 2.15.5: at the hostel, the travelers “did not agree on the price of each commodity; they simply asked how much per person.”

⁹ Acts 5:9, ὅτι συνεφωνήθη ὑμι—ν (cf. in a pejorative sense, “conspire, plot together”; Aristotle, *Pol.* 4.12.1297a1: the rich joining their voice with that of the poor against the middle class); the passive verb should be translated “it was agreed by you,” which suggests the Latin construction “convenit inter aliquos” (cf. E. Jacquier, on this text).

¹⁰ *P.Oxy.* 260, 7, κατὰ τὰ συμφωνηθέντα ε—μοὶ καὶ —Αντιφάνει (AD 59); 1148, 5, question to an oracle: “Is it better for my son Phantias and his wife to come to an agreement now with her father, or to oppose him?”; Xenophon, *Hell.* 1.3.8: “the generals came to an agreement with Pharnabazus.”

¹¹ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 14, 6; VI, 24, 61: “They put the question because of the agreement concluded with their father and the verdict”; 31, 9: “we came to an arrangement with another person on these terms”; *P.Sarap.* 84, 6: an agreement to hire three workers to mow at a rate of eight obols; line 8: “I shall attempt, if it is agreeable to you, to conclude other similar accords, to the extent possible”; *P.Oxy.* 3015, 17–19, transcript of a trial: “neither the woman with whom the father of the husband made a more recent agreement nor the sons to whom the shares of the property could be transmitted according to the agreement.”

¹² *P.Dura* 30, 35, μεταξὺ αὐτῶ—ν συνεφωνήθη (marriage contract); *P.Brem.* 15, 9; *P.Mil.* 60, 19: τὴν συμφωνημένην ε—ργασίαν (a banking διαγραφή, second century); *SB* 7557, 3; 9588, 1: συμφωνει—σθαι με πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρέπειαν τῇ ὑπηρετήσει αὐτῇ; *P.Oslo* 35, 14; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 44, 9; *P.Thead.* 10, 13: “I will pay for the additional time the interest . . . agreed between us.”

¹³ Συμφωνι—μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκειται; *P.Yale* 71, 19; *P.Mich.* 562, 16; 608, 20; *P.Cair.Isid.* 131, 5; *C.P.Herm.* 24, 3; 39, 3; 41, 6; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVII, 10, 19; *P.Erl.* 67, 20; 88, 3; *P.Oxy.* 133, 25.

¹⁴ *P.Fouad* 20, 14; *P.Oxy.* 1890, 20; 1891, 23; 2237, 22; 2270, 18; 2348, 51; 2420, 21; *P.Rein.* 105, 13; 108, 17; etc.

¹⁵ *C.P.Herm.* 42, 4; 85, 4; *P.Ryl.* 707, 4; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 31, 3; *P.Princ.* 37, 10 (according to *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 3, p. 149).

¹⁶ *P.Mich.* 583, 12: ἀπέχιν τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Μάρωνα παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμα—τος τὰς συνεφωνημένας τῆς τιμῆς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ε—κατὸν πα—σαν; 603, 23; 550, 16, 26 (AD 99); *P.Oxy.* 1672, 17: “our friend said that he agreed with the inhabitants of his town on the price of thirty-two drachmas” (AD 37–41); 2136, 15; 2236, 16.

¹⁷ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 6, 13: τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνεφωνημένην τιμὴν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς χιλίας.

¹⁸ *P.Oxy.* 728, 37 (AD 142); cf. also *P.Mert.* 19, 7, 12; *C.P.Herm.* 28, 9; 70, 5; 71, 4; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 612r, col. VI, 2, 11; col. VII, 4, 8; col. XI, 8; *P.Cair.Isid.*

80, 6; 83, 6; 84, 4; 92, 6; *P.Princ.* 149, 6; *P.Sarap.* 8–11; 20, 11; *SB* 7996, 12; 8007, 5; 8021, 10; etc.

¹⁹ *Eccl* 7:14—God has made the happy day and the sad day σύμφωνον, corresponding to each other (cf. Geminus, συμφωνει—ν = put the solar months and the lunar year in harmony, *Intro. to Astronomy* 8.26, 36, 49, 60; or agree with a certain theory or observation, 2.20; 17.19; 17.21; συμφώνως, 7.7: “which Aratus seems to agree with”; 7.8: “in perfect harmony with mathematics”; cf. G. Aujac, *Géminos*, p. 207); Josephus, *Ant.* 15.408; *Ag. Apion* 2.169; stele of Moschion: “when you have understood the arrival of the source at its end through equivalent paths” (ε—ξ ἴσου σύμφωνον, *SB* 8026, 37; cf. 9557, 60: πάντα σύμφωνα τάξω ὑμι—ν); *P.Dura* 30, 28: συμφώνου γενομένου μεταξὺ αὐτω—ν (marriage contract). A corporation of dyers complains about the shortcomings of one of its members: ου—τος γὰρ μὴ βουλόμενος πρὸς τὰ σύμφωνα τω—ν ε—γγράφων ἡμω—ν ὁμολογιω—ν . . . (*P.Oxy.* 1943, 5; cf. 1973, 10). Astrological prediction: ὦ—ς γίνεται σύμφωνος τῇ ε—ν τῇ κε τοῦ —Επειφ ἀνατολῇ τοῦ ἄστρου (ibid. 2554, frag. III, 16); *SB* 7033, 82: πείθομαι πα—σι τοι—ς συμφώνοις καὶ ε—περωτηθει—ς ὠμολόγησα; 8951, 18; 9193, 18: συνδοξάσης μεταξὺ ε—μοῦ καὶ σοῦ σύμφωνα; 9298, 27. W. C. Till, “Koptische Parallelurkunden,” in *Studi in onore V. Arangio-Ruiz*, Naples, 1953, vol. 4, pp. 199ff.

²⁰ *P.Mich.* 188, 10 (AD 120); 189, 14; 285, 5; 428, 4; *P.Princ.* 149, 8; *P.Ryl.* 162, 16; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 23, 9.

²¹ Philo, *Dreams* 1.28; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 74; *Unchang. God* 25. “The Greeks use σύμφωνος (consonant) for an interval composed of two different sounds whose simultaneous emission causes a single impression in the ear; these are notably the intervals of a fourth, a fifth, and an octave, but not of a third or a sixth” (F. Laserre, *Plutarque: De la Musique*, Olten-Lausanne, 1954, p. 35).

συναίρω λόγον

synairo logon, to settle an account

synairo logon, S 4868 + 3056; MM 601; L&N 57.229; BDF §310(1); BAGD 783

In the parables of the Unforgiving Servant¹ and of the Talents (Matt 25:19), the king and the master demand an accounting from their servants. The expression is unknown in classical and Hellenistic literary Greek; but it is not a biblicism,² for it is found often in the papyri. In the first century AD,

P.Fay. 109, 6: “I have drawn up the accounts with the father” (*synermai logon to patri*); in 78–79, on the vineyards of Epimachus in the nome of Hermopolis, it is mentioned that on the fourth of Phaopi “Phibis does not work, because he settles accounts with Epimachus.”³ In the second century, *P.Oxy.* 113, 27: “Let me know what you have given him, so that I may settle my accounts with him” (*hina synaromai auto logon*); *PSI* 801, 3: “the whole account having been settled” (*pantos logou synermenou*); 921, 8; 974, 29; 1038, 9; *BGU* 775, 19. In the third century, the account of Heroninus: “The whole account having been settled up to Thoth, I owe . . .” (*heos Thoth pantos logou synermenou ophilo*, *P.Flor.* 372, 14); cf. an ostrakon from Nubia: “until the settling of the account.”⁴ In the fourth-fifth century, “to settle the account of their land-owning business” (*synarasthai logon ton auton geouchikon pragmaton*, *SB* 9527, 11).

¹ Matt 18:23; cf. R. Sugranyes de Franch, *Etudes sur le droit palestinien à l'époque évangélique*, Fribourg, 1946, p. 48; C. Spicq, *Dieu et l'homme*, pp. 54ff.

² It would be more of a Latinism, *Dig.* 35.1.82; cf. J. V. Le Clerc, *Des journaux chez les Romains*, Paris, 1938, pp. 218–394; P. Jouanique, “Rationem reddere,” in *BAGB*, 1961, pp. 228–233.

³ *P.Lond.* 131, 194 (republished with commentary by A. Swiderek, *La Propriété foncière privée dans l'Égypte de Vespasien*, Warsaw, 1960, *SB* 9699): Φι—βις . . . συναίρων μετὰ —Επιμάχου τὸν λόγον; cf. line 407, “the priest Apochras settled the account (of a worker who cuts reeds) with Epimachus himself” (τὸν λόγον πρὸς αὐτὸν —Επίμαχον συνῆρε).

⁴ Ἀχρι λόγου συνάρσεως, in *O.Wilck.* II, 1135, 5.

συναποθνήσκω

synapothnesko, to die with

synapothnesko, S 4880; *TDNT* 3.7–21, 7.766–797; *EDNT* 3.298; *NIDNTT* 1.430–431, 435; *MM* 603; *L&N* 23.118; *BAGD* 784–785

This verb, which is common in Greek and Hellenistic literature,¹ but totally unknown in the papyri, means simply “die with, disappear at the same time” (Sir 19:10; Diodorus Siculus 17.13.4: the wounded Thebans once more attacked their enemies and “took them along with themselves in death”). It is used especially to express the vow of a fervent heart to live and die with a beloved: “you are in our hearts, united for death and life” (*eis to*

synapothanein kai syzen, 2Cor 7:3). According to the Aristotelian tradition, through *philostorgia*, “there are even parents who, if their children die, die with them” (*tois teknois synapothneskein*, Stobaeus 2.7.13; vol. 2, p. 120, 8). Charicleia says concerning her fiancé, “I must live with this man and die with him” (Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.19.2).

But beginning with Herodotus (7.222), it is used also for soldiers who sacrifice themselves with their leader and follow him in death (Strabo 17.2.3). According to Nicolaus of Damascus, the Aquitanian officer Adiatuanus had a guard of six hundred men who were bound to him by avow: “to accompany kings in life and in death (*syzontas kai synapothneskontas*), they have these men who have made vows to them. In exchange, they share his power, have the same clothing and the same lifestyle, and they by strict necessity die with him (*synapothneskousi*), whether the king dies through sickness, war, or some other manner.”² St. Paul wrote, “If we die with Christ . . . we shall also live with him” (Rom 6:8). This was not only an expression of faithfulness, but a true *devotio*,³ that of the apostle Thomas: “Let us go also, that we may die with him” (*agomen kai hemeis hina apothanomen met’ autou*, John 11:16); and of Peter, joined by the other disciples: “If I had to die with you, I would never deny you (*ean dee me synapothanein soi, ou me se aparnesomai*)—and all the others said the same” (Mark 14:31). Thus the primitive church composed a baptismal hymn: “If we have begun by dying with (him), with (him) also shall we live” (*ei gar synapethanomen, kai syzesomen*, 2Tim 2:11; cf. 2Cor 4:10; 1Cor 15:31)—after the fashion of the repentant thief (Luke 23:41-43). These actions, these customs, and this use of language⁴ inspired the wording of the hymn in a more or less conscious manner; but in the new covenant, it is not possible to live from Christ and with Christ without having made the oath to die with him.⁵

¹ Cf. F. Olivier, *Essais*, Geneva, 1963, pp. 155–177. The only occurrence in Philo is metaphorical: when a woman’s first husband has died, “there also dies with him any possibility of enmity with this woman’s second husband” (*Spec. Laws* 1.108).

² *Hist. Univ.* 116 = Athenaeus 6.249 a–b. The baptismal *homologia* of the “good soldier of Jesus Christ” (2Tim 2:3) can be assimilated to the military oath (*sacramentum*) in which the soldiers swear to follow their leader and obey his orders with all their might (Polybius 6.21.2–3; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 10.18; 11.43; cited by F. Olivier, *Essais*, p. 163).

³ Cf. that of the Spaniards to follow Caesar Augustus and never to survive their leader (*Res gest. divi Aug.* 25.2; Dio Cassius 50.6). “The Iberians devote themselves with such self-denial to those to whom they have rallied that they do not hesitate to die for them” (ὥστε ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ

αὐτῶ—ν, Strabo 3.4.18; cf. Plutarch, *Sert.* 14.5). R. Etienne sees in this religious oath the beginning of the emperor cult (*Le Culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique*, Paris, 1958, pp. 75ff., 359ff.).

⁴ The expression became proverbial, cf. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 123: “we will do it, even if we have to die” (ποιήσομεν, κἄν ἀποθανεῖ—ν ἡμα—ς δέη); Cicero, *Att.* 7.20.2: “For me, in Italy, with him to the death; and on this point I do not seek your opinion” (“ego autem in Italia καὶ συναποθανεῖ—ν—nec te id consulo”).

⁵ R. C. Tannehill, *Dying and Rising with Christ*, Berlin, 1967; K. Berger, “Zum traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund christologischer Hoheitstitel,” in *NTS*, vol. 17, 1971, pp. 400–403.

συνείδησις

syneidesis, conscience

syneidesis, S 4893; *TDNT* 7.898–919; *EDNT* 3.301–303; *NIDNTT* 1.348–351, 353; *MM* 604–605; *L&N* 26.13, 27.54, 28.4; *BAGD* 786; *ND* 3.85

This word, attested three times in the OT (Sir 42:8, the variant in Sinaiticus; Eccl 10:20, Hebrew *mada'*; Wis 17:10) makes its first appearance in Democritus¹ and Chrysippus (Diogenes Laertius 7.85; cf. *SVF*, III, 43, 2–5: “proper to every living creature is his constitution and his knowledge of it”—*kai ten tautes syneidesin*), then practically disappears from the literature² only to reappear in the neuter participle *to syneidos* in the first century in Philo, Josephus, Plutarch, etc. Absent from the Synoptics, the substantive is used quite frequently by St. Paul as a central element of his educative moral theology of liberty,³ as much in the major epistles as in the Pastorals; it then appears in Heb and 1Pet, where it is part of the common Christian vocabulary. Where does it come from and what does it mean?

The first known papyrological occurrence is from AD 59. A former soldier, Lucius Pamiseus, having met a convoy of donkeys loaded with stones, led by a slave, received a violent kick from one of the donkeys. The terrified slave took flight: “the slave, aware of his crime, fled” (*tou de doulou phygontos kata syneidesin hes pepoetai eperias*, *P.Fouad* 28, 15). He acted not out of remorse but out of the fear of the punishment that he might receive.⁴ In 117, Ammonius and Hermocles write to Apollonius to handle a matter according to his conscience and his point of view, i.e., according to his personal intuition and judgment (*estin epi ten syneidesin sou dran*, *P.Brem.* 11, 27 = *C.Pap.Jud.* II, 444). Between 180 and 192, in a petition to the *strategos*, the claimant pleads his perfect conscience concerning his

right (*dia ten perisson synidesin axio*, *P.Corn.* 14, 11). In the third century, Horion asks his correspondent to act conscientiously (*oida gar hoti syneidesi spoudazeis emoi*, *P.Flor.* 338, 17), which implies an ethical nuance. This nuance is apparent in the form of remorse on the part of the guilty: “I wanted to show friendship to you, but you did not wait for me, since you must have been troubled by a bad conscience” (*hypo kakou syneidotos katechomenos*, *P.Oxy.* 532, 23; second century; cf. 218, col. II, 19, around the beginning of the Christian era, concerning a trial by ordeal: “if the subject has some offense on his conscience”—*ean de enklematos tinos eche syneidesin*); “troubled by conscience concerning the things that she stole from the household supplies and stores” (*thleibomene te syneidesei peri hon enosphisato en te endomeneia kai apothetois*, *P.Ryl.* 116, 9; second century). In the third-fourth century, Alypius writes to his steward: “You have neglected to do it (give an accounting for the production and shipping of the grain), perhaps because you do not have a clear conscience” (*ou kalo syneidoti chromenoi*, *P.Rein.* 52, 5). These descriptions of the conscience⁵ are materially analogous to those given earlier in the NT.⁶ They tend to identify the *syneidesis* with the moral personality, whose integrity remains despite the subject’s offenses.⁷

Philo also had a concept of the pure conscience (*Spec. Laws* 1.203, *ek katharou tou syneidotos*), that of the person who has committed no offense (*Heir* 6) and who is incorruptible (*Post. Cain* 59), fully in the light before God (*Joseph* 68); but the conscience is constantly linked with *elenchos* (*Creation* 128; *Good Man Free* 149; *Virtues* 206; *Conf. Tongues* 121; *Drunkenness* 125; *Post. Cain* 59; *Worse Attacks Better* 23; cf. the addition of several manuscripts to John 8:9—*hypo tes syneideseos elenchomenoi*), is the source of remorse (*Spec. Laws* 2.49: “in the grip of conscience concerning unjust actions”—*syneidesei ton adikematon anchomenos*; *Unchang. God* 100), an internal witness linked with God (*Joseph* 285; *Decalogue* 91), which convicts the sinner of his guilt (*Joseph* 47), condemns him (*Flacc.* 7), holds him back on the slide into evil (*Joseph* 47), but which also holds the “reins” on his conduct (*Worse Attacks Better* 23) and directs it freely: “The victim of a transformation states that he cannot eat of the expiatory sacrifice, because his conscience does not allow him to take nourishment and repent” (*Flight* 159); the wife of Macron, “because of the state of her conscience (*heneken tou syneidotos*), becomes still more of a wheedler,” (*To Gaius* 39); the servant of God, “purified from every offense, considers that he loves his Master from his conscience” (*ho philodespoton ek tou syneidotos krine*, *Heir* 7). Compare Heb 13:18—“having a good conscience, wishing to conduct ourselves well in everything.”

Philo uses *syneidesis* and *to syneidos* rather often, but it cannot be said that he developed the idea, because he uses it above all for the function of blaming for sins, conformably to the Jewish and Stoic

traditions.⁸ Josephus also know bad conscience (*Ant.* 16.102, 212) but accentuates its ethical character: through conscience, Joseph knows that adultery deserves death (*Ant.* 2.51), and each person is convinced that good deeds are rewarded (*Ag. Apion* 2.218). Conscience always arises from knowledge, it is a knowing that the subject shares (*syn-eidenai*) either with himself or with someone else, sometimes purely on a psychological level, sometimes on an ethical level: “Alexander, in addition to the purity of his conscience (*meta katharou tou syneidos*), was assisted by his powerful eloquence” (in getting himself acquitted, *War* 1.453).

None of these texts, even those of Seneca, approach St. Paul’s in density and precision; Paul made *syneidesis* into the interior faculty for the personal discernment of good and evil, the practical rule of conduct and motive for action: “for conscience’s sake” (*dia ten syneidesin*, Rom 13:5; 1Cor 8:7; 10:25-29; cf. 1Pet 2:19; 3:21). Having abolished the law, and thus morality based on the observance of an external rule, he substituted an individual norm, a spirit for a letter: the Christian is “autonomous.” He took a *word* that was in the popular vocabulary and whose usage is attested by the papyri, and he distinctively enriched the *concept*, which was elaborated by popular moralizing preaching, and which was directed—above all in Seneca—toward the conscience that we today call “antecedent” (*conscientia antecedens*).

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¹ Democritus, frag. 297 *b*; it clearly refers to the moral consciousness: “there are men who, not knowing that the mortal nature comes to nothing, but being conscious (συνειδήσει δέ) of the perverse life they are leading, are tormented by alarms and fears . . .”; cf. W. Nestle, “Bemerkungen zu den Vorsokratikern und Sophisten,” in *Philologus*, 1908, p. 548.

² There are several rare texts prior to the Christian era: Menander, *Mon.* 654: βρότοις ἅπασιν ἢ συνείδησις θεός; Periander: Περίανδρος ε—ρωτηθεὶς τί ε—στιν ε—λευθερία, εἶπεν ἀγαθὴ συνείδησις (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 3.24.12; vol. 3, p. 604); Diogenes Laertius: τίς γὰρ ἂν η—ττον φοβοί—τό τι ἢ θαρσοίη μάλιστα, ἢ ὅστις αὐτῷ—μηδὲ συνειδείη κακόν (ibid. 14; vol. 3, p. 604); Bias: Βίας ε—ρωτηθεὶς τί ἂν εἴη τῷ—κατὰ τὸν βίον ἄφοβον, εἶπεν ὀρὴ συνείδησις (ibid. 11; vol. 3, p. 603); cf. Pythagoras, Isocrates (ibid.); Xenophon, *Ap.* 24: “Those who allow themselves to be seduced by false testimony must necessarily be aware (συνειδέσθαι) of having committed a great impiety and a great injustice.”

³ C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, pp. 602ff.

⁴ Cf. Philo, *Virtues* 124: “If someone is another man’s slave, and he flees to you out of fear of his master, or because he is aware of having committed certain offenses (συνειδήσει τινῶ—ν ἁμαρτημάτων), or again because without having committed any offense he is living with a hard and cruel master”; *P.Paris* 422, 7: “When you have come in early, you will find people aware of the same thing” (ὅταν ι—σελθῆς, καλῆ ὥρα, εὐρήσις συνίδησιν, second century); *P.Oxy.* 123, 13: ἤδη γὰρ οἱ—τῶ—ν ἄλλων πόλεων συνείδησιν εἰ—σήνεγκαν τοι—ς κολλήγαις αὐτῶ—ν, εἰ—σήλθαν (third-

fourth century); *BGU* 1024, col. III, 7: τὴν συνείδησιν τῶ—ν πεπραγμένων (protocol from a trial, fourth-fifth century).

⁵ Cf. Philo, *Good Man Free* 99: ε—κ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος; *Rewards* 84: to call upon God ἀπὸ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος; 163: τοῦ συνειδότος ἀψευδές; *To Gaius* 165; *P.Oslo* 17, 10: εἰ—καθαρὰν εἶχετε συνείδησιν, κατὰ τί ζητηθέντες ε—πὶ τῆς διαγνώσεως τοῦ πράγματος οὐκ ε—φάνητε ἕως προγράφητε (with the correction of *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 3, p. 119); *SB* 9193, 2: προαιρέσει βεβαίῳ συνειδήσει ὀρθῇ διανοίᾳ (time of Justinian); *P.land.* 128, 10: διὰ τὴν αἰ—δεσιμωτάτην σοινήδισιν (*sic*) τῶ—νγοναίων ἡμῶ—ν (fifth century); *MAMA* VIII, 413 e 12: —Ἰθαρος Μενίππου ἰ—ερόδς εὐσεβῶ—ν δὲ καὶ εὐσυνειδήτως ἔχων πρὸς τὴν οὐρανίαν —Αφροδίτην (Aphrodisias, second century); Marcus Aurelius 6.30.15: εὐσυνειδήτος; cf. a conscience somewhat strengthened: ἔχει τοῦ συνειδότος τινὰ ε—κβεβαίωσιν (Plutarch, *De prof. in virt.* 16; cf. a peaceful conscience, Plutarch, *De tranq. anim.* 19); Josephus, *War* 1.453: “He found a refuge in purity of conscience” (συνήργει δ αὐτῶ— μετα—καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος); Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Th.* 8.13: “The greatest merit of Thucydides is that he is never intentionally in error; he never taints his conscience” (μηδὲ μαιίνειν τὴν αὐτοῦ συνείδησιν); cf. 8.3.48; *Ant. Rom.* 8.1. But in the letter of Artaxerxes to Hippocrates, ἀγαθὴ συνείδησις is only “good advice” (ed. Littré, IX, p. 312).

⁶ Cf. ἀγαθὴ συνείδησις (Acts 23:1; 1Tim 1:5, 19; 1Pet 3:16, 21); καθαρὰ (1Tim 3:9; 2Tim 1:3; cf. Heb 9:14); πονηρὰ (Heb 10:22); ἀσθενής (1Cor 8:7, 10, 12); μεμΐανται (Titus 1:15).

⁷ Cf. its association with oaths, analogous to that of a witness, *MAMA* IV, 280, 7: διὰ ὄρκον καὶ συνίδησιν καὶ διὰ μόλυμον (Dionysopolis, second-third century). At Pergamum, in the time of Hadrian, merchants who had changed money anywhere other than at the public bank, in order to get a better rate, could not—since they were aware of their offense—take an oath, and give it to the bankers to be rid of it, τοὺς οὖν διὰ τὸ συνειδὸς ὀμνύναι μὴ δυναμένους διδόναι τι αὐτοί—ς (Dittenberger, *Or.* 484, 37; cf. R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, pp. 231ff.); cf. *SEG* IV, 648, 11: ἔθηκεν ε—ν τῶ—ναῶ— . . . ε—ν συνειδήσι τοιαύτη (Lydia, second century). In a ruling from Lindos concerning a religious tax, around AD 200, “those whose conscience is absolutely clear may consult the oracle (of the god Psithyrus) and offer sacrifices” (χρήσεν καὶ θύιν οἷς καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς ἄριστον, *LSCGSup*, n. 86, 3).

⁸ *T. Reub.* 4.3—ἕως νῦν ἡ συνείδησις μου συνέχει με περὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας μου; Epictetus 3.22.94: “For the Cynic, it is not weapons or guards but his conscience (τὸ συνειδὸς) that give this power” of reprimanding vice, of

punishing the delinquent (cf. A. Bonhöffer, *Epikteke*, pp. 156ff.); Heraclitus, *All.* 37.2: “Consciousness of an offense is slow to come with all guilty people” (συνείδησις ἀμαρτόντος ἀνθρώπου; cf. Heb 10:2—συνείδησις ἀμαρτιῶ—ν); Diodorus Siculus 4.65.7, with respect to Alcmaeon, who killed his mother: καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν τοῦ μύσουσ εἰ—ς μανίαν περιέστη, “his conscience concerning his stain drove him mad.” The Stoic *conscientia*, well attested by Cicero, is exploited above all by Seneca (*Ep.* 43.4–5; Seneca, *Vit. Beat.* 20.3–5; *Tranq.* 3.4, citing Athenodorus son of Sandon of Tarsus, d. AD 7). Cf. R. Mulder, *De Conscientiae Notione, Quae et Qualis Fuerit Romanis*, Leiden, 1908; J. N. Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca*, Leiden, 1961, pp. 84ff.

συνέχω

synecho, to hold together, associate, take, hold, press, detain, grip, compel

synecho, S 4912; *TDNT* 7.877–885; *EDNT* 3.306; MM 606–607; L&N 25.241, 30.18, 68.19, 90.65; BAGD 789

Of the twelve occurrences of this verb in the NT, only one has a theological meaning: “For the love of Christ compels (*synechei*) us.”¹ This rather odd figurative meaning needs to be illuminated by the usage of the Koine.

I. — “Hold together, maintain,” is said of fabric that is held together and stitched² and quite early becomes a technical term for the holding together of the universe in unity;³ with the Stoics, it refers to the divine link that holds the world together.⁴ Philo calls God “the One who created all, who unites and sustains earth and heaven, sea and air,”⁵ in accord with Wis 1:7 (“The Spirit of the Lord fills the universe and contains all things”) or Job 3:23 (God hedges man in on all sides). A Roman inscription from 370 describes Attis thus: “To you, Attis, the Most High, holding all things together.”⁶ This cosmic meaning is unknown in the NT, as is the following meaning.

II. — From the meaning “to assemble”⁷ derives that of being an associate or co-participant in a matter: “Nikon, with whom Penenteris is associated” (*ho synechetai ho Penenteris*, *P.Magd.* 26, 7; cf. *P.Gen.* 38, 8; *P.Mich.* 370, 26–28); and the meaning “administrate together,” the object being some property or other (*P.Paris* II, 31, 8; from the third century BC). In a marriage contract from AD 127 between Sarapion and Taïs, the services and profits of the slave Callityche will be shared together (*ten douleian kai apophoras autas synexei*, *P.Oxy.* 496, 6).

III. — Probably from this usage comes the sense “devote oneself to, take care of,” as in this epitaph from Thermion in the imperial period: “I shall take care of her as of one of my own children”;⁸ and Acts 18:5, where

Paul at Corinth devotes himself entirely to preaching: *syneicheto to logo* — he is absorbed, completely wrapped up in this ministry.

IV. — The passive *synechomai* means “be taken, held,” as on the horns of a dilemma (*synechomai de ek ton duo*, Phil 1:23) or under a compulsion that cannot be avoided. Hence the medical meaning: “be taken” by a fever, an illness, a pain, as was Peter’s mother-in-law (Luke 4:38) or the father of Publius (Acts 28:8; cf. Matt 4:24). Two fourth-century physicians, delivering a medical certificate, state that they have seen the patient in bed, taken by a light fever.⁹ Similarly, on the psychological level, a person can be taken by great fear, as were the Gerasenes (*phobo megalo syneichonto*, Luke 8:37), or as was Christ, who was oppressed or constrained (*pos synechomai*) until his baptism was completed.¹⁰

V. — When surrounded by a dense crowd or by encircling enemies, one is both “pressed” and “detained.”¹¹ This nuance of constraint is the most emphasized connotation in the papyri. In 20–50, a woman who was beaten, robbed, and abandoned by her husband asks the *archidikastes* to make him appear before him and compel him to return her dowry (*hopos epanankasthe synechomenos apodounai moi ten phernen syn hemiolia*, *P.Oxy.* 281, 25). In 103 BC, Diocles, an associate of shady characters, is convicted and forced to pay damages to Theotimus, whom he has insulted and attacked (*synechomenous tes adikou agoges*, *P.Fay.* 12, 31). *Synecho* is the ordinary term for the power behind the execution of a judicial verdict: the accused are compelled to pay a certain sum to their victims (*synechomenous apodounai autois*, *P.Ryl.* 65, 11; from 67 BC). Sometimes this verb is used for the “seizure” of a commodity, an impounding. In 236 BC, an imprisoned debtor asks the tax farmer to place an embargo on the produce of his vineyards.¹² Much more commonly it is a matter of physical constraint used against a recalcitrant debtor. *Dioiketai*, *toparchoi*, *komarchoi*, *epistratego*, *basilogrammateis*, *archidikastai*, and police chiefs order the “seizure” of the guilty party.¹³ *Synecho* is even used for impounding by private citizens themselves.¹⁴ In the second century BC, however, a series of amnesty orders (by Ptolemy IV Philometor or Ptolemy V Epiphanes) forbids “confining free men in their houses or anywhere else” (*P.Kroll* col. II, 18 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 34; cf. 53, 260; 53 bis 6; 53 ter 5, 18; 55, 13; *PSI* 1401, 13). These usages shed light on Luke 22:63, *hoi andres hoi synechontes*, which is usually translated “the men who were guarding him (Jesus)”; they were “holding him prisoner.”¹⁵

VI. — The violence implied by the idea of constraint is not essential to *synecho*, which also means “grip, squeeze.” In Acts 7:57, where we say that the members of the Sanhedrin “stopped their ears,” the Greek says that they pressed or bound up his ears in order not to hear (*syneschon to ota auton*). The same word is also used for shutting the mouth (Isa 52:15; Ps 69:16), for the way the crocodile’s scales are fastened together

(Job41:9, Theodotion), for pinching the fingers together (Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 95).

VII. — All of the meanings discussed above have a part in the love of Christ that constrains us.¹⁶ This love suggests the Lord's seizing us to hold us and maintain us in his sovereign and exclusive possession. It takes possession of us so forcefully that it compels us to love in return (cf. the persistence in Mic 7:18; Ps 77:9) and wraps up our whole being. More than pressure, it is an compulsion (Vulgate "urget nos") that orients our whole life and all our conduct. The fervor of this *agape*, which is suggestive of a fire (Matt 24:12), can be compared to a burning fever (cf. Heb 10:24—*paroxysmos agapes*) and thus implies intense emotion, the giving of one's heart. Finally, since according to St. Paul the *agape* of Christ is essentially linked to the cross, this love in a way oppresses the disciple, just as Christ was in anguish at the prospect of his passion; it judges him and convinces (*krino*) him to die with his Savior.¹⁷ He is forced to it, as it were.

¹ Ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμα—ς, 2Cor 5:14; cf. G. S. Hendry, "Ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμα—ς (II Cor. v, 14)," in *ExpT*, vol. 59, 1947–48, p. 82; C. Spicq, "L'Étreinte de la charité," in *ST*, vol. 8, 2, 1954, pp. 123–132; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 127–136; Koester, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 877–885.

² Exod 26:3; 28:7; 36:11; Plato, *Phd.* 98 d: "the skin keeps the whole together." Metaphorically, "enmity and friendship hold the real together" (*Soph.* 242 e; cf. *Grg.* 508 a); "you hold us together for a long time" (Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1265); *Orac. Chald.*, frag. 23: "for a triad to hold all things in measuring all things" (ὄφρα τὰ πάντα τριάς συνέχη κατὰ πάντα μετροῦσα, ed. E. des Places, after Didymus, *Trin.* 2.27; *PG*, vol. 39, 756 a); idem, frag. 30, the intelligible god, "source of sources, matrix that contains all things" (μήτρα συνέχουσα τὰ πάντα); Numenius, frag. 4 a (ed. E. des Places). On the soul "containing" the body, cf. J. Pépin, "Une nouvelle source de Saint Augustin," in *REA*, 1964, pp. 58–61.

³ Aristotle, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.14.1 c (vol. 1, p. 141, 9); Xenophon, *Mem.* 4.3.13; *Cyr.* 8.7.22; Ps.-Aristotle, *Mund.* 6.397b9; G. Méautis, *Recherches sur le Pythagorisme*, Neuchâtel, 1922, p. 43.

⁴ Atticus, frag. 7, 3: a unique, animated force traverses and penetrates the universe "to bind and hold together all things" (καὶ πάντα συνδοῦσα καὶ συέχουσα); Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.36; Iamblichus, *Myst.* 1.19 (58.3): "Things here below are continuous, of a piece with things above"; Alexander of

Aphrodisias, *Mixt.* 224.7; *SVF*, vol. 2, pp. 137, 30; 144, 26–27; 145, 1; 146, 32; 147, 34.

⁵ *Moses* 2.238; cf. *Plant.* 8–10; *Etern. World* 36–37, 75, 137; *Migr. Abr.* 181; *Flight* 112; *Heir* 188, 217, 281; *Quest. Exod.* 2.68, 90; Plutarch, *De comm. not.* 49; *De Stoic. rep.* 43. Cf. Strabo 11.1.1: “Europe touches (συνεχῆς ἐ—στιν) Asia”; 11.6.7.

⁶ *IGUR*, n. 129, 2: Ἀττει θ ὑψίστω καὶ συνέχοντι τὸ πα—ν, commented on by F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th ed., Paris, 1929, pp. 59, 227, n. 57.

⁷ 1Sam 23:8; 2Sam 20:3; Neh 6:10; Xenophon, *An.* 7.2, 8: call dispersed soldiers together; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.208: συνέχει κοινωνίαν; *P.Mich.Zen.* 103, 2: bring camels together; *P.Brem.* XIV, 9; *BGU* 1619, 15; 1773, 7; *P.Mil.* 37, 13; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 194 a 4; *SB* 9495, col. II, a 4.

⁸ Παισὶν συνέξω, *SB* 8960, 30 = *GVI*, n. 1875 = E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 46; who compares Strabo 14.2.5; Athenaeus 13.578 f. Add *Wis* 17:19—“the whole world devoted itself unhindered to its work” (ἀνεμποδίστοις συνείχετο ἔργοις); 2Macc 9:2—invade a city; Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.9: the column of heaven masters Typhon, who has a hundred heads; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.7.22, with respect to the almighty gods, οἱ—τήνδε τὴν τω—ν ὄλων τάξιν συνέχουσιν.

⁹ *P.Oxy.* 896, 34; *P.Flor.* 296, 22: τῇ συνεχούση με ἄρρωστίᾳ; *C.P.Herm.* 19, 11: νόσῳ συσχεθείς; *P.Lond.* V, 1730, 13: διὰ τὴν συνεχομένην μοι ἀσθένειαν; *P.Oslo* 124, 13. Often in the medical writers: “the tendons are affected by the suffering” (Hippocrates, *Acut.*, Appendix 37.1; cf. W. K. Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 3ff.). Cf. Demosthenes, *C. Con.* 54.11: “I was taken by a persistent fever and acute pains” (πυρετοὶ δὲ παρηκολούθουν μοι συνεχει—ς καὶ ἀλγήματα). In Hippocrates, *συνεχῆς* refers to a fever that continues without remission (J. Jouanna, *La Nature de l’homme*, Berlin, 1975, p. 294).

¹⁰ Luke 12:50; cf. *Wis* 17:10—wickedness is constrained by the conscience (συνεχομένη τῇ συνειδήσει); *T. Reub.* 4.3—ἕως νῦν ἡ συνείδησις μου συνέχει με περὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας μου; *T. Abr.* A 16: “Death, seized by a great fear” (δειλία πολλῇ συνεχόμενος); in 200, a woman overwhelmed by excessive burdens had to sell her reserves and her jewels; she complains of having had to work all year long—forcibly, if not in anguish (*P.Oxy.* 899, 11); cf. *P.Lond.* V, 1676, 25: ἡ συνέχουσα αὐτὸν φοβρωτάτε ἀνομαλία; 1677, 12: συνεχόμενος τῇ ἀπορίᾳ καὶ πενίᾳ.

¹¹ Luke 8:45—οι— ὄχλοι συνέχουσίν σε; 19:43. From the third century BC, συνέχω is used for someone who is obliged to stay somewhere longer than he wishes: “I am detained here” (συνέχομαι δ ε—νταῦθα, *PSI* 552, 28); “Our brother, having been detained by business in the metropolis since the 28th” (*P.Tebt.* 754, 2; second century BC); irrigation waters must not be held up more than five days (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59155, 5). In AD 16: ε—ρωτω— σε ταχύτερον συσχει—ν τὸ πρα—γμα (*P.Tebt.* 410, 11); *P.Hamb.* 171, 7, 17, money kept in the bank; *P.Hib.* 249, 7.

¹² *P.Tebt.* 772, 10–11; cf. *P.Enteux.* 3, 7: a seizure of fleeces; 85, 3: “Diophanes wrote to Deinias to hold back” the grain; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59373, 3–4: seizure of wine and other commodities as security against unpaid import taxes; *P.Mich.Zen.* 103, 19: Asclepiades’ creditors seize the thirty sacks carried by his camel caravan, ταῦτα συνέχεται ὑπὸ τω—ν οἷς ὄφειλεν ὁ —Ασκληπιάδης; *P.Princ.* 117, 17 (52–53 BC); *BGU* 1824, 27; 1854, 17; 2063, 13, 18.

¹³ In the third century AD, farmers who have not paid their debts are arrested (*P.Gur.* 20, 2); others are kept in the town jail until they can be transferred to Alexandria (*P.Tebt.* 703, 221; cf. *P.Mich.Zen.* 36, 6; *P.Petr.* 20, 1; *P.Lond.* 1914, 38: —Αρχέλαος συνεσχέθη, Archelaus was arrested). A series of judgments in AD 13 decides that debtors will be held (συνέχεσθαι) until they have paid off their obligation (*BGU* 1053, 1, 31; 1054, 9; 1055, 28; 1056, 16; 1057, 12; 1106, 37; etc.). In 81 a loan contract provides that the borrower will be detained if he does not pay back the thirty-eight drachmas at the end of four months (ἢ εἶναι αὐτὴν ἀγωγίμην καὶ συνέχεσθαι μέχρι τοῦ ε—κτει—σαι τω— Μάκρω, *P.Oxy.* 1471, 23; cf. 1882, 4).

¹⁴ *P.Cair.Zen.* 59347, 3; 59620, 7 and 12 (of a child); often the violence suffered by the liberty of the detainee is emphasized. In March 167, Lysimachus and his brother complain to the *epistrategos* that a certain Sarapammon has kidnapped their slave (βία συνέσχον, *P.Fam.Tebt.* 37, 2). Cf. *P.Oslo* 127, 6: συσχεθῆναι μεθ ὕβρεως; *UPZ* 79, 20: συνει—χον αὐτὴν καὶ βάειν, μήποτε φύγη.

¹⁵ Cf. 1Macc 13:15—“It is because of the money that your brother Jonathan owes the royal treasury . . . that we are holding him captive” (συνέχομεν αὐτόν); *P.Magd.* 42, 7: “The *komarchos* took me to prison and kept me there four days” (προσαπήγαγέν με ει—ς τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ σύνεσχεν ε—ῶ ἡμέρας, *P.Enteux.* 83, 7); *P.Lille* 7, 11, 15: “My kinsman Apollonius asked me to return some little books that he had entrusted to my care; when I could not find them, he became angry with me and asked Spinther . . . to arrest me (συνέχειν με). . . . He in turn explained to the

jailer why I was arrested (δι ἧν αἰ—τίαν συνέσχημαι)”; *Hymn to Isis*: “all those who are held prisoner by destiny, which leads to death” (ὅσσοι δε—μοίραις θανάτου συνέχονται ε—ν ει—ρκτηῖ, *SEG VIII*, 548 = *SB 8138* = *V. F. Vanderlip, Four Greek Hymns*, p. 17).

¹⁶ 2Cor 5:14. In St. Paul’s usage, ἀγάπη with a person in the genitive means the love that belongs to that person (2Thess 3:5; Eph 2:4), so τοῦ Χριστοῦ would be a subjective genitive (cf. Rom 5:5; 8:35, 39; Gal 2:20); but here the context (cf. v. 13) suggests an objective genitive, love for Christ. In reality, these two meanings should not be separated; we have here a comprehensive or “general” genitive, cf. M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §36.

¹⁷ Cf. St. Ambrose: “I am fastened as by nails of faith, I am confined by the good fetters of love” (on Luke 5:27).

ΣΥΣΤΑΤΙΚΟΣ

systatikos, setting in relation, appointing, guaranteeing, commending

systatikos, *S 4956*; *EDNT 3.313*; *MM 617*; *L&N 33.345*; *BAGD 795*

This adjective, derived from *synistemi*, literally “giving consistency” or “setting in relation,” is used in the neuter for the appointing of a representative,¹ the giving of a guarantee (*P.Oxy.* 1634, 20; *P.Grenf.* II, 70, 4) or of orders (*P.Tebt.* 315, 29). With *epistole* or *grammata*, it refers to a “letter of recommendation” (*P.Oxy.* 1587, 20; Diogenes Laertius 8.87), which usually meant a letter given to a traveler so that he might find a good welcome with the writer’s relatives or friends abroad (*P.Oxy.* 1064; *P.Flor.* 173). Diogenes was skeptical of the value of these *systatika grammata* (Epictetus 2.3.1). St. Paul deemed them superfluous in his case: “Do we need letters of introduction to you or from you?”²

These letters were so commonly used that from the time of Demetrius of Phalerum formularies were available for use as models.³ The oldest ones that have come down to us are from the third century BC.⁴ Recommendations were written for a close friend (*anankaios philos*, *C.P.Herm.* 1; first century) or a regular visitor⁵ to a high official⁶ or to any acquaintance at all (*SB 7662*, 13). Even the emperor or the consuls intervene to recommend their freedmen when they are awarded a certain position or function; they “bear witness” to their qualities or abilities. For example, “The recommendation of your superior moves me to promote you to the distinguished service of the *voluptates*; I give you the post of . . .”⁷ Christians continued this custom. There are numerous letters between

them or from priests recommending their “brother” in the faith to this or that community.⁸

¹ Συστατικὸν εἰς Οὐαλέριν, *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 27, 26 (lines 23 and 30); 41, 13, 19: εὐδοκῶ— τὸ προκειμένῳ συστατικῶ— (second century); *P.Hamb.* 102, 19: τὸ συστατικὸν κύριον ὄν ε—μὸν ι—δίογραφον; cf. *PSI* 1035, 17; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 6, 9; Aristotle, in Diogenes Laertius 4.18. In the banking vocabulary, συνίστημι is used for persons “presented” to the creditor to pay him, hence, in the Hellenistic period, “representing” the paying party, cf. L. Wenger, *Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 13–15, 186ff. R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, pp. 54ff. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1946–47, p. 354, n. 195.

² Μὴ χρήζομεν . . . συστατικῶ—ν ε—πιστολῶ—ν πρὸς ὑμα—ς ἢ ε—ξ ὑμῶ—ν, 2Cor 3:1 (cf. W. Baird, “Letters of Recommendation: A Study of 2Cor 3:1-3,” in *JBL*, 1961, pp.166–172; J. F. Collange, *Enigmes de la deuxième Epître de Paul aux Corinthiens*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 43ff.); cf. the recommendation of Paul and Barnabas (Acts 15:25), of Apollos (Acts 18:27), of Phoebe (Rom 16:1-2), of Mark (Col 4:10), of Onesimus (Phlm); cf. Timothy (1Cor 16:10-11), Titus and his companions (2Cor 8:22ff.).

³ V. Weichert, *Demetrii et Libanii qui ferunt Τύποι —Επιστολικοί et —Επιστολισταί—οι Χαρακτήρες*, Leipzig, 1910, n. 2; C. W. Keyes, “The Greek Letter of Introduction,” in *AJP*, 1935, pp. 28–44; Chan-Hie Kim, *Form and Structure of the Familiar Greek Letter of Recommendation*, Vanderbilt University, 1970.

⁴ S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 11–12 (260 BC); 34; 51; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59042, 59045, 59046, 59192, 59284; in the second century, *P.Goodsp.* 4; in the first century AD, *P.Oxy.* 746, 787 (from AD 16), 292 (AD 25), etc.

⁵ *P.Mert.* 62: ἔστιν μου ε—κ τῆς οἰ—κίας (AD 6; with the corrections of H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, pp. 268ff.); *P.Giss.* 88.

⁶ —Επιστολὰς συστατικὰς πρὸς τὸν ε—πιστράτηγον (second century), H. Büttner, *P.Giss.Univ.*, n. 20, 1; *SB* 7600, 17: ἀποστι—λε (?) σοι συστατικὴν πρὸς . . . Σεκοῦνθον τὸν κεντυρίωνα (AD 16). —On the political, social, and judicial levels, a “recommendation” intervenes, approaches someone, solicits, and makes pressing demands, going from simple mediation to means of pressure; cf. Cicero’s seven letters of recommendation, analyzed by E. Deniaux, “Un exemple d’intervention

politique: Cicéro et le dossier de Buthrote in 44 avant J.-C.,” in *BAGB*, 1975, pp. 283–296.

⁷ *CIL* VI, 8619; Fronto, *Ep. ad M. Caes.* 5.37 (cf. G. Boulvert, *Les Esclaves et les affranchis impériaux sous le haut-empire romain*, Aix-en-Provence, 1964, vol. 2, pp. 620ff.); *P.Oxy.* 1663.

⁸ *P.Alex.* 29; *PSI* 208, 1041; *P.Oxy.* 1162; *SB* 7269; cf. J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris, 1976, p. 360, n. 1196.

σώζω, σωτήρ, σωτηρία, σωτήριος

sozo, to save, deliver; *soter*, savior, deliverer; *soteria*, salvation, deliverance; *soterios*, saving, preserving, salutary, helpful

sozo, S 4982; *TDNT* 7.965–1003; *EDNT* 3.319–321; *NIDNTT* 3.204–206, 209–219; MM 620; L&N 21.18, 21.27, 23.136; BDF §§26, 180; BAGD 789–799 | **soter**, S 4990; *TDNT* 7.1003–1021; *EDNT* 3.325–327; *NIDNTT* 3.216–223; MM 621–622; L&N 21.22, 21.31; BAGD 800–801 | **soteria**, S 4991; *TDNT* 7.965–1003; *EDNT* 3.327–3.329; *NIDNTT* 3.205–207, 209–216, 218–219; MM 622; L&N 21.18, 21.25, 21.26; BDF §258(1); BAGD 801 | **soterios**, S 4992; *TDNT* 7.1021–1024; *EDNT* 3.329; *NIDNTT* 3.216–217, 221; MM 622; L&N 21.28; BDF §§59(2), 113(1), 187(8); BAGD 801–802

“From the adjective σαθός, *saos* (safe), contracted to *sos* (Homeric, Attic), *soos* (Ionian and Koine), is derived the factitive verb *saoo*, *saoso*, *esaosa* (make safe, healthy), that is to say, (1) save from an immediate threat; (2) procure safety by bringing out of a dangerous situation safe and sound.”¹ In Christian language, “salvation, Savior, save” became such specific technical terms that we hardly grasp their meaning for the hearers of the apostolic kerygma. Certainly it is still a matter of being saved from misfortune, but only the *usage*—literary and popular—of these words allows us to grasp their extension and meaning in the first century: From what dangers is one saved? What is the nature of salvation? Above all, who is the one who saves?²

I. *Sozo* and *soteria* in secular Greek. — To save means to deliver when there is a particularly perilous situation, a mortal danger (*megalón kindynon*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1130, 1; *Or.* 69, 4; 70, 4; 71, 3; *SEG* VII, 731; *SB* 8334, 7; 8862, 4; *IGUR*, n. 193, 6–8): first of all war or deliverance from enemies or opponents,³ then the perils of navigation: “I saved this shipwrecked man when his crew had died”;⁴ “a young woman was saved from the sea by a dolphin” (Plutarch, *Conv. sept. sap.* 19; *De sol. an.* 36); a dedication to Pan: “You saved us when we were astray on the Red Sea . . .

now save the city of Alexandria”;⁵ saved by the god from the sea (*sotheis ek pelagous*, Dittenberger, *Or.* 74 = SB 8383, 7); Balbillus, “saved from the waters” (*ex hydaton sotheis*).⁶ This deliverance, this salvation, is spoken of with respect to all the dangers of an earthly pilgrimage,⁷ notably desert crossings: Besarion was saved from danger thanks to the special protection of the god (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 106, 5 = SB 7905); Isidoros was saved when he was thrown from his carriage by his horses (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, 109, 2; SB 10161); a *proskynema* of the Cretan Cheidon: “Travelers . . . follow your route safe and sound” (*sozomenoi*; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, 157, 2; cf. 159, 1 = SB 8382, 4050). But the most common usage of *soteria*, *sozo*, is medical: to save means to heal a disease;⁸ remedies are saviors (Plutarch, *De adul. et am.* 11; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.129; *Rewards* 145, 170; *Worse Attacks Better* 110; *Joseph* 110), physicians are saviors. In the second century BC, a decree of Samos honors the physician Diodorus, who cared for and restored many patients and “was the cause of their salvation. . . . He placed the common salvation above all fatigue and all expense.”⁹ In letters, news is sought from correspondents, the writer is anxious because none has been received and rejoices if the news is good: “You will do well to send me a message regarding your health, which is my greatest preoccupation” (*P.Phil.* 35, 17); “Do not neglect, my brother, to write me regarding your health” (*P.Mert.* 85, 5; cf. 28, 11); “Write me first, I beg you, regarding your health, and then regarding your desires” (*P.Sarap.* 91, 7; cf. 92, 21; 95, 6; 100, 13). The physician Eudaemon writes his mother and brothers seeking news from them and assurance regarding their safety (*P.Fouad* 80, 7). “I rejoiced to receive your letter and to learn that you have been cured of your illness.”¹⁰ Frequently *soteria* is associated with *hygieia*,¹¹ which suggests that salvation is not merely deliverance but also protection or preservation: “May I not see my prayer rejected for the salvation of your children as God keeps them” (*P.Apoll.* 49, 7; cf. *P.Fouad* 89, 9; *P.Lond.* 1919, 21); it is in this sense that Soteria is a tutelary household deity (*P.Oslo* 148, 12).

This weakened meaning is common; to save is to leave alive,¹² protect and pardon,¹³ preserve from misery,¹⁴ remain safe and sound, subsist,¹⁵ with a nuance of security (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 16 and 151; *P.Mich.* 490, 7), so that a way to say “keep a spark from dying” is “save the seed of fire” (Homer, *Od.* 5.490); pine is good for preserving wine (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 5.3.1). One keeps (*sozo*) one’s beard (Epictetus 1.16.14); Apollonius, an Alexandrian architect, dedicates an altar to Zeus the Sun “for the preservation of all his labors” (*hyper tes soterias autou panton ergon*, SB 8323); one saves or preserves official documents (*P.Fam.Tebt.* XV, 49 and 91; SB 9066, col. II, 15), as well as principles (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.59; Epictetus 4.1.120) or a game (Epictetus 4.7.30),

marks of kinship (Philo, *Creation* 145), traditional acts (*Spec. Laws* 4.102), and a memory (Plutarch, *Dem.* 2).

In a number of the texts cited, especially in medical usage,¹⁶ *sozo* and *soteria* have a positive meaning, referring to a good, namely, good health: being well. This is clearly the case with regard to vows *hyper soterias*: a statue is set up, a column is erected, an altar is prepared for the prosperity or happiness of loved ones,¹⁷ and especially for the happiness of the emperor;¹⁸ thus authorities or private individuals “save” acity, that is, contribute to its welfare, safeguard its happiness;¹⁹ so *soteria* is synonymous with *eudaimonia* (cf. *P.Oxy.* 2559, 7; Dittenberger, *Or.* II, 40).

The *soteria* of the universe is attributed to the gods, because Zeus “has arranged everything for the preservation and perfection of the whole” (Plato, *Leg.* 10.903 *b*), he protects and nourishes;²⁰ if we leave aside the philosophers (Plato, *Phd.* *c-d*; *Resp.* 6.492 *e*; *Tabula of Cebes* 3.2;4.3;14.1) and the mystery religions,²¹ salvation has no moral connotations.²²

II. *Sozo* and *soteria* in the LXX. — In the Bible, “salvation” has the same meanings as in secular Greek: deliverance, protection, healing, health, happiness, and prosperity; but the Hebrew verb *yasha'*, which is most commonly used, would originally have the nuance “be spacious, have plenty of room, be comfortable.” It would be the opposite of *sarar*, “be pressed, constrained, oppressed.” Salvation is usually Israel’s independence and security, brought about sometimes by heroes like Manoah (Judg 13:5; cf. Jer 14:9; cf. Philo, *Unchang. God* 17; *Joseph* 63; *Moses* 1.317), sometimes and in fact almost always by God himself in response to the cry of his people.²³ Philo constantly emphasizes that the God of Israel is the only Savior,²⁴ helper, and protector of the soul (*Drunkennes* 111), benefactor (*Sobr.* 55), providing refuge and complete security (*Dreams* 1.86; *Drunkennes* 72); but this OT salvation is also moral and spiritual and applies only to people who have been purified of sin: “Cleanse your heart of evil, O Jerusalem, so that you may be saved.”²⁵

III. *Sozo* and *soteria* in the NT. — The secular meanings occur often,²⁶ but the specifically religious meaning is dominant, in contrast to perdition,²⁷ and consists first of all of deliverance from sins (Matt 1:21; Luke 1:68, 69, 71, 77) and “the wrath to come” (Rom 5:9; cf. 1Cor 3:15; 5:5; 1Thess 5:9), and hence “reconciliation” (Rom 5:10-11). It has to do with the salvation of the soul (Mark 8:35; 1Pet 1:9), which is already actual (*semeron*, Luke 19:9; *kath' hemeran*, Acts 2:47; *nyn hemera soterias*, 2Cor 6:2; *esothemen*, Rom 8:24; *sesomenoi*, Eph 2:5, 8; *esosen*, Titus 3:5) and continues to become effective (*sozomenoi*, 1Cor 1:18; 2Cor 2:15), but will not be complete and definitive until entrance into heaven: eternal life (1Tim 1:16; 6:12), which is still an object of hope (Rom 8:24; Titus 3:7; Heb 6:18; 1Pet 1:3). Two major conditions are required: faith²⁸ and perseverance,²⁹ because the undertaking is difficult in the midst of tribulations (Mark 13:20)

and its success can be compromised;³⁰ so much so that one may wonder whether in the end “there will be few saved.”³¹ Jesus answers, “That which is impossible for humans is possible for God” (Luke 18:27). Salvation is a gracious gift from him (Eph 2:5, 8; 2Tim 1:9), his accomplishment of victory through his might (Rev 7:10; 12:10; 19:1) and the action of his Son (John 3:17; 10:9; Acts 5:31; Heb 2:10; 7:25); so that to be called to set out on the way of salvation is joyous news (Eph 1:13), because success is divinely guaranteed: “The gospel is God’s power for salvation.”³²

IV. *Soter* in secular Greek. — It is first and foremost the gods who have superhuman powers and are *soteres* in that they deliver people from dangers or protect them (Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.3, 4; *PSI* 1241, 7; *SB* 7530, 4, *theon sozonton*; 9820; *P.Oxy.* 3069, 20; *P.Köln* 56, 8; *IGLS* 1184, B 5; *I.Did.* 424, 14–15; Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22: *tharrite, mystai, tou theou sesosmenou, estai gar hymon ek ponon soteria*). Zeus is invoked by a suppliant at Philadelphia in these terms in the first century: “May Zeus Savior receive this account favorably and grant in return the benefits of health, safety, peace, and security on land and on sea”;³³ Athena (*I.Lind.*, n. 392, 394; *I.Rhamn.* 23, 3; *I.Bulg.* 326, 8); Poseidon, “savior of ships” (Ps.-Homer, *H.Pos.* 22.5); Leda, gives birth to the Dioscuri “for the salvation of the people of earth and of ships” (Ps.-Homer, *H. Cast.* 33.6); Asclepius;³⁴ Isis and Sarapis, the former being as a healer the object of the most widespread worship.³⁵

With the help or the protection of the gods, humans also can be saviors, especially by delivering their country or perfecting their institutions,³⁶ so that the title *soter* is used in the fifth century BC for men of politics, for Gelon (Diodorus Siculus 11.26.6), for Brasidas (Thucydides 5.11.1), for Philip of Macedonia (Demosthenes 18.43), for Dionysius of Syracuse (Diodorus Siculus 16.20.6; Plutarch, *Dio* 46), Camillus (Plutarch, *Cam.* 10), Lysandridas.³⁷ These tributes are understandable, as is the description of philosophers as “savior”—or alternatively as *boethos*³⁸—but adulation and flattery abuse them:³⁹ an acclamation directed to a prefect, “save the city” (*soson polin*, *P.Oxy.* 41, 23); “Save us, *prytanes*, your government is excellent” (1414, 22); “Prosper, O prefect, protector of honest people.”⁴⁰ For having announced the freedom of Greece, Titus Quinctius Flamininus is proclaimed by the crowd “the savior and defender of Greece” (Plutarch, *Flam.* 10; cf.16); Theophanes, Pompey’s freedman, is “savior, benefactor, second founder of the country” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 753; cf. 751, 754), Marius is “savior of Italy” (Plutarch, *Mar.* 39); the father of Herodes Atticus (*CIG* 2.3596; *I.Olymp.* 622) and various illustrious unknowns, such as Demetrios Kindaburios (*TAM* II, 3, n. 768) or the officer who denounced Plautianus to Septimus Severus and for this became *soter* and *euergetes* (Herodian 3.12.2; cf. 8.3.4), or wealthy donors (*MAMA* 6.103, 165; *I.Car.* 11).

All the same, “savior” in the official and functional titles of sovereigns⁴¹ is not unimportant for understanding the language of the NT, especially when the Roman emperor is described as “savior and benefactor,” which are divine attributes.⁴² In the Hellenistic period, after the decay of the *polis*, the prince is conceived as representing the divinity and procuring the welfare of his subjects, who look to him for everything—security and happiness.⁴³ Especially illuminating is the letter of the proconsul Paulus Fabius Maximus: “Providence, which governs the course of our lives, has shown attention and goodness and has provided for the most perfect good for life by producing the emperor(Augustus), whom it has filled with virtue in order to make him a benefactor of humanity (*eis euergesian anthropon*). So it has sent to us and to others a savior (*sotera*) who has put an end to war and will restore order every where: Caesar, by his appearing, has realized the hopes of our ancestors; not only has he surpassed earlier benefactors of humanity, but he he leaves no hope to those of the future that they might surpass him. The god’s birthday was for the world the beginning of the good news that he brought (*erxen de to kosmo ton di’ auton euangelion he genethlios*).”⁴⁴

V. *Soter* in the NT. — It is no exaggeration to say that the whole new covenant is summed up in the announcement of the angel to the Virgin Mary: “You shall give birth to a child and you shall *call his name Jesus*, ”⁴⁵ that is, “Yahweh saves.” This is commented on by Matt 1:21, “because he will save his people from their sins.”⁴⁶ His mission, his *raison d’être*, his work are expressed in his name: Savior by antonomasia, the center of history, *Die Mitte der Zeit*. Pilate presents him as “Jesus, called the Christ” (Matt 27:17), and the crowds acclaim him as a king coming in the name of the Lord (Luke 19:38; cf. 1Tim 1:17; 6:15); but faith confesses that “God has sovereignly exalted him and given him a Name that is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow in the heavens, on the earth, and under the earth.”⁴⁷

In the Magnificat, the Virgin Mary sets her motherhood in relation with OT *soteria*. She “rejoices in God [her] Savior.”⁴⁸ Jesus, forgiving the sins of the guilty (Luke 7:48; cf. 5:24) and proclaiming deliverance to the captives (Luke 4:18), lays down that he has come “to seek and to save that which was lost” (Luke 19:10; cf. 5:32; 15:7, 10, 24, 32), which St. John takes to mean the whole world and the gift of eternal life (John 3:17; 4:42; 10:9; cf. 5:34). St. Peter specifies: “Salvation is in no other” (Acts 4:12), because he is the head (*archegos*) of the whole economy of salvation (Acts 5:31; 13:23; Heb 2:10; 5:9). As he is the head of the church, he is thereby also “Savior of the body” (Eph 5:24); even Israel will be saved (Rom 11:26).

The Pastoral Epistles insist: “God wishes all people to be saved” (1Tim 2:4) without distinction of race, group, or qualities, because he is all goodness and beneficence (Titus 3:4); “the living God is the Savior of all people, especially those who believe” (1Tim 4:10); “Christ Jesus came into

the world to save sinners” (1:15). It is “our great God and Savior”⁴⁹ that was manifested (2Tim 1:10), bringing grace and peace (Titus 1:4) in superabundance (Titus 3:6).

VI. *Soterios*. — This adjective, very common in the LXX (nearly 140 occurrences), means “saving, preserving, salutary, helpful”; often used as a noun, it refers to things,⁵⁰ animals,⁵¹ and people.⁵² The five NT occurrences all have a religious meaning.⁵³ The first two are quotations of Isa 40:5 by Simeon: “My eyes have seen your salvation” (Luke 2:30; 3:6); in this context, this instrument of *soteria* (*T. Sim.* 7.1; Dan 5:10) is “almost a personification of the Savior” (M. J. Lagrange, on this text). The “salvation of God” sent to the pagans, according to Acts 28:28, is the preaching of the gospel, the means of access to the kingdom of God.⁵⁴ The grace of God that saves all people (*charis tou theou soterios*) that has appeared⁵⁵ in a way personifies *charis*, because it evokes the manifestation of the Son of God, the Savior, from his incarnation and his death to his resurrection; a gift of the Father.

¹ W. Foerster, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, p. 965 (we shall borrow many references from the rich documentation in this article); cf. W. Wagner, “Über σωζω und seine Derivate im N.T.,” in *ZNW*, 1905, pp. 205–235; J. B. Colon, “La Conception du salut d’après les Evangiles synoptiques,” in *RSR*, 1929, pp. 472–507; 1930, pp. 1–38, 189–217; 370–415; 1931, pp. 27–70, 193–223, 382–412; J. T. Ross, *The Conception of Soteria in the New Testament*, 1947; R. M. Wilson, “Soteria,” in *SJT*, 1953, pp. 406–416; M. Goguel, “Le Caractère à la fois actuel et futur du salut dans la théologie paulinienne,” in W. D. Davies, D. Daube, *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, pp. 322–341; W. C. van Unnik, “L’Usage de σωζειν ‘Sauver’ et de ses dérivés dans les Evangiles synoptiques,” in J. Cambier et al., *La Formation des Evangiles* (Recherches bibliques 2), Brussels, 1957, pp. 178–194; reprinted, idem, *Sparsa Collecta*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 16–34; F. Bovon, “Le Salut dans les écrits de Luc,” in *RTP*, 1973, pp. 296–307; idem, *Luc le théologien*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1978, pp. 259–284; A. George, “L’Emploi chez Luc du vocabulaire de salut,” in *NTS*, vol. 23, 1976–77, pp. 308–320. Very good classification of usages in *BAGD*, on this word.

² Our lexicographic research is not tied to theological notions.

³ Homer, *Il.* 8.500: “Darkness saved the army from extermination”; 15.290: “a god saved Hector”; Plato, *Symp.* 220 d, wounded, “I owe my salvation to no one in this world except this man. . . . He saved both my weapons and myself.” A soldier of Antiochus writes to a centurion at Dura that he was saved from the Parthians and the Persians (ε—σωθη ὑπὸ τω—ν βαρβάρων,

P.Dura 46, 14); *SB* 8863, 4; 8864, 3: σωθεῖς ε—κ Τρωγοδυτῶν; “Caesar saved Cleopatra’s life when he conquered her kingdom” (*P.Oxy.* 33, verso, col. V, 12). In 278, the *amphyctiones* of Delphi instituted an annual feast for “the salvation of the Greeks,” the *Soteria*, to commemorate the victory won over the Galatians (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 402, 408, 424, 431, 690; *Or.* 150; *SEG* II, 339; *SB* 8766. The epigraphical documentation has been collected by G. Nachtergaele, *Les Galates et les Sôtéria de Delphes*, Brussels, 1977, pp. 401ff.). The Sicyonians celebrated the death of Aratus with a sacrifice called *soteria*, offered by the priest of Zeus Soter (Plutarch, *Arat.* 53.5). In the combats in the amphitheater, Ajax saved (spared) many lives (ψυχὰς πολλὰς σώσαντα; L. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, p. 113, n. 55, 5), as did Olympus at Larissa (πολλοὺς ε—ν σταδίοις σώσας, *ibid.*, p. 115, n. 56, 3). When a gladiator asked Caracalla to save his life, the emperor refused; “so perished this athlete, whose adversary might perhaps have saved his life” (Dio Cassius 77.19).

⁴ Homer, *Od.* 5.130; cf. Lucian, *Dial. D.* 26.2; *Merc. Cond.* 1: “I heard them speak of their shipwreck and their unhoped-for salvation.”

⁵ E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 164, 4; cf. 175, col. I, 34: “When the men perished, thrown from the broken ships, behold, they were all saved when they called upon your help” (Hymn to Isis); *BGU* 423, 8: “When I was in danger on the sea, he saved me right away.”

⁶ *IGUR*, n. 124, 3.

⁷ Homer, *Il.* 9.393: “If the gods save me and I return to my country”; Epictetus 2.17.37; Plutarch, *Apoph. Iac.* 11: “a happily completed return”; *P.Brem.* 20, 15: “After several days, if the gods protect us, I will come to you.” A dedication to “Pan of the Right Road, for Timouthes . . . and for the salvation of his brothers, for their happy fate” (A. Bernand, *Koptos*, n. 177). — One can be “saved” from a legal conviction; the job of judges is to “punish the godless and save the innocent” (Andocides, *Myst.* 31); by asking Archidamos to defend his father, Cleonymos saved him (Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.4.26). Cf. the good outcome of an affair, *P.Mich.* 507, 9–10; *P.Tebt.* 762, 6; *SB* 8994, 11: τὴν τω—ν πραγματω—ν σωτηρίαν, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59844, 6; *P.Col.Zen.* 9, 29; *PSI* 1241, 7; Menander, *Dysk.* 840: “interest shows the way to salvation” (ει—ς σωτηρίαν).

⁸ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 528, 620, 943; *I.Cret.* I, p. 249, n. 4 C 24; II, chap. III, p. 16, n. 3; IV, n. 168, 11ff., 15ff. N. van Brock, *Vocabulaire médical*, pp. 230ff., quotes numerous texts from Hippocrates and Galen and shows that “save” means “make it through, preserve, live”; σωτηρία is the opposite of ὄλεθρον or θάνατος; σώζομαι is the opposite of ἀπόλλυμαι or

ἀποθνήσκω. Menander, *Dysk.* 661, 726: an old man who has fallen to the bottom of a well is saved; Philo, *Decalogue* 12: “good physicians safeguard their patients”; *Joseph* 76; *Unchang. God* 66; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 123; *Spec. Laws* 1.224; *Drunkennes* 140: health causes the saving (of life); *Husbandry* 98; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.277: “If the stricken one heals” (σωθέντος); 17.172: Herod, ill, “had no more hope of recovery.”

⁹ J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. XIV, 17. Decree of Delphi for a physician from Corone, J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1955, p. 229, n. 123.

¹⁰ *P.Hamb.* 88, 3; cf. 89, 5; *P.Gron.* 18, 13; *C.P.Herm.* 5, 9; *P.Mich.* 209, 10; 212, 9; 219, 21; 465, 36; 466, 9, 34; 476, 22; 478, 16 (σέσωμαι = I have been cured); 479, 6, 9; 481, 12; 482, 26; 484, 10; 491, 12; 498, 23; 499, 5: “Every day I offer prayers for your good health . . . that you may be saved for many years”; 502, 14, 19; 503, 7; 510, 10; 514, 26; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 24, 7; *P.Oxy.* 939, 20; 1664, 1; 1666, 9; 1766, 9; 2551, 6; 2609, 11; 2788, 3; 3065, 3; 3067, 9; *PSI* 206, 13; 1414, 16; 1425, 7; 1427, 11; *P.Brem.* 60, 4, 61, 16, 17, 35, 55; *P.Amh.* 35, 32: “Your life was saved in sickness by the great god Soknopaeus”; *P.Haun.* 10, 9; *P.Yale* 79, 19; *SB* 6222, 8; 6263, 9; 7353, 12; 9722, 7; 10277, 9; 10651, H 4; 10652, B 12; 10724, 26, etc.

¹¹ *SB* 6087, 6; 0034, 12; *NCIG*, n. II, 18–19: “The good effects of the ceremony for the health and the salvation of the council and the people”; *I.Bulg.* 1116, 5–6; *IGUR*, n. 299; A. Bernand, *Pan*, n. 60, 2–3; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 72; *Drunkennes* 141; *Heir* 297; *Spec. Laws* 1.343.

¹² Themistocles to Xerxes, “You will save your suppliant, or else you will cause the loss of a man who has become the enemy of the Greeks” (Plutarch, *Them.* 28.4); *Jos. Asen.* 28.16.

¹³ Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 66.2: “If I wished to be saved by Caesar’s favor.”

¹⁴ When the Nile floods were deficient, King Ptolemy II and the queen renounced certain taxes “for the salvation of the people” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 56, 17); cf. Epictetus 3.23.11; *I.Thas.* 339, 9: “Blessed gods, assure the safety of my brothers who are still living”; epitaph of Heras of Memphis: “Fortuna will preserve you throughout your life” (σώσει πάντα Τύχη βίοτον, E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques* 68, 16 = *SB* 7423); *P.Sarap.* 89, 14: “May the gods preserve us from our enemies” (cf. *SB* 6222, 22); *P.Oxy.* 1644, 2: “I greet you, praying that you may be saved and may prosper with all those of your household.”

¹⁵ Lucian, *Peregr.* 33; *P.Oxy.* 935, 7: “With the help of the gods, our brother is safe and sound”; 3065, 5; *P.Oslo* 148, 4; *SB* 8434, 4: “The Nile preserves fertile Egypt each year”; 9598, 4. Cf. save from famine (*P.Tebt.* 56, 11; *Jos. Asen.* 4.8). Σώζω is contrasted with διαφθείρω, cf. Epictetus 1.28.21: “safeguard the modesty and fidelity”; Democritus, frag. 43, in Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 2, 155, 13ff.

¹⁶ Cf. Musonius, frag. 36 (ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 134): “Those who wish to remain and be in good health (τοὺς σώζεσθαι μέλλοντας) must live as if they were following a perpetual regimen”; Plutarch, *De adul. et am.* 11: φάρμακον σω—ζον = salutary medicine; cf. 36; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 32, 15: the water of Alexandria is healthful; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 717, 89: διετήρησεν πάντας ὑγιαίνοντας καὶ σωζομένους; 826, II, 14; *BGU* 423.

¹⁷ “. . . has fulfilled his vow for the prosperity of Kallistos, his wife, and his children” (*IGLS* 2223), 2502, 2697, 2709; cf. 2005, 2028, 2035, 2037, 2038, 2104, 2144, 2905, 2931, 2932, 2939; *I.Bulg.* 288, 374, 1537, 1851; 1864; *IGUR*, n. 119. *CII* 852, 964, 1438; B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. 32; 67; 76, 6; 77 c. Socrates was saved from dishonor not by flight but by death (Epictetus 4.1.165; cf. 163). According to Ps.-Plutarch, even while enduring sorrow those who are in mourning must “take care to treat our persons well and see to the well-being of those who live with us” (*Cons. ad Apoll.* 32).

¹⁸ *IGLS* 499, 1; 2560, 1; 2727, 2–3; 2744, 2745 bis; *I.Bulg.* 678, 6; 900, 2; 1374, 2; 1527, 2; 2000, 2; 2013, 2; 2016, 2; 2032, 2; 2027, 2; *NCIG*, n. 32, 2; *P.Oxy.* 138, 24; *P.Michael.* 55, C 3; *P.Ness.* 21, 22; 22, 12; *SB* 4282, 8320, 8324, 9863; *IGUR*, n. 122, 155, 158, 189, 190.

¹⁹ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 761, A 11: “He did not cease to save (do good for) cities and people” (48–47 BC); 589, 26–31; *Ep. Arist.* 240: “God gave the legislators their ideas with the intention of saving (causing to prosper) the lives of people”; 281, 292. The sovereign is “the one who saves everything” (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 62, 4); in his benevolence and philanthropy “he sees to the welfare (*soteria*) and prosperity of his subjects” (*ibid.* 3, 39). “The king must be able to save his people and do them good” (Musonius, frag. 8; ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 60). *I.Did.* 424, 20: “The city will remain safe and sound”; J. Pouilloux, *Choix*, n. VIII, 3, 5: “For the salvation of our fellow-citizens”; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques* 64, 9: epitaph of the scribe Ammonius, who died for the salvation of his country (πατρίδα σώζων πάτθανες[sic]); *P.Ness.* 52, 1.

²⁰ Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 12.29; Plutarch, *De comm. not.* 31; Marcus Aurelius 10.1.3: “Everything is sent you from the gods . . . and everything

that they will grant for the preservation of the perfect being.” Isis is “able to save the universe” (SB 8671, 4 and 7). M. Santoro, *Epitheta Deorum in Asia Graeca Cultorum*, Milan, 1974, pp. 271ff.

²¹ The philosophical mysteries free from death, promise the soul, which is assured of immortality, a return to God, and thus guarantee salvation, a blessed life in the next world, cf. A. J. Festugière, *Monde gréco-romain*, pp. 167–184; F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, pp. 425ff.

²² Menander, *Dysk.* 203: “Most venerable gods, who could deliver me from my toils (σω—σαι τω—ν πόνων)?” makes no appeal to the gods, unlike Christian prayers: Κύριε σω—σον ἡμα—ς ἀπὸ ἀδίκων (SB 8065; cf. *P.Lond.* 1923, 7). Nevertheless, cf. this invocation to Mandoulis: σώζε με (SB 8511, 8).

²³ Ps 12:6—“I will arise, says Yahweh; I will establish in safety the one who longs for it”; 28:9—“Yahweh, save your people . . . shepherd them”; 60:7—“Save us by your right hand”; Isa 45:17—“Israel will be saved by Yahweh, saved forever”; 48:3; 49:8; 60:16; 63:9.

²⁴ *Heir* 60; *Post. Cain* 156; *Spec. Laws* 1.252: τῆς σωτηρίας αἴτιον; 2.198; *Rewards* 34; *Abraham* 137, 176; *Migr. Abr.* 124. That God is Savior is an article of faith (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 70). “It belongs to God to assure the salvation of the good irresistibly” (*Virtues* 47; cf. *To Gaius* 196; Dittenberger, *Or.* 665, 54, τοῦς σώζοντας ἀνεπηρεάστους). God saves from the dangers of the sea (*Joseph* 149) and journeys (145).

²⁵ Jer 4:14. This is why Yahweh “redeems” his people and will save them at the end times, cf. 1QM 14.10; 1QH 3.19; 15.16.

²⁶ To heal the sick is to save them (Mark 3:4; 6:56; Luke 6:9; 7:3; 8:50; Acts 4:9, 12; 14:9; John 11:12; Jas 5:15), especially by means of miracles—“He saved others” (Matt 27:42; Mark 15:31; Luke 23:35-39)—but these are signs of the saving power of the wonderworker (A. George, *Etudes sur l'oeuvre de Luc*, Paris, 1978, pp. 134ff.). An escort conducts Paul to Caesarea “safe and sound” (Acts 23:24); the centurion Julius wishes to save Paul (Acts 27:34). People are saved from calamities (Mark 13:20; cf. Acts 7:25; Jude 5), from demons (Luke 8:36), from the flood (Heb 11:7; cf. 1Pet 3:20), especially from storms (Matt 8:25; 14:30; Acts 27:30ff.), and from death (Matt 27:49; Mark 15:30-31; Luke 23:39; John 12:27; Heb 5:7).

²⁷ —Απόλεια, ἀπολέσαι (Matt 8:25; Mark 8:35; Luke 15:4-6, 8, 24, 32; 1Cor 1:18; 8:11; 2Cor 2:15; Jas 4:12); cf. Jude 23, snatch from the flames;

J. C. Fenton, "Destruction and Salvation in the Gospel According to St. Mark," in *JTS*, vol. 3, 1952, pp. 56–58.

²⁸ Matt 9:22; Mark 5:34; 10:52; Luke 7:50; 8:12, 48; 18:42; Acts 2:21; 14:9; 1Tim 2:15; 1Pet 1:5. Baptism (Mark 16:16; Titus 3:5; 1Pet 3:21). Cf. M. Barth, C. K. Barrett, *Foi et salut selon S. Paul* (AnBib 42), Rome, 1970.

²⁹ Mark 13:13—"The one who perseveres to the end will be saved"; Luke 21:19; cf. Rev 2:10.

³⁰ 1Cor 3:15; 5:5; Heb 2:3; 6:9; 1Pet 4:18. One must practice good works (1Tim 4:16), know the truth (1Tim 2:4) and the Holy Scriptures (2Tim 3:15), pray (Rom 10:1, 11:14).

³¹ Luke 13:23; 18:26. Cf. C. Spicq, "Le ciel est-il moins peuplé que l'enfer?" in *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 473–479.

³² Rom 1:16; cf. 5:10; 1Cor 1:18; 2Thess 2:14; 2Tim 4:18. Salvation accomplished is entrance into the kingdom of God (1Cor 6:9; 15:50; Gal 5:21; 2Tim 4:18), the heavenly city (Heb 13:14), an inheritance (Titus 3:7; Heb 1:14; 1Pet 1:4; 3:7, 9), glory (Eph 1:18; 2Tim 2:12; 1Pet 4:13; 5:4, 10), being crowned (2Tim 4:8), the transformation of the body (1Cor 15:43–53; Phil 3:20), immortality (2Tim 1:10), the accomplishment of our conformity to Christ (Rom 8:29; Phil 3:30ff.), happiness (Rom 8:18; 1Cor 2:9; 2Cor 1:6), etc.

³³ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 985, 60–62; cf. 408, 6ff.; Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 27: "protect the homes of the just"; *Eum.* 760: "Savior God . . . grant me safety"; Pindar, *Ol.* 5.17; Xenophon, *An.* 1.8.16; Menander, *Dysk.* 690; *SB* 7905; E. B. Allo, "Les dieux-sauveurs du paganisme gréco-romain," in *RSPT*, 1926, pp. 5–34; cf. O. Höfer, "Soter," in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon für gr. und röm. Mythologie*, vol. 4, col. 1236–1272.

³⁴ Asclepius "provides for the salvation of eternal beings as for that which is in a state of becoming" (Aelius Aristides, *Orat.* 42.4); *I. Bulg.* 1304, 1831. On an amulet: εἰς Ζεὺς Σέραπις ε—πιφανής —Ασκήπιος σωτήρ (E. Peterson, *EIS'EOΣ*, Göttingen, 1926, p. 237; cf. 238, 246ff.). *He heals the sick* (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1172; cf. F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, Münster i. W., 1950, pp. 255–266).

³⁵ *SEG* VIII, 548, 26: σώζονθ ἅπαντες; 34 (with the commentary of V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, pp. 31ff.); 24.1170: Ἴσι καὶ ἄλλαις θεαι—ς ται—ς σωζούσαις; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1132; *SB* 2136; 3926, 12; 8671, 7: "able to save the universe"; 9616, recto, 8. Act of adoration: "I, Ptolemaeus,

have in the presence of the very great goddess, our savior Lady Isis, performed this act of adoration for my children and those who love me” (A. Bernand, *Philae* I, n. 59); Isis, “immortal savior” (σώτειρᾶθανάτη, E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 26; cf. 165, 5); A. Bernand, *Koptos*, n. 154, 1–2; Y. Grandjean, *Aréologie d’Isis*, pp. 26, 29; P. Roussel, *Les Cultes égyptiens à Délos*, Nancy, 1916, 49, 194; L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiaca et Sarapiacae*, Berlin, 1969, n. 179, 247, 261: σωθῆς ε—κ νόσου. Cf. H. Haerens, “Σωτήρ et σωτηρία,” in *Studia Hellenistica*, vol. 5, Louvain-Leiden, 1948, pp. 57–68.

³⁶ Herodotus 7.139: “the Athenians, saviors of Greece”; Plato, *Symp.* 209 d: “Lycurgus, savior of Lacedaemon and, we may say, of Greece”; *Leg.* 4.704 d: “there would have to be a great savior and divine legislators”; at Corinth, those who wish to restore the laws would be “saviors of the country” (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.4.6); a title that Aratus deserved on this account (Plutarch, *Arat.* 14 and 42). Joseph is “king of the whole country, its savior and supplier of wheat” (*Jos. Asen.* 25.6). Cf. in the LXX, the judges “procured deliverance” (Judg 3:9, 15). The Galileans name Josephus “benefactor and savior of their country” (Josephus, *Life* 244; cf. 259; *War* 1.625; 3.459;7.71).

³⁷ He had treated Sparta considerately (Plutarch, *Cleom.* 24). Solon saved Athens (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 11). Plutarch explains: “The Greeks have given surnames drawn from an accomplishment, such as Soter (savior) or Kallinikos (victorious); from a physical distinctive, like Physcon (potbellied) and Grypos (hook-nosed); from a virtue, like Euergetes (beneficent) and Philadelphos (brotherly); from a success, like Eudaimon (happy), the surname of Baltos II” (*Cor.* 11.2).

³⁸ Dittenberger, *Syl.* 814, 34; 843, 20; 943; *Or.* 194, 15ff. Through his teaching, Epicurus brought interior freedom (*P.Hercul.* 346, 4, 19). References in A. J. Festugière, *Idéal religieux*, p. 74.

³⁹ Plutarch ridicules those lawmakers and generals who have themselves called *euergetai*, *kallinikoi* (victorious), *soteres* (Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 2.5; *Arist.* 6). Jesus rejects these honors (Luke 22:25). Certain people refuse them “in order not to stir up jealousy” (Philostratus, *VA* 4.31) or because they are “dangerous for the soul” (Ps.-Callisthenes 2.22.12, ed. Kroll, p. 98).

⁴⁰ *P.Oxy.* 41, 22; cf. Chariton, *Chaer.* 1.1.11: “Noble Hermocrates, great general, save Chaereas: this will be your main claim to glory.”

⁴¹ It is a special term in the vocabulary of the chancelleries (cf. P. Collomb, *Recherches sur la Chancellerie et la Diplomatie des Lagides*, Paris, 1926, pp. 98, 101, 123, 127, 139) of the Lagids and Seleucids from Ptolemy I Soter (Pausanias 1.8.6; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 390, 624; cf. 56, 11, 18; 839, 7–9; *Or.* 90, 9; 168–173; 219, 36–38); Ptolemy II Soter (*SB* 1569, *PSI* 383); Euergetes I Soter (*P.Petr.* 8 [1] B, 1ff.); Antiochus I of Commagene (*IGLS* 25; 26, 15); Demetrius Soter (ibid. 1071 A b); Seleucus III (ibid. 1184, A 16); Antiochus IV (Dittenberger, *Or.* 263); Demosthenes, *Corona* 43, the Athenians: φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἠγοῦντο; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.261; Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 2.5; Appian, *BCiv.* 2.106.

⁴² *Fouilles de Delphes* III, 2, 70, 45–46: cult offered τοι—ς ἄλλοις θεοι—ς καὶ εὐεργέταις. Cf. P. Wendland, “Σωτήρ,” in *ZNW*, 1904, pp. 335–353; D. Magie, *De Romanorum Juris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis*, Leipzig, 1905; L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, Middleton, 1931; W. Schubart, “Das hellenistische Königsideal nach Inschriften und Papyri,” in *APF*, 1937, pp. 1–26; A. D. Nock, “Soter and Euergetes,” in S. E. Johnson, *The Joy of Study* (Papers . . . to honor F. C. Grant), New York, 1951, pp. 126–148; E. Stauffer, *Le Christ et les Césars*, Colmar-Paris, 1956; L. Cerfaux, J. Tondriau, *Culte des souverains*; D. Cuss, *Imperial Cult and Honorary Terms in the New Testament*, Fribourg, 1974.

⁴³ This is what is expressed best in the treatises “On Kingship” of the Pythagoreans Ecphantus, Sthenidas, and Diotogenes (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 48.7; vol. 4, pp. 263ff.) translated with commentary by L. Delatte, *Les Traités de la royauté d’Ecphante, Diotogène et Sthénidas*, Paris, 1942. The king is supplied by God and administers his largess, participates in and imitates God’s beneficence; he must “save” the lives of his subjects as the pilot saves the ship, the driver his coach, the physician his patients. Likewise Philo, *Moses* 1.148–163; 2.2–9; *Spec. Laws* 4.164, 184–188. Cf. C. Lacombrade, *Le Discours sur la royauté de Synésios de Cyrène*, Paris, 1951; *Le Culte des souverains dans l’Empire romain* (Entretiens sur l’antiquité classique 19, Fondation Hardt), Vandoeuvres-Geneva, 1973.

⁴⁴ *I.Priene* 105, 35ff. = Dittenberger, *Or.* 458; the inscription is translated into French by J. Rouffiac (*Caractères du grec*, pp. 72ff.), who comments: “It probably would not have required much touching up of this text for a Christian to be able to apply it to Christ fifty years later. A savior who realizes ancestral hopes; who has a unique importance for humanity; who is so great that he will never be surpassed; whose birth marks the beginning of a new era: so many descriptions that one might think were created by Christian piety, but which nevertheless are found in a pagan

inscription from not long before the birth of Jesus.” In his edict from AD 68, Tiberius Julius Alexander: “So that with great confidence you may expect everything, salvation (*soteria*) as well as material happiness, from the benefactor (*euergetou*) Augustus, Emperor Galba, who shone forth upon us for the good of the human race . . . I have decreed” (*BGU* 1563, 16–17); an inscriptions from Halicarnassus, in *GIBM* IV, 1, n. 894 (= V. Ehrenberg, A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, Oxford, 1955, n. 98 a); *SB* 9528, 7 (Vespasian), ε—ξ ἀρχῆς ε—ξ αἰρέτων σώζων; 8987, 39; *IGUR*, n. 6, 24, 32, 105. —The “salvation” procured by the emperor extends to the whole universe; Caesar is σωτήρ τῆς οἰ—κουμένης (*IG* XII, 5, 557); κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου σωτήρα (C. Börker, R. Merkelbach, *I.Ephes.*, Bonn, 1979, n. 251, 6–7), like Hadrian: τω—σωτήρι καὶ εὐεργέτη τοῦ κόσμου παντός (*I.Salam.*, n. 13, 92, 101 e; C. Börker, R. Merkelbach, *I.Ephes.*, n. 271 f; 274, 8; cf. C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, Berlin, 1969, n. 7); Marcus Aurelius (*ibid.* 10; *SEG* XIX, 758, 13); Gordian III (*CIL* 10079); θεὸν ε—πιφανῆ καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου σωτήρα (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 760, 7, at Ephesus in AD 48); a Ptolemy πάντων σωτήρα (*P.Petr.* 8, 2 = 20, 1, 15; cf. 1Tim 4:10); Nero, τω—σωτήρι καὶ εὐεργέτητι τῆς οἰ—κουμένης (*APF*, vol. 2, p. 434, n. 24; cf. vol. 6 p. 283); σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου (Dittenberger, *Or.* 668; cf. John 4:42; 1John 4:14); Galba, ὁ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους εὐεργέτης (*BGU* 1513, 16); Caracalla (*I.Bulg.*, 632, 7; *C.Pap.Jud.* 450; C. Börker, R. Merkelbach, n. 298, 9; cf. *I.Thas.*, 180, 8–9); Trajan (*IG* XII, 1, 978); cf. Isis, able to save the universe, ε—κώζεν κόσμον (*SB* 8671, 4); praise is extended to prefects (Philo, *Flacc.* 126; *SEG* VI, 14; *MAMA* VI, 103; *P.Oslo* 127; *P.Mich.* 422, 32; 582, col. II, 14), but the term can mean simply “protector” (*P.Oxy.* 38, 18: “I turn to you, my defender [τὸν σητήρα], to obtain my rights,” AD 49–50).

⁴⁵ Luke 1:31; cf. 2:21. *Savior* and *salvation* are mentioned six times in the Gospel’s birth narrative, 1:47 (cf. Hab 3:18); 1:69 (Ps 18:3; cf. 1Sam 2:10); 1:71 (Ps. 106, 10); 1:77; 2:11—“There is born to you today . . . a Savior, who is Christ the Lord”; 3:6—ὄψεται πα—σα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ εοῦ.

⁴⁶ W. L. Dulière, “Inventaire de quarante-et-un porteurs du nom de Jésus dans l’histoire juive écrite en grec,” in *NovT*, 1959, pp. 180, 217. The Epistle to the Hebrews will be the most precise theological commentary on Matt 1:21—The Son of God “made purification for sins” (Heb 1:3). He manifested himself on the earth “to take away sins” (9:26, 28; 10:12). He is a high priest who officiates “in order to expiate the sins of the people” (2:17; 5:1; 7:27). That is to say, the title “Savior” is applied to Christ as a function of his expiatory death (Matt 26:29). “While the *Soter* title does grow out of the *Kyrios* title, it nevertheless emphasizes an idea which is not a prominent part of the *Kyrios* concept: the idea that the exaltation of Christ

to divine *Soter* very definitely presupposes his work of atonement” (O. Cullmann, *Christology of the New Testament*, p. 243, referring to Phil 2:9). Cf. idem, *Salvation in History*, trans. S. G. Sowers et al., New York, 1967).

⁴⁷ Phil 2:9-10. Cf. the doxology in Jude 25: “To the only God, our Savior . . . by Jesus Christ, before all time, now, and for ever! Amen.” V. Taylor, *The Names of Jesus*, London, 1953, pp. 5ff. L. Sabourin, *Les Noms et titres de Jésus*, Bruges-Paris, 1963, pp. 135–146.

⁴⁸ Luke 1:47. In the history of Israel, God saved/liberated his people from their enemies (Exod 14:3; Isa 63:8; Ps 106:8, 10, 21), gaining victory and security (2Sam 8:6, 14; 23:10, 12; 2Kgs 18:30-35; 19:34), just as he saved Noah (Wis 10:4). He promises to send the Messiah-King (Jer 23:6), saving and purifying his people (Ezek 34:22; 36:29; Isa 35:4; 63:1) to the ends of the earth (Isa 49:6), and this will be the joy of salvation (Isa 12:2; 25:9; 52:7; Jer 31:7; Ps 51:14), liberation by the Christ (Zech 9:9). This salvation, for the person of faith, is a gift of God (Ps 44:8). He himself is salvation (Ps. 27:1; 35:3; 62:7) for his servants (Ps 91:14) who hope in him (Sus 60), the poor (Ps 34:7; 109:31), the humble (Ps 18:28; 76:10; 149:4), the small (Ps 116:6), those who are upright in heart (Ps 7:11). So he is the “Savior God” (Sir 51:1; 1Macc 4:36); the “God of my salvation” (Ps 51:16), of all the weak (Jdt 9:11), the eternal Savior (Bar 4:22) and Savior of all (Wis 16:7); and as such he is invoked in prayer: ὦ Κύριε, σω—σον δή (Ps 118:25; 106:47; Jer 17:14; *Jos. Asen.* 12.11; cf. R. Pautrel, “Jugement,” in *DBSup*, vol. 4, col. 1337ff. W. Trilling, “Salut,” in H. Fries, *Encyclopédie de la foi*, Paris, 1967, vol. 4, pp. 175ff.). “And all flesh shall see *the salvation of God*” (Luke 3:6).

⁴⁹ Titus 2:13; cf. 2Pet 1:1; 3:18. The Pastorals borrow a number of terms from the court and religious vocabularies of the period, cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, pp. 251, 640; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, p. 31, n. 3.

⁵⁰ Eph 6:17—“the helmet of salvation” = means of preservation (cf. Isa 59:17); Wis 1:14—“The products of nature have salutary effects” (σωτήριος contrasted with ὄλεθρος, mortal); Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 213: “I salute the saving rays of the sun”; Josephus, *War* 3.171: walls are “a means of salvation for a city”; *IGLS* 2524, 2; a tower = a refuge (ibid. 1630, 4); Philo, *To Gaius* 151, the sanctuary of Augustus at Alexandria is “hope of salvation for those who those who are on the run and for those who enter the door”; 190: “nature is salutary”; *P.Cair.Isid.* 1, 6 (= *SB* 7622): the prefect Aristius Optatus suppresses ruinous practices and fixes a salutary rule (τύπον σωτήριον) to which one must conform; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 9, 7: τὸν νόμον αἰ5 σωτήριον. Philo uses *soterios*, “means of salvation” (*Joseph* 13), regarding education (*Plant.* 144), the good (*Husbandry* 99), passivity

(*Abraham* 102), *hesychia* (*Sobr.* 50), food (*Migr. Abr.* 36; *Dreams* 1.58), government (*Dreams* 2.154), for “the salutary flame of virtue” (*Heir* 37), reason that heals the sufferings of the soul (*Dreams* 1.112), prudence (*Worse Attacks Better* 45), *sophrosyne* (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.105). He associates this adjective with “useful” (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.76; *Joseph* 55; *Spec. Laws* 4.181).

⁵¹ Xenophon, *Eq.* 3.12: in war, the horse is very “salutary” for the horseman.

⁵² Thucydides 7.64.2: the warrior must “show his courage, as much for his own personal interest as for the salvation of all” (τοι—ς ξύμπασι σωτήριος). Military conscription (*I.Thas.* 182, 7).

⁵³ In the OT, *soterios* was a description for peace offerings (*Sir* 35:1; 47:2; cf. *1Macc* 4:56); σωτήρια ἔθυσε (Dittenberger, *Or.* 4, 43; cf. *Syl.* 384, 213; 391, 22). S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante*, Paris, 1966, pp. 275–285. In a Christian letter, the “common salvation” (?) depends on divine providence (*P.Oxy.* 1492, 6).

⁵⁴ Cf. Musonius, frag. 49 (ed. Lutz, p. 142): from the mouths of philosophers one receives things “said to be useful and salutary and which bring a remedy for error and vice”; *Corp. Herm.* 10.15: “This alone is salutary for man: the knowledge of God”; Philo, *Dreams* 1.147: the words that God utters “through love of humans and compassion for our species” stir up a “saving inspiration” and give new life; *Joseph* 73: salutary speeches.

⁵⁵ *Titus* 2:11; cf. Philo, *Dreams* 2.149: “The saving mercy of God” delivers our race, subject to death; *Conf. Tongues* 171, the Powers of God “protect (σωτηρίους) that which is created. His right hand and his might are helpful to the human race” (*Unchang. God* 73; *Decalogue* 177; *Plant.* 90; *Virtues* 49); because “the nature of God is to save” (ἡ σωτήριος φύσις, *Conf. Tongues* 181; cf. *Heir* 203); his gifts are beneficent and salutary (*Virtues* 133).

σωματικω—ς

somatikos, bodily, personally

somatikos, S 4985; *EDNT* 3.325; MM 621; L&N 8.2; BAGD 800; ND 3.86

In Christ the fullness of the godhead dwelled (*Col* 1:19) “bodily” (2:9). This is how *somatikos* is ordinarily translated,¹ with the understanding that

the reference is to the resurrected body of Christ (Phil 3:21) or to the church, which is his body on earth. If the adverb is taken to mean “in a bodily fashion,” then we can compare Philo: “The priest ‘shall not be a man,’ according to Moses, when he enters the holy of holies. . . . This has to do not with the body, but with the movements of his soul.”² But how could the divinity be circumscribed or concentrated in Jesus? It would probably be better to translate “personally,” the meaning of the word in the only three papyri in which it is attested: the priests of Bacchias in 178 want to be freed of the *leitourgia* for the work on the dikes, which is in danger of becoming a personal chore for them (*me agesthai somatikos epi ten ton chomaton apergasian*, *P.Lund* III, 8, 15, republished in *SB* 8748); “that we may be freed from personally completing the work on the dikes”;³ finally, there is *P.Fouad* 13, 8, which A. Bataille restores to read *somatikos apergazesthai hiereis*.⁴

¹ It can also be taken to mean “truly, in reality,” as opposed to “symbolically”; cf. Plutarch, *De def. or.* 26.424 e: “We have yet to consider this center not as spatial but as material” (λείπεται τοίνυν τὸ μέσον οὐ τοπικῶ—ς ἀλλὰ σωματικῶ—ς λέγεσθαι). On Col 2:10, cf. M. J. Lagrange, “Les Origines du dogme paulinien de la divinité du Christ,” in *RB*, 1936, pp. 26–27; L. Cerfaux, *La Théologie de l’Eglise suivant saint Paul*, pp. 274–286; A. Feuillet, *Le Christ sagesse de Dieu*, pp. 225, 232, 286.

² *Heir* 84: οὐ σωματικῶ—ς, ἀλλὰ ται—ς κατὰ ψυχὴν κινήσεσιν. Cf. monetary or corporal punishment, Dittenberger, *Or.* 664, 17: κατὰ πα—ν ἢ ἀργυρικῶ—ς ἢ σωματικῶ—ς κολασθήσεται (first century); Vettius Valens (p. 231, 2): be afflicted in one’s body (καὶ σωματικῶ—ς ὀχλήθη); as an adjective, σωματικός in the sense of “manual,” εἴτ̄ ε—ν ἀργυρίῳ εἴτ̄ ε—ν σωματικαί—ς ε—ργασίαις (*P.Fay.* 21, 10) or “physical,” σωματικῆς ἀσθενίας (*P.Flor.* 51, 5), σωματικῶ—ν πόνων (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 708, 11).

³ Ὅπως ὑπεξαιρεθώ—μεν τοῦ σωματικῶ—ς ἀπεργάζεσθαι εἰ—ς τὰ χωματικὰ ἔργα; edited by E. H. Gilliam, “The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias,” in *YCS*, vol. 10, 1947, pp. 256–264.

⁴ This would seem to be the only possible meaning of *T. Abr.* B 7, where Abraham says to the archangel Michael, “Since I am going to leave my body, I would like to be taken up in person (σωματικῶ—ς ἤθελον ἀναληφθῆναι) to see the creatures that my God has made in heaven and on earth.” Cf. the meaning of the adjective σωματικός, “personal,” in *P.Lond.* IV, 1345, 21; 1367, 19 (eighth century).

σωφρονέω, σωφρονίζω, σωφρονισμός, σωφρόνως, σωφροσύνη, σῶφρων

sophroneo, to be moderate, sober-minded, sensible, sane; *sophronizo*, to instill a sense of moderation, restore someone to his senses, instruct, train; *sophronismos*, having good judgment, of sound mind; *sophronos*, with good sense, with self-control; *sophrosyne*, prudence, moderation, sound judgment, decency, self-control, mastery of the passions; *sophron*, moderate, sensible

sophroneo, S 4993; TDNT 7.1097–1104; EDNT 3.329–330; NIDNTT 1.501–502; MM 622; L&N 30.22, 32.34; BAGD 802 | ***sophronizo***, S 4994; TDNT 7.1104; EDNT 3.329–330; MM 622; L&N 33.229; BAGD 802 | ***sophronismos***, S 4995; TDNTM 7.1104; EDNT 3.329–330; MM 622; L&N 32.34, 88.93; BAGD 802 | ***sophronos***, S 4996; EDNT 3.329–330; NIDNTT 1.501–502; L&N 88.94; BAGD 802 | ***sophrosyne***, S 4997; TDNT 7.1097–1104; EDNT 3.329–330; NIDNTT 1.494; MM 622; L&N 32.34, 88.93; BAGD 802 | ***sophron***, S 4998; TDNTD 7.1097–1104; EDNT 3.329–330; NIDNTT 1.501–502; MM 622–623; L&N 88.94; BAGD 802; ND 4.151

These compounds of the verb *phroneo*—rare in the papyri, used abundantly in classical Greek and very common in the Hellenistic period, especially in the inscriptions—are, strictly speaking, untranslatable.¹ Deriving from *sos-phren*, they express first of all the idea of spiritual health, a correct or appropriate way of reasoning,² but also a sense of moderation,³ a moderation or reserve that is expressed in inner equilibrium.⁴ Hence *sophroneo*, “be moderate, sober-minded” (unknown in the LXX); with respect to an exorcised demoniac, “in his right mind” (Mark 5:15; Luke 8:35). It is used of Christians, who should be measured and reserved in their self-concept (Rom 12:3); of Paul, beside himself or euphoric in his relationship with God (*exestemen*) but reasonable and prudent (*sophronoumen*) in his relations with the Corinthians (2Cor 5:13); of the Cretans, who must be staid (*sophronein peri panta*, Titus 2:6); and of believers who are overly excited about the prospect of an immediate Parousia and are called to be calm (1Pet 4:7). Accused by Festus of being mad, the apostle replies, “I am speaking words of truth and good sense” (*aletheias kai sophrosynes rhemata apophthengomai*, Acts 26:25).

The Stoics treat *sophrosyne* as one of the four cardinal virtues,⁵ but it is especially identified with prudence (Esth 3:13 c; Wis 9:11, *sophronos*; Philo, *Unchang. God* 164), which is given to the apostles along with the spirit of power and of love,⁶ because it is a virtue of rulers.⁷ Sometimes it is contrasted with debauchery (*akolasia*), and it is confused with *enkrateia* (Philo, *Good Man Free* 67, 70, 159, 250–251; Plutarch, *Alex.* 21.11; 30.10–11; 47.8); it is the virtue of temperance that overcomes the passions.⁸ This nuance is that of the *sophron nous*, the temperate mind,⁹ and its account

for the association of *sophron* with sobriety (1Tim 3:2; Titus 2:2; 1Pet 4:7) and chastity.¹⁰

Finally, *sophrosyne* —while connoting moderation and just measure—has to do with character and life conduct (*sophrosyne tropon*)¹¹ and so becomes a general virtue, the knowledge of what to do and what to avoid.¹² Not only is it of unparalleled nobility,¹³ but it expresses the purest Greek ideal (Plato, *Cra.* 411 e; *Chrm.* 159 bff.), and the honorific decrees always mention it as a characteristic of a good life, for example at Mylasa: “having lived with *sophrosyne* and in his youth having shown forth a perfect example of merit.”¹⁴ This explains the association of *sophron* and *kosmios*:¹⁵ the *sophron* has a feel for the proprieties (*sophrosyne kekosmemenou*, TAM, II, 288).

Sophrosyne is taught to children “as the virtue that is most appropriate for young people and the first of all virtues, an element of harmony, and productive of good.”¹⁶ Thus is it that educative (*paideuoussa*) grace teaches us to live “temperately, justly, and piously,”¹⁷ and that older Christian women must instruct the younger women in wisdom, teaching them to love their husbands and their children.¹⁸

The Pastoral Epistles require *sophrosyne* of the *episkopos* (1Tim 3:2; Titus 1:8) and of the older men,¹⁹ but they treat it primarily as a feminine virtue, whether with regard to dress,²⁰ chaste and reserved conduct,²¹ or even of the condition of salvation,²² which here seems to be the discretion and reserve that become women.²³ *Sophrosyne* had been attributed to women from the time of Semonides of Amorgos and Pythagoras: “The best virtue for woman is *sophrosyne*” (*gynaikos de malista areta sophrosyna*, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 74; vol. 4, p. 589; cf. *Flor.* 44, 24, vol. 4, p. 154: *gynaika de sophronein chre*); “Honor *sophrosyne*, which is the distinctive virtue of women,”²⁴ especially young women;²⁵ certainly it includes modesty (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.138). Aristotle states that it is not the same virtue in women as in men.²⁶ After Musonius Rufus, Plutarch was the leading advocate of this feminine advancement in the first century AD (*Mulier. virt.* 20; *Sol.* 20.5; *Cleom.* 22.2), constantly attested in tomb inscriptions and in honorific decrees: Theophile, “a paragon of *sophrosyne*”;²⁷ the most illustrious Jullia Bassia, praised by the *boule* and *demos* of the Tauromenites;²⁸ or Tata, the high priestess of emperors, “adorned with all virtue and *sophrosyne*” (*kekosmemenen pase arete kai sophrosyne*, TAM II, 15, col. II, 9); Claudia, who was “pure in her love for her husband, unsurpassed in her love for her children, . . . indescribable in her *sophrosyne*” (*philandria asynkritos, philoteknia anyperbletos, . . . sophrosyne adiegetos*, ibid. 443; cf. 285); “adorned with nobility and *sophrosyne* and showing forth all womanly virtue” (*eugeneia kai sophrosyne kekosmemene kai pasan gynaikeian areten apodeiknymene*, ibid. III, 4). In the first century AD, the Roman people and merchants of Assos pay homage to the *sophrosyne* of Lollia Arlegilla (*I.Assos*, n. XIV, 2). Likewise the honorific decree paying

homage to Stratonike, the wife of Attalos (ibid., pp. 33–34). A woman’s funerary epigram praises her as “chief of *sophrosyne*” (*sophrosynes prytnis*, W. Peek, in *ZPE*, vol. 24, 1977, p. 33). As in Titus 2:4-5, the components of *sophrosyne* are enumerated: *philandria*, *philostorgia*, *eutaxia*, *eutechnia*, *eunoia*.²⁹ The term always refers to a “well-ordered life,” a life above all suspicion and criticism,³⁰ an “honest woman,” the opposite of dissoluteness (Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.9.1366b; Plutarch, *Luc.* 1.1). The mores of such a woman are above reproach.³¹ Such was “the worthy Berous, daughter of Chrysippus, who was a Penelope in deed and not in fiction, chaste in her marriage (*sophron en gamoteti*), prudent despite her youth, a good mistress of her house and her life” (*IGLS* 721, 5; cf. 2371).

¹ A. J. Festugière, *Idéal religieux*, pp. 18, n. 2; 30, n. 1; idem, *Dieu cosmique*, pp. 292ff. On σωφροσύνη, cf. idem, *Personal Religion*, pp. 12ff. C. J. de Vries, “σωφροσύνη en grec classique,” in *Mnemosyne*, 1943, pp. 81–101; T. G. Tuckey, *Plato’s Charmides*, Cambridge, 1951; Luck, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 1097–1104; above all H. North, *Sophrosyne*, Ithaca, 1966.

² Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1098: show oneself to be reasonable; *Ran.* 853; *Vesp.* 1405, 1440: to have good sense; Thucydides 1.84.3: be able to discern; Philo, *Virtues* 14: “the correct name for this health is *sophrosyne*, which safeguards our ability to think”; its opposite is dissoluteness (Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.9.1366b).

³ Cf. V. Fontoynt, *Vocabulaire grec*, Villefranche-sur-Saône, 1930; C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, pp. 212ff.

⁴ Philo, *Unchang. God* 164: “There is moderation (σωφροσύνη) between frivolous dissipation and ignoble greed”; Musonius, frags. 6, 18 B, and 24 (ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 54, line 15; p. 116, line 20; p. 130, line 9). Pompey was loved for “the simplicity of his way of life” (σωφροσύνη περὶ δίαιταν, Plutarch, *Pomp.* 1.4; cf. 16.2; *Ant.* 21.2); “ignorance joined with discretion (μετὰ σωφροσύνης) is better than cleverness without restraint” (Thucydides 3.37.3); “unreflective boldness was taken as courageous devotion, prudence as weakness, restraint (τὸ σω—φρον) as a mask for cowardice” (ibid. 3.82.4). It is in opposition to ὑβρις (ibid. 3.84.1) and refers to the element of measure in the artist’s skill (*J. Cor.* VIII, 3, n. 128 = *SEG* XIII, 226).

⁵ Musonius, frags. 9 and 17 (ed. Lutz, p. 74, line 25; p. 108, lines 11ff.); Wis 8:7; 2Macc 4:37; Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.19; 4Macc 1:3, 18, 31; 5:23; Sallustius, *De Deis et Mundo* 10.1; Lucian, *Par.* 56; cf. the index of C. J. de

Vogel, *Greek Philosophy III: The Hellenistic-Roman Period*, Leiden, 1959, p. 165; D. Tsekourakis, *Studies in the Terminology of Early Stoic Ethics*, pp. 59ff.

⁶ 2Tim 1:7—πνεῦμα σωφρονισμοῦ (cf. Josephus, *War* 2.9 = *Ant.* 17.210; Plutarch, *Cat. Mai.* 5.1; cf. *Alex.* 4.8); when intransitive, σωφρονισμός is a pedagogical term (Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.193). The charism of the perfect educator is first of all to have good judgment, a sound mind, prudence; cf. Cramer's *Catena*, on this word.

⁷ *Sophrosyne* is required of the *episkopos* (1Tim 3:2; Titus 1:8); it is a royal virtue, since the prince must both be master of himself and also maintain order and harmony in the community (Plato, *Resp.* 4.428 b –432 a; *Leg.* 3.697 c–e; 6.757 a–c; cf. J. C. Fraisse, *Philia: La Notion d'amitié dans la philosophie antique*, Paris, 1974, pp. 175ff.); Musonius, frag. 8 (p. 62, lines 10ff.; p. 66, line 8); Arrian, *Anab.* 4.7.5; 5.7.9; 6.26.3. The first quality demanded of the general, according to Onasander (1.1–2) is to be *sophron*; cf. F. Zimmermann, *Griechische Roman-Papyri*, Heidelberg, 1936, p. 60, 11; L. Delatte, *Les Traités de la royauté d'Ecphante, Diotogène et Sthénidas*, pp. 256, 270; C. Gorteman, “βασιλεύς φιλαλήθης,” in *ChrEg*, 1958, p. 260, n. 4.

⁸ It gives the strength to master the irrational instincts of the *thymos* (Plato, *Symp.* 196 c; *Resp.* 2.389 d–e; 4.430 e; *Leg.* 4.170 a); Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.69–71, 86; 2.81; *Heir* 209; *Husbandry* 98: “the antidote to license is *sophrosyne*, which delivers from evil”; *Creation* 73; *Change of Names* 197; Musonius, frag. 4, p. 44, line 16; frag. 5, line 22; frag. 6, p. 54, line 18; frag. 12, line 13; frag. 18 B, line 20; Sallustius, *De Deis et Mundo* 10.1; Plutarch, *De curios.* 14: “as training in continence (πρὸς σωφροσύνης), one may at times abstain from one's own wife in order not to be moved by someone else's”; *Sert.* 1.9: “Sertorius showed himself more chaste (σωφρονέστερον) with regard to women than Philip”; *Ages.* 14.1: “the continence (σωφροσύνη) of Agesilaus was admired”; *Pomp.* 53.2; *Demetr.* 24.2: the continence of Democles was seen in that he escaped the greed of Demetrius by death; also that of Alexander (Arrian, *Anab.* 2.12; 4.19, 5–6; 20, 2). In the *T. 12 Patr.*, *sophrosyne* is found only in *T. Jos.* 4.1–2; 6.7; 9.2–3; 10.2–3, always for sexual continence; cf. J. Becker, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen*, Leiden, 1970, p. 229, n. 2; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 316; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 54ff.

⁹ 4Macc 1:35—“the passion of appetite is halted before the temperate mind”; 2:16, 18, 23; 3:17, 19; 7:23; 2:2—“Joseph the temperate (ὁ σώφρων

Ἰωσηφ) mastered luxury”; 15:10—the seven brothers “were just, temperate (σώφρονες), courageous, magnanimous.”

¹⁰ Titus 2:5—σώφρονας, ἀγνάς; cf. Amnia to Heraclea: ἀγνήν καὶ σώφρονα καὶ κεκοσμημένην πάσῃ ἀρετῇ ἤθεσι καὶ φιλανδρίᾳ, H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica*, vol. 2, n. 24, 5–11; *IGLAM*, 1594, 1602; cf. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 87 b 5. Cf. E. Lövestam, “Über die neutestamentliche Aufforderung zur Nüchternheit,” in *ST*, 1958, pp. 80–102.

¹¹ *GVI*, n. 1963; cf. 930, 1783; σώφροσιν τρόποις (C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 292, 11); G. Pfohl, *Grabinschriften*, pp. 25ff. Idem, *Inschriften der Griechen*, Darmstadt, 1972, p. 81.

¹² *SVF*, vol. 1, 190; vol. 3, 262, 265.

¹³ It inclines a person to μεγαλοψυχία (R. A. Gauthier, *Magnanimité*, pp. 115ff. P. Moraux, *Le Dialogue “sur la justice,”* Louvain, 1957, pp. 146–164); a gift of Isis (*SB* 8140, 6 = *SEG* VIII, 550), it was divinized (G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, n. 34), had altars (*I.Perg.* 310) and priestesses (*IGLS* 2686). It was personified as virtue, after the fashion of *Niké* (victory) and *Areté* (merit). The epitaph of Serapous, shown offering the breast to her child, says, “I am the best of proclamations for those whose *sophrosyne* is renowned across the universe” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 57, 8–9). In praise of a high official: χρηστός, εὐγενής, ἀπλοῦς, φιλαβασιλεύς, ἀνδρει—ος, ε—μ πίστει μέγας, σώφρων, . . . πραυ4ς, . . . τὰ πανοῦργα μισω—ν (C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 300, col. I, 4; cf. 297, 6).

¹⁴ Ζήσαντος μετὰ σωφροσύνης καὶ ε—ν νεότητι τὰς τελείας ἀρετῆς ἀποδείξεις ει—σενεγκαμένου; *BCH*, 1888, p. 37, n. 19; ἀρετα—ς ἔνεκεν καὶ σωφροσύνας (*SEG* XVI, 471, 4); the honorific decree on behalf of M. Alfidius mentions three times the *sophrosyne* of this athlete (ed. Merkelbach, in *ZPE*, 1975, pp. 146ff., lines 21, 29, 53); *Anth. Pal.* 7.513; P. Hermann, *Ergebnisse*, n. 3, 10; like Joseph: ἀνὴρ θεοσεβῆς καὶ σώφρων (*Jos. Asen.* 4.7–8). *Sophrosyne* shone on the countenance of Homer (Christodorus of Thebes, in *Anth. Pal.* 2.332), of Cato (Plutarch, *Cat. Mai.* 19.4), of the governors of the peoples and of the *gymnasiarchoi*, “guardians of good conduct” (G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, n. 948). Aristylla was *sophon* (*GVI*, n. 327, 3), as were Philonoe (335), Arcestrate (495), et al. The Massaliotes were distinguished by their virtue (Strabo 4.1.5), which was—in the eyes of Romulus—the Romans’ secret for “reaching the highest pinnacle of human power” (Plutarch, *Rom.* 28.3). In the first century BC, “The oldest, most frequent, and most widespread praise is of *sophrosyne*—moral wisdom, moderation, and harmonious living—one of the leading

virtues. It is found from the fourth century until the decline of Greek civilization in Attica, in the islands, in the Hellenized quasi-barbaric lands at the borders of the Greek world” (G. Fohlen, “Quelques aspect de la vie antique d’après les épitaphes métriques grecques,” in *Les Etudes classiques*, 1954, pp. 146ff.); cf. H. North, *Sophrosyne*, pp. 252ff.

¹⁵ 1Tim 3:2; cf. Plato, *Grg.* 508 a; *Leg.* 7.802 e; Nicolaus of Damascus, *Vit. Caes.* 17.3 (ed. Müller, p. 436); Lucian, *Bis Acc.* 17: κόσμιον ἄνθρωπον καὶ σώφρονα; *I. Magn.* 162, 6: ζήσαντα σωφρόνως καὶ κοσμίως; *MAMA* VI, 119; VIII, 472: ζήσασαν κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως; A. Dupont-Sommer, L. Robert, *La Déesse de Hiérapolis Castabala*, Paris, 1964, p. 46: κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως βιώσασαν καὶ φιλοστόργως; Cornelia Fortunata to Tomis: στοργὴν πρὸς ἄνδρὸς κοσμίαν καὶ σώφρονα λιποῦσαν (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1964, p. 195, n. 296); Seneca, *Vit. Beat.* 8: “vir compositus et ordinatus.” The virtuous person is *sui compos*.

¹⁶ Athenaeus 1.15 = 8 e; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.2–8: *sophrosyne* is one of the first virtues taught to Persian children; is it the fruit of *paideia* (Plato, *Resp.* 4.430 d), the source and teacher of all the virtues (Iamblichus, *Sophr.*, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 5.45; vol. 3, p. 260); likewise Plutarch, *Marc.* 2.5; cf. H. North, *Sophrosyne*, pp. 248ff.

¹⁷ Titus 2:12—σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς; it is explicitly a matter of mastering the anarchic ε—πιθυμίας (cf. Ps.-Plato, *Def.* 415 d: Σώφρων· ὁ μετρίας ε—πιθυμίας ἔχων), a mastery that is not achieved without effort (Musonius, frag. 7, p. 58, line 28) and deserves praise; Junia Theodora in 43, at Corinth: ζῶ—σα σωφρόνως (*SEG* XVIII, 143, 23–24); τὸ εὖ ζῆν ε—στὶ κοινωνικῶς ζῆν καὶ φιλικῶς καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως (Plutarch, *Adv. Col.* 2); δικαίως ζῆν καὶ φρονίμως καὶ σωφρόνως (Dio Chrysostom 23.7).

¹⁸ Ἴνα σωφρονίζουσιν τὰς νέας, Titus 2:4 (the present indicative must be retained rather than the subjunctive -ζωσιν of C, K, L, and some miniscules). The verb σωφρονίζω, much used by the rhetors (*LTGR*, p. 346), means give a sense of moderation, to moderate excess, restore to their senses people who are raving (Antiphon, 3 *Tetr.* 3.2; Xenophon, *Hier.* 10.3; Thucydides 6.78.2; *P.Oxy.* 33, col. IV, 11: —Αππιανέ, ι—ώθαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς—μαινομένους καὶ ἀπονενοημένους σωφρονίζειν; second century), especially delinquents who can learn wisdom through the fear of punishment (Josephus, *War* 4.119). It is also used in the general sense of calling someone to responsibility (ibid. 3.445), instructing or indoctrinating someone (Plutarch, *An seni* 2; *Quaest. conv.* 2.8; Musonius, frag. 8, p. 62, line 11: δει— δὲ [βασιλέα] τοὺς ὑπηκόους σωφρονίζειν ἵν’ ὁ μὲν ἄρχη σωφρόνως).

¹⁹ Titus 2:2—νηφαλίους, σεμνούς, σώφρονας. Cf. the analogous association in Musonius, frag. 8, p. 62, line 20): ταῦτα δὲ ἀνθρώπων προσόντα παρέχεται σεμνὸν καὶ σώφρονα αὐτόν. At Rome, a woman who is σεμνοτάτη πασῶν—v is praised for her qualities: σωφροσύνη, ὁμόνοια, στοργή (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1964, p. 252, n. 601); Appia is σωφροσύνη καὶ σεμνότητι διενέκασαν (*MAMA* VIII, 470, 8–9); . . . σεμνῆς μετρὸς σωφροσύνην (*I.Bulg.* 1026, 5); σεμνοπρεπὲς κημήλιον σωφροσύνης . . . Δυνατι—ρα (*I.Cret.* 2.8.4).

²⁰ Μετὰ αἰ—δοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖ—v ε—αυτάς, 1Tim 2:9 (cf. Musonius, frag. 19, line 1). The best parallel is Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.62: “On the seventh day, thousands of schools are open in all the cities where intelligence, moderation (σωφροσύνης), courage, justice, and the other virtues are taught. The people are seated in an orderly and calm fashion (ε—v κόσμῳ . . . σὺν ἡσυχίᾳ) and pay perfect attention in order to hear the delectable discourse, while one of the teachers stands giving out very noble and profitable lessons, which help them to progress in all areas of life.” The link between αἰ—δῶς and σωφροσύνη is constant, Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.1.31; *Symp.* 1.8; Philo, *Heir* 128; *Prelim. Stud.* 124; *Flight* 5; *MAMA* VII, 258, 5; *GVI*, 1575, 1: σωφροσύνας αἰ—δοῦς τε ε—τύμου χάριν (first-second century); 1564, 1: πότνια Σωφροσύνη, θύγατερ μεγαλόφρονος Αἰ—δος (fifth century). The emphasis is on modesty and decency: σωφροσύνην ἄσκει—v, αἰ—σχω—v δ ἔργων ἀπέχεσθαι (*Sib. Or.* 2.145). Sovinus, at Kavsa, made separate men’s and women’s rooms for the baths “on account of decency” (σαοφροσύνης δ ἔνεκα, L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 4, p. 83). Together with κοσμέω, κοσμιότης, cf. Philo, *Change of Names* 217; *Spec. Laws* 3.51.

²¹ Titus 2:5—σώφρονας, ἀγνάς; cf. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 473: “behave properly, like a young girl”; the wife of Ischomachus says to her husband: “My concern is to be proper” (Xenophon, *Oec.* 7.14; cf. 9.9); Musonius, frag. 3, p. 49, line 17): δει— δὴ καὶ σώφρονα εἶναι τὴν γυναῖκα οἷαν καθαρεύειν μὲν ἀφροδισίων παρανόμων, καθαρεύειν δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἡδονὰς ἀκρασίας; 4 (p. 44, 16): σωφρονεῖ—v μὲν αὖ καλὸν τὴν γυναῖκα, καλὸν δ ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα; Plutarch, *De gen.* 33: δεήσεις σωφρόνων γυναικῶ—v = the prayers of honest women); *I.Cor.* VIII, 3, n. 530 (= *SEG* XI, 154); *I.Cret.* I, 18, 52 (vol. 1, p. 204); II, 6, 10 (vol. 2, p. 89); *TAM* II, 1204, 4–5.

²² 1Tim 2:15, μετὰ σωφροσύνης. With an abstract noun, μετὰ defines the fashion in which the action is accomplished: καλω—ς μετὰ σωφροσύνης (*I.Perg.* 495, 5); Philo, *Flight* 63: “we must become like God, just and holy, and also prudent” (ὁμοίωσις [θεω—] δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὄσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως

γενέσθαι); cf. Plato, *Phd.* 69 *b*: ἀληθῆς ἀρετή, μετὰ φρονήσεως. The Christian is saved by keeping an element of balance in his or her conduct. In the first century BC, Ocellus, setting down rules for procreation, instructs parents to refrain from any excess (*hybris*) and to conform to the rules of nature, with proper discretion: τὰς κατὰ φύσιν καὶ μετὰ σωφροσύνης (Ocellus of Lucania, *Nat.* 4.13; ed. F. G. A. Mullach, *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*, Paris, 1875, vol. 1, p. 405).

²³ The first definition of *sophrosyne* in Plato, *Chrm.* (159 *b*) has to do with order and silence (τὸ κοσμίως πάντα πράττειν καὶ ἡσυχῆ). In the legal debate where Philosophy assembles a group of her friends for a jury (Truth, Virtue, etc.), Lucian prominently mentions the mute servants Σωφροσύνη, Δικαιοσύνη, and Παιδεία (Lucian, *Pisc.* 16–17; cf. *Tabula of Cebes* 15). An essential characteristic of masculine or feminine *sophrosyne* is that each one takes care of his or her own business: τὸ τὰ ε—αυτοῦ πράττειν (the third definition in Plato, *Chrm.* 161 *b–d*).

²⁴ Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 4.8.7; cf. 1.3.1; 1.8.3; 1.25.4; 2.4.2; 8.9.22; 10.9.4–5; Ps.-Plutarch, *Amat.* 23.769 *b*: “It is absurd to deny women any part in virtue (*arete*). Is it necessary to speak in particular of their *sophrosyne* and their intelligence, or of their faithfulness and loyalty?”; Plutarch, *Phoc.* 19.1: Phocion’s second wife was renowned for her virtue (ε—πὶ σωφροσύνη); so was Cato’s daughter (*Cat. Min.* 73.6); Dio Cassius 1.26; 47.45; 58.1; *Sent. Sextus* 235, 237; Philo, *Moses* 2.136–137; Phytis wrote a treatise *Περὶ γυναικὸς σωφροσύνας* (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 74.61 = vol. 4, p. 588). A tomb inscription: Ἀὐρηλία Τατία νατιρηνηὴ τῆ σωφρονεστάτῃ γυναικί (*IGUR*, II, n. 433; 632: διὰ τὴν σωφροσύνην αὐτῆς; 1039; cf. 449: σῶφρων καὶ φίλανδρε; 565).

²⁵ Demosthenes, *C. Neaer.* 59.114; Musonius, frag. 4, p. 44; *MAMA* 1.303: παρθένος σωφρονεστάτη; cf. priestesses, *IG XII*, 5, 291; *I.Perg.* 481–482, 495, 532, 576 *b*, etc.; cf. Amnia, “honored by her country as priestess of *Sophrosyne*” (*IGLS* 2686).

²⁶ Aristotle, *Pol.* 1.13.9.1260a: οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ σωφροσύνη γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρός. According to Theophrastus, certain cities tested young women on this virtue (as a preparation for marriage?) and on household management (in Athenaeus 13.90 = 609 *e*–610 *a*).

²⁷ Τῆς σωφροσύνης ὑπόδειγμα, *GVI*, 1989, 17 (second-first century); cf. 157, 204, 596, 693, 743, 837, 893, 1490, 1778, 1781, 1790; *MAMA* III, 792. Kleupatra, wife of the physician Nikias, in the second-first century, gained respect through reserved conduct (πινυτοι—ς ἦθεσι) and had “a certain renown among the living on account of her honest comportment” (λῆμα

σωφροσύνας, J. Bingen, “Epitaphe grecque et inscription latine de Dymè,” in *Mélanges helléniques offerts à G. Daux*, Paris, 1974, p. 14); *SEG XIV*, 722; 25, 1117; *IGLAM* 646, 816: σωφροσύνη ζήσασα; 831, 950, 963, 1605 a; cf. R.Lattimore, *Epitaphs*, pp. 276, 291; G. Pfohl, *Grabinschriften*, pp. 16, 25, 42, 49, 144ff., 273, etc. I. Kajanto, *A Study of the Greek Epitaphs of Rome*, Helsinki, 1963, pp. 29, 33.

²⁸ Τὴν ἐ—πὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ σωφροσύνη τε καὶ σοφία, *IGUR*, n. 61, 1.

²⁹ *MAMA V*, 81; VI, 114 A 7; 168; VII, 394; 499 c 5ff.; *SEG IV*, 634; *I.Cret. IV*, 304; *GVI*, n. 243; 1857; *Anth. Pal.* 7.337; 8.31; Lucian, *Pisc.* 16–17; *Cal.* 15. *Tabula of Cebes* 15 places *sophrosyne* between *kalokagathia* and *eutaxia*.

³⁰ Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.1; Philo, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 27; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.9.4; Dio Cassius 37.45; 58.1; *MAMA VIII*, 492, 23; 469, 4; 482, 14; *I. Side* 121 b 2; *GVI* 2040, 26 (first-second century); *Anth. Pal.* 9.132.4; 9.166.2; cf. the references given by A. Kehl, *Der Psalmenkommentar von Tura*, Cologne, 1964, p. 184.

³¹ Cf. Paulina, wife of Saturninus (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.66, 73, 76); Philo, *Virtues* 39; *Joseph* 50: when her husband returned, Potiphar’s wife “played the part of an honest, well-behaved woman” (τὴν σώφρονα καὶ κοσμίαν), indignant at assaults on her virtue; *Rewards* 139; Quintus of Smyrna, *Posthomerica* 1.117; *MAMA* 4.158, 159; *GVI*, 876, 1310, 1439; *SEG XX*, 76 d 4.

ταλαιπωρέω, ταλαιπωρία, ταλαίπωρος

talaiporeo, to bewail one’s misery; *talaiporia*, misery, devastation; *talaiporos*, miserable, wretched

talaiporeo, S 5003; *EDNT* 3.331–332; *NIDNTT* 3.858–859; L&N 25.136; BAGD 803 | ***talaiporia***, S 5004; *EDNT* 3.332; *NIDNTT* 3.858–859; MM 624; L&N 22.11; BAGD 803 | ***talaiporos***, S 5005; *EDNT* 3.332; *NIDNTT* 3.858–859; MM 624; L&N 22.12; BAGD 803

In the LXX, the verb *talaiporeo* almost always translates the Hebrew *shadad*, almost always in the pual, referring to ravaged lands, devastated countries (Mic 2:4; Joel 1:10; Jer 4:20; Zech 11:2-3), ruined pillars (Hos 10:2)—the aftermath of violence. Philo uses it for the thousand snubs that Flaccus received (*Flacc.* 155) and the severity of a night spent in the open air (*Etern. World* 4; *Spec. Laws* 3.17); Manetho uses it for men toiling in quarries (in Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.237; cf. Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.1.18);

Josephus uses it for the fatigue of long marches (*Ant.* 2.334; 3.3) or costly efforts (4.167; cf. *P.Mil.Vogl.* 24, 15: *emou talaiporountos is to pelagos*, AD 117), Thucydides for various sufferings and difficulties resulting from war (3.78.1; 5.74.3), for the rainy season (2.101.5), for the plague,¹ for the constraints of existence (1.99.1). It is with this general meaning that it is used in Jas 4:9—“Bewail your misery (*talaiporesate*), mourn and weep” (NT hapax).

The substantive *talaiporia*, very common in the OT, has the same meaning and signifies devastation (Job 30:3; Hos 9:6; Isa 16:4; Mic 2:4), pillaging (Amos 3:10), ravaging (Joel 1:15; Hab 2:17), calamity (2Macc 6:9). This is the meaning in Isa 59:7, quoted at Rom 3:16, and of Jas 5:1, where the rich are told to weep over the evils that are going to befall them.²

The adjective *talaiporos* retains the meaning “miserable” when referring to the precariousness of life, to suffering and privation that must be endured,³ as in Rev 3:17 (“You do not realize that you are wretched, pitiful, poor, blind, and naked”); but more often it refers to psychological and religious wretchedness, as with those who place no value on wisdom and instruction (*Wis* 3:11), “pin their hopes on dead things” (13:10), or are condemned to death when “if they had pleaded their case even before Scythians, they would have been acquitted” (2Macc 4:47). Even more so people who “keep bad company and are perverted and miserable their whole life long” (*Ep. Arist.* 130). Two funerary steles of Rhenaea, from the second-first century BC, call for God to avenge the murderers of two young Jewish women, Heraclea and Marthina: “I invoke and call upon God Most High . . . upon those who treacherously assassinated and poisoned the wretched Heraclea.”⁴ In October of AD 64, Thaubas announces to his father, “Your unhappy daughter Herennia (*ten talaiporon thygatera sou Herennian*) died . . . the ninth of Phaophi in premature labor.”⁵ So when St. Paul cries out “Wretched man that I am” (*talaiporos ego anthropos*, Rom 7:34), we must interpret this as both *infelix* and *miser*: “Unhappy and miserable man that I am! Who will deliver me from this mortal body?” As an exact parallel, these exclamations from Epictetus 1.3.5, attributed to those who live only for the body, forgetful of their divine paternity, have been cited: “What am I then? A poor wretched human, or miserable flesh!” (*ti gar eimi? talaiporon anthroparion, kai ta dystena mou sarkidia*). The connotations are the same with respect to the person who is afraid to take the necessary food: “Poor wretch! Can you be so blind?” (*talaipore*; 3.26.3; cf. 4.6.18). The exclamation is a common one (Plutarch, *Aem.* 26.10), whether after a mistake or a sin (“How unhappy and miserable I am!” *Jos. Asen.* 6.5, 7) to express the condition of the guilty person (“O miserable soul—*o talaipore psyche* —how can you say that you have committed no offense?” *T. Abr.* B 10), or on the occasion of the loss of a loved one.⁶ It is the cry of a broken heart.

¹ Thucydides 3.3.1. Cf. regarding the aches and pains suffered by athletes (κόποι) Hippocrates, *Nat. Hom.* 22: ἃ ταλαιπωρέοντι τὸ κοπιῶ—ν κτλ.

² In *Ep. Arist.* 15, ταλαιπωρία refers to the miserable conditions of existence; in Philo, *Dreams* 1.174 the trials of war (likewise Diodorus Siculus 17.64.4; 17.65.2; 17.94.1); often associated with πόνος (*Creation* 167; *Change of Names* 189; *Moses* 1.322); in Josephus, for the painful toil of prisoners (*Ant.* 2.62), exertion and fatigue (2.257; *War* 7.278; cf. Polybius 3.17.8; 3.55.6; Philostratus, *Gym.* 11: wrestling and the *pankration* are painful exercises), of the miseries of the people of God in the course of their wandering (*Ant.* 4.42, 177). *T. Job* 34.4—“He sat down in the misery (ε—ν ταλαιπωρία) of worms.” In the papyri also, the word refers to a state of misery (*P.Tebt.* 27, 40; second century BC; *SB* 9397, 4). But there is also a psychological and moral nuance in a fifth-century letter asking a superior of a community to have compassion on the sad lot of an offender and readmit him to community life: παρακαλῶ— οὖν ὑμα—ς σπλαγχνίσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ ταλαιπωρίας (*C.P.Herm.* 16, 4).

³ Ps 137:8—“Daughter of Babylon, laid waste”; Menander, ταλαίπωρον βίον (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 96.42, vol. 5, p. 795; cf. Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 174; Philo, *To Gaius* 274); Menander, *Mis.*, in *P.Oxy.* 2656, 134, 258: ὦ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ ταλαιπώρου βίου; 3Macc 5:47, concerning a catastrophe; *Tabula of Cebes* 19: ὡς ταλαίπωροι καὶ ἄθλιοί εἰ—σι καὶ κακοδαίμονες; Josephus, *Ant.* 11.1: God took pity on captives and the fate of the miserable men (τω—ν ταλαιπώρων); the proconsul of Macedonia, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, is told of the difficulties experienced by the Thasians during the war (*I.Thas.* 175, col. I, 10); “miserable people” are those without the means of livelihood (*UPZ* 110, 132; from 164 BC); 4Macc 17:7—“my wretched nursings.” A Heidelberg papyrus, 184, frag. VII (C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 244, 155); cf. the adverb ταλαιπώρως, “alas” or “lamentably” in *P.Gen.*, inv. 271, col. XII, 42 (cf. *MusHelv.*, 1959, p. 101).

⁴ Ταλαίπωρον Ἡράκλεαν, published in A. Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 414–415; republished in Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1181, 4; *CII* 725.

⁵ *P.Fouad* 75, 5; cf. *P.Hamb.* 88, 10: γράφεις μοι περὶ τω—ν χρεωστω—ν τοῦταλαιπώρου —Ιουλιανοῦ. A Christian letter from the fourth century: for me, lowly, wretched, and unworthy to see the light of the sun (διὰ ε—μοῦ τω— ταπινω— καὶ ταλεπώρω καὶ οὐ καταξίω . . . , *P.Lond.* 1917, 7); an ostrakon: ταλέπορος καὶ ἀμαρτολός (*SB* 643, 8).

⁶ A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianios*, Bonn, 1972, p. 92, 5: ὦ ταλαίπωρε ἄνθρωπε. Ὡρα γάρ ε—στι τω— παιδὶ νῦν ἀποθανει—ν. Separated from his wife, Jacob is deeply distressed: ταπεινός ε—στι καὶ ὀλοταλαίπορος (*P.Apoll.* 44, 6).

ταπεινός, ταπεινῶ, ταπεινώσις

tapeinos, base, ignoble, of low birth; modest, moderate, humble; *tapeinoō*, to humble, humiliate; *tapeinosis*, modesty, humility

tapeinos, S 5011; TDNT 8.1–26; EDNT 3.333; NIDNTT 2.259–264; MM 625; L&N 25.295, 87.61, 88.52, 88.64; BAGD 804 | **tapeinoō**, S 5013; TDNT 8.1–26; EDNT 3.334–335; MM 625; L&N 25.198, 79.87, 81.7, 87.62, 88.56; BAGD 804 | **tapeinosis**, S 5014; TDNT 8.1–26; EDNT 3.334–335; NIDNTT 2.259–264; MM 625; L&N 87.60, 88.51; BAGD 805

In secular Greek, the *tapeinos* is usually a person who is base, ignoble, of low birth (*P.Oxy.* 79, verso 2: “nothing humble or ignoble or despised,” *meden tapinon mede agenes mede adoxon*; Plutarch, *Cic.* 10.5; Lucian, *Cal.* 24), servile (Plato, *Leg.* 6.774 c, *aneleutheros*), working at a humble occupation (Demosthenes, *C. Eub.* 57.5), held in low esteem;¹ it can even refer to lowliness of heart.² This nuance of depreciation remained in polite monastic and ecclesiastical formulas in the sixth century.³ But despite the preponderance of baseness and pettiness, *tapeinosis* was also considered a virtue even by pagans, namely, the virtue of modesty or moderation, associated with *prautes*, *hesychia*, *metriotes*, *kosmiotes*, and even *sophrosyne*; the opposite of *hybris*, *authadeia*, and *hyperephania*.⁴ S. Rehr has provided abundant evidence of this.⁵

Nevertheless, the Christian idea of humility derives primarily from the OT and the example of Christ.⁶ It combines the ideas of poverty, modesty, and mildness.⁷ The humble are contrasted with potentates,⁸ the great (Matt 18:4; 23:12; Rom. 12:16), the arrogant (Jas 4:6), the rich (Jas 1:9; cf. Phil 4:12), with all that is lofty (Luke 3:5; 2Cor 11:7; Jas 4:10; 1Pet 5:6) and glorious (Phil 3:21; cf. Prov 29:23). Here is a profile of the humble:

(a) They are “little people,” of modest circumstances, who are regarded with favor by the Lord.⁹

(b) They are unfortunate sufferers (2Cor 7:6; 12:21), whom God comforts (Phil 2:8; Heb 6:6; 10:29).

(c) They are discreet and self-effacing (*Ep. Arist.* 257; Rom 12:16; Gal 6:1-3; Eph 4:2; 1Tim 3:6; 1Pet 3:8).

(d) They are humble before the Lord and reserved with respect to their brethren,¹⁰ persuaded of “the misery and emptiness of the whole creation.”¹¹

¹ Plutarch, *De vit. pud.* 14; *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 30.822 d; *Phoc.* 9.5; *Cat. Min.* 12.5; 32.2; *Dem.* 1.1; 1.3: obscure and mediocre; *C. Gracch.* 1.1; *Ant.* 33.3: “Antony is more timid and humble than Caesar”; cf. 83.2: Cleopatra, “lying miserably on a pallet” (cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, pp. 148–153); Philo, *Husbandry* 61: ἄδοξα καὶ ταπεινά; the contrast of ταπεινή and σεμνή (Aristotle, *Poet.* 22.1458a18), ταπεινά and ὑπερφανή (Xenophon, *Eq. Mag.* 5.7), ὄρη ὑψηλὰ ε—ταπείνωσεν (*Pss. Sol.* 11.5; cf. Matt 23:12; Luke 3:5; 2Cor 11:7), ταπεινοφροσύνη and τιμή (Col 2:23), ταπείνωσις versus δόξα (Phil 3:21).

² Epictetus 3.2.14; 4.1.2; cf. ταπεινοφρονέω: having a low opinion of oneself (ibid. 2.9.10). ταπεινόομαι: be in an inferior condition (Plutarch, *Sol.* 22.2); “degrade oneself” (Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 29); Diodorus Siculus 19.67.3: “Cassander decided that it would be worthwhile to weaken (ταπεινω—σαι) the Aetolians”; *P.Oxy.* 2554, frag 1.11: οἱ— πλούσιοι ταπεινωθήσονται (astrological prediction, third century); cf. Plutarch, *Mulier. virt.* 20: “not in a pitiable and lowly fashion” (οὐκ οἱ—κτρω—ς καὶ ταπεινω—ς).

³ The monk Psoïos to his superior: “I pray my master to remember by humble self (τῇ ε—μῇ ταπινώσει) in his holy and efficacious prayers” (*P.Fouad* 89, 5); in a letter to a bishop: παρακαλω— ὑμα—ς εὔξασθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ταπεινώσεώς μου; *P.Cair.Masp.* 67283, 13; cf. *P.Gen.* 14, 5: παρακαλω— ε—λέους τυχει—ν μετὰ τω—ν ταπεινω—ν μου παίδων; *PSI* 1343, 2; *P.Apoll.* 44, 7: “he is humbled and in distress and needs . . .” ε—πειδὴ ταπεινός ε—στι καὶ ὀλοταλαίπορος καὶ χρεῖαν ἔχει . . .”; Christian letter from the fourth century, a request for prayer διὰ ε—μοῦ τω— ταπινω— καὶ ταλεπώρω [*sic*], *P.Lond.* 1917, 7). Antiochus I of Commagene: μηδὲ ἄλλην παρεύρεσιν εἰ—ς ὕβριν ἢ ταπείνωσιν ἢ κατάλυσιν (Dittenberger, *Or.* 383, 201 = *IGLS* 1; cf. 478); cf. *P.Lond.* 131, recto 309 (= vol. 1, p. 179): ε—ν τοι—ς ταπεινοί—ς τόποις (AD 78/79).

⁴ Ταπεινός is contrasted with μετέωρος in Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 1.23; 10.1), refers to a lesser distance (11.2), a lower position on the horizon (1.12; 5.35; 7.15, 20, 27). Cleopatra’s birthday was celebrated “with simplicity” (Plutarch, *Ant.* 73.5).

⁵ S. Rehr, *Das Problem der Demut in der profan-griechischen Literatur im Vergleich zu Septuaginta und Neuen Testament*, Münster, 1961, pp. 26ff. Grundmann, “ταπεινός,” in *TDNT*, vol. 8, pp. 1–26; cf. Plato, *Leg.* 6.716 a; Xenophon, *Ages.* 11.11; Plutarch, *Alc.* 6.5; *De aud. poet.* 28 d; *De sera* 549 c; etc.

⁶ Matt 11:29—“Learn of me, ὅτι πραυ4ς ει—μι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ” (J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, pp. 521ff.). Cf. K. Thieme, “Die ταπεινοφροσύνη, Philip. II und Röm. XII,” in *ZNW*, 1907, pp. 9–33; R. A. Gauthier, *Magnanimité*, pp. 375ff.; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 160–164; vol. 2, pp. 715, 754, 799; R. Leivestad, “ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΦΡΩΝ,” in *NovT*, 1966, pp. 36–47; P. Adnès, “Humilité,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 7, 1136–1188.

⁷ The verb, substantive, or adjective usually translates the Hebrew *‘anâh* or one of its derivatives, which connote misery, usually poverty, affliction, defeat; cf. the Hebrew *kana’*, be confounded; *shapel*, be abased; cf. C. van Leeuwen, *Le Développement du sens social en Israël avant l’ère chrétienne*, Assen, 1955, pp. 13ff.

⁸ Luke 1:52; cf. P. L. Schoonheim, “Die alttestamentliche Boden der Vokabel ὑπερήφανος, Lukas I, 41,” in *NovT*, 1966, pp. 235–246.

⁹ Luke 1:48—the lowliness of the servant. He exalts the humble (Luke 1:52), who are the poor of Jas 1:9 (A. Gelin, *Les Pauvres de Yahwé*, Paris, 1953); cf. Josephus, *War* 4.319; *Ant.* 5.115; 7.95.

¹⁰ Acts 20:19; Jas 4:10; 1Pet 5:5-6 (cf. J. Dupont, *Discours de Milet*, pp. 40ff. F. O. Francis, “Humility and Angelic Worship in Col II, 18,” in *ST*, 1963, pp. 114ff.). One who prays “humbles himself with supplications” (ταπεινοῦται μεθ ι—κετείας, *CII* 725, 11); this humility/affliction is that of fasting (cf. *Jos. Asen.* 11.1; *Pss. Sol.* 3.9). Cf. Lev 23:29.

¹¹ Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 107; *Post. Cain* 48; cf. M. Alexandre, *De Congressu eruditionis gratia*, Paris, 1967, pp. 179, 246. On humility in rabbinic Judaism, cf. M. S. Enslin, *The Ethics of Paul*, New York, 1957, pp. 254–276; J. Le Moyne, “Pharisiens,” in *DBSup*, vol. 7, 1083; Grundmann, *TDNT*, vol. 8, pp. 13–14.

ταράσσω, τάραχος

tarasso, to agitate, move, disturb; *tarachos*, agitation, disturbance, confusion, panic, uprising

tarasso, S 5015; *EDNT* 3.335–336; *NIDNTT* 3.709–710; MM 625; L&N 16.3, 25.244, 39.44; BAGD 805 | **tarachos**, S 5017; *EDNT* 3.336; *NIDNTT* 3.709–710; MM 626; L&N 25.243, 39.5; BAGD 805

“Agitate, move, disturb” is used for things like water (John 5:4, 7; Ezek 22:2, 13; 34:18-19; Hippocrates, *Aff.* 55.3), for the stomach or intestines,¹

and for mental uncertainty and confusion,² as with Peter's guards, worried about the escape of their prisoner (*en tarachos ouk oligos*, Acts 12:18). The same word can be used for a panic, as in 1Sam 5:9; Plutarch, *De garr.* 13. *Tarasso* and *tarachos* are used especially for disorders, social disturbances, political agitation, and riots.³ It is in this sense (Latin *tumultus*) that they are used in Acts 16:8, 13; 19:23: At Thessalonica, Paul and Silas are accused of instigating a disturbance; at Berea, it is the Jews who agitate and upset the crowds; at Ephesus, it is the riot of the silversmiths. It is a technical term for insurrections, like the Jewish revolt at Cyrene (*SEG IX*, 168, 8; 252, 6; *BGU* 889, 23 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 449); thus *tarachos* is synonymous with *stasis* ("uprising," *P.Brem.* XI, 30 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 441; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 684, 13; 3Macc 3:24; *stasiastes* = factious person, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59484, 4), *ephodos*, "clash, attack, irruption" (*P.Giss.* 41, col. II, 4–5), *kinesis*, "movement" (Diodorus Siculus 31, frag. 17 *b*; ed. Dindorf), *thorybos*, "tumult, confusion" (*P.Brem.* XI, 25–26), and *polemos*, "battle, combat."⁴ Hence the choice of words of Emperor Claudius, writing to the Alexandrians in 41: "the disturbance and uprising against the Jews, or better, to speak frankly, the war" (*tes de pros loudaious taraches kai staseos, mallon d' ei chre to alethes eipein tou polemou*, *P.Lond.* 1912, 73–74). Just as in France "in the time of the Revolution" or "before the Revolution" is a chronological reference, "in the times of the troubles"⁵ referred to some particular insurrection.

With respect to individuals, *tarasso* usually expresses simple uneasiness mixed with fear: Zechariah (Luke 1:12), Herod (Matt 2:3), the apostles frightened at the sight of Jesus walking on the water (Matt 14:26; Mark 6:50) or resurrected (Luke 24:38), or disturbed at the prospect of the Master's departure;⁶ the faithful are upset by heterodox teachings (Acts 15:24; 1Pet 3:14 = Isa 8:12). These connotations of disquiet, fear, dismay, and confusion match those of secular Greek,⁷ and of biblical Greek when the frame of mind resulting from a dream is being described. The person's mind is always troubled (*etarachthe he psyche autou*, Gen 41:8; Dan 2:1; 7:15; *Pss. Sol.* 6.4).

But this meaning—agitation, care, preoccupations—does not take account of three Johannine texts referring to intense emotion or confusion in Christ's heart, first of all at the tomb of Lazarus;⁸ then at the Last Supper, when "having said these things, Jesus was troubled in his spirit" (John 13:21); and also when the Lord clearly states his anguish at the prospect of his imminent passion.⁹ In all three instances, trembling and dread are envisioned: Jesus was upset. This meaning comes from the LXX, where *tarasso* translates quite diverse Hebrew verbs to the effect that the earth is quaking (2Sam 22:8, Hebrew *ga'ash*) or is broken up (Isa 24:19, Hebrew *ra'a'*), that the mountains are shaking (Job 46:2, Hebrew *mûr*) or shuddering (hithpapel of *ragaz*, Ps 18:8; 77:16; cf. Amos 8:8), also the hills (Jer 4:24, hithpapel of *qalal*). God disturbs the sea (Isa 51:15,

Hebrew *raga'*), the isles are dismayed (Ezek 26:18, *bahal*), “Syene is shaken in all directions” (Ezek 30:16, Hebrew *hûl*; cf. Esth 4:4), “the spirit of Egypt will melt in her heart” (Isa 19:3, niphil of *baqaq*), the nations tremble (Isa 64:2, Hebrew *ragaz*; cf. Deut 2:25), the city of Susa is dismayed (Esth 3:15, niphil of *bûj*). With respect to people, the emphasis is always on fear,¹⁰ terror.¹¹ This tumultuous agitation, this upsetting internal trouble (2Sam 18:33, Hebrew *ragaz*; Jdt 4:2; 7:4; 14:19; 16:10) batters and weakens the soul’s strength (Judg 11:35, hiphil of *kara'*), crushes it (Ps 42:8, hithpoel of *shahah*), so that the person faints (Ps 143:4; hithpoel of *shamam*), stricken with dizziness and reeling like a drunkard (Ps 107:27, Hebrew *hagag*), unable to speak (Ps 77:4, niphil of *pa'am*), worn out (Gen 40:6, *za'ap*), and muddled (Isa 3:12, piel of *bala'*), routed (Isa 22:5, Hebrew *mehûmâh*), after the fashion of mental disturbance (*Ep. Arist.* 314; cf. *T. Job* 26.6—“troubling your discourse,” *tarassonta tous dialogismous sou*). When the entrails shudder and shake, it means that they are moved with compassion (Gen 43:30, piel of *mahar*); 1Kgs 3:26 (niphil of *kamar*; Sir 30:7; 51:21); if it is the spirit, sadness or gloom is indicated (1Kgs 20:4-5, Hebrew *sar*).

The meaning “grief” cannot be excluded as a component of the emotion that troubled Jesus at the tomb of Lazarus (cf. *T. Job* 19.1, when Job learns of the death of his children; cf. 20:7; 33:1; 34:5), but “dread” is clearly meant in the other two Johannine texts, with a nuance of upset and physical trembling (Ps 55:5; cf. *Pss. Sol.* 8.5—“my bones shook like reeds”), even bruises (Ps 109:22), which emphasizes the real humanity of the innocent Christ, for whom being subjected to death was a real cruelty. This explains why he collapsed in the Olivet garden (Mark 14:33-35; Matt 26:37-39; Luke 22:44).

¹ Gen 43:30; 1Kgs 3:26; Hab 3:16; Jer 14:19; Sir 51:21; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 386: “Gorged with sauce as you are, your stomach is already upset.” Hence the medical usage (Jer 14:19; Wis 17:8), abundantly attested in Hippocrates: “troubles and sicknesses” (2 *Vict.* 37.4; 4 *Vict.* 88.3), of the body (2 *Vict.* 4.5; 3 *Vict.* 74.1; 4 *Vict.* 88.2), of the stomach (2 *Vict.* 46.3; 52.3; *Acut.* 56.1–2: mead can upset the stomach; cf. *ibid.* Appendix 14.1), of the blood (Hippocrates, *Nat. Puer.* 15.1, 3, 4; 18.3), of sleep (3 *Vict.* 72.1), of the air (2 Hippocrates, *Vict.* 38.6), of milk (*Aff.* 51.2), of the humor (*ibid.* 47.1–3; 48.1; 51.1, 5, 8, 9); “a person is agitated when he has a fever” (*ibid.* 46.4). Other medical references in Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 93. Euclid and Archimedes use $\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ for an irregular proportion, cf. C. Mugler, *Terminologie géométrique*, pp.411ff.

² Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.5.27: after the battle of Mantinea, the ταραχή was greater than before; ³ *Vict.* 71.2: ταρασσεί τὴν ψυχὴν; *Acut.* Appendix 16.1: disturbed reason; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.273.

³ Xenophon, *An.* 1.8.2: “The king approached with a great army; then there was great confusion” (πολὺς ταραχος ἐγένετο); *Cyr.* 2.1.27; Josephus, *War* 1.216: “troubles and a veritable civil war broke out at Apamea”; 4.495: “the troubles under the reign of Vitellius”; *Life* 103: “I would prefer to end the commotion without bloodshed”; Thucydides 2.84.2; 3.77.3. A decree at Istros in honor of Agathocles, around 200 BC, “while our city was in confusion” (τῆς τε πόλεως οὔσης ἐν ταραχῇ, *NCIG*, n. VI, 9). 1Macc 3:5; 7:22; οἱ— ταρασσόντες = troublers of people (cf. Gal 1:7; 5:10); 1Sam 14:16—the crowd dispersed (niphāl of the Hebrew *mûg*); Ezek 30:4— “There will be disturbances in Cush”; *P.Oxy.* 2407, 43: “Do not disturb the assembly”; *P.Giss.* 40, col. II, 20: ταρασσουσι τὴν πόλιν; *UPZ* 225, 14; cf. ταραχή, 2Macc 3:30; 10:30; 11:25, letter of Antiochus to Lysias, “desiring that the people should be free of trouble, we have decided . . .”; 13.16; 15.9; Dio Cassius 60.6.6: “the Jews having once again become so numerous that, given their numbers, they could not be expelled from Rome without troubles”; Plutarch, *De tranq. anim.* 2: in the γυναικεία there arose “woes, troubles, disturbances”; Diodorus Siculus 19.75.5: “they handed over the instigators of the agitation.” In an astrological prediction: ἔσται ταραχή ἐν Αἰ—γύπτῳ (*P. Stanford*, inv. G 93 bv; published in *Ancient Society*, vol. 7, 1976, p. 211). In Polybius, ταραχή refers sometimes to a psychological disturbance (5.29.3), sometimes a disturbance, dread on the part of soldiers (5.52.14), sometimes a disorder affecting a flock (5.13.4; 5.15.5; 5.25.4; 5.26.1).

⁴ *SEG* ix, 189, 3; *P.Oxy.* 795, 33: κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Εἰ—ουδαίους πόλεμον συμμαχήσαντες; 2554, col. I, 4: ταραχή καὶ πόλεμος (astrological prediction); Philo, *To Gaius* 119: μέγιστος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος πόλεμος ἐπι— τῶν ἔθνει; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.2.2; cf. A. Fuks, “The Jewish Revolt in Egypt (A.D. 115–117) in the Light of the Papyri,” in *Aeg*, 1953, pp. 155ff. On the distinction between πόλεμος and ταραχή in the papyri, cf. L. Mooren, in *Ancient Society*, vol. 4, 1974, pp. 138ff.; but the context is required for discerning the nuance: “disorder” (Plutarch, *Cleom.* 34.1), “trouble” (*Cic.* 22.7; 35.1; *Ant.* 14.4; Diodorus Siculus 17.8.1; 17.9.4; *SB* 8033, 8; 9681, 9), “agitation” (Diodorus Siculus 17.3.5), “confusion” (ibid. 17.34.7; 17.53.4; 17.88.4; 17.97.3), “tumult” (17.59.6), “insurrection” (17.109.2), etc. Cf. D. M. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora*, Bucharest-Amsterdam, 1975, pp. 35, 186.

⁵ Rosetta Stone: “all those who showed hostile intentions during the time of troubles” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 110, 20); cf. *UPZ* XIV, 90: “at the time of the

trouble under the reign of the father of kings, the god *epiphanes* ” (ἡ ταραχή ε—ν τοι—ς τῆς ταραχῆς χρόνοις); *SB* 7657, 8: συνέβη ε—ν τῇ γενομένη ταραχῇ (second century BC = 8033); 9681, 9: ε—ν τῇ γενομένη ταραχῇ τω—ν Αι—γυπτίων, republished by F. Uebel (“Ταραχή τω—ν Αι—γυπτίων,” in *APF*, vol. 17, 1962, pp. 147–162), who comments on the formula in *P.Jena*, inv. 263, 9 (second century BC); *SB* 19653 B 9: αι— τοῦ καιροῦ τούτου ταραχαί (second century AD).

⁶ John 14:1, 27: “Let not your heart be troubled”; cf. Job 37:1—“my heart palpitates” (= “is frightened”); Ps 38:11—“my heart does somersaults” (= “is agitated”); 55:5—“my heart shudders” (Hebrew *hûl*); 109:22—“my heart is wounded” (literally, “pierced,” Hebrew *halal*); 143:4—“my heart fails me” (literally, “is desolated,” hithpoel of *shamam*); *T. Dan* 4.7—ἵνα ταραξῶσι τὴν καρδίαν ταρασσομένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς συνεχω—ς; *T. Zeb.* 8.6. — Trouble takes on a pejorative moral meaning: “The whole life of the fool is subject to convulsions, is agitated and shaken, is perpetual chaos and trouble; it retains no trace of authentic good” (Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 69); the sinner brings trouble upon his friends (Sir 28:9; cf. Prov 26:21; Wis 14:25). *T. Job* 36.3—the earth is shaken along with those who inhabit it, i.e., in disorder. Hence the advice, “Do not trouble yourself” (σεαυτὸν μὴ τάρασσε, Marcus Aurelius 4.26).

⁷ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVII, 14, 30: “I had numerous causes of trouble (ε—ν θορύβοις)... The trouble that surrounds me (τὴν περὶ ε—μέ ταραχήν) will be dissipated” (= *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 43). *P.Oxy.* 298, 27, letter from a tax collector: “You wrote me concerning Hermodorus, saying that I am troubling him too much” (πάλι γὰρ πάντα ταρασσει, first century AD); letter of Nero to the Rhodians: οὗς ε—πὶ τῇ+ ψευδω—ς ε—πιστολῇ πρὸς ὑμα—ς κοιμῶν τω— τω—ν ὑπάτων ὀνόματι ταραχέντες πρὸς με ε—πέμψατε (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 810, 13; AD 55); *P.Tebt.* 315, 15, letter concerning the accounts of a temple: τοιγαροῦν μηδὲν ταραχθῆς = do not be grieved; *P.Alex.* 439, 14 = *SB* 4323; Xenophon, *Oec.* 8.10: “You also, my wife, if you wish to avoid such confusion”; *Eq.* 9.4: frighten a horse; Menander, *Sam.* 672: “you are tormenting yourself” (σαυτὸν ταραττεις); 738: “never have I fallen into such confusion”; *Dysk.* 313: “I am upset (τετάραγμα) if I have given this impression”; 820: “do not worry about it” (μηδὲν τοῦτό σε ταραττέω); Thucydides 7.86.4: “certain ones were afraid that he would trouble them in their success”; *Jos. Asen.* 24.12: “When these people heard the words of Pharaoh’s son, they were very troubled”; *T. Job* 46.3—“Do not be troubled, my daughters, I have not forgotten you.”

⁸ —Ενεβριμήσατο τω— πνεύματι καὶ ε—τάραξεν ε—αυτὸν, John 11:33. We may translate, “He was angry in his spirit and troubled”; or take ε—μβριμάομαι (cf. *P.Egerton* 2, 51, in the sense of indignation; cf. H. I.

Bell, T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel*, p. 22), “he growled,” as the effect of an injury; or see it as the translation of the Aramaic *‘eth ‘azaz beruha*, “he was troubled in his spirit” (cf. M. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, pp. 241ff.), or better, given the manuscript variations (C. K. Barrett, *St. John*, p. 333), eliminate the first verb, which did not exist in the primitive text; it represents a conflation; cf. M. E. Boismard, “Importance de la critique textuelle pour établir l’origine araméenne du quatrième Evangile,” in *L’Evangile de Jean* (Recherches bibliques, vol. 3), Bruges, 1958, pp. 49ff.

⁹ Νῶν ἡ ψυχὴ μου τετάρακται, John 12:27; cf. X. Léon-Dufour, “Père, fais-moi passer sain et sauf à travers cette heure,” in *Neues Testament und Geschichte*, (Festschrift O. Cullmann), Zurich-Tübingen, 1972, pp. 157–165.

¹⁰ Gen 42:28; Job 37:1 (Hebrew *harad*); Gen 45:3; Ps 2:5 (piel and niphah of *bahal*); Tob 12:12; Wis 5:2.

¹¹ Esth 7:6; Job 24:17; Ps 6:3, 10; 30:7; 48:5; 83:15 (niphah of *bahal*); Ezek 23:46 (*za‘a<^>wâh*); Wis 17:4; *T. Abr.* B 13.

τετραπλοῦν

tetraploun, fourfold, quadruple

tetraploun, S 5074; *EDNT* 3.353; MM 632; L&N 60.76; BAGD 813

The first attestation of this biblical hapax is in Xenophon,¹ and it hardly appears in the papyri before the third century AD: “Do not fail to write me a letter, keeping in mind that if you do something, you will receive it back quadruple.”² It has a quasi-legal meaning on the lips of Zacchaeus: “If I have wronged anyone, I shall pay it back fourfold” (*apodidomi tetraploun*, Luke 19:8; cf. M. J. Lagrange, on this text). We may recall Plato’s gradation of fines: the judge sets the penalty at double, triple, or quadruple, according to whether the wound is curable or the victim is disfigured and will no longer be able to defend his country. If the wound is not curable, “the aggressor shall pay quadruple” (*ten tetraplasian*, Plato, *Leg.* 9.878 c).

All ancient legal systems had quadruple penalties. In Israel, it was prescribed for the theft of sheep.³ For sins against other people or infidelity to Yahweh, a fifth is added (Lev 5:24; Num 5:7). In a mutilated fragment of the laws of Gortyn, this penalty apparently applies to a sheep thief: “he shall pay quadruple.”⁴ At Rome, for *furtum manifestum*, “for slave and free alike, the reparation shall be quadruple” (Gaius, *Inst.* 3.189); likewise, “for

property taken by violence, the reparation shall be quadruple” (ibid. 3.209); and for reparation for damage caused by a gathering of people, “the one who gathered them by fraud shall pay a quadruple penalty for each one of them.”⁵

The *poena quadrupli* for an illegal seizure may have originated in the jurisdiction of the prefects of Egypt, who would have served as a model for imperial legislation.⁶ In any event, the transcript of a trial before the prefect of Egypt Valerius Eudaimon in AD 143 records the conviction of the *komogrammateus* who presented for a *leitourgia* someone from his jurisdiction who was *aporos*, without resources. Here is the sentence: “You have committed an injustice (*adikia*). You designated a man without resources for a *leitourgia*. By causing this injustice, you were the cause for the sale of his property. You are liable for a fine. You shall pay the fine to the treasury; but in addition, you shall pay to this man quadruple the price for which his property was sold.”⁷

¹ Xenophon, *An.* 7.6.7: Two Lacedaemonians declare to the Greeks, “If you join us, you will not only get revenge against an enemy, but also each of you will receive a daric a month; double that for a captain, and quadruple for a general.”

² *P.Rein.* 117, 14; cf. *PSI* 1055, 13, a receipt: τοῦ τετραπλοῦ μισθοῦ.

³ Exod 21:37 (cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.13); 2Sam 12:6, where the LXX says septuple, but Josephus says quadruple (*Ant.* 7.150).

⁴ . . .]δοντι τετραπλει—, *I.Cret.* (ed. M. Guarducci) IV, 41; col. IV, 2; cf. *RIJG*, vol. 1, p. 395.

⁵ Ulpian, *Dig.* 47.82 pr. 2–6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 18. Cf. E. Cuq, *Manuel des institutions juridiques des romains*, Paris, 1928, pp. 565, 573, 582.

⁶ Cf. the edict of Cn. Vergilius Capito, in AD 49, who rewards the informer: “I will have the informer paid quadruple, to be taken from the property of the guilty party” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 665, 27–29; cf. *quadruplator* = *delator*; C. Lécrivain, in *DAGR*, vol. 4, 797; G. Wesener, *PW*, vol. 24, col. 710ff.). N. Lewis (“Notationes legentis,” in *BASP*, vol. 13, 1976, pp. 171ff.) mentions also triple reparation for damage caused to the victim (*P.Hal.* I, 113; Dittenberger, *Or.* 572) and a double or triple fine to the public authority: ζημία διπλάσια and τριπλάσια (*P.Hal.* I, 190–208). Edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander: “If anyone is convicted of falsifying (the tax collected) he shall repay triple [the sum improperly taken?]” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 669, 59, AD 68).

⁷ —Αποδώσεις . . . τούτῳ ἀνδρὶ τετραπλάσειον, *P.Wisc.* 23 = *SB* 9315. Cf. R. Taubenschlag, “P. Wisconsin no. 23,” in *JJP*, vol. 11–12, 1957–58, pp. 47–49.

τίλλω

tillo, to pick, pluck; to remove something from a shell, husk, or pod

tillo, *S* 5089; *EDNT* 3.357; *MM* 634; *L&N* 18.9; *BAGD* 817

In the incident of the ears of grain picked by the disciples on the Sabbath,¹ the usual translation of *erxanto tillein tous stachyas* is “they began to pick ears of grain” (Matt 12:1; Mark 2:23). The verb *tillo*, “pick one by one” (hair by hair, leaf by leaf), hence “pluck” (Cratinus, frag. 256), is often used in the middle voice for plucking out the hair or beard as an expression of mourning,² but also for plucking feathers (Dan 7:4; Aristophanes, *Av.* 285, 352, 365) or leaves.³ In the Koine, it is used for the removal of the fleece from sheep (*tois tillousin ta hypodiphthera*, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59430, 3), for a tanner’s plucking the hairs from a hide (*P.Petr.* II, 32; *SB* 6990, 3; cf. Aristophanes, *Eq.* 373: “I will pluck out your eyelashes”), and especially in an agricultural setting for the extraction of a fiber,⁴ for boys who prune palm trees and sweep up the leaves (*P.Lond.* 131, 384–385), or for a plant that has grains or seeds to be picked out: the chick pea (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59719, 11), vetch or lentils (*SB* 9409, col. V, 24 and 31; 9711, col. IV, 2–3; 9715, verso, col. II, 3), sesame (*ibid.* 6797, 3; cf. 9408, 55). These are shelled. Thus the inhabitants of Great Britain, after storing their cut grain in underground granaries, shell it for their daily food, removing the grains from their hulls (*tous palaious stachys tillein*, Diodorus Siculus 5.21.5).

E. Delebecque compares this action to that of Jesus’ disciples. They did not pluck the stalks of grain (*kalamos*) or the ear (*stachys*) separated from the stalk,⁵ but as only Luke makes clear, they rubbed the ears in their hands⁶ to get the grains out. So we must follow Delebecque’s translation: “It happened that one day he had to pass through a grain field, and his disciples were shelling and eating the grain, rubbing it between their hands.”

¹ Cf. E. Delebecque, “Sur un certain sabbat en Luc VI, 1,” in *RevPhil*, 1974, pp. 26–29.

² 2Esdr 9:3; Menander, *Dysk.* 674: “she plucked out her hair, wept, beat her breast”; Philo, *Joseph* 16; *To Gaius* 223.

³ Aeschylus, *Pers.* 209; Theocritus, *Id.* 2.54; 3.21: Tityrus plucks the leaves from his garland of ivy; Plutarch, *Them.* 18.4, plucking the leaves and branches from a plane tree; *Mor.* 233 a.

⁴ *P.Lond.* 1997, 5: λίνον τίλλειν (with the note of the editor, T. C. Skeat); *P.Cair.Zen.* 59782, B, 121, 160.

⁵ E. Delebecque, “Les Epis ‘égrenés’ dans les Synoptiques,” in *REG*, 1975, pp. 133–142; reprinted in idem, *Etudes grecques*, pp. 76ff.

⁶ Ψώχοντες ται—ς χερσίν, Luke 6:1. The verb ψωχέω is attested only by the physician-poet Nicander of Colophon, in the third century BC, in describing a remedy for the stings of venomous animals: “rub the small, dried, conical grains of savory” (*Ther.* 629), and Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* 5.159.

τρέφω, ἀνατρέφω

trepho, *anatrepho*, to nourish, raise
see also ἀνατρέφω

trepho, S 5142; *EDNT* 3.369; MM 641; L&N 23.6, 35.45, 35.51; BAGD 825 | ***anatrepho***, S 397; *EDNT* 1.94; L&N 33.232, 35.51; BAGD 62

The first meaning of *trepho* is “nourish, raise” (Hippocrates, *Alim.* 8: “food, that which nourishes,” *trophe de to trephon*; 21: “food is not food if it does not nourish”; *Vict.* 1.3.1–2: “water can always nourish”). It also means “thicken, make dense.”¹ The basic meaning is “to facilitate [through appropriate care_ the development of that which is subject to growth.”² It is used most often for “raising” children³—as Jesus was raised at Nazareth⁴—but also for providing subsistence for adults⁵, for fattening animals, for tending plants so that they grow.⁶

From Hesiod and Pindar on (cf. Moussy, *Recherches sur τρέφω*, pp. 52ff.), *trepho* is also used to mean “instruct, train, educate,”⁷ and it is in this sense that parents are to use corrections and reprimands inspired by the Lord.⁸

The compound *ana-trepho*⁹ has exactly the same meaning as the simple form, as is attested by usage and the variation in the manuscripts, where the two are easily interchanged.¹⁰ It also means “care for children” (Acts 7:20; Philo, *Moses* 1.11; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.238) and “raise” them.¹¹ In the inscriptions, it refers to education by a foster father, as at Aphrodisias, where the epitaph on Zeno’s tomb mentions that also buried there is “Marcus Aurelius Eutyclus, who raised him.”¹² At Jerusalem, St. Paul introduces himself thus: “I am a Jew, born at Tarsus in Cilicia

(*gegennemenos*), but I was raised (*anatethrammenos*) in this city, taught (*pepaideumenos*) at the feet of Gamaliel” (Acts 22:3). The contemporary parallels are numerous: “Moses, of Chaldean race, was born and raised in Egypt” (Philo, *Moses* 1.5; cf. 1.8, 20); “Our parents brought us forth (*egennesan hemas*), raised us (*ethrepsan*), taught us (*epaideusan*)” (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.99); “I, Flaccus, who was born (*gennetheis*), raised (*kai trapheis*), and educated (*kai paideutheis*) in imperial Rome” (*Flacc.* 158; cf. 46); “There are people who have passed from childhood to old age without experiencing the least trouble, either because of a fortunate nature or because of the care that went into their upbringing and education” (*dia ten ton trephonton kaipaideuonton epimeleian*, *Dreams* 2.147); “a young man of Jewish birth but raised in Sidon” (*trapheis d’ en Sidoni*, Josephus, *War* 2.101); Plutarch, *Conv. disp.* 8.7; Plutarch, *De adul. et am.* 25; *Num.* 5.6. The epitaph of a mercenary: “The land that gave me birth is Apamea, but Egypt is the land that raised me.”¹³

¹ Hence, let the hair grow, Num 6:5 (piel of the Hebrew *gadal*; cf. Dan 1:5, Theodotion); Homer, *Il.* 23.142.

² C. Moussy, *Recherches sur τρέφω et les verbes grecs signifiant ‘nourrir,’* Paris, 1969, p. 39. Cf. Hippocrates, *Alim.* 34: “One is nourished (τρέφεται) sometimes to grow and stay alive . . . sometimes to get stronger”; 54: “*Dynamis* causes everything to grow, nourishes, develops.”

³ Gen 48:15—Elohim has raised me from my childhood (Hebrew *ra’âh*, ὁ τρέφων με); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 33, 4: τρέφεσθαι τὰ τω—ν —Αντινοέων τέκνα; *SB* 8681, 3: “I was raised near Isis of Pharos”; Menander, *Dysk.* 385: “the little girl was not raised among women”; *P.Lips.* 28, 17–19: ὄνπερ θρέψω . . . ὡς υἱ—ὄν γνήσιον καὶ φυσικὸν ὡς ε—ξ ε—μοῦ γενόμενον; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.125: “Ahab had seventy children who were raised in Samaria”; Epictetus 2.22.26; 3.22.68: “his children will be raised in the same manner”; Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 9.4: “Pyrrhus raised all his sons to be brave and ardent warriors”; Lycurgus 16.7; Diodorus Siculus 19.2.6: “The child (Agathocles) raised in his uncle’s home.” A τροφεύς is a foster father or tutor, often an honorific title given to a benefactor or to an official who makes free distributions of grain or sells it below market, thus “nourishing the city” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 148; 256, 531; 5ff.; *MAMA* 6.375; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 7, pp. 74ff. Idem, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1973, p. 127, n. 329); cf. 1Macc 3:33; 11:39.

⁴ Luke 4:16—ου— ἦν τεθραμμένος. The verb is used especially for nursing in the sense of giving milk, Luke 23:29—the breasts that have not nursed (οἱ— οὐκ ἔθρεψαν). A contract from the year AD 1 with a nurse who “will nurse during the rest of the time” (τοῦτο θρέψει ε—πὶ τὸν ε—νλείποντα

χρόνον, *P.Ryl.* 178, 5); Ps.-Homer, *H. Demet.* 227; Hippocrates, *Nat. Puer.* 36.7: “How does milk nourish the child?”; *P.Rein.* 103, 8, 24: “Let the informant raise her, nurse her with her own milk. . . . I will nurse the slave infant for two years.”

⁵ Matt 25:37—“When have we provided nourishment for you?”; Prov 25:21 (hiphil of the Hebrew *ʾajal*); Tob 2:10; 14:10; Bar 4:11; Wis 16:23, 26. Meaning “to resupply” (1Kgs 18:13, pual of the Hebrew *kûl*); Acts 13:20; Rev 6:12, 14; *P.Eleph.* II, 11; *P.Ant.* 91, 1 (τρεφόμενον ὑπ ε—μοῦ, “maintained by me”); *P.Mich.* 477, 38; Menander, *Dysk.* 471: “Nowhere have I seen a more pitiable domestic staff maintained.” Τρέφω by extension means “guard, preserve the life,” Gen 6:19 (hiphil of the Hebrew *hayâh*); 50:20; Isa 7:21. In the papyri, especially in marriage contracts and apprenticeship contracts, “to nourish” and “to clothe” are often linked: “The sons or daughters . . . whom she may have by him shall be fed and clothed from the property of the same Elaios” (*P.Mur.* 115, 9; cf. 116 a, 4, 9); *P.Oxy.* 275, 14; 2586, 14; *P.Oslo* 141, 11 (in AD 50); *BGU* 1050, 12; 1647, 14; *P.Fouad* 25 verso, col. II, frag. c, 9; 37, 4 (the costs of food and clothing will be the responsibility of the father); *PSI* 922, 15; 1263, 5; *P.Mil.* 60, 21; *P.Mich.* 346 a 6; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 227, 28; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 14, 26; XVI, 4, 12; 5, 1–13; cf. *P.Lips.* 28, 18 (act of adoption). ῥεψαμένη = the nourishing earth (*P.Oxf.* VI, 24; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 27, 14; *P.Oxy.* 2477, 7). Cf. “the plants derive nourishment from the land” (Hippocrates, *Nat. Puer.* 22.1–2; 23.3, 5; Hippocrates, *Vict.* 2.37.3; 2.40.20ff.).

⁶ The heavenly Father feeds the birds of the sky (Matt 6:26; Luke 12:24); *P.Mich.* 203, 21: “take care of my children’s pigs, so that if they come back they will find them.”

⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 5.347: “Samuel was raised in the sanctuary”; 9.142; 19.360: “Agrippa had been raised at the court of Claudius Caesar”; cf. *Ag. Apion* 1.269: they had been raised in the respect of the law (ε—νετράφησαν; cf. 2.204); τὴν τεκοῦσαν καὶ τρέφουσιν (E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni greche e latine*, n. 163; cf. 40 b 1). *Jos. Asen.* 2.12: “the large room in which the virgin lived” (ὅπου ε—ντρέθετο ἡ παρθενία); Plutarch, *Per.* 24.5: “Aspasia trained young *hetairai*” (παιδίσκας ε—ταιρούσας τρέφουσιν); *Phoc.* 38; *Alex.* 5.7: “Many were they who took care of him as educators, pedagogues, and teachers” (τροφει—ς καὶ παιδαγωγοί— καὶ διδάσκαλοι). A τροφεύς is a private tutor or educator (Polybius 31.20.3; *I.Delos* 1547; *SB* 1568, 13: “tutor and foster father”); *Hymn to Isis*: “the one who raised you, Sesoösis” (*SB* 8141, 31); epitaph from Aline: “You, passer-by, educated by the toils of the Muses” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 34, 3).

⁸ Eph 6:4—ε—κτρέφετε αὐτὰ ε—ν παιδεία καὶ νουθεσία κυρίου (cf. W. Jentsch, *Urchristliches Erziehungsdenken*, Gütersloh, 1951, p. 26); cf. Jas 5:5.

⁹ The first certain attestation is in Aristophanes (*Ran.* 944) with the metaphorical meaning of “fatten”: “I fed her (art) up with monodies.” The verb is a favorite of Xenophons: nourish, care for a horse (*An.* 4.5.35; *Mem.* 4.3.10), restore, stir up the courage of the soldiers (*Cyr.* 5.2.34).

¹⁰ 4Macc 11:15. Cf. W. C. van Unnik, *Sparsa Collecta*, vol. 1, pp. 266ff., 306ff. (abundant documentation). In the medical vocabulary, however, ἀνατρέφω is used for nourishment selected and administered to rebuild a patient’s strength after an illness, cf. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 207.

¹¹ Acts 7:21—“Pharaoh’s daughter took [Moses] and raised him (aorist middle ἀνεθρέψατο αὐτόν) as her own son”; Wis 7:3–4: “At my birth (γενόμενος) I breathed the common air . . . I was raised (ἀνετρέφην) with care in swaddling clothes”; 4Macc 10:2—“in the same teachings in which we were raised”; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.149: raise children; 8.201, 216. In the papyri, of which a good number are mutilated (*P.Hib.* 201, 5; *P.Oxy.* 2611, 7; *P.Ant.* 99, 19; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59262, 4; *P.Col.* 57, in *ZPE*, vol. 1, p. 188), with regard to fattening two hogs for the feasts of Arsinoè (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59379, 1), or a well-brought-up little girl, θυγάτριον νήπιον εὐγενω—ς ἀνατεθραμμένον (*P.Oxy.* 1873, 9); “I shall raise my unfortunate children” (2479, 17).

¹² Ὁ ἀναθρεψάνεμος αὐτόν, *IGLAM*, II, n. 1641, a; cf. the epitaph on the tomb of Kladaios, where Αὐρηλία Γλύπτη ἡ ἀναθρεψαμένη αὐτόν is also buried (*MAMA* VIII, 560, 4). L. Robert (*Villes d’Asie Mineure*, p. 345) cites an inscription at Antiphellos: τω— ἀνατραφέντι ὑπὸ αὐτῶ—ν ε—ν στοργῇ Αὐρ. Εὐτήχη —Αρσάσιος —Αντιφελλείτη, (cf. this first-century BC epitaph at Thermion: “I will raise [θρέψω] the children that you have had by me in a manner worthy of my love for you, O my companion,” in *SB* 8960, 27), and in *Hellenica*, vol. 3, p. 120 (cf. vol. 13, p. 222), *TAM* II, 338, 434, 940, 956, 974, 990, 1039, 1088. Manaen was foster brother to or had been raised with Herod the tetrarch (Acts 13:1, σύντροφος; cf. the funerary inscription: Αι—λίῳ Διονυσίῃ ἕων σύντροφος ε—πέγραψε; in *IGUR*, II, n. 285; cf. 400, 586, 591, 896, 1002, 1041).

¹³ Γαι—α δ ἔθρεψεν, *SB* 5829, 13 = *SEG* 8.497. Τρέφειν is used for a city or a place; cf. *SEG* XVII, 373; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 2, pp. 105, n. 2; 114, n. 2.

τύπος

typos, mold, stamp, statue, idol, any mark left by a blow, model, outline, sketch, decree, verdict

typos, S 5179; *TDNT* 8.246–256; *EDNT* 3.372–376; *NIDNTT* 3.903–907; MM 645; L&N 6.96, 8.56, 58.25, 58.58, 58.59, 58.63, 90.28; BAGD 829–830; ND 1.77–78

Derived from *typoo*, “mark with an imprint, stamp a form,” the substantive *typos* properly refers to a mold for producing a shape,¹ or a wooden stamp for making an imprint in clay,² the stroke of a numismatic die, the engraving of seals, a figure that juts out; hence its use for statues and works of sculpture,³ and in particular for idols.⁴ In a general way, *typos* is used for any mark left by a blow, hence, “If I do not see the nail-print in your hand (*ton typon ton helon*) and place my finger where the nails were (*ton topon ton helon*) . . .”⁵

This term is used for the model (Hebrew *tabnīt*) of the heavenly temple that Moses is told to make (Exod 25:39, quoted at Acts 7:44; Heb 8:5). A *typos*, then, is an architectural or representational plan, as appears from a contract made with Theophilus, a painter from Alexandria, whereby the artist undertakes to decorate the vault of the house of Diotimus at Philadelphia “according to the model that the owner has seen.”⁶ In the literary arena, Lysias writes a letter to the tribune “in these terms” (*echousan ton typon touton*, Acts 23:15), literally, “under this form” (cf. 1Macc 15:2), or better, “of which this is the text.” This is as when *Ep. Arist.* 34 reproduces the letter of King Ptolemy to the high priest Eleazar: “the king’s letter was as follows” (*en de he tou basileos epistole ton typon echousa touton*). This meaning is often attested in private correspondence and in official documents.⁷

A *typos* can be an outline, a sketch (Strabo 4.1.1), or a representation of any sort; in this sense Adam was the figure or type of the One who was to come,⁸ i.e., of the second Proto-Human; and the events of the old covenant are figurative and instructive concerning that which can happen to us (1Cor 10:6). The *typos* contains a teaching.⁹ Hence Rom 6:17—“You obeyed with all your heart the *typos didaches* that was passed on to you.” We could translate, “the type, form, model of teaching” that constitutes Christian doctrine;¹⁰ but it is preferable to interpret “the rule of doctrine” that constitutes the gospel, since this is a matter of a normative tradition, and in the papyri *typos* often means “decree, order, rescript,”¹¹ or “judgment, verdict, decision.”¹² It is not surprising that the word should have this legal meaning in the Epistle to the Romans. The nuance would be that of a sort of yardstick according to which the authenticity of the faith could be verified; the opposite of individual conceptions, fantasies, even customs (*synetheia*, SB 7622, 6). We may cite Plato: “What are the models

(*hoi typoi*) that must be followed in speaking of the gods?” (*Resp.* 3.379 a).

In ethics, a *typos* is a model,¹³ hardly different from an example;¹⁴ and it is a technical term in the “pastoral” writings of the NT: the Thessalonians are models for all believers (1Thess 1:7); Timothy and Titus are models through their good works (1Tim 4:12; Titus 2:7); presbyters are models for their flock (1Pet 5:3); and above all the apostle is a model for imitation.¹⁵ Thus being a model for the flock became the golden rule for leaders of Christian communities;¹⁶ the usage of the papyri shows that it is obligatory.

¹ C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 393; Goppelt, “τύπος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 8, pp. 246–256.

² A. Orlandos, *Technique architecturale*, p. 93. Cf. Plutarch, *Alex.* 17.4: “a bronze tablet with archaic characters.”

³ *MAMA* VI, 14, 2: Δοκτικίου μορφῆς μὲν ἔχω τύπον—“I have here the representation of the body of Docticius, but the image of his divine virtue is carried by every mouth that utters it”; *Anth. Pal.* 5.274: “I have the image of your beauty stamped on my soul”; 6.56.5: φύσιν . . . τύποις μιμήσατο τέχνη; Josephus, *Ant.* 15.329: ἀγάλματα καὶ τύπους; *SEG* VIII, 450, 2: τύπος χιρός (6 BC); *SB* 8221, 8: τύπον πέτρου. Cf. the accounts for the building of the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus: “Timotheus, the execution and delivery of the bas-reliefs, for nine hundred drachmas” (C. Michel, *Recueil*, 584, 36; cf. 687, 18). In the inventory of the ι-εροποιί—τύπος ξύλινος κεραμίδων τω—ν ε—πὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα (*I. Delos* 442 B, 172), we must interpret, “a wooden relief, representing complementary tiles” (G. Roux, “Le sens de Τύπος,” in *REA*, 1961, pp. 5–14; cf. E. Will, *Le Relief cultuel gréco-romain*, 1955, pp. 48–50); capitals sculpted in the Ionic style, ἰωνι τύπων (O. Guéraud, P. Jouguet, *Un Livre d’écolier du IIIe siècle av. J.-C.*, Cairo, 1938, line 146). “Phidias, when he formed the Athena on the Acropolis, put his own image in relief (ε—ντυπώσασθαι) in the middle of the goddess’s shield,” (Ps.-Aristotle, *Mund.* 399 b 35).

⁴ Amos 5:26—“Sakkuth and Kaiwan, your idols” (Hebrew *selem*), cited at Acts 7:43—“the τύποι (the figures) that you have made to worship them”; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.322: Laban’s idols; cf. *War* 3.420: “the imprint of the chains of Andromeda.”

⁵ John 20:25; cf. Philo, *Moses* 1.119: “the mark of the wounds caused by the lightning”; Plutarch, *Aem.* 19.9: “the wound, which left a mark on him for

a long time”; Paulus Silentarius: “On the point (of the pike) his teeth-marks are still visible” (*Anth. Pal.* 6.57.5).

⁶ *P.Cair.Zen.* 59445, 9 (τὸ παράδειγμα); cf. *P.Tebt.* 342, 25: κοῦφα ἄρεστὰ τύπῳ τῷ—προκειμένῳ; *P.Lond.* 1122 b 3 (vol. 3, p. 211): τὸν τύπον τὸν τοῦ ε—λαιουργοῦ παράδος; cf. *P.Brem.* 51, 5: τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τύπον ἔχων ε—πιθήκης; R. Martin, *Architecture grecque*, p. 45, n. 9; 177ff.

⁷ Plutarch, *Rom.* 3.1: “The most trustworthy tradition . . . includes some variations, but here is its general tenor” (τύπῳ δ εἰ—πει—ν τοιοῦτός ε—στι); *P.Brem.* 49, 13: περὶ τοῦ τύπου ἔγγραφας; *P.Flor.* 279, 16: κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τύπον. In the third century BC: “the form of the usual notice of payment is this” (ἔστιν δὲ ὁ τύπος τῆς διαγραφῆς ὁ ὑποκείμενος, *P.Mich.* 9, verso 3); “to be enrolled according to the following model” (καταχωρισθῆναι τύπῳ τῷ—δε, *P.Oxy.* 1460, 12). The formula τῷ—αὐτῷ—τύπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ (*P.Flor.* 278, col. II, 20; third century AD) recurs constantly in *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 28, 63, 130, 135, 262, etc. It refers to the text itself (cf. *UPZ* I, p. 170); cf. the meaning of the plural οἱ—τύποι τῆς παραρχίας = the minutes (*P.Oxy.* 1829, 2; with the editors’ note).

⁸ Rom 5:14 (B. Rey, *Créés dans le Christ Jésus*, Paris, 1966, pp. 45ff.; H. Müller, “Der rabbinische Qal-wachomer-Schluß in paulinischer Typologie—Zur Adam-Christus-Typologie in Röm. V,” in *ZNW*, 1967, pp. 73–92); hence “typology.” Cf. L. Delporte, “Les Principes de la typologie biblique,” in *ETL*, 1926, pp. 309ff.; L. Goppelt, *Typos: Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen*, Gütersloh, 1939; ET = L. Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in The New*, trans. D. H. Madvig, Grand Rapids, 1982; S. Amsler, “La Typologie de l’A. T. chez S. Paul,” in *RTP*, 1949, pp. 113–128; G. Martelet, “Sacraments, figures et exhortations en I Cor. X, 1–11,” in *RSR*, 1956, pp. 323–359; 515–559; H. Clavier, “Esquisse de typologie comparée, dans le Nouveau Testament et chez quelques écrivains patristiques,” in *SP*, vol. 4, Berlin, 1961, pp. 28–49; P. Grelot, *Sens chrétien de l’Ancien Testament*, Paris-Tournai, 1962, pp. 25ff.; C. Larcher, *L’Actualité chrétienne de l’Ancien Testament d’après le Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1962, pp. 489–513.

⁹ The meaning is common in classical Greek: the general conception or idea as distinct from particular cases, cf. Plato, *Resp.* 3.403 e; 414 a; 6.491 c; 8.559 a; *Leg.* 4.718c; 9.876 e; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1.3.1094b20: a rough outline; 2.7.1107b1; Isocrates, *Antid.* 15.186: “Here is the outline of intellectual education”; Theophrastus 1.1: “dissimulation, in the general sense of the word” (ὡς τύπῳ λαβεῖ—ν); Polybius 4.38.12: “to have a general idea as close as possible to the truth.”

¹⁰ Cf. J Kürzinger, “Τύπος διδαχῆς und der Sinn von Röm. 6, 17f,” in *Bib*, 1958, pp. 156–176; F. W. Beare, “On the Interpretation of Romans 6:17,” in *NTS*, vol. 5, 1959, pp. 206–210; C. H. Dodd, “The Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus,” in *New Testament Essays* (Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson), Manchester, 1959, pp. 107–118; U. Borse, “‘Abbild der Lehre’ (Rom. VI, 17),” in *BZ*, 1968, pp. 95–108. Cf. C. Lattey, “A Note on Röm. VI, 17–18,” in *JTS*, 1928, pp. 381–384.

¹¹ *P.Lond.* 77, 47 (vol. 1, p. 234): μηδὲ αἰ—τῆσαι θεῖ—ον καὶ πραγματικὸν τύπον πρὸς τήνδε τὴν διαθήκην; *P.Ryl.* 75, 8: ζητηθήσεται ὁ πόρος αὐτοῦ, ἤδη μέντοι τύπος ε—στιν καθ ὃν ἔκρεια πολλάκις, Dittenberger, *Or.* 521, 5 (with note 4).

¹² *P.Oxy.* 893, 1: “by the verdict of honorable men” (τω— τύπῳ τω—ν ἀξιω[ι]πίστων ἀνδρῶ—ν); 1911, 145: “render a decision” (δοῦναι τύπον εἰ—ς τὴν συγχώρησιν); the formula recurs constantly, 1838, 4: “until I learn what decision I can give him”; 1911, 98, 145: on 16 March 197, the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, to remedy abuses, decided to alter the tax system and set a fixed rule for collection that would have to be followed: τύπον τε σωτήριον δοῦναι καθ ὃν δέοι τὰς εἰ—σφορὰς γίγνεσθαι κατηξίωσαν (*P.Cair.Isid.* 1, 6; cf. D. Bonneau, “La Disparition de l’episkepsis officielle des terres au IVe ap. J.-C.,” in *Proceedings X*, pp. 142ff.); *P.Gron.* 10, 15; *C.P.Herm.* 16, 5; *SB* 6270, 21: τὸν τύπον τὸν ἔδωκεν τῇ κώμῃ; 7449, 14; 7622, 6; 8858, 73, 9239, 17.

¹³ 4Macc 6:19—“And if we ourselves should become for youth a model of impiety (ἀσεβείας τύπος), so that we served as an example (παράδειγμα) to those who eat shameful food!”; inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene: τύπον δὲ εὐσεβείας (Dittenberger, *Or.* 383, 212); *P.Ryl.* 653, 9: τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἔθους τοῦτον ἔχοντος τὸν τύπον; Strabo 4.1.12: the Cavari “forsook their mores to model themselves after the Romans (εἰ—ς τὸν τω—ν Ῥωμαίων τύπον), whose language and way of life they have taken up.”

¹⁴ Philo, *Moses* 2.76: “the form of the model (ὁ τύπος τοῦ παραδείγματος) was etched in the spirit of Moses”; *Creation* 19, 157; *Spec. Laws* 3.207; 4.173; *Unchang. God* 43; A. von Blumenthal, “Τύπος und Παράδειγμα,” in *Hermes*, 1928, pp. 391–414; J. Doignon, “La Trilogie *forma, figura, exemplum*, transposition du grec ΤΥΠΟΣ, dans la tradition ancienne du texte latin de S. Paul,” in *Latomus*, 1958, pp. 329–349.

¹⁵ Ἴνα ε—αυτοῦς τύπον δω—μεν, εἰ—ς τὸ μιμεῖ—σθαι ἡμα—ς, 2Thess 3:9; Phil 3:17; cf. *P.Lond.* 1917, 6: “so that you may raise your hands to God our Master, in imitation of the cross” (ὅπως ε—φάρης τὰς χι—ράς σου πρὸς τὸν

δεσπότην θαιὸν ὡς τοίπως [= τύπος] σταυρω—), cf. line 19. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Din.* 7–8 distinguishes the original (ἀρχέτυπος) from works of imitation (μίμησεις) copied from it (ἀποτυπώσασθαι).

¹⁶ Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 723ff.

τυφόομαι

typhoomai, to be enveloped in smoke, deluded, dazed, puffed up

typhoomai, S 5187; *EDNT* 3.378; MM 646; L&N 14.64; BAGD 831

Apparently unknown in the papyri,¹ *typhoo* —formed from the noun *typhos*, “smoke,” then “vapor that goes to the head”—means “envelop in smoke” and is almost synonymous with *typhloo*, “to make blind.”² It is used exclusively in a metaphorical sense in its three biblical occurrences—1Tim 3:6; 6:4; 2Tim 3:4—as in secular Greek.³ From Zeno on, *typhos*, “delusion,” is associated with vanity, vainglory, and ambition.⁴ It is an intellectual vice, the vice of the rhetor who is at the same time unable to see the intellectual light (Philo, *Prov.* 2.18; *Decalogue* 4–6) and “unteachable and rebellious” (*Drunkness* 95; 2Pet 1:9); hence the insult *typhos*, “deluded old man.”⁵

The passive *typhoomai* in 1-2Tim refers to a permanent condition: a dazed mind, a blindness (*Flight* 90; *Spec. Laws* 1.79; 3.125); to be “puffed up, full of the smoke of vanity, decked out in excessive pretension.”⁶ The pairing “foolish and deluded” speaks for itself.⁷

¹ A fragment of Alcaeus: πάμπαν δ ε—τύφωδ ε—κ δ ἔλετο φρένας (E. Lobel, D. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Oxford, 1955, p. 267, n. 336). A restoration by Koerte of a text of Ps.-Epicharmus: ει—ς τὸ συντυχει—ν ἀηδής ε—στιν ὁ [τετυφωμένος], *P.Hib.* 2, 5 (cf. C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 87). The epitaph for a Christian jurist in Phrygian Eumeneia in the third century: “Let no one, blinded by riches (ε—ν πλούτῳ τυφωθεὶς) conceive presumptuous thoughts” (*SEG* VI, 210, 26 = *GVI*, n. 1905, 14).

² “The root *typh* expresses the idea of smoke, exhalation; *typhon* is the name of a smoky wind and of a haughty giant” (L. Robin, *Platon: Phèdre*, Paris, 1947, p. 6, n. 2, on 230 a).

³ Cf. Diogenes denouncing the beclouding vapors (τῦφος), the phantasms of the imagination, or the false human values that obscure the sight of the one thing that is necessary (Diogenes Laertius 6.26.83).

⁴ Philo, *Drunkenness* 124; Plutarch, *De audiendo* 39 d; Lucian, *Tim.* 28; *Hermot.* 16; cf. N. J. McEleney, “The Vice Lists of the Pastoral Epistles,” in *CBQ*, 1974, p. 210.

⁵ J. Taillardat, *Suétone: Περὶ βλασφημιῶν*, Paris, 1967, pp. 143ff. Epictetus 4.1.150: “I know what a slave is who thinks that he is happy: he has lost his head” (τετυφωμένος).

⁶ Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 128: οἰ—δει—ν καὶ τετυφω—σθαι καὶ ὄγκον πλείονα τοῦ μετρίου περιβεβλήσθαι; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.15: “the Greeks are blinded (τετυφω—σθαι) by the thought that they alone know antiquity”; *Life* 53: “Varus, puffed up with his pretensions.” Sextus Empiricus defines τῦφος as “presumption that causes belief in that which does not exist” (*Math.* 8.5).

⁷ Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.255: “Apollonius Molon was one of the deluded fools” (τω—ν ἀνοήτων εἷς ἦν καὶ τετυφωμένων); Polybius 3.81.1: “He is foolish and deluded” (ἀγνοεῖ— καὶ τετύφωται).

ὑπερηφάνια, ὑπερήφανος

hyperephania, exaltation, pride, haughtiness; *hyperephanos*, lifted up, exalted, proud, haughty

hyperephania, S 5243; *TDNT* 8.525–529; *EDNT* 3.398; *NIDNTT* 3.28–30; MM 653; L&N 88.213; BAGD 841 | ***hyperephanos***, S 5244; *TDNT* 8.525–529; *EDNT* 3.399; *NIDNTT* 3.27–32; MM 653; L&N 88.214; BAGD 841

The commonly accepted etymology (*hyper* + *phainomai*: someone who shows himself to be above his fellows, elevated) no longer seems acceptable,¹ even if it is taken to mean “visible above others,”² all the more so since the seat of *hyperephania* is within us.³ The proud person has a heart that is puffed up,⁴ compares himself to others and reckons that he is above them, scorns them (Ps 30:19, *exoudenosis*); the opposite is the *tapeinos*.⁵ Moreover, the *hyperephanos* is constantly associated with the *hybristes*⁶ and the *alazon*.⁷ These data suggest that we should examine the semantics of these terms circumspectly.

The first known usage of the verb *hyperephaneo* is pejorative. Hesiod presents the three sons of Sky and Earth as “children full of pride” (*hyperephanta tekna*) that one hardly dares to name.⁸ Andocides denounces the “lust and pride” of Alcibiades (Andocides, *C. Alcib.* 4.13), as Demosthenes denounces those who build private dwellings that are more magnificent than the public buildings and that “eclipse the greater part” of

these.⁹ The excess that characterizes the proud translates into insolence and misdeeds (Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.28; Plato, *Menex.* 240 *d*). It is a vice of the rich, of kings,¹⁰ and of the successful (Homer, *Il.* 11.694), whose arrogance “disdains” or “scorns” others.¹¹ So there is praise for a person who shows himself sensitive to the lessons and protests of his fellows, who acts with wisdom and moderation, succeeds in his undertakings, but without for that reason becoming prideful.¹²

This exaltation ends up scorning the divine sovereignty: “It is not thinkable that Achilles had a proud scorn for gods and men” (*au hyperephanian theon kai anthropon*, Plato, *Resp.* 3.391 *c*). Salmoneus, “the most impious and prideful of men . . . thought by his grand deeds to excel Jupiter himself” (Diodorus Siculus 6.7.1–4); “in times of prosperity, men scorn the gods.”¹³ Thus the pagans, and especially the Stoics, who included pride in their catalogs of vices, denounced this sacrilegious excess, which the gods would not leave unpunished.

Nevertheless, *hyperephanos* could have a favorable meaning,¹⁴ for example, as a personal epithet: “Greet the distinguished Leontas and his family” (*P.Oxy.* 530, 28; cf. Ibycus, *ibid.* 1790, frag. 1, 17). It is used for not paying an excessive price for merchandise (*PSI* 1413, 2, republished in *SB* 9450), for a proud empire (Aeschylus, *PV* 405), for odiously luxurious ships (Plutarch, *Pomp.* 24.4; gilded masts, silver-plated oars), but also for research into causes, a quest of marvelous splendor (Plato, *Phd.* 96 *a*); “the art of navigation does not put on grand airs, as if it were working wonders” (*Grg.* 511 *d*, *hos hyperephanon*); “to cast a shadow on an incomparably splendid action” (*Symp.* 217 *e*, *ergon hyperephanon*); at Rome are announced Scipio’s “actions of extraordinary greatness and nobility” (Plutarch, *Fab.* 26.3, *praxeis hyperephanoi*); “monuments of an extraordinary greatness” (Plutarch, *Per.* 13.1, *ergon hyp.*); “Archidamus fought magnificently” (*agonizomenon hyperephanos*, *Ages.* 34.7).

Thus in secular Greek, *hyperephania*, *-os*, is used sometimes in a positive sense, sometimes pejoratively. It is essentially an excess with regard to the ordinary and the normal; but usually it is a vice, a person’s exaggerated opinion of himself, which entails disdain for others, even scorn for the divinity. It was the LXX that gave pride—with exceptional insistency—its exclusively moral and religious definition,¹⁵ first of all in sketching the psychological and sociological portrait of the proud person, then and especially in emphasizing the monstrous nature of this vice. And first of all *hyperephania* is a vice of the heart (Obad 3; 1Sam 17:28; Ps 101:5) that is manifested in insolent, scornful, and lying speech,¹⁶ through attitude and comportment,¹⁷ and especially through actions (*poiese en hyperephania*, Deut 17:12; cf. Num 15:30; Ps 31:23; Tob 4:13). The proud, insolent person (Jdt 6:19; 9:9; 1Macc 2:47, 49; 2Macc 1:28), presumptuous and haughty (Isa 16:6; Jer 48:29), arrogant (Ps 119:21, 78, 122; 1Macc 1:21; 2Macc 9:7), scorning the neighbor (Ps 123:4; Tob 4:13) and not hesitating

to hurt him (Sir 11:30; Ps 36:11; 140:5), even with violence (Prov 8:13; Ps 10:2) to the point of shedding blood (Sir 27:15; 31:26). But this wicked person, who perverts even his companions (Sir 13:1), will be the victim of his own excess (Ps 59:12), abandoned by his friends (Sir 22:22) and will be without support (Sir 51:10; cf. 3:28; Wis 5:8); his “house will be desolate” (Sir 21:4), because “detested by the Lord and by men is pride” (Sir 10:7; 16:8; 25:2). The whole of OT ethics is summed up in Prov 3:34—“God opposes the proud but gives his favor to the humble.”¹⁸

The sentence apparently agrees with the many assertions of pagan authors; but the inspired writers denounce in *hyperephania* a spiritual perversion and a kind of generalized vice (cf. Ps 73:6) whereby one stiffens the neck and refuses to take the divine commandment into account (Neh 9:16). It is rebellion against the Creator and Lord of all beings. According to Num 15:30, “The one who acts with hand [raised] in pride” outrages Yahweh and dares to rebel against his sovereignty.¹⁹ Hence the scandal: “How will one who is dirt and dust be proud?” (Sir 10:9). If it is already a serious thing humanly speaking to attribute to oneself something that one does not possess or that one has not acquired by one’s own means (Isa 10:13; 14:13-14; 1Cor 4:6-7; Gal 6:3), it is the supreme impiety not to accept one’s creaturely condition: “It is just to submit to God, and as a mere mortal not to pretend to be equal to the divinity” (*onta isothea phronein*, 2Macc 9:12).

It is remarkable that the NT speaks so sparingly of pride. The substantive *hyperephania* is found only once, in the words of the Master (Mark 7:22), in a catalog of twelve vices between slander (*blasphemia*) and moral stupor (*aphrosyne*), while it is absent from the parallel passage in Matt 15:19. But what is important is to specify the source of these vices: “from within, from the heart of the person, come . . . slander, pride . . .”²⁰ The adjective *hyperephanos* is used five times, first of all by the Virgin Mary, precisely in the OT meaning (especially Ps 88:11): “He has scattered those who are proud in the thoughts of their heart” (*dieskorpisen hyperephanous dianoia kardias auton*, Luke 1:51),²¹ that is, the rich and the powerful (as opposed to the *tapeinoi* in verse 52). Their understanding and their will are oriented against God; they usurp the divine prerogatives. Inevitably, they will be punished and brought low, while the humble will be raised up.

Rom 1:30 and 2Tim 3:2 similarly mention the *hyperephanoi* in vice lists. In the former case, it is a matter of the past, when philosophers refused to submit their own thought to God’s thought; the latter text has to do with the future, when people will reject the very foundations of morality.²² In both cases the *hyperephanoi* are linked with the *alazones*; ²³ immoderation and excess go together. Finally, Jas 4:6 and 1Pet 5:5 both cite Prov 3:34—“God resists the proud [Hebrew *lallesim*], but gives grace [or kindness, liberality] to the humble”; his favors go to the lowly. In Peter, the quotation

of Prov supports the exhortation, “Clothe yourselves with humility.” All of these texts are to be understood in light of the ethics already revealed in the OT.²⁴

¹ An etymology that is “morphologically not very plausible at all” according to P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*.

² Bertram, “ὑπερήφανος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 8, pp. 525–529.

³ R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, pp. 98ff.

⁴ Prov 16:5—ὑψηλοκάρδιος; Rom 12:16—τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες; Tob 4:13—μὴ ὑπερηφανεύου τῆ καρδιά σου.

⁵ Cleobulus, tyrant of Lindos, one of the seven sages, said: Εὐποροῦντα μὴ ὑπερήφανον εἶναι, ἀποροῦντα μὴ ταπεινοῦσθαι (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 1.172 a; vol. 3, p. 114). *Ep. Arist.* 262–263; Ps 88:11; Prov 3:34; Sir 13:20; Luke 1:51–52; Jas 4:6; 1Pet 5:5; etc.

⁶ Cf. Homer, *Il.* 11.694: “Success had puffed up the bronze-armored Epeians; they despised and outraged (ὑβρίζοντες) us, they plotted wicked things against us”; Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.28: “his hubris drove him to overweening infatuation” (ὑβρις εἰς ἀνάταν ὑπεράφανον ὤρσεν); Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.16.1390b33: “the rich tend to be outrageous and prideful” (ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ὑπερήφανοι); Lev 26:19—τὴν ὑβριν τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ὑμῶν; Isa 2:12; 13:11; 16:6; Prov 8:13; 2Macc 1:28; Rom 1:30, etc. Cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59080, 4: μαστιγῶν ε—μὲ ὑπερηφάνως.

⁷ Philo, *Virtues* 171; Polybius 5.33.8; Josephus, *War* 6.172: “[Jonathan] was arrogant (ἀλαζῶν) and full of scorn (ὑπερήφανος) for the Romans”; Rom 1:30; 2Tim 3:2.

⁸ Hesiod, *Th.* 149. This verb, sometimes intransitive (*BGU* 48, 19), expresses insolence and arrogance (Josephus, *War* 3.1; *Ant.* 4.38; Polybius 6.10.8), but usually signifies “to scorn, disdain”: Herod scorned his adversaries (Josephus, *War* 1.344); Pheroras, under the spell of his passion for a slave-girl, scorned the king’s daughter to whom he was engaged (*Ant.* 16.194). It can have a weakened meaning; Serenos writes to his sister Posidonia: “You are neglecting me” (σὺ δὲ ὑπερηφανεῖς με, *P.Stras.* 304, 9; second-third century); likewise Flavius Herculanus to a woman who cannot come to celebrate his son’s birthday: “surely you have more important things to do, and that is why you neglect us” (ἀλλὰ πάντως κρείττονα εἶχες διὰ τοῦτο ὑπερηφάνηκας ἡμας).

⁹ Demosthenes, *Org. Fin.* 13.30, τω—ν πολλω—ν ὑπερηφανωτέρας.

¹⁰ Plato, *Leg.* 3.691 a: “an evil of kings who live in pride and softness” (νόσημα ὑπερηφάνως ζώντων); Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.16; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 5.2.27ff. (the Assyrian monarch in his arrogance was violent against the weak); *Ep. Arist.* 211, 262; Diodorus Siculus 24.9.2; *P.Flor.* 367, 12.

¹¹ In a chapter on ὑπερηφανία, Theophrastus says, “Pride is disdain (καταφρόνησις) of all that is not oneself”; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.224: “arrogant and filled with scorn for the laws”; *War* 6.172; Diodorus Siculus 24.9.2: Claudius, drunk with the pride inspired by his forebears, scorned everyone.

¹² Plato, *Resp.* 3.399 b, μὴ ὑπερηφάνως ἔχοντα. Cf. *Ep. Arist.* 170, 269: “When pride and stubborn pretension guide conduct, dishonor follows naturally along with the loss of reputation.” In a letter from the eighth century, the writer (a monk?) demands that right be observed and asks that no one take account of his “cockiness” or accuse him of pride (κατ’ ὑπερηφανείαν, *P.Apoll.* 69, 17). A magical papyrus invokes Anubis to use all his power against Tigeos, ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὴν τῆς ὑπερηφανείας καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰ—σχύνης (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* 17, a 6–7; vol.2, p.138).

¹³ Diodorus Siculus 23.11.1; but “prideful mortals are equally hated by the gods” (13.21.4); “fate somehow was pleased to humiliate the arrogance of these proud men, by granting a success completely opposite to the hopes they had conceived” (20.13.3). God decided to punish the Sodomites for their *hyperephania* (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.195). “Whoever undertakes to act μεθ’ ὑπερηφανίας provokes the wrath of God” (Philo, *Virtues* 171; the only use of the term in this author). “Eros, a jealous god, inexorable to the *hyperephanoi*” (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephes.* 1.2.1); *UPZ* 144, 50–51: νέμεσις ε—στιν ἀπὸ Διὸς τοι—ς ὑπερηφάνοις (second century BC).

¹⁴ Cf. Alexis, in Athenaeus 2.60 a: παρετίθη ὑπερηφανω—ς ὄζουσα τω—ν ὦρω—ν λοπάς (cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 502).

¹⁵ The corresponding Hebrew terms are especially the words *ga'al* (and its derivatives), “exalt oneself, ascend, inflate”; *zed*, “prideful, haughty”; *zadon*, “pride, arrogance”; *lîs*, “mock, ridicule”; *rûm*, “be high, elevated; be proud, exalted.” P. L. Schoonheim (“Der alttestamentliche Boden der Vokabel ὑπερήφανος Lukas I, 51,” in *Placita Pleiadia opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. G. Sevenster*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 235–246; reprinted in *NovT*, 1966, pp. 235–246) notes the many nuances of these terms in various contexts: (a) insolence, arrogance, presumption (as opposed to humility); (b) mockery, derision, disdain, lying; (c) scorn for the law, wickedness, sin; (d)

impertinence, effrontery, intimidation, impudence; (e) rising up against God and refusing to recognize his omnipotence.

¹⁶ Ps 17:10; 31:18; 119:51, 69, 78; Sir 23:8—“the insolent and the proud will be caught in the snare of their lips”; 27:15, 28—“sarcasm and insults are the business of the proud”; 32:12—“do not sin with proud speech” (λόγω ὑπερηφάνῳ).

¹⁷ Cf. “haughty eyes” (Ps 18:27). Esther gets rid of her magnificent clothing (Esth 4:17k, τῶ—ν ὑπερηφάνων); Ezek 7:20; Dan (Theodotion) 4:34—“those who walk with pride.”

¹⁸ On the pride=humility contrast, cf. Sir 13:20. It is said over and over that God breaks the violence of pride (Lev 26:19), punishes it beyond measure (Ps 31:23), makes the proud to vanish (Isa 13:20), and especially abases the one who is raised up (Isa 2:12), just as he “brings low the pride of the sea” (Ps 89:10; cf. 18:27; 94:2; Job 22:29; 40:11-12; Dan [Theodotion] 4:34.) The proud who are so called by name are the giants (Wis 14:6), Moab (Isa 16:6), Sodom (Ezek 16:49, 56), Sennacherib (Sir 48:18), Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 5:20 [Theodotion]; cf. Jdt 6:2—“Who is God, if not Nebuchadnezzar?”), Nicanor (1Macc 7:34), especially Antiochus Epiphanes (1Macc 1:21; 2Macc 5:21; 7:36; 9:4, 7, 11; 4Macc 4:15; 9:30); cf. Herod (Josephus, *Ant.* 16.4), Greece (*Sib. Or.* 3.732), Alexandria (ibid. 5.90), the Persians (ibid. 8.168), Pompey “the Impious” (*Pss. Sol.* 2.1), who “did not take into account that he was a human . . . he said, ‘I will be master of the land and the sea.’ He did not recognize that it is God who is great, powerful through his immense might” (vv. 32–33). —On the other hand, Moses’ father-in-law advised him to choose as leaders only worthy men who “hate pride” (Exod 18:21).

¹⁹ Sir 10:12—“The beginning of human pride is to depart from the Lord,” which is sin (verse 13); “wisdom is far from pride” (15:8); cf. Babylon saying in its heart, “I and I alone!” (Isa 47:8).

²⁰ Mark 7:22; cf. C. E. Carlston, “The Things that Defile (Mark VII, 14) and the Law in Matthew and Mark,” in *NTS*, vol. 15, 1968, pp. 75–96.

²¹ E. Delebecque (“Luc I, 51 b, texte et traduction,” in *BAGB*, 1973, pp. 327–331, reprinted in *Etudes grecques*, pp. 15–23), on the basis of a^c and certain miniscules that have the genitive singular διανοίας, suggests διανοίας and uses the Old French “forcènement” (the condition of having lost one’s reason), hence “les superbes, il prend le forcènement de leur coeur pour les dissiper.” Str-B, vol. 2, pp. 101ff., cites the rabbinic judgments on pride.

²² Cf. 1QS 4.9–11, where these vices come from a perverse spirit. Cf. N. J. McEleney, “The Vice Lists of the Pastoral Epistles,” in *CBQ*, 1974, pp. 211ff.

²³ Cf. above, vol. 1, pp. 63ff. A. J. Festugière, *Vie spirituelle*, pp. 11–15.

²⁴ Theologians distinguish pride from ἀλαζονεία (vainglory, ambition, presumption, conceit) and define it as “excessive love of one’s own excellence,” which leads to substituting oneself for God (St. Augustine, *Civ.* 14.13; 19.12), hence a mortal sin and the source of all vices (Gregory the Great, *Moral.* 31.45), notably disobedience and blasphemy. This was the sin of the devil and of the first man (Thomas Aquinas, Ia, q. 63, a. 1–3; IIa IIae, q. 162–163). Cf. T. Deman, “Orgueil,” in *DTC*, vol. 11, 2, col. 1410–1434.

ὑπεροράω

hyperorao, to look down on, scorn, disdain, ignore, abandon

hyperorao, *EDNT* 3.399; *L&N* 30.49; *BAGD* 841

Etymologically, this verb means “look over, see from above,” and in a pejorative sense “look down on, scorn, disdain.” In the LXX and in the papyri, only this second meaning is attested: “You will be scorned” (*ese hypereoramene*, Nah 3:11; niphal of the Hebrew *‘alam*, “hide, avert the eyes”); “their money will be scorned” (Ezek 7:19); “the jealous person scorns people” (Sir 14:8); *P.Hamb.* 23, 36: *hos an ei nomon boetheias hypereidomenois* (sixth century); “the Roman general, disdainful because of his anger and not trusting them, delayed so long . . .” (Josephus, *War* 2.534). Hence the meaning “to abandon,” for example the ass that has fallen on the road and must be helped up (Deut 22:4); “I will not leave you or abandon you” (Josh 1:5; cf. Ps 9:22); “to leave off, desist” (Isa 58:7); Saul could not leave the country to be ravaged by the Philistines (*hyperidein ten gen kakotheisan*, Josephus, *Ant.* 6.281); a noble person cannot extricate himself from danger and remain indifferent to one who threatens his friends (*ibid.* 14.357).

Finally, where we say “scorn, disdain,” we must understand the meaning “make no allowance for”; cf. 2Macc 7:11—“I got these from heaven, but because of his laws I do not take them into account” (*hyperoro tauta*). Hence the preponderant use of this verb with respect to the possibility that a prayer will not be answered.¹ It is used often, and only in this sense, in the papyri of the second century BC: “Being a defenseless woman, I beg and pray you not to leave me bereft of what is rightly mine”;²

“I beg you then, O king, not to neglect me, who has been wronged (*me hyperidein me adikoumenon*), and to order, to the contrary . . .” (*P.Magd.* 8, 12).

In all these cases, the one in the superior position is not supposed to scorn the suppliant, is asked not to be indifferent but to intervene;³ a contrast is drawn between a possible lack of action and the assuming of a positive stance. This is precisely the case in Acts 17:30—“God, having averted his eyes from these times of ignorance (*hyperidon*), now makes known. . . .”⁴ Obviously this is not “to scorn” but something more like “to ignore.” God decides not to remember, not to see any longer: “closing his eyes” (*Bible de Jérusalem*; cf. *NJB*, “overlooking”). Literally, he no longer takes the guilty past into account but takes another approach: he calls to repentance.

¹ Μὴ ὑπερίδης τὴν δέησίν μου, Ps 55:2; cf. Philo, *Joseph* 171: “Did we not, without pity, scorn the prayers and supplications of a brother who had committed no offense against us?”

² *P.Tebt.* 776, 28; cf. 777, 10: μὴ ὑπεριδει—ν με κατεφθαρμένον ε—ν τῇ φυλακῇ; 953, 6; *PSI* 816, 5; 1309, col. II, 11; *UPZ* 2, 24; 5, 46; 6, 32; 15, 33; 16, 22; 20, 42; 45, 14: μὴ ὑπεριδει—ν ἡμα—ς θλιβομένας.

³ *P.Rein.* 7, 26: “I beg you not to show yourself indifferent to the ambush in which this pitiless man has trapped me but to intervene in my behalf” (petition to the king, second century BC).

⁴ Codex Bezae, probably taking its cue from Sir 28:7 (πάριδε ἄγνοιαν), reads παριδών (cf. the Vulgate, “despiciens”). If we translate “overlooking” or “passing over” the times of ignorance, they become parenthetical, a period that has ended; on this verse cf. E. des Places, “Tempora vel momenta (Acts 1:7; cf. 17:26 and 30),” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, pp. 105–117; idem, “Acts XVII, 30–31,” in *Bib.*, 1971, pp. 526–534.

ὑπηρέτης

hyperetes, rower, crew member, subordinate, servant, police officer, bailiff
see also δούλος, οἰ—κέτης, οἰ—κει—ος, μίσθιος, μισθωτός

hyperetes, S 5257; *TDNT* 8.530–544; *EDNT* 3.400; *NIDNTT* 3.544, 546; *MM* 655; *L&N* 35.20; *BDF* §187(2); *BAGD* 842

It seems that the word originally meant a rower (*erasso*, to row), one who was on a lower deck of a trireme and hence in an inferior position;

then a member of the crew, a sailor under the orders of a skipper;¹ finally, a subordinate, a subaltern, often associated with *doulos* (John 18:18; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 56) and *diakonos*.² Anyone who is in service to another person is a *hyperetes*: *hyperetes to kyrio* (*P.Ryl.* 234, 1–2; Philo, *Post. Cain* 50; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 44); but there is a great variety of functions, from the valet who accompanies the hoplite on campaigns (Thucydides 3.17.3), the steward of the emperor's property (*IGLS* 1631, 2), a tyrant's bodyguards (Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 28.822 e; *Cleom.* 37.9), and military administrative officers (*P.Rein.* 1, 14; *UPZ* II, 214, 1–2) or other administrators (*BGU* 2247, 21), to a general's aide-de-camp (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.4.4), a prefect's servant (*SB* 1126, 11–13), a king's servant³—which is clearly the meaning in John 18:36, “If my kingdom was of this world, my subordinates (*hoi hyperetai hoi emoi*, angels, disciples, my militia?) would have fought”⁴—and “temple servants” (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.152).

In the papyri, *hyperetai* appear in the third century BC as people in the service of Zeno,⁵ meaning domestic servants but also “workers” (*ergatai*, *P.Col.Zen.* 52, 4), or employees of the master,⁶ among whom there is a hierarchy.⁷ We may compare the servants of the high priest in Matt 26:58; Mark 14:54, 65.

In the NT, *hyperetai* are usually “police officers,” as in the Greek tradition.⁸ Thus the judge hands a person over to the apparitor or bailiff;⁹ these are the *hyperetai* who came to arrest Jesus and made their report once their mission was accomplished (John 7:32, 45, 46; 18:3, 12, 18, 22; 19:6), like those who discovered that the apostles were missing from the prison (Acts 5:22, 26). They are always portrayed as servants of the high priests, the Pharisees, the Sanhedrin, or the *strategos* of the temple; in other words, they are always subordinates.¹⁰

This usage conforms to the papyri, which use *hyperetes* for subordinate functionaries in the civil and judicial administration.¹¹ They take part in expert evaluations (*PSI* 448, 13; *P.Lond.* 214, vol. 2, p. 161), autopsies,¹² promises made under oath,¹³ court hearings.¹⁴ They deliver summonses and verdicts to parties in litigation,¹⁵ give an accounting to their overseers (*BGU* 1775) and by their signature certify that they have in fact passed on a petition to the party concerned: *ho deina hyperetes metadedoka* (*P.Tebt.* 434; *P.Petaus* 17, 34; 23, 1; 24, 30; *SB* 7870, 22–23; 7744, 11) or *metedothe dia tou deina hyperetou* (*BGU* 226, 24–25; *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 27; *Archives de Kronion*, ed. D. Foraboschi, n. 29, 12; 42, 22). Working under the office of the *strategos* (*P.Oxy.* 294; 475; *P.Fouad* 22, col. II, 27; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 129 and 156; *P.Meyer* 3), these officials had special responsibility for publicizing enactments. They posted them to bring them to the attention of the public and by so doing conferred an official and sure character upon them.¹⁶

The fact that *hyperetai* were “official witnesses” and “guarantors of the public trust”¹⁷ helps explain the use of this term for ministers of the new covenant, especially since the Greeks used the expression “servant of the gods”¹⁸ and had *hyperetai* in their cultic assemblies.¹⁹ Christ appeared to Saul to make him a “minister and witness” of the things that he had seen (Acts 16:16), and the apostle asks “that we be considered servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God.”²⁰ At Salamis, John Mark is the *hyperetes* of Paul and Barnabas,²¹ not with respect to material services²² but as an aide, a co-worker, helping in the ministry, just as a physician’s assistant cooperates with the physician in treating a sick person.²³ The word has this same religious meaning in Luke 1:2—“What has been handed on to us by the servants of the word” (*hyperetai tou logou*).²⁴ All the agents of the spread of the gospel play on their own level the role of the secular *hyperetai*: they promptly obey orders received from a superior²⁵ and they officially pass along a message, carrying it to parties who have an interest in it.²⁶

The *hyperetes* in Luke 4:20, to whom Jesus gives the scroll after rolling it up, is the verger-sacristan and synagogue warder, the *hazzan*, an official subordinate to the *archisynagogos*.²⁷

¹ Cf. τοὺς ἐ—πὶ τοῦ πλοίου ὑπηρέτας (*SEG* XII, 112, 14; *I.Rhamn.*, add. n. XVII, 14). On the ὑπηρεσία of warships, cf. Y. Garlan, “Quelques travaux récents sur les esclaves grecs en temps de guerre,” in *Actes du Colloque 1972 sur l’esclavage*, Paris, 1974, pp. 18ff.; M. P. Ervagault, M. M. Mactoux, “Esclaves et société d’après Démosthène,” *ibid.*, p. 84; A. Ortega, “Metáforas del deporte griego en S. Pablo,” in *Helmantica*, 1964, pp. 103ff.; Rengstorf, in *TDNT*, vol. 8, p. 534.

² Philo, *Contemp. Life* 75; *Joseph* 241; cf. “The people used to be the masters (δεσπότης) of the politicians; today, they are their servants (ὑπηρέται)” (Demosthenes, *C. Arist.* 23.209; cf. Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 518; Plutarch, *Agis* 1.4). Plato contrasts ἄρχων and ὑπηρέτης (*Resp.* 8.552 *b*). At Athens, public slaves are often called ὑπηρέται.

³ Prov 14:35; Wis 6:4; Dan 3:46 (Theodotion); Xenophon, *An.* 1.9.18: “Cyrus had better auxiliaries”; Philo, *Plant.* 55. A lictor, an attendant (Plutarch, *Ti. Gracch.* 12.5), an assistant (*P.Oxy.* 3182, 17; 3245, 8: ὑπηρέτης τῆς τάξεως), a court clerk, an employee, a treasury agent, an aedile, even a legate are described as ὑπηρέται (Plutarch, *Phoc.* 35.1; *Cat. Min.* 16.3, 4, 7; 28.1; 36.1; 43.3–4). Cf. H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 96. There are also ἀρχιυπηρέται who are part of the administrative, financial, or military hierarchy, whose functions are hard to define: chief superintendent, treasurer, supervisor of employees, assistant commander to a *strategos*, etc., *P.Cair.Zen.* 59006, col. III, 52; *P.Oxy.* 1253, 21; 3105,

24; 3116, 19; 3131, 12; *P.Stras.* 46–49; *P.Ryl.* 590, 2; *SB* 599, 61; 8246, 46; 9593, 4; *UPZ* 14, 97; *O.Wilck.* 1538, 1; *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 2, n. 2435–2452; 4406–4407.

⁴ Cf. Antigonus, sending servants and friends several times to get information (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 17.4).

⁵ *P.Col.Zen.* 64, 4: τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπηρέτας; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59062, 14; 59089 (= *SB* 6820); 59682, 14: ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν; *PSI* 343, 6; 599, 18; 674, 5, 10; *P.Lond.* 1934, 6–7; 1940, 1.

⁶ Τω—ν ὑπηρετω—ν μου, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59832, 8; cf. line 14: τω—ν ὑπηρετησάντων μοι; *P.Tebt.* 890, 71, 115 (second century BC); 891, 33; 1097, 9; *P.Giss.* 67, 14; *P.Stras.* 122, 12; *P.Harr.* 96, 33; *P.Oxy.* 527, 5; *P.Genova* 11, 2: ε—ν τοι—ς ὑπηρέταις (letter of recommendation from the first century AD); *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 18, 301: ὑπηρετω—ν καὶ ποιω—ν τὰ ἀνήκοντα; *P.Lond.* 131, 373 (vol. 1, p. 181): “To Epimachus, for the son of the same Hephaestion, who is leaving for Hermopolis in the service, eleven obols” (cf. A. Swiderek, *Propriété foncière*, p. 21); 1934, 7; 1940, 1; 2050, 5; 10, 2074, 21 (cf. 2067, 4: ὑπηρετικόν); *I.Ilium*, n. 63, 11: τὸν δὲ ὑπηρέτην λειτουργει—ν.

⁷ There are ἀρχυπηρέται, superiors, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59006, col. III, 52; *UPZ* 121, 19; *P.Ryl.* 590, 2; *BGU* 21, col. III, 1; 466, 1–3; 1035, 3; *P.Oxy.* 1253, 21.

⁸ The ὑπηρέται, under the orders of the Eleven, are responsible for the execution of criminals (Plato, *Phd.* 116); Aelius Aristides 45.68 *d*: ὁ δικαστὴς παραδίδωσι τοι—ς ὑπηρέταις. “The Eleven entered with their agents (σὺν τοι—ς ὑπηρέταις), led by Satyrus (ἡγουμένου αὐτω—ν Σατύρου)” (Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.3.54); “each time a man went out, the agents put handcuffs on him” (ibid. 2.4.8); Josephus, *War* 1.655: “the other prisoners were handed over to the executioners” (παρέδωκεν τοι—ς ὑπηρέταις); *Ant.* 16.232; Diodorus Siculus 17.30.4; 17.107.3; Plutarch, *Agis* 19.8–9; *Cleom.* 38.9. In Egypt, ὑπηρέται imprisoned debtors to the state treasury (*P.Oxy.* 259, *BGU* 1821) because they were subordinate agents to the tax collectors (*P.Tebt.* 874, 6; *P.Lille* 13, 4; *SB* 1178, 7529).

⁹ Matt 5:25. Cf. J. Blinzler, *Trial of Jesus*, pp. 61–72; see above, pp. 152ff.

¹⁰ *Ep. Arist.* 111: “The king set up *chrematistai* and their personnel (καὶ τοὺς τούτων ὑπηρέτας) in all the nomes to keep the tax farmers from contributing to the reduction of the provisions for the city”; cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 106, 15 = *SB* 8877. At Lebadaea in Boeotia, in the second century BC,

an *agonothetes*, turning in the accounts for his expenditures for the feast of the Basaleia, says that he did not record the sums paid to the personnel and the undersecretary (οὐκ ἀπελογοισάμην δὲ οὔτε ὑπηρέταις οὔτε ὑπογραμματεῖ—, M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 1, pp. 131ff.).

¹¹ *P.Corn.* 34, 2. They are in the service of the *epistates* of the nome, working as justices of the peace (*UPZ* 161; *P.Grenf.* 1, 11 = *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 32); serving the *praktores* (*P.Hamb.* 168, a, 19; *P.Tebt.* 814, 22; *P.Hal.*, pp. 116–119), the prefect (*CPR* I, 18, 35: ὑπηρέτης ἡγεμονικός; *BGU* 592, 10; *P.Oxy.* 1102, 25), the *idios logos* (*BGU* 388, col. 3; *P.Princ.* 22), or the *archidikastes* (*P.Mil.Vogl.* 25, col. V, 150; *P.land.* 9; *P.Fouad* 24, 6), the *dioiketes* (*P.Oxy.* 259, 13; *P.Flor.* 312, 7–8; *P.Tebt.* 874, 5), the *exegetes* (*P.Tebt.* 397, 28; *BGU* 107, 13–14), the *kosmetes* (C. Pelekidis, *Ephébie attique*, pp. 207–268), the *chrematistes* (*BGU* 1775, 2; 1776, 11), the *nomarchos* (1821, 15), etc. The basic study that I am summarizing is that of H. Kupiszewski, J. Modrzejewski, “Etude sur les fonctions et le rôle des hypèrètes dans l’administration civile et judiciaire de l’Egypte gréco-romaine,” in *JJP*, vol. 11–12, 1958, pp. 141–166; cf. S. J. De Laet, *Portorium*, Bruges, 1949, pp. 302, 396ff. We may also read the instructions of the πρωτοστάται of Oxyrhynchus to the *hyperetes* (*P.Oxy.* 2849).

¹² Death certificates and medical examinations, *P.Oxy.* 51, 5–7; 475, 4–9, 27–28; 1556, 1–3; *P.Oslo* 95, 9–12; *BGU* 647, 5–6; *PSI* 455, 3; *P.Lips.* 42, 23; *P.Phil.* 1, 29.

¹³ *P.Fay.* 24, 20–21; *P.Fouad* 22, col. II, 19; *BGU* 581, 15–17; 891, col. V, 19. They notarize signatures, *P.Flor.* 312, 8; *P.Oxy.* 916, 18–19; *BGU* 388.

¹⁴ When the *hyperetes* leaves the room, the hearing is over: ε—ξῆλθεν Σαραπίων ὑπηρέτης (*SB* 7404, 40; cf. *P.Stras.* 546, 28; *P.Oxy.* 1102, 24–25; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 25, col. V, 15; *BGU* 613, 36, 42; *P.Ryl.* 77, 31; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 15, 146; 24, 82).

¹⁵ *P.Mich.* 526, 19; *P.Princ.* 16; *BGU* 226; 1775; 1825, *P.Tebt.* 104; *P.Stras.* 5; *P.Oxy.* 2187; *P.Fouad* 22, col. I, 21; *SB* 7870, 8001. The bailiff drafts texts: ἀντίγραφον δι’ ὑπηρέτου (*P.Stras.* 566, 19).

¹⁶ Αὐρήλιος Διονυσόδωρος ὑπηρέτης πρόεις δημοσίᾳ κατεχώρισα (*P.Paris* 69 = *Chrest.Wilck.*, n. 41, col. I, 18); *P.Hamb.* 3; *BGU* 222; 578; 613; *P.Tebt.* 434; *P.Lond.* 358 (vol. 2, p. 172); *P.Flor.* 2; *P.Oxy.* 1057; *CPR* I, 20, etc. N. Hohlwein, *Le Stratège du nome*, pp. 59ff.

¹⁷ This is the conclusion of the treatment by H. Kupiszewski and J. Modrzejewski, “Etude sur les fonctions et le rôle des hypèrètes,” p. 161.

¹⁸ Aeschylus, *PV* 954: ὡς θεω—ν ὑπηρέτου; cf. 983; Sophocles, *OT* 712: servants of Apollo; *Phil.* 990; Philo, *Decalogue* 119: “parents are the ministers of God in procreation”; 178; *Flight* 66; *Unchang. God* 57: the Logos is the minister of the divine gifts; *Giants* 12; *Post. Cain* 92; *Spec. Laws* 3.122; *Change of Names* 87: an angel, a servant of God; *Dreams* 1.143; Josephus, *War* 2.321: “Every priest, every minister of God (πα—ς δὲ ὑπηρέτης τοῦ θεοῦ) . . . fell to his knees”; Epictetus 3.22.82, the Cynic berates those whom he meets “as a servant of the common father, Zeus” (τοῦ κοινοῦ πατρὸς ὑπηρέτης τοῦ Διός).

¹⁹ *I.Lind.* 487, 20 mentions *hyperetai* along with priests, musicians, and hymn-singers; cf. *I.Magn.* 239 a; *P.Lond.* 2710 = *SB* 7835 = C. Roberts, T. Skeat, A. D. Nock, “The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos,” in *HTR*, 1936, pp. 40, 50, 79–80; cf. F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 391.

²⁰ 1Cor 4:1—ὡς ὑπηρέτας Χριστοῦ καὶ οι—κονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ; ὑπηρέτης has been substituted for the διάκονος of 3:5 (cf. 2Cor 11:23; Col 1:25); ὑπηρέτης is the term for a subdeacon in *IGLS* 1130, 2; cf. J. Murphy O’Connor, *Paul on Preaching*.

²¹ Acts 13:5; cf. B. T. Holmes, “Luke’s Description of John Mark,” in *JBL*, 1935, pp. 63–72; C. S. C. Williams, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1957, p. 156; J. Renié, *Actes des Apôtres*, p. 184; P. Menoud, *Jésus-Christ et la foi*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1975, p. 89: “This term *hyperetes* does not seem to have the same meaning when applied to John Mark as applied to Paul. John Mark is an auxiliary, secondary with respect to the missionaries Barnabas and Paul. Paul is at the same time ὑπηρέτης καὶ μάρτυς (21:16), i.e., a witness, like the Twelve, but in second place, not an apostle like them, clearly because he is a latecomer to the circle of witnesses.”

²² As understood by D and the Harclean Syriac, ὑπηρετοῦντα αὐτοι—ς; E, ἔχοντες μεθ ε—αυτω—ν, ει—ς διακονίαν; E. Trocmé (*Le “Livre des Actes” et l’histoire*, Paris, 1957, pp. 44, 69) translates “domestic.”

²³ Cf. Plato, *Leg.* 4.720 a: ὑπηρέται τω—ν ι—ατρω—ν. On the role of the ὑπηρέτης in examinations by the δημόσιος ι—ατρός, *BGU* 647; *P.Lips.* 42; *P.Athen.* 34; *P.Oxy.* 475; *P.Flor.* 59; *P.Lond.* 214 (vol. 2, p. 161); cf. E. Boswinkel, “La Médecine et les médecins dans les papyrus grecs,” in *Eos* (Symbolae Taubenschlag), 1956, vol. 1, pp. 181–190. In a Greek *tabella defixionis* of the second-third century, a physician and his assistant (ὑπηρέτης) are cursed (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*,

1955, 290, n. 292; cf. 1958, p. 197, n. 82). Hobart (*Medical Language*, pp. 88–89) cites a goodly number of occurrences of this term in the medical writers: the ὑπηρέται are aides who accompany practitioners, and especially those who assist surgeons (Hippocrates, *Off.* 2), “attentive to the orders of the one who commands them” (ibid. 6; cf. *Art.* 47; *Epid.* 5.95). In the military administration, ὑπηρέται are adjuncts; their competence and authority is attested by *P.Gur.* 19, 4–6; *P.Rein.* 14, 31; *UPZ* 205, 7–8; 209, 11–12; 214, 1–8; *C.Ord.Ptol.* 19, 16; cf. M. Launey, *Armées hellénistiques*, pp. 125, 325, 767, 832, n. 2.

²⁴ Cf. A. Feuillet, “Témoins oculaires et serviteurs de la Parole (Lc. I, 2 b),” in *NovT*, 1973, pp. 241–259.

²⁵ Cf. *BGU* 467, 112ff. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.167; *Conf. Tongues* 91; *Good Man Free* 7; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 133. Compare the use of the verb: “Aurelia Isidora . . . will always serve (ὑπηρετήσει) Ousorchontemont with glory” (F. Baratte, B. Boyaval, “Catalogue des étiquettes de momies du Musée du Louvre,” in *Etudes sur l’Egypte et le Soudan anciens*, vol. 3, Lille-Paris, 1975, p. 178, n. 356); “the soul of Pachoumis will serve the great god Osiris of Abydos” (ibid. 2; 1974, n. 245). On ὑπηρεσία (*P.Oxy.* 3173, 10: ποιούμεθα ὑπηρεσίας, salaries for services at the baths; 2569, 11; 3176, 10), cf. *P.Vindob.Sal.* 8, 25, p. 199.

²⁶ The ὑπηρέτης is one who passes something along: δι ὑπηρέτου ἀποστέλλεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς διαδότας (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 119, 124; cf. *BGU* 1825, 8; *P.Brem.* 37, 5; *P.Fouad* 30, 22). On the ὑπηρέτης as a courier delivering official correspondence, cf. *BGU* 1573, 2; *P.Oxy.* 59, 22; 2114, 20.

²⁷ Cf. *m. Tamid* 5.3; *m. shabb.* 1.3; *m. Sota* 9.15; *b. Ta’an.* 68a ; *b. Ber.* 34a (cf. Rengstorf, *TDNT*, vol. 8, p. 538). *CII* 172: “Here lies Flavius Julianus, *hyperetes*. Flavia Juliana, his daughter to her father. May you rest in peace” (at Rome, Via Appia; cf. ibid. p. XCIX); cf. Str-B, vol. 4, 1, pp. 147–149; J. B. Frey, “Les Communautés juives à Rome aux premiers temps de l’Eglise,” in *RSR*, 1931, pp. 154ff. S. Safrai, “The Synagogue,” in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, vol. 2, pp. 935ff.

ὑπόδειγμα

hypodeigma, sign, sample, example, model for imitation

hypodeigma, S 5262; *TDNT* 2.32–33; *EDNT* 3.402; *NIDNTT* 2.290, 293; *MM* 656; *L&N* 58.59; *BAGD* 844

The Atticists rejected this word in favor of *paradeigma*,¹ which is unknown in the NT but used as its synonym in the LXX. Its first meaning is “sign, mark, indicator”; for example, on a sarcophagus in Cilicia: “As a sign of (witness to) her devotion, merit, and sobriety, Titus set up this altar to his wife Juliana.”²

By extension, *hypodeigma* means “specimen, sample,” just as one cites an “example” in grammar, that is, a “case” or an “illustration.” Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 64: “As for the worse kind of ‘dawning,’ we find an example in what they tell us . . .”;³ Josephus, *War* 1.374: “Fortune is often seen to change its countenance; you may learn as much from your own case.”⁴ This is the meaning of 2Pet 2:6—“God gave the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah as an example of what is going to happen to the ungodly”; their case is a sample of what awaits sinners who refuse to be converted. In washing his disciples’ feet, Jesus gave them an example (without the article: an illustration of the servant theology), so that they might act as he acted toward them.⁵ In Heb 4:11; 8:5; 9:23, whether with regard to disobedience or with regard to the earthly sanctuary as a copy of the heavenly temple, a *hypodeigma* is always a reproduction.⁶ Thus in medicine graphic representations or drawings make a teacher’s lesson easier to grasp.⁷

Already in John 13:15 and 2Pet 2:6, the exemplary act has the value of a lesson.⁸ Indeed, a *hypodeigma* is a model for imitation, an instructive example, a deed intended to be reproduced;⁹ hence its use in ethics to refer to a virtuous act that should serve as a model: “Take as an example the endurance and patience of the prophets who spoke in the Lord’s name.”¹⁰ The epigraphical attestations are very abundant. At Aphrodisias, Eudamos is praised for his exemplary conduct (“having lived in an orderly and sober fashion and as an example of virtue”);¹¹ likewise Appia, “having lived a sober and orderly life, an example of all virtue” (*sophrona kai kosmian pros hypodeigma pases ezekuian aretes*, *MAMA* VIII, 469, 5); Hermia (ibid. 471, 14); Dionysius (ibid. 480, 8); Adrastus (484, 24); and Theodote, “having lived an orderly and modest life, an example of virtue” (*zesanta kosmios kai aidemonos kai pros hypodeigma aretes*, 190, 10). At Olbia: “imitating the life of those who conducted their public life the most nobly, he became an example to the young of the likeness of noble qualities.”¹² At Nimrud Dagh, Antiochus I of Commagene promotes the cult of his ancestors: “I decree that they shall imitate a good example” (*nomizo te autous kalon hypodeigma mimesasthai*, Dittenberger, *Or.* 383, 218). In Trachonitis: “most revered bedfellow, a model of nobility and benevolence, Flavia” (*semnotate synomeune, kalon hypodeigma philandron*, *Phlaouia*, *GVI*, n. 1404). At Delos: “setting forth a godly and generous example also for the others who are living as foreigners” (*eusebes hama kai megalopsychon hypodeigma kai tois allois tois ep’allodemias kataballomenos*, *I.Delos* 1521, 6–9).

¹ Phrynichus, Ὑπόδειγμα· οὐδὲ τοῦτο ὀρθω—ς λέγεται παράδειγμα λέγε (ed. C.A. Lobeck, p. 12). Numerous references in J. J. Wettstein, vol. 1, p. 930; vol. 2, p. 704; cf. Schlier, “ὕπόδειγμα,” in *TDNT*, vol. 2, pp. 32–33.

² Εὐνοίας, ἀρετῆς καὶ σωφροσύνης ὑπόδειγμα —Ιουλιανῆ ἀλόχῳ βωμὸν ἔθηκε Τίτος (*MAMA* III, 792 = *GVI*, n. 204); *Anth. Pal.* 6.342.2; Xenophon, *Eq.* 2.2.2: ταῦτα ὑποδείγματα ἔσται τῷ πωλοδάμνῃ.

³ Cf. *Heir* 256: “Running through the other examples, we may try to find what truth they hold”; *Ep. Arist.* 143: “As a sample, I will point out one case or another”; Plutarch, *Alex.* 7.9: Aristotle’s treatise on metaphysics is only a mnemonic device for students who are already completely trained; Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 4.300.24: the stories of the fulfillment of dreams are chosen by way of example, εἰ—ς ὑπόδειγμα.

⁴ *War* 6.103: “You have before your eyes the very good example of the Jewish king Jeconiah”; Polybius 3.111.6: “I gave you long discussions supported by examples”; *BGU* 1141, 43: ἔδειξέ σοι ὑπόδειγμα διὰ τὸ τὸν κρύπτοντα (seventeenth year of Augustus); *P.Fay.* 122, 16: “I am sending you forty examples of the large size for the machine of Chalothis,” (ἔπεμψά σοι ὑποδείγματα μεγάλων τεσσαράκοντα εἰ—ς τὴν μηχανὴν τῆς Χαλώθεως); *P.Oxy.* 2411, 40: ἀπὸ πλειόνων ὑποδειγμάτων ὑπέταξά σοι ἀντίγραφον ἐ—πιστολῆς Μαλλίου Κράσσου γενομένου διοικητοῦ (second century AD).

⁵ John 13:15; cf. J. A. T. Robinson, “The Significance of Foot-Washing,” in *Neotestamentica et Patristica*, Leiden, 1962, pp. 144–147; N. Lazure, *Les Valeurs morales de la théologie johannique*, Paris, 1965, pp. 155ff.

⁶ Ezek 42:15, probably referring to a vision of the temple: διεμέτρησε τὸ ὑπόδειγμα τοῦ οἴκου. Cf. Theodore of Mopsuestia: “Moses calls the model (παράδειγμα) of the tabernacle a copy (ὑπόδειγμα)” (cited by R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, Vatican City, 1948, p. 26, n. 1); S. G. Sowers, *The Hermeneutics of Philo and Hebrews*, Zurich, 1965, pp. 96–97; J. Barr, *Semantics*, pp. 152–154.

⁷ Cf. Apollonius of Citium, pp. 62, 5; 64, 6; 94, 7; 100, 29; 104, 23, 25; etc. (ed. J. Kollesch, F. Kudlien, *Kommentar zu Hippokrates*, Berlin, 1965).

⁸ Sir 44:16 presents Enoch as a ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας τοι—ς γενεοι—ς, an example of conversion for the generations, translating the Hebrew *’ot* = “sign” of knowledge for the generations to come; 2Macc 6:28—Eleazar left “the noble example of a good death” for the young; verse 31: “the example

of noble courage and a memorial to virtue”; 4Macc 17:23—Antiochus “cited the patience of the Maccabees as an example to his soldiers”; Plutarch, *Marc.* 20.1: πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ὑποδείγματα; Polybius 3.17.8: Hannibal provided an example to his troops.

⁹ Josephus, *War* 2.397: “to make of you an example for other nations, the Romans will burn the holy city”; *I.Priene* 117, 57: πολιτοῦ καλὸν ὑπόδειγμα παραστήσας (first century BC).

¹⁰ Jas 5:10; cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, pp. 710ff., 724ff. C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, p. 210.

¹¹ Ζήσαντα κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς, *MAMA*, VIII, 412 c; cf. *IGLAM*, n. 1610.

¹² Μειμούμενος τῶ—ν ἄριστα πολετευομένων τὸν βίον ὑπόδειγμα τοι—ς νέοις ε—γείνετο τῆς τῶ—ν καλῶ—ν ὁμοιότητος, B. Latyschev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, I, n. 39, 14–15; cf. the honorific decrees in H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica*, vol. 2, n. XV, 24: πρὸς πα—ν ὑπόδειγμα γυναικῶ—ν; *CIRB*, n. 130, 19: πρὸς γάμον ὠραίαν, τὴν σωφροσύνης ὑπόδειγμα. Other references in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, Paris, 1966, pp. 266ff.

ὑποκρίνομαι, ὑπόκρισις, ὑποκριτής, ἀνυπόκριτος

hypokrinomai, to answer, interpret (a dream or oracle), recite or declaim, play a role, pretend, dissemble; *hypokrisis*, answer, declamation, play-acting, deception; *hypokrites*, interpreter, actor, dissembler, perverse person; *anypokritos*, authentic, having integrity
see also ἀνυπόκριτος, γνήσιος; γνήσιος

hypokrinomai, S 5271; TDNT 8.559–571; EDNT 3.403; NIDNTT 2.468, 474; MM 657; L&N 88.227; BDF §§78, 157(2), 397(2), 406(1); BAGD 845 | ***hypokrisis***, S 5272; TDNT 8.559–570; EDNT 3.403; NIDNTT 2.468–469; MM 657; L&N 88.227; BAGD 845 | ***hypokrites***, S 5273; TDNT 8.559–570; EDNT 3.403–404; NIDNTT 2.468–470; MM 657; L&N 88.228; BAGD 845 | ***anypokritos***, S 505; TDNT 8.570–571; EDNT 3.403–404; MM 50; L&N 73.8; BAGD 76

Curious indeed is the semantic evolution of these terms from Homer and Herodotus to the NT! It would in fact seem that the original meaning of *hypokrinomai* was “answer.”¹ Homer, *Od.* 2.111: “Hear an answer from the suitors”; Ps.-Homer, *H. Apol.* 171: “Tell him in response”; Herodotus 1.2, to the herald of the Colchidians, “the Greeks answered”; 1.116: the answer (*hypokrisis*) of the child Cyrus to Astyages.² But to answer is to pronounce

on a question by expressing one's own thought, so it means not only to declare (Polybius 2.49.7) but to approve (Homer, *Il.* 7.407) or "answer in complaining" (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.216); which presupposes reflection and explanation.³ P. Chantraine is right to define the significance of the compound *hypokrinomai* in Homer, "To explain by bringing forth a response from within oneself."⁴ Xerxes, for example, said to Mardonius that after taking counsel that he would let him know in reply (*hypokrineesthai*) which of the alternatives he would adopt.⁵

From this meaning, "manifest one's own opinion," *hypokrinomai* came to mean "interpret a dream or an oracle": "See how an interpreter of the gods would answer" (Homer, *Il.* 12.228); "Listen to a dream of mine and interpret it" (*Od.* 19.535); "I do not see how anyone can give any other answer (interpretation) to your dream" (*ibid.* 555); "the Pythia answered" (Herodotus 7.169); "you who interpret dreams so easily" (Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 53). *Hypokritai* are interpreters: "Prophets are *hypokritai* of mysterious words and deeds" (Plato, *Tim.* 72 b); a *hypokrisis* is an oracle's response (Herodotus 1.90).

The predominant use of *hypokrinomai* is to recite or declaim a text, give a reply in a theatrical dialogue, play a role (Demosthenes, *Corona* 15); "neither Theodorus nor Aristodemus represented (*hypekrinato*) this drama ... but every other actor (*hypokriton*) of former days played it" (*Embassy* 246); "the poets themselves acted in their tragedies" (Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.1.1408b23), like Thespis, who "acted (*hypokrinomenon*) his plays himself."⁶ The *hypokrisis* is the play of the actors (*Ep. Arist.* 219; Philo, *Dreams* 1.205; Marcus Aurelius 11.1), their declaiming as well as their bearing and gestures (Plutarch, *Dem.* 11.3), when they interpret the speeches of others (Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.1403b21; Polybius 10.47.10; Lucian, *Pseudol.* 25; *Pisc.* 32). The *hypokrites* is the actor himself, either in tragedy or in comedy (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1078, 27; 1089); "Some actors put on a tragedy and recited lines from Euripides" (Philo, *Good Man Free* 141); but it was not the same *hypokritai* that played both;⁷ "the figures have the appearance, the dress, and the masks of actors, but they are not actors" (*hypokritou echousin, ouk eisi de hypokritai*, Hippocrates, *Lex*; ed. Littré, vol. 4, p. 638); "actors and deceivers (*hypokritai kai exapatai*) say certain things before informed people and have other things in mind" (Hippocrates, *Vict.* 1.24, ed. Littré 6.496.14). "In the competitions, the actors count more for success than the poets" (Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.1.1403b31).

Because both the orator⁸ and the actor practice an art of illusion, our terms came to be pejorative. The actor who plays the role of Agamemnon is not really Agamemnon but pretends to be. So he counterfeits himself and covers his tracks by hiding his own identity: "when tragic actors put on their costumes, they also change their gait, their voice, their bearing, and their language" (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 18.5). So *hypokrinomai* comes to mean "pretend,"⁹ "practice deception,"¹⁰ "dissemble" (Marcus Aurelius 2.17; 9.2).

It is a lie acted out, as with Laban, who “lived his life under the sign of hypocrisy and false appearances, pretending to be angry when he felt no real distress” (Philo, *Heir* 43). *Hypokrisis* is *apate*: putting on the show of tears (Demosthenes, *Corona* 287; cf. 15); “However much you pretend to have paid the dowry, it is plain to see that you paid nothing at all” (Demosthenes, *C. Onet.* 31.8); “the oligarchs take this oath—‘against the people I will be malevolent, and I will devise against them all the evil that I can’—although they ought to think and pretend the contrary.”¹¹

In the LXX, *hypokrinomai* (Hebrew *ʿanāh*) becomes a sin.¹² This is first of all the sin of duplicity, of dissimulation towards others: “hypocrites of the heart” nurse their anger without manifesting it (Job 36:13); “do not be a hypocrite (*me hypokrithes*) in the lips of men (= before men)” (Sir 40:2). Then it is the sin against sincerity of heart; it is a perversity and an impiety not to act according to what one thinks.¹³ Moreover, the LXX and Aquila used *hypokrites* to translate the Hebrew *hanep*, and P. Dhorme¹⁴ has shown that *hanep* designates the profane (Isa 24:5; Jer 3:1-2, 9; Ps 106:38), the apostate (Isa 10:6), the wicked (Isa 33:14; Job 20:5; Sir 16:6), the infidel (Job 34:30), so that the OT “hypocrite” is a perverse or depraved person.¹⁵ Only this meaning allows us to understand why hypocrisy is linked with *poneria* (Matt 22:18), with *anomia* (Matt 23:28), and with *kakia* (1Pet 2:1) and deserves Gehenna (Matt 24:51; cf. 23:33).

In Philo, *hypokrisis* often retains its literal sense of deception, associated with cheating, deception, subterfuge, illusion.¹⁶ It is a falsehood that is the opposite of *aletheia*,¹⁷ but it is stigmatized with an exceptional violence unparalleled except in Matt and *Pss. Sol.* (4.6—“May God remove those who live in hypocrisy among the saints”; 4.20—“May crows peck out the eyes of hypocrites”); “hateful hypocrisy” (*echthras hypokriseos*, *Joseph* 67); “in my eyes, hypocrisy is an evil worse than death” (*Joseph* 68); “it is the work of a base and altogether servile soul to hypocritically disguise one’s wicked character” (*Spec. Laws* 4.183); “there is nothing more servile than adulation, flattery, hypocrisy, in which words radically contradict thought.”¹⁸

The verb *hypokrinomai* is used only once in the NT, with regard to those sent by the scribes and high priests: without revealing their identity, they “play the role of righteous people” to spy on Jesus (Luke 20:20). On the other hand, this deceptive conduct is called *hypokrisis* with regard to the Pharisees and the Herodians (Mark 12:15), the “leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy,”¹⁹ and in the apostrophe, “Scribes and Pharisees, your outside gives you the appearance of just people in men’s eyes, but inside you are full of hypocrisy and iniquity” (Matt 23:28). Jesus contrasts corruption of heart to the precise material fulfillment of the law’s commands, legal formalism; this gives an appearance and assures a good reputation.²⁰ “In the last days, some will fall away from the faith . . . [misled] by the hypocrisy of impostors” (*en hypokrisei pseudologon*).²¹ After the

fashion of actors, these teachers will put on masks to hide their true identity (cf. Matt 7:15), but they are only “false speakers, falsifiers of words” who would succeed at their scandalous fraud except that they can be judged by their fruits. 1Pet 2:1 explains why hypocrisy is so odious to the Christian conscience; it is because the baptized person is a sincere person who has explicitly renounced perversity in all its forms (1Cor 5:8) and will thus be marked by a fundamental rectitude (2Cor 6:6): “having put off all wickedness and all guile and hypocrisy” (*pasan kakian kai panta dolon kai hypokriseis*).

As for *hypokritai* (unknown to St. John), Jesus denounces them in the Sermon on the Mount, stigmatizing them both for the ostentation of their almsgiving and their praying “to be praised by people” (Matt 6:2, 5) and also for claiming to be zealous for their neighbor’s virtue while not correcting themselves; they are hypocrites because they do not have a true hatred for evil.²² According to Matt 23:13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29, Jesus pronounces seven curses against the “scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites,”²³ which he concludes with the apostrophe, “Serpents, brood of vipers, how will you escape from the condemnation of Gehenna?” (Matt 23:33). The Lord never showed so much anger. Why?

First of all, because the hypocrisy in view here is a vice of teachers,²⁴ who bear the heaviest responsibility: not only do they not enter the kingdom themselves but they also hinder those who would like to enter (Matt 23:13), substituting their own authority for God’s authority and so making them into children of Gehenna (23:15). Moreover, “they say and do not do” (23:3); in not observing the things they impose on others, they are impostors. What is more, they are full of malice; despite their fine appearance, inside they are as befouled as tombs filled with “the bones of the dead and all sorts of uncleanness” (23:27; cf. 23:25). Finally, and above all, these hypocrites are in fact impious; they observe the rites and practice the legal observances, but Isaiah (Isa 29:13) had prophesied well, “This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.”²⁵ It is all there! The Pharisees represent the sclerosis of revealed religion, a cult of the law that is contradictory to the new covenant, which is a religion of the heart indwelt by the Holy Spirit. Jesus constantly denounces the dichotomy that hypocrisy makes between exterior and interior. This is a serious thing in relations between humans; it is monstrous in relations with God, who “jealously yearns for the spirit that he has placed in us” (Jas 4:5).

It would be tempting to translate the adjective *anypokritos*, unknown in the papyri, either according to etymology (“without hypocrisy”) or according to usage (“not competent to perform on the stage”);²⁶ but in its six NT occurrences, we must understand it to mean “authentic,” especially with regard to *agape*, a very original mode of love that has to be distinguished from goodness, from natural devotion, from various counterfeits and false appearances (almsgiving and martyrdom, 1Cor

13:3). To say that authentic love “has a horror of evil and clings to the good” (Rom 12:9) is to distinguish it from guilty kindnesses and consequently to define it as a divine love, very pure and spiritual.²⁷ On the other hand, when St. Paul recommends himself on the grounds of love that is *anypokritos*, “by the word of truth,”²⁸ he means that the manifestations of his attachment match the sincerity of his devotion. 1Pet 1:22 is decisive: “Having sanctified your souls perfectly, by obedience to the truth (the primitive baptismal formula) in order to have authentic brotherly love” (*eis philadelphian anypokriton*). Thanks to the sacrament, the new Christian already has a divine love in his heart (Rom 5:5) that lets him love his neighbor with the same love with which God loves him; more precisely, this is a *philadelphia*, a familial affection whereby brothers (Matt 23:8) love each other in the household of the same Father, who has begotten them all (1Tim 3:15; 1Pet 2:5; cf. 1John 4:7; 5:1), or whereby one lives in brotherhood (1Pet 2:17; 5:9). Only true *agape* allows this sort of love.

In 1Tim 1:5 and 2Tim 1:5, it is faith that is described as *anypokritos*, which can be translated “having integrity”; this is not a faith that is “unfeigned, without hypocrisy,” but authentic faith that entails intellectual orthodoxy and religious behavior, loyalty and faithfulness to one’s commitments; its external profession (confession and Christian bearing; cf. Rom 10:10) translates adherence of heart and conviction of spirit. Only the righteous live by this faith (Gal 2:20). Finally, in Jas 3:17, the wisdom that is from above is described as *adiakritos* (without partiality), *anypokritos* (in the sense of Wis 5:18).

¹ It is disputed; cf. A. Lesky, “Hypokrites,” in *Studi in onore di U. E. Paoli*, Florence, 1955, pp. 469–475; H. Koller, “Hypokrisis und Hypokrites,” in *MusHelv*, 1957, pp. 100–107; J. F. Else, “ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ,” in *Wiener Studien*, vol. 72, 1959, pp. 75–104; B. Zucchelli, *ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ. Origine e storia del termine*, Brescia, 1962; K. Schneider, “Υποκριτής,” in *PWSup*, Band 8, 1956, col. 187–232; Wilckens, “ὕποκρίνομαι,” in *TDNT*, vol. 8, pp. 559–571.

² Thucydides 7.55.5: “If they did not answer, they were lost”; Hippocrates, *Epid.* 7.25: the wife of Theodorus, in a fever, “answered almost constantly by nodding her head”; *Fract.* 9 and 16. “To reply”: Herodotus 5.49; Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.1.1403b23; 3.12.1413b21, 28, 30; Aristophanes, *Ach.* 400: “Happy Euripides, whose slave is so quick to answer.”

³ Herodotus 3.119: to the message of Darius, the wife of Intaphernes “reflected and made this answer”; 7.135; Theocritus, *Id.* 24.67: “Alkmene called Tiresias, the seer who told the truth about everything; she recounted to him the strange occurrence point by point and invited him to say in

response (to explain to her) how this would end.” Derived from κρίνω, “separate, sort, choose,” the compound with ὑπο- in the middle voice expresses that the subject acts with respect to himself or in his own interest; the mind has a reflexive action; cf. F. M. Abel, *Grammaire*, p. 244.

⁴ “Expliquer en faisant sortir la réponse du fond de soi-même,” P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, under κρίνω.

⁵ Herodotus 7.101; cf. Homer, *Od.* 15.170: “Menelaus sought what wise answer he could give them.”

⁶ Plutarch, *Sol.* 29.6; cf. Diogenes Laertius 3.56; Menander, *Dysk.*, didascal. 14: “The play was put on at the Lenaea, and the role was played by Aristodemus of Skarphe”; Pollux, *Onom.* 4.123. The ὑποκρινόμενος is an actor (Roman inscription from the period of Augustus, in *IGUR*, n. 223).

⁷ Plato, *Resp.* 3.395 a; cf. 2.373 b; *Ion* 532 d; 536 a; Aristotle, *Poet.* 6.1450b20, 26; 1461b34; 1462a; Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1279; Xenophon, *Symp.* 3.11; Plutarch, *Dem.* 7.1; Diodorus Siculus 14.109.2; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59004, 44: Κλέωνι ὑποκριτῆ ἄλεύρων ἀτράβη α? (a wheat account, republished *SB* 6777, 44); *P.Oxy.* 2429, col. II, 31: ὁ ἕτερος τω—ν ὑποκριτω—ν; inscription of Dura-Europus (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1953, p. 180, n. 205), in Boeotia (“Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1956, p. 129, n. 121), at the Lenaea (“Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1972, p. 391, n. 122), at Delphi (L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, pp. 30–31), at Apamea: Publius Aelius Crispus, actor in tragic and rhythmic mime (*IGLS* 1349).

⁸ Cf. Hermeias of Courion: λόγων ὑποκριτῆρες = traffickers in words (in Athenaeus 13.563 d).

⁹ Polybius 5.25.7: “Philip pretended to be persuaded (ὑποκριθείς)”; one plays a role in public that does not match one’s own feelings, like the tyrant who, despite his ambitions and vices, must “play well his role as king” (Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.11.19.1314a). “Why, being Greek, do you counterfeit the Jew?” (τί ὑποκρίνη, Epictetus 2.9.19–20). Cf. M. Papatomopoulos, “Un argument sur papyrus de la Médée d’Euripide,” in *RechPap*, vol. 3, Paris, 1964, p. 44.

¹⁰ Marcus Aurelius 3.7; 7.69; Philo, *Conf. Tongues* 48; Josephus, *War* 1.520; 2.587; *Life* 36.

¹¹ Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.9.11.1310a; Plutarch, *Sol.* 30.1, Solon to Pisistratus: “You play the role (ὑποκρίνη) of Homer’s Ulysses badly: you act like him,

but to deceive your fellow citizens, while he disfigured himself in order to take advantage of his enemies”; cf. 29.7; Polybius 35.2.13.

¹² With the exception of Job 40:2—“The one who criticizes Eloah, will he answer it?” Cf. 2Macc 5:25—the Mysian captain Apollonius, who had been sent by Antiochus “to slay all those who were in the strength of age,” arrived at Jerusalem “pretending to be peaceably disposed” (τὸν εἰ—ρηνικὸν ὑποκριθεὶς).

¹³ Sir 32:15—“The one who examines the law will be satisfied, but for the hypocrite (ὁ ὑποκρινόμενος) it is a stumblingblock.” He has studied the law but does not observe it (cf. Matt 15:7-8; 23:3); Sir 33:2—“The wise man does not despise the law, but the one who is a hypocrite toward it (pretending to observe it) is like a ship in a storm.” In addition, Eleazar refuses to give an example of dissimulation (ὑπόκρισις) that could lead the young astray (2Macc 6:21, 24, 25). This would be play-acting that was unworthy of himself (4Macc 6:15, 17).

¹⁴ P. Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, Paris, 1926, on Job 8:13 (cf. 13:16; 15:34; 17:8; 20:5; 27:8; 34:30; 36:13).

¹⁵ P. Joüon, “ΥΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ dans l’évangile et l’hébreu Hanéf,” in *RSR*, 1930, pp. 312–316; A. W. Argyle, “Hypocrites’ and the Aramaic Theory,” in *ExpT*, vol. 75, 1964, pp. 113–114.

¹⁶ Philo, *Dreams* 2.40; cf. *Unchang. God* 103: “they strip bare their acting”; *Migr. Abr.* 211: “stop the acting.”

¹⁷ *Flight* 34, 156; *T. Benj.* 6.5; Marcus Aurelius 2.16.

¹⁸ *Good Man Free* 99; cf. 90; *To Gaius* 162; Josephus, *War* 1.628; *Ant.* 16.216.

¹⁹ Matt 16:6; Luke 12:1. Leaven is a symbol for any active principle—good or bad—of assimilation; but it cannot be discerned in the dough. The “leaven of the Pharisees” will always threaten to corrupt Christian simplicity and uprightness; it attaches to works-righteousness more than to heart-righteousness and to the virtue of others more than one’s own. According to A. Negoita, C. Daniel (“L’Enigme du levain,” in *NovT*, 1967, pp. 306–314), in Aramaic Jesus would have said *hâmirâh*, “leaven,” but his disciples understood *‘amirâh*, “words, speech, doctrine, teaching.”

²⁰ Christian theology will continue to denounce heterogeneity between being and appearing: ὑποκριταὶ εἰ—σιν οἱ— ἄλλο μὲν ὄντες ἄλλο δὲ

φαινόμενοι (Theophylact, on Matt 6:31; *PG* 123.201); “to sin openly is a lesser evil than to affect holiness” (St. Jerome, on Isa 16:14), a text taken up by the *Glossa*: “Righteousness simulated is no longer righteousness but a double sin.” In effect, the virtue of truthfulness has as its object “to show what one is through one’s words and one’s life” (Thomas Aquinas, *Ila Ilae*, q. 111, a. 3, ad 1m). Nothing could be farther from the advice of R. Elai the elder: “If someone sees that his instincts are too strong, let him go to a place where he is not known, dress in black and veil himself in black, and do what his heart desires; let him not profane the name of heaven openly” (*b. Īag. 16a*). Cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 287–290.

²¹ 1Tim 4:2. There is a good parallel in the *Ploutoi* of the comedian Cratinos: γλω—σσαν ὀρθουμένην εἰ—ς ὑπόκρισιν λόγων (J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 1, p. 78). —This vice in a teacher is one thing, but it is another thing for someone to be led to act contrary to conviction on the odd occasion. At the time of the incident at Antioch, St. Peter had stopped eating with Gentiles so as not to incur the blame of the Judaizers: “The other Jews dissimulated with Peter (συνυπεκρίθησαν) to the extent that even Barnabas let himself be carried away by their dissimulation (αὐτῶ—ν τῇ ὑποκρίσει)” (Gal 2:13). The verb συνυποκρίνομαι is used by Polybius 3.92.5: “Fabius pretended to share the ardor and boldness of his soldiers”; Plutarch, *Mar.* 14.14: “Saturninus put on a performance there together with Marius”; 17.5.

²² Matt 7:5; cf. Luke 6:42. Questioners who pose questions that appear to be aimed at getting information are hypocrites because they are not seeking the truth but simply want to put Jesus to the test (Matt 22:18). Also hypocrites or actors are those Palestinians who can predict rain and hot weather and draw the practical consequences but who take no account of the manifestations of the coming of the Messiah, which is of unmatched importance for their soul. Their hearts are not engaged: “Why do you not judge what would be right to do?” (Luke 12:56, to the crowd). Also hypocrites or persons of bad faith are those who are scandalized by the healing on the Sabbath of a woman who has been sick for eighteen years while they themselves take a cow or ass from the stable on this day of rest (Luke 13:15). Cf. J. A. Ziesler, “Luke and the Pharisees,” in *NTS*, vol. 25, 1979, pp. 146–157.

²³ On the composition of Matt 23, cf. E. Haenchen, *Gott und Mensch*, Tübingen, 1965, pp. 29–54; M. Gertner, “The Terms Pharisaioi, Gazarenoi, Hypokritai: Their Semantic Complexity and Conceptual Correlation,” in *BSOAS*, vol. 26, 1963, pp. 245–268; F. Mussner, *Praesentia Salutis*, Düsseldorf, 1967, pp. 99–112; S. Légasse, “L’antijudaïsme’ dans l’Evangile selon Matthieu,” in M. Didier, *L’Evangile selon Matthieu*,

Gembloux, 1972, pp. 417–428; S. van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew*, Leiden, 1972; J. Bowker, *Jesus and the Pharisees*, London, 1973. It is fashionable today to rehabilitate the Pharisees as having been besmirched by St. Matthew or a redactor (cf. L. Schottroff, “Die Erzählung vom Pharisäer und Zöllner als Beispiel für theologische Kunst des Überredens,” in H. D. Betz, L. Schottroff, *Neues Testament und christliche Existenz* [Festschrift H. Braun], Tübingen, 1973, pp. 439–461; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, p. 289, n. 1). But the Pharisees, who played the major role in the checkmate of Jesus’ public ministry, are well known from the Qumran texts as “hypocrites” (1QH 4.13; 7.34), “lying interpreters” (1QH 2.31; 4.10); “by their brooding, they hatch a viper” (1QH 2.28; cf. 3.12, 18; 5.10, 27); likewise from Josephus (J. Neusner, “Josephus’s Pharisees,” in *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia G. Widengren*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 224–244). Cf. J. LeMoyné, A. Michel, “Pharisiens,” in *DBSup*, vol. 7, 1022–1115; R. Meyer, *Tradition und Neuschöpfung im antiken Judentum, dargestellt an der Geschichte des Pharisäismus*, Berlin, 1965; A. Finkel, *The Pharisees and the Teacher of Nazareth*, Leiden, 1964; H. Merkel, “Jesus und die Pharisäer,” in *NTS*, vol. 14, 1968, pp. 194–208; B. Lindars, “Jesus and the Pharisees,” in *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube*, pp. 51–63. Cf. R. L. Brawley, *The Pharisees in Luke-Acts*, New Jersey, 1978.

²⁴ Cf. P. S. Minear, “False Prophecy and Hypocrisy in the Gospel of Matthew,” in J. Gnifka, *Neues Testament und Kirche* (Festschrift R. Schnackenburg), Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, 1974, pp. 76–93.

²⁵ Matt 15:7; Mark 7:6; cf. Matt 23:23. This contrast between lips and heart is denounced by Jews (*b. Pesah.* 113*b* ; *m. B. Mes.* 4.2 [49*a*]) as well as Greeks (Sophocles, *OC* 936; Ps.-Phocylides 48); cf. P. S. Minear, “Yes or No: The Demand for Honesty in the Early Church,” in *NovT*, 1971, p. 11

²⁶ Hesychius defines ἀνυπόκριτος: ἄδολος, ἀπροσωπόληπτος. This Koine term appears in the third-second century BC with Ps.-Demetrius Phalereus, *Eloc.* 194, then in *Wis* 5:18, in a list of weapons with which God defends the righteous against the wicked: “He will put on sincere judgment (κρίσιν ἀνυπόκριτον) like a helmet.” This means objective, without partiality, without respect for persons; *Wis* 18:15—the all-powerful word of God “carried your authentic command (ἀνυπόκριτον ἐπιταγήν) as a sharp sword,” the nuance being that the divine ruling (ordering extermination) is irrevocable, will not be retracted (cf. Iamblichus, *VP* 31.188). The adverb ἀνυποκρίτως: “Do what human nature requires . . . without dissimulation” (Marcus Aurelius 8.5.2).

²⁷ Hence a stranger to jealousy, to vanity, to shrewdness and false appearances, repudiating all egotism, and demanding of itself generosity and devotion, patience, etc. (cf. 1Cor 13:4-7).

²⁸ 2Cor 6:6, to be compared to 1John 3:18 (ἀγαπα—ν ε—ν ἀληθεία) and 2Cor 8:8; in asking the Corinthians to help the poor of Jerusalem, the apostle puts them in a position “to prove that your love is authentic” (τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον), because *agape* is by definition a love that demonstrates itself, manifests itself, shows itself, and cannot remain hidden in the heart. Compare sincere love, ἔρωσ ἀκραιφνῆς (Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 1.2.9); Caesar to the conscript fathers: “beginning to love each other without looking back” (ἀρξάμενοι δὲ ἀνυπόπτως ἀλλήλους φιλεῖ—ν, Dio Cassius 43.17).

ὑπομένω, ὑπομονή

hypomeno, to endure; to wait expectantly; *hypomone*, endurance

hypomeno, S 5278; TDNT 4.581–588; EDNT 3.404–405; NIDNTT 2.764, 772–774, 776; MM 658; L&N 25.175, 39.20, 68.17, 85.57; BDF §§148(1), 414(2); BAGD 845–846 | ***hypomone***, S 5281; TDNT 4.581–588; EDNT 3.405–406; NIDNTT 2.772–776; MM 659; L&N 25.174; BDF §163; BAGD 846

Plato and Aristotle analyzed *hypomone* and established the conception of it that would hold for the entire Greek tradition. Plato asked, “In what does courage (*andreia*) consist?” and answered that it is “a certain endurance of soul (*karteria tes psyches*) . . . one of the noblest things. . . . It is endurance (*karteria*) accompanied by wisdom that is noble” (*Lach.* 192 *b–d*). Regarding this, Socrates observes, “In war, a man endures (*karterounta andra*) and is ready to fight because he calculates reasonably that others will help him, that the enemy is less numerous . . . that he has a positional advantage. Would you say that this man, whose endurance of soul relies so much on reason and preparation, is more courageous than the man on the other side who sustains his attack and endures (*hypomenein te kai karterein*)?”—to which Laches replies that the latter is braver.¹ To be courageous, then, is to be manly, to face difficulties without expecting help or putting one’s confidence in others; one endures alone, as Aristotle notes.² He makes *hypomone* a virtue, because it is a noble thing to keep to the mean in difficult circumstances: “one endures (*hypomenon*) despite the fear that one feels . . . for the beauty of the deed.”³

Stoicism⁴ emphasizes this will to resist all evils, disease, death: “Constancy is the bearing of pain and distress on account of the good”

(*karteria: hypomone lypes, ponon heneka tou kalou*, Ps.-Plato, *Def.* 412 c); “one must bear, resist, hold fast, fortify one’s resolution and barricade it with firmness and endurance (*karteria kai hypomone*) drawn from within, the most potent of virtues” (Philo, *Cherub.* 78); in the pancratium, the athlete “by the constancy and vigor of his endurance (*to karteriko kai pagio tes hypomones*) breaks the strength of his adversary until the victory is complete” (*Good Man Free* 26); between prudence and temperance on the one hand and justice and piety on the other, Philo locates “*andreia*, which permits endurance (*hypomones axion*),” (*Change of Names* 197; cf. Zeno: *andreia peri tas hypomonas*, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.7.5b2; vol. 2, p. 60, 14; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.16); “the courageous man (*ho andreios*) has learned to endure (*ha dei hypomenein*)” (*Change of Names* 153); constancy or perseverance is an athletic virtue (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 46; *Good Man Free* 26) personified in Rebekah.⁵ For Plutarch, “to flee death is not blameworthy if one wishes to live for noble reasons, and to meet it head-on is not praiseworthy (*outh’ hypomone kalon*) if one does so through being tired of life” (*Pel.* 1.8).

The book of 4Macc illustrates the extreme of this virtue, since its “philosophy demands of us courage (*andreian*) that will cause us to endure (*hypomenein*) willingly all sorts of woes” (4Macc 5:23), whether these be the most diverse tortures⁶ or the pains of childbirth (16:8). The seven martyred brothers “by their courage and their endurance (*te andreia kai hypomone*) won the admiration of the whole world and of their own executioners.”⁷ Already in Philo we find this endurance of death,⁸ of a surgical operation (*Unchang. God* 66), of torture (*Dreams* 2.84), of the punishment of Tantalus (*Heir* 269), of captivity (*Unchang. God* 115), of slavery,⁹ of exile (*Cherub.* 2), of mistreatment.¹⁰ It is always a matter of bearing up with courage (*andreios hypomenon*, *Moses* 2.184), of enduring what is hard to bear; this *hypomone* guides the ascetic (*Flight* 38) who is moving toward beatitude; but it also has to do with enduring privations or minor nuisances,¹¹ fatigue (*Migr. Abr.* 144), an affront (*Flacc.* 104; *To Gaius* 369), unmerited poverty (*Flacc.* 132), the vicissitudes of fortune (Menander, *Dysk.* 768), harm (*P.Oxy.* 904, 5), familial woes (*P.Hamb.* 22, 2; *P.Oxy.* 1186,4).

So if *hypomeno* means “suffer” (*Joseph* 94), even in its most softened sense,¹² it implies self-mastery: one contains oneself,¹³ bears, endures, and perseveres,¹⁴ sometimes with a nuance of expectant waiting or of patience motivated by hope.¹⁵ The verb even has the weakened meanings “to consent”¹⁶ and “to accept”¹⁷ and is frequently used for a responsibility, a *leitourgia*, expenses that one takes on.¹⁸

But in reading the LXX, one enters a different semantic world altogether. For one thing, all the occurrences of the substantive *hypomone* translate the Hebrew verb *qawâh* (in the piel) or one of its derivatives *tiqwâh*, *miqweh*, Hebrew terms that signify expectant waiting, intense

desire;¹⁹ for another, this hope usually has God as its object: “My hope is in you (Yahweh)” (Ps 39:7; 71:5; Jer 14:8; 17:13). Not only is this the first time that *hypomone* has a religious meaning; it also contradicts the refusal of the *Laches* and the *Eudemian Ethics* to credit this virtue to one who is counting on help from someone else. For the believer, hope comes from God (Ps 62:5; Sir 17:24), “the expectation of the pious will not be disappointed” (Sir 16:13; Ps 9:18). This is not what we today call theological hope, but a constancy in desire that overcomes the trial of waiting, a soul attitude that must struggle to persevere, a waiting that is determined²⁰ and victorious because it trusts in God. As for the verb *hypomeno*, seven occurrences are conformable to secular usage,²¹ but thirty-four others express waiting,²² translating the Hebrew *qawâh* (in the piel or hiphil) and rarely *hakâh*. One waits on God for everything.²³ This is a permanent disposition of the soul: “Our souls wait upon Yahweh” (Ps 33:20); “in you do I hope all day long” (Ps 25:5). Strength is required (Ps 27:14; Job 6:11), but there is certainty of never being let down (Ps 25:3; Isa 49:23; Jer 14:22); hence the beatitude of perseverance: “Blessed is the one who abides (*makarios ho hypomenon*) and reaches the 1,335 days” (Dan 12:12).

This blessedness of those who endure is taken up by Jas 1:12; 5:11. The NT takes its inspiration both from the secular Greek tradition²⁴ and from the theology of the LXX, especially the synonymous relation between hope and constancy. From his first letter to the last ones, St. Paul links *hypomone* with *elpis* (hope) in the triad of theological virtues: “Remembering the efficiency of your faith, the labor of your love, and the constancy of your hope (*tes hypomones tes elpidos*) in our Lord Jesus Christ.”²⁵ The nuance is that of perseverance despite difficulties, assuring salvation: “The one who endures to the end will be saved” (*ho de hypomeinas eis telos houtos sothesetai*, Matt 10:22; 24:13; Mark 13:13); “save your souls by your endurance” (*en te hypomone*, Luke 21:19); “God will give eternal life to those who give themselves over to good works with endurance” (Rom 2:7). Enduring trials with constancy is what makes it possible to bear fruit; this is the last word in the explanation of the parable of the Sower.²⁶ 1Cor 13:7 attributes to love this indefatigable capacity to endure despite the ingratitude, vileness, bad conduct, and problems that all communal living involves: “*agape* endures everything” without complaining or becoming discouraged. God is the source of this constancy (Rom 15:5), which is the possession of all disciples²⁷ and the authenticating mark of an apostle (2Cor 6:4; 12:12).

Christ gave the example—“He endured the cross” (*hypemeinen stauron*, Heb 12:2)—and each disciple must “consider what he endured from sinners.”²⁸ This is why Paul and Revelation set Christian *hypomone* in relation with the most serious trials (*thlipsis*). One endures them and bears them, as the Lord commanded cross-bearing,²⁹ but the very word

hypomone implies that a happy outcome is expected: the resurrection. The Christian theology of patience will retain these data of revelation.³⁰ Moulton-Milligan gives no papyrological reference for the substantive *hypomone*; no attestation has since been found.

¹ *Lach.* 193 a. Cf. *Grg.* 507 b: “to observe justice and piety is also to be courageous (ἀνδρει—ον) . . . the wise man knows how to bear what his duty orders him to bear (ὑπομένοντα καρτερεῖ—ν ὅπου δεῖ—)”; Plato, *Resp.* 4.440 c–d: “If a person believes that he is victim of an injustice . . . let him become indignant and fight for what appears to him to be justice, let him steadfastly endure (ὑπομένων) hunger, cold, and other similar things until he has triumphed, and let him not cease his generous efforts before either obtaining satisfaction or dying . . . he takes up arms on behalf of reason”; *Tht.* 177 b: “to endure for a long time rather than flee like a coward” (πολὸν χρόνον ὑπομει—ναι καὶ μὴ ἀνάδρωσ φυγει—ν); Hecataeus of Abdera: “The lawgiver forced young people by practice to acquire courage, endurance, and the wherewithal (ἀνδρείαν καὶ καρτερίαν καὶ τὸ σύνολον) to endure all evils (ὑπομονὴν πάσης κακοπαθείας)” (frag. 13.7); according to Musonius, the body is trained to endure suffering and privation (ὑπομονή τω—ν ε—πιπονω—ν), but the soul strives for ὑπομονή τω—ν ε—πιπονω—ν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 4.29.78; vol. 3, p. 650, ed. C. E. Lutz, frag. 6, p. 54, 14–17; cf. frag. 7, p. 56, 17 and 20). Polybius 4.51.1: *hypomone* in war; Demetrius Phalereus, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 8.20 (vol. 3, p. 345). Plutarch, *Apoph. lac.* 2; Ps.-Plutarch, *De plac. philos.* 4.23; A. J. Festugière, “ΥΠΙΟΜΟΝΗ dans la tradition grecque,” in *RSR*, 1931, pp. 477, 486; P. Ortiz Valdisieso, “ΥΠΙΟΜΟΝΗ en el Nuevo Testamento,” in *Ecclesiastica Xavieriana* (Bogotá), 1967, pp. 51–161; 1969, pp. 115–205; Hauck, “ὑπομένω,” in *TDNT*, vol. 4, pp. 581–588.

² Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.9.1410a: “to endure and to follow (ὑπομονή, ἀκολουθήσις) are antithetical terms.”

³ Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 3.10.1115b17–23; cf. 1115a6: “the domain within which courage is the medium is that of fear and boldness”; 1115a32: “the person is called courageous who remains fearless in the face of a noble death”; 2.3.1104b20: “It is pleasures and pains that make us bad, whether by seeking the pleasures or avoiding the pains that should not be sought or avoided”; *Eth. Eud.* 3.1.1230a26ff. Over the centuries, *hypomeneo* and *hypomone* take on diverse shades of meaning: “remain” (as opposed to “follow”; Homer, *Od.* 232, 258; Aristotle, *Rh.* 3.9.1410a5), “preserve” (Herodotus 4.149; Pindar, *Pyth.* 2.26), “bear” (Aristotle, *HA* 3.20.522a8: goats do not bear mounting; Isocrates 8.65; Sophocles, *OT* 1323), “sustain” (Diodorus Siculus 5.34.5), “endure” (Herodotus 6.12: slavery;

Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 5.8: illnesses; *Ant.* 43.3: military campaigning; *Caes.* 17.2: fatigue), “stand up to, resist” (Homer, *Il.* 5.498; Plato, *Soph.* 235 *b*; Polybius 4.51.2). Patience or endurance is a quality, even a virtue, in Plutarch, *Crass.* 3.8. The least common denominator of all these meanings is “abide (μένω) . . . despite the difficulties.”

⁴ Cf. the references given by A. J. Festugière, *RSR*, 1931, pp. 482ff. A. *SVF*, vol. 3, 263–265, 286; Diogenes Laertius 8.24, 53.

⁵ Rebekah is sometimes called ε—πιμονή—tenacity (*Flight* 24, 45; *Cherub.* 40, 47) assuring the continued practice of the good (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.55)—sometimes ὑπομονή—perseverance (*Flight* 39, 194; *Prelim. Stud.* 37; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 4; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.88; *Worse Attacks Better* 45, 51; *Plant.* 169; *Migr. Abr.* 208; *Dreams* 1.46), which restores strength (*Unchang. God* 13; *Cherub.* 78; *Good Man Free* 26). Rebekah is a stable virtue that allows the obtaining of divine wisdom. Philo was perhaps interpreting the name of Rebekah as the Hebrew *rb* + *qwh*, “firm hope or confidence”; but cf. V. Nikiprowetzky, “Rebecca, vertu de constance et constance de vertu chez Philon d’Alexandrie,” in *Sem*, vol. 26, 1976, pp. 109–136.

⁶ 4Macc 6:9; 7:22; 9:6, 22; 15:32; 16:1, 17, 19, 21; 17:7, 10.

⁷ 4Macc 1:11; 17:23, the tyrant “had noted the courage (τὴν ἀνδρείαν) of their virtue and their endurance in torments (τὴν ε—πὶ ται—ς βασάνοις ἀπό—ν ὑπομονήν) and he cited their endurance as an example to his soldiers”; 7:9—“O father (Eleazer), by your glorious constancy (διὰ τω—ν ὑπομονω—ν εἰ—ς δόξαν) you have strengthened our faithfulness to the law”; 9:8, 30; 17:12, 17. The mother of the Maccabees is “more manly than a man through her endurance” (15:30; 17:4).

⁸ *Worse Attacks Better* 178; *Husbandry* 75; *Joseph* 226; *Moses* 2.206; *Rewards* 70; *Good Man Free* 146; *Etern. World* 20; *Flacc.* 175; *To Gaius* 192, 209, 307–308.

⁹ *Alleg. Interp.* 3.199; *Moses* 1.247; *Spec. Laws* 2.68; *Virtues* 111; *Good Man Free* 45; *Joseph* 228.

¹⁰ *Moses* 1.72, 90, 102, 106, 146, 164, 222, 281; *Decalogue* 86; *Spec. Laws* 1.313; 2.95; *Rewards* 157, 162; *Contemp. Life* 42; *Flacc.* 77, 116, 117; dangers (*Spec. Laws* 3.43), punishments (*Moses* 1.237; 2.53; *Joseph* 104; *Spec. Laws* 3.39, 98, 146, 182), violence (*Joseph* 52), toil and fatigue (*Spec. Laws* 2.69, 207; 4.112, 124), incurable infirmities (4.200), woes (*Good Man Free* 24, 89, 120; *Contemp. Life* 19; *Flacc.* 53, 114; *To Gaius* 234); *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VIII, 38; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 13, 13; Plutarch, *De sera*

30.566 f, 567d; Epictetus 2.2.13; Octavian bestows the right of Roman citizenship on Seleucus, who “has often greatly suffered and risked his life for us, shrinking at nothing when it comes to enduring evils (τω—ν πρὸς ὑπομονὴν δεινω—ν), he has shown his faithfulness” (*IGLS* 718, 13–15). Histria honors three ambassadors who “traveled across enemy territory, facing numberless dangers” (*SEG* XVIII, 288, 8). Orthagoras of Araxa is honored for “not having ceased to fight at the front rank, taking on all the dangers and all the fatigues” (J. Pouilloux, *CIG*, Paris, 1960, n. IV, 11).

¹¹ *Post. Cain* 9, 49, 87; *Joseph* 36; *Dreams* 1.47; *Moses* 1.224; *To Gaius* 127; *Abraham* 136, 193; *Spec. Laws* 2.88; *Virtues* 122; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 150; *SB* 9763, 39

¹² Menander, *Dysk.* 269: “Young man, will you suffer that I should speak to you a bit seriously”; 368: “perhaps he will suffer that I should speak a word to him”; Epictetus 1.2.25: not to endure an idea; *T. Job* 10.1.

¹³ *Alleg. Interp.* 3.13: κατέχεται ὑπομένων; *Husbandry* 173: “they do not endure that God . . . should be revealed as the cause of their goods.” It is possible for the verb to have no moral meaning at all: “things which can be subject to [one of the two sources of destruction]” (*Etern. World* 22, LCL; 23, 129); the external sense endures with the help of the mind (*Alleg. Interp.* 2.41, 104; *Virtues* 135); “images without consistency” (τὰ μὴ ὑπομένοντα, *Spec. Laws* 1.26); *Joseph* 141).

¹⁴ Menander, *Dysk.* 958: “It is perhaps better to endure what awaits me there”; *Sam.* 144: “I have decided to endure everything”; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.7; to persevere in a work, 3.53; 12.122: persist in fighting; *Pss. Sol.* 2.40—invoke God with perseverance (ε—ν ὑπομονῇ). Porphyry, *Abst.* 1.2.1: “resistance appropriate to the efforts that philosophy requires”; *Abst.* 1.2.3: “they endure the removal of the genitals”; 1.56.2–3. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 6.4.15: “no one has the patience to read [certain works] to the end.”

¹⁵ Cratinus, *Dionysalex.*, ὑπομένει τὸ μέλλον (*P.Oxy.* 663, 32); Xenophon, *An.* 4.1.21: “I did not wait for you”; Appian, *BCiv.* 5.81.343; *Ep. Arist.* 175: “The king walked while awaiting (ὑπέμενε περιπατω—ν) the moment to greet those arriving”; *Spec. Laws* 1.199: “to wait patiently the necessary time (ὑπομένειν), looking forward to the advantages (χρηστὰ προσδοκω—ντες) that would concern the future”; *P.Tebt.* 747, 11: “You waited until . . .” (third century BC); *P.Mich.* 601, 16.

¹⁶ Philo, *Dreams* 1.173: “You consented to be called father”; *Abraham* 115, 116, 182; *Spec. Laws* 1.68, 246; 2.87; 3.82; 4.3, 216; *Good Man Free* 27,

122; *To Gaius* 355. One submits to an oath (*P.Oslo* 93, 15; Dittenberger, *Or.* 484, 38). Not to consent or tolerate is to “refuse” (*P.Haun.* 9, 6 = *SB* 9422; *P.Tebt.* 768, 10; *P.Fay.* 11, 21; *P.Thead.* 13, col. II, 12; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 591, 9).

¹⁷ *Dreams* 2.202; *Joseph* 69, 167; *Spec. Laws* 3.164; *Virtues* 210; *To Gaius* 31.

¹⁸ *Spec. Laws* 2.222; *Good Man Free* 6, 36; Plutarch, *Arat.* 14.2; Rosetta Stone: “He bore great expenses” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 11 and 21 = *SB* 8299); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1104, 14; C. Michel, *Recueil*, n. 459, 19; 475, 10; *I.Sinur.*, pp. 32–33, n. 9, 26; L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 454, line 5; *PSI* 435, 11: διότι ὑπομενω— τὴν λειτουργίαν (third century BC) = *SB* 6713, 11; *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 241: “None of the inhabitants should be submitted to any imposition of that sort”; *P.Mich.* 524, 14 (AD 98); *P.Got.* 6, 13: “If he does not accept, we ourselves will fulfill his duty”; *P.Tebt.* 758, 8; *P.Lond.* 2006, 8: the shepherds will not be able to continue any longer (μὴ δύνασθαι ὑπομένειν) if they do not receive anything; 2074, 8: they will not stay, if I do not give them something to satisfy them; *SEG* XII, 100, 13: “Theosebes having defaulted on the judgment” (οὐκ ὑπομείναντος τὴν κρίσιν); *SB* 9108, 13: οὐχ ὑπομένει τὴν καταγραφὴν; cf. *P.Lond.* 220, col. I, 15.

¹⁹ Cf. *Sir* 38:27—the artist puts his obstinacy, his determination (ὑπομονή) into changing the design of his seals. Cf. W. Meikle, “The Vocabulary of Patience in the Old Testament,” in *Expositor*, ser. VIII, vol. 19, 1920, pp. 219–225; idem, “The Vocabulary of Patience in the New Testament,” *Expositor*, pp. 304–313; C. Spicq, “ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ: Patientia,” in *RSPT*, 1930, pp. 95–106; P. A. H. de Boer, “Etude sur le sens de la racine QWH,” in *OTS*, vol. 10, 1954, pp. 225–246; “We note frequently, if not generally, a sense of firmness, cohesion, and consistency. In the language of the translators, it is consistency, solidity that appears to be the basic meaning” (ibid., p. 232); “*tqwh* abstractly designates a firm hope, that is, a hope bearing on what has consistency” (ibid., p. 241).

²⁰ Death is welcome “for the old man . . . who is contrary and has lost patience” (Hebrew *tiqwâh*, *Sir* 41:2); “Woe to you who have lost patience” (*Sir* 2:14); *1Chr* 29:15—οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπομονή = there is nothing more to wait for; *2Esdr* 10:2; *Job* 14:19.

²¹ Delay (*Exod* 12:39), remain (*Num* 22:17), hold fast (*Job* 8:15; *Sir* 22:18), bear (*Mal* 3:2; *Sus* 57), have courage (*2Macc* 6:20).

²² Tob 5:7—“Wait for me (ὑπόμεινόν με); I will speak with my father”; Job 3:9; 6:11; 14:14—“I will wait until my relief comes”; 32:4—“Elihu had waited”; Ps 106:13—“They did not wait for his counsel”; Hab 2:3—“if the vision is delayed, wait for it”; Zeph 3:8.

²³ 2Kgs 6:33; Ps 37:9, 34; 40:1; 130:5; Prov 20:22; Sir 51:8; Mic 7:7; Isa 25:9; 40:11; 51:5; 60:9; Lam 3:24-25; Nah 1:7.

²⁴ Luke 2:43—“The child Jesus remained (ὑπέμεινε) at Jerusalem, and his parents did not know it”; Acts 17:14—after Paul’s departure from Berea, “Silas and Timothy remained there.” Cf. Xenophon, *Symp.* 9.7: “Socrates and those who had remained went out with Callias”; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.328; *P.Petr.* III, 43 (3), 14: ὑπομει—ναι ἕως Παύλι? (third century BC); *PSI* 322, 4.

²⁵ 1Thess 1:3; 2Thess 1:4—“We are proud of your endurance and of your faith during all your persecutions and in the tribulations that you bear”; 1Tim 6:11—“As for you, man of God, . . . pursue righteousness, piety, faith, love, constancy . . .”; Titus 2:2—“Let the old men be . . . wholesome in faith, love, and endurance”; 2Tim 3:10—“You have followed me in teaching, in conduct, in plans, in faith, in patience, love, and constancy” (this could perhaps be from a liturgical formula, cf. G. Delling, *Worship in the New Testament*, London, 1962, pp. 60ff. On the triad, cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 365–378); Rom 5:4—“endurance produces character, character produces hope”; 8:25—“we hope for what we do not see, we wait with constancy”; 15:4—“so that by constancy and the comfort of the Scriptures we may possess hope”; Heb 10:36, *hypomone* allows one to obtain what God has promised; Rev 2:19—“I know your works and your love and your faith and your service and your endurance.” Cf. P. Goicoechea, *De Conceptu ὑπομονῆ apud S. Paulum*, Rome, 1965.

²⁶ Luke 8:15—“What is in the good soil are those who have heard the word with a good and noble heart and keep it and bear fruit through constancy” (καὶ καρποφοροῦσιν ἐ—ν ὑπομονῇ, cf. L. Cerfaux, “Fructifiez en supportant [l’]épreuve,” in *Recueil L. Cerfaux*, vol. 3, pp. 111–122); Col 1:11—“You will bear fruit . . . you will acquire all constancy and patience” (εἰ—ς πα—σαν ὑπομονὴν καὶ μακροθυμίαν).

²⁷ 2Cor 1:6; Heb 10:32; 12:1—“Let us run with endurance (δι ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν) the trial before us”; 12:7—εἰ—ς παιδείαν ὑπομένετε; the verb can be an imperative (the Peshitta): bear, submit yourself (cf. B. W. Blackwelder, *Light from the Greek New Testament*, 2d ed., Grand Rapids, 1976, p. 92), but it is more likely a present indicative; and εἰ—ς has causal value: calamities endured by the community are inflicted by God so as to

educate (Hebrew *mûsâr*, education through correction) souls that are dear to him, as with a father and his children. Filiation and education go together; παιδεία derives from παι—ς; Jas 1:3-4: “The trial of your faith produces endurance. Let endurance come to full flower,” as with Job, who bore so many trials (Jas 5:11); Rev 3:10; 13:10—“This is the endurance and the faith of the saints”; 14:12.

²⁸ Heb 12:3. In 2Thess 3:5, “Let the Lord guide your hearts toward the love of God and the endurance of Christ,” ει—ς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ can be understood as a call to participate in the sufferings that Christ endured (Rev 1:9). Less probably, this could be the constancy to wait for Christ, or simply hope that has Christ as its object.

²⁹ Rom 5:3—“Tribulation produces endurance” (ἡ θλι—ψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται); 12:12—τῇ θλίψει ὑπομένοντας; 2Tim 2:10—“I endure everything (πάντα ὑπομένω) for the sake of the elect, so that they also may obtain salvation” (cf. G.H.P. Thompson, “Ephesians III, 13 and II Tim. II, 10 in the Light of Colossians I, 24,” in *ExpT*, vol. 71, 1960, pp. 187–189; M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 1, pp. 356ff.); 2Tim 2:12—“If we endure, we shall also reign with (him)”; Heb 10:32—“You have endured such a great trial of suffering” (πολλὴν ἄθλησιν ὑπεμείνατε παθημάτων); Rev 1:9—“I, John, your brother and associate in the tribulation and the kingdom and the endurance of Jesus”; 2:2-3; 3:10.

³⁰ T. Deman, “La théologie de l’ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ biblique,” in *DivThom* (Pl.), 1932, pp. 2–20: An audacious force in the enterprise of salvation (*aggredi*), *patientia* is also resistance and endurance (*sustinere*), which is made immune by its vigor to sorrow and discouragement; it is stimulated by its *expectatio* of the final end and divine help.

ὑπόστασις

hypostasis, substance, firmness, confidence, collection of documents establishing ownership, guarantee, proof
see also πίστις

hypostasis, S 5287; TDNT 8.572–589; EDNT 3.406–407; NIDNTT 1.710–714; MM 659–660; L&N 31.84, 58.1; BAGD 847

The usual Latin equivalent of *hypo-stasis* is *sub-stantia*, which in philosophical terms means the essence of an entity, that which is hidden beneath the appearances.¹ This meaning, however, is not attested in the NT, apart from Heb 1:3, where the Son is the imprint or effigy of the substance of the Father.²

In an ethical sense, *hypostasis* refers to what is deep in the heart—firmness, calm, confidence, courage;³ hence the meaning “hope” or psychological and moral support in Ruth 1:12; Ezek 19:5;⁴ Ps 39:7 (Hebrew *tôhelet*) and “assurance”—probably the meaning in 2Cor 9:4; 11:17,⁵ and certainly in Heb 3:14—“if we hold our initial confidence (literally, the beginning of assurance) till the end.”⁶ It is more difficult to translate Heb 11:1, *estin de pistis elpizomenon hypostasis*,⁷ where the Vulgate simply transcribes the word in question (“Fides est substantia sperandarum rerum”) and most moderns translate it “assurance or solid confidence.” But in the papyri our noun is usually used for property, for a right of possession: “without risk for myself and my property” (*P.Oxy.* 138, 26; 1981, 27; 2478, 28; *P.Berl.Zill.* 6, 4; *SB* 8986, 22; 9463, 6; 9566, 10); “the scribe attributed more land to me than I actually own” (*P.Oxy.* 488, 17; cf. *P.Wisc.* 61, 15); in an account from the fourth century, “produce from a property of twenty-four *arourai*.”⁸ *Hypostasis* is also used for the contents of a house.⁹ The commentaries of the church fathers and the medievals followed this line of interpretation: faith contains the substance of eternal life, which is the *prima inchoatio* (first beginning) of the object of hope. It already possesses that hope, perhaps only faintly, but nevertheless in its true essence.¹⁰

This nuance of anticipation can be narrowed down further. *Hypostasis* means point of departure, beginning (Diodorus Siculus 1.66), provision for the future (*P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 269; *P.Tebt.* 336; 7; *P.Stras.* 309, verso 2; *P.Fay.* 343; *SB* 7360, 12), offer (*P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 144, 158), commitment or guarantee.¹¹ According to the edict of Mettius Rufus, all owners of building and land have to have deeds on record establishing their property rights.¹² Thus a *hypostasis* is a collection of documents establishing ownership, deposited in the archives¹³ and proving the owner’s rights; hence it is a guarantee for the future. Moulton-Milligan are right to translate Heb 11:1 “Faith is the *title-deed* of things hoped for.”¹⁴ This was also the interpretation of the Peshitta: *pyso*, “guarantee, proof.”¹⁵ Faith is a title of ownership on property that is in the future.

¹ Philo, *Dreams* 1.188: “this world, whose substance is perceived only by the intelligence”; Ps.-Aristotle, *Mund.* 4.395a30–31 (contrasted with κατ᾽ ἔμφασιν); b3–17 (phenomena contrasted with substantial reality, κατ᾽ ὑπόστασιν); Albinus, *Didask.* 25: “the soul is an incorporeal essence with respect to its fundamental being (ὑπόστασις)”; Ps.-Plutarch, *De plac. philos.* 3.5.1; Philo, *Etern. World* 88, 92: “this brilliance has no substance of its own”; Aëtius 3.5.1: “among the phenomena of the heights, some are of a material nature”; cf. C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 400; H. Dörrie, “Hypostasis: Wort und Bedeutungsgeschichte,” in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, I, phil.-hist. Klasse, V, 1955,

pp. 35–92 = *Platonica Minora*, Munich, 1976, pp. 13–69; Koester, on this word, in *TDNT*, vol. 8, pp. 572–589.

² Comparable is “to have” (Deut 11:6 [Hebrew *yeqûm*, that which exists, reality]; Job 22:20), means of subsistence or of living: ὑπόστασις ζωῆς (Judg 6:4, *mihyâh*; *Pss. Sol.* 15.7; 17.26; *T. Reub.* 2.7); existence, life (Ps 39:5; 89:47, Hebrew *heled*; 139:15).

³ Polybius 4.50.10: “The Rhodians, seeing the firmness of the Byzantians” (τὴν τω—ν Βυζαντίων ὑπόστασιν); Diodorus Siculus 1.6; 16.32.3; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.24: “many had seen the firmness of their resolve.” Cf. ὑποστατικω—ς = firmly (*P.Lond.* 2188, 295).

⁴ In these two texts, ὑπόστασις translates the Hebrew *tiqwâh* (cf. P. A. H. De Boer, “Etude sur le sens de la racine QWH,” in *Oudtestamentliche Studien*, vol. 10, 1954, pp. 225–246). Compare ὑπόστασις as “sustenance, support, help,” Ps 69:2; Wis 16:21—“Your help showed your mildness toward your children.”

⁵ Certain exegetes translate 2Cor 9:4, ε—ν τῇ ὑποστάσει ταύτη, “in this matter”; others, “on this supposition” or “on the basis of this assurance.” E, K, L, P, and the Syriac interpret correctly by adding τῆς καυχίσεως to ὑποστάσει. This is confirmed by 2Cor 11:17—ε—ν ταύτῃ ὑποστάσει τῆς καυχίσεως, “with this assurance in boasting” (“avec cette assurance-là dans la vanterie,” E. B. Allo), i.e., the assurance with which I boast. But J. Héring interprets “by placing myself in the arena of boasting” (“en me plaçant sur le terrain de la vantardise”).

⁶ Heb 3:14—τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως (contrasting against ἀπόστασις, verse 12). Cf. ὑπόστασις as coming into existence, in Proclus and Iamblichus: τὴν πρώτην ὑπόστασιν (A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, p. 216 and n. 4); or as the originality of the primitive stock of the Jewish race (τὴν πρώτην ὑπόστασιν, Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.1).

⁷ M. A. Mathis, *The Pauline πίστις-ὑπόστασις according to Hebr. XI, 1*, Washington, 1920; R. E. Witt, “Ἰπόστασις,” in *Amicitiae Corolla* (Volume of Essays Presented to J. R. Harris), London, 1933, pp. 253–264; E. Grässer, *Der Glaube im Hebräerbrief*, Marburg, 1965, pp. 45ff. et passim.

⁸ *P.Harr.* 99, 22; cf. *P.Lond.* 1343, 1; *P.Athen.* 61, 10 (first century AD); *P.Princ.* 53, 17 (same date); 75, 15; *BGU* 1621, col. III, 1 (second century); 2180, 7; 2207–2210; *P.Oxy.* 1274, 15; *P.Michael.* 41, 8; 60, 2; *C.P.Herm.* 31, 12–13; *P.Fouad* 85, 1–2, “my fortune”; *P.Apoll.* 8029, 21; *P.Phil.* 1, 23, “an estimate made not according to an unofficial declaration but according

to their true standing with respect to property”; P. Hermann, *Ergebnisse*, p. 8, n. II, 9: διὰ τε ταύτην τὴν ὑπόστασιν. Luther understood Heb 11:1 to mean possession; cf. K. Hagen, *A Theology of Testament in the Young Luther: The Lectures on Hebrews*, Leiden, 1974, p. 86.

⁹ Cf. A. A. Schiller, “A Family Archive from Jeme,” in *Studi in onore V. Arangio-Ruiz*, Naples, 1953, vol. 4, p. 340. Cf. ὑπόστασις = baggage (Jer 10:17) and load, burden (Deut 1:12, Hebrew *masâ’*), i.e., a container that one carries.

¹⁰ Πρόληψις ε—κούσιος ε—στι, “faith is a voluntary preconception,” Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.2 (*PG*, vol. 8, 940; ed. Berlin, vol. 2, 117); 2.4 (*PG*, vol. 8, 948; ed. Berlin, vol. 2, 121); cf. ὑπόστασις as the contract for a lease, *P.Tebt.* 61 *b*, 194; 71, 111 (second century BC); in astrology, ὑπόστασις means “foreordained reality” (cf. Koester, *TDNT*, vol. 8, p. 579); M. M. Schumpp, “Der Glaubensbegriff des Hebräerbriefes und seine Deutung durch den hl. Thomas von Aquin,” in *DivThom* (Fribourg), 1933, pp. 397–410; C. Spicq, *Hébreux*, vol. 2, pp. 337ff.

¹¹ *P.Eleph.* 15, 3: οἱ— δ ὑπογεγραμμένοι γεωργοὶ ε—πέδωκαν ἡμι—ν ὑπόστασιν; *P.Corn.* 50, 6: κὰν μὲν ὑπόστασιν λάβης, δήλωσον μοι (first century); cf. *Jur.Pap.* 59, 34, 42.

¹² Petition of Dionysia, AD 186: τὰ ἀντίγραφα τῶ—ν συγγραφῶ—ν ται—ς τῶ—ν ἀνδρῶ—ν ὑποστάσεσιν ε—ντίθεσθαι (*P.Oxy.* 237, col. VIII, 26; with the note of Grenfell-Hunt, on this text).

¹³ Cf. E. Kiessling, “Ein Beitrag zum Grundbuchrecht im hellenistischen Ägypten,” in *JJP*, 1965, p. 77. This would be close to διπλώμα, *P.Wisc.* 53, 4; cf. F. Dölger, J. Karagannopulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre* (Handbuch der Altertumswiss., XII, 3, 1, 1), Munich, 1968.

¹⁴ An example of a title-deed, *SB* 9086, col. III, 1–11, from AD 104: —Εγδιαστρώματος τῆς τῶ—ν ε—γκτήσεων βιβλιοθήκως κτλ.; this is the end of a deed of cession for ten *arourai* of land by Ammonius to Collauthis; this land was previously ceded to Ammonius by a woman (whose name is lost), and Collauthis in turn ceded the land to Trypho. Thus it is established that the latter is the legitimate owner; cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, “*SB* VI, 9086 and ΕΚΧΩΡΗΣΙΣ,” in *ZPE*, vol. 19, 1975, pp. 87–99.

¹⁵ A meaning that corresponds to that of πίστις in classical Greek: “surety, deposit, guarantee”; cf. Sophocles, *Phil.* 813, *OC* 1632; Thucydides 5.45; Xenophon, *An.* 1.2.26; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.1.44.

ὑποτάσσω

hypotasso, to make subordinate, submit, append, attach

hypotasso, S 5293; *TDNT* 8.39–46; *EDNT* 3.408; MM 660; L&N 37.31; BDF §202; BAGD 847–848

It may be said that this verb is peculiar to the language of the NT,¹ and that “submission,” which should not be confused with obedience,² is a major virtue in the Christian pastoral writings, expressing the relations of subordination in the cosmic and religious order.

God has placed everything in submission to Christ,³ to whom the angels are subordinate (Heb 2:5; 1Pet 3:22); the church is in submission to the Lord (Eph 5:24); Christians submit to God, to his law and his training,⁴ but also to one another to cooperate (1Cor 16:16) in the fear of God (Eph 5:21; cf. Rom 13:8). Woman is subordinate to man,⁵ the wife to the husband,⁶ the children to the parents (1Tim 3:4; cf. Marcus Aurelius 1.17.3), the young to the old,⁷ slaves and servants to their master (Eph 6:5, Titus 2:9; 1Pet 2:18), subjects (cf. *Ep. Arist.* 205, 207, 265; Josephus, *War* 2.140; Polybius 21.43, *hoi hypotattomenoi*) to their sovereign;⁸ and finally the Christian must submit to every human creature.⁹ We may conclude that the baptized person is a “son of obedience” (1Pet 1:2, 22) in all the larger or smaller human communities in which he is placed (1Pet 2:13–3:12), contributing to the maintenance of the order¹⁰ fixed by the plan of providence whereby all creatures are ordered in a hierarchy (Wis 11:21).

It is clear that *hypotasso* does not have the same range in these differing communal relationships; but it is always reverent submission, seen as a self-offering (cf. Titus 3:1–2). It means first of all accepting the exact place God has assigned, keeping to one’s rank in this or that society,¹¹ accepting a dependent status,¹² especially toward God (Jas 4:7), like children who are submissive to a father’s discipline (Heb 12:9), after the fashion of the child Jesus.¹³ This religious subjection is made up of an obedient spirit, humaneness of heart (*Ep. Arist.* 257), respect, and willingness to serve. To submit is to accept directives that are given, to honor conditions that are imposed, to please one’s superior (Titus 2:9) or honor him by the homage that is obedience (cf. Eph 6:1), to repudiate egotism and aloofness. It is to spontaneously position oneself as a servant toward one’s neighbor in the hierarchy of love.¹⁴

All of this is absolutely new and has no secular parallel.¹⁵ The papyri only use *hypotasso* with respect to copies or postscripts added to a letter, or an “adjunct” document. For example: “Attached is a copy of the petition that was addressed to us”;¹⁶ *P.Mert.* 59, 9: “what follows is a copy” (*estin antigraphon to hypotetagmenon*, second century BC; cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 629, 6); “I have added a note to the attached request”;¹⁷ *P.Yale* 56, 6: “the

attached ordinance, translated from the Greek” (*to hypotetagmenon prostagma*).¹⁸ This became a formula: *hypotetachamen soi to antigraphon*, “We submit to you a copy of the letter written to us by the members of the gymnasium of Omboi” (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 49, 7; cf. 45, 5; 51, 8, 52, 15; 58, 7; 60, 15, 17).

¹ In the LXX, ὑποτάσσω is a virtue only in Ps 62:1, 5—“Is not my soul in submission to God”; Hag 2:19—“submit your hearts”; 2Macc 9:12—“It is right to submit to God, and as a mere mortal not to pretend to be equal to the divinity.” In Ps 8:6; Dan 7:27 the messianic reign is in view. The other occurrences are political (submission of the peoples to one king or one God, 1Chr 22:18; 24:24; Ps 18:47; Wis 8:14; 18:22; 2Macc 8:9; 13:23), as in Josephus, *War* 2.361, 433; 4.175; Polybius 3.13.8, etc.

² The literal meaning of ὑποτάσσομαι is “to order oneself under” a leader (Onasander 1.17; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 64.5), “subordinate” (*Nic.* 23.5; *T. Jud.* 21.2—God subordinates the royal power to the priestly authority); in the passive or middle, “consent to an authority, remain in one’s place,” cf. C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 534ff., 592ff. E. Kamlah, “ΥΠΟΤΑΣΣΕΣΑΙ in den neutestamentlichen ‘Haustafeln,’” in O. Böcher, K. Haacker, *Verborum Veritas* (Festschrift C. Stählin), Wuppertal, 1970, pp. 237–342; W. Schrage, “Zur Ethik der neutestamentlichen Haustafeln,” in *NTS*, vol. 21, 1974, pp. 8–14.

³ 1Cor 14:27-28 (citation of Ps 8:7; cf. E. Schendel, *Herrschaft und Unterwerfung Christi, I Kor. XV, 24–28*, Tübingen, 1971); Eph 1:22; Phil 3:21; Heb 2:8; 1Pet 2:24. God puts all creation in submission to himself, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* II, 13, 579; cf. I, 2, 101.

⁴ Rom 8:7; 10:3; Heb 12:9; Jas 4:7; cf. Epictetus 3.24.65: τῷ θεῷ ὑποτεταγμένος; 4.12.11: “I have someone whom I must please, to whom I must submit, whom I must obey: God, and after God myself.”

⁵ 1Cor 14:34; 1Tim 2:11; cf. K. H. Rengstorf, “Die neutestamentlichen Mahnungen an die Frau, sich dem Manne unterzuordnen,” in W. Foerster, *Verbum Dei manet in aeternum* (Festschrift O. Schmitz), Witten, 1953, pp. 131–145.

⁶ Eph 5:22-24; Col 3:18 (cf. J. E. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, Göttingen, 1972); Titus 2:5; 1Pet 3:1, 5; Plutarch, *Con. praec.* 33; *Quaest. conv.* 9.2.2; cf. F. J. Leenhardt, F. Blanke, *Die Stellung der Frau im N.T.*, Zurich, 1949; L. Hick, *Stellung des hl. Paulus zur Frau*, Cologne, 1957, pp. 141ff.

⁷ 1Pet 5:5; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.226; cf. C. Spicq, “La Place et le rôle des jeunes dans certaines communautés néotestamentaires,” in *RB*, 1969, pp. 518ff.

⁸ Rom 13:1, 5; Titus 3:1; cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 654, 7: σύμπασαν τὴν ἡβαίδα μὴ ὑποταγεῖ—σαν τοι—ς βασιλεῦσιν ὑποτάξας; J. Dauvillier, *Les Temps apostoliques*, Paris, 1970, pp. 677ff. C. F. D. Moule, *Birth of the NT*, p. 171, n. 2.

⁹ Ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον, 1Pet 2:13. This strange expression (H. Teichert, “I Petr. II, 13: Eine Crux interpretum,” in *TLZ*, 1954, pp. 303ff.) should be compared to Josephus, *Ant.* 15.372: “Herod thought more highly of the Essenes than of a mortal nature (person)” (κατὰ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν). This wording was used to make as broad as possible the range of those whom Christians must respect (cf. verses 17–18) and especially to correct the idolatrous divinization of power. We may also understand it “in terms of the *isonomia* and democratic constitution of the *polis*, where each citizen—equal and like all the others—is referred to the social *kosmos*: commanding and obeying are not opposites. It is a symmetrical relationship that keeps each one in his place and assures the stability and order of the whole” (P. Lévêque, P. Vidal-Naquet, *Clisthène l’Athénien*, Paris, 1964, p. 77).

¹⁰ Cf. 1Cor 14:32-33: “the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, for God is not a God of disorder, but of peace” (M. A. Chevallier, *Esprit de Dieu, paroles des hommes*, pp. 185ff.). The animals are placed under human dominion (Philo, *Creation* 84); “the wise person subjects secondary goods to himself” (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.26); cf. *Ep. Arist.* 11, 266.

¹¹ Rom 8:20 (cf. A. Viard, “Expectatio creaturae, Rom. VIII, 19–22,” in *RB*, 1952, pp. 337ff.); 1Cor 15:28; Phil 3:21.

¹² 1Cor 14:34. The use of the middle voice (ὑποτάσσομαι, cf. Col 3:18) emphasizes the voluntary character of the submission and alleviates whatever might be humiliating about subordination, whatever suggests inferiority (Philo, *Decalogue* 168; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.201). Such is the case with women, for whom the wearing of the veil on the head should give expression in worship to this hierarchical “order” which dates back to creation.

¹³ Luke 2:51; the periphrastic construction ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτοῖς—ς emphasizes that the dependence of the incarnate Son of God toward his

parents was constant; cf. L. Laurentin, *Jésus au Temple*, Paris, 1966, pp. 165ff.

¹⁴ Cf. Gal 5:13; 6:2; 1QS 11.1–2: “I will practice benevolent charity . . . to respond with humility to haughty spirits and with deference to unjust men who point the finger.” A. Jaubert (*Clément de Rome: Épître aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1971, p. 79), after citing 1Clem. 37.2–3, where each one is to keep his place and carry out the assigned tasks, cites 1QS 2.21–23: “Let every man of Israel know well his place in the community of God. . . . Let no one descend below his station and no one climb above the place allotted to him.” Everyone must obey those who were enrolled before him (1QS 6.26).

¹⁵ At most, this epitaph for a beast-fighter on a stele in Amasia could be cited: “Troilus, after vanquishing all the bears in the stadium (ὑποτάξας) was himself vanquished by fever” (F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, II, n. 167).

¹⁶ *P.Mich.* 232, 1; 425, 4; 584, 16 (AD 84); *P.Oxy.* 1877, 4; 1878, 5; 2277, 2, 6, 11; 2408, 7; 2584, 4: “conformably to the attached petition” (κατὰ τὴν ὑποτεταγμένην αἴτιον).

¹⁷ *P.Phil.* 1, 4; *P.Fouad* 13, 7; 26, 10; *C.P.Herm.* 67, 3; *P.Cair.Isid.* 76, 3; *P.Oslo* 107, 5; *P.Oxf.* 2, 36; *P.Brem.* 54, 9; *BGU* 1759, 3 (first century BC); *P.Corn.* 20, 9, 34, 53; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 15, 34: τὰ ἀντίγραφα ὑπέταξα; 43, 23; XVI, 31, 14; 33, 3; etc.

¹⁸ Cf. a stele at Laodicea in Media: “Attached below is a copy of the ordinance that was addressed to us by the king” (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 7, p. 7, line 4); *I.Thas.* 171, 8: “We append to this letter a copy of the honors that we have awarded to your fellow-citizen”; a decree of the city of Seleuceia in Pieria: “an ordinance whose transcription is found below” (*SEG* VII, 62, 4–5; cf. M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 3, pp. 199ff.); a letter of Ptolemy VI Philometor: “we have received the letter to which you attached a copy of the memorial sent by the soldiers of the garrison at Thera” (Dittenberger, *Or.* 59, 6; cf. 137, 10; *Syl.* 664, 11; 880, 11).

ὑστερέω, ὑστέρημα, ὑστέρησις, ὕστερον, ὕστερος

hystereo, to be late, be left behind, lack, fail, run out; *hysterema*, *hysteresis*, lack, poverty; *hysteron*, after, next, later, finally; *hysteros*, coming behind, coming after, late, future

hystereo, S 5302; *TDNT* 8.592–601; *EDNT* 3.409; *NIDNTT* 3.952–954; *MM* 661–662; *L&N* 13.21, 57.37, 65.51, 87.65; *BDF* §§101, 180(5), 189(3);

BAGD 849 | *hysterema*, S 5303; TDNT 8.592–601; EDNT 3.409; NIDNTT 3.952–953, 955; L&N 57.38, 85.29; BAGD 849 | *hysteresis*, S 5304; TDNT 8.592–601; EDNT 3.409; NIDNTT 3.952–953, 955; L&N 57.37; BAGD 849 | *hysteron*, S 5305; TDNT 8.592–601; NIDNTT 3.952–953; MM 662; BAGD 849 | *hysteros*, S 5306; TDNT 8.592–601; EDNT 3.409; NIDNTT 3.952–953; MM 662; L&N 61.16, 67.50; BDF §§62, 164(4); BAGD 849

In this family of words, the evolution was from a local sense to the commoner temporal sense, then to a general idea of inferiority.¹ The adjective *hysteros*, “coming behind, after” in space, then in time,² is used for “the following day”³ as well as for “later, next”⁴ and for posterity, a distant future,⁵ but it may refer to something that is merely second, subsequent.⁶ It takes on a pejorative nuance in the expression “arrive too late” (Homer, *Il.* 18.320), “late, tardy” (Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 691), and especially with the sense of being “inferior.”⁷ This latter meaning is well attested in Philo,⁸ who especially loves this adjective and gives it the same meanings as classical Greek.⁹

The denominative verb *hystereo* has especially the meaning “be late, arrive late, too late,”¹⁰ but also “let oneself be outrun, left behind,”¹¹ hence a nuance of inferiority and even—in the Hellenistic period—insufficiency and inefficacy: the manna was given “without insufficiency or excess.”¹² This is the predominant meaning in the LXX (especially for the Hebrew *haser*): “lack, fail, run out.”¹³ It is also found in Philo (*Husbandry* 85: lack opportunity), Josephus (*Ant.* 1.98; cf. 15.70), Dioscorides (5.86), and especially in the papyri.¹⁴ “Such a person works and tires himself out and presses on and is only more lacking” (Sir 11:11; cf. 11:12); “If you are useful to the rich man he will use you, but if you have nothing he will abandon you” (13:15); a sad spectacle is that of the “failing” warrior (26:28); “you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting” (*kai heurethe hysterosa*, literally, lacking weight, Dan 5:27 [Theodotion]). The adverb *hysteron*, the opposite of *nyn* (“now”),¹⁵ retains in the LXX the commonplace meanings of the adjective: next, after, finally.¹⁶ It is particularly common in the papyri.¹⁷

The NT completes this semantic evolution; almost all of the fifteen occurrences of the verb *hystereo* (John 2:3 is a bad manuscript reading) have the sense “to lack,” whether on a human or a spiritual level. The rich young man, having observed all the commandments, asks, “What do I still lack” to be perfect (Matt 19:20; cf. Mark 10:21)? While Jesus was with his apostles, did they lack anything (Luke 22:35)? When Paul arrived at Corinth, he lacked everything (2Cor 11:9), but he knew how to live with abundance as well as how to go wanting.¹⁸ He thinks that he is in no way beneath (behind, inferior to) those most eminent apostles who wish to surpass him (2Cor 11:5; 12:11). The Corinthians lack no spiritual gift.¹⁹

The meaning of the eight occurrences of *hysterema* poses no problem (“poverty, lack”), although it does not appear in the secular language before the third century BC, and then only twice. In a petition to the *strategos*, the farmers of Oxyrhynchus attest that they have worked their hardest, sown, and even borrowed large sums of money, in order to avoid any tardiness or deficiency (*eis to methen hysterema genesthai*);²⁰ but the six occurrences in the LXX suggest that this substantive was current in Alexandrian Koine: “This place where nothing is lacking of all the things that are on the earth” (Judg 18:10; 19:19, 20; Hebrew *mahsôr*); “if the things necessary for whole burnt offerings are lacking, they will be given to them” (2Esdr 6:9); “what is lacking cannot be numbered” (Eccl 1:15); “for those who fear him, there is no privation (lack)” (Ps 34:9). The Lord comments on the alms given by the poor widow: “This woman, out of her poverty (*ek tou hystereatos autēs*), gave all she had to live on.”²¹ The Macedonian Christians supplied Paul’s poverty (*to hysterema mou*, 2Cor 9:9), and Epaphroditus risked his life to help the apostle, given the absence of the “lacking” Philippians (*hina anaplerose to hymon hysterema*).²² On the level of emotions, when the apostle was—if we may put it so—“in a state of lack,” Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus “filled my privation” (1Cor 16:17). Faith always needs to be supplemented, filled from an abundance, whether of knowledge, or of faithfulness, or of fervor; so St. Paul prays night and day that God will fill what is lacking (*ta hystere mata*) in the faith of the Thessalonians, whatever is concretely insufficient; this would be needs rather than deficiencies.²³

After this, the two biblical occurrences of *hysteresis* are clear, since this noun and *hysterema* are synonymous. According to Mark 12:44, the poor widow gave “out of her poverty” (*ek tes hystere seos autēs*, cf. Luke 21:4); and St. Paul protests, “It is not poverty (*ouch hoti kath’ hysteresin*) that inspires my words” (Phil 4:11), before going on to say, “I know how to lack (*hysterein*) and I know how to live with abundance” (4:12).

The adjective *hysteros* is used but once: *en hysterois kairois* (1Tim 4:1), which means not “the last days” (cf. 1Pet 1:5, 20—*en kairo eschato*), but in days to follow, later times, the future. As for the adverb *hysteron*, it retains its classical meanings: “after, next, later” (Matt 21:30, 32; 25:11; John 13:36; Heb 12:11) and “finally.”²⁴

¹ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, on this word.

² Aristotle, *Pol.* 5.10.23: “Dionysius the Younger”; Josephus, *War* 1.342.

³ Plato, *Leg.* 3.698e: “arrive one day after the battle”; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.236; 14.73, 464.

⁴ Herodotus 1.130.2; Plato, *Leg.* 9.865 a; Thucydides 4.90.1: “arriving after his colleague”; 8.41.1; *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VIII, 40: “if a search is made afterward”; 2131, 18: “that I be able afterward”; Wis 19:11, “after which . . .”

⁵ Euripides, *Tro.* 13: πρὸς ἀνδρῶ—ν ὑστέρων; *P.Oxy.* 1118, 12: ε—ξ ὑστέρου = for the future. Cf. Ep Jer 72: “far from . . .”

⁶ Antiphon 6.14: “my second discourse”; Plato, *Grg.* 503 c; *Leg.* 10.896c; Aristotle, *Ph.* 8.7.261a: “growth, alteration . . . subsequent to generation”; Josephus, *Ant.* 7.244; *P.Hib.* 52, 10: “so that there is no subsequent loss.” Cf. 1Chr 29:29—“the acts of King David, from the first to the last” (Hebrew ‘ah<Ø>a<^>ron).

⁷ Plato, *Tim.* 20 a; Sophocles, *Ant.* 746; Isocrates, *Big.* 16.31; Plutarch, *Fab.* 24.5: yield precedence.

⁸ Philo, *Plant.* 132: “the creature finds itself in everything placed after the Creator”; *Creation* 45: a secondary rank; *Cherub.* 89: the last rank; *Prelim. Stud.* 23; *Creation* 68: the fish, the last and vilest of animals; *To Gaius* 286, 307.

⁹ “Next, after” (*Creation* 26: “movement comes about either after the thing moved or simultaneously”); say or do next (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.53; 2.13; *Abraham* 81; *Virtues* 179; *Etern. World* 125), a little later or a little farther off (*Creation* 65; *Alleg. Interp.* 1.55; *Worse Attacks Better* 10; *Post. Cain* 24; *Husbandry* 21; *Spec. Laws* 1.258; 2.215); immediately afterward (*Prelim. Stud.* 139; *Joseph* 8, 196; *Moses* 1.79, 169; *Contemp. Life* 44); a day later (*Husbandry* 150; *Abraham* 245; *Moses* 2.288; *Flacc.* 130, 140; *To Gaius* 87), the final limit (ὑστατος; *Creation* 77, 83, 87; *Drunkennes* 15; *Heir* 172), extreme old age (*Flight* 55), the future (εἰ—ς ὑστερον, *Abraham* 184), much later (*Conf. Tongues* 149; *Abraham* 254; *Joseph* 261; *Moses* 1.242; 2.29); final, last (*Worse Attacks Better* 84; *Moses* 2.186; *Spec. Laws* 2.95; *Flacc.* 9), especially in opposition to πρότερος (*Unchang. God* 54, 105; *Husbandry* 138; *Drunkennes* 48; *Sobr.* 22; *Flight* 73; *Dreams* 2.166; *Abraham* 47; *Moses* 2.50; *Spec. Laws* 3.85; 4.112; *Virtues* 222; *Rewards* 102, 125; *To Gaius* 31: “first and last lesson”; 261).

¹⁰ Herodotus 6.89: the Athenians “arrived one day later than the date that had been set”; Euripides, *Phoen.* 976: “If you are late . . . you will die”; Plato, *Grg.* 447 a: “Are we late?”; Demosthenes, *C. Neaer.* 59.3: “if your reinforcements arrived too late”; Xenophon, *An.* 1.7.12: “Abrocomas arrived five days after the battle”; Polybius 2.11.13: “he was too late to help”; *Joseph* 182; *Moses* 2.233; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.235, 195; *P.Oxy.* 118, 30:

things necessary for his visit are useless if they arrive too late (cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1, pp. 341–345); *PSI* 432, 5.

¹¹ Isocrates, *Paneg.* 4.164: “our ancestors were outstripped by the barbarians”; Thucydides 1.134.2; 3.31.2; Plato, *Resp.* 6.484 d: “they are not inferior to them in any kind of merit”; 7.539 e: “so that even for experience they should not lag behind the others”; *Alleg. Interp.* 2.100: the soul must remain behind the passions, keep its distance.

¹² *Heir* 191: μήθ ὕστερησαι μήθ αὖ περιττεῦσαι; Josephus, *War* 1.271: the courage of Phasael “made vain the king’s cruelty”; Ps.-Plato, *Epin.* 983 d: πάντως ὕστερει—.

¹³ Deut 15:8; Neh 9:21—“they lacked nothing”; Eccl 6:2; 9:8; 10:3—his heart failed; Cant 7:2—wine is not lacking; Sir 10:27; 51:24; 7:34—“Do not fail those who weep”; Ps 23:1—“Yahweh is my shepherd, I will not lack anything.” Cf. Hebrew *gara*: “Why will we fail to offer the offering to Yahweh” (Num 9:7); *hadal*: “the person who has failed to do the Passover” (Num 9:13); “Let me know what I lack” (Ps 39:4); *mana*: “Yahweh does not take happiness from those who walk in perfection” (Ps 74:11); Job 36:17.

¹⁴ *P.Hib.* 43, 7: “See to it that no one lacks an oil presser, so that you will not be responsible” (third century BC); 65, 29; *BGU* 1074, 7: μήτε ὕστερει—ν τι ὑμι—ν τω—ν ὑπαρχόντων δικαίων; *P.Oxy.* 1293, 24; 1678, 5: “if the favorable moment is lacking we have no more hope”; *P.Col.* IV, 2, n. 114, A 3; *SB* 6771, 111; 6778, 12: ἵνα μὴ ὕστερήσωμεν τῆς ἐ—ργασίας; 7241, 50: μὴ γένηται ἀμελίας καὶ ὕστερεθῆ τι.

¹⁵ Homer, *Il.* 1.27 (cf. *Od.* 8.202, later). An act of emancipation of slaves in the third century BC, “for the children that they have now (νῶν) and that they may have in the future (ὕστερον)” (J. Pouilloux, *CIG*, n. 38, 7); cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 358: “Wait; later he will take his customary route”; Philostratus, *Gym.* 2: “I will show later how this comes about”; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.325: ἐ—ς ὕστερον; 4Macc 12:7—“we shall tell a little later.”

¹⁶ Hebrew *’aharītah*; Prov 5:4; 23:31; 24:32; 2Macc 5:20; 6:15; Sir 27:23—“but afterwards the hypocrite changes his mouth (his speech)”; Jer 29:2; 31:19; 40:1; 50:17—“Assyria was the first to eat the straying sheep; the last was Nebuchadnezzar.”

¹⁷ *P.Fouad* 44, 28: “Lucius will not be able in the future to bring any suit” (loan of money in AD 44); *P.Sorb.* 63, 3: “Do not hinder the construction of the cistern... lest afterward (ἵνα μὴ ὕστερον) they make a report . . .”; *P.Mich.* 173, 39; 490, 22: “I learned it too late”; *P.Princ.* 119, 30; *P.Oxy.*

718, 11: “a very long time later, after forty years had passed”; 1062, 8: “you wrote me afterward”; 2981, 6: “later I came to Chaireu”; 3104, 24: “in the event of a future inquest”; 3192, 21; *P.Brem.* 48, 26; *P.Tebt.* 701, 78; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 15, 53; 30, 2; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XX, 36, 2: “after the sending of my previous letter, a little later I took Stakhas . . .”; *SB* 11008, 24; 11221, 8; etc.

¹⁸ Phil 4:12—οἶδα . . . καὶ περισσεύειν καὶ ὑστερεῖ—ᾶναι. Cf. the prodigal son, who after spending all his money “began to lack,” to feel his privation, to find himself in need (Luke 15:14); faithful people of God, leading the life of fugitives, are described by the present middle participle: ὑστερούμενοι (Heb 11:37), destitute, lacking everything. The quality of one’s food has no meaning in the spiritual order: “If we do not eat, we have no less (ὑστερούμεθα), and if we eat, we have no more (περισσεύομεν)” (1Cor 8:8); “God has arranged the body so as to give more honor to that which lacked it (τω—ὑστερουμένῳ),” (1Cor 12:24, the principle of decency). Only Heb 4:1 retains the classical meaning, “arrive too late.”

¹⁹ 1Cor 1:7. It is necessary to watch lest any brother be deprived of grace (Heb 12:15); sinners are deprived of the glory of God (Rom 3:23).

²⁰ *P.Tebt.* 786, 9 (138 BC). In the third century BC, Apollonius writes to Leon, the *toparchos* of Philadelphia: “see to the sowing statement (διαγραφή τοῦ σπόρου) with the habitual cooperation . . . have it ready . . . if there is a delay (ε—ἂν ὑστερήμα γένηται), you will be sent before the *dioiketes* ” (*P.Yale* 36, 6 = *SB* 9257; cf. P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le Bordereau d’ensemencement dans l’Egypte ptolémaïque*, Brussels, 1967, p. 21; J. A. S. Evans, C. Bradford Welles, “The Archives of Leon,” in *JJP*, vol. 7, 1953, pp. 35ff.). Cf. *Corp. Herm.* 4.10: “such is the deficiency (ὑστέρημα) that affects the dissimilar with regard to the similar”; 13.3: “for your part, supply my lacks (τὰ ὑστερήματα) in the manner that you promised” (from the French of A. J. Festugière).

²¹ Luke 21:4 (following the French of E. Delebecque, *Evangile de Luc*). The collection for the poor of Jerusalem allows the abundance of some to supply the destitution of others: “In the present circumstances, your superfluity (τὸ ὑμῶ—ν περίσσευμα) goes for the lack of those people (εἰ—θὸ ε—κείνων ὑστέρημα), so that their surplus may pass on to your own lack (ὑστέρημα), so that equality may come about” (2Cor 8:14); the deficit of the “saints” who are experiencing famine is filled (τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶ—ν ἁγίων, 9:12).

²² Phil 2:30. Cf. Col 1:24—“I complete in my flesh what is lacking in the tribulations of Christ”; cf. J. Kremer, *Was an den Leiden Christi noch*

mangelt, Bonn, 1956; G. Le Grelle, “La Plénitude de la Parole dans la pauvreté de la chair,” in *NRT*, 1959, pp. 233–250.

²³ 1Thess 3:10; cf. B. Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, on this text.

²⁴ After forty days and forty nights of fasting, “finally Jesus was hungry” (Matt 4:20). After the successive sending of servants to the tenants in the vineyard, “finally he sent his Son” (21:37); after the seven husbands had died, “finally the woman herself died” (22:27; cf. Luke 20:32); after many false witnesses, finally two appeared (Matt 26:60; Mark 16:14).

φαιλόνης

phailones, cloak

phailones, *EDNT* 3.411; *MM* 663, 665–666; *L&N* 6.172; *BDF* §§5(1), 25, 32(2); *BAGD* 851

St. Paul, a prisoner at Rome, asks Timothy to bring him the cloak (*ton philonen*) that he left with Carpus at Troas.¹ This refers to a short, heavy coat of thick and coarse material (Plautus, *Mostell.* 991), usually with a hood (Pliny, *HN* 24.138), that effectively protected the torso and arms from rain and cold² but hindered movement (Tacitus, *Dial.* 39.3).

The word *phailone-phainole* was borrowed by late Greek from the Latin *paenula*,³ which in turn originally came from Greek⁴ and according to its etymology—and the etymological meaning was not entirely lost⁵—would have referred to a very striking, easily visible color.⁶ The spelling is quite variable: *phelones*, *phailones*, *phelonis*, *phailonin*, *phelonin*, ⁷*phelonin*,⁸ and the transposition of the *l* and the *n* has been retained in modern Greek: *phainoles* (*P.Oxy.* 3057, 4: “I received your letter, the trunk, and the capes”; 3201, 4: *phenolou idochromou*; line 7: *phenoles melas*). In addition there are the diminutive forms, so popular in the Koine: *phailonion*, *phelonion*.

This cloak is frequently mentioned in the papyri.⁹ Usually made of wool,¹⁰ the cape is categorized as a winter garment (Julius Pollux, *Onom.* 7.13, 60–61); more precisely, there is a *cheimonikon phelonin* which is more expensive than the summer cape.¹¹ Along with these notes on purchases and gifts, the *paenula* appears most often in requests for remittal, which is exactly what 2Tim 3:13 is; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1583, 6; 1584, 7, 18; *P.Mich.* 496, 10, 13: “You say that I will receive the *phainolas* and the pig. The pig I have not received, but I have received the *phainolas*.”

¹ 2Tim 4:13. Cf. C. Spicq, “Pèlerine et vêtements,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, pp. 389–417; E. Haulotte, *Symbolique du vêtement selon la Bible*, Paris,

1966, pp. 63ff. P. Trummer, “‘Mantel und Schriften’ (II Tim. IV, 13),” in *BZ*, 1974, pp. 193–207. For the literary parallels, cf. Wettstein, on this text, and F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, pp. 217f.

² Artemidorus Daldianus, *Onir.* 2.3: “The *chalamys* . . . an omen of persecutions and constrictions . . . because the *chlamys* envelops the body; the same is true for the *phainoles* and every other garment of that sort”; *ibid.* 5.29: “she wanted to cover him with what is called in Latin a *paenula*, which was unstitched in the middle”; cf. *PW* 18.2, col. 2279–2282; 19.2, col. 1593; *DAGR*, vol. 4, 285ff. *P.Hamb.* I, pp. 39ff. This “immense overcoat,” which enveloped the body, gave rise to the chasuble, cf. H. Leclerq, “Vêtements,” in *DACL*, vol. 15 B, 3005.

³ Cf. Martial 14.130: “*paenula scortea*”; 145: “*paenula gausapina*”; Epictetus 4.8.34: “When someone sees someone wearing a *paenula* (ε—ν φαινόλη), he picks an argument with him.” All the Latin manuscripts of 2Tim 4:13 transliterate the transposition φαινόλην—*paenulam*, *phaenulan* (in one instance *phenolem*). Cf. the curious early Latin exegesis of this verse in H. J. Frede, *Ein neuer Paulustext und Kommentar*, Freiburg, 1973, vol. 1, pp. 212ff.

⁴ M. Leroy, “*Paenula*,” in *Latomus*, 1939, pp. 1–4; cf. the numerous analogous cases in F. Benoit, *Recherches sur l’Hellénisation du midi de la Gaule*, Aix-en-Provence, 1965, pp. 20ff.

⁵ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 49 b, col. I, 1: the inventory of the property of a minor mentions a cape of red scarlet, half worn-out (φαιλόνη κοκκίνη ήμιτριβή). Cornelius tells his son Hierax that he is sending white cloaks that can be worn with purple capes (μετὰ τω—ν πορφυρω—ν φορει—σθαι φαινολίωv, *P.Oxy.* 531, 14); in *P.Hamb.* 10, 19–20, the cape is Spanish white with Laconian stripes (φαινόλην λευκοσπανόν τέλειον λακωνόσημον); according to *P.Michael.* 38, 9–11, the tailor Julianus will provide a striped cape on credit (ίνα δόση σοι στιχαροφελω—vιν).

⁶ Cf. φαίνω, φαινολίς; “She saw the brilliant aurora come” (φαινολίς—Hώς, Ps.-Homer, *H. Demet.* 1.51); cf. E. Schwyzer, “Ein armenisch-griechisches Nominalsuffix,” in *MusHelv*, 1956, p. 50.

⁷ Next to καμάσιν, “shirt,” in a word list, cf. M. Leroy, “Un papyrus arméno-grec,” in *Byzantion*, 1938, p. 527. In *P.Lond.* 481, 1, φακνολες is interpreted by the editor, F.G. Kenyon as φαινόλης, the Greek form of the Latin *paenula*; but H. J. M. Milne (*Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1927, n. 187), followed by J. Kramer (“Sprachlicher Kommentar zum lateinisch-griechischen Glossar, *P. Lond.* II,

481,” in *ZPE*, vol. 26, 1977, pp. 232, 238) reads φακ γνοβες μανδατα and translates “fac nobis mandata.”

⁸ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII, 18–21: “Let them bring me a cape, because mine was lost at the fuller’s” (κομισάσθωσαν πρὸς με φελόνιν). Cf. φαιλόνιν ὀλοπλακ in *P.Sorb.* inv. 2142 (published by A. Bataille, “Un inventaire de vêtements inédit,” in *Eos* (Symbolae R. Taubenschlag), 1957, vol. 2, pp. 83–99; republished in *SB* 9570, 1).

⁹ Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 62; R. Cavenaile, “Quelques aspects de l’apport linguistique du grec au latin d’Egypte,” in *Aeg.* (Mélanges Vitelli II), 1952, p. 196. Clarification by S. Daris, “Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d’Egitto,” in *Aeg.*, 1960, p. 295. To this, add *P.Yale* 82, 2: ἔδωκα τὸν φαιλόνην μου τὸν ἄσιρω with the correction of H. C. Youti, in *ZPE*, vol. 16, 1975, pp. 268–271; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 256, 20: “you shall receive the woolen *paenula* from Sarapis” (republished in *SB* 9654; but the reading is not τὸν φαινόλην αι—ριον οἱ τὸν φαινόλην· αι—ρει—ν πάντως, but τὸν φαιλόνην αὔριον; cf. *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 6, p. 90) and in a list of clothing from the second-third century, *O.Bodl.* 1947.

¹⁰ *P.Giss.* 12, 4: ἔπεμψάς μοι ὑγιω—ς τὸν στήμονα καὶ τὴν κρόκην τω—ν φαιλωνίων.

¹¹ *P.Michael.* 38, 3; cf. *P.Giss.* 79, col. IV, 2: τοὺς φαινούλας σου τεθεραπευμένους ἤνεγκεν . . . —Απολλώνιος; cf. *P.Oxy.* 736, 10: “cost of mending Coranus’s φαινόλη: an obol and a half”; 933, 30: “Find out from Antinoüs if he bought the φαιλόνην for your child”; *P.Mich.* 201, 10: “Ask Arion what the price would be for having the capes woven” (AD 99); cf. the φελονω—ν in a list of payments (*P.Fay.* 347), in a bleaching bill or a laundry list (*P.Gen.* 80, 14), in a weaver’s accounts (*P.Oxy.* 1737, 9, 15; cf. 936, 19).

φθόνος

phthonos, malevolent envy
see also βασκαίνω

phthonos, S 5355; *EDNT* 3.423; *MM* 667–668; *L&N* 88.160

Derived from *phthio*, “perish, waste away,” *phthonos* would literally mean “depreciation, diminution, denigration.” The customary translation is “envy” or “jealousy,” and often there is an association with *zelos*; ¹ but unlike this latter term, *phthonos* is always pejorative. It is hardly possible to

imagine what is meant by the “devil’s jealousy,” through which death is said to have come into the world.² We must translate “malevolent envy.”

This vice is denounced in the NT sin lists, where it is associated with malice (*kakia*, Titus 3:3; 1Pet 2:1; cf. *T. Benj.* 8.1) and strife (*eris*, Rom 1:29; Gal 5:21; 1Tim 6:4); and it is a commonplace in Hellenistic *diatribe*.³ Stobaeus collected fifty-nine sayings on envy (*Peri phthonou*, *Ecl.* 3.38; vol. 3, pp. 708ff.). Plutarch wrote a treatise on envy and hatred (*Peri phthonou kai misous*; cf. *De prof. in virt.* 14). This malevolence is stigmatized as the worst of evils,⁴ it is defined as sadness occasioned by the thought of another’s good,⁵ and its harmful effects on social and political life are denounced.⁶

In effect, this malevolence is aggressive and seeks to do harm,⁷ at least through slander (Plutarch, *Per.* 13.15: “Hence jealousy against one person, slander against another”) and quite often through lawsuits: “What is more, he has the face to file malicious charges (*phthonous aitias*) against me with no basis” (*P.Ryl.* 144, 21, AD 38); “Nothing was taken; they are accusing us out of jealousy.”⁸ It is in this sense that Jesus was handed over to Pilate out of envy⁹ and that Paul’s opponents, in a spirit of rivalry, began to preach *dia phthonon kai erin*.¹⁰ The best parallel is from Nicolaus of Damascus: “Some, in order to please Caesar, heaped honors upon him, while others, in their perfidy, approved and proclaimed these extravagant honors only in order that envy (*phthonos*) and suspicion might make Caesar hateful to the Romans.”¹¹

¹ Lamia, happy and beloved wife of Demetrius, “inspired jealousy and envy (*ζήλον καὶ φθόνον*) in her friends and the other wives of Demetrius” (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 27.5). On the difference between these two terms, cf. Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.11.1388a35–b6: ὁ ζήλος is “the honest passion of honest people” (emulation); τὸ φθονεῖ—ν is “the base passion of base people” (envy); cf. this dedication of a portrait: “It is not envy but emulation (οὐ φθόνος ἀλλὰ ζήλος) that is inspired by those who have had portraits done of their father and mother” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, 113, 31; cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms*, pp. 87ff. E. des Places, “Du Dieu jaloux au Nom incommunicable,” in *Hommage à Claire Préaux*, Brussels, 1975, pp. 338–342; P. Adnès, “Jalousie,” in *Dict. spir.*, vol. 8, col. 70ff.). Nevertheless, “God loves jealously (*πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ*)—the spirit that he has made to dwell in us.” On this translation, cf. E. Schweizer, in *TDNT*, vol. 6, p. 447, n. 789 (gives Jewish parallels, to which add Josephus, *War* 3.372); C. Spicq, “—Ἐπιποθεῖ—ν, Désirer ou chérir?” in *RB*, 1957, pp. 189ff. S. S. Laws, “Does Scripture Speak in Vain? A Reconsideration of James IV, 5,” in *NTS*, vol. 20, 1974, pp. 210–225.

² Wis 2:24; cf. the denunciation by Democritus of the “envy and jealousy of accursed demons”; Diodorus Siculus 17.46.2: Alexander did not fear “the

envy of Fortune”; *P.Cair.Masp.* 153, 11. A funerary stele at Amasia denounces the evil eye or the fate that cause the sudden death of a young woman: φθόνος εἶλε πικρὸς ζωῆς τάχος ἀφειλάμενος (F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, n. 123, 6). Same meaning on a talismanic medallion (*SEG* 9.818; cf. P. Perdrizet, *Negotium perambulans in tenebris*, Strasbourg-Paris, 1922, pp. 27ff.), a graffito (C. B. Welles, “Inscriptions from Dura-Europus,” in *YCS*, vol. 14, 1955, p. 153); the mosaic of Cheikh Zouède: “Let envy and the evil eye stay away from this happy art” (*SEG* XXIV, 1197 c); “Un opuscule hermétique sur la Pivoine” (ed. A. J. Festugière, in *Vivre et penser* = *RB*, 1942, pp. 249, 257, n. 47): “to serve as a victory charm . . . against any sort of evil eye, malignant influence, or machination.”

³ Musonius, frag. 7: πρὸ δέ γε τοῦ ζητει—ν, ὅπως ᾧ φθονεῖ— τις κακοποιήσῃ τοῦτον, τὸ σκοπεῖ—ν ὅπως μηδὲν φθονήσῃ μηδενί (ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 58, lines 1–2); *T.Sim.* 4.7—ἀποστήσεται ἀφ’ ὑμῶν—ν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ φθόνου; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 77, 78. One wondered how envy could be resisted (*Ep. Arist.* 224).

⁴ Menander: τὸ κάκιστον τῶν—ν κακῶν—ν πάντων φθόνος (in Stobaeus 28.29, vol. 3, 713; J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 B, p. 778, n. 540, 6); Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3.3: “The cruelest of evils, envy, which hates good” (ὁ μισόκαλος φθόνος); “the basest” (Galen, *Anim. Pass.* 1.7.35); *P.Oxy.* 1901, 54: δόλος φθόνος πονηρός; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.320: “Envy does not dwell with virtue”; 2.249; Josephus, *War* 1.77: “None of our good sentiments is strong enough to resist φθόνος to the end.”

⁵ Ps.-Plato, *Def.* 416: Φθόνος· λύπη ε—πὶ φίλων ἀγαθοί—ς ἢ οὐσιν ἢ γεγεννημένοις; Diogenes Laertius 7.63.111: λύπη ε—πὶ ἀλλοτρίοις ἀγαθοί—ς. Plato had observed that envy was the only passion not accompanied by pleasure, since the one who experiences it suffers (Plato, *Phlb.* 49 a; cf. *Leg.* 9.870 c), but he specifies that its effect is “perceiving evils experienced by one’s friends and rejoicing instead of being sorry for them” (*Phlb.* 49 c–d). These observations are seconded by Philo in his example of the envious: “Those who are pained by their neighbor’s good, who derive satisfaction from seeing them suffer evil” (*Moses* 1.247).

⁶ Wis 6:23; 1Macc 8:16. Plutarch denounces spiteful envy as the source of political rivalries, constituting an obstacle to the advancing or success of a candidate (*Lyc.* 3.6), plotting against the prince (*ibid.* 7.3), stirring up strife in the city (8.3; cf. *T. Sol.* 18.38), opposing authority (*Num.* 2.10; 20.7; 22.9; *Alex.* 11.1; *Caes.* 11.3; 64.4). Herodian points out that the announcement of a victory provokes uprisings because of “jealousy, quarrels between different people, hatred, and division between fellow-countrymen” (Herodian, *Hist.* 3.2.7). Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.222: “They attach

themselves to the most famous people, sometimes out of malevolence (τινὸς μὲν διὰ φθόνον καὶ κακοήθειαν) . . . but people with sound judgment condemn their great malice (πολλὴν αὐτῶ—ν μοχθηρίας)”; Diodorus Siculus 17.114.3.

⁷ Heraclitus, *All.* 6.3: “Malevolence (ὁ φθόνος) always seeks to defile and denigrate,” especially that which is great and noble (Dionysius of Sinope, in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 3.38.2 a; vol. 3, p. 708). It attacks glory and brilliant success: “It is difficult to avoid the slanders of envy, especially when occupying a post that confers great authority” (Josephus, *Life* 80); “When he learned that I was well-liked by my men, he sank into an extraordinary jealousy . . . that sparked hatred” (ibid. 122–123). Thucydides 6.78: superiority gives rise to envy. The harms of φθόνος are mentioned by Philo (*Joseph* 5), Plutarch (*Arist.* 7.2; *Cat. Mai.* 16.4), and often in funerary epigrams, *Anth. Pal.* 9.814; the first-century monument of Agrius, “They live like true philosophers, leading a simple life, in all sorts of toil, far from wealth and evil-minded envy” (φθόνου κακοζήλου, E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 114, IV, 13); a mosaic at Serdgylla: “May the honor (that is yours) repel envy and always increase your glory” (*IGLS* 1490, 7); “May the Triune God drive envy far away” (ibid. 1599, 1); “In the presence of the cross, φθόνος is powerless” (ibid. 1909); *MAMA* VI, 163; E. Peterson, *EIS ἘΟΣ*, p.35; J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1960, p. 164, n. 188; 1965, p. 179, n. 441; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 11–12, pp. 23, 97 n. 2; vol. 13, pp. 265, 268; cf. W.C. van Unnik, *ΑΦΟΝΩ ΜΕΤΑΔΙΔΩΜΙ*, Brussels, 1971, pp. 12ff.

⁸ *P.Thead.* 14, 34; cf. *P.Oxy.* 237, col. VI, 21: ε—πὶ φθόνῳ δὲ μόνον λαιδορούμενος; 533, 14; *P.Bour.* 20, 28: οὐδεὶς φθόνος ε—στίν = the child has not been mistreated; *P.Mich.* 423–424, 13: φθόνῳ περικλι—σαι; *SB* 7518, 12; these are almost all of the attestations of φθόνος in the papyri.

⁹ Mark 15:10; Matt 27:18—διὰ φθόνον; cf. Lysias, *Inval.* 24.2: διὰ φθόνον = διὰ πονηρίαν; Philo, *Moses* 1.2: διὰ φθόνον. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in judging Plato’s merits and demerits, rhetors and philosophers “conceded nothing to envy or hatred (οὐ διὰ φθόνον ἢ διὰ φιλαπεχθημοσύνην) but only to love of truth” (*Pomp.* 1; cf. 3).

¹⁰ Phil 1:15; cf. *1Clem.* 5.5 (cf. A. Fridrichsen, “Propter invidiam: Note sur I Clém. V,” in *Eran. Rudbergian.*, vol. 44, 1946, pp. 161–174).

¹¹ *Vit. Caes.*, ed. Piccolos, Paris, 1850, p. 25.

φιλόγαθος

philagathos, loving the good, loving good people

philagathos, S 5358; TDNT 1.18; EDNT 3.424; NIDNTT 2.549; MM 668; L&N 25.105; BAGD 858

The etymological meaning of this adjective, which is rare in the literature,¹ is “loving the good” or “loving good people.” It deserves consideration, given the importance of its use in two biblical texts. It is clear that since *agathos*, “good,” is the opposite of *kakos*, “bad,” the *philagathos*, corresponding to the *misoponeros* (Philo, *Moses* 2.9; *Ep. Arist.* 292) would have to be one who treats those around him as friends, thus inspiring attachment and confidence in them; hence, it would mean kind and generous toward others. The term seems not to be used except with regard to important and influential persons, for example, Pascentius, who is addressed by the priest Theon as *philagathe Paskentie* (*P.Oxy.* 2193, 5; 2194, 5), and the emperor Marcus Aurelius.² The *Letter of Aristeeas* makes it a royal quality: the king who is *philagathos*, in his love of the good, is anxious to attach himself to men of culture and of a superior spirit” (*Ep. Arist.* 124); the sovereign (*hegoumenos*), “enemy of evil and friend of the good, attaches importance to saving a human life” (292). Philo, setting out to determine what a lawgiver (*nomothetes*) should be, says, “He should possess all the virtues to perfection and completely” (*Moses* 2.8); but some virtues are better suited than others to particular activities. For the legislative faculty, there are four especially appropriate virtues: “love of humanity, love of justice, love of good, and hatred of vice” (*to philanthropon, to philodikaion, to philagathon, to misoponeron*, 2.9). Philo further defines *philagathos*: “the love of the good requires accepting things that are good by nature and procuring them without charge for those who deserve them so that they may use them freely” (*ibid.*). That being *philagathos* means having a taste for the good and the fine—that is, that it is a moral disposition, a virtue—is confirmed by its attribution to the well-intentioned husband who keeps his wife wise and honest.³

Philagathos belongs first and foremost to the vocabulary of the inscriptions. It is used constantly to describe honest folk:⁴ “he conducted himself well and with a love for the good” (*anestraphe kalos kai philagathos*);⁵ sometimes “pious” is added.⁶ In their official praises, a *thiasos*, a *synagogos*, and a *synodos* mention a member’s propriety, his probity in the exercise of his office, his good relations, and also his respect for the gods in liturgical ceremonies (*aretas heneka kai philagathias tes eis ten patrida*);⁷ above all, effectively demonstrated beneficence is mentioned (*eis heautous*, SB 1106, 5). After stating that Athenopolis is a noble and good man (*aner kalos kai agathos*), since he has shown himself to be a lover of the good (*philagathon heauton parechomenos*, line 10), *I.Priene* 107, 16 praises him for his generosity (*philagathia*) as a benefactor of the people

(second century BC). Moreover, the *philagathos* is assisted in his devotion by a *paraphilagathos*.⁸

The word's value is prodigiously enhanced by the fact that it is one of the twenty-one descriptions of the divine Wisdom: "there is in it a spirit... that loves the good" (*esti en aute pneuma . . . philagathon*, Wis 7:22; *Alexandrinus* omits *en* and reads "it is a spirit . . . that is *philagathos*"); wisdom, which is most holy, loves to share its riches and is always ready to pass them along. It is in this same sense that *philagathos* is listed among the seven positive qualities required of candidates to the episcopate: as an overseer over the household of God, the *episkopos* must have a love for guests in his heart; but as *philagathos*, according to the foregoing references, we must understand that he is profoundly good, loving to act well and to do what is good; this is not a mere inclination, like *eunoia*, but an effective and generous devotion: the Christian *philagathos* works to realize the good and takes pleasure in it.

¹ With regard to friendship, Aristotle says: φιλάγαθος οὐ φίλαντος (Aristotle, *Mag. Mor.* 2.14.3.1212b18); Plutarch, *Thes.* 1.7: "Ariadne merited the love of a god for having been enamored of the noble and the good (φιλόκαλον και φιλάγαθον) and passionate for what is greatest"; Polybius 6.53.9. Cf. M. Landfester, "*Philos.*"

² *P.Oxy.* 22, col. II, 11 (these are the only two papyrological attestations). A certain Appianus scoffs at an emperor (perhaps Commodus) by pointing out the superior qualities of his predecessor, Marcus Aurelius: "first of all, he loved wisdom (ἦν φιλόσοφος); secondly, he did not love money (ἀφιλάργυρος); thirdly, he loved virtue (φιλάγαθος)" (R. MacMullen, "The Roman Concept Robber-Pretender," in *RIDA*, Brussels, 1963, pp. 221–225). Cf. the analogous association of virtues in an honorific decree from the year 5 BC for the president of an association: ἀρετή τε καὶ φιλαγαθία καὶ ἀφιλαργυρία πρόδηλος γείνηται (*SB* 8267, 4); cf. Διονύσιος ἄρχων καὶ φιλάγαθος ε—πόησεν συνόδω νεωτέρων (*ibid.* 8841, 1; in AD 31).

³ Plutarch, *Con. praec.* 17. Cf. C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, p. 211.

⁴ *CIRB* 76, 10: φιλάγαθος — Αντίμαχος; 79, A 3: φιλάγαθος Κέσστιον; 80, 4; 81, 4; 84, 3; 86, 3; 89, 3; 91, 4; 92, 5; 105, 9; 1263, 4; 1278, 4; 1279, 5; 1280, 6; etc.

⁵ *I.Bulg.* 13, 3 (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 762, 13); B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, vol. 2, n. 63, 3; *SEG* II, 485, 9.

⁶ *I.Did.* 215 B; 1, 6: εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλάγαθος; 391 B; I, 14; 221, 1, 6: ἀνὴρ εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλάγαθος; 232 A, 1, 4; B 5. Cf. φιλαγαθία linked with εὐσέβεια (*I.Priene* 109, 217), with εὐνοια (*ibid.* 71, 12).

⁷ *MAMA* VI, 167, 2 (*I.Car.* 12: second-first century BC); *I.Olymp.* 424, 5; *I.Priene* 112, 113; 113, 94, 119; at Andros (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1970, p. 426, n. 441); *SEG* VIII, 504; *SB* 6117, 4: τῆς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλαγαθίας χάριν (18 BC); 7456, 7; 9987, 7; 1033, 4; 10124, 3.

⁸ B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, vol. 2, n. 60, 6; 61, 4; 62, 4; *CIRB*, n. 83, 5; 88, 4; 90, 7; 99, 13; 100, 8; 103, 5; 107, 4; 1259, 10; 1262, 6; 1282, 7; 1287, 5; 1288, 7.

φιλανθρωπία, φιλανθρώπως

philanthropia, kindness toward people, generosity; *philanthropos*, kindly
see also ε—πιείκεια, ε—πεικῆς

philanthropia, S 5363; *TDNT* 9.107–112; *EDNT* 3.424–425; *NIDNTT* 2.547, 549, 551; MM 668–669; L&N 25.36, 88.71; BAGD 858 |
philanthropos, S 5364; *TDNT* 9.107–112; *EDNT* 3.424–425; *NIDNTT* 2.550; MM 669; L&N 88.72; BAGD 858; ND 1.87, 88

Philanthropy—“that noble virtue” (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.221)—is a key word in the Hellenistic period, in literature as well as in the papyri and the inscriptions.¹ The Stoics defined it as “a kindly disposition in human interaction.”² In this sense of the word, “Wisdom is a kindly spirit” (Wis 1:6; 7:23) and “the just person must be kind” (12:19), emphasizing niceness, affability, cordiality.³ Such a person was the centurion Julius, who “treated Paul humanely at Sidon, allowing him to visit the Christians and receive their attentions” (Acts 27:3; cf. Plutarch, *Them.* 31.7; *Aem.* 37.2: granting the prisoner Perseus more humane treatment). So also were the barbarians on Malta, who showed the shipwreck victims “uncommon kindness” (Acts 28:2), and the Alexandrians, who were to be mild and friendly toward the Jews.⁴

This goodness is expressed especially as solicitude, in a willingness to serve, and in effective liberalities; it is a form of generosity.⁵ In the Hellenistic period, it is the virtue of benefactors, especially divinities whose protection and providence have been shown toward people or toward a certain city.⁶ This is not only the belief of Musonius (frag. 17, ed. Lutz, p. 108, line 14), but of the lowly peasants of the Fayum in AD 6–7: “the philanthropic god knows” (*oiden ho philanthropos theos*, *SB* 9286, 1); “and I heard, because the philanthropic god took care” (*kai ekousa, hoti ho*

philanthropos theos epeskepsato).⁷ It is above all the conviction of Philo, who sees in the divine attributes of *epieikeia* and *philanthropia* a manifestation of God's mercy (*Moses* 1.198) and who—having drafted a *Peri philanthopias* (*Virtues* 51–186)—worked out a theology of the philanthropy of the true God, who loves humankind (*Virtues* 77, 188; Philo, *Abraham* 79; 137, 203), is giving (*Creation* 81), shows remarkable solicitude (*Spec. Laws* 3.36; 1.120; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.24). Philo compares the kind of reception reserved for kings: “For the king of kings, for God who is Lord of all things, who through his mildness and philanthropy has deigned to visit his creation, who descends from highest heaven to the ends of the earth for the good of our race—what sort of dwelling should be provided for him? . . . A soul in conformity with his will” (*Cherub.* 99). Better yet, God is like a father, providing for the welfare of his family and patient toward the rebellious (*Prov* 2:6). This is the context in which Titus 3:4 occurs: “when the goodness (*chrestotes*) and *philanthropia* of God our Savior appeared.” This linking of goodness-benignity and philanthropy is constant.⁸ *Philanthropia* is used to extend divine mercy to all of humanity, but it implies a gracious and broad generosity that gives and forgives better than do *kyrioi* here below.⁹

Given that Hellenistic sovereigns were seen as the image and representation of God on earth, they were all supposed to possess the *philanthropia* of the *euergetes*,¹⁰ a kindly beneficence that is quick to show clemency,¹¹ that showers benefits (referred to as *philanthropa*)¹² upon subjects, and that finally establishes harmony and peace (cf. the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians: *meta praotetos kai philanthropeias*, *P.Lond.* 1912, 102). On the one hand, the king sees to it that he is “philanthropic” toward his subjects (*Ep. Arist.* 208); on the other, he wants to gain in return some loyalty from them: “the philanthropy and affection of the governed” (*ton hypotetagmenon philanthropia kai agapesis*, *ibid.* 265). After the fashion of Ptolemy, he bears witness concerning himself that he has “given his best efforts to being humane” (*tais te heautou dynamesin pephilanthropeke pasais*, Rosetta Stone; Dittenberger, *Or.* 90, 12; cf. *SB* 10648, 11; *SEG* XXV, 445, 2, 4, 34). Furthermore, petitions to the king, the prefect, and the *strategos* address specifically their philanthropy in order to persuade them to intervene favorably¹³ and allow the petitioner to “share in the common privilege” (*pros to kame dynasthai tes koines philanthopias metaschein*, *P.Oxy.* 2919, 10; 2918, 16). Precedents are cited: “Since you have always acted with extreme benevolence, now do so again . . .” (*P.Sorb.* 53, 6); the hoped-for benefits are celebrated: “thus shall we benefit from your benevolence”;¹⁴ and thanks are given for this philanthropy.¹⁵

¹ The bibliography is considerable; S. Lorenz, *De Progressu Notionis φιλανθρωπίας*, Leipzig, 1914; W. W. Tarn, “Alexander’s φιλανθρωπία and

the 'World-Kingdom,' in *JHS*, 1921, pp. 1–17; S. Tromp de Ruiter, “De Vocis Quae est φιλανθρωπία Significatione atque Usu,” in *Mnemosyne*, 1932, pp. 271–306; M. Fuerth, *Caritas und Humanitas*, Stuttgart, 1933; H. I. Bell, “Philanthropia in the Papyri,” in *Hommages à J. Bidez, F. Cumont*, Brussels, 1948, pp. 31–37; N. I. Herescu, “Homo, Humanus, Humanitas,” in *BAGB*, 1948, pp. 64–75; A. J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 2, pp. 301–309; C. Spicq, “La Philanthropie hellénistique, vertu divine et royale,” in *ST*, vol. 12, 1958, pp. 169–195; J. Kabiersch, *Untersuchungen zum Begriff der Philanthropie bei dem Kaiser Julian*, Wiesbaden, 1960; A. J. Voelke, *Les Rapports avec autrui dans la philosophie grecque*, Paris, 1961, pp. 70ff.; H. Martin, “The Concept of Philanthropia in Plutarch’s Lives,” in *AJP*, 1961, pp. 164–175; R. Le Déaut, “φιλανθρωπία dans la littérature grecque jusqu’au Nouveau Testament,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, pp. 255–294; M. Landfester, “*Philos*,” pp. 537ff.; R. Rieks, *Homo, Humanus, Humanitas*, Munich, 1967; A. Nissen, *Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum*, Tübingen, 1974, pp. 466ff.; F. Casavola, “Culture e scienza giuridica nel secondo secolo di C.” in *ANRW*, vol. 15, pp. 157ff.; L. Heinemann, “Humanitas,” in *PWSup*, vol. 5, 282–310.

² *SVF*, vol. 3, 292; Ps.-Plato, *Def.* 412 e; cf. φιλανθρώπως ἀποκριθῆναι = give a friendly response (*I.Thas.* 174, D 1).

³ Depending on the context, it can be translated “humane” (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 4.1; Diodorus Siculus 17.102.3) in contrast with “severe” (Plutarch, *Cic.* 21.5), amiable (Diodorus Siculus 17.40.1), affable (17.112.6; Plutarch, *Dem.* 29.3), benevolent (*Cic.* 40.5), cordial (Polybius 5.10.1; 5.11.6; 5.62.2; 5.63.8; 5.75.7; 5.77.6; 5.78.6; etc.); cf. Menander, *Dysk.* 105: “Desiring to show myself to be altogether courteous and diplomatic” (φιλόανθρωπος σφόδρα ε—πιδέξιος); 146: “He does not seem entirely accommodating” (οὐ πάνυ φιλόανθρωπον); 573: “Each time I pass before you (O Pan), I pray to you as a well-mannered man” (φιλανθρωπεύομαι); Polybius 2.12.5: “They found in both of these people the requisite cordiality” (τῆς καθηκούσης φιλανθρωπίας); 2.38.8: the Achaean political system is characterized by equality and liberality (ἰ—σότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπία); 2.70.1: In everything Antigonus treated the Lacedaemonians with generosity and benevolence (μεγαλοψύχως καὶ φιλανθρώπως); Plutarch, *Nic.* 11.2: τὸ μὴ φιλόανθρωπον = an antisocial bearing; cf. *Cat. Min.* 50.2; *Crass.* 3.5; a letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Athenians, in *ZPE*, vol. 8, 1971, p. 177, line 8; *P.Oxy.* 2981, 14; φιλανθρωπηθήση = you will be recompensed (second century); cf. the linking of χάρις and φιλόανθρωπος, Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 24.818 d–e; *Sol.* 2.1.

⁴ Letter of Emperor Claudius; *P.Lond.* 1912, 83: πραέως καὶ φιλανθρώπως; cf. Hecataeus of Abdera: τὴν ἠπιότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν

τοῦ Πτολεμαίου (cited by Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.186); Plutarch, *Amat.* 18.1: “Does not love make people more friendly and agreeable?” (φιλανθρωποτέρους καὶ ἡδίους); cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Pomp.* 2; *SB* 7457, 20: οἱ—κείως καὶ φιλανθρώπως. Eleazar’s philanthropy is linked to his *φιλία*, 2Macc 6:22; cf. *LSAM*, p. 183, line 3: τὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας δίκαια; Plutarch associates it with *πραότης* (*Mar.* 8.2; *Pyrrh.* 11.8; 34.7–11; *Alex.* 58.8; cf. 44.5; 71.8), as does Lucian (Lucian, *Phal.* 1.3); Philo links it with *koinonia* (*Spec. Laws* 1.324). It means “friendly” at *SEG* VIII, 372, 8. The most common form of *φιλανθρωπία* was being friendly, giving a good welcome to an interlocutor (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 9.2; 37.1), showing that form of courtesy that was demonstrated by the Athenians who “having seized the mail belonging to Philip, with whom they were at war, read all the letters, except for one from Olympias, which they did not open but sent back sealed as it was” (*ibid.* 22.2). Cf. C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, pp. 218ff.

⁵ 2Macc 13:23—the king “offered a sacrifice, honored the temple, and was generous toward the holy place” (τὸν τόπον ε—φιλανθρώπησε); *P. Michael.* 4, 23: “the River (the Nile), full of *φιλανθρωπία*, first of all brought sustenance (to Egypt)”; *P. Tebt.* 739, 19, 40: Assos granted *proxenia*, the rights of citizenship, and other privileges (τοι—ς ἄλλοις φιλανθρώποις, *I. Thas.* 170, 7; cf. 171, 5, 44); Polybius 28.20: “Antiochus showed philanthropy toward those people and gave a piece of gold to each Greek colonist”; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.63, 71; Plutarch, *Alex.* 44.3–5; *Caes.* 34.7; *Sull.* 31.7. Inscription at Aphrodisias: εὐνοία καὶ κοινω—ς πρὸς πάντας καὶ ι—δία πρὸς ἕκαστον φιλανθρώπως καὶ πλείστας ε—γγύας ὑπὲρ πολλω—ν ε—κτείσαντα (*MAMA* VIII, 406, 4); *I. Magn.* 105, 13: μετ̄ ει—ρήνης δὲ καὶ τῆς πάσης ὁμονοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας; *I. Did.* 269, 13: εὐσεβῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, φιλάνθρωπος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους; *I. Priene* 115, 5: ἀναστρεφόμενος ε—ν πα—σιν φιλανθρώπως (first century BC). Medicine is a philanthropic profession (Galen, *Med. Phil.* 1.56; cf. Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 297); Hippocrates, *Praec.* 6: “Where there is love of mankind, there is also love of art.”

⁶ The protector Sardis, Demeter is “the philanthropic goddess” (Philostratus, *Ep.* 75); Apis “of all the gods most benevolent toward humankind” (Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephes.* 5.4.10; cf. 4.2.4), Kronos (Plato, *Leg.* 4.713 *d*), Eros (*Symp.* 189 *d*), Hermes (Aristophanes, *Pax* 393); Apollo (Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 16; *Num.* 4; *De Stoic. rep.* 38); Asclepius (R. Cagnat, *IG*, Paris, 1911, n. 826); Prometheus (Lucian, *Sacr.* 6).

⁷ *SB* 9397, 3; cf. 8701: the dedication of an image of St. Stephen: τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμω—ν Χριστοῦ φιλανθρωπία; a Christian letter, (*ibid.* 10467,

4): ὁ φιλόανθρωπος δεσπότης θεὸς κύριος ἡμῶ—ν; a prayer of the fifth-sixth century: ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινὸς φιλόανθρωπος (*P.Oxy.* 925, 2); G. Lefèvre, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*, Cairo, 1907, n. 636, 12; 650, 1; 661, 9; 664, 12; 665, 12; 666, 14, 667, 16. The lector Andrew takes refuge in God, the benevolent judge (πρὸς σε τὸν φιλόανθρωπον κριτὴν, A. C. Bandy, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete*, Athens, 1970, n. 104). A Byzantine notary writes to Madame Kyra: οἶδεν ὁ φιλόανθρωπος θεός (*P.Vindob.* 31496, ed. H. Gerstinger, in *Eos* (Symbolae R. Taubenschlag), 1956 vol. 1, p. 213).

⁸ Esth 8:12, *k, l*; Philo, *Joseph* 82, 176, 198: “obliging and kindly words”; 264; *Virtues* 97, 101, 182: “mild, good, and humane proselytes”; *Flight* 96; *Abraham* 203; *Spec. Laws* 2.75, 141; 3.156: ὄνομα εὐνοίας ὅ τι χρηστὸν καὶ φιλόανθρωπὸν ε—στιν; *To Gaius* 67: Gaius was not long ago thought of as χρηστὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος; Josephus, *Ant.* 10.164: τὴν τοῦ Γαδαλίου χρηστότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν; Plutarch, *Luc.* 18.9: φύσει χρηστὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόανθρωπον; *Ages.* 25.6; *Sol.* 15.2; *Arist.* 27.7; *Arat.* 12.1; *Cic.* 9.6; 52.3; *Quaest. conv.* 1.1.4: stories that stir up a desire to emulate good and humane actions (χρηστῶ—ν καὶ φιλανθρώπων ζήλον); Dio Cassius 73.5.2: “a *philanthropia*, a *chrestotes*, . . . an attentive care for all that pertains to the public interest were evident in the whole administration around the emperor (Pertinax)”; the general must treat cities that surrender φιλανθρώπως καὶ χρηστῶ—ς (Onasander 38.1); Iamblichus, *Agr.* (in Stobaeus 4.5.76; vol. 4, p. 223); Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 5.18.5; Galen praises his father, χρηστότατον καὶ φιλανθρωπότατον ἔχων πατέρα (5.40–41, K); B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae* 39, 20–21; F. A. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom AbouBillou*, Ann Arbor, 1961, n. 92: Διονυσάριον Σαραπίωνος ἄλυπε φιλόανθρωπε φιλότεκνε χρηστὴ χαι—ρε. Numerous references given in F. Field, *Notes on the Translation*, pp. 161, 222.

⁹ In religious contexts it is impossible simply to transliterate and say “philanthropy,” because in English the word is so thoroughly secular. But the Greek Fathers, especially St. John Chrysostom, and the Eastern liturgy (Byzantine, Syrian, Palestinian, Alexandrian, Egyptian, Nubian, etc.) retained this word as a divine epithet; so much so that at Faras, from the eighth to the twelfth century, this was almost the only attribute of Christ and of God; cf. J. Kubinska, *Faras*, vol. 4, Warsaw, 1974.

¹⁰ Esth 8:12 *l*; 2Macc 4:11; 13:23; 14:11; 4Macc 5:12. Antiochus commends his son to the Jews, writing, “I am persuaded that with all benevolence and humaneness (ε—πεικῶ—ς καὶ φιλανθρώπος) he will scrupulously follow my intentions and will be fully condescending toward you” (2Macc 9:27). This virtue is attributed to Moses (Philo, *Virtues* 66; *Spec. Laws* 4.24), to the Israelite kings (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.385), to Aeolus,

king of Lipari (Diodorus Siculus 5.7), to Cyrus (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.2.1), Ptolemy Philadelphus (*Ep. Arist.* 290), Eumenes II of Pergamum (*Fouilles de Delphes* III, 3, 239, line 11), Pisistratus (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 16.8), the emperors Hadrian (*BGU* 140), Antoninus (*SEG* XIX, 476, c 11), Severus Alexander (*P.Fay.* 20, 15), Galen (*Sel.Pap.* 217, 16: ἵνα διὰ τὴν προγόνων ἀρετὴν ἀπολαύσῃ τῆς ε—μῆς φιλανθρωπίας), Diocletian and Maximian (*P.Oxy.* 889, 4–5), Severus and Caracalla (*P.Oxy.* 705, 20), to any conquering king who showed clemency toward the vanquished (Plutarch, *Dem.* 22.4), to Darius (Diodorus Siculus 17.5.6), and above all to Alexander (ibid. 17.2.2; 17.4.3; 17.4.9; 17.5.1; 17.22.5; 17.24.1; 17.37.3; 17.37.6; 17.38.3; 17.103.7; 17.104.4). The senate decreed that each year sacrifice should be offered to the Philanthropy of Tiberius (DioCassius 59.16). A statue was erected in honor of the proconsul D. Plautius FelixJulianus, ἀγνίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας χάριν (*I.Kour.*, n. 90). It is a virtue of prefects (*P.Lond.* 1912, 81: ἡγεμῶν φιλάνθρωπος; *SB* 11223, 25), of Seleucus (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 50.1), of Antony (*Ant.* 3.10), of “Theodore, the renowned decurion” (*SB* 7439), of the *epimeletes* (ibid. 8396, 39), of a *choregos* of Eleusis (Dittenberger, *Syl.* III, 1094, 3–5), of all those who “bring to light their devotion to the people” (*I.Gonn.* 109, 4), or whose decisions are benevolent (Plutarch, *Cim.* 1.7; *Phoc.* 5.1; 10.7; *Cat. Min.* 21.10; 23.1; 26.1; 29.4; 60.1). The honorific decrees emphasize it (*ISE*, n. 55, 2, 24, 34). On the “philanthropy” of laws, cf. *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 4–5; *BGU* 1024, col. VIII, 18–20; *P.Oxy.* 2177, 18; Demosthenes, *C. Timocr.* 24, 191; Philo, *Virtues* 28; *Spec. Laws* 1.129, 324; 2.78, 104, 107, 128, 183; Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 2.211–214; Plutarch, *Cic.* 30.2.

¹¹ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 3, 9. Philanthropic *prostagma* are “amnesty ordinances,” *BGU* 372, col. II, 19; 1156, 26; *P.Ryl.* 155, 7–8; *SB* 9508, 10; *C.Ord.Ptol.*, n. 53ff.; G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. XXXI c, 10, 12, 16.

¹² *I.Cor.* III, 10; *I.Cret.* (ed. M. Guarducci), vol. 1, pp. 27–28, 60, 120; vol. 2, p. 15; *IGLS* 1998, 9–10; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 618, 14; 699, 12; *Or.* 139, 20–21; *P.Tebt.* 124, 7; 739, 40; *SB* 599, 60; 620, 3–4; Diodorus Siculus 19.9.6; 19.24.1 (Agathocles); 19.44.3 (Antigonos); 19.50.2 (Cassander); 19.54.5; 10.56.1 (Ptolemy); 19.91.5 (Seleucus); 19.110.3: “Hamilcar showed benevolence to all.” M. T. Lenger, “La Notion de ‘bienfait’ (philanthrôpon) royal et les ordonnances des rois Lagides,” in *Studi in onore di V. Arangio-Ruiz*, Naples, 1953, vol. 1, pp. 483–499.

¹³ *P.Mich.* 529, 13: δεόμενος σου φιλανθρωπίας; *P.Thead.* 22, 11; 23, 12; *P.Cair.Isid.* 53, 15; *P.Mert.* 43, 3; *P.Oxy.* 2267, 8; *BGU* 522, 5; 1572, 16; *P.Erl.* 34, 13; *PSI* 292, 19; *P.Tebt.* 31, 21; 382, 34, 64; 397, 27; 770, 16; 775, 18; *C.P.Herm.* 19, 13; *P.Ryl.* 296, 12; 578, 15 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 43; *SB* 6760 a 34; 6944, 10; 8994, 17; 9168, 15; 10271, 27; 10522, 10. Cf.

P.Magd., pp. 5ff.; *P. Collomp, Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatique des Lagides*, Paris, 1926; *P.Enteux.*, pp. xxiiff. and n. 5, 8; 6, 7; 22, 13; 44, 8; 47, 9; 60, 12; 60, 12; 62, 13; 74, 19; 86, 15.

¹⁴ *P.Phil.* 10, 21: ἵν ὦμεν πεφιλανθρωπημένοι; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 71, 26; *P.Oslo* 22, 17; *SB* 6236, 51; 7259, 47; 9264, 26. An honorific decree from the Fayum mentions along with “personal customs” (τω—ν ι—δίων ἡθω—ν) the benevolence, generosity, and moderation (εὐμενω—ς, φιλανθρώπως, τὸ ε—πιεικέες) of the honored person, who has been of service to the city (*SB* 6185; cf. Plutarch, *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 20.816 d).

¹⁵ *C.P.Herm.* 10, 6; *SB* 8396, 39. It is the same in relations of friendship (*P.Princ.* 187, 9; *PSI* 94, 4), “I thank you for your kindness in the matter of the olive oil” (*P.Mich.* 483, 3 = *SB* 7355; *P.Oxy.* 3057, 8; *P.Mich.* 232, 18 = *SB* 7568, from AD 38; *P.Mich.* 489, 10; 494, 8; *P.Fouad* 54, 9, 13). A. Pelletier, “La Philanthropia de tous les jours chez les juifs hellénisés,” in *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme* (Mélanges M. Simon), Paris, 1978, pp. 35–44.

φιλαργυρία, φιλάργυρος

philargyria, love of money; *philargyros*, loving money
see also αι—σχροκερδής, ἀφιλάργυρος; ἀφιλάργυρος

philargyria, S 5365; *EDNT* 3.425; *NIDNTT* 1.138, 2.550; MM 669; L&N 25.107; BAGD 859 | ***philargyros***, S 5366; *EDNT* 3.425; *NIDNTT* 2.550; MM 669; L&N 25.108; BAGD 859

The substantive, unknown in the LXX and the papyri,¹ occurs in the NT only in 1Tim 6:10—“For *philargyria* is a root of all evils” (*rhiza gar panton ton kakon estin he philargyria*). This saying can be traced back to Plato² and is a commonplace in *diatribe*. Stobaeus attributes to Democritus the saying, “Wealth arising from evil dealings purchases notorious shame” (*ploutos apo kakes ergasies periginomenos epiphanesteron to oneidos kektetai*) and of Bion he says, “He said that the love of money is the metropolis of all evil” (*ten philargyrian metropolin elege pases kakias einai, Ecl.* 10.36–37; vol. 3, p. 417). Apollodorus of Gela: “It is the head of all evils, for they are all present in the love of money” (*to kephalaion ton kakon, en philargyria gar pant’ eni*, *ibid.* 16.12; p. 482); *T. Jud.* 19.1—“*Philargyria* leads to idolatry”; *Sib. Or.* 2.115: “Gold, prince of evils, life-destroying, crushing all things” (*chryse, kakon archege, biophthore, panta chalepton*); 3.235: “Those who care only for justice and virtue know nothing of cupidity (*philochremosyne*), which for mortals gives rise to myriads of evils, perpetual famine and war.” In a listing of evils (*ponera*),

Tabula of Cebes 19.5 includes “pain, wailing, arrogance, love of money (*philargyrian*), incontinence, and all other wickedness”;³ likewise Epictetus 2.16.45; cf. 2.9.12 and Plutarch: “The desire to acquire wealth causes all the wars.”⁴

As for the lovers of money (*philargyroi*) in the last days,⁵ they are victims of an innate passion (4Macc 2:8), like the Pharisees (Luke 16:14), and above all the sophists, “word-merchants” (*logopoloι*, Philo, *Prelim. Stud.* 53, 127; *Post. Cain* 116), and the philosophers who hawk wisdom in a dishonorable way (*Giants* 37, 39).

¹ The same is true of the adjective φιλάργυρος, which is attested only as a proper name (*P.Oxy.* 1678, 12; *I.Priene* 313, 653; *I.Cret.* IV, 223, *I.Thas.* 225), but is common in the imperial period (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, Paris, 1965, p. 260). The verb φιλαργυρέω, unknown in the NT, is used in 2Macc 10:20; cf. Dittenberger, *Syl.* 593,12.

² Plato, *Leg.* 9.870 a, c: “The power that money has to give birth to a thousand and one furies of insatiable, infinite grasping. . . . This love of riches is the first and greatest source of the greatest cases of murder.” The wording in 1Tim may perhaps be a quotation from a comic author (cf. S. T. Byington, “1 Timothy VI, 10,” in *ExpT*, 1944, p. 54), but the idea belongs to Plutarch, *De cupid. divit.* 524 e–f; cf. 525 e–f –526a; C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, pp. 205ff.

³ Τὴν λύπην καὶ τὸν ὀδυρμὸν καὶ τὴν ὑπερηφάνειαν καὶ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν κακίαν. Cf. *Tabula of Cebes* 34, 3: μέθυσον καὶ ἀκρατὴ εἶναι καὶ φιλάργυρον καὶ ἄδικον καὶ προδότην καὶ τὸ πέρας ἄφρονα.

⁴ Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 13; cf. Plutarch, *De cupid. divit.* (on the greed of Crassus, cf. *Crass.* 1.5; 2.1; 6.6; 14.5); Diogenes Laertius 6.50; Diodorus Siculus, *Exc.* 21.1; Dio Chrysostom 4.84 and 129; 66.1; Aulus Gellius 3.1; Lucian, *Char.* 17; Choricus of Gaza: χρυσέ, κακῶ—ν ἀρχηγέ, καὶ τῶ— ἔχοντί σε φόβος καὶ τῶ— μὴ ἔχοντί σε λυπή (cited by A. Dain, in *Anth. Pal.* 9.394, p. 23, n. 2).

⁵ In the sin list at 2Tim 3:2 (cf. N. J. McEleney, “The Vice Lists of the Pastoral Epistles,” in *CBQ*, 1974, pp. 211ff.). This vice fits well at Ephesus, the greatest commercial center in Asia Minor; these greedy people are found again in a similar list in *T. Levi* 17.11.

φίλοι

philoï, friends, confidants, dear ones

philoï, S 5384; TDNT 9.146–171; EDNT 3.427–428; NIDNTT 2.547–551; MM 671; L&N 34.11; BDF §§190(1), 227(2); BAGD 861

When the Lord calls his apostles “friends,” he bases this choice of words on the fact that “I have made known to you all that I heard from my Father.”¹ We can refer to the *disciplina arcani*, so important in the rabbis and at Qumran,² but we should also recall a specific meaning of *philos*, namely, “confidant, one to whom a secret is entrusted,” not only because “all things are common to friends,”³ and not only because the master-disciple relationship is assimilated to a friendship relationship,⁴ but because people entrust their most intimate and precious secrets only to those whom they love and in whom they have confidence.⁵ Cf. Philo, *Dreams* 1.191: “The word of God addresses some as a king authoritatively telling them what to do. . . . For others, it is a friend who with persuasive gentleness reveals numerous secrets that no profane ear may hear.” It is in this sense that “the prophet is called the friend of God” (*Moses* 1.156), especially Moses, to whom God spoke with the confidence and intimacy that people use with friends (*hos pros ton heautou philon*, Exod 33:11). “The wise are friends of God, especially the most holy lawgiver. For freedom in speech is akin to friendship: with whom does a person speak freely, if not with a friend? Thus it is altogether fitting that Moses should be celebrated in the Scriptures as the friend; thus all that he risks saying in his boldness can be chalked up to friendship.”⁶

St. Paul bids Titus, “Greet those who love us in the faith” (*aspasai tous philountas hemas en pistei*, Titus 3:15; cf. *P.Yale* 80, 11; 83, 24; *P.Mich.* 477, 3), and St. John says to the elder Gaius, “The friends greet you. Greet the friends by name” (*aspazontai se hoi philoi, aspazou tous philous kat’ onoma*, 3John 15).

Both expressions recur often in the epistolary papyri: *aspazou tous philountas hymas* (*P.Lund* 3, 17; cf. *P.Ryl.* 235, 5); *aspasai tous philountas se pantas* (*P.Oxy.* 1676, 38–39; cf. *BGU* 332, 7); *aspazou tous philountes pantes pros aletheian*.⁷ Greetings are sent to a father, mother, sister, all those in the household, and friends: *aspazome Ammonan ton patera mou kai ten meteran mou ka ten adelphen kai tous en oiko pantas kai tous philous* (*P.Mert.* 28, 17); “Greet my mother, my sisters, the children, and all who love me” (*ten meteran, tas adelphas, ta paideia, pantas tous philountas me aspazou*, *Pap.Lugd. Bat.* XVII, 16 b 19; cf. *P.Oxy.* 2594, 15). These “friends” could be friends in the strict sense⁸ or it could mean mere acquaintances: “Greet Theon and Zoilus and Harpokras and Dionysus and all of our people.”⁹ Similarly the “friend and benefactor” of a city (*TAM* III, 139), or “friend and ally” (1Macc 10:16; 12:14; 15:17, and the inscriptions—

I. Magn. 38, 52; *SEG XIX*, 468, 32; *XXIII*, 547, 2, etc.); even the passerby (addressed by an epitaph, *TAM III*, 548).

So it is often necessary, and a sign of profound affection, to greet each one “by name”: “I greet my very sweet daughter Makkaria . . . and all of our people by name” (*aspazomai ten glykytaten mou thygatera Makkarian . . . kai holous tous hemon kat’ onoma*, *P. Oxy.* 123, 21–23; cf. 930, 22–26); “Greet all of your people warmly by name”;¹⁰ “Greet all those who love us by name” (*aspazou pantas tous philountas hemas kat’ onoma*, *P. Athen.* 62, 30, first-second century; cf. *P. Oslo* 151, 20; *P. Warr.* 18, 30); “Greet Tasokmenis my esteemed sister and Samba and Soueris and her children and Sambous and all the relatives and friends by name” (*aspazou Tasokmenin ten kyrian mou adelphen kai Samban kai Souerin kai ta tekna autes kai Samboun kai pantes tous syngeneis kai philous kat’ onoma*, *P. Mich.* 203, 34); “I greet my daughter warmly and your mother and those who love us by name.”¹¹ These parallels to 3John 15 are quite numerous, but the best of them all is this, from a second-century ostrakon: Annius, writing to his “very sweet friend” (*glykytato*), concludes, “The friends greet you. Greet . . . the guardian and Niger . . . and all by name.”¹²

In the epitaphs, the adjective *philos* is used especially with father, mother, child, parents;¹³ in the papyri, it is especially the superlative *philtatos* that is used, notably in greetings. In AD 1: “Dionysius to Theon, *to philtato pleista chairein*” (*P. Oslo* 47, 1; cf. 49, 1; 56, 1; 82, 6; 85, 8); in 58, the same expression, from Chairas to Dionysius (*P. Mert.* 12, 1; cf. 23, 1; *P. Mich.* 210, 2; 503, 1); in 68, Heracleides greets his very dear Satabous.¹⁴ Christians take up the apostolic formulas¹⁵ and can be very expressive of their affection: “It is the same toward you, dearest one, for as in a mirror you see my engrafted affection and love for you, which is always fresh” (*to auto de estin kai pros se, o philtate, kai gar hos di esoptrou katides ten pros se mou emphyton storgen kai agapen ten aei nean*, *P. Oxy.* 2603, 17).

¹ John 15:15 (cf. Luke 12:2-4). Cf. W. Grundmann, “Das Wort von Jesu Freunden (Joh. XV, 13–16) und das Herrenmahl,” in *NovT*, 1959, pp. 62–69; G. M. Lee, “John XV, 14: ‘Ye Are My Friends,’” *ibid.* 1973, p. 260; E. A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century*, p. 38.

² J. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, pp. 76ff.; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, p. 165, n. 5.

³ Κοινὰ τὰ τῶ—ν φίλων, a Pythagorean maxim that was often quoted, Plato, *Lysis* 207 c; *Phdr.* 270 e; *Resp.* 5.462 c; Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.2.1263a29–30; *Eth. Nic.* 8.11.1159b31; Euripides, *Or.* 735; Plutarch, *Amat.* 21.9; *De adul. et am.* 24; Athenaeus 1.14.8 a. On the mediation of friends, cf. A.

Biscardi, “Μεταξὺ φίλων, clausola di stile nei documenti di manomissione dell’ Egitto romano,” in *Studi in on. di E. Volterra*, vol. 3, Milan, 1971, pp. 515–526.

⁴ Aristotle, frag. 673 R; *P.Hercul.* 1018, col. XII, 5; H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l’éducation*, p. 62 = ET, pp. 57ff.; C. Spicq, *Agapè: Prolégomènes*, pp. 26ff., 181ff.

⁵ St. John Chrysostom comments thus: “As the greatest proof of friendship is to entrust secrets (τὰ ἀπόρρητα), he tells them that he has deemed them worthy of such a communication (τῆς κοινωνίας).”

⁶ Philo, *Heir* 21; cf. Plato, *Tim.* 53 d: “As for the higher principles, they are known only to God, and among mortals only to those who are friends of God”; Aeschylus, *Pers.* 160, 169: “It is to you that I wish to say everything, friends . . . advise me”; Thales: “One must believe one’s friends even when they say the unbelievable” (in Plutarch, *Conv. sept. sap.* 17); Seneca, *Ben.* 6.34.5: “It is in a court, not in an atrium, that one looks for a friend; there he must be received, there kept; it is in our thought that he must find a secret sanctuary”; *Ep.* 3.2.3.

⁷ *P.Fay.* 118, 25; 119, 25; *BGU* 625, 35; *P.Brem.* 61, 42; *P.Mich.* 490, 18; 494, 15–16; 495, 32; cf. F. X. J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter: A Study in Greek Epistolography*, Washington, 1923, pp. 114–115; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 85ff.; T. Y. Mullins, “Greeting as a New Testament Form,” in *JBL*, 1968, pp. 418–426; M. Landfester, “*Philos.*”

⁸ *P.Oslo* 49, 11: ἀσπάζου τοὺς σοὺς πάντας καὶ τὸν κύριον —Απολλώνιον τὸν μόνον φίλον; *C.P.Herm.* 12, 14: οἱ— φίλοι καὶ γνώριμοι; 1, 6: ἀναγκαι—ος φίλος (cf. *BGU* 1874, 4; *P.Oslo* 60, 5; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 59, 13), γνήσιος φίλος (*P.Fouad* 54, 34; *P.Oxy.* 1841, 6; 1845, 6; 1860, 16); τω— ἀγαθωτάτου σου φίλω (*P.Mich.* 498, 9).

⁹ Ἀσπασαί—έωνα καὶ—ώϊλον καὶ Ἄρποκρα—ν καὶ Διονυσοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἡμω—ν πάντας, ed. E. G. Turner, “My Lord Apis,” in *RechPap*, vol. 2, 1962, p. 118, line 15 and 20.

¹⁰ Ἀσπασε πολλὰ τοὺς ἡμω—ν πάντας κατ’ ὄνομα, *P.Oxy.* 2275, 16–17; cf. 2276, 28; *PSI* 838, 11; 1054, 10; 1332, 27; 1333, 24; 1423, 27.

¹¹ —Ἀσπάζομαι τὴν θυγατέρα μου πολλὰ καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμα—ς κατ’ ὄνομα, *P.Mich.* 216, 26; cf. 209, 25; 221, 19: ἀσπάζομαι σε μετὰ τω—ν τέκνω—ν σου: ἀσπάζομαι καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμα—ς κατ’ ὄνομα; 476, 31; 477, 40–44; 479, 20; 491, 19; 493, 21; *P.Harr.* 104, 15; *BGU* 27, 15; *P.Mert.* 82, 16–19; *P.Abinn.* 6, 23–24; 25, 15;

P.Ross.Georg. III, 4, 25–28; *SB* 7353, 19; 7336, 32–25; 7357, 20–23; 800, 33; *P.IFAO* II, n. 40, 11: ἄσπαζε τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμα—ς πάντας καθ ὄνομα; A. Bernand, *Philae*, I, n. 65: “X performed this act of adoration for his friends, by name, and for all their children, for the good”; P. Perdrizet, G. Lefèbvre, *Les Graffites grecs du Memnonion d’Abydos*, Nancy-Paris, 1919, n. 481, 492, 580.

¹² J. Schwartz, “Deux ostraca de la région du wadi Hammamat” (in *ChrEg*, 1956, pp. 118–123; cf. *O.Aberd.* 70, 8). The schoolboy Arion prays each day for his father, and concludes ἄσπάζω πολλὰ τοὺς ἡμω—ν πάντας κατ ὄνομα σὺν τοι—ς φιλοῦντι ἡμα—ς (in *Sel.Pap.* 133, 21).

¹³ *GVI*: father (n. 1204, 1737, 2026), mother (1208, 1210, 1909), child (1206, 1350, 1389, 1849, 1923), parents (1361), friends in the strict sense (1211, 1; 1212, 1270, 1363, 1630; 1633, 1821); cf. Diodorus Siculus, “Le Lexique de l’amour dans les papyrus et dans quelques inscriptions de l’époque hellénistique,” in *Mnemosyne*, 1955, pp. 27ff.

¹⁴ *P.Berl.Zill.* 9, 1; *C.P.Herm.* 1, 2 (first century); *P.Corn.* 51, 1; *P.Princ.* 163, 1; 187, 5; *P.Rein.* 112, 2; *P.Mert.* 83, 1; 90, 5; *P.Mich.* 602, 2; 634, 4; *P.Yale* 79, 3; 80, 13; 81, 2; 83, 2; 84, 2; *P.Oxy.* 3030, 2; 3063, 1; 3085, 1; 3086, 1; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 51, 2; 62, 2; 76, 2; 201, 2; *P.Bon.* 44, 1; *P.Brem.* 51, 1; 52, 1; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 43, 4; XIII, 19, 1; in the plural, φιλτάτοις φίλοις (*BGU* 1568, 3, 17; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 244; *P.Brem.* 3, 4; *P.Oxy.* 2183, 3; 3026, col. I, 16; *P.Mert.* 66, 2; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVII, 7, 1). The vocative φίλτατε is found especially in wishes: ἔρρωσο, φίλτατε! (*P.Oslo* 82, 13; *P.Oxy.* 2610, 11; 3030, 16; 3063,24; *P.Yale* 79, 29; 84, 10; *P.Mert.* 28, 22; *P.Princ.* 68, 15); γράφω σοι φίλτατε (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 42, 29; 43, 9, 14).

¹⁵ M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* (cf. the index on ὄνομα, p. 409); J. O’Callaghan, *Cartas cristianas griegas del siglo V*, Barcelona, 1963, n. IV, 15–16; IX, 19; XXIII, 5; XLVIII.

Φιλόλογος

Philologos, Philologus

Philologos, S 5378; *EDNT* 3.427; *NIDNTT* 2.550; MM 670; L&N 93.380; BAGD 860

As a common noun, this word does not occur in the Bible. It can have a positive or a pejorative sense: “one who loves to talk, a babbler” or “one who loves literature, a scholar” (Epictetus 2.4.1; 3.10.10; 4.22.107; *TAM* 2.919: *ton agathon philologon*). It is applied especially to the Athenians.¹ It

is used in official praise (*MAMA* VIII, 263), for example, for physicians (*TAM* II, 147, 5; *CIL* III, 614; cf. V. Nutton, “Menecrates of Sosandra, Doctor or Vet?” in *ZPE*, vol. 22, 1976, p. 96), and epitaphs and letters apply it to students,² even to a young girl: *Tetria, philologe, chaire* (*SEG*, XXII, 335, 1–2).

The proper name Philologus, mentioned in Rom 16:15, is fairly common at Rome in the *familia* of Caesar’s household (*CIL* VI, 4116), in Egypt,³ and in Asia Minor.⁴ It seems to be particularly common for slaves and freed slaves;⁵ as in this inscription: “Philologus, chief huntsman, for faithfulness and hard work.”⁶ The absence of a patronymic, the tasks that are entrusted to him, and the qualities that he has demonstrated indicate an inferior social standing.

¹ Plato, *Leg.* 1.641 e: “All the Greeks have the idea that our city is a friend of discourse and a great discourseser” (ὡς φιλόλογός τ’ ε—στὶ καὶ πολυλόγος); Plato, *Lach.* 183 c: “I seem sometimes to love discussions (φιλόλογος) and sometimes to hate them (μισόλογος)”; *Tht.* 161 a (*philologos* with a sophistic nuance: a lover of arguments); Diodorus Siculus 12.53.3: “The Athenians, distinguished people and lovers of discourse” (τοὺς —Αθηναίους ὄντας εὐφρυνεῖς καὶ φιλολόγους). The word is particularly common in Plutarch (53 times, especially in *Quaest. conv.*, cf. 1.10.2), where the *philologoi* are cultivated folk (πεπαιδευμένοι) as opposed to ἰ—διω—ται: “Cornelia was always surrounded by Greeks and learning” (*C. Gracch.* 19.2; cf. 6.4); “Cicero was fond of Greek learning” (*Cic.* 3.3); “the adolescent *Philologos* was taught in the arts and sciences” (ibid. 48.2; 49.2); Alexander “had an innate appetite for literature (φύσει φιλόλογος) and for reading” (*Alex.* 8.2; cf. G. Nuchelmans, “Studien über φιλόλογος, φιλολογία, und φιλολογεῖ—ν,” Zwolle, diss. Nijmegen, 1950; H. Kuch, *Φιλόλογος: Untersuchungen eines Wortes*, Berlin, 1965, A. G. Kaloyeropoulo, “Epitaphe mégarienne,” in *Ath. Ann. Arch.*, vol. 7, 1974, pp. 287–291); C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, p. 227.

² *SEG* IV, 111 (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, pp. 48–49; “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1938, p. 458, n. 362; 1965, p. 110, n. 180; 1974, p. 296, n. 573); XXII, 355; *P.Oxy.* 531, 11; *IGUR*, n. 736. The *philologoi* of *P.Oxy.* 2177, 40 are perhaps the teachers of the Museum of Alexandria (H. A. Musurillo, *Pagan Martyrs*, p. 201).

³ *P.Lond.* 256 a (vol. 2, p. 99, AD 15). *P.Oxy.* 2190, 7; *SB* 1481, 33; *P.Apoll.* 83, 11: “to the embroiderer Philologus” (an account of receipts and disbursements).

⁴ *MAMA* VIII, 241, 298 (Iconium); at Priene: ὁ τόπος —Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλολόγου (*I.Priene* 313, 32; cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, p. 302); at Chios (*SEG* XVI, 488, 6), at Termessos (*TAM* III, 358, husband of a freedwoman), at Paros (*IG* XII, 5, 161); at Thera (*IG* XII, 3, 339, 12; 671 a 5; 1527); cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, pp. 45ff.

⁵ Cf. the references in H. Lietzmann, *An die Römer*, 4th ed., Tübingen, 1933, p. 127; but Plutarch says “there is no father who loves letters (φιλόλογος), honors, or money as he loves his children” (*De frat. amor.* 5). Suetonius, in *Rhet.* 10, includes “Atticus Philologus, son of a freedman, born at Athens.”

⁶ Φιλόλογον ἀρχικύνηγον πίστεως καὶ φιλοπονίας ἔνεκεν, G. E. Bean, *Journeys in Northern Lycia*, Vienna, 1971, n. 42; but the *philologoi* in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Orat.* 2.8.5) are well-read people, as opposed to the general public, hence “inquiring minds” (Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 5.1.1), the learned (6.4.1), always wanting to learn more (6.8.3).

φιλοξενία, φιλόξενος

philoxenia, hospitality; *philoxenos*, hospitable
see also ξενία, ξενίζω, ξενοδοχέω, ξένος

philoxenia, S 5381; *TDNT* 5.1–36; *EDNT* 3.427; *NIDNTT* 1.686, 690, 2.547, 550; MM 671; L&N 34.57; BAGD 860 | ***philoxenos***, S 5382; *TDNT* 5.1–36; *EDNT* 3.427; *NIDNTT* 1.686, 690, 2.550; MM 671; L&N 34.58; BAGD 860

Christ mentioned hospitality as a distinguishing characteristic of his true disciples,¹ and in the primitive church it was the most obvious and most common work of love, shown either to journeying brethren (cf. Jas 4:13) or especially to preachers of the gospel.²

Among the works of brotherly love,³ Rom 12:13 commends eagerness to welcome traveling Christians: “pursuing hospitality” (*ten philoxenian diokontes*). We may compare *b. shabb.* 104a (“Such is the custom of the merciful [Hebrew *hasidim*] of pursuing the poor”) or Gallias, a citizen of Agrigentum in the fourth century BC, who received numerous *xenones* in his house. He was so *philanthropos* and *philoxenos* that he posted his slaves at the city gates to welcome strangers when they presented themselves and ask them to his house.⁴

In the Hellenistic period, *philoxenia* is an act of *philanthropia*; ⁵ the stranger, received as a guest, is addressed and treated as a friend (*xenos kai philos*),⁶ and the Greeks honor those who practice broad hospitality. At Chersonesus, a benefactor of the city is praised because in time of famine

he personally showed hospitality to citizens of the city (*idioxenoi*, B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, IV, n. 68, 15). Sotis and Theodosius receive praise “for the good offices toward travelers going from Athens to the Bosporus” (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 206, 50–51); likewise Aglaos of Cos, “who always honors and gives a noble welcome to those who come to him from our various cities either as envoys or for some other reason . . . working to do good to each of those who ask him.”⁷ In AD 43, Junia Theodora, a Roman living at Corinth, is honored by a decree by the Lycian confederation and the deme of Telmessos because she “tirelessly showed zeal and generosity toward the Lycian nation and was kind to all travelers, private individuals as well as ambassadors, sent by the nation or the various cities.”⁸

Spanish hospitality was imbued with a religious spirit.⁹ Semitic hospitality was particularly generous, as is suggested by *T. Job* 10: “I also had thirty tables put in my house, which were at all times kept ready only for strangers. . . . And if a stranger asked for alms, he had to take a meal at table before receiving what he needed. I did not allow anyone to leave my home with an empty stomach.” This hospitality of Job is referred to in *Abot R. Nat.* 7.1–3 (cf. Str-B, vol. 4, 1, pp. 566–567).

In the Christian church, it was the bishop, acting as host on behalf of the local community, who was *philoxenos* and offered a bed and shelter to traveling brothers (1Tim 3:2; Titus 1:8). But for all Christians, hospitality was to be the first evidence of their *philadelphia*, according to Heb 13:2—“Do not neglect hospitality (*tes philoxenias me epilanthanesthe*), for through hospitality some have without knowing it entertained angels.” The stranger who is welcomed is a messenger of God. This religious motivation refers first of all to Abraham,¹⁰ but also to Lot (Gen 19), Manoah (Judg 13:3–22), and Tobias (Tob 12:1–20).

These examples make an impression, as does the promised reward,¹¹ which was important, because hospitality was onerous. Everything that the travelers needed had to be supplied,¹² and certain people abused their host’s goodness (*Did.* 11.3–6; *Herm. Man.* 2.5). Consequently, many people tried to keep their doors closed.¹³ Hence the added detail in 1Pet 4:9—“Practice hospitality to one another without grumbling” (*aneu gongysmou*).

Philoxenos is unknown in the papyri,¹⁴ and the noun is attested only in a Christian letter from the fourth century: “I write this letter on this papyrus so that you may read it with joy . . . and with a welcoming attitude borne of patience, filled with the Holy Spirit.”¹⁵

¹ Matt 25:35; cf. J. R. Michaels, “Apostolic Hardships and Righteous Gentiles: A Study of Matthew XXV, 31–46,” in *JBL*, 1965, pp. 27–37; J. Winandy, “La Scène du Jugement dernier (Mt. XXV, 31–46),” in *ScEccl*, 1966, pp. 169–186; L. Cope, “Mt. XXV, 31–46 Reinterpreted,” in *NovT*,

1969, pp. 32–44; J. Mánek, “Mit wem identifiziert sich Jesus? Eine exegetische Rekonstruktion ad Mt. XXV, 31–46,” in *Christ and Spirit in the N.T.* (in honor of C. F. D. Moule), Cambridge, 1973, pp. 15–25.

² Matt 10:11; Acts 16:15; 21:7, 17; 18:14; Phlm 22; Titus 3:13; 3John 5-8; *1Clem.* 1.2: τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας ὑμῶ—ν ἦθος; cf. 10.7; 11.1; 12.1; *P.Oxy.* 2603, 34–35: “If possible, do not hesitate to write to the other communities concerning the travelers so that they may be welcomed in each place (ὅπως προσδέξωνται κατὰ τόπον) as is meet (ὡς καθήκει)” (*PSI* 1041, 12); *Studia Pontica*, vol. 3, n. 20, 16. A. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 10th ed., Leipzig, 1924, pp. 200ff. = ET *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, trans. J. Moffatt, New York, 1908, vol. 1, pp. 347ff. D. W. Riddle, “Early Christian Hospitality: A Factor in the Gospel Transmission,” in *JBL*, 1938, pp. 141–154; H. Rusche, *Gastfreundschaft in der Verkündigung des Neuen Testaments*, Münster, 1958; J. A. Grassi, “Emmaus Revisited,” in *CBQ*, 1964, pp. 463–467; M. Landfester, “*Philos*,” pp. 112, 120, 152; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 2, pp. 809ff. In the second century, Bishop Melito of Sardis wrote a book *On Hospitality* (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.26.2). St. Ambrose notes: “Good hospitality earns no small reward; not only do we gain peace for our hosts, but if they are covered with the light dust of offenses, receiving apostolic preachers removes these” (*In Luc.* 6.66); cf. P. Miquel, “Hospitalité,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 7, 808ff.

³ The first meaning of the verb ἀγαπάω is a welcoming love, which is manifested toward guests who are honored and given first-class treatment (C. Spicq, *Agapè: Prolégomènes*, pp. 38, 52, 66, 82, 120); cf. H. I. Kakride, *Notion de l’amitié*, pp. 41, 91ff.; V. T. Avery, “Homeric Hospitality in Alcaeus and Horace,” in *CP*, 1964, pp. 107–108. —On the pericope Rom 12:9-21, cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 142ff. E. Käsemann, “Gottesdienst im Alltag der Welt (Röm 12),” in *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche*, (Festschrift J. Jeremias), Berlin, 1960, pp. 165–161; C. H. Talbert, “Tradition and Redaction in Rom 12:9-12,” in *NTS*, vol. 16, 1969, pp. 83–93.

⁴ Diodorus Siculus 13.83; Athenaeus 1.5.4; Valerius Maximus 4.8.

⁵ Polybius 4.20; Diodorus Siculus 13.83; Heraclides Ponticus, frag. 3, 6: φιλανθρωπία τοι—ς ξένοις.

⁶ Dittenberger, *Or.* 416, 5; Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 19.2: “Cornelia had many friends and a good table for welcoming them” (καὶ διὰ φιλοξενίαν εὐτράπεζος, following the French translation of R. Flacelière); cf. the inscriptions gathered by L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, p. 142. On

ξενική φιλία, cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 8.1.1155a20–22 (A. J. Voelke, *Les Rapports avec autrui dans la philosophie grecque*, pp. 52ff.); Philo, *Moses* 1.35ff.; Epictetus 1.28.23; 3.11.4. A Corinthian is called Ξενόφιλος, “friend of strangers” (*I.Rhamn.*, n. XI, 24; cf. XIV, 2). Φιλόξενος is rather common as a proper name (cf. *REG*, 1934, p. 224; 1936, p. 361; 1960, p. 186, n. 318; 1963, p. 276, n. 263; 1964, p. 247, n. 572; L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, p. 432, n. 4; L. Robert, *Stèles funéraires*, Paris, 1964, n. 160). The city of Delphi honors the rhetor Herodes Atticus, φιλίας καὶ φιλοξενίας ἔνεκα (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 859 a).

⁷ F. Durrbach, *Choix*, n. 92, 20ff.

⁸ *SEG* XVIII, 143, 49ff.; cf. lines 28–29, 75ff. Cimon, “the most hospitable of the Greeks” (Plutarch, *Cim.* 10.4), had a meal prepared at his home every day for a large number of persons. All the poor were welcomed (10.1). He surpassed the ancient hospitality and beneficence of the Athenians (φιλοξενίαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, 10.6). On Greek hospitality, cf. Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 2.22.1–3; A. Aymard, “Les Etrangers dans les cités grecques,” in *L’Etranger* (Recueils de la Société J. Bodin, IX, 1), Brussels, 1958, pp. 125ff. C. Préaux, “Les Etrangers à l’époque hellénistique,” *ibid.*, pp. 143ff. P. Gauthier, *Symbola*, pp. 19ff. et passim.

⁹ Diodorus Siculus 5.34: “The Celtiberians were humane and benevolent toward guests. They were eager to offer their homes to strangers, vying for the honor of welcoming them and regarding as a person beloved of the gods the one whom the traveler chose as his host.”

¹⁰ Abraham’s hospitality is mentioned by Philo, *Abraham* 107–118; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.196; *1Clem.* 10.7; *T. Abr.* A 17: “hospitality unbounded, like the sea.” Often represented by Byzantine painters, it is invoked in Christian inscriptions: “Just as Abraham showed hospitality to the angels, Se . . . built . . .” (*IGLS* 1963).

¹¹ *Apoc. Paul* 27; H. Chadwick, “Justification by Faith and Hospitality,” in *SP*, vol. 4, Berlin, 1961, pp. 281–285.

¹² Rom 16:1–2. On the requirements for lodging, cf. *IGLS* 1998, 11ff. Edict of Germanicus: “Having learned that because I was coming there were requisitions of boats and beasts, and that homes were forcibly taken over to provide lodging for us, and that private persons were harassed . . .” (*SB* 3924 = *Sel.Pap.* II, 211.). N. Lewis, “Domitian’s Order on Requisitioned Transport and Lodgings,” in *RIDA*, 1968, pp. 135–142; D. Gorce, *Les Voyages, l’hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde chrétien des IVe et Ve siècles*, Paris, 1925; E. Wipszycka, *Les Ressources et les activités*

économiques des églises en Egypt, du IVe au VIIIe siècle, Brussels, 1972, pp. 116ff.

¹³ *P.Petr.* II, 12 (cf. N. Hohlwein, *Le Stratège du nome*, p. 128); G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 79: ἀφειδω—ς δόντα καὶ διαδόματα καὶ ε—στιάσαντα πολείτας καὶ ξένους (cf. the editors' note, p. 99).

¹⁴ Cf. the dedication θεα— μεγίστη —Ισερμούθι φιλοξένω —Ισίδωρος γλύπτῃς ε—ποίει καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ε—π̄ ἀγαθω— (SEG VIII, 538 = SB 8129).

¹⁵ Μαιτὰ φιλοξενίαθ μακρόνμιαθ πεπληρωμαίνῃ πνεύματοθ ἀγίου (*P.Lond.* 1917, 4 = H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 81). Cf. G. Husson, "L'Hospitalité dans les papyrus byzantins," in *Proceedings XIII*, pp. 169–177.

φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος

philos tou Kaisaros, king's friend

philos tou kaisaros, S 5384 + 2541; EDNT 2.235; BAGD 395–396

The title of honor "king's friend," used at the Persian, Egyptian, Lagid, and Seleucid courts,¹ then at Rome,² ordinarily refers to high dignitaries who dress in purple,³ have free access to the king, serve as councillors,⁴ and are entrusted with civil and military functions (1Macc 11:26; 2Macc 1:14; 10:13; 14:11). The seventeenth book of Diodorus Siculus supplies a great deal of data on the "friends" or "companions" of Alexander and of Darius (cf. F. Carrata Thomes, "Il problema degli eteri nella monarchia di Alessandra Magno," in *Università di Torino, Pubbl. della Fac. di Lett. e Fil.*, vol. 7, 1955, pp. 14–15, 27ff.). The king assembled his "friends" in council (17.16.1; 16.30.1) and asked for their honest opinions (17.39.2; 17.54.3). Some shared his own opinion (17.45.7); others said the opposite (17.30.4). They gave the king information (17.112.3; 17.115.6) and inquired concerning his intentions (17.117.4). There was a hierarchy among these principal collaborators (17.107.6; 17.117.4), who were chosen from among the most capable men (17.31.1), esteemed by the king (17.37.5), beloved (17.114.1), and enjoying his confidence (17.32.1). He feasted with them (17.16.4; 17.72.1; 17.73.7; 17.100.1; 17.110.7; 17.117.1) because they went with him when he moved from place to place (17.96.1; 17.97.1; 17.104.1; 17.116.5); and he entrusted delicate assignments to them (17.37.3; 17.52.7; 17.55.1; 17.104.3; 17.112.4). He distributed honors and wealth to them (1.35.2; 17.77.5; cf. Athenaeus 12.539 f). These friends sought the king's good and were ready to stand with him in danger (17.56.2; 17.97.2; 17.117.2), but sometimes they were obsequious

(17.115.1; cf. 17.118.1) and jealous of each other (17.101.3), and sometimes they went so far as to plot together against the king (17.79.1; 17.80.1). According to Polybius, King Philip of Macedonia took counsel with his friends (5.2.1; 5.4.13; 5.22.8). He gathered them for deliberations (5.58.2; 5.102.2). They shared the same convictions (5.9.6) and were similarly influenced (5.36.8), but they could be circumvented by intriguers (5.50.9). The friends voted unanimously (5.16.7) and the king's decision followed their opinion (5.63.3). They accompanied the king (5.56.8–9; 5.87.6; 5.101.5), surrounded and assisted him (5.12.5), and shared in his responsibilities (5.16.5), especially the command of his troops (5.21.1; 5.83.1).

Among the “friends of the king” three or four levels of hierarchy can be distinguished: mere friends,⁵ honored friends,⁶ first friends,⁷ and finally the *syngenes* or “king’s kinsman”;⁸ but this title was also granted to vassals, and was no more than an honor, a distinction (1Macc 2:18; 11:57; 15:32; *SEG* VIII, 573; Philo, *Flacc.* 40; *P.Oxy.* 3022, 12), and “first friends” could be on the same level as the chiliarchs and *machairophoroi* of the royal guard.⁹

When the Jews cry out to Pilate, regarding Jesus, “if you release him, you are not a friend of Caesar (*ouk ei philos tou Kaisaros*), for whoever makes himself a king is against Caesar,”¹⁰ there are three possible interpretations: (1) a commonplace appeal to loyalty, a litotes meaning, “You would be an enemy of Caesar not to condemn this royal pretender”;¹¹ (2) the technical meaning *amicus Augusti*;¹² (3) but Pilate is not a dignitary or important and influential person at the imperial court.¹³ The final option is that this distinction is conferred upon him as an equestrian¹⁴ and governor of Judea, but with the fluidity of meaning that marked this official “friendship” in this period.¹⁵

The thought of incurring the emperor’s disfavor won out over Pilate’s belief in Jesus’ innocence (*ouden heurisko aition*, Luke 23:4, 14). Losing the emperor’s favor would mean the end of his career, or at least a compromised future, the ruin of his ambitions, perhaps the confiscation of his wealth, loss of liberty, perhaps even exile or death.¹⁶ Pilate gave in to the blackmail.

¹ Cf. F. Cumont, *L’Egypte des astrologues*, pp. 34ff.; E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, pp. 40ff.; K. C. Atkinson, “Some Observations on Ptolemaic Ranks and Titles,” in *Aeg*, 1952, pp. 204–214; C. Spicq, *Agapè: Prolégomènes*, pp. 165ff.; C. de Witt, “Enquête sur le titre *smr-pr*,” in *ChrEg*, 1956, pp. 89–104; H. Donner, “Der ‘Freund des Königs,’” in *ZAW*, 1961, pp. 269–277; L. Mooren, “Über die ptolemäischen Hofrangtitel,” in *Antidorum W. Peremans*, Louvain, 1968, pp. 161–180. The references are given by W. Peremans, “Sur la titulature aulique en Egypte au Ile et Ier

siècle avant J.-C.,” in *Symbolae ad Jus et Historiam Antiquitatis Pertinentes* (*Symbolae von Oven*), Leiden, 1946, 129–159; idem, *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 6, pp. 21ff., 85; M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 3, pp. 220–225; L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography*, Brussels, 1975, pp. 52ff., 173ff., 225ff. A title of the *strategoï* (cf. G. Mussies, in *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIV, pp. 13–46) and *epistrategoï* (J. David Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, Opladen, 1975, pp. 43ff.).

² L. Friedländer, *Mœurs romaines du règne d'Auguste*, Paris, 1885, vol. 1, pp. 128ff.; F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, pp. 127, 273, n. 6. M. Lemosse, *Le Régime des relations internationales dans le haut-empire romain*, Paris, 1967, pp. 44, 67, 75, 87, 93.

³ 1Macc 6:14–15: “He gave him his crown, his robe, and his ring” (cf. 6:28; 7:8; 10:19–20); Esth 6:9—“Let the garment be given to one of the friends of the king”; cf. 1:3; 2:18. A civil officer in Solomon’s court was “king’s friend”; 1Kgs 4:5; cf. T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*, Lund, 1971, pp. 63–69; M. Paeslack, in *Theologia Viatorum V*, (Festschrift Albertz), 1954, pp. 92–93.

⁴ *Ep. Arist.* 125: “giving him the most useful advice with absolute frankness”; *P.Oxy.* 3019, 7; cf. *I.Delos* 1532, 4; 1535, 5; 1544–1548; 1571, 2; 1573, 3; 1581, 1; Dittenberger, *Or.* 685, 121. On the distinction between a court title and an honorific title, i.e., between the phenomenon of the φίλοι and the hierarchy created at the beginning of the second century BC, cf. L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt*; idem, *La Hiérarchie de Cour ptolémaïque*, Louvain, 1977.

⁵ 1Macc 7:8; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.225; Polybius 31.3.26; *P.Tebt.* 728, 4; 895, 11–12; *UPZ* 161, 2–3; 187, 1; 194, 1–2.

⁶ *P.Dura* 18, 10: τῶν πρώτων καὶ προτιμωμένων φίλων; 19, 18; 20, 3; *P.Ryl.* 66; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 651, 10; *Or.* 754, 2; Polybius 5.25.3: “The most illustrious of the king’s friends”; Diodorus Siculus 17.37.5; C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 45, 3: —Ἀριστόλοχον τῶν τιμωμένων φίλων. Cf. A. Momigliano, “Honorati Amici,” in *Athenaeum*, vol. 11, 1933, pp. 136–141.

⁷ Πρωτοί φίλοι, a category perhaps sometimes confused with the preceding one, 1Macc 10:60, 65: “The king gave him the honor of enrolling him among his first friends”; 11:27; 2Macc 8:9; *P.Rein.* 7, 28–29; *P.Stras.* 564, 14–16; *P.Tebt.* 778, 1; 895, 1; *PSI* 166–172; *SB* 632, 1; 9963; 9986; 10078; 10122; *SEG* XIII, 557, 571; XX, 208; Dittenberger, *Or.* 93, 3; 119;

160; 255; 256. “It is an old habit among kings and those who want to appear kingly to divide a whole population of ‘friends’ into classes; and it is a prideful thing to make a great deal of the right to cross or even approach his doorstep, and, as a supposed honor, to authorize you to stand guard near the entrance, and to step into the house in front of others. . . . Among us, C. Gracchus, then Livius Drusus were the first ones to establish this custom of separating their people into groups and receiving some privately, some in small groups, and others en masse. So these people had first-class friends and second-class friends, but never true friends” (Seneca, *Ben.* 6.34.1–2). Cf. Dio Cassius 57.11: οὐδὲν ἰσπεύα τῶν πρώτων εἶα; Diodorus Siculus 19.48.6: “Antigonus gave a big welcome to Xenophilus and pretended to honor him as the equal of his first friends” (ἐν τοις μεγίστοις τῶν φίλων). But if Diodorus calls ranking Macedonians friends in the entourage (19.91.4), and particularly royal persons (19.35.5)—which makes “friend” an official title—elsewhere the meaning is broader (cf. F. Bizière, *Diodore de Sicile: Bibliothèque historique, Livre XIX*, Paris, 1975, p. 156).

⁸ 1Macc 3:32; 2Macc 11:12; *P.Tebt.* 7, 7–8; 26, 5–6; 72, 241; 700, 70; 743, 5–6; *SEG* XIII, 552, 553, 556, 568, 571–591; *SB* 4225, 1; 4321; 5219; 7410–7412; 8036, 4–5; Dittenberger, *Or.* 259. To this category was assimilated the τροφεύς, “tutor” or “foster father,” raised with the king, 1Macc 1:6; *SB* 1568, 1; Dittenberger, *Or.* 148; 256. J. A. Letronne, *Inscriptions*, pp. 350ff.

⁹ *SB* 624; 5827; 7270; *BGU* 1190; E. Bernand, *Fayoum*, pp. 49ff., 53ff.

¹⁰ John 19:12 (cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 239ff.; Stählin, “φίλος,” in *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 166–167). On the historicity of this account, cf. M. Dibelius, “Das historische Problem der Leidensgeschichte,” in *Botschaft und Geschichte*, Tübingen, 1953, vol. 1, pp. 248–257; “Herodes und Pilatus,” *ibid.*, pp. 278–292; J. Blank, “Die Verhandlung vor Pilatus, Joh. XVIII, 28–XIX, 16 im Lichte johanneischer Theologie,” in *BZ*, 1959, pp. 60–81; J. Blinzler, *Le Procès de Jésus*, pp. 286, n. 13ff., 378ff; ET = *Trial of Jesus*.

¹¹ But in this case, the wording would more likely be φιλόκαισαρ or φιλοσέβαστος, cf. *IGLS* 2759, 2760.

¹² Suetonius, *Tit.* 7.2; Pliny, *Pan.* 84; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.298; cf. A. Deissmann, *Light*, p. 378; E. Bammel, “Φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος,” in *TLZ*, 1952, pp. 205–210.

¹³ M. J. Ollivier, “Ponce Pilate et les Pontii,” in *RB*, 1896, pp. 247–254; 594–500; P. L. Maier, *Pilatus: Sein Leben und sine Zeit*, Wuppertal-Vohwinkel, 1970; R. E. Brown, *John*, vol. 2, pp. 847, 879.

¹⁴ Cf. T. P. Wiseman, “The Definition of ‘Eques Romanus’ in the Late Republic and Early Empire,” in *Historia*, 1970, pp. 67–83.

¹⁵ Without any formal nomination and therefore without the issuing of a certificate, elevation to the rank of *philos*—which was normal for senators—was common from the time of Augustus for legates and prefects, as a reward for their loyal service.

¹⁶ Cf. Epictetus 4.1.45–48: “the evil that is injurious and must be fled . . . is not being Caesar’s friend.” An offending slave only risks a lashing, but losing Caesar’s friendship can mean beheading.

φιλόστοργος

philostorgos, authentically loving, tenderly devoted, beneficent

philostorgos, S 5387; *EDNT* 3.428; *NIDNTT* 2.538–539, 542, 550; MM 671–672; L&N 25.41; BAGD 861; ND 2.101–103, 3.41–42

The first characteristic of “authentic love” (Rom 12:9) is that it fills Christians with tender devotion to each other (verse 10; cf. F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* III, 20, 14). Thus may we translate *philostorgoi*, which in the Koine often replaces the simple form *storge*,¹ which expresses familial affection, an attachment sealed by nature and blood ties, uniting spouses, parents and children, brothers and sisters.² Because this instinct or feeling is shared by animals and humans,³ Philo considers it a virtue only to the extent that it remains under the rule of reason;⁴ but in common usage, usage *philostorgia* has the more positive sense of the mother’s innate love, benevolence, and devotion toward her children;⁵ then that of a husband for his wife⁶ or a wife for her husband;⁷ of a father for his sons⁸ and of sons for a father.⁹ But *philostorgia* is also used for all links of kinship,¹⁰ even one’s attachment to guest-friends (*SEG* XVIII, 143, 69), or the attachment of slaves to their master.¹¹

Quite often, *philostorgia* is identified with gratitude.¹² Not only do writers of wills leave their property to those who have shown affection for them,¹³ but on August 29, 58, Phairas writes to his physician: “I hope that if I cannot return in equal measure the affection you have shown me, I may at least show some token of gratitude.”¹⁴ This extension of *philostorgia* to strangers shows that this sentiment is not limited to mere benevolence¹⁵ but also includes active beneficence, devotion, and generosity; thus

Hippolytus appeals to the *dioiketes* Acusilaus: “I beseech you, in your *philostorgia*, concerning my sons who are with Soterichon . . .”¹⁶

In the language of the inscriptions from the second century BC, *philostorgos* is synonymous with “benefactor.” A decree of Athens confers praise and a gold crown to King Attalus I as the benefactor of the city “with all goodwill and *philostorgia*.”¹⁷ Attalus II honors his brother Eumenes II “for virtue and goodwill and his *philostorgia* toward him” (*aretēs heneken kai eunoias kai philostorgias tes pros heauton, I.Ilium*, n. 41). Attalus III writes “so that you may know how much *philostorgia* we have for him.”¹⁸ The merchants of Laodicea erect a statue in honor of Heliodorus “because of his goodwill and *philostorgia* toward the king and good deeds toward themselves” (*eunoias heneken kai philostorgias tes eis ton basilea kai euergesias tes eis hautous*, Dittenberger, *Or.* 247, 6). The city of Gythion honors the public physician Damiadas “who has in everything abundantly demonstrated his goodwill and *philostorgia* toward our city.”¹⁹ The word is also used for devotion to country²⁰ and with a religious meaning as an epithet for the savior goddess Isis of Carene;²¹ but with the abuse of the expression, especially in the honorific inscriptions,²² it came to be purely a polite term and an expression of official “sympathy” (2Macc 9:21; cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 257, 4; *TAM* II, 283, 360, 443, 484, 662, 716, etc.) or of some undifferentiated form of attachment.²³

¹ On *στοργή* in the inscriptions of the first-second century, cf. *GVI*, n. 946, 1015, 1079, 1112, 1156, 1263, 1265, 1419, 1442, 1737, 1869, 1919, 1975, 2002, 2011. Diodorus Siculus 17.65.3: the devotion of Alexander’s officer’s to him; cf. 17.114.1.

² *TAM* II, 243: φιλοστόργω ἀδελφω—: *IG* XII, Suppl. 29: ε—κτροφῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ φιλοστοργίας τῆς ε—αυτω—ν. Cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè: Prolégomènes*, pp. 4, n. 2; 5, n. 2; 12, n. 7; 26, n. 5; 27, n. 2; 61, n. 3. Idem, “Φιλόστοργος,” in *RB*, 1955, pp. 497–510. On *philostorgia*, brotherly love, φιλοστοργότατον ἀδελφόν (E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni*, n. 154; cf. 135); cf. an inscription at Pisidia: τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστησαν Νεωνιανὴ Νανηρὶς ἢ μήτηρ καὶ Φλογιανὴ —Αννιανὴ ἢ ἀδελφὴ φιλοστοργίας καὶ μνήμης χάριν (*SEG* II, 713, 4–6); at Saïda, a tomb holds the body of Heraclea, a dear friend or own sister of the “old mother,” γνωθὴ θ Ἡεράκλεια φιλοστόργοιο τεκούσης (B. Haussoullier, H. Ingholt, “Inscription grecques de Syrie,” in *Syria*, 1924, pp. 338–340). A father’s affection for his children, cf. the tomb inscription τω—υι—ω— φιλοστοργίας ἔνεκεν (C. Naour, “Inscription et relief de Kibyratide et de Cabalide,” in *ZPE*, vol. 22, 1976, pp. 126 and 128); between spouses, cf. the *στοργή* βεβαία of an inscription of Nicomedia published by S. Sahin, *ibid.*, XVIII, 1975, p. 42, n. 125; cf. XXI, 1976, p. 189.

³ With mares, the maternal (φιλόστοργος) affection develops naturally (Aristotle, *HA* 9.4.611a12). A cruel beast, ἀστόργου θηρός (*GVI*, n. 1078, 4). Little ones must not be separated from their mother, especially while nursing (διὰ τινὰ φυσικὴν μητέρων πρὸς ἔγγονα φιλοστοργίαν, Philo, *Virtues* 128). Plutarch wrote a little treatise “On the Love (φιλοστοργία) of Offspring,” in which he observes the affection of male and female, especially the latter, toward their young (*De am. prol.* 2). He insists that this sentiment comes from nature (3–5).

⁴ *Abraham* 91, 168, 198; *Virtues* 192; *Moses* 1.150; *Spec. Laws* 2.240; 3.153, 157; *To Gaius* 36; *Frag.* 202 on Gen 27:12-13 (ed. N. Ralph, p. 230); cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.135; 7.252; 8.193; Epictetus 1.11; 3.17.4; 3.24.58ff. Plutarch (*De frat. amor.* 4) uses *philostorgos* to describe old men who are “sensitive” to the way their dog or horse is treated. On the manifestations of this affection, cf. C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, p. 214.

⁵ Ἡ μήτηρ ὡς ἐ—πὶ παιδί, καὶ φύσει φιλόστοργος, *P.Oxy.* 1381, 104. In his will, Petosorapis asks his sister to take responsibility for his younger brother Epinicos and be a mother to him (εἰ—ς αὐτὸν μητρικῆ φιλοστοργία, *P.Oxy.* 495, 12; *P.Mich.* 148, col. II, 9); *GVI*, 956, 3: φιλοστόργου μηρός; M. Dunand, in *RB*, 1932, p. 579: φιλοστόργω μητρί. “There is a foolproof way of knowing: the mother’s instinct; from the first meeting, she feels a warm affection (*philostorgia*) for her child” (Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 10.24.8). The earth is the “common hearth of gods and humans, and we must all bow before her as before a land that nourishes us and celebrate her and cherish her (ὑμνεῖ—ν καὶ φιλοστοργεῖ—ν) as the one who gave birth to us” (Theophrastus, in Porphyry, *Abst.* 2.32, p. 162, 6); “Apelles and Metrothemis, children of Cleanactides [raised this monument to] their nurse Meliteia, [daughter] of Lysanias, because of the nurture [that she gave them] and her tender affection for them” (ἐ—κτροφῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ φιλοστοργίας τῆς ἐ—αυτω—ν, *CIG* 6850 *b*). Apollonis, queen of Pergamum: διεφύλαξε τὴν εὖνοιαν καὶ φιλοστοργίαν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆς (Polybius 22.20; cf. *I.Perg.* 169). Stratonice raised with affection and magnificence (ἔθρεψε φιλοστόργως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶ—ς) the children that her husband had with a slave (Plutarch, *Mulier. virt.* 21); “friendship (φιλίας), parental love (φιλοστοργίας), and philanthropy . . . the link between them is indissoluble” (*De virt. mor.* 12); “Is *philostorgia* for children natural to humans?” (*Quaest. conv.* 2.1.13; *Agis* 17.4). In the aretology of Cumae, Isis presents herself: —Εγὼ στέργεσθαι γυναι—κας ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶ—ν ἠνάγκασα (line 27, ed. Y. Grandjean, *Arétalogie d’Isis*, p. 123); L. Robert, *Documents*, pp. 81; 84 n. 1; idem, *Hellenica*, vol. 13, p. 38.

⁶ Ῥηγίνη γυναικὶ ἀγνοτάτη καὶ φιλοστόργω (*IGUR*, vol. 2, n. 752); *IG X*, 2, n. 608; *MAMA I*, 117; *IV*, 250; *VIII*, 235; *I.Lind.* 456 *b* 6; *IGLS* 1364, 6;

SEG XIX, 840: γυναικὴ ἰ—δία φιλοστοργίης ἔνεκεν; G. Pfohl, *Inscripfen der Griechen*, Darmstadt, 1972, pp. 171ff.; J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," in *REG*, 1963, p. 148, n. 134; *Hellenica*, vol. 7, pp. 9–10; edict of Eriza (Dittenberger, *Or.* 224, 16; cf. 307–308); G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, n. 44, 2–3; 244, 6; Ps.-Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 9: "the poet Antimachus loved his wife tenderly" (φιλοστόργως); cf. Stobaeus, *Flor.* 24: Γυναι—κα δὲ τὴν κατὰ νόμους ἔσκατος στεργέτω καὶ ε—κ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθω (vol. 4, p. 154,10).

⁷ Τὸν φιλοστοργότατον ἄνδρα. The two wives of the general Ceteus loved him tenderly (Diodorus Siculus 19.33.1–2). Πριμιτεῖβω γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ φιλοστόργῳ . . . πατήρ (*IGUR*, II, 2, n. 914). φιλοστοργίας ἔνεκεν recurs constantly in the tomb inscriptions, *TAM* II, 92, 93, 105, 148; *SEG* XX, 54, 8, 200, 7. F. K. Dörner, *Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien*, Vienna, 1952, n. X, 30. The wife of the silversmith Canopys "bore witness to him for three years of a pious affection" (στοργή, E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 19); *SEG* II, 712, 7; C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 67, 2–3; cf. n. 35; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata* 189, 1; 409, 6. *ZPE*, vol. 29, 1978, pp. 98, 104.

⁸ *P.Tebt.* 408, 7: παρακαλω— σε περὶ υἱ—ω—ν μου τῆ φιλοστοργίᾳ (in AD 3); *MAMA* I, 288, 319; VIII, 247; *SEG* XIV, 803; *SB* 10652 c 2: Eudaimonis to Apollonius τῷ— φιλοστοργοτάτῳ υἱ—ω—; *I.Car.* 175 b; *GVI*, 1950, 7; B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, I, 357, 6; 362, 6; 364, 7, 15; IV, 71, 6; L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, p. 311, n. 2; I. Kajanto, *A Study of the Greek Epitaphs of Rome*, Helsinki, 1963, pp. 29, 33.

⁹ Τὴν ἀγαθὴν στοργὴν πρὸς φίλιον πατέρα, F. K. Dörner, *Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien*, XXII, 16; Dittenberger, *Or.* 229, 6; 331, 46; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata* 151, 15; *I.Lind.* 465 d 5; *I.Car.* 175 b, c; *I.Side* 121 b 6; *SEG* XIV, 775, 3; H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica*, vol. 2, n. 35, 5: πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖ—ς φιλοστοργίας, cf. *MAMA* IV, 166; VIII, 392; C. Naour, "Inscription de Lycie," in *ZPE*, vol. 24, 1977, p. 276; J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," in *REG*, 1958, p. 325, n. 476: τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φιλοστοργότατον πατέρα.

¹⁰ *I.Lind.* 300 c 9; 455, 10; 458, 10; 465 e 4; f 13; g 3; *MAMA* VIII, 367, 375; *ZPE*, vol. 8, 1971, p. 35; *I.Sinur.*, n. 9, 36; cf. 14, 6; 15, 10; 38, 2.

¹¹ G. E. Bean, *Journeys in Northern Lycia*, n. 39. In wills, slaves are often freed because of their devotion, *P.Oxy.* 494, 6; *P.Oslo* 129, 15; *P.Grenf.* III, 71, 12; *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 361, 16; in 354, a Christian freed his slaves "in gratitude for the goodwill that you have always shown toward me, your affection, and your service" (καὶ ἄνθ ὧν ε—νεδείξασθε μοὶ κατὰ χρόνον εὐνοίας καὶ στοργῆς ἔτι τε καὶ ὑπηρεσίας, Delphi, n. 124, cited by P.

Foucart, *Mémoire sur l'affranchissement des esclaves*, Paris, 1857, pp. 45–46).

¹² G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Cilicia*, n. 1, 10–14.

¹³ *P.Mich.* 341, 9: κατ' εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλοστοργίαν (*sic*) τοῦ Διδύμου πρὸς τὴν θυγατέραν Ἡερακλέαν; *PSI* 904; *P.Stras.* 284, 13; *P.Oxy.* 492, 5; *SB* 8035 a 4.

¹⁴ *P.Mert.* 12, 12: εἰ— μὴ τὰ ἴσα σοι παρασχει—ν, βραχεία τινὰ παρέξομαι τῇ εἰ—ς ε—μὲ φιλοστοργία.

¹⁵ The pairing φιλοστοργία—εὐνοία is constant, cf. *Stud.Pal.* XX, 35, 9: εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας ἕνεκα; *SB* 5294, 9; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.134; *Chrest.Mitt.*, n. 361, 9; Polybius 22.20.3; Vettius Valens (ed. W. Kroll), p. 76, 27; *SEG* VII, 382, 11: εὐνοίας καὶ στοργῆς χάριν.

¹⁶ Παρακαλῶ— σε περὶ υἱ—ω—ν μου τῇ φιλοστοργία τω—ν περὶ Σωτήριχον κτλ., *P.Tebt.* 408, 7; cf. *P.Flor.* 338, 10: καὶ νῦν τάχα ἢ σὴ σπουδὴ καὶ φιλοστοργία κατανεικήσῃ τὴν ε—μὴν ἀκαιρείαν; *P.Ant.* 100, 2.

¹⁷ Μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας, *I.Perg.*, 160, B, 19; cf. Antiochus IV Eiphanes (175–164), ποιησάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας (Dittenberger, *Or.* 248, 21). Letter of Antiochus VIII Grypus (125–96), τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν μέχρι τέλους συντηρήσαντας, ε—μμείναντας δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἡμα—ς φιλοστοργία (ibid. 257, 7).

¹⁸ Ὅπως εἰ—δῆτε ὡς ἔχομεν φιλοστοργίας πρὸς αὐτόν, *I.Perg.* 248, 43 (=Dittenberger, *Or.* 331). Philodemus of Gadara, *Hom.*, frag. V b 22 (ed. Olivier, p. 8).

¹⁹ Τὰς εἰ—ς τὰν πόλιν ἀμω—ν εὐνοίας τε καὶ φιλοστοργίας τὰν μεγίσταν ἀπόδειξιν διὰ πάντων ποιούμενος, *IG* Vol., 1, 1145, 33 (P. Foucart, "Inscription de Gythion," in *REG*, 1909, pp. 405–409); cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 231, 16–18; 256, 8; *I.Delos* 1517, 11 (F. Durrbach, *Choix*, pp. 154–155); *SEG* IV, 418 B 10.

²⁰ Διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα φιλόστοργον εὐνοίαν (A. H. Jones, "Inscriptions from Jerash," in *JRS*, 1928, pp. 153–156). Decree of the city of Olymos in Caria: διακείμενος φιλοστόργως πρὸς ἕκαστον τω—ν πολιτω—ν (Dittenberger, *Or.* 248, 21); Polybius 31.25.1: φιλοστοργία πρὸς

ἀλλήλους. F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, Heidelberg, 1959, n. XLIV, 8; L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, p. 311.

²¹ *P.Oxy.* 1380, 12: ε—κ τῆ Καρήνη φιλόστοργον; cf. line 131: κόσμον θηλειω—ν καὶ φιλόστοργον; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1267, 23; cf. *SB* 591. St. John Chrysostom calls God πατήρ φιλόστοργος (A. Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome: Huit catéchèses baptismales*, Paris, 1957, pp. 135, 142, 144, 150, 182, 184, 197). On *philostorgia* to describe the feelings of a person or a city toward a king, cf. the references in M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie*, vol. 3, pp. 94ff.

²² L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 352 *b* and *c*, p. 366.

²³ Cf. “love of life,” πρὸς τὸ ζῆν φιλοστοργίαν (2Macc 6:20). In his treatise *On Marriage*, Antipater of Tarsus contrasts conjugal and paternal love to friendship and other relations (φιλίαι ἢ φιλοστοργίαι); Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 67.22.25, vol. 4, p. 508. Likewise, Julius Pollux (*Onom.* 5.20.114) gives as synonyms of φίλος: εὔνους, οἰ—κει—ος, ε—πιτήδειος, ε—ται—ρος and adds ὁ γὰρ φιλόστοργος ἕτερόν τι. Later on, when listing synonyms for φιλόστοργος, he includes φιλότεκνος, ἀνδ φιλόμουσος (6.37.167).

φλυαρέω, φλύαρος

phlyareo, to babble; *phlyaros*, babbler

phlyareo, S 5396; *EDNT* 3.429; MM 673; L&N 33.374; BAGD 862 | ***phlyaros***, S 5397; *EDNT* 3.429; L&N 33.375; BAGD 862

A *phlyaros* is a babbler who talks at random; *phlyareo* means “spout nonsense.”¹ Thus St. Paul is making a humorous attack on the sin of speech committed by certain idle women who make endless visits “just to chat” and make empty talk (1Tim 5:13). *Phlyaros* can mean childish babbling,² speech that makes no sense (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59300, 7; *PSI* 434, 7, 9), foolishness, silliness.³

These terms seem to have been used in polemic to denounce the inaneness of an argument or an accusation,⁴ and it is in this highly pejorative sense that Diotrophes “is spreading silly and malicious talk about us.”⁵

¹ Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.1.18: “Dercylidas wasted his time on twaddle”; 6.3.12: “See how silly this talk is”; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 364: “This is all rubbish”; Philo, *Contemp. Life* 64: “dinner parties filled with such silliness”; Plutarch, *Phoc.* 27.9: Callimedon says to Antipater, “If Phocion continues to talk

nonsense, are you going to believe him?"; *Cic.* 2.2: "these premonitions are ordinarily taken as empty dreams and foolishness"; cf. the references given by P. N. Harrison, *Paulines and Pastorals*, London 1964, p. 134.

² *P.Heid.* VI, 12 = *SB* 2266 (Christian letter from the fourth century): ἵνα οὖν μὴ πολλὰ γράφω καὶ φλυαρήσω, ε—ν πολλῇ λαλία οὐκ ε—κφεύξονται τὴν ἁμαρτίην.

³ *Anth. Pal.* 13.31; Philemon: 0Ω Κλέων, παῦσαι φλυαρω—ν = stop spouting silliness (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 30.4; vol. 3, p. 663); Menander, *Dysk.* 831: "Do not talk nonsense"; 892: "Go s. yourself, you and your stupidities"; *Sam.* 613, 628, 758: "What is this foolishness?"; 830: "Enough of this foolishness"; 862, 891: "You are talking nonsense to me"; Atticus, frag. 9, 1: Aristotle dared to call the loftiest of beings "twaddle, babble, and silliness" (λήρους δὲ καὶ τερετίσματα καὶ φλυαρίας). This is from the comic vocabulary; cf. Epicharmus, πλάνην, φλυαρίαν (C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, n. 84, 28); Eupolis (ibid. 96, 78 = *P.Oxy.* 2813).

⁴ Philo, *Dreams* 2.291: "They are only impotent babblers who claim . . ."; *Etern. World* 49; *Spec. Laws* 1.176; Philo, *Contemp. Life* 19: "these people spread endless nonsense." Josephus, *Life* 150: "I made clear the silliness (τὸν φλύαρον) of their accusation of witchcraft"; Strabo: "Eratosthenes calls the interpreters of the Odyssey and the poet himself babblers" (φλυάρους, *Prolegomena* 1.2.7; cf. 1.2.3; 1.2.23; φλυαρέω = talk balderdash, 1.2.14; 1.3.1); 4Macc 5:10—"Will you not wake up to the stupidity spouted by your philosophy?"

⁵ 3John 10. Cf. Diogenes Laertius 7.173: τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Ἡρακλέα φλυαρομένους ὑπὸ τω—ν ποιητω—ν; cf. *P.Berlin* 13270, 5.

φροντίζω

phrontizo, to think or meditate about, worry about, attend to, take care of

phrontizo, S 5431; *EDNT* 3.440; MM 676; L&N 30.20; BDF §155(7); BAGD 866–867

Those who have placed their trust in God must apply themselves to excelling in good works (*hina phrontizosin kalon ergon proïstasthai*).¹ It is difficult to translate this present subjunctive. The verb *phrontizo*, which in the Koine sometimes takes an accusative complement, takes in both the intention and the execution. It means first of all to think on something, to meditate on it, dream about it (*PSI* 1265, 3: *phrontizontes kai pronoian*

poioumenoi), with connotations of concern² and even of fear or anxiety;³ then “worry about, attend to, take care of,” notably with regard to public affairs.⁴ The word is used for taking things to heart (*Ep. Arist.* 124) and actively looking after them (Sir 35:1; 41:12) out of an awareness of one’s responsibility to carry through; this is clearly the sense in Titus 3:8.

This is why this verb is used so often in the papyri in official and private letters, especially the aorist imperative *phrontison*.⁵ In AD 68, the prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander tells those under his jurisdiction, “I have sought means to help you”;⁶ the publication of the edict vouches for the governor’s concern for those under his jurisdiction. The private individuals among them are as urgent as the high officials: “Do not fail to see to it.”⁷ Quick action is required: *phrontison eutheos* (*P.Ryl.* 78, 26). The recipient’s attention is required (*P.Mert.* 63, 14; in AD 5), he is urged to show solicitude and diligence⁸ or be reproached for negligence (“I am amazed that you did not take care . . .”—*thaumazo pos ouk ephrontisas tes mechanas tes Talei*, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 256, 3). It is often a matter of supplying what is lacking, finishing what remains to be done, hence seeing that something is completely carried out.⁹ No trouble is spared (*ephrontisa ou metrioi*, *SB* 4323, 2), especially when “the law of nature teaches us to take care” of a good father (*P.Ryl.* 624, 16), to watch over one’s children’s health (*P.Rein.* 109, 3; *PSI* 973, 4, 11), to be of service to family and friends (*PSI* 1246, 1–3; *SB* 9106, 5; 9395, 12: “take care . . . as dear brothers,” *phrontisatai . . . hos adelphoi gnesioi*), and to fulfill religious obligations: “taking care that all that was customarily done for the gods should be carried out properly” (Rosetta Stone, *SB* 8299, 18); “taking much more care than his predecessors with respect to the sacred animals” (*ibid.*, line 31); and in AD 98: “He took care of the temple and the well and the rest of the works” (*ephrontise tou hierou kai tou phretos kai ton loipon ergon*, *SB* 8331, 21). It is in this context that the exhortation to effective mutual concern in Titus 3:8 occurs.¹⁰

¹ Titus 3:8. On the construction of this verb introduced by ἵνα (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 15, 108), cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *Verb*, n. 582, 594; or in the imperative, n. 702, 704, 716, 717; cf. 684, 2; 791, 1.

² Ps 40:17—“Lord, think on me” (Hebrew *hashab*); Wis 8:17—“having thought about this in my heart”; Sir 8:13—“If you have given your pledge, consider yourself obligated to pay.”

³ 1Sam 9:5—“Lest my father be anxious about us” (Hebrew *da’ag*); Job 3:25; 23:15 (Hebrew *pahad*); Prov 31:21 (*yara’*).

⁴ 1Macc 16:14; 2Macc 4:21; 11:15; Sir 50:4; cf. *Ep. Arist.* 121—devote oneself to Hellenistic culture; 245: see to looking after these matters;

Josephus, *Ant.* 14.312: “I will take care of your interests”; *Life* 94: “This was not the time to be concerned with gaining the affection of the Tiberians”; Polybius 3.12.5: “Those who are in charge of business should take especial care to learn people’s dispositions”; Achilles Tatius 4.9.2: οὐδὲν φροντίζουσα κρύπτειν ὅσα γυνὴ μὴ ὄρα—σθαι θέλει.

⁵ *BGU* 1772, 25 (57/56 BC); 249, 20; 1568, 9 (the *eirenarchos*; cf. *P.Stras.* 309 recto 2); *P.Achm.* 8, 15: “Take care to put the shipments up for auction” (letter from the imperial procurator to the *strategos*); *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 34, 26; 35, 35; *PSI* 1125, 3 (the *epitropos*); *P.Tebt.* 762, 11: φρόντισον οὖν περὶ ου—σοι γέγραψα (third century BC); *P.Oxy.* 2114, 11; *UPZ* 159, 7: φρόντισον οὖν, ὅπως μὴ ἀδικηθῆ ὁ ἄνθρωπος; *P.Yale* 38, 5; *P.Alex.* 1, 8 (official letter concerning provisions for soldiers), φρόντισον ὅπως ἄρτων μὲν ε—κπέσσονται καθ ἡμέραν; *P.Ant.* 31, 5 (from the *logistes* to the *kosmetes*); *P.Rein.* 91, 4 (from the prefect Maevius Honoratianus), τοιγαροῦν φρόντισον μηδεμίαν μέμψιν; *P.Berl.Zill.* 3, 6 (from the prefect Minicius Sanctus); 4, 17; *P.Corn.* 47, 7; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 24, 131, 392, 395; 2, 29, 58, 63, 83, etc.; *P.Tebt.* 911, 19; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 25, 1; *SB* 7345, 3; 8246, 1; 9025, 32; 9260, 5; 9468, 5; cf. 7622, 11; 8248, 13; 8334, 24; 8933, 2; 7472, 5: ὁ στρατηγὸς φροντιει—.

⁶ Γινώσκητε ὅτι ε—φρόντισα τω—ν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν βοήθειαν ἀνηκόντων (*BGU* 1563, 19 = Dittenberger, *Or.* 669). Cf. the edict of the prefect Aristius Optatus: “Let the provincials take care to pay their taxes” (οι—ε—παρχειω—ται φροντισάτωσαν, *P.Cair.Isid.* 1, 11; cf. 71, 10). The *strategos* “looked after the *paroikoi* placed under his command” (*I.Rhamn.* XIV, 11, p. 209).

⁷ *P.Oxy.* 1871, 6: μηδὲν οὖν ἀμελήσεις τοῦτο φρόντισον; cf. 1929, 3; 2114, 11; 2153, 14; 2228, 28, 33, 38; *P.Princ.* 22, 5; 27, 3; 97, 5; *P.Mich.* 511, 9; 529, 24; *P.Oslo* 150, 16; *O.Bodl.* 2001; cf. *P.Brem.* 76, 5; *P.Dura* 128 e 1; *P.Haun.* 9, 7; *SB* 7984, 10: σὺ οὖν φρόντισον περὶ τούτων; 9256 recto 17–18. *P.Grenf.* II, 77, 15: φροντίσατε οὖν τὰ ἀναλωθέντα ε—τοιμάσαι.

⁸ Εὖ ποιήσεις νῦν γε φροντίσας αὐτὴν παραγενέσθαι, *P.Mil.Vogl.* 27, col. II, 12; cf. *P.Mich.* 211, 2: “You will do well to see to our affairs” (καλω—ς ποιήσητε φροντίσαντες τω—ν ἡμετέρων); 476, 14; 481, 16; 486, 21; 601, 13: σὺ οὖν καλω—ς ποίσεις φροντίσας ὡς οὐ περισπασθησόμεθα (second century BC); *UPZ* 73, 4: καλω—ς οὖν ποίσης φροντίσαι μοι σιτάριον; 110, 149; 202, frag. II, 3; *P.Michael.* 11, 6; cf. *P.Apoll.* 68, 6: οὐκ ἔχει ἄλλον τι νῦν φροντίζοντα τω— δεσπότη αὐτοῦ; *P.Tebt.* 703, 99: μὴ παρέργως φρόντιζε (third century BC); *PSI* 742, 13: φρόντισον . . . κατὰ τάχους.

⁹ *C.P.Herm.* 32, 19: εἰ— δὲ καὶ ἠ—τον φροντίζω τῆς βεβαιώσεως = *P.Michael.* 40, 46; 45, 56; 52, 24; *P.Ant.* 91, 14: φροντίσαι τω—ν λοιπῶ—ν ὑπολειφθέντων ἡμι—ν πραγμάτων; 188, 7.

¹⁰ εὐδοδῶρου νεωτέρου φροντίζοντος = Theodorus the younger being curator (*CII* 723; B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. 2); “I Theodorus, chief synagogue ruler, having been in charge for four years (φροντίσας)” (*CII* 722; B. Lifshitz, n. 1).

φω—ς, φωστήρ, φωσφόρος, φωτεινός, φωτίζω, φωτισμός

phos, light; *phoster*, light-giver, luminary; *phosphoros*, morning star, dawn; *photeinos*, luminous; *photizo*, to shine, give light, illuminate, enlighten, baptize; *photismos*, lighting, illumination, baptism
see also φωσφόρος

phos, S 5457; *TDNT* 9.310–358; *EDNT* 3.447–448; *NIDNTT* 2.490, 493, 496; MM 680; L&N 2.5, 6.102, 11.14, 14.36, 28.64; BDF §126(1*b*); BAGD 871–872 | **phoster**, S 5458; *TDNT* 9.310–358; *EDNT* 3.448–449; *NIDNTT* 2.490, 493; MM 680; L&N 1.27, 14.49; BAGD 872 | **phosphoros**, S 5459; *TDNT* 9.310–358; *EDNT* 3.449; *NIDNTT* 2.490, 493, 495; MM 680; L&N 1.32; BAGD 872 | **photeinos**, S 5460; *TDNT* 9.310–358; *EDNT* 3.449; *NIDNTT* 2.490, 493; MM 680; L&N 14.50, 14.51; BAGD 872 | **photizo**, S 5461; *TDNT* 9.310–358; *EDNT* 3.449–450; *NIDNTT* 2.490, 493–495; MM 680–681; L&N 14.39, 28.36; BDF §74(1); BAGD 872–873 | **photismos**, S 5462; *TDNT* 9.310–358; *EDNT* 4.450; *NIDNTT* 2.490, 493; MM 681; L&N 28.36, 72.3; BAGD 873; ND 1.98–99

The first attestations of “light” (*phaos*, which contracts to *phos*)—and this remains constant—place it in relation with its source, the sun: “When the brilliant light (*lampron phaos*) of the sun had set” (Homer, *Il.* 1.605); “the sun, whose light is the most penetrating to see” (*oxytaton phaos*);¹ “Hail, fatherland; hail, light of the sun” (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 508); “the night will always hide the light of the sun under its cloak of stars” (Aeschylus, *PV* 23). Associated with the sun are the heavenly bodies that are luminous:² “the light of the heavenly bodies enables us to see as clearly as possible and provides that visible objects are seen.”³ The light of the moon is always a disputed topic. According to Plato, the heir of Thales, “the moon receives its light from the sun.”⁴ For Epicurus, “it can be supposed that the moon derives its light from itself, but it can also be supposed that it gets it from the sun” (Epicurus, *Epist.* 2.94). Cleomedes (2.101, 104) thinks that the two causes may operate simultaneously. In any event, “no object is visible without light, but every color that is in each object is visible in the light.”⁵

Phaos is used especially for daylight.⁶ To express a being's entry into life, the Greeks say that he has been brought to day, that he appears in the light.⁷ "To see the light" (*horan phaos*) is synonymous with "to live"; "to leave the light" (*leipein phaos*) is to die: "I will not much longer see the brilliant light of the sun";⁸ "Never will you be able to harm either me or anyone who sees the light" (Sophocles, *OT* 374; cf. 1229); "Ajax no longer sees the light" = he is dead (*Phil.* 415); the wife of Admetus "consented to die for him and to see the light no longer."⁹

Of course, light can have earthly sources: people, lamps, torches,¹⁰ especially fire.¹¹ We must emphasize—because knowing this is indispensable for the understanding of Matt 6:23; Luke 11:34-35—that beginning with Euclid, treatises on optical geometry do not represent vision as involving the reflection of light from the things we see onto our retinas but rather attribute an active role to the eye. Vision is a movement of the eye toward things; the eye emits rays that are propagated along a straight line,¹² a sort of invisible fire. This is why Homer could call the eyes "beautiful lights" (*phaea kala*, *Od.* 16.15; cf. *Il.* 16.645), Plato could state that "the eye is the most sunlike of all the sense organs" (*Resp.* 6.508 *b*), and Empedocles could compare the eyes to lanterns with linen linings (frag. 84, 3; Diels 7). To speak of disturbed vision, Philostratus writes of "the light in the eyes" (*to en ophthalmois phos*, *Gym.* 14), and for the blinding of the Cyclops, Euripides writes, "Say who must be first to take the fiery stake and burn out the light of the Cyclops."¹³

We might say that, for a Greek, light is the most excellent of all realities; the attributes given it are suggestive: holy (*phaos hieron*, Hesiod, *Op.* 339; *P. Warr.* 21, 30 and 34; *Pap. Graec. Mag.* I, 4, 978), pure (*hagnon*, Sophocles, *El.* 86; *katharon*, Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.90; Aratus, *Phaen.* 1013), sweet,¹⁴ joyous,¹⁵ most beloved (*philtaton*; Sophocles, *El.* 1224, 1354; *BGU* 597), heavenly or divine.¹⁶ Its benefits are evoked by figurative meanings. Light is a symbol of strength, protection, happiness, glory, salvation in the common sense of that term: Ajax bests a Trojan battalion and "made salvation shine on his friends" (*phoos etheken*, *Il.* 6.6); "continue to strike so, and you shall become a light (of salvation) for the Danaans and for your father."¹⁷ The victors' procession at the Olympic games is "the most enduring light of honor that the exploits of the mighty receive" (Pindar, *Ol.* 4.10); "victory, light of life and reward for exploits" (10.23); "the light of glory has shined for you."¹⁸

Given that light shines and makes perceptible what was unknown or indiscernible in the darkness, it is understood metaphorically for knowledge. "He must explain in plain light what he means" (Sophocles, *Phil.* 581); "to bring to light" (Plato, *Phdr.* 261 *e*; *Leg.* 4.724 *a*; 7.788 *c*; *phos* opposed to *skotos*). Aristotle: "What sight is to the body, mind is to the soul" (*hos gar en somati opsis, en psyche nous*, *Eth. Nic.* 1.4.1096b28ff.). Knowledge is an illumination of the mind, a progression from darkness to

light (Plutarch, *De audiendo* 17; *Cons. ux.* 8); hence the introduction of *phos* into the philosophical vocabulary.¹⁹

But since in Homer light characterizes the world of the gods,²⁰ *phos* comes to mean a divine manifestation²¹ and to take a dominant place in worship. Thus the sun is adored, notably at dawn;²² Isis, for example, is associated with the rising sun, which spreads light.²³ Because light chases demons away, it plays a role in the cult of the dead²⁴ and also in the mysteries, like those of Eleusis,²⁵ because healing is attributed to a flood of light, a divine epiphany.²⁶ Here again, *phos* and *zoe* (life) are inseparable.

In the OT, *phos* (Hebrew *’ôr*) is used with the same subjects and meanings,²⁷ but this is no longer poetry. Light becomes a fundamental religious reality; by virtue of its symbolism, it will direct human moral life; with the prophets and psalmists, it plays a dominant role in the religion of Israel. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the first page of revelation, which opens with the creation of light: “There was darkness upon the face of the Abyss. . . . Elohim said, ‘Let there be light,’ and there was light. Elohim saw that the light was good, and Elohim separated the light from the darkness. Elohim called the light day and he called the darkness night.”²⁸ Thus, from the beginning, the true God presents himself as *creator of the light* that dominates (Hebrew *memshelet*) and pierces the darkness (2Cor 4:6), so that one speaks not only of the “light of heaven” but of the “light of God.”²⁹ With the plagues of Egypt, we know that God retains his mastery and disposes light and darkness as he sees fit.³⁰

Furthermore, the light belongs to God: “light dwells with him” (Dan 2:22), and the expression “the light of his face” occurs (Ps 4:6; 89:15), probably to express his helpful kindness. But if God is “clothed with honor and majesty, cloaked with light as with a garment” (Ps 104:2; Hab 3:4), his transcendency and holiness are in view; light evokes the impalpable and the spiritual. This is suggested by the immaterial wisdom that is “a reflection of the eternal light (*photos aidiou*), spotless mirror of God’s activity” (Wis 7:26ff.). God who is light is still asked to send and give his light.³¹ It is through light that humans and God communicate and are united; they become like him to the extent that they are luminous.³² Jesus will use the expression “son of light” (Luke 16:8; John 12:36; cf. 4:23-24).

In addition, Isaiah multiplies promises of light, exhorts Israel to “walk in the light of Yahweh” (2:5; cf. Bar 4:2), and prophesies that the Messiah will be the light that will save the world: “I have destined you to be the covenant of the people, to be the light of the nations, to open the blind eyes. . . .”³³ In the view of the faithful person, security is walking to God’s light, that is, in conformity with his will: “Your word is a lamp to my feet, a light upon my path” (Ps 119:105); “the light of the Lord is the path that the wise person follows.”³⁴ So this light is a religious and moral knowledge (Hos 10:12—*phos gnoseos*; Hebrew *nîr*). “Wisdom makes instruction

shine forth like light” (Sir 24:27). These meanings are expressed also by the relatively rare verb *photizo*,³⁵ which is sometimes transitive, indicating that a source of light illuminates an object,³⁶ sometimes intransitive, “to shine,” that is, to emit light.³⁷ Thus, in the LXX, “a person’s wisdom makes his face shine”;³⁸ but in Judg 13:8, 23, this verb means to illuminate intellectually, to instruct, that is, to make to know the truth, to bring to light what is hidden.³⁹ It is repeated that “God lightens our eyes” (2Esdr 9:8; Ps 13:3; 19:9; Sir 34:17; Bar 1:12); “the Lord is a light to me” (Mic 7:8); “you light my lamp, O Yahweh; my God illumines my darkness” (Ps 18:28); “the unfolding of your words gives light, giving understanding to the simple.”⁴⁰

Philo, fed on Scripture, is a lover of the light.⁴¹ He is the one who created the definition, “God is light” (*ho theos phos esti*).⁴² He understands the creation of light—on “day one” (Gen 1:3-5), before the sun—to mean incorporeal and intelligible light, the model of all the luminous stars, surpassing visible light in luminosity and brilliance (*Creation* 29–31). Since God is the spiritual sun who lightens the soul (*Virtues* 164), the Therapeutai ask at daybreak “that the heavenly light fill their souls” (*Contemp. Life* 27). No one insisted more than Philo on this “incorporeal light” (*Conf. Tongues* 61; *Dreams* 1.113), “sacred light” (*Spec. Laws* 1.288), “divine light” (*Migr. Abr.* 39; *Heir* 264; *Dreams* 2.74), designated also as “light of the soul” (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.167; *Worse Attacks Better* 117) or “light of thought” (*Unchang. God* 3), “light of the spirit” (*Spec. Laws* 1.288), which is nothing other than “the light of truth” (*Unchang. God* 96; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.45; *Decalogue* 138; *Joseph* 68: *phos he aletheia*) or wisdom.⁴³ As much as ignorance destroys the faculties of seeing and hearing, keeping the light from penetrating it to show it what is (*Drunkenness* 157), so much does “the heavy reason of the divine lights” (*ton metarsion kai enkymona theion photon logon*, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.104; *Abraham* 119) send its own light and perceive everything (*Post. Cain* 57; *Worse Attacks Better* 128). St. Paul specifies, “the spiritual person judges all things.”⁴⁴

In the Gospels, the word “light,” used almost always in a religious sense,⁴⁵ cannot be understood except in terms of the OT; but it is applied to Christ and his disciples in such a way that Christianity may be defined as a religion of the light. In the first place, Jesus realizes the promises of light. When Simeon identifies Jesus with the “light to lighten the nations” (*phos eis apokalypsin ethnon*, Luke 2:32), he is referring to Isa 49:6; it is his understanding that the son of Mary brings truth, goodness, happiness. Since he comes as illuminator, he will publish, manifest, make known God and God’s will. This publishing and this brightness were perceived by the Galileans: “The people who were sitting in darkness have seen a great light (*phos mega*), and upon those who were sitting in the region of the shadow of death a light has arisen” (Matt 4:16)—a quotation of the messianic prophecy of Isa 9:1, which identifies the light with the person of Jesus: *phos aneteilen autois*.⁴⁶ Still more decisive is the transfiguration, when the

face of Jesus shone like the sun and his garments “became white (resplendent, brilliant) like the light” (*leuka hos to phos*, Matt 17:2). It is the divinity of Jesus, his glory, that reflects on his body and attests his divine sonship (2Pet 1:17).

St. John is even more insistent, especially in the prologue to his Gospel, and will have it understood that *phos* applied to Christ is to be taken in its literal sense, not with a metaphorical meaning: “the life was the light of men” (John 1:4). Ps 35:10 and Bar 3:14 had already linked life and light. In effect, with regard to spiritual beings, life is light.⁴⁷ This has to do with the pre-incarnate Logos, but at a stage later than the creation, since there are human beings. Divine help is indispensable for knowledge. John 1:5 specifies, “The light (of the Logos) shone in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it.” Shining in obscurity, the light illuminates the path and guides humans, who may advance; but the darkness did not “seize” it, did not appropriate it and did not understand it intellectually. There is an allusion to the creation of the light, which dissipated the darkness of the primeval chaos, but this illumination is continuously renewed in the spiritual world. This can mean—but does not necessarily mean—the illumination by the gospel (the verb *phainei* is a durative present, cf. 1John 2:8). In opposition is evoked the historic attitude of humans when the light of Christ shone among the Jews: darkness, an abstract term, almost synonymous with hostility (John 12:35, 46), as pejorative as at Qumran, posing a radical antithesis to the divine world. John 1:9 resumes more clearly: “The true light, which lightens every human being, was coming into the world.”⁴⁸ The present participle *erchomenon*,⁴⁹ predicate to the verb *en*, is determinative with regard to time: the incarnate Logos was arriving, coming, advancing, on his way. This is an absolute and perfect spiritual light (as opposed to sensible light), intended for every human (Isa 42:6), and thus destined to light the whole universe. To put it clearly, this is the Revealer of God par excellence,⁵⁰ as the conclusion of the prologue (John 1:18) expressly says. These are not gratuitous words of the evangelist, but the *ipsissima verba* of the Lord.⁵¹ No human being could have claimed such a prerogative.

To be light is to illuminate, to radiate, and there are degrees of illumination. There are lights that are lighted before they in turn begin to give light. This is the case with Jesus’ disciples: “You are the light of the world (for the world, *hymeis este to phos tou kosmou*). Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify the Father who is in heaven.”⁵² As lamps, the disciples, following their master, must shed light, that is, they must reveal God to people; this is what they will do as disciples by manifesting through their lives and their works the will of God,⁵³ to whom they subject themselves, thus glorifying God.

All human attitudes toward Jesus are defined as an encounter between two lights. Christ and his revelation are like a brilliant sun that

illuminates, but the eye of the soul—which emits rays (cf. above)—must be in good condition to receive the light. So the whole problem is to guarantee the quality of the organ of sight, to have good eyes for discerning God in Jesus: “The light of your body is the eye. When your eye is simple, your whole body is lighted; but if it is bad, your body also is dark. See then that the light that is in you (*to phos to en soi*) is not darkness. If then your whole body is lighted . . . how much will it be wholly lighted when the lamp, by its brightness, illuminates you.”⁵⁴ The precondition for receiving the divine light is thus a heart that is well disposed, purified, and rightly oriented; it is ready to meet what it is looking for and with which it will couple.⁵⁵ Is knowledge not an assimilation of something new from outside?

In addition, in his last appeal to the chosen people, the Lord exhorts them to flee their darkness: “The Light is with you a little longer. Walk while you have the light, lest the darkness overtake you; for the one who walks in darkness does not know where he is going. While you have the light, believe in the light, so as to be sons of light (*huioi photos*).”⁵⁶ The process of judgment for each one is this: “The light came into the world, and people preferred darkness to the light, because their works were evil. For whoever does evil hates the light and does not come to the light, lest his works be known for what they are. But the one who does the truth comes to the light, so that his works are manifested as done in God” (John 3:19-21). The root of clear unbelief in Jesus is a refusal of his light, a preference for darkness, by virtue of a moral inclination (wealth, luxury, ambition, vainglory). After the fashion of criminals, who choose the night for carrying out their misdeeds so as to remain unknown, those who do evil dread the light, which will unveil their guilt and condemn them. They deliberately choose darkness. On the other hand, the one who practices the truth, that is, who remains faithful (Gen 47:29; Neh 9:33; Isa 26:10) and does what is good, comes to the light that he loves, hence to Christ, who is light: “whoever proceeds from the truth hears my voice” (John 18:37). Thus the love of moral good predisposes one to faith, especially since good works cannot be accomplished without God’s help (Isa 26:12; Phil 2:13). We may conclude: salvation is realized through faithfulness to the light; perdition results from the refusal to love the truth (2Thess 2:10).

The other writings of the NT attest that the theme of light was not only commonly evoked in catechesis but was also a major chapter in the first Christian theology.⁵⁷ This theology is based especially on the OT and constantly contrasts light and darkness, after the fashion of the Qumran sect, but it also wishes to make clear over against paganism that God is pure spirit. Furthermore, St. John, who warns, “Keep yourselves from idols” (1John 5:21), is the same one who states, “This is the message that we have heard from him (Jesus Christ) and that we announce to you, namely, that *God is light* and in him there is no darkness at all.”⁵⁸ St. James had already designated God as “Father of lights,” knowing that the concept was

current among his readers;⁵⁹ but it was St. Paul who in the twilight of his life would give the most fully worked out idea, for the benefit of the converted pagans of Ephesus: God, “the only possessor of immortality, dwelling in inaccessible light which no human has ever seen or can see. To him be honor and eternal power. Amen.”⁶⁰ It is a fundamental article of the faith of Israel that no mortal can see God,⁶¹ who is inaccessible because he belongs to another world (Ps 104:2; Job 37:21-24; Ezek 1:28; Dan 2:22). An eternal being whom death cannot touch, he is located in light in order to express first of all his spirituality (God is spirit, John 4:24); then his transcendence, or better, his divinity; and finally his glory, blessedness, power—and immortality.

Like Simeon (Luke 2:32), who cites Isa 49:6, St. Paul recalls that Christ was to “announce the light to the people” (Acts 26:23). But it is as “first in the resurrection of the dead” that he is the author of this illumination, which is not limited to Israel but extends to the Gentiles. In order to do this, he raises up his apostle, Paul,⁶² who conceives his ministry as the spreading of the light, as victory over darkness.⁶³ The salvation of each soul lies in accepting him by faith. In an admirable but difficult text, Paul refers this spiritual re-creation to the first creation of light.⁶⁴ The gospel is light to the highest degree, the lightning-flash of God’s glory: “The God who said, ‘Let light shine in the midst of darkness,’ is the one who has shined in our hearts to shed light by the knowledge of the glory of God [shining] on the face of Christ.”⁶⁵ It is not the preacher, his person or ideas, that sheds light, but God. The same God who at the beginning brought forth light out of darkness and whose reflection shone in an external way on the face of Moses is also the one who has shone in a spiritual way in the soul, or better, “in the heart” of Paul—that is, in the most intimate and invisible way (cf. Gal 1:16—he revealed his Son *in me*). Hence this illumination is for the purpose of shining out, so that the apostle may be able to radiate around himself: *pros photismon*. The interior light is so fulsome that it diffuses a knowledge, that of “the glory of God” which shines on the face of Christ. This is the gospel. The Pauline apostolate is the diffusion of this light.

In his first epistle, after the fashion of Jesus (Luke 16:8), St. Paul characterizes believers as “sons of the light and of the day.”⁶⁶ According to what precedes, we should read literally, “begotten by God, who is light,” but also thus: You are henceforth luminous, and this is the basis for a whole spirituality, because *operatio sequitur esse*, doing follows being; since the baptized participate in the nature of God and are illuminated by the gospel, they must conduct themselves as beings who are victorious over the darkness; that is, they must produce the fruits of all the virtues; their divine nature must be manifest in the eyes of all, so that all will be drawn in and pulled along by this dazzling wake; this is their constant theme of thankfulness to God: “Formerly you were darkness (ignorant and sinful),

but now you are light in the Lord. Conduct yourselves, then, as children of light (as luminous creatures), because the fruit of this light consists in all goodness, righteousness, and truth.”⁶⁷ Given the realism and the holiness of this begetting by the light, we can see that it is forbidden for Christians to make compacts with paganism and its mores; on the religious level, no syncretism is possible. There is a radical incompatibility between *phos* and *skotos* (darkness): “Do not be unequally yoked with unbelievers! What participation (*metoche*) is there between righteousness and iniquity, or what is there in common (*koinonia*) between light and darkness? What accord (*sumphonesis*) is there between Christ and Belial?”⁶⁸ St. Peter and St. John remind the disciples that they were “called from darkness to the admirable (or marvelous, *thaumastos*) light of God” (1Pet 2:9), and that in living according to this light, according to revealed truth and holiness, they are in communion with one another (1John 1:7). To be baptized is to be in the light; to abide in the light is to be faithful to the precept of brotherly love, which sums up the whole of gospel ethics. Hence: “The true light is already shining. The one who says that he is in the light (*en to photi einai*) and hates his brother is still in darkness. The one who loves his brother abides in the light (*en to photi menei*) and there is no scandal in him”;⁶⁹ he shows himself to be an authentic child of God, who is light and love; nothing will make him stumble, because “whoever abides in him does not sin” (1John 3:6), does not make a compact with the darkness.

The last book of the Bible evokes the conquests of the gospel, the universality of the redeemed, who are illuminated by revelation and are on a pilgrimage to the celestial city.⁷⁰ Finally—this is the last prophecy—the servants of God will see his face: “There will be no more night, and they will not need the light of a torch or the light of the sun, because the Lord God will shed his light on them, and they will reign forever and ever.”⁷¹ No philosophy or theology of light has achieved such richness, such homogeneity, or such splendor.⁷² It is Christianity that has given *phos* its eternal title of nobility.

Photizein. — All the NT occurrences of this word are religious. The subject is always God,⁷³ Christ,⁷⁴ an angel (Rev 18:1), or St. Paul: “It has been given to me to bring to light the dispensation of the mystery” (Eph 3:9). Two texts have considerable importance. The first concerns the realization of salvation that “has been manifested (*phanerotheisan*) now by the appearing (*dia tes epiphaneias*) of our Savior Christ Jesus . . . bringing to light (*photisantos*) life and incorruptibility through the gospel” (2Tim 1:10). Resurrected and luminous, Christ rising from the tomb makes life and incorruptibility shine forth from his person before communicating them to others. This luminescence is precisely that of religious epiphanies; an *epiphaneia* is the glittering apparition of a divinity who showers favors.⁷⁵ The second text is Heb 6:4, “those who have once been illumined and tasted the heavenly gift”; the aorist passive participle (*tous photisthentas*)

designates the baptized, as the Peshitta understood in substituting “those who have gone down for baptism.”⁷⁶ Faith and baptism are, in effect, an introduction of light into the world; believers are illumined by God and concerning God;⁷⁷ having received the knowledge of the truth, they were snatched from the satanic realm of darkness. In Rev 21:23, “the glory of God” illumines the heavenly Jerusalem and its inhabitants (22:5).

Phoster. — Literally, this noun designates “what gives light,” hence a light-bearer, a luminary, “what illumines.”⁷⁸ In the LXX (representing the Hebrew *maôr*) it applies exclusively to the sun and the moon, the luminaries of heaven (Gen 1:14, 16; Wis 13:2; Sir 43:7). So when St. Paul declares to the Philippians, “You appear as luminaries in the world” (*phainesthe hos phosteres en kosmo*, Phil 2:15), we may understand him to mean, “You shine like torches in the world,” after the fashion of the stars that light the night, or, without reference to the heavenly world, “You shine like hearths of light” as witnesses to the gospel, whose light shines in the darkness of an evil world. This meaning would be preferable, since the “children of God” named here are not themselves light but are bearers of the divine light. In any event, their calling is to illuminate the ignorant and the errant. But the apostle would seem to be inspired by Dan 12:3—“Those who are wise will shine like the splendor of the firmament (*phanousin hos phosteres tou ouranou*), and those who have turned many to righteousness, like the stars (*hosei ta astra tou ouranou*) forever and ever.” If this is the case, *phoster* (Hebrew *zohar*) means luminous brilliance.⁷⁹ This is the certain meaning in Rev 21:11, where the heavenly Jerusalem has in itself the glory of God: “Its brilliance (*ho phoster autes*) is like a very precious stone, like a stone of crystalline jasper.”⁸⁰ This luminosity, which is an effect of the divine presence, would be “his testimony, his teaching, his sacraments, the virtues of his saints” (E. B. Allo).

Phosphoros. — 2Pet 1:19 commands Christians to cling to the “prophetic word,”⁸¹ which is “like a shining lamp (*hos lychno phainonti*) in a dark place until day breaks and dawn⁸² arises in your hearts.” The Messiah was expected as a light (Isa 60:1-3; cf. 1John 2:8); his first coming could then be considered like a dawn⁸³ whose brightness only increases until his glorious return. Already this *parousia* radiates in hearts and makes them live in hope, thanks to the prophets who provide certitude concerning it.

The use of the biblical hapax *phosphoros* can be justified in two ways. If the term usually designates the morning star,⁸⁴ here it is used metaphorically, a usage well attested in the papyri⁸⁵ and especially in Philo: “The intelligible rays come from God the light-bearer” (*tou phosphorou theou*, *Drunkenness* 44); “those who show themselves obedient to the oracles will live continuously in a light without shadow, bearing these laws in their souls, like so many stars that illumine it” (*asteras phosphorountas*).⁸⁶ Moreover, *phosphoros* was an epithet of

numerous divinities. In a hymn from the first-second century, a greeting to all the gods: *phosphore chaire megiste*.⁸⁷ It is especially the goddesses Artemis and Hecate that are honored with this title;⁸⁸ so also the planet Venus, which precedes the sun: “the Torch of the day, the dawn . . . chasing the stars” (Euripides, *Ion* 1157; cf. *IA* 20; *Hel.* 569); “rise . . . the luminous star has come” (*phosphoros aster*).⁸⁹ 2Pet thus uses *phosphoros* to specify the heavenly and divine nature of the light that illuminates the whole Christian life.

Photismos. — This abstract noun, derived from *photizo*, means “lighting, illumination” and is an astronomical technical term for the radiance of the moon, the reflection of the sun’s light by the moon. Astronomy asks about the waxing and waning of the light of the moon (*peri photismon selenes*) and seeks its origin.⁹⁰ This privileged meaning appears in the LXX, where out of six occurrences of *photismos* three have to do with the night (Job 3:9; Ps 78:14; 139:11; cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 470ff., 775ff., 791). The other three apply to God: “The Lord is my light and my Savior” (*Kyrios photismos mou kai soter mou*, Ps 27:1; 44:3; 90:8); but it is still a question of a luminosity that is received, refracted. Thus do we understand the splendor of the preaching of the gospel in 2Cor 4:4, 6: *ton photismon tou euangeliou . . . pros photismon tes gnoseos*.⁹¹ The apostle is a light-bearer, because the content of the gospel is Christ glorified, and the preacher causes this *doxa* (glory) to radiate, or propagates the “knowledge of the glory of God [which] shines out on the face of Christ.” Here again, this brightness is a reflection: just as the light of the sun is reflected by the moon, and the glory of God by the face of Moses, so also does the divine *doxa* shine out upon the glorified Christ, and the apostle makes it shine in the ears of his hearers (cf. 2Pet 1:16).

Since the baptized are *photisthentes* (Heb 6:4; 10:32; cf. the variant readings *ebaptisen/ephotisen* in the *Acts Thom.* 25), St. Justin calls baptism *photismos* (*1 Apol.* 61.12; 65.1; *Dial.* 122.5), and Clement of Alexandria calls it *photisma*.⁹²

¹ Homer, *Il.* 14.345; cf. 8.485: “The brilliant light of the sun set over the ocean, bringing dark night over the land”; 23.154; Homer, *Od.* 16.220; 21.226; 3.335: “the light of the sun had already passed under the West”; *P.Oxy.* 2554, frag. III, 14: ἡλιακὸν φω—ς. Cf. G. P. Wetter, *Phos*, Leipzig, 1915; R. Bultmann, “Zur Geschichte der Lichtsymbolik im Altertum,” in *Exegetica*, Tübingen, 1967, pp. 323–355; C. Mugler, “La Lumière et la vision dans la poésie grecque,” in *REG*, 1960, pp. 40–72; C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, pp. 432ff.

² Late writers (Philoponus, Pappus of Alexandria) call them τὰ φω—τα; a plural that applies to lamps in *BGU* 909, 16.

³ Plato, *Resp.* 6.508 a; cf. Theophrastus, *Sens.* 54: “perhaps the sun causes the formation of the image in the eye by carrying light in its rays to the organ of sight, as Democritus seems to say”; cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 10.74; *Pyth.* 3.75; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 3.13.2.

⁴ Plato, *Cra.* 409 b; Ps.-Plutarch, *De plac. philos.* 2.27; cf. Plutarch, *De fac.* 5: “it is not possible for a shadow to remain on the surface of the lunar orb when the sun with its light illuminates absolutely all that our view cuts off of the moon”; 2.16: “There is a thickness to the moon that keeps the light of the sun from passing through it to us” (theory of Posidonius and Cleomedes, 2.105–106). The world of light is above (*De gen.* 22).

⁵ Aristotle, *De An.* 2.7.418b2; cf. 418b9: “light is the presence of fire in the transparent”; 419a8 and 23; Theophrastus, *Sens.* 27; Plutarch, *De prim. frig.* 952 f: air is the first element to share the light of the sky. Daybreak is distinguished from evening (ε—σπέρας), Plutarch, *Arist.* 15.2; cf. *De gen.* 22: light diversifies according to variations in color.

⁶ Homer, *Il.* 15.669; 17.647; *Od.* 21.428; 23.371: “day was already spread across the land, but Athena enveloped them in a veil of night” so that Ulysses and his companions could escape.

⁷ Thanks to a divinity; Homer, *Il.* 2.308; 16.187; 19.103, 118; Hesiod, *Th.* 669; Pindar, *Ol.* 6.44; Aeschylus, *Pers.* 222, 261. An institution that is in the process of being formed is said not yet to have seen the light of the sun (Plato, *Resp.* 5.473 e).

⁸ Homer, *Il.* 5.119; cf. 18.11: “the bravest of the Myrmidons would leave the light of the sun”; 18.61; 18.442: “while he remains alive and sees the light of the sun”; *Od.* 4.883; 14.44; 20.207; Hesiod, *Th.* 157; Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1185; *P.Lond.* 1917, 7: “humble servant, unworthy to stand up to the light of the sun”; *SB* 8230, 26. In the magical tablets, it is requested that the victim be denied the light (μη φωτός); Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1240, 20.

⁹ Euripides, *Alc.* 18; cf. 122, 282, 1076: “the dead cannot return to the light”; *Hel.* 60: “For as long as Proteus saw the light of the sun (= while he lived) I was respected”; Euripides, *Hipp.* 56, 355, 905; *Hec.* 668, 703. So the light is not only the source of vision, but also its object; cf. the epitaph of Catilius: “Examine me well, who follow the lines of a skillful mortal” (τὸν εὐτέχνου φωτὸς στίχον, E. Bernand, *Philae*, vol. 2, n. 143, 1).

¹⁰ Homer, *Od.* 18.317: “I myself will take the duty of giving the light to all of them”; 19.24, 33: “from her golden lamp Pallas Athena made a great light before them”; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 292: the watch-lights alerted the guards;

Longus, *Daph.* 2.2: the dry willow is used at night for torches (ὕπὸ φωτί) for the transport of must. Cf. lights of windows, φω—τα θυρίδων (*P.Lond.* 1179, 62; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 99, 12); *BGU* 909, 15: ε—πελθόντες . . . τῆ ἡμετέρα οι—κία καὶ φω—τα ε—πενενκόντες ε—νέπρησαν αὐτὴν ε—κ θεματίου; 1201, 10: εὕρωμεν τὰς θύρας τοῦ ι—εροῦ Σαράπειδος θεοῦ μεγίστου ὑψημένας φωτί (synonym of πυρί or φλογί; *AD* 2; cf. *Mark* 14:54). Cf. φω—ς ε—ποίει, light the fires (Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.2.29); φω—ς ἔχων (*Hell.* 5.1.8; *Cyr.* 7.5.27); Plutarch, *Ant.* 26.6; *Pel.* 12.3: “lights shone in the houses.”

¹¹ Aeschylus, *Cho.* 863: “a fire and light for freedom” (ἦ πῦρ καὶ φω—ς ε—πε—λευθερία); *Ag.* 310: “light from the fire of Aetna”; Euripides, *IA* 733: the light of the fire; Plato, *Resp.* 7.514 *b*; *Tim.* 58 *c*. Cf. *Mark* 14:64.

¹² Ὀψις refers to the organ of sight as well as to the visual flow and ray; cf. C. Mugler, *Archimède*, vol. 4, Paris, 1972, p. 213 (citing p. 207, the commentary of Theon of Alexandria, *In Alm.* 1.3); C. Mugler, “Sur une polémique scientifique dans Aristophane,” in *REG*, 1959, pp. 58ff. A. Lejeune, *Recherches sur la catoptrique grecque*, Brussels, 1957; above all, H. D. Betz, “Matthew VI, 22 *f* and Ancient Greek Theories of Vision,” in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the N.T. Presented to M. Black*, Cambridge, 1979, pp. 43–56. W. Deonna, *Le Symbolisme de l’œil*, Bern, 1965, pp. 144ff.

¹³ Euripides, *Cyc.* 633; cf. *Ion* 188: “the beautiful light of the eyes in the twin faces”; Pindar, *Nem.* 10.39: “I would esteem myself worthy to live in Argus without hiding the light of my eyes”; Theophrastus, *Sens.* 8, 25, 26; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.7.2 *f*: “When the visual flow radiated by our eyes as cones reaches a greater distance, they fuse and reunite their light”; 5.7; cf. *De gen.* 10: the daemon of Socrates “gave him, it seems, to serve him as a guide in life, a kind of sight (ὄψις) that alone going out before him would illuminate him.”

¹⁴ Homer, *Od.* 16.23: “Telemachus, sweet light” (γλυκερὸν φ.); J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1960, p. 210, n. 445; μελίχιον φ. (*IGLS* 1599, 2; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 618, 35).

¹⁵ Ἰλαρον, Aristophanes, *Ran.* 455. *Phos* is synonymous with the shining out of joy, cf. Aeschylus, *Pers.* 300: “With what a shining light your words fill my house.” A woman is called τὸ φω—ς τῆς οι—κίας (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 1238, 2); cf. *P.Ryl.* 77, 34: μιμοῦ τὸν πατέρα τὸν φιλότιμον γέροντα φω—τα. F. J. Dölger, *Lumen Christi*, Paris, 1958, pp. 35ff.

¹⁶ Sophocles, *Ant.* 944: οὐράνιον φ.; Euripides, *Bacch.* 1083: φω—ς σεμνοῦ πυρός; Diogenes Laertius 8.68.

¹⁷ Homer, *Il.* 8.282; cf. 11.797; 16.39; 15.741: “the light of salvation is in our hands, not in a slackening of the war”; *Od.* 16.23; 17.41, 615; F. J. Dölger, *Sol Salutis*, Münster, 1920.

¹⁸ Pindar, *Nem.* 3.84; cf. 4.37; Aeschylus, *Pers.* 300; Sophocles, *Ant.* 599–600. At Baalbek, an acclamation links ζωή, ὑγία, φω—ς (*IGLS* 2837); at Rome, φω—ς, ζωή, βίος (*IGUR*, n. 411).

¹⁹ Cf. Conzelmann, “φω—ς,” in *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 314–315. In Parmenides, but especially in Plato, to be in the truth is to be in the light (*Resp.* 7.517 b–c; 518 c); “One must open the soul’s eye and look up toward being, which gives light to all things” (7.540 a; cf. *SB* 8003, 7: it is God who gives light = understanding); Aristotle, *De An.* 3.5.430a14ff.; “the intellect that is able to become all things is like a kind of state (ὡς ἕξις τις, οἶον τὸ φω—ς).” W. Beierwaltes, *Lux intelligibilis: Untersuchungen zur Lichtmetaphysik der Griechen*, Munich, 1957.

²⁰ Homer, *Od.* 6.45: the gods inhabit Olympus, whose summit shines white; commented on by Ps.-Aristotle, *Mund.* 6.400a6ff. (“Olympus [ὄλυμπον] is all light [ὀλολαμπῆ], apart from all darkness”) and by Plutarch, *Per.* 39.2.

²¹ Aelius Aristides 28.114; 38.23 (cf. Acts 9:3). It is the light of the gods of heaven that “makes our eyes see as perfectly as possible” (Plato, *Resp.* 6.508 a).

²² Cf. A. J. Festugière, *Dieu inconnu*, p. 245. In the East, the divinity Luna is venerated (*labanah* = the white; cf. M. J. Lagrange, *Etudes sur les religions sémitiques*, Paris, 1905, pp. 91, 96, 128, 450ff., 500). The historians of religion note the importance of the cult of the light in the Avesta, in Iran, among the Mandaeans, in Gnosticism, Manichaeism, in Mithraism, in the cult of Hermes Trismegistus, etc. Cf. Conzelmann, “φω—ς,” in *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 316–343. H. Bidez, F. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, Paris, 1938, vol. 2, pp. 72–79, and Greek index under φω—ς.

²³ *Hymn to Isis*, first century BC: ἥλιος ἀντέλλων ε—σθ, ὃς ἔδειξε τὸ φω—ς (*SB* 8139, 4; cf. V. F. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, pp. 42–43); ε—γένετο φω—ς παρὰ τῆς Ἰσιδος (Aelius Aristides 49.46); *I.Cumae* XLI, 20, 49 (cf. A. J. Festugière, *Etudes de religion*, pp. 138–163). An oracle given to King Nicocreon of Cyprus by Sarapis: “My head is the heavenly world . . . my

eye, which sees afar, is the brilliant light of the sun” (λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο, Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.20.17).

²⁴ Conzelmann, *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 315–316.

²⁵ Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 22.1; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.8.40; F. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, pp. 49ff.

²⁶ *SB* 6216; Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 19.1: χαί—ρε, νύμφε, χαί—ρε νέον φω—ς. In the magical papyri: φω—ς φέρε λαμπάς (*BGU* 597, 32; in *AD* 75); ὁ φω—ς ε—κ φωτός, θεὸς ἀληθινὸς χάσισον· ε—μὲ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τὸ φω—ς (*BGU* 954, 28); ε—ν φωτὶ κραταιω— (P.Lond. 121, 563; vol. 1, p. 102). Cf. the Christian epitaph invoking Christ: ὃς τυφλοί—σιν ἔδωκας ἰ—δει—ν φάος ἡελίοιο (*P.Hamb.* 22, 4; cf. Matt 9:27ff.).

²⁷ We may note “the break of day” (ἔως φωτός τοῦ πρωῖ, 1Sam 25:34, 36; 2Sam 12:22; 2Kgs 7:9), the “light of morning, when the sun rises” (2Sam 23:4; cf. Isa 58:8; Wis 16:28); the “flame of fire” (Job 18:5; cf. Isa 10:17; 50:11; 62:1; 1Macc 12:29); “the light of the lamp” (Jer 25:10); “the candelabrum of light” (1Macc 1:21); “the pure oil of crushed olives feeds the lights” (Exod 27:20; cf. 35:14; 39:37; Lev 24:2; Num 4:16; 2Chr 4:20). On Hanukkah and the eight-branched candelabrum, cf. F. M. Abel, “La Fête de la Hanoucca,” in *RB*, 1946, pp. 538–546; M.-M. Davy, A. Abécassis, *Le Thème de la lumière dans le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l’Islam*, Paris, 1926, pp. 49ff.

²⁸ Gen 1:3-5 (Jer 4:23; Amos 4:13; Job 26:11; cf. H. G. May, “The Creation of Light in Gen. I, 3–5,” in *JBL*, 1939, pp. 203–211); Gen 1:14-19: “God created two lights, one great one, the sun to rule the day, and one small one, the moon to rule the night” (cf. Isa 40:19; Jer 31:35; Ps 136:7; 148:3); Sir 33:7—“All the light of the days of the years comes from the sun.” A. Abécassis (*Le Thème de la lumière*, pp. 106ff.) gives the rabbinic commentaries on this creation of the light and also on Gen 3:21, where Yahweh makes Adam and Eve tunics of skin (Hebrew ὄρ); Rabbi Meir reads “tunics of light” (ὄρ; *Gen. Rab.* 29.29), a tradition that must have influenced Rom 3:23. The rabbis understood that the first couple, shining with light, were given the Torah and the divine commandments; St. Paul understands that sin stripped them of the divine glory.

²⁹ At Tob 3:17, Sinaiticus adds, “so that he may see the light of God with his eyes” (ἵνα ἴδῃ τοί—ς ὀφθαλμοί—ς τὸ φω—ς τοῦ θεοῦ); and, at 3:9—“infirm in my eyes, I do not see the light of heaven, but I lie in darkness like the dead, who see the light no more.” Not only is the Greek relationship

between the eye and the light similarly expressed, but the eyes are also the source of light: “The light of my eyes fails me” (Ps 38:10; Bar 3:14).

³⁰ Exod 10:23; cf. Amos 8:9; Isa 4:5; 13:10; 30:26; 45:7—“I form the light and I create the darkness”; Jer 10:13; 13:16; 51:16; Bar 3:33—“He who sends the light and it leaves, recalls it and it obeys”; Ezek 32:7-8; Zech 14:7; Ps 78:14; 139:12; Job 36:32; 37:3, 15.

³¹ Ps 36:9—“By your light we see see light”; 43:9—“Send your light and your truth; they will guide me and bring me to your holy hill” (Ps 43:3); “the light of the Lord is the breath of man” (Prov 20:27); “Yahweh will be for you a perpetual light” (Isa 60:19-20); “God will lead Israel with joy to the light of his glory” (Bar 5:9).

³² To be born is to come to light; to die is to go to darkness (Tob 14:10; Job 3:16; 12:22; 18:5, 6, 18; 23:28, 30; Ps 49:19; 56:13; Prov 16:15; Sir 22:11). Light is the symbol of happiness: “There was radiant joy, happiness, gladness, and glory” (Esth 8:16); “light rises for the just and joy for those who have an upright heart” (Ps 97:11); “the light of the just is joyous” (Prov 13:9); “sweet (γλυκύ) is the light, and it is good for man to see the sun” (Eccl 11:7); “he will see the light; he will be satisfied” (Isa 53:4); cf. Isa 58:10; 60:1; Job 11:16-17; 29:3-4; 38:15; Eccl 2:13; Wis 7:10, 29; 17:19; 18:4.

³³ Isa 42:6; cf. 9:1—“This people which walks in darkness has seen a great light”; 10:17—“the light of Israel will become a fire and his holy one a flame”; 49:6—“I destine you to be the light of the nations so that my salvation may appear to the end of the earth”; 60:3—“the nations will walk to your light.”

³⁴ Sir 50:29; 32:26—“Those who fear the Lord will find the decree; they will kindle their righteousness like a light” (cf. Isa 62:1); Prov 6:23—“The precept is like a lamp, the teaching a light and a path of life”; 4:18-19: “The ways of the just shine like a light; they proceed and increase in brightness until full daylight. But the path of the wicked is like darkness; they do not know what they stumble on”; Ps 37:6; Wis 5:6—“We wandered far from the truth; the light of wisdom did not shine upon us.” Cf. S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe “Licht” und “Finsternis” im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus*, Oslo, 1951.

³⁵ Cf. 2Tim 1:10. This verb, not used literally in Philo, is almost unknown in the papyri. Apparently there is no other reference to give than the one given by Moulton-Milligan and R. Wünsch (*Kleine Texte für theologische*

Vorlesungen und Übungen, 20, Bonn, 1907, p. 16, 3): ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν τὸν φωτίζοντα καὶ σκοτίζοντα τὸν κόσμον (third century AD).

³⁶ Diodorus Siculus 3.48.4: the sun illuminates the world; Plutarch, *De fac.* 16: “the moon is lighted, but in a fashion other than glass or crystal”; Philoponus: “from the transparent in act, that is, from the place illuminated by a light” (321, 37; cf. C. Mugler, *op. cit.*).

³⁷ Plutarch, *De fac.* 18: “How can they think that only those parts of a body shine that are touched by the light on the surface?”; Cleomedes 2.102: “Bodies that shine only by reflection send their light only a short distance.”

³⁸ Eccl 8:1; but the column of fire lights the path (Neh 9:12, 19; Ps 105:39); the sun lights God’s works (Sir 42:16; cf. the moon, Ep Jer 67; the rainbow, Sir 50:7), the stars illumine the night (Wis 17:5), the candelabra give light (Exod 37:17; Num 4:9; 8:2; 1Sam 29:10).

³⁹ 2Kgs 12:3—the priest Jehoiada instructs King Josiah; 17:27-28, by order of the king of Assyria, a priest “will teach the deportees to worship the god of the land”; 2Esdr 2:63 = Neh 7:65. Cf. Epictetus 1.4.31. A. J. Festugière, *Dieu inconnu*, p. 100, n.1.

⁴⁰ Ps 119:130. Hence the function of the master: “I want to make instruction (*paideia*) shine like the dawn” (Sir 24:32; cf. 45:17). Note φωτίσθητε, “be radiant” (Ps 34:5). A. Segovia, *La teología bíblica de la Luz*, Granada, 1948.

⁴¹ Light is the most beautiful of created realities (*Abraham* 156, 157, 159); “those whose eyes are disabled can no longer see the day and the light, which alone, to speak truly, make life desirable” (*Drunkenness* 155); “death is a less serious evil than blindness” (*Sobr.* 4); “light is the best of beings” (*Creation* 53). To express the perfection and beauty of Joseph, Aseneth says, “What womb will birth such a light” (*Jos. Asen.* 6.7).

⁴² *Dreams* 1.75. Philo then cites Ps 26:1 (LXX: Κύριος φωτισμός μου) and continues, “not just light, but the archetype of all light.” God is his own source of light. Unlike us, he has no need of a secondary source of light (the sun) in order to see (*Cherub.* 96–97); being uncreated light (*Drunkenness* 208), he alone can reveal himself (*Spec. Laws* 1.42), “light supremely brilliant and radiant of the invisible and very great God” (*Dreams* 1.72); cf. *Unchang. God* 58; *Migr. Abr.* 40; *Flight* 136; *Spec. Laws* 1.279; *Rewards* 45. F. N. Klijn, *Die Lichtterminologie bei Philon von Alexandrien und in den hermetischen Schriften*, Leiden, 1962.

⁴³ *Spec. Laws* 1.288; 3.6; sometimes this light of the soul is *paideia* (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.167), a torch that guides the spirit (*Drunkenness* 168), or again “science” (*episteme*), as in Jacob, “the seeing one”; this “science, the work of the soul” for contemplation (Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 39); *Prelim. Stud.* 47; cf. *Change of Names* 3; cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 12.1143b14.

⁴⁴ 1Cor 2:15. The Qumran theology exploits a radical dualism of good and evil (cf. the two spirits), notably in the form of a war between the sons of light, i.e., the sons of the God of Israel, who fight for his triumph over the sons of darkness, i.e., the impious and perverse, Belial’s henchmen. The novice professes to love the first and hate the second; cf. the *Rule for the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (1QM); 1QS 1.9ff; 3.13ff.; 1QM 1.1; the *Book of Mysteries*, 1Q27 5–6 (*Qumran Cave I*, p. 103); R. E. Brown, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles,” in K. Stendahl, *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, New York, 1957, pp. 183–207; K. G. Kuhn, “Johannesevangelium und Qumrantexte,” in *Neotestamentica et Patristica* (Freundesgabe O. Cullmann), Leiden, 1962, pp. 111–122; H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament*, Tübingen, 1966.

⁴⁵ Secular sense: Peter, in the court of the high priest, warmed himself by the flame (πρὸς τὸ φῶς, Mark 14:54; cf. Luke 22:56), which allowed the servant-girl to spot him. A lit lamp is placed on a lampstand so that those who come in “may see the light” (βλέπωσιν τὸ φῶς), i.e., so that they will have light, will be illuminated and will see (Luke 8:16). Cf. the parable in John 2:9-10.

⁴⁶ V. Taylor, *The Names of Jesus*, pp. 131–133; L. Sabourin, *Les Noms et les titres de Jésus*, Bruges-Paris, 1963, pp. 82–92; B. Bussmann, *Der Begriff des Lichtes beim heiligen Johannes*, Münster, 1957; A. Feuillet, *Le Prologue du quatrième évangile*, Bruges-Paris, 1968.

⁴⁷ St. Augustine: “The animals do not receive this illumination, because they have no rational soul that would let them see wisdom. So this life, by which all things were made, this very life is light, and not that of animate beings, but only the light of humans” (*Tract. in Ev. Joh.*, PL 35.1388). The Christian inscriptions constantly link *phos* and *zoe*; cf. E. Peterson, *EΙΣ ΤΗΘΕΟΣ*, p. 39; B. Lifshitz, “Notes d’épigraphie grecque,” in *RB*, 1970, pp. 78ff.; *IGLS* 671 D; 1682; 1701; 1751; 2176; 2479; etc.

⁴⁸ Αληθινόν (not ἀληθές, as if a contrast between “true” and “false” were envisioned) has the Johannine meaning “authentic, perfect” (cf. John 6:32; 15:1; 17:3; see under ἀλήθεια). The perfect light is that from the divine

world, the source and model of all other lights (cf. St. Augustine, *Tract. in Ev. Joh.*, PL 35.1391).

⁴⁹ Which indicates that the Messiah is being talked about: “Blessed is the one who comes in the name of Yahweh” (Ps 118:26; Dan 7:13 [Theodotion]); cf. Isa 66:18; Hab 2:3; Bar 4:36.

⁵⁰ Cf. 1John 2:8—“the darkness is passing, the true light (that of the gospel and of the love command) shines already”; cf. J. Chmiel, *Lumière et charité d’après la première Epître de saint Jean*, Rome 1971, pp. 133–136; C. Hérou, *Symbole et langage dans les écrits johanniques: Lumière-ténèbres*, Paris, 1980.

⁵¹ At the Feast of Tabernacles—where four golden lamps were lit which the rabbis say illuminated all of Jerusalem—Jesus proclaims, “*I am* the light of the world; the one who follows me does not walk in darkness but will have the light of life” (John 8:12). Τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς is the light that gives or illuminates life (cf. the bread of life, 6:35). Christ, who is life and light, radiates and communicates both. Before healing the man born blind: “While I am in the world, *I am* the light of the world” (9:5). “*I, the light* (ε—γὼ φῶς), have come into the world so that whoever believes in me may not dwell in darkness” (12:46). This light is perceived by faith; Christ the illuminator is identical to Christ the Savior; cf. P. Borgen, “The Use of Tradition in John 12:44-50,” in *NTS*, vol. 26, 1979, pp. 18–35; F. M. Braun, “La Lumière du monde,” in *RevThom*, 1964, pp. 341–363; cf. Stählin, “Jesus Christus, das Licht der Welt,” in *Universitas: Festschrift A. Stohr*, vol. 1, Mainz, 1960, pp. 68–78.

⁵² Matt 5:14-16; cf. R. Schnackenburg, “‘Ihr seid das Salz der Erde, das Licht der Welt’: Zu Matthäus V, 13–16,” in *Mélanges Tisserant*, vol. 1, pp. 365–387; J. Jeremias, “Die Lampe unter dem Scheffel,” in *Abba*, pp. 99–102; G. Schneider, “Das Bildwort von der Lampe: Zur Traditionsgeschichte eines Jesus-Wortes,” in *ZNW*, 1970, pp. 183–209; J. Dupont, *Béatitudes*, vol. 3, pp. 320–329.

⁵³ Even if this provokes persecutions (Luke 12:3). The preacher does not pass on secret confidences but proclaims publicly, in broad daylight: “What you hear in darkness (in the shadows, in intimacy), say it in the light; and what you hear in your ear, proclaim it on the rooftops” (Matt 10:27). Already the mission of John the Baptist was to “bear witness to the light so that all might believe through him” (John 1:7-8); he affirmed what he had seen and heard so as to inspire conviction in others. The point is that the incarnate Word, in his historical mission, shone among men in such conditions (the veil of the flesh, the form of a slave . . .) that it was not superfluous to bear

witness to him. Someone competent, well-informed (John 1:32-34) will say to his contemporaries: See who he is: the Son of God! All of humankind will be able to arrive at faith through the deposition of this witness, who is informed by heaven and who deserves complete confidence (a function taken up by the apostles). Obviously, this is only a little light (λύχνος) that is lit before day arrives (Ps 131:16 *b* –17): “John was a lamp that burned and shone (same association, Philo, *Decalogue* 49); you were willing to rejoice for a time in his light” (John 5:35), counting on him to realize your national ambitions. . . .

⁵⁴ Luke 11:33-36; cf. Matt 6:22-23. Cf. *Jos. Asen.* 6.3, where Aseneth says of Joseph, φω—ς τὸ μέγα τὸ ὄν ἐ—ν αὐτῷ—. C. Edlund, *Das Auge der Einfalt*, Copenhagen-Lund, 1952; E. Sjöberg, “Das Licht in dir: Zur Deutung von Matth. VI, 22 f par.,” in *ST*, 1952, pp. 89–105; J. Amstutz, *ΑΙΛΙΟΘΗΣ*, Bonn, 1968; J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the NT*, pp. 189–207. The adjective φωτεινός, “luminous,” modifies the sun (Sir 17:31, whose light nevertheless declines), the eyes of the Lord (Sir 23:19, penetrating in the most hidden places), the cloud that covered Jesus, Moses, and Elijah (Matt 17:5), the sign of the divine presence (Dan 7:13) and symbol of God’s glory (2Macc 2:8). Only late does it appear in the papyri to designate the vigilant (*PSI* 65, 13; sixth century) and—in the superlative—a person of high rank (*P.Lond.* 1917: Apa Paieon). In the inscriptions of Nubia, from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, the one praying asks that his soul may repose ἐ—ν τόπῳ φωτινῷ— (*SB* 6035, 9; 7428, 10; 7429, 6; 7430, 7; 7432, 8; 8235, 8–9 = *P.Ness.* 96, 5).

⁵⁵ Cf. M. M. Davy, *Le Thème de la Lumière dans le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l’Islam*, Paris, 1976, pp. 1ff.

⁵⁶ John 12:35-36. Through faith in Christ, one becomes a “son of light,” that is luminous, a participant in his light. The expression is a double Hebraism: first, in substituting a noun and the construct state for an adjective, and secondly, in expressing relations of dependency, belonging, and origin as relations of filiation. The expression υι—οὶ φωτός is not attested in Greek before being expressed by Jesus (Luke 16:8; cf. 1Thess 5:5; Eph 5:8—τέκνα φωτός), but it was used at Qumran with the same contrast in reference to the unbelievers and the wicked. G. Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichtes*, Vienna-Munich, 1952.

⁵⁷ There are obviously mentions of light in a purely secular meaning. The jailer in the prison at Philippi asks for light (Acts 16:29—φω—τα = torches); Rev 18:23—φω—ς λύχνου = the light from a lamp. But this light is of heavenly origins when it lights Peter’s dungeon at Jerusalem (Acts 12:7), and especially when—more brilliant than the sun—it illuminates Saul on the

road to Damascus (Acts 9:3; 22:5, 9; 26:13); it is the *doxa* of Christ which shines out from his glorified body.

⁵⁸ 1John 1:5 (cf. Wis 7:26; Isa 10:17; Philo, *Dreams* 1.75). Cf. O. Schaefer, “‘Gott ist Licht’ (1 Joh. I, 5): Inhalt und Tragweite des Wortes,” in *TSK*, 1933, pp. 467–476; J. Chmiel, *Lumière et charité d’après la première Epître de saint Jean*, pp. 30ff., 86ff.

⁵⁹ “Every good gift, every perfect present is from above (ἄνωθεν, from heaven = ε—κ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, John 3:13, 27, 31; cf. 8:23), coming down from the Father of lights, in whom there is no changing or shadow of movement” (Jas 1:17). “Father” is here to be understood in the sense of “creator, author,” with the nuance of superiority and mastery (cf. Heb 12:9; ὁ πατήρ τῶ—ν πνευμάτων). Being the fullness of everything good, God shares this goodness with people. The formula “Father of lights” evokes first of all his kindness, then his transcendent spirituality, and finally his radiant beauty, his splendor. Given that the stars are sources of light (Gen 1:14–15; Sir 43:1–9; Jer 4:23; 31:35; Ps 136:7), we are invited to think that their Creator, the sovereign of the heavenly world, radiates his goodness liberally, dispensing nothing but good things.

⁶⁰ 1Tim 6:5. This doxology is reproduced in a papyrus from the fifth-sixth century (*APF*, 1976, p. 127).

⁶¹ Exod 33:20; John 1:18; 6:46; Rom 1:20; 1John 1:20. If the astronaut does not see God, it is not just because he did not go up far enough . . . but since God is spirit, no fleshly eye can discern him.

⁶² At Pisidian Antioch: “Just as the Lord commanded us: I have established you as a light to the nations, so that may bring salvation to the ends of the earth” (Acts 13:47); at Caesarea, to King Agrippa: Christ sent him to the Gentiles “to open their eyes so that they might turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God” (Acts 26:18).

⁶³ This was also the ambition of the Jews who wanted to make proselytes. Referring to Wis 18:4, seeing in the law a light (νόμον φω—ς), they wished to bring to the ignorant the treasure of the Mosaic revelation: “You who bear the name of Jew . . . who are informed in the law and are sure that you are a guide to the blind, a light to those who are in darkness, the teacher of the ignorant . . . you, then, who teach others, you do not teach yourself” (Rom 2:19); cf. *Odes Sol.* 11.10–16; *Jos. Asen.* 8.10; 15.13.

⁶⁴ Gen 1:3; cf. J. Jervell, *Imago Dei*, Göttingen, 1960, pp. 173ff., 214ff.; E. B. Allo, *Seconde Epître aux Corinthiens*, pp. 102ff.

⁶⁵ 2Cor 4:6. C. M. Martini, “Alcuni temi letterari di II Cor. IV, 6, e i racconti della conversione di San Paolo negli Atti,” in *AnBib*, 17, Rome, 1963, pp. 461–474; G. W. MacRae, “Anti-Dualist Polemic in II Cor. IV, 6?” in F. L. Cross, *SE*, vol. 4, Berlin, 1968, pp. 420–431.

⁶⁶ An exhortation to vigilance: “All of you are sons of the light and sons of the day (this second locution is original). We are not of the night or of the darkness. So then let us not slumber . . . but let us be awake and remain aware” (1Thess 5:5-6). Cf. L. R. Stachowiak, “Die Antithese Licht-Finsternis: Ein Thema der paulinischen Paränese,” in *TQ*, 1963, pp. 385–421.

⁶⁷ Eph 5:8-9. “Light has *ontic* status. . . . The terms light and darkness possess *ethical* meaning. . . . Light has *existential* meaning . . . fulfills a function in the *cultus*” (M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 2, p. 599ff.). Eph 5:13—“All that appears is light. This is why it is said, ‘Wake, sleeper, rise from among the dead, and Christ will shine upon you’ (a Christian hymn, cf. N. Hugedé, *Ephésiens*, p. 205); Rom 13:12—“The night is far spent; day is approaching. Let us therefore put off works of darkness and clothe ourselves in the weapons of the light (the virtues)”; Col 1:12—“thanking the Father, who has made you sharers of the inheritance (κληρος, lot) of the saints in the light.” These saints can be the righteous of Israel (cf. Heb 11:39-40) or the angels who dwell in heaven (Matt 18:10; Luke 15:10; 1Cor 11:10; Rev 19:10), or better, blessed Christians: “the assembly of the first-born, enrolled in the heavens” (Heb 12:23).

⁶⁸ 2Cor 6:14 (cf. *T. Levi* 19.1). The authenticity of this Qumran-like text has been called into question (cf. A. Metzinger, “Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer und das Neue Testament,” in *Bib*, 1955, p. 466; J. A. Fitzmyer, “Qumrân and the Interpolated Paragraph in II Cor. VI, 14–VII, 1,” in *CBQ*, 1961, pp. 271–280; Fitzmyer, *Semitic Background*, pp. 205–217; J. Gnilka, “II Kor. VI, 14–VII, 1 im Lichte der Qumranschriften und der Zwölf-Patriarchen-Testamente,” in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift J. Schmid*, Regensburg, 1963, pp. 86–99; reprinted in J. Murphy O’Connor, *Paul and Qumran*, pp. 48–68). We must not forget that biblical light is a manifestation of God and that darkness belongs to the realm of Satan and darkness (cf. P. Benoit, “Qumrân et la Nouveau Testament,” in *NTS*, vol. 7, 1961, pp. 276–296). St. Paul denounces fraudulent workers who disguise themselves as apostles of Christ. This is not surprising, “seeing that Satan himself disguises himself as an angel of light” (2Cor 11:14). On *T. Abr.* A 16, where Death disguises himself as an angel of light in order to visit Abraham, M. Delcor (*Le Testament d’Abraham*, Leiden, 1973, p. 156)

recalls the metamorphosis of Satan to Paradise; cf. *Adam and Eve* 9; *Apoc. Mos.* 17.

⁶⁹ 1John 2:8-10. Cf. C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 3, pp. 248–249; N. Lazure, *Les Valeurs morales de la théologie johannique*, Paris, 1965, pp. 246ff.

⁷⁰ Rev 21:24—“The nations will walk in its light, and the kings of the earth bring their glory to it”; cf. Heb 12:22.

⁷¹ Rev 22:5. This is the light of glory, which allows face-to-face contemplation of God; cf. 1Cor 13:12.

⁷² Cf. D. Mathieu, “Lumière,” in *Dict.spir.*, vol. 9, col. 1142–1149.

⁷³ Eph 1:18—“Having the eyes of your heart illumined so that you may know...”; the perfect passive participle *πεφωτισμένους* says more than “eyes opened” (Acts 26:18) or undeceived (Ps 119:18); it expresses understanding, comprehension of the revelation whose inexhaustible riches are to be inventoried. Divine illumination in the Christian life is progressive.

⁷⁴ Luke 11:36; John 1:9—the Logos lightens every human; 1Cor 4:5—the Lord will bring to light, will illuminate the hiding-places of darkness; *φωτίσει* is parallel to *φανερώσει*: he will make manifest the thoughts of hearts; cf. *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 3, 142: God, *ὁ τὴν ἡμέραν φωτίζων*; 4.990: *τὰ πάντα φωτίζοντα καὶ διαυγάζοντα τῇ ἰ—δία δυνάμει τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον.* — A source of light (*φωτίζον*) illuminates an object; very numerous references in C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, pp. 441ff.

⁷⁵ When the gods appear, they radiate light (Iamblichus, *Myst.* 2.4 = 77.10; 2.6 = 81.19; 2.8 = 86.6; 2.9 = 88.17). Cf. C. Spicq, *Epîtres Pastorales*, in this verse. J. M. Bover, “*Illuminavit vitam*,” in *Bib*, 1947, pp. 136–146.

⁷⁶ This identification—prefigured by the miracle of the man born blind, who receives light of body and of soul by bathing in the waters of Siloam (John 9:1-38; cf. O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, pp. 102–105)—was recognized by St. Justin: “This ablution is called ‘illumination’ (*ὁ φωτισμός*) because those who receive this teaching have their spirit illumined” (Justin, *1 Apol.* 61.12; cf. 61.13). J. Gaillard, “*Illumination baptismale*,” in *Catholicisme*, vol. 5, col. 1215–1216.

⁷⁷ Heb 10:32—“Recall those days gone by when, having been illumined (*φωτισθέντες*) you bore such a great assault of sufferings.” Numerous and weighty trials (*πολύς* has the meanings of both intensity and frequency) assailed the believers after they had received baptism. Cf. C. Spicq,

Hébreux; H. Kosmala, *Hebräer—Essener—Christen*, Leiden, 1959, pp. 117ff.; P. E. Hughes, *Hebrews*.

⁷⁸ *T. Levi* 14.3: καθαρός ὁ οὐρανὸς ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ—φωστῆρες τοῦ —Ἰσραήλ, ὅς ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη. The word does not appear except late in the papyri: for example, fire, a work of God, is δόξα τοῦ ε—ντίμου φωστῆρος (*Pap.Graec.Mag.* 13, 298; vol. 2, p. 102). It refers to the eyes in Vettius Valens 2.36: περὶ τοὺς φωστῆρας ἀδικούμενοι. Greek scientific texts use *phoster* with respect to heavenly bodies (cf. the references in C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 440). Theodoret of Cyrus describes Severus, Cyril, Malchus, etc. as “luminaries of religion” (εὐσεβείας φωστῆρες) who shone near Antioch (*Hist. Syr. Mon.* 14.1).

⁷⁹ This is the sense in 1Esdr 8:76 (ἀνακαλύψαι φωστῆρα ἡμῶ—ν ε—ν τῶ— οἴκῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶ—ν) and in an anonymous epigram: “Are you not the one who gives splendor (φωστῆρ γὰρ εἶ σύ) to the discourses and the laws?” (*Anth. Pal.* 11.359.7).

⁸⁰ In John’s vision, “The one who was seated on the throne was like a stone of jasper” (Rev 4:3). The materials for the wall and the foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem are of jasper (21:18-19). Jasper, a siliceous stone, can be red, yellow, sky blue, green. . . . If at best it expresses for the prophet the splendor of God, it is because it must signify his invisibility and his spirituality. According to Pliny (Pliny, *HN* 37.37–38, 56), green jasper is often transparent. The stone itself is not luminous; its “brilliance is radiated into it (*extra fulgorem spargunt*) rather than contained inside.”

⁸¹ Τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον, in Jewish terminology, designates the whole of the Scriptures, including the historical books (Philo, *Plant.* 117; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.143). The prophet is not only the seer who announces the future but also the hagiographer who reports on past or contemporary events (Josephus, *Ag. Apion* 1.37–41). A “prophetic word” is thus an inspired saying, particularly a messianic announcement, and finally the entire OT as oriented toward Christ (cf. Acts 17:11; 18:28; Rom 1:2).

⁸² Instead of φωσφόρος, a number of miniscules read ε—ωσφόρος. In harmony with Rev 2:28; 22:16, *phosphoros* is often translated “morning star” (son of dawn, i.e., appearing at dawn, Isa 14:12), a figure of the Messiah (Num 24:17; Matt 2:2; J. Daniélou, *Les Symboles chrétiens primitifs*, Paris, 1961, pp. 110–115; Cécile Blanc, *Origène: Commentaire sur saint Jean*, Paris, 1966, p. 98, n. 1). 2Pet 1:19 would be influenced by Cant 2:17; cf. J. Smit Sibinga, “Une citation du Cantique dans la secunda Petri,” in *RB*, 1966, pp. 107–118; M. Cambe, “L’Influence du Cantique des Cantiques sur le Nouveau Testament,” in *RevThom*, 1962, pp. 5–25.

⁸³ Ps 110:3; Luke 1:78—ἀνατολή ε—ξ ὕψους. P. Winter, “Two Notes on Luke I–II,” in *ST*, vol. 7, 1954, pp. 158–164. Cf. above, vol. 2, pp. 953–954.

⁸⁴ Ps.-Aristotle (*Mund.* 2.392a27) enumerates the circles of the planets, “the circle of the Luminous (*Phainon*), the Resplendent (*Phaethon*), the Fiery (*Pyroeis*), the Glittering (*Stilbon*), after that the Light-bearer (*Phosphoros*), which some call the circle of Venus, others the circle of Juno” (seems to be borrowed from Philo, *Heir* 224); cf. “*phosphoros*, star of Venus” (O. Neugebauer, H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, Philadelphia, 1959, n. 46, 13; 81, 138; 95, 48; 250, 2); Plutarch, *De exil.* 5: the exile, a citizen of the world, “finds everywhere the same *prytaneis*, I mean the sun, the moon, and the morning star” (ἥλιος, σελήνη, φωσφόρος); *De fac.* 4: the moon is “an ethereal and luminous (φωσφόρος) star”; cf. 9; Cleomedes: “When this planet sets after the sun, it is called the evening star; when it rises before the sun, it is called the morning star (*Eosphoros*); some are in the habit of calling this same planet Lucifer” (*De Motu* 32, 4; Ps.-Timaeus of Locri 96 e; 97 a; cf. C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, p. 251). Cf. φωτοφόρος, which also means “light-bearer” and refers to a lampstand in an inscription from Pergamum (B. Lifshitz, *Synagogues juives*, n. XII); φωσφορία is a window, a skylight (*P.Mich.* 554, 27; *P.Wisc.* 58, 8; 59, 9; *SB* 10571, 8; *BGU* 1643, 6; *P.Hamb.* 15, 7; *P.Ryl.* 162, 26; *P.Thead.* 1, 8; 2, 6; *P.Vindob.Tandem*, n. 26, 14, 29).

⁸⁵ Moulton-Milligan cites *BGU* 597, 32: Φωσφόρε φωσφοροεὔσα φίλων (read φίλον)φω—ς φω—ς φέρε λαμπάς; applied to a priestess of Queen Cleopatra: φωσφόρου βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας: under the *phosphoros* of Queen Cleopatra (*P.Rein.* 10, 8 = *SB* 8035 a; second century BC); cf. *P.Lond.* 46, 175 and 300 (vol. 1, pp. 70, 74). *Phosphoros* is a proper name in a Roman inscription from the second century (P. Roussel, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1934, p. 259).

⁸⁶ *Decalogue* 49; the “rising” of the soul (*anatole*), or the brilliance of the virtues, is comparable to the rays of the sun (*Conf. Tongues* 60); the look, the eye of thought is “light-bearer” (*Plant.* 169). In the literal sense, the φωσφόρα ἄστρα are luminous stars (*Creation* 29, 53; *Flight* 184; *Dreams* 1.214; *Moses* 1.120; 2.102); they “give us light” (*Creation* 55, 168; *Heir* 222).

⁸⁷ L. Koenen, J. Kramer, “Ein Hymnus auf den Allgott,” in *ZPE*, vol. 4, 1969, p. 21; in Hauran, *Zeus-phosphoros* (P. Roussel, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1934, p.228). *Phosphoroi* goddesses (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1944, p. 201, n. 81; 1972, p. 444, n. 363). An epitaph of a two-year-old child states that he was carried off by

the eagle of Zeus to heaven, where he sits with Phosphoros and Hesperos (“Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1943, p. 347, n. 83; 1954, p. 190, n. 256).

⁸⁸ Pausanias 4.31.10; Dittenberger, *Or.* 53; N. Firatli, L. Robert, *Stèles funéraires*, pp. 155ff.; C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, Berlin, 1969, n. 119; H. Engelmann, R. Merkelbach, *I.Erythr.Klaz.*, Bonn, 1973; at Beirut, cf. J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1956, p. 178, n. 332.

⁸⁹ Aristophanes, *Ran.* 342; cf. *Lys.* 442; *Thesm.* 858.

⁹⁰ Philo, *Dreams* 1.53; *Change of Names* 67. Plutarch (*De fac.* 16) cites Empedocles: “It is a sort of reflection of the sun on the moon that gives rise to our moonlight” (τὸν φωτισμὸν ἀπὸ αὐτῆς); 18: “an entirely exterior illumination”; Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 10.224; *P.Mich.* 149, col. II, 33 (astrological fragment, second century). C. Mugler (*Terminologie optique*, pp. 443ff.) distinguishes two meanings: (1) the projection of a bundle of light onto a body, phenomena of lighting, and he cites Cleomedes 1.39; 2.103: “the light will be returned by the inclined rims of the moon at equal and right angles”; 104, 108: “what happens with the earth in its immobility happens also with the moon during its movement as far as its lighting by the sun is concerned” (τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φωτισμὸν); 118, 120; (2) the shapes of the different phases of the moon, its lighting with respect to us; Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 104, 1: “from the shapes taken by the visible, lighted part of the moon (τω—ν τῆς σελήνης) have been derived the denominations of the days”; 126, 26; Cleomedes 2.89: “the phases of the moon that are very easy to observe”; 2.110.

⁹¹ Cf. *T. Levi* 14.4—τὸ φω—ς τοῦ νόμου . . . εἰ—ς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου.

⁹² *Paed.* 1.6.26.1: βαπτίζόμενοι φωτιζόμεθα, φωτιζόμενοι υἱ—οποιούμεθα; 2: “This operation receives various names: χάρισμα καὶ φώτισμα καὶ τέλειον καὶ λουτρόν”; 29.3: “knowledge is found in the illumination [of baptism]” (ἡ γνω—σις ε—ν τω— φωτίσματι); 30.1: μία χάρις αὕτη τοῦ φωτίσματος; *Strom.* 5.10.64. Cf. F. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, pp. 422–428; A. Benoit, *Le Baptême chrétien au second siècle*, Paris, 1953; A. Segovia, *La iluminación bautismal en el antiguo Cristianismo*, Granada, 1958; J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology*, pp. 159–177.

φωσφόρος

phosphoros, giving light; morning star

see also φω—ς, φωστήρ, φωσφόρος, φωτεινός, φωτίζω, φωτισμός

phosphoros, S 5459; TDNT 9.310–358; EDNT 3.449; NIDNTT 2.490, 493, 495; MM 680; L&N 1.32; BAGD 872

2Pet 1:19 compares the prophetic word to a lamp shining in a dark place,¹ in the light of which Christians must walk “until the morning star rises in your hearts.”² The adjective, derived from *phos-pherō*, refers to sources of light, that which gives or brings light,³ especially the stars,⁴ but also torches and lamps.⁵ Hence its application to the “light-bringing priestess of Queen Cleopatra”⁶ and especially to light-bearing divinities, namely Hecate, the moon-goddess,⁷ and Artemis.⁸ Philo uses this epithet for the true God (“the intelligible rays emanate from God the light-bearer”)⁹ and for the shining constellations (*Creation* 29, 53; *Flacc.* 184; *Dreams* 1.214; *Moses* 1.120; 2.102).

The substantive *phosphoros* ordinarily refers to the morning star (cf. Rev 2:28; 22:16—*aster proīnos*), since this star brings or heralds the light of day and is synonymous with dawn, Eos.¹⁰ Some have seen in 2Pet 1:19 an allusion to Cant 2:17.¹¹ Origen finds there a figurative reference to the Messiah.¹² But given the eschatological connotations at 2Pet 1:19, we must take into account the symbolism of *phosphoros* in figurative representations, where sculptors represent it before the chariot of the sun. It shows the charioteer the way to go; it guides westward the funeral wagon or the eagle that bears away the soul. Phosphorus guides the deceased on the heavenward way.¹³ Thus the Messiah was awaited as a light (Isa 40:1-3; 1John 2:8), and his first coming could be considered a dawning;¹⁴ but his brightness can only grow until his glorious return.¹⁵ His Parousia—made certain by the prophecies—already shines out in hearts and makes them live in hope: “He has a great day for us. . . . Let our faces shine with his light” (*Odes Sol.* 41.4, 6).

¹ Philo had associated sunlight and prophecy (Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.52); “Those who yield themselves to the oracles will live continuously in shadowless light, bearing these laws in their soul like stars that shine out” (ἀστέρας ἔχοντες ἐν ψυχῇ φωσφοροῦντας, *Decalogue* 49); cf. *Conf. Tongues* 60: “the brilliance of the virtues shines forth like rays of sunlight.”

² Ἐως οὐ—φωσφόρος ἀνατείλη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν; some manuscripts replace φωσφόρος with ἐωσφόρος (“star of dawn”).

³ Thus the eyes in Plato, *Tim.* 45 b; Euripides, *Cyc.* 462; Plutarch, *De fort.* 98 a. Φωσφόριον is a term for “window,” *P.Ryl.* 162, 26; *P.Hamb.* 15, 8; *BGU* 1643, 6; *P.Mich.* 554, 27.

⁴ Plutarch, *De fac.* 4.921 e: “Clearchus does not want to portray the moon as a hard, heavy body, but as a star made of ether and radiating light (ἄστρον αἰ—θέριον καὶ φωσφόρον), as you say”; 9.925 a: “Phosphorus, Mercury, and the other planets are positioned around the fixed stars”; 15.298 b: the stars, like the eyes, are bearers of light; Ps.-Timaeus of Locri 96 e: “two of the planets have the same period a revolution as the sun, the planets Hermes and Here; this latter is commonly called Venus and Lucifer” (δύο δ ἰ—σόδρομοι ἀελίῳ ε—ντί, Ἑρμα— τε καὶ Ἑρῆς, τὸν —Αφροδίτας καὶ φωσφόρον τοὶ πολλοὶ καλέοντι); Aristophanes, *Ran.* 342: “Iachos, shining star of the nocturnal festival”; Geminus, *Intro. to Astronomy* 1.28: “Lower yet is found Phosphorus, the star of Venus, which moves at approximately the same speed as the sun”; cf. J. Boehmer, “Tag und Morgenstern? Zu II Petr. I, 19,” in *ZNW*, 1923, pp. 228–233; F. Boll, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 4th ed., 1931, pp. 47ff.; F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, 5, 1, Münster, 1935; C. Mugler, *Terminologie optique*, pp. 440–441.

⁵ *BGU* 597, 32, from AD 75: “light-bearer, bringer of dear light, lamp, bring us light” (φωσφόρε, φωσφορέουσα φίλον φω—ς, φω—ς φέρε λαμπάς); cf. F. J. Dölger, *Lumen Christi*, Paris, 1956, pp. 13ff.

⁶ Φωσφόρου βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας, *P.Ross.Georg.* II, 6, 14 (113 BC); *P.Rein.* 10, 8; *SB* 8035, a 8.

⁷ Euripides, *Hel.* 569; Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 858: τὴν Ἑκάτην τὴν φωσφόρον. Likewise Phoebe in Aristophanes, *Lys.* 443.

⁸ Euripides, *IT* 21; Dittenberger, *Or.* 53: —Αρτέμιδι Φωσφόρῳ (= *SB* 8857); *I.Sard.*: L’Asklepieion, n. 119, 2; *I.Erythr.Klaz.* 201, 26; *SEG* IV, 446, 17; cf. L. Robert, in N. Firatli, *Stèles funéraires*, pp. 155ff.; L. Koenen, J. Kramer, “Ein Hymnus auf den Allgott,” in *ZPE*, vol. 4, 1969, pp. 20–21.

⁹ Philo, *Drunkenness* 44; cf. *Rewards* 25: “God makes a ray of truth to shine”; *Plant.* 169: the light-bearing eye.

¹⁰ Euripides, *Ion* 1157: “Dawn (Eos) brings the light of day and chases off the stars”; Ovid, *Her.* 18.112: “praeuius Aurorae Lucifer ortus erat”; cf. the Vulgate of 2Pet 1:19, which translates φωσφόρος “Lucifer,” following Isa 14:12.

¹¹ J. Smit Sibinga, “Une citation du Cantique dans la secunda Petri,” in *RB*, 1966, pp. 117–118. Cf. Plutarch, Philo, *Heir* 224: the planet “that heralds the day.”

¹² Origen, *In Joh.* 1.78; cf. ed. C. Blanc, Paris, 1966, p. 98, n. 1

¹³ F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, Paris, 1942, pp. 77–78, 211, 338, 458; cf. p. 73: Phosphorus and Hesperius, the morning and evening stars, alternately lighting up and going out. Idem, *Lux Perpetua*, pp. 291–297.

¹⁴ Num 24:17; Ps 110:3; Luke 1:78; cf. P. Winter, “Two Notes on Luke I–II,” in *ST*, vol. 7, 1953, pp. 158ff.

¹⁵ The morning star is a symbol of power and domination in the OT (Isa 14:12; cf. J. Behm, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 6th ed., p. 113), and the Second Coming of Christ is described as Phosphorus to express his glory and universal royalty (cf. *P.Lond.* XLVI, 300, vol. 1, p. 74: δέσποτα ἰάω φωφόρε); cf. P. E. Langevin, *Jésus Seigneur et l'eschatologie*, Bruges-Paris, 1967, pp. 218–221.

χαλεπός

chalepos, dangerous, formidable, injurious, harsh, difficult, hard, regrettable

chalepos, S 5467; *EDNT* 3.452–453; *NIDNTT* 1.419–420; MM 682; L&N 20.2, 22.29; BAGD 874

The Gadarene demoniacs were “so dangerous (*chalepoi lian*) that no one could pass by on the road” (Matt 8:28). In classical Greek, this adjective is applied much more often to things than to persons, whereas in the Koine it is used indifferently of both. Here it has the same meaning as in Isa 18:2, “a formidable nation” (Hebrew niphal of *yare'*); *Ep. Arist.* 289: certain men who obtained authority “ended up becoming more injurious than the godless tyrants”; in 6 BC, Augustus writes to the Cnidians: “It seemed to me that you were very harsh toward the accused persons and that to the contrary you hated the crime” (*autois edoxate chalepoi gegonenai kai pros ta enantia misoponeroi*, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 780, 30); “you shall serve fearsome mistresses” (Philo, *Cherub.* 71); King Alcetas was too hard on the people (Diodorus Siculus 19.89.3); Ochos had a disagreeable character (17.5.3); Alexander showed irritation (17.40.3); the king was greatly troubled (17.101.6; 17.110.8); Cleopatra was dangerous for everyone (*chalepen eis hapantas*, Josephus, *Ant.* 15.98); “people of a very difficult and jealous disposition” (Plutarch, *De laude* 12); “Terentia, having a difficult disposition” (*Cic.* 29.4; cf. *oude chalepainon* = without rancor); the king is hard on his friends (*Dem.* 25.1); Demetrius “was rude and disagreeable to those who came to him” seeking an audience (*Demetr.* 42.1; cf. *Ant.* 89.[2] 1); “terrible enemies” (*Ant.* 40.4); “fierce dogs” (*De*

tranq. anim. 1); the father and mother of the young wild boar were formidable (Xenophon, *Cyn.* 10.23). Cf. a litigant who becomes indignant (*P.Phil.* 2, 7, *chalepenas*).

When applied to things, *chalepos* can mean simply “difficult, hard,”¹ but sometimes it also takes on the nuance of “regrettable” (2Macc 4:4), “grievous” (Wis 3:19), “severe” (Plutarch, *De sera* 4), and “cruel” (Wis 19:13; 4Macc 7:24). It is used fairly often for dangerous circumstances,² which is precisely the case in 2Tim 3:1, which announces the onset of the last days: there will be *kairoi chalepoi*, dangerous or perilous times for the faith and the existence of the church, harmful for Christians, with a nuance of violence and aggressiveness³ that befits calamities.⁴

¹ Sir 3:21—“Do not seek what is too difficult for you”; 2Macc 6:3—“the onset of these evils was difficult to bear, almost intolerable”; 4Macc 16:8—“the difficult worries of education”; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.1.3: “commanding men is not a difficult or impossible task”; 1.3.3: the difficulty of raising horses; 2.3.3; 5.2.35; *Cyn.* 5.17: hares are hard to pursue; *An.* 2.6.11: “a cause of concern”; 5.1.17: he had attacked a difficult position; 5.2.3; *Hier.* 6.16: a difficult but useful task; *Symp.* 4.37: a serious illness; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.1: life in the desert, βίος ἀηδής καὶ χαλεπός; 13.422: Queen Alexandra fell dangerously ill; Diodorus Siculus 17.31.4: taken by a serious illness (χαλεπῶ—πάθει), he called for physicians; 17.101.5: it is tiresome to possess great physical might and little good sense; 17.114.5: a deathly premonition; Plutarch, *Agis* 7.5: a difficult and hard action; *Ant.* 48.3: “the most difficult and frightening night”; cf. 40.1; 47.2; Thucydides 2.50.1; *SB* 8511, 10: “That I may rejoin my family and my servants . . . without illness and tiresome fatigue” (Hymn to Mandoulis); “Forgetfulness delivered me from toilsome cares” (E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 75, 7; cf. 170. 10). In the sporting vocabulary, χαλεπός refers to tiring exercises, situations that are dangerous for the athlete, the most difficult contexts (Philostratus, *Gym.* 11, 41, 54, 55).

² 2Macc 4:6, χαλεπή περίστασις; *SB* 8334, 5 (honorific decree for Callimachus, in 42 BC; cf. R. Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret*); 7464, 3: ὕβρεως οὐδὲν οὔτε δεινότερον οὔτε χαλεπότερον; cf. *PSI* 1323, 9. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.235; Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 26. Philo was very fond of this term and used it in the sense of (a) difficult (*Spec. Laws* 1.32: a difficult problem; *Prelim. Stud.* 164; *Flight* 156; *Unchang. God* 122; *Giants* 1; *Post. Cain* 8; healing, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 48; *Spec. Laws* 2.136; to oppose nature, *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 114; the way of virtue, *Post. Cain* 154); (b) painful (illness, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.124; *Decalogue* 68; *Spec. Laws* 1.24; 1.3; infirmity, *Cherub.* 68; a life more painful than death, *Creation* 164); (c) hard and rude (curse, *Sobr.* 30; storm, *Drunkennes* 102; necessity of life, *Heir* 41; passion, *Creation* 167; *Decalogue* 142; adversary, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.86;

master and mistress, 1.194; *Cherub.* 71; *Unchang. God* 48; *Joseph* 71; *Moses* 1.184, 191; *Spec. Laws* 2.16); (*d*) terrible and cruel (leprosy, *Post. Cain* 47; the suffering of childbirth, 74; threat, *Joseph* 222; punishment, *Abraham* 96; cf. 160; *Dreams* 2.149; *Heir* 284; discouragement, *Spec. Laws* 2.83; burden, *Migr. Abr.* 14; character, *Moses* 1.89; *Joseph* 20, 81; cf. 114, 177; anguish, 233; danger, *Moses* 1.171); etc.

³ Cf. Xenophon, *An.* 4.5.4: the violence of the wind; 5.8.24: “fierce dogs” are tied up at night; Heraclitus, *All.* 1.1: “Homer is attacked fiercely for his irreverence toward the divinity.”

⁴ Menander, *Dysk.* 325: “That tiresome person—I can imagine—He’s meaner than a man can be”; cf. *P.Oxy.* 1242, 48: οὐκοῦν χαλεπὸν ἐ—στι τὸ ὄνομα τῶ—ν —Ιουδαίων; “Is not the name of the Jews then odious?”

χαλκεύς

chalkeus, smith, artisan in copper, bronze, or iron; silversmith

chalkeus, S 5471; *EDNT* 3.453; *NIDNTT* 2.96; MM 683; L&N 2.55; BAGD 874

2Tim 4:14—*Alexandros ho chalkeus*.¹ This substantive, common in Mycenaean and attested in the oldest Greek texts, is used in all periods.² Originally, a *chalkeus* was one who worked copper, bronze, or iron, hence an artisan in metal, a metallurgist,³ like the smith at Istrus who offered this dedication to Athena: “I Tatarion the *chalkeus* offered this gift to Athena.”⁴ In the Hellenistic period, specific names were used: *chalkeotechnes* (Quintus of Smyrna, *Posthomerica* 2.440), *siderochalkeus* (*P.Oxy.* 84, 3), *orichalkeus* = a worker in brass (*P.Paris* 20, 33), etc. Since jewelry was made from copper, and *chalkos* (copper) is frequently associated with *chrysos* (silver), the *chalkeus* can also be a silversmith;⁵ but in the imperial period, a silversmith was called a *chrysochon*⁶ or *argyropoios* (*Anth. Pal.* 14.50), and the smith proper was a *chalkeus*⁷ or a *chalkotypo*s (Plutarch, *Per.* 12.6; *PSI* 871, 3; *SB* 8620 g 3; 8635, 2; *I.Bulg.* 1922, 1) or a *chalkourgos*.⁸

The smith’s trade was widespread in the countryside, judging from the attestations in the papyri,⁹ and we can imagine that the *chalkeus* was indispensable for shoeing horses and repairing harnesses, but little information is available on smiths and their lives.¹⁰ They worked in a tool room (*P.Col.Zen.* 90, 1), in a temple (*P.Hib.* 213, 6), in stables (*P.Oxy.* 2480, 28), on a boat (*ibid.*, line 24), on irrigating machines (1913, 19: *chalkei ergazomeno eis tas mechanas*). They could own a house (*P.Mich.* 257, 4; AD 30), pay taxes (*P.Tebt.* 103, 33; first century BC), owe four

thousand drachmas for a copper purchase (*P.Tebt.* 890, 27, 223; second century BC), build a *proskynema* (*SB* 4391, 8604, 2; cf. 8634, 1). In the third century, Aurelius Epimachus, a smith from the town of Caminói, aged and infirm, but still having apprentices, offers his services and asks to complete projects with the iron that has been supplied to him (*P.Rein.* 113, 4). But in AD 44, a complainant accuses Hippocraton, smith at a place called Pammenus, of not having paid back two doors and forty drachmas of silver (*P.Fouad* 27, 5).

¹ Literally, the bronze man; cf. J. L. Perpillou, *Les substantifs grecs en -εύς*, Paris, 1973, 6, 63, 241, 319, 334, 357, 397, 399. On the legendary origin of bronze (*χαλκόν*; cf. *χάλκεα* = objects of bronze, *Anth. Pal.* 13.8, 18; 14.7; cf. 14.10, 49, 59, 132; 15.41, 44, 46, 51), Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 2.

² Cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, p. 266, n. 3; G. Berthiaume, “Helléniques III, 4, 17 et le sens du terme *chalkeus* à l’époque classique,” in *RevPhil*, 1974, pp. 304–307; *MAMA* VIII, 140, 388; *SEG* VI, 402; *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 214.

³ Philo, *Post. Cain* 116 cites Gen 4:22; cf. *Dreams* 1.31: “the red-hot iron, plunged by the smith into cold water”; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.64; A. Orlandos, *Technique architecturale*, p. 98ff. On this profession, cf. A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, London, 1972, p. 256; the metallurgical workshop is called a *χαλκευτικὸν ἐργαστήριον* (Byzantine inscription, in *Aeg*, 1968, p. 136).

⁴ J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, in *REG* 1969, p. 484, n. 393; cf. *P.Stras.* 377, 5: *χαλκεὺς κωμης*. At Baetocaece, an offering of a bronze altar, *τὸν χάλκεον βωμόν* (*IGLS*, n. 4034).

⁵ Cf. the epitaph of the silversmith Canopus at Alexandria: “I worked in gold and silver as well as in metals” (*ἡ δὲ τέχνη χρυσοῖ—ο καὶ ἀργυροῦ ἠδὲ μετάλλων*, E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 19, 3); F. Cumont, *L’Egypte des astrologues*, pp. 97ff.; E. Coche de la Ferté, *Les Bijoux antiques*, Paris, 1956, pp. 3ff.

⁶ *CII* 1006; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, C, 4; cf. *I.Sard.Rob.*, p. 55.

⁷ Epictetus 4.11.13; A. Bernand, *Koptos*, n. 113, 127, 131.

⁸ *P.Oslo* 144, 12; A. Swiderek, “Deux papyrus de la Sorbonne,” in *JJP*, vol. 11–12, 1958, p. 73. On the different spellings for the name of this trade, cf. L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques*, p. 195.

⁹ *BGU* 1620, col. IX, 4; *P.Corn.* 21, 159; 22, 14; *P.Hib.* 283, 9; *O.Bodl.* 1932, 5; 1933, 21; 2108, 2; *PSI* 1342, 16; *P.Oxy.* 1912, 42, 61, etc. Cf. *Prosop.Ptol.*, vol. 5, n. 13304–13354.

¹⁰ Cf. bronze statues: εἰ—κόνι χαλκῆ (*Fouilles de Delphes* III, 4, 239); the statue of Telemnestus at Gortyn is forged from bronze, μορφα—ς μὲν χαλκὸς τετυπομένος (*I.Cret.* IV, p. 23); *GVI*, n. 1603, 4 and 14; *SEG* XIII, 341; XIX, 468, 36; XXIV, 1099, 13; Plutarch, *Alex.* 40. Bronze steles (*ISE*, n. 55, 7). A bronze tripod, *SEG* II, 355, 6, etc.

χαρά

chara, joy

chara, *S* 5479; *TDNT* 9.359–372; *EDNT* 3.454–455; *NIDNTT* 2.356–359; *MM* 683; *L&N* 25.123, 25.124; *BAGD* 875–876

The distinguishing characteristic of the Judeo-Christian religion is joy.¹ The proclamation of salvation is one of great joy (*charan megalen*, Luke 2:10-11), which contrasts with the pessimism and despair of first-century paganism.² This explains why a large proportion of the occurrences of *chara* in the papyri are of Christian origin,³ why pagan occurrences of the word are so rare, and especially why pagan joy is never that of the soul. Rather, it is the pleasure felt by a traveler returning to his homeland,⁴ fervor in spreading false news,⁵ rejoicing at a welcome (*P.Iand.* 13, 18), especially at the good Nile floods,⁶ or popular jubilation (*P.Fay.* 20, 1; *BGU* 1141, 3; 1768, 7; *P.Ant.* 202 a 14); hence there is no religious parallel to the NT.⁷

¹ Jesus' disciples are portrayed as joyful, Luke 15:7, 32; 19:6; Matt 13:20, 44; 28:8; John 15:11; 16:24; 17:23; Acts 2:46; 8:8, 39; 13:48-52; 1Thess 1:6; 5:16; 2Cor 13:11; Phil 4:4; 1Pet 1:8; 1John 1:4; 3John 12; etc. (E. G. Gulin, *Die Freude im Neuen Testament*, Helsinki, 1932; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 155ff.; C. Lavergne, "La Joie de saint Paul, Col. I, 24," in *RevThom*, 1968, pp. 419–433). This joyfulness of heart, mentioned several times in *Ep. Arist.* (261, 274, 293), is highlighted by Philo (*Drunkenness* 145; *Dreams* 2.249; *Abraham* 151; *Worse Attacks Better* 123; *Moses* 1.177), emphasized by Josephus (*Ant.* 3.99; 7.252; 11.67; 15.421; *War* 3.28), and the novel *Jos. Asen.* attributes it to all of its characters: Pentephres (3.4; 4.2), Joseph (7.10), Aseneth (9.1; 15.12), Pharaoh's daughter (24.5). Cf. P. Humbert, "Laetari et exultare' dans le vocabulaire religieux de l'A.T.," in *RHPR*, 1942, pp. 184–214.

² “I was not, I became, I am no longer, it does not matter” (*MAMA* VIII, 353); *Anth. Pal.* 9.111. In the sculpture of the first century, the eyes often express sorrow, “a sort of hopeless stupor” (J. P. Milliet, “Les yeux hagards,” in *Mélanges Nicole*, Geneva, 1905, pp. 357–366); cf. A. J. Festugière, *Idéal religieux*, pp. 163ff.; C. Spicq, *Vie morale*, pp. 10ff. = *ET Trinity*, pp. 3ff.; F. Jesi, “Note sul pessimismo egizio,” in *Aeg*, 1968, pp. 19ff.

³ *P.lond.* 101, 8; 102, 4; *P.Lond.* 1917, 3; *P.Berl.Zill.* 14, 2; *P.Oxy.* 1162, 5; 1874, 21; *PSI* 1429, 2; *SB* 9286, 3, 5; 10464, 1; 10466, 3; *SEG* VI, 210, 20; J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1946–47, p. 353, n. 194. As a greeting: *χαρά!* (*ibid.* 1956, p. 178, n. 38; *IGLS* 770, 2: “Joy and blessing to those who sojourn here”; 1529, 2490).

⁴ *C.P.Herm.* 6, 24: μεθ ἡδονῆς καὶ χαρα—ς γὰρ ἡμω—ν ε—πὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἡμι—ν καταβήσει.

⁵ *P.Oxy.* 2190, 45: μετὰ χαρα—ς τὰ περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου ε—ν τῇ πόλει φημίζων (first century).

⁶ *SB* 991, 5; 6597–6607; cf. D. Bonneau, *Le Fisc et le Nil*, Paris, 1971, pp. 51ff.

⁷ Cf. on a slab of basalt: “Enemies’ joy, children’s mourning” (*IGLS* 343, 2; cf. 446).

χάρις

charis, grace, beauty, charm, favor, goodwill, free benevolence, gift, benefit, gratitude

charis, *S* 5485; *TDNT* 9.372–402; *EDNT* 3.457–460; *NIDNTT* 2.115–124; *MM* 684–685; *L&N* 25.89, 33.350, 57.103, 88.66; *BDF* §§47(3), 128(5), 128(6), 160, 216(1), 258(2), 456(4), 473(1); *BAGD* 877–878

The religious meaning of NT “grace” is original,¹ but the secular word *charis* was suited for taking on a theological meaning, and its nuances made sense to new converts.

I. — *Grace in the sense of beauty.* *Charis* is the quality of that which is attractive and gives joy. It is the charm of language (Plutarch, *Aem.* 2.2), of a masterpiece (*Tim.* 35.4), of a conversation,² of a garden (*Anth. Pal.* 9.666), of a bath (*ibid.* 9.609 *bis*, 621, 623, 624, 814); and especially personal charm, beauty and friendliness; the charm of a child (Luke 2:52; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.231); and the charm of an attractive woman.³ Gracious

(Plutarch, *Cim.* 2.3) is the opposite of ugly (*aischran*, 2.4); *meta charitos* means “of good grace.”⁴

II. — *Grace in the sense of favor or love.* In classical Greek, grace usually refers to a subjective disposition: goodwill or good grace,⁵ benevolence that finds expression in generosity, love that commands action,⁶ but which is absolutely free.⁷ In the inscriptions and papyri of the Hellenistic period, grace is still synonymous with favor and friendship,⁸ but it means especially the “favor” of a friend, a prince, or the gods.⁹ Those who are under obligation strive to find favor with the powerful, who in turn give notice that they have granted the favor that was asked.¹⁰ It is in this sense that God shows mercy and benevolence toward his favored ones;¹¹ his “grace,” then, is suggestive of loving care and condescension (Josephus, *Ant.* 5.107; cf. 2.153), a nuance retained in the gratuitousness and generosity of the salvation granted in the NT.¹²

III. — *Grace in the sense of benefit.* It is often impossible to distinguish between benevolent feelings and a favor granted. Any gift, present, pardon, or concession that is granted freely, out of one’s goodness, is called a *charis*.¹³ Thus it is that the collection for the saints at Jerusalem is a very effective act of generosity (1Cor 16:3; 2Cor 8:6, 19), and a benefit, like the visit that St. Paul offers to make to the Corinthians (2Cor 1:15). How much more does the extreme generosity of God’s love result in gifts that become the indwelling possession of believers (cf. the link between *dorea* and *charis*, Rom 5:15, 17; Eph 4:7); they receive grace upon grace (John 1:16; cf. Rom 12:6; 15:15; 1Cor 1:4; 2Cor 8:1).

IV. — *Grace in the sense of gratitude.* A benefit arising purely from the goodness of the benefactor necessarily inspires gratitude on the part of the one who receives it.¹⁴ Hence the final meaning of *charis*, apparently predominant in the documents of the Hellenistic period: thanksgiving, gratitude felt or expressed.¹⁵ A person does not stop at merely feeling gratitude toward a benefactor¹⁶ but makes an effort to pay him back,¹⁷ as if paying off a debt by returning benefit for benefit.¹⁸ This principle is seen in a decree by the Athenian cleruchs in honor of Euboulos of Marathon, “so that the people may demonstrate that they give worthy citizens the recognition that is their due.”¹⁹

Since God is the universal and constant benefactor,²⁰ and all that humans have depends on his grace, thanksgiving to God is the homage due from all his creatures: “I thank you first, my friends, and even more those who sent you, and most of all God, whose oracles these are” (*Ep. Arist.* 177); “I thank God for placing in my mind . . . the knowledge of the good” (*Corp. Herm.* 6.4). Pagans observe this just obligation,²¹ but Christians are the most thankful people in the world (Col 3:15) because the Holy Spirit is given them precisely “so that we may know well what God has freely given us”;²² their worship, centered on the “Eucharist,” is grateful praise to God for all that he has given them.²³ Of all the biblical authors, St.

Paul is the one whose thanksgivings are the most frequent and the most fervent.²⁴

¹ Cf. P. Bonnetain, “Grâce,” in *DBSup*, vol. 3, 748ff.; J. Moffatt, *Grace in the New Testament*, London, 1931, p. 99; C. Ryder Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Grace*, London, 1956; J. Roussillon, “Les Termes hébreux en théologie chrétienne,” in *RevThom*, 1960, pp. 86–89; C. Spicq, *Théologie morale*, vol. 1, pp. 451–461; O. A. Piper, “New Testament Lexicography,” in *Festschrift F. W. Gingrich*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 200ff.; D. J. Doughty, “The Priority of χάρις,” in *NTS*, vol. 19, 1973, pp. 153–180; Conzelmann, “χάρις,” in *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 372–376, 387–415; I. de la Potterie, “Χάρις paulinienne et χάρις johannique,” in E. E. Ellis, E. Grässer, *Jesus und Paulus* (Festschrift W. G. Kümmel), Göttingen, 1975, pp. 256–282.

² Plutarch, *Eum.* 11.2; *Alc.* 10.3; *Praec. ger. rei publ.* 5, 801 c: περὶ τὸν λόγον χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως; *Cat. Min.* 5.3: He had in his eloquence “a grace that attracted the ear” (χάρις ἀγωγὸς ἀκοῆς); “the actor’s art adds grace to the dialogue” (*Dem.* 7.5). At Athens, Cicero was charmed “by the grace of the speech of Antiochus of Ascalon” (*Cic.* 4.1); he himself shone in the attractiveness of his eloquence (13.2, τὸν λόγον χάριτος); “his speeches were attractive and full of charm” (τὸν λόγον ἥδιστον ὄντα καὶ χάριν ἔχοντα πλείστην, 24.3); feminine charm that emanates beauty (*Demetr.* 16.6; *Ant.* 83.3), the charm of a painting (*Demetr.* 22.6), etc. Cf. Sir 20:13; 21:16; Ps 45:3—“grace is poured out on your lips.” The people of Nazareth admired the “words of grace” that came from Jesus’ mouth (Luke 4:22). St. Paul tells Christians that their speech should always be full of grace (Col 4:6; cf. Eph 4:29). Cf. ἄχαρις = coarse (Plutarch, *Cor.* 1.45).

³ Sir 7:19; 26:15; Prov 1:9; 3:22; 11:16. “Divine grace blooms” on the cheeks of the young Penthesilea (Quintus of Smyrna 1.61; cf. 3.558). “For the Greek, *charis* shone not only from a woman or any human being whose youthful beauty caused the body (and especially the eyes) to ‘shine’ with a splendor that inspired love; it also shone from cut gemstones, worked jewelry, and certain precious materials: the glistening of metal, the glint of stones of different waters, the varied colors of woven fabric, gaily colored designs. Everything combines to make the silversmith’s work and the weaver’s product a concentrate of living light from which *charis* shines forth” (J. P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*, Paris, 1966, p. 261, n. 31). The Graces, virgin daughters of Zeus, hand out feminine charm, “all that is delicious and sweet” (Pindar, *Ol.* 14.5; cf. *Migr. Abr.* 31; *MAMA* VIII, 416). Hence the use of *charis* to mean “magic charm” (cf. C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, Ann Arbor, 1950, pp. 48ff., 178). *P.Oslo* I, 45, 202 invokes the divinities to obtain

“victory, favor (*charis*), glory, and success with regard to all men and all women”; *P.Lond.* I, 69; *P.Mert.* II, 58.

⁴ Polybius 2.22; cf. οἱ—χαρίεντες = distinguished people (Strabo 4.1.5). On fatherly graciousness, *P.Stras.* 270, 21: ὡς φασὶ ὑπὸ πατρὸς χάριτι; *P.Grenf.* II, 71, 11; *P.Lond.* 1164, f 18; *P.Oxy.* 273, 14–15; *PSI* 1126, 23; cf. C. Moussy, *Gratia et sa famille*, Paris, 1966, pp. 393ff., 401, 407, 411, 417ff., 445.

⁵ Theocritus 28.24–28: “Great was the goodwill (ἡ μεγάλη χάρις), if the gift was small”; cf. *P.Michael.* 26.11: “Command me what you will; you know well that I am at your disposal” (χάριν λαμβάνω). The χάριτες of Hippocrates (*Epid.* 6.4.7) are the “graceful gestures” of the physician toward the patient, being watchful to give him agreeable things, making sure that the food is wholesome, that the clothing is convenient, that there are no offensive odors, words, etc.

⁶ Plato, *Phd.* 115 b: ποιει—ν ε—ν χάριτι, “act out of love”; Theocritus 5.37: “see what goodness leads to”; Acts 2:47—ἔχοντες χάριν πρὸς ὅλον τὸν λαόν; the disciples had a benevolent disposition toward all (Codex Bezae, κόσμον).

⁷ Cf. Philo, *Change of Names* 40, χάριτι ε—ξαιρέτω; Wis 3:16—χάρις ε—κλεκτή. Hence the pejorative meaning, “favoritism.” Cf. the oath formula, “I will vote from my heart and my conscience, yielding neither to favor nor to hatred “ (οὔτε χάριτος . . . οὔτε ἔχθρας, Demosthenes 57, 63); *P.Hib.* 204, 11: neither through fear nor through favor (οὐδὲ χάριτος ἔνεκεν οὐδ ἔχθρας); “the few are susceptible to corruption by money and by favor” (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 41.2); “Aristides sought neither popularity nor glory” (οὐ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, Plutarch, *Them.* 3.3). Moses did not elevate his brother Aaron to the priesthood out of favoritism (οὐ μὲν ε—ξ ε—μῆς χάριτος, Josephus, *Ant.* 4.29).

⁸ The *senatus consultum* of Sulla to the Thasian ambassadors wishes “to respond in a friendly way . . . renew the ties of sympathy, friendship, and alliance” (χάριτα, φιλίαν, συμμαχίαν, ἀνανεώσασθαι, *I.Thas.* 174 D 2; 175, 12); similarly, Mytilene, in AD 45, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 764, 3.

⁹ Plutarch, *Cic.* 12.4; *Ant.* 43.4. “In doing that, you do me a big favor” (*P.Princ.* 162, 12; AD 89/90); “I ask the favor” (*P.Oxf.* 19, 3), Letter of Messana 74.1. τῆς τω—ν θεω—ν χάριτος (*I.Priene* 109, 36); cf. *I.Magn.* 105, 12); ε—χ θείης χάριτος (*I.Did.* 118, 10; cf. 199, 14); *C.P.Herm.* 5, 13: Hermodorus wishes and hopes to obtain great joy through the grace of the all-powerful god (the editor observes that this is a Christian way of

speaking being used by pagans). The imperial favor, which translates into gifts or benefits (*P.Fouad* 21, 15; from AD 63) for a city, is often described as “divine, immortal, eternal,” which prepares for the Pauline expression “the riches of grace” (Eph 1:7; 2:7). On the grace-favor of the gods in the mystery religions, cf. A. J. Festugière, *Idéal religieux*, p. 293.

¹⁰ Τὴν χάριν διδόναι (letter of Theodorus and Amynder, kings of Athamania, around 205–201 BC, in C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 35, 13); διὰ ταῦτά σοι κείσεται μεγάλη χάρις ε—μ βασιλέως οἴκῳ (rescript of Darius to Gadatas, the governor of Asia Minor, in *I.Magn.* 115, 14); *Ep. Arist.* 230, 249. Granting freedom to the Greeks in AD 67, Nero describes this act as a favor and a grace (Dittenberger, *Syl.* 814, 9–20, 42; cf. 798, 5–10). In a legal context, χαρίζομαι = grant a favor (Acts 3:14; 25:11, 16; 27:24; Josephus, *Life* 53, 355; 4Macc 11:12; cf. “pardon, freely grant remission,” Luke 7:21; Acts 3:14; Col 3:13; Eph 4:32). An official, in granting a petition (Plutarch, *C. Gracch.* 4.2) wishes to show his accommodating attitude (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.214; *P.Flor.* 61, 61). Hence χάρις in the sense of *privilegium*, *P.Lond.* 1912, 52; *P.Fouad* 21, 15; SB 7601 c 5. *Savigny Zeitschrift*, vol. 70, 1953, pp. 277ff. P. Stein, “‘Gratia’ in the Digest,” in *Mélanges V. Arangio-Ruiz*, Naples, 1964, vol. 1, pp. 250–252. The Latin *gratia* also has the sense of “accommodating attitude, partiality,” especially in the legal sphere, cf. C. Moussy, *Gratia et sa famille*, pp. 300–301.

¹¹ Gen 18:3; 24:12, 14, 49; Exod 33:12, 13, 16, 17; 34:9; Num 11:1; Ps 63:4; 89:2-3; 106:7; 107:43; Wis 3:9; 4:15; Acts 7:46. The LXX uses χάρις to translate the Hebrew *hen*, sometimes *hesed* and *raham*; cf. W. R. Roehrs, “The Grace of God in the Old Testament,” in *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 1952, pp. 900–907; R. F. Surburg, “Pauline Charis,” *ibid.*, 1958, pp. 721–741, 812–822; E. E. Flack, “The Concept of Grace in Biblical Thought,” in J. M. Myers, *Biblical Studies in Memory of H. C. Alleman*, New York, 1960, pp. 137–154. Johannine χάρις (John 1:14-17) is above all “gift”; cf. I. de la Potterie, “Χάρις paulinienne et χάρις johannique.”

¹² Rom 5:8; 1Cor 16:23-24; 2Cor 13:13; Eph 2:5, 8; 2Thess 2:16; 1Tim 1:18; Heb 4:16. Χάρις in the sense of “freely” (Matt 10:8; 2Cor 11:7; Rev 21:6; cf. 22:17 = δωρεάν, Rom 2:24; 3:24; 4:16; 8:32; Gal 1:15) is used notably in notarial deeds, *P.Mich.* 238, 32, 36, 112, 137, 197 (in AD 46); *P.Fam.Tebt.* XV, 62, 67.

¹³ Gen 33:5; Sir 7:33; Wis 14:20; Philo, *Creation* 23; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.78; *Spec. Laws* 1.285: “inexhaustible, permanent, and continuous are God’s favors (αι— τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτες), which are poured out on men day and

night”; Epictetus 1.16.15: “What else should we do but sing the divinity, celebrate him, list all his benefits” (τὰς χάριτας); Plutarch, *Sol.* 2.1: “Solon’s inheritance . . . was diminished by his father’s beneficence and generosity” (ει—ς φιλανθρωπίας τινὰς καὶ χάριτας); *Cat. Mai.* 5: πρὸς εὐεργεσίας δὲ καὶ χάριτας; *Alex.* 30.12; 39.4; *I.Priene* 118, 29: χάριτος καὶ φιλανθρωπίας (cf. Dittenberger, *Or.* 193, 21ff.), 113, 14; *P.Gron.* X, 9, 20; *P.Oxy.* 3094, 10; hence “bonus” (Prov 17:8; Luke 6:32, 34); “the country can give rewards that will never be forgotten” (*I.Lind.* 197 f, 12; cf. χαριστήριον, 2Macc 12:45). On an intaglio from Emesa, the benefits of the divinity are proclaimed in the words Μεγάλαι χάριτες τοῦ θεοῦ, which the editor translates “Great are the wonders worked by the god” (F. Cumont, in *Syria*, 1926, pp. 351–352). The act of granting favors is also called *eucharistia*. — On κεχαριτωμένη (Luke 1:28), in addition to the commentaries, cf. G. M. Verd, “‘Gratia plena’: Sentido de una traducción,” in *Estudios Eclesiasticos*, 1975, pp. 357–389.

¹⁴ 2Cor 9:15; cf. Sophocles, *Aj.* 522: χάρις χάριν γάρ ε—στιν ἢ τίκτουδ ἄει; Philo, *Heir* 309; *Dreams* 2.213. Mucius Scaevola, having benefited from the kindness of Porsenna, whom he had wanted to kill, revealed other dangers to him: “I have been overcome by your generosity. In gratitude (χάριτι) I will point out to you what force could not have wrested from me” (Plutarch, *Publ.* 17.5; cf. 19.10; *Alex.* 59.3; *Dem.* 18.2).

¹⁵ Ἐχειν χάριν, 2Macc 3:33; *UPZ* 108, 30: “I am eternally grateful for that” (ε—φοῖς ἔχοντός μου αι—ώνιον χάριν); *P.Warr.* 13, 13; *P.Brem.* 8, 6; 49, 7; 52, 6: “I am grateful to you that . . .” (χάριν σοι ἔχω ὅτι); 54, 7, 63, 34; *P.Mich.* 483, 3: χάριν σοι ἔχω τῇ φιλανθρωπία; 498, 4; 499, 9; 501, 10; *P.Lond.* 1912, 11; Plutarch, *Cim.* 2.2–3; *De sera* 11.555 f; 13.558 b; *De vit. pud.* 18: Antisthenes’ Heracles advised his children “never to be grateful (χάριν ἔχειν) to those who praised them”; *Anth. Pal.* 9.584.15: “I am grateful to my companion” (ἔχω χάριν); 9.600.10: “a thousand thanks were offered him” (μεγάλα χάρις αὐτω—); cf. the periphrasis with the perfect participle: “I will be much obliged to you, very grateful” (ἔση μοι κεχαρισμένος, *UPZ* 64, 12–13; *P.Mert.* 62, 9; *P.Tebt.* 56, 16; 766, 16–17; *P.Oxy.* 1061, 20). In AD 31, Augustus judges that the faithful courage of the Mylasians is “worthy of all honor and gratitude” (πάσης τιμῆς καὶ χάριτος ἀξίους, Dittenberger, *Syl.* 768, 22; cf. *SEG* XVIII, 20, 4: τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἀποδιδόντες; XI, 1107, 23–24; XV, 12, 21; 113, 18–19; XXI, 435, 39–40; XXIV, 1099, 26; C. Michel, *Recueil* 1519, 20: χάριτας ἀξίας ἀπολήψονται τω—ν εὐεργετημάτων; 1520, 14; 216, 5; *ISE*, n. 55, 23–24: ἀνταποδιδούσα χάριτας τοι—ς εὐεργέταις). The brothers of Eubolus offer a gift to show their gratitude for the goodness of their benefactor (ει—ς χάριν εὐνοίας, *Inscriptions grecques de Deir el Bahari* 182, 2); cf. M. P. Charlesworth, “Some Observations on Ruler-Cult Especially in Rome,” in

HTR, 1935, pp. 8–16; P. Schubert, *Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings*, Berlin, 1939; J. H. Quincy, “Greek Expressions of Thanks,” in *JHS*, 1966, pp. 133–158.

¹⁶ Cf. the tomb inscription: “Destiny cut my life short at eighteen years, Metro, a grief to Lysanias and Nicopolis, who raised me in vain; and among the dead I am desolated by the thought of all the good things for which I did not show them the least gratitude” (οὐδ ὀλίγην χάριτα, *I.Thas.* 336, 5); Dittenberger, *Syl.* IX, 313, 7: οὐδὲ γονεῦσιν ε—οι—ς ἀποδοῦς χάριν; *I.Sard.* 139, 6. Cf. μετὰ χάριτος, with gratitude (Polybius 5.71.1; 5.77.3; 5.104.1).

¹⁷ Hence the recurrent use of the formula χάριτας ὁμολογεῖ—ν. “If I obtain this favor, I will eternally confess my gratitude toward you” (*P.Cair.Isid.* 66, 24; cf. 76, 20; *P.Michael.* 30, 15; *P.Thead.* 19, 18; 22, 18; *P.Gen.* 47, 17; *P.Oxy.* 939, 6). In their petitions to the prefects, suppliants commit themselves: “thus helped by you, we shall give thanks eternally to Fortuna” (*P.Thead.* 18, 19; 17, 18; *P.Mert.* 91, 19; *P.Cair.Isid.* 74, 19; *P.Ryl.* 659, 15; *P.Rein.* 113, 27), Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 2.32.1: “I thanked the gods a thousand times” (πολλὴν τοι—ς θεοι—ς ὁμολογῶ—ν χάριν); Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 1.80; 3.40; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.316; Plutarch, *De Pyth. or.* 16.

¹⁸ *P.Cair.Zen.* 59057, 4: ὀφειλήσω σοι χάριν ι—κανήν; *P.Oxy.* 1021, 14. Hence the expression ἀποδιδόναι χάριν (*P.Col.Zen.* 9, 10; *I.Priene* 53, 13; *I.Magn.* 53, 66; cf. 15 a 26), ἀνταπέχω χάριτας (*I.Sard.* 104, 2); cf. *Ep. Arist.* 218, 238; Plutarch, *Publ.* 23, 4.

¹⁹ F. Durrbach, *Choix*, n. 79, 23; cf. 82, 14; 112, 24. The corporation of the Heracleists of Tyre wish to offer their benefactors their due in gratitude: ἀξίας χάριτας ἀποδιδούσα τοι—ς εὐεργέταις (ibid. 85, 30); *I.Sinur.* 9, 44; 15, 18; *SEG XVIII*, 143, 21, 32, 61, 84 (at Corinth, in AD 43); *ZPE*, vol. 17, 1975, p. 109 (Ilium). In 188 BC, a decree of Apollonia honors a citizen, Pamphilos, “whereas he has rendered many important services to the country, and since it is just that deserving people should receive a recompense worthy of their benefits” (καταξίας χάριτας κομίζεσθαι τω—ν εὐεργετημάτων, *I.Car.*, 167, 29). These feelings are often expressed in εὐχαριστία (Acts 24:3; *P.Ross.Georg.* V, 12, d 1: στέλλω ὑμι—ν μετὰ πάσης εὐχαριστίας; *P.Lond.* 1178, 25; vol. 3, p. 216; Dittenberger, *Or.* 227, 6; *I.Sard.Rob.*, pp. 9–10; *SB* 624, 7: εὐχαριστίας χάριν; Diodorus Siculus 17.59.7), εὐχάριστος: “the grateful people endeavored to give me due honor” (J. Crampa, *Labraunda III*, 1: *The Greek Inscriptions*, Lund, 1969, n. 3, 1–2), τὸ εὐχάριστον: “so that the others, seeing the gratitude of the people, should strive always to be of service to the city” (L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, p. 472), but τὸ εὐχάριστον is not always gratitude; it is

also a positive frame of mind or the desire to be appreciated (ibid., p. 490, n. 2); likewise, εὐχαριστέω refers not only to thanksgiving and gratitude (a thanksgiving to the Dioscuri for a good voyage: εὐχαριστοῦμεν θεοῖ—σώζουσιν, *I.Assos*, n. XXVIII, a 3), but also to blessing (J. P. Audet, *La Didachè*, Paris, 1958, pp. 377ff.; P. Prigent, *Apocalypse et liturgie*, Neuchâtel, 1964, p. 50).

²⁰ Cf. Εὐχάριστος is royal titles, “doing good” (*Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XV, p. 42). The god-kings are εὐχαριστοί, cf. A. Bernand, *Philae*, I, pp. 101–102.

²¹ 2Macc 9:20; in 257 BC, Toubias writes to Apollonius: “If you yourself and all your business and everything else that you desire are flourishing, then I express much gratitude to the gods” (πολλή χάρις τοι—ς θεοῖ—ς, *C.Pap.Jud.* 4, 2). A letter from Aristotle to Zeno: “If you are well, I offer great thanksgiving to the gods” (*P.Mich.Zen.* 23, 2); cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* 59032, 2; 59073, 2; 59076, 2; 59426, 1; *P.Oslo* 155, 2; *BGU* 423, 6; 843, 6; *P.Harr.* 152, 4: προσκύνημά σου καὶ χάριτα ὁμολογῶ— παρὰ τῶ— κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι. S. Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* 18, 1–2: —Αλκαιο—ος Σωσιφάνει χαίρειν χάρις τοι—ς θεοῖ—ς πολλή, εἰ— ὑγιαίνεις; ὑψίστῳ θεῶ— χάριν (*C.P.Herm.* 6, 27); χάρις τῶ— θεῶ— (*P.Fouad* 80, 47); τοι—ς θεοῖ—ς πολλήν χάριν ἔχω (*P.Tebt.* 946, 2; third century BC); cf. *P.Oslo* 155, 2; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 717, 12.

²² 1Cor 2:12; cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.78: only the just person discovers that everything is a grace from God; cf. G. Madec, “Connaissance de Dieu et action de grâces: Essai sur les citations de l’Épître aux Romains I, 18–25 dans l’œuvre de saint Augustin,” in *Recherches Augustiniennes*, Paris, 1958, vol. 1, pp. 273–309; J. Laporte, *La Doctrine eucharistique chez Philon d’Alexandrie*, Paris, 1972.

²³ Heb 12:25 (P. Joüon, “Reconnaissance et action de grâces dans le Nouveau Testament,” in *RSR*, 1939, pp. 112–114; G. P. Wiles, *Paul’s Intercessory Prayers*, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 37, 109, 170ff.); cf. Philo, *Drunkenness* 94: “The brotherhood of the Levites: those who sing the hymn of thanksgiving (τὸν εὐχαριστητικὸν ὕμνον) not so much with their resounding voices as with their hearts”; cf. 121. On the occurrences of ε—υχαριστω—εὐχαριστία in the inscriptions and the papyri, cf. T. Schermann, “Εὐχαριστία und εὐχαριστη—ν in ihrem Bedeutungswandel bis 200 nach Chr.,” in *Philologus*, 1910, pp. 375–410; P. Schubert, *Form and Function in the Pauline Thanksgivings*, pp. 162–179; L. Robert (*Hellenica*, vol. 10, 1955, pp. 55ff.) distinguishes εὐχαριστέω in relations between cities, in honorific decrees, and in letters with the meaning “to thank, to be pleasant, to please” (F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, III, 25; *TAM* II, 126); and the formula εὐχαριστω— τῶ— θεῶ—, which appears in votive

inscriptions only in the imperial period; it is the “transcription on stone of an acclamation, a thanksgiving that was uttered in the sanctuary by the believer whose prayer was heard”; the words reappear in the Christian formula (cf. *MAMA* IV, 287; *SEG* IV, 651; VI, 248; VIII, 277; *I.Sard.* VII, 94; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 995; 1173; *Or.* 717, 3). — χαριστήριον or εὐχαριστήριον is a testimony of gratitude, cf. *SEG* XXII, 268; 727, 730, 741, 819; XXV, 595, 596, 757; *I.Bulg.* 33; *I.Olymp.* 241, 283; *I.Magn.* 17, 12; B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Antiquae* 17, 133–135, 671, 687; C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (Sardis), 96, 138; L. Vidmann, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, Berlin, 1969 (p. 365, index); *Ep. Arist.* 19; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.225, 228, 245 (W. C. van Unnik, “Eine merkwürdige liturgische Aussage bei Josephus, *Jos. Ant.* VIII, 111–113,” in *Josephus-Studien*, O. Michel gewidmet, Göttingen, 1974, pp. 362–369); Plutarch, *Tim.* 29.6; cf. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 1, pp. 414–419.

²⁴ Cf. εὐχαριστέω (Rom 1:16; 1Cor 1:4; Eph 1:16; Phil 1:3; Phlm 4; 1Thess 1:2; 2:13; 3:9; 2Thess 1:3; 2:13). The apostle gives thanks at all times (Col 1:3, 9), or ceaselessly, always, night and day (1Thess 3:10), above all (Rom 1:8), concerning and in the name of Christians (Rom 1:8; Phil 1:4), mentioning what he knows of the gifts they have received from God (remembering, knowing, 1Thess 1:3-4, 9; 1Cor 1:4; Eph 1:15; Col 1:4, 9; Phil 1:3), the mode of his gratitude (“in my prayers”) and his goal (Rom 1:10; 1Thess 3:10); cf. M. Barth, *Ephesians*, vol. 1, p. 161.

χειραγωγέω, χειραγωγός

cheiragogeō, to lead, guide (by the hand); *cheiragogos*, one who leads another by the hand

cheiragogeō, S 5496; *TDNT* 9.435; *EDNT* 3.463; MM 687; L&N 15.184; BAGD 880 | ***cheiragogos***, S 5497; *TDNT* 9.435; *EDNT* 3.463–464; MM 687; L&N 15.185; BAGD 880

These terms, which are not extant before the Hellenistic era, are often used in the Bible of a blind person who is led by the hand: Samson (Judg 16:26; Josephus, *Ant.* 5.315), Tobias (Tob 11:16, Sinaiticus), the magician Elymas (Acts 13:11), St. Paul arriving at Damascus (Acts 9:8; 22:11). The best parallel (others are in J. J. Wettstein) is in Artemidorus Daldianus: “He blinded them so that they would use guides” (*typhlous epoiesen hina cheiragogois chresontai*, *Onir.* 1.48).

The verb *cheiragogeō* is attested especially in the broad sense “to guide, to help.” In *Gos. Pet.* 40, two angels sustained (*hyporthountas*) and led the resurrected Christ (*cheiragogoumenon hyp’ auton*); *UPZ* 110, 55: inexperienced persons are guided by the facts themselves (*hyp’ auton ton*

pragmaton cheiragogoumenos, second century BC); “help him with whatever need he has.”¹

The substantive *cheiragogos* means “guiding line” in the stele of Moschion: “in the middle of the checkerboard, take the main thread at its beginning and follow the track” (*ten cheiragogon archen labon*).² The comedian Philemon: “For the old man has wealth as his guide.”³

¹ *C.Pap.Jud.* 141, 5 (= *SB* 9564), χιλαγώγησον[. . . ον] ε—ν οἷς ε—άν χρήζη (the editors postulate χειραγώγησον αὐτόν, first century BC); cf. *BGU* 1843, 11 (50/49 BC), κεχειραγογηκότας (correction in *Berichtigungsliste*, vol. 4, p. 9).

² *SEG* VIII, 464, 28 = *SB* 8026, 27 = E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 108, 17 (cf. line 48: “then run toward the guiding line that has been arranged for you”); and the substantive χειραγωγία, line 15; cf. μετὰ χιραγωγίας (*PSI* 767, 33; *P.Oxy.* 2612, frag. II, 3–4); Philo, *Moses* 1.299: a man led off by seductive language.

³ Ἐχει γὰρ χειραγωγὸν τὸν πλοῦτον ὁ γέρων, in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 3 A, p. 512, n. 1390, 3.

χειρόγραφον

cheirographon, handwriting, written declaration, signature, acknowledgment of debt, IOU

cheirographon, *S* 5498; *TDNT* 9.435–436; *EDNT* 3.464; *MM* 687; *L&N* 33.40; *BAGD* 880

According to Col 2:14, Christ has erased the official record of our debt (*exaleipsas to kath' hemon cheirographon*).¹ Etymologically, *cheirographon* (“handwriting”), a word little used in classical Greek (cf. Exod 31:18—“stone tablets written on by the finger of God,” *plakas lithinas gegrammenas to daktulo tou theou*; Deut 9:10), means an autograph, or a written declaration, a signature, as in the world of business and commerce (*P.NYU* 5, 55, 63; 11, 201, 207; *P.Corn.* 8, 9; *P.Ryl.* 585, 45); for example, a letter of credit.² The writing and the signature validate the commitment and guarantee its authenticity.³

In the papyri, where it is much used,⁴ *cheirographon* is a technical term meaning “acknowledgment of debt,” i.e., the receipt signed by a debtor, who acknowledges that he owes a certain sum and undertakes to repay it: “the right of execution belonging to you and to anyone else who may validly present this note on your behalf or in your stead, against me

and all my property and all that I may acquire.”⁵ In AD 1, a wine buyer signs the invoice and acknowledges the sum under this heading: “merchandise for which you have signed a receipt” (*hyper hon kai ethou cheirographon*, *P.Oxy.* 745, 2; cf. 269, col. II, 7; AD 57; *PSI* 1250 A 17). Not only were invoices established without deletion or addition (*cheirographon choris aliphatos kai epigraphes*, *BGU* 717, 24), but they were drawn up in duplicate (sometimes triplicate, *SB* 6822, 13), with both parties pledging, “This invoice, established by me in duplicate, shall be valid.”⁶ This draft is acknowledged to be valid in all its provisions;⁷ nevertheless disputes could arise in some cases (*P.Mich.* 480, 8; 621, 15–16). Normally, however, possession of the written acknowledgment of the debt gave the right to recover it: “the entire sum granted to you by me, according to the note” (*P.Oxy.* 1132, 6). Once the invoice was paid or the note was honored, it was canceled with two crosswise strokes: “he ordered a cross to be marked on the invoice” (*ekeleuse to cheirographon chiasthenai*, *P.Flor.* 61, 65; in AD 86–88; cf. *P.Oxy.* 266, 15).

According to St. Paul, humans are in debt to God because of their sins (*ta paraptomata*) and are insolvent. Christ came to lift this mortgage, and through his blood he paid for them, annulling their debt.⁸ A Christian of the fourth century took his inspiration from Col 2:14—“so that God [may invalidate?] the *cheirographon* of my sins through your steadfast and most holy prayers.”⁹

¹ Cf. N. Hugedé, *Colossiens*, pp. 133ff.

² Tobias hands over the note allowing him to receive money (ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ χειρόγραφον, Tob 5:3); “Raphael gave the note to Gabael, who brought the sealed purses and gave them to him” (Tob 9:5).

³ *PSI* 841, 9: τὰ τοῦ χειρογράφου ἃ ἐνεγύησας; 1322, 22; cf. *Phlm* 19: “I, Paul, sign with my own hand; I will pay” (ἐγὼ Παῦλος ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ, ἐγὼ ἀποτίσω).

⁴ Cf. *P.Ryl.* 602 (25 BC), 662; *P.Mich.* 244 (AD 43), 266 (AD 38); *P.Mert.* 14 and 37; *P.Gen.* 63; *P.Princ.* 149; *P.NYU* 22 and 24; *P.Cair.Isid.* 90, 18; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* VI, 16; *O.Bodl.* 1103; *SB* 7570, 9358.

⁵ *P.Mur.* 114, 19 (AD 117); *P.Phil.* 11, 8: “the declarer agrees not to contest property purchased . . . on two signatures”; line 14: “as the *cheirographa* stipulate”; line 27: “according to a *cheirographon* legally registered at the *katalogeion*” (cf. *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIV, p. 116ff.); *P.Yale* 63, 6 (AD 64); 65, 17; *P.Mich.* 573, 9. *P.Mich.*, inv. 406, 26: “This *cheirographon* written in a single copy is valid” (κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον ἀπλοῦν γραφέν, published by H. C. Youtie, “Loan of Money with Interest in Kind,” in *ZPE*, vol. 23, 1976,

p. 140); a receipt for seed from the second century, ἔσχον προσφώνησις χειρογραφίας σπερμάτων τοῦ ε—νεστω—τος ἔτους (published by H. G. Gundel, “Vier Gießener Janda-Papyri,” *ibid.*, p. 211); *P.Mich.*, inv. 1384, 6: λημψόμενος παρ αὐτοῦ τὸ χειρόγραφόν σου μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας (published by A. Szegedy-Maszak, “Demand for Repayment of a Loan,” in *P.Coll.Youtie* II, p. 567). Cf. the Ephesian law on debtors in 85 BC, which links chirographic debts (χειρόγραφα), personal property pledged as security (παραθήκαι), mortgages and second mortgages (ὑποθήκαι καὶ ε—πιθήκαι), debts on purchases (ὠναί), secured loans (ε—νέχυρα), Dittenberger, *Syl.* 742, 50ff., with the comments of R. Bogaert, *Banques et banquiers*, pp. 251ff.

⁶ Τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῦτο δισσὸν γραφὲν ὑπ ε—μοῦ κύριον ἔστω, *BGU* 300, 12; 1656, 4; *P.Oslo* 37, 16; 40, 25, 66, 71; *PSI* 1249, 35; 1250 a 23; *P.Petaus* 31, 10; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* II, 12, 15; VI, 10, 21; 13, 50; 43, 32; XIII, 7 A 10, B 12; *P.Yale* 68, 33; *P.Oxy.* 3049 A 18, B, 24; *P.Mich.* 614, 13, 15, 34; 615, 9, 17; *P.Stras.* 303, 5; 370, 10; 374, 17; *SB* 7197, 12; 9618, 7; 9619, 10–12. A notarial deed, τὸ ἀϋθεντικὸν χειρόγραφον (*P.Oxy.* 719, 30).

⁷ —Ακολουθῶς ᾧ πρόεισαι χειρογράφω (*BGU* 1882, 8; cf. *PSI* 1118, 22; 1235, 25); ὀφείλεις μοι . . . κατὰ χειρόγραφον τελιωθέν (*BGU* 1657, 5); τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῦτω κύριον ἔστω (*ibid.* 1649, 21); κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον ἀπλοῦν γραφὲν πανταχῇ ε—πιφερόμενον (*P.Mert.* 25, 19; cf. 36, 17; *P.Bon.* 21, 21; *P.Mich.* 603, 25–26; *P.Stras.* 256, 13; 290, 8; *P.Oxy.* 2134, 7; 2350, col. II, 26; III, 18; 2566, 8; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XVI, 16, 7; *SB* 7467, 17; 7634, 38. Cf. N. Hässler, *Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden*, Berlin, 1960).

⁸ —Εξαλείφω, use an eraser, scrape a text or a name to erase it from a list or a manuscript; cf. Xenophon, “*Hell.*,” 2.31.51: “I erase this Theamenes from the list” (ἠραμένην τουτονὶ ε—ξαλείφω ε—κ τοῦ καταλόγου); Aristophanes, *Eq.* 877: “erasing Gryttus from the list of citizens”; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.210; 6.133; Rev 3:5.

⁹ Ὅπως ὁ θεὸς [ἀκυρόση?] τὸ χειρόγραφον τω—ν ἁμαρτιω—ν μου διὰ τῶν βεβεωτάτων ὑμῶ—ν προσευχω—ν ἀγιωτάτων, *P.Lond.* 1917, 7. Cf. the *cheirographon* signed by the sinner with Satan, ed. G. Megas, “Das χειρόγραφον Adams,” in *ZNW*, 1928, pp. 305–320.

χρηστεύομαι, χρηστός, χρησιμότης

chresteuomai, to be good, kind, benevolent; *chrestos*, useful, serviceable, good, benevolent, favorable; *chrestotes*, usefulness, good quality, goodness

see also ε—πιείκεια, ε—πεικῆς

chresteuomai, S 5541; TDNT 9.491–492; EDNT 3.474; NIDNTT 2.105; MM 692; L&N 88.67; BAGD 886 | ***chrestos***, S 5543; TDNT 9.483–489; EDNT 3.474–475; NIDNTT 2.105–106; MM 693; L&N 22.40, 65.25, 88.9, 88.68; BAGD 886 | ***chrestotes***, S 5544; TDNT 9.489–491; EDNT 3.475; NIDNTT 2.105–107; MM 693; L&N 88.10, 88.67; BAGD 886

The meaning of these terms varied greatly between the classical and Hellenistic periods. The connection with oracles is unknown in the NT, as is the etymological meaning of *chrestos*, “useful, serviceable,”¹ referring to either persons or things.²

I. — “*Good quality*” of things: precious stones (Ezek 27:22; 28:3); fine gold (Dan 2:32); fine linen (*P.Tebt.* 703, 98); wood (*P.Hib.* 82, 28); a well-conditioned yoke, one that is not rough and does not hurt or chafe the neck (Matt 11:30); especially foods that are wholesome or taste good;³ oil (*P.Oxy.* 937, 28; 1455, 6, 10; 1753, 2; *P.Ryl.* 627, 186; 629, 116; 630, 155; *P.Gen.* 63, col. III, 5; *P.Lund* IV, 11, 7; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* I, 21, 1 and 39; *Stud.Pal.* XXII,56, 15; *P.Stras.* 173, 5; 299 verso 10; *PSI* 890, 45, 47); brine (*P.Oxy.* 1759, 9); fine wheat flour (2148, 4); wheat (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59177, 3; *BGU* 1532,6); especially wine that is mild and sweet.⁴ *Chresteria* are “furnishings” in a court or a dwelling (*P.Oxy.* 496, 7; *P.Yale* 71, 10; 72, 3, 9; *P.Mich.* 612, 13).

II. — *Chrestotes is a divine attribute. Theoi chrestoi* are favorable divinities.⁵ The major acclamation of Israelite worship is of the Lord who is *chrestos*,⁶ benevolent, favorable, and merciful; Jewish writers draw on this inheritance,⁷ which is confirmed by new revelation (Rom 2:4; 9:22; Eph 2:7; Titus 3:4; 1Pet 2:3).

III. — *Chrestotes is an attribute of princes and rulers*, whose nobility and goodness find expression in generous acts; they have the opportunity and the means to be magnanimous;⁸ their *chrestotes* is often associated with their philanthropy,⁹ their justice (Josephus, *Ant.* 9.133), their *megalopsychia* (ibid. 12.21; Dittenberger, *Syl.* 761, 11; from the first century BC), their *eumeneia*.¹⁰

IV. — *A virtue of honest folk.* Anyone who shows goodness and concern toward others can be described as *chrestos*, especially when receiving guests (2Macc 9:21; 12:30–31). The term then takes on an ethical meaning: the person who is *chrestos* (man, woman, or child) behaves properly, conforms to the rule of honesty, what is called “good morals” (*ethos chreston*)¹¹ or simply “the good.”¹² Thus Phocion, a good and profoundly honest man (*aner agathos*; Plutarch, *Phoc.* 5.10), famous

epi chrestoteti (19.1), was called *ho chrestos* (10.4; cf. Chabrias, *ibid.* 6.4; 10.8; 14.1).

St. Paul borrows from this vocabulary, making *chrestotes* a fruit of the Holy Spirit (Gal 5:22), a virtue of apostles (2Cor 6:6) and of all Christians (Eph 4:32; Col 3:12). Thus in a way he ennobles all disciples of Jesus Christ, for *chrestos* in that period is a title of honor conferred upon a mother,¹³ a grandmother (*SB* 9673 c 3), parents (Philo, *Virtues* 131: *hoi chrestoi goneis*), Moses (*Virtues* 160), Noah (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.96), Abraham (1.200), Jacob (1.149), Samuel (6.92), David (7.43, 184, 270), Rehoboam (8.213), Gedaliah (10.164), the high priest (9.166; 11.139), a revered friend (*P.Oxy.* 122, 1; cf. 1664, 15), an excellent husband (Plutarch, *Cat. Mai.* 20.1: *peri gynaika chrestos aner*), even a very good child (*SB* 9996 [862], 1; *T. Benj.* 3.7), and generous and devoted nurses.¹⁴ If Pauline *chrestotes* emphasizes goodness, mildness, and generosity above all else, it retains the nobility given the word by his contemporaries,¹⁵ which distinguishes it from *praytes*.¹⁶ This seems to be the quality that is most frequently mentioned in funerary inscriptions.¹⁷

V. — *An expression of love.* These occurrences are so common and so diverse that it is impossible to discern the specific nuance in each instance: goodness, kindness, willingness to be of service, honesty, nobility, loyalty, probity.¹⁸ In addition, the verb *chresteuomai* (unknown in secular Greek; cf. *Pss. Sol.* 9.11; *1Clem.* 13.2) is translated differently in 1Cor 13:4, *he agape chresteuetai*, “love is good, kind, considerate, willing to help, benevolent.” The Vulgate is correct: “benigna est.” The point is brotherly love, a loving attitude that includes a willingness to serve one’s neighbor. This virtue is possessed only by magnanimous and unselfish souls who are characterized by kindness, friendliness, and liberality: the Christian is both delicate and generous in brotherly relations, seeking to be useful, considerate, helpful, beneficent, always in an agreeable way, even with a smile. Ambrosiaster translated “jucunda est,”¹⁹ for that is the expression of a “good heart,” of a person who is happy to meet his neighbor and to be able to offer him his help.²⁰

In the second century, the spectacle of Christian *agape* was so stunning for pagans—“Vides, inquit, ut invicem se diligant” (“Behold, how they love one another!”)—that according to Tertullian, they called Christians not *christiani* but *chrestiani*, “made up of mildness or kindness.”²¹

¹ *C.P.Herm.* 3, 6. Cf. G. Redard, *Recherches sur XPH, XPHΣAI*, Paris, 1953, pp. 98ff.; L. R. Stachowiak, *Chrestotès: Ihre biblisch-theologische Entwicklung und Eigenart*, Fribourg, 1957; C. Spicq, *Agapè*, vol. 2, pp. 79ff., 379ff.; K. Weiss, “χρηστός,” in *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 483–484.

² *P.Oxy.* 2148, 16: ε—άν τι ποιῆς χρηστόν, περιποιήσον ει—ς οἶκον ἀδελφω—ν (in AD 27). As an adjective for a slave, “for good slaves, a master’s misfortunes are calamities”; Xenophon, *Oec.* 9.5: “good slaves, if they have children, usually show more devotion.” An epitaph at Thasos, in the fourth century, describes the slave Manes as χρηστὸς τοι—ς δεσπόταις (L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, p. 369). ἄρχρηστος = out of service (Plutarch, *Them.* 2.8), unusable (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1946–47, p. 346, n. 175).

³ Plato, *Prt.* 313 *d*: merchants “bring their foodstuffs without knowing themselves whether they are good or bad for the health” (χρηστὸν ἢ πονηρὸν περὶ τὸ σω—μα); *Resp.* 4.428 *a*; Antiphanes: “Does good porridge not come from Thessaly?” (in Athenaeus 3.127 *b*; cf. J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 176, n. 34); Theophrastus, *Char.* 2.10: “look! what a fine morsel” (at table).

⁴ Luke 5:39—ὁ παλαιὸς χρηστὸς ε—στιν (Plutarch, *Aroph. lac.* 240 *b*: τὸ οἶνον χρηστόν; Athenaeus 1.48 = 26 *f*; *P.Cair.Zen.* 59349, 7; *P.Oxy.* 2596, 8: οἴνου προπαλεοῦ χρηστοῦ; cf. Strabo 14.1.15: χρηστοινέω); the same distinction between good wine and inferior wine in Ugaritic, cf. B. Delavault, A. Lemaire, “La tablette ougaritique R.S. 16127,” in *Sem*, vol. 25, 1975, pp. 37ff. Cf. manna, which had a sweet flavor (Exod 16:31; Num 11:8), manifesting the Lord’s sweetness (Wis 16:21—γλυκύτης); cf. J. Ziegler, *Dulcedo Dei: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der griechischen und lateinischen Bibel*, Münster, 1937, pp. 12ff. Cf. *IG*, XIV, 1488: χρηστοτάτη καὶ γλυκυτάτη μνίας χάριν. On χρηστὸς = sweet, cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 4.56; Plutarch, *De sol. an.* 33.3; *P.Oxy.* 249 and 302. A lover writes: ὦ μέλι, πολλὴν μνημοσύνην σου ἔχω χρηστοσύνης ἔνεκεν (L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, p. 232).

⁵ Herodotus 8.111; the Pythagorean Diotogenes (in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 48.62; vol. 4, p. 270, 5); *P.Oxy.* 1381, 73ff. The god Imouthes-Asclepius “as toward all [suppliants], having shown himself favorable (χρηστός) through dreams, healed her with simple remedies”; an act of worship from Deir-el-Bahari: πρὸς —Αμενώθην χρηστὸν θεὸν μισθοῦ ε—ργαζόμενος καὶ ε—μαλικίσθη καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτω— ε—βοήθησε αὐθημερῇ (*SB* 158). Ἴσιδι χρηστῇ ε—πηκόω (C. Vatin, in *BCH*, vol. 92, 1968, pp. 223ff.). “Hail, helpful Pan” (A. Bernand, *El-Kanaïs*, n. 82, 1). Marcus Aurelius 9.11: “The gods wish those people well; many times they even help them obtain what they wish—health, wealth, glory—so *chrestos* they are.” The proper name θεόχρηστος (cf. J. Reynolds, O. Masson, “Une inscription éphébique de Ptolémaïs [Cyrénaïque],” in *ZPE*, vol. 20, 1976, p. 89, 27) occurs quite frequently in Cyrenaica (*SEG* IX, 133, 5; 246), especially in the form εὐχρηστος (cf. *ibid.*, index, p. 127).

⁶ Ps 100:5; 106:1; 107:1; 136:1; cf. 25:8; 31:20; 34:9; 52:11; 69:17; 109:21; 119:39, 68; 145:9; Jer 33:11; Dan 3:89; Nah 1:7; Wis 15:1; 2Macc 1:24; etc.

⁷ Philo, *Change of Names* 15ff; *Worse Attacks Better* 46; *Alleg. Interp.* 3.73, 215; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.180, 237; 6.144; 20.90, 144; *Pss. Sol.* 9.11.

⁸ The Babylonian king Evil-Merodach treats King Jehoiachin with kindness (Jer 52:32), just as the high priest receives Heliodorus at Jerusalem (2Macc 3:9) and Publius receives the shipwreck victims at Malta (Acts 27:7); cf. 1Macc 6:11; 2Macc 9:21; Demosthenes, *Prooem.* 54.1: “The people pressed every man whom they saw to be wise and honest (σώφρονα καὶ χρηστὸν) to take on public responsibilities and serve as an official”; Euripides, *Or.* 773: “when the multitude finds good leaders (χρηστοὺς προστάτας), its decisions are always good (χρηστά)”; Plutarch, *Sol.* 14.3: Solon was chosen as archon because he was *chrestos*; *Alex.* 30.1, 6; 59.4. Diodorus Siculus 19.54.5: Ptolemy’s generosity was touted everywhere; 17.15.2: “Phocion, a good man (ὁ χρηστός) followed a politics opposed to that of Demosthenes”; 17.54.6: Darius held power thanks to the generosity (χρηστότητος) of Alexander; 17.79.1. Cf. Antony’s honesty (Plutarch, *Ant.* 25.1), “Caesar’s great goodness” (ibid. 79.4), that of Antonius of Crete, father of Mark Antony (1.1; cf. 9.5); Apion, *gymnasiarchos* and former *strategos* (*P.Oxy.* 1664, 15; cf. SB 11221, 9).

⁹ Titus 3:4; cf. Philo, *To Gaius* 67, 73; *Spec. Laws* 3.155; *Virtues* 182; Plutarch, *Luc.* 18.9: φύσει χρηστὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόανθρωπον; *Ages.* 25.6; *Quaest. conv.* 1.1.4. Cf. R. Hutmacher, *Ehrendekret*, pp. 45ff.

¹⁰ *BGU* 372, col. I, 17–18; Onasander 2.2: the general must be χρηστός, εὐπροσήγορος. Cf. A. J. Festugière, “Les Inscription d’Asoka et l’idéal du roi hellénistique,” in *RSR* (Mélanges J. Lebreton), 1951–52, vol. 1, pp. 37–38.

¹¹ 1Cor 15:33—“Bad company corrupts good morals” (quoting Menander’s *Thais*); Aristotle, *Rh.* 2.9.1386b11; Ps.-Plato, *Def.* 412 e, χρηστότης ἤθους ἀπλαστία μετ’ εὐλογιστίας ἤθους σπουδαιότης; Musonius, “Should Daughters Receive the Same Education as Sons?” ἤθους χρηστότητα καὶ καλοκἀγαθίαν τρόπου κτητέον ται—ς γυναιξίν (frag. 4, ed. C. E. Lutz, p. 48, line 24); *Ep. Arist.* 290; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 38: “the tricks and schemes of their sophistry destroy good morals”; *Virtues* 196; Plutarch, *Brut.* 13; Diodorus Siculus 16.54.4; *P.Oxy.* 642: καὶ ἡμεῖς—ς νῦν ἀπολαύσωμεν τω— χρηστω— ὑμῶν—ν ἤθει; 1663, 11: διὰ τὸ ἦθος τὸ χρηστὸν ἄξιον τοῦ τυχει—ν; cf. the Stoic definitions: χρηστότητα δὲ

ε—πιστήμην εὐποιοτικήν (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.7.5 b 2; vol. 2, p. 62, 3); χρηστότητα δὲ ἕξιν ε—κουσίως εὐποιοτικήν ἀνθρώπων, αὐτῶν ε—κδίνων χάριν, μεταξὺ πονηρίας οὐσαν καὶ ἀνωνύμου (ibid. 25, p. 147); Musonius: ἀρετὴ δὲ φιλανθρωπία καὶ χρηστότης καὶ δικαιοσύνη ε—στὶ καὶ τὸ εὐεργετικὸν εἶναι (frag. 14, p. 92, line 31). C. Panagopoulos, *Vocabulaire*, pp. 220ff.

¹² Theophrastus, *Char.* 13.10: “they were all good people”; Euripides, *Dict.*: “A virtuous man would not be born to a bad father” (οὐκ ἂν γε—νοιτο χρηστὸς ε—κ κακοῦ πατρός, in Stobaeus, *Flor.* 110.30.5; vol. 4, p. 730); Menander, *Sam.* 580: “what an honest friend you have!”; Philo, *Worse Attacks Better* 38, 146; *Virtues* 84, 182, 196; *Spec. Laws* 2.104; 3.156; *Dreams* 2.94; *Sacr. Abel and Cain* 27; *Joseph* 82, 264; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.237; 6.294; Plutarch, *De frat. amor.* 1: ε—ν χρηστοί—ς καὶ φιλοκάλοις θεαται—ς; *P.Oxy.* 2148, 16: ε—άν τι ποιῆς χρηστόν. This adjective, which is particularly common in tomb inscriptions, can be translated “noble”; cf. the tomb inscription τῶ— χρηστῶ— καὶ ἀσυνκριτῶ— συμβίῳ (*IGUR*, vol. 2, n. 272, cf. 324, 365, 396 = χρηστότητα καὶ καλοκάγαθίαν), etc.

¹³ Μήτηρ χρηστή (E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni*, n. 258, 271; cf. 323, 10; 369ff., etc.).

¹⁴ J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1959, p. 247, n. 411.

¹⁵ *P.Oxy.* 1664, 15: Κύριέ μου χρηστὲ καὶ εὐγενέστατε. Hence “Your benignity” as an honorific form of address, ibid. 2600, 8; *P.Lond.* 411, 16 (vol. 2, p. 282), ἔγραψά σοι οὖν τῇ χρηστότητι; 273, 4 (p. 293); 232, 5; *P.Heid.* 6, 6, ε—πιστολὴν γραφῆναι πρὸς τὴν σὴν χρηστότητα κύριέ μου ἀγαπιτέ (= *SB* 2266); *P.Ant.* 93, 5; 192, 5; *C.P.Herm.* 17, 2; *P.Ross.Georg.* III, 9, 9.

¹⁶ C. Spicq, “Bénignité, mansuétude, douceur, clémence,” in *RB*, 1947, pp. 321–339. Hence the frequency of Χρῆστος as a proper name (*IG XII*, 8, 93; F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* III, 11; *I.Bulg.* 997, 1011, 1026, 1521, etc.; *CII* 683, 5; *P.Grenf.* 49, 11; cf. K. Weiss, *TDNT*, vol. 9, pp. 484–485).

¹⁷ *SEG* III, 435; IX, 662; XXV, 1123–1132; *GVI*, n. 1490, 1653, 1678, 1688, etc.; *CII*, p. 591, n. 99; *SB* 10162 [523, 1; 524, 2; 527, 3; 529, 2; 530, 4; 534, 3; 536, 2; 546, 2]; 10718, 1; 10720, 2; 10721, 2; at Gonnoi (n. 278, 280, 283, 285, 287, 288), at Kourion (n. 150–158), in Egypt (E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques*, n. 5, 13, 14, 33, 35, etc.; *I.Erythr.Klaz.*, II, passim); at Didyma (539, 541, 544, 547, etc.), at Lindos (632–634, 643, 656, 658, 664), at Laodicea (*MAMA* VI, 21; cf. L. Robert, in J. des Gagniers, *Laodicée*, pp. 352, 354), in Greece (G. Pfohl, *Grabinschriften*, pp. 32ff.; M.

O. Tod, "Laudatory Epithets in Greek Epitaphs," in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1951, pp. 186ff.), at Rome (I. Kajanto, *A Study of the Greek Epitaphs of Rome*, Helsinki, 1963, pp. 33, 37); R. Lattimore, *Epitaphs*, pp. 291–292; C. W. Clairmont, *Gravestones and Epigrams*, Mainz on Rhine, 1970, n. 39, 44, 49, 85; E. Bernand, *Fayoum*, I, n. 48, 51, 52, 59.

¹⁸ For example, the formula χρηστός καὶ ἄμεμπτος, common at Syracuse (J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," in *REG*, 1952, p. 202, n. 197; 1958, p. 362, n. 561; 1962, n. 391), in pagan and Christian inscriptions, cf. M. T. Manni Piraino, *Iscrizioni greche lapidarie del Museo de Palermo*, Palermo, 1973, n. 18, 32, 108, 110, 140, 142, 145, 147; the comic poet Philiscus: "now Chalcis is a city of good Greeks" (χρηστω—ν σφόδρ ε—σθ ἢ Χαλκίς ε—λλήνων πόλις, in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 2, p. 10, n. 3); Thucydides 1.91.2: "Honorable men who could give a trustworthy report." Scipio drew goodness from everyone by the goodness of his own character (χρηστότητι τρόπων, Dio Cassius 1.203). Cataline defended himself as if he had a clear conscience (ὡς ἀπὸ χρηστοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος, Dio Cassius 37.32; cf. 47.8). The *naukleros* was an excellent man (χρηστός ἀνὴρ) and above all easy-going" (Lucian, *Nav.* 6; cf. *Alex.* 4; Lucian, *Scyth.* 6). Diodorus Siculus 18 (summary).

¹⁹ Cf. "good hopes" (Philo, *Dreams* 2.94) in SB 10199, 13 (third century) and in 9276, 10 (= *C.P.Herm.* 29; *C.Pap.Jud.* 513), the hopes of a Samaritan couple at their wedding; but they divorced ε—κ σκαίου τινὸς πονηροῦ.

²⁰ In his commentary on Gal 5:22, St. Jerome says, "Kindness or sweetness—the Greek χρηστότης means both—is a mild, tender, tranquil virtue, prepared to share its goods; it invites to friendship; it is sweet in its speech, moderate in its morals. The Stoics define it as a virtue spontaneously disposed to doing good. Goodness proper (ἀγαθωσύνη) is not far removed from kindness, for it is also disposed to doing good. But it differs in that goodness can be a bit somber, frowning in moral austerity, no doubt doing good and giving what is asked but without being sweet and without attracting people by its mildness" (*PL*, vol. 26, p. 420). At Rome, *benignitas* is, in the classical period, a method of judicial interpretation that tends to prefer more benevolent (*benigniora*) solutions, cf. P. Laborderie-Boulou, "Benignitas: Essai sur la pensée charitable aux temps classiques," in *RHDFE*, 1948, p. 138; F. B. J. Wubbe, "Benignus redivivus," in *Symbolae M. David*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 237–262.

²¹ "De suavitate vel benignitate compositus," Tertullian, *Apol.* 3, 39; cf. Justin, *1Apol.* 1.4; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* 1.1. The paronomasia based on

the itacism *χρηστός-χριστός* was used by pagans (cf. F. Blass, in *Hermes*, vol. 30, 1893, pp. 465–470; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, vol. 3, 1923, p. 307, n. 1). A fortiori it was used by Christians. It is said concerning a deaconess: *χρηστὸν βίον ἀπενενκαμένη ε—ν γυναιξείν* (J. and L. Robert, “Bulletin épigraphique,” in *REG*, 1950, p. 199, n. 192). Cf. *Sent. Sextus* 52: “If you are kind to the poor, you will be great with God” (*χρηστός ὢν εἰ—ς τοὺς δεομένους μέγας ἂν εἴης παρὰ θεω—*). On the *gematria* of *χρηστός* (= 116; cf. ἡ εἰ—κὸν θεοῦ = θεραπευτής) and ἡ *χρηστότης* (= 149; cf. τὸ πνεῦνα θεοῦ), cf. P. Friesenhahn, *Hellenistische Wortzahlenmystic im Neuen Testament*, 2d ed., Amsterdam, 1970, p. 144.

ψευδολόγος

pseudologos, liar, impostor

pseudologos, S 5573; *EDNT* 3.496; MM 697; L&N 33.255; BAGD 8

1Tim 4:2 describes certain latter-day apostates as hypocritical liars or impostors.¹ The substantive *pseudologos* belongs to cultivated Greek and is not used in the papyri. Its pejorative meaning is clear in Aristophanes—“Remember to keep this schemer, this impostor, this buffoon (*ho panourgos aner kai pseudologos kai bomolochos*) from sitting on my throne” (*Ran.* 1521; cf. Polybius 31.22.9)—and in Strabo—“All the historians of India have been shown up as being for the most part bald-faced liars” (*pseudologoi*, 2.1.9). The verb *pseudologeō* was used especially by lawyers and rhetors: “to make false reports, speak falsehoods.” The substantive *pseudologia* has this meaning in *P.Princ.* 119, 1: “false accusation”; *CPR* I, 19, 15: “answers full of falsehoods” (*antepistalmata . . . meta pseudologias*).² These two papyri are from the fourth century.³

¹ —Εν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων. Cf. the comedian Cratinos: *γλω—σσαν ὀρθουμένην εἰ—ς ὑπόκρισιν λόγων*, in J. M. Edmonds, *Attic Comedy*, vol. 1, p. 78.

² Republished in *Stud.Pal.* XX, 86, 15. Cf. Sedecias, seeking to avoid punishment for his lies (*ζητοῦντα φυγεῖ—ν τῆς ψευδολογίας τὴν δίκην*, Josephus, *Ant.* 8.410). Antipater denounces torture that produces only false confessions (*τὰς βασάνους εἰ—ς ψευδολογίαν*, *ibid.* 17.105).

³ Philo knew only ψευδολογία, a property of rebels against God's law (*Virtues* 182), which he associates with lying and false oaths (*Sacr. Abel and Cain* 22; *Etern. World* 69; *Conf. Tongues* 117).