

From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries



Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages

9

Series Editor

Terry C. Falla

Editorial Board

James K. Aitken

Aaron Michael Butts

Daniel King

Wido van Peursen

Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages (PLAL) contains peer-reviewed essays, monographs, and reference works. It focuses on the theory and practice of ancient-language research and lexicography that is informed by modern linguistics.

From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries

Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek

Edited by

Tarsee Li

Keith Dyer

GORGIAS
GPRESS

2017

Gorgias Press LLC, 954 River Road, Piscataway, NJ, 08854, USA

www.gorgiaspress.com

Copyright © 2017 by Gorgias Press LLC

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, scanning or otherwise without the prior written permission of Gorgias Press LLC.

2017

☪



ISBN 978-1-4632-0608-6

ISSN 2165-2600

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Society of Biblical Literature. International Meeting. | Li, Tarsee, editor. | Dyer, Keith D., 1951- editor.
Title: From ancient manuscripts to modern dictionaries : select studies in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek / edited by Tarsee Li & Keith Dyer.
Description: Piscataway, NJ : Gorgias Press, [2017] | Series: Perspectives on linguistics and ancient languages, ISSN 2165-2600 ; 9 | Includes bibliographical references.
Identifiers: LCCN 2017004614 | ISBN 9781463206086 (alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Aramaic language--Lexicography--Congresses. | Hebrew language--Lexicography--Congresses. | Greek language--Lexicography--Congresses.
Classification: LCC PJ5487 .S63 2017 | DDC 492.2--dc23
LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017004614>

Printed in the United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table of Contents | v |
| Preface | vii |
| Abbreviations | ix |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| Part 1: Aramaic Studies | 7 |
| What to Do About Citing Ambiguity in a Corpus-Specific Lexicon | 9 |
| TERRY C. FALLA | |
| The Jewish Recension of a Syriac Version of Aesop’s Fables | 61 |
| BINYAMIN Y. GOLDSTEIN | |
| Syriac Manuscripts from Turfan: Public Worship and Private Devotion..... | 77 |
| ERICA C. D. HUNTER | |
| Greek Imperatives and Corresponding Expressions in Christian Palestinian Aramaic..... | 97 |
| TARSEE LI | |
| Reading the Bible with the Taḥtāyā da-Ṭlātā..... | 109 |
| JONATHAN LOOPSTRA | |
| A New Mandaic Dictionary: Challenges, Accomplishments, and Prospects..... | 139 |
| MATTHEW MORGENSTERN | |
| Qlido d-Leshono—Key of Language: A Comprehensive Syriac Lexicon by Abbot Yuyakim of Tur Islo..... | 173 |
| MOR POLYCARPUS AUGIN AYDIN | |
| Psalm 2 in Syriac: Issues of Text and Language | 179 |
| RICHARD A. TAYLOR | |
| Part 2: Hebrew Studies | 199 |
| A Few Notes concerning the Reading of הסירותי in the Great Isaiah Scroll (Isa 50:6b)..... | 201 |
| CYRILL VON BUETTNER | |
| Cognitive Methodology in the Study of an Ancient Language: Impediments and Possibilities..... | 213 |
| MARILYN E. BURTON | |
| Towards a Science of Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography..... | 227 |
| DAVID J. A. CLINES | |
| On Dating Biblical Hebrew Texts: Sources of Uncertainty / Analytic Options..... | 247 |
| A. DEAN FORBES | |

| | |
|--|-----|
| A Re-Examination of Grammatical Categorization in Biblical Hebrew | 273 |
| CYNTHIA L. MILLER-NAUDÉ AND JACOBUS A. NAUDÉ | |
| Internationalisms in the Hebrew Press 1860s-1910s as a Means of Language Modernization | 309 |
| SONYA YAMPOLSKAYA | |
| Part 3: Greek Studies | 329 |
| Preventing Drunkenness in the Christian Gathering: Hints from the Graeco- Roman World and the New Testament | 331 |
| VALERIY ALIKIN | |
| Basileia or Imperium? Rome and the Rhetoric of Resistance in the Revelation to John | 346 |
| KEITH DYER | |
| The Birth of European Linguistic Theory: The Idea of Language in the Sophists..... | 365 |
| NIKOLAY P. GRINTSER | |
| Amazement, Fear and Being Troubled in Responses in Gospel Miracle Stories: Establishing the Semantic Contours of the Terms and their Interrelations.... | 379 |
| JORDASH KIFFIAK | |
| The Ass and the Lyre: On a Greek Proverb..... | 413 |
| OLGA LEVINSKAJA (AKHUNOVA) | |
| Constituent Order in and Usages of εἰμί – Participle Combinations in the Synoptics and Acts..... | 423 |
| STEPHEN H. LEVINSOHN | |
| Redundancy, Discontinuity and Delimitation in the Epistle of James | 443 |
| STEVEN E. RUNGE | |
| An Examination of Metarepresentation as an Essential Feature of Written and Oral Communication..... | 455 |
| MARGARET SIM | |
| Prayer and the Papyri at Oxyrhynchus | 471 |
| MICHAEL P. THEOPHILOS | |
| The Lexicographic Editor and the Problem of Consistency | 481 |
| ANNE THOMPSON | |

PREFACE

—a life's work in the agony and sweat of the human spirit,
not for the glory and least of all for profit,
but to create out of the materials
of the human spirit
something
which did not exist before.

William Faulkner

Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages contains peer-reviewed essay collections, monographs, and reference works. It is a publication of the International Syriac Language Project (ISLP), an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary group which meets annually to reconsider the theory and practice of ancient-language research and of ancient-language lexicography.

The study of ancient languages is a time-honoured field of endeavour. Lexicography is an equally venerable and even more ancient tradition. Modern lexicography, the art and science of dictionary making, began about four centuries ago. But pre-scientific lexicography has ancestors in many ancient languages and stretches back four millennia. Yet as old as lexicography and ancient-language study are, on the time-line of history they were conceived only recently when compared to the emergence of human language, which may go back, say, 100,000 years: lexicography about an hour ago and modern lexicography around five minutes if we reduce the life span of language to a twenty-four hour period.

The related discipline of modern linguistics is more recent still, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century and experiencing rapid growth in the latter half of the twentieth century. Because it is the science of the study of language, it became an integral part of ancient-language inquiry and adopted the lexicography of ancient and contemporary languages as one of its sub-disciplines.

Today, lexicography, no less than ancient-language research, is a mature discipline in its own right. All three—linguistics, ancient-language study, and lexicography—therefore stand beside each other rather than one being subordinate to the other.

For ancient-language research the dictionary is a primary resource. For its part, ancient-language lexicography in its microscopic probing, quest for the larger perspective, and provision of various forms of information, must draw on all aspects of ancient-language study. In contemporary inquiry, both disciplines are inextricably linked to developments in modern linguistics. Sound lexicography requires sound linguistic theory. Linguistic theory and practice are implicit in a methodology for

ancient-language study. The aim of this series is therefore to address the disciplines of ancient-language research, lexicography, and issues of linguistics as they relate to a contemporary approach to the other two.

The aim of the ISLP to be also interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary in its research is motivated by three primary factors. The first is that many linguistic disciplines meet in the investigation of ancient languages and in the making of modern lexica. The second is that developments in the study of one language, theoretical and applied, are often pertinent to another. The third is that the development of electronic ancient-language data and lexica require attention to advances in computational linguistics. Thus, our planning for a lexicon for a particular language for a new generation is not pursued in isolation, but embraces an understanding of what is taking place in the study of other ancient languages and in the wider worlds of lexicography, linguistics, and digital technologies.

Terry C. Falla

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|--|
| acc. | according (employed by BAG, BAGD, BDAG) |
| <i>act. pt. act.</i> | participle (employed by cited lexical entry) |
| AAT | Goodspeed, <i>The New Testament: An American Translation</i> |
| <i>acc. with</i> | [in] accordance with (employed by cited lexical entry) |
| <i>AEINT</i> | <i>Aramaic-English Interlinear New Testament</i> |
| <i>AfO</i> | <i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> |
| AOAT | Alter Orient und Altes Testament |
| appar. | apparently (employed by cited lexical entry) |
| ASM | American Standard Version |
| Audo | Audo's Syriac-Syriac Lexicon |
| BAG | <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 1957 |
| BAGD | <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 1979 |
| BBah | Duval, ed., <i>Hassan bar Bahlul</i> |
| BDAG | <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 2000 |
| BDB | Brown, Driver, and Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic</i> |
| <i>BSOAS</i> | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> |
| Bover | <i>Novi Testamenti Biblia Graeca et Latina</i> |
| Brockelmann | <i>Lexicon Syriacum</i> |
| Brun | <i>Dictionarium Syriaco-Latinum</i> |
| BZAW | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft |
| cent. | century (employed by cited lexical entry) |
| <i>comp. n.m.</i> | compound noun masculine (employed in lexical entry) |
| Constant. Porphyrogenitus/Constantinus Porphyrog. | in lexicons refer to Constantine Porphyrogenitus |
| Costaz | <i>Dictionnaire syriaque-français, Syriac-English Dictionary, Qamus suryani-'arabi.</i> |

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>CSD</i> | Payne Smith, Jessie, <i>A Compendious Syriac Dictionary</i> |
| cstr. | Construct state act. pt. fol. by prep. ܘ pref. to n.) |
| Danker | <i>The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i> |
| <i>DCH</i> | Clines, <i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> |
| <i>DEG</i> | Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque</i> |
| <i>DGE</i> | Adrados, et al. <i>Diccionario griego-español</i> |
| <i>EDNT</i> | Balz and Schneider, <i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> |
| et al. | (Latin <i>et alii</i>) and others |
| Ferrer and Nogueras | <i>Breve Diccionario Siríaco: Siríaco-Castellano-Catalán</i> |
| <i>GELS</i> | Muraoka, Takamitsu, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> |
| Goodsp. | Goodspeed = <i>AAT</i> |
| Goshen-Gottstein | <i>A Syriac-English Glossary with Etymological</i> |
| <i>HALAT</i> | Koehler and Baumgartner, <i>Hebräische und aramäische Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> |
| <i>HALOT</i> | Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden, 1994–1999 |
| Hdt. | Herodotus of Halicarnassus, see Hude, C., ed. <i>Herodoti Historiae</i> |
| <i>IEJ</i> | <i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> |
| <i>IGL</i> | Liddell and Scott, <i>An Intermediate Greek Lexicon</i> |
| IGNTP | International Greek New Testament Project |
| <i>JAOS</i> | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> |
| JB | Jerusalem Bible |
| <i>JBL</i> | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> |
| <i>JRAS</i> | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> |
| JSNTSup | Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series |
| <i>JSS</i> | <i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i> |
| <i>JTS</i> | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> |
| KJB | King James Bible |
| <i>KPG</i> | Falla, <i>A Key to the Peshitta Gospels</i> |
| Köbert | <i>Vocabularium Syriacum</i> |
| KwD ² | Schulthess, <i>Kalīla and Dimnah</i> |
| LCL | Loeb Classical Library |
| Legg | <i>Novum Testamentum Graece ... Marcum, and ... Matthaeum</i> |

| | |
|--------------|---|
| LEH | Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> |
| LfgrE | Snell, Meier-Brügger, et al. <i>Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos</i> |
| LSJ | Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9 th ed. |
| LXX | Septuagint |
| Manna | ܡܢܢܐ ܕܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܢܐ / <i>Vocabulaire chaldéen-arabe</i> / دليل الراغبين في لغة الآراميين |
| Merk | <i>Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine</i> |
| Meyer | <i>Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament</i> |
| mid. | middle |
| Mlt-H | Moulton and Howard, <i>A Grammar of New Testament Greek</i> |
| M-M | Moulton and Milligan, <i>The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament</i> |
| mng. | meaning (employed by cited lexical entries) |
| Moffatt | James Moffatt, <i>The New Testament: A New Translation</i> |
| <i>n.</i> | noun |
| NEB | New English Bible |
| Newman | <i>A Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament</i> |
| NICNT | New International Commentary on the New Testament |
| NIV | New International Version |
| NJB | New Jerusalem Bible |
| NRSV | New Revised Standard Version |
| <i>objs.</i> | objects (employed in cited lexical entry) |
| <i>OED</i> | Simpson and Weiner. <i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2 nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. Also, see Simpson <i>OED Online</i> . |
| <i>OLD</i> | Glare, et al. <i>The Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> |
| <i>ON</i> | Hoffman, <i>Opuscula Nestorius syriace tradidit</i> |
| <i>pass.</i> | passive |
| Pazzini | <i>Lessico Concordanziale del Nuovo Testamento Siriaco</i> |
| <i>perh.</i> | perhaps (employed by cited lexical entries) |
| Perseus | Perseus Digital Library. Editor-in-chief, Gregory R. Crane, Tufts University. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/ |
| <i>pl.</i> | plural (employed in cited lexical entry) |
| <i>prob.</i> | (employed by cited lexical entry) |
| PsC | Budge, <i>The History of Alexander the Great</i> |
| <i>pt.</i> | participle (employed in cited lexical entry) |

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| REB | Revised English Bible |
| ref. | reference (employed by some lexical works) |
| Rienecker and Rogers | <i>Linguistic Key to the Greek New Testament</i> |
| RPS | (used in KPG) = <i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i> |
| RSV | Revised Standard Version |
| SFG | Aland, <i>Synopsis of the Four Gospels</i> |
| sing. | singular |
| SL | Sokoloff, <i>A Syriac Lexicon</i> |
| SQE | Aland, <i>Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum</i> , 5th revised ed. |
| s.v. | <i>sub verbo</i> , under the word |
| Swanson | <i>New Testament Greek Manuscripts</i> |
| TDNT | <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> |
| <i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i> | Payne Smith, <i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i> |
| Thelly | <i>Syriac-English-Malayalam Lexicon</i> |
| Theophyl. Sim. | <i>Theophylactus Simocatta Epistulae</i> (employed by BDAG) |
| Tischendorf | <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> |
| <i>Tit. Bostra.</i> | Lagarde, ed., <i>Titi Bostreni contra Manichaeos libri quatuor Syriace</i> |
| TLG | Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library. Editor Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. http://www.tlg.uci.edu |
| TLL | Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Online (Berlin: De Gruyter) at http://www.degruyter.com/view/db/tll |
| TLNT | <i>Theological Lexicon of the New Testament</i> |
| t.t. | technical term (employed by cited lexical works) |
| Tregelles | <i>The Greek New Testament</i> |
| UBS | United Bible Societies |
| Vg. and Vulg. | Vulgate (employed by cited lexical works) |
| Vogels | <i>Novum Testamentum Graece et Latina</i> |
| Von Soden | <i>Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt</i> . 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913. |
| VT | <i>Vetus Testamentum</i> |
| VTSup | Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i> |
| w. | with (employed by cited lexical works) |
| WBC | Word Biblical Commentary |
| writ. | writers, writings (employed by lexical entry in Grimm-Thayer) |

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| W-S | Winer, <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms</i> , ed. Schmiedel, but see Winer, <i>A Grammar of the New Testament Diction</i> |
| WUNT | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament |
| Zerwick & Grosvenor | <i>A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament</i> |
| ZA | <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> |
| ZDMG | <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> |
| ZAW | <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> |
| ZWT | <i>Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> |

INTRODUCTION

The articles in this volume originated from papers presented in two international conferences of the International Syriac Language Project, one held in conjunction with the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament in Munich, Germany, 1–9 August, 2013, and the other held in conjunction with the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, Russia, 29 June – 4 July, 2014. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the preparations and generosity of our academic hosts both in Munich and in St. Petersburg, especially the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. However, these articles are not just conference papers. The authors revised and submitted their research for this volume, which then underwent a peer review process.

As can be seen from its title, this book encompasses a wide variety of topics, including, *inter alia*, lexicography, syntax, punctuation, language borrowing, diachronic change, word categorization, and textual criticism. There is no obvious single theme that unites all these articles together, except that, as a collection, they represent a celebration of the study of language. These studies treat three languages, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek, which, in turn, comprise the three major sections of this book.

There are eight articles in the Aramaic section, covering various forms of Aramaic, including Syriac, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Mandaic, and dialects of Jewish Aramaic. The topics covered include literary interactions between Christian and Jewish scribes, prayer and worship at Turfan, Aramaic syntax, translation technique, textual criticism, scribal writing conventions, and the discussion of dictionaries and lexicographical issues.

The first article is by Terry C. Falla, who explores the issue of semantic and syntactic ambiguity in corpus-specific ancient-language lexicons. He discusses the problems and advantages that confront the lexicographer who seeks to provide information on ambiguous instances and what future classical Syriac lexicography can learn from them. Four primary types of ambiguity are identified and discussed: ambiguity due to a lack of information, semantic ambiguity due to syntactic ambiguity, intentional ambiguity, and ambiguous figurative speech requiring interpretation. The author concludes by suggesting fourteen principles for future classical Syriac corpus-by-corpus lexicons and other ancient-language lexicons to which they may be applicable.

Binyamin Y. Goldstein examines the Jewish recension of a Syriac collection of Aesop's Fables as a case study for the broader topic of the literary interaction between writers of Syriac and dialects of Jewish Aramaic in the second half of the first millennium, CE. The Jewish recension exhibits a mixed dialect, which provides fur-

ther information on the context of the Syriac text's assimilation into Jewish literature. It also serves as an overlooked witness to the Syriac text.

Erica C. D. Hunter selects a number of manuscripts from the Syriac fragments found at the monastery near Bulayîq to discuss public and private dimensions of worship at Turfan. MIK III 45, consisting of 61 folios, dated to the 8th–9th centuries, is a witness to the liturgy in the first millennium, shortly after Isoyabh III compiled the Hudra. As for private devotion, several prayer-amulets that name various saints suggest that the terminology and commemoration of saints in the selected manuscripts are prototypes of prayer-amulets that were used by the Syriac Christian communities who dwelt in the Hakkari region of northern Kurdistan until the opening decades of the 20th century. These include the fragments SyrHT 152, SyrHT 99, SyrHT 330, n.364–365, and SyrHT 102. The latter two are presented with text, transliteration, and translation.

Tarsee Li surveys the employment of Christian Palestinian Aramaic Imperative constructions and related forms in light of the translation of Greek Imperatives and related forms. The study reports the extent to which the employment of different types of directive expressions in CPA corresponds to different types of directive expressions in Greek. The existence of a potential aspectual distinction in CPA directives is shown by the fact that the expression Imperative of ܐܘܢܝܢ + Participle only occurs in the translation of the Greek Present Imperative, never of the Aorist Imperative or Subjunctive. Nevertheless, the aspectual distinctions between the Greek Aorist and Present are seldom reflected in the CPA Imperative. This stands in clear contrast to the translation of Indicative verbs, where the aspectual distinction between the Aorist and Imperfect Indicatives is usually reflected in CPA translation.

Jonathan Loopstra researches the use of a Syriac scribal sign consisting of three dots called *taḥtāyā da-llātā*, which is attested in East-Syrian biblical manuscripts from the 7th century onwards. He concludes that this mark appears on passages that indicate a strong pause as well as possible “rhetorical” interpretations such as a sense of address, petition, or conditional statements. He also observes hints that this mark was reserved largely for character dialogue where dramatic readings would have been possible.

Matthew Morgenstern reviews the history of Mandaic studies, especially Mandaic lexicography. The bulk of the discussion focuses on the history of the dictionary of Drower and Macuch, along with its shortcomings. These shortcomings highlight the need for a new dictionary that better meets the contemporary standards of Aramaic lexicography for further Mandaic and Aramaic research, which the author is in the process of producing.

Mor Polycarpus Augin Aydin presents a report of a new recently published Syriac lexicon, compiled by the Abbot Yuyakim of Mor Awgen Monastery on Tur Izlo in southeast Anatolia, Turkey, entitled, «ܡܚܒܐ ܕܠܫܘܢܐ» / *Qlido d-Leshono – Key of Language*. The author discusses Abbot Yuyakim's work and methodology, as well as the resources and sources of his Syriac lexicography, and explains why this new lexicon will likely supersede previous Syriac lexica produced within the Syriac tradition.

Richard A. Taylor evaluates the Peshitta text of the Psalm 2 in terms of the alignment of its textual affinities and its translation techniques. Concerning textual

affinities, while the Syriac text of the psalm essentially reflects a proto–Masoretic Vorlage, in several places it aligns with non-MT readings found also in the Septuagint. Hence, in these places either there is a shared exegetical tradition or the Septuagint has exercised influence on the Peshitta. Concerning translation techniques, in a few places the Syriac translator of Psalm 2 may not have chosen the best lexical equivalents to represent the meaning of the Hebrew text.

The second section of this book contains six articles on Hebrew, mostly Biblical Hebrew, but also including the early rise of modern Hebrew. The topics covered include textual criticism, grammatical categorization, cognitive linguistics, language borrowing, the use of statistics in diachronic studies, and Hebrew lexicography.

Cyrrill von Buettner discusses the origins of the reading הַסִּירוֹתִי “I turned” in Isa 50:6 in the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a). After agreeing with earlier conclusions that the original version of the text is found in MT (הַסְתַּרְתִּי “I hid”), the author suggests that the Qumran version resulted from text editing by a scribe, and had an explanatory function. Possibly the main reason for such change was that, whereas the verb הַסְתִּיר “to hide” and the noun פָּנִים “face” usually form a set expression that has the meaning “to ignore,” they are used in Isa 50:6 with their literal meaning as a combination of a verb and a noun. That is, in this passage the hiding of the face meant to protect the character. Additionally, there may have been an attempt to avoid a contradiction with a similar expression in Isa 53:3.

Marilyn E. Burton addresses the application of a cognitive approach to lexical semantics to the study of ancient languages. While acknowledging the challenges posed by dead languages, she examines previous attempts within biblical semantics and related fields to compensate for the lack of available native speaker input, and proposes some new avenues for exploration. She suggests that much of the information that would normally be gleaned from a native speaker can be extracted from two types of clues found in the extant texts: those found in parallelism and word pairs, and those found in syntax and association.

David J. A. Clines engages in a systematic study of the lexica of Classical Hebrew, including over 600 Hebrew dictionaries in European languages from the 16th century onwards. First, certain formal features are compared, especially their inclusion or non-inclusion of Aramaic, their provision of indexes, their notation of cognates in other Semitic languages, and their treatment of homonyms. This is followed by the comparative examination of how four individual Hebrew words were treated by lexicographers through the centuries – חֵיל “wall,” לְבִיא “lion,” גִּלְהָה I “reveal,” II “go into exile,” and שָׁקַע I “sink,” II “bind.” Finally, some general conclusions are presented, which include, *inter alia*, the suggestion that scholars should not uncritically accept the definitions found in lexicons, and the fact that new words and meanings are still being discovered.

A. Dean Forbes delves into the use and misuse of statistical methods in the dating of texts in the Hebrew Bible. First, he examines the sources of statistical uncertainty in dating ancient Hebrew texts and how to cope with them. Then, he delineates the options that must be considered in the study of temporal relations among texts in the Hebrew Bible. Both sections also include considerations which are relevant to the diachronic study of Hebrew as a language. He concludes with a detailed and useful summary of his study and a brief statement of future tasks.

Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and Jacobus A. Naudé confront the question of grammatical categorization in Biblical Hebrew. They survey approaches to categorization in generative grammar, functional grammar, cognitive grammar, and in typological linguistics. They then attempt a grammatical categorization of **טוב**, which includes both the adjective and the verbal homonyms. The analysis includes both morphosyntactic and distributional factors.

Sonya Yampolskaya explores the development of the adaptation of international loanwords in Early Modern Hebrew based on Hebrew newspapers published in Russia during the period from the 1860's to the 1910's. The author shows that the basic patterns of adaptation of loanwords in what later became Modern Israeli Hebrew had been formed in East European and predominantly Russian Hebrew by the 1910's. The image of language change that is reflected by the sources contradicts both traditional and revisionist general theories on Israeli Hebrew emergence.

The final section of the book consists of ten articles on ancient Greek. These cover topics such as the philological evidence concerning ancient practices both among Christians and non-Christians such as prayer and wine drinking, various approaches to understanding the meaning of words and expressions, discussions of syntax and various aspects of discourse, along with lexicographical issues.

Valeriy Alikin investigates the evidence for drunkenness and the admonitions to prevent drunkenness in early Christian gatherings and their parallels in Graeco-Roman literature. Although wine was drunk diluted with water in the Graeco-Roman world, this did not prevent participants from getting drunk. Admonitions against drunkenness in early Christian writings suggest that Christians also sometimes got drunk at their communal gatherings. Christians followed the advice presented by pagan sources on how to prevent drunkenness and also devised their own ways.

Keith Dyer notes that *basileia* terminology is very seldom used of Rome or its Caesars in the first century, and explores the implications of this for interpreting the critique of Rome in the Book of Revelation, with special attention to Rev. 11:15.

Nikolay Grintser reexamines the contribution of the 5th century BCE sophists to linguistic theory, especially statements by Protagoras and Prodicus, and concludes that the sophists anticipated both the general principles and technical distinctions of later scholarly linguistic research. Their comments on literary texts developed into a study of language itself.

Jordash Kiffiak analyzes the semantic content of Greek terms that denote fear, amazement, and being troubled. The definitions of words in these three subdomains within the semantic domain of "attitudes and emotions" in Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida's *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* are compared with the definitions in Frederick W. Danker et al.'s *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (BDAG). He concludes that the categories of fear, amazement, and being troubled can be meaningfully distinguished, with amazement being more removed semantically from the other two.

Olga Levinskaja (Akhunova) explores the syntactic structure, meaning and origin of an ancient Greek proverbial expression about an ass and a lyre (*ὄνος λύρας*). Since ancient poets and writers were not unanimous in their understanding

of this proverb, she suggests that the phrase ὄνος λύρας originally appeared in the Greek language in precisely this form, and then, in the course of time, developed full proverbial contexts. This could have happened as a result of translation or calquing from another language, a possibility that is supported by the presence of asses with strings in the iconography of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Syria.

Stephen H. Levinsohn discusses various combinations of εἰμί and a participle in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts. Typically, εἰμί precedes the participial clause. He suggests that the default position of the subject, if present, is after εἰμί, and examines the factors that may cause variations from this order. He also observes that Greek copular imperfects are less dynamic than their simple counterparts. In the few cases where a copular imperfect at the beginning of a pericope presents an event in progress, the effect is to background that event in relation to what follows.

Steven E. Runge describes the discourse functions of nominative and vocative forms of direct address in the book of James. Their basic function is semantic, identifying referents. In instances where this information seems redundant, where the addressees are already clearly identified, they serve a secondary function of marking transitions, that is, segmentation. Where such redundant expressions occur in non-transitional contexts, especially in non-clause initial position, they serve a pragmatic function, adding prominence to a proposition by creating a dramatic pause immediately before or after a salient element.

Margaret Sim considers the concept of metarepresentation, that is, the widespread but frequently unrecognized act of representing the words or thoughts of others in communication. Her study draws examples from the Discourses of Epictetus and the New Testament including the Corinthian correspondence, and lists various ways in which Greek signals metarepresentation, including representation marked by the article τὸ, representation not morphologically marked, echoic speech, and ironic utterance.

Michael P. Theophilos provides a comparative and structural analysis of Christian prayer at Oxyrhynchus, comparing these findings with an examination of the form and function of non-Christian prayers from the same period. He demonstrates a pervasive influence of similar non-Christian prayer formulae at the level of structure, syntax, and titular vocabulary. Finally, he refers to contemporaneous comparative Christian liturgical and individual prayers preserved on papyri from other locations, and suggests that the porous interchange of prayer formulations between Christian and non-Christian prayers at Oxyrhynchus is more broadly attested throughout Egypt and the Mediterranean world.

Anne Thompson discusses the need for consistency in the production of dictionaries of classical languages. Examples of inconsistency include the fact that alphabetic entries do not consistently or adequately present the relationships of etymologically related words, variation in the order and the arrangement of the meanings/definitions of words, and the imprecise use of labels, such as “transferred sense,” “figure,” or “metaphor.” There can also be inconsistency in the interpretation of definitions or glosses given to each entry.

The responsibility for overseeing the peer-reviews and editing were as follows: the Aramaic section was mostly done by Li, with one article done by Dyer; the Hebrew section was mostly done by Li, with one article done by Theophilos; and the

Greek section was shared by Dyer, Li, and Theophilos. The overall organization and editing of the volume was done by Li. Special thanks are due to Melonie Schmierer-Lee and her team at Gorgias Press for their expert work in copy-editing this book. It is inevitable that some typographical or formatting errors were overlooked. For these, we beg our readers to be lenient, given the size and complexity of this volume.

The fonts used are Garamond Gorgias for all Latin-based characters, SBL Hebrew for Aramaic and Hebrew square characters, Serto Jerusalem for Syriac, SBL Greek for Greek, CPA Genizah ML for Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Hebrew Samaritan for Samaritan, and Scheherazade for Arabic.

PART 1: ARAMAIC STUDIES

WHAT TO DO ABOUT CITING AMBIGUITY IN A CORPUS-SPECIFIC LEXICON

Terry C. Falla
Syriac Research Center
Whitley College
University of Divinity

Semantic and syntactic ambiguity do not constitute a problem for non-corpus dictionaries, such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Dictionnaire de la langue française* that serve the totality of a natural language and adhere to the principle of citing only unambiguous illustrative examples; that is, examples that are unambiguous in meaning in the context from which they are cited. But many corpus-specific ancient-language lexicons now incorporate ambiguous instances in their lexical entries. It is proving to be a helpful and significant endeavour. But it is not without its methodological challenges. This article examines ways in which Greek, Hebrew and Syriac corpus-based lexicons handle this lexical feature. It discusses the problems and advantages that confront the lexicographer who seeks to provide this kind of information and what future classical Syriac lexicography can learn from them. Four primary types of ambiguity are identified and discussed: semantic ambiguity due to a lack of information, semantic ambiguity due to syntactic ambiguity, ambiguity apparently intended by a translator, and ambiguous figurative speech requiring interpretation. By way of conclusion, the article offers for consideration fourteen principles for future classical Syriac corpus-by-corpus lexicons¹ and other ancient-language lexicons to which they may be applicable.

1 INTRODUCTION

Ambiguity is a universal phenomenon in all sciences, humanities and the arts. It is a ubiquitous feature of a natural language. As the term is employed in this paper, it may be defined as the “ability to be understood in more than one way” (*OED*).

¹ From its inception, the International Syriac Language Project (ISLP) adopted the aim of laying the foundations for a corpus-by-corpus series, see Falla, “A Conceptual Framework,” 13–14.

Thus “an expression or utterance is ambiguous if it can be interpreted in more than one way.”² A word is ambiguous when it has more than one possible meaning in a particular context. Conversely, a word can be said to be “unambiguous” when only one meaning works compositionally. The paper does not pursue the subject of ambiguity versus vagueness as it is described and debated in linguistics to distinguish between a form or phrase that is ambiguous because it has two distinct meanings (as in “John saw the man with binoculars”) or that is vague (as in “Help wanted”).³ Nor does it include the complex subject of figurative speech, which may be considered as a form of ambiguity,⁴ except where an occurrence of a word’s literal sense has a figurative meaning that may be unclear to many readers.

1.1 DICTIONARIES THAT DO NOT FEATURE AMBIGUITY

In the world of words, ambiguity is an ever-present presence and is what inspired William Empson’s *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, a critical and influential work on the effectiveness of ambiguity in poetry. For the lexicographer, semantic and syntactic ambiguity are expected and common features. Instances of ambiguity, however, do not have a place in modern-language dictionaries or, except for unresolved items of ambiguity associated with homonymy and polysemy,⁵ in ancient-language lexicons that serve their respective literature generally. This type of dictionary adheres to the principle of providing only unambiguous illustrative examples; that is, examples that are unambiguous in meaning in the context from which they are cited. The reason is simple and theoretically sound. The function of the lexicographer is, as Chadwick wrote, “to record how the vocabulary of a language is normally used.”⁶ It is not for the lexicographer to “predict the abnormal, catachrestic or poetic uses to which a word may be put,” nor therefore to make lexical entries “collections of famous cruxes,” though s/he “cannot afford to ignore them.”⁷ Numerous dictionaries, major and minor, testify to the efficacy of this approach, including *Oxford English Dictionary*,⁸ *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1993),⁹ *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*

² Löbner, *Understanding Semantics*, 39.

³ Cf. Dunbar, “Towards a Cognitive Analysis of Polysemy, Ambiguity, and Vagueness;” Klein and Murphy, “The Representation of Polysemous Words.” *Journal of Memory and Language* 45, Issue 2 (2001) 259–82, Zhang, “Fuzziness – Vagueness – Generality – Ambiguity.” A number of articles and comments on the difference between ambiguity and vagueness are offered on the internet.

⁴ For a discussion of this topic see Falla, “Metaphor, Lexicography and Modern Linguistics.”

⁵ Homonymy and polysemy cannot always be clearly distinguished from one another and lexically can result in instances of uncertainty, ambiguity, and in differences of opinion. Cf. Falla, “A Conceptual Framework,” 15–17.

⁶ Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca*, 16.

⁷ Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca*, 16–17. I am grateful to Greek lexicographer Anne Thompson for bringing these lines from Chadwick to my attention.

⁸ Simpson and Weiner, *Oxford English Dictionary*. 20 vols. 2nd ed.

(2002),¹⁰ *The Australian Oxford Dictionary* (1999),¹¹ *The Chambers Dictionary* (2003),¹² *The Macquarie Dictionary* (2001),¹³ *The Random House Dictionary* (1987),¹⁴ *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (1961),¹⁵ *Le Grand Dictionnaire Hachette-Oxford* (1994; 2001),¹⁶ *Dictionnaire de la langue française*,¹⁷ *Dictionnaire encyclopédique Larousse*,¹⁸ *Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon* (1971–81),¹⁹ *Oxford-Duden German Dictionary* (1999),²⁰ *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (2002),²¹ *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed.,²² *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1968–82),²³ *Thesaurus Syriacus* (1879–91),²⁴ *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (1903),²⁵ *A Syriac Lexicon* (2009),²⁶ and a host of others.

To ensure that all illustrative examples in this type of dictionary are free of ambiguity, especially in an ancient-language lexicon that draws on poetic resources, takes vigilance on the part of the lexicographer. Otherwise, an illustrative example that *a priori* seems to have only one unambiguous meaning may on close examination prove to have more than one possible meaning, or to be a play on distinctly different meanings of a polysemous word in a manner that gives each of those meanings a lexical right to consideration. Ambiguous words as defined by Empson and Chadwick should be set aside.

1.2 Ambiguity as a Feature of the Ancient-language Corpus-specific Lexicon

Another type of lexicon has however emerged to meet contemporary needs of ancient-language lexicography. This type *intentionally* includes ambiguous illustrative examples; it is the corpus-based lexicon, that is, the lexicon that is limited to an au-

⁹ Brown, *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*.

¹⁰ Brown, *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*.

¹¹ Moore, *The Australian Oxford Dictionary*.

¹² Brookes, *The Chambers Dictionary*.

¹³ Delbridge, *The Macquarie Dictionary*. 2 vols. 3rd ed.

¹⁴ Flexner and Hauck, *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*. 2nd ed.

¹⁵ Gove, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*.

¹⁶ Corréard, Grundy, *Le Dictionnaire Hachette-Oxford: français-anglais, anglais-français*; Corréard, Grundy, Ormal-Grenon, and Natalie Pomier, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Hachette-Oxford: français-anglais, anglais-français*.

¹⁷ Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*. 4 vols. et Supplément.

¹⁸ Dubois, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique Larousse*.

¹⁹ *Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon* in 25 vols. 9th ed.

²⁰ Scholze-Stubenrecht and Sykes, *Oxford-Duden German Dictionary*.

²¹ Burgers, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*.

²² Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. (also known as New Edition). 2 vols.

²³ Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

²⁴ R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*. 2 vols.

²⁵ J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*.

²⁶ Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*.

thor or work.²⁷ Examples are: *DCH*,²⁸ *HALAT*²⁹/*HALOT*,³⁰ *BDAG*,³¹ Louw and Nida,³² Danker,³³ *GELS*,³⁴ and *KPG*.³⁵

As I understand it, these lexicons would not disagree with Chadwick's dictum that the function of the lexicographer is "to record how the vocabulary of a language is normally used." That is their primary aim. Nor would they find difficulty with his insisting that "[i]t is not for the lexicographer to predict the abnormal, catachrestic or poetic uses to which a word may be put." But they see merit in recording certain lexical complexities that cannot be reduced to unambiguous illustrative examples: in providing researched information on instantiations that are ambiguous either because what they mean is not known and more than one option is conceivable, or because more than one normal meaning may work compositionally, or because it is conceivable or probable that early audiences heard more than one meaning at the one time. It is a corpus-specific feature that acknowledges that in many instances the lexicon user would be at a serious disadvantage without this additional data; it offers that user a basis on which to make a judgement; it allows and concedes that in the world of literature and linguistics there are contexts where the fluidity of movement in meaning that the ambiguous allows corresponds more closely than the tightly controlled procedure to the reality of how a natural language functions in real life and has been transmitted in an ancient document.

Corpus-based lexicons that include ambiguity can have different primary aims. Louw and Nida, for instance, states that it is "designed primarily for *translators* of the New Testament in various contemporary languages" (emphasis added).³⁶ By contrast, *DCH* "has not been written in order to help readers of Hebrew texts to discover how to translate those texts ... Rather the primary function ... is to organize and rationalize the available data about Hebrew words, enabling readers to make their own decisions about the meaning of words in the light of all the evidence."³⁷ *KPG*, while wanting readers to make their own decisions about the meaning of

²⁷ As Daniel King has shown, a corpus-based lexicon might also be one that constitutes a genre, and for future classical Syriac lexicography raises King's question of "when is a corpus a corpus?" See King, "Remarks on the Future of a Syriac Lexicon based upon the Corpus of Philosophical Texts," p. 68.

²⁸ Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*.

²⁹ (Koehler)-Baumgartner, *Hebräische und aramäische Lexikon zum Alten Testament*.

³⁰ (Koehler)-Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*.

³¹ Bauer, Danker, Arndt, Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed.

³² Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*.

³³ Danker, *The Concise Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*.

³⁴ Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*.

³⁵ Falla, *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels*.

³⁶ Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, Preface, iv.

³⁷ Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vol. 1, 26.

words, seeks to provide a range of semantic, syntactic, collocational and concordance information that will assist the specialist and the person new to the Syriac language to study the Peshitta Gospels as a translation and as a literary entity in its own right. It is also intended as a basis for a comparable lexicalization of the rest of the Syriac New Testament, the Syriac Old Testament, and other corpus-specific classical Syriac literature. *GELS* has a comparable aim to the extent that it takes the Septuagint as a document of Hellenic Judaism as its basic starting point (see below, section 1.4.2).³⁸ While *BDAG* does not specify an aim, Danker, its most recent editor, observes that “any lexicographic endeavor worth its name must evolve in a context of new discoveries and constantly changing theoretical structures.”³⁹ But whatever their purpose or design, in common these lexicons find it either necessary or helpful to include ambiguous occurrences in some form and in varying degrees in their lexical entries.

This article examines ways in which these corpus-based lexicons handle the recording of ambiguity. It asks what future classical Syriac corpus-specific lexicons can learn from them and discusses methodological challenges that confront the lexicographer.

1.3 Lexicons for which Ambiguity is a Necessity: *DCH* and *HALAT/HALOT*

The design of some corpus-specific lexicons makes the citation of ambiguity a necessity. This is the case for those that list all references of all occurrences of each lexeme and cite those references under a particular meaning. The eight-volume *DCH* and the four-volume *HALAT/HALOT*⁴⁰ are examples. Their exhaustive approach commits them to acknowledging instances of obvious ambiguity and to providing the lexicon-user with sufficient information to make an informed judgement as to the probable or possible meaning(s) of those instances. The alternative would be to list an ambiguous reference under the meaning preferred by the lexicographer (should s/he have a preference) and ignore the existence of another or other options.

1.4 Non-exhaustive Lexicons that see Ambiguity as a Lexical Asset

Ambiguity is also a significant feature of corpus-specific ancient-languages lexicons that do not assign a particular meaning to every occurrence of a headword but have elected to make ambiguity a lexical feature.

³⁸ *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, viii.

³⁹ *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, vii.

⁴⁰ *HALOT*, vol. 1, LXVIII, states that “As far as possible all quotations (i.e. references) are given, but where that list would be meaningless on account of the great number of occurrences, a statement is made concerning the frequency of the word and the parts of the texts where it is to be found.”

1.4.1 *BDAG and Louw and Nida*

This is the case with *BDAG* and *Louw and Nida*. *BDAG*, while it does not claim to be exhaustive as “[t]he proliferation of papyri and new editions of early Christian literature suggests caution about certainty respecting completeness of citation,” assures us that “students can count on completeness of citation of all except the most common words appearing in the main text of the 27th edition of Nestle.”⁴¹ Methodologically, *Louw and Nida* does not seek *BDAG*’s completeness. But it does give priority to ambiguous instances. It accomplishes this by giving illustrative examples that in its estimate can be interpreted in more than one way – and they are numerous. But how does *Louw and Nida* as a semantically-based lexicon make the call as to where to categorize an ambiguous instantiation? In the same way as it semantically classifies all other words. Because it is based on semantic domains, it does not arrange words alphabetically and does not list the different meanings of a word in the one lexical entry where, as in a traditional lexicon, they can be compared with each other in the one place under the one headword. Rather, each meaning is analyzed in the subdomain to which it semantically belongs. Accordingly, it is not a specific lexical entry, not a lexeme, not a headword that determines where an *ambiguous* instantiation will be recorded; instead it is *each of the meanings* of that ambiguous instantiation. This approach does not inhibit *Louw and Nida*’s treatment of ambiguous occurrences. But it does demand that each meaning of an ambiguous instantiation be assigned its own separate sub-domain entry and that the meanings and their entries be cross-referenced so that they might be compared. Two meanings will result in two cross-referenced semantic subdomains. It may even be argued that this semantic-domain approach to ambiguity has a certain advantage over the single-entry in the conventional lexicon in that a cross-reference inescapably highlights an ambiguity. The disadvantage is that it requires the user to turn to another section of the lexicon to consider an alternative meaning.

1.4.2 *KPG (1991–2000) and GELS (2009)*

In *KPG* and *GELS* we enter lexicons of a different genre. The text *KPG* treats is a Syriac translation of the Greek Gospels and the Greek texts *GELS* treats are for the most part a translation from a Semitic original. This fact has implications for the issue of ambiguity. There are numerous instances where the meaning of a rendering in these texts is uncertain or in a particular context is capable of more than one meaning. In the Introduction to volume 2, *KPG* devotes more than three pages to its method and to what is involved in ascertaining the translation of Peshitta Syriac words and instances where the meaning cannot be established with any certainty. In part it reads:

To establish a Peshitta word’s meaning, the word is evaluated primarily as an element of the Peshitta Gospels text as a Syriac literary work in its own right. This

⁴¹ *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, x.

means that the evaluation gives priority to the lexeme, not as a translation of the Greek, but in its immediate syntactic-semantic Syriac context and as a word belonging to the Syriac language. Only when this initial evaluation is complete is the translational dimension of the Peshitta text taken into account. By implication, the Syriac-Greek correspondences contained in the second indented section of an article constitute an essential but secondary resource for ascertaining the English lexical information provided by the first section.

As to the process itself, each occurrence of a Peshitta Syriac word is evaluated first in its textual context (i.e. in the sentence or passage of which it is part), secondly in the light of the underlying Greek text, and thirdly in relation to all other occurrences of that Syriac word in *their* relationships to the Greek. It is a procedure that allows one to discover the different, and sometimes diverse, meanings and uses of the same lexical item as it is employed in the target version, and to guard against misreadings of that text.

When it is appropriate, a word's use in other Syriac literature is also considered, though always in relation to all other relevant data. This may verify, for example, a particular meaning and merit its inclusion as a gloss.⁴²

It is at this point that *KPG* turns to ambiguity as a lexical and semantic issue, which it introduces with the comment:

In those instances where the meaning or one of the distinctive values of a word cannot be established with any certainty, two or more lexical meanings may compete for consideration. In such cases, the *Key* presents without prejudice the English glosses concerned for the user to compare and evaluate.

Ambiguities are therefore considered an important lexical feature of *KPG*, though it should be added that while it lists sequentially the references to every occurrence of every term in a dedicated section of each entry, the references are not as in *DCH* distributed under the term's respective meanings.

In *KPG*, meanings of an ambiguous occurrence of a word that belong to different semantic domains are separated by a semicolon. This procedure does not oblige the lexicon user to make a decision between the proposed meanings but allows the user to hold them in tension at the one and the same time. The lexicon user is also informed when an ambiguity would seem to be intentional on the part of a translator, or it is at least possible that it was intentional, rather than the more common type of ambiguity that is due to scholarship's inability to properly discern the meaning of a particular occurrence of a lexeme.

Ambiguities in *KPG* include occurrences (or examples of occurrences) of particles that leave the reader to choose between different syntactic functions and meanings or with the possibility that more than one value was intended by the translator.

Like *BDAG* and Louw and Nida, *KPG* also notes the occasional poetic instance that involves an apparent play on more than one meaning. This has particular

⁴² *KPG* 2:XXXI–XXXII.

import for the lexicon user when at least one of the meanings is not employed elsewhere in the corpus. If instances of this kind were not registered the lexicon user would remain unaware that more than one meaning was or may have been intended by the translator and perceived by early audiences. An example is the Syriac noun ܠܘܥܘܢܐ discussed below (section 4.3).

In *GELS*, which is comprehensive and exhaustive and so “treats with doubtful, difficult cases,” “the uncertainty is expressed with a question mark or by offering an alternative analysis.”⁴³ An example is ἰσχύς in Deut 32:13. It is cited in section *e (p. 345)⁴⁴ under the definition “w. ref. to agricultural produce, fruit as manifestation of power inherent in the soil or plants: ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχύον τῆς γῆς ‘.. *the most fertile part of the land* (?)” (emphasis added). This reading is also listed under ἀγαθός (p. 2) where it is compared with the substantival function τὰ ἀγαθὰ in τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς in Isa 58:13.

The discriminating approach of Muraoka, *GELS*’ author, to ascertaining the meaning of Septuagint words and thus to words of uncertain meaning is shaped by its corpus and is no less pertinent than that of *KPG* to our inquiry:

[A] Septuagint lexicographer must ask himself a series of questions: what does he understand by the meaning or usage of a given Septuagint Greek word or form?, what significance is to be attached to the Semitic text behind the translation?, what is he going to do when the Greek text reads rather oddly or makes no good sense at all?, and so on. These are some of the complexities arising from the fact that here we are dealing with a translated text, which adds a third dimension, that of translator in addition to the author of the original text and the reader of the resultant translation. If one is, in contrast, to define the meaning of a word in an original composition, one would attempt to determine what its author presumably meant and had in mind. However, the translator’s intention is something rather elusive and not easy to comprehend with confidence. Reference to the original text, even if one is reasonably certain as to what the translator’s text (*Vorlage*) read, *does not necessarily remove all ambiguity* (emphasis added). This is not to speak of the possibility, and even the likelihood, that the translator may have found the meaning of the Hebrew text obscure, totally unintelligible or susceptible of more than one interpretation, just as we do today. Following a series of exploratory studies and debates, we have come to the conclusion that we had best read the Septuagint as a Greek document and try to find out what sense a reader in a period roughly 250 B.C. – 100 A.D. who was ignorant of Hebrew and Aramaic might have made of the translation, although we did compare the texts all along ... our basic starting point is the Septuagint as a document of Hellenic Judaism.⁴⁵

⁴³ From personal correspondence with *GELS*’ author, T. Muraoka (7/4/2015).

⁴⁴ The asterisk indicates that a sense or usage is not attested prior to the LXX.

⁴⁵ *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, viii.

1.5 Types of Ambiguity

The following discussion of examples taken from Greek, Hebrew and Syriac literature identifies four primary types of lexical ambiguity. To the best of my knowledge, these types, some of which inevitably overlap, are not formally recognized by the lexicographers who register them and are employed here simply as a convenient means of ordering for the sake of discussion ambiguities recognized in corpus-based lexicons.

Semantic ambiguity due to a lack of information (see §2)

Semantic ambiguity due to syntactic ambiguity (see §3)

Intentional ambiguity (see §4)

Ambiguous figurative speech requiring interpretation (see §5)

2. SEMANTIC AMBIGUITY DUE TO A LACK OF INFORMATION

Some ambiguities exist because philology and lexicography lack the information necessary to establish with certainty which of two or more meanings in a particular context is correct. A well-known example, described as “one of the NT’s great conundrums,”⁴⁶ is the Greek verb *βιάζομαι* in Mt 11:12 and its synoptic parallel in Lk 16:16.

2.1 *Βιάζομαι*

For our purpose, it is sufficient to focus on *βιάζομαι*, the more complex of the two occurrences, in Mt 11:12. The subject is the kingdom of heaven. Lexicons recognize two primary options: *βιάζομαι* as a middle deponent and thus with an active meaning, or as a passive in either a positive or negative sense. As a middle deponent with an active meaning, *βιάζομαι* is defined and/or glossed as *gain an objective by force: use force*. (BDAG, p. 175), *employ violence in doing harm to someone or something: use violence* (Louw and Nida, 20.10), *force one’s way* (Abbott-Smith, p. 81, Zerwick & Grosvenor), *exercise force* (Newman, p. 33), *force one’s way, rush* (Danker, p. 71). In Mt 11:12 this meaning is rendered as *(from the days of John the Baptist until now the reign/kingdom of heaven) makes its way with triumphant force* (BDAG), *has been coming violently* (footnote NRSV), *has been forcing its way forward* (footnote NEB, REB, JB, NJB), *clears a way for itself by violence* (NJB). This interpretation is parallel to the rendering *the reign of God is being proclaimed and everyone takes (or tries to take) it by force* in Lk 16:16.

For this active meaning, BDAG also records the proposal: *go after something with enthusiasm: seek fervently, try hard*. Two senses are given: *is sought with burning zeal or try hard*. While New Testament lexicons do not favour this meaning, it is well attested in classical Greek and has a place in the current draft of the forthcoming *Cambridge*

⁴⁶ Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 254.

Greek Lexicon,⁴⁷ which in section 10 of βιάζομαι has “(of the kingdom of heaven) be struggled for NT” as the passive of “exert all one’s energy to make progress (on a non-material path towards a goal); **exert oneself, forge on** (in terms of a goal).”

This brings us to the interpretation of βιάζομαι in Mt 11:12 as passive rather than active: *suffer violence* (Abbott-Smith; Newman), *experience a violent attack: be attacked with violence, suffer violent attacks* (Louw and Nida, 20.9), *be treated forcibly*, either positively or negatively (Danker). In its context, this passive meaning is translated as: *(from the days of John the Baptist until now the reign/kingdom of heaven) has suffered violence* (NRSV), *has been subjected to violence* (NEB, REB, JB, NJB),⁴⁸ and “understood in the unfavourable sense,” as *is violently treated, is oppressed* (BDAG). BDAG, it should be noted, cites this passive interpretation of βιάζομαι under the active meaning *inflict violence on: dominate, constrain*, and not under the active meaning *gain an objective by force: use force*, which it and other resources assign to Mt 11:12 as the alternative to the passive. The alternatives and the complexities involved in presenting them lexicographically make the entry a challenging one to read.

Every ambiguity recorded in a lexicon has a history and evolution. The lexical history and evolution of the New Testament βιάζομαι reading is instructive for an understanding of the place of ambiguity in the modern corpus-based lexicon. Thayer, at the turn of the twentieth century, did not cite βιάζομαι as an ambiguity, though he did acknowledge that scholars had proposed more than one interpretation. In his translation of Grimm’s Wilke’s *Clavis Novi Testamenti* (1986, revised 1989),⁴⁹ he felt free to pronounce only one option as valid: “*the kingdom of heaven is taken by violence, carried by storm*, i.e. a share in the heavenly kingdom is sought for with the most ardent zeal and the intensest exertion.” “The other explanation, *the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence*,” says Thayer’s entry, “agrees neither with the time when Christ spoke the words, nor with the context.”

Greater caution now tends to be the norm. In their commentary, Davies and Allison (1991) list seven possible readings⁵⁰ before offering their preference, and Carter in *Matthew and the Margins* (2000) alerts the reader to other possibilities when he argues for the one that complements his socio-political and religious reading.⁵¹ True, a major reference work or translation can dismiss all but one interpretation as does Stenger’s entry on βιάζω in *The Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (1990) and the NIV, which stands out among modern translations by not alerting the reader to an alternative to its preferred rendering. But they are exceptions. For most of

⁴⁷ James Diggle, Anne Thompson, Bruce Fraser, and Patrick James, eds., *Cambridge Greek Lexicon* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming): <http://www.classics.cam.ac.uk/Research/projects/glp>

⁴⁸ The *New International Version* adopts the passive meaning with no reference to there being another option.

⁴⁹ Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*.

⁵⁰ Davies and Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 254; see also Carter, *Matthew and the Margins*, note 8, p. 589, for further bibliographical references not cited by BDAG.

⁵¹ Carter, *Matthew and the Margins*, 253 and note 8, 589.

the twentieth century to the present the significance of the *βιάζομαι* ambiguity has been stressed by lexicons large and small: Moulton and Milligan (1930), Abbott-Smith (1937), BAG (1957), Newman (1971), and BAGD (1979) to Louw and Nida (1988), BDAG (2000), and Danker's concise lexicon (2009) and also by most major translations.

BDAG begins its sixty-three-line entry on the Matthean and Lucan verses – well over a column – by identifying the nature of the ambiguity: “[t]he principal semantic problem is whether *βιάζομαι* (in Mt and Lk) is used negatively (‘in malam partem’) or positively (‘in bonam partem’), a problem compounded by the question of the function of these verses in their literary context.” The entry cites original sources for the various interpretations, but does not extend to present-day scholarship. Louw and Nida's lexicon has two comparatively brief entries, eleven lines for the passive sense (§20.9) and seventeen-lines for the active (§20.10). With translators in view, it qualifies its definition, gloss and translation of the active with the recommendation that “[s]ince there is a number of different interpretations of this expression in Lk 16:16 as well as for the parallel expression in Mt 11:12, it is important to consult various commentaries before undertaking a translation” and the explanation that “[p]robably the most widely held interpretation of these difficult expressions is based on the fact that many people did not hesitate to employ violence or military force in order to establish what they regarded as the rule of God on earth.” Although his entry in his recent concise lexicon is less than five lines, Danker (who proposed one of the seven interpretations listed by Davies and Allen)⁵² maintains the now well-established lexical tradition of acknowledging the ambiguous Matthean and Lucan *βιάζομαι* by cautioning the reader that “[a] precise interpretation of this verb as used in the New Testament is difficult to establish.”

From this example and a perusal of ambiguity in BDAG and Louw & Nida it is possible to see the merit of including at the very least unambiguously ambiguous readings in a corpus-specific lexicon. A New Testament lexicon that failed to include this ambiguity would, by omission, mislead its users. The evolution of the example from Grimm-Thayer to the present also reveals how scholarship can over time shift its interpretive preferences, how the concise lexicon becomes selective, perhaps to the exclusion of a meaning that deserves consideration, how the inclusion of interpretive bibliographical sources soon calls for updating, the need for the lexicon user to accept responsibility for seeking out interpretive developments post the publication of a comprehensive corpus-specific lexicon, and how in the future the electronic lexicon might help to meet this latter requirement.

βιάζομαι is a widely researched and accepted ambiguity. But in Greek-English New Testament corpus-based lexicons it is but one of numerous listed ambiguities. Furthermore, not all ambiguities are recognized by all lexicons, nor do lexicons that record an ambiguity necessarily agree in their analysis of it. The polysemous verbs *δείκνυμι* and *συστέλλω* are two of many examples.

⁵² Danker, “Lk 16:16: An Opposition Logion,” 234–36.

2.2 Δείκνυμι

The Greek verb δείκνυμι in 1 Cor 12:31 is an example of one major lexicon identifying a reading as unambiguous and another as ambiguous.⁵³

Both BDAG (pp. 214–15) and Louw and Nida (§§28.47, 33.150) assign two meanings to the verb δείκνυμι. But BDAG lists 1 Cor 12:31 under only one of these meanings, indicating that in this verse the meaning of δείκνυμι can be regarded as unambiguous. In this instance, Louw and Nida judge δείκνυμι to be ambiguous and give equal weight to both meanings.

The meaning that BDAG does not see as applicable but that Louw and Nida does is in the Louw and Nida domain “Communication” (§33) and subdomain “Interpret, Mean, Explain.” As it applies to δείκνυμι it is defined as *explain the meaning or significance of something by demonstration* and glossed as *show, explain, make clear*. In 1 Cor 12:31 it is rendered as *I will show you a still more excellent way* (§33.150; underlining added).

The other meaning, which BDAG cites as the only option, is in the Louw and Nida domain “Know” (§28) and subdomain “Well Known, Clearly Known, Revealed.” As it applies to δείκνυμι it is defined as *make known the character or significance of something by visual, auditory, gestural, or linguistic means*, glossed as *make known, demonstrate, show*, and for 1 Cor 12:31 translated as *I will make known to you a more excellent way* (§28.47). This rendering is qualified by the cross-reference, “For another interpretation of δείκνυμι in 1 Cor 12:31, see 33.150.” In BDAG this sense is defined as *exhibit something that can be apprehended by one or more of the senses* and glossed as *point out, show, make known*. As it applies to 1 Cor 12:31 it is qualified by the comment “By fig. ext. of direction to transcendent matters.” BDAG does not offer a translation of the clause in question. While use of the term “exhibit” in BDAG’s definition is not as clear as Louw and Nida’s “make known” in that “exhibit” is a polysemous word open to more than one meaning, it is clear that both lexicons are referring to the same basic meaning.

The semantic subtleties that distinguish between the two meanings of δείκνυμι are complicated by the fact that the connotations of the English word “show” are applicable to both meanings. This is to be seen in the fact that Louw and Nida uses “show” as one of its glosses for *both* meanings and as its translation for 1 Cor 12:31 under the domain “Communication” and subdomain “Interpret, Mean, Explain:” *I will show you a still more excellent way*. In his more recent entry for δείκνυμι, Danker seeks to mitigate the potential semantic blurring by employing only one initial gloss for both meaning; namely, “show” (apparently because of its semantic fluidity), which he then defines as “**a** so as to be observed by another *point out, make known*,” and “**b** so as to be understood by another *explain, demonstrate*.” Danker does not

⁵³ Another form of disagreement between BDAG and Louw and Nida is ἀρχή in Rev 3:14 which Louw and Nida, unlike BDAG, sees as possibly ambiguous. But because it apparently prefers one meaning (*first cause, origin*) over the other (*ruler*), it mentions the alternative only under the preferred meaning in §89.16.

however use 1 Cor 12:31 as an example of either of the two meanings. The verb *δείκνυμι* in 1 Cor 12:31 is a good example of the challenges facing the lexicographer who seeks to be as succinct and clear as possible while at the same time providing the lexicon user with sufficient data to make an informed judgement about the meaning of a particular word in a particular context.

2.3 Δεξιολάβος

The Greek noun *δεξιολάβος*, brought to my attention as a good example of an ambiguous vocabulary item in the New Testament,⁵⁴ is another example of one major lexicon identifying a reading as ambiguous and another as unquestioningly and unquestionably unambiguous. *Δεξιολάβος* is unknown to pre-New Testament writings and in the New Testament occurs only in Acts 23:23, where 200 *δεξιολάβοι* form part of the military contingent that transports Paul from Jerusalem to Caesarea. BDAG and critical editions of the Greek New Testament cite the variant reading *δεξιολάβος*. But as the word is not found elsewhere, BDAG assigns it the same treatment as *δεξιολάβος*.⁵⁵

2.3.1 *The Tenacity of the Term “Spearmen” in Lexicons and Translations*

This time it is Louw and Nida (§55.22) and not BDAG that presents the item as if it were unambiguous and BDAG (pp. 214–15), along with other lexical resources, that defines it as unmistakably ambiguous. The following lexical resources and translations, presented in chronological order, are a good indication. It is worth beginning with Grimm-Thayer’s entry (4th ed., 1901 = 2nd ed., 1886) because elements of it appear directly or indirectly in later lexicons, including Louw and Nida. Grimm-Thayer admits to *δεξιολάβος* being “a word unknown to the earlier writ., found in Constant. Porphyrogenitus (10th cent.) de them. 1, 1, who speaks of *δεξιολάβοι*, as a kind of soldiers, in company with bow-men (*τοξοφόροι*) and peltasts⁵⁶ [they are also mentioned by Theoph. Simoc. (hist. 4, 1) in the 7th cent.; see the quotations in Meyer].” The entry then introduces the term “spearmen:” “Since in Acts xxiii.23 two hundred of them are ordered to be ready, apparently *spearmen* are referred to (carrying a lance in the right hand); and so the Vulg. has taken it.” The term “spearmen” is not new to Grimm-Thayer, but already had a centuries-long tradition in earlier English translations: “spere men,” The Wycliffe Bible (1395); “speare men,” Tyndale Bible (1525), Miles Coverdale Bible (1535); “spearemen,” The Bishop’s Bible (1568); KJV (1611); “spearmen,” English Revised Version (1881). Decades later, this meaning was to be adopted by other major translations: “spear-men,” AAT

⁵⁴ By Anne Thompson in personal correspondence.

⁵⁵ Every Greek word discussed in this paper as a correspondence of a Syriac word has been checked to see whether it has a variant reading that might compete with it as the conceivable correspondence (see note 86).

⁵⁶ Foot-soldiers armed with a pelta (a small light leather shield) and javelin according to *OED*.

(1923), “spearmen” RSV (1946), JB (1966) NIV (1973), NJB (1985), and NRSV (1989).

2.3.2 *Is the Peshitta a Witness to “Spearmen”?*

At this point it is tempting to turn to the Peshitta version for its understanding of δεξιολάβος, especially as Jennings’ *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament* (1962) glosses the Syriac term as “throwers with the right hand = *spearmen*” (emphasis added).⁵⁷ Pazzini’s more recent Syriac-Italian lexicon (2004) also has “[two-hundred] spearmen” (duecento *lancieri*), as does Kitchen (2014) in the Antioch Bible. Etheridge (1846) has the slight variation “right-handed spearmen.”

2.3.2.1 What Sense has ܡܒܝܬܢ ܚܘܨܝܢ?

The Peshitta reads, ܡܒܝܬܢ ܚܘܨܝܢ⁵⁸ *right-handed throwers* or *right-handed shooters*. But there is no justification for equating the Peshitta rendering with the precise meaning “spearmen.” To do so would impose a conjectural rendering of the Greek on the Syriac. Moreover, one cannot without hesitation appeal to the semantic value of the noun ܡܒܝܬܢ (vocalized ܡܒܝܬܢ in *Thesaurus Syriacus* and *CSD*), of the same root as the construct pl. ܡܒܝܬܢ, as a guide to the meaning of ܡܒܝܬܢ ܚܘܨܝܢ. The reason is that only context can make clear what kind of projectile is intended, for ܡܒܝܬܢ can be either a stone (cf. ܡܒܝܬܢ ܩܒܝܠܐ, *sling stones* PsC 101:17; 102:3, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, vol. 2, col. 1065), or a weapon with a shaft. More than once ܡܒܝܬܢ is listed with the more common noun ܡܢܩܠܐ, which does mean “spear, lance, javelin,” (for example, ܡܢܩܠܐ ܡܒܝܬܢ BBah 1043:4; ܡܢܩܠܐ ܡܒܝܬܢ KwD² 187:17; ON 138:6 [explained, says *SL*, p. 1513, as ܡܢܩܠܐ ܡܒܝܬܢ *spear*), which suggests these two terms are to be differentiated from each other. Moreover, Bar Bahlul’s lexicon glosses ܡܒܝܬܢ by the Syriac noun ܡܢܩܠܐ, a type of lance or spear (see below, section 2.3.2.2), but as in modern dictionaries, defining one word by another is problematic and can create cyclic uncertainty if the explanatory gloss cannot be defined with precision.

That the precise meaning of ܡܒܝܬܢ ܚܘܨܝܢ has not yet been satisfactorily defined is evident in the different ways it has been glossed without comment by contemporary lexicons: *hasta* (Brockelmann); “spear, javelin” and “sling stone” in combination with ܡܢܩܠܐ (*SL*); *hasta brevis* (Brun); “javelin” (Costaz); *missile* (Latin) = “missile weapon, missile, javelin”⁵⁹ (*Thesaurus Syriacus*, vol. 2, col. 4065); “spear, javelin; missile, dart, slingstone” (*CSD*).

This brings us back to ܡܒܝܬܢ ܚܘܨܝܢ in Acts 23:23 as the translation of δεξιολάβος. What kind of weapon is thrown or shot by ܡܒܝܬܢ ܚܘܨܝܢ is undefined and undefinable. In accordance with objects of the transitive Peal verb ܡܒܝܬܢ in classi-

⁵⁷ Cf. “shooters with the right hand” in Murdock, *Murdock’s Translation of the Syriac New Testament from the Peshito Version*. *AEINT* has “archers with the right hand.”

⁵⁸ Peal active participle in construct state from the root ܡܒܝܬܢ followed by a preposition prefixed to the qualifying noun.

⁵⁹ Lewis, *A Latin Dictionary*.

would function as a precise and fitting correspondence for a specific Greek term: (a) Three Greek loan words are ܠܗܝܫܘܬܐ, ܠܗܝܫܘܬܐ and ܡܘܬܝܠܐ. *SL* (p. 288) cites the first of these three nouns, ܠܗܝܫܘܬܐ, as a loan word from δόρυ, δοράτιον, and *CSD* (p. 88) from δύρατα. *RPS* doesn't list ܠܗܝܫܘܬܐ as a loan word. *SL* glosses it as “spear” and gives three citations. *CSD* distinguishes between the meanings “spear” and “sceptre.” These are based on *RPS* (vol. 1, p. 858): *lancea, hasta*, for which there are three citations, all different from the three provided by *SL*, and *sceptrum* in Tit. Bostra. 141:28 in Ps 110:2. For Ps 110:2, the Peshitta Old Testament has ܡܘܬܝܠܐ *staff, rod, sceptre*.

ܠܗܝܫܘܬܐ *spear, lance*, is not a stranger to classical Syriac literature (*RPS* cites many instances, some in the Syrohexaplaric version of the Old Testament: Ezek 26:8; 39:9; Hab 3:11; Job 41:17), but it occurs only once in the Peshitta Bible in Jn 19:34,⁶³ where it corresponds to the New Testament's only instance of a Greek word for “spear, lance;”⁶⁴ namely, λόγχη.⁶⁵

The noun ܡܘܬܝܠܐ (from κοντάριον *spear*), glossed by *CSD* (p. 496) as “pole, javelin, short spear; iron mace, iron tipped staff,” is employed in the Syrohexaplaric version and other literature (*SL*, p. 1336; *Thesaurus Syriacus*, vol. 2, col. 3547). It does not occur in the Peshitta Old Testament⁶⁶ and as a potential lexical choice has the disadvantage of being polysemous.

(b) Semantically imprecise or polysemous terms, which would be ambiguous were they used in a compound term in a context that could make them ambiguous are ܡܘܬܝܠܐ, ܡܘܬܝܠܐ, and ܡܘܬܝܠܐ discussed above under ܡܘܬܝܠܐ: ܡܘܬܝܠܐ. (i) ܡܘܬܝܠܐ means “spear” in 1 Sam 13:19, 22; 2 Kings 11:10, et al. (*Thesaurus Syriacus*, vol. 2, col. 2209; *SL*, p. 730), but in other contexts “rod” or “shepherd's crook.”

(ii) *SL* (p. 1501) glosses ܡܘܬܝܠܐ as “spear” in 2 Sam 18:14 (“Joab took three spears in his hand and struck them into Absalom's heart”). It is a sense adopted from Brockelmann (Latin *hasta*) and followed by Köbert, but not recognized by Brun, Costaz, *CSD*, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, or Thelly, or by Walter and Greenberg in *Samuel*, The Antioch Bible, which has “[three] rods.” However, *SL* and Brockelmann are not alone in arriving at the sense “spear.” *BDB* (p. 986) assigns the meaning “shaft, i.e. spear, dart” to the Hebrew cognate שַׁבֵּטִים, pl. of שַׁבֵּט, which underlies the plural of ܡܘܬܝܠܐ in 2 Sam 18:14. Accordingly, *RSV* and *NRSV* have “spears,” *NIV*, *NEB* and *REB* “javelins,” and *JB*, *NJB* “darts.” *DCH* has “appar. dart” and *HALOT* “a rod as a weapon.” On examination, Brockelmann's *hasta*, and *SL*'s “spear” which

⁶³ The Old Syriac versions are not extant for Jn 19:34. The Harklean text also has ܠܗܝܫܘܬܐ (see Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshittâ & Harklean Versions*).

⁶⁴ See Louw and Nida §§6.29–37 for “weapons” vocabulary in the New Testament.

⁶⁵ Danker, p. 217: “whether a shaft with a sharp metal point, or the point of the shaft is meant is not clear from the text, but auditors would readily recognize use of synecdoche in ref. To a soldier's *lance*; Louw and Nida (§6.34): “a long weapon with a sharpened end used for piercing by thrusting or as a projectile by hurling (or possibly in Jn 19:34 ‘spear point’).”

⁶⁶ See Strothmann's *Konkordanz zur syrischen Bibel*, as well as *Thesaurus Syriacus* and *SL*.

translates *basta*, is a minor and questionable meaning of **مَحْبِلًا**, restricted to a single occurrence in 2 Sam 18:14. **مَحْبِلًا** can be discounted as a lexical choice contender.

(c) The noun **دَبَابًا** (unvocalized) *spears* may also be set aside because it is rare. It is listed only by Brockelmann and its offspring, *SL*.

Judging from Syriac lexicons, none of the preceding terms (unlike **مَوْحِلًا** in the only cited instance of **مَوْحِلًا** **وَأَسْتَبَدَّ** and **تَرْتَرًا** in the only cited instance of **لَهْتَتَدَّ** **(تَرْتَرًا)**) are cited in composite constructions that refer to the weapon-bearer rather than the weapon. Nevertheless, the range of words with the sense “spear, javelin” suggests that a suitable term (perhaps a genitive construction) for “spearmen” or some similar kind of weapon-carrier or missile thrower whose projectile had a shaft would have been available to the Peshitta translator of Acts 23:23 had he wanted one. As to the question, is the Peshitta a witness to “spearmen”? No, the evidence doesn’t allow us to claim that it is, but it does suggest that the Peshitta may be an accurate witness to the ambiguity of **δεξιολάβοι**.

مُجَبَّتْ حَكْحَكًا comp. n.mpl. (formed from cstr. pl. of act. pt. fol. by prep. **ح** pref. to n.) uncertain beyond the literal sense right-handed throwers, or right-handed shooters; “spearmen” (cf. Jennings, Etheridge, Pazzini, AB) cannot be justified from Syr. usage or as a rendering of the pl. of **δεξιολάβος** in Acts 23:23. The sum of what we know for certain about the meaning of this Gr. noun and its Syr. transl. in Acts is very little, “in effect no more than what is obvious from the context: dexiolarboi (and **مُجَبَّتْ حَكْحَكًا**) are military personnel other than heavy infantry or cavalry, in or under the control of the Roman army, available in some quantity, and of a character suited to escort duties” (Lee, *A History of N.T. Lexicography*, p. 254).

- pl. of **δεξιολάβος**.
Acts 23:23.

In summary, this excursus on **مُجَبَّتْ حَكْحَكًا** in Acts 23:23 demonstrates that care must be exercised before a versional reading is claimed as support for an ambiguous word in the source text and that in this instance the Peshitta cannot be appealed to as support for the particular meaning “spearmen” in Acts 23:23.

2.3.3 Terms Other than “Spearmen” Before and After Grimm-Thayer

This brings us to the end of our exploration of “spearmen” as a possible meaning of **δεξιολάβοι** and to other pre- and post-Grimm-Thayer meanings. Other pre-Grimm-Thayer denotations are in the minority. The Geneva Bible (1587) has “[two hundred] with dartes,” which may be “arrows” or the equivalent of “spears” or “lances.” Mace New Testament (1729) has “archers,” which is coincidentally paralleled by “bowmen” in the interlinear translation of UBS 4th edition, Nestle-Aland 26th edition⁶⁷ (1990). The interlinear reading would seem to hint at ambiguity as its NRSV

⁶⁷ Douglas, ed.; translators Brown, and Comfort, *The New Greek English Interlinear New Testament*.

(1989) parallel column (following RSV) has “spearmen.” But the interlinear’s choice of “bowmen” would seem less plausible than other options in the light of Grimm-Thayer informing us that *δεξιολάβοι* is listed alongside *archers* and *slingers* in witnesses from the Byzantine period (7th-10th centuries). But these later witnesses cannot be taken as a reliable guide to the meaning of *δεξιολάβος* as it was used several centuries earlier in Acts 23:23.

Darby’s Translation (1867) has “light-armed footmen” and Weymouth New Testament (1903) “light infantry.” Darby’s and Weymouth’s more generalized rendering returns in Moffatt (1924), who has “infantry,” NEB (1961) and REB (1989), which have “light-armed troops,” NEB noting that “the meaning of the Greek word is uncertain.” A variation of these senses is apparent in JB (1966) and NJB (1985), which settle for the single term “auxiliaries.” EDNT (1990) follows this generic interpretation. Its entry emphasizes that “[t]he exact meaning of this military t.t. is uncertain,” echoes Grimm-Thayer with the commentary “[w]itnesses from the Byzantine period (7th-10th centuries) list *δεξιολάβοι* alongside archers and slingers,” and concludes in the Darby and Weymouth tradition, “thus apparently as *light-armed soldiers*; see E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (1971) 647.”

To return to the Grimm-Thayer entry: it excludes “guards” as a meaning because “[t]he great number spoken of conflicts with the interpretation of those who suppose them to be soldiers whose duty it was to guard captives by a chain on the right hand.” With the notation “*δεξιο-λάβος* (*δεξιός* right-hand + *λαμβάνω*) pl.? *spearmen?*, *guards*),” Zerwick and Grosvenor (1996) give equal if tentative weight to “guards” as well as “spearmen” and so approve a sense dismissed a century earlier by Grimm-Thayer, but comes within the semantic domain of Winer’s brief definition “*who takes the right*, as an attendant”⁶⁸ *Grammatik des ne* (1894–98) and “security officer” proposed earlier (1963) by Kilpatrick in a two-page article. The Grimm-Thayer entry ends with the comment that “Meyer ad. loc. understands them [that is, the *δεξιολάβοι*] to be [either] *javelin-men* [or *slingers*].” Abbott-Smith’s lexicon (1937) echoes this observation with the definition “a kind of soldier, prob. a *spearmen* (Vg., *lancearius*) or *slinger*.”⁶⁹

Twenty-nine years after Grimm-Thayer, Moulton and Milligan’s lexical work (1930) admits to being “no more fortunate than our predecessors in tracing earlier appearances” of *δεξιολάβος* and conjectures that “it may be a coinage to translate some title used in the Roman army; but obviously it was coined before Luke’s time, as its meaning could not be deduced from its form.”

BDAG (2000, see also BAG, 1957; BAGD, 1979) cites earlier works and adds a selection of scholarly sources, but none diminishes the ambiguity of *δεξιολάβος*: “a word of uncertain mng., military t.t. acc. to Joannes Lydus (in Constantinus Porphyrog., *De Them.* 1, 5) and Theophyl. Sim., *Hist.* 4, 1 a light armed soldier, perh.

⁶⁸ Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, but see Winer, *A Grammar of the New Testament Diction*, 113.

⁶⁹ Kilpatrick, “Acts 23:23 dexiolabos,” 393–94.

bowman, slinger; acc. to a scholion in CMattaei p. 342 *body-guard*. Acc. to EEgli, ZWT 17,⁷⁰ 1884, 20ff δεξιόλαβος *left-handed* (?). *Spearman* Goodsp., NRSV; ‘security officer,’ GKilpatrick, JTS 14, ’63, 393f. W-S. §6, 4;⁷¹ Mlt-H. 272f.–, Acts 470. M-M.”

Danker (2009), more recent than any of the above, but also concise by intention, reads, “a very rare word of uncertain mng. Transliteration: ‘dexiolabos (in some military capacity).” “Various glosses,” continues Danker, “have been entertained: *archer, slinger*, or without suggestion of ordnance *body-guard*.” Interestingly, Danker does not offer “spearman” for consideration and like BAG, BAGD, and BDAG, does not seem influenced by the centuries-later Byzantine witnesses that list δεξιόλαβοι alongside “archers” and “slingers” – witnesses which, if taken as a semantic guide to earlier usage, would seem to distinguish δεξιόλαβοι from “archers/bowmen” and “slingers” and so not treat these terms as if they were synonyms.

2.3.4 *The Surprise of Louw and Nida’s Soldier Armed with a Spear*

No definitively new information about the meaning of δεξιόλαβος has come to light since Grimm-Thayer’s observations at the beginning of last century that can make this word other than ambiguous. The translator seeking how best to represent it in Acts 23:23 therefore has cause for serious surprise when a relatively recent New Testament lexicon as significant as Louw and Nida ignores all but one meaning by confidently defining δεξιόλαβος as “a soldier armed with a spear” and without comment glosses it as “spearman,” which was suggested by Grimm-Thayer on less-than-convincing circumstantial evidence.

As noted above, it is a meaning since used, sometimes with qualification, by other resources, but not by all, including the more cautious BDAG and Danker. In this instance, Louw and Nida provide an apt example of a lexical entry injudiciously claiming certainty where there is none, and all the more so because the reading in question cannot be said to have missed scrutiny due to it being one occurrence among many, but one that stands alone in its corpus and demands an entry of its own.

2.4 Συστέλλω

Lexicons often disagree as to whether or not a reading should be perceived as ambiguous and when they do agree that a reading is ambiguous may disagree in their analysis of the perceived ambiguity. The Greek verb συστέλλω in Acts 5:6 is an example.

Newman, BDAG, and Louw and Nida agree that in Acts 5:6 at least two meanings of the Greek verb συστέλλω deserve consideration. One is *remove, take away*, which BDAG (p. 978) defines as *remove an object from a place* and Louw and Nida (15.200) as *remove an object from a place by taking away or carrying away*, and for which

⁷⁰ Should be ZWT 27 and not 17 (1884).

⁷¹ See Winer, *A Grammar of The New Testament Diction*, 113.

Newman (p. 176) has the gloss, *carry out* (of the dead). The other meaning agreed on by all three lexicons is *wrap up* (also *cover* BDAG; *make a bundle of* Louw and Nida, 79.119) which BDAG defines as *wrap up by winding something around* and Louw and Nida as *wrap up an object, with the implication of getting it ready to remove*. To these two meanings BDAG adds a third: *gather up: pack, fold up, snatch up*. This possibility is echoed by *EDNT* with “collect together, pack up,” though with the qualification that “wrap up, cover up” is more likely. While “wrap up” is the translation of the *NRSV* it notes that the meaning of the Greek is uncertain.

These options offered by BDAG, Louw and Nida, Newman and *EDNT* stand in contrast to three other lexicons, which register only one and the same meaning: *wrap up*. The first two are Thayer (1899) and Abbott-Smith (1936). The third is Danker’s twenty-first century concise lexicon (2009). By limiting his entry to “*wrap up*, of a corpse made ready for transport, probably with help of a winding sheet,” Danker intriguingly disregards the ambiguity recognized by BDAG of which he is the most recent reviser and to which he introduced definitions. Admittedly, “wrap up” is the most widely accepted meaning and the only one recognized by many resources (for example, *LEGNT*, Zerwick and Grosvenor, and the English translations *JB*, *NJB*, *NEB*, *NIV* and *RSV*), but we know from Danker that it is by scientific principles that he is guided and not majority influence.⁷² So why the reduction? The pressure to be concise? But the inclusion of ambiguity in other Danker entries would seem to argue against the exclusion of what Danker would consider valid semantic competitors in this one. Or could it be that Danker as editor was obliged to retain all options in BDAG, but felt free to dispense with all but his scientific preference in a concise work of which he is sole author? Or could it be that he presents us with the meaning *wrap up* in his new work on the basis of new evidence or his reevaluating existing evidence? We do not know. What we can conclude is that Danker does not seem to consider *συστέλλω* in Acts 5:6 to be sufficiently ambiguous to cite more than one meaning and that the onus falls on the lexicon user to consult BDAG and Louw and Nida for more detailed information.

User responsibility is not an issue belonging only to the occasional lexical occurrence as in *δείκνυμι* in 1 Cor 12:31 and *συστέλλω* in Acts 5:6. At this stage of ancient-language lexicography, how the user views lexical resources is an issue that can hardly be over-emphasized. Gone are the days when the lexicon was viewed often as having an unquestioned authority. This is confirmed by a comparative study of ambiguity in our major lexicons and their often startlingly different findings. One of the inescapable implications is the need for the serious lexicon user investigating a lexeme or an instantiation of it to consult at least the major lexical works. A significant difference between BDAG and Louw and Nida’s approach to ambiguity, and between them and smaller lexicons, emphasizes the call for perspicacity on the part of the reader. In the examples we have examined, the major lexicons, if not some of the smaller ones, agree that an ambiguity exists. But in the realm of the Greek New

⁷² See Danker, “Lexical Problems,” 7–11.

Testament there are instances where Louw and Nida discerns ambiguities that BDAG does not.

2.5 A Mini-universe of Hebrew-Bible Ambiguities

For the lexicon user, ambiguity in Ancient-Hebrew lexicons can sometimes be more challenging than in New Testament lexicons – and no less essential to a proper estimate of the meanings of a lexeme. A few weeks before the ISLP St Petersburg conference, at which this volume’s papers were presented, I took from my shelves Marcia Falk’s translation and paired text of the Song of Songs, *Love Lyrics from the Bible*. It was an unplanned moment intended as light relief from the conference’s organizational responsibilities. The book opened at “poem 16” (Song 4:8 in the Hebrew text) where I found myself delighting in the anything but literal lines:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| אתי מלבנון כלה | With me, my bride of the mountains, |
| אתי מלבנון תבואי | Come away with me, come away! |
| תשורי מראש אמנה | <i>Come down</i> from the peaks of the mountains, |
| מראש שניר וחרמון | From the perilous Lebanon caves, |
| ממענות אריות | From the lairs where lions crouch hidden, |
| מהררי נמרים | Where leopards watch nightly for prey, |
| | Look down, look down and come away! |
| | (emphasis added) |

Falk’s translation of Qal impf. 2fs. תְּשׁוּרִי, the first word of the third line of the Hebrew text, intrigued me. As indicated in italics, nine English words and three different meanings translate this one Hebrew word from a שׁוּר root: “Come down,” picked up again in the last line with “Look down, look down and come away!” Within minutes I found myself immersed in a mini-universe of inescapable ambiguity, involving not just this one uncertain verbal instantiation, but many, all from a שׁוּר root or a postulated שׁוּר root. To enter this mini-universe the lexicon user need do no more than compare *DCH* with *HALOT* (and *HALAT*). Quickly we become aware of the overriding presence of the uncertain and irresolvable and at the same time of two very different approaches to these presences and often of different outcomes.

2.5.1 Verbs with a שׁוּר Root in HALOT

HALOT’s primary semantic analyses are informed by its etymology and “interpretations” from quoted sources. It deals with a selection of references under two suggested roots: I שׁוּר and II שׁוּר (vol. 4, pp. 449–45), which claim more than three-and-one-half columns. *HALOT* says that its “two suggested roots may have developed in distinctive ways from one original root, with the meaning of the second remaining closer than the first to the meaning of the original root.”⁷³ I שׁוּר includes the primary gloss *look at from a bent position* and gathers its findings under three head-

⁷³ *HALOT*, vol. 4, p. 1452 a.

ing: (i) “instances where the text is certain,” (ii) “instances where the text is uncertain, or alternatively the reading is disputed” (Job 33:27; Ps 17:11; Jer 5:26; Hos 13:7; 14:9), and (iii) Song 4:8, which is introduced as “a particularly difficult instance.”

HALOT lists a total of nineteen references under I שור and II שור (or twenty if one counts Song 4:8 twice because it is considered under both I שור and II שור). Seventeen are considered under I שור. They are listed under their respective meanings and not according to sequence as in the following list: Num 23:9; 24:17; Job 7:8; 17:15; 20:9; 24:15; 33:14, 27; 34:29; 35:5, 13, 14; Ps 17:11; Song 4:8; Jer 5:26; Hos 13:7; 14:9. Three references, Song 4:8; Isa 57:9; Ezek 27:25, are considered under *HALOT*'s II שור where this verb is glossed as *climb down to, bend down towards*.

2.5.2 Verbs with a שור Root in DCH

Instead of the two conventional categories framing *HALOT*'s analysis, *DCH* identifies eight different verbal homonyms (vol. 8, pp. 310–312). As stated in its introduction, *DCH* does not include etymology and “the ‘root’ forms of verbs are used as headwords no matter how suspect such forms may be methodologically speaking.”⁷⁴ This means that *DCH* does not inform us as to whether or not the eight verbal homonyms may have developed in distinctive ways from one original root, or two or more roots that share the same consonants. *DCH*'s eight verbal entries claim approximately the same column space as *HALOT*'s two.

2.5.3 What does HALOT do with its Six Fewer References than DCH?

DCH cites twenty-five references as compared with *HALOT*'s nineteen: Num 23:9; 24:17, 22; 2 Sam 11:16; Job 7:8; 17:15; 20:9; 24:15; 33:3, 14, 27; 34:29; 35:5, 13, 14; Ps 17:11; 92:12; 138:5; Song 4:8; Isa 57:9; Jer 5:26; Ezek 27:25; Hos 9:12; 13:7; 14:9).

Why *HALOT* has six fewer references than *DCH* (Num 24:22; 2 Sam 11:16; Job 33:3; Ps 92:12; 138:5; Hos 9:12) is a pertinent question for the lexicon user seeking to check *DCH* meanings of שור verbs with their counterparts in *HALOT*. What we can establish is that it is not because *HALOT* has overlooked any of the six references. Rather, it is because it cites each of them under a verbal root or substantive other than its verbal roots I שור or II שור. While the task is time consuming, *DCH* provides enough information for us to track each of its שור references to its source in *HALOT*. It is a task that also reveals that *DCH* treats all six readings as ambiguous and for some postulates an option based on an emendation. For its part, *HALOT* presents three readings as ambiguous (Job 33:3; Ps 92:12; Hos 9:12) and three as having only one meaning (Num 24:22; 2 Sam 11:16; Ps 138:5). As to the location of these six readings in *HALOT*, the clues provided by *DCH*'s entries lead us:

- for Num 24:22 from *DCH* שור II *look down on, look upon, gaze on* to *HALOT* proper noun אַשּׁוּר *Asshur*;
- for 2 Sam 11:16 from *DCH* שור II *keep watch* to *HALOT* verb שמר *keep under military observation, besiege*;

⁷⁴ *DCH*, vol. 1 p. 15.

- for Job 33:3 from *DCH* שׁוֹר IV *repeat* and [שׁוֹר] V *reveal*; to *HALOT* noun יִשָּׁר *uprightness*, though *HALOT* puts a question mark against the text and advises the user to consult commentaries (vol. 2, p. 450 b);
- for Ps 92:12 from *DCH* שׁוֹר VII *traduce: traducer, slanderer* to *HALOT* noun שׁוֹרֵר, שָׂרַר, (*personal*) *enemy* (vol. 4, p. 1454 b), and to the conjectural reading under “I שׁוֹר: probably a primary noun,” *wall* (vol. 4, p. 1453 b);
- for Ps 138:5 from *DCH* שׁוֹר I *travel, journey, walk* to *HALOT* verb שִׁיר *sing* (vol. 4, p. 1480 a)
- for Hos 9:12 from *DCH* שׁוֹר I *depart* to two different *HALOT* locations, one under the verb I שׁוֹר (as against שׁוֹר) and the other under the verb סוֹר. The *HALOT* verb I שׁוֹר (vol. 3, p. 1313 a) cites two possibilities. The first is that the reading “inf. sf. שׁוֹרִי = סוֹרִי,” and so we are directed to the verb סוֹר for further information. Under the verb סוֹר the reading “סוֹרִי” is assigned the gloss *stand aloof* (vol. 2, p. 748 a). The second proposal quoted by *HALOT* under the verb I שׁוֹר is that for the masoretic text’s reading בְּשׁוֹרִי we should read “בְּשׁוֹרִי (vb. II שׁוֹר) *if I draw away from them.*” *HALOT* does not mention this possible alternative under its verb II שׁוֹר, which returns us to where we began with its inclusion under *DCH*’s שׁוֹר I *depart*. One could argue that the obvious starting point for anyone searching *HALOT* for the meaning of our verb in Hos 9:12 would be under the verb I שׁוֹר as this is the root that corresponds to the reading of the verb in the masoretic text and thus there is no need to cite such an alternative also under a postulated root. In a corpus-specific lexicon that intentionally attends to readings that can be considered ambiguous there does however seem to be merit in a cross-reference system that alerts the lexicon user to all the possibilities and so allows that user to investigate each option.

2.5.4 Homing in on *HALOT* and *DCH*’s שׁוֹר Verb Ambiguities

Let us now turn from the absence of the preceding six references under *HALOT*’s I שׁוֹר and II שׁוֹר roots to the presence of ambiguous readings under these two *HALOT* roots and under *DCH*’s eight שׁוֹר verbal homonyms (see §2.5.2).

Of its nineteen references under I שׁוֹר and II שׁוֹר *HALOT* lists six as ambiguous (Job 33:27; Ps 17:11; Song 4:8; Jer 5:26; Hos 13:7; 14:9). *DCH* lists five of these six as ambiguous and one (Song 4:8) unambiguous.

Of its twenty-five references *DCH* lists fifteen as ambiguous (Num 24:22; 2 Sam 11:16; Job 17:15; 33:3, 14, 27; Ps 17:11; 92:12; 138:5; Isa 57:9; Jer 5:26; Ezek 27:25; Hos 9:12; 13:7; 14:9). As we have seen (see §2.5.3), six of these fifteen *DCH* ambiguities correspond to the six references *HALOT* does not treat under a שׁוֹר root (Num 24:22; 2 Sam 11:16; Job 33:3; Ps 92:12; 138:5; Hos 9:12). Another one of these fifteen *DCH* ambiguities is listed by *HALOT* as unambiguous (Job 17:15).

2.5.5 DCH שור I/HALOT II שור and DCH שור II/HALOT I שור

The first of *DCH*'s eight verbal homonyms, שור I *travel*, corresponds to *HALOT*'s II שור *climb down to, bend down towards*. Its second homonym, שור II *behold*, corresponds to *HALOT*'s I שור *look at from a bent position*.

Even within the compass of its first two homonyms, *DCH* offers a considerably wider range of nuanced senses than *HALOT* gives in its entire treatment. However, in two instances, Jer 5:26 and Ps 17:11, *HALOT* (I שור *look at from a bent position*, p. 1450 b) provides more detail than *DCH*. For Jer 5:26 it has six lines of analysis. *DCH* (שור II *behold*, vol. 8, p. 311 a) is brief by comparison with the translation “*he watches like hunters lying in wait*” (emphasis added), which, with two other references, is presented under the gloss *watch with evil intent, lurk*. For Ps 17:11 *HALOT* has twelve lines of analysis, which list a number of interpretations from various sources and translations, including *our steps; they waylay me; they track me down; they press me hard; they come straight up to me*.

2.5.6 DCH שור III-VIII

DCH regards its six other verbal homonyms (שור III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII) and their references as semantically uncertain. For three of these homonyms it provides immediately after the primary gloss an alternative meaning in brackets in the form of one of the other homonyms for the reference or references it cites: שור III *leap out* (unless שור II *behold*) Hos 13:7; שור IV *repeat* (unless שור II *behold*) Hos 14:9; Job 33:3, 14, 27; שור VI *be resplendent* (unless שור I *travel*) Isa 57:9.

Two of the remaining three, [שור] V *reveal – Hi.* Job 33:3 and שור VIII *be moist – Hi., make moist* Isa 57:9, are also alternatives to one of the other homonyms, but this is not immediately apparent as they are not cross-referenced. [שור] V is an alternative to שור III, and שור VIII an alternative to שור VI.

2.5.6.1 DCH שור III/HALOT I שור

DCH's שור III *leap out* (unless שור II *behold*) has only one reference, Hos 13:7. *HALOT*, under I שור, agrees this reading is uncertain. It too has the meaning *leap out*, but to it adds “*lurk (like a panther at the wayside)*.” It does not have an equivalent to *DCH* שור II *behold*.

2.5.6.2 DCH שור IV and [שור] V/HALOT I שור

DCH's שור IV *repeat* (unless שור II *behold*) has four references. For three of them, Hos 14:9, Job 33:14, 27, *DCH* offers four options. The first two of these options, namely, *repeat* (unless *behold*), are at the beginning of the entry. The other two options, *affirm* from the root שרר IV or *rejoice* from the root שרר VII, are embedded in the entry.

For the fourth reference, Job 33:3, *DCH* offers three options. The first two are *repeat* (unless *behold*) at the beginning of the entry. Further into the entry we learn that *repeat* (the meaning that is the subject of the entry) is based on an emendation. The third of *DCH*'s interpretations of Job 33:3 is not mentioned in the same entry as the other two, but treated separately in the next entry, [שור] V, of which it is the

sole subject. There it is assigned the meaning *reveal* – *Hi*. It too is based on an emendation. As we have seen – and in accordance with the design of *DCH* – details about Job 33:3 in שור IV and [שור] V are not cross-referenced. The lexicon user wanting to examine *DCH*'s various options for this reading must therefore be sufficiently diligent to discover that it is cited without cross-reference in two separate entries.

HALOT omits Job 33:3 but includes the three other references. – Hos 14:9, Job 33:14, 27 – under I שור *look at from a bent position* (= *DCH* שור II *behold*, which is complemented by many secondary senses). For none of these three readings does it have a meaning that corresponds to *DCH*'s *reveal*. *HALOT* also differs from *DCH* in that it specifies its citation of one of the three readings, Job 33:14, as “certain.” It deals with the two other references, Hos 14:9 and Job 33:27, under the heading “instances where the text is uncertain, or alternatively the reading is disputed.” To the first reference, Hos 14:9, *HALOT* gives eight lines and offers two quoted interpretations. The first is *look after* in “and I *look after* it (or him),” and the second “*brings happiness*” in “it *brings happiness*.” It also quotes the rendering *I affirm it* in REB and NEB. To the third reference, Job 33:27, *HALOT* gives six lines and quotes the interpretation “he will sing in exultation,” which it compares with “that person sings to others” (NRSV), “if he affirms before everyone” (REB), and “if he declares before all men” (NEB).

2.5.6.3 *DCH* שור VI and VIII/*HALOT* II שור

Both *DCH*'s שור VI and VIII concern Isa 57:9. Like Job 33:3 in שור IV and [שור] V, these entries are not cross-referenced, so again the lexicon user must examine more than one entry to canvas the semantic options.

DCH postulates six options for Isa 57:9.⁷⁵ Two are in שור VI where the Isaiah verb in question is glossed as *be resplendent* (unless שור I *travel*) – *be resplendent glisten*. The option in brackets, “(unless שור I *travel*),” is presented in full in שור I. In that entry we learn that (a) this bracketed alternative is based on an emendation, (b) *travel* can be expanded to *travel, journey, walk*, and (c) there are three further options: “*lashed* [שה] V,” “*drenched* [שר] VI,” and “*smear* [שור] VIII.” The sixth proposition is in שור VIII. It is based on our reading being emended from Qal to Hiphil: “*be moist* – *Hi*, *make moist*, i.e. smear, tresses with oil.”

In *HALOT*, Isa 57:9 is one of the three references under its second שור root; namely, II שור *climb down to, or bend down towards*. The other two references are Ezek 27:25 and our already mentioned Song 4:8, which *HALOT* also cites in I שור. The difference between *DCH* and *HALOT* regarding Isa 57:9 is that *DCH* presents five uncertain meanings and *HALOT* one meaning which it presents as unambiguous and differs from the five offered by *DCH*.

2.5.6.4 *DCH* שור VII

⁷⁵ See Barthe'lem. *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (1982–1992).

We now come to שור VII, the remaining verbal homonym of the eight supplied by *DCH*. The homonym is in Ps 92:12. It is based on an emendation, grammatically categorized as “Qal, ptc. as noun,” and glossed as *traducer, slanderer*. The reference is one of the six *HALOT* deals with under a different root (see §2.5.3).

2.5.7 Back to תְּשׁוּרִי in Song 4:8: Completing a Cycle of Ambiguity

This then is where a spontaneous and pleasurable reading of a single verse in the Song of Songs led: a venture into the undergrowth of a small verdant thicket in a forest of ancient Hebrew lexical ambiguities. Now, having surveyed *DCH* and *HALOT*'s (*HALAT*'s) verbs with a שור root, we can return to תְּשׁוּרִי (Qal impf. 2fs.) in Song 4:8 with a keener appreciation that at this stage in lexicography it is often beyond the scope of any one lexicon to provide us with all the information that is needed to make a fully informed decision regarding the meaning of any one particular ambiguous word or even whether that word is ambiguous.

תְּשׁוּרִי proves to be but one of numerous examples. *HALOT* (1999) lists it in each of its two categories, I שור and II שור. Furthermore, under I שור, for which it has the primary meaning “look at from a bent position,” it singles out תְּשׁוּרִי for special treatment, devoting two-thirds of a column to it and emphasizing that it is “a particularly difficult instance.” Citing many sources, it offers two options: “to look” and “to descend, climb down,” followed by other renderings. By contrast and despite all the attention it gives to some ambiguous readings, *DCH* (2008) registers תְּשׁוּרִי as if it were unambiguous. It lists it under “look down, look upon, gaze on,” the second meaning of its second homonym. In this instance, *HALOT* more accurately represents the range of opinions proffered by contemporary scholarship.

Nevertheless, *HALOT* does not exhaust all points of view – and in the case of תְּשׁוּרִי many factors require consideration, among them philology, etymology, homonymy, poetics, stylistics, metaphor, mythological use of place names, context in its cycle of songs, and so on. Indeed, scholarship into the issue has not ceased. This is evident in Stoop-van Paridon's *The Song of songs: A Philological Analysis* (2005), who asks “whether it would not be better to transform שור II [as in *HALOT*/*HALAT*] which occurs three times (Isa 57:9, Song 4:8 and Ezek 27:25) into סור.”⁷⁶ For this emendation Stoop-van Paridon quotes the meanings “1) *turn aside* ... 2) *depart*.”

That תְּשׁוּרִי remains a subject under scrutiny is also evident in Eidelkind, “Intended Lexical Ambiguity in the Song of Songs.”⁷⁷ Like Falk, whose translation of תְּשׁוּרִי intrigued me, Eidelkind sees the paronomasia possibility that the author played on two meanings and so created an intentional ambiguity. One of the meanings advocated by Eidelkind is however different from one of those preferred by Falk. Both accept the basic meaning “look.” But whereas Falk has the combination “come away/come down” and “look down” Eidelkind prefers “look” and “leap,” which he argues in some detail are “suggested by the context.” In this regard, both

⁷⁶ Stoop-van Paridon, p. 216 and note 12, p. 216.

⁷⁷ Eidelkind, “Intended Lexical Ambiguity in the Song of Songs,” pp. 344–46.

DCH and *HALOT* list “leap out” in their lexicalization of שׁוּר verbs, but as applicable only to Hos 13:7 (see §2.4.6.1) where it is a leopard that does the leaping. Eidelkind observes that in addition to their use of a שׁוּר verb both Song 4:8 and Hos 13:7 refer to a lion and a leopard. Is this by chance? Is there, he asks, a contextual connection between the two verses that allows us to see “leap” as well as “look” in תְּשׁוּרִי in Song 4:8? He thinks there is, for, calling on “Loretz 1991:139,” he says that “[t]he Woman who dwells among lions and leopards is implicitly likened to a lioness or a leopard. No wonder then that she must ‘leap’ (and not simply ‘go or ‘travel.’ ‘Leap,’ it, should be noted, is not the only meaning that Eidelkind attributes to the שׁוּר verb in Hos 13:7. It, no less than Song 4:8, is perhaps intentionally ambiguous in that it too may play on two meanings, in this case on “lurk” as well as “leap.”

2.6 Summary: Observations regarding Ambiguity in *DCH* and *HALOT*

Limited as it is, this comparison of *DCH* with *HALOT* represents the prevalence of ambiguity in ancient-biblical Hebrew; that is, the prevalence of instances where our knowledge is too limited to be sure of the meaning of a word in a particular context. It also reveals the different approaches of these two major lexicons to ambiguity and their frequently different findings. It allows us to appreciate the methodological and arrangement challenges in presenting ambiguity in a consistent, thorough and accessible manner, and the complexities and frustrations facing the lexicon user who seeks to assess in our best lexicons even one ambiguous reading for which multiple meanings may be proposed.

3 SEMANTIC AMBIGUITY DUE TO SYNTACTIC AMBIGUITY

Semantic ambiguity can be due to syntactic ambiguity. Ubiquitous particles with multiple syntactic functions are a prime example. It is not uncommon for the reader or listener to be left to choose between different meanings of a commonly occurring particle because it is syntactically ambiguous, or with the possibility that more than one value was intended by the author or translator. It is an aspect of ambiguity to which *BDAG*, *DCH*, and *KPG* draw attention. Neither *HALOT* nor Louw and Nida include this aspect of ambiguity, *HALOT* because, unlike *DCH*, it restricts itself to selected unambiguous citations of ubiquitous particles and Louw and Nida because it adopts a radically minimalist approach to all particles.

3.1 Syriac Dalath in Lk 4:6

The value of illustrative examples of ambiguous particles in *KPG* lies mainly in the fact that classical Syriac lexicons give little attention to particles and that translations of the Peshitta New Testament often favour one meaning of an ambiguous particle over another without comment. What function, the reader or listener must ask, does the particle Dalath have in the Peshitta rendering ܕܠܗܡܟܪܝܢ ܕܡܫܚܝܢ in Lk 4:6? Is ܕ a rela-

other words, “the reason for the asking” of the question “what sort of person is this?” is “because/since/for/seeing that (ὅτι) even the winds and the sea obey him.” Understood in this way, Mt 8:27 may be framed, *the cause of my asking is or, to use Blass-Debrunner-Funk’s phrase, I ask because: the cause of my asking* what sort of person is this is that even the winds and the sea obey him, or *I ask* what sort of person is this, *because* even the winds and the sea obey him.

Though they do not give a reason, Zerwick and Grosvenor prefer the meaning “for, seeing that” to “because.” Danker (p. 257) also prefers “for.” The reason is that ὅτι in Mt 8:27 is an example of passages that “appear to exhibit an inferential aspect” of causality.

As already mentioned, Louw and Nida (§89.33) does not cite ambiguities for particles. Nor does this lexicon give Mt 8:27//Mk 4:41 as an illustrative example of a use of ὅτι. But even if it did both, it seems that the possibility of ambiguity would not be a lexical concern as it does not distinguish between ὅτι as a marker of explanatory clauses and a marker of causality, but judging from the final gloss (“in view of the fact that”) would seem to subsume the two functions, as they are perceived by BDAG, under a causal definition: “marker of cause or reason based on an evident fact, *because, since, for, in view of the fact that.*”

3.2.2 Should the Peshitta Rendering of Ὅτι by ܘܢܝܢ, in Mt 8:27//Mk 4:41 be Regarded as Ambiguous?

In the Peshitta, ܘܢܝܢ (Dalath) translates ὅτι in Mt 8:27 and Mk 4:41. Would the Syriac translators with their apparent heightened sensitivity to the nuances of Greek syntax have sensed,⁸⁶ like the authors of BDAG written a millennia-and-a-half later, a syntactic and semantic ambiguity and seen it as applicable to ܘܢܝܢ? Or would they have seen BDAG’s perceived differences in function on some kind of continuum whereby one syntactic and semantic value may merge into another? We do not know. What we do know is that they also use the particle ܘܢܝܢ, both as a “marker of explanatory clauses” and as “a marker of causality” to translate ὅτι in contexts that are unambiguously one or the other. In Jn 3:19, for instance, ὅτι and ܘܢܝܢ are straightforwardly explanatory: “And this is the judgement, *that* (ὅτι/ܘܢܝܢ) the light has come into the world” (cf. Mt 16:8; Mk 8:17; Jn 16:19; 1 Jn 1:5; also in the phrase ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ *not that* Jn 6:46; ܘܢܝܢ *not that* 2 Cor 3:5),⁸⁷ and in Mt 13:16 ὅτι and ܘܢܝܢ are unambiguously causal: “but blessed are your eyes because they see me (cf. Mt 5:6; Lk 4:41; 6:21; 10:13). It is therefore not implausible that in Mt 8:27 and Mk 4:41 ܘܢܝܢ may retain the subtle ambiguity that BDAG perceives in ὅτι. In translation the subtlety is well covered by the

have been felt as meaning ‘for what reason, why’; or as meaning ‘(I ask,) because’ and is found already in pre-classical Greek.”

⁸⁶ Peursen and Falla, “The Particles ܘܢܝܢ and ܘܢܝܢ,” esp. pp. 64–5 and pp. 75–94.

⁸⁷ Cf. ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ instead of ܘܢܝܢ, in ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢ *not because* 2 Cor 1:24.

English “that,” which can extend from the explanatory to the causal: “who is this *that*⁸⁸ the winds (ܡܘܬܐܘܪܐ) and the sea are obedient to him?”

This issue discussed in this section may be small and subtle, but the lexicon that embarks on ambiguity must be able to decide what to do with readings of this kind. As a corpus-based lexicon to a translation, *KPG* incorporates the correspondences of the source language. In the case of a prolific particle such as ܐ, which occurs more than five-thousand time in the Peshitta Gospels, it does not list each correspondence for each occurrence. But it does note briefly the possible ambiguity in Mt 8:27 and Mk 4:41 as an illustrative example (vol. 1, p. 117). For a coordinating conjunction such as ܕ, discussed in the following section, it does list every occurrence and the Greek correspondence for each occurrence. Every ambiguous instance of ܕ is therefore given attention. This discriminating approach allows for an exhaustive analysis of the meaning/s of particles and for special attention to be given to ambiguous instantiations.

3.3 Syriac ܕ in *KPG*

The ubiquitous subordinating Syriac conjunction ܕ denotes time, concession, or cause. *KPG* identifies four transparently ambiguous instances in the Peshitta New Testament: Mk 4:27, Jn 10:33, 2 Cor 4:17 and 8:9.⁸⁹ The following analysis of the first of these four, in which ܕ denotes time, concession, or an intentional ambiguity, demonstrates that there are no short cuts to establishing the nature of these ambiguities and the options available to the contemporary reader, translator, and lexicographer.

The subordinating conjunction ܕ in Mk 4:27 (ܕ ܗܘ ܗܘ ܕ ܐܘܪܐ) is ambiguous because one reader or translator could assume it to be temporal, another concessive, another wonder which of the two it might be, and yet another whether perhaps it is even a play on both. The Greek underlying ܕ in Mk 4:27 is ὥς.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ The Peshitta omits καὶ in ὅτι καὶ *that even (the winds)* in Mt 8:27 and Mk 4:41 (Legg cites a few other witnesses to this omission).

⁸⁹ Prepared for third volume in preparation.

⁹⁰ Often, more than one Greek reading competes for consideration in an analysis of the Greek term underlying a Peshitta Syriac term. When this is the case, a variant Greek reading should be considered “only when it can be demonstrated on the basis of an analysis of the relevant data that its Syriac parallel is, in the context in which it occurs, conceivable as its translation” (Peursen and Falla, “The Particles ܕ and ܐ” p. 65). Accordingly, “it is not the nature or extent of Greek manuscript evidence that is used as a criterion, but whether the term in the receptor language is conceivable as a rendering of the variant reading in the Greek text” (see *KPG*, 1:XXXII). In this regard, no critical edition of the Greek New Testament (see Bover, Legg, Merk, Nestle-Aland, Aland’s *SFG*, Aland’s *SQE*, Swanson, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Vogels, Von Soden) cites a variant Greek reading that vies with ὥς in Mk 4:27 for consideration as the Greek behind the Syriac ܕ. In fact, there is only one instance in the Peshitta Gospels where temporal ܕ has more than one syntactically and semantically conceivable Greek reading as a parallel; it is ܕ in Lk 22:66, which *KPG*, vol 3 (in prepara-

3.3.1 ܘܫ in Mk 4:27 as Time

Time *when, at the time when, during the time that, while*, “the seed will enlarge and sprout *when/while* (ܘܫ) he does not know about it/is unaware (of it)” Mk 4:27.

3.3.1.1 In Support of Time

In the context of Mk 4:27, it can be argued that both ܘܫ and ὥς are temporal: “while (ὥς) he is still all unknowing” (Zerwick and Grosvenor);⁹¹ “while (ܘܫ) he knoweth not” (Etheridge). If this is the case, then this instance corresponds to twenty-seven other occurrences where temporal ܘܫ translates temporal ὥς.⁹² To these twenty-seven occurrences may be added a further occurrence of ܘܫ in Rom 11:2, which, unlike contemporary resources and translations, interprets ὥς as temporal. The Peshitta has ܘܫ ܘܫܘܢ ܘܫܘܢ ܘܫܘܢ ܘܫܘܢ *when he was complaining (to God)* and the Greek ὥς ἐντυγχάνει *how he pleads (with God)*.⁹³

3.3.2 ܘܫ in Mk 4:27 as Concession

Concession *though, although*, which is the function and meaning in *AEINT*,⁹⁴ Murdock,⁹⁵ and in Childers relatively new Antioch Bible translation,⁹⁶ “the seed will enlarge and sprout, *though* (ܘܫ) he does not know (it)/is unaware of it/does not understand how.”

tion) registers as rendering “ὥς (or ὅτε)” – and ὅτε has the support of only one witness, MS 1241 cited by IGNTP, and by Von Soden in which 1241 = δ 371.

⁹¹ Zerwick and Grosvenor, *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, p. 113, regards this instance of ὥς as ambiguous, so that it might be translated as either “how, he knows not” or “while he is still unknowing.” BDAG (p. 1103) does not list this instance as ambiguous, but cites it under the definition “a comparative particle, marking the manner in which someth(ing) proceeds, *as, like*, and translates the clause as “as he himself does not know how, without his knowing (just) how.”

⁹² The twenty-seven occurrences are: Lk 1:23, 44; 2:39; 5:4; 7:12; 11:1; 15:25; 19:5, 29, 41; 22:66 (or ὅτε); 23:26. Jn 2:9, 23; 4:40; 6:12, 16; 7:10; 8:7; 11:6, 20, 29, 32, 33; 18:6; 20:11; 21:9.

⁹³ This occurrence of ὥς is cited by Danker (p. 390) under the definition “w(ith) focus on aspect of activity or event,” and is glossed “how” (cf. AAT, JB, KJB, Moffatt, NIV, NEB, NRSV, REB, RSV). While BDAG does not list Rom 11:2 as an example, it defines this same function (Danker – the “D” in BDAG – also provided BDAG’s definitions) as “marker of discourse content” and glosses it as “that, the fact that.” That the Peshitta translator did not understand the function of ὥς in Rom 11:2 in this way, but as temporal, is consistent with the fact that the Peshitta translates other references listed under the Danker and BDAG definitions cited above by either ܘܫ *that* (Lk 6:4; 24:6; Acts 10:28; Rom 1:9; 2 Cor 7:15; 1 Thes 2:11a) or ܘܫܘܢ *how, in what manner* (Lk 24:35; Phil 1:8).

⁹⁴ *Aramaic-English Interlinear New Testament*.

⁹⁵ Murdock, *Murdock’s Translation of the Syriac New Testament from the Peshito Version*.

⁹⁶ Childers, *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translation. Mark*.

3.3.2.1 In Support of Concession

To ὡς in Mk 4:27 Rienecker and Rogers;⁹⁷ Taylor;⁹⁸ and Zerwick and Grosvenor)⁹⁹ assign a function that BDAG (p. 1103) defines as “a comparative, marking the manner in which something proceeds” and translates as “(in such a way) as he himself does not know = “he himself does not know how; without his knowing (just) how.” The concessional function of ܐܘܨ would be an appropriate rendering of this syntactic and semantic function of ὡς.

3.3.2.2 Against Concession

If ܐܘܨ is accepted as the correspondence of ὡς in Mk 4:27 as a comparative adverb, it would be (with the perfectly explainable exceptions of Acts 10:38 and 2 Cor 7:15,¹⁰⁰ and Acts 20:20¹⁰¹) the *only instance* – of all those cited by BDAG – in which *this particular function* of ὡς is not rendered by ܐܘܨ, ܘܘܨ, ܘܘܨܘܘܨ, or ܘܘܨܘܘܨ,¹⁰² cf. ὡς (BDAG, pp. 1103–1104) = ܐܘܨ Mk 10:15; 1 Cor 9:26; 13:11, 11, 11; Eph 5:8; 6:6, 6, 20; Phil 2:22; Col 3:22; 1 Thes 5:2; 1 Pet 5:3; Jas 2:12; Rev 22:12; = ܘܘܨ Mt 15:28; 26:39, 39; 28:15; Lk 14:22 (following a variant Greek reading); Rom 12:3; 13:13; 1 Cor 3:5, 15; 7:17, 17; 9:26; Gal 3:16, 16; Eph 5:33; Cos 3:18; Heb 11:29; = ܘܘܨܘܘܨ Mk 12:26 (or πῶς); Lk 8:47 (or πῶς); 23:55; 24:35 (or πῶς); = ܘܘܨܘܘܨ Mt 1:24; 8:13; 26:19; 27:65; Rom 15:15; Titus 1:5. In Rom 11:2 ὡς is translated by ܐܘܨ and not by ܘܘܨ, ܘܘܨ, or ܘܘܨܘܘܨ. But the reason is clear. As noted above (under the rubric *In support of time*), ܐܘܨ in this instance interprets ὡς as a temporal conjunction and not as a comparative adverb.

3.3.3 ܐܘܨ in Mk 4:27 as Intentional Ambiguity

There is no question that the Peshitta translators were intimately familiar with the syntactic functions of ὡς as an adverb of comparison and a temporal conjunction, as well as other functions discussed in this section. The translator of Mk 4:27 may

⁹⁷ Rienecker and Rogers, *Linguistic Key to the Greek New Testament*, 98.

⁹⁸ Taylor, Vincent. *The Gospel According to Mark*, 267.

⁹⁹ See note 90.

¹⁰⁰ BDAG (p. 1104) understands ὡς in Acts 10:38 and 2 Cor 7:15 to be a comparative adverb, but the Peshitta renders these instances by ܘܘܨ, *that*, thus treating ὡς in the same way as it does instances that BDAG (p. 1105) defines as “marker of discourse content” and Danker as “w(ith) focus on aspect of activity or event” (see note 89). Danker (p. 390) has revised the BDAG listing of 2 Cor 7:15 by citing it under the definition “w(ith) focus on aspect of activity or event” (see note 92). In consequence, Danker’s revision now agrees with the Peshitta’s understanding of ὡς in 2 Cor 7:15.

¹⁰¹ Like JB, NEB, NIV, NJB, NRSV, REB and RSV, the Peshitta does not have a specific correspondence for ὡς in Acts 20:20.

¹⁰² Methodologically, it is important in contexts such as ὡς in Mk 4:27 to analyze the Syriac correspondences of a particular Greek term as well as the Greek correspondences (including variant Greek readings that may require consideration; see note 89) underlying the Syriac term.

therefore, like Zerwick and Grosvenor in our day,¹⁰³ have been aware that a choice was involved and may have intended ὅτε to cover or play on both semantic values.

On the basis of the translators' correspondences for different functions of ὅτε and the Peshitta text's responsiveness to intricacies of Greek syntax, the evidence is weighted in favour of ὅτε being understood as temporal rather than concessional. But an entry must remain as impartial as possible and represent all credibly conceivable options. *KPG* therefore lists all three options: time, concession, and intentional ambiguity. To achieve impartiality the lexicographer must adopt as a principle that a lexical entry not claim certainty where it doesn't exist. As we have observed, lexicons do not always adhere to this principle.

4 INTENTIONAL AMBIGUITY

Distinguishing between what we might perceive as an intentional ambiguity on the part of an ancient author or translator and the more common type of ambiguity that is due to scholarship's inability to properly discern the meaning of a particular occurrence of a lexeme is no simple matter. What one interpreter may see as intentional another may see as a subjective and overly imaginative observation, or as lacking sufficient evidence. Sometimes it is the investigation that has produced more than one possibility regarding the meaning of a word or occurrence of a word that leads to the question of whether the resulting ambiguity might from the beginning have been intentional.

An apparently intentional play on the dissimilar meanings of a particular occurrence of a polysemous word falls into this category. Sometimes an ambiguity of this kind is so compelling that it finds its way into a corpus-specific lexicon. It is the case of the lexicographer identifying that a word in a play on words can be understood in more than one way¹⁰⁴ and judging that semantically and lexically the sense of the word in question would not be adequately represented were it reduced to only one of its compositionally apparent or possible meanings.

4.1 Διαφθείρω in Rev 11:18

New Testament lexicons recognize two meanings for διαφθείρω , "destroy," and "deprave." In its first entry on διαφθείρω (§20.40) in the subdomain "destroy," Louw and Nida defines and glosses διαφθείρω as "to cause the complete destruction of someone or something – to destroy utterly." In its second entry (§88.266) in the subdomain "licentiousness, perversion" it has "to cause someone to become perverse or depraved, as a type of moral destruction – to deprave, to pervert, to ruin, to cause the moral ruin of." BDAG (p. 239 b) and Danker (p. 94) have comparable definitions and glosses. The word occurs twice in the one clause in Rev 11:18, "and the time ... $\text{διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθεῖροντας τὴν γῆν}$." Abbott-Smith, BDAG, Danker, and Louw and Nida in §20.40 (cf. Rienecker and Rogers) agree that we here have

¹⁰³ See note 90.

¹⁰⁴ See first paragraph of the Introduction for this article's definition of "ambiguity."

a play on the two meanings of *διαφθείρω*. In the words of Louw and Nida, “in the first instance the meaning is destroy, but in the second instance the meaning is ‘to deprave.’” Danker has “*ruin* (destroy) *those who ruin* (deprave) *the earth* (i.e. its inhabitants).” However, the play is described the fact remains that the same word is repeated and the second instance is capable of being invested with a double meaning.

Nevertheless, not all interpreters regard the repetition of *διαφθείρω* in Rev 11:18 as an unquestionable play on words. Some prefer to see it as an option. Others disregard the possibility. While Louw and Nida’s first entry (§20.40) is unequivocal in presenting the repetition as a play on two meanings, its second entry (§88.266) is less certain, presenting the lexicon user with the option “‘to destroy those who ruin the earth’ *or* ‘... cause the earth to be depraved’” (emphasis added). Major translations that acknowledge only the meaning “destroy” for both occurrences include JB, NEB, NRSV, NIV, REB, and RSV. To them may be added Zerwick and Grosvenor. None of these translations give any indication that wordplay or more than one sense might be involved. If the second verb does have a moral connotation, then *τῆν γῆν* has to stand in for “the people of the world.” This offers the additional possibility of destruction that includes both the physical and the moral senses of the verb: depravity, devastation, death, burning, robbing, etc. The effect could still be regarded as a play on meanings, but one that moves from the power of the particular to the unendurable all inclusive.

These differences in opinion regarding *διαφθείρω* in Rev 11:18 represent two forms of ambiguity. One form is the reading considered to be a wordplay intentionally created by a translator. The word is ambiguous, not because of disagreement between interpreters, but simply because it can be interpreted in more than one way. The other is due to ambivalence on the part of some interpreters – an ambivalence that the lexicographer is not in a position to resolve. It is precisely because of irresolvable disagreement between interpreters as to whether or not a play on two dissimilar meanings was intended that this kind of reading must be considered ambiguous. The verb *רָשַׁף* in Song 4:8 discussed in §§2.4.1 and 2.4.7 therefore shares characteristics of ambiguity in common with *διαφθείρω*, first because there is dispute as to whether *רָשַׁף* is ambiguous and if it is what it means, and secondly because at least two interpreters (Falk and Eidelkind) see in it an intentional play on two very different meanings.

4.2 Pael ܐܘܪܐܘܢ as Mirror translation of *διαφθείρω* in Rev 11:18

The most immediately noticeable characteristic of the Syriac rendering of the two occurrences of *διαφθείρω* in Rev 11:18 is that it mirrors the two meanings of the Greek word.¹⁰⁵ It is the Pael ܐܘܪܐܘܢ, which can mean both “destroy, spoil, ravage”

¹⁰⁵ For the text of Revelation see John Gwyn’s 1897 edition as published in 1920 by the British & Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) and in 2014 by Gorgias Press (Lund and Kiraz, *The Syriac Bible with English Translation*).

and “corrupt, deprave.”¹⁰⁶ Hence the translation $\text{ܐܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ}$ might be rendered into English as “and you shall destroy those who corrupted the earth.” Is this semantic echo of the Greek a mere linguistic coincidence or is it to be seen as a validation of and witness to a play on the two meanings of $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$? If the Syriac translator of the Apocalypse did see a play in the Greek and, as would have been the case, delighted in preserving it then it is an ambiguity and wordplay that deserves recognition as a mirror rendering in a corpus-specific lexicon that includes the Syriac text of the book of Revelation. There is however an obstacle to authenticating the Syriac as an intentional replication of the Greek wordplay. It is the issue of lexical choice that this author has discussed elsewhere.¹⁰⁷ Three of the four other occurrences of $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$ in the Syriac New Testament are also translated by the Pael ܥܘܕܐ (Lk 12:33; 1 Tim 6:5; Rev 8:9). The rendering of the fourth occurrence of $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$ is comparable in that it is translated by the Ethpa ܥܘܕܐ (2 Cor 4:16). We cannot therefore claim that the Syriac rendering of $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\theta\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$ in Rev 11:18 departs either from the lexical choice made in Rev 8:9 or from the lexical choice made by other translators in other Syriac New Testament writings; the choice was not a departure made in order to achieve a play on meanings that would echo the Greek. But the possibility of a paronomasia replication, though unprovable, does remain.

4.3 The Noun ܕܘܫܘܒܐ in John 16:6, 20

Poetics – the aesthetic and creative linguistic use of the spoken or written medium¹⁰⁸ – is a characteristic of the Peshitta New Testament that sometimes, as in the preceding example, is a challenge for the lexicographer of the corpus-specific lexicon. In the Old Syriac [Sinaitic]¹⁰⁹ and Peshitta versions of Jn 16:4–24 we have another word, the Syriac noun ܕܘܫܘܒܐ , with two meanings vying for attention at the same time: a *double entendre*. In this narrative, Jesus tells his disciples that he is soon to leave them and that this will cause them ܕܘܫܘܒܐ , *sadness, sorrow, distress*, but eventually their ܕܘܫܘܒܐ will give way to joy. But in classical Syriac literature ܕܘܫܘܒܐ can mean “brevity” as well as “sadness, sorrow, distress” as in the phrases ܕܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܘܫܘܒܐ and ܕܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܘܫܘܒܐ (*brevity of time*). By the time we reach the climax of the narrative both meanings have been effectively brought into play.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Pael ܥܘܕܐ “destroy” (*of ships* Rev 8:9); “corrupt” (*of moths* Lk 12:33, *of the mind* 1 Tim 6:5), and the Ethpa ܥܘܕܐ “be corrupted” (*of our outer self* 2 Cor 4:16).

¹⁰⁷ See the section “Artistic Prose and Lexical Choice” in Falla, “Questions Concerning the Content and implications of the Lexical Work *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels*,” pp. 96–98.

¹⁰⁸ Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics & Phonetics*, p. 358.

¹⁰⁹ The Curetonian version is not extant.

¹¹⁰ *CSD*, p. 226, following *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 1807, perceives the meaning “sadness, anxiety, distress” to be a metaphorical extension of “shortness, brevity.” Be that as it may, most contexts in classical Syriac in which ܕܘܫܘܒܐ is employed do not infer a semantic link between the two meanings. It is both the difference and the emotional link between the two meanings that comes to the fore in Jn 16:4–24.

The noun appears twice, first in verse six, then in verse twenty. As it is used in this narrative, it is an accurate translation of *λύπη*.¹¹¹ The first *ܦܢܝܐ* is preceded and followed by Jesus telling his disciples that he is going away and will be with them for only a little longer. Like *λύπη*, it here means “sorrow,” the painful sorrow, the distress of mind or spirit that comes when we know that we will soon be parted from someone, or lose them forever. This shadow of sorrow is deepened by Jesus then saying, seven times (verses 16–19), that he has only *ܦܚܘܪܐ* a little while left with them.¹¹² Then in verse twenty, as a kind of *inclusio*, *ܦܢܝܐ*, again translating *λύπη*, is repeated. This time, though, *ܦܢܝܐ* is no longer anticipatory but loaded with its double meaning – “sorrow” and “brevity” of time – as it gathers into itself the power of the two preceding interwoven themes: “In all truth I tell you, you will weep and mourn; the world will be glad and you will grieve (*ܦܚܘܪܐ*, *ܦܢܝܐ*), but your *ܦܢܝܐ* (sorrow, brevity of time) will turn to joy.” From a translational and poetic perspective, *ܦܢܝܐ* and *ܦܚܘܪܐ* are semantic partners seemingly spotlighted like two principle actors on a stage.

This play on meanings is worth recording in its own right. But for the lexicographer there is another issue. One of the two meanings of *ܦܢܝܐ*, “brevity,” *never occurs elsewhere in the Peshitta New Testament*. To cite this occurrence of *ܦܢܝܐ* therefore requires the corpus-specific lexicon to register, not just the meaning that corresponds to the Greek underlying it, but both meanings. If it didn’t the lexicon user may be left to suppose that in the Syriac New Testament *ܦܢܝܐ* means only “sorrow.”

¹¹¹ In Jn 16:6, 20 “grief, sorrow” BDAG, Danker, Newman; BDAG has the definition “pain of mind or spirit” and L&N §25.273 “a state of mental pain and anxiety.” In personal correspondence, Anne Thompson brought to my notice that (while New Testament lexicons do not acknowledge it) potentially *λύπη* has two meanings in classical Greek that invite comparison with those of *ܦܢܝܐ*. These two meanings depend on whether the focus is on the patient or on the agent: “pain in the heart/mind” and “time or state that causes pain,” so that life itself could be described both as a “state of pain” and “a brief state.” If the grief is within a person, then that person is the recipient (the patient), but if life causes grief, then it is an agent of the *λύπη*. For the second meaning cf. Hdt. 7.152.3, which is about a prevailing state due to a war going badly; cf. also *λύπη* in LSJ, and in Montanari (“painful situation”). See Franco Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, English ed., edited by Madeleine Goh and Chad Schroeder (Leiden: Brill, 2015). Whether or not the Old Syriac and/or Peshitta translators were aware of this distinction, or understood *λύπη* to mean no more than how it is defined and glossed by modern New Testament lexicons, we are not in a position to know. If they were aware then the two meanings of *ܦܢܝܐ* may echo a semantic dimension of *λύπη* beyond what is presented in New Testament lexicons, even though the Greek term does not apparently have a sense that properly equates to the specificity of the Syriac “brevity of time.” If they were not aware, then the Syriac introduces a poetic element that cannot be attributed in any way to the underlying Greek.

¹¹² *ܦܚܘܪܐ* (*μικρόν* in Greek): “in *ܦܚܘܪܐ* a little while (slight pause) you will not see me” (Jn 16:16). This *ܦܚܘܪܐ*, “brevity of time” is repeated seven times (16–19).

While in this instance a *double entendre* is too obvious to depend on its genuineness having to be authenticated by an appeal to the translator's lexical choice, it is worth noting that in the Peshitta New Testament ܐܘܨܘܪܐ is not the only correspondence for λύπη. The noun ܘܫܘܒܐ, ܘܫܘܒܐ is the rendering in Lk 22:45, Phil 2:27, 27; 1 Pet 2:19, the adjective ܘܫܘܒܐ in Jn 16:21, 22 (the two verses following the first occurrence of ܐܘܨܘܪܐ), and the Aphel ܘܫܘܒܐ in 2 Cor 2:3. In addition to Jn 16:6, 20, ܐܘܨܘܪܐ is the correspondence for λύπη in Rom 9:2; 2 Cor 2:1, 7; 7:10, 10; 9:7; Heb 12:11.

In *KPG*, volume three (in preparation) the only two occurrences of ܐܘܨܘܪܐ in the Peshitta Gospels are presented as:

ܐܘܨܘܪܐ n.f. in Jn16:6, 20 a double entendre playing on the meanings sadness, sorrow, distress and brevity, shortness with implied reference to time (for the use of this latter meaning in Syr. literature, especially in the phrases ܐܘܨܘܪܐ, ܘܫܘܒܐ and ܐܘܨܘܪܐ ܘܫܘܒܐ, brevity of time, see RPS, col. 1807). The two meanings of ܐܘܨܘܪܐ play on the passage's interwoven themes of sorrow and brevity of time due to imminent separation. The theme of sorrow is explicitly introduced by ܐܘܨܘܪܐ as the rendering of λύπη in Jn 16:6, “sorrow has come and filled your hearts,” and the brevity of time theme is explicitly expressed by ܘܫܘܒܐ (vss. 16, 16, 17, 17, 18, 19, 19) here meaning “a little while.” The second occurrence of ܐܘܨܘܪܐ gathers into itself the poignancy and potency of the two preceding themes: “in all truth I tell you, you will weep and mourn; the world will be glad and you will grieve (ܘܫܘܒܐ ܘܫܘܒܐ), but your ܐܘܨܘܪܐ (sorrow, brevity of time) will turn to joy.” From a translational and poetics perspective, ܐܘܨܘܪܐ perhaps forms an inclusio for vss. 6–22. Cf. ܘܫܘܒܐ.

■ λύπη both ref.

Jn 16:6, 20.

“One test of a dictionary,” says Thompson, “is how well it serves the interpretation of a particular passage.”¹¹³ As this *double entendre* in Jn 16:6, 20 and the analysis of ܘܫܘܒܐ in Mk 4:27 (§3.1) have not been identified or discussed other than in *KPG* and in this article, the space given to their entries is commensurate with the information that is needed to provide a satisfactory explanation.

5 AMBIGUOUS FIGURATIVE SPEECH REQUIRING INTERPRETATION

As stated in its introduction, this paper does not include the complex subject of figurative speech, which may be considered a form of ambiguity. But one aspect of figurative speech that does deserve attention is the lexical item whose literal meaning is complicated by a figurative usage that is not immediately clear to all readers. It is an aspect of corpus-specific lexicography that Richard Taylor examines in his article “The Inclusion of Encyclopedic Information in Syriac Lexical Entries.” While

¹¹³ Thompson, quoted from her article “The Lexicographic Editor and the Problem of Consistency” published in this volume.

the aim of incorporating socio-historical information should be tightly defined,¹¹⁴ Taylor argues that “[i]t seems reasonable to expect that dictionaries dedicated to particular corpora of ancient texts should take into account figurative usage of terms and should also include a judicious selection of historical or encyclopedic information in order to guide users as to how key words are used in these texts.” Taylor examines four lexical items found in the Syriac text of the book of Daniel, though as he emphasizes, “the choice is somewhat arbitrary” as “there is no shortage of illustrative examples elsewhere.” The four words are ܡܫܐܠ *animal, beast*, ܪܡܐ *ram*, ܩܘܢܐ *goat*, and ܫܘܢܐ *horn*. At the conclusion of his section on ܡܫܐܠ, Taylor observes that “it would seem that a lexicon dedicated to the Peshitta Old Testament should include categories of usage that account for the non-literal usage of important words such as ܡܫܐܠ *beast*. Inclusion of an appropriate level of historical or encyclopaedic information regarding the significance of ܠܘܢܐ *lion, bear leopard* would also be helpful for readers of these texts. Such a summary need not be lengthy. A brief sketch of the main interpretations, identification of their primary advocates in early exegetical traditions, and an indication of the implied historical relationships would suffice to assist readers in making sense of these texts.” At the end of his section on ܪܡܐ and ܩܘܢܐ Taylor says the denotative meanings of these two terms are clear in Dan 8; “they may mean *ram* and *goat* respectively. But the connotative meanings are not so clear. Standard Syriac lexica suffice for informing readers that ܪܡܐ means *ram* and ܩܘܢܐ means *goat*. But one looks in vain for help with the figurative function of these words in their apocalyptic setting in the book of Daniel, where ܪܡܐ is used as a code term for Persia and ܩܘܢܐ is used as a code term for Greece. An explanatory usage would be helpful to readers, since the passage remains unintelligible apart from such an understanding.”

Taylor’s discussion of ܫܘܢܐ concludes, “While the basic significance of the word *horn* seems clear enough, its usage is complicated by figurative meanings that appear in a number of texts. At times the English gloss *horn* is not likely to clarify sufficiently for readers the intended meaning of this word. Proposed definitions must therefore take into account contextual nuances if a lexicon is to describe comprehensively the semantics of a particular corpus of literature. The same subtleties that characterize the Hebrew word קֶרֶן are found in the Peshitta with its Syriac cognate ܫܘܢܐ. For that reason, simply knowing that ܫܘܢܐ refers generally to a horn may not sufficiently inform the readers of the meaning of this word in a particular context. Greater precision is required if the terminology of the text is to be properly accounted for by lexicographers and correctly understood by readers.”

¹¹⁴ See Aitken, “Context of Situation in Biblical Lexica,” in which Aitken advocates (p. 181) “[t]he need for some contextual information in biblical lexica,” “although,” he adds, “such data should be used with restraint.” Aitken takes examples “from Greek lexica to illustrate the advantage of this information.” He pays attention “to how far a lexicographer should be aware of the social context of words *in framing definitions* (emphasis added), and accordingly how far socio-historical information, or ‘context of situation’ as it was termed by Malinowski, should be recorded in biblical lexica.”

Taylor’s article ends with the following “addenda” illustrating “how lexical entries for the Peshitta Old Testament might be expanded to include such information in addition to the more literal glosses that can be expected.”

ܒܚܝܘܬܐ *beast, animal* Fig., an ancient political empire, according to the vision of Dan 7. The first three of Daniel’s four beasts are further described by similes that liken them respectively to grotesque forms of a lion, bear or leopard. The fourth beast is non-descript but more terrifying than the other beasts. The exact identity of three of Daniel’s four beasts was disputed in early Jewish and Christian interpretation. All interpreters agree that the first beast represents Babylon. The other three beasts represent Media, Persia, and Greece (so, e.g., Porphyry and Syriac glosses found in the Peshitta text of Daniel), or Media-Persia, Greece, and Rome (so, e.g., Hippolytus and Jerome).

ܚܘܠܐ *ram* Fig. the Achaemenid Persian empire, according to the vision of Dan 8. In particular, a two-horned ram represents fourth-century Persian armies engaged in aggressive but unsuccessful military conflict against Greek forces led by Alexander the Great.

ܕܘܠܐ *goat* Fig., the Greek empire, according to the vision of Dan 8. In particular, a shaggy goat (ܕܘܠܐ ܘܚܘܠܐ) with a prominent horn represents Greek military forces under the leadership of Alexander the Great engaged in swift and decisive military victory over Persian forces.

ܚܘܠܐ *horn* Fig., strength or dignity, in a positive sense; pride or arrogance, in a negative sense; an architectural projection on an altar; a hill or mountain spur; a ray (of light); the human countenance; an influential political or military leader. Especially used in the book of Daniel of the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.), the so-called “little horn” (ܚܘܠܐ ܘܚܘܠܐ) who violently enforced Hellenization on the second-century Jewish population of the land of Israel.

6 CONCLUSION

In a recent interview, Nobel Prize winner in medicine, Tim Hall, said that for him a fundamental principle of research is the simple recognition that “knowing what you don’t know is the growth point.”¹¹⁵ For the lexicographer, might the lexical treatment of ambiguity be such a growth point? In a lexicon of one author or corpus it is certainly a persistent reminder of what remains uncertain and unknown and “can be interpreted in more than one way.”¹¹⁶ In that capacity it can act as a cautioning against over confidence, not only when investigating the meaning of a reading that resists proper disclosure, but the sense of some of the more commonplace occurrences of the seemingly more well-known word. In this regard, one matter that reveals itself to be beyond dispute is the inescapable reality of ambiguity as an element of ancient-language texts. So much so that in many lexicons semantic ambiguity –

¹¹⁵ Interview by Australian Broadcasting Commission, Big Ideas 7 April 2015.

¹¹⁶ See Introduction to this article.

whether due to a lack of information necessary to establish with certainty which of two or more meanings in a particular context is correct, syntactic uncertainty, because the ambiguity can be perceived as intentional, or because a clear literal sense employed figuratively requires interpretation – is proving to be a helpful and significant lexical feature. At the same time, the question of what to do about citing ambiguity in a corpus-specific ancient-language lexicon, of knowing what to do with what you don't know, proves to be more complicated than it might at first seem. It raises a number of issues for future ancient-language lexicons, including classical Syriac lexicons in which this article has a special interest. What then can we learn from the enormous amount of effort represented in the lexicons cited in this article? As a starting point, this paper offers for consideration the following principles for future classical Syriac corpus-by-corpus lexicons and other ancient-language lexicons to which they may be applicable.

1. Adopt ambiguity as a standard feature. For the lexicon that lists all occurrences of a word under a specific meaning the lexical recognition of ambiguity is a necessity. Nor is it an option for a lexicon that seeks to provide an exhaustive analysis of each lexeme's semantic values, even if the illustrative examples and references that support it are not exhaustive. Where a definition or evidence based gloss for a word is impossible that word must still be treated, albeit in a different way, and that treatment requires honesty about the uncertainty.¹¹⁷ Were ambiguous readings not recognized, the lexicon user would have an incomplete and to some extent artificial guide as to how to evaluate a great number of words with a disputable meaning, or, as in the case of some items examined in this article, perhaps left unaware that the syntactic and/or semantic value of a particular occurrence is uncertain and debatable.

2. Create corpus-specific lexicons that can speak to each other so the user can move from one to another with ease. This is not the case with current ancient-language lexicons. For good reason, it is not their aim to accommodate each other, but to present their contents according to their differing philosophical and methodological perspectives. This diversity has its advantages. But for the lexicon user, investigating even a single ambiguous lexeme can be time consuming and intimidating. To my surprise, it took me, as a lexicographer, a full week to achieve for this article a detailed comparative examination of a single cycle of homonyms in two lexicons. This alerted me to the challenge facing the lexicon user not familiar with lexicographical conventions as they differ from lexicon to lexicon. It is a problem that can be overcome in lexicons designed for a series.

¹¹⁷ See Thompson's review of Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (p. 127) in which she concludes her discussion on δεξιολάβος with, "At the moment, a definition for this word is impossible, and it must therefore be treated in a different way. The problem remains as to whether a handy translation word should be provided for those who need it, one which seems reasonable in the light of the context and available evidence, as long as there is honesty about the uncertainty."

3. Provide a methodological guide to the treatment of ambiguity in the introduction to the lexicon. As far as this author can establish, no lexicon has yet supplied such a guide.

4. List every occurrence of every headword under a particular meaning. This procedure leaves the user in no doubt as to the lexicon's assessment of the semantic value of every instance of every lexeme. For both lexicographer and user, it also has the advantage of isolating for special attention all instances that prove to be ambiguous. Initially, some might be missed and listed under only one meaning or another. Later digitization would allow for necessary revisions.

5. Option to principle 4: for a corpus that is a translation and that incorporates the correspondences of the source language, there is the option of providing at the beginning of the entry the meanings of the word complemented by a selection of illustrative examples and listing all references to the headword in a separate section of the entry. This is the approach adopted by *KPG*, which employs its exhaustive concordantal section of references as a key to the Greek correspondences. Although this procedure does not assign every reference to a meaning, it does allow for an exhaustive analysis of the meaning/s of the headword and for special attention to be given to ambiguous instantiations. The latter are cited separately. The syntactic and semantic functions of the subordinating Syriac conjunction ܐܘ, for example, are presented under the headings time, concession, cause, and *ambiguous*.

6. Cite *all* ambiguous instances of all words, or at the very least selections in the case of ubiquitous words. While this is a demanding and time-hungry task, it is one that is the natural corollary of citing all occurrences of a lexeme under a particular meaning, or of providing an exhaustive analysis of all the meanings of each lexeme.

7. Not claim certainty where it doesn't exist. Often lexicons propose profoundly different options for a problematic occurrence of a word. This may be welcomed as the result of ongoing research and leaves us grateful to have access to more than one major lexical resource, even if most users must rely on an institutional library for the multi-volume Hebrew ones. But the user should treat as suspicious a lexical entry that registers a reading as if it were unproblematic when another lexicon considers that same instantiation to be ambiguous to the degree that it is able to offer several semantic values from which to choose.

8. As a corollary to point 7, include all meanings for a particular occurrence of an ambiguous word that have been proposed, investigated, and found conceivable. Only in this way can readers "make their own decisions about the meaning of words in the light of all the evidence."¹¹⁸ It is a principle that sees merit in lexicographers taking a step back and representing, along with the results of their own work, preferences other than their own. It is understandable that what may seem an obvious meaning to one interpreter may seem unlikely to another. This may well be the reason for starkly divergent lexical options proffered by different major lexicons, which may leave the reader wondering which resource is the more reliable. Both may rep-

¹¹⁸ Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vol. 1, 26.

resent options that can be shown to be valid and deserve to be considered. That is the nature of human and academic discourse. But surely in a lexicon differences in opinion should not permit a dismissal of a conceivable and researched alternative.

9. Where necessary, trace from its origin to the present the historical trajectory of lexical information regarding an ambiguous reading in order to reassess that information.

10. Take nothing on trust is good advice, so that information is not transmitted uncritically from one generation of lexicons to another.¹¹⁹

11. Seek consistency and coherence within the lexicon: (a) No sooner had I completed this article and this conclusion than I received by email a copy of Thompson's illuminating article "The Lexicon Editor and the Problem of Consistency," which appears in the present volume. Her first words are, "Given the scale of time and resources required to complete a large dictionary, inconsistency of method and style of presentation are understandable even under the watchful eye of the most vigilant of editors." "Consistency," says Thompson "has to be a starting point for a more scientific approach." These observations are most applicable to ambiguity as a feature of lexical entries. For this reason, classical Syriac lexicography requires a conceptual framework and methodology that allow for consistency and yet can be adapted to different genres of classical Syriac corpora: philosophical, scientific, theological, versional and literary.

(b) Some forms of inconsistency are more troublesome than others. One, intimated under point 6, is the recognition of one ambiguous word, but, for no apparent reason, not another. Another, addressed in point 7, is the all too frequent tendency of claiming or appearing to claim certainty where ambiguity is conceivable. Yet another, addressed below in point 13, is to cite sources for some ambiguities but not others for which well-argued publications are available.

(c) In some situations, allow for flexibility within consistency. The amount of space assigned to the presentation of an ambiguous reading will, for instance, vary from entry to entry according to the nature and complexity of the problem that needs to be explained.

12. Provide cross-referencing where necessary. As this study has shown, the need for cross-referencing is made evident by lexicons where an ambiguous reading is provided with multiple meanings but in different entries with no cross-references to guide the user from one entry to another. It would therefore be easy for a user to assume that the first meaning they come across is the only one offered by that lexicon for the ambiguous item in question.

13. Cite *all sources* supporting an option for an ambiguous instantiation and register them in full in a bibliography.

14. When an ambiguous reading is a translation: (a) Assess it syntactically and semantically in its own context and as a vocabulary item of its own language before examining it in relation to its underlying text.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Chadwick's *Lexicographica Graeca*, p. 16.

(b) Reserve any judgement as to whether or not a correspondence supports a conjectural meaning of an ambiguous reading in a source text until or unless the correspondence in the target text has been thoroughly researched and shown to be an apparent positive witness – a task that necessarily includes the identification and evaluation of all lexical choices that may have been available to the target-text translator.

(c) Check for variant readings in the underlying text that may also require consideration, while at the same time recognizing that a variant reading should be considered only when it can be demonstrated on the basis of an analysis of the relevant data that its target-text parallel is, in the context in which it occurs, conceivable as its translation.

(d) Where necessary, analyze the target-text correspondences of a term in the source text as well as the correspondence underlying the target-text term, recognizing that in some contexts where this was not done, the analysis would reveal only one side of the relationship between the source and target texts so that the resulting data would be distorted.

Welcoming what we don't know about a word has from the beginning been a fascination and growth point of lexicography. The corpus-specific lexicon is now taking "the endeavor to find out what you don't know from what you do"¹²⁰ and applying it to the word that teases us with its ambiguity. Time and testing has proved the inclusion of the ambiguous item to be a requisite feature of the lexicon of one author or work. What now beckons is the task of sorting and grading what has been gathered, critically examining disparities between lexicons, separating the well-researched ambiguous item from what may be superficially suggestive, and identifying what requires further investigation, while all the time acknowledging what we don't and perhaps can never know in a manner that celebrates its place in literature and natural language.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott-Smith, G. *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*. 3rd ed. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1937.
- Aitken, James, K. "Context of Situation in Biblical Lexica." Pages 181–201 in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography III*. Edited by Janet Dyk and Wido van Peursen. Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 4. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2008.
- Aland, K.. *Synopsis of the Four Gospels*. 9th ed. German Bible Society Stuttgart, 1989.
- . *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*. 15th rev. ed. Stuttgart Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997.
- Aramaic-English Interlinear New Testament*: see The Way International Research Team.

¹²⁰ From Letter to Mrs Croker, September 3, 1852, quoted in Croker Papers, vol. 3. See Louis J. Jennings, ed., *The Correspondence and Diaries of the Late Right Honourable John Wilson Croker*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1885.)

- con of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson, 1907. Corrected ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Brown, Lesley et al., eds. *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Brown, Lesley et al., eds. *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. 2 vols. 5th ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002.
- Brun, J. *Dictionarium Syriaco-Latinum*. Beirut: Soc. Jesus, 1895. 2nd ed. 1911.
- Budge, E. A. W. *The History of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes*. Cambridge, 1889 [repr. Amsterdam, 1976].
- Burgers, J. W. J. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus: Lexique Latin medieval, Medieval Latin Dictionary, Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002.
- Burkitt, F. Crawford. *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe: the Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels, with the readings of the Sinai Palimpsest and the early Syriac Patristic evidence*. Vol. 1, Text. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904.
- Carter, Warren. *Matthew and the Margins: A Sociopolitical and Religious Reading*. Maryknoll, New York, 2000.
- Chadwick, John. *Lexicographica Graeca: Contributions to the Lexicography of Ancient Greek*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Childers, Jeff, W., trans. *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translation. Matthew*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2012.
- , trans. *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translation. Mark*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2012.
- , trans. *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translation. Luke*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2013.
- Clines, David, et al., eds. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–2011.
- Corréard, Marie-Hélène, Valerie Grundy, eds. *Le Dictionnaire Hachette-Oxford: français-anglais, anglais-français*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Corréard, Marie-Hélène, Valerie Grundy, Jean-Benoit Ormal-Grenon, and Natalie Pomier, eds. *Le Grand Dictionnaire Hachette-Oxford: français-anglais, anglais-français*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Costaz, L. *Dictionnaire syriaque-français, Syriac-English Dictionary, Qamus suryani-'arabi*. Beirut: 1963. 2nd ed. Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1986.
- Crystal, David, ed. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. 5th ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.
- Culy, Martin M., Mikeal C. Parsons, and Joshua J. Stigall, *Luke: A Handbook on the Greek Text*. Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2010.
- Danker, Frederick William. "Lk 16:16: An Opposition Logion." *JBL*, 77 (1958): 231–43.
- . *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009.

- Glare, P. G. W. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968–82.
- Goodspeed, Edgar, J. *The New Testament: An American Translation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949.
- Gove, Philip Babcock, et al., eds. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 1961.
- Greenberg, Gillian and Donald M. Walter (translators). *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translation. Jeremiah*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2013.
- Grimm's Wilke's and Joseph Henry Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament being Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti*, translated, revised and enlarged by Joseph Henry Thayer. 4th ed. Edinburg: T & T. Clark, 1901.
- Haenchen, Ernst *The Acts of the Apostles*. Oxford: Blackwell; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971.
- Hoffman, Johann Georg Ernest, ed. *Opuscula Nestorius syriace tradidit*. Kiel: Maison-neuve, 1880.
- Hude, Charles., ed. *Herodoti Historiae*. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927, repr. 1941–47.
- IGNTP: *The New Testament in Greek, The Gospel according to St. Luke. Part Two. Chapters 12–24*. Edited by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.
- Jenning, Louis J., ed. *The Correspondence and Diaries of the Late Right Honourable John Wilson Croker*. 2nd ed. London: John Murray, 1885.
- Jennings, William. *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament*. Revised by Ulric Gantillon. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- Kilpatrick, G. "Acts 23:23 dexiolabos." *JTS* 14 (1963): 393–94.
- King, Daniel. "Remarks on the Future of a Syriac Lexicon based upon the Corpus of Philosophical Texts." Pages 63–81 in *Reflections on Lexicography: Explorations in Ancient Syriac, Hebrew, and Greek Sources*. Edited by Richard A. Taylor and Craig E. Morrison. Piscataway: Gorgias, 2014.
- , trans. *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translation. Romans-Corinthians*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2013.
- Kiraz, George Anton. *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshittā & Harklean Versions*. 4 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996.
- Kitchen, Robert, trans. *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translation. Acts*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2014.
- Klein, Devorah, E. and Gregory L. Murphy, "The Representation of Polysemous Words." *Journal of Memory and Language* 45, Issue 2 (2001) 259–82.
- Köbert, R. *Vocabularium Syriacum*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1956.
- Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner et al., eds. *Hebräische und aramäische Lexikon zum Alten Testament*. 3rd ed. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–96.

- . *The Hebrew & Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament (the New Koehler-Baumgartner in English)*. Rev. by Baumgartner, Walter and Stamm, Johann Jakob. 5 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994–2000.
- Lagarde, P. A. de, ed. *Titi Bostreni contra Manichaeos libri quatuor Syriac*. Berolini: Schultze, 1859.
- Lee, John A.L. *A History of New Testament Lexicography*. New York: Peter Lang, 2003.
- Legg, S. C. E. *Novum Testamentum Graece, secundum Textum Westcott-Hortianum, Evangelium secundum Marcum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935.
- . *Novum Testamentum Graece, secundum Textum Westcott-Hortianum, Evangelium secundum Matthaeum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.
- Lewis, Charlton, T. *A Latin Dictionary, founded on Andrew's edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*. Revised. Enlarged, and in great part rewritten. Oxford: Clarendon, 1879.
- Liddell, H. G., Robert Scott, H. Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 2 vols. 9th ed. (also known as New Edition). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–1940; later published as one vol. *A Greek-English Lexicon. The Supplement*. Edited by E. A. Barber *et al.*, 1968. *A Greek-English Lexicon. Revised Supplement*. Edited by P. G. W. Gare assisted by Anne A. Thompson, 1996.
- Litttré, Emile. *Dictionnaire de la langue française*. 4 vols. et Supplément. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1863–73.
- Löbner, Sebastian, *Understanding Semantics*, London: Arnold, 2002.
- Louw, Johannes P. and Eugene A. Nida (eds.), Rondal B. Smith, (part-time ed.), Karen A. Munson (associate ed.). *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*. 2 vols. New York: United Bible Societies, 1988.
- Lund, Jerome A and George A. Kiraz. *The Syriac Bible with English Translation. Revelation*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2014.
- Manna, Awgen, **ܐܘܓܢܢܐ ܘܟܠܘܐ ܘܗܘܒܐܠܐ** / *Vocabulaire chaldéen-arabe* / دليل الراغبين في لغة الآراميين. Mosul: Dominican Press, 1900; 2nd ed., repr. with a new appendix under the title **ܐܘܓܢܢܐ ܘܟܠܘܐ ܘܗܘܒܐܠܐ** / *Chaldean-Arabic Dictionary* / قاموس كلداني-عربي. Beirut: Babel Center Publications, 1975. [Repr. under the name and title, Eugene Manna, *Chaldean-Arabic Dictionary*, Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2007.]
- Merk, Augustinus. *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*. 11th ed. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1992.
- Meyer, Heinrich August Wilhelm. *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (21 vols.)*. New York and London: Funk, and Wagnalls, 1873–93.
- Moulton, James Hope and Wilbert Francis Howard. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. Vol 2. Accidence and Word-formation. T & T Clark, 1979.
- Moulton, James Hope and George Milligan. *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930.
- Montanari, Franco. *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*. English ed. Edited by Madeleine Goh and Chad Schroeder. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

- Moore, Bruce, ed. *The Australian Oxford Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Louvain: Peeters, 2009.
- Murdock, James. *Murdock's Translation of the Syriac New Testament from the Peschito Version*. Boston: Scriptural Tract Repository, 1892.
- Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum*, post Eberhard Nestle et Erwin Nestle communiter ediderunt Barbara et Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, 27. revidierte Auflage. Stuttgart, 1993.
- New Testament in Syriac, The*. London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1905–1920.
- Newman, Barclay M. *A Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament*. London: United Bible Societies, 1971.
- Nöldeke, Theodor. *Compendious Syriac Grammar*. Translated by J. A. Crichton. London: Williams & Norgate, 1904; repr. with an appendix: the handwritten additions in Theodor Nöldeke's personal copy edited by Peter T. Daniels. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2001.
- Oxford-Duden German Dictionary* see under Scholze-Stubenrecht, and Sykes.
- Oxford English Dictionary* see under Simpson and Weiner, eds.
- Payne Smith, Jessie (Mrs Margoliouth), ed. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903).
- Payne Smith, R., ed. *Thesaurus Syriacus*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879–91. repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1981.
- . *Cyriilli Alexandriae archiepiscopi commentarii in Lucae Evangelium, 263.17*, Oxford 1858.
- Pazzini, Massimo. *Lessico Concordanziale del Nuovo Testamento Siriaco*. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2004.
- Peursen, Wido van and Terry C. Falla. “The Particles ܐܘܢ and ܐܘܢܐ in Classical Syriac: Syntactic and Semantic Aspects.” Pages 63–98 in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography II*. Edited by P.J. Williams. Piscataway: Gorgias, 2009.
- Pusey, Philip E., and George H. Gwilliam. *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum juxta simplicem Syrorum versionem ad fidem codicum, Massorae, editionum denuo recognitum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.
- Rienecker, Fritz and Cleon Rogers, *Linguistic Key to the Greek New Testament*. Grand rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1980.
- Scholze-Stubenrecht, W., and J. B. Sykes et al. *Oxford-Duden German Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Schulthess, Friedrich. *Kahila and Dimnah*, 2 vols. Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1911.
- Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* see Brown.
- Simpson, J. A., and E. S. C. Weiner, eds. *Oxford English Dictionary*. 20 vols. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

- Soden, Hermann von. *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*. 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913.
- Sokoloff, Michael. *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum**. Winona Lake, Indiana and Piscataway, New Jersey: co-published by Eisenbrauns and Gorgias Press, 2009.
- Stenger, W. “βλάζω” in Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider. *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*. 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990.
- Stoop-van Paridon, P.W.T. *The Song of Songs: A Philological Analysis of the Hebrew Book שיר השירים*. ANES 17, Louvain: Peeters, 2005.
- Strothmann, Werner, Kurt Johannes, and Manfred Zumpe. *Konkordanz zur syrischen Bibel*. Göttinger Orientforschungen Reihe 1, Syriaca (= GOFS). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. *Der Pentateuch* (4 vols.; GOFS 26; 1986). *Die Propheten* (4 vols.; GOFS 25; 1984). *Die Mautbē* (6 vols.; GOFS 33; 1995).
- Swanson, Reuben, J. ed. *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines Against Codex Vaticanus. Mark*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, and Pasadena California: William Carey International University Press, 1995.
- Taylor, Vincent. *The Gospel According to Mark: the Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indexes*. London: Macmillan, 1957.
- Thayer, Joseph Henry. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, being Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti translated and enlarged by Joseph Henry Thayer.
- The Australian Oxford Dictionary* see Moore.
- The Chambers Dictionary* see Brookes.
- The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* see under Brown, Lesley.
- The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* see Flexner and Hauck.
- The Macquarie Dictionary* see Delbridge.
- The Way International Research Team, eds. *Aramaic-English Interlinear New Testament*. Vol. 1. *Matthew John*. New Knoxville: American Christian Press, 1988–1989.
- Thelly, Emmanuel. *Syriac-English-Malayalam Lexicon*. Kottayam: Deepika Book House, 1999. 4th ed. Edinburgh: T&T Clark 1901.
- Thompson, Anne. Review of John A. L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*. *Bulletin of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 36 (2003): 113–127.
- . “The Lexicographic Editor and the Problem of Consistency.” In the present volume.
- Tischendorf, Constantinus. *Novum Testamentum Graece*. 2 vols. 8th ed. Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869–1872.
- Tregelles, Samuel Prideaux. *The Greek New Testament*. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1857–1879.

- Vogels, Henr. Jos. *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latina*. 4th ed. Freiburg: Herder, 1955.
- Walter, Donald M. and Greenberg, Gillian. *The Syriac Peshitta Bible with English Translation: Jeremiah*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2015.
- Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* see Gove and Babcock.
- Winer, George Benedict. *A Grammar of the New Testament Diction: Intended as an introduction to the critical study of the Greek New Testament*. Translated from the sixth enlarged and improved edition of the original by Edward Masson. Edinburg: T & T Clark, 1859.
- Zhang, Qiao. "Fuzziness – Vagueness – Generality – Ambiguity." *Journal of Pragmatics* 29, No. 1 (1998) 13–31.
- Zerwick, Maximilian. *Biblical Greek*. English Edition adapted from the Fourth Latin Edition. SPIB 114. Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963.
- Zerwick, Max and Mary Grosvenor. *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1996. 5th ed.

THE JEWISH RECENSION OF A SYRIAC VERSION OF AESOP'S FABLES

Binyamin Y. Goldstein
Yeshiva University

A Jewish recension of a Syriac collection of Aesop's Fables sheds important light on several aspects of literary interaction between writers of Syriac and dialects of Jewish Aramaic in the second half of the first millennium, CE. Along with Targum Proverbs and a handful of other texts, it attests to interaction between Jews and Syriac Christians in the literary sphere. Its mixed dialect further informs on the context of the Syriac text's assimilation into Jewish literature. The Jewish recension is also important as another witness to the Syriac text.

1 SOCIAL VALENCES OF SYRIAC AND JEWISH ARAMAIC

In the wake of the Arab conquest, Syriac lost its place as a vernacular language, and was largely relegated to liturgical and religious functions.¹ Of course, there remained pockets of resistance to linguistic change, where Syriac was still spoken as a second language. However, the introduction of a new vernacular reinforced the religious connotations and weakened the everyday, social character of Syriac. Now, with Arabic as the new vernacular, the majority of the use of Syriac was in the Church. While some popular usage did persist, Syriac effectively became a Church language. Drijvers writes, "From its very beginning, however, Christianity used Syriac as the vehicle for its message and doctrine and monopolized the language for its exclusive use."² While this assertion is perhaps too positive, it is certainly true that after the Arab conquest the religious coloring of Syriac became more pronounced. We thus find a statement by a Babylonian rabbi from around the 10th c. that "the Syriac lan-

¹ How quickly Syriac fell out of common usage is a matter of some dispute. An estimate of around the 8th c. (see, e.g., Na'ama Pat-El, *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*, Gorgias Press, 2012, 8) is popular. Theodor Nöldeke (*Compendious Syriac Grammar* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904, xxxiii) writes, "It can hardly be doubted that about the year 800 Syriac was already a dead language, although it was frequently spoken by learned men long after that time."

² Han Drijvers, "Syrian Christianity and Judaism," in *The Jews Among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (ed. J. Lieu, J. North, and T. Rajak; Routledge, 1992), 126.

guage and script that is now in use by the Christians of Babylonia, which they call *suryāni*, is called thus after that place [Syria].”³ This rabbi describes Syriac specifically as a *Christian* language.

Syriac already had religious implications as a language choice before the Arab conquest. Syriac was the language of the Peshitta, which, to its Church, contained the original New Testament.⁴ Syriac was the language in which the great Mesopotamian Christian theologians and exegetes composed their commentaries, sermons, and religious poems and liturgy. The fact that it was also the vernacular did not detract from the fact that it was also the language of the Church. After the Arab conquest, the association between Church and Language only became more pronounced.

This socioreligious linguistic status shift that Syriac underwent has implications for the study of interaction between Jews and Christians in the Near East after the Arab conquest. Until the end of the 20th century, scholarship on this period generally held that there was little interaction between the two faith communities. For example, M. Black expresses doubt that the Targum of Proverbs could possibly have originated in a recension of the Peshitta Proverbs due to his assumptions of non-interaction.⁵ More recent scholarship, however, including that of Boyarin, Becker, and Bar-Asher Siegal, has challenged this conception of Jewish-Christian interaction in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, calling for a more nuanced approach to this issue.⁶ One corpus of texts that none of these scholars utilize is that of sever-

³ Abraham Harkavi, *זכרון לראשונים וגם לאחרונים*, Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1887, 230. “ולשון סורסי וכתב סורסי שהוא עכשו בידי נצריים בבבל וקוראין אותו סוריאני על שם אותו מקום הוא נקרא.”

⁴ As stated recently by the Mar Eshai Shimun of the Assyrian Church of the East: “With reference to...the originality of the Peshitta text, as the Patriarch and Head of the Holy Apostolic and Catholic Church of the East, we wish to state, that the Church of the East received the scriptures from the hands of the blessed Apostles themselves in the Aramaic original, the language spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and that the Peshitta is the text of the Church of the East which has come down from the Biblical times without any change or revision.” <http://www.peshitta.org/initial/peshitta.html> (accessed 12/21/2014).

⁵ Matthew Black, *An Aramaic approach to the Gospels and Acts; with an appendix on The Son of Man*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1967, writes (Black, 25) “[the idea that the Targum of Proverbs is a reworked Peshitta text] is *as unconvincing as the circumstances implied*, the indebtedness of the Synagogue to the Christian Church for its Targum is *without parallel in the history of the relations of Judaism and Christianity*.” [Emphasis added, BYG]. For some discussion of the Targum of Proverbs, see below.

⁶ See, e.g., Daniel Boyarin, “A Tale of Two Synods: Nicaea, Yavneh, and Rabbinic Ecclesiology,” *Exemplaria* 12 (2000) 21–62; Adam H. Becker, “The Comparative Study of ‘Scholasticism’ in Late Antique Mesopotamia: Rabbis and East Syrians,” *AJS Review* (2010), 91–113. See also idem, “Beyond the Spatial and Temporal Limes: Questioning the ‘Parting of the Ways’ Outside the Roman Empire,” in Becker and Yoshiko Reed, *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: Fortress

al Jewish recensions of Syriac texts. In this paper, we will call these Jewish Syriac Texts (= JST). All of these began as Syriac texts in Christian circles, and ended up in Jewish circles, in Jewish script, and to differing degrees with Jewish Aramaic (= JA) phonological, morphological, and lexical features.⁷ Additionally, some of the texts have features that suggest more than an impersonal literary interaction; they seem to be transcriptions, read by Syriac Christians to Jewish scribes. Examination of these texts can provide further insight into who was reading what, and when. If the answer to these questions is “Jews, reading texts borrowed from Christians, in the end of the Late Antique period,” we have solid data with which to further question the veracity or utility of the old “parting of the ways” model.

2 JEWISH CHRISTIAN LITERARY INTERACTION: A CASE STUDY

In the following we will examine one of these Judaeo-Syriac texts, a collection of Aesop’s Fables. We will describe its linguistic profile and attempt to narrow the window of its transmission, and thus the locus of this instance of Jewish-Christian literary interaction. If we can establish the locus of transmission of each of these JSTs, a more nuanced picture of Jewish-Christian literary interaction in those times and places (or that time and place) will present itself. Surprisingly, these texts have not previously been brought together and compared with one another.

Aesopic Fables penetrated into Jewish circles early in the rabbinic period (1st–3rd c., CE), although precise dating of the material is problematic.⁸ There certainly

Press, 2007), 373–392; Michal Bar-Asher Siegal, *Early Christian Monastic Literature and the Babylonian Talmud* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁷ We have some precedent in S. Peterson’s term “Jewish Syriac,” used in her 2006 dissertation (Sigrid Peterson, *Martha Shamoni: A Jewish Syriac Rhymed Liturgical Poem about the Maccabean Martyrdoms (Sixth Maccabees)*, University of Pennsylvania, 2006), although she discusses a text with Jewish features, written in “Koine” Syriac, while we are discussing texts that might be described as the polar opposite: beginning as Christian texts in Koine Syriac, and becoming Jewish texts in a Syriac-Jewish Aramaic literary *Mischsprache*. The term was also used by Bhayro in his article (Siam Bhayro, “A Judaeo-Syriac Medical Fragment from the Cairo Genizah,” *Aramaic Studies* 10 (2012), 153–172), although there only in reference to the Genizah Medical Fragment. This important article includes an image and text edition of a fragment of a Jewish recension of a Syriac medical handbook. See also Kaufman, S. A. Kaufman “The Dialectology of Late Jewish Literary Aramaic,” *Aramaic Studies* 11 (2013), esp. 147 n. 6.

⁸ For general information on Aesopic material, consult the magisterial work by Ben E. Perry, *Aesopica: A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to Him or Closely Connected with the Literary Tradition That Bears His Name* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007). For some discussion of connections between rabbinic literature and Aesopic material, see Julius Landsberger, *Die Fabeln des Sophos* (Posen: Louis Merzbach, 1859), 9–55. See also Eli Yassif, *The Hebrew Folktales: History, Genre, Meaning* (trans. Jacqueline S. Teitelbaum; Indiana University Press, 2009), 194–197. See also Landsberger, *ibid.*, 9–55 and Aharon M. Singer, “עין

hundred years after the Jewish recension was made from their ancestor, or something close to it.¹⁶

2.1 The Manuscripts of JÆF

There are two extant MSS of JÆF. Berlin Qu. 685 (Steinschneider 160)¹⁷ is a beautiful MS, written in a clear square Western script on thick parchment.¹⁸ Based on palaeographical and codicological features, Engel concludes that an 11th c. northern Italian/Byzantine origin of the MS is most likely.¹⁹ The other MS (Moscow 45),²⁰ copied in Macerata (Italy)²¹ between 1535 and 1540 by one Daniel son of Isaac of Norcia, is written in a cursive Italian script.²² Although the final section of the MS (which contains JÆF) does not have a colophon, it is paleographically identical with the three sections that precede it,²³ all of which explicitly state that the MS is the work of that same scribe.²⁴ The relationship between the two MSS is an interesting

¹⁶ See below.

¹⁷ Henceforth: MS B.

¹⁸ Information on the MS can be accessed here: http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000188383&local_base=NNLMSS (accessed 11/30/2014).

¹⁹ Edna Engel, “לשאלת זמנו ומוצאו של כתב־יד ברלין 160,” *Italia* 11 (1995): 53–55

²⁰ Henceforth: MS M

²¹ See the colophon on folio 54a.

²² Information on the MS can be accessed here: http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000068034&local_base=NNLMSS (accessed 11/30/2014).

²³ The three colophons are on folios 54a, 112b, and 149b.

²⁴ The first colophon of Daniel’s work in the MS reads that it was completed on “Sunday, 28th of Adar 1, 23rd of February, [5]298.” There was no intercalated month in 5298, and the 28th of Adar in 5298 fell on a Thursday. In 5299, however, there was not only an intercalated month of Adar, but the 28th of Adar I fell on a Sunday. Daniel’s method of year-notation, by way of numerical value of a biblical verse, unfortunately, left us a year off. However, the problems with this colophon do not stop here. The 28th of Adar I in 5299 was the 16th of February. The Sunday following was the 23rd. Daniel must have looked at an Italian calendar, and his eye jumped a line to the next week. The second section of Daniel’s work was finished on Monday, the 23rd of Adar, the 5th of March, [5]297. He must have written the colophon of this section on Monday night, as the 23rd of Adar in 1537 fell on a Tuesday (beginning, obviously, on Monday night). In the final colophon, on folio 149b, Daniel misremembered the Jewish year, writing “Its completion was today, Tuesday, the 7th of Marheshwan, the 1st of October, [5]297. I began it on the Friday before.” In 5299 (1538) the 7th of Marheshwan fall on a Tuesday, October 1. The nearest years in which this occurred are 1443 and 1622. Thus, the second to last section was completed on October 1, 1538.

The sections were thus completed on the following dates:

First section (folios 53a–54a): February 16, 1539

Second section (folios 54b–112b): March 5, 1537

Third section (folios 112b–149b): October 1, 1538

issue, but one that is beyond the scope of this article.²⁵ What is clear is that while MS M is not a descendant of MS B, both texts descend from a common ancestor.

2.2 The Dialectal Features of JÆF

The linguistic character of JÆF can best be described as a Jewish-script transliteration of the Syriac progenitor, with an uneven overlay of JA morphological and lexical features. This unevenness suggests that in its original form, the text was merely a transliteration of the Syriac text, similar in nature to a fragment of a medical vademecum from the Cairo Genizah.²⁶ The JA features are predominantly Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (= JBA), yet there are several features of other dialects of Aramaic.

While most of the pure Syriac words were taken over and transliterated exactly,²⁷ some were altered to JA synonyms and several were omitted completely. It is clear that the original redactor knew how to pronounce Syriac, due to some instances of transcription, as opposed to transliteration.²⁸ The word for “air,” which in JA is אַוִיר,²⁹ is graphically represented in JÆF with אַוִיר twice³⁰ representing the phonetic value³¹ (but, importantly, *not* the orthography) of the Syriac ܐܝܪ.³² If it were written אַוִיר, we would be able to posit the redactor’s ability to read Syriac, but it would also suggest that the redactor did not have knowledge of Syriac’s pronunciation. We can

This chronological order (or rather, lack thereof) does not allow us to infer precisely when the fourth section (folios 149b–152b), containing JÆF, was completed. However, it is clear that it was completed in the latter half of the 1530s.

²⁵ Let it suffice to note that readings are shared between each MS and the Syriac original to the exclusion of the other MS in various places.

²⁶ T-S K 14.22. See below.

²⁷ Except some global changes, following JA spelling conventions, such as the spelling of a terminal /e/ vowel with *yod* as opposed to the Syriac *aleph*.

²⁸ Transliteration is the recording of one text in different letters, in which each of the letters of the parent text have corresponding letters in the child text. Transcription is distinct from transliteration in that it is a graphic representation of the phonetic expression of a text. As an illustration, a Hebrew transliteration of English “whose” could be written (depending on the transliterator’s conventions) ווהוּסא, while a transcription of the same word could be written as הוּ.

²⁹ Which might be properly vocalized to represent *ōyar*, but is traditionally vocalized to represent *amwēra*. See Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 87–88.

³⁰ In MS B, Fable 3. Henceforth, all citations of “Fable x” refer to the Fable number in the MSS of JÆF.

³¹ See Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, 24 (§33B).

³² This would not be a legitimate case of transcription if it were written אַוִיר, as this is standard JA spelling of the Greek loanword. The spelling אַוִיר does not occur anywhere in JA literature.

be confident in the reading אַיִר, as the word occurs twice, and the scribe of MS B makes a clear distinction between his *waw* and his *yod* in this case. In MS M, both of these have become אַיִר. More significant is the fact that ܐܝܝ seems to have exhibited the diphthong [ay] in only some pronunciation traditions of Syriac.³³ More research into the history of this word's pronunciation, which would have to be both a synchronic and diachronic study in order to yield results significant to us, might prove impossible.

The morphological and phonological influence of JBA on the text is irregular, which indicates that this influence is not due to a conscious effort of dialectal leveling, but rather is an unconscious display of the dialect with which the scribe was most familiar. The issue then becomes determining whether it is the native dialect, or simply a literary language, that is influencing the scribes. That is, in this case, whether these JBA features crept in at the hand of a Babylonian scribe or at the hand of later European scribes who were familiar with JBA. I believe it can be proven that in this case, we are dealing with the former. That is, the JBA features in JÆF actually indicate a Babylonian origin of the recension, and do not originate with a later scribe working outside of Babylonia.

JBA phonological influence on the text is ubiquitous, but not uniform. In many instances the Syriac ܩܝܐ is not transliterated as קא[י], but rather as the JBA קאי. However, there are also several instances of קאים, as follows:

| <i>Fable</i> | <u>Berlin</u> | <u>Moscow</u> |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 5 | קאים | קאי |
| 7 | קאי | קאים |
| 12 | קאי | קאים |
| 32 | קאי | קאים |
| 38 | קאי | ∅ |
| 55 | קאי | קאי |
| 56 | קאי | קאים |

Scribal intervention on the level of dialect in MS M can be proven through the example of Fable 7. The Fable reads:

| Secondary Version | Primary Version | Moscow | Berlin |
|--|--|---|---|
| 9 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| ܐܘܚ ܐܘܬܝܠܐ ܥܠܥܠܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܐܘܬܝܠܐ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ | ܐܘܚ ܐܘܬܝܠܐ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ ܥܥܥ | תרין תרנגולין מתכתשין הוּו עם הדדי הדי דאיסתמכו אזל ומטא נפשיה בדוכתא חדא האי דין דסכיא סלק ליה לאיגרא חד רמא וכד קאים ומשתבהר | תרין תרנגולין מתכתשין הוּו עם הדדי דאיסתכי אזל טשא נפשיה בדוכתא חדא הוא דין דסכיא סליק לאיגרא חד רמא קליה כדכקאי |

³³ See Nöldeke, *Syriac Grammar*, 24.

| | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| <p>נעזא סחטסו סלעס סחטא וי סו לא סלא סלא וכחט סחטסו ססל סלס סחטאסו</p> | <p>סחטא וי סו לא סלא סו לא סלא וסחטו סחטאסו ססל סלס סחטאסו</p> | <p>חזייה נשרא וחספיה מלפא דין דילא ולי ליה לאיניש דבעותריה ניחדי ונהוי תתיר משתבהר</p> | <p>ומשבהר חזייה נשרא וחספיה מלפ' די דלא וולי ליה לברנש דבעותריה נחדי ונהוי יתיר משתבהר</p> |
| <p>Two roosters were quarreling with one another and the one who was beaten went and hid himself in a hidden place. The one who won, however, went up to a roof as he was crowing and boasting, and an eagle saw him and seized him. This lesson, therefore, is: That it is not proper for a person to be proud and boastful of his business and power.</p> | <p>Two roosters were quarreling with one another. The one who was beaten went and hid himself in a certain hiding-place. The one who won, however, went up to a certain high roof as he was crowing and boasting and an eagle saw him, smote him, and seized him. This lesson, therefore, is: That it is not proper for a person to be proud and boastful of his strength and might.</p> | <p>Two roosters were quarreling with each other. The one who was beaten³⁴ went and hid³⁵ himself in a certain place. The one who won, however, went up to a certain high roof, and as he was going and boasting an eagle saw him and seized him. The lesson, therefore: That it is not proper for a person to rejoice in his wealth or to be very³⁶ boastful.</p> | <p>Two roosters were quarreling with each other. The one who was beaten went and hid himself in a certain place. The one who won, however, went up to a certain roof. He raised his voice. As he was going and boasting, an eagle saw him and seized him. The lesson, therefore: That it is not proper for a person to rejoice in his wealth or to be very³⁷ boastful.</p> |

Here, we read of two roosters competing with one another. One of the roosters ascends to a roof and raises his voice in victory. Then, **כדקאי ומש[ת]בהר**, as he was boasting,³⁸ an eagle saw him and snatched him up. Other linguistic notes aside,³⁹ it is

³⁴ Corrupt.

³⁵ Corrupt.

³⁶ Corrupt.

³⁷ Corrupt.

³⁸ We should, in good JBA, have **כדקא משתבהר**.

³⁹ The **תרנגול/תרנגול** variation does not seem to follow any pattern even between the two MSS of JÆF, and I do not believe much can be made of it. While we might be tempted to make some connection between this and the well-known divide between Palestinian and Babylonian Mishna MSS in the spelling of **תרנגולים/תרנגולים** that was first pointed out by Rosenthal, it is more likely that this alternation goes back to the Syriac Vorlage. The same spelling variation exists within the Syriac tradition. However, it is unclear if the spelling divides along geographic or temporal lines. See Moshe Bar-Asher, **מחקרים בלשון חכמים** (Jerusalem: Bialik, 2009), vol. 1, 82. The devoicing of the *xy* in **אויס** and the concurrent failure of

clear that the Syriac represents the original wording here. It reads, “as it was crowing (ܡܠܐ) and boasting.” The word ܡܠܐ was first altered to קאײ,⁴⁰ which was later “corrected” to קאײם. That is, Syriac ܡܠܐ would never be normalized as קאײם. The only way we might have קאײם from ܡܠܐ is if it were altered from קאײ. Whether this intervention was conscious or unconscious, and whether it was at the hands of Daniel b. Isaac or an earlier scribe, we cannot know. What it *does* indicate is that the other instances of קאײם in MS M are suspect,⁴¹ and that dialectal alteration happened in both directions, both toward JBA convention and away from it. The prefixing of the particle כד occurs several times only in MS B, although in three instances the scribe separated a previously-written prefixed form in accordance with his *Vorlage*,⁴² which suggests that this is an unconscious innovation of the scribe of MS B. Additionally, we have instances of alteration in MS M such as that in Fable 43. There we find, in MS M, פקעתא, taken over from SÆF’s פܡܡܠܐ, and unaltered presumably due to JBA influence.⁴³ However, in MS M, this has been altered to בקעתא.

Consonantal apocopation occurs in our text in the instance of אײ קאײ,⁴⁴ (with apocopation of the *nun*),⁴⁵ בײ (with apocopation of the *tan*),⁴⁶ מידי.⁴⁷ In our text, however, this phenomenon is the exception, not the rule. Particularly surprising is the complete lack of some JBA dialectal markers, such as the particle קא, which precedes participles regularly in JBA, but does not appear once in our text.

the infixed *taw* to shift to a voiced *dalet* that results in MS B’s דאײסתי is unusual. MS M’s representation of this word has been entirely corrupted. The word רמא is fulfilling a different syntactic function in the two MSS. Finally, the original חתיר of an earlier, non-extant version of JÆF has been corrupted to תתיר in MS Moscow and altered (perhaps after corruption) in MS B to יתיר.

⁴⁰ The loss of the *‘ayin* (through an unconditional merger with the glottal stop) probably caused this. Final long and short /e/ vowels, while they are represented by *alaph* in Syriac, are fairly thoroughly realized as *yod* in JÆF (and in JA in general).

⁴¹ And, possibly, the other instances of non-JBA forms in MS M where MS B has JBA forms are suspect as well.

⁴² In Fables 49, 63, and 67. E.g., in Fable 49, the scribe originally wrote כדחם, and in his pass over the MS (the second hand is paleographically identical to that of the primary scribe) corrected the connected particle by inserting two vertical dots between the two words, thus כד:חם. That the corrections of the second hand were made on the basis of the *Vorlage* of the original scribe is made abundantly clear by such corrections as that in Fable 22. We also find the JBA form כײ for כד once in MS B (Fable 12).

⁴³ Although the form בקעתא does occur in JBA, a *peh*-initial form also occurs (albeit with the weakening of the pharyngeal resulting in the form פקתא).

⁴⁴ See above.

⁴⁵ MS B, Fables 15, 29, and 64. It should be noted that MS M has אײן for these.

⁴⁶ Twice in both MSS, Fables 65 and 66.

⁴⁷ MS B Fable 6 and MS M Fable 10.

Weakening of the pharyngeals is sparsely attested. Syriac ܣܘܢ is entirely replaced with ܘܢܘܢ.⁴⁸ The phenomenon is also present in the case of the preposition ܥܠ, with weakening of the pharyngeal, and assimilation of the *lamed* to, and the gemination of, the following letter. Thus, instead of a transliteration of the Syriac ܥܠܘܢܝܘܢ, we find in the JÆF אריהטא.⁴⁹ Similarly, we find אהדדי instead of ܥܠ ܘܢܘܢ.⁵⁰ However, this feature is, as the other JBA features found in JÆF, uneven, with most instances of ܥܠ not undergoing this alteration. Another instance of pharyngeal weakening is found with the representation of Syriac ܣܘܢܘܢܘܢ with a *heb.*⁵¹

In two places, Syriac ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܢ “he asked him” is replaced by the JBA compound form שׁייליה,⁵² with diphthongization in place of the intervocalic *aleph* in ܘܢܘܢ. Unfortunately, although this form occurs several times (alongside non-diphthongized forms⁵³), this is the only case in which this particular phonological process presents itself.⁵⁴ The JBA form of תרי used with suffixes, -תרוי, is found once.⁵⁵ The only other instance of a bound form of תרי is carried over from the Syriac ܘܢܘܢܘܢ without JBA influence.⁵⁶

The following are some of the instances of JBA morphological influence on our text. In terms of pronouns as distinct from their Syriac forms, for the 1cp, we find אנן once.⁵⁷ The 1cs object suffix is -ני in one or possibly two cases.⁵⁸ However, most instances of the 1cs object suffix are represented by -ן.⁵⁹ This is either due to the phonetic realization of Syriac ܘܢܘܢ as *-an* as opposed to *-ani*, or, more likely, it could be due to JBA influence. We find the 2ms את,⁶⁰ as well as the 2mp אתון,⁶¹ alongside the form without assimilation of the *nun*, אנת.⁶² We find one instance of

⁴⁸ Both MSS, Fables 7, 16 (2x), 37, 42, 53, and 63. However, in any transliteration of Syriac into JA, we should expect a shift from ܘܢܘܢ to ܘܢܘܢ, as the form ܘܢܘܢ is not present in any dialects of JA (with the possible exception of the texts of some magic bowls).

⁴⁹ Fable 44. MS M has ܥܠ ܘܢܘܢܘܢ, either representing a text that is pre-JBA alteration, or a scribal correction away from JBA, as in the case of קאים.

⁵⁰ Fable 42. MS M has ܘܢܘܢܘܢ, as does SÆF, possibly suggesting that it split off the MS family before the text circulated for a significant number of copies in Babylonia.

⁵¹ MS M, Fable 21. Although the form has been somewhat corrupted.

⁵² MS B, Fables 35 and 38.

⁵³ Fable 3.

⁵⁴ Except perhaps in the case of עייל (Fables 38 (2x) and 65), although this is present in JPA as well.

⁵⁵ Both MSS, Fable 16.

⁵⁶ Fable 12, although it is altered (in both MSS) from the 3mp to the 2mp תריכון.

⁵⁷ Both MSS, Fable 53. This is the only occurrence of the 1cp independent pronoun in the text.

⁵⁸ Both MSS, Fable 42. דאיני in MS B. The word in Fable 65 is suspect.

⁵⁹ Fables 1, 4, 31, 36, and 62 (2x).

⁶⁰ Fables 19, 24, 33, 34, 38, 57, 65 (MS M), and 66 (MS M).

⁶¹ Fables 46 and 53.

⁶² Fables 11, 18, 24, 33, 34, 36, 38, 42, 56, and 66 (2x, MS B).

the (archaic/formal) JBA demonstrative pronoun **דנא**, in Fable 60. In Fable 35, we find the only instance of **הנדך**, where all Syriac texts have **נסל**. Although it is possible that this derives from a Syriac original **נסך**, it is probable that this is the result of JBA influence. The JBA plural demonstrative pronoun **הני** is present as well.⁶³ The 1cs **אי-** is found several times, such as in **מינאי**.⁶⁴ The gentilic sufformative on **הינדואה** (Syriac **נסבסל**)⁶⁵ may be due to JBA influence, but this form of the gentilic is also found in other dialects of JA. Syriac **למך** is mostly taken over as **איך**, with a few cases of **היך**. There are also two instances of **כי**,⁶⁶ as well as one instance of the common JBA phrase **כי היכי**.⁶⁷

In addition to these JBA morphological markers, some JBA influence is manifest on the lexical level, as well. In JÆF,⁶⁸ we read: **תעלא אשכחה וא' לה און' תררא** – “The fox found [the hare] and said to it, ‘O fool! You have been very stupid!’” This example is significant because the word **תררא** (fool) occurs three times (in corrupted forms) in the Babylonian Talmud and not in other dialects of Aramaic.⁷⁰ The fact that it is such an unusual word that a Gaon felt it necessary (or was asked) to explain the word and its etymology⁷¹ makes it unlikely that the usage of the word in JÆF originates with a non-JBA-speaking scribe. If the scribe’s familiarity with JBA derives from the Talmudic corpus, a corpus of text in which the word occurs so few times, it is highly unlikely that he would have used this word in lieu of other more common synonyms.⁷²

In summary, we find numerous phonological, morphological, and lexical features of JBA in JÆF, albeit none with complete uniformity. This lack of uniformity suggests that the dialectal markers present in the text are not the result of a conscious dialectal redaction, but rather were introduced without intention and betray

⁶³ Fables 12, 28, 35, and 37.

⁶⁴ Fables 31 and 51.

⁶⁵ Fables 1 and 59.

⁶⁶ MS M, Fable 66 (2x).

⁶⁷ MS B, Fable 41.

⁶⁸ MS B, Fable 10. MS M has a corrupt form of the word, **רונתא**. It is possible that this is a corruption of SÆF’s **נסל**, in which case MS M must have separated from the MS stem before the alteration of **נסל** to **תררא** took place in the parent text of MS B. Further research into the relationship between the two MSS must be carried out, and will reveal valuable information about the development of JÆF.

⁶⁹ The Syriac vocative particle **ל** is preserved here, as well as in fables 10, 14, 18, and 66. In SÆF, all instances of **ל** have become **לו**. Regarding the vocative, the particle **יא** found (corrupted, but unmistakable) in Fable 4 is probably the result of Geonic Babylonian Aramaic influence.

⁷⁰ See Sokoloff, DJBA, 1237.

⁷¹ See Alexander Kohut, *Aruch Completum* (New York: Pardes, 1955), vol. 8, 222.

⁷² In Fable 42 we also find an instance of the word **טררא** (thief, scoundrel), etymologically unrelated to **תררא**. It is probable that this is a coincidental corruption of **תררא** and not actually the Arabic loan-word to GA.

Here we read of a stag that falls ill, and falls down in a cave. All Syriac MSS have the stag falling into ܡܚܘܿܬܐ, a cave. When all the animals come to visit him in his sorry state, they consume all the grass around him. When he becomes healthy, he dies of hunger, as all the grass around him has been eaten. This should give us pause. What sort of cave has grass in it? If we look at Syntipas, we read of the stag lying down ἐπιτινος τόπου πεδινού, on a certain level place. How did Syntipas arrive at the translation “a plain” from “a cave”?

If we look to JÆF, we find the answer. There, we read: **איילא חד איתכרא ונפל במרגא** “A certain stag became ill and fell in a meadow.” Our poor stag does not fall into a cave, but rather **במרגא**, in a meadow. The word **מרגא**, a Persian loanword in both JBA and Syriac,⁷⁵ occurs only here in all of Aesop’s fables. Our Syriac witnesses were possibly influenced by other fables which begin with an animal entering or falling into a cave, such as fables 26, 37, and 54. More likely is that they were specifically influenced by Fable 46, where a ram, fleeing from hunters, goes into a cave to hide. It is also probable that the graphic (and possibly the slight phonetic) similarities of the two words, ܡܚܘܿܬܐ and ܡܪܓܐ, played a part in this textual development. Regardless of how this development occurred in SÆF, it remains clear that the more original text is preserved in JÆF. The Syriac text must still have had ܡܚܘܿܬܐ in the 11th c., as it is obviously present in the *Vorlage* of the Greek versions.

In addition to its utility for text-critical work on SÆF, JÆF preserves an entire fable that is missing from all witnesses of SÆF.⁷⁶ This fable is present in Syntipas as well, indicating that this fable remained in SÆF for at least two centuries after JÆF was created.

Further discussion of JÆF requires a full critical treatment, both employing MS M, which the previous two editions of the text did not use, and using the Syriac text

⁷⁵ See Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 2nd ed., 402b.

⁷⁶ The Fable (JÆF 65) runs as follows:

| MS B | MS M |
|---|---|
| <p>כלבא חד עבידא הות שירותא בית מרוי כד נפק לשוקא חזא כלבא אחרינא ואמ' ליה שירותא עבידא חזא יומא בביתן תא ניתבסם איך חדא דבריה כלבא לחבריה ועייל לבי טבחי וכד חזא דכלבא אחרינא הוא לבכיה בדינכיה ולבר מן תרעא ברא שריוה וכד קם ונפצי נפשיה פגע בה וא' ליה דאייכא בסים הוה יומן אמ' ליה אין שרירת דהכין בסימת יומן איך דאיני הוות עד מה דלא ידעית איכנ נפקית מן תמן מ' ד' הדא דמתשייטין אילין דאזלין לשירותא כדלא מקריין</p> | <p>כלבא חד עבידא הות שירותא בית מרוי כד נפק לשוקא חזא כלבא אחרינא ואמ' לה שירותא עבידא יומא הנא בביתא תא ניתבסם איך חדא דבריה כלבא לחבריה ועל לבי טבחי וכד חזא דכלבא נוכראה הוא לבכוי בדנכיה ולבר מן תרעא ברא שריו וכד קם ונפצי נפשיה פגע בה חבריה ואמ' ליה דאייכא דבסים הות יומא אמ' ליה אין שריר אין דהכנא בסימת איכא דאת הות עד מה דלא ידעית איכנ נפקית מן תמן מודעא דין הדא דמתשייטין אילין דאזלין לשירותא בזלא קריין</p> |

to its full capacity.⁷⁷ It is clear, however, that further examination of this text will not only yield more clarity regarding the text's linguistic peculiarities, but will also fill in another piece of the puzzle of Jewish-Christian literary interaction in late Antiquity.

4 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the dialectal analysis above, it seems that the redaction of JÆF was executed in Babylonia. Based on the manuscript and linguistic evidence, we would date it to before the 10th c., but probably not earlier than the 8th c. Further dialectal analysis based on a critical text may yield an even more precise dating of the text.

Other JSTs, such as the Genizah Medical Fragment,⁷⁸ the Targum of Proverbs,⁷⁹ and the Jewish version (or versions⁸⁰) of Syriac Bel and the Dragon, Susanna, and Wisdom of Solomon, must be brought together with JÆF and discussed as possible remnants of a larger phenomenon of Jewish-Christian literary interaction. Additionally, all other material indicating Jewish-Christian literary interaction in this period⁸¹ must be collected and set in conversation with these JSTs. The implications of such a project will significantly reshape our conception of how religious minority groups interacted with one another under the Abbasid Caliphate.

⁷⁷ This project is underway.

⁷⁸ See Bhayro, *ibid.* In his article, Bhayro does not note this connection.

⁷⁹ The connection between the Targum and the Peshitta to the book of Proverbs has been known for quite a long time. The connection noted first by Johann Christoph Wolf was in 1721 (see here: <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/goToPage/bsb10814334.html?pageNo=1196>, accessed 12/22/2014). The first actual comparison of the material was executed by Johann Dathe in 1764 (see here: <http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=231517797>, accessed 12/22/2014). The lack of a full critical treatment of the Targum of Proverbs stands in the way of any attempts to finally put this issue to bed. John F. Healey writes (John F. Healey, *The Targum of Proverbs: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus and Notes*, 3):

A critical edition of TgProv has long been a desideratum and several scholars have pointed out the difficulty of dealing with the finer points in the relationship between it and the MT on the one hand and the other ancient versions on the other until this desideratum is fulfilled. Conclusions should not be based on doubtful readings.

Similarly, calls for a critical text of the Targum of Proverbs have been enunciated by McNamara (Martin McNamara, *Targum and Testament Revisited*, Indiana: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2010, 320) and Hayman (A. Peter Hayman, *Reviews, JSS* 46 [2001]: 340–341). I am in the process of creating such a text.

⁸⁰ Whether these texts derive from a single full Jewish recension of Syriac deuterocanonical texts or are separate recensions is an issue that I am currently investigating.

⁸¹ Numerous responsa of the Geonim, which I am combing for such instances, are prime witnesses to this sort of interaction. Other texts that provide weaker, but still important evidence, include magic bowls, other targumim (such as Targum Psalms), and other Jewish texts that exhibit Syriac characteristics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bar-Asher Siegal, M. *Early Christian Monastic Literature and the Babylonian Talmud*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Bar-Asher, Moshe. *מחקרים בלשון חכמים*. Jerusalem: Bialik, 2009.
- Becker, Adam H. "Beyond Spatial and Temporal Limes: Questioning the 'Parting of the Ways' Outside the Roman Empire." Pages 373–392 in *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Edited by A. H. Becker and A. Yoshiko Reed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007.
- . "The Comparative Study of 'Scholasticism' in Late Antique Mesopotamia: Rabbis and East Syrians." *AJS Review*, 91–113, 2010.
- Bhayro, Siam. "A Judaeo-Syriac Medical Fragment from the Cairo Genizah." *Aramaic Studies*, 153–172, 2012.
- Black, Matthew. *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (3rd ed.)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Boyarin, Daniel. "A Tale of Two Synods: Nicaea, Yavneh, and Rabbinic Ecclesiology." *Exemplaria*, 21–62, 2000.
- Dathe, Johannes A. "De ratione consensus versionis Chaldaicae et Syriacae Proverbiorum Salomonis." In *Opuscula ad Crisin Interpretationem Vetus Testamentum Spectantia*. Edited by Ernst F. K. Rösenmüller. Leipzig, 1764.
- Drijvers, Han. "Syrian Christianity and Judaism." Pages 124–173 in *The Jews among pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*. Edited by Judith Lieu, John A. North, and Tessa Rajak. Routledge, 1992.
- Engel, Edna. 160 ברלין זמנו ומוצאו של כתב-יד ברלין 160. *Italia*, 53–55, 1995.
- Goldberg, Berl. *Chofes Matmonim*. Berlin: Gustav Bethge, 1845.
- Harkavi, Abraham E. *זכרון לראשונים וגם לאחרונים*. Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1887.
- Healey, John F. "The Targum of Proverbs: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus and Notes." In *The Targum of Job, Proverbs, and Qohelet (Vol. 15)*. Edited by Celine Mangan, John F. Healey, & Peter S. Knobel. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991.
- Kohut, Alexander. *Aruch Completum*. New York: Pardes, 1955.
- Landsberger, Julius. *Die Fabeln des Sophos*. Posen: Louis Merzbach, 1859.
- Lefèvre, Bruno. *Une version syriaque des Fables d'Ésope (conservée dans huit manuscrits)*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1939.
- Nöldeke, Theodore. *Compendious Syriac Grammar*. London: William & Norgate, 1904 (reprint, Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2001).
- Pat-El, Na'ama. *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*. Gorgias Press, 2012.
- Perry, Ben E. *Aesopica: A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to Him or Closely Connected with the Literary Tradition That Bears His Name*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007.
- Peterson, Sigrid. *Martha Shamoni: A Jewish Syriac Rhymed Liturgical Poem about the Maccabean Martyrdoms (Sixth Maccabees)*. University of Pennsylvania, 2006.

- Redondo, Jordi. "Is Syntipas Really a Translation? The Case of the Faithful Dog." *Greco-Latina Brunensia*, 49–59, 2011.
- Schwarzbaum, Haim. *The Mishle shu'alim (Fox Fables) of Rabbi Berechiah ha-Nakdan: A Study in Comparative Folklore and Fable Lore*. Kiron: Institute for Jewish and Arab Folklore Research, 1979.
- Singer, Aharon M. מחקרי ירושלים בפולקלור יהודי. עיון במשלי שועלים בספרות חז"ל. Mandel Institute for Jewish Studies: Jerusalem, 1983.
- Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Ramat-Gan and Baltimore: Bar Ilan University Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Stern, David. מחקרי ירושלים בספרות עברית. תפקידו של המשל בספרות חז"ל. Mandel Institute for Jewish Studies: Jerusalem, 1985.
- Yassif, Eli, *The Hebrew Folktale: History, Genre, Meaning*. Indiana University Press, 2009.

SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS FROM TURFAN: PUBLIC WORSHIP AND PRIVATE DEVOTION*

Erica C. D. Hunter
SOAS, University of London

The rich trove of 519 Syriac fragments that was found at the monastery near Bulayiq upholds the Mesopotamian heritage of the Church of the East. The article has selected a number fragments which attest both the public and private dimensions of worship at Turfan. Notable amongst the many liturgical manuscripts that richly illustrate the public worship at Turfan is MIK III 45, consisting of 61 folios, which has been dated to the 8th–9th centuries and is precious witness to the liturgy in the first millennium, shortly after Isoyabh III compiled the *Hudra*. The various prayer-amulets naming various saints, not only are rare examples of private devotion, but the terminology and commemoration of saints in the selected fragments shows that they are the prototypes of prayer-amulets that were used by the Syriac Christian communities who dwelt in the Hakkari region of northern Kurdistan until the opening decades of the 20th century.

1 INTRODUCTION

The first decades of the twentieth century saw the “great cultural game” played out by various European powers at Turfan, an oasis located approximately 150 km SE of Urumqi, now in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Province, western China. N. N. Krotkov, the Russian Consul-General at Urumqi, sent back 97 Syriac-script fragments that are currently housed in the *Institute for Oriental Studies* at St. Petersburg.¹ The 2nd and 3rd *German Turfan Expeditions*, led by Albert von le Coq and Albert

* The author is grateful to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz for access and permission to reproduce images of the relevant fragments. All images are copyright Depositum der Berlin Brandenburgischer Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Low resolution images of the SyrHT signature numbers are available on the International Dunhuang Project website: [http://id.bk.uk/enter signature no. in the search box](http://id.bk.uk/enter%20signature%20no.%20in%20the%20search%20box).

¹ For further details, see Elena N. Meshcherskaya, “The Syriac Fragments in the N. N. Krotkov Collection” in *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang*. Edited by Ronald E. Emmerick *et al.* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996, 221–7.

Grünwedel, discovered more than 500 Syriac fragments, as well 550 Sogdian, 1 Middle Persian, 3 New Persian and 52 Old Uighur fragments, all of which were written in the Syriac script.² Most of the Syriac fragments came from the Church of the East monastery site of Bulayïq, on the outskirts of Turfan, but small quantities were also found at other sites in the oasis including Astana, Qocho, Qurutqa and Toyoq. All were transported to Berlin where they were preserved under glass plates and are now housed in three separate repositories: the *Staatsbibliothek*, the headquarters of the *Turfanforschung* in the Berlin-Brandenburg Akademie der Wissenschaft and the *Museum für Asiatische Kunst* in Dahlem, Berlin.

A wealth of material, opening new horizons in our knowledge of the Church of the East in Central Asia and China, has been released with the recent publication of 519 Syriac fragments that were found at Turfan.³ The Syriac fragments, all of which are paper, range in size from mere scraps, the size of postage stamps, to complete *bifolia*. Regrettably, there are no complete Syriac manuscripts, hence there is an absence of colophon information which would have been very valuable for information regarding the dating and place(s) of their writing. Monks may have carried some works on the long journey from Mesopotamia, others may have been produced at the *scriptoria* of monasteries located in the great Central Asian metropolitantes: most notably Merv and Samarkand. Some fragments were undoubtedly written at the monastery at Bulayïq in the Turfan oasis. The fragments are tentatively dated, on palaeographic grounds, between the 9th–13th centuries, with a possible 14th century *terminus ad quem*.⁴ The origins and the circumstances surrounding the monastery's foundation still remain unknown; it may have been founded in the 8th or 9th centuries, at the time of the Uighur kingdom whose capital was at Qocho in the Turfan oasis. Of course, it could have been founded even earlier, given that Syriac Christianity travelled along the Silk Route to the Tang imperial capital at Xian, where Alopen was received at court in 635.

The monastery at Turfan was probably just one of many institutions that were founded by the Church of the East following the introduction of Christianity into Central Asia in the 4th and 5th centuries from whence it spread along the Silk Routes

² For further details about these expeditions see Albert von le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan*, trans. Anna Barwell (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd: 1928); Mary Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 45), (Berlin Verlag: 1960), ix–xxvii.

³ Erica C.D. Hunter and Mark Dickens (eds.), *Syrische Handschriften, Teil 2. Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung. Syriac texts from the Berlin Turfan Collection* (Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart: 2014).

⁴ Meshcherskaya, *Syriac fragments*, 226 suggests 13th–14th centuries. The last Buddhist communities in Turfan were forcibly converted to Islam in the 15th century and whilst there is no conclusive evidence, it seems likely that any Christian communities would have been obliged to do likewise.

East that contained “the variable chants of the choir for the divine office and the Mass for the entire cycle of the liturgical year.”⁹ On the basis of palaeography and text-formatting criteria, 21 individual Hudrās have been identified amongst the Turfan fragments, but none is complete and the fragmentary nature of the texts has not facilitated comparative studies. Despite these limitations, the manuscripts are extremely important for the light that they shed onto the development of the Church of the East’s liturgy. When Eduard Sachau published in 1905 single folios from three exemplars of the Hudrā, using photographs sent by von le Coq,¹⁰ he dated the manuscripts to the 10th–12th centuries, but suggested that they could be even older.¹¹

2 PUBLIC WORSHIP AT TURFAN: MIK III 45

The manuscripts open significant windows into the stratum of public worship that took place at Turfan, and simultaneously show that it upheld the liturgical heritage of the “mother church” in Mesopotamia. MIK III 45 is incomplete, but with 61 folios, is the most intact manuscript that has been discovered to date at the monastery.¹² The actual title has been lost, however the contents of MIK III 45 divide into two parts. Fol. 1–21 *recto* consists of Offices for the penitential season (fol. 1–7 *recto*) and Offices for the saints (fol. 7 *recto* – 12 *verso*), the latter focusing on the commemoration of Mar Barshabba, Mart Shir and Zarvandokht who came from Seleucia-Ctesiphon to implant Christianity at Marv, the garrison town on the frontier of the Sassanid kingdom which became the most prestigious centre of the Church of the East, after the six metropolitanates in Mesopotamia. Fol. 13–19 *recto* commemorate the third century Roman “military-martyrs” Mar Sergius and Mar Bacchus and name Resafe (Sergiopolis) as their place of martyrdom. A common vigil for all saints sequels on fol. 19 *verso* – 21 *recto* and concludes this first section.

The second part of MIK III 45, fol. 21–61 *verso*, consists of a miscellany of items that shed invaluable light onto the rituals and liturgy, which were celebrated at Turfan:

- Rite for the consecration of a new church [fol. 21 *recto* – 27 *verso*]
- Onyata (anthems/hymns) for ordinary days [fol. 27 *verso* – 33 *recto*]

⁹ William Macomber, “A List of the Known Manuscripts of the Chaldean Hudra,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 36: 1 (1970), 120.

¹⁰ Eduard Sachau, “Litteratur-Bruchstücke aus Chinesisch-Turkistan,” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Sitzung der philosophisch-historischen Classe von 23. November) XLVII (1905), 964–73.

¹¹ Sachau, *Litteratur-Bruchstücke*, 964.

¹² MIK III 45 is complemented by 26 individual fragments, identified as coming from the same manuscript. MIK III 45 folios 20v-21r were edited by Sachau in 1905 as B26. See Sachau, *Litteratur-Bruchstücke*, 970–3. He already pointed out the concluding formula. See Peter Yoshira Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1937), ch. 15 for an English translation.

connected with the mission at Marv, the overall contents of MIK III 45 uphold and maintain the liturgical cycle and repertoire of the Church of the East.

Of especial interest is the rubric subscription **ܡܚܪ ܦܨܡܬܐ ܕܩܢܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܐ** “end of the *fenqitho* (volume) of the orders of service and *qanone* (i.e. liturgical rules, or rubrics) of the *hudra* (cycle) of the whole year” (fol. 21 *recto* ll. 12–13). This denotes that MIK III 45 originally consisted of a full cycle of services for the entire ecclesiastical year.¹⁷ The 8th–9th century dating raises the possibility that MIK III 45 is faithful to the *Hudrā* which Patriarch Išo‘yabh III (649–659 CE) compiled in the mid-seventh century, but of which no exemplars are now extant. The *Hudrā* underwent various revisions in subsequent centuries, but Išo‘yabh’s work is thought to have included early liturgical material, pre-dating the schisms of the 5th–6th centuries. As such, the occurrence of **ܦܨܡܬܐ** *fenqitho* “volume” in MIK III 45 may attest this phenomenon, since the term later assumed a particular significance, becoming synonymous with the West Syriac tradition. The only other 8th century witness to the *Hudrā* is a small ostracon that was found during archaeological excavations in 1989 by the *Japanese Archaeological Expedition to Iraq* at Ain Shaiya, near Najaf.¹⁸ Sebastian Brock’s statement, “the paucity of East Syriac liturgical texts that definitely date from the first millennium renders every scrap of evidence all the more valuable,” highlights the significance of MIK III 45.¹⁹

3 PRIVATE DEVOTION AT TURFAN: SYRHT 152, SYRHT 99, SYR HT 330, SYRHT 102, N.364–5

Syriac prayer-amulets that were found at Turfan provide rare insight into the domain of private devotion and complement the public dimension offered by the liturgy. They also provide the only known examples of iconography amongst the Syriac material. SyrHT 152 (TII B 64 No. 3 = 1731) is one of only two examples of personal prayer-amulets that have emerged in the Syriac material. Now held in the *Staatsbibliothek*, Potsdamer Platz, Berlin,²⁰ it is a tiny fragment 4.5 cm (height), 3.9 cm (width), with only two Syriac words, written vertically in East Syriac Estrangelo script: **ܠܠܚܡܐ** “for your handmaid, servant girl” and **[ܐ]ܘܫܘܐ[ܐ]** “healing.”²¹ The words flank a well-executed cross of the Church of the East drawn in the centre of

¹⁷ See *Plate 1*: MIK III/45 fol. 21a.

¹⁸ Erica C. D. Hunter, “Syriac Ostraca from Mesopotamia,” *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 256 (1998), 617–39. See also Sebastian P. Brock, “Some Early Witnesses to the East Syriac Liturgical Tradition,” *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18:1 (2004), 12–13 for a reconstructed reading of the ostracon.

¹⁹ Brock, “Some early witnesses,” 11.

²⁰ The fragment is now housed in the *Staatsbibliothek*, Potsdamer Platz, Berlin. SyrHT means that the manuscript (Handschrift = H) is Syriac and comes from Turfan (T). T II B means that the fragment was found at the monastery site of Bulayiq (B) near Turfan, during the second campaign of the German Turfan Expedition in 1904–1905.

²¹ *Plate 2* SyrHT 152 *recto*.

erwise blank *verso*, may have “sealed” the precious contents as well as being an indicator as to how to carry the prayer-amulet. This might have been a necessary measure if the intended recipient was illiterate or unable to read Syriac, as one might expect of the laity at Turfan who spoke Sogdian or Uighur.²⁷ On the other hand, SyrHT 99 might have been produced by one of the monks at the monastery, for his private devotion.

The subject of SyrHT 330, Mār Tamsis is not mentioned in the liturgical fragments from Turfan, but his commemoration in the Church of the East calendar was on the 8th Wednesday after Epiphany.²⁸ B.L. 14653, a 9th century manuscript from northern Mesopotamia, which details the lives of numerous saints, also includes a prayer to Mār Tamsis,²⁹ that occurs just before the colophon which names the scribe as “Saliba.” No other details are supplied. Interestingly, Mār Tamsis was commemorated in handbooks of amulets dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that were used by the Syriac Christian communities in Hakkari.³⁰ Mingana Ms. Syr 316, whose colophon was written in “the year 2088 of the Greeks” i.e. between October of 1776 and September of 1777, mentions his name in connection with an amulet against lunacy that was entitled **ܘܚܢܐ ܘܚܢܐ ܘܚܢܐ** “Of the daughter of the moon.”³¹ Mār Tamsis is named as a celebrated martyr and, in keeping with SyrHT 330, Mingana Ms. Syr 316 notes that the saint dwelt **ܘܚܢܐ ܘܚܢܐ ܘܚܢܐ** “[on the mountain] forty years.”³²

²⁷ N. Sims-Williams, “Sogdian and Turkish Christians in the Turfan and Tun-huang manuscripts,” *Turfan and Tun-huang: the texts*, Edited by Alfredo Cadonna, (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 43–61.

²⁸ See **ܘܚܢܐ ܘܚܢܐ ܘܚܢܐ** (*Surgada Mbašla*) (Urmi: Press of the Archbishop of Canterbury’s Mission, 1894) 8. This commemoration occurs only occasionally since there are usually only seven Wednesdays after Epiphany. The author thanks Rev. Giwargis Malco Khoshaba (Ancient Assyrian Church of the East, London) for this information. For further information about this perpetual calendar, see James F. Coakley, “The Archbishop of Canterbury’s Assyrian Mission Press: A Bibliography.” *JSS* 30:1 (1983) 52–53, which notes that the perpetual calendar consisted of 38 pages, with pp. 5–9 being lists of festivals and saints’ days, “taken from a MS 550 years old”. This manuscript which was written in 1443 and is now lost is mentioned by Arthur J. Maclean and William H. Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his People* (London: SPCK, 1892) 347.

²⁹ See Hunter, *Traversing Time and Location*, 34–35 for the text and translation of this prayer-amulet.

³⁰ For details of the other handbooks of amulets, dating from 1779–1817 that include “The anathema of Mar Tamsis which is suitable for the daughter of the moon” see Hunter, *Traversing Time and Location*, 30.

³¹ Mingana Syr. Ms. 316 fol. 61a-64a. Mingana Syr. Ms. 316 folio 61, *verso* for a graphic illustration of the mounted saint lancing a one-eyed demoness.

³² Mingana Syr. Ms. 316 fol. 62a l.2 **ܘܚܢܐ ܘܚܢܐ ܘܚܢܐ**, “who dwelt” + fol. 62a ll.3–4 **ܘܚܢܐ ܘܚܢܐ ܘܚܢܐ** “in/on the mountains for forty years”.

Mar Cyprian was also commemorated in the 19th century handbooks and at Turfan, where he is the subject of two prayer-amulets. n.364–365, now deposited in the *Turfanforschung*, Berlin-Brandenburg Akademie der Wissenschaft, Berlin,³³ are dislocated fragments, but derive from the same folio, where the intermediate contents have been lost. The upper half of the *recto* of n.364 has nine lines of an anathema to Mār Cyprian, with a miscellany of later, unrelated texts covering the bottom half of the *recto* and the *verso* side.³⁴ n.365 consists of 6 lines that correspond to ll.1–6 of n.364 and forms the right-hand side of the original folio. Written in East Syriac Estrangela, each word of n.364 ll.1–9 and n.365 ll.1–6 is separated by a red dot. The (right-hand) margin of n.365 has been lost, but a red dot concludes the end of n.364 ll.3–9, producing a justified left-hand margin. Red-black *paragraphii* have been placed at the end of n.364 ll.1–2; with the *paragraphus* of l.1 coming at the end of the anathema's rubric heading. The application of the rubric dots (very helpful in reading the text) is unique and does not occur in any of the other fragments from Turfan. This demarcation of each word must have imparted a visual, and possibly apotropaic, impact. Additionally, the originally blank *verso* (also a feature of SyrHT 152 and SyrHT 99 & SyrHT 330) points to n.364–365 being specifically prepared as an amulet, with a subsequent re-cycling at a later date.

Text, Transliteration, and Translation: n.364–365

Recto.³⁵

| | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|--------|---------|---------------------|--------|-----|
| ✠ | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n365] | [ܡܪܝܢܐ] | ܘܢܝܢܐ ... | [n364] | 1.1 |
| | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n365] | ܘܢܝܢܐ | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n364] | 1.2 |
| | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n365] | [ܡܪܝܢܐ] | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n364] | 1.3 |
| | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n365] | ܘܢܝܢܐ | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n364] | 1.4 |
| | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n365] | ܘܢܝܢܐ | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n364] | 1.5 |
| | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n365] | ܘܢܝܢܐ | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n364] | 1.6 |
| | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n365] | ܘܢܝܢܐ | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n364] | 1.7 |
| | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n365] | [ܡܪܝܢܐ] | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n364] | 1.8 |
| | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n365] | ܘܢܝܢܐ | ܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ | [n364] | 1.9 |

- 1.1 ... ḥr(m)' d[mry] qp[ry]n' qdyš'
 1.2 [bšm] 'b' br]' wrwḥ' dq]wdš' l'myn 'myn
 1.3 bšlwth d[mry qpryn'] qdyš' d'ykn 'tnšḥ
 1.4 b'lm' (h)n' š'l ... mn mrn yšw' mšyḥ' wyhb
 1.5 lh 'lh' š'ltḥ ... šwbḥ' lk 'lh' bšmy'

³³ *Plate 4* n364–365 with the labels n364 and n365 having been inserted upside down to the text.

³⁴ Aside from the anathema to Mār Cyprian, n364–5 *recto* consists of various contents: (a) two lines of text in Sogdian (written in Syriac script), (b) 4 lines of Syriac, in a different hand. n364–365 *verso* has a Sogdian text, written in Syriac script.

³⁵ **Bold** type indicates rubrics in the Syriac text and the translation; ... = lacuna in manuscript; () = illegible text; [mry][Syriac equivalent]; <mry>/< Syriac equivalent>.

- 1.2 The anathema of ... the holy Mār Cyprian,
- 1.3 when he was celebrated in this world, he requested from
- 1.4 God and He granted him his request. Whilst he said thus:
- 1.5 On the ^{holy} day, Sunday are loosened, passed over
- 1.6 and voided, all those wicked, vile and hateful men.
- 1.7 ... God Most High. Then the saint
- 1.8 Mār Cyprian directed his mind
- 1.9 God ... and sought ...
- 1.10 ... praise to [you God] ...

Verso:

- 1.1 [?][?] [?] [?] ... [?] [?]
- 1.2 [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?]
- 1.3 [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?]
- 1.4 [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?]
- 1.5 [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?]
- 1.6 [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?]
- 1.7 ... [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?]
- 1.8 [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?]
- 1.9 ... [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?]
- 1.10 ... [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?]
- 1.11 ... [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?] [?]

- 1.1 [ʔ][h] šwbḥ' lk 'lh' [...] wb[ʔr ʔ]
- 1.2 'hyd kl wmdbr kl bḥyl' bš[m]h qdyš'
- 1.3 mšbḥ' mlk' dmlk' wmr' dmrwth' d'mr
- 1.4 bnwhr' g'y' ksy' wgnyz' hw d'nš mn
- 1.5 bnynš' l' ḥzyhy w'pl' mš' lmḥzyhy
- 1.6 'nt mry yd' 'nt ksyth d'bdbk 'n'
- 1.7 ... qdym zbn' b'wz' dm'bdnwthwn
- 1.8 ... wmrhm' dpšr hwyt kl ḥšsyn
- 1.9 ... qšmyn kd l' yd' hwyt lk
- 1.10 ... wl' nḥtn mṭr' wl' 'r[ʔ]
- 1.11 ... šmy' wl'r' dl'

- 1.1 **God ... Praise to you God** [...]... On earth
- 1.2 He holds all and rules all by the power, by His holy
- 1.3 and glorious name. King of kings and Lord of the Lords who dwells
- 1.4 in the joyous, hidden and mystic light. He whom
- 1.5 no man has seen nor is even able to see him.
- 1.6 You, Lord, you know the secret of your servant. I
- 1.7 ... before time, the violence of their (magical) practice
- 1.8 ... and execrable that you have dissolved all divinations
- 1.9 ... augurers. Whilst I did not know you
- 1.10 ... neither falls rain nor the (earth)?
- 1.11 ... heaven and earth lest

Both SyrHT 102 and n364–365 begin with the technical term, **ܡܢܗܠܐ** “anathema,” signifying a prayer that was always used in conjunction with a named saint who uttered it at the point of martyrdom.³⁷ Mār Cyprian’s name is spelt variously: n.364–365 **ܡܚܪܩܘܢܐ**, SyrHT 102 **ܡܚܪܩܢܐ**, but both texts specify the exact time when that saint **ܗܠܐ** “requested” his prayer, *viz.*: **ܘܐܨܝܐ ܐܢܝܢܐ ܡܢܗܠܐ ܗܘܐ** “when he was celebrated in this world” i.e. at the point of his martyrdom.³⁸ SyrHT 102 and n364–365 specifically state that Mār Cyprian’s wish was granted: **ܘܗܘ ܥܘܫܐ ܕܗ ܡܚܪܩܢܐ** “and He gave him his request,”³⁹ but the contents of Mār Cyprian’s prayer in SyrHT 102 are much longer than n364–365 (where there are textual lacunae) and notably include several clear references to the dissipation of magic and divination on ll. 5–6 and ll. 8–9. Both n364 and SyrHT 102, in the concluding parts of the prayer, cite the clause, *viz.*: **ܡܚܪܩܢܐ ܗܠܐ ܕܡܢܗܠܐ** “he directed <his> mind to God.”⁴⁰

The physical format of n.364–365 suggests that it may originally have been prepared as a personal amulet. By contrast, “The anathema of Mār Cyprian” in SyrHT 102 follows immediately after the rubricated concluding formula of the previous section: **ܕܡܚܪܩܢܐ ܡܚܪܩܢܐ**.⁴¹ This format suggests that SyrHT 102 may have been part of a “handbook of prayer-amulets,” which monks used and consulted at Turfan; a tradition that continued as late as the 19th century amongst the Syriac-speaking clergy of Hakkari. The anathema of Mār Cyprian is found in various manuscripts, including the aforementioned Mingana Syr. Ms. 316, where it is listed under the rubricated heading **ܡܢܗܠܐ ܡܚܪܩܢܐ ܡܚܪܩܢܐ** “the anathema of Mār Cyprian, the celebrated martyr.” The text of Mingana Syr. Ms. 316 is much longer than both n.364–365 and SyrHT 102,⁴² but it does exhibit substantial textual parallels with the latter, notably including the distinctive clause **ܡܚܪܩܢܐ ܗܠܐ ܕܡܢܗܠܐ** “Mār Cyprian, the saint, directed (his) mind to the Lord of All.”⁴³ The colophon of Mingana Syr. Ms 316 names the village of Marshanis in the

³⁷ SyrHT 102 *recto*, l.2; n364–365 l.1. For a discussion of the “anathema” genre, see Erica C.D. Hunter, “Saints in Syriac Anathemas: A Form-Critical Analysis of Role,” *Journal Semitic Studies*, 37: 1 (1987), 83–104.

³⁸ SyrHT 102 *recto* l.3, n364–365 ll.3–4.

³⁹ SyrHT 102 *recto* l.4, n364–365 l.4.

⁴⁰ SyrHT 102 *recto* l.8 and n365 l. 8. For **ܡܚܪܩܢܐ** see Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* (Winona Lake, Piscataway: Eisenbrauns, Gorgias, 2009), 863 citing William Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, 2 vols., (London: 1865) 223:19, Jessie Payne-Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), 314.

⁴¹ SyrHT 102 *recto* l.1. The contents of the previous section, which was written on the preceding folio to SyrHT 102, have not survived.

⁴² See Hunter, *Saints in Syriac Anathemas*, 100–3 for the text and translation of this anathema in Mingana Syr. Ms. 316, fol. 21r–26r.

⁴³ Hunter, *Saints in Syriac Anathemas*, 100 (text), 102 (translation), with the small change of **ܡܚܪܩܢܐ** for **ܡܚܪܩܐ**.

Atel district, in the diocese of Buhtan in the Seert region, as the place of its production.⁴⁴

4 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The selected manuscripts respectively demonstrate the public and private dimensions of faith that took place at Turfan in the medieval period. In this remote outpost, the heritage of the Church of the East was robustly maintained; the public worship i.e. the liturgy looked westwards to Mesopotamia, as did the private devotions, i.e. the prayer-amulets. This trajectory is epitomized by the usage in both public worship and private devotion of Syriac, which would have been largely unfamiliar to the Sogdian and Uighur-speaking laity, but maintained a particular sanctity and efficacy. The dating of MIK III 45 that places it shortly after the mid-7th century compilation of the *Hudrā* by Patriarch Isoyabh III, provides unparalleled insight into the East Syrian liturgy of the first millennium and its dissemination in the far-flung dioceses of the Church of the East. The prayer-amulets are rare vernacular items illuminating the stratum of personal devotion to saints who were inextricably connected with Mesopotamia. Although their dating has not been secured, their presence at Turfan indicates that they predate – by some six or seven centuries – namesake anathemas that were still in usage amongst the Syriac-speaking communities of Hakkari until their tragic demise in the *Sayfo* of 1915. Paradoxically, just a few years prior, the *German Turfan Expedition* made spectacular discoveries at Turfan and opened new dimensions in our knowledge of the spread of East Syrian Christianity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Boyce, Mary, ed. *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 45), Berlin: Akademie Wissenschaften, 1960.
- Brock, Sebastian P. “Some Early Witnesses to the East Syriac Liturgical Tradition.” *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18:1 (2004): 9–54.
- Budge, Ernest A. W. *Histories of Rabban Hormīzūd the Persian and Rabban Bar-Īdītā*. 2 vols. London: Luzac, 1902.

⁴⁴ For further information about Marshanis, see David Wilmshurst, *The ecclesiastical organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 90, 98 and Map 2: west of Deh and east of Tal. See also, the on-line entry by Thomas A. Carlson, “Marshanis – ܡܪܫܢܝܫ” in *The Syriac Gazetteer*, edited by Thomas A. Carlson and David A. Michelson, entry published May 10, 2014, Syriaca.org: The Syriac Reference Portal, Edited by David A. Michelson. Justin Sheil, “Notes on a journey from Tabriz through Kurdistan via Van, Bitlis, Se’ert and Erbil through Suleimaniyeh in July and August 1836,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 8 (1838) 67 cites the towns of Amadiyeh and Se’ert as the eastern and western boundaries of Buhtan.

- Coakley, John F. “Manuscript MIK III 45: introduction and questions.” Unpublished paper presented at the *2014 Turfan Workshop*, Berlin (July 2014).
- Dickens, Mark, “Syro-Uigurica II: Syriac passages in U338 from Turfan.” *Hugoye* 16:2 (2013): 301–24.
- Dickens, Mark & Peter Zieme, “Syro-Uigurica I: A Syriac Psalter in Uyghur Script from Turfan” Pages 291–328 in *Scripts Beyond Borders. A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*. Edited by Johannes den Heijer *et al.* Leuven: Peeters, 2014.
- Engberding, Hieronymus, “Fünf Blätter eines alten ostsyrischen Bitt- und Bussgottesdienstes aus Innerasien.” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 14 (1965): 121–48.
- Gillman, Ian & Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500*. London: Curzon, 1999.
- Gollancz, Hermann, *The Book of Protection, being a collection of charms* (London: H. Froude, 1912).
- Hunter, Erica C. D. “Saints in Syriac Anathemas: A Form-Critical Analysis of Role.” *JSS*, 37:1 (1987): 83–104.
- . “Syriac Ostraca from Mesopotamia.” *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 256 (1998): 617–39.
- . “Traversing Time and Location: A Prayer-Amulet to Mar Tamsis from Turfan” Pages 23–41 in *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in Central Asia and China*. Edited by Dietmar Winkler and Li Tang [Orientalia-patristica-oecumenica v. 5] Salzburg: Lit. Verlag, 2013.
- Hunter, Erica C. D. and James F. Coakley, *A Syriac Service-Book from Turfan. Museum für Asiatische Kunst MS MIK III 45. The text edited, translated and introduced*. Turnhout, Leuven: Brepols, 2017.
- Hunter, Erica C. D. and Mark Dickens, eds. *Syrische Handschriften, Teil 2. Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung. Syriac texts from the Berlin Turfan Collection*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2014.
- Le Coq, Albert von *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan*. Trans. Anna Barwell, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1928.
- Macleay, Arthur J. and William H. Browne. *The Catholicos of the East and His People*. London: SPCK, 1892.
- Macomber, William F. “A List of the Known Manuscripts of the Chaldean *Ḥudra*.” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 36:1 (1970): 120–34.
- Meshcherskaya, Elena N. “The Syriac Fragments in the N. N. Krotkov Collection” Pages 221–7 in *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang*. Edited by Ronald E. Emmerick *et al.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996.
- Müller, Friedrich W.K. “Soghdische Texte I,” SPAW 1912 (1913): 84–8.
- Payne-Smith, Jessie. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1903.
- Sachau, Eduard. “Litteratur – Bruchstücke aus Chinesisch – Turkistan,” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Sitzung der

- philosophisch – historischen Classe von 23. November) XLVII (1905): 964–73.
- Saeki, Peter Yoshira. *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*. Tokyo: Maruzen, 1937.
- Sheil, Justin. “Notes on a journey from Tabriz through Kurdistan via Van, Bitlis, Se’ert and Erbil through Suleimaniyeh in July and August 1836,” *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 8 (1838): 54–101.
- Sims-Williams, N. “Sogdian and Turkish Christians in the Turfan and Tun-huang manuscripts” Pages 43–61 in *Turfan and Tun-huang: the texts*. Edited by Alfredo Cadonna, Florence: Olschki, 1992, 43–61.
- Sokoloff, Michael. *A Syriac Lexicon*. Winona Lake, Piscataway: Eisenbrauns, Gorgias, 2009.
- The Syriac Gazetteer*, by Thomas A. Carlson and David A. Michelson, entry published May 10, 2014, Syriaca.org: The Syriac Reference Portal, ed. David A. Michelson.
- Wilmshurst, David. *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.

PLATES



Plate 1: MIK III 45 fol. 21a.

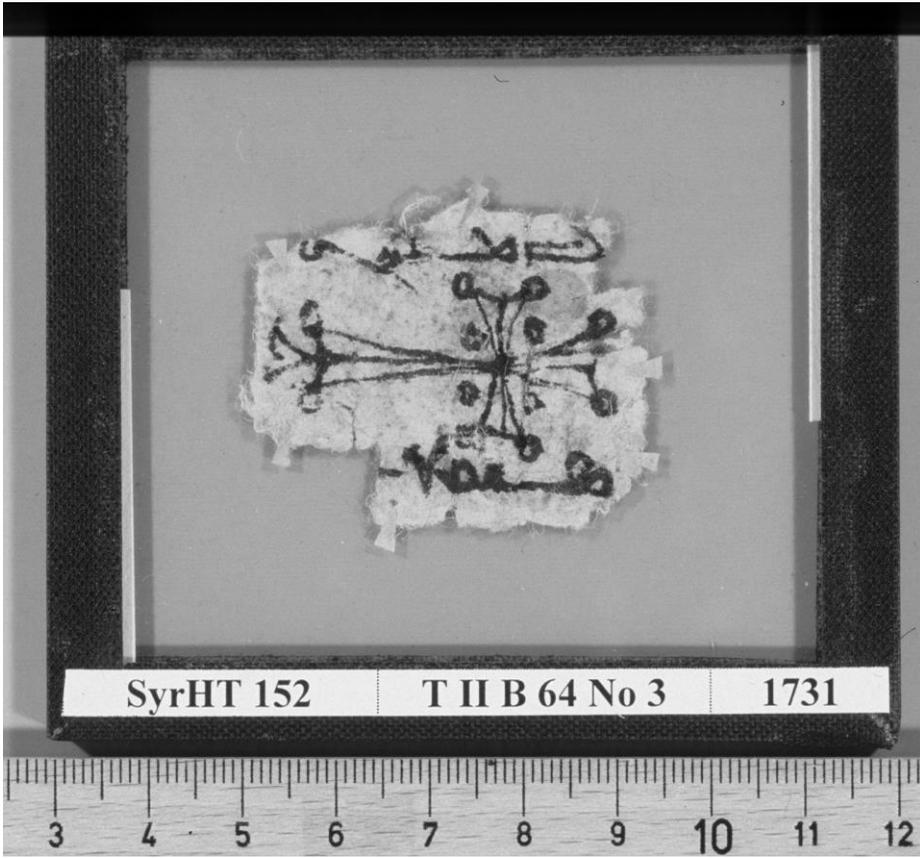


Plate 2 SyrHT 152 recto.

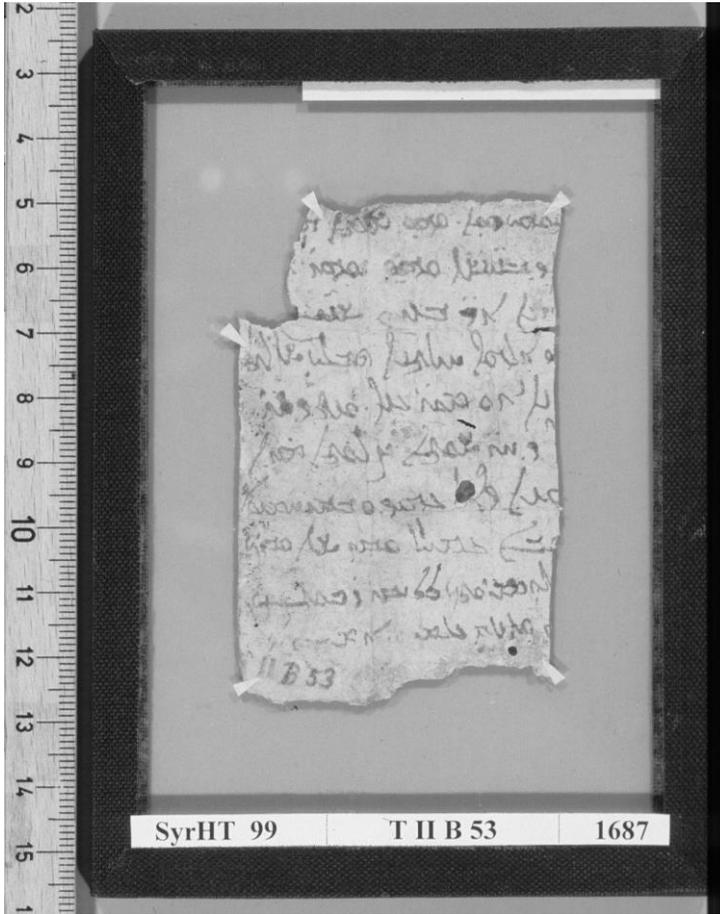


Plate 3 SyrHT 99 & SyrHT 330

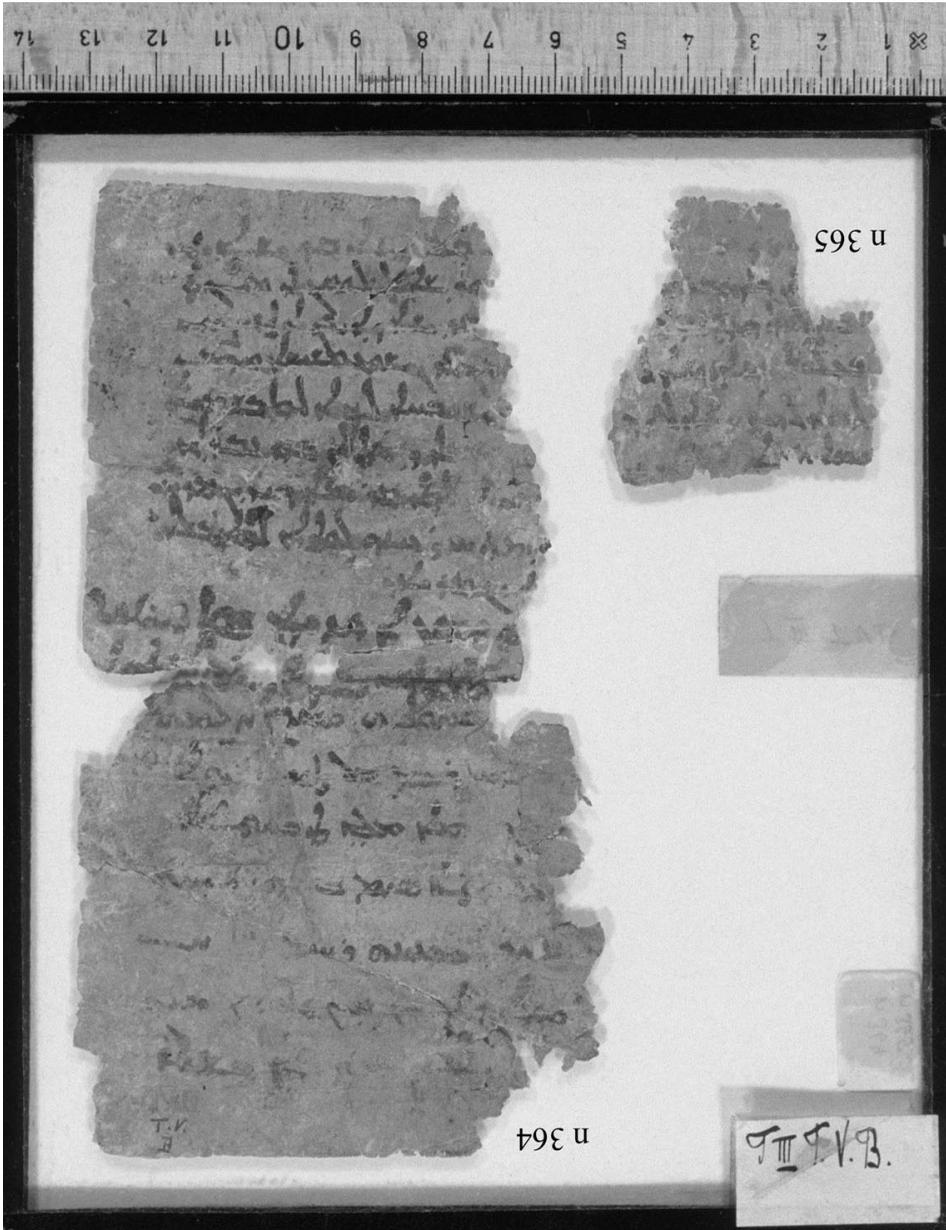


Plate 4 n364–n.365

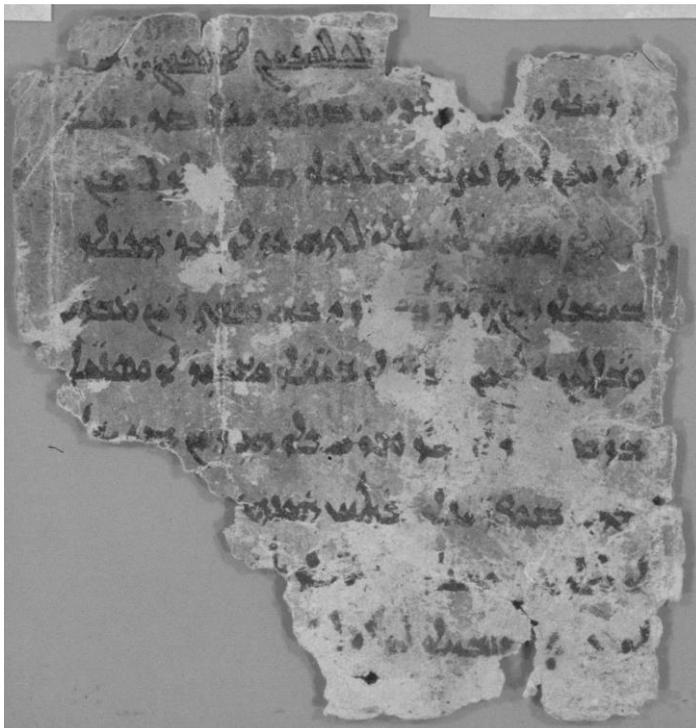


Plate 5A SyrHT 102 recto

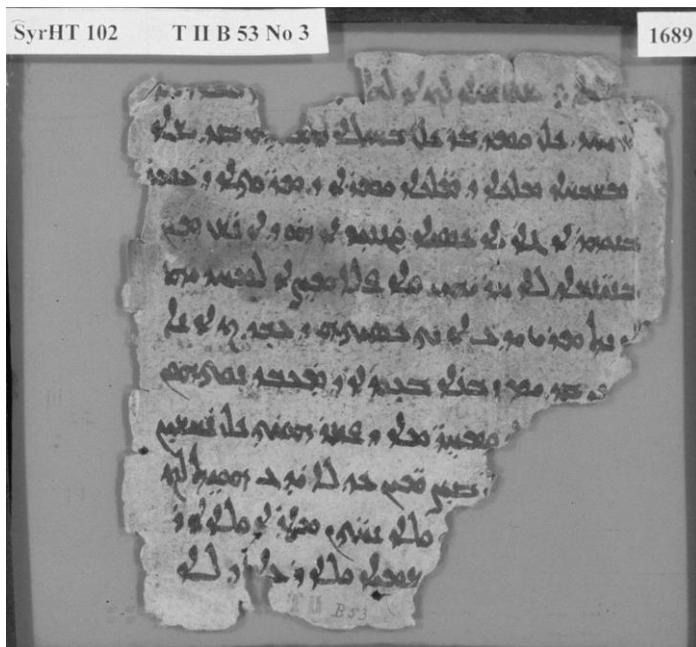


Plate 5B SyrHT 102 verso

GREEK IMPERATIVES AND CORRESPONDING EXPRESSIONS IN CHRISTIAN PALESTINIAN ARAMAIC

Tarsee Li

Oakwood University

The present study is a continuation of my recent monograph, which dealt with the syntax of the Indicative system of the CPA verbs.¹ This study will explore the extent to which the employment of different types of directive expressions in CPA corresponds to different types of directive expressions in Greek. More specifically, it will survey the employment of CPA Imperative constructions and related forms in light of the translation of Greek Imperatives and related forms. It is hoped that the comparisons and contrasts between the Greek original and the CPA translation will shed light on both translation technique and the different nuances of the CPA Imperative constructions and related forms.

1 INTRODUCTION

Among the less researched forms of Aramaic is Christian Palestinian Aramaic (hereafter, CPA),² a language used by Aramaic speaking Christians in Syria-Palestine and Egypt during the Roman, Byzantine and Arab periods until about the 13th century CE. Although extant texts in CPA have been known for a long time, and many were even published over a century ago, Aramaic scholars are indebted to the works of Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff for more accurate editions of CPA texts based on manuscripts of the early and middle periods (5th–8th centuries CE). Their work has resulted, not only in corrections to earlier editions, but also in a clearer distinction between the different periods of CPA. Müller-Kessler also published a grammar that deals with the script, phonology, and morphology of the CPA language.³ But a

¹ Tarsee Li, *Greek Indicative Verbs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Gospels: Translation Technique and the Aramaic Verbal System*, Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 3 (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2013).

² Also called Melkite Aramaic. See Alain Desreumaux, *Codex sinaiticus Zosimi rescriptus: Description codicologique des feuillets araméens melkites des manuscrits Schøyen 35, 36 et 37 (Londres – Oslo): comprenant l'édition de nouveaux passages des Évangiles et Catéchèses de Cyrille*, Histoire du texte biblique 3 (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 1997).

³ Christa Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen: Teil 1: Schriftlehre, Lautlehre, Formenlehre* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1991).

promised forthcoming volume on syntax has not yet appeared. In fact, other than a few pages of very brief remarks by Schulthess,⁴ a thorough study of CPA syntax has never been published.⁵ The present study examines the function of the CPA Imperative constructions and related forms in light of the translation of Greek Imperatives and related forms. It is hoped that this study will contribute to further our understanding of the verbal syntax of CPA.

The methodology of this study is as follows: Since practically all CPA texts are translations from the Greek, one cannot study CPA grammar without paying attention to translation technique. For affirmative commands, Greek has primarily two forms of Imperatives, the Aorist Imperative and the Present Imperative. The Perfect Imperative also occurs, but is seldom used (for example, Mk 4:39). For negative commands, Greek uses primarily the Present Imperative and the Aorist Subjunctive. As in the Indicative mood, the Greek Aorist views an action as a whole, whereas the Present views an action from an internal point of view (progressive, iterative, customary, etc.). This is true also in the Imperative mood.⁶ In my earlier study, I noted that the Greek Aorist Indicative was usually translated with the CPA Perfect, whereas Imperfect Indicative was often translated with the participial expression Perfect of $\text{ܐܘܡܝܢ} + \text{Participle}$.⁷ Hence, the present study explores the extent to which Greek aspectual nuances in the Imperative mood are reflected in the CPA translation. The corpus of this study consists of the New Testament Gospels. The textual basis for this study consists of the CPA translations of the Greek New Testament Gospels as published by Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff and the latest edition of the Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament (hereafter NA²⁸).⁸ The CPA font used is CPA Genizah ML.

⁴ Friedrich Schulthess, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch*. Edited by Enno Littmann (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1924), 80–99. A helpful list of references for unreferenced citations in Schulthess' grammar may be found in Michael Sokoloff, *Texts of Various Contents in Christian Palestinian Aramaic*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 235 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 243–247.

⁵ There was an earlier short sketch of CPA syntax by Nöldeke, whose observations on verbal function consist of only a few lines. See Theodore Nöldeke, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der aramäischen Dialecte. II. Ueber den christlich-palästinischen Dialect," *ZDMG* 22 (1868): 506–513. More recently, a study on the syntax of nominal clauses was done by H. Shirun, "Chapters in the Syntax of Nominal Clauses in the Syropalestinian Version of the Bible" (MA Thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1982 [in Hebrew]). A study on a few specific points of syntax was done by Moshé Bar-Asher, "Le syro-palestinien-études grammaticales," *Journal Asiatique* 276 (1988): 27–59. Also, my recent monograph (*Greek Indicative Verbs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Gospels*) dealt with the syntax some CPA verbal forms.

⁶ Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Michigan, 1996), 713–725.

⁷ Li, *Greek Indicative Verbs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Gospels*, passim.

⁸ Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, eds., *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New Testament Version from the Early Period: Gospels*, A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic, 2a (Groningen: STYX Publications, 1998). Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Kara-

It is hoped that the comparisons and contrasts between the Greek original and the CPA translation will shed light on both translation technique and the different nuances of the CPA Imperative constructions and related forms.

It is appropriate here to make a few brief remarks on some of the limitations of this study. First, Imperatives in most languages are used not only in commands, but also to express request, permission, etc. However, as will be seen below, the different functions of the Greek Imperatives do not seem to affect the way that they are translated in CPA. Therefore, it was deemed unnecessary to classify the various functions of the Imperative for the purpose of the present study. Next, although Greek also has a third person Imperative (for example, *τελευτάτω* Mark 7:10), Aramaic only has second person Imperatives. Hence, the present study is limited to the study of the second person forms. Additionally, just as Aramaic can employ the Imperfect to express a directive modality, Greek can employ the Future Indicative tense to express the same. However, this study focuses on the translation of Greek Imperatives, and a comprehensive study of the functions of the CPA Imperfect must be left for a separate study.

2 THE CPA TRANSLATION OF AFFIRMATIVE DIRECTIVES

There are about 717 second person affirmative directives expressed with Greek Imperatives in the Gospels, consisting of 420 Aorist Imperatives, 296 Present Imperatives, and 1 instance of a Perfect Imperative. Most of these are not attested in CPA translation, due to the fragmentary state of the manuscripts. Besides, the exact number is debatable, since many Greek verbs have the same form for second person Present Indicative and Present Imperative, allowing for ambiguity in some contexts. Further, these numbers exclude instances of the Imperative *ἰδοῦ*, which function more like an interjection, and are so translated in CPA, *ܐܘܪܝܢ* (Mt 1:20 CCR3, etc.). Also excluded are instances of the Imperative of *χαίρω* in greetings.

2.1 Greek Aorist Imperative

There are at least 46 instances of Greek Aorist Imperatives in affirmative directives with attested CPA translations in the Gospels. As can be expected, almost all instances (45 instances) are translated in CPA with an Imperative.⁹ Not much needs to be said about these instances. Here is an example:

vidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

⁹ Mt 2:8a CCR3; 2:8b CCR3; 2:20 CCR3; 14:8 Sin^a; 18:15 CSRP^e; 18:16 CSRP^e; 18:17 CSRP^e; 21:33 CCR1; 23:3 CCR1; 23:32 CSRO^e; 24:32 CSRP^d; 25:8 CCR1, CSRP^d, CSRO^e; 25:9 CCR1, CSRP^d; 25:11 CCR1, CSRP^d; 26:26a CCR1; 26:26b CCR1; 26:27 CCR1; 26:36 CSRP^d; 26:38 CSRP^d; 26:48 CCR1, CSRP^d, BL; 26:52 BL; 26:68 CSRG/O^d; 27:40a CCR8, CCR1; 27:40b CCR8, CCR1; 27:65 CCR1; 28:7 CCR1; Mk 1:3 CCR1; 1:25a CCR1; 1:25b CCR1; 2:9 CCR1; 2:11 CCR1; 6:36 CSRO^e; 6:38 CSRO^e; 7:14a CSRO^e; 7:14b CSRO^e; 9:43 CSRO^e; 10:48 CSRP^e, CSRO^e; 11:2 CSRP^e, CSRO^e; 11:3 CSRP^e; 11:23a CSRP^e; 11:23b

Mt 2:8 CCR3

ⲁⲗ ⲟⲩⲗⲟ ⲕⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲟ

And when you find him, *report* to me

ἐπὰν δὲ εὔρητε, ἀπαγγείλατέ μοι

The only attested instance where the Greek Aorist Imperative is not translated in CPA with an Imperative consists of a translation with the CPA expression ⲛ + Imperfect (Mk 10:49 CSRPe). However, there is a textual variant in the Greek manuscripts, and the CPA translation may actually follow the Majority reading, which has the Greek Infinitive instead of the Imperative.

2.2 Greek Present Imperative

There are 57 instances of second person Greek Present Imperatives in affirmative directives with attested CPA translations in the Gospels. In 45 of these instances, the Greek verb is translated in CPA with an Imperative.¹⁰ Hence in the majority of instances, the aspectual distinction between the Greek Aorist and Present is not reflected in the Aramaic translation.

Mt 24:20 CSRPe^d

ⲛⲣⲗⲟ [ⲛⲣ]ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲣⲗ [ⲕⲟⲗⲗ]ⲛⲟⲩⲓⲟⲗⲗ ⲕⲟⲛⲗ [ⲛⲣⲗ]ⲛ ⲗⲛ ⲟⲗⲗ
[ⲛⲣⲗ]ⲧⲓⲟⲩⲧ

Pray that your flight may not be in the winter or on the Sabbath

προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν χειμῶνος μηδὲ σαββάτω

In the above example, the Greek Present Imperative *προσεύχεσθε* is translated in CPA with the Imperative *ⲟⲗⲗ*.

CSRPe; 11:29 CSRPe; 11:30 CSRPe; 13:28 CSRPe, Dam; 14:34 CSRPe; 14:36 CSRPe; 14:44 CSRPe; 15:14 CSROc; 15:30 CSROc; 16:7 CSRPe; Lk 7:14 CSRPe; 9:12 CSROc; 9:13 CSROc; 9:14 CSROc; 9:41 CSRS^c; 9:44 CSROc, CSRS^c; 18:3 CSRS/P^c; 18:39 CSRS^c; 18:42 CSRS^c; 19:5 CSRPe; 19:13 CSRPe; 20:2 CSROc, Dam^c; 20:3 CSROc, Dam^c; Jn 6:34 CSRPe; 11:34 CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 11:39 Dam^a; 11:44a Dam^c; 11:44b Dam^c; 13:27 CCR8; 13:29 CCR8; 15:4 T-S^c; 15:7 T-S^c.

¹⁰ Mt 2:20 CCR3; 18:10 CSRPe; 18:15 CSRPe; 23:3 CCR1; 24:4 CSROc; 24:6 CSROc; 24:20 CSRPe^d; 24:44 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 25:6 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 25:9 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 26:41b CCR1, CSRPe^d; 26:45 CSRPe^d; 26:46 CCR1, CSRPe^d; 27:65 CCR1; Mk 1:3 CCR1; 2:9a CCR1; 2:9b CCR1; 2:11a CCR1; 5:34a CSROc; 5:36 CSROc; 6:38 CSROc; 7:10 CSROc; 8:15a CSROc; 9:7 CSROc; 10:49a CSRPe; 10:49b CSRPe; 10:52 CSROc; 11:2b CSRPe, CSROc; 12:15 CSRPe; 12:38 CSROc; 13:5 CSRPe; 13:18 CSRPe; 13:23 CSRPe, Dam; 13:29 CSRPe, Dam; 14:38b CSRPe; 14:41a CSRPe; 14:41b CSRPe; 14:42 CSRPe; 14:44 CSRPe; 16:7 CSRPe; Lk 9:35 CSROc; 11:35 CSRPe; 17:19 CSRS^c; Jn 11:34 CSRPe^d, Dam^a; 14:31 T-S^c.

There are 10 instances where the Greek Present Imperative is translated in CPA with the Imperative of ܠܘܡܝ and some type of Participle. This construction is not unique to CPA, and has been called the “periphrastic imperative.”¹¹ Examples can be found in Egyptian Aramaic¹² and Qumran Aramaic.¹³ There are 7 instances of ܘܢܝܘܢ ܠܘܡܝ in the CPA Gospels, 6 of which are translations of the verb γρηγορέω “to watch” (Mt 24:42 CCR1, CSRPD; 25:13 CCR1, CSRPD; 26:38 CSRPD; 26:41a CCR1, CSRPD; Mk 14:34 CSRPE; 14:38a CSRPE) and 1 is a translation of μνημονεύω “to remember” (Jn 15:20 CCR8).

Mt 24:42 CCR1

ܘܢܝܘܢ ܠܘܡܝ ܘܢܝܘܢ

Therefore, *be watchful*.

γρηγορεῖτε οὖν

In the above example, the Greek γρηγορεῖτε, Present Imperative of γρηγορέω, is translated in CPA with ܘܢܝܘܢ ܠܘܡܝ. The form ܘܢܝܘܢ is the plural of ܢܝܘܢ, which, although it is the Peal Passive Participle of ܢܝܘܢ, often functions just as an adjective. In fact, verbal adjectives and Passive Participles frequently overlap in function.¹⁴ Therefore, the expression ܘܢܝܘܢ ܠܘܡܝ can be alternatively analyzed as the Imperative of ܠܘܡܝ + adjective. In the case of this word, the translation may simply be idiomatic, since it is a fairly consistent translation of γρηγορεῖτε.

There are 3 other attested instances of a second person Greek Present Imperative translated with the CPA expression Imperative of ܠܘܡܝ + Participle. They consist of translations of the verbs γινώσκω “to know” (Mt 24:43 CCR1, CSRPD), πιστεύω “to believe” (Mk 11:24 CSRPE), and ἀφίημι “to forgive” (Mk 11:25 CSRPE). These instances translate Greek words that seem to express mental activities or states. Hence, it may be tempting to conclude that the construction Imperative of ܠܘܡܝ + Participle is restricted to certain lexemes or semantic notions. However, not all Greek Present Imperative verbs expressing mental actions/states are translated in CPA with ܠܘܡܝ + Participle.¹⁵ For example, θάρσει, from the verb θαρσέω “to have

¹¹ Jonas C. Greenfield, “The ‘Periphrastic Imperative’ in Aramaic and Hebrew,” *IEJ* 19 (1969): 199–210.

¹² Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezalel Porten. *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 2nd rev. ed. HdO, 32 (Leiden: Brill, 2003) 205–206.

¹³ Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 38. (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 178–179.

¹⁴ See Li, *Greek Indicative Verbs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Gospels*, 112–114.

¹⁵ Furthermore, there is also an instance of the expression Imperfect of ܠܘܡܝ + Participle employed in the translation of the Greek verb ποιέω in a negative directive (see section 3.2 below).

courage,” is translated with the simple Imperative **ἄναστη** (Mk 10:49a CSRPe).¹⁶ Further, the verbs **γινώσκω** and **πιστεύω** are translated in the CPA Gospels both by the simple Imperative and by the expression **ἄναστη** + Participle. Compare the translation of the Imperative of **γινώσκω** in Mt 24:43 (CCR1) and Mk 13:29 (CSRPe):

Mt 24:43 CCR1

ἄναστη ἄναστη ἄναστη

But *know* this.

ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε

Mk 13:29 CSRPe

ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα ἐγγύς ἔστιν

When you see these things happening, *know* that it is near.

ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν

In the above examples, **γινώσκετε**, the Present Imperative of **γινώσκω**, is translated in two different ways, by **ἄναστη ἄναστη** in Mt 24:43 and **ὅταν** in Mk 13:29. Hence, although the use of **ἄναστη** + Participle in Imperative expressions may be lexically influenced, other factors are also present. There is a detectable aspectual distinction in the above examples. In Mt 24:43, one could deduce from the context that “know” means “to be aware of, to keep in mind,” whereas in Mk 13:29 it means “to recognize.”¹⁷ In fact, the CPA expression **ἄναστη** + Participle is only employed to translate the Greek Present Imperative, not the Aorist. Hence, the CPA construction Imperative of **ἄναστη** + Participle expresses an imperfective nuance, which is not necessarily present with the simple Imperative without **ἄναστη**. Nevertheless, the fact that this expression is only employed to translate a small number of Present Imperatives suggests that aspectual distinctions alone do not completely explain the distribution of the CPA Imperative expressions. Unfortunately, the instances of Imperative of **ἄναστη** + Participle are too few to explore whether its employment is due to

¹⁶ Another Greek verb that could be construed as denoting a mental action is **τιμάω** “to honor,” which is translated with the simple Imperative **ἵπασθη** (Mk 7:10 CSROe). However, it could be argued that “to honor” probably involves an observable activity, rather than just a mental action. But then, so does the aforementioned verb **ἀφήμι** “to forgive,” **ἄναστη** (Mk 11:25 CSRPe).

¹⁷ However, in the case of the translation of **πιστεύω** as **ἄναστη** (Mk 5:36 CSROe) and **ἄναστη ἄναστη** (Mk 11:24 CSRPe), there is no detectable aspectual distinction between the two contexts.

semantic nuances, syntactic environments, scribal preferences, or some combination of these.¹⁸

In 1 instance, the Greek *γινώσχετε* is translated in CPA with the Participle ܩܢܝܫܩܬܝܗ (Mt 24:33 CSR^{Pd}). Since the Greek form can be analyzed as either Present Imperative or Present Indicative, the CPA translator no doubt interpreted it as the latter.

There is also 1 instance where the Greek Present Imperative is translated in CPA with the Imperfect (Mk 11:22 CSR^{Pc}). However, besides the fact that the Greek *ἔχετε* is ambiguous and could be alternatively analyzed as a Present Indicative, there is also a textual variant in this text. The CPA translation appears to follow the Greek manuscripts that insert the conditional particle *εἰ* before the verb, resulting in a conditional clause rather than a directive.

3 THE CPA TRANSLATION OF NEGATIVE DIRECTIVES

Turning to negative directives, there are 120 instances of second person negative directives in the Gospels. Half of the instances are expressed by the Greek Aorist Subjunctive and the other half by the Present Imperative. Due to the fragmentary nature of the CPA manuscripts, only a small number of negative directives are attested in CPA translation.

3.1 Negated Greek Aorist Subjunctive

The CPA Gospels translate 10 instances of negative directives expressed in Greek by second person Aorist Subjunctives. Almost all instances (9 out of 10) are translated with CPA Imperfects.¹⁹ For example:

Mt 23:9 CCR1

$\text{ܩܠܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܩܘܠܝܢ ܩܘܝܝܢܝܗܘܢ ܥܡܪܝܢܐ}$

And *do not call* anyone your father on earth.

καὶ πατέρα μὴ καλέσητε ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

In the above example, a negated Greek Aorist Subjunctive expressing a negative directive is translated in CPA with a negated Imperfect. As in other forms of ancient

¹⁸ Muraoka and Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 205–206, explained the instances of Imperative of ܩܢܝܫܩܬܝܗ + Participle in Egyptian Aramaic as expressing “a sense of urgency and insistence.” However, in spite of the paucity of instances of this expression in CPA, the attested instances in the corpus under study seem to suggest that this is probably not the case in CPA. Besides, there are instances of urgent or insistent commands/requests where the simple CPA Imperative without ܩܢܝܫܩܬܝܗ is employed in the translation of the Greek Aorist Imperative (e.g., Mt 25:8 CCR1, CSR^{Pd}, CSRO^c; 25:11 CCR1, CSR^{Pd}) or of the Present Imperative (e.g., Mt 24:20 CSR^{Pd}).

¹⁹ Mt 1:20 CCR3; 23:8 CCR1, CSRO^c; 23:9 CCR1, CSRO^c; 23:10 CCR1, CSRO^c; 24:23 CSR^{Pd}; 24:26a CSR^{Pd}; 24:26b CSR^{Pd}; Lk 17:23a CSRS^c; 17:23b CSRS^c.

Semitic languages, negated commands are expressed with the Imperfect rather than the Imperative. No further comment is necessary.

In at least 1 instance, the Greek Aorist Subjunctive in a negative directive is translated in CPA as a subordinate clause with $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota$ + Imperfect (Matt. 18:10 CSRP^c). This can be explained by the fact that the negative directive occurs after an Imperative expressing the meaning “see/look.” Hence, “look, do not ...” is translated as “see that you do not ...”

Matt. 18:10 CSRP^c

$\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\lambda\omicron\lambda\iota\ \zeta\lambda\eta\theta\ \zeta\eta\ \tau\eta\ \lambda\lambda\ \zeta\omicron\iota\omicron\omicron\epsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\ \omicron\ddot{\eta}[\mu]$

See that you do not despise one of these little ones.

$\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\ \mu\eta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\rho\omicron\nu\eta\sigma\eta\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$

In the above example, the Greek $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\ \mu\eta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\rho\omicron\nu\eta\sigma\eta\tau\epsilon$ “look, do not despise” is translated as $\zeta\omicron\iota\omicron\omicron\epsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\ \omicron\ddot{\eta}[\mu]$ “see that you do not despise.” This type of translation is similar to that often found in modern English translations.

3.2 Negated Greek Present Imperative

The CPA Gospels translate 15 instances of negative directives expressed in Greek by second person Present Imperatives. The majority of instances (at least 12 out of 15) are translated in CPA with a negated Imperfect.²⁰

Mk 5:36 CSRO^c

$[\zeta]\mu\lambda\eta\theta\ \tau\omicron\mu\lambda\epsilon\ [\mu\prime]\lambda\iota\tau\prime\ \lambda\eta\theta\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\iota$

Do not fear, but only believe.

$\mu\eta\ \phi\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$

In the above example, a negated Greek Present Imperative is translated in CPA with a negated Imperfect. Thus, the aspectual distinction between the Greek Aorist Subjunctive and the Present Imperative in negative directives is generally not reflected in CPA translation.

In at least 1 instance, the Present Imperative is translated in CPA with a negated Imperfect of $\lambda\omicron\theta\eta\iota$ + Participle (Mt 23:3 CCR1).

²⁰ Mt 28:5 CCR1; Mk 5:36 CSRO^c; 9:39 CSRO^c, CSRP^c; 13:7 CSRP^c; 16:6 CSRP^c; Lk 1:13 CSRP^c; 1:30 CCR3, CSRO^c, Dam^b; 7:13 CSRP^c; 9:50 CSRP^c, CSRS^c; 10:20 CSRO^c; Jn 6:43 CSRP^c; 12:15 T-S^a.

Mt 23:3 CCR1

ܘܬܝܠܘܢ ܘܡܢܘܢ ܟܘܠܗ ܘܡܢܘܢ ܘܡܢܘܢ ܘܡܢܘܢ ܘܡܢܘܢ

Do not do according to their works.

κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν μὴ ποιεῖτε

In the above example, the negated Greek Present Imperative *μὴ ποιεῖτε* is translated in CPA with *ܘܬܝܠܘܢ ܘܡܢܘܢ ܟܘܠܗ*, consisting of the negated expression Imperfect of *ܘܡܢܘܢ* + Participle. Since this is the only clearly attested occurrence of this CPA expression in negative directives in the corpus, there is little reason to discuss it in more detail. However, see the discussion of the expression Imperative of *ܘܡܢܘܢ* + Participle in the translation of affirmative directives in section 2.2 above.

In 2 instances, the negated Greek Present Imperative is translated in CPA as a subordinate clause with *ܟܘܠܗ* + Imperfect (Mt 24:6 CSRO^e; Mk 13:21 CSRPe). The instance in Mt 24:6 can be explained, as previously discussed, as due to the fact that the negative directive occurs after an Imperative expressing the meaning “see/look.” Hence, “look, do not ...” is translated as “see that you do not ...” (see above). The instance in Mk 13:21 is more difficult to explain. The footnote in Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff’s text indicates that Land’s 1875 published text read *ܟܘܠܗ* rather than *ܟܘܠܗܝܢ*, in which case it would not be a subordinate clause, but a simple negated CPA Imperfect like the majority of other instances. Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff’s corrected reading *ܟܘܠܗܝܢ*, which is to be preferred, can be explained as due to either a scribal error or the translator’s understanding of the form as a Present Indicative rather than Imperative.

4 CONCLUSION

Though the foregoing study is based on limited data, some general observations can be made. As in other forms of Aramaic, the CPA Imperative is restricted to affirmative directives, whereas negative directives are expressed not with Imperatives, but with the Imperfect. However, in both affirmative and negative directives, the aspectual distinction between the Greek Aorist and the Present is seldom reflected in CPA translation. This fact is evidence that the latter is not simply “translation Aramaic.” The CPA text bears witness to native Aramaic syntax. Notwithstanding some unavoidable Greek influence, the CPA translation of the Gospels is one that would be understood as Aramaic by native speakers of the language. This further confirms the same observation made in my monograph.²¹

Another important observation is that, although the aspectual distinction between the Greek Aorist and Present in the Imperative mood is only seldom reflected in CPA translation, the existence of an aspectual distinction in CPA is shown by the fact that the expression *ܘܡܢܘܢ* + Participle only occurs in the translation of the Greek Present Imperative, never of the Aorist Imperative or Subjunctive. Neverthe-

²¹ Li, *Greek Indicative Verbs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Gospels*, 151–154.

less, the fact that aspectual distinctions in the Greek Imperative are seldom reflected in CPA translation stands in clear contrast to the translation of Indicative verbs, where the aspectual distinction between the Aorist and Imperfect Indicatives is usually reflected in CPA translation. The former is usually translated with the CPA Perfect and the latter with the expression ܐܘܡܝܢ + Participle.²² In contrast, the fact that the CPA construction Imperative of ܐܘܡܝܢ + Participle is seldom used suggests that it is still at an early stage of grammaticalization. This suggestion is supported by the fact that this construction is seldom used not only in CPA but also in other forms of Aramaic. Unfortunately, the attested instances of the said construction are too few to draw further conclusions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aland, Barbara, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece*. 28th rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.
- Bar-Asher, Moshé. “Le syro-palestinien-études grammaticales.” *Journal Asiatique* 276 (1988): 27–59.
- Black, Matthew. “The Palestinian Syriac Gospels and the Diatesseron (Part 1).” *Oriens Christianus* 36 (1941): 101–111.
- Comrie, Bernard. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Desreumaux, Alain. *Codex sinaiticus Zosimi rescriptus: Description codicologique des feuillets arméniens melkites des manuscrits Schoyen 35, 36 et 37 (Londres – Oslo): comprenant l'édition de nouveaux passages des Évangiles et Catéchèses de Cyrille*. Histoire du texte biblique 3. Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 1997.
- Falla, Terry C. “Grammatical Classification in Syriac Lexica: A Syntactically Based Alternative.” Pages 71–158 in *Foundations Syriac Lexicography III: Colloquia of the International Syriac Language Project*. Edited by Janet Dyk and Wido van Peursen. Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 4. Piscataway: Gorgias, 2008.
- Greenfield, Jonas C. “The ‘Periphrastic Imperative’ in Aramaic and Hebrew.” *IEJ* 19 (1969): 199–210.
- Holmes, Michael W. *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. *Grammaticalization*. 2nd ed. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Lewis, Agnes Smith, and Margaret Dunlop Gibson. *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels: Re-edited from Two Sinai Mss. and from P. de Lagarde’s Edition “Evangelium Hierosolymitanum.”* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899.

²² See Li, *Greek Indicative Verbs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Gospels*, 15–44, 115–132.

- Li, Tarsee. "The Syriac Active Participle and the Expression of the Past Imperfective and the Present." *JAOS* 130 (2010): 141–165.
- . *Greek Indicative Verbs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic Gospels: Translation Technique and the Aramaic Verbal System*. Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 3. Piscataway: Gorgias, 2013.
- Metzger, Bruce M. *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.
- . *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: Second Edition: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament* (Fourth Revised Edition). London, New York: United Bible Societies, 1994.
- Morgenstern, Matthew. "Christian Palestinian Aramaic." Pages 628–637 in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*. Edited by Stephan Weninger. Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science, 36. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa. *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen: Teil 1: Schriftlehre, Lautlehre, Formenlehre*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1991.
- . "Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Its Significance to the Western Aramaic Dialect Group." *JAOS* 119 (1999): 631–636.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa and Michael Sokoloff, eds. *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New Testament Version from the Early Period: Gospels*. A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic, 2a. Groningen: STYX Publications, 1998.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*. Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 38. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu, and Bezael Porten. *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*. 2nd rev. ed. HdO, 32. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Nöldeke, Theodore. "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der aramäischen Dialecte. II. Ueber den christlich-palästinischen Dialect." *ZDMG* 22 (1868): 443–527.
- Palmer, Frank R. *Mood and Modality*. 2nd ed. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Pierpont, William G., and Maurice A. Robinson. *The New Testament in the Original Greek: According to the Byzantine/Majority Textform*. Roswell, GA: The Original Word Publishers, 1995.
- Schulthess, Friedrich. *Lexicon Syropalaestinum*. Berolini: In aedibus Georgii Reimer, 1903.
- . *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch*. Edited by Enno Littmann. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1924.
- Shirun, H. "Chapters in the Syntax of Nominal Clauses in the Syropalestinian Version of the Bible." MA Thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1982 (in Hebrew).
- Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 234. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.

- . *Texts of Various Contents in Christian Palestinian Aramaic*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 235. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.
- Turner, Nigel. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Vol. III: Syntax*, edited by James Hope Moulton. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963.
- Wallace, Daniel B. *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Michigan, 1996.

READING THE BIBLE WITH THE *TAḤTĀYĀ DA-ṬLĀṬĀ*

Jonathan Loopstra

University of Northwestern, St. Paul

By every indication, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* appears with significant regularity in East-Syrian biblical manuscripts from the seventh-century onwards. Our examination of biblical passages seems to indicate that this mark appears on passages that indicate a strong pause as well as possible ‘rhetorical’ interpretations such as a sense of address, petition, or conditional statements. Although the interpretations of later post-eleventh-century Syriac grammarians vary, there is a general agreement that the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* included both a pausal and ‘rhetorical’ function. While it is unclear how exactly the presence of a *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* would have impacted the intonation of a passage, there are hints that this mark was reserved largely for character dialogue where dramatic readings would have been possible.

1 INTRODUCTION¹

The reader of East-Syrian biblical manuscripts is confronted by a “bewildering profusion of points;”² some are small – such as diacritics and vowel marks – and others are large. Most of these larger dots were, we assume, added by scribes in order to clarify biblical punctuation and prosody, although the majority of such marks are not well understood today. This problem is particularly acute in East-Syrian manuscripts where our earliest explanations of these large dots were written down centuries after these marks first appear. This, of course, raises the question of how well these later explanations truly reflect earlier practice. Moreover, because many of these larger dots are absent from printed editions of the Syriac bible, modern students of Syriac are generally unaware that such a variety of these punctuation and prosodic marks exist. Understandably, this can lead to confusion when the reader first encounters these dots in East-Syrian manuscripts.

¹ I would like to express my thanks to the editors of this volume, to the anonymous reviewers, and to George Kiraz for their comments. There is much we do not yet know about these ambiguous dots, so I am thankful for their insights and clarifications.

² J. Segal, *The Diacritical Point and Accents in Syriac* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 1.

marks Merx labeled as “rhetorical” have been incorporated into published Syriac versions.⁷

Perhaps one of the most conspicuous marks in the above example from Acts is the triple-dotted *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* (⋮) at the end of Paul’s address. Though the *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* is not included in printed editions of the Syriac Peshitta bible, it appears with striking consistency in post-seventh-century East-Syrian manuscripts, as we shall see. Yet, given the absence of the *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* from modern Syriac grammars and printed bibles, what is the contemporary reader to make of this mark which he or she has never before encountered? Should we assume, given its name, that the *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* is simply interchangeable with the more widespread double-dotted *taḥṭāyā* (⋮)? If so, does the *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* indicate simply a pause or division of the sentence, as the *taḥṭāyā*? Or, given its more selective occurrences in the Peshitta, is there evidence that it functioned in more of a “rhetorical” role, helping the reader to determine meaning, intonation, or even musicality of a passage?

In the following study, we will examine more closely this curious *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* (⋮) as it appears in East-Syrian biblical manuscripts. We will find that, when compared with other, more ambiguous Syriac reading marks, the unique triple-dotted design of the *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* permitted scribes to place it with some consistency. This, in turn, allows us to more easily trace its appearance throughout the Peshitta bible. Moreover, because our earliest written interpretations of this reading mark date hundreds of years after it was first developed, we will prioritize evidence from biblical manuscripts when thinking about how this mark was used. In so doing, we hope to be in position to grasp both the variety of contexts in which the *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* appears and to better evaluate the soundness of the interpretations of later Syriac grammarians.

2 PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES IN INTERPRETING THE SYRIAC DOT

To begin with, there are good reasons why scholars have shied away from trying to interpret many of these larger dots. After all, what might have been clear to earlier Syriac-speaking scribes, with access to a received oral tradition, might not be so clear to modern scholars trying to decipher these marks only from written records.

Of course, one major difficulty is that, unlike reading and punctuation marks in most other languages, Syriac scribes chose to create a system exclusively composed of dots. This system of dots naturally lends itself to ambiguity, especially when these points are passed down over the centuries by scribes who may not be familiar with their original meaning. Dots can be easily overlooked, misplaced, or misunderstood. For instance, many single-pointed marks, such as the super linear *mẓānā* (·) or the sub linear *sāmke* (·), can be easily confused with other single-pointed marks similar-

⁷ Few introductory grammars of Syriac discuss these ‘rhetorical’ marks at much length, if at all. So, for example, Nöldeke devotes only a single page to “Interpunctuation and Accents.” T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, trans. J. Crichton (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904), 12–13.

ly found above or below the line. In fact, we find evidence for this confusion in the margins of many biblical manuscripts, where later readers have tried to label, and thus distinguish, some of these more ambiguous marks.⁸ If identifying these rounded dots was difficult for Syriac-speaking scribes, how much more for modern scholars working outside the tradition?

A second difficulty we encounter is that some of these marks may have had multiple uses over the centuries. It may be true that certain marks arose independently in distinct scriptoria or schools. If so, not all of these marks developed out of the careful plan of one master punctuator or one authoritative “school” of punctuators. Though later Syriac grammarians would minimize these differences and conflate these marks, in truth, after the sixth and seventh centuries their development largely mirrored the deep split between East and West along confessional lines. Yet, even within the East-Syrian tradition, we know of competing pointing schemes, whether they are attributed to different schools or to individual punctuators.⁹

To add to this complexity, the pointing system may have even been more fluid than Merx envisioned, for it is not always evident whether a mark would have functioned primarily as a punctuation sign or a “rhetorical” mark.¹⁰ Some have even suggested that these points eventually developed into a full system of ekphonic notation, used to “regulate the cantillation of the lessons” in the churches.¹¹ In short, given that these points were passed down by various scribes for over a millennium, it is highly likely that the interpretations of specific marks would have changed, depending on time and place.

All this being said, however, we have some valid reasons to believe that at least part of this system can be recovered. In particular, it appears that East-Syrian scribes transmitted these marks with far more intentionality and consistency than did the West-Syrians. That this East-Syrian system appears to be more “sophisticated” and consistent than its Western counterpart has been remarked upon by the musicologist Gudrun Engberg.¹²

The Eastern Syriac notation was supplemented with many additional signs; it became highly sophisticated, and remained more flexible than the Western system. In it, the accents [reading marks] were usually larger than other dots used in the text, in order that the reading should be facilitated... The high degree of sophisti-

⁸ See, for example, the list of glosses in J. Loopstra, *An East Syrian Manuscript of the Syriac 'Masora' Dated to 899 CE. Volume 2: Introduction, List of Sample Texts, and Indices to Marginal Notes in British Library, Add. MS 12138* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015), 444 ff.

⁹ For example, the compiler of BL Add. MS 12138 distinguishes between the pointing tradition of Nisibis and a punctuator named Rāmīšoʿ. Loopstra, *East Syriac Masora*, IX.

¹⁰ A. Merx, *Historia artis grammaticae*, 78–80; J. Segal, *Diacritical Point*, 60–61.

¹¹ Wellesz, “Early Christian Music,” 10.

¹² G. Engberg, “Ekphonic Notation,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 8:48.

cation of this notation may be seen in the Mar Babai manuscript, dating from 899 and containing elaborate interlinear corrections and variants.

By the “Mar Babai manuscript,” Engberg is referring to the East-Syrian manuscript of what scholars have called the Syriac “Masora.”¹³ This well-known manuscript, BL Add. MS 12138, appears to have been quite intentionally designed to teach the reader the placement of these dotted reading marks within select biblical texts; that is, only certain sample texts were included in this teaching handbook. Writing in 899 CE, the scribe Babai claims that the marks in his volume represent the pointing tradition of the *maḡryānē* (“teachers of reading”) of the School of Nisibis. As a type of teaching manual, this so-called “masoretic” reader appears to have been written with an intentional eye to the placement of these points in conformity with received traditions. In fact, careful study of this “Babai manuscript” makes it clear that many of the reading marks in this teaching manuscript reflect patterns common to many other East-Syrian biblical and liturgical texts.¹⁴

Moreover, not only do we find more consistency in East-Syrian biblical manuscripts, but we also find that reading marks consisting of multiple points were transmitted with a higher degree of reliability when compared with single-pointed marks. As one of only three East-Syrian triple-dotted marks (others being the *raḥtā d-karteḥ* and the *raḥtā d-pāseq*), the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* appears to have been far more identifiable to scribes than single- or double-pointed marks. This identifiability may account for its more consistent transmission over time. In turn, this relative (though not perfect) consistency means that the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* has the potential to offer us more reliable insights into how it was used in the East-Syrian pointing tradition.

Some scholars have proposed their own interpretations of how the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* might have functioned. Though these earlier interpretations lacked the benefit of a broader, more systematic survey of biblical material, they do reflect the variety of contexts in which the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* occurs (see §4). In his study of Genesis, Weiss notes that this mark is used almost exclusively in situations of prayer, supplication, and calling, when the designated word may have been emphasized with “die Pause, die nach ihm eintritt, trennt es von den folgenden Worten.”¹⁵ Wellesz, on the other hand, interpreted the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā*, less as a pausal accent, than as something akin to the Byzantine ekphonic notation *bareia*, a mark that, according to David Hiley, communicates the “fall of the voice with a certain emphasis.”¹⁶ Yet again,

¹³ For introduction, see Loopstra, *East Syriac Masora*.

¹⁴ Loopstra, *East Syriac Masora*, §8.3.

¹⁵ “Der accent wird beim gebet, flehen, klage und anruf gesetzt. Das mit ihm bezeichnete Wort erscheint besonders stark hervorgehoben und die Pause, die nach ihm eintritt, trennt es von den folgenden Worten.” T. Weiss, *Zur ostsyrischen Laut- und Akzentlehre auf Grund der ostsyrischen Massorah-Handschrift des British Museum: Mit Facsimiles von 50 Seiten der Londoner Handschrift* (Bonner Orientalistische Studien 5. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933), 40.

¹⁶ Wellesz, “Lektionszeichen,” 513, D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 368.

rather than seeing its purpose as primarily pausal or ekphonic, Judah Segal notes that the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* “is found in contexts implying an exclamation” and in passages where “the rising tone of this accent reflects the sound of the action described or perhaps the indignation of the prophet.”¹⁷ Although these varied interpretations are not necessarily mutually exclusive, our broader survey of this mark in the Syriac bible below will help to clarify additional ways this mark could be used.

This question is all the more relevant because the Syriac *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* bears a passing similarity to triple-pointed notation that appeared in other Christian communities after the ninth century. For example, in the Ethiopian system of traditional chant, a similar mark known as the *mkmk* (⋈) was used to indicate articulation, motion, and vocal style.¹⁸ Similarly, the Latin sign *climacus* (⋈) is thought to have developed around the ninth century, although the sign is extant only from the twelfth century onwards.¹⁹ Though, to be clear, we have no explicit evidence connecting the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* to these other systems of notation, these traditions were each using a triple-pointed mark at about the same time; and of these, we have evidence that the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* is the earliest.

3 FREQUENCY OF THE *Taḥtāyā da-Tlātā*

3.1 Early Attestations of *Taḥtāyā da-Tlātā*

How far back can we trace the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā*? A glance at Hatch’s *Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* shows that the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* appears already in early East-Syrian biblical manuscripts such as BL Add. MS 14460 (599–600 CE) and BL Add. MS 7157 (767/768 CE).²⁰ By chance, the colophons of these two early manuscripts are largely intact and are particularly well preserved. BL Add. MS 14460 was composed at Tel-Dinawar in Beth Nuhadra and was associated with the local East-Syrian school (ܘܫܘܪܘܬܐ).²¹ BL Add. MS 7157 was written a century later by the scribe Sabar

¹⁷ Segal speculates on the origin of this mark as a combination of *taḥtāyā* with *mzāʿānā*. Segal, *Diacritical Point*, 110. This is possible, though there is no concrete evidence that the three points of the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* came together in this fashion.

¹⁸ Velat considered it something akin to a tremolo. Tito Lepisa suggested that it means the “voice should go up and down, as one who is sitting on a spring bounces up and down.” Quoted in K. Shelemay and P. Jeffery. *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant An Anthology. Volume One: General Introduction Dictionaries of Notational Signs*. (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1993), 103.

¹⁹ Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 368.

²⁰ W. H. P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1946), Plate CL, Plate CLXXIX.

²¹ W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1870–1872), 1:52–53, no. 76.

in the Monastery of Mar Sabrišo⁶ or Beth Qoqa.²² Although the pointing in these manuscripts has sometimes been corrected by later scribes, the *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* often appears to be original.²³ Moreover, both of these manuscripts are distinctively East-Syrian, and both were associated by G.H. Gwilliam with “a divergence of writing [that] had arisen between Eastern and Western Syrians.”²⁴ It is perhaps not a coincidence, then, that we begin to see the earliest regular appearance of the *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* with both of these manuscripts from the region of Nisibis, where a distinctive East-Syrian pointing system seems to have first appeared.²⁵

To help make this development clearer, take the following comparison of early manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles in the British Library. When multiple manuscripts are compared, we see that the *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* appears first in the seventh- and eighth-century East-Syrian manuscripts BL Add. MS 14448 and BL Add. MS 7157, not in the earlier manuscripts.²⁶

Table 1: The *Taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* in Early Manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| Add. MS 17120 (6th c.) | No |
| Add. MS 17121 (6th c.) | No |
| Add. MS 18812 (6th / 7th c.) | No |
| Add. MS 14470 (5th/ 6th c.) | No |
| Add. MS 14472 (6th / 7th c.) | No |
| Add. MS 14473 (6th c.) | No |
| Add. MS 14448 (699/700) | Yes |
| Add. MS 7157 (767/768) | Yes |

Moreover, as we see below, the *taḥṭāyā da-ṭlāṭā* appears in identical passages in both manuscripts when there are no lacunae (“n/a”) to obscure the comparison.

²² Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium*, 14–18. For more background on this monastery, see A. Scher, “Analyse de l’histoire du couvent de Sabrišo de Beith Qoqa,” *Revue de l’Orient chrétien* II, 1:2 (1906): 182–197.

²³ As Wright remarks, for BL Add. MS 14471, some of these marks were added “it would appear, by later hands.” Wright, *Catalogue British Museum*, 1:53.

²⁴ BL Add. MS 7157, fol. 104r. See remarks on this manuscript and BL 7157 in G.H. Gwilliam, “The Ammonian Sections, Eusebian Canons, and Harmonizing Tables in the Syriac Tetraevangelium,” *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* 2 (1890), 252n1.

²⁵ S. Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 118.

²⁶ For catalogue information, see Wright, *Catalogue British Museum*, Add. MS 17120, 80, no. 126; Add. MS 17121, 80–81, no. 127; Add. MS 18812, 83, no. 129; Add. MS 14470, 40–41, no. 63; Add. MS 14472, 81–82, no. 128; Add. MS 14473, 79–80, no. 125; Add. MS 14448, 41–42, no. 64.

we find more consistency than divergence. For example, New Testament passages with *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* in BL Add. MS 12138 diverge only four times (Mark 9:25, Mark 15:29, Acts 9:34, and 1 John 4:14) when compared with readings from four other New Testament manuscripts.²⁸

The attached Appendix should allow for a fuller comparison of the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* across multiple manuscripts. This Appendix lists every passage in the Gospels containing the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* from five different New Testament manuscripts: BL Add. 14460 (599/600), BL Add. MS 14471 (615), BL Add. MS 7157 (767/8), BL Add. 12138 (899), and Mingana syr. 148 (1613). Because the “masoretic” manuscript BL Add. 12138 includes only select passages, an “n/a” appears when a passage does not occur in this text.

As we can see from this Appendix, there a high level of consistency in the placement of the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* across these five manuscripts. In only ten of 181 passages does the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* diverge. And most of these variants occur in only one manuscript out of five. Although this handful of manuscripts in the Appendix could well be expanded to provide a richer survey, this accessible snapshot demonstrates well the types of consistency we find for the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* in East-Syrian manuscripts from different periods and regions.

3.3 The *Taḥtāyā da-Ṭlātā* in Lectionaries and Commentary

Besides its use in East-Syrian Peshitta manuscripts, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* also occurs in biblical quotations in lectionaries and biblical commentaries.

3.3.1 *Turfan Lectionaries*

Several East-Syrian liturgical manuscripts found in Turfan, along the Silk Road, contain these marks. For example, the lectionary manuscript SyrHT 49, discovered in the library at the Turfan oasis, includes *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* in the book of Romans.²⁹ It happens that the placement of the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* in this Turfan manuscript is identical with what we find in other, earlier manuscripts, as the aforementioned BL Add. MS 7157.³⁰

²⁸ Namely, Add. MS 14460 (599/600 CE), Add. MS 14471 (615 CE), BL Add. MS 7157 (767/8 CE), and the later Mingana syr. 148 (dated to 1613).

²⁹ SyrHT 48 and 49 are thought to reflect the cycle of readings from the Epistles during the Lenten season. M. Dickens, “The Importance of the Psalter at Turfan,” in *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (eds., L. Tang and D. Winkler; Münster: LIT Verlag, 2013), 365n42. For the text of the manuscript, see the International Dunhuang Project, “The International Dunhuang Project: The Silk Road Online,” n.p., [cited 5 May 2014]. Online: <http://idp.bl.uk/>.

³⁰ Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientaliū*, no. 13.

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| SyrHT 49, p. 2, ll. 7, 12, 15 (8 th or 9 th c.) | Romans 5:15 For if the many died by the trespass of the one man ; 5:17 For if, because of the fault of one, death reigned ; 5:18 Therefore, because of the fault of one there was condemnation for all humanity ; | BL Add. MS 7157, 141r (767 CE) 5:15 For if the many died by the trespass of the one man ; 5:17 For if, because of the fault of one, death reigned ; 5:18 Therefore, because of the fault of one there was condemnation for all humanity ; |
|--|--|---|

Though appearing thousands of miles apart, both manuscripts include a *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* in the same verses.

3.3.2 In Sogdian Lectionaries

A mark identical in form to the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* appears in other lectionary texts found at Turfan; namely, in Sogdian translations of Mt 19:8 and Mt 21:40.³¹ As a glance at the Appendix shows, these same passages occur regularly with the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* in Syriac Peshiṭta manuscripts.³² It would appear then, that the scribes who translated the Syriac into Sogdian placed the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* in these passages in a way that was familiar to them from the Syriac bible.

3.3.3 As Biblical Quotations in a Patristic Commentary

This East-Syrian mark also occurs, though rarely, in West-Syrian manuscripts.³³ This is the case for the eighth- or ninth-century West-Syrian manuscript BL Add. MS 17147, a commentary on Gregory Nazianzen's *Orations*, where the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* appears in several biblical citations.³⁴ For example, *Oration 33, Adversus Arianos et de seipso*, includes a citation from Luke 23:43, where the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* has been placed after the ح.

³¹ Such as lectionary T II B 69, 200r, ln. 18.

³² E. Wellesz, "Miscellanea zur orientalistischen Musikgeschichte. Die Lektionszeichen in den soghdischen Texten," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1919): 513.

³³ There are indications, therefore, that the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* was used from time to time in West-Syrian circles, but likely through the influence of East-Syrian biblical texts. In none of the West-Syrian 'masoretic' manuscripts, well-known for their incorporation of biblical punctuation and prosodic marks, does the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* occur.

³⁴ Wright, *Catalogue British Museum*, 2:438–440, no. 561.

Luke 23:43

أحبه أنا حو؛ ومهصلا حصدا لهو حو؛ ومهصلا.

Truly I say to you ؛ that today you will be with me in Paradise.

Once again, as with the example from the Sogdian lectionary above, we find that the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* in this passage from Luke is well attested in East-Syrian Gospel manuscripts. The West-Syrian commentator on Nazianzen's *Orationes* apparently copied these biblical passages, dots and all, into his text.

4 USES OF THE *Taḥtāyā da-Tlātā*

The *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* appears in hundreds of passages across the East-Syrian Peshitta bible. Nevertheless, from among these passages the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* can be located in specific contexts, helping readers to get a feel for the ways in which this mark was used. Before looking at the explanations offered by later Syriac grammarians, it is worth briefly surveying the types of passages in which the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* occurs.

4.1 In Addresses

4.1.1 *Jesus' Declaration*: - 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤀 (‘‘Truly I say to ...’’)

In the Gospels, the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* is often used in Jesus' statements and exhortations that begin with the phrase 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤀 (‘‘I say to you’’). The mark is always placed after the suffix on the *lamad*. Take, for instance, the twenty-six times this phrase occurs with the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* in the Gospel of John:

John 1:51, 3:3, 3:5, 3:11, 5:19, 5:24, 5:25, 5:53, 6:26, 6:32, 6:47, 8:34, 8:51, 8:58, 10:1, 10:7, 12:24, 13:16, 13:20, 13:21, 13:38, 14:12, 16:7, 16:20, 16:23; 21:18

أحبه أحبه: أنا حص؛

‘‘Amen, amen, I say to you ؛’’

These passages exhibit little divergence in all five Gospel manuscripts. In John, as in other Gospels, this phrase (‘‘I say to you’’) is a precursor to several significant statements or actions in the Jesus story.

4.1.2 *When Beseeking God (Usually in Desperation)*

The *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* also frequently occurs when biblical characters plead with God, often in great desperation. So, in 1 Samuel 1:11 the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* is included when a troubled Hannah pleads to the ‘‘Lord of Hosts’’ (𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤀 𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤀) for a son.³⁵ This mark is also often included in clauses with the interjection 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤀 (‘‘oh!’’)³⁶ or the verb 𐤁𐤏𐤀

³⁵ BL Add. MS 12138, fol. 91v, 12.

³⁶ For example, in the repeated phrase 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤏𐤀 in Josh 7:7, 2 Kgs 20:3, and Mark 15:29.

cees, calling them “You brood of vipers ۞” (ܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܩܝܒܝܢܐ).⁴³ Elsewhere, in Philippians 4:1, Paul calls the Philippians “my joy and my crown ۞” (ܘܫܝܚܝܐ ܘܩܪܢܝܐ ܘܫܝܚܝܐ).⁴⁴ Also, we see in Isaiah 23:14, “Wail, O ships of Tarshish ۞ (ܐܬܟܠܝܢ ܕܩܝܦܝܢ) for your stronghold is destroyed!”⁴⁵ Similarly, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* is also often used in the epistles or in Acts when the “brothers” are addressed, as in James 5:7 (ܘܥܝܢܝܢܐ ܘܥܝܢܝܢܐ).⁴⁶

The book of Acts, in particular, makes frequent use of the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* when characters address each other in dialogue. Some examples common to multiple manuscripts (Add. MS 7157, Add. MS 12138, and Ming. Syr. 148) include the following:

Acts 1:1

- ܘܥܝܢܝܢܐ ܘܥܝܢܝܢܐ ܘܥܝܢܝܢܐ -

“In my former book, O Theophilus ۞”

Acts 9:34

- ܐܢܝܐ -

[Peter said to him,] “Aeneas ۞”

Acts 10:3

- ܘܥܝܢܝܢܐ -

[He saw an angel of God who came to him and said,] “Cornelius ۞”

Acts 25:24

- ܘܥܝܢܝܢܐ ܘܥܝܢܝܢܐ ܘܥܝܢܝܢܐ ܘܥܝܢܝܢܐ -

[Festus said:] “King Agrippa and all who are with us ۞”

From all of the above passages in this section, we begin to see that the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* is repeatedly used when one character calls out to another in biblical dialogue, whether by name or by title. Yet, unlike the *taḥtāyā*, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* does not always neatly divide the protasis and apodosis in these passages. Given the context, however, it is plausible that the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* may have marked a pause or disjunction, as does its namesake, after the clause containing the address.

4.1.4 Conditional Statements and Oaths

Besides occurring in direct address, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* often appears in conditional statements or in oaths. Unlike the previous examples, in these passages this mark is

⁴³ Mt 3:7, Mt 12:34, Mt 23:33.

⁴⁴ BL Add. MS 12138, fol. 294v, 22.

⁴⁵ BL Add. MS 12138, fol. 177r, 21.

⁴⁶ For example, James 5:7, 12; 1 Cor 10:1, 14:26, 16:12; Gal 4:28, 4:31, 5:11, 6:10; 1 Thess 2:17, 3:13; Heb 6:9.

always placed at the midway point in the sentence, separating the protasis and apodosis.

For example, in 1 Samuel the prophet issues the following statement before bringing the sword down upon Agag's neck.

1 Sam 15:33⁴⁷

- אִמְלֵךְ וְיָרֵם: נְקָא מִנְּחֹב; אִמְלֵךְ אֶחָד מִן הַנְּקָא. -

[But Samuel said,] “As your sword has made women childless ; so your mother will be childless among women.” ...

Similarly, Sampson issues the following declaration in his rage before the “spirit of the Lord” comes upon him and he slaughters thirty Philistine residents of Ashkelon.

Judg 14:18⁴⁸

- אֱלֹהֵי לָא מְחַלְלֵהוּ חֵיבָלָהּ; לָא מְחַלְלָהּ אִם יִבְאֵר.

[... Samson said to them,] “If you had not plowed with my heifer ; you would not have solved my riddle.”

Isaiah 1:9, a text also repeated with identical punctuation in Romans 9:29, likewise reflects themes of potential devastation or grief.

Isaiah 1:9/Romans 9:29⁴⁹

- אֱלֹהֵי לָא מְחַלְלָהּ רְחֵמָהּ אֱלֹהֵי; חַי מְחַלְלָהּ אִם יִבְאֵר אֱלֹהֵי מְחַלְלָהּ וְהָיָה כְּגֹמְרָהּ.

[And it is just as Isaiah said previously] “Unless the Lord of Hosts had left us descendants ; we would have become like Sodom, we would have been like Gomorrah.”

We even find that the *tahtāyā da-tlātā* appears in parallel conditional statements, as in Matthew 12:27–28.

Mt 12:27–28 (fol. 235v, 30–31)⁵⁰

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| וְאִם בְּבְעֵלזְבֻב אֲנִי מְחַלְלֵם דֵּמוֹנִים | “And if by Beelzebul I cast |
| וְתֵלֵךְ; - | out demons - ; |
| וְאִם בְּרוּחַ אֱלֹהֵי אֲנִי מְחַלְלֵם דֵּמוֹנִים | And if by the Spirit of God I |
| וְתֵלֵךְ; - | cast out demons - ;” |

From the above examples, it would appear that the *tahtāyā da-tlātā* comes after the introduction (“if”) and before the pronouncement (“then”). If so, it is possible that

⁴⁷ BL Add. MS 12138, 96r, 15–16.

⁴⁸ BL Add. MS 12138, fol. 88v, 23.

⁴⁹ BL Add. MS 12138, fol. 173r, 33; fol. 181v, 18.

⁵⁰ The Gospel parallel in Luke 11:19–20 has identical reading marks. See also Luke 6:33–34, Luke 16:11–12, Rom 5:18–19, and Gal 2:17–18.

his examples. He writes that the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* gives “more strongly the sense of the point ... on **وَسَوْفَ** [Ps 82:8] and on the *mem* of **مَعْدَمٌ** [1 Sam 3:10].” While it is unclear whether these single dots denoted intonation, stress, or something else, Bar Zoʿbi seems to suggest that the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* would have amplified the effects of these preceding dots. A glance at many of the Gospel passages in the Appendix seems to indicate that it is quite common to find a raised dot before the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā*, as in the oft-repeated phrase **أنا الحق** (‘‘truly, truly · I say to you’’). Often this raised dot is the *mẓīʿānā*, a mark that the earlier grammarian Elias of Ṭirhān suggested was named after a ‘‘movement of the tongue.’’⁶⁴ As a result, Segal understood this *mẓīʿānā* to indicate ‘‘a minor pause in a sentence to which a rising tone is suitable (question, exclamation).’’⁶⁵ In other passages, single, supra lineal dots preceding the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* include the *retmā*, the *nīšā*, the *pāqodā*, or the *ʿēyānā*; all of these are thought to have had slightly different functions than the *mẓīʿānā*.⁶⁶ Yet, how exactly these raised points were read alongside the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* is not explicit in Bar Zoʿbi’s account.

To sum up, although we should be cautious of reading too much into the late descriptions of Bar Hebraeus and Bar Zoʿbi, at least some of the explanations provided by these authors seem to fit the types of passages in which the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* occurs in the Peshitta bible (see §4). It is unclear, however, whether both authors came to their conclusions through received tradition, through a comparison of the relevant biblical passages, or a little of both. Even so, while there seems to be some agreement among later grammarians that the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* included both pausal and rhetorical functions, what do we know of how earlier readers would have actually read this mark aloud in the recitation of the biblical text?

6 DRAMATIC RECITATION AND THE *Taḥtāyā da-Tlātā*?

Within the past several years, a number of studies of oral delivery and public reading in early Christianity have reminded us of the important role of lectors in the Greek and Latin world. In fact, the Hellenistic grammarian Dionysius Thrax discusses public reading in great depth. He writes, in part,

One must read with attention to delivery, prosody, and division. From the delivery we perceive the value of the work, from the prosody its art, and from the division its overall sense.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ G. Diettrich, *Die Massorah der östlichen und westlichen Syrer in ihren Angaben zum Propheten Jesaja* (London: Willams and Norgate, 1899), 115.

⁶⁵ Segal, *Diacritical Point*, 81.

⁶⁶ Segal, *Diacritical Point*, 69, 84–88.

⁶⁷ Translation from D. Nüsselqvist, *Public Reading in Early Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 122.

To help the lector in antiquity reach this goal, memory was an important tool. Written aids for reading, when they occurred, were there to remind the reader of what he (or she) had previously practiced aloud.⁶⁸

In the Syriac World, we see this intersection of pedagogy and memory reflected in the earliest grammatical tracts and “masoretic” codices that concern these punctuation and prosodic marks. These tracts consist of several abbreviated scriptural passages – or sample texts – that reminded the student of how the passage would have been read aloud with these dots.⁶⁹ No citations were provided; so the student or teacher would have been expected to recall, very likely by memory, where it was that these short sample texts originated within the Syriac bible. For the early seventh-century Syriac reader, therefore, the sight of the fairly infrequent *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* in a manuscript of the Gospels may have brought to mind this past training in recitation, an oral tradition which we are hard-pressed to reconstruct.

Recent studies of the reception Greek drama similarly suggest that certain reading marks were used to recall aspects of performance when reading a text aloud. In particular, Nikos Charalabopoulos has examined the use of Greek notation in his book *Platonic Drama and Its Ancient Reception*. Part of his discussion of the dicolon or double dot (:) is worth repeating here.

In addition to its use in scholia and commentaries to mark the end of lemmata and individual notes, it is employed to mark the change of speaker in both theatrical and Platonic texts. Not infrequently, however, it is found in places where no such change takes place. It is interpreted there as a pause symbol signaling a strong stop. Both uses may even be present in the same document.⁷⁰

In short, Charalabopoulos suggests that marks that were originally grammatical in function could also develop, in part, to aid performers in recalling a dramatic reading of the text. As he later summarizes,

Employed in a dramatic text these signs may indicate either reading aloud or dramatization. In any case the element of performance, in a public or private context, is evidently presupposed by the mere use of such a notation... similar symbols were applied in the recitation of pagan and Christian texts.⁷¹

To be clear, this is not to suggest that Syriac reading dots, such as the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā*, were necessarily equivalent in every respect to Greek marks used in Platonic drama. Nevertheless, might it be possible that, in a somewhat similar manner, the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā* represents a grammatical mark (the *taḥtāyā* or *pasūqā*) that was later

⁶⁸ P. Botha, *Orality and Literacy in Early Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012), ch. 5.

⁶⁹ For an example, see BL Add. MS 12138, fol. 305r, where sample passages are listed for the *taḥtāyā da-tlātā*.

⁷⁰ N. Charalabopoulos, *Platonic Drama and Its Ancient Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 234.

⁷¹ Charalabopoulos, *Platonic Drama*, 235–236.

mainly adapted for dialogue, particularly where dramatic speech could be implied? Whether or not this is true, we do find that the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* often appears in some of the more lively speeches and dialogues in the Syriac bible, possibly by original intention or simply because of its semantic-grammatical function.

In other words, one of the more conspicuous aspects of the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* (if one has not already noticed) is that this mark most frequently appears in discourse in the Peshitta bible, whether in dialogue between characters or in epistles addressed to an audience. A survey of the Gospel passages listed in the Appendix shows that this is the case. Only once, in Matthew 26:45, has the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* been placed in a passage that is not dialogue or address, and in this case all other manuscripts disagree with the reading in BL Add. MS 14471. That this mark almost always occurs only in discourse between biblical characters in the Gospels is not likely a coincidence.

To use another example, we find similar results when we look at the Book of Acts. In BL Add. MS 7157 (767/8 CE) the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* occurs 39 times in Acts alone, and in every instance it has been placed in a passage where a character is speaking or addressing others.⁷² Interestingly, these marks are most frequent in the sermons or discourses of Peter and Paul. For example, Peter's sermon to the Jews in chapter 2 and his dialogue with Cornelius in chapter 10 incorporate the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* five times and four times respectively. Similarly, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* is frequent in Paul's preaching; whether to the Antiochenes in chapter 13 (3x), in the Areopagus in chapter 17 (3x), in the Sanhedrin in chapter 23 (2x), or to Agrippa in chapter 26 (3x). By contrast, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* does not appear at all in the background narration of the Book of Acts, but only when the various actors are speaking.

This same pattern holds true for most passages from the Hebrew Bible, with some exceptions. For instance, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* is used in narration in a few passages such as Exodus 32:25 or in Judges 11:40.⁷³ The *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* also appears in the books of Proverbs, Sirach, and Psalms where there is little or no dialogue between characters. In these books, it can occur as expected in conditional clauses (Prov. 11:31), though elsewhere it does not necessarily fit any of the general paradigms discussed above (§4), as in Prov. 31:10 and Sirach 45:1. Even so, the vast majority of occurrences in the Hebrew Bible occur in the speeches, addresses, or conversations of biblical characters.

But why does the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* occur most frequently in these settings? Moreover, as was true for rhetorical signs in Greek drama, did Syriac marks such as the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* mainly serve to draw the reader's attention to texts that required dra-

⁷² Acts 1:1, 11, 16, 24; 2:14, 17, 23, 29, 36; 3:12; 5:9, 38; 6:3; 8:34; 9:17, 34; 10:3, 29, 31, 36; 11:17; 13:15, 26, 38; 15:7; 17:22, 24, 29; 18:14; 19:35; 23:1, 6; 25:24; 26:2, 7, 19; 27:21, 23; 28:17. Other manuscripts, such as Goodspeed MS 716 (fols. 7r-25v), contain identical marks, when the passage is available.

⁷³ See BL Add. MS 12138, fols. 36v and 87v.

matic recitation? Or, to go further, did these Syriac marks help remind the reader to intone these passages in particular ways?

In truth, we still know very little about how the original seventh-century scribes would have intoned this mark, despite our ability to single out the relatively few passages in the Syriac bible that contain the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* and to follow these marks in manuscripts across the centuries.

Perhaps the most rudimentary answer to the above questions is that the original seventh-century triple-dotted mark merely represented a strong pause, longer than a *taḥtāyā* (hence its name) but not as strong as the *paṣūqā*. For some reason, this mark was placed in these particular passages to help the reader recall this strong pause. According to this theory, it was only after the fact that the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* was interpreted in terms of “rhetorical” categories such as “beseeching” or “calling,” and then only because this mark happened to fall on these few passages.

A second option would be that this repeated placement in discourse was the most natural setting for a mark which, if Bar Zoʿbi is to be believed, “better expresses meaning” in addition to indicating a strong pause. If, as Bar Zoʿbi suggests, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* could be used in lieu of the *metkašpānā* (“beseeching”) or *qārīyā* (“calling out”), it only makes sense that this mark is found more frequently in instances of dramatic dialogue where biblical characters are supplicating, addressing, and making conditional pronouncements to others. Given what we now know from our survey of nomenclature, scriptural context, and the witness of later grammarians, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* seems to have offered readers a pause that was not necessarily present in other “rhetorical” marks (to use Merx’s terminology) such as the *metkašpānā* or *qārīyā*. There would have been no reason to include the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā*, say in the genealogies of Matthew and Luke, where a simple *taḥtāyā* would suffice.

A third possibility is that the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* was placed in these particular passages because this mark was primarily understood in terms of raised intonation or musicality. Segal suggested as much when he interpreted the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* as a combination of both a *taḥtāyā* (pause) and a *mzīʿānā* (raised intonation); hence, Segal’s view that the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* appears in passages where “exclamation” is implied.⁷⁴ Consequently, according to this view, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* would have been placed specifically in dialogue because the traditional recitation in these passages called for this combination of a strong pause and raised intonation. In this interpretation, the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā* is less a “rhetorical” mark than a reminder of how the passage was to be intoned.

Although we have little evidence to help us determine what types of intonation or stress (if any) may have been present in the original, seventh-century manifestation of the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlāṭā*, we cannot necessarily dismiss the idea that later grammarians interpreted (or reimagined) this mark in these ways. As we have seen, Elias of Ṭirhan, according to one short account, associates this mark with stress or empha-

⁷⁴ Segal, *Diacritical Point*, 110.

sis.⁷⁵ Bar Hebraeus connects the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* with the term ܬܚܝܬܐ, which can be interpreted as a “modulation” of the voice. Moreover, Bar Zoʿbi suggests the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* may have augmented the preceding supra lineal reading dots in the sentence, most of which were associated by later Syriac grammarians with intonation or stress in the recitation of the bible. Yet, despite all this, to what degree these later post-eleventh century interpretations truly reflect how the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* was first read in the seventh century remains unclear.

What we do know now is that the *taḥtāyā da-ṭlātā* provides us a fairly stable glimpse of a reading mark, usually placed in character dialogue, which appears infrequently but consistently in the East-Syrian tradition. Yet, we should keep in mind that this is only one of a number of other reading marks that began to appear in East-Syrian manuscripts after the seventh century and for which there are, as of yet, very few comprehensive studies. Together, these reading marks represent the vestiges of a system of biblical oral recitation that scribes attempted to pass down for a millennium alongside the biblical text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Brock, Sebastian. *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*. 2nd ed. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006.
- Botha, Pieter. *Orality and Literacy in Early Christianity*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012.
- Charalabopoulos, Nikos. *Platonic Drama and Its Ancient Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Dietrich, Gustav. *Die Massorah der östlichen und westlichen Syrer in ihren Angaben zum Propheten Jesaia*. London: Willams and Norgate, 1899.
- Dickens, Mark. “The Importance of the Psalter at Turfan.” Pages 357–380 in *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*. Eds., L. Tang and D. Winkler. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2013.
- Engberg, Gudrun. “Ekphonic Notation.” Pages 47–50 in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Second Edition. Vol. 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Gwilliam, G.H. “The Ammonian Sections, Eusebian Canons, and Harmonizing Tables in the Syriac Tetraevangelium.” *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* 2 (1890), 241–272.
- Hatch, William Henry Paine. *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*. Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1946.
- Hiley, David. *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Kiraz, George. *The Syriac Dot*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015.

⁷⁵ Segal, *Diacritical Point*, 110n8.

- Loopstra, Jonathan. *An East Syrian Manuscript of the Syriac “Masora” Dated to 899 CE. Volume 2: Introduction, List of Sample Texts, and Indices to Marginal Notes in British Library, Add. MS 12138.* Manuscript Studies Series. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015.
- Martin, J.P.P. *Traité sur l’accentuation chez les Syriens orientaux.* Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1877.
- Merx, Adalbert. *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros.* Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1889.
- Mingana, A. *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, now in the possession of the trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham.* Vol. 1. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1933.
- Nässelqvist, Dan. *Public Reading in Early Christianity.* Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- The New Testament in Syriac.* London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1920.
- Nöldeke, Theodor. *Compendious Syriac Grammar.* Translated by James Crichton. London: Williams and Norgate, 1904.
- Phillips, George. *A Letter by Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, on Syriac Orthography; also a Tract by the Same Author, and A Discourse by Gregory Bar Hebraeus on Syriac Accents.* London: Williams and Norgate, 1869.
- Revell, E. J. “Hebrew Accents and Greek Ekphonic Neumes.” Pages 140–170 in *Studies in Eastern Chant.* Volume 4. Miloš Velimirovic (ed.). New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1979.
- Rosen, F. A. and J. Forshall. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur.* Pars I. London: Impensis curatorum Musei Britannici, 1838.
- Segal, Judah. *The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Scher, Addai. “Analyse de l’histoire du couvent de Sabrišo de Beith Qoqa.” *Revue de l’Orient chrétien* 11 (1906): 182–197.
- Shelemay, Kay Kaufman and Peter Jeffery. *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant. An Anthology. Volume One: General Introduction Dictionaries of Notational Signs.* Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1993.
- Sokoloff, Michael. *A Syriac Lexicon.* Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009.
- Weiss, Theodor. *Zur ostsyrischen Laut- und Akzentlehre auf Grund der ostsyrischen Massorah-Handschrift des British Museum: Mit Facsimiles von 50 Seiten der Londoner Handschrift.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933.
- Wellesz, Egon. “Miscellanea zur orientalistischen Musikgeschichte. Die Lektionszeichen in den soghdischen Texten.” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1919): 505–515.
- Wellesz, Egon. “Early Christian Music.” Pages 1–13 in Dom Anselm Hughes (ed.) *Early Medieval Music up to 1300.* London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Wright, William. *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838.* London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1870–1872.

APPENDIX

Abbreviations:

Y – text contains *tahtāyā da-ṭlātā*N – text does not contain *tahtāyā da-ṭlātā*

add – text added by later hand

n/a – text not included in manuscript

| Mt | | Additional MS 14460 (599/600) | Additional MS 14471 (615) | Additional MS 7157 (767/768) | Additional MS 12138 (899) | Ming. MS 148 (1613) |
|------|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 3:7 | حجرا واقبنا: | Y | Y | Y (add) | Y | Y |
| 3:9 | أخذ أنا حصص: | Y | Y | Y (add) | n/a | Y |
| 5:18 | أصعب حصص: | Y | Y | Y (add) | n/a | Y |
| 5:19 | سكفا سبلا حختب انعا: | Y | Y | Y (add) | Y | Y |
| 5:20 | أخذ أنا حصص: | Y | Y | Y (add) | n/a | Y |
| 5:26 | أصعب أخذ أنا حصص: | Y | Y | Y (add) | Y | Y |
| 5:34 | أنا وبع أخذ أنا حصص: | Y | N | Y (add) | Y | Y |
| 5:39 | أنا وبع أخذ أنا حصص: | Y | Y | Y (add) | n/a | Y |
| 5:44 | أنا وبع أخذ أنا حصص: | Y | Y | Y (add) | n/a | Y |
| 5:46 | أنا حصص انسا. للحم ومصنع حصص: | N | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 5:47 | أنا حصص انسا. حصصا وانسفا حصص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 6:23 | أنا حصص انسا. وحب سبلا انسا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 6:25 | أنا حصص انسا. أخذ أنا حصص: | Y | Y | | n/a | Y |
| 6:29 | أخذ أنا حصص وبع: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 7:11 | أنا حصص انسا. وحقا انسا. ببع انسا. حصصا انسا. حصصا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 7:22 | أخذ أنا حصص: | n/a | Y | Y (add) | n/a | Y |
| 8:10 | أصعب أخذ أنا حصص: | n/a | Y (add) | Y | n/a | Y |

| | | | | | | |
|-------|--|-----|-------|-----|-----|---|
| 8:11 | أخذ أنا خفي وب: | n/a | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 10:13 | هأى به وهأ صلا: | N | Y | N | n/a | N |
| 10:15 | هأصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 10:23 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 10:25 | أى كخذه وصلأ: منه كخذه: | Y | Y | n/a | n/a | Y |
| 11:11 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | n/a | Y | Y |
| 11:21 | وأخه حرة: حرمى به ستلا: أحم وهه حقم: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 11:22 | حرم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 11:23 | هأنلأه مفسهم: هأ: وهأهأ: كعملا أنا أفضلا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 11:24 | حرم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 12:06 | أخذ أنا حص وب: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:26 | هأى صأهأ: كصأهأ صص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:27 | هأى أنا: كخذه صصم أنا وئأ: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 12:28 | هأى حهسأ وألأهأ: أنا: صصم أنا وهأ: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 12:31 | كأى: أنا أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 12:34 | كأا وأصأ: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:36 | أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 13:17 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 16:28 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 17:12 | أخذ أنا حص وب: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 17:20 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 18:3 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 18:10 | أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 18:13 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 18:18 | هأصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 19:9 | أخذ أنا حص وب: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 19:16 | كأى أأ: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 19:23 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 19:24 | هأه وب: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 19:28 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 21:21 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 21:31 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 21:40 | هصلا: منه وهأهأ: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 21:43 | كأى: أنا أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 22:43 | أى هصلا وهب: منأ له منأ: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 23:33 | كأا وأصأ: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 23:36 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 23:37 | هأهأهأهأهأهأهأ: | N | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| | | | (add) | | | |
| 23:39 | أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 24:2 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 24:34 | أصم: أخذ أنا حص: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |

| Lk | | Additional MS 14460 (599/600) | Additional MS 14471 (615) | Additional MS 7157 (767/768) | Additional MS 12138 (899) | Ming. MS 148 (1613) |
|-------|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 3:7 | حدا واقبلنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 3:8 | أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 4:24 | أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 4:25 | هناك نحن أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 5:8 | هذا أنا حسب حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 6:32 | أنا نحن من حصصنا أنا للحم وخصصنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 6:33 | هناك حسبنا أنا. ولقد للحم وخصصنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 6:34 | هناك من حصصنا أنا. لحم وخصصنا أنا. ولما نحن حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 7:9 | أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 7:28 | أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | | Y |
| 7:47 | سلكنا هنا أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 9:27 | هناك أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 10:12 | أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 10:13 | نحن نحن. ههنا تتلنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 10:15 | هناك من حصصنا أنا. وخصصنا حصصنا أنا. | Y | Y | Y | n/a | N |
| 10:21 | وخصصنا لحم مع مصفنا مصفنا: | N | Y (add) | N | n/a | N |
| 10:24 | أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 10:41 | هناك هنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 11:8 | أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 11:9 | أنا أنا أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 11:13 | هناك أنا. وخصصنا أنا حصصنا. نحن أنا. ههنا أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 11:18 | هناك هنا. ههنا ههنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 11:19 | هناك أنا. نحن نحن أنا ههنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 11:20 | أنا نحن ههنا ههنا ههنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 11:48 | نحن نحن أنا ههنا ههنا ههنا ههنا ههنا: | N | Y | N | n/a | N |
| 11:51 | أنا أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:4 | أخذنا أنا حصصنا. نحن نحن: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:8 | أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:27 | أخذنا أنا حصصنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |

| | | | | | | |
|-------|--|---|---|-----|-----|---|
| 12:28 | أنا وحب كصفتنا: وحبنا أنا... صفتنا: حبنا: حبنا: حبنا: حبنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:37 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:39 | وأنا حبنا: حبنا حبنا حبنا: حبنا: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:44 | حبنا: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:59 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 13:3 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 13:5 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 13:24 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 13:25 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 13:34 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 13:35 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 14:24 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 15:7 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 15:10 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 16:9 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 16:11 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: حبنا: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 16:12 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: حبنا: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 16:27 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 18:14 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 18:17 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 18:18 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 18:29 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 19:26 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 19:40 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 20:44 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 21:3 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 21:32 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 22:16 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 22:34 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 22:37 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 23:31 | أنا حبنا: حبنا: حبنا: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 23:43 | أحب: أنا حبنا: | Y | Y | n/a | Y | Y |

| Jn | | Additional MS 14460 (599/600) | Additional MS 14471 (615) | Additional MS 7157 (767/768) | Additional MS 12138 (899) | Ming. MS 148 (1613) |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1:51 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 3:3 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 3:5 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 3:11 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 3:12 | هألا هذه حصي أئذ: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 4:10 | فحص حصي أئذ: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 4:35 | أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 5:19 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 5:24 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 5:25 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 6:26 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 6:32 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 6:47 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 6:53 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 8:34 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 8:51 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 8:58 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 10:1 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 10:7 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 12:24 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 13:9 | أئذ هذه حصي: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | | n/a | |
| 13:14 | أئذ أنا حصي: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 13:16 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 13:20 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 13:21 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 13:38 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 14:12 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 16:7 | أئذ أنا: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| 16:20 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 16:23 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | Y | Y | Y | n/a | Y |
| 20:25 | هذه هي أنا: أئذ أنا حصي: | n/a | n/a | Y | n/a | Y |
| 21:18 | أعطي أعطيت: أئذ أنا حصي: | n/a | n/a | Y | n/a | Y |

A NEW MANDAIC DICTIONARY: CHALLENGES, ACCOMPLISHMENTS, AND PROSPECTS¹

Matthew Morgenstern
Tel Aviv University

The preparations for a new dictionary of Mandaic have revealed the accomplishments and shortcomings of Mandaic philology since the 19th century. The present article outlines the scholarly achievements to date and describes some of the steps that have been taken to ensure greater accuracy in the future.

1 INTRODUCTION: MANDAIC SOURCES

Mandaic is a south-eastern variety of Aramaic that is closely related to the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmud and post-Talmudic rabbinic literature. The earliest surviving sources are the ever-growing corpus of amuletic spells written on clay bowls and metal lamellae, which according to most estimations were copied between the fifth to seventh centuries CE and provide the earliest material evidence for the language.² The language of these texts often differs from that of the “classi-

¹ This is the first part of a two-part account of the present state of Mandaic scholarship. For the second part see Matthew Morgenstern, “New Manuscript Sources for the Study of Mandaic,” in *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik. Sechstes Treffen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Semitistik in der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft vom 09.–11. Februar 2013 in Heidelberg* (eds. V. Golinets et. al, AOAT, Ugarit Verlag, forthcoming). I wish to thank Dr. Tania Notarius, Maleen Schlüter, Tom Alfia and Livnat Barkan for their assistance in preparing the materials discussed herein. The following scholars kindly shared with me their unpublished works: Shaul Shaked, Hezy Mutzafi, Charles Häberl, Bogdan Burtea, James Nathan Ford and Ohad Abudraham. Citations from the *Rbai Rafid* Collection are reproduced by kind permission of the custodian of the collection. Written Mandaic forms transliterated according to the system developed by Rudolf Macuch. This research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation grant no. 419/13.

² On the archaeological evidence see, e.g., Erica Hunter, “Combat and Conflict in Incantation Bowls: Studies on Two Aramaic Specimens from Nippur,” in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*, ed. M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield and M. P. Weitzman, *Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement Series 4* (Oxford University, 1995), 61–76.

cal” corpus,³ though it is unclear to what extent these differences arise from selective editing of the later manuscript sources.⁴ The magical texts contain many expressions and themes that are shared with contemporary Aramaic and later Mandaic magic texts,⁵ and on occasion share expressions with the Classical Mandaic corpus.⁶

All other Mandaic texts – including the great works of “Classical” Mandaic such as the *Ginza Rba*, the prayers and the large number of priestly instructional and esoteric texts – are not preserved in early sources roughly contemporaneous with their composition but rather in much later manuscripts. The earliest Mandaic manuscript known to scholarship remains the Bodleian Library’s codex Marsh 691, a small selection of the *rahmi*-prayers copied in Huweiza in 936 AH (1529–1530 CE), i.e. many hundreds of years after the presumed composition of the prayers themselves. The Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris holds the oldest manuscripts of the *Ginza Rba*: CS 1, dating from 968 AH (1560 CE), and CS 2, dating from 1042 AH (1632–3 CE), while CS 12, copied in 978 AH (1570 CE) contains the earliest surviving copy of *Sidra d-Nišmata*, one of the earliest parts of the Mandaean liturgy. Thus although it is commonly agreed that these works are amongst the earliest Classical Mandaic literary compositions, they are preserved in manuscripts the earliest of which was copied some 900 years later than the surviving epigraphic materials.

The earliest exemplar of *Draša d-Yabia* (the so-called *Johnnesbuch der Mandäer*), CS 8, was copied in 1039 AH (1631 CE),⁷ while the prayer book CS 15, copied in 1086 AH (1675 CE), represents the oldest surviving textual witness to the so-called

³ Ohad Abudraham, “Three Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the Yosef Matisyahu Collection,” *Lesbonenu* 67 (2015): 59–98; Matthew Morgenstern, “Forgotten Forms in Babylonian Aramaic (Mandaic and Jewish),” *Mehqarim Be Lashon* (forthcoming); Ohad Abudraham and Matthew Morgenstern, “Mandaic Incantation(s) on lead scrolls from the Schøyen Collection,” *JAOS* 136 (forthcoming).

⁴ This linguistic editing continued to the 19th century editions. See Ohad Abudraham, *Codex Sabéen 1 and Codex Sabéen 2 to the Ginza Rba revisited* (forthcoming).

⁵ Christa Müller-Kessler, “Phraseology in Mandaic Incantations and Its Rendering in Various Eastern Aramaic Dialects: A Collection of Magic Terminology,” *ARAM* 11–12 (1999–2000): 293–310. Christa Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena und weitere Nippur Texte anderer Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), James Ford, Review of E. C. D. Hunter and J. B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum*, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 26 (2002): 237–72.

⁶ Charles Häberl, “Incantation Texts in Mandaic Script as Witnesses to the Mandaean Scriptures,” in *Arabs, Manlās and Dhimmis: Scribal Practices and the Social Construction of Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (ed. Hugh Kennedy and Myriam Wissa. Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming); Matthew Morgenstern and Maleen Schlüter, “A Mandaic Amulet on Lead – MS 2087/1,” *Eretz Israel* 32 (forthcoming): 115–27.

⁷ On the possible late date of parts of this work, see Charles Häberl, “Tense, Aspect, and Mood in the Doctrine of John,” in *Neo-Aramaic and its Linguistic Context* (ed. Geoffrey Khan and Lidia Napiorkowska, New York: Gorgias Press, 2015): 397–406.

wedding songs, which are composed in a later, more vernacular form of Mandaic.⁸ These late Mandaic poems serve to remind us that unlike its Talmudic counterpart, the Mandaean language remained spoken throughout the ages and indeed remains spoken to the present day (albeit by an extremely limited number of users).⁹ There is much evidence to suggest that up to a hundred years ago the language enjoyed far wider currency amongst the Mandaean community.¹⁰

The earliest clear indication that a type of Mandaic close to the contemporary vernacular was already spoken in the 17th century comes from the five-column multilingual Leiden *Glossarium*, which provides word-lists in Mandaic, Arabic, Latin, Turkish and Persian. Thanks to a detailed study by Roberta Borghero, the provenance of the Leiden *Glossarium* has been convincingly established, and the evidence indicates that it was composed in Basra in 1651 by the Carmelite missionary Matteo de San Giuseppe.¹¹ In other words, its composition is more or less contemporaneous with the earliest surviving copies of *Draša d-Yahia* and the wedding songs, and indeed the second oldest surviving copy of the *Ginza*. Studies of the *Glossarium* reveal its language to share many features with contemporary Neo-Mandaic, as well as some archaic features that are no longer preserved and independent dialectal developments.¹² Further evidence comes from the colophons of newly obtained 17th century manuscripts, which include material of an autobiographical nature.¹³ Colophons

⁸ Mark Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien, mitgeteilt, übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1920: IX-XI; Matthew Morgenstern “Neo-Mandaic in Mandaean Manuscript Sources,” in *Neo-Aramaic and its Linguistic Context* (ed. Geoffrey Khan and Lidia Napiorkowska, New York: Gorgias Press, 2015): 390–2. They were first published in Ethel S. Drower, *Šarh d-qabin d-Šišlam Rba (D.C. 38): Explanatory Commentary on the Marriage-ceremony of the Great Šišlam* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1950) on the basis of DC 38, a copy from 1216 AH (1801–2 CE) and then republished by her in Ethel S. Drower *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaean, Translated with Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 1959) on the basis of DC 53 from the same year. Drower’s editions did not take CS 15 into account.

⁹ Charles Häberl, *The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Khorramshahr* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 8, estimates that today there remain no more than 200 speakers, all of whom are over the age of 30.

¹⁰ Hezy Mutzafi and Matthew Morgenstern, “Sheikh Nejm’s Mandaic Glossary (DC 4): An Unrecognised Source of Neo-Mandaic,” *ARAM* 24 (2012): 157–74.

¹¹ Roberta Borghero, “A 17th Century Glossary of Mandaic,” *ARAM* 11 (1999–2000): 311–9.

¹² Roberta Borghero, “Some Linguistic Features of a Mandaean Manuscript from the Seventeenth Century,” *ARAM* 16 (2004): 61–83; Matthew Morgenstern, “Diachronic Studies in Mandaic,” *Orientalia* 79 (2010): 505–525.; Mutzafi and Morgenstern, “Sheikh Nejm”; Hezy Mutzafi, *Comparative Lexical Studies in Neo-Mandaic* (Leiden: E.J. Brill 2014): *passim*; Morgenstern, “Neo-Mandaic”: 375–80; Tom Alfa “Studies in the 17th Century Mandaic Glossarium from Leiden” (MA thesis, Haifa University, 2015).

¹³ See Morgenstern, “Neo-Mandaic,” 382–6, and Morgenstern, “New Manuscript Sources.”

strongly influenced by Neo-Mandaic continued to be composed through the 19th century (and perhaps up to the present day), as were, apparently, instructions for the writing of amulet formulae.¹⁴ The dating of the “Book of the Zodiac” is difficult. The earliest copy known today is CS 26, copied in 1212 AH (1797–8 CE), though the copying tradition extends back much further. Parts of the work are apparently ancient,¹⁵ while others are greatly influenced by the vernacular.¹⁶ From the late 19th century we also have texts in the vernacular written for Père Anastase Marie de St. Elie (1866–1947) of the Carmelite Mission in Baghdad;¹⁷ some fifty years later, Macuch began his field work on the vernacular, which led to a series of valuable (if flawed) publications.¹⁸ Subsequent studies by Häberl¹⁹ and Mutzafi²⁰ have done much to increase our knowledge of the latest phases of Mandaic, as well as provide important correctives to some of the previous publications. As we shall see below, the evidence of the spoken language has much to teach us about written Mandaic texts.

Finally, when considering the sources, we must take account of what Jorunn Buckley, in her seminal work on the Mandaean copying traditions, has called “the funnel of 1831.”²¹ Following the cholera epidemic of that year, which led to the deaths of *all* the initiated priests, there was a severe decline in the Mandaean scribal tradition. This is apparent when comparing pre-1831 manuscripts with those that were copied after the cholera. Furthermore, many of the subsequently copied Mandaic texts appear to draw from copies produced in the immediate aftermath of the epidemic. The scribal quality continued to decline, so that those manuscripts copied after the 1880s are significant less accurate than those copied before. However, the decline may already be discerned when comparing, for example, the copies of the *Genza* from the early 19th century with that of the 16th century.

¹⁴ Morgenstern, “Neo-Mandaic,” 388–90.

¹⁵ Gideon Bohak and Mark Geller, “Babylonian Astrology in the Cairo Genizah,” in *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schafer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. Ra‘anan S. Boustan, et. al., Veltri, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 607–622.

¹⁶ Morgenstern, “Neo-Mandaic,” 386–8.

¹⁷ See Rudolf Macuch and Klaus Boekels, *Neumandäische Chrestomathie mit grammatischer Skizze, kommentierter Übersetzung und Glossar* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989): 11–12, 184–5; Charles Häberl, “Neo-Mandaic in Fin de siècle Baghdad,” *JAOs* 130 (2010): 551–60 and Morgenstern, “Neo-Mandaic,” 380–382 for conclusive proof of the texts’ origin.

¹⁸ Rudolf Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965); Rudolf Macuch, “The Bridge of Shushtar: A Legend in Vernacular Mandaic,” in *Studia Semitica, Ioanni Bakoš Dicata* (ed. Ján Bakoš and Stanislav Segert, Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1965): 153–172; Macuch and Boekels, *Neumandäische Chrestomathie mit grammatischer Skizze*; Rudolf Macuch and Guido Dankwarth, *Neumandäische Texte im Dialekt von Ahwasz* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993).

¹⁹ Häberl, *The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Kborramshabr*.

²⁰ Mutzafi, *Comparative Lexical Studies*.

²¹ Jorunn J. Buckley, *The Great Stem of Souls* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010): 117.

This very brief survey of the Mandaic sources serves to remind us of two crucial factors that must be borne in mind when considering the accomplishments and challenges of Mandaic lexicography:

1. There are great discrepancies in the attestation histories of the different parts of the corpus. The epigraphic corpus is preserved in witnesses from the pre-Islamic period, while some magical works survive only in very late copies from the 19th or even 20th centuries. Although earlier manuscripts are not necessarily based upon better textual traditions than later ones, given what we know of the copying history of Mandaic sources, a greater degree of caution must be taken before drawing materials from sources of certain types, e.g. late amulet formularies or very late copies of the classical literature.

2. There are considerable differences in composition date between the early and late texts, and certain genres of Mandaic writings show a strong propensity to employ lexemes or even grammatical forms drawn from the *raḥnā*, the Mandaean vernacular that has remained spoken to the present day. Accordingly, any linguistic study that takes account of *all* lexemes recorded in Mandaic literary sources will include material that ranges from the pre-Islamic period up to words and forms that are characteristic of the language spoken today.

The continued use of the Mandaic as a mother tongue is expressed in several genres of Mandaic literature, and overshadows the composition and copying history of all texts.²² In total, the corpus of written Mandaic may be estimated to around 500,000 words.²³

2 MANDAIC LEXICOGRAPHY

The lexicography of Mandaic began in earnest with the publication of Th. Nöldeke's groundbreaking *Mandäische Grammatik* (1875).²⁴ Although as its title indicated, Nöldeke's work was primarily grammatical in orientation, it is rich in lexicographical and etymological clarifications and served as the basis for all subsequent philological work. Indeed, Nöldeke's observations were carefully indexed by Lidzbarski, and also found their way – either directly or through the agency of Lidzbarski's index – into Drower's and Macuch's *Mandaic Dictionary*²⁵ (henceforth: MD), if not always accurately.²⁶ Lidzbarski seems to have prepared his index of words in lieu of a dictionary

²² See Morgenstern, “Neo-Mandaic” and Abudraham, “Codex Sabéen.”

²³ This figure was calculated by choosing a representative witness for each text, and allowing some additional leeway for variant readings and differing colophons.

²⁴ Matthias Norberg, *Lexidion Codicis Nasarai cui Liber Adami Nomen* (London: Berlingianis, 1816), represented the first attempt to produce a sustained philological study, but was marred by many misunderstandings, as had previously pointed out by Theodor Nöldeke, *Ueber die Mundart der Mandaer* (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Buchhandlung, 1862).

²⁵ Drower and Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*.

²⁶ For example **aušpiza** is cited in Ethel S. Drower and Rudolf Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), 11b, as “var[iant] of **ašpinza**,” i.e. “inn.” But

to aid him in his translations of the major works of Mandaic literature – first *Draša d-Yahia* (1915)²⁷ followed by selections from the liturgy (1920)²⁸ and finally the *Ginza Rba* (1925).²⁹ Lidzbarski's personal indices took two forms. One was a "card index" comprising of small slips of paper – roughly 5 cm x 3 cm – which listed declined or conjugated forms in Ashkenazi Hebrew handscript accompanied by a brief reference but no translation.³⁰ The following are several examples, with the original citations, presented here in a modern Hebrew print script:

פראליא מאנדא G II 124^{21ff.}

פירין עותרא Mor. 195³

ניפצה לפירון Oxf. 98b

פארגאלתא Oxf. Rolle G 878

פארהיאתא Lond. Rolle a 362

The other index comprised a small booklet containing a list of Mandaic lexemes with their definitions in German.³¹

Lidzbarski's published translations were furnished with accompanying notes, in places extensive, that clarified dozens of lexemes, as even a brief glance at the indices that accompanied these works reveals. Furthermore, Lidzbarski's translations of *Draša d-Yahia* and the liturgy merited detailed reviews by Nöldeke³² and a response from Lidzbarski.³³ With their lexical and grammatical clarifications, Nöldeke and Lidzbarski set the discipline of Mandaic philology on firm foundations, and not without reason Macuch wrote to Drower that "Nöldeke and Lidzbarski in Mandaean studies were like Aristotle in mediaeval philosophy."³⁴ Of the other scholars ac-

aušpiza is never attested in Mandaic: its appearance in MD arises from a misunderstanding of Theodor Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle an der Salle: Waisenhaus, 1875), 51, which presents the JBA form **אושפיזא** (see Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 98–9, for comparative purposes.

²⁷ Mark Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer II* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915).

²⁸ Lidzbarski, "Mandäische Liturgien."

²⁹ Mark Lidzbarski, *Ginza: Der Schatz; oder, Das grosse Buch der Mandäer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1925).

³⁰ This is now item 14 in the Lidzbarski archives held in the Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Halle.

³¹ Item 21 in the same archive.

³² Theodor Nöldeke, "Mandäisches," *ZA* 30 (1915–16): 139–62; Theodor Nöldeke, Review of Mark Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien, mitgeteilt, übersetzt und erklärt*, *ZA* 33 (1921): 72–80.

³³ Mark Lidzbarski, "Zu den Mandäischen Liturgien," *ZS* 1 (1922).

³⁴ Cited in Jorunn J. Buckley, *Lady E.S. Drower's Scholarly Correspondence* (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 170.

tive in the field during that period, mention should also be made of Euting,³⁵ who published an important critical edition of some prayers, Brandt,³⁶ whose work on Mandaean theology clarified many religious terms, and Pognon,³⁷ who published the first substantial collection of Mandaic epigraphic texts with an accompanying glossary.

The lexical study of Mandaic remained very static through the next decade following the deaths of Lidzbarski (1927) and Nöldeke (1930). However, in 1937, Ethel Stefana Drower, who had arrived in Baghdad in 1921, published her first Mandaic text. Drower, 59 years of age at the time her first text appeared in press, amassed a collection of Mandaic manuscripts that was larger than any in the West and subsequently published more editions of Mandaic works than any other scholar, in spite of lacking formal training in the Semitic languages. Drower's keen sense led her to acquire exemplars of every work of Mandaic literature, many of which were not previously known to Western scholars, and her collection included several important manuscripts belonging to the earliest generations of surviving sources, e.g. DC 48 (*Alma Rišaiia Zuṭa*) from 972 AH (= 1564–5 CE) and DC 6 (most of the *Alp Trisar*), the older part of which was copied in 965 AH = (1557 CE).

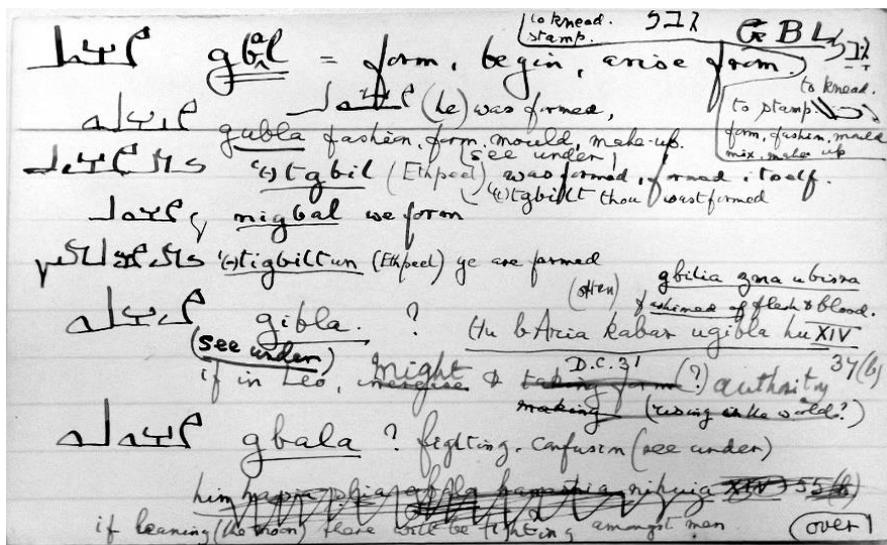
During the course of her work on her manuscripts, initially prompted by the Jewish philologist Dr. Moses Gaster,³⁸ Drower created a card-index file of Mandaic words. However, Drower's index was very different from Lidzbarski's. Examination of the original cards, which are now held by the Institute of Semitics at the Free University, Berlin, reveals a highly disorganised series of notes consisting of partial citations which are often missing references, precise or otherwise. The somewhat haphazard nature of these cards would have a significant effect on the final outcome of MD, for which they too served as one of the primary sources. Numerous lexemes and citations appear in MD without precise reference, and many of these have been located in works that Drower studied or edited.

³⁵ Julius Euting, *Qolasta oder Gesänge und Lehren von der Taufe und dem Ausgang der Seele* (Stuttgart: Friedrich Schepperlen, 1867).

³⁶ Wilhelm Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion, ihre Entwicklung und geschichtliche Bedeutung* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1889).

³⁷ Henri Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1898).

³⁸ Drower apud Buckley, *Drower's Correspondence*, 136.



One of Drower's index cards.

Drower was desperately aware of her lack of formal training in the Semitic languages, and from the 1940s sought the collaboration of a more qualified scholar to aid her in turning her card index into a scientific dictionary, as she stated in this undated letter which was probably composed in early 1947:

You say that there is no dictionary of the Mandaic language. I have been working for years on a card index dictionary of the language, which is now so large that, in order to reduce it to a state in which it could be published, I must find a collaborator [...] it has occurred to me that here would be a golden opportunity for getting into touch with some Semitic scholar possessed of enough leisure, and adequate qualifications to bring the vessel safely to port. [...] I am conscious of my own disabilities and should require such a collaborator to have a wider knowledge of kindred languages than my own.³⁹

In a letter from June 14th 1947 – when Drower was 68 years old – she wrote:

Last autumn I went to Oxford and met Professor Driver for the first time. He saw my card-index dictionary, and when I asked him if he could suggest a collaborator, as the work entailed was now getting to be more than I could manage, he suggested Dr. McHardy, of John's College.⁴⁰ Dr. McHardy agreed, and I am now working steadily on the index and forwarding the matter to him. It will take sev-

³⁹ Published in Buckley, *Drower's Correspondence*, 135.

⁴⁰ Identified by Buckley as Scot William D. McHardy (1911–2000), the creator of the New English Bible.

eral years. Professor Driver is confident that, by the time the dictionary is ready, funds will be forthcoming for its publication.⁴¹

McHardy became the first of several potential collaborators to disappoint Drower. Nevertheless, the potential collaboration appears to have encouraged Drower, and on February 11th 1949 she wrote:

I have just finished typing out the rough draft of a Mandaic dictionary. It was suggested to me by more than one pundit that it should be published now, but I should not feel happy about that at all. If it is to be the standard work that I hope it may eventually become, it needs years of work and careful critical analysis, and I have the promise that Dr. McHardy will get down seriously to work on it with me next year. If I die before it is in its final stages, which is not unlikely since I am in my seventieth year, I shall at least have the satisfaction of knowing that I laid a good solid foundation. To have typed out just on 2000 sheets of typescript is a work which I am glad to have completed, it has been the final lap of many years' work.⁴²

As Drower's correspondence indicates, by mid-1950 she was once again working alone, but was still seeking assistance:

Personally, I should like to work on it at least another two years, by which time the verbs should be in better shape and a great deal more comprehensive. In the final preparation, however, I may be forced to get competent help from a scholar acquainted with the practical preparation of a lexicon who is also a Talmudist or better still, a Mandaic scholar. In this case, I suppose that our names would both appear on the completed volume or volumes, and that we should share any profits (if any!) All this is supposing that I live to do all this, a little condition that one may face at my age, I suppose.⁴³

It would be several years before Drower found her Mandaic scholar. Following an incisive review of one of her publications,⁴⁴ Drower contacted Rudolf Macuch,⁴⁵ who had conducted fieldwork amongst the Mandaeans and was acquainted with the spoken language. With the support of G. R. Driver, whom Macuch later described as "the sponsor of the Dictionary,"⁴⁶ and the financial support of Tehran Universi-

⁴¹ Published in Buckley, *Drower's Correspondence*, 56.

⁴² Ibid. 63.

⁴³ Buckley, *Drower's Correspondence*, 69–70.

⁴⁴ Rudolf Macuch, Review of Ethel S. Drower, *The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa*, ZDMG 105 (1955): 357–63.

⁴⁵ Maria Macuch, "'And Life is Victorious!' Mandaean and Samaritan Literature: In Memory of Rudolf Macuch (1919–1993)," in *Und das Leben ist siegreich, And Life is Victorious* (ed. Rainer Voigt, Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2008): 13.

⁴⁶ Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*: 536.

ty,⁴⁷ Macuch arrived in Oxford and began his work in August 1956 on what he later called “scholarly redaction:”

Lady Drower had put such a rich material into my hands that my work was mostly of technical character, such as the completing of missing references and scholarly literature, combining of Lady Drower’s, Lidzbarski’s⁴⁸ and mine⁴⁹ own lexicographical collections, etymological explanations, control of forms and meanings and the establishing and justification of the latter in doubtful cases, appropriate shortening of quotations, distinction between the essential and unessential as well as a complete rearrangement and elaboration of the entries and sub-entries according to their grammatical and semantic categories with the division of the numerous homonyms according to their origin and actual meaning. Such an elaboration of an exhaustive mass of lexicographical material of a language in a fluid phonetic state in a limited time was no easy task. But I will always consider those two years of sleepless nights spent in the preparation of the Mandaic Dictionary as the most blessed in my life. The feeling of having in my hands complete material gathered during more than half a century was encouraging and produced an increased effort which made it possible to produce the Dictionary during two years of my leave from Teheran University.⁵⁰

The speed with which Macuch compiled this material is indeed impressive, and it is most likely that without his determination the dictionary would never have been published. On the other hand, at such a rate Macuch had less than one and a half days to consolidate every published page of MD. It is therefore not surprising that the outcome was extremely uneven. The book was typeset and revised over the following years, in spite of the difficulties incurred by the fact that the co-author was once again living in Tehran.⁵¹ The final product appeared in October 1963, when Drower was 84 years old, and it was to represent her final publication. For her decades of contributions to Mandaean studies, Drower was awarded the prestigious

⁴⁷ See Macuch apud Buckley, *Drower’s Correspondence*, 155; see there, however, Macuch’s criticism of his treatment by Tehran University.

⁴⁸ In a letter sent to Ullendorf, and later forwarded to Drower on 16.12.63 (and published in Buckley, *Drower’s Correspondence*, 168), Macuch stated “Lidzbarski’s ‘Sammlung’ contained nothing more than textual references to the four or five main Mandaean texts known in his days. [...] As to Lidzbarski, he has not more than certain numerical references which were carefully controlled by both of us (Lady Drower and me). The interpretation comes from us.” Nonetheless, there are entries in MD which clearly indicate that the authors made use of Lidzbarski’s unpublished glosses, e.g. s.v. **gaṭ‘il, gaṭ‘il** (MD 75b): “(Lidzb. Mand. Gl. ‘Rudermann’).”

⁴⁹ Sic!

⁵⁰ Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, XLV–VI.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 531.

Lidzbarski medal.⁵² Macuch for his part was appointed as Professor of Arabic and Semitics at the Free University in West Berlin.

From the correspondence published by Buckley and from Macuch's subsequent statements it is clear that the Dictionary's authors were aware of some of its shortcomings, but that the point had been reached where it was no longer practical or possible to hold up publication. "A complete correction of misprints and other formal mistakes," wrote Macuch in 1965, "must wait for the second edition."⁵³ Even as MD appeared, Macuch was discussing with Drower the publication of additions and corrections,⁵⁴ and his first such list appeared two years later as an appendix to his Handbook.⁵⁵ But while Macuch privately acknowledged to Drower the failings of MD, he was less willing to allow other scholars to criticize:

And finally we must also leave something fo[r] our critics. To each nonsense they say I will gladly reply and kill them for it without mercy [...] And I do not even worry so much about the critics. None of them made any important discovery in the field of Mandaic; they are able to repeat what Nöldeke and Lidzbarski said.⁵⁶

Macuch held true to his promise. Much of his subsequent writing was strongly polemical in nature, and sought to defend the methodology and interpretations of MD.⁵⁷

In the years following Drower's death, little progress was made in Mandaic lexicography, and few texts were published.⁵⁸ However, since the 1990s Mandaic stud-

⁵² Buckley, *Drower's Correspondence*, 201–2.

⁵³ Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, 531.

⁵⁴ Buckley, *Drower's Correspondence*, 152.

⁵⁵ Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, 532–543.

⁵⁶ Macuch apud Buckley, *Drower's Correspondence*, 154.

⁵⁷ Particularly notable in this respect is Rudolf Macuch, *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976); Macuch's contribution comprises half of the volume and mostly consists of harsh responses to his critics. See Joseph Naveh, Review of Rudolf Macuch, *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer*, BO 35 (1978): 326–7.

⁵⁸ Exceptions were Kurt Rudolph, *Der Mandäische Divan der Flüsse* (Berlin: Akademie, 1982), who published the *Divan Nabrauata* according to DC 7 with selected variants from a manuscript from Baghdad, and publications by Joseph Naveh, "Another Mandaic Lead Roll," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 47–53, and Jonas Carl Greenfield and Joseph Naveh, "A Mandaic Lead Amulet with Four Incantations," *Eretz Israel* 18 (1985): 97–107, both editions of Mandaic lamellae. Macuch also published several lamellae shortly after the appearance of MD; see Rudolf Macuch, "Altmandäische Bleirollen I," in *Die Araber in der alten Welt* 4 (ed. Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967): 91–203, and Rudolf Macuch, "Altmandäische Bleirollen II," in *Die Araber in der alten Welt* 5.1 (ed. Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968): 34–72. Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1967) presents a useful collection of previously published texts, but many of these editions are now out of date, and the work must be read with Michael Sokoloff, "Notes on some Mandaic magical texts," *Orientalia* 40 (1971): 448–58.

ies have enjoyed something of a revival, with the publication of a larger number of texts preserved in both epigraphic sources and manuscripts.⁵⁹ Other studies have contributed to the clarification of Mandaic philology.⁶⁰ In parallel, great progress has

⁵⁹ For the manuscripts, see in particular Jorunn Buckley, *The Scroll of Exalted Kingship: Divan Malkuta 'Laita* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1993) and Bogdan Burtea, *Das mandäische Fest der Schalltage: Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentierung der Handschrift DC 24 Sarb d-paruanaiia* (Mandäische Forschungen 1; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), Bogdan Burtea, *“Zihrun, das verborgene Geheimnis:” Eine mandäische priesterliche Rolle. Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentierung der Handschrift DC 27 Zihrun Raza Kasia* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008) and Bogdan Burtea, *“Die Geheimnisse der Vorväter:” Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentierung eines esoterischen mandäischen Texts aus der Bodleian Library Oxford* (Mandäische Forschungen 5; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2015). The epigraphic publications are many. See in particular Firyāl Zihrūn Nu‘man, *فريال زهرون نعمان, أواني الاحراز المندائية في المتحف العراقي* [“Mandaic Incantation Vessels in the Iraqi Museum”] (Master’s Thesis, Baghdad: University of Baghdad) (1996), Christa Müller-Kessler, “The Story Of Bguzan-Lilit, Daughter Of Zanay-Lilit,” *JAOS* 116 (1996): 185–95, Christa Müller-Kessler, “Aramäische Koine – Ein Beschwörungsformular aus Mesopotamien,” *BaghM* 29 (1998): 331–48, Christa Müller-Kessler, “Aramäische Beschwörungen und astronomische Omina in nachbabylonischer Zeit: Das Fortleben mesopotamischer Kultur im Vorderen Orient,” in *Babylon: Focus Mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne*, 2, Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 24.-26. März 1998 in Berlin (ed. Johannes Renger, Berlin: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999), 427–43, Christa Müller-Kessler “Die Zauberschälensammlung des British Museum,” *AfO* 48/49 (2001–2002): 115–145, and Christa Müller-Kessler, Die Zauberschälentexte der Hilprecht-Sammlung, with Matthew Morgenstern, Review of Christa Müller-Kessler, Die Zauberschälentexte der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena und weitere Nippur Texte anderer Sammlungen, *JSS* 55 (2010): 280–9, Judah B. Segal and Erica C. D. Hunter, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 2000), and reviews thereof: Ford, “Review of Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls” and Müller-Kessler “Die Zauberschälensammlung des British Museum,” James N. Ford, “Another Look at the Mandaic Incantation Bowl BM 91715,” *JANES* 29 (2002): 31–47, Matthew Morgenstern, “The Mandaic Magic Bowl Dehays 63: An Unpublished Parallel to BM117872 (Segal 079A),” *JANES* 32 (2011): 73–89, G. Abu Samra, “A New Mandaic Magi Bowl,” in *Durch Dein Wort ward jegliches Ding! / Through Thy Word All Things Were Made! – II Mandäische und Samaritanistische Tagung* (ed. R. Voigt, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013): 55–69, and Abudraham, “Three Mandaic Incantation Bowls.” Several texts are now forthcoming: e.g. Morgenstern and Schlüter, “A Mandaic Amulet on Lead,” Abudraham and Morgenstern, “Lead scrolls from the Schøyen Collection” and Matthew Morgenstern, “A Mandaic Lamella for the Protection of a Pregnant Woman: MS 2097/9,” *Aula Orientalis* 33 (2015): 271–86.

⁶⁰ See the material presented in the previous note and in particular Christa Müller-Kessler, “Dämon + YTB L – Ein Krankheitsdämon: Eine Studie zu aramäischen Beschwörungen medizinischen Inhalts,” in *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, AOAT 267 (ed. Barbara Böck, et. al., Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1999): 341–354, and

been made over the past three decades in the lexicography of other Aramaic dialects,⁶¹ and a large number of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic and Syriac magic texts have been published that cast light upon the philological study of Mandaic.⁶² It has long been apparent that MD did not meet the standards current in lexicographical reference tools, and in 2009 the present author published an article describing some of its shortcomings, in particular in terms of organisation and presentation.⁶³ Since that time, an extensive project has been undertaken to lay the groundwork for a new dictionary of Mandaic. The remainder of this article will be dedicated to outlining our project's aims and accomplishments.

3 COLLECTING AND CATALOGUING

The first task that stood before us was to attempt to gather good quality images of all known Mandaic texts and to catalogue their contents. No such comprehensive

Christa Müller-Kessler and Karlheinz Kessler, "Spätbabylonische Gottheiten in spätantiken mandäischen Texten," *ZA* 89 (1999): 65–87.

⁶¹ The most significant publications in this area are the dictionaries by Sokoloff: Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1992), Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, and Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns and Piscataway; New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2009).

⁶² See e.g. Segal and Hunter, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation*, Dan Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* (London, New York: Kegan Paul, 2003), (with comments in James N. Ford, *JSS* 51 (2006): 207–14, and Matthew Morgenstern, "Linguistic notes on magic bowls in the Moussaieff Collection," *BSOAS* 68 (2005): 349–67.), Dan Levene, *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte der Hilprecht-Sammlung*, Shaul Shaked, James Nathan Ford and Siam Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls, Vol. 1. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), James N. Ford, "A New Parallel to the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Incantation Bowl IM 76106 (Nippur 11 N 78)," *Aramaic Studies* 9 (2011): 249–77, James N. Ford, "Notes on Some Recently Published Magic Bowls in the Schøyen Collection and Two New Parallels," *Aula Orientalis* 32 (2014): 235–64, Gideon Bohak and Matthew Morgenstern, "A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Magical Booklet from the Damascus Genizah," *Ginzei Qedem* 10 (2014):*9–*44, Marco Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls – Syriac Magical Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), Matthew Morgenstern and James Nathan Ford, "On Some Readings and Interpretations in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls and Related Texts," *BSOAS* 79 (forthcoming).

⁶³ The article was based upon published materials. Examination of the unpublished materials has revealed that the problems outlined in the article are far more widespread and serious than it suggested.

catalogue has previously been produced.⁶⁴ In the case of the epigraphic texts, this primarily entailed visiting museums and private collections and photographing the material personally.⁶⁵ For the Mandaic manuscripts, we initially relied upon the microfilms prepared by the Bodleian Library in Oxford, since many of the texts remained unpublished and for others the photographs reproduced in Drower's editions were not always of the highest quality. However, a number of the Mandaean scrolls have been exposed to water and have suffered various forms of damage that have darkened their surface. Moreover, the original leaves of the scrolls were joined with a thick adhesive that the Mandaeans call *šris*, and this glue has a tendency to turn a dark brown over the years. The discolouration particularly affected the older, more reliable manuscripts, and darkened parts are not always readable in black and white photographs, as may be discerned in the published photographs of DC 36 which accompany Drower's edition of the *Alf Trisar*.⁶⁶ By good fortune, the photographic policy of the Bodleian Library changed shortly after we began our work, and it became possible to photograph Drower's collection in good quality digital images, including close-ups of damaged parts of the manuscripts. These images have ena-

⁶⁴ H. Zotenberg, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Syriaques et Sabéens (Mandaites) de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874), does not cover the 12 items subsequently acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, for which the brief listing in François Nau, "Notices des manuscrits syriaques, éthiopiens et mandéens entrés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris depuis l'édition des catalogues," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* XVI (1911): 314 is both inadequate and inaccurate. Drower's own accounts of her collection (in particular Ethel S. Drower, "A Mandæan Bibliography," *JRAS* (1953): 34–9, which is ostensibly reliable) are marred by partial information and the frustrating use of alternative collection numbers. For example Drower, "A Mandæan Bibliography," 35 states that the work *Alma Risaia Zuṭa* is preserved in DC 47, whereas it is in fact DC 48. DC 47 is the "Phylactery for Rue" published in Ethel S. Drower, "A phylactery for Rue. An Invocation of the personified Herb," *Orientalia* 15 (1946): 324–46. The correct numbers were recorded when the manuscripts were published (DC 48 was published in Ethel S. Drower, *A Pair of Nasoraean Commentaries: Two Priestly Documents, the Great First World and the Lesser First World* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963). and are inscribed upon the items themselves. Nevertheless, the incorrect numbers are sometimes used in MD, e.g. MD 40a s.v. **ašgata**, wherein the only citation is ascribed to DC 47 but is in fact drawn from DC 48:419. Conversely, the only citation in MD 103b s.v. **dubqa** is ascribed to DC 48, while it is actually drawn from DC 47:45. Drower's handlist published in Buckley, *Drower's Scholarly Correspondence*: 323–33 is generally more accurate, but contains some omissions and lacks many details regarding the magical handbooks. Kurt Rudolph, "Die mandäische Literatur" in *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer* (ed. Rudolf Macuch, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976): 147–70 presents a helpful but not exhaustive survey of available manuscripts.

⁶⁵ The majority of the texts were photographed by the present writer; others by James Nathan Ford and Dan Levene.

⁶⁶ Ethel S. Drower, *Alf Trisar Šuialia, The Thousand and Twelve Questions* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960).

bled us to improve the readings of the texts in many places. Manuscripts from other collections – London, Paris and Berlin – were ordered in the form of digital images. With the exception of Paris, all images are now supplied as colour scans; nonetheless, the images from Paris were of excellent quality, and since most of the manuscripts from Paris were well preserved, the lack of colour did not constitute an impediment.⁶⁷

The importance of full catalogues and the correlation of the different sources cannot be underestimated. As we have seen, MD was based upon references gathered by different scholars over a period of many years. These examples are frequently cited according to manuscript sources or publications, and there is a marked tendency to treat the manuscripts or publications as though they are works themselves rather than textual witnesses. Some entries boldly attempt to co-ordinate the different sources. For example, the entry **šihmai** (MD 393a) “Name of well-spring” records that **šihmai aina** is attested in Oxf. 98a = ML 265:8 = DC 3 & CP 357:9, DC 50:722,⁶⁸ though the reader is expected to know that Oxf. 98a refers to Oxf. Marsh 591, the earliest surviving Mandaic manuscript.⁶⁹ However, the following example, drawn from MD 16a, presents a very different picture:

akuašta, kuašta (cf. אַכּוּאַ, עֶכּוּ) buttocks (?).
 St. abs. **akuašat** DC 25. 54. **kauba uzinipta**
uakuašta DC 12. 163, **kiba zanapth uakuašt**
 DC 43 & 46, Lond. roll. B 331 **pain in his tail**
and his buttocks (?).

Ostensibly, we have here *five* attestations of the lexeme **akuašta/kuašta**: DC 25, DC 12, DC 43,⁷⁰ DC 44 and London roll B. In fact, we have only one. *All* of the references above are to parallel copies of a single work, *Šrita d-Šipulia* “The Releasing of the Loins,” a popular amulet formula for sexual impotence which is found in

⁶⁷ Only two texts from Paris are scrolls: CS 16 (the first part of *Alf Trisar*) and CS 29. The latter was published as *Zarašta d-Hibil Ziwa* in Jacques De Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse, tome V (études linguistiques), deuxième partie: Textes mandaites, histoires en Mandaité vulgaire* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904). On the origin of De Morgan’s manuscripts see Morgenstern, “Neo-Mandaic,” 380–382.

⁶⁸ This reference is inaccurate; DC 50:759 (according to Drower’s corrected numbering now written on the scroll) reads **šihmai aina**.

⁶⁹ The abbreviation is never explained in MD, and the reference is probably drawn from Lidzbarski’s card-index. Similarly, the reader is expected to know what works Lond. Roll A and Lond. Roll B contain. Oxf. roll a, mentioned three times in MD – s.v. **BHŠ** (MD 54a), **hupania** (MD 136b) and **kinta** (MD 214b) does not exist; the text is Lond. Roll A, i.e. BL Or. 6592. The texts are referred to in Lidzbarski’s writings as Rolle A and Rolle B (e.g. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer II: XXXII*) and have apparently also found their way into MD from his card index.

⁷⁰ This in itself is an erroneous reference. The lexeme is not found in DC 43, and the intention is probably to DC 45. 8:14.

many copies, both as part of the *Pašar Haršia* collection and independent of it. The DC references have been taken from Drower's card index, the London roll reference from Lidzbarski's. By citing texts according to manuscript sources rather than literary works, MD tends to inflate the number of attestations of rare lexemes.⁷¹ Moreover, no distinction is made here between the better textual witnesses – such as DC 12, copied in 1196 AH (= 1782 CE) – and the later, more corrupt sources such as DC 46 and DC 25, late-19th and early 20th century copies.

In some cases, the lack of coordination between different sources has led to the same lexeme being cited under different lemmata in MD. For example, on page 348 of MD we find both “**ʿiil ʿiil** CP 102:2 my God! my God!” as an independent entry and, under the lemma “**ʿil 1** “God” the citation **ʿiil ʿiil alaha** Q 52:29 (cited without translation). The “Q” references in MD are to Euting's *Qolasta*⁷² and again this information, drawn from Lidzbarski's card index, has not been coordinated with Drower's edition of CP. During the course of our work it became apparent that many lexemes in MD were questionable due to this lack of coordination. The following example from MD 362b illustrates the importance of cataloguing, collating and comparing the parallel versions of all manuscript sources.

paqra (𐤏𐤓𐤓𐤓 rabid) **mad** (dog) (DC 46. 179:10
šunara upaquta). **kd šunara upaqra** (miscop.
paruqa) DC 45 like a wild cat or a mad dog (?)
 (very doubtful).

DC 45 and 46 are grimoires containing many short amulet formulae, and tracing their parallels was a laborious but essential task.⁷³ The citation adduced here from DC 45 (found in DC 45. 46:10) in fact reads **paqda**, and this reading is supported by parallel copies of this spell preserved in DC 46. 167:1 and CS 27. 54b:13. Furthermore, the variant presented from DC 46 does not read **upaquta** as presented here but rather **uparuqa**, a reading supported by a parallel copy of the same spell in DC 45. 69:14. In this context, both **paqda** and **uparuqa** present difficulties of interpretation, and it is possible that the texts are corrupt. But it is only by cataloguing, collating and comparing the readings of different sources that the textual evidence may be accurately represented and such issues clarified.⁷⁴ Accordingly, all known

⁷¹ For the example of **širba** see Morgenstern and Ford “On Some Readings and Interpretations.”

⁷² Euting, *Qolasta*.

⁷³ Two other manuscripts of a similar nature exist, CS 24 and CS 27, as well as several fragments.

⁷⁴ For example, **adala** is presented in MD 7a as an alternative form of **iadala**. The entry **iadala** (MD 184) “child-bearing, birth” does not mention this variant. It seems to be derived from a citation from *Šapta d-Qaština*: **mn adalata ušurbata** DC 43 J: 203 ≠ **mn iadalata ušurbata** Bod. Syr. g. 2 (R):458, DC 39:489f. Furthermore, above in the same text, all three witnesses read **ušurbata uiadalata** DC 43 J:195 = Bod. Syr. g. 2 (R): 438 = DC 39:

parallel copies of Mandaic texts have now been catalogued, so that for any given passage we are now able to locate and compare all variant readings.

4 COLLATION

As will be apparent from the previous paragraphs, MD suffers not only from a lack of coordination between its various sources and erroneous references but also from numerous misreadings. Many of the citations of unpublished texts (and several of published ones) appear to have been drawn from Drower's preliminary editions without sufficient collation. A few representative samples will be cited here, but they are legion. Consider the following example from MD 32a:

APQ (ܐܦܩ) to embrace.
 PA. Pt. **ʿnšia mapqia** (read **mapqa**) **mn**
hdadia DC 46 women embracing each other
 (Lesbians).

The participle form **mapqia** here arises from a misreading; the text reads **ʿnšia mapkia mn hdadia** DC 46. 73:12–13 = CS 24. 23a:13–4 “women were turned away from one another.” The verb **mapkia** is derived from **APK**, **PK** (MD 31a-b), “to turn, reverse, turn back, etc.” This is one of several citations in which MD confuses K and Q.⁷⁵ The only example of the root *a-p-q* in Mandaic turns out to be based upon a misreading, and the root must now be removed from the lexicon pending further evidence.

Other examples: MD 345a presents the lemma **ʿuṣba 3** “grief, pain, toil” and provides one citation, **uanpiq minh šuba ʿuṣbia d-muta** DC 51:147, 186, which it translates “and cause to depart from him the seven pains of death.” Examination of the manuscript reveals that the correct reading is **ʿuṣria**, from the commonly attested Mandaic lexeme **ʿuṣra** (also MD 345a), “store, treasure, thought, mind.” Since there is no other evidence for **ʿuṣba 3**, it too has been removed from our lexical lists. MD 99a presents the reading **dauraria** from ML 166:6 and states: “read **dardaria**.” In actuality, **dardaria** “an age of ages” is the reading of ML and its source in Q 68:31. MD 39b presents the lexeme **ašamta** “the laying (of hands)” on the basis of ATŠ I 181. However, the same reference is given for the lexeme **asamta** (MD 28a). Collection of Drower's sources (DC 36: 644 = CS 16) reveals **asamta** to be the correct reading, derived from the root *s-y-m* “to place,” and **ašamta** has been removed from the lexical list.

In some cases, Drower's sources led her astray, as in the following example from MD 158a:

468. Accordingly, **adala** would appear to be a scribal error on the part of the copyist of DC 43.

⁷⁵ E.g. MD 307a s.v. **NŠK** “for **NŠQ** in **nšuk hdadia** ATŠ II no. 428 “kiss one another.” The manuscript reads **nšuq**, as Drower's own transcription (Drower, *Alf Trisar Šuialia*, 105) reveals.

zazia (Akk. *zāzu* fertility, abundance) prosperity, abundance. **hia zazia asuta uzarzta** AIT no. 38 life, abundance, health, and arming.

Already in 1974 Kaufman cast doubt upon the Akkadian etymology, writing:

**zāzu*—The Mandaic magic bowl hapax *zʿzyʿ* was connected with Akk. *zāzu*, supposedly meaning “abundance,” by earlier scholars. The Akkadian word does not exist.⁷⁶

Neither does the Mandaic word. Examination of the text reveals that the correct reading here is the common Mandaic doxology **hia zakia** “life is victorious.” The doxology marks the end of one spell, while the following words **asuta uzarzta** mark the beginning of a new spell, as is regular in Mandaic magic formulae. The ghost-word **zazia** has been removed from the lexical list.

In gathering the materials for our new lexicon, wherever possible⁷⁷ our sources have been transcribed or collated from high quality images of the original.⁷⁸ All contradictions between our readings and previously published ones are thoroughly checked to ensure that we have not introduced new errors. Our new editions have been prepared as digital files, and will eventually be made available through the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon.

5 REANALYSIS: GRAMMATICAL

MD contains not only material misreadings but also mistaken grammatical analyses. In many cases these have created non-existent lexemes. For example, in MD 113a we find the following entry:

dqata (rt. DQQ?) small pieces, small quantities (?). Only in DC 45 & 46. Doubtful. **bdqata** (var. **badqata**) **bšamšia iabiš** DC 46 (var. DC 45) drying piecemeal (?) in the sun.

⁷⁶ Stephen Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, The Oriental Institute of Chicago Assyriological Studies 19 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 112.

⁷⁷ For example, we have been unable to examine the original bowl texts published in Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir* or the lamellae published in Macuch, “Altmandäische Bleirollen I” and Macuch, “Altmandäische Bleirollen II,” even though these editions contain clear reading errors. On some parallels and possible corrections to Macuch’s texts see Abudraham and Morgenstern, “Lead scrolls from the Schøyen Collection.”

⁷⁸ We were also fortunate to benefit from the generosity of several scholars who shared their computerized editions with us, in particular Dr. Bogdan Burtea, Professor Charles Häberl, Dr. James Nathan and Professor Stephen Kaufman. Other transliterations were provided to us by the learned Mandaean Dr. Brian Mubarak. These transliterations have also been collated.

Not only are the citations and references inaccurate here – the texts read **ubadqata bšamšia iabuš** DC 46. 148:4 and **ubuq (!) bšamšia iabiš minḥ hšuka** DC 46. 145:9—but also the analysis of the form **badqata** is incorrect. It is not a noun, but rather a form of the verb *b-d-q* “to place” which is standard in Neo-Mandaic. Indeed, the text from DC 46. 148 is cited in MD 52n s.v. **BDQ II** “(thou shalt) put it in the sun, it will be dry.”⁷⁹

An error in the opposite direction may be found in the entry **basraia** (MD 49a) “scornful,” which MD derives from the root *b-s-r*. In the context in AM, appearing alongside **btlitaia uarbiaia** “on the third and the fourth,” **hamšiaia ušubaia utšiaia** “the fifth, the seventh and the ninth,” we must interpret **basraia ubhidasar** as “on the tenth and the eleventh.” The **b-** of **basraia** is thus the prepositional prefix.⁸⁰ For the interchange of **asriaia** “tenth” (e.g. DC 27:206) with **asraia** “tenth” compare in Late Mandaic **hamšaia** “the fifth” (e.g. AM 268: 18, a late prognostic text, and DC 46. 65:10, a *Baba d-Daina* text) with **hamšiaia** AM 150:15. Notably, the scribe of CS 1 corrected **hamšaia** in Gy 4:14 to **hamš*^*i*^*aiia**. Similarly, **tš*^*i*^*aiia uasraia** “the ninth and the tenth” DC 27: 365.⁸¹

6 REANALYSIS: LEXICAL

Just as MD inclines towards presenting its citations by sources rather than by works, so too it shows a pronounced tendency to divide individual lexemes amongst several entries and to analyse many of the entries separately.⁸² The decision to list all irregular noun plural forms as separate entries is never explained in MD, though Macuch later protested that this would be of benefit to the dictionary’s users who lacked previous familiarity with Mandaic morphology.⁸³ Cross references of irregular plurals and variant spellings to a main lexical entry would have achieved the same goal while allowing all examples of the same lexeme to be presented together. Considerable effort has been invested into unifying the many variant entries under a single lexical heading, and in the process several internal contradictions in MD have been discovered, e.g. **abgan** (MD 2a) is glossed “anathema, curse,” while its variant form **bgan** (MD 51b) is glossed “outcry, provocation, anathema” (though only the last definition is employed to translate the examples cited).

⁷⁹ From the parallel in DC 46. 145 it is apparent that the verb **iabiš/iabuš** refers to the menstrual flow, euphemistically termed **hšuka** “darkness” in Mandaic literature, which the spell aims to stem, and hence it should be translated “and it will dry up.”

⁸⁰ Similarly **arsam** (MD 38b) “swelling” is correctly analysed in MD 51a under **barsam** “catarrh, pleurisy.” The initial **b-** is part of the loanword, not the prefixed preposition.

⁸¹ On the forms of these ordinals see further Abudraham, “Codex Sabéen.”

⁸² Examples of this tendency are recorded in Matthew Morgenstern, “The Present State of Mandaic Lexicography I: The Mandaic Dictionary,” *Aramaic Studies* 7 (2009): 121–2; Morgenstern, “Neo-Mandaic,” 377.

⁸³ Macuch, *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer*, 39.

Beyond the reorganization of the lexical material, the texts have been the subject of considerable reinterpretation. A few examples of many will be adduced here. MD 104a glosses the noun **diuta** “pain, grief” and adduces two examples. The first, which it ascribes to DC 45, is not attested at all, and appears to be a reading or copying error for **qal šibabia d-bgaua d-ruita** “the sound of neighbours (?)⁸⁴ who are in the midst of the sea” (DC 45: 35:19, RRC 1D, and with errors DC 46: 16:1–2). The corrupted version from DC 46 is cited in MD under **ruita** (MD 429) and glossed “rage,”⁸⁵ but the form **ruita** here appears to be a spelling variant of **rbita** 2 (MD 423a) “sea, ocean.” In any case, the text provides no attestation for **diuta**.

By contrast, the second citation does exist, but has been misunderstood in MD. The wider context reads: **ulau hauia mia d-rahaṭia duith ušahpa d-ʿlania magalta lahua iabud ʿlad kdaba d-ridpan urnitan mn ʿda d-bnia širšan** (DC 36:2491–2). MD excerpted the passage **ulau hauia mia d-rahaṭia duith ušahpa d-ʿlania** and translated “and is not grief (abundant as) water-torrents or the leaves of trees?,” but the correct translation would appear to be “And were the water of the streams ink and the leaves of the trees were scrolls, they would not be sufficient⁸⁶ for writing our persecution and anxiety at the hand of our co-religionists.”

We may adduce another example. MD 394b s.v. **šišlia** 2 interprets this lemma “small doves” in two passages: **ʿhab šišlia lšaida** (DC 51: 332 ff) “he delivered the little doves to the fowler” and **tišiqḷun šišlia mn šaida** (DC 51: 448). This translation is unsuited to the contexts, and the word **šišlia** must be interpreted according to previous entry in MD, **šišlia** 1 “twittering,” while **šaida** means not “fowler” but rather “temple (of the head).”⁸⁷ The texts may now be interpreted: **ʿhab hauqa lliba ʿhab gunahia lriša šišlia ʿl šaida ubiruqta lainia utulita lkakia ušaiia upaiia lkulkun handamia** “he gave fear to his heart, he gave rumbling to the head, twittering to the temple, a cataract to his eye(s) and decay⁸⁸ to his molars and lethargy and dissolution to all of his limbs,” and **utišiqḷun šišlia mn šaida d-ram zihrun br maliha gunaha mn riša ubiruqta mn ainḥ ušamriria mn nhirḥ** “and take twit-

⁸⁴ The word is not so appropriate here, but is attested in all textual witnesses.

⁸⁵ This entry in MD conflates two lexemes: 1. **ruita** “saturation,” derived from the root *r-n-y* “to be saturated” and 2. **aruita, ruita** (Aramaic *ʿarmaytā*) “chill” derived from the root *ʿ-r-y* “to be cold.” On the latter see now Ford, “A New Parallel,” 272 with previous literature.

⁸⁶ The etymology and form of the expression **lahua iabud** is unclear, but the reading is certain and its meaning is apparent from the context. Perhaps **iabud** is a fossilized form from the root *ʔ-b-d* “to do” (< **ʕ-b-d*). Hezy Mutzafi, personal communication, compares the use of “it would not do” in English in the meaning of “it would not suffice.”

⁸⁷ This lexeme was correctly identified for the first time in Müller-Kessler, “Dämon + YTB ʿL – Ein Krankheitsdämon,” 346 n. 28. Drower’s failure to recognize this lexeme led to an unusually large number of ghost entries in MD. These include **bušaid** (MD 56b) “hunt dog,” **bšiarria** (MD 68a) “defects, deficiencies,” and **šairria** (MD 387a) “eye-sockets,” all of which are to be interpreted on the basis of **šida/šaida** “temple.” Further details are presented in Matthew Morgenstern, *Foundations of Mandaic Lexicography* (in preparation).

⁸⁸ See Müller-Kessler, “Dämon + YTB ʿL – Ein Krankheitsdämon,” 347 n. 37.

tering from the temple of PN, rumbling from his head and the cataract from his eye(s) and ...⁸⁹ from his nostrils.”

We have mentioned that Drower’s card-index file was built up over a long period of time, and that a significant number of its errors seem to have made their way into MD. This is not to say that Macuch’s approach to Drower’s material was uncritical; for example, Drower’s card for **gūtaipa** reveals her attempts to arrive at a reasonable explanation for this word, which was known to her from the caption that accompanied an illustration of sacred trees and plants. Drower hesitatingly proposed that it might mean an olive-cutting or perhaps a balsam tree, and she compared the Mandaic form to Aramaic ܓܘܬܝܦܐ, ܕܘܬܝܦܐ, which she glossed “resin gained by tapping; balsam tree, vintage.” But MD 83a correctly identifies the word as “vine” and compares Neo-Mandaic ܓܘܬܝܦܐ (*goteyfa* in MD’s transcription). Nonetheless, other errors from Drower’s early work remain. We noted above that Drower’s first text publication was the *Šapta d-Pišra d-Ainia*, which appeared in 1937.⁹⁰ Sixteen years later Drower herself wrote “I could now, with access to better copies and more Mandaic, improve the translation.”⁹¹ Even so, many of the original publication’s mistakes have found their way into MD.

For example, Drower’s edition of *Šapta d-Pišra d-Ainia* (DC 21: 570–4) read:⁹²

gabiukh hiwia lbnh warqba ʿl shithl šartana lniqubh udratikh bazai btufrh ukurkia
bhartum udita bsingh

A snake shall carry thee off for his offspring, and the scorpion to his brood, and the crab to his mate – and she carried thee into a cleft with her claws – and the crane with his bill and the kite with his beak.

Both transliteration and translation are incorrect. **gabiukh** originally read **gariuk**, on which see below; Drower read **lbnh**, but the manuscript she employed for her edition reads **lrinh**, a scribal error which nonetheless hints at the correct reading; for Drower’s **šartana**, the manuscript reads **sartana**; for Drower’s **bhartum**, the manuscript reads **bhar tuma**; for **bsingh**, the manuscript originally read **bšiuga**, but was corrected by Drower to **bšinga**.

In 1937, Drower had access to only one manuscript of the work. By the time MD was produced, she owned another copy (DC 29) and had consulted with a copy in the possession of Père Anastase Marie de St. Elie, which is cited in several places

⁸⁹ This unidentified ailment, not recorded in MD, is probably identical with **šambrania** mentioned as an illness of the nostrils in *Šapta uminiana d-Šambra* (DC 47:96, Bod. Syr. g. 2 (R):718).

⁹⁰ Ethel S Drower, “Šafta d-Pišra d-Ainia: exorcisim of the evil and diseased eye,” *JRAS* (1937): 589–611.

⁹¹ Drower, “A Mandaean Bibliography,” 38.

⁹² The text is presented here according to Drower’s original transliteration system.

in MD under his initials P.A.⁹³ For this passage, DC 29 presents several superior readings, and the variants of the P.A. may be used to supplement both DC 21 and DC 29 to arrive at a more likely interpretation:

garik hiuia lq|in_h uarqba lašita usaršana lniquba udratik bazai bṭupra ukurkia bharrṭuma bharrṭum_h udata bšinga⁹⁴

The snake dragged you to its nest and the scorpion to its wall and the crab to its hole; and the falcon lifted you with its claws and the crane with its bill and the kite in its talons.⁹⁵

We noted that for Drower's **gabiuk** represents her emendation of DC 21's original reading **gariuk**. DC 29 presents the superior reading **garik**, from the root *g-r-r* "to draw, pull." Nonetheless, MD 79a s.v. **GBA** presents Drower's emendation without comment and translates "the serpent picked thee out." For Drower's **lbn_h**, DC 21's **lrin_h** is revealed to be corruption of **lqin_h** "to its nest," the dwelling place of the serpent. For DC 21's '1 **šit_h**, DC 29 reads **lašita**, i.e. the dwelling place of the scorpion. The interpretation of **niquba** "mate" has been corrected in MD 299b s.v. **niquba** to "hole" on the basis of a parallel passage of DC 21. However, **bazai** is still interpreted as "crevice, hole, rent" rather than "falcon" in MD 46b even though the reading **baza** from P.A.'s manuscript is presented as a variant. The erroneous reading **singa** has been corrected to **šinga** in MD 394a, but a cross reference there leads the reader to the entry **dita** (MD 109b) where the reading **singa** is still presented. Comparison of the original manuscripts to the available edition and the representation of the manuscripts in MD may remind us to what extent the currently available tools do not do justice to Mandaic language and literature.⁹⁶

In several cases, reference to other Aramaic dialects or Neo-Mandaic has allowed for the improvement of MD's definitions. Elsewhere it has been demonstrated that **kraba 2** is not a loanword from Arabic but rather Aramaic *krābā* "stump (of

⁹³ E.g. MD 46 s.v. **baza**, MD 175 s.v. **ṭapan**, MD 175 s.v. **ṭapan**. On the relationship between this manuscript and other known textual sources, see Morgenstern, *Foundations of Mandaic Lexicography*.

⁹⁴ The meaning and etymology of this word are uncertain; MD's proposal to derive it from Persian چنگ "talon" (Francis J. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1892): 400) remains the best suggestion.

⁹⁵ The double reading **bharrṭuma bharrṭum_h** represents a copying error and its correction.

⁹⁶ Similarly, James N. Ford, "Ninety-Nine by the Evil Eye and One from Natural Causes": KTU2 1.96 in its Near Eastern Context," *UF* 30 (1998): 239, has correctly translated **ninib_h** 'urba **unisaq ldiqla lihdaia** (*Šapta d-Pišra d-Aimia* DC 21: 164) "may a raven take it and ascend to a lone palm tree," while MD 346 s.v. 'urba **2** still reflects, with minor linguistic variations, Drower's unconvincing interpretation from the 1930s, "will remove the willow and set up the date-palm."

a palm tree).⁹⁷ Many more corrections may be made with the aid of Neo-Mandaic.⁹⁸ Thanks to the efforts of Macuch, Häberl and Mutzafi, a wide range of late Mandaic kinship terms has now been clarified, e.g. **iaia** “brother”⁹⁹ **dadai** ‘older sister’¹⁰⁰ and **huntai** “younger sister.”¹⁰¹ The Neo-Mandaic evidence was not always employed even when it was known to the authors of MD.¹⁰²

7 OVERLOOKED LEXEMES

As well as correcting lexemes previously analysed in MD, during the course of our work we have been able to identify additional lexemes that were not included in MD though they were found in the sources that stood at the disposal of its authors.¹⁰³ Some are simply omissions by oversight, e.g. **napaia** “blacksmith” (DC 21: 565).¹⁰⁴ Other words appear not to have been understood by Drower and Macuch and hence omitted, e.g. **mašura** “broom” (DC 23a:770)¹⁰⁵ and **šagrauata** “baskets” (DC 23a:452–3 [after correction], 454).¹⁰⁶ Many Neo-Mandaic words found in the manuscripts were not recorded in MD, even though they are no different in nature to

⁹⁷ Matthew Morgenstern and Tom Alfia, “Arabic Magic Texts in Mandaic Script: A Forgotten Chapter in Near-Eastern Magic,” in *Durch Dein Wort ward jegliches Ding! / Through Thy Word All Things Were Made! – II Mandäistische und Samaritanistische Tagung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 170 n. 162.

⁹⁸ See Mutzafi and Morgenstern, “Sheikh Nejm,” *passim* and Mutzafi, *Comparative Lexical Studies*, 77–89.

⁹⁹ For MD’s “a family term of affection” s.v. **iaia 2** (MD 186a).

¹⁰⁰ For MD’s “paternal uncle, aunt, auntie, nursemaid” s.v. **dada, dadia** (MD 98a); the **iaia** and **dada** are clarified in Mutzafi, *Comparative Lexical Studies*, 89 n. 273.

¹⁰¹ Mistakenly glossed as “cousin” s.v. **huntai** (MD 136a). There has been considerable confusion about this term, which is often employed by Yahia Bihram, one of the survivors of the cholera, to describe his sister who married Ram Zihrun. In the colophon of DC 28 Ram Zihrun explicitly refers to **aha zih** (erasure) **d-zauai d-hua rbai iahia bihram br rbai adam iuhana** “my spouse’s brother, i.e. Rbai Yahia Bihram son of Rbai Adam Yuhana.” Accordingly, there can be no doubt that when Yahia Bihram writes in the colophon of DC 43 I: **aminṭul hua rbai uzauḥ d-huntai** the meaning is “Because he is my initiator and the spouse of my sister.” This interpretation is further supported by the Leiden Glossarium (36:11): **hntai**, Lat.: soror, Arabic *اِخْتَة* (misspelling for *اِخْتَة*).

¹⁰² E.g. MD 196a s.v. **kauara 2**, wherein Lidzbarski’s uncertainty regarding the meaning of the word remains even though Drower herself was aware of its precise meaning of “onion;” see Mutzafi and Morgenstern, “Sheikh Nejm,” 172.

¹⁰³ See also Morgenstern, “The Present State of Mandaic Lexicography,” 117.

¹⁰⁴ Correctly interpreted in Ethel S. Drower, “Shafta d-Pishra d-Ainia: exorcisim of the evil and diseased eye (conclusion),” *JRAS* (1938): 11.

¹⁰⁵ Compare Mutzafi, *Comparative Lexical Studies*, 68.

¹⁰⁶ The latter appears in parallel to **salia** “baskets.” Compare the Akkadian loanword in JBA **שוגריא** “basket woven out of palm leaves” (Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 1115b).

other such words that were included. Some examples are **tunašta** “breakfast” (DC 46. 8:7),¹⁰⁷ **tanša** “Panja, the five intercalary days” (for **panša**; DC 43] colophon),¹⁰⁸ and **qušin** “soldiers” (DC 35 colophon).¹⁰⁹

8 ADDITIONAL SOURCES AND LEXEMES¹¹⁰

In the previous section, examples have been adduced of lexemes that Drower and Macuch overlooked when analysing their sources. Cases from the epigraphic corpus were not discussed above, as their omission may have arisen from a conscious decision by Macuch, as he later explained:

We paid little attention to magic bowls and amulets written on lead rolls. I again went across them and have to state that our first idea of disregarding them in the Dictionary was a good and sound one. The language of the poorest manuscripts is superior to that of the best magic bowls and lead amulets. Introducing this inferior material into the Dictionary of classical Mandaic would in no way enhance the value of our work. These documents will require a special glossary when, one day in the future, they are published in sufficient amount. They come from another sphere and represent another sort of Mandaic. They are especially interesting as a resource of personal names and names of angels as well as of some archaic forms of the language and as such deserve the attention of the scholar. But their vocabulary is mostly poor and means no essential contribution to the knowledge of classical Mandaic.¹¹¹

Privately, Macuch was adopting a different tone when discussing the matter with Drower, who was concerned that Cyrus Gordon’s name was omitted from the list of scholars thanked in the Preface to MD:

We could certainly have paid greater attention to his bowls. But the bowls present such a peculiar *scriptio defectiva* different from the books that we decided not to bother very much about them. Bowls and lead tablets would require a special Dictionary. So it happened that much of Gordon’s (as well as Pognon’s, Montgomery’s & others) material was not included in our Dictionary. I shall try to repair this shortcoming in a separate list of additions which I shall publish as an

¹⁰⁷ Compare Macuch and Boekels, *Neumandäische Chrestomathie mit grammatischer Skizze*, 223.

¹⁰⁸ For *tanj(ɔ)* <*panja see Macuch and Dankwarth, *Neumandäische Texte im Dialekt von Abwa*, 318, line 1925.

¹⁰⁹ Compare Macuch and Dankwarth, *Neumandäische Texte*, 432 “*qošén* (pers. *qušūm*) Armee, Soldaten.” For **atun qušin** “the soldiers came,” Ethel S. Drower, *The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (1953), 89 mistranslates “they came pressing (us) heady” as though from the root *q-š-y*.

¹¹⁰ A more detailed account of new sources is to be found in Morgenstern, “New Manuscript Sources for the Study of Mandaic.”

¹¹¹ Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, 531.

Appendix to my Mandaic Grammar [...] We have also omitted a large part of the magical material published by Lidzbarski [...] Bowls and lead tablets are legion, and others will always come to light. They are Mandaic (and some are even interesting), but no specimens of good language, and the fragmentary state in which they have been preserved will always preserve people from making a full and good use of them.¹¹²

Macuch's assertions that "the language of the poorest manuscripts is superior to that of the best magic bowls and lead amulets" and "they are Mandaic (and some are even interesting), but no specimens of good language" are baseless.¹¹³ Several more lexemes could have been gleaned from texts that were published up to that time, e.g. **miskinuta** "poverty" (A.O. 2576:21, 22)¹¹⁴ and **brišit** "creation" (A.O. 2629:21).¹¹⁵ He was, however, correct that many additional texts would be uncovered and published, and new epigraphic sources have brought to light a plethora of words that must be added to the Mandaic lexicon, of which the following are just a few representative examples: **DMK** "to lie down" (YBC 2364:12 // BM 132948 a 12),¹¹⁶ **blaia** "worn out clothes" (BM BM 132947 a 52),¹¹⁷ **qupta** "cash-box," **ldunia** "dowry" and **mluga** "mlüg-property" (BM 91715 8–9),¹¹⁸ **dardquta** "childhood," **ʿlimuta** "youth," **(ʿ)ptulia** "virginity" (MS 2087/1:a 21–23),¹¹⁹ **ʿila** "rib" and **giša** "side of the body" (MS 2087/1 b 54 and Matisyahu 1:14)¹²⁰ and **mašuṣ|ta** "lizard" (MS 2087/11 a:19–20).¹²¹ Many more are attested in forthcoming texts. At least 200 Mandaic magic bowls and around 35 lamellae (of varying lengths) are in various stages of preparation for publication, and these contain many new words that will enrich the Mandaic lexicon.

By contrast, Mandaic manuscripts that have become available since Drower and Macuch's work mainly provide additional copies of previous known works.¹²² As we have seen from the case of *Šapta d-Pišra d-Aimia*, since many of the manu-

¹¹² Letter to Drower from 31.01.64, published in Buckley, *Drower's Correspondence*, 173–4.

¹¹³ For a refutation see Abudraham and Morgenstern, "Lead scrolls from the Schøyen Collection," n. 8.

¹¹⁴ Published in Lidzbarski, "Mandäische Zaubertexte," in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, Vol. 1 (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1902), 102 text IV lines 22, 23.

¹¹⁵ Published in Lidzbarski, "Mandäische Zaubertexte," 104 text V line 14.

¹¹⁶ Published in Müller-Kessler, "The Story Of Bguzan-Lilit," 186.

¹¹⁷ Published in Müller-Kessler, "Interrelations between Mandaic Lead Rolls and Incantation Bowls," in *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives* (ed. T. Abusch, and K. van der Toorn, Groningen, 1999), 201.

¹¹⁸ Correctly identified in Ford, "Another Look at BM 91715," 35–8.

¹¹⁹ To be published in Morgenstern and Schlüter, "A Mandaic Amulet on Lead."

¹²⁰ Ibid. and Abudraham, "Three Mandaic Incantation Bowls," 75.

¹²¹ To be published in Abudraham and Morgenstern, "Lead scrolls from the Schøyen Collection."

¹²² See Morgenstern, "New Manuscript Sources for the Study of Mandaic."

scripts employed by Drower were copied as late as the 20th century, and many of her editions were published on the basis of a single manuscript alone, additional, independent¹²³ textual witnesses to Mandaic works may often make a valuable contribution to Mandaic studies. This is particularly true if they were copied prior to the cholera epidemic, though the post-cholera manuscripts provide valuable information about the Mandaean community in the 19th century and several contain Neo-Mandaic colophons. During the course of our work, great efforts have been made to expand the corpus, and in particular to locate older manuscripts that reflect the Mandaean scribal tradition at its strength. With the collaboration of several scholars and members of the Mandaean community around the world, our efforts have proven successful, and we are now in possession of twice as many written sources than were previously available.¹²⁴ In several cases, these new sources have contributed to the clarification of lexical issues.

For example, for her edition of *Šarḥ Traša d-Taga d-Šišlam Rba*,¹²⁵ Drower employed primarily BL. Or 6592, copied in Muḥammara in 1289 AH (1872–1873 CE). This late manuscript, copied from disparate sources,¹²⁶ was supplemented by DC 54, which although early (it was copied in 1008 AH = 1599–1600 CE) is a poorly copied exemplar of the work. Through our efforts to locate additional textual witnesses, we now have access to a manuscript, RRC 1A, which contains a copy of this work produced in 1156 AH (1744–5 CE). With the aid of both DC 54 and RRC 1A, it becomes clear that the enigmatic **uninṭan** ‘**dh** **lmargna** (BL. Or 6592) should read **uninṭar** ‘**dh** **lmargnh** “and he should stay his hand from his staff.”¹²⁷ The entry **NṬN** “to place, put” (MD 295) may now be removed, or at least relegated to a phonetic variant of the lexeme **NṬR**.

9 CONCLUSION

Drower’s and Macuch’s Mandaic Dictionary has served Mandaic and comparative Aramaic lexicography for a period of five decades. It has been an essential resource, without which the discipline may not have survived and enjoyed its current revival, and it may be churlish to compare today’s computerised lexicography to the hand-drafted efforts of previous generations. But it is apparent that in terms of the precision of its citations and references, the accuracy of its philological analysis, and the scope of its corpus, it does not meet the contemporary standards of Aramaic lexi-

¹²³ I.e. not daughter-copies of the manuscript already known.

¹²⁴ The largest and most significant single contribution has been the acquisition of digital images of the Rbai Rafid Collection, containing around 130 items.

¹²⁵ Ethel S. Drower, *The Coronation of the Great Šišlam, being a Description of the Rite of the Coronation of a Mandaean Priest according to the Ancient Canon. Translation from Two Manuscripts Entitled “The Coronation of Šišlam-rba”, DC 54 Bodleian Library, Oxford (1008 A.H.) and Or. 6592, British Museum (1298 A.H.) with discussion of the “words written in the dust.”* (Leiden: Brill, 1962).

¹²⁶ See Morgenstern, “Neo-Mandaic,” 384.

¹²⁷ Compare **unṭur** ‘**dak** “stay your hand” (DC 41:326).

cography. The aim of our project is to build upon the accomplishments of MD while bringing Mandaic lexicography up-to-date, and to provide reliable editions and lexical analyses that may provide the grounding for another half-century of Mandaic research.

REFERENCES

Manuscript abbreviations

CS – Codex Sabéen, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

DC – Drower Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

RRC – Rbai Rafid Collection.

Abu Samra, G., “A New Mandaic Magi Bowl.” Pages 550–69 in *Durch Dein Wort ward jegliches Ding! / Through Thy Word All Things Were Made! – II Mandäische und Samaritanistische Tagung*. Edited by R. Voigt, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013.

Abudraham, Ohad. “Three Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the Yosef Matisyahu Collection,” *Leshonenu* 67 (2015): 59–98.

———. *Codex Sabéen 1 and Codex Sabéen 2 to the Ginza Rba Revisited*. forthcoming.

——— and Matthew Morgenstern, “Mandaic Incantation(s) on lead scrolls from the Schøyen Collection.” *JAOS* 136 (forthcoming).

Alfia, Tom, “Studies in the 17th Century Mandaic Glossarium from Leiden.” MA thesis, Haifa University, 2015.

Bohak, Gideon and Mark Geller, “Babylonian Astrology in the Cairo Genizah.” Pages 607–622 in *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schafer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Edited by Raʿanan S. Boustan, Klaus Herrmann, Reimund Leicht, Annette Y. Reed and Giuseppe Veltri, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.

——— and Matthew Morgenstern, “A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Magical Booklet from the Damascus Genizah.” *Ginzei Qedem* 10 (2014): *9–*44.

Borghero, Roberta. “A 17th Century Glossary of Mandaic.” *ARAM* 11 (1999–2000): 311–9.

———. “Some Linguistic Features of a Mandaean Manuscript from the Seventeenth Century.” *ARAM* 16 (2004): 61–83.

Brandt, Wilhelm. *Die mandäische Religion, ihre Entwicklung und geschichtliche Bedeutung*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1889.

Buckley, Jorunn J. *The Scroll of Exalted Kingship: Divan Malkuta ʿLaita*. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1993.

———. *The Great Stem of Souls*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010.

———. *Lady E. S. Drower's Scholarly Correspondence*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Burtea, Bogdan. *Das mandäische Fest der Schalttage: Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentierung der Handschrift DC 24 Sarb d-paruanaiia*. Mandäische Forschungen 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005.

- . “Zibrun, das verborgene Geheimnis:” *Eine mandäische priesterliche Rolle. Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentierung der Handschrift DC 27 Zibrun Raḏa Kasia*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008.
- . “Die Geheimnisse der Vorväter“: *Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentierung eines esoterischen mandäischen Texts aus der Bodleian Library Oxford. Mandäistische Forschungen 5*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015.
- Drower, Ethel S. “Shafta d-Pishra d-Ainia: exorcism of the evil and diseased eye,” *JRAS* (1937): 589–611.
- . “Shafta d-Pishra d-Ainia: exorcism of the evil and diseased eye (conclusion),” *JRAS* (1938): 1–20.
- . “A phylactery for Rue. An Invocation of the personified Herb,” *Orientalia* 15 (1946): 324–46.
- . *Šarḅ d-qabin d-Šišlam Rba (D.C. 38): Explanatory Commentary on the Marriage-ceremony of the Great Šišlam*. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1950.
- . *The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (1953).
- . “A Mandæan Bibliography,” *JRAS* (1953): 34–9.
- . *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans: Translated with Notes*. Leiden: Brill, 1959.
- . *Alf Trisar Šuialia, The Thousand and Twelve Questions*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960.
- . *The Coronation of the Great Šišlam, being a Description of the Rite of the Coronation of a Mandaean Priest according to the Ancient Canon: Translation from Two Manuscripts Entitled “The Coronation of Šišlam-rba,” DC 54 Bodleian Library, Oxford (1008 A.H.) and Or. 6592, British Museum (1298 A.H.) with discussion of the “words written in the dust.”* Leiden: Brill, 1962.
- and Rudolf Macuch. *A Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963.
- . *A Pair of Nasoraean Commentaries: Two Priestly Documents, the Great First World and the Lesser First World*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963.
- Euting, Julius. *Qolasta oder Gesänge und Lehren von der Taufe und dem Ausgang der Seele*. Stuttgart: Friedrich Schepperlen, 1867.
- Ford, James N. “Ninety-Nine by the Evil Eye and One from Natural Causes?: KTU2 1.96 in its Near Eastern Context.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 30 (1998): 201–78.
- . “Another Look at the Mandaic Incantation Bowl BM 91715.” *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 29 (2002): 31–47.
- . Review of J. B. Segal and E. C. D. Hunter, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum*. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 26 (2002): 237–72.
- . Review of Levene 2003. *JSS* 51 (2006): 207–14.

- . “A New Parallel to the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Incantation Bowl IM 76106 (Nippur 11 N 78).” *Aramaic Studies* 9 (2011): 249–77.
- . “Incantation Texts in Mandaic Script as Witnesses to the Mandaeen Scriptures,” in *Arabs, Mawlās and Dhimmis: Scribal Practices and the Social Construction of Knowledge in Late Antiquity*. Edited by Hugh Kennedy and Myriam Wissa. Leuven: Peeters, Forthcoming.
- . “Notes on Some Recently Published Magic Bowls in the Schøyen Collection and Two New Parallels.” *Aula Orientalis* 32 (2006): 235–64.
- Greenfield, Jonas Carl and Joseph Naveh, “A Mandaic Lead Amulet with Four Incantations.” *Eretz Israel* 18 (1985): 97–107.
- Häberl, Charles. *The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Kborramshabr*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.
- . “Neo-Mandaic in Fin de siècle Baghdad.” *JAOS* 130 (2010): 551–60.
- . *The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Kborramshabr*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.
- . “Neo-Mandaic in Fin de siècle Baghdad.” *JAOS* 13 (2010): 551–60.
- . “Tense, Aspect, and Mood in the Doctrine of John.” Pages 397–406 in *Neo-Aramaic and its Linguistic Context*. Edited by Geoffrey Khan and Lidia Napierkowska. New York: Gorgias Press, 2015.
- . “Incantation Texts in Mandaic Script as Witnesses to the Mandaeen Scriptures.” In *Arabs, Mawlās and Dhimmis: Scribal Practices and the Social Construction of Knowledge in Late Antiquity*. Edited by Hugh Kennedy and Myriam Wissa. Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming.
- Hunter, Erica, “Combat and Conflict in Incantation Bowls: Studies on Two Aramaic Specimens from Nippur,” Pages 61–79 in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*. Edited by M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield and M. P. Weitzman. Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement Series 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Kaufman, Stephen, *Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. The Oriental Institute of Chicago Assyriological Studies 19. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Levene, Dan. *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity*. London, New York: Kegan Paul, 2003.
- . *Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Lidzbarski, Mark. “Mandäische Zaubertexte,” Pages 89–105 in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, Vol. 1. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1902.
- . *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer II*. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915.
- . *Mandäische Liturgien, mitgeteilt, übersetzt und erklärt*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1920.
- . “Zu den Mandäischen Liturgien.” *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 1 (1922).
- . *Giņa: Der Schatz; oder, Das grosse Buch der Mandäer*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1925.

- Macuch, Maria, “‘And Life is Victorious!’ Mandaean and Samaritan Literature: In Memory of Rudolf Macuch (1919–1993).” In *Und das Leben ist siegreich, And Life is Victorious*. Edited by Rainer Voigt. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008.
- Macuch, Rudolf. Review of Ethel S. Drower, *The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa*. *ZDMG* 105 (1955): 357–63.
- . *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965.
- . “The Bridge of Shushtar: A Legend in Vernacular Mandaic.” Pages 153–172 in *Studia Semitica, Ioanni Bakoš Dicata*. Edited by Ján Bakoš and Stanislav Segert, Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1965.
- . “Altmandäische Bleirollen I,” Pages 91–203 in *Die Araber in der alten Welt* 4. Edited by Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967.
- . “Altmandäische Bleirollen II,” in *Die Araber in der alten Welt* 5.1. Edited by Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968: 34–72.
- . *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976.
- and Klaus Boekels. *Neumandäische Chrestomathie mit grammatischer Skizze, kommentierter Übersetzung und Glossar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989.
- and Guido Dankwarth. *Neumandäische Texte im Dialekt von Abwaṣ*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993.
- Morgan, Jacques de. *Mission scientifique en Perse, tome V (études linguistiques), deuxième partie: Textes mandaites, histoires en Mandaites vulgaires*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904.
- Morgenstern, Matthew. “Linguistic notes on magic bowls in the Moussaieff Collection,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68 (2005): 349–67.
- . “The Present State of Mandaic Lexicography I: The Mandaic Dictionary,” *Aramaic Studies* 7 (2009): 113–30.
- . Review of Christa Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena und weitere Nippur Texte anderer Sammlungen*. *JSS* 55 (2010): 280–9.
- . “Diachronic Studies in Mandaic,” *Orientalia* 79 (2010): 505–525.
- . “The Mandaic Magic Bowl Dehays 63: An Unpublished Parallel to BM117872 (Segal 079A),” *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 32 (2011): 73–89.
- and Tom Alfia, “Arabic Magic Texts in Mandaic Script: A Forgotten Chapter in Near-Eastern Magic.” Pages 163–179 in *Durch Dein Wort ward jegliches Ding! / Through Thy Word All Things Were Made! – II Mandäische und Samaritanische Tagung*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013.
- . “Neo-Mandaic in Mandaean Manuscript Sources.” Pages 379–408 in *Neo-Aramaic and its Linguistic Context*. Edited by Geoffrey Khan and Lidia Napierkowska, New York: Gorgias Press, 2015.
- . “A Mandaic Lamella for the Protection of a Pregnant Woman: MS 2097/9.” *Aula Orientalis* 33 (2015): 271–86.

- and James Nathan Ford, “On Some Readings and Interpretations in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls and Related Texts.” *BSOAS* 79 (forthcoming).
- and Maleen Schlüter, “A Mandaic Amulet on Lead – MS 2087/1.” *Eretz Israel* 32 (forthcoming): 115–27.
- . “New Manuscript Sources for the Study of Mandaic,” in *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik. Sechstes Treffen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Semitistik in der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft vom 09.–11, Februar 2013 in Heidelberg*. Edited by V. Golinets et. al. AOAT. Ugarit Verlag, forthcoming.
- . “Forgotten Forms in Babylonian Aramaic (Mandaic and Jewish).” *Mehqarim Be Lashon*, forthcoming.
- . *Foundations of Mandaic Lexicography*, in preparation.
- Moriggi, Marco, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls – Syriac Magical Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa. “The Story of Bguzan-Lilit, Daughter of Zanay-Lilit.” *JAOS* 116 (1996): 185–95.
- . “Aramäische Koine – Ein Beschwörungsformular aus Mesopotamien.” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 29 (1998): 331–48.
- . “Aramäische Beschwörungen und astronomische Omina in nachbabylonischer Zeit: Das Fortleben mesopotamischer Kultur im Vorderen Orient.” Pages 427–443 in *Babylon: Focus Mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne, 2. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 24.-26. März 1998 in Berlin*. Edited by Johannes Renger. Berlin: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999.
- . “Interrelations between Mandaic Lead Rolls and Incantation Bowls,” in *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives*. Edited by T. Abusch, and K. van der Toorn, Groningen, 1999.
- . “Dämon + YTB L—Ein Krankheitsdämon: Eine Studie zu aramäischen Beschwörungen medizinischen Inhalts.” Pages 341–354 in *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, AOAT 267. Edited by Barbara Böck, Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, and Thomas Richter. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1999.
- and Karlheinz Kessler, “Spätbabylonische Gottheiten in spätantiken mandäischen Texten.” *ZA* 89 (1999): 65–87.
- . “Phraseology in Mandaic Incantations and Its Rendering in Various Eastern Aramaic Dialects: A Collection of Magic Terminology.” *ARAM* 11–12 (1999–2000): 293–310.
- . “Die Zauberschälensammlung des British Museum.” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 48/49 (2001–2002): 115–145.
- . *Die Zauberschälentexte der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena und weitere Nippur Texte anderer Sammlungen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005.
- Mutzafi, Hezy, and Matthew Morgenstern. “Sheikh Nejm’s Mandaic Glossary (DC 4): An Unrecognised Source of Neo-Mandaic.” *ARAM* 24 (2012): 157–74.
- . *Comparative Lexical Studies in Neo-Mandaic*. Leiden: E.J. Brill 2014.

- Nau, François, “Notices des manuscrits syriaques, éthiopiens et mandéens entrés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris depuis l’édition des catalogues.” *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* XVI (1911): 271–323.
- Naveh, Joseph. “Another Mandaic Lead Roll.” *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 47–53.
- . Review of Rudolf Macuch, *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer*. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 35 (1978): 326–7.
- Nöldeke, Theodor. *Ueber die Mundart der Mandaer*. Göttingen: Dieterichsche Buchhandlung, 1862.
- . *Mandäische Grammatik*. Halle an der Salle: Waisenhaus, 1875.
- . “Mandäisches.” *ZA* 30 (1915–16): 139–62.
- . Review of Mark Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien, mitgeteilt, übersetzt und erklärt*. *ZA* 33 (1921): 72–80.
- Norberg, Matthias, *Lexidion Codicis Nasarai cui Liber Adami Nomen*. London: Berlingianis, 1816.
- Nu‘man, Firyāl Zihrūn. نعمان، فريال زهرون. أواني الاحراز المندائية في المتحف العراقي. أطروحة الماجستير. بغداد: جامعة بغداد. [“Mandaic Incantation Vessels in the Iraqi Museum.” Master’s Thesis. Baghdad: University of Baghdad, (1996)].
- Pognon, Henri. *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1898.
- Rudolph, Kurt. “Die mandäische Literatur.” Pages 147–170 in *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer*. Edited by Rudolf Macuch. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976.
- . *Der Mandäische Divan der Flüsse* (Berlin: Akademie, 1982).
- Segal, Judah b., and Erica C. D. Hunter. *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, 2000.
- Shaked, Shaul, James Nathan Ford and Siam Bhayro. *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls. Vol. 1. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Sokoloff, Michael. “Notes on some Mandaic magical texts.” *Orientalia* 40 (1971): 448–58.
- . *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1992.
- . *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- . *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann’s Lexicon Syriacum*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns and Piscataway; New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2009.
- Steingass, Francis J. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, 2 vols*. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1892.
- Yamauchi, Edwin M., *Mandaic Incantation Texts*. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1967.

Zotenberg, H. *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874.

QLIDO D-LESHONO – KEY OF LANGUAGE: A COMPREHENSIVE SYRIAC LEXICON BY ABBOT YUYAKIM OF TUR ISLO

Mor Polycarpus Augin Aydin

Metropolitan of the Syriac-Orthodox Church in The Netherlands

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a number of eastern scholars such as the Bishop Toma Audo (1853–1918), the Bishop Awgen Manna (1867–1928) as well as the Mor Clemens Joseph David (1829–1890) produced a number of Syriac lexical and grammatical works within the Syriac tradition. Nowadays, the Abbot Yuyakim of Mor Awgen Monastery on Tur Izlo in southeast Anatolia, Turkey, has compiled yet another Syriac lexicon, «ܩܠܝܕܘܢܐ ܕܠܝܫܘܢܐ» / *Qlido d-Leshono—Key of Language*, undoubtedly superseding all the previous Syriac lexica produced within the Syriac tradition. Thus, the paper introduces Abbot Yuyakim, the author of this comprehensive Syriac lexicon, examining his work and methodology, and reflecting on the resources and sources of his Syriac lexicography.

1 INTRODUCTION

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a number of eastern scholars such as the Bishop Toma Audo (1853–1918), the Bishop Awgen Manna (1867–1928) as well as the Mor Clemens Joseph David (1829–1890) produced a number of Syriac lexical and grammatical works within the Syriac tradition. Nowadays, Rabban Yuyakim, the Abbot of Mor Awgen Monastery on Tur Izlo in southeast Anatolia, Turkey, has compiled yet another Syriac lexicon, «ܩܠܝܕܘܢܐ ܕܠܝܫܘܢܐ» / *Qlido d-Leshono – Key of Language*, (hereafter, *Qlido d-Leshono*) undoubtedly superseding all the previous Syriac lexica produced within the Syriac tradition.

In his article, “Syriac Lexicography: Reflections on Resources and Sources,” Sebastian Brock rightly states that “Syriac is one of the best served of the Aramaic dialects as far as dictionaries are concerned.”¹ He attributes the abundance of Syriac lexica to the fact that among the Aramaic dialects Syriac has the largest corpus of extant literature which spans from the second century up to the present day.

¹ Sebastian P. Brock, “Syriac Lexicography: Reflections on Resources and Sources,” *AS* 1 (2003): 165.

remarkable lexicon is a sure testimony to Abbot Yuyakim's exceptionally wide knowledge of Syriac literature.

How does the *Qlido d-Leshono* lexicon compare with *Simta*?

Arrangement: as far as the arrangement is concerned, both lexica are by the root of the verb and thus follow the form employed by the traditional Semitic lexica.

Content: Various statistic analyses show that the *Qlido d-Leshono* has more *lemmas* or lexical entries, and lexemes than *Simta*. The number of *lemmas* in *Qlido d-Leshono* amount to almost 21,000. In term of pages, while *Simta* in two quarto volumes runs to 1130 pages, the *Qlido d-Leshono* is almost double of that.

Exact and clear references to sources are found in the *Qlido d-Leshono*. The *Simta*, however, gives some references, but these are reduced in number and of very general nature.

Citations of illustrative passages are wonderfully rich in the *Qlido d-Leshono*. By contrast, the *Simta* has hardly any citations.⁴

Two further small points should be mentioned: The *Qlido d-Leshono* is in *Serto* script, whereas, the *Simta* is in East Syriac script.

All the dictionaries produced by Western lexicographers cover the Syriac literature up to the early fourteenth century. Writing in Classical Syriac, however, continued to be produced continuously up to the present day.⁵ Abbot Yuyakim does not stop at the fourteenth century but he also includes materials from the later period, namely from the fourteenth up to the present time both published and unpolished texts alike. Abbot Yuyakim himself produced a number of grammatical, liturgical and theological, as well as historical books. He also makes use of the neologisms or lexical innovations which are now employed in modern Syriac, and covers some material from vernacular Syriac, also known as Neo-Aramaic, Surayt or Tuoyo.

Furthermore, Brock points out the shortcomings and the inadequacy of the three great lexical resources, namely, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, *Lexicon Syriacum*, and *Simta*, stating that "despite all their undoubtedly great merits, they are nevertheless today seriously inadequate in many ways, and in need of supplementation."⁶ The reason for their inadequacy, as Brock has indicated, is to be found in the absence of the two great series which contain editions of Syriac texts, namely, the *Patrologia Orientalis* and the Syriac series of the *Corpus Christianorum Orientalium* (CSCO), which both were founded after the publication of the second volume of the *Thesaurus Syriacus* in 1901. In the CSCO sub-series, *Scriptores Syri*, around 250 editions of Syriac texts have by now appeared, and 229 of these editions are after the second edition of the *Lexicon Syriacum*. Furthermore, the earlier editions of Syriac texts which were available to Robert Payne Smith and Brockelmann were far less reliable than the

⁴ Bishop Audo's dictionary did have some citations, but the references may not have been given; citations with references are given in Michael Sokoloff's dictionary.

⁵ On this, see Rudolf Macuch, *Geschichte der spät- und neu-syrischen Literatur* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976); also Sebastian P. Brock, "Some Observations on the Use of Classical Syriac in the Late Twentieth Century," *JSS* 34 (1989): 363–75.

⁶ Brock, "Syriac Lexicography: Reflections on Resources and Sources," 169.

newer editions that appeared later. This is especially applicable to the works of the major fourth-century theologian-poet Ephrem the Syrian.⁷ Both *Thesaurus Syriacus* and *Lexicon Syriacum* utilized the eighteenth-century edition whose Syriac text and Latin translation is greatly unreliable in some places as one can easily find out by comparing it with Dom Edmund Beck's editions in the CSCO. Thanks to Michael Sokoloff's *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* citations in the older editions have now for the most part been updated to the newer ones. The inadequacy of the three great lexical resources which has been pointed out earlier by Brock has to certain extent been supplemented by Abbot Yuyakim's *Qlido d-Leshono* something which adds to the merit of this new major lexicon.

Following the discussion of the lexical resources, in the second part of his article on "Syriac Lexicography" Brock moves to the discussion of Sources; that is to say, sources that will be helpful for the future work on Syriac lexicography. Here, among other things, he draws attention to an important point which is sometimes overlooked and needs to be remembered. He says:

[T]here is still huge volume of Syriac texts which have never been published, and these include many works by major Syriac authors, such as the fifth- and sixth-century poets, Jacob of Sarugh, Narsai, and the various Isaacs, and numerous important writers of the Abbasid period, such as Moshe bar Kepha, Iwannis of Dara, and Anton of Tagrit, not to mention the huge, and often still unpublished, compendia by Bar Hebraeus (and others) in the thirteenth century.⁸

Furthermore, for the accomplishment of the enormity of the task ahead, Brock suggests to focus on two useful categories of lexical tools: a) those that focus on a single author or corpus, and b) those that focus on particular areas, such as foreign vocabulary, or word formation. Again, I must say that to a certain degree, Abbot Yuyakim has attempted to realize some of this in his comprehensive lexicon. For example, he utilized a major part of the huge compendia by Bar Hebraeus, which he read in published editions and in a few cases in manuscript formats as the list of sources for his lexicon indicates. This is also applicable to Michael the Syrian, the author of the famous Syriac *Chronicle*. Secondly, for the area of particular topic suggested by Brock, he made use of works on the Aramaic vocabulary of various specialized areas of natural history such as those produced by the astonishingly learned Rabbi of Szeged, Immanuel Löw.

Given the absence of a searchable corpus of texts in electronic form, comparable to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, whose existence has revolutionized the methods of compiling Greek dictionaries, Abbot Yuyakim, has followed a practical way in

⁷ For this see the article of Sebastian P. Brock, "Diachronic Aspects of Syriac Word Formation: An Aid for Dating Anonymous Texts," in *V. Symposium Syriacum*, ed. R. Levant; OCA 236 (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Orientale, 1990), 321–30 (especially p. 330 n. 22).

⁸ Brock, "Syriac Lexicography: Reflections on Resources and Sources," 171.

compiling his lexicon in the course of the last two decades. He used as a starting point the materials already available to him in the major dictionaries of Syriac such as Toma Audo's *Simta*, Awgen Manna's *Syriac-Arabic Lexicon*, Bar Bahlul's *Syriac-Arabic Lexicon*, Benjamin Haddad's *Ganath Lame: Arabic-Syriac Lexicon*, and Shlemon Esho Khoshaba and Emmanuel B. Youkhana's *Zabrira: Arabic-Syriac Dictionary*, and Jessie Payne Smith (Mrs. Margoliouth)'s *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*. He then built upon this basis by means of supplementation, for the large part from texts published after 1928. In the case of Ephrem he made use of the editions in CSCO. He excerpted materials from major Syriac writers such as Jacob of Sarug, Jacob of Edessa, Isaac of Nineveh including some other East Syriac monastic authors, Dionysius Bar Salibi as well as Bar Hebraeus. He also included translation literature from the patristic authors such as Severus of Antioch. Furthermore, he utilized West-Syriac liturgical texts such as the book of *Beth Gazo* (The Treasury of Syriac Hymns and Melodies) the Eucharistic Anaphora, *Šhimo* (the Weekday Office) and in particular *Fenqitho* (festal hymnary) which contains prayers composed in the early centuries of Arab rule which revel in unusual vocabulary. Finally, he also incorporated material from hagiographical, historical, medical, botanical texts ancient and recent alike. Unfortunately, Robert Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum* and Sokoloff's *A Syriac Lexicon* are not utilized which would have undoubtedly enriched his lexicon.

The lexicon is arranged according to the root format and all the *lemmas* and the derivatives are defined and usages illustrated with examples where necessary. Exact references to sources are clearly defined, and all the morphological and grammatical forms of verbs and nouns are also provided. It covers a great deal of loan words from Greek and other languages such as Akkadian, Arabic, Armenian, Hebrew, Persian, Turkish, Latin and French indicating the etymology of each word.

Abbot Yuyakim has also provided full vocalization and spirantization according to the West-Syriac grammatical rules of the language indicating the differences with the East-Syriac where necessary. For the sake of clarity and practical use, the text is printed in color. The *lemmas* alternate in red and blue while the definition is in black. The various meanings of each *lemma* are arranged sequentially in alphabetical order, and the citations are given in a different font for clarity and readability.⁹ Also, at the beginning of each letter section, a symbol of the letter is provided in *Estrangelo* script at the top of the page followed by an exposition about the theological meaning and significance of the letter.

Finally, Abbot Yuyakim's impressive work, «ܩܠܝܕܘܢ ܕܠܫܘܢܐ»/ *Qlido d-Leshono – Key of Language*, which has been compiled on the basis of the extant major dictionaries in Syriac, as well as texts drawn from Syriac writers, and translation literature of various fields and genres, will undoubtedly challenge all the previous lexica in Syriac. It will not only become indispensable for the Syriac users but also prove useful to

⁹ For a sample of this work, see "Appendix."

PSALM 2 IN SYRIAC: ISSUES OF TEXT AND LANGUAGE¹

Richard A. Taylor
Dallas Theological Seminary

This article evaluates the Peshitta text of the second psalm in terms of the alignment of its textual affinities and the suitability of its translation techniques. While the Syriac text of Psalm 2 essentially reflects a proto-Masoretic *Vorlage*, in several places it aligns with non-MT readings found also in the Septuagint. These readings suggest that in these places either there is a shared exegetical tradition or that the Septuagint has exercised influence on the Peshitta. In addition, certain translation techniques evident in the Peshitta translation of Psalm 2 suggest that in a few places the Syriac translator may not have chosen the best lexical equivalents to represent the meaning of the Hebrew text of this psalm.

1 INTRODUCTION

Psalm 2 is one of the most symmetrical and balanced poems to be found among the so-called royal psalms of the Hebrew Bible.² In tandem with Psalm 1, it forms a fitting introduction to Book 1 of the Psalter.³ Psalm 1 describes two ways of the indi-

¹ An earlier form of this article was presented as a paper at the joint sessions of the International Syriac Language Project and the Russian Academy of Sciences meeting in St. Petersburg, Russia, June 29–July 4, 2014. I am grateful for those days of stimulating dialog and interaction with Syriac scholars from various parts of the world. I also wish to thank the anonymous peer reviewers of this essay for their insightful comments.

² Psalms usually classified as Royal Psalms include the following: Pss 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 89, 101, 110, 132, 144:1–11. So Hermann Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel* (trans. James D. Nogalski; Mercer Library of Biblical Studies; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), 99. For a brief general overview of the royal psalms see Keith R. Crim, *The Royal Psalms* (Richmond, VA: John Knox, 1962). See also Markus Saur, *Die Königpsalmen: Studien zur Entstehung und Theologie* (BZAW 340; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004). For a specialized study see Michael Parsons, *Martin Luther's Interpretation of the Royal Psalms: The Spiritual Kingdom in a Pastoral Context* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2009).

³ In Acts 13:33 some Western witnesses refer to our Psalm 2 as “the first psalm” (τῷ πρῶτῳ ψαλμῷ). This seems to suggest that Psalm 1 may have been viewed as an introduc-

The psalm easily divides into four strophes, each containing three verses.⁷ The dominant meter is 3 + 2 or 3 + 3, but with some exceptions.⁸ There is a clear progression in the psalmist's thought. In vv. 1–3 the leaders of certain non-Israelite nations plot anarchy against the Israelite king. Their rebellion is viewed by the psalmist as rebellion against Yahweh as well. In vv. 4–6 the Lord responds to these feeble attempts, regarding their threatened rebellion as impotent, ridiculous, and even laughable. In vv. 7–9 the psalmist reminds himself of the constitutional basis of his rule,⁹ calling to mind his unique familial relationship with Yahweh by virtue of his divine appointment in accord with stipulations of the Davidic covenant. In vv. 10–12 the psalmist speaks on behalf of Yahweh, warning the rebellious leaders that unless they relent and submit themselves to the Lord and his anointed king they will meet with swift and decisive judgment.

The overall message of this anonymous psalm is thus clear and unmistakable.¹⁰ However, its violent and destructive language has not escaped the notice of commentators. Clines, for example, complains of “the unlovely ethnocentricity of the text.”¹¹ Within the psalm there are a number of textual and linguistic uncertainties

Bēlit's Oracle for Ashurbanipal,” in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 91–95.

⁷ On the structure of this psalm see Pierre Auffret, *The Literary Structure of Psalm 2* (trans. David J. A. Clines; JSOTSup 3; Sheffield: JSOT, 1977); idem, “Compléments sur la structure littéraire du Ps 2 et son rapport au Ps 1,” *Biblische Notizen* 35 (1986): 7–13. Dahood sees only three sections in the psalm: vv. 1–3; vv. 4–9; vv. 10–12. See Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms I* (AB 16; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 7.

⁸ Rowley regards Psalm 2 as “one of the most regular of poems.” See H. H. Rowley, “The Text and Structure of Psalm II,” *JTS* 42 (1941): 145.

⁹ Assumed but not directly identified in this psalm are the promises and warnings of the Davidic covenant outlined in 2 Samuel 7. There, in keeping with Old Testament theology in general, the king is figuratively understood to be Yahweh's adopted *son*, and Yahweh is figuratively understood to be his *father*. This language underlies the familial expression of Ps 2:7: “You are my son; today I have begotten you.” This element of the theology of the psalm is not unique to the Hebrew Bible. It has parallels in ancient Near Eastern literature, where the king was often portrayed as a son of the deity. See Klaus Koch, “Der König als Sohn Gottes in Ägypten und Israel,” in *Mein Sohn bist du' (Ps 2,7): Studien zu den Königpsalmen* (ed. Eckart Otto and Erich Zenger; SBS 192; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002), 1–32.

¹⁰ Even so, the psalm occasionally has been pressed into service for other purposes. Vishanoff calls attention to a rewritten version of this psalm in an Arabic manuscript that engages in Muslim polemical disputes over the Christian canon. See David R. Vishanoff, “Why Do the Nations Rage? Boundaries of Canon and Community in a Muslim's Rewriting of Psalm 2,” *Comparative Islamic Studies* 6, nos. 1–2 (2011): 151–79.

¹¹ David J. A. Clines, “Psalm 2 and the MLF (Moabite Liberation Front),” in *Interested Parties: The Ideology of Writers and Readers of the Hebrew Bible* (ed. David J. A. Clines; JSOTSup 205; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 271.

that impact the interpretation of this poem, as can be seen in its textual transmission and its reception history.¹² Like other ancient versions, the Peshitta of Psalm 2 bears implicit witness to these difficulties.

Ancient biblical translators struggled with two problems. First, at times they were confronted with divergent forms of the texts they sought to translate. In that event choices had to be made with regard to which text-form should be the basis of their translation. Second, translators often struggled to make sense of certain obscure linguistic details found in their Hebrew *Vorlage*. This occasional lack of clarity on the part of the translator manifested itself especially in renderings of difficult texts.

The Peshitta version is not an exception to these difficulties. At times the Syriac translators (or later copyists) adopted readings that were at variance with the received Hebrew text but are attested in other strands of textual evidence. How are we to account for such agreements? Were the Syriac translators influenced in any way by the Old Greek version, which preceded the Peshitta by centuries? Or were these translators at times simply heirs of a shared exegetical tradition that might account for textual distinctives that they have in common? Peshitta scholars are not agreed on a general answer to this question. It is in fact a matter that must be resolved on a case-by-case approach. And what about matters of lexicography? To what degree were Syriac translators successful in determining accurate lexical choices that correspond well to lexical items in their source text? Answers to these questions can only be determined through inductive analysis of details found in the Peshitta text.

In the following discussion I will take up selected issues of text and language displayed by the Peshitta of Psalm 2. Patterns detected here may be helpful in discerning similar relationships found elsewhere in the Peshitta.

2 ISSUES OF TEXT

In several instances the Syriac text and the Old Greek text of Psalm 2 agree against the MT, raising the possibility that on occasion the Syriac translator may have taken his lead from the Old Greek. The following five examples are of special interest in this regard.

¹² On the reception history of Psalm 2 see the following helpful treatments: Sam Janse, *You Are My Son: The Reception History of Psalm 2 in Early Judaism and the Early Church* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009); Susan E. Gillingham, *A Journey of Two Psalms: The Reception of Psalms 1 and 2 in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Constantin Oancea, "Psalm 2 im Alten Testament und im frühen Judentum," *Sacra scripta* 11 (2013): 159–80; Paul Maiberger, "Das Verständnis von Psalm 2 in der Septuaginta, im Targum, in Qumran, im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament," in *Beiträge zur Psalmenforschung: Psalm 2 und 22* (ed. Josef Schreiner; Forschung zur Bibel 60; Würzburg: Echter, 1988), 85–151; E. Bons, "Psaume 2: Bilan de recherche et essai de réinterprétation," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 69 (1995): 147–71; Annette Steudel, "Psalm 2 im antiken Judentum," in *Gottessohn und Menschensohn: Exegetische Studien zu zwei Paradigmen biblischer Intertextualität* (ed. Dieter Sänger; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2004), 189–97.

2.1 Psalm 2:8

In the first part of v. 8 in the MT the indirect object of the verb is understood but not explicitly expressed: שְׁאַל מִמֶּנִּי וְאֶתְּנָה גּוֹיִם נַחֲלָתָךְ *Ask from me, and I will give the nations as your inheritance*. P has a plus here; it supplies ܐܢܝܢ *to you*, the equivalent of a *dativus commodi*. P is not alone in making the indirect object explicit. The Old Greek has σοι, and Jerome's Gallican Psalter and Latin Vulgate both have *tibi*. How is this agreement to be explained? It is conceivable that these translators simply supplied an indirect object for clarification in the target language. In that case we have an explicative translation technique that the translators may have arrived at independently. But it is equally possible, perhaps even preferable in this case, to surmise that in making the object explicit rather than implicit the later versions have taken their lead from the Old Greek.

2.2 Psalm 2:9

In the MT the bicolon of v. 9 reflects synonymous parallelism; the two cola say approximately the same thing but in different words. Using vivid language of destruction, in the first colon the Lord promises that the king will *break* (תִּרְעַם) his adversaries with an iron rod; the second colon reinforces this warning by indicating that he will *shatter* (תִּנְפֹּץ) his foes like a fragile piece of pottery.¹³ In an unpointed Hebrew text the verb תִּרְעַם is capable of two very different understandings, depending on how the verb form is vocalized. The Masoretes pointed the word as תִּרְעַם, taking the root to be the geminate verb רָעַע, which is a lexical Aramaism cognate to the Hebrew root רָצַץ.¹⁴ In spite of BDB's suggestion to the contrary,¹⁵ the analysis of the Masoretes is to be preferred on the basis of the synonymous structure of the bicolon.

However, some ancient versions presuppose a different pointing of the verb and therefore reflect a different understanding of its meaning. P has ܐܢܝܢ ܠܝܘܫܐܢܝܢ, which presupposes pointing the Hebrew verb as תִּרְעַם. This vocalization assumes that the verbal root is III-*bē* רָעָה *to shepherd, care for*. And again the Peshitta is not alone in this understanding. The Old Greek has ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς *you will shepherd them*. Je-

¹³ Emerton understands the imperfect verbs in vv. 8 and 9 in a permissive sense (“you *may* break ... you *may* dash in pieces”) rather than as predictions of future action (“you *will* break ... you *will* dash in pieces”). In his view the verbs point to the authority of the king to act, but not necessarily to what he actually will do. See John A. Emerton, “The Translation of the Verbs in the Imperfect in Psalm II.9,” *JTS* 29 (1978): 499–503.

¹⁴ See Max Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch* (BZAW 96; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1966), 107.

¹⁵ BDB, 949. Cf. Charles Augustus Briggs and Emily Grace Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (vol. 1; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906), 22. See also Gerhard Wilhelm, “Der Hirt mit dem eisernen Szepter: Überlegungen zu Psalm II 9,” *VT* 27 (1977): 196–204. *HALOT* prefers the Masoretic understanding of this verb. See *HALOT*, 3:1270.

rome's Gallican Psalter has *reges eos, you will rule them*, although the Latin Vulgate has *pasces eos, you will feed them* (contra Symmachus, *συντριψεις αὐτοῦς you will break them*).

On several occasions New Testament writers cite Ps 2:9.¹⁶ When they do so, they consistently follow the Septuagintal understanding of this verb in the sense of *shepherd, care for, rule*. They accepted this rendering, apparently without questioning whether the Septuagint translators had properly understood the Hebrew verb in this instance.

It is possible that in Ps 2:9 the ancient versions are independent heirs of a particular understanding of the vocalization of the Hebrew verb. Perhaps an oral tradition concerning the vocalization of this verb was widespread in antiquity, one that was at odds with the later Masoretic understanding. However, it seems more likely that the Old Greek rendering lies at the base of this shared agreement. In this instance the Peshitta has probably been influenced by the Old Greek.

2.3 Psalm 2:12

Verse 12 of this psalm is notoriously difficult in the MT, leading many scholars to suspect corruption in the received Hebrew text.¹⁷ The problems are multiple, complex, and resistant to easy solution. The expression *נִשְׁקוּ בֵר* *kiss the son* overloads the poetic line, and the use of Aramaic *בר* for *son* is surprising in light of the occurrence in v. 7 of the Hebrew word *בֶּן* for *son*. Even though New Testament writers exploited Psalm 2 for its messianic significance,¹⁸ they show no awareness of the reading *son* in v. 12 in spite of its obvious potential for Christological interpretation of the psalm.¹⁹

Bertholet's now century-old proposal that the Hebrew text of the latter part of v. 11 and the first part of v. 12 should be emended to *בְּרַעְדָּה נִשְׁקוּ לְרַגְלָיו* *with trembling kiss his feet* or something similar,²⁰ has been widely accepted by commentators

¹⁶ See Rev 2:27; 12:5; 19:15.

¹⁷ For a summary of older proposals for emending *נִשְׁקוּ בֵר* in v. 12 see Julian Morgenstern, "נִשְׁקוּ בֵר," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 32 (1942): 371–85. Morgenstern complains that "Probably no passage in the entire Bible has been subjected to a wider range of interpretation than the first two words of Ps. 2.12, נִשְׁקוּ בֵר" (p. 371). Although his language is exaggerated, the point remains.

¹⁸ See Matt 3:17; Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22; Acts 4:25–27; 13:33; Heb 1:5; 5:5; Rev 2:27; 12:5; 19:15.

¹⁹ As Norton points out, "It is hazardous to argue from silence, but given the citations of this psalm as Messianic in the New Testament, it is certainly curious that if the early Christians had any inkling of an interpretation referring to 'son' in *נִשְׁקוּ בֵר* verse 12, they did not use it." See Gerard J. Norton, "Psalm 2:11–12 and Modern Textual Criticism," *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 15 (1992): 94.

²⁰ A. Bertholet, "Eine crux interpretum: Ps 2 11f.," *ZAW* 28 (1908): 58–59; idem, "Nochmals zu Ps 2 11f.," *ZAW* 28 (1908): 193. Bertholet's proposal may have been independently anticipated a few years before by M.–J. Lagrange (1905) and E. Sievers (1904). See Norton, "Psalm 2:11–12," 104.

and translators.²¹ However, in spite of its brilliance this proposed emendation is entirely lacking in manuscript support. Furthermore, if the expression *kiss his feet* refers to the Lord rather than the king it makes for a rather odd anthropomorphism.²² More recent alternative suggestions for emendation have not gained a lot of traction, since they too lack external attestation. Dahood proposed reading a vocative here, either *נְשִׁי קִבֵּר* *men of the grave* or perhaps *נְשִׁי קִבֵּר* *men of the One who buries*.²³ Holladay revocalizes the words to *נְשִׁי קִבֵּר* *you who forget the grave*.²⁴ Sabottka retains *נְשִׁי קִבֵּר* but traces the root to *נִשְׁק*¹¹ *to be armed*; he regards the Piel verb as privative in function. The meaning, according to him, is *to be/get disarmed sincerely*.²⁵

In spite of their ingenuity, the problem with most of these proposals is their complete lack of manuscript support. It seems clear that the Hebrew text of vv. 11–12 sustained damage early in the transmission process; the contamination has affected all subsequent textual witnesses to one degree or another. The original reading of the Hebrew text is now impossible to determine with any certainty.

The Peshitta witness is divided here. Some manuscripts have *ܩܒܠ ܕܢܝܗܘܐ* *kiss the son*, in line with the MT.²⁶ But this reading is probably secondary,²⁷ the result of scribal adaptation to the proto-Masoretic reading *נְשִׁי קִבֵּר*.²⁸ Other Syriac manuscripts have *ܩܒܠ ܕܢܝܗܘܐ* *take hold of instruction*,²⁹ which is the reading adopted in the Leiden edition of the Peshitta. In place of *נְשִׁי קִבֵּר* *kiss the son* the Old Greek has *δράξασθε παιδείας* *accept correction*. Some scholars conclude that this translation is

²¹ So, for example, NJB, RSV, NRSV.

²² Vang thinks that the syntax requires taking “kiss his feet” as referring to the Lord. But he maintains that “a phrase like ‘kiss the feet of the Lord’ is a crude anthropomorphism, which hardly makes sense within the imageless cult of Israel.” See Carsten Vang, “Ps 2,11–12: A New Look at an Old *crux interpretum*,” *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 9 (1995): 166.

²³ Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms I* (AB 16; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 6, 13.

²⁴ William L. Holladay, “A New Proposal for the *Crux* in Psalm II 12,” *VT* 28 (1978): 112.

²⁵ Liudger Sabottka, “Ps 2,12: ‘Küsst den Sohn!?’,” *Biblica* 87 (2006): 86–87.

²⁶ Mss 6t1, 9a1^{ext}, 9t2^{mg} (*om wan*), 9t3, 10t1^{ext}, 10t2, 10t4, 10t6, 12a1 (*waw l.n.*), 12t2 (*om wan*), 12t3, 12t4, 12t7 (*om wan*), *l.n.* 7a1 (above erasure).

²⁷ Macintosh assumes that the correct reading of the Peshitta in v. 12 is *ܩܒܠ ܕܢܝܗܘܐ*. He says, “The Peshitta alone of the ancient versions translates this phrase in the way adopted by the R.V. (Pesh. *ܩܒܠ ܕܢܝܗܘܐ*; R.V. ‘kiss the son’).” See A. A. Macintosh, “A Consideration of the Problems Presented by Psalm II. 11 and 12,” *JTS* 27 (1976): 8. Likewise, Olofsson says, “Only Peshitta conforms to the traditional interpretation of MT ‘kiss the son’.” See Staffan Olofsson, “The *crux interpretum* in Ps 2,12,” *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 9 (1995): 187.

²⁸ See M. P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 84–85.

²⁹ Ms 7a1 (emended); with a plural verb Mss 9a1 (margin), 10t1 (margin).

2.5 Psalm 2:12B

The final colon of our psalm has **אֲשֶׁרֵי כָּל־חֹסֵי בּוֹ** *blessed are all those who seek refuge in him*. The verb **חָסָה** *to seek refuge* is used figuratively here of placing confidence and hope in Yahweh, who is viewed as a place of secure and fortified protection for those who are oppressed. The Old Greek drops the figure of speech and renders **חֹסֵי בּוֹ** more prosaically as **οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ’ αὐτῷ** *those who have confidence in him*. Likewise, P has **وَأَصْحَابِ حَبَسِهِ** *those who hope on him*, and Jerome’s *iuxta Hebraeos* has *qui sperant in eum* (cf. the Gallican Psalter, *qui confidunt in eo*). Perhaps these ancient versions arrived independently at their paraphrase of the Hebrew participial phrase found in v. 12. However, the possibility that this rendering reflects influence from the Old Greek should not be quickly dismissed.

2.6 Conclusion

It seems reasonable to conclude for Psalm 2 that there is occasional Septuagint influence on the Peshitta. However, such influence is anything but predictable, consistent, or wholesale. The Syriac text of Psalm 2 also has several unique readings that show no dependence on the Old Greek. In these places the Syriac translator went his own way, showing no indebtedness to other extant sources. For example, in v. 2 P has a distinctive syntax that agrees with neither the MT nor the Old Greek. In MT **וְרוֹזְנִים** *and potentates* is taken with what follows, whereas in P the corresponding expression **وְقَدْحֵיلا** *and authorities* is taken with what precedes. The syntax of P is different from that of MT and the Old Greek. Also, in v. 7 P’s substitution of a third person verb (**وَيُعَلِّمُ**) for the first person found in the MT (**وְסִפְרָה**) or the participle of the Old Greek (**διαγγέλλων**) is unique to the Syriac translator. Also in v. 7 the choice of **مِعْطَا** *covenant* to render Hebrew **חֶק** *statute* and the addition of a pronominal suffix (Syriac **مِعْطَا** *my covenant*) are distinctive features whose origin cannot be traced to the Old Greek. In short, the Peshitta of Psalm 2 seems to show some influence from the Old Greek, but only on an occasional and limited basis. In other places where similar influence might be expected it is noticeably absent. In those places the Syriac translator shows his independence from external influences.

3 ISSUES OF LANGUAGE

In a couple of instances, the choice of words in the Peshitta of Psalm 2 calls attention to itself due to its limited correspondence to lexical items in the Hebrew text. In these places the Syriac translator may not have provided the best rendering of the Hebrew text that was before him.

3.1 Psalm 2:2

In v. 2 the “kings of the land” (**מַלְכֵי־אֶרֶץ**) who are at the center of the threatened rebellion are said to “take their stand” (**יָתִיצְבוּ**) in opposition to the new Israelite

king.³⁴ The meaning of **יָצַב** *to take one's stand* is crucial for understanding the implied setting of the psalm.³⁵ In the Hebrew Bible this verb sometimes has a general meaning of “stationing oneself” in the sense of assuming one’s expected place or position.³⁶ But that ordinary sense does not fit well in the context of Psalm 2. Here **יָצַב** seems to have a militaristic ring to it,³⁷ as it does on occasion elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. For example, in 1 Sam 17:16 Goliath “takes his stand” (**וַיִּתְּצֵב**) against the Israelites in preparation for battle, and in Jer 46:4, 14 the king of Babylon “takes his stand” (**וַהֲתִיצֵב, וְהִתְּצֵב**) in order to attack Egypt. In Psalm 2 the neighboring nations prepare to initiate armed conflict against the newly designated Israelite king. Rather than participating in the exuberance of the coronation ceremony, they stand in violent opposition to this king and make plans to thwart his authority over them.

However, this military interpretation of **יָצַב** has not gained universal consent among commentators. Joseph Lam has maintained, partly on the basis of certain Ugaritic parallels, that legal rather than military terminology and imagery are pervasive throughout this psalm.³⁸ He sees vv. 1–3 as describing preparations for a trial prior to bringing a legal dispute before the Lord. According to Lam, **יָצַב** should be understood as referring to “a formal legal dispute taking place in the context of the heavenly king’s court.” He argues that in v. 5 the verb **יְבַהֲלֵמוּ**, usually translated *he will terrify them*, should instead be taken as referring to Yahweh’s metaphorical disinheritance of the rulers, a meaning for this root that he finds attested in a legal text from Ugarit. Thus, according to Lam, the implied backdrop to Psalm 2 is a legal scene rather than one involving preparations for military confrontation. While such a *Sitz im Leben* does form the backdrop of parallel usage of this verb elsewhere, as

³⁴ HALOT suggests emending **וַיִּתְּצֵבוּ** *take their stand* to **וַיִּתְּצֵבוּ** *consult together*. See HALOT, 2:427, 422.

³⁵ On the verbal similarities between depictions of the rebellion portrayed in Psalm 2 and portions of the Deir ‘Alla texts see Victor Sasson, “The Language of Rebellion in Psalm 2 and in the Plaster Texts from Deir ‘Alla,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 24 (1986): 147–54.

³⁶ See, e.g., Exod 2:4; 14:13; 19:17; Num 11:16; 23:3, 15; Deut 31:14; 1 Sam 10:19, 23; 12:7, 16; 2 Sam 18:30; 23:12; Hab 2:1. In addition to describing the action of human beings, this verb sometimes refers to actions taken by the Lord (e.g., Exod 34:5; 1 Sam 3:10) or by angels (e.g., Num 22:22; Zech 6:5).

³⁷ As Soggin points out, **יָצַב** is sometimes used as a military technical term. He says, “**יָצַב** ist u. a. ein militärischer terminus technicus für «in Stellung gehen.»” See J. Alberto Soggin, “Zum zweiten Psalm,” in *Wort–Gebot–Glaube: Beiträge zur Theologie des Alten Testaments; Walther Eichrodt zum 80. Geburtstag* (ed. Hans Joachim Stoebe; ATANT 59; Zürich: Zwingli, 1970), 193. Willis calls attention to similar language used in certain ancient Near Eastern expressions of verbal defiance. See John T. Willis, “A Cry of Defiance – Psalm 2,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 47 (1990): 33–50.

³⁸ Joseph Lam, “Psalm 2 and the Disinheritance of Earthly Rulers: New Light from the Ugaritic Legal Text RS 94.2168,” *VT* 64 (2014): 34–46.

for example in the book of Job,³⁹ it seems preferable in Psalm 2 to understand יצב as referring to preparations for armed military conflict rather than initiation of legal proceedings. The conflict language used throughout the psalm most naturally lends itself to such an understanding.

However, the Peshitta translator opts here for a completely neutral translation that offers no hint of the nature of this “standing,” whether of a militaristic or a legal nature. Instead, the Hebrew verb יָצְבוּ is rendered in Syriac by the innocuous ܡܡܫܘܬܝܘܢ *they stood* (cf. the Old Greek παρέστησαν). The translator makes no attempt to clarify the nature of this action, choosing instead a general and somewhat non-committal rendering. By its choice of words in this instance the Syriac translation says less about this verbal action than its Hebrew source text. It is not that the translation is incorrect, but rather that it stops short of bringing out the full nuance of the Hebrew verb.

3.2 Psalm 2:7

In v. 7 the royal psalmist speaks of recounting the Lord’s decree as a means of reassuring himself of his identity as the Lord’s anointed in the face of threatened insurrection on the part of enemies. The Hebrew word used here for *statute* or *decree* is חֹק. The particular decree in view is no doubt the Davidic covenant, the stipulations of which are summarized in 2 Samuel 7. There the Lord promises faithfulness in fulfilling his role as *father* to his adopted *son*, the Davidic king. The psalm thus employs adoption language such as was common in ancient Near Eastern descriptions of royal kingship.⁴⁰ The king was viewed as an adopted son and co-regent of his divine overlord or father.

In v. 7 the Syriac translator renders Hebrew חֹק *statute* by the word ܡܫܬܘܬܝܘܢ *covenant*. Since the Davidic covenant forms the historical backdrop for legitimizing the king’s role as Yahweh’s son, this translation is perhaps not surprising. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible חֹק sometimes appears in tandem with words such as מִשְׁפָּט *judgment*, בְּרִית *covenant*, and עֵדוּת *testimony*. In such instances the word חֹק has clear covenantal associations.⁴¹ But in Ps 2:7 ܡܫܬܘܬܝܘܢ *covenant* is an interpretive translation, one that would not be an expected lexical choice were it not for the covenantal context of Psalm 2.

³⁹ Cf. Job 1:6; 2:4; 33:5.

⁴⁰ Granerød takes the Hebrew verb נָסַךְ *to pour out* in v. 6 as indicating divine procreation rather than adoption, maintaining that the translation *install* derives from the Septuagint. See Gard Granerød, “A Forgotten Reference to Divine Procreation? Psalm 2:6 in Light of Egyptian Royal Ideology,” *V/T* 60 (2010): 323–36.

⁴¹ See, for example, Ps 105:8–10 (cf. Ps 81:5–6).

4 CONCLUSION

The Syriac translation of Psalm 2 provides an interesting test case for modern text critics and students of ancient translation technique. Several conclusions seem to be justified.

First, the Peshitta of this psalm was translated into Syriac from a Hebrew *Vorlage* that was fairly close to our MT. Many scholars have drawn a similar conclusion for the entire Peshitta, with the exception of the deuterocanonical books. However, whether the Syriac translator was at times influenced by textual variants found in the Old Greek translation is debated. Some scholars maintain independence for the Syriac version,⁴² while others allow for occasional consultation of the Old Greek on the part of Peshitta translators. In the case of Psalm 2 there is reason to think that the Peshitta translator at times followed textual variants known to him from the Old Greek version.

Second, the Syriac translation of this psalm in general is an accurate and readable translation of its Hebrew *Vorlage*. Most Peshitta scholars have drawn a similar conclusion for the Peshitta version overall. But it also appears that renderings found in the Peshitta of Psalm 2 occasionally fail to capture in a precise way the sense of corresponding lexical items found in the Hebrew text. Sometimes a general term is given too specific a translation. At other times the particular nuance of a Hebrew term is lost in translation due to choice of a too general Syriac word. In this regard the translators of the Peshitta were no different from other biblical translators of antiquity. They were all faced with issues of text and language that combined to create for the translator a nearly impossible task. What is remarkable is that they performed their task as well as they did.

5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Studies on the Psalms

Berg, J. F. *The Influence of the Septuagint upon the Peshitta Psalter*. Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1895.

Bernstein, Moshe J. "A Jewish Reading of Psalms: Some Observations on the Method of the Aramaic Targum." Pages 476–504 in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller Jr. VTSup: Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 4. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Bloemendaal, W. *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church*. Leiden: Brill, 1960.

⁴² See Jerome A. Lund, "The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta: A Re-evaluation of Criteria in Light of Comparative Study of the Versions in Genesis and Psalms" (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1988); idem, "Grecisms in the Peshitta Psalms," in *The Peshitta as a Translation: Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19–21 August 1993* (ed. P. B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij; MPIL 8; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 85–102.

- Braude, William G. *The Midrash on Psalms (Midrash Tehillim)*. 2 vols. Yale Judaica Series 13. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.
- Briggs, Charles Augustus, and Emily Grace Briggs. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*. Vol. 1. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906.
- Crim, Keith R. *The Royal Psalms*. Richmond, VA: John Knox, 1962.
- Dahood, Mitchell. *Psalms I*. Anchor Bible 16. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966.
- Eriksson, Jan–Erik. “The Hymns of David Interpreted in Syriac: A Study of Translation Technique in the First Book of the Book of Psalms (Ps 1–41) in the Pešitta.” ThD diss., University of Uppsala, 1989.
- Field, F. *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1875.
- Gunkel, Hermann, and Joachim Begrich. *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel*. Translated by James D. Nogalski. Mercer Library of Biblical Studies. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998.
- Hiebert, Robert J. V. *The ‘Syrobexaplaric’ Psalter*. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 27. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.
- . “The Place of the Syriac Versions in the Textual History of the Psalter.” Pages 505–36 in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller Jr. VTSup: Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 4, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, vol. 99. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Hilber, John W. *Cultic Prophecy in the Psalms*. BZAW 352. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.
- Lund, Jerome A. “The Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta: A Re-evaluation of Criteria in Light of Comparative Study of the Versions in Genesis and Psalms.” PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1988.
- . “Grecisms in the Peshitta Psalms.” Pages 85–102 in *The Peshitta as a Translation: Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19–21 August 1993*. Edited by P. B. Dirksen and A. van der Kooij. Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 8. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Parsons, Michael. *Martin Luther’s Interpretation of the Royal Psalms: The Spiritual Kingdom in a Pastoral Context*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2009.
- Saur, Markus. *Die Königpsalmen: Studien zur Entstehung und Theologie*. BZAW 340. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004.
- Van Rooy, H. F. “The Psalms in Early Syriac Tradition.” Pages 537–50 in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller Jr. VTSup: Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature 4, ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, vol. 99. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- . *The East Syriac Psalm Headings: A Critical Edition*. Texts and Studies 8. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2013.

- Wagner, Max. *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. BZAW 96. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1966.
- Walter, D. M., ed. *The Book of Psalms. In The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version. Part II, fascicle 3*. Leiden: Brill, 1980.
- Weitzman, Michael P. "The Origin of the Peshitta Psalter." Pages 277–98 in *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honour of E. I. J. Rosenthal*. Edited by J. A. Emerton and S. C. Reif. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- . *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction*. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Studies on Psalm 2*
- Auffret, Pierre. *The Literary Structure of Psalm 2*. Translated by David J. A. Clines. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 3. Sheffield: JSOT, 1977.
- . "Compléments sur la structure littéraire du Ps 2 et son rapport au Ps 1." *Biblische Notizen* 35 (1986): 7–13.
- Barnes, W. E. "On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta." *JTS* 2 (1901): 186–97.
- . "The Text of Psalm ii 12." *JTS* 18 (1917): 24–29.
- Bardtke, H. "Erwägungen zu Psalm 1 und 2." Pages 1–18 in *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae*. Edited by M. A. Beek, A. A. Kampman, C. Nijland, and J. Ryckmans. Leiden: Brill, 1973.
- Bertholet, A. "Eine crux interpretum: Ps 2 11f." *ZAW* 28 (1908): 58–59.
- . "Nochmals zu Ps 2 11f." *ZAW* 28 (1908): 193.
- Bons, E. "Psaume 2: Bilan de recherche et essai de réinterprétation." *Revue des sciences religieuses* 69 (1995): 147–71.
- Botha, Phil J. "The Ideological Interface between Psalm 1 and Psalm 2." *Old Testament Essays* 18 (2005): 189–203.
- Brownlee, William H. "Psalms 1–2 as a Coronation Liturgy." *Biblica* 52 (1971): 321–36.
- Cazelles, H. "Nšqw br (Ps., ii, 12). *Oriens antiquus* 3 (1964): 43–45.
- Clines, David J. A. "Psalm 2 and the MLF (Moabite Liberation Front)" Pages 244–75 in *Interested Parties: The Ideology of Writers and Readers of the Hebrew Bible*. Edited by David J. A. Clines. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 205. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.
- Cole, Robert L. "An Integrated Reading of Psalms 1 and 2." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 98 (2002): 75–88.
- . *Psalms 1–2: Gateway to the Psalter*. Hebrew Bible Monographs 37. Edited by David J. A. Clines, J. Cheryl Exum, and Keith W. Whitlam. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2013.

- Collins, John J. "The Interpretation of Psalm 2." Pages 49–66 in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 85. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Cooke, Gerald "The Israelite King as Son of God." *ZAW* 73 (1961): 202–25.
- Davidson, A. B. "The Second Psalm." Pages 139–56 in *Biblical and Literary Essays*. Edited by J. A. Paterson. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.
- Deissler, Alfons. "Zum Problem des messianischen Charakter von Psalm 2." Pages 283–92 in *De la Tórah au Messie: Études d'exégèse et d'herméneutique bibliques offertes à Henri Cazelles pour ses 25 années d'enseignement à l'Institut Catholique de Paris (Octobre 1979)*. Edited by Maurice Carrez, Joseph Doré, and Pierre Grelot. Paris: Desclée, 1981.
- Dubarle, A. M. "δραξασθε παιδειας (Ps., ii, 12)." *Revue biblique* 62 (1955): 511–12.
- Emerton, John A. "The Translation of the Verbs in the Imperfect in Psalm II.9." *JTS* 29 (1978): 499–503.
- Gillingham, Susan E. *A Journey of Two Psalms: The Reception of Psalms 1 and 2 in Jewish and Christian Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Gosse, Bernard. "Le Psaume 2 et l'usage rédactionnel des oracles contre les nations à l'époque post-exilique." *Biblische Notizen* 62 (1992): 18–24.
- Granerød, Gard "A Forgotten Reference to Divine Procreation? Psalm 2:6 in Light of Egyptian Royal Ideology." *VT* 60 (2010): 323–36.
- Hartenstein, Friedhelm. "Der im Himmel thront, lacht' (Ps 2,4): Psalm 2 im Wandel religions- und theologiegeschichtlicher Kontexte." Pages 158–88 in *Gottessohn und Menschensohn: Exegetische Studien zu zwei Paradigmen biblischer Intertextualität*. Edited by Dieter Sänger. Biblisch-theologische Studien 67. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2004.
- Holladay, William L. "A New Proposal for the Crux in Psalm II 12." *VT* 28 (1978): 110–12.
- Hosch, Harold E. "Psalms 1 and 2: A Discourse Analysis." *Notes on Translation* 15 (2001): 4–12.
- Janse, Sam. "You Are My Son." *The Reception History of Psalm 2 in Early Judaism and the Early Church*. Leuven: Peeters, 2009.
- Jenkins, Allan K. "Erasmus' Commentary on Psalm 2." *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 3 (2001): 1–17.
- Jones, G. H. "The Decree of Yahweh (Ps. II 7)." *VT* 15 (1965): 336–44.
- Jouïon, P. "Notes philologiques sur le texte hébreu de Psaume 2,12; 5,4; 44, 26; 104, 20; 120, 7; 123, 4; 127, 2b, 5b; 132, 15; 144, 2." *Biblica* 11 (1930): 81–85.
- Junker, H. "Psalm 2 ein 'Königslid' oder messianischer Psalm?" *Theologie und Glaube* 24 (1932): 750–59.
- Kaupel, H. "Psalm 2 und babylonische Königslieder." *Theologie und Glaube* 15 (1923): 39–43.

- Kleber, Albert. "Ps. 2:9 in the Light of an Ancient Oriental Ceremony." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 5 (1943): 63–67.
- Koch, Klaus. "Der König als Sohn Gottes in Ägypten und Israel." Pages 1–32 in *'Mein Sohn bist du' (Ps 2,7): Studien zu den Königspsalmen*. Edited by Eckart Otto and Erich Zenger. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 192. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002.
- König, Ed. "Wie verläuft der Gedankengang des 2. Psalmes?" *Theologie und Glaube* 25 (1933): 265–72.
- Lam, Joseph. "Psalm 2 and the Disinheritance of Earthly Rulers: New Light from the Ugaritic Legal Text RS 94.2168." *VT* 64 (2014): 34–46.
- Lindars, Barnabas. "Is Psalm II an Acrostic Psalm?" *VT* 17 (1967): 60–67.
- Loretz, Oswald. "Eine kolometrische Analyse von Psalm 2." Pages 9–26 in *Beiträge zur Psalmenforschung: Psalm 2 und 22*. Edited by Josef Schreiner. Forschung zur Bibel 60. Edited by Rudolf Schnackenburg and Josef Schreiner. Würzburg: Echter, 1988.
- Loretz, Oswald. "Psalm 2." Pages 32–54 in *Psalmenstudien: Kolometrie, Strophik und Theologie ausgewählter Psalmen*. BZAW 309. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002.
- Macintosh, A. A. "A Consideration of the Problems Presented by Psalm II. 11 and 12." *JTS* 27 (1976): 1–14.
- Maiberger, Paul. "Das Verständnis von Psalm 2 in der Septuaginta, im Targum, in Qumran, im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament." Pages 85–151 in *Beiträge zur Psalmenforschung: Psalm 2 und 22*. Edited by Josef Schreiner. Forschung zur Bibel 60. Würzburg: Echter, 1988.
- Mason, Eric F. "Interpretation of Psalm 2 in 4QFlorilegium and in the New Testament." Pages 67–82 in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 85. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Morgenstern, Julian. "נשקו בר." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 32 (1942): 371–85.
- Norton, Gerard J. "Psalm 2:11–12 and Modern Textual Criticism." *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 15 (1992): 89–111.
- Oancea, Constantin. "Psalm 2 im Alten Testament und im frühen Judentum." *Sacra scripta* 11 (2013): 159–80.
- Olofsson, Staffan. "The *crux interpretum* in Ps 2,12." *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 9 (1995): 185–99.
- Otto, Eckart. "Politische Theologie in den Königspsalmen zwischen Ägypten und Assyrien: Die Herrscherlegitimation in den Psalmen 2 und 18 in ihren altorientalischen Kontexten." Pages 33–65 in *'Mein Sohn bist du' (Ps 2,7): Studien zu den Königspsalmen*. Edited by Eckart Otto and Erich Zenger. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 192. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002.
- . "Psalm 2 in neuassyrischer Zeit. Assyrische Motive in der jüdischen Königsideologie." Pages 335–49 in *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels. Festschrift für Peter Weimar*

- zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres.* Edited by Klaus Kiesow and Thomas Meurer. AOAT 294. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003.
- Pietersma, Albert. "Empire Re-affirmed: A Commentary on Greek Psalm 2." Pages 46–62 in *God's Word for Our World*. Vol. 2, *Theological and Cultural Studies in Honor of Simon John De Vries*. Edited by J. Harold Ellens, Deborah L. Ellens, Rolf P. Knierim, and Isaac Kalimi. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series* 389. London: T. & T. Clark, 2004.
- Ringgren, Helmer. "Psalm 2 and Bēlit's Oracle for Ashurbanipal." Pages 91–95 in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*. Edited by Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983.
- Rowley, H. H. "The Text and Structure of Psalm II." *JTS* 42 (1941): 143–54.
- Sabottka, Liudger. "Ps 2,12: 'Küsst den Sohn!'" *Biblica* 87 (2006): 86–87.
- Sasson, Victor "The Language of Rebellion in Psalm 2 and in the Plaster Texts from Deir 'Alla." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 24 (1986): 147–54.
- Soggin, J. Alberto. "Zum zweiten Psalm." Pages 191–207 in *Wort–Gebot–Glaube: Beiträge zur Theologie des Alten Testaments; Walther Eichrodt zum 80. Geburtstag*. Edited by Hans Joachim Stoebe. *Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments* 59. Zürich: Zwingli, 1970.
- Sonne, Isaiah. "The Second Psalm." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 19 (1945–1946): 43–55.
- Studel, Annette. "Psalm 2 im antiken Judentum." Pages 189–97 in *Gottessohn und Menschensohn: Exegetische Studien zu zwei Paradigmen biblischer Intertextualität*. Edited by Dieter Sänger. Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2004.
- Vang, Carsten. "Ps 2,11–12: A New Look at an Old *crux interpretum*." *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 9 (1995): 163–84.
- Vishanoff, David R. "Why Do the Nations Rage? Boundaries of Canon and Community in a Muslim's Rewriting of Psalm 2." *Comparative Islamic Studies* 6, nos. 1–2 (2011): 151–79.
- Weren, W. J. C. "Psalm 2 in Luke–Acts: An Intertextual Study." Pages 189–203 in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel*. Edited by Sipke Draisma. Kampen: Kok, 1989.
- Wilhelmi, Gerhard. "Der Hirt mit dem eisernen Szepter: Überlegungen zu Psalm II 9." *VT* 27 (1977): 196–204.
- Willis, John T. "A Cry of Defiance—Psalm 2." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 47 (1990): 33–50.

APPENDIX: PSALM 2, COLLATION OF MT AND P

| | | |
|----|--|-----------------------------|
| 1 | حَقَّصًا גוים | word choice |
| | יָב יהגו | word choice |
| | هَنْصَلًا ריק | word choice |
| 2 | صَعِدْ παρέστησαν | word choice |
| | صَعِدْ (taken with what follows) صَعِدْ (taken with what precedes) | syntax |
| | نَوَسِدُو نَوَسِدُو | syntax, asyndeton |
| 3 | عَبْتِيْمُو τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν | singular for plural |
| 4 | — - | syntax |
| | أَدْنِي και ὁ κύριος | asyndeton |
| | — - | word choice |
| 5 | أَز - | word choice |
| | — - | word choice |
| 6 | أَنَا ואני | asyndeton |
| 7 | بَعْدًا אספרה | third person for first |
| | — - | word choice |
| | صَعِدْ חק | plus (pronoun), word choice |
| | — - | word choice |
| | أَنَا אני | asyndeton |
| 8 | — σοι tibi | plus |
| | حَقَّصًا גוים | word choice |
| | — - | plural for singular |
| 9 | صَعِدْ (i.e., √רעה) صَعِدْ (i.e., √רעה) Gal Ps reges eos pasces eos Sym συντρέψεις αὐτούς | root |
| | — - | asyndeton |
| | — - ^{AL} (Göttingen) | plural for singular |
| 10 | — ועתה | asyndeton |
| | — הוֹסְרוּ | asyndeton |

PART 2: HEBREW STUDIES

A FEW NOTES CONCERNING THE READING OF הסירותי IN THE GREAT ISAIAH SCROLL (ISA 50:6B)

Cyrrill von Buettner
University of Stellenbosch

The following article discusses the origins of a unique reading הסירותי “I turned” in the Great Isaiah Scroll (Isa 50:6b). The author comes to the conclusion that the original version of the text is found in MT (הסתרתי “I hid”), while the Qumran version appeared as a result of text editing by a scribe. The main reason for such change could be that the verb הסתיר “to hide” and the noun פנים “face” in Is 50:6 do not form a set expression that has the meaning “to ignore, to not pay attention.” Instead, it is used in its literal meaning as a combination of a verb and a noun. In this passage the hiding of the face meant to protect the character.

1 INTRODUCTION

The so-called Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a), which was found in Qumran, is the oldest Hebrew manuscript of the Book of Isaiah that has been preserved until our time.¹ Its text differs extensively from MT as well as from other scrolls of Isaiah in Qumran by including numerous unique readings. One of such readings is הסירותי in Isa 50:6b.² Although the semantics of the given word is quite obvious (“I turned,” see below), scholars have not yet come to an agreement about the origins of this reading, which the author of this article will try to find.

In his detailed study of the language of 1QIsa^a, Edward Y. Kutscher showed that a considerable number of differences in reading between 1QIsa^a and MT could

¹ Dated 150–100 BCE (see A. Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*. Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Buecher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten, 258).

² Isa 50:6 is a part of the co-called Third Servant Song (Isa 50:4–9). This passage tells about the sufferings of a certain Servant of Yahweh, whose name remains unknown (for an overview of different points of view see, e. g.: H. Haag, *Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterocesaja*, 101–167).

be explained by the fact that the scribe, who copied the 1QIsa^a scroll,³ edited the *Vorlage* text in order to adapt it to the language of the end of the 1st millennium BCE reader.⁴ Furthermore, the works of other scholars showed that in some cases particular editing appeared due to the desire to harmonize the biblical text as well as to communicate a certain understanding of a given biblical passage in the text of the scroll.⁵ Still, in other cases the difference in reading could be explained by the existence of a particular textual tradition, which was probably more ancient than the one presented in MT (see, for example, Isa 53:11).⁶

2 THE ISA 50:6B TEXT IN THE 1QISA^A SCROLL, MT AND IN THE ANCIENT TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

The Isa 50:6b text preserved in 1QIsa^a goes as follows:

פני לוא הסירותי מכלמות ורוק “My face I did not turn away from mocking and spitting.”⁷

As said earlier, the הסירותי reading is unique here. Besides the 1QIsa^a, all of the other Qumran scrolls have a gap in this passage. It is obvious that the word הסירותי is the 1 c. sg. perfect of the Hiphil stem of the verb סור, which when used in this stem has the meaning of “to remove, to turn away.” It should also be noted that this verb belongs to the basic lexicon of Biblical Hebrew and appears over 130 times in the text of the Hebrew Bible. However, with the exception of Isa 50:6 (1QIsa^a), its use, when coupled with the word פנים (“face”) appears only once in 2 Chr 30:9.⁸

Instead of הסירותי, the Isa 50:6b text in the manuscripts of the Masoretic tradition has the הסתרתי variant:

פני לא הסתרתי מכלמות ורק “My face I did not hide from mocking and spitting.”⁹

³ In addition, some suggest that this edition was finished at an earlier period. An editor might have been the scribe, who wrote the *Vorlage*, from which the Isa 34–66 text was copied into 1QIsa^a (see, e. g.: Lange, *Handbuch*, 259–260).

⁴ E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (1QIsa^a).

⁵ See, e. g., A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, 81–94, 99; P. Pulikottil, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran: The Case of the Large Isaiah Scroll 1QIsa^a*, 45–117.

⁶ See, e. g., D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. Tome 2: Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations*, 403–407.

⁷ E. Ulrich, P. W. Flint and M. G. Abegg, Jr., ed., *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1*, 84–85.

⁸ It should be added that the phrase הסיר פנים also appears in Jer 33:5 in two medieval manuscripts from the Kennicott collection (nos. 116, 145); in other manuscripts one finds הסתיר פנים “to hide one’s face” (see S. E. Balentine, *The Hidden God: The Hiding of the Face of God in the Old Testament*, 80).

⁹ M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *The Book of Isaiah*, 231.

The word הַסִּירוּתִי (vocalized as *histarî*) is most likely a form of the verb סָתַר in 1 c. sg. perfect of Hiphil stem, which has the meaning of “to hide, to conceal” and which is found in the Hebrew Bible over 40 times.¹⁰ In addition, the verb forms a set phrase with the word פָּנִים “face.”¹¹

Texts of the ancient Bible translations show similarity either to סָתַר (Targum Jonathan) or to סוּר (Septuagint, Peshitta, Vulgate):

Targum Jonathan: וְרוּק אֶפֶי לֹא טַמְרִית מֵאֲתַכְנֵעוּ וְרוּק “My face I did not hide from mocking and spitting.”¹²

LXX: τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνῃς ἐμπυτῶν “My face I did not turn away from mockery of spitting.”¹³

¹⁰ Mitchell Dahood suggested that the traditional interpretation of the phrase הַסִּירוּתִי פָּנִים found in the Bible is not correct. In his opinion, this phrase means to “turn away one’s face,” not “hide one’s face,” as believed earlier. That being said, he interpreted the word הַסִּירוּתִי not as a form of the Hiphil stem of the verb סָתַר, but as a form of a previously unknown stem in Hebrew with the *-t-* infix of the verb סוּר. In order to prove his theory, the scholar gave examples of the use of stems with the *-t-* infix in other north-western Semitic languages. In addition, he pointed out that in the Greek translation of the Septuagint the phrase הַסִּירוּתִי פָּנִים is usually translated as ἀποστρέφειν τὸ πρόσωπον “to turn away one’s face.” Furthermore, he translated the Isa 50.6b (MT) passage as follows: “I did not turn away my face from ignominy and spittle” (M. Dahood, *Psalms I: 1–50*, 64; cf. also D. J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew. Vol. VI*, 141, 204–205. In this edition, the phrase הַסִּירוּתִי פָּנִים can be found in two dictionary articles: the one dedicated to the סוּר root, and the one, which overviews the סָתַר root). If one is to accept Dahood’s hypothesis, then the difference between the Qumran and Masoretic variants of the same Isa 50.6b text is minimal: הַסִּירוּתִי and הַסִּירוּתִי, then, are perfect tense forms of different stems of the סוּר verb. However, Dahood’s hypothesis is unlikely. Here are just two arguments: first of all, Semitic stems with the *-t-* infix usually have a reflexive meaning. They are usually marked as Gt (reflexive of the G stem), Dt (reflexive of the D stem), Ct (reflexive of the C stem), etc. Despite the fact that Dahood’s explanation does not clear up to which category the verb הַסִּירוּתִי belongs to, one can assume that it belongs to the Ct stem (reflexive of the causative stem, i. e. of Hiphil stem). Nevertheless, when coupled with the word פָּנִים, the verb הַסִּירוּתִי is used a transitive, not a reflexive. Secondly, the phrase סָתַר פָּנִים “covering of face,” “veil, which is put on a face” (Job 24.15) is found in the Bible. It has a similar semantics to the phrase הַסִּירוּתִי פָּנִים and most likely has a similar origin. That being said, it is obvious that the word סָתַר (*setär*) comes from the root סָתַר, not סוּר. For a critical examination of the abovementioned hypothesis, see also: S. B. Wheeler, “The Infix -t- in Biblical Hebrew,” 21–31.

¹¹ In particular, in MT this word-combination can be found in the following passages: Ex 3:6; Deut 31:17, 18; 32:20; Isa 8:17; 50:6; 54:8; 59:2; 64:6; Jer 33:5; Ezek 39:23, 24, 29; Mic 3:4; Ps 10:11; 13:2; 22:25; 27:9; 30:8; 44:25; 51:11; 69:18; 88:15; 102:3; 104:29; 143:7; Job 13:24; 34:29.

¹² A. Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*. 3:102.

¹³ J. Ziegler, ed., *Isaias*, 311.

Peshitta: ܫܘܠܐ ܠܐ ܘܢܝܘܢܐ ܡܥ ܚܘܠܐܝܠ ܫܘܚܝܢܐ (variant ܫܘܠܐܝܢܐ) “And my face I did not turn away from mocking and spitting;”¹⁴

Vulgate: *faciem meam non averti ab increpantibus et conspuentibus* “My face I did not avert from those, who mock and spit.”¹⁵

It should be noted that the phrase ἀποστρέφω τὸ πρόσωπον (“to turn the face away”) found in Septuagint is used not only in the Greek version of Isa 50:6 passage but also in the translations of the majority of the Old Testament texts, which include the Hebrew phrase הסתיר פנים. The only exception to this is the Greek translation of the Book of Job, in which the Hebrew הסתיר פנים is translated with the Greek word κρύπτωμαι “to hide” (Job 13:24) and the phrase κρύπτω πρόσωπον “to hide face” (Job 34:29). At the same time, it is most likely that the Greek phrase ἀποστρέφω τὸ πρόσωπόν is not a semitism, since it appears in the works of Plutarch (Plutarchus, Publicola 6; Antonius 76).¹⁶

The situation is quite similar with the Peshitta. In the Syriac translation of the Bible the Hebrew הסתיר פנים is translated in most cases as ܫܘܠܐܝܢܐ¹⁷ and ܫܘܠܐ,¹⁸ which have the meaning of “to turn away one’s face.” Only in Ex 3:6 the equivalent of הסתיר פנים is the Syriac ܫܘܠܐܝܢܐ, “to hide one’s face.”

In the Vulgate, הסתיר פנים is usually translated with *abscondo faciem* “to hide one’s face.” However, in the translation of Isa 50:6 as well as the Psalter, one can find *averto faciem* “to avert one’s face.”

Generally, the Hebrew phrase הסתיר פנים in Targum Jonathan corresponds to the Aramaic סליק שכינתא “to take away Shekhinah” (Isa 8:17; 57:17; Jer 33:5; Ezek 39:23, 24, 29; Mic 3:4) and סליק אפי שכינתא “to take away the face of Shekhinah” (Isa 53:3; 54:8; 59:2; 64:6). Only in Isa 50:6 does the translation constitute a calque from Hebrew: Aramaic טמיר אפין “to hide one’s face.”

¹⁴ S. P. Brock, ed., *Isaiah*, 92.

¹⁵ *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, vierte, verbesserte Auflage, 1149.

¹⁶ Plutarchus, Publicola 6: ... ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο τρις ἐρωτηθέντες, οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἀποστρέψας τὸ πρόσωπον, “ὕμέτερον” εἶπεν “ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον... “...Since, having been asked thrice, they did not give any answer, he turned his face to the lictors and said thus: Now it is up to you! ...;” Plutarchus, Antonius 76: ... ὁ δὲ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος, ἀνέσχε μὲν ὡς παίσων ἐκείνον, ἀποστρέψαντος δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε... “... He drew out his sword, lifted it up so as to smite him, but then turned his face away and killed himself...” It should be noted that the Greek authors also use the phrase στρέφω τὸ πρόσωπόν, which likewise has the meaning of “to turn the face, to turn the face away” (see, e. g., Euripides, Hecuba, line 343; Euripides, Phoenisae, line 457).

¹⁷ Deut 31:17, 18; Isa 50:6 (variant); 59:2; 64:6; Jer 33:5; Ezek 39:23, 24, 29; Mic 3:4; Ps 13:2; 22:25; 27:9; 30:8; 44:25; 51:11; 69:18; 88:15; 102:3; 104:29; 143:7; Job 13:24; 34:29.

¹⁸ Deut 32:20; Isa 8:17; 50:6 (variant); 54:8; 57:17; Ps 10:11.

3 INTERPRETATION HISTORY OF ISA 50:6B IN THE GREAT ISAIAH SCROLL

In order to explain the existence of different readings in Isa 50:6 various scholars proposed the following theories:

Millard Burrows included the Qumran הַסִּירוּתִי version in the list of “changes attributable to slips of memory.”¹⁹

Based on the fact that in the Septuagint, with the exception of the Book of Job, הַסִּתִּיר פָּנִים is constantly translated as ἀποστρέφω τὸ πρόσωπον (“to turn away one’s face”), Joseph Ziegler suggested that translators of the Septuagint were familiar with the tradition that originated in Palestine. According to him, it is possible that instructions (“Richtlinien”) have been developed for translators, which indicated the meaning of various words and phrases. They could have been written on the margins of a manuscript or in separate glossary (“Wörterverzeichnissen”). Sometimes these notes were transferred from the margins or glossaries into the text of a manuscript itself. This is how, according to Ziegler, the Isa 50:6 variant could have appeared in the 1QIsa^a scroll.²⁰

E. Y. Kutscher suggested that the הַסִּירוּתִי variant appeared as a result of a text change by a scribe. The scholar noted that the phrase הַסִּתִּיר פָּנִים in the Bible is almost always used with reference to God. Generally, the phrase has the meaning of “to be angered,” with the only exception of Ps 51:11, in which the phrase is used in a different manner: הַסִּתִּיר פָּנֶיךָ מִחַטָּאֵי “Hide Thy face from my transgressions!”). According to Kutscher, the scribe, who copied the 1QIsa^a scroll, preserved the phrase הַסִּתִּיר פָּנִים in Isa 54:8, 59:2 and 64:6, since in these passages it was used in its regular meaning. However, in Isa 50:6 he changed the verb סָתַר to the verb סָוַר, because in this verse the phrase had a different meaning. Having noticed that in both Greek (LXX) and Syriac translations of Isaiah the phrase הַסִּתִּיר פָּנִים is always translated as “to turn away one’s face,” and הַסִּיר פָּנִים “to turn away one’s face” appears in MT only once – in 2 Chr 30:9, one of the later biblical texts, Kutscher came to the following conclusions:

The fact that three different sources dating from the Second Temple Period – viz. Chron., the Sept., and the Isa. Scr. – use this phrase, instead of the one commonly found in the Bible, would seem to indicate that this cannot be written off as mere chance. It would rather seem that there was at that time a tendency to substitute הַסִּיר פָּנִים for הַסִּתִּיר פָּנִים. The reason for this however, remains an enigma.²¹

According to Samuel E. Balentine, there is a tendency in Isa 50:6 (1QIsa^a) and 2 Chr 30:9 texts to substitute the root סָתַר with the root סָוַר, which appeared in Hebrew

¹⁹ M. Burrows, “Variant Readings in the Isaiah Manuscript,” 27–28.

²⁰ J. Ziegler, “Die Vorlage der Isaias-Septuaginta (LXX) und die erste Isaias-Rolle von Qumran (1QIs^a),” 53–55.

²¹ Kutscher, *Language*, 268.

language of the late Biblical period. It was caused by the homonymity of the Hebrew root סתר “to hide” with the Aramaic סתר “to destroy” (compare with Esra 5:12), which can also be found in the Mishnaic Hebrew. Balentine writes:

More specifically, in the case of the phrase “hide the face” there may have developed in the latter stages of Biblical Hebrew a certain ambiguity in the root סתר which was linked to the use of a homophonic root סתר meaning “destroy.” This latter usage would obviously be ill suited for expressions with “face,” especially when used with reference to God, and an attempt to avoid this situation could have contributed to (1) a general decline in the use of the phrase “hide the face,” and (2) a tendency to use a slightly different expression in the same way.²²

The author of this article wishes to contribute to the abovementioned discussion by trying to critically rethink the present theories and propose his own solution to the issues, put forth by our predecessors.

4 ORIGINS OF THE READING הַסִּירוֹתִי IN 1QISA^A

The scholars mentioned above were most likely right about the fact that the original version of the Isa 50:6b text can be found in MT, not in 1QIsa^A. Since the phrase הַסִּיר פְּנִים, aside from the text of the scroll, appears only once in 2 Chr 30:9, it could be supposed that its use was restricted to the end of the Second Temple period.

The variants that appear in the Septuagint and Peshitta cannot be used to prove that the Hebrew *Vorlage* had the same text in Isa 50:6b that is found in 1QIsa^A, since the same equivalents that are usually used to translate the phrase הַסִּיר פְּנִים are used in them. In turn, the variant of the Isa 50:6b text, which appears in the Vulgate, could have been based on the Hebrew *Vorlage*, similar to 1QIsa^A. Nevertheless, the use of the phrase *averto faciem* “to avert one’s face” can also be explained by the influence from the Septuagint or, perhaps, the Old Latin translation (*Vetus Latina*), which was made not from the Hebrew but from the Greek original. Hence, at the moment one cannot answer with certainty the question of the existence of the extensive textual tradition, different from the Masoretic one, in which Isa 50:6 would include the reading הַסִּירוֹתִי.

Studies of Kutscher and Arie van der Kooij²³ showed that the work of the scribe, who copied the 1QIsa^A scroll, had a multifaceted nature. The scribe was not only a copyist but also the editor of the text. Hence, the priority has to be given to the explanation, according to which the change in Isa 50:6b in the 1QIsa^A scroll was the result of a deliberate action of the scribe. The “error hypothesis” should be addressed only after all other possible explanations of the textual change will be exhausted.

²² Balentine, *Hidden God*, 109.

²³ Kutscher, *Language*; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 74–119.

It is impossible to imagine that the scribe was not familiar with the Hebrew idiom הַסִּתִּיר פָּנִים “to hide/conceal one’s face.” The said idiom appears numerous times not only in MT but also in Qumran texts, both biblical (about 10 times²⁴) and non-biblical (about 15 times²⁵). Moreover, it can be found several times in the text of the very same 1QIsa^a scroll (Isa 8:17; 53:3; 54:8; 59:2; 64:6).

In my opinion, the reading הַסִּירוּתִי appeared in the text of 1QIsa^a scroll for several reasons.

1. With the exception of two texts (Isa 50:6 and Ex 3:6), the phrase הַסִּתִּיר פָּנִים is used in the Bible in a set expression, which has the meaning of “to neglect,” “to ignore.”²⁶ In the majority of texts neglect is a sign of anger or disdain. However, in certain cases, the object of ignoring can be not only people but also “transgressions” (in this case, ignoring is a sign of mercy toward people (Ps 51:11) or of indifference toward their behavior (Ps 10:11)). This set expression usually appears in those contexts, where the subject of ignoring is God. Nevertheless, in other contexts the subject of ignoring is people (Isa 53:3).²⁷ In two texts (Isa 50:6 and Ex 3:6) the word הַסִּתִּיר פָּנִים does not form a set expression and, instead, has a direct meaning (as a combination of a verb and a noun). Both texts tell us about people, who cover their faces in order to protect themselves.²⁸ Isa 50:6 tells how the Servant of Yahweh did not hide his face from spitting, and Ex 3:6 tells how Moses hid his face, because he feared to look at God (מֹשֶׁה פָּנָיו כִּי יִרְאֵהוּ אֱלֹהִים וַיִּסְתֵּר).

It could be assumed that the scribe substituted the word הַסִּתִּיר in Isa 50:6 with the word הַסִּירוּתִי in order to show the readers that in this text the set expres-

²⁴ One can only give an estimate, since a large number of texts are only available in fragments (see M. G. Abegg Jr., J. E. Bowley, and E. M. Cook, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. Vol. III: The Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert*, 507). See, e.g., 4QDeut^c (Deut 31:17 [מהם] ועזבתוך והסתרתני פני [מהם]) “I will forsake you and I will hide My face [from them]”), 4QPs^a (Ps 69:18 ... אל תסתיר פניכה מעבדך “Do not hide Your face from Your servant! ...”).

²⁵ M. G. Abegg Jr., J. E. Bowley, and E. M. Cook, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. Vol. I: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran*, 535. See, e.g., 4Q389 8ii4 ([הם] על כן הסתרתני פני מ[הם]) “So I hide My face [from them]”), 4Q393 1ii–2,4 ([או]תנינו) “Our God, hide Your face from our sins”).

²⁶ Cf. Kutscher, *Language*, 268. However, Kutscher’s understanding of the phrase הַסִּתִּיר פָּנִים is not consistent with at least some other occurrences of the phrase in the Hebrew Bible. Kutscher writes that it usually has the meaning of manifestation of anger, even though he notes himself that the explanation does not extend to the Ps 51:11 passage, in which the matter is not God’s anger but His mercy (הַסִּתִּיר פָּנִיךָ מִחַטָּאתֵי “Hide Thy face from my transgressions”). Another exception is the text of Ps 10:11, in which hiding of the face of God is not a sign of His anger but of Him ignoring the situation or even of His forgetfulness (שָׁכַח “God has forgotten, he has hidden his face, he will never see it”) (NRSV). See also 4Q393 1ii–2,4 ([או]תנינו) “Our God, hide Your face from our sins”).

²⁷ See below for the discussion of Isa 53:3.

²⁸ See Balentine, *Hidden God*, p. 65.

sion **הסתיר פנים**, “not to pay attention” cannot be used. Thus, such a substitution had to have an explicative function.

It should be noted that the translator of the Book of Isaiah into Aramaic (Targum Jonathan) also understood that the phrase **הסתיר פנים** in Isa 50:6 is distinguished by particular semantics, which are reflected in the translation (see above). It seems most likely that it was the same reasons that caused the phrase *averto faciem* “to avert one’s face” to appear in Isa 50:6 of the Vulgate translation, while in other passages of Isaiah one can find *abscondo faciem* “to hide one’s face” (in addition, *averto faciem* is possibly a loan translation from the Greek ἀποστρέφω τὸ πρόσωπον. The same equivalent is constantly used when translating **הסתיר פנים** in the Psalms).²⁹

A similar phenomenon occurred during translation of Ex 3:6, where **הסתיר פנים** also has not been used as a set expression. In order to translate the phrase **הסתיר פנים** “hide one’s face” in Ex 3:6, in some versions of the Biblical text special equivalents, different from those usually used to translate the idiom **הסתיר פנים**, were used. For instance, **הסתיר פנים** in the Peshitta is usually translated as **פָּן אָפּל** or as **פָּן אָפּל** “to turn away one’s face” (in both cases). Only in Ex 3:6 the translation is a loan translation of Hebrew: Syriac **לְהַסְתִּיר אָפּל** “to hide one’s face” (= Hebrew **הסתיר פנים**). In Targum Onkelos **הסתיר פנים** is translated as **כבש אפיין** “hid his face,” while in other cases the phrase **סליק שכּינתא** “to take away Shekhinah” (Deut 31:17,18; 32:20) is used.

2. The idiom “to hide/conceal one’s face” most likely did not exist in Western Aramaic, the spoken language of Judaea at the end of the Second Temple period.³⁰ In terms of semantics, the closest equivalent to the aforementioned idiom was the combination of the verbs of motion with the noun **אנפין** “face.” The Palestinian targums, in particular, used the **אפך אפיין / הפך** equivalent to convey the Hebrew **הסתיר פנים**.³¹ This phrase had the meaning of “to turn one’s face,” including “to turn one’s face from someone or something.” It was used in Targums and in those cases, where it did not have an equivalent in the Hebrew text,³² and can also be found in the Jerusalem Talmud.³³ The phrase **הסתיר פנים** was not used in the Mish-

²⁹ It should be noted that the use of the verb *averto* in Isa 50:6 could also be explained by theological reasons. Since Jerome believed that Isa 50 prophetically points to the Passions of Jesus, who, according to Jn 18:12, 24, was tied right after his arrest, and so could only turn away his face away from the mockery but not hide it with hands.

³⁰ The phrases **טמיר אפיין** (Tg. Neof. Exod 3:6; Deut 31:18; Tg. Isa. 50:6) and **כבש אפיין** (Tg. Onk. Ex 3:6), which have the meaning of “to hide one’s face” and can be found in the texts of Targums, are evidently a loan-translation from Hebrew.

³¹ Tg. Neof. Deut 31:17; 32:20; Frg. Tg. V Deut 32:20.

³² See, for instance, Tg. Neof. Gen 9:23: **ועריתה דאבוהון לא חמון ואפיהון הפיכו לבתרהון** “They turned their faces backwards and did not see the nakedness of their father.” See also: Tg. Neof. Ex 25:20; 37:9; Deut 27:15; Frg. Tg. V Deut 27:12; Frg. Tg. MS Paris 110 Num 19:1; Deut 27:12; Cairo Geniza Targum MS DD Deut 27:15.

³³ See, for instance, y. Šeb. 9.6, 39a: **הפך אפוי דלא מיחמיניה** “He turned away his face so as not to see that.” See also: y. Ma’aš. 4.3, 51b; y. Šabb. 16.9, 15d; y. Sanh. 1.2, 18c.

naic Hebrew. However, it did use the phrases הפך פנים³⁴ and החזיר פנים³⁵ “to turn one’s face away.” It also should be noted that the phrase הסתיר פנים is not present in those texts of the Bible, which were written at end of the Second Temple period. However, synonymous phrases that combined verbs of motion with the word פנים “face” were used: השיב פנים (Dan 11:18, 19; 2 Chr 6:42), הסב פנים (2 Chr 6:3; 29:6; 35:22), הסיר פנים (2 Chr 30:9) “to turn one’s face.” Thus, the use of the phrase הסיר פנים in Isa 50:6 instead of הסתיר פנים probably corresponded to phraseology of the spoken language.

3. It is clear that the words הסירוּתִי and הסתרתִי are written similarly. This can, among other things, explain the appearance of הסיר instead of הסתיר in 1QIsa^a, and not some other verb.

4. It is possible that the Qumran scribe replaced הסתיר פנים with הסיר פנים in Isa 50:6 in order to, among other factors, to avoid a contradiction with Isa 53:3.

Isa 53.3 (1QIsa^a): נבזה וחדל אישים ואיש מכאובות ויודע חולי וכמסתיר פנים ממנו ונבוזהו ולוא חשבנוהו “Despised, and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, acquainted with grief and as one, who hides his face from us. We despised and esteemed him not.”³⁶

It should be noted that in MT and in the Qumran 1QIsa^b scroll we find the form of the deverbal noun מסתר (vocalized as *masṭēr*) instead of מסתיר (a participle of Hiphil stem). In all likelihood, the Masoretic variant was the original one. This text talks about the contempt from those people, who know the Servant. The phrase כמסתר פנים ממנו should be translated as “Like one from whom men hide their faces.”³⁷

However the meaning of 1QIsa^a text was most likely different from MT. Singular forms of active participles in the Bible were very rarely used as impersonal. Such cases, as far as we can tell, are not documented in Qumran texts at all.³⁸ Therefore, the Servant of YHWH himself could have been the subject of the מסתיר parti-

³⁴ See, for instance, m. Pesah. 7.13: והכלה הופכת את פניה ואוכלת “And the bride must turn her face away and eat.” See also: m. Yoma 5.1; m. Sukkah 5.4; m. Soṭah 7.5; m. Tamid 1.4; m. Mid. 4.5; m. Neg. 14.2.

³⁵ See, for instance, m. Ma’aś. 2.2: עד שיחזיר את פניו או עד שישנה מקום ישיבתו “...until he is turning his face away or until he is sitting in another place.” See also: m. Ber. 4.5; m. Pesah. 7.13.

³⁶ Ulrich, Flint and Abegg, Jr., eds., *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1*, 88–89.

³⁷ This interpretation is supported by the context, in which the phrase is used. The beginning of the verse Isa 53:3 as well as its ending tells the reader how the Servant was despised by the people (“Despised, and rejected of men... We esteemed him not”). More on the problems of interpretation of Isa 53:3 see: J. L. Koole, *Isaiah. Part 3. Vol. 2: Isaiah 49–55*, 285–287.

³⁸ See G. Geiger, *Das hebräische Partizip in den Texten aus der jüdischen Wüste*, 369.

cept.³⁹ The phrase **כמסתיר פנים ממנו** can be translated as “as one, who hides his face from us.”⁴⁰ Thus, Isa 53:3 (1QIsa^a) may be talking about the Servant, who hid his face from people because of disfigurement, caused by an illness, in order to avoid mockery. Since Isa 50:6 says that the Servant did not hide his face from “mocking and spitting,” an apparent contradiction appeared, which the Qumran scribe possibly tried to eliminate by replacing the verb **הסתיר** with a different one.

The existing evidence is clearly not enough to conclude that there was a tendency to substitute the root **סתר** with the root **סור**. Strictly speaking, there is only one example of such root substitution in the Isa 50:6 text. Moreover, the explanation proposed by Balentine does not seem convincing. If the reason for substitution was the desire to avoid a mix up with the Aramaic root **סתר** “to destroy,” one should expect that the substitution would occur more often; even more so in the contexts which refer to God.

When discussing the text of 2 Chr 30:9, it is more proper to speak about the use of the phrase **הסיר פנים**, instead of its substitution of **הסתיר פנים**. That said, its use could be explained by the context (the verb of motion **הסיר** “to turn” is used in the text as a parallel to another motion verb **שוב** “to return,” “to turn around”).⁴¹

The translation of the Hebrew phrase **הסתיר פנים** in the Septuagint and the Peshitta with the use of the equivalents that possess the meaning of “to turn away one’s face” is most likely caused by the fact that the idiom “to hide one’s face” is absent in both Greek and Syriac. In terms of semantics, the closest equivalent was the combination of the verbs of motion with nouns that denote “face.”⁴²

A few words must be said about the variant **מטלים**, which can be found in 1QIsa^a at the beginning of the same verse (Isa 50:6a): **גוי נתתי למכים ולחיי למטלים**: “I offered my back to those, who beat (me), and my cheeks / jaws – to **מטלים**.” Instead of **מטלים**, MT has a variant **מִרְטִים** “those, who pulled out (beard).” In my recent article,⁴³ I tried to show that the word **מטלים** is a participle (m. pl.) of the causative stem of the verb **נטל** “to lift up, take, remove.” I put forward two possible translations of this passage: “I offered... my cheeks / jaws – to those, who cause to lift” (harmonization with Lam 3:28) and “I offered... my cheeks to those, who force me to shave (my beard) / pull out (my beard)” (see: m. Šabb 10.7; m. Mak. 3.5). Currently, however, I find another explanation to be more probable: **מטלים** is a plural form not a participle but of a deverbal **מטל** (*mittal* or *matṭal*), formed from the same verb **נטל** “to remove,” that describes the process of removing hair. Thus, I

³⁹ It is also possible that the subject in this case is God, who hid His face from the Servant. In that case, one can translate **כמסתיר פנים ממנו** as “Like one from whom God hid His face.”

⁴⁰ The word **ממנו** “from us” (preposition **מן** with 1c. pl. pronominal suffix) is a homonym **ממנו** “from him” (same preposition with 3 m.s. suffix).

⁴¹ See Balentine, *Hidden God*, 106–107.

⁴² Cf. Balentine, *Hidden God*, 88.

⁴³ C. von Büttner, “A Note on **מטלים** in the Great Isaiah Scroll (Isa 50:6),” 137–145.

translate the Isa 50:6a passage the following way: “I offered... my cheeks to plucking (my beard)” (compare with translations in LXX and the Peshitta).

5 CONCLUSIONS

1. The הַסִּירוּתִי reading in the Qumran 1QIsa^a scroll (Isa 50:6b) appeared most likely due to the activity of a Qumran scribe, who acted as the editor.

2. The substitution of הַסִּירוּתִי with הַסְתַּרְתִּי had an explicational function. The editor wanted to show the readers that in Isa 50:6 the set expression הַסְתַּרְתִּי פָנַיִם, which has the semantics “to ignore, to not pay attention” could not be used.

3. The verb הַסִּירוּתִי was chosen as a substitute due to the fact that it is a verb of motion and is written similarly to הַסְתַּרְתִּי.

4. It is also possible that the Qumran scribe replaced הַסְתַּרְתִּי פָנַיִם with הַסִּירוּתִי פָנַיִם in Isa 50:6 in order to avoid a contradiction with Isa 53:3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abegg Jr., M. G., J. E. Bowley, E. M. Cook, ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. Vol. I: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003.
- . *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. Vol. III: The Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Balentine, S. E. *The Hidden God: The Hiding of the Face of God in the Old Testament*. Oxford Theological Monographs; New-York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Barthélemy, D. *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. Tome 2: Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, vol. 50/2; Fribourg Suisse: Éditions universitaires de Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
- Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*. Vierte, verbesserte Auflage. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.
- Brock, S. P., ed. *Isaiah*. The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version, part iii, fascicle 1; Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1993.
- Burrows, M. “Variant Readings in the Isaiah Manuscript.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 113 (1949): 24–32.
- Büttner, C. von. “A Note on מַטְלִיִּם in the Great Isaiah Scroll (Isa 50:6),” *Revue de Qumran* 27/1 (2015): 137–145.
- Clines, D. J. A., ed. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew. Vol. VI*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011.
- Dahood, M. *Psalms I: 1–50*. The Anchor Bible, vol. 16. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Auckland: Doubleday, 1966.
- Geiger, G. *Das hebräische Partizip in den Texten aus der jüdischen Wüste*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, vol. 101; Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Goshen-Gottstein, M. H., ed. *The Book of Isaiah*. The Hebrew University Bible; Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Magnes Press, 1995.
- Haag, H. *Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterocesaja*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985.

- Koole, J. L. *Isaiah. Part 3. Vol. 2: Isaiah 49–55*. Translated by A. P. Runia. Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Leuven: Peeters, 1998.
- Kooij, A. van der. *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 35. Freiburg (Schweiz): Univesitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981.
- Kutscher, E. Y. *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, vol. 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974.
- Lange, A. *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer. Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Buecher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.
- Pulikottil, P. *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran: The Case of the Large Isaiah Scroll 1QIsa^a*. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series, vol. 34; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Sperber, A., ed. *The Bible in Aramaic: based on old manuscripts and printed texts*. Vol. 3. Leiden: Brill, 1962.
- Ulrich, E., P. W. Flint, and M. G. Abegg, Jr., ed. *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1*. Discoveries in the Judean Desert, 32. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010.
- Wheeler, S. B. “The Infixed -t- in Biblical Hebrew.” *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 3 (1970–1971): 21–31.
- Ziegler, J. “Die Vorlage der Isaias-Septuaginta (LXX) und die erste Isaias-Rolle von Qumran (1QIsa^a).” *JBL* 78 (1959): 34–69.
- , ed. *Isaias. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, 14. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983.

COGNITIVE METHODOLOGY IN THE STUDY OF AN ANCIENT LANGUAGE: IMPEDIMENTS AND POSSIBILITIES

Marilyn E. Burton
University of Warsaw

Fundamental to any cognitive approach to semantics, or indeed linguistics in general, is the use of data collected from native speakers. This poses an obvious problem when we address the semantic analysis of ancient languages, for which the kind of data usually gathered for a study based on cognitive principles is simply not available. This has led to the wholesale rejection of cognitive methodologies by scholars such as Francesco Zanella as inappropriate for the study of dead languages. However, where suitable data are available, a cognitive approach is widely acknowledged to be superior in many ways to more traditional structuralist and generativist methodologies. Indeed, cognitive theory has been called by semanticist Dirk Geeraerts “the most productive of the current approaches” to lexical semantics.

The question addressed in this article is whether a cognitive approach to dead languages is in fact hopeless, or whether rather, in the words of van Keulen and van Peursen, our lack of native speaker input “challenges the biblical or semitic scholar to discover signals that reveal the process of communication.” This article examines those attempts made so far within biblical semantics and related fields to compensate for the lack of available native speaker input, and proposes some new avenues for exploration.

1 THE PLACE OF COGNITIVE SEMANTICS IN BIBLICAL STUDIES

Only in the last decade or so has cognitive semantics begun to gain a solid foothold in biblical studies.¹ This is in spite of its centrality to contemporary mainstream se-

¹ According to Van Wolde (Ellen van Wolde, “Wisdom, Who Can Find It?” in *Job 28: Cognition in Context* (ed. Ellen van Wolde; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 31n.), the first application of cognitive semantics to biblical studies was not until Yri’s 1998 publication (K. M. Yri, *My Father Taught Me How to Cry, but Now I Have Forgotten: The Semantics of Religious Concepts with an*

mantic research, in which it is widely considered “the most productive of the current approaches” to lexical semantics.² The reasons for this are two-fold.

Firstly, biblical semantics is a relatively slow-moving field. Contemporary semantic theory is so vast a subject, and so rapidly changing, that it can be intimidating for scholars of other disciplines to engage with it unless one is willing to make it a primary focus. It is thus more than tempting for a majority of biblicalists and those in related disciplines to make use of a methodology already established within the biblical field by another scholar or scholars, without regard to its date of origin – and indeed in many cases its date of expiration – within mainstream linguistics.

Secondly, the application of a cognitive approach to ancient languages faces some inherent difficulties. The fundamental principle of cognitive semantics, and indeed of cognitive linguistics more generally, is that language is inseparable from human cognition. It therefore holds that language should not be studied in isolation from questions of the language-speaker’s perception of the world around him and the structure of the mental categories into which he organizes those things he perceives. Cognitive linguistics in general thus relies heavily on native speaker intuition, and data gathered from a well-known language and culture. This presents the student of ancient languages with a problem – the native speakers are no more.

By some, this obstacle is viewed as insurmountable. One such is Francesco Zanella, who in his fine analysis of the lexical field of “gift” in Ancient Hebrew takes a firmly structuralist stance, maintaining that “an adequate theory” for the study of Ancient Hebrew must be able to function “without the aid of native speakers.”³ He thus views only an externalist semantic theory – that is, one that treats language on its own terms, independently of cognition – as appropriate to biblical studies or indeed the analysis of any ancient language.⁴

However, while it is unquestionably true that the impossibility of native speaker input renders objectivity in semantic analysis considerably more difficult, we are not entirely without access to data. It is simply the case that since “we do not have direct access to the author’s... cognitive and communicative processes, the object of

Emphasis on Meaning, Interpretation and Translatability (Oslo; Scandinavian University Press, 1998)).

² Dirk Geeraerts, “The Theoretical and Descriptive Development of Lexical Semantics,” in *The Lexicon in Focus: Competition and Convergence in Current Lexicology* (ed. Leila Behrens and Dietmar Zaefferer; Peter Lang, 2002), 27.

³ Francesco Zanella, *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of “Gift” in Ancient Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 13.

⁴ It should be noted that Zanella does not claim the superiority of a structuralist over a cognitivist approach in principle; in fact, he goes so far as to acknowledge that structuralism’s “concept of meaning may well be considered inadequate.” Rather, his motivation is highly results-oriented. Specifically, he sees a structuralist approach in general, and componential analysis in particular, as the most *productive* means of analyzing an ancient language such as classical Hebrew, in that it follows a systematic and objectively founded method to produce concrete, quantifiable results (Zanella, “Gift”, 61).

investigation remains primarily the product of literary activity, rather than the communication process itself.” Indeed, in the words of Van Keulen and Van Peursen, rather than leading to the conclusion that a cognitive approach to dead languages is hopeless, our lack of native speaker input “challenges the biblical or semitic scholar to discover signals that reveal the process of communication.”⁵ It will be the purpose of the remainder of this article to consider where such “signals” are to be found, and to outline some fundamental principles for maximizing objectivity in a cognitive semantic approach to an ancient language. Our discussion throughout will be related to Classical Hebrew for the purposes of illustration. However, the large majority of the principles outlined below will be applicable to any ancient language.

2 PRINCIPLES OF A COGNITIVE SEMANTIC APPROACH TO ANCIENT LANGUAGES

2.1 Intuition

If we acknowledge that a language is intimately related to the cognition of its speakers, then it goes without saying that the intuitions of non-native speakers concerning a language are inevitably inaccurate.⁶ This is not to say that an accomplished scholar of an ancient language will not have a sound hold on the sense of an ancient text and its lexical components, but we need only consider the often vastly differing interpretations of even the most unproblematic texts to recognize that these intuitions are not equal to those of a native speaker. A crucial feature of a cognitive approach must therefore involve the suppression, as far as possible, of subjective intuition and indeed reliance on traditional scholarship in favor of a careful examination of empirical evidence. Complete objectivity will, of course, not always be possible, and this constitutes one of the inherent limitations imposed by the absence of native-speaker input. The key, as in any scientific method, is to maintain awareness of and openness about where subjectivity is present.

Related to the suppression of intuition is the avoidance of translation. There is a natural tendency when approaching a language other than our own to think of a lexeme in terms of its glosses in our own language. It is, however, extremely rarely, if indeed ever, that a lexeme maps perfectly from one language to another, retaining all of its subtle nuances, connotations and associations. Therefore, to think of, for example, the Hebrew lexeme כבוד in terms of the English “glory” is inevitably mis-

⁵ P. S. F. van Keulen and W. Th. van Peursen, eds., *Corpus Linguistics and Textual History* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 32.

⁶ Sawyer, in his study of the lexical field of “salvation,” somewhat famously made the claim that “a knowledge of Hebrew implies that I can intuitively recognise words of related meanings” (John F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation* (London: SCM Press, 1972), 34); this statement is quite rightly roundly criticized by Arthur Gibson (*Biblical Semantic Logic: A Preliminary Analysis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), 14–16).

leading. Nor is it better to try to cover all aspects of its meaning through a series of glosses, such as “glory, honor, splendor.”⁷ Rather, it is preferable when possible to avoid translation of terms during the course of the analysis, predominantly because the connotations they carry are likely to influence the researcher. Of course, it is to be hoped that the results of such an analysis will clarify which gloss or translation best serves both in general and in any given context.

2.2 The Corpus

The sole linguistic evidence available to us in the study of an ancient language is, to state the obvious, the extant textual corpus. In Classical Hebrew, this consists of the texts of the Hebrew Bible, the Inscriptions, the sectarian Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew text of Ben Sira.⁸ Given that a comprehensive semantic study requires the use of a large quantity of empirical data in order to be as objective as possible, such a corpus is considerably smaller than is ideal. It is therefore crucial that we not ignore any relevant data that *is* available. Maximizing the data set by including the entire extant corpus offers the greatest opportunity for objective, accurate, justifiable results, by factoring in a broader spectrum as well as a greater volume of literature.

This leads to the question of the diachronic nature of such a corpus. In the case of Classical Hebrew, the body of texts as we have defined it extends over a period of approximately a thousand years, ranging geographically across the Near East and formally from religious prophecy to historical narrative to royal inscriptions. Since semantic analysis is generally performed within a synchronically homogeneous corpus, it may seem that to take the whole of Classical Hebrew as a single entity is inappropriate. It is certainly true that the semantic treatment of Classical Hebrew materials according to period would be a far better approach in the case of sufficiently large corpora being extant from each period, but it is our opinion that the impracticality of undertaking semantic analysis under the constraints of such limited

⁷ In the words of James Barr, glosses “are not themselves meanings nor do they tell us the meanings; the meanings reside in the actual Hebrew usage, and for real semantic analysis the glosses have no greater value than that of indicators or labels for a meaning which resides in the Hebrew itself” (“Hebrew Lexicography,” in *Studies in Semitic Lexicography* (ed. P. Fronzaroli; Florence: University of Florence, 1973), 119–20). Moreover, as De Blois notes, “[t]he use of glosses can even be misleading. If a certain entry in a particular dictionary is listed with three glosses the average reader may get the impression that that entry has three meanings even though those three glosses may be practically synonyms of each other” (Reinier de Blois, “Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains,” *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 8 (2001): 266).

⁸ The definition of Classical Hebrew as consisting of both biblical texts and extra-biblical Hebrew texts from prior to 200AD is that taken by D. J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (8 vols.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–8), 1:14.

and fragmented corpora outweighs the difficulties arising from the diachrony within Classical Hebrew.⁹

3 THE “CLUES”

3.1 Parallelism and Word Pairs

Let us now return to the proposition that in the absence of native speaker input, we may nevertheless find within texts produced by such speakers signals as to their cognitive processes. The first question before us is: what kind of clues are we actually looking for? That is, what is it that we need to discover in order to perform a semantic analysis of an aspect of the language? There are, of course, different forms of cognitive approach to language, ranging from an examination of prepositions or particles to the study of metaphor. In the discussion which follows, we shall concern ourselves with the cognitive analysis of a semantic domain, though once again, many of the principles discussed will be applicable to other types of investigation.

In such an investigation, the first step is to delineate the boundaries of the semantic domain in question – that is, to identify a set of semantically related terms which will be the subject of the analysis. In Classical Hebrew, such a task is made considerably easier by the extensive employment of parallelism. Parallelism provides us with an invaluable tool for gaining insight into the conceptual world behind our texts, through indicating which words and phrases were associated in the Hebrew speaker’s mind. The placing of two terms in syntactically corresponding positions in parallel lines both indicates the perception of a semantic connection by the author and suggests such a connection to the audience. Much the same may be said of word pairs more generally – as examples of “normal word associations for competent speakers,” word pairs are, to quote Berlin, “a window into what psycholinguists would call the language behavior, and ultimately the whole conceptual world, of

⁹ There is, moreover, an argument to be made that linguistic change in Classical Hebrew was very slow, rendering a synchronic treatment of the corpus more reasonable. Indeed, Elwolde goes so far as to argue that the periodisation of Classical Hebrew is at best trivial and at worst, if taken to imply a significant difference between different stages of the language, unsound, doing considerable harm to coherent and systematic study of the language (J. F. Elwolde, “Developments in Hebrew Vocabulary between Bible and Mishnah” in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University, 11–14 December 1995* (ed. T. Muraoka & J. F. Elwolde; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 49–52). While this position is perhaps extreme, the fundamental point remains that the diachronic shifts in the language are insignificant when faced with the impracticality of fragmenting an already small corpus until it is impossible to work with. It should be noted that this is not to deny the evident existence of some degree of diachronic change, and however homogeneous our corpus, it is still vital that we are aware of the existence of diachronic and other linguistic boundaries between and within the texts.

speakers of biblical Hebrew.”¹⁰ It is through an analysis of these that we can best gain insight into how the Hebrew speakers themselves perceived the relations between words.

Such an approach has already been put to good use by a number of biblical scholars, including Gerrit van Steenberg and Reinier de Blois.¹¹ In his study of the terms denoting negative moral behavior in the book of Isaiah, Van Steenberg seeks to define his semantic domain objectively by beginning with a key Hebrew term and observing with which lexemes it occurs in semantic parallel, on the basis that such terms are likely to belong to the same semantic category. The search is then extended to those lexemes found in parallel with one or more of *these* terms.

Van Steenberg recognizes that not all instances of parallelism pair members of the same domain with one another. That is, while all parallel terms are semantically associated with one another to some degree, the nature of the association varies considerably. He therefore confines his analysis solely to terms occurring in what he calls “synonymous parallelism.” Such an approach has great potential for identifying members of a semantic domain as objectively as possible, and certainly is superior, even as it stands, to any attempt to define the membership of a domain through intuition. At the same time, however, it raises issues that I do not believe have so far been sufficiently addressed in the scholarship. These relate to the categorization of parallelism.

The question of how to categorize parallel terms and the lines in which they occur is an ongoing topic of debate; indeed, James Kugel has famously claimed that the whole concept of categorization is unsound, since the relationships between parallel lines and their constituent terms are infinitely varied.¹² Even if we do not take such an extreme position as to denounce any attempt at categorization as futile, we must acknowledge the limitations in our ability, as non-native speakers, to consistently and accurately identify the relationships involved in any given instance of parallelism. Thus, while there is certainly sense in attempting to distinguish between “synonymous” and “non-synonymous” parallelism when seeking to identify semantically similar terms, we face several difficulties. The first is that what may be termed “synonymous parallelism” is a very broad category, containing both lines which are

¹⁰ Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 79.

¹¹ Gerrit Jan van Steenberg, *Semantics, World View and Bible Translation: An Integrated Analysis of a Selection of Hebrew Lexical Items Referring to Negative Moral Behaviour in the Book of Isaiah* (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2005), 85–111; Reinier de Blois, “Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics: Hebrew Metaphors from a Cognitive Perspective,” *DavarLogos* 3 (2004): 101–2.

¹² James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 58.

near-identical and lines which convey only approximately the same sense.¹³ It may therefore be that lines semantically similar enough to fall into this category are nonetheless sufficiently distinct that their parallel terms do not fall into the same semantic domain. This leads us directly to the second difficulty – the relationship between parallel lines is not identical with the relationships between its terms. That is to say, “synonymous” lines are not necessarily wholly constituted by “synonymous” terms.

A related, and perhaps even more concerning, difficulty lies in our ability – or rather lack thereof – as non-native speakers to recognize synonymous lines – or indeed synonymous terms – accurately and consistently. Berlin draws attention to the difficulty inherent in making such determinations through the example of Hab 3:3 which reads:

His splendor (הוד) covers heaven;
And the earth is full of his praise (תהלה).

The complementary and contrasting relationship between heaven and earth perhaps encourages us to see הוד (“splendor”) and תהלה (“praise”) as synonymous here. However, is there any reason to suppose that the second line is not rather consequent on the first, with praise being consequent on God’s splendor rather than an alternative term for it? Since we cannot rely on our intuitions in such matters, to make such determinations based on nothing more ultimately falls victim to the same fallacy – if to a lesser degree – as merely determining members of a semantic domain through intuition.

However, this does not mean that a more objective approach along the same lines is not possible. I would like to propose a new avenue for exploration. By the very nature of a semantic domain, each member is related to multiple other mem-

¹³ Below are listed three verses which would generally be considered to fall into a loose category of “synonymous parallelism,” but in which the degree of semantic relationship between parallel terms varies considerably.

In Job 29:20, the semantic link between כבוד and קשת is not obvious from the sense of the words, but rather is suggested by the context, which demands a metaphorical reading of the latter clause:

כְּבוֹדִי חֲדָשׁ עִמָּדִי וְקִשְׁתִּי בְיָדִי תִחְלִיף:

... my כבוד (“glory”) fresh with me, and my קשת (“bow”) ever new in my hand.

A verse such as Isa 2:10 offers a parallelism between two lexemes which clearly share a single semantic feature which may perhaps be expressed as “being frightening”:

בֹּא בְצִוֵּר וְהִטְמֵן בְּעָפָר מִפְּנֵי פֶחַד יְהוָה וּמִהֲדָר גָּאֹן:

Enter into the rock and hide in the dust from before פחד (“the dread”) of the LORD, and from הדר גאון (“the splendor of his pride”).

Finally, a verse such as Psa 145:11 places in parallel two non-synonymous, but closely related lexemes – not only both attributes, but defining attributes of God which accompany each other.

כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתְךָ יֹאמְרוּ וְגִבּוֹרְתְךָ יִדְבְּרוּ:

They shall speak of your כבוד מלכות (“royal glory”) and tell of your גבורה (“power”) ...

bers of the same domain, and may therefore be expected to occur in association – through parallelism and other forms of word pairing – with at least certain other members of the same domain. It follows from this that within the list of associates of a particular term, we will expect to find clusters of words which display among themselves a high degree of interconnectedness – each member of the cluster being linked substantially both to the central term itself, and to a number of other members of the cluster. By identifying these clusters, we may form a picture of the key members both of our semantic domain and, incidentally, of others.

By contrast, we may also expect that a lexeme associated with, but not belonging to, the domain will limit its regular associations to only one or two members of the domain, and furthermore that its primary associations will be with other lexemes outside the domain. In illustration of the concept, let us consider the English semantic domain containing the lexemes “rain,” “drizzle,” “pour,” “spit,” and “shower.”

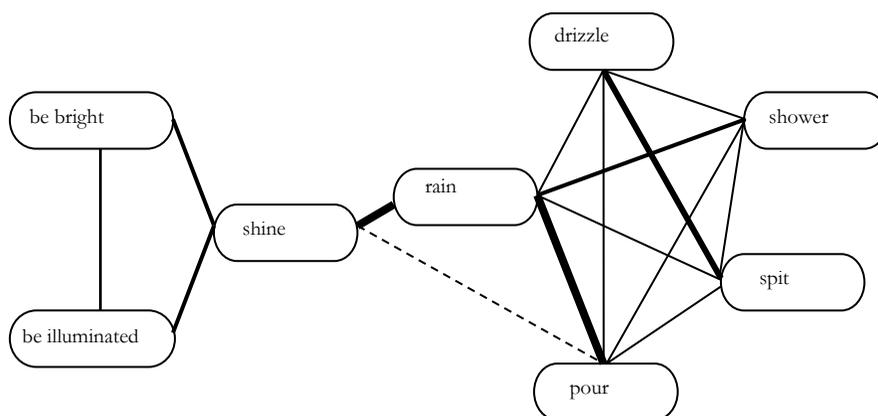


Figure 1: The hypothetical semantic domain of “rain.”¹⁴

We may reasonably expect that “to shower,” for example, will regularly occur in the English language in association with multiple of the other members of its domain; this being equally true of the domain’s other members, we are left with a cluster of interconnected terms, as seen on the right of the diagram. By contrast, an associated, non-member lexeme such as “shine” may occur frequently in association with “rain,” but be associated rarely with other, more peripheral, members of the domain. It is moreover strongly associated with a separate cluster which includes the terms “be bright,” “be illuminated,” while *these* are rarely if ever linked to members of the first domain.

¹⁴ The thickness of each line reflects the strength of the association represented. This diagram is for illustration of method only, and is not based on actual data concerning the English language.

Returning to Classical Hebrew and the phenomena of parallel terms and word pairs, I believe that such a method has a great deal of potential in objectively delineating the boundaries of a semantic domain. If we identify each of the terms found in parallel with, or paired with, a central lexeme, and subsequently each of the terms found in parallel with these, we should notice similar clusters begin to form consisting of interconnected terms. For the semantic domain of **כבוד**, which has been my own primary focus, such a method yields the following diagram:

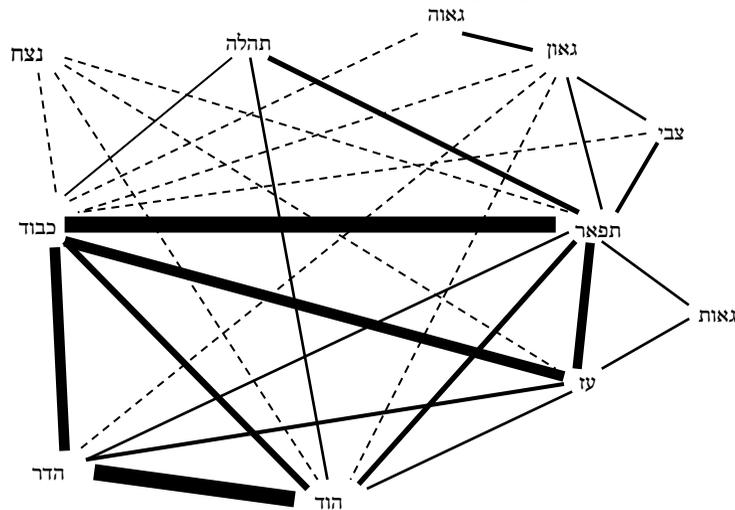


Figure 2: The semantic domain of **כבוד**¹⁵

It is clear from Figure 2 that applying this methodology has led to a lot of expected results. **כבוד** demonstrates particularly frequent associations with each of **תפארת**, **הוד** and **הדר**, which would probably have been the obvious starting point of a semantic domain derived by intuition. This alone indicates the soundness of the method in accurately identifying the membership of the domain. However, there are, also, a few surprises – particularly perhaps the inclusion of **עז**, widely glossed as “strength” – which demonstrate clearly the value and potential of such an objective method.¹⁶

¹⁵ The diagram clearly does not present all the associations, observed through word pairings, of each lexeme, but only those forming an inter-related cluster. The thickness of the lines is proportional to the frequency of co-occurrence of the lexemes; this of course is simply one possible mode of presenting the data, and does not illustrate the relative significance of each association, since for less frequently occurring lexemes instances of association will inevitably be lower in absolute terms.

¹⁶ Since the focus of this paper is on methodology, rather than the specific results as applied to a single semantic domain, there is unfortunately no place here for discussion of the more unexpected aspects of this diagram. These are addressed in detail in Marilyn E.

The next stage in a cognitive analysis of a semantic domain is to explore the relationships between its various members. Questions we wish to consider include how typical or central, atypical or peripheral, a given lexeme is in its domain, and the similarities and differences between various members of the domain with regard to their semantic features.

Here we have not yet exhausted the usefulness of parallelism, for it is replete with clues concerning word associations in the Hebrew language beyond the initial identification of the members of a semantic domain. First of all, it is relevant to consider the relative positions of parallel terms. It is widely agreed that the second line of a parallelism in some way builds upon the first, by going from the more generic to the more specific, from the milder to the more intense, and so on.¹⁷ Thus, by observing patterns concerning the relative positions of parallel terms, we may gather clues to aid us in identifying which members of the domain are more common and prototypical, and which are more specific and peripheral.

Secondly, it has been suggested that we may learn further about the centrality or otherwise of the domain's members by considering the extent of the range of terms with which they are found in parallel. Van Steenberg reasonably argues that the more synonyms a given term has, the more generic it is likely to be.¹⁸ This may be easily illustrated with our English example: if asked to give other words for "rain," one could easily come up with a list, perhaps including "shower," "pour," "drizzle," "spit" and so forth. By contrast, if one were asked to give other words for "drizzle," the list would not be so easily forthcoming, nor so bountiful. The same may be argued for antonyms—it is the most central, or prototypical, term (or terms) which has (or have) the clearest antonymic relations.

Thirdly, parallelisms with terms outside the domain give us clues as to many of that domain's key external associations. In illustration, several of the terms in the semantic domain of כבוד are found in parallel with כח and/or גבורה ("power" and "strength"). This both tells us something of the nature of the domain as a whole – that conceptually it is somehow associated with the domain of which these two lexemes are the core – and gives us an objectively identified criterion against which to

Burton, *The Semantics of Glory: A Cognitive, Corpus-Based Approach to Hebrew Word Meaning* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2017).

¹⁷ "The characteristic movement of meaning [in semantic parallelism] is one of heightening or intensification of focusing, specification, concretization, even what could be called dramatization.... The rule of thumb, then, is that the general term occurs in the first verset and a more specific instance of the general category in the second verset" (Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 19).

Care should however be taken in applying this principle. Van Steenberg notes, for example, that in the domain of negative moral behavior the tendency is to go from the less inclusive term to the more inclusive, thereby encompassing greater breadth of sinfulness. In this way, the pattern of intensification is still present, but nonetheless the more specific term precedes the more generic (*Worldview*, 103–8).

¹⁸ Van Steenberg, *Worldview*, 93.

compare the members of the domain to one another. That is to say, we may distinguish between members of the semantic domain by observing how significant the association with “strength” is to their makeup.

3.2 Syntax and Association

So far we have focused exclusively on parallelism and other forms of word pairing to provide us with the clues we are looking for as to the identity of members of a semantic domain and the relationships between them. Its extensive use as a literary feature in Classical Hebrew makes it a key, and especially prominent, tool in the semantic analysis of that language (as well as, indeed, of languages sharing this characteristic such as Ugaritic), though the lesser role of parallel and paired terms and phrases in the literature of other languages permits its use as a tool there also. However, this is far from the only evidence we can draw upon. The contexts in which the lexemes occur offer a wealth of other information which may assist us in analysis of the internal composition of individual terms, and in the interrelationships between the members of a semantic domain.

A good deal of this information may be derived from the syntax within which our lexemes occur. For example, if the lexemes under consideration are nouns, we might examine whether their role is more commonly that of object or subject of a verb, and with which semantic categories of verbs they tend to occur.¹⁹ This will give us some clues as to how native speakers perceived their relationship to the rest of their cognitive world, as well as allowing us to make distinctions between various members of the same domain in terms of the possible ranges of their use.²⁰ We may also consider their occurrence with prepositions, which give us clues as to whether they can function, for example, as cause or purpose of an action; in Hebrew the prepositions ב־ and ל־ are particularly helpful, though care must of course be taken to distinguish between their various alternative functions. We can, too, look at genitive relationships, or, in Hebrew, construct phrases, to identify who or what may be

¹⁹ There is in fact a movement within cognitive semantics to reject traditional grammatical categories (that is, nouns, verbs, adjectives and so forth) in favor of semantically-based categories, which overlap partially but not entirely with grammatical categories. Both certain verbs and certain nouns, for example, may be classed as “Events.” However, we retain traditional classes for two reasons: firstly, a significant question we seek to address is what the choice of one lexeme over another brings to the context; for this, the lexemes must be syntactically substitutable – i.e. of the same grammatical category. This does mean that nominal phrases, adjectives used substantively and so forth are classed together with nouns. Secondly, as demonstrated by De Blois, biblical Hebrew traditional grammatical categories may in fact be justified semantically (Reinier de Blois, “Word Classes in Biblical Hebrew: A Cognitive Approach” (paper presented at SBL 2007)).

²⁰ In illustration, within the Classical Hebrew semantic domain of כבוד (“glory”) גאון (generally glossed as “pride”) is unique in recurringly being the object of עשה (“do”) (Isa 12:5, 4Q365 f6aii_c:7). This suggests a semantic distinction whereby גאון is perceived, at least in some cases, as a form of activity.

said to possess the thing in question. When considering verbs or adjectives, the relevant syntactic features will be different – questions must include identification of verbal subjects and objects, attribution of adjectives, and so forth. These are only a few examples of the way in which syntactic relations may be mined for evidence. To some degree, these will be specific to the language under examination.

There are also non-syntactic clues to be uncovered – or at least, clues not directly tied to the syntax. For example, a careful examination of the contexts in which members of a given semantic domain are found will demonstrate other semantic domains which regularly occur in conjunction with them. In illustration, many, but not all, members of the Hebrew domain of **כבוד** are commonly found in association with lexemes relating to the concept of **צדק** (“righteousness”). Such information not only allows us to make distinctions among various members of the domain but to understand the relationship of one domain with another.²¹

Finally, in certain cases, we are fortunate enough to be told about native speakers’ categorization of certain phenomena from their own pens. For example, De Blois has noted lists in Gen 1 and Lev 11 as highly informative in identifying the divisions perceived in the animal kingdom by the ancient Hebrews.²²

4 CONCLUSIONS

I hope to have demonstrated in this fleeting overview that a cognitive approach to a dead language, though encountering obstacles, is far from a hopeless endeavor. Much of the information that would normally be gleaned from a native speaker can, with care, be extracted from the texts which they left behind. In all this, I believe our greatest challenge lies in the size of the corpus, which can often render results concerning even the more frequently occurring lexemes and linguistic features statistically insignificant. Many of our conclusions must therefore always remain tentative, and we must be cautious of overstating our case. Nevertheless, I believe that in cognitive semantics we have the most promising approach for getting to the heart of what ancient texts really mean.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alter, Robert. *The Art of Biblical Poetry*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.
- Barr, James. “Hebrew Lexicography.” Pages 103–26 in *Studies on Semitic Lexicography*. Edited by P. Fronzaroli. Florence: University of Florence, 1973.
- Berlin, Adele. *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

²¹ Of course, to understand such external relationships accurately would require an exhaustive mapping of all semantic domains within a given language based on cognitive principles. In Classical Hebrew, a project of this kind is already underway in the form of the Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew (<http://www.sdbh.org/home-en.html>).

²² De Blois, “Lexicography,” 104.

- Blois, Reinier de. "Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics: Hebrew Metaphors from a Cognitive Perspective." *DavarLogos*, 3 (2004): 97–116.
- . "Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains." *Journal of Biblical Text Research*, 8 (2001): 264–85.
- Clines, D. J. A. (ed.). *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–8.
- Elwolde, J. F. "Developments in Hebrew Vocabulary between Bible and Mishnah." Pages 17–55 in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University, 11–14 December 1995*. Edited by T. Muraoka & J. F. Elwolde. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Geeraerts, Dirk. "The Theoretical and Descriptive Development of Lexical Semantics." Pages 23–42 in *The Lexicon in Focus: Competition and Convergence in Current Lexicology*. Edited by Leila Behrens and Dietmar Zaefferer. Peter Lang, 2002.
- Gibson, Arthur. *Biblical Semantic Logic: A Preliminary Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1981.
- Kugel, James L. *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Sawyer, John F. A. *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation*. London: SCM Press, 1972.
- Van Keulen, P. S. F. and W. Th. van Peursen (eds.). *Corpus Linguistics and Textual History*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Van Steenberghe, Gerrit Jan. *Semantics, World View and Bible Translation: An Integrated Analysis of a Selection of Hebrew Lexical Items Referring to Negative Moral Behaviour in the Book of Isaiah*. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2005.
- Van Wolde, Ellen. "Wisdom, Who Can Find It?" Pages 1–35 in *Job 28: Cognition in Context*. Edited by Ellen van Wolde. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Yri, K. M. *My Father Taught Me How to Cry, but Now I Have Forgotten: The Semantics of Religious Concepts with an Emphasis on Meaning, Interpretation and Translatability*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1998.
- Zanella, Francesco. *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of "Gift" in Ancient Hebrew*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

TOWARDS A SCIENCE OF COMPARATIVE CLASSICAL HEBREW LEXICOGRAPHY

David J. A. Clines
University of Sheffield

An area missing from Hebrew lexicography, but now ripe for exploration, is a systematic study of the lexica of Classical Hebrew (the scope of which has usually been exclusively Biblical Hebrew). Indispensable to such a study is convenient access to the hundreds of works of Hebrew lexicography, which has become feasible only in the last decades, with the advent of electronic catalogues and, especially, electronic (and often downloadable) versions of older lexica.

The scope of the present paper is the corpus of over 600 Hebrew dictionaries in European languages from the 16th century onwards. Certain formal features are first compared, especially their inclusion or otherwise of Aramaic, their provision of indexes, their notation of cognates in other Semitic languages, and their treatment of homonyms. There follow four close examinations of individual Hebrew words – חֵיל wall, לָבִיא lion, גִּלָּה I reveal, II go into exile, and שָׁקַע I sink, II bind – exploring the varying treatment they have received at the hands of lexicographers through the centuries, and exposing some faults in our current lexica.

A concluding section of the paper draws some general consequences that may emerge from a comparative study of Hebrew dictionaries, chief among them being the destabilizing of the lexicon by questioning the spurious certainties of modern dictionaries and the bringing to light of numerous proposals for new words and meanings.

1 DEFINITIONS

If you search for the term “Comparative Hebrew Lexicography” or “Comparative Classical Hebrew Lexicography” on Google, you will find – zero hits (apart, that is,

from references to the present article, which has been on the Web since July 2014).¹ It is apparently a study that has never yet been attempted for Classical Hebrew.²

The term Comparative Hebrew Lexicography should be quite clear. It would mean the systematic study of Hebrew lexica in comparison with one another.³ It would consist in its simplest form of identifying similarities and differences among lexica, such as their size and organization and treatment of cognates, and in a more critical form of evaluating the differences among lexica, making judgments about one lexicon over against another, or about commonalities among lexica that are open to criticism.

My aim in this paper is to propose such a study, which seems to be a field ripe for development, and which, from my limited engagement with it over recent months, promises to become an interesting and truly critical new approach, subversive even of some long-standing assumptions about dictionaries and of some well-established scholarly practices.

My scope here is strictly the ancient Hebrew language, which I call “Classical Hebrew,” and the lexica in European languages from the 16th century onwards (leaving aside the mediaeval and later dictionaries in Hebrew or in Hebrew and Arabic).

2 DESIDERATA

2.1 A Checklist of Hebrew Lexica

The first thing needed for a comparative lexicography is a knowledge of lexica through the centuries. Perhaps not surprisingly, since people generally regard a new dictionary as rendering all previous dictionaries obsolete, there are no remotely adequate lists of lexica or histories of Hebrew lexicography. There was an informative article in the old *Jewish Encyclopaedia* by W. Bacher.⁴ But that takes us only down to the end of the 19th century, and it contains also a certain amount of questionable

¹ You will indeed find some references to “comparative lexicography” in reference to Hebrew attached to the name of Moshe Held, who used the term for what is more usually called comparative philology (Held was not a lexicographer). Comparative lexicography must be the study of lexica, not of words that will go into a lexicon.

² By “Classical Hebrew” I mean Biblical and non-Biblical Hebrew down to c. 200 CE, i.e. prior to the Mishnah.

³ So it would be a branch of comparative lexicography in general, which has been defined as “contrast[ing] the dictionary traditions of various cultures, languages and countries with a view to distilling from them common principles, but considering the external factors that have led to divergent practices. Examples include issues such as how different scripts influence the format of reference works, which different genres predominate, and what constitutes good practice in dictionary-making and dictionary use” (R. R. K. Hartmann and Gregory James, *Dictionary of Lexicography* [London: Routledge, 2002], 24).

⁴ W. Bacher, “Dictionaries, Hebrew,” in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* (New York; Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–1906), 4:579–85.

data as well as items that cannot now be traced.⁵ There was an excellent long article by David Téné and James Barr in the final volume of the *Encyclopedia judaica*, but that dealt largely with the period down to the 16th century.⁶ The recent volume by Shimeon Brisman, *A History and Guide to Judaic Dictionaries and Concordances*,⁷ gives a detailed coverage of only a small, though representative, number of lexica. All of these resources together did not amount to a proper list of dictionaries of Classical Hebrew. I had no option: in early 2014 I began compiling my own checklist. It now runs to over 600 items, and I can see that I have a long way to go.⁸ But even as it stands, it is evidence that at least one new dictionary of Classical Hebrew has been published every year, on average, for the last 500 years. Without a list of lexica, the task of comparative lexicography can hardly get started.

2.2 A Very Short History of Hebrew Lexicography

The next thing needed is a general sense of the development of Hebrew lexicography, so as to be able to locate a particular lexicon in its appropriate historical context. A periodization of the history of Hebrew lexicography is in fact not too difficult. The first period is the flourishing of Jewish lexicography, from the 10th century to the 15th, from the first true Hebrew lexicon of David ben Abraham al-Fasi, *Kitab Jami al-Alfaẓ* (a Hebrew–Arabic dictionary), through ibn Janah and Solomon ibn Parḥon to its culmination in David Kimchi’s *Book of Roots* (*Sefer ha-Shorashim*), long the standard work in Hebrew lexicography.⁹

The second period dawns with the advent of printing¹⁰ and the emergence of the so-called Christian Hebraists, writing in Latin for the new constituency of Reformed pastors and scholars. The first such lexicographer was Johannes Reuchlin

⁵ Also helpful is the work of Moritz Steinschneider, though it covers very much wider ground than Hebrew lexica: *Bibliographisches Handbuch über die theoretische und praktische Literatur für hebräische Sprachkunde, ein selbständiger Anhang zu [F. H. W.] Gesenius’ Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Le-Long–Masch’s Bibliotheca sacra* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1859); a second edition with additions and corrections, Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1937; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1976.

⁶ David Téné and James Barr, “Linguistic Literature: Hebrew,” in *Encyclopedia judaica*, XVI (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), cols. 1352–1401.

⁷ Shimeon Brisman, *A History and Guide to Judaic Dictionaries and Concordances* (Jewish Research Literature, 3/1; Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 2000).

⁸ A sample of this Checklist is contained in the List of Hebrew Lexica at the end of this paper; my annotations to the items are omitted, but the page extent and size of the lexica are mentioned in order to enable the reader to visualize the volume in question.

⁹ The edition by J. H. R. Biesenthal and F. Lebrecht, *Rabbi Davidis Kimchi, Radicum liber, sive hebraeum biblicorum lexicon* (Berlin: G. Bethge, 1847), is still available as a print on demand volume.

¹⁰ Actually, one Jewish lexicon had already been printed (before 1480), that of David Kimchi, just mentioned.

(1506). Most of these lexicographers, notably Pagninus (1548), Buxtorf (1600), Simonis (1756) and Gesenius (1810–1812), drew substantially on the Jewish tradition.

The third phase is that of the production of dictionaries in the various European vernaculars. The first known to me is that of John Udall (1593), *The Key of the Holy Tongue*,¹¹ whose Hebrew glossary was said by the author to have been “Englished for the benefit of those that (being ignorant in the Latin) are desirous to learn the holy tongue.” After Edward Leigh’s *Critica sacra* (1639), which was written in a mixture of Latin and English, there came William Robertson with his *The Second Gate* (1655), Schefer (1720) producing the first German–Hebrew dictionary (interestingly arranged by 50 semantic fields, but a trial for the user), and Houbigant publishing the first wordlist of Hebrew in French (1732). In 1762 John Parkhurst brought out his *An Hebrew and English Lexicon without Points*, and 1796 J. C. F. Schulz his *Ebraeisch–Teutsches Woerterbuch*. The vernacular lexica continued with Gesenius’s first dictionary, his *Hebräisch–Deutsches Handwörterbuch* (1810–1812); he lapsed into Latin only for the sake of his many American students who found that easier than German (*Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum*, 1833) and for his *Thesaurus* (1829, completed posthumously by A. Roediger in 1858); thereafter, translations of Gesenius into English began to proliferate, and Latin dictionaries fell into disuse: I know of only two Latin Hebrew dictionaries after 1833: Drach (1848) and Zorell (1946–54).

2.3 Access to the Lexica

It is obvious that one cannot compare lexica without having access to them, but it needs to be spelled out what having access means. If you are comparing lexica, you need to be in a place where many lexica can be spread out before you, because you will want to compare the way one lexicon after another handles many particular words.

Imagine that you are in a library (I report in what follows my experiences in Cambridge University Library). Some of the lexica are from the 16th and 17th centuries, so they will have to be consulted in the Rare Books Room. But you cannot bring into the Rare Books Room your 19th-century lexica, which may be in a different part of the library from where your 20th-century lexica are, perhaps on the open shelves in the Reading Room. You have already discovered that you cannot physically compare Pagninus (1529) with Gesenius’s 5th edition (1857) and *HALAT* (1967–1995); the original German edition will probably be in a different place from the English translation, which you will sometimes need to compare it with. So if you have ten words you want to compare across three lexica you will probably spend all day running from one room in the library to another, and all you can carry with you are your notes, where you have probably failed to write down the very thing that you especially want to compare. Oh, and did you have access to a library that has all

¹¹ I have not been able to discover what Udall was translating. The first two parts of his volume were translated from the *Grammatica hebraea* of Petrus Martinus (Pierre Martinez, Martini) (Paris: Iuvenis, 1567), but Martinus never published a lexicon.

the lexica you want to consult? If you should want to compare the various editions of Gesenius with one another, for example, don't go to Halle, Gesenius's own university; they have only 6 of the 18 editions of his *Handwörterbuch*; and it's a rare library that will have a really strong collection.

The solution has only just come into existence, in the last 20 years, because of three new developments. (1) Electronic library catalogues, especially union catalogues like COPAC in the UK and especially the Karlsruhe Virtueller Katalog (KVK) in Germany, with links to national union catalogues in 20 countries, make it possible and even easy to trace titles and editions. (2) Now that we have online booksellers you can find and buy, for 30 or 50 Euros, many of the lexica of the last 200 years. (3) But better than that, many (perhaps most) of the earlier printed lexica of the 16th to 18th centuries are available for free download.¹² I now have 50 Hebrew dictionaries on my shelves and another 120 or so on my computer, and so I am, I suddenly realize, perhaps in a better position to compare Hebrew lexica than anyone has ever been. Of course, anyone can join in, for a modest outlay of effort, and not very much money.

3 COMPARISONS

3.1 Source language

We are used to lexica of Biblical Hebrew including words in Biblical Aramaic. The earliest, Jewish, lexica contained no Aramaic, and the first lexicon that did was that of Alfonsus Zamorensis (Alfonso of Zamora) in the Complutensian Polyglot of 1515, in which the Aramaic words were interspersed among the Hebrew. The next lexicon to cover the Aramaic words, the *Epitome radicum hebraicarum et chaldaicarum* of Johannes Buxtorf of 1607 followed the same practice, as did the various editions of Buxtorf's *Manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum* and *Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum*, as well as the lexica of Schindler (1612) and Calasius (1617). Most lexica, apart from that of Cocceius (1714/15), continued to be confined to the Hebrew until the influential work of Simonis (1752 and many subsequent editions) apparently made the inclusion of Aramaic *de rigueur* in Hebrew dictionaries. At least since Gesenius's *Neues hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament mit Einschluss des biblischen Chaldaismus* (1815) and *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (1823) it has become the norm. I have, however, not yet been able to identify when the practice began of collecting the Aramaic words into a section of their own at the end of the lexicon, which is what we are used to today.¹³ Of course, the provision of Aramaic data stems from the time when all the ancient Hebrew known was Biblical Hebrew, and all the Old Aramaic known was biblical; now that we have

¹² To find these digital texts, you need to consult KVK (Karlsruhe Virtueller Katalog), where a special symbol shows which editions are available electronically.

¹³ I see it in Gesenius's 12th edition (1895), but not in the 6th (= 5th) edn (1863).

plentiful texts in both languages, it makes less sense to attempt to combine two languages in one lexicon.

3.2 Indexes

We are unfamiliar today with the provision of a reverse index to Hebrew lexica (not in BDB or *HALOT*), but a comparative study of the lexica shows that this has been a common feature of lexica from the earliest times. The first I know of, a Latin index of 30 pages, is by Alfonsus Zamorensis, whom I mentioned above, in his Hebrew lexicon in the Complutensian Polyglot. I would estimate that more than half the lexica since 1500 have such an index. The first I have noted that gave the Hebrew words, rather than just the page numbers, after the index word, is that of Gesenius's 12th edition (1895); we decided upon this system for our forthcoming index to *DCH*¹⁴ before I knew about the Gesenius model.

3.2 Cognates

The earliest Hebrew lexica enshrined mediaeval Jewish philological learning, which included the use of Aramaic and Arabic to explain Hebrew words, especially the rare or controversial ones. The Christian Hebraists of the 16th century drew heavily upon the Jewish lexicographers, usually explicitly, and proudly, as a certificate of excellence. Sebastian Münster led the way in his *Dictionarium hebraicum* (1535), which the title page announced was “enlarged and enriched from the rabbis, especially from the [*Book of*] *Roots* of David Kimchi.” Schindler (1612) systematically followed each Hebrew headword with an Aramaic or Arabic cognate, giving the firm impression that these two cognate languages were the source of all our knowledge of Hebrew meanings. Johannes Förster's was the lexicon that proved the rule (1557), proclaiming that it was “not composed from the comments of the rabbis nor by foolish imitation of our own scholars, but solely from the treasures of the sacred writings themselves.”¹⁵

3.4 Homonyms

We are familiar today with the presence of homonyms in our dictionaries, many words being labelled I or II or III, etc., to distinguish them from other words spelled the same. We have, for example, ערב which means *take on pledge*, *be sweet*, or *grow dark* (BDB 1906: 786b–788a), three obviously distinct words.¹⁶ Such homo-

¹⁴ Volume 9 (English–Hebrew Index) is due to be published in 2016 by Sheffield Phoenix Press.

¹⁵ He must have learned Hebrew from someone, though, and depended on someone else for his knowledge of where given words occurred in the text.

¹⁶ BDB registers six homonyms of ערב, because it includes articles for verbs that do not occur in the Bible but that may be presumed as the root of nouns that do. In the example given above, it numbers *take on pledge*, and *be sweet* as II and III, and does not number *grow dark* at all, because it regards it as a denominative verb.

nyms are more prevalent than is generally recognized: in BDB 21% of the lemmas or headwords are homonyms, and in *DCH* 44%.¹⁷ But for most of the history of Hebrew lexicography homonyms were not recognized. It is in fact very difficult to discover when homonyms in any language were first identified as such.

In the older Hebrew lexica, the typical notation for what we today would call homonyms was a statement that a word has more than one signification; strained connections were then often made among senses together with implausible postulations of basic meanings. Buxtorf's *Epitome* (1600: 320; 1607: 645), for example, says ערב generally means *mix*, from which various significations such as *take on pledge*, *be sweet* and *become dark* are derived. By the time of the 1789 edition of Buxtorf's *Lexicon* (1789: 1014) those significations were being analysed as six distinct senses of the verb, but they were all still dealt with under the one lemma ערב *miscuit* ('mix'), even though they were prefixed with six Roman numerals.

Cocceius is the first lexicographer I have found who boldly labelled the homonymous verbs with Roman numerals (1715: cols. 640–44): I. *miscere, confundi*; II. *in fidem suam recipere, spondere pro aliquo*; III. *suavem esse*). After him, I have found no one who did so prior to Gesenius (1812: 888b–89b), though his homonyms for ערב were different: I. *mix*, II. *be sweet*, III. *distance oneself*, from which *be dark* is derived. In his *Lexicon* (1833: 791b), *be sweet* had become a sub-sense of I. *mix*, II. had acquired the gloss *be dark*, and two extra roots were added, neither occurring in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁸ The 12th edition, edited by Buhl (1895), was much changed: I. became *trade*, which included *go surety* and *mix*, II. was *be sweet*, III. was *become evening*, and IV. was the presumed root *be dry*.

The treatment of homonyms has been perhaps the most variable and inconsistent aspect of Hebrew lexicography.

What has been the point of noting all these features of Hebrew lexica down the centuries? Is it one of those projects that are more interesting than useful? No, I would defend the study of comparative Hebrew lexicography even if it were no more than collecting data, in the style of the trainspotter.¹⁹ We live in the age of the heritage industry,²⁰ partly driven by nostalgia and partly by commercial opportunity; and comparative Hebrew lexicography is certainly a study of our heritage, even if not undertaken for money or for old times' sake. But there is more to it than that.

¹⁷ I derived these figures from my Hebrew Words Database, which calculated 1,738 homonyms in BDB (20.6% of its total of 8,429 words), and 5,828 homonyms in *DCH* (44.1% of its total of 13,217 words). There may be errors and omissions of individual words, but the figures should be broadly correct.

¹⁸ The same in the 4th edition of his *Handwörterbuch*, the last edition he prepared himself (1834: 2: 297b). In the 5th edition (1857: 2: 139b), the extra roots were dropped.

¹⁹ The word is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as "The hobby or activity of observing trains and recording railway locomotive numbers," and is usually engaged in by pre-pubescent boys.

²⁰ The term appears to have been invented by Robert Hewison, in his *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987).

To me it is actually useful to know what Hebrew dictionaries have been like when one is considering what is valuable in a Hebrew dictionary, or what one should be sure of doing or not doing if you are writing a Hebrew dictionary yourself. It is not always easy to imagine the effects of a certain design decision until you see it executed in an actual lexicon. Take, for example, the decision whether to print the lexicon in one or two columns, which I think makes a great difference to the style and feel of the lexicon. Or, a much more important feature, whether and how to include Semitic cognates in each article in the dictionary.

But above all, studying Hebrew dictionaries in relation to one another reveals inescapably how antiquated much of the content of our most recent dictionaries is, how derivative they often are, and how often the mistakes of the past are perpetuated uncritically. Comparative Hebrew lexicography becomes less of an odd hobby and more of an urgent necessity.

4 EXAMPLES

4.1 חֵיל Wall

There are two words in Classical Hebrew for a city wall, חֹמָה and חֵיל (sometimes spelled חָל), and lexicographers can never resist trying to distinguish the meanings of two apparent synonyms. At least since Reuchlin (1506) and Pagnini (1529), two of the earliest Latin dictionaries of Hebrew, our dictionaries say חֵיל means an *outer* wall,²¹ though some think it the *inner* wall, or else the space between outer and inner walls. The latest Gesenius edition has “die kleinere Mauer vor d. eigtl. Befestigungsmauer (חֹמָה), Glacis, Vormauer” (1995: 346b). Gesenius himself invoked the Roman concept of the *pomoerium*, a sacred space left vacant on both the outer and inner sides of the wall.²² None of the classical lexicographers, who were familiar with the usual double wall of mediaeval and early modern fortifications, had of course ever seen a plan of an Israelite city’s fortifications, which did not include an inner and an outer wall (a double casemate wall does not amount to two separate fortifications). There is actually no reason, looking at the occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, to suppose that either word means anything other than “city wall.”²³ Outer and inner walls in Israelite cities are a nothing but a fabrication, but they are clearly visible in our contemporary dictionaries.

²¹ BDB (1906: 298a): “*rampart* ..., of an outer fortification ... (others, by meton., of space between outer and inner fortif., incl. moat”).

²² Gesenius, *Thesaurus* (1829: 434b). In his first lexicon (*Neues hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, 1815: 204) he actually defines it as “*pomoerium*, Raum ausserhalb der Vestungsmauer, aber als Theil der Befestigung, viell. erhöht, wie ein kleiner Wall.”

²³ *DCH*, 3 (1996): 224b), notes a case in 11QT 46:9, where it apparently refers to a ditch or open space or dry moat around the temple, 100 cubits wide, a sense that Kimchi already noted in reference to *b. Sanb.* 88b, and that BDB also refers to, even though it is hardly relevant to Biblical Hebrew.

4.2 לְבִיָּא Lion

Most modern lexica tell us that the word לְבִיָּא, which occurs 11 times in the Hebrew Bible, is a feminine noun and means *female lion* (I avoid the form *lioness*).²⁴ English versions of the Bible lack any consistency over the question. How does it come about that the noun לְבִיָּא, which does not look like a feminine noun any more than, for example, נְבִיָּא *prophet* does,²⁵ has so commonly been asserted to be such?

It is Gesenius and the Gesenius tradition that is the proximate cause. In his *Thesaurus* (1839: 738a), he reported the view of the 17th-century scholar Samuel Bochart in his estimable *Hierozoicon*, that the word was derived from an Arabic *labā* “suckle.”²⁶ Gesenius did not himself accept the derivation but he advanced four reasons for regarding the word as feminine. His reasons can all be countered quite readily, and in any case Gesenius did not claim that לְבִיָּא is feminine in all its occurrences. In his first lexicon (1812: 520a), he said it meant *lion*, perhaps *lioness*.²⁷ In his *Lexicon manuale* (1833: 520b) and in its second edition (1847: 475a, after his death in 1842) it was only (male) *lion*, but there remained a reference to Bochart at the end of the article. In the 5th and 6th editions of the *Handwörterbuch* (1857, 1863: 445b) Bochart had moved up to the head of the article, thus: “Löwe, nach Bochart (*Hieroz. I*, S. 719ff.) *Löwin*.” In the 12th edition (1895: 379a) it is “lion, but also lioness” (4 references are mentioned). By the time of the 16th edition (1915: 377a) it has become solely *female lion* (yes, the reference to Bochart is still there).

What we should observe is that no new research had been done in the 200 years since Gesenius’s first lexicon, and a chain of lexicographers had been rather too casual with the evidence. What should have happened is that once the Arabic derivation proposed by Bochart had been given up, all reference to him should have

²⁴ Thus, for example, BDB (1906: 522b), Zorell (1946–54: 389a), *HALAT*, 2 (1974: 491b) (= *HALOT*, 2 [1995: 517a]), Gesenius¹⁸ (2005: 593b). There are a few cases where a reference is deleted or added by emendation, but they will not concern us here.

²⁵ Nouns with this vowel pattern are all masculine, with the sole exception of יְמִיָּן “right hand,” which conforms to the rule that parts of the body that go in pairs are feminine. For a list of Hebrew nouns of this vowel pattern, see James L. Gagarin, *Hebrew Noun Patterns* (Mishqalim): *Morphology, Semantics, and Lexicon* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987), p. 58.

²⁶ *Hierozoicon, sive bipertitum opus de animalibus Sacrae Scripturae* (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1663), pp. 711–78 [719] (= repr. edition, 2:1–91 [11–12]). The Arabic verb *labā* is registered in Edward William Lane, *An Arabic–English Lexicon*, vol. 7 (ed. Stanley Lane-Poole; London: Williams & Norgate, 1885), 2644a. Bochart no doubt derived his knowledge of the verb from the recently published dictionary (the first by a European scholar) of Jacobus Golius, *Lexicon arabico–latinum* (Leiden: Bonaventura and Abraham Elsevier, 1653), where the word appears in col. 2093.

²⁷ So too in his *Handwörterbuch* (1823: 380b). In both places he cited Bochart.

been omitted, and someone should have cast a critical eye over Gesenius's arguments in favour of the feminine reference of the word.²⁸

4.3 גלה I Reveal, II Go into Exile

Almost all our modern lexica recognize just one root גלה,²⁹ which they gloss as “reveal” and as “go into exile” – meanings apparently very distant from each other. In so doing they are following a long lexicographical tradition. Commonly older lexicographers simply said in such a case that the root had two meanings, but sometimes they felt a need to explain how one word could have widely different senses. In this case the argument is that גלה, basically meaning “make bare,” has the specialized sense of “make (the earth) bare” by removing it of its inhabitants.³⁰

One day I realized that I no longer believed in one גלה, for this reason: one can “uncover” eyes and ears, etc., but people going into exile are not themselves “uncovering” the land from which they are being dispossessed. And when Ezekiel is told to go into exile “from his place,” it cannot mean that he is to uncover the land from his place.³¹ Even without cognates to the two emerging roots, I would have maintained that they were distinct, but we now have both an Akk. *galû* “go into exile” (apparently),³² and a Ug. *gly* “present oneself, make one's way, go,”³³ which make the probability of a second גלה all the more likely.

Then I began to search for support. Though my view was in a distinct minority, I found Mandelkern (1925: 263c) and Zorell (1968: 152a) and Westermann and Albertz (in Jenni and Westermann 1997: 314–20) agreed, and, more recently discovered, to my surprise, that Gesenius himself, in his earliest lexicon (1810: 154a–55a),

²⁸ I have explored the case of לְבִיָּא more fully in my paper, “Misapprehensions, Ancient and Modern, about Lions (Nahum 2:13),” forthcoming in a Festschrift, and available online at www.academia.edu/7385702.

²⁹ This is the case with the following twentieth-century lexica: BDB (1906: 16b), König, *Wörterbuch* (1910: 59b), Gesenius–Buhl (1915: 139b), Koehler (1948–53: 182a), *HALAT*, 1 (1967: 183b), Ges¹⁸ (1987: 215b), *HALOT*, 1 (1994: 191b), *DCH*, 2 (1995: 348b), Alonso Schökel (1990: 158b).

³⁰ So, for example, Winer (1828: 183) says explicitly: “*migravit*, spec. *in captivitate, in exilium* (prop. *terram nudare, incolis privare*.)” Similarly Hans-Jürgen Zobel: “Emigration or exile can be understood as an uncovering of the land, and thus “revealing,” “uncovering,” could be the original meaning of *gll*” (*TDOT*, 2 [1975]: 476–88 [478]).

³¹ There is even a case where גלה is followed by מְאָרֶץ (4QMidrEschat^b 8.10); it can hardly mean “uncover the land from the land.”

³² Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch unter Benutzung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von Bruno Meier* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981), 275; Jeremy Black, Andrew George and Nicholas Postgate (eds.), *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (2nd [corrected] printing; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 88b “be deported”; but the verb is not apparently mentioned in the [Chicago] Assyrian Dictionary (*CAD*).

³³ See G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, 1 (2nd ed., Leiden: Brill, 2004), 299–300.

had already distinguished the two roots with the homonym numbers I and II.³⁴ Though Gesenius does not mention Michaelis in this connection, I think he must have been his source for the idea of separate two roots (I am assuming that Gesenius at the age of 24 had not worked this out for himself); Michaelis had remarked (1784: 312) that the two roots were “so different that I would not dare to derive one from the other, as Schultens does.”³⁵

Thereupon, I had to discover what happened to גלה II *exile* in the later editions of Gesenius, and why BDB, which is perhaps the finest flowering of the Gesenius tradition, did not recognize it. For reasons unknown to me, just a few years after his first two lexica, in his *Handwörterbuch* of 1823 (p. 147b), Gesenius had dropped it.³⁶ And that is all it took for the existence of גלה II *exile* to be more or less suppressed for the next 200 years.

Unravelling this little history of גלה is not going to make much difference to how the word is translated, since the context is always plain; but it does enable us to remove from our dictionaries an oddity verging on an absurdity – the claim that a single word can mean both *reveal* and *go into exile*.

4.4 שקע I Sink, II Bind

Job 40:25 is the starting point for this last example of lexicographical comparison. Yahweh asks Job whether he can שקע Leviathan’s tongue with a cord. Everywhere else the verb means *sink*, and the hiphil here could well mean *press down* – except that no one can explain how you could press down Leviathan’s tongue *with a cord*, or why you should be trying to do that. BDB, puzzled, offers “*wilt thou make his tongue sink* (? pull or press it down),” and follows that with a very cryptic remark: “Mich^{Suppl.} 2349, cited Thes¹⁴⁷⁷, cp. Sam. ט שקע = חבש *bind*.” This, being interpreted, means that J. D. Michaelis, in his *Supplementa ad lexica hebraica* (1792: 2349), observed that the Samaritan Pentateuch used שקע where the Hebrew had חבש *bind*, and that A. Roediger in his supplement to Gesenius’s *Thesaurus* (1842: 1477), noted this fact.³⁷

³⁴ The same in his *Neues hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* (1815: 120b-121b).

³⁵ “Duplex signification verbi, *migravit*, et, *retexit*, *revelavit*, ita mihi diversae videntur, ut vix ausim cum Schultensio unam ex altera derivare.”

³⁶ Here there is only one word, with the two senses. So too in his *Thesaurus* (1829: 283b).

³⁷ Gesenius’s first lexicon (1812: 1182b) merely reported that Vg and Aq had *ligabis* (well, it’s not correct to say that Aq has a Latin reading, but never mind), but later editions ignored any reference to the sense *bind* altogether. Buhl’s editions of Gesenius’s *Handwörterbuch* – the 6th (1863: 898a) and the 12th (1895: 822a) – made no mention of it. Yet in his 16th edition Buhl can be seen reporting Michaelis’s view, though he does not adopt it (1915: 861b). There is no reference to the sense *bind* in *HALOT* (1999: 1644b), nor in any other current lexicon I am aware of, apart from *DCH*, 8 (2011: 555a). The meaning *bind* has, however, been accepted by Georg Beer, in his edition of Job for the *Biblia hebraica* (ed. Rudolph Kittel; Stuttgart; editio altera emendatio stereotypica iterum recognita; Privilegierte Würt-

BDB, we observe, is not saying that this is a good idea, and Roediger for his part had curtly dismissed it as “hardly likely” (*vix probabile*).

But in fact, when you look up Roediger and Michaelis, you find both that it is the very solution we need, and that BDB has omitted some key information: not only does the Samaritan Pentateuch at Lev. 8:13 have **עקש** for the Hebrew **שחב** *bind* (which suggests that Biblical Hebrew itself may well have had a verb **עקש** *bind*) but also the Vulgate similarly took **עקש** in our Joban verse as *bind* (*ligabis*), and so did Aquila (**συνδήσεις**). Rather surprisingly, no one seems to have remarked that Theodotion agreed (**δήσεις**) with Aquila, or that the LXX must have had the same understanding when it translated “put a halter around its nose” (**περιθήσεις φορβεὰν περι ῥίνα αὐτοῦ**), though I don’t know why it turned Leviathan’s tongue into its nose. Anyway, this solution has the merit that you do use a cord to *bind*, though not to *press down*.³⁸ Given the wide support for this **עקש** II *bind*, I find myself asking, What more does a word have to do to get into the dictionary?

5 CONSEQUENCES

The history of an academic field of study is part of that study, and worth undertaking regardless of the consequences or possible benefits. But I do regard comparative Hebrew lexicography as greatly beneficial to students of the language and to readers of the ancient Hebrew literature, not least the Hebrew Bible. I will review some aspects that have arisen from immersing myself in the lexica of the past.

5.1 The Copying of Dictionaries

I will offer an axiom: most dictionaries are copies of other dictionaries. Just as well, you might say, since a dictionary that had only original meanings would be useless. The downside, though, is that the mistakes and the myopia of the past tend to be perpetuated, and that means for over 500 years in some cases.

5.2 Missing the Main Questions

Another result of the wholesale copying of one dictionary by another is concerned not with the meanings of disputable words, but with the articles on major words. All too often, I find that one lexicon after another has ignored matters that I would regard as fundamental to the sense of a word. For **אֶבֶן** *stone*, for example, I want to see

tembergische Bibelanstalt, 1922), 1110; E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1967; orig. 1926), 625; G.R. Driver, “Hebrew Poetic Diction,” in *Congress Volume, Copenhagen 1953*; VTSup, 1; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953), 26–39 (34), but without discussion; David J. A. Clines, *Job 38–42* (WBC 18B; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2011), 1158, 1192–93; and, among English versions, NEB, REB, JB, NIV and NABRE.

³⁸ I haven’t yet investigated the remark of Simonis (1771: 1066): “al. *ligabis*, ex significacione Arab.,” since I have not come across a presumed Arabic cognate as yet. The same parallel was noted by F. J. Montaldi in his revision of Buxtorf (1789: 4:1753): “ex significacione radicis Arab. *ligabis* linguam ejus.”

a primary distinction between *a stone* (of various sizes and for various uses), and *stone* as a material for building, etc. It's surprising how few dictionaries make that distinction an issue. Again, for אכל *eat*, there seems to me a big difference between *eat for food* and *eat in order to destroy, obliterate*, that is, between *eat* and *devour*. But I don't see such analyses in the standard lexica.

5.3 The Multiplicity of Meanings

Another axiom: the more dictionaries, the more meanings. If you have two or three Hebrew dictionaries on your desk, you obviously have access to fewer potential meanings than if you have 600 dictionaries. But potential meanings are not as good as true meanings, you may say. What if some of those potential meanings are wrong? How are we benefitted by having more wrong meanings? I reply: But what if some of them are right and yet not in the latest lexicon?

5.4 Destabilizing the Lexicon

Dictionaries have always striven towards confident statements of meanings. Lexicographers have thought it their privilege and their responsibility to make decisive judgments when there is conflict and uncertainty among scholars about words. Meanings that have not been adopted by the individual lexicographer are usually not mentioned,³⁹ and the impression is given that things are more stable than they really are. Readers of dictionaries become expectant of authoritative statements about meaning.

A consequence of bringing back older lexica into the conversation, as well as of registering the numerous proposals that have been made in the last half-century for new words and new senses of words, is bound to be a destabilizing of the lexicon, with more options, more need of the term "perhaps," more acknowledgment that we don't really know the meaning of many of our words.

I will grant that this situation may well be a phase we are going through, and the number of words in a Hebrew dictionary will not necessarily continue to grow indefinitely. In a new phase, people will have to be evaluating the proposals for new words that are currently on the table, and the number we must be considering today may well shrink. But, at the moment, I believe we need to bring into the light all the research on Hebrew words that has been done, so that we can begin the task of evaluation. Since the completion of *DCH* in 2011 I have been researching the scholarly literature especially of the last 50 years, and to date I have accumulated some 1,054 words that did not make it even into *DCH*, which was particularly rich in new

³⁹ *HALAT* and its translation *HALOT* are to be exempted from this criticism, for they contain many cases of the siglum ":", which prefaces a reference to a view they do not themselves accept. But very often the reference does not include what the dissenting view is, but consists solely of a bibliographical item. Some research has to be undertaken by the user to find what alternatives to the lexicon's decision actually are.

words (3,674 of them). In a couple of years' time I expect to have far more than that.

5.5 The Autonomy of the Scholar

In what sub-field of one's general academic study does one outsource one's judgments and decisions to someone else? I will admit that if I need the dates of a king of Israel I will accept the word of some authority, and not trouble to research the matter myself, but I can't easily think of parallels. It seems to me, though, that – when it comes to lexicography – scholars, including Bible commentators, for example, are happy to trust the word of the dictionary on the desk, and are uncharacteristically uncritical about word meanings, which are the fundamental building blocks of our knowledge of Classical Hebrew and its texts.

5.6 The Unreliability of Lexica

In his groundbreaking and fascinating study that does for New Testament lexicography what I am proposing for Classical Hebrew, John Lee concludes:

After five centuries of accumulation and refinement, the content of the major [New Testament] lexicons of our day might be expected to be highly reliable. It is not. Scrutiny revealed one instance after another of dubious method and material ... New Testament lexicography has failed to deliver the results one might expect from such long-sustained attention. Instead of a commodity that provides accurately described meanings and a reliable summation of the relevant data, we have haphazard coverage of the latter and a considerably flawed treatment of the former.⁴⁰

I fear that the same may be true of Hebrew lexicography. But in addition Hebrew lexicography has its own special fault: a lack of engagement with the research of the twentieth century. BDB cannot be accused of overlooking published research of the 19th, but for most of our most recent lexica, it is almost as if no philological work has been done in the 20th. We have some catching up to do.

HEBREW LEXICA MENTIONED IN THE PAPER

10th cent., 2nd half. David ben Abraham al-Fasi. *Kitab Jami al-Alfaz* (Arabic: book containing a collection of words), also known as *Agron*.

c. 990–c. 1050 Abu al-Walid Marwān ibn Janāh (R. Jonah). *Kitab al-uṣūl, Sefer ha-shorashim* (Book of the Roots).

⁴⁰ John A. L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (Studies in Biblical Greek, 8; New York: Peter Lang, 2003), xi, 177. The situation is even worse for Arabic lexicography, it appears; not many people realize, for example, that the esteemed 19th-century lexicon by Georg Wilhelm Freytag (frequently quoted by G. R. Driver), *Lexicon arabico-latinum* (Halle: Schweschtke, 1830–1837) is often no more than a copy, frequently word for word, of Goli-us's lexicon of 1653.

- 1160 Solomon ibn Parḥon. *Maḥberet be'Aruk*.
- 12th cent. David Kimḥi** [1160–1235]. *Sefer ha-Sborashim* (Book of the Roots) (first printed in Italy before 1480).
- 1506 Johannes Reuchlin** [1455–1522]. *De rudimentis hebraicis*. Pforzheim, 1506. 628 pp. fol.
- 1515 Alfonsus Zamorensis** (Alfonso of Zamora, also Alfonso de Castro) [c. 1474–1544]. *Vocabularium hebraicum atque chaldaicum totius Veteris Testamenti*. In the Complutensian Polyglot (*Academia complutensis*), vol. 6. [Alcalà de Henares]: A.G. de Brocario, 1514–17. 355, 48, 4, 30 pp. fol.
- 1529 Sanctes (Xantes, Santes) Pagninus (Pagnini)** [1470–1536]. אוֹצֵר לְשׁוֹן הַקִּדְּשׁ. *Thesaurus linguae sanctae*. Lyon: Gryphius, 1529. 2752 cols. fol.
- 1535 Sebastian Münster** [1488–1552]. סֵפֶר הַשְּׂרָשִׁים עִם נְגוּזֵימִים. *Dictionarium Hebraicum ... praesertim ex radicibus David Kimbi*. Basel: Froben, 1535. [880] pp. 8°.
- 1557 Johannes Förster** (Forster, Vorstheimer) [1496–1558]. *Dictionarium hebraicum novum: non ex rabinorum commentis, nec nostratium doctorum stulta imitatione descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris sacrorum Bibliorum*. Basel, 1557. [24], 912 pp. fol.
- 1593 John Udall** [? 1560–1592]. מִפְתֵּחַ לְשׁוֹן הַקִּדְּשׁ. *The Key of the Holy Tongue: wherein is conteined ... thirdly, A short dictionary containing the Hebrue words that are found in the Bible with their proper significations*. Leyden: Francis Raphelengius, 1593. 174 pp. 8°.
- 1600 Johann Buxtorf the Elder** [1564–1629]. סֵפֶר הַשְּׂרָשִׁים קְצוּר. *Epitome radicum hebraicarum*. Basel: Konrad von Waldkirch, 1600. 502 pp. 12°.
- 1607 Johann Buxtorf the Elder**. *Epitome radicum hebraicarum et chaldaicarum*. Basel: C. Waldkirch. 1607. 983, [32] pp. 8°.
- 1612 Valentin Schindler** [1543–1604]. *Lexicon pentaglotton hebraicum, chaldaicum, syriacum, talmundico-rabbinicum, et arabicum*. Hanover: J. Hennëus, 1612. [16] pp., 1992 cols., [152] pp. fol.
- 1617 Marius Calasius** (de Calasio) [1550–1620]. *Dictionarium hebraicum*. Rome: S. Paulinus, 1617. 128 pp. 4°.
- 1641 Edward Leigh** [1603–1671]. *Critica sacra. Observations on all the radices, or primitive Hebrew words of the Old Testament in order alphabeticall*. London: T. Underhill, 1641. 573 pp. 4°.
- 1655 William Robertson** [d. ? 1686]. *The Second Gate, or The Inner Door to the Holy Tongue: Being a Compendious Hebrew Lexicon*. London: H. Robinson, 1655. [26], 551, [1] pp. 8°.
- 1714/15 Johannes Cocceius** [1603–1669]. *Lexicon et commentarius sermonis hebraici et chaldaici*. Leipzig: Reyher, 1714/15. [10] l., 1040 cols., [30] l., 142, 184 cols. 4°.
- 1720 Ludwig Christoph Schefer** [1669–1731]. שֵׁרֶשׁ דְּבַר [sic]. *Oder Hebreisches Wörter-Buch*. Berlenburg: C. Konert, 1720. [4] l., 1116 pp. [26] l. 4°.
- 1732 Charles-François Houbigant** [1686–1783]. *Racines hebraïques sans points-voyelles*. Paris: C. Simon & B. Alix, 1732. [4], lxxxvii, [1], 368 pp. 8°.

- 1752 Johannes Simonis** [1698–1768]. *Dictionarium Veteris Testamenti hebraeo-chaldaicum*. Halle: Bierwirth, 1752. 72 pp. 8°.
- 1756 Johannes Simonis**. *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum*. Halle: J. J. Curtius, 1756. viii, 1082, [46] pp. 8°.
- 1762 John Parkhurst** [1701–1765]. *An Hebrew and English Lexicon without Points*. London: W. Faden, 1762. [2], vi, [6], xxii, 422 pp. 4°.
- 1771 Johannes Simonis**. *Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*. 2nd ed., Halle: J. J. Curtius, 1771. xxii, 1100 pp., 26 l. 8°.
- 1784–92 Johann David Michaelis** [1717–1791]. *Supplementa ad lexica hebraica*. Göttingen: J. G. Rosenbusch, 1784–92. 3 vols. 2376 pp. 4°.
- 1789 Johannes Buxtorf**. *Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaeo-biblicum*. Ed. F. J. Montaldi. Rome: J. Zempel, 1789. 4 vols. in 2. 1905 pp. 4°.
- 1796 Johann Christoph Friedrich Schulz** [1747–1806]. *Hebräisch-deutsches Wörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Leipzig: Weygand, 1796. viii, 686 pp. 8°.
- 1810–1812 Wilhelm Gesenius** [1786–1842]. *Hebräisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des Alten Testaments*. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1810–1812. 2 vols. 1343 pp. 8°.
- 1815 Wilhelm Gesenius**. *Neues hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament mit Einschluss des biblischen Chaldaismus. Ein Auszug aus dem grössern Werke*. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1815. xvi, 720 pp. 8°.
- 1823 Wilhelm Gesenius**. *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1823. 933 pp. 8°.
- 1828 Georg Benedict Winer** [1789–1858]. *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum* (4th ed. of Simonis's lexicon). Leipzig: F. Fleischer, 1828. 1094, [2] pp. 8°.
- 1829–1858 Wilhelm Gesenius**. *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*. 3 vols. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1829–1858. 1522 pp. 29 cm.
- 1833 Wilhelm Gesenius**. *Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros*. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1833. x, 1123 pp. 8°.
- 1834 Wilhelm Gesenius**. *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. 2 vols. in 1. Leipzig: Vogel, 1834. 1159, 921 pp. 8°.
- 1847 Wilhelm Gesenius**. *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum*. Ed. altera emendata ab auctore ipso adornata atque ab A. Th. Hoffmanno recognita. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1847. xii, 1035 pp. 8°.
- 1848 P. L. B. Drach** [1791–1865]. *Catholicum lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti libros*. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1848. 994 pp. 28 cm.
- 1857 Wilhelm Gesenius**. *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Ed. F. E. C. Dietrich. 5th ed. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1857. 2 vols. xlvii, 542, 462 pp. 8°.
- 1863 Wilhelm Gesenius**. 6th ed. [= 5th ed.]. *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Ed. Franz Eduard Christopher Dietrich. Leipzig: Vogel, 1863. xlvi, 996 pp. 8°.

- 1891–1906 F. Brown** [1849–1916] **with the co-operation of S.R. Driver** [1846–1914] **and C. A. Briggs** [1841–1913]. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* [BDB]. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891–1906. xii, 1127 pp. 26 cm.
- 1895 Wilhelm Gesenius**. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament.*, ed. Frants Buhl. 12th ed. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1895. xii, 963 pp. 8°.
- 1910 Eduard König** [1846–1936]. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* Leipzig: Dietrich, 1910. x, 665 pp. 8°.
- 1915 Wilhelm Gesenius**. *Wilhelm Gesenius' hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch zum Alte Testament.* Ed. F. Buhl. 16th ed. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1915. xix, 1013 pp. 8°.
- 1925 S. Mandelkern** [1846–1902]. *Veteris Testamenti concordantiae hebraicae atque chaldaicae.* 2nd ed. Berlin: F. Margolin, 1925. xviii, 1532, 16 pp. 31 cm.
- 1940 [?]-[1984] Franciscus Zorell** [1863–1947]. *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti.* Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, [1940]-[1984]. vi, 912 pp. 8°.
- 1948–1953 Ludwig Koehler** [1880–1956]. *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros. A Dictionary of the Hebrew Old Testament in English and German.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948–1953. lxvi, 1138 pp. 29 cm.
- 1967–1995 Ludwig Koehler** [1880–1956] **and Walter Baumgartner** [1887–1970]. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament* [HALAT]. 3rd ed. neu bearbeitet von Walter Baumgartner, unter Mitarbeit von Benedikt Hartmann und E. Y. Kutscher. 5 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–1995. 1810 pp. 28 cm.
- 1974–2006 G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren** (and Heinz-Josef Fabry from vol. 7) (eds.). 15 vols. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* [TDOT]. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974–2006. 25 cm.
- 1987–2010 Wilhelm Gesenius**. *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* [Ges¹⁸]. Ed. Rudolf Meyer and Herbert Donner. 18th ed. Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1987–2010. Gesamtausgabe, 2013. xlvi, 1624 pp. 28 cm.
- 1990 Luis Alonso Schökel**. *Diccionario bíblico hebreo-español.* Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 1994. 908 pp. 28 cm.
- 1993–2011 David J.A. Clines (ed.)**. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* [DCH]. 8 vols. Vols. 1–6: Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–2001; Vols. 6–8: Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007–2011. 5661 pp. 25 cm.
- 1994–2000 Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner**. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament by Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner. Subsequently Revised by Walter Baumgartner and Johann Jakob Stamm; with assistance from Benedikt Hartmann, Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim, Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher and Philippe Reymond* [HALOT]. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson; Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000. 2094 pp.

1997 **Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann.** *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament* [TLOT]. 3 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997. lii, 448; x, 449–1076; viii, 1077–1638 pp. 24 cm.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bacher, W. “Dictionaries, Hebrew.” Pages 579–85 in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*. Vol. 4. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–1906.
- Beer, Georg. “Liber Iob.” Pages 1064–1112 in *Biblia hebraica*. Edited by Rudolph Kittel. Stuttgart; editio altera emendatio stereotypica iterum recognita; Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1922.
- Biesenthal, J. H. R., and F. Lebrecht, eds. *Rabbi Davidis Kimchi, Radicum liber, sive hebraeum bibliorum lexicon*. Berlin: G. Bethge, 1847.
- Bochart, Samuel. *Hierozoicon, sive bipertitum opus de animalibus Sacrae Scripturae*. London: Thomas Roycroft, 1663.
- Brisman, Shimeon. *A History and Guide to Judaic Dictionaries and Concordances*. Jewish Research Literature 3/1. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 2000.
- Clines, David J. A. *Job 38–42*. WBC 18B. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2011.
- . “Misapprehensions, Ancient and Modern, about Lions (Nahum 2:13).” (forthcoming in a Festschrift; available online at www.academia.edu/7385702).
- Dhorme, E. *A Commentary on the Book of Job*. London: Thomas Nelson, 1967 (orig. 1926).
- Driver, G. R. “Hebrew Poetic Diction.” Pages 26–39 in *Congress Volume, Copenhagen 1953*. VTSup 1. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953.
- Freytag, Georg Wilhelm. *Lexicon arabico-latinum*. Halle: Schweschtke, 1830–1837.
- Gagarin, James L. *Hebrew Noun Patterns (Mishqalim): Morphology, Semantics, and Lexicon*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987.
- Golius, Jacobus. *Lexicon arabico-latinum*. Leiden: Bonaventura and Abraham Elsevier, 1653.
- Hartmann, R. R. K., and Gregory James. *Dictionary of Lexicography*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Hewison, Robert. *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*. London: Methuen, 1987.
- Lane, Edward William. *An Arabic–English Lexicon*. 8 vols. London: Williams & Norgate, 1863–1893 (vol. 7 edited by Stanley Lane-Poole, 1885).
- Martinius, Petrus (Pierre Martinez, Martini). *Grammatica hebraea*. Paris: Iuvenis, 1567.
- Olmo Lete, G. del, and J. Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Soden, Wolfram von. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch unter Benutzung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von Bruno Meier*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981.
- Steinschneider, Moritz. *Bibliographisches Handbuch über die theoretische und praktische Literatur für hebräische Sprachkunde, ein selbständiger Anhang zu [F.H.W.] Gesenius*”

- Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Le-Long–Masch’s Bibliotheca sacra.* Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1859 (2nd ed., Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1937; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1976).
- Téné, David, and James Barr. “Linguistic Literature: Hebrew.” Pages 1352–1401 in *Encyclopedia judaica*. Vol. 16. Jerusalem: Keter, 1971.
- Zobel, Hans-Jürgen. “גלה *gālāh*.” Pages 476–88 in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Vol. 2. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren; translated by John T. Willis. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

ON DATING BIBLICAL HEBREW TEXTS: SOURCES OF UNCERTAINTY / ANALYTIC OPTIONS¹

A. Dean Forbes
University of the Free State

This article has a complex, controversy-laden goal: Prepare the way for statistical approaches designed to lead to either 1) an inference of the temporal relations holding among Hebrew Bible text portions or 2) a conclusion that such inferences are not reliably possible using statistical methods.

To achieve this, I examine five sources of uncertainty: 1. noise-induced weakening of results, 2. limited amounts of data, 3. non-optimality of available text samples, 4. restricted confidence in dates if/when needed for pivotal text portions, and 5. the allure of language-diffusion S-curves. In a recap, I suggest ways of coping with each source of uncertainty.

Then I take up task options by considering these questions: 1. Which approach to statistical analysis should be used? 2. Should inference of the temporal relations involve supervised learning or unsupervised learning – relying on labeled data or unlabeled data, respectively? 3. How should time be represented: absolute time, ordered time, or adjacency-based time? 4. Which linguistic features should be used? 5. Which algebraic formulation should be sought? 6. Which additional factors should be taken into account: dialect, text type, register, style, et cetera?

Finally, I characterize the sources of uncertainty and options and look ahead.

1 INTRODUCTION

The ultimate goal of the work begun here is to devise and carry out a set of statistics-based protocols that either produce reliable inferences of the temporal relations

¹ Originally presented as a paper at the 2014 ISLP Symposium in St. Petersburg, Russia. I thank professors Robert Holmstedt and Karen Kafadar and the anonymous referees for their helpful critiques of this essay's predecessors. All unexpunged foolishness and errors are my sole responsibility.

among the text portions comprising the Hebrew Bible or show that such inferences are not possible. The inferences are to be based upon selected linguistic features and, as necessary, other textual characteristics. This goal statement is full of complex issues.

The *statistical protocols* will be pre-defined research plans, since improvising one's protocol(s) "on the fly" can lead to systematic bias. Also to lessen the risk of bias, before the research proper begins, the texts should be appropriately marked up by persons unaware of the protocol(s).

The resulting inferences should be demonstrably reliable, with the procedures for assessing reliability appropriate to the methods of analysis used.

For the purposes of this essay, the *observed* variables must be linguistic in nature. The *explanatory* variables must include a time measure, but might also include other possibly important text-describing variables.

Further, the explanatory variables must be estimated for suitably-delimited portions of the Hebrew Bible, text delimitation itself being a complex chore.

Creation and execution of a research program requires careful navigation of the *sources of uncertainty* in the problem domain, while wisely choosing among available *options*.

Of late, linguistic text dating in Biblical Hebrew studies has been a locus of strenuous, yet fruitful, contention. It is hoped that by moving toward a statistics-based set of protocols, this essay may bring helpful perspectives to the debate.

2 TASK SOURCES OF UNCERTAINTY

Task sources of uncertainty should be dealt with as follows:

1. If a source of uncertainty destroys a method's reliability, avoid that method.
2. If the adverse effects of a source of uncertainty can be mitigated, then do so.
3. To the extent that a source of uncertainty reduces the reliability of inferences, quantify the source of uncertainty's effects.
4. That failing, state that inferences of uncertain reliability are involved.

2.1 Noise-Induced Weakening of Results

Each text constituent used in an analysis may have been altered or wrongly labeled, potentially affecting the outcome. Such changes/errors are of three types.²

2.1.1 Text Transmission Noise

As a text is copied across time and space, changes and/or errors are made. High copying change/error-rates and/or repeated copying may combine to wash out originally-present textual information. That is, the repeatedly copied text might: 1) be rendered uninformatively homogeneous, or 2) still contain information useful for textual classification.³ To deal with transmission noise, the analyst must devise

² A. D. Forbes, "The Diachrony Debate," 11–12.

³ A. D. Forbes and F. I. Andersen, "Dwelling on Spelling," 129–32.

means of deciding which state of affairs obtains. Arbitrarily embracing one or the other possibility is not acceptable.

2.1.2 Feature Noise

A further perturbing situation occurs when data markup is inconsistent, when a text is labeled one way in one clause but then is labeled differently in another. Consider the identical second clause in 2 Kings 22:14 and 2 Chron 34:22:

וְהָיָא יְשֻׁבֶת בִּירוּשָׁלַם בְּמִשְׁנֶה

“And-she dwelling in-Jerusalem in-the-second-[quarter]”

In the Andersen-Forbes (“A-F”) representation, the location constituent is parsed both times as shown in Figure 1, with the two prepositional phrases joined to form a single phrasal assembly “in+geog,” licensed by the relation subset.

Now, suppose that the parses of these identical texts differed. If the clause in 2 Kings contained a single location constituent as shown in Figure 1, its parse would be like this:

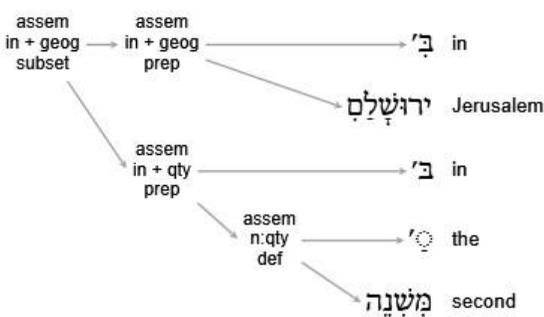


Figure 1. Phrase-Marker Fragment

| | | | |
|-----|-----|----------|----------------------------|
| And | she | dwelling | in-Jerusalem in-the-second |
| and | sbj | pred | loc |

If the identical clause in 2 Chronicles were assigned two location constituents, its parse would be like this:

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|----------|--------------|---------------|
| And | she | dwelling | in-Jerusalem | in-the-second |
| and | sbj | pred | loc | loc |

Noise would have been introduced into the features describing the identical clauses. Such feature noise must be dealt with by enforcing parsing consistency.⁴

⁴ A. D. Forbes, “The Challenge of Consistency.”

2.1.3 Class-Assignment Noise

Some analyses require that one provide pre-classified “training datasets.” Class-assignment noise occurs when parts of the training data are misclassified. Constructing an intentionally extreme example, let us suppose that an analyst wanted to do some work based on Givón’s specification⁵ of an Early Biblical Hebrew (EBH) sample consisting of Gen 1–12 (with A-F enumeration bhs.1.1–bhs.1.12) and 2 Kings 1–12 (logged as bhs.21.1–bhs.21.12). If the text sample were extracted from the A-F database using these text specifications, and the analysis were carried out, the results would be untrustworthy. Why? Because the A-F specifier for 2 Kings is not bhs.21, but rather bhs.12. As it happens, bhs.21 refers to Qohelet. Hence, a metathesis typing error would have caused the extraction of a supposed EBH sample consisting of Gen 1–12 plus Qohelet. Were this mishap to occur,⁶ the resulting class-assignment noise would wreak havoc. Typical class-assignment noise is much less extensive than in this made-up example and more difficult to deal with, but can degrade inferences even so.

2.2 Limited Amounts of Data

2.2.1 Not So Big Data

This being the era of “big data”⁷ and the Hebrew Bible seemingly being a hefty “data source” (*BHS* weighs in at 2 kg.), it is not surprising to find suggestions that scholars should “[harness] the power of the computer to crunch *the huge biblical corpus* and to rapidly execute statistical analyses...”⁸ The suggested action is good advice, but assuming that the biblical corpus is huge is a mistake. By the usual corpus linguistic standards, *BHS* is rather small at around 300,000 words. By comparison, “the [British National Corpus] *contains only 100 million words.*”⁹

2.2.2 Portion Sizes

In formulating analysis, there is a tension between the desire to obtain detailed results (relying on many smallish text portions) and the desire that the results be con-

⁵ T. Givón, “Biblical Hebrew as a Diachronic Continuum,” 41.

⁶ When a major mishap befalls only some of the components upon which analysis relies, there is a chance of detecting and correcting the problem – as in this made-up example. But making provision for *truly outrageous events* is a primary focus of statistical research.

⁷ J. Shaw, “Why ‘Big Data’ Is a Big Deal.”

⁸ V. de Caën, “Hebrew Linguistics and Biblical Criticism: A Minimalist Programme,” 21. Italics added.

⁹ S. Piantadosi, H. Tily, and E. Gibson, “Word lengths are optimized,” 3528. Italics added.

vincing (requiring that each portion be adequately large). Various rules of thumb regarding satisfactory portion size have been suggested in the literature.¹⁰

2.2.3 *Heterogeneity*

In delimiting text portions, it is entirely possible that text blocks that differ significantly may be grouped together – heterogeneity. Further, any given block may consist of interleaved texts having very different histories – heterogeneity. And finally, any given Hebrew Bible text portion very likely has been changed during transmission due to redaction and/or text-altering copying, as well as erroneous copying followed, perhaps, by correction – heterogeneity. In spite of all this possible heterogeneity, it still may be possible to recover (distorted yet usable) evidence regarding text provenance.¹¹ Textual heterogeneity is a serious potential source of uncertainty. It might scuttle dating attempts. We need to estimate its extent.

2.3 Non-optimality of Available Text Samples

2.3.1 *Selection Bias*

“[S]election bias can occur [when one uses] a sample selection process that, unknown to the investigators, depends on some characteristic associated with the properties of interest.”¹² The primary properties of interest here are textual features revealing linguistic difference/change. That the texts making up **מִן** are in the canon due to their linguistic features is very unlikely. Further, because confounding variables requiring inclusion will be included, selection bias – perhaps surprisingly – is not a major concern.¹³

¹⁰ For BH diachrony studies, text portions of around 1,000 words likely are sufficient. (Forbes, “The Diachrony Debate,” 23–27.) Text-portion sizing is difficult. For detailed discussion, see F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible*, 6–14, 205–13.

¹¹ To the contrary, Ian Young asserts that “since every biblical text contains within it a chronology of earlier and later composition, the idea that biblical books or chunks thereof represent the language of one particular time (and place) appears to be extremely unlikely.” (I. Young, “Patterns of Linguistic Forms in the Masoretic Text: The Preposition **מִן** ‘From,’” 394.) Young’s assertion is underspecified in three respects: 1. How do we know that “every biblical text contains within it a chronology of earlier and later composition”? 2. What degree of verisimilitude would it take to “represent the language of one particular time (and place)?” If the operative grammar were obeyed 99% of the time, would the odd 1% make the text non-representative? 3. “Extremely unlikely” involves what level of likelihood: one chance in a thousand, one in a hundred, one in ten?

¹² S. Lohr, *Sampling: Design and Analysis*, 5.

¹³ Consider B. Bull, “Exemplar Sampling,” 171: “[T]he claim that randomness guarantees representativeness cannot stand, nor can the implication that inferences based on a non-random sample must be biased.”

2.3.2 *Validity*

Typical applications of statistical methods with which readers will be familiar (such as in medical research or political polling) involve inferring the characteristics of populations based on the analysis of samples extracted from those populations. When such sample-to-population inferences are trustworthy, the endeavor is said to exhibit *external validity*.¹⁴

We do not primarily strive for external validity (having no ability to sample an underlying long-gone population) but rather seek *internal validity*, which “refers to [whether or not] a cause-effect relationship between an independent variable and a dependent variable has been established within the context of the particular research setting.”¹⁵ Omitted variables of a certain sort are a major threat to internal validity:

“[S]o long as the omitted variables are uncorrelated with the included independent variables, ... [analysis] will produce unbiased estimates. [But if] omitted variables are in fact correlated with the included independent variables, [then analysis] generally produces biased and inconsistent estimates.”¹⁶

Thus, when important bias-inducing variables are omitted, analysis is less trustworthy.

2.3.3 *Potentially Confounding Variables*

For the following sociolinguistic/dialectal domains of inquiry, we will investigate which associated variables should be included in future analyses (see §3.6):

1. Discourse typology inference via syntactic-stylistic clausal analysis (Polak).¹⁷
2. Regional dialect identification via grammatical and lexical distributions (Rendsburg).¹⁸

¹⁴ J. Leighton, “External Validity,” 466: “When an investigator wants to generalize results from a research study to a...population..., he or she is concerned with *external validity*.” Italics added.

¹⁵ M. Brewer and C. Crano, “Research Design and Issues of Validity,” 12. But note that diachrony analyses move from observed values of dependent variables (“effects”) back to estimates of the time variable (“cause”).

¹⁶ H. Barreto and F. Howland, *Introductory Econometrics*, 490. Forbes and Andersen (“Dwelling on Spelling,” 144) suggest that in the case of seriated orthography data, the “fat horseshoe effect” implies that some omitted variable or variables have biased the results.

¹⁷ F. Polak, “Language Variation, Discourse Typology, the Sociocultural Background of the Hebrew Bible.” Polak has devised a “discourse profile” that basically measures clause complexity.

¹⁸ G. Rendsburg, “Northern Hebrew through Time: From the Song of Deborah to the Mishnah.” Rendsburg has identified grammatical and lexical features characteristic of “Israeli Hebrew.”

3. Labov's "change-from-below" and "change-from-above" differentiated using direct speech/narrative corpora as oral/written corpora surrogates (Kim).¹⁹

2.4 Restricted Confidence in Assigned Text Dates

For some approaches (for example, language diffusion modeling), analysis requires that some sort of dates²⁰ be assigned to a few text portions without relying on grammatical features. However, language-based text dates are so embedded in biblical scholarship that one must question whether it is possible to be uninfluenced by linguistic factors when assigning dates.

There is a possible way around this limitation. Based on the characteristics of their vowels,²¹ text portions have been ordered along a gradient curve ("horseshoe").²² It is straightforward to convert the gradient-curve locations of a set of text portions into arbitrary time units ("atus").²³ For example:

| | |
|------------|------------|
| Ezra-Neh– | 0.0 atus |
| 1 Samuel– | –21.5 atus |
| Leviticus– | –60.0 atus |

Carrying out analyses using linguistic features, time estimates for all of the text portions might be obtained based on a few such anchor dates.²⁴

¹⁹ D.-H. Kim, *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, and Linguistic Variability*. On oral/written surrogacy, Kim stipulates on page 95 that "[w]hen we see an individual book/text *vigorously participating* in a certain change, we will compare the uses of both the old and the new variants in our two text types (recorded speech and narration), which represent oral- and written-based text types." Italics in original.

²⁰ For example, specific date: 587 BCE; date range: 6th c. BCE; categorical era: EBH versus LBH.

²¹ Andersen-Forbes labelled vowels as to type, stress level, and spelling realization (*plene/defectivi*).

²² For orthography-based results see Forbes and Andersen, "Dwelling on Spelling," 142. An explanation of the methodology is at D. N. Freedman, A. D. Forbes, and F. I. Andersen, *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography*, 125–34. The inferred dates are probably biased due to omitted variables.

²³ The procedure for reckoning the arbitrary time units (atus) is simple: i. Set a pair of calipers to a small enough width (call it, say, 1,000 atus) so that they can "caliper along" the approximating curve in an enlarged copy of Figure 6, p. 142 of *Studies*. . . . ii. Mark "time zero" on the curve at an arbitrary location. iii. Walk the calipers along the curve, marking each unit location. iv. Read off the times (in atus) of the portions that you choose to use to prime the analysis.

²⁴ If one is willing to fix two dates, then one can derive coefficients that let one estimate other dates. For example, if we set a date of 350 BCE for Ezra-Nehemiah and 625 BCE for 1 Samuel, then the estimated date for Leviticus is 950 BCE. Further, if instead we use the dates for all portions whose dates we trust, then we can estimate a best set of coefficients,

2.5 The Allure of Language-Diffusion S-Curves

In *Diachrony in the Hebrew Bible*, reference is made to *S-curves* thirteen times.²⁵ For example, Dresher points to a “characteristic of language change – namely, the S-shaped curve of an innovation.”²⁶ Four S-curves are shown in the book.²⁷

My Figure 2 shows Holmstedt’s ordering of various biblical texts along an S-curve.²⁸ The text feature (“marker”) plotted is the *observed* percentage of nominalizers realized by ψ (as opposed to אשר) in each text.²⁹ Enticing as this ordering of texts may be, its reliability is constrained by these three problems:

- Incidence fluctuations due to sample-size and non-grammatical effects.
- Possible non-monotonicity³⁰ of marker realization.
- Possible non-monopolization of marker.

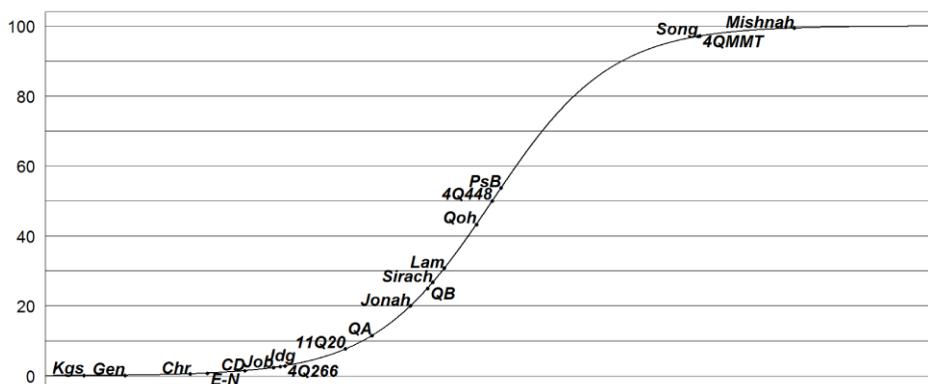


Figure 2. Holmstedt’s Diffusion of ψ

allowing us to date the remaining portions more reliably. Note well: composition date is *not* equivalent to “orthographic date.”

²⁵ C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit (eds.), *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, pages 8, 27, 66, 73, 78, 79, 91, 102 (x2), 103, 108, 112, and 118. S-curve: “A graph which rises steeply in the middle, but is flatter at the beginning and the end.” P. H. Matthews, *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics*, 357.

²⁶ E. Dresher, “Methodological Issues in the Dating of Linguistic Forms,” 27.

²⁷ *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, pages 28 (Dresher), 91 (Cook), and 103 and 118 (Holmstedt).

²⁸ R. Holmstedt, “Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew,” 118. (Figure redrawn and used with permission.)

²⁹ The relative frequency is $n_{\psi} / (n_{\psi} + n_{\text{אשר}})$, where each n_{ix} is the count of feature x in text $_i$.

³⁰ In mathematics, a curve is monotonic if it never reverses its direction. That is, it relentlessly increases or stays the same, or it relentlessly decreases or stays the same.

2.5.1 Frequency Fluctuations: Sample-Size Effects/Non-Grammatical Effects

It might seem that what we have in Figure 2 is a simple ordering process. Reading along the S-curve one might assert, say, that:

$Q_A < \text{Jonah} < Q_B < \text{Ben Sira} < \text{Lamentations} < \text{Qohelet} < 4Q448 \ll \text{Song of Songs},$

where $<$ means “is earlier than” and \ll means “is much earlier than.” But, such a chain of inferences is not justified by the observed data upon which it is based. A concrete example will make the point. Consider Figure 3, taken from Ellegård’s classic work on the history of *do* in English (and reproduced by Dresher).³¹

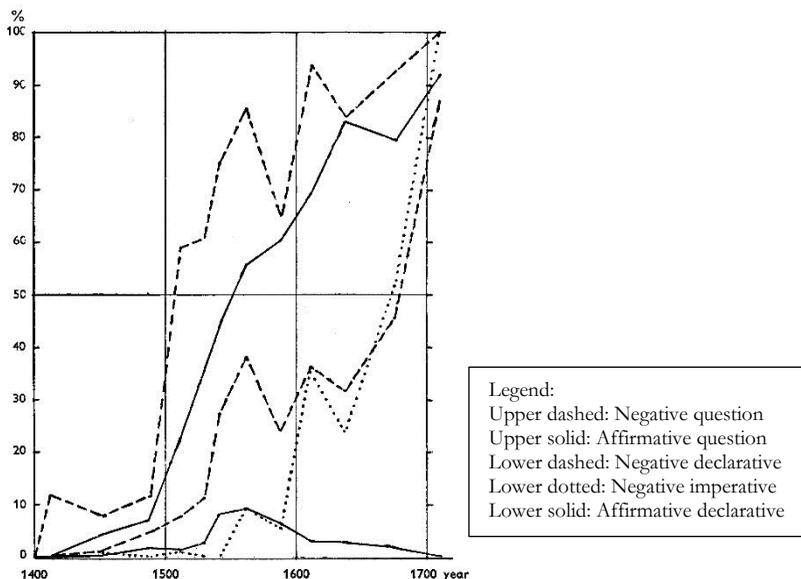


Figure 3. “Percent *do*-forms in various types of sentences”

Note that the innovation curves are neither monotonic nor smooth. Rather, they fluctuate fairly substantially. Were we to plot the observed frequencies for the negative questions (topmost curve) along an S-curve, then the known dates would be badly mis-ordered like this:³²

1450 < 1488 < **1413** << 1513 < 1530 < 1588 < **1543** < 1638 < **1563** < 1675 < **1613** < Swift
 8% 11% 12% 59% 61% 65% 75% 84% 85% 92% 94% 100%

Ellegård proposes that the fluctuations on the negative-question curve are “probably due above all to the relatively small number of instances, which exposes the samples

³¹ A. Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do*, 162, reproduced in Dresher, “Methodological Issues,” 28. Legend added.

³² The dates shown are the midpoints of the time intervals covered by each epoch.

to chance variations.”³³ This is also the case for the biblical data gathered by Holmstedt, as reproduced in my Figure 2. Surely no one would hold that the 50% frequency obtained for 4Q448 (based on two nominalizers) should have similar credibility to the 43% frequency obtained for Qoheleth (based on 157 nominalizers). Nor are all 0%-observed frequencies created equal. One can have much more confidence in the $0\% \leftarrow (0/584) \cdot 100\%$ found for Deuteronomy than for the $0\% \leftarrow (0/4) \cdot 100\%$ found for Obadiah. Further, if a single רשׁ changed to a שׁ in Deuteronomy, the observed frequency would increase slightly from 0% to 0.2%; but if such a change occurred in Obadiah, the observed frequency would leap from 0% to 25%. As a rule, the more data points used to determine a proportion, the less sensitive that proportion is to the effects of noise.

There is a well-developed classical methodology for quantitating the confidence that an analyst can have in a given observation: confidence intervals. Put loosely, the basic theory allows one to define an interval around an observed parameter estimate within which the actual population parameter probably lies.³⁴ Figure 4 shows some confidence intervals for the nominalizer data. We see that for a population out of which Ezra-Nehemiah might have been drawn, the proportion almost surely is close to zero. For the population out of which the tiny 4Q448 was drawn, all we can assert is that the proportion likely lies somewhere between 10% and 90%.

2.5.2 Possible Non-Monotonicity of Marker Realization

Consider the waxing and then waning solid curve corresponding to affirmative declarative sentences at the bottom of Figure 3. It clearly is not monotonic; it is not a simple S-curve. Theories describing this behavior of affirmative declarative *do* have been studied by Vulanović, who comments that:

“[t]he rise and fall of periphrastic *do* in affirmative declaratives can be viewed as two connected syntactic changes and their combination can be represented by what is essentially the same model. After all, the fall of periphrastic *do* in affirmative declarative sentences is the same process as the *rise* of the simple *do*-free constructions.”³⁵

³³ Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do*, 162–63.

³⁴ Confidence interval theory is covered in introductory statistics books. For a discussion in the context of spelling in the MT, see Andersen and Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible*, 8–14.

³⁵ R. Vulanović, “Fitting Periphrastic *do* in Affirmative Declaratives,” 124.

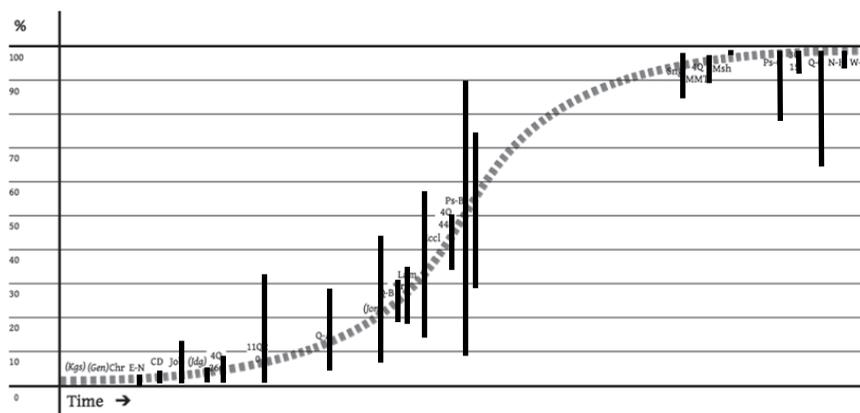


Figure 4. The Diffusion of ψ , with 95% Confidence Intervals

Having just seen an instance in English of a marker rising and then falling over time, one wonders: What about biblical Hebrew? Vincent de Caën has discerned a similar phenomenon in biblical Hebrew. Put perhaps too briefly: final η apocopation was later replaced by suffixation in certain *wayyiqtol* verbs.³⁶ Holmstedt has gathered the data that make the case.³⁷

Non-monotonicity has a serious implication. No longer is the inference from observed marker to inferred date, or date surrogate, one-to-one. Rather, it is one-to-many. The “inverse solution” from dependent variable back to independent variable is not unique. The percent frequencies plotted as the solid curve at the bottom of Figure 3 tabulate like this:

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Period | 1400 | 1425 | 1475 | 1500 | 1525 | 1535 | 1550 | 1575 | 1600 | 1625 | 1650 |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 1425 | 1475 | 1500 | 1525 | 1535 | 1550 | 1575 | 1600 | 1625 | 1650 | 1700 |
| Frequency (%) | 0.24 | 0.26 | 1.8 | 1.4 | 2.6 | 8.2 | 9.3 | 6.3 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 1.8 |

Based on the observed frequencies, we might infer this faulty ordering:

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|------|------|------|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------------|
| Period | 1400 | 1425 | 1500 | 1650 | 1525 | 1535 | 1550 | 1575 | 1600 | 1625 | 1475 |
| | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 1425 | 1475 | 1525 | 1700 | 1535 | 1550 | 1575 | 1600 | 1625 | 1650 | 1500 |
| Frequency (%) | 0.24 | 0.26 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 8.2 | 9.3 | 6.3 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 1.8 |

³⁶ de Caën, “Hebrew Linguistics and Biblical Criticism.” The kernel insight presented by de Caën is that applying first one grammatical rule (apocopation) and then, over time, supplanting that rule by another (suffixation) explains the waning and then waxing of terminal η in certain *wayyiqtol* verbs.

³⁷ Holmstedt, “Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew,” 109–12.

Or this:

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|------|------|------|-------------|
| Period | 1400 | 1425 | 1500 | 1650 | 1525 | 1575 | 1535 | 1550 | 1600 | 1625 | 1475 |
| | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – |
| | 1425 | 1475 | 1525 | 1700 | 1535 | 1600 | 1550 | 1575 | 1625 | 1650 | 1500 |
| Fre- quency (%) | 0.24 | 0.26 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 6.3 | 8.2 | 9.3 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 1.8 |

And so on... Solution for date interval, given feature incidence frequency, is no longer unique.

2.5.3 Possible Non-Monopolization of Marker

Analyses involving non-monotonic innovation diffusion are common in market research where a product arrives on the market, dominates it, and is then replaced by a later product. In the marketing world, a product need not monopolize a market to succeed. What about diffusion phenomena in languages? Critiquing the S-curve model of language change, Wang and Minett observe:

“A significant weakness of this solution... is that the predicted change is unidirectional and always completes. In other words, the change is always predicted to invade the entire population, which is not always the case...”³⁸

In the previous subsection we saw that change is not always unidirectional. But it also may be that the predicted change does not necessarily proceed to monopoly. In such a case, the upper limit of the S-curve would be some value less than 100%. Hence, the S-curve theory needs to allow for non-monopolization behavior. This can be done by introducing an additional parameter into one’s theory.

One phenomenon in language where non-saturated behavior may occur is *alternation*.³⁹ For example, consider the *dative shift* in English: *Jim gave the ball to Mary* versus *Jim gave Mary the ball*.⁴⁰ The conditions under which one or the other form is used have been much studied.⁴¹

2.6 Dealing with the Sources of Uncertainty

Here is how I propose that the various kinds of sources of uncertainty be dealt with:

³⁸ W. Wang and J. Minett, “The invasion of language: emergence, change and death,” 267–68.

³⁹ B. Levin and M. Hovav, *Argument Realization*, 186–205. On alternation in biblical Hebrew involving the indirect object with אָמַר, see F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*, 344–45.

⁴⁰ B. Levin, *English Verb Classes and Alternations*, 29. According to our searches and email from Beth Levin (15/4/2014), alternations have not been studied from the perspective of historical linguistics.

⁴¹ J. Bresnan and J. Hay, “Gradient grammar.”

1. *Noise-induced Weakening of Results.*
 - a. *Transmission noise* – If possible, demonstrate that information has not been totally washed out.
 - b. *Feature noise* – Enforce consistency in token classification and parsing.
 - c. *Class noise* –
 - i. Disentangle sources, if confident in identifying them.
 - ii. Use smallest portions allowable, judging likelihood of mixtures.
2. *Limited Amounts of Data.*
 - a. *Not So Big Data* – It is a sad fact that the Hebrew Bible is a smallish text. Modern statistical theory has devised methods for making the most of small samples, methods important for our research protocols.
 - b. *Portion Sizes* – By tailoring the number of portions used for each investigational protocol, use of the available data will be optimized.
 - c. *Heterogeneity* – Be alert lest improperly-assembled or intermixed-source text blocks compromise analytical outcomes.
3. *Non-Optimality of Available Text Samples.*
 - a. *Selection Bias* – Surprisingly, given proper method, this does not seem to be a major threat.
 - b. *Internal Validity* – The major threat to internal validity is the omission of evolving variables. Candidate variables include dialect, text type, register, *et cetera*. In preparation for a grand analysis, we might:
 - i. See if any variables can be omitted since they...
 1. ...do not evolve
 2. ...are impossibly intractable and likely of low importance.
 - ii. Classify the remaining variables categorically or quantitatively.
 - iii. Include them in a grand analysis.
4. *Restricted Confidence in Assigned Text Dates.*

As regards assigning dates to texts, a gradient runs...

 - a. from those analysts who are happy to assign dates to multiple texts...
 - b. to those who insist that no dates be imported into the analysis.

The Bayesian approach in §3.1 caters for analysts lying along this gradient.
5. *The Allure of Language-Diffusion S-Curves.*
 - a. *Marker Fluctuations* – Fluctuations in observed proportions must be taken into account in treatments using innovation diffusion theory.
 - b. *Non-monotonicity* – By potentially rendering solution for dates non-unique, non-monotonicity is a serious challenge. I see two ways of coping with it:
 - i. Assume it is so rare as not to warrant attention...*unwise*.
 - ii. Be vigilant and cope with it should it occur either by...
 1. sophisticating the mathematics [operationally costly] or...
 2. omitting the feature(s) that involve it [easily doable].
 - c. *Non-monopolization* – Should this (very rare?) behaviour be suspected...
 - i. Add a parameter to the diffusion model [operationally costly] or...
 - ii. Eliminate all suspect features from the analysis [easily doable].

Where transmission noise and small sample size are concerned, only vigilance and statistical sophistication can help. But the other sources of uncertainty can be managed by due diligence, continuing data refinement, or feature censoring. *By far the greatest risk to successful statistics-based research in this area is the non-optimality of available text samples, internal validity being most threatened.*

3 TASK ANALYTIC OPTIONS

Next, I take up task *options* by considering these questions: 1) Which approach to statistical analysis should be used? 2) Should the inference of the temporal relations involve supervised learning or unsupervised learning – relying on labeled data or unlabeled data, respectively? 3) How should time be represented: absolute time, ordered time, or adjacency-based time? 4) Which linguistic features should be used? 5) Which algebraic formulation should be sought? 6) Which additional factors should be taken into account: dialect, register, text type, *et cetera*?

3.1 Which Statistical Approach?

For the first half of the 20th century, the users of statistical methods pretty much belonged to one of two camps: The *frequentists*, the utterly dominant camp, and the *Bayesians* – often called “subjectivists” by their many detractors.⁴² A *frequentist* is one “who views probability as being equal to the limiting relative frequency as the sample size increases,”⁴³ while a *Bayesian* is a “statistician who analyses data using the methods of Bayesian inference, [which is] an approach concerned with the consequences of modifying our previous beliefs as a result of receiving new data.”⁴⁴

The Bayesians were generally ignored except when being skewered by the frequentists.⁴⁵ Yet, the Bayesians were doing important work, much of it classified dur-

⁴² B. Efron, “Controversies in the Foundations of Statistics,” 231–32. In this 1978 paper, Efron observed: “We are now celebrating the approximate bicentennial of a controversy concerning the basic nature of statistics. The two main factions in this philosophical battle, the Bayesians and the frequentists, have alternated dominance several times, with the frequentists holding an uneasy upper hand.” In her 2011 opus, Sharon McGrayne (*The Theory that Would Not Die*, 234) reported that Efron told her that “Bayesians have got more tolerant these days, and frequentists are seeing the need to use Bayesian kinds of reasoning, so maybe we are headed for some kind of convergence.”

⁴³ G. Upton and I. Cook, *Oxford Dictionary of Statistics*, 167. That is, being able to repeat experiments is central to the frequentists’ approach.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 32–33. That is, being able to adjust one’s degree of confidence in an experiment’s outcome(s) iteratively is central to the Bayesian approach.

⁴⁵ Consider these quotes concerning Bayesian statistics and its practitioners from McGrayne, *The Theory that Would Not Die*, on the pages cited. **Keynes**: “There is still something about it for scientists a smack of astrology, of alchemy” (p. 46); **Fisher**: “My personal conviction [is] that the theory of [Bayesian analysis] is founded upon an error, and must be wholly rejected” (p. 48); **Fisher**: Jaynes makes “a logical mistake [of using Bayes theorem] on the first page which invalidates all the 395 formulae in his book” (p. 57); **Royal Statistical**

ing the Second World War and later. In the forefront were Harold Jeffreys,⁴⁶ a geophysicist, and E. T. Jaynes,⁴⁷ a physicist. Such non-statisticians, however, were off the map as far as “real” statisticians were concerned. The Bayesian camp nonetheless gathered adherents.⁴⁸

The eminent J. W. Tukey, no public friend of Bayesianism, ultimately conceded that “[p]robably the best excuse for Bayesian analysis is the need...to combine information from other bodies of data, the general views of experts, etc., with information provided by the data before us.”⁴⁹ By the middle 1970’s, statistical pattern recognition was very commonly cast as an application of Bayesian decision theory.⁵⁰ It was at this time, in the context of medical diagnosis, that I was first drawn to Bayesian iterative decision making.⁵¹ I continue to prefer the Bayesian approach.

3.2 Supervised or Unsupervised Learning?

The difference between supervised and unsupervised learning is simply stated:

“*Supervised learning* is basically a synonym for classification. The supervision in the learning comes from the labeled examples in the training data set.... *Unsupervised learning* is essentially a synonym for clustering. The learning process is unsupervised since the input examples are not class labeled.”⁵²

Society speaker following a Bayesian paper: “After that nonsense...” (p. 87); **professors at Harvard**, referring to their Bayesian colleagues: “socialists and so-called scientists” (p. 87); **a well-known statistician**: “There still seems to remain in some quarters a lingering idea that there is something ‘not quite nice,’ something unsound, about the whole concept of [Bayesian analysis]” (p. 87); **Box**: “[G]radually my course became more and more Bayesian...People used to make fun of it and say it was all nonsense” (p. 130); **Jaynes**: “[F]or most of his life [Bayesian Sir Harold Jeffreys] found himself the object of scorn and derision from Fisher and his followers” (E. T. Jaynes, *Probability Theory: The Logic of Science*, p. 493).

⁴⁶ H. Jeffreys, *Theory of Probability*.

⁴⁷ Jaynes, *Probability Theory*.

⁴⁸ For an accessible history of the Bayesian movement, see S. McGrayne, *The Theory that Would Not Die*. Also of interest – although rather too cheerleading for my taste – is N. Silver, *The Signal and the Noise*. For present purposes, if consulting Silver, see especially pages 240–61.

⁴⁹ J. W. Tukey, “Forward to the Philosophy Volumes,” xl.

⁵⁰ In that era, Bayesian decision theory was central in almost all textbooks on statistical pattern recognition. That remains the case to this day. See R. Duda, P. Hart, and D. Stork, *Pattern Classification*.

⁵¹ This was in the context of cardiac arrhythmia analysis. See A. D. Forbes, E. Helfenbein, et al., “Ambulatory arrhythmia analysis: a dual-channel, Bayesian approach.”

⁵² J. Han, H. Kamber, and J. Pei, *Data Mining: Concepts and Techniques*, 24–25. Italics mine.

Thus, to carry out supervised learning one must label a set of Hebrew Bible text portions with some sort of dates to constitute a training dataset,⁵³ an anxiety-producing undertaking. Unsupervised learning does not require such a commitment.

The results obtained via the two approaches have very different credentials:

“With supervised learning there is a clear measure of success, or lack thereof, that can be used to judge adequacy in particular situations and to compare the effectiveness of different methods over various situations.... In the context of unsupervised learning, there is no such direct measure of success. It is difficult to ascertain the validity of inferences drawn from the output of most unsupervised learning algorithms.”⁵⁴

The literature on supervised learning is far more developed than that of unsupervised learning. In their very extensive volume on statistical learning theory, Hastie, Tibshirani, and Friedman devote six times as much space to supervised learning as to unsupervised learning.⁵⁵

What to do? Our data are limited in size and quality. Since taking either approach has somewhat complementary risks and benefits, I suggest investigating both paths.

3.3 Gradient, Ordered, or Adjacency-Based Time?

Time may be represented by a specific value along a gradient (for example, 586 BCE), by an ordinal epochal level (for example, *Late* Biblical Hebrew), or by implication (for example, Ezra and Nehemiah 9–13 are nearest neighbors in “eigenvector space”⁵⁶). Gradient times may be indicated along a simple time line. Ordinal times may be ordered on a “seriation curve.” Adjacency-based times are inferred on the basis of closeness in a family tree or nearness in a geometrical cluster in a possibly high-dimensional “feature space.” Table 1 summarizes the options.

Table 1. Options for Representing Time

| Variable Type | Time Indicator | Representational Space |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| Gradient | Specific Time | Timeline |
| Ordinal | [Ordered] Epoch | Seriation Curve |
| Categorical | Neighbors | Family Tree/Feature Space |

3.3.1 Gradient Time

If one uses gradient time, then – because of the sources of uncertainty discussed earlier in this essay – it is important not to make the time granularity too fine, as this would imply a precision that in reality was spurious, misleading, and unstable. Here are some options:

⁵³ What is meant by “some sort of dates” is explained in the next subsection.

⁵⁴ T. Hastie, R. Tibshirani, and J. Friedman, *The Elements of Statistical Learning*, 486–87.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Roughly 600 pages versus 100 pages.

⁵⁶ Freedman, Forbes, and Andersen, *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography*, 104–10.

- Use *twelve centuries*: 12th BCE, 11th BCE, 10th BCE, . . . , 3rd BCE, 2nd BCE, and 1st BCE.⁵⁷
- Use *seven centuries*: 9th BCE, 8th BCE, 7th BCE, 6th BCE, 5th BCE, 4th BCE, and 3rd BCE, removing five centuries from consideration *ab initio*.
- Use *five quarter-millennium epochs*: 5thE (1250–1000 BCE), 4thE (1000–750 BCE), 3rdE (750–500 BCE), 2ndE (500–250 BCE), and 1stE (250–0 BCE).
- Use *three quarter-millennium epochs*: 4thE (1000–750 BCE), 3rdE (750–500 BCE), and 2ndE (500–250 BCE).

3.3.2 Ordinal Time

Regarding ordinal epochs, it likely would be prudent to use at least three epochs: early biblical Hebrew (EBH), transitional biblical Hebrew (TBH),⁵⁸ and late biblical Hebrew (LBH). In ordinal analysis, the categories are only ordered (EBH < TBH < LBH).⁵⁹

3.3.3 Adjacency-based time

With unsupervised learning, the output display shows the relative closeness of text portions to one another. If two text portions are adjacent and if we are willing to assign a date to one, then adjacency-based time allows us to attribute that assigned date to the other. Conversely, if a text portion is remote from its supposed fellows, then it may have a different date from its putative fellows.⁶⁰

3.4 Which Linguistic Features?

3.4.1 Preferred Approaches

Jaynes observed that “intuition is good at perceiving the relevance of information, but bad at judging the relative cogency of different pieces of information.”⁶¹ And indeed, expert Hebraists have been very productive in proposing evolving linguistic

⁵⁷ Making the analysis space oversized “budgets for” possible confounding factors.

⁵⁸ This is the standard terminology, but Naudé’s characterizing it as inappropriate is correct. See J. Naudé, “The Transitions of Biblical Hebrew in the Perspective of Language Change and Diffusion.”

⁵⁹ “Periodization” involves ordinal time. See A. Hornkohl, “Biblical Hebrew: Periodization.”

⁶⁰ *Technical*: On the confounding factor effect, see Freedman, Forbes, and Andersen, *Studies*, 97 and 109–10. Note: text portion Josh 1–12 is isolated from the other Former Prophet portions in both the hierarchical clustering dendrogram [Js 1–12] and in the classical multidimensional scaling plots [portion #18]. This is likely due to the high incidence of יהושה׳ “Joshua.”

⁶¹ E. T. Jaynes, “Monkeys, Kangaroos, and N,” 37.

features for inclusion in diachrony analyses.⁶² However, in “judging the relative co-gency” of the pooled features, they are likely to be routed by properly-abetted Bayesians.

3.4.2 Relevant Linguistic Features Proposed in the Literature

To gain a sense of the linguistic features that have been proposed, consider the taxonomy in Table 2 based on *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*,⁶³ augmented by pointers to the extensive lists gathered in *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts (LDBT)*. *LDBT* lists 88 grammar features and 372 lexicon features.

Brief Excursus – As regards the grammar features, there is an issue in need of attention: of the 88 features, 60 (more than two-thirds) are said to involve an *increase* or a *decrease* of some characteristic. To make such features useful in statistical analyses, would-be users must quantify what constitutes an increase or a decrease. This proves to be a non-trivial matter, for how does one specify rules that allow one to detect an increase or decrease?⁶⁴

Table 2. Taxonomy of Candidate Linguistic Features

1. Lexicon⁶⁵
 - a. Vocabulary shift⁶⁶
 - b. Lexicalization (distinctions newly encoded in the lexicon)
 - c. Grammaticalization (where lexical evolves into grammatical)⁶⁷
 - d. Neologism
 - e. Loan word⁶⁸
 - f. Collocations and idioms⁶⁹
2. Morphology⁷⁰
 - a. Increase in use of certain affixes

⁶² For evidence that some of the proposed features are so rare that their use constitutes overfitting and so leads to results that lack generalizability, see Forbes “The Diachrony Debate,” 15–16. (Overfitting occurs when analysts proliferate idiosyncratic features.)

⁶³ In the interests of concision, for the examples cited I give only authors and page numbers in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew (DBH)*, omitting the titles here as well as corresponding entries that would normally appear in the bibliography.

⁶⁴ See Forbes, “The Diachrony Debate,” 22–23.

⁶⁵ *LDBT* lists 372 lexical features. See *LDBT*, vol. 2, Table 2, pp. 179–214.

⁶⁶ See Holmstedt’s analysis of nominalizer אִשֶׁר versus -שׁ. Holmstedt, *DBH*, 113–19. On competing forms of “kingdom,” see Drescher, *DBH*, 24–25 and 29.

⁶⁷ On grammaticalization, see Miller-Naudé, *DBH*, 6.

⁶⁸ Hurvitz, *DBH*, 275.

⁶⁹ So far as I am aware, collocations and idioms have not received much attention in diachrony studies. But see the one-page tally of “Phrases and Expressions” in Paul, *DBH*, 299.

⁷⁰ See *LDBT*, vol. 2, Table 1, pp. 166–73, morphologic features: 24–27, 31–33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 55–63, etc.

- b. Decrease in use of certain affixes
- c. *Specific*: Apocopation rule superseded by suffixation rule⁷¹
- 3. Syntax⁷²
 - a. Reanalysis⁷³
 - b. Extension
 - c. Borrowing⁷⁴
 - d. Constituent order⁷⁵
 - e. *Specific*: Decline in use of statives⁷⁶
- 4. Semantics⁷⁷

3.5 Which Algebraic Formulation?

3.5.1 *Givens and Unknowns*

When the foregoing taxonomy is fully populated, there will be on the order of 500 candidate linguistic features. The number of features is traditionally represented by p , so here $p \sim 500$. In preparing the data for analysis, it is good practice to winnow out demonstrably improper or weak features. So, any real analysis will involve somewhat fewer than 500 features.⁷⁸

If the A-F statistical analysis of spelling practices is a reliable guide, then it likely will be wise initially to chunk the Hebrew Bible into the 76 portions first delimited in 1986.⁷⁹ The number of objects classified being traditionally represented by N , for us: $N \sim 80$.

3.5.2 $p \leq N$ Problems

If the number of simultaneous equations equals the number of unknowns ($p = N$), the problem is *properly-determined*. If there are fewer unknowns than equations, the problem is *over-determined*. The evidence at hand strongly suggests that our problem has no hope of being solved using properly-determined or over-determined systems of equations.

⁷¹ Holmstedt, *DBH*, 109–12.

⁷² See *LDBT*, vol. 2, Table 1, pp. 162–168, syntactic features: 1–7, 9–13, 16–23, 28–30, 34, 37, etc.

⁷³ On syntactic reanalysis, extension, and borrowing, see Pat-El, *DBH*, 248–52.

⁷⁴ Pat-El, *DBH*, 252–59.

⁷⁵ Givón, *DBH*, 42–50.

⁷⁶ So Cook, *DBH*, 86–93.

⁷⁷ See *LDBT*, vol. 2, Table 1, pp. 163 and 169, semantic features: 8, 40, 41, etc. It is odd that so few of the linguistic features seem to involve semantic issues.

⁷⁸ Forbes, “The Diachrony Debate,” 14–16. In assessing features that occur rarely, I found only 17 candidates for removal: 5 grammatical and 12 lexical.

⁷⁹ Freedman, Forbes, and Andersen, *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography*, 48–50.

3.5.3 $p \gg N$ Problems

If we use many features to classify far fewer objects (text portions), then we are solving a *high-dimensional problem*, a $p \gg N$ problem. According to Hastie et al.:

“Such problems have become of increasing importance, especially in genomics and other areas of computational biology.... [*H*]igh variance and *overfitting* are a major concern in this setting. As a result, highly *regularized* approaches often become the methods of choice.... [*T*]hese methods tend to regularize quite heavily, using scientific contextual knowledge to suggest the appropriate form of this regularization.... We would like to regularize in a way that automatically *drops out* features that are not contributing to the class predictions.”⁸⁰

I have italicized four items for which some explanation may be helpful:

1. *The problem of high variance*. As variance increases, classification results become more sensitive to small changes in the make-up of the training dataset(s).⁸¹
2. *The problem of overfitting*. Overfitting occurs when the classifier is so complex that it fits both signal and noise in the training data. This results in poor performance on new data (“testing data”), poor generalizability.⁸² Previous one-book-at-a-time diachrony analyses have been plagued by overfitting.⁸³
3. *Regularization*. When a method includes regularization, it uses prior knowledge as to the smoothness properties of solutions to make them more reliable. “The task of regularization...is to constrain the learning so as to prevent overfitting the data.”⁸⁴
4. *Dropping out non-contributing features*. This is a highly attractive goal: Formulate the method of solution so that all candidate features are included, and the method discloses which features are important and which are not. Holy grail!

3.6 Which Additional Factors?

In §2.3, the risks of omitting variables from analysis was touched on. For the relevant sociolinguistic/dialectal domains, I next identify three possible biasing variables.

⁸⁰ Hastie, Tibshirani, and Friedman, *The Elements of Statistical Learning*, 649, 651, 652. Italics added.

⁸¹ Duda, Hart, and Stork, *Pattern Classification*, 466.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸³ Forbes, “The Diachrony Debate,” 14–15.

⁸⁴ Y. Abu-Mustafa, M. Magdon-Ismail, and H.-T. Lin, *Learning from Data: A Short Course*, 129–30. The authors are blunt: “The ability to deal with overfitting is what separates professionals from amateurs” (p. 119).

3.6.1 Discourse Typology⁸⁵ Inference via Syntactic-Stylistic Clausal Analysis

Frank Polak has published a description of his procedures for building the “linguistic profile.”⁸⁶ His work should be the starting point for future work.

3.6.2 Regional Dialect Identification via Grammatical and Lexical Distributions

The simplest approach to dealing with Rendsburg’s Israelian Hebrew (“IH”) would be to censor the blocks of IH, provided that this does not unduly deplete the data.⁸⁷

3.6.3 Kim’s Analysis Using Direct Speech/Narrative as Surrogates for Oral/Written

The markup of exchange-participant pairs in the A-F database will supply the information needed to differentiate direct speech from narrative.⁸⁸

4 OVERVIEW

4.1 Sources of Uncertainty

For each of the five kinds of general sources of uncertainty limiting statistical analyses of the Hebrew Bible, Table 3 lists the subtypes, their characteristics, and possible countermeasures.

Table 3. Sources of Uncertainty:
Subtypes, Characteristics, and Countermeasures

| Source of Uncertainty | Subtype | Characteristics | Countermeasures |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|---|
| Noise Effects | Transmission | Changes/errors during repeated copying are noise. | Gauge extent of homogenization. |
| | Feature | Inconsistent part-of-speech assignments and parsing are noise. | Enforce consistency. |
| | Tainted Class Assignments | Assignments contaminated by merging/interleaving are noise. | Separate intermixed text types and sources. |
| Limited Data | Small Corpus | Corpus degrees of freedom are ‘eaten’ by explanatory variables. | Minimize variable count and maximize granularity. |

⁸⁵ Polak, “Sociolinguistics: A Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Hebrew.”

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁸⁷ G. Rendsburg, “A Comprehensive Guide to Israelian Hebrew: Grammar and Lexicon,” 8, with indicated augmentation.

⁸⁸ Andersen and Forbes recognize these exchange-participant pairs: author-to-reader [the main narrative], divinity-to-divinity, divinity-to-human, human-to-divinity, human-to-human, and atypical exchange participants (clay, plants, donkey, snake, angels, holy one, The Satan).

| | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|---|---|
| | Little-versus-Big Portion Conflict | Smaller portions yield detailed but unstable inferences. | Details must be relinquished to ensure reliability. |
| | Portion Heterogeneity | Adventitious textual noise <i>may</i> overwhelm principled variation. | The crux: resolve using sophisticated techniques. |
| Sampling Problems | Selection Bias | The Hebrew Bible is <i>not</i> the result of random sampling. | Include any evolving confounding variables. |
| | Internal Validity Threats | Certain omitted variables can spoil inferences. | Ditto. |
| Assigned Date Uncertainty | Linguistic Contagion | Linguistic features underlie many traditionally accepted dates. | Infer dates from spelling-based seriation results. |
| | Kinds of Dates | Seriation dates are in arbitrary units. | Select enough anchor dates to allow inference of remaining dates BCE. |
| S-curve Constraints | Marker Fluctuations | Feature values fluctuate, making positioning on S-curves inexact. | Rely on optimized multiple-feature analyses. |
| | Non-Monotonicity | Sequential rule ascendancy can make curves non-monotonic. | Detect and censor such feature sequences... |
| | Non-Monopolization | Some features may ultimately stabilize below 100%. | Expect to be very rare! Censor if detected. |

4.2 Options

For each of the option areas available to those performing language-based statistical analyses of the Hebrew Bible, Table 4 lists the range of choices, pros, and cons.

Table 4. Options: Areas, Choices, Pros, and Cons

| Area | Choice | Pros | Cons |
|----------------------|-----------------|--|---|
| Statistical Approach | Frequentist | Better understood. Very sophisticated. | Based on repeatability. New evidence not easily added. |
| | Bayesian | Very flexible. Easily incorporates evidence. | Initialization controversial. Can be computationally awkward. |
| Kind of Learning | Supervised | Can gauge solution quality. Sophisticated. | Requires commitment to categories and data markup. |
| | Unsupervised | Low startup costs. | Few measures of adequacy. |
| ‘Time’ Variable Type | Gradient | Ideal precision. | “Precision” likely misleading. |
| | Ordered | Ordinal variables quantize nicely. | Ignores some available information. |
| | Adjacency-Based | Very few explicit assumptions. | Relies on intuition/interpretation. “Times” may be ambiguous. |
| Linguistic Features | Lexicon | Includes many useful phenomena. | Collocations & idioms underrepresented. |

| Area | Choice | Pros | Cons |
|-----------------------|---|--|---|
| | Morphology | Few interesting phenomena. | Increase/decrease must be quantified. |
| | Syntax | Includes many useful phenomena. | Falsely assumes grammatical phenomena are well understood. |
| | Semantics | [Not yet tried.] | Semantic features little tried. |
| Algebraic Formulation | $p \leq N$ | Classically simple. | Almost certainly not applicable. |
| | $p \gg N$ | Variable dropout possibly detectable. | Risks of high variance and overfitting. Proper regularization essential. |
| Additional Factors | Discourse Typology (Polak) | Address time-varying phenomenon. | Nested constituents and attachment ambiguity need fine-tuning. |
| | Regional Dialect(s) (Rendsburg) | Effects can be managed by exclusion or grouping of data. | Data grouping may result in too small portions. Data exclusion may deplete dataset excessively. |
| | Change-from-above vs. change-from-below (Kim) | Oral/written surrogate useful. A-F data marked up. | Labov's theory needs vetting beyond phonology. |

Moving Ahead. Sensitive to the sources of uncertainty discussed earlier and aware of the many options presented, definition of research protocols remains to be done, as does the assessment of each protocol's relative likelihood of success. Protocols having the greatest promise should be implemented. I hope to cover these topics in future work.

“The first principle of science is that you must not fool yourself – and you are the easiest person to fool” – Richard Feynman, 1965 Physics Nobel Laureate.⁸⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu-Mustafa, Yaser, Malik Magdon-Ismael, and Hsuan-Tien Lin. *Learning from Data: A Short Course*. N. p.: AMLbooks, 2012.
- Andersen, Francis I., and A. Dean Forbes. *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible*. Rome: Pontifical Institute Press, 1986.
- . *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Barreto, Humberto and Frank Howland. *Introductory Econometrics: Using Monte Carlo Simulation with Microsoft Excel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Bresnan, Joan, and Jennifer Hay, “Gradient grammar: An effect of animacy on the syntax of *give* in New Zealand and American English,” *Lingua* 118 (2008): 245–259.

⁸⁹ R. Feynman, *Surely You're Joking, Mr. Feynman!*, 343.

- Brewer, Marilyn, and William Crano. "Research Design and Issues of Validity." Pages 11–26 in *Handbook of Research Methods in Social and Personal Psychology*. 2nd edition. Edited by Harry Reis and Charles Judd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Bull, Brian. "Exemplar Sampling," *The American Statistician*, 59(2), 2005, 166–72.
- de Caën, Vincent. "Hebrew Linguistics and Biblical Criticism: A Minimalist Programme," *JHS*, 3(2001): 1–30.
- Dresher, B. Elan. "Methodological Issues in the Dating of Linguistic Forms." Pages 19–38 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. L. Miller-Naude and Z. Zevit. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Duda, Richard O., Peter E. Hart, and David G. Stork. *Pattern Classification*, 2nd edition. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, 2001.
- Efron, Bradley. "Controversies in the Foundations of Statistics," *The American Statistician*, 85(4), 1978, 231–46.
- Ellegård, Alvar. *The Auxilliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of Its Use in English*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953.
- Feynman, Richard. *Surely You're Joking Mr. Feynman!* New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 1985.
- Forbes, A. Dean. "The Challenge of Consistency." Pages 99–115 in *Computer Assisted Research on the Bible in the 21st Century*, L. V. Montaner et al (eds.). Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010.
- . "The Diachrony Debate: Perspective from Pattern Recognition and Meta-Analysis," *Hebrew Studies*, LIII (2012), 1–42.
- Forbes, Dean, and Francis I. Andersen. "Dwelling on Spelling." Pages 127–45 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. L. Miller-Naude and Z. Zevit. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Forbes, Dean, Eric Helfenbein, et al., "Ambulatory arrhythmia analysis: a dual-channel, Bayesian approach," *Computers in Cardiology 1985*: 373–76.
- Freedman, David N., A. Dean Forbes, and Francis I. Andersen. *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992.
- Givón, T. "Biblical Hebrew as a Diachronic Continuum." Pages 39–59 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. L. Miller-Naude and Z. Zevit. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Han, Jiawei, Micheline Kamber, and Jian Pei. *Data Mining: Concepts and Techniques*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2012.
- Hastie, Trevor, Robert Tibshirani, and Jerome Friedman, *The Elements of Statistical Learning: Data Mining, Inference, and Prediction*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Springer, 2009.
- Holmstedt, Robert D. "Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew." Pages 97–124 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. L. Miller-Naude and Z. Zevit. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.

- Hornkohl, Aaron. "Biblical Hebrew: Periodization." Pages 315–25 of volume 1 in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Literature*. Edited by Geoffrey Khan. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Jaynes, E. T. "Monkeys, Kangaroos, and N." Pages 26–58 in *Maximum Entropy and Bayesian Methods in Applied Statistics*. Edited by James H. Justice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- . *Probability Theory: The Logic of Science*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Jeffreys, Harold. *Theory of Probability*. 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Kim, Dong-Hyuk. *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, and Linguistic Variability: A Sociolinguistic Evaluation of the Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Leighton, Jacqueline. "External Validity." Pages 466–69 in *Encyclopedia of Research Design*. Edited by Neil Salkind. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Pubs., 2010.
- Levin, Beth. *English Verb Classes and Alternations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Levin, Beth, and Malka Hovav. *Argument Realization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Lohr, Sharon. *Sampling: Design and Analysis*. 2nd edition. Stamford, CT: Centage Learning, 2009.
- Matthews, Peter. *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics*, 2nd ed., (Oxford, OUP, 2007).
- McGrayne, Sharon. *The Theory That Would Not Die*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Miller-Naudé, Cynthia. "Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Perspectives on Change and Variation." Pages 1–15 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. L. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Miller-Naudé, Cynthia and Ziony Zevit (eds). *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Naudé, Jacobus. "The Transitions of Biblical Hebrew in the Perspective of Language Change and Diffusion." Pages 189–214 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by Ian Young. London: T & T Clark, 2003.
- Piantadosi, Steven, Harry Tily, and Edward Gibson. "Word lengths are optimized for efficient communication," *Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci.*, 108(9): 3526–3529, 2011.
- Polak, Frank. "Sociolinguistics: a Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Hebrew," *Hebrew Studies*, 47 (2006), 115–62.
- . "Language Variation, Discourse Typology and the Sociocultural Background of the Hebrew Bible." Pages 301–38 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. L. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Rendsburg, Gary. "A Comprehensive Guide to Israelian Hebrew: Grammar and Lexicon," *Orient*, XXXVIII (2003), 5–35.

- . “Northern Hebrew through Time: From the Song of Deborah to the Mishnah.” Pages 339–59 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. L. Miller-Naude and Z. Zevit. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Shaw, Jonathan, “Why ‘Big Data’ Is a Big Deal,” *Harvard Magazine*, March–April 2014, 30–35 and 74–75.
- Silver, Nate. *The Signal and the Noise*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2012.
- Tukey, J. W. “Forward to the Philosophy Volumes.” Pages xxxix–xliv in *The Collected Works of John W. Tukey*, Volume IV. Edited by Lyle V. Jones. Monterey, CA: Wadsworth, 1986.
- Upton, Graham, and Ian Cook. *Oxford Dictionary of Statistics*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Vulanović, Relja. “Fitting Periphrastic *do* in Affirmative Declaratives,” *J. Quant. Ling.*, 14(3), 2007: 111–26.
- Wang, William, and James Minett. “The invasion of language: emergence, change and death,” *Trends in Ecology and Evolution*, 20(5), 2005, 263–69.
- Young, Ian. “Patterns of Linguistic Forms in the Masoretic Text: The Preposition מן ‘From’.” Pages 385–400 in *Interested Readers: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David J. A. Clines*. Edited by J. K. Aitken, J. M. S. Clines, and C. M. Maier. Atlanta: SBL, 2013.
- Young, Ian, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*. London: Equinox, 2008.

A RE-EXAMINATION OF GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIZATION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW¹

Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and Jacobus A. Naudé
University of the Free State

The question of grammatical categories and how to determine them is an ancient one. Panini divided Sanskrit into four categories based upon inflection: nouns and verbs are inflected, whereas prepositions and particles are uninflected. Dionysius Thrax (2nd century B.C.E.) divided words into eight categories based upon both inflection and meaning: nouns (naming), interjections, adverbs, verbs (speaking), participles, prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns. The threefold division of Hebrew grammar into nouns, verbs and particles by the medieval Hebrew grammarians was based on the work of the Arabic grammarians who, in turn, were following the Classical Greek (Platonic) view of categorization. Contemporary Hebrew grammars have generally followed some combination of these approaches. Waltke and O'Connor (1990), for example, follow Richter (1978–1980) in using the categories verb, verbal noun (infinitive, participle), nomen (substantive, adjective, numeral), proper name, pronoun, particle (adverb, preposition, conjunction, modal word). A notable exception is the work of Andersen and Forbes (2012), which classifies parts of speech using primarily paradigmatic specification and distributional specification and, to a lesser extent, ostensive specification (e.g. the major free pronouns) and derivational specification (the locative -h and the adverbial suffix –ām). Their categorization results in seven major categories (verbals, substantives, substantive-verbals, adverbials, conjunctions, prepositions, and

¹ We are grateful for the comments of the participants in the conference as well as those of two anonymous reviewers. We thank our research assistant, Ms Jacqueline Smith, for her assistance in collecting and checking the data. This work is based on research supported in part by the National Research Foundation of South Africa (Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé UID 95926 and Jacobus A. Naudé UID 85902). The grantholders acknowledge that opinions, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in any publication generated by the NRF supported research are those of the authors, and that the NRF accepts no liability whatsoever in this regard.

“miscellany”), thirty-seven “more fine-grained categories” and seventy-six “even finer categories.”

In contemporary linguistics, there are multiple approaches to categorization. In generative grammar, categorization is part of universal grammar and each item in the mental lexicon is identified as a member of a particular grammatical category. By contrast, in cognitive linguistics, categorization, namely, the ability to judge that a particular thing is or is not an instance of a particular category, is an essential part of cognition. In Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001), for example, categories are derived from the constructions in which they appear. Linguistic typology provides another vantage point for considering categorization, since typologists use either semantic relations or functions in their work of comparing linguistic structures across languages.

In this article we re-examine the question of grammatical categorization in Biblical Hebrew with respect to linguistic theory, typology, and universals. We conclude by a preliminary examination of the category of “adjective” in Biblical Hebrew with respect to the data involving **טוב**.

1 INTRODUCTION

Linguistic analysis is necessarily and unavoidably perspectival – how do we identify the data, how do we segment the data, how do we describe the data, and how do we categorize them as tokens of one linguistic phenomenon or another? One of the most basic ways in which linguists identify, segment, describe and categorize linguistic phenomena is that of the basic grammatical categories such as noun, verb, adjective, etc. These are sometimes referred to as word classes, or, in traditional grammar, the parts of speech. These grammatical categories play a critical role in linguistic analysis, in the writing of grammars, and in the compiling of dictionaries.

The problem of grammatical categories and how to determine them is an ancient one. Panini (4th century B.C.E.) divided Sanskrit into four categories based primarily upon inflection: nouns and verbs are inflected, whereas prepositions and particles are uninflected. At nearly the same time in the West, Plato divided the sentence into *onoma* and *rhema* and his student, Aristotle, added a third category, *syn-desmoi*, grammatical words.² Dionysius Thrax (2nd century B.C.E.) divided words into eight categories based upon both inflection and meaning: nouns (naming), interjections, adverbs, verbs (speaking), participles, prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns. His work provided a foundation for subsequent approaches to Greek and Latin grammar. As a result, in English and many European languages, the stand-

² R. L. Trask, “Parts of Speech,” in *Concise Encyclopedia of Grammatical Categories* (ed. K. Brown and J. Miller; Oxford: Elsevier, 1999), 278.

ard/traditional parts of speech have been the following: *noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction* and *interjection*.³

The medieval Hebrew grammarians made a threefold division of Hebrew grammar into nouns, verbs and particles, based upon the work of the medieval Arabic grammarians who divided the parts of speech (*ʿaqsām l-kalām*) into substantives (*ism*), verbs (*fiʿl*), and particles (*harf*).⁴ Contemporary grammars of Biblical Hebrew have generally followed some combination of these approaches. Waltke and O’Connor, for example, follow Richter (1978–1980) in using the categories verb, verbal noun (infinitive, participle), nomen (substantive, adjective, numeral), proper name, pronoun, particle (adverb, preposition, conjunction, modal word).⁵ A notable exception is the work of Andersen and Forbes, which classifies parts of speech using primarily paradigmatic specification and distributional specification and, to a lesser extent, ostensive specification (e.g. the major free pronouns) and derivational specification (the locative *-h* and the adverbial suffix *-ām*).⁶ Their categorization results in seven major categories (verbals, substantives, substantive-verbals, adverbials, conjunctions, prepositions, and “miscellany”), thirty-seven “more fine-grained categories,” and seventy-six “even finer categories.”⁷ Since their categories relate to their syntactic database and it is, as they note, infinitely easier for the computer to join

³ Alan Reed Libert, “Word Classes (Parts of Speech),” in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language Sciences* (ed. Patrick Colm Hogan; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 915. See also the historical overview in Georg Bosson, “Reflections on the History of the Study of Universals: The Example of the *partes orationis*,” in *Meaning and Grammar: Cross-linguistic Perspectives* (ed. Michel Kefer and Johan van der Auwera; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 3–16.

⁴ See Dan Becker, “Grammatical Thought: Influence of the Medieval Arabic Grammatical Tradition,” in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (ed. Geoffrey Khan; 4 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 2:113–128, esp. 124.

⁵ Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 67; see W. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. I: Das Wort (Morphologie)* (Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, 8; St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1978); *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. II: Die Wortfügung (Morphosyntax)* (Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, 10; St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1979); *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. III: Der Satz (Satztheorie)* (Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, 13; St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1980).

⁶ Francis I. Andersen and A. Dean Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized* (Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 6; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 20–42. See also A. Dean Forbes, “Squishes, Clines, and Fuzzy Signs: Mixed and Gradient Categories in the Biblical Hebrew Lexicon,” in *Syriac Lexicography I: Foundations for Syriac Lexicography* (ed. A. D. Forbes and D. G. K. Taylor; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006), 105–139; and “How Syntactic Formalisms Can Advance the Lexicographer’s Art,” in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography III* (ed. Janet Dyk and Wido van Peursen; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 139–158.

⁷ Andersen and Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*, 24.

categories later rather than to split them, it is reasonable for them to be the ultimate “splitters” rather than “lumpers.”⁸

In contemporary linguistics, there are multiple approaches to categorization.⁹ In generative grammar, categorization is part of universal grammar and each item in the mental lexicon is identified as a member of a particular grammatical category. By contrast, in cognitive linguistics, categorization, namely, the ability to judge that a particular thing is or is not an instance of a particular category, is an essential part of cognition. Categories are language-specific and category membership is based on prototypicality rather than essential features. Linguistic typology provides another vantage point for considering categorization, since typologists use either semantic relations or functions in their work of comparing linguistic structures across languages.

Although the problem of grammatical categories does not loom large for many Hebraists, it is one of the most hotly debated topics within contemporary linguistics. How should grammatical categories be identified – by semantics, function, morphological inflection, syntactic distribution or cognition? What is the nature of grammatical categories – are they monolithic, gradient, overlapping or flexible? Are grammatical categories cross-linguistically valid or are they language specific? Do all languages distinguish grammatical categories, especially the most basic categories of noun and verb, or are there languages which lack these most basic distinctions?

In this article we re-examine the question of grammatical categorization in Biblical Hebrew with respect to linguistic theory, typology, and universals. We conclude by a preliminary examination of the category of “adjective” in Biblical Hebrew with respect to the data involving **טוב**.

2 CATEGORIES IN GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

The rise of generative grammar in the 1960s had important implications for the way in which grammatical categories were viewed. Earlier in the century, the work of American structuralists in analysing the Native American languages, which were so different from European languages, had resulted in the view that grammatical categorization is language specific. Franz Boas’s famous statement in 1911 that “in a discussion of the characteristics of various languages, different fundamental catego-

⁸ Andersen and Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*, 24–26. In an earlier article, Forbes suggests that the overall structural of a hierarchical lexicon for Biblical Hebrew can “finesse” the “lumping-splitting dilemma”; see A. Dean Forbes, “Distributionally Inferred Word and Form Classes in the Hebrew Lexicon: Known by the Company They Keep” in *Syriac Lexicography II* (ed. Peter Williams; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009), 1–34.

⁹ For an indication of the wide-ranging issues involved in parts-of-speech systems, both theoretically and practically, see the collection of essays in a special issue of *Studies in Language* (2008) and the introductory essay by Umberto Ansaldo, Jan Don and Roland Pfau, “Parts of Speech: Particulars, Universals and Theoretical Constructs,” *Studies in Language* 32 (2008): 505–508.

ries will be found”¹⁰ is representative of the structuralists’ view that the differences between languages are deep and ultimately unbridgeable. By contrast, one of Chomsky’s central claims is that the differences between languages are shallow. All languages have the same Universal Grammar even though they have different surface shapes and children world-wide are able to learn any language because of their innate language facility.¹¹ Generative grammar has gone through a variety of incarnations since the 1960s; the variety of generative grammar that we describe here is based on the developments since the conceptual shift towards Principles and Parameters and the Minimalist Programme.¹²

In generative grammar, “all grammatical operations are structure-dependent” in the sense that they can only apply to specific kinds of grammatical structure.¹³ The principle of structure-dependence means that “all grammatical operations in natural language are category-based (that is, they apply to whole categories of words or phrases rather than to individual expressions).”¹⁴ Furthermore, all words within a language belong to a restricted set of grammatical categories. Categories are “not

¹⁰ Franz Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, vol. 1 (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40; Washington: Government Print Office [Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology], 1911), 43.

¹¹ See, for example, the introductory explanation and description of Chomsky’s theory in Andrew Radford, *Transformational Grammar: A First Course* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1–46, and especially 28–30 and 34–39.

¹² We omit from consideration here the theoretical perspective of Distributed Morphology in which a root is in a local relation with a category defining morpheme. For example, a noun is a root which is licensed by a determiner; a verb is a root licensed by, for example, aspect and tense. As a result, a particular vocabulary item may appear in different morphological categories depending upon the syntactic contexts of the item’s root. See Morris Halle and Alec Marantz, “Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection,” in *The View from Building 20* (ed. Kenneth Hale and S. Jay Keyser; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), 111–176; Morris Halle and Alec Marantz, “Some Key Features of Distributed Morphology,” in *Papers on Phonology and Morphology* (ed. Andrew Carnie and Heidi Harley; MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, 21; Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, 1994), 275–288; Alec Marantz, “No Escape from Syntax: Don’t Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon,” *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 4.2 (1997): 201–225.

¹³ Andrew Radford, *Syntax: A Minimalist Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 12–13; the discussion is similar in Andrew Radford, *Minimalist Syntax: Exploring the Structure of English* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 33–65. A similar view of categorization is assumed, but not discussed in any detail, in Andrew Radford, *Analysing English Sentences: A Minimalist Approach* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

¹⁴ Radford, *Syntax: A Minimalist Introduction*, 29.

primitive elements, but rather are composites of grammatical features.¹⁵ As a result, a grammatical category is comprised of the set of expressions which share a common set of grammatical properties.¹⁶ The four primary categories – noun, verb, adjective, preposition – were differentiated by Chomsky on the basis of two primitive features [\pm Verb] and [\pm Noun]:¹⁷

- (1) noun [+N, -V]
- verb [-N, +V]
- adjective [+N, +V]
- preposition [-N, -V]

In this approach, the noun and verb are primary lexical categories. The adjective is designated as having some noun-like features (e.g. nominal inflection and adjectival inflection are the same or similar in many languages, including Hebrew) and some verb-like features (e.g. adjectives can also serve as predicates in many languages, including Hebrew). Prepositions, however, are viewed as having neither nominal nor verbal features.

A different approach to lexical categories within a generative perspective is provided by Baker, who also views the noun and the verb as primary lexical categories.¹⁸ However, in his view, there are only three lexical categories – nouns, verbs and adjectives. Nouns uniquely have the criterion of identity; in other words, only nouns are referential. As a result, only nouns play syntactic roles within binding constructions, within movement constructions, and as the antecedent of anaphoric relations.¹⁹ Verbs uniquely take a specifier and assign agent and theme roles; in other words, the verb necessarily has a subject and it assigns the syntactic-semantic roles of agent and theme (i.e. subject and object) to other constituents in the sentence.²⁰ Adjectives differ from nouns and verbs in that they do not inherently refer (as nouns do) and they do not inherently predicate (as verbs do). Adjectives do, however, appear in three distinct syntactic environments in which nouns and verbs do not: (1) as the direct modifiers as nouns, (2) as the complements of degree heads (e.g. English *so*, *as*, *to*, *how*), and (3) as secondary resultative predicates in some languages.²¹

¹⁵ Andrew Radford, *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English: A Minimalist Approach* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 69.

¹⁶ Radford, *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English*, 37.

¹⁷ Noam Chomsky, *Lectures on government and binding* (Studies in Generative Grammar 9; Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1981). A different approach to categorization with generative grammar is that of Jackendoff, who saw the relevant features as [\pm Subject] and [\pm Object]; see R. Jackendoff, *X-Bar Syntax* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977).

¹⁸ Mark C. Baker, *Lexical Categories: Verbs, Nouns, Adjectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹⁹ Baker, *Lexical Categories*, 95–189.

²⁰ Baker, *Lexical Categories*, 23–94.

²¹ Baker, *Lexical Categories*, 191, 226.

In generative linguistics, words are assigned to grammatical categories primarily on the basis of their morphological and syntactic structural properties, involving both distributional (or, configurational) properties and internal structure; these are language specific. For nouns, these morphosyntactic structural properties may involve distributional properties such as how they are distributed within phrases and clauses, for example, whether as heads of noun phrases or as subjects or objects of clauses. They also involve internal structure such as case marking, number marking and gender marking.²² For verbs, these morphosyntactic structure properties may involve distributional properties within phrases and clauses, for example, as the head of a verb phrase, and internal structure such as subject agreement and marking for tense, aspect and modality.²³ As an illustration, Biblical Hebrew inflectional nominal properties include gender marking, number marking, marking for the absolute and construct state, and definite article marking. Distributional nominal properties involve distribution at the head of a noun phrase or a relative clause and distribution as the subject or object of a clause or the complement of a preposition.

Some grammatical categories are lexical categories, which means that their members have descriptive content (namely, nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions). Other grammatical categories are functional categories; their members lack descriptive content and serve instead to mark grammatical properties (for example, determiners, pronouns, auxiliaries).

Grammatical categories may also be described as open or closed; open categories are those whose membership is, in principle, unlimited and to which additional members may be added. Closed categories are those with a small group of fixed membership.²⁴ Functional categories are always closed categories; it is possible for other categories to be closed within a specific language.

The feature system of generative grammar is able to handle subcategories in a straightforward way. For example, the category of nouns may be subdivided into nouns that are count nouns as opposed to mass nouns by the feature [\pm count]. Similarly, cross-categorial features can be easily assigned to categories that share features. For example, the lexical category of nouns and the functional category of pronouns share the features of [+N -V] but are distinguished by the feature [\pm Functor] – nouns are [-Functor] whereas pronouns are [+Functor].

3 CATEGORIES IN FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR

In functional grammar, lexical categories are identified on the basis of semantic and/or pragmatic distinctions. As a representative of a functional grammar ap-

²² Thomas E. Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 33.

²³ Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax*, 47.

²⁴ Paul Schachter, "Parts of Speech Systems," in *Clause Structure* (vol. 1 of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*; ed. Timothy Shopen; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 4–5.

proach to categories, we examine briefly the viewpoints first of Hopper and Thompson and then of Hengeveld.

In 1984, Hopper and Thompson wrote an influential article entitled “The Discourse Basis for Lexical Categories in Universal Grammar.”²⁵ They argue that the basic lexical categories of noun and verb are prototypically related to their functions within discourse – nouns are “discourse-manipulable participants” whereas verbs are “reported events.”

Other functionalists, among them Hengeveld, view lexical categories as based upon the prototypical functions of communication. Nouns are used to refer, verbs are used to predicate, and adjectives are used to modify. Hengeveld’s contribution in 1992 was to introduce the concept of flexible and rigid languages with respect to parts of speech.²⁶ A flexible language means that it employs one part of speech for two functions; in a rigid language, a part of speech can only be used for one function. As an example, compare the use of the Dutch word *mooi* in the two examples:²⁷

(2a) een **mooi** kind
a beautiful child
“a *beautiful* child”

(2b) het kind danst **mooi**
the child dances beautifully
“the child dances *beautifully*”

In (2a), the word *mooi* is a modifier of a nominal head, whereas in (2b) it is the modifier of a verbal head. In traditional terms, in (2a) it is functioning as an adjective and in (2b) it is functioning an adverb. In functional grammar, its part of speech is flexible – it is used for two functions.

Hengeveld also presents a predicate hierarchy, as indicated in (3):

(3) verb > noun > adjective > adverb

This implicational hierarchy indicates that a category of predicates on the left is more likely to occur in a language than a category on the right.

By combining the notions of flexible versus rigid categories with the predicate hierarchy, seven types of parts of speech system were identified:

²⁵ Paul Hopper and Sandra Thompson, “The Discourse Basis for Lexical Categories in Universal Grammar,” *Language* 60 (1986): 703–752.

²⁶ Kees Hengeveld, “Parts of Speech” in *Layered Structure and Reference in a Functional Perspective* (ed. Michael Fortescue, Peter Harder and Lars Kristoffersen; Pragmatics and Beyond New Series 23; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1992), 29–55.

²⁷ Hengeveld, “Parts of Speech,” 42.

| | <i>Parts of Speech</i> | | | | <i>Examples of Languages</i> |
|-----------------|------------------------|-------------|---------|-----|----------------------------------|
| <i>Flexible</i> | V / N / A / Adv | | | | Tongan, Mundari, Cuna |
| | V | N / A / Adv | | | Quechua, Tagalog, Turkish |
| | V | N | A / Adv | | Dutch, Jamaican Creole, Lango |
| <i>Rigid</i> | V | N | A | Adv | English, Mam, Kobon |
| | V | N | A | – | Wambon, Babungo, Nkore Kiga |
| | V | N | – | – | Mandarin Chinese, !Xũ, Tuscarora |
| | V | – | – | – | Cayuga |

Table 1. Parts-of-speech Systems (from Hengeveld 1992, Figure 5)

The first row of the chart illustrates a language in which all grammatical categories are flexible: verb, noun, adjective and adverb. The last row of the chart illustrates a language in which only the category of verb is found.²⁸ In the intervening rows, various arrangements of flexible and rigid categories are shown in accordance with the predicate hierarchy.

In 2010, Hengeveld and van Lier published a further development to his theory in the form of a two-dimensional implicated map for parts of speech.²⁹

²⁸ The claim that Cayuga has only a verb has been disputed by, e.g., Marianne Mithun, “Noun and Verb in Iroquoian Languages,” in *Approaches to the Typology of Word Classes* (ed. Petra M. Vogel and Bernard Comrie; Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 23; Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 397–420.

²⁹ Kees Hengeveld and Eva van Lier, “An Implicational Map of Parts-of-speech,” in *Semantic Maps: Methods and Applications* (ed. Andrej Malchukov, Michael Cysouw and Martin Haspelmath; special issue of *Linguistic Discovery* 8 [2010]), 129–156. See also Kees Hengeveld and Eva van Lier, “Connectivity in Implicational Maps: Authors’ Reply to Caterina Mauri” in *Semantic Maps: Methods and Applications* (ed. Andrej Malchukov, Michael Cysouw and Martin Haspelmath; special issue of *Linguistic Discovery* 8 [2010]), 160–161.

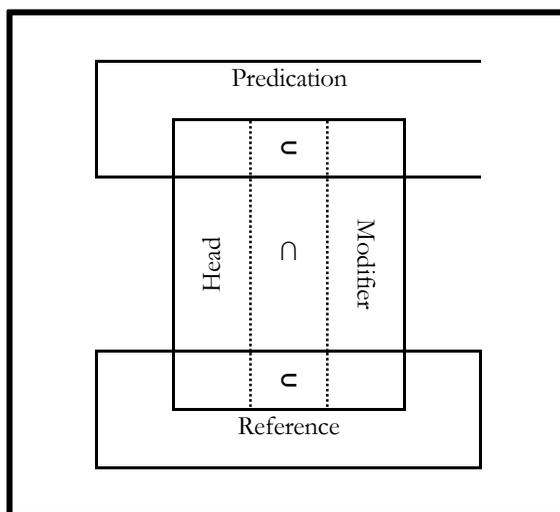


Table 2. Implicational Map of Parts of Speech (from Hengeveld and Van Lier 2010, Figure 7)

The function of predication (which is shared by verbs as head of predications and by adverbs as modifiers of predication) is privileged over the function of reference (which is shared by nouns and adjectives as the modifiers of nouns). The function of head is privileged over the function of modifier. The implicational map also schematizes three implicational constraints:

- (4a) If a language has nouns, it must have verbs
 If a language has nominals or non-verbs, it must have verbs or predicatives
- (4b) If a language has modifiers, then it must have verbs.
 If a language has modifiers, then it has nouns.
- (4c) If a language has distinct (specialized or flexible) classes of lexemes for heads and modifiers within any phrase, then it also has distinct (specialised or flexible) classes of lexemes for heads of predicates and referential phrases.

Using the implicational map, 13 parts of speech systems are possible and the other configurations are excluded. The part of speech system of an individual language can be schematized by extracting the four quadrants from the implicational map as follows for English, which has all four categories:

| | Head | Modifier |
|-------------|------|-----------|
| Predicate | Verb | Adverb |
| Referential | Noun | Adjective |

Table 3. Implicational Map for English

By comparison, the system of Dutch, which has a flexible category combining Adverb and Adjective, can be schematized in the following table:

| | | |
|-------------|------|----------|
| | Head | Modifier |
| Predicate | Verb | Modifier |
| Referential | Noun | |

Table 4. Implicational Map for Dutch

In Biblical Hebrew, the categories of verb and noun are major, open categories and very well attested. The category of adverb is a much smaller category. The category adjective is more problematic in that there are not distinctive inflectional indications to differentiate it from nouns. Are nouns and adjectives really one category, as suggested by the Medieval Hebrew grammarians? If the adjective is not a category, then the implicational hierarchy of Hengeveld suggests that the adverb may not be a category either. We will consider the problem of the category of adjective in Biblical Hebrew below in section 7.

4 CATEGORIES IN COGNITIVE GRAMMAR

Categories in cognitive grammar are seen as prototypical entities based upon human cognition.³⁰ Cognitive linguists are therefore critical of the generative view of categories.³¹ Taylor provides the following summary and criticism of generative categories: First, in generative grammar “categories are defined in terms of a conjunction of necessary and sufficient features.”³² To determine whether an entity X should be assigned to category Y, one must check whether the entity has the defining features of the category. Second, “features are binary... a feature is either involved in the definition of a category or it is not; an entity either possesses this feature or it does not.”³³ Third, “categories have clear boundaries ... there are no ambiguous cases.”³⁴ Fourth, all features of a category “have equal status... there are no degrees of membership in a category, i.e. there are no entities which are better members of the category than others.”³⁵

The development of prototype theory began with the linguist-anthropologists Berlin and Kay who examined the question of the perception and categorization of color terms in the 1960s.³⁶ In a vast cross-cultural study, they determined that if people are given large numbers of color chips and asked to trace the boundaries of

³⁰ John R. Taylor, “Categorization” in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language Sciences* (ed. Patrick Colm Hogan; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 146.

³¹ For a critique of the cognitive linguistics approach to lexical categories, see Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and Jacobus A. Naudé, “Is the Adjective Distinct from the Noun as a Grammatical Category in Biblical Hebrew?” In *Luce Verbi* (forthcoming).

³² John R. Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory* (2d ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 22.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization*, 23.

³⁶ Brent Berlin and Paul Kay, *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

what is perceived of as “red,” a bewildering array of variety results. However, if people are asked to identify the “best example” of “red” then there is an astonishing amount of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic uniformity. In an analysis of color terms in 98 languages, they determined that most languages have only 11 “focal colors” and these have a great deal of similarity in their central or best members. Similar studies involving semantic categorization were conducted in the 1970s by the psychologist Eleanor Rosch involving semantic prototypes.³⁷ She asked subjects to identify good examples of the semantic categories FURNITURE, FRUIT, VEHICLE, WEAPON, etc. She found that things belong to a category by virtue of exhibiting some similarities with the prototype. Some members are “better” or more representative examples of the category than others. In looking at all of the members of the category, not all of them exhibit the same features. Instead, they may be related by “family resemblances” in the same way that members of a family may exhibit a variety of physical features but not every member has precisely the same assortment of features.

In linguistics, prototype theory provides a semantic means for the identification of categories. Membership in a category is gradient – some examples of the category will be central or prototypical, others will be peripheral.³⁸ For example, in differentiating the category of Noun from Verb, a prototypical noun can be viewed as expressing “time-stable” concepts, whereas a verb can be viewed as expressing the least “time-stable” concepts, that is, events.³⁹ For example, a word such as *city* is a prototypical noun, whereas a word such as *arrival* is not. Categories are viewed as primes with central members and peripheral members and typically have fuzzy edges.

We can illustrate the use of prototypes for grammatical categorization with the work of Croft.⁴⁰ He views grammatical categories as follows:⁴¹

³⁷ See Eleanor Rosch, “Cognitive Representation of Semantic Categories,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 104 (1975): 192–233; and “Principles of Categorization” in *Cognition and Categorization* (ed. Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd; Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1978), 27–48.

³⁸ Joan Bybee, *Language, Usage and Cognition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 79.

³⁹ Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax*, 33, 47.

⁴⁰ See William Croft, *Syntactic Categories and Grammatical Relations: The Cognitive Organization of Information* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); William Croft, *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theories in Typological Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); William Croft, “Word Classes, Parts of Speech and Syntactic Argumentation,” *Linguistic Typology* 9 (2005): 431–441; William Croft and Keith T. Poole, “Inferring Universals from Grammatical Variation: Multidimensional Scaling for Typological Analysis,” *Theoretical Linguistics* 34 (2008): 1–37. For a different cognitive linguistic approach to lexical categories, see John R. Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar* (Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁴¹ Croft, “Word Classes, Parts of Speech and Syntactic Argumentation,” 438.

- (5) Propositional act Prototypically coordinated lexical semantic class
- a. reference objects (nonrelational, stative, inherent, non-gradable)
 - b. predication actions (relational, dynamic, transitory, non-gradable)
 - c. modification properties (relational, stative, inherent, gradable)

In this theory, grammatical categories are restricted typological universals rather than language-specific. Croft furthermore advocates for an exhaustive distributional analysis of all data in all constructions for the determination of grammatical classes. He views generative grammarians as being “opportunistically selective” in using only some distributional facts for the determination of grammatical categories.⁴² He has labelled his approach “radical construction grammar” because of its emphasis on the radically exhaustive analysis of all constructions in the language for grammatical analysis and description.

The notion of prototypes is used by Wierzbicka to propose natural semantic lexical categories for parts of speech.⁴³ She posits intuitively intelligible (non-technical) conceptual primitives as exemplars for each grammatical category. For example, for the category “verb” she suggests that the cross-linguistic identification of the category should be based on universal lexical prototypes SEE, HEAR, SAY, DO, MOVE. For “nouns” she suggests the lexical prototypes PEOPLE and THINGS. For “adjectives” she suggests BIG and SMALL, GOOD and BAD and for “adverbs” VERY and LIKE THIS.

Wierzbicka’s approach uses the natural semantic exemplars of prototypical categories as a way to compare categories across languages. It forms part of her larger approach for using Natural Semantic Metalanguage for the description of languages.

5 CATEGORIES IN TYPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS

Linguistic typology refers to the “systematic study of the ways in which the languages of the world vary structurally and of the limits to this variation.”⁴⁴ While

⁴² Croft, “Word Classes, Parts of Speech and Syntactic Argumentation,” 435.

⁴³ Anna Wierzbicka, “Lexical Prototypes as a Universal Basis for Cross-Linguistic Identification of Parts-of-Speech Systems” in *Approaches to the Typology of Word Classes* (ed. Petra M. Vogel and Bernard Comrie; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 285–317.

⁴⁴ Bernard Comrie, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil and Martin Haspelmath, “Introduction,” in *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, ed. Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil and Bernard Comrie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1. Another definition is that linguistic typology involves the endeavor to describe and explain the unity and diversity of languages with respect to linguistic form or the relationship between form and meaning (see Johan van der Auwera and Jan Nuyts, “Cognitive Linguistics and Linguistic Typology,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics* [ed. Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010], 1074–1075).

parts-of-speech systems are not the same across languages, it is also the case that the world's languages do not show infinite variation in their categorization systems.⁴⁵

With regard to linguistic typology and grammatical categories, Haspelmath has argued forcefully that cross-linguistic categories do not exist. Instead “categories represent language-particular generalizations and cannot be carried over from language to another one.”⁴⁶ Furthermore, categories have a purely semantic basis, in contrast to the generative and functional perspectives. Haspelmath identifies the three most important grammatical categories (traditionally the noun, verb and adjective, respectively) as follows:⁴⁷

- (6) a. thing-root: a root that denotes a physical object (animate or inanimate)
- b. action-root: a root that denotes a volitional action
- c. property-root: a root that denotes a property such as age, dimension or value

By taking as his basis for comparison only words that fit a prototypical description of noun as things denoting a physical object, whether animate or inanimate, Haspelmath excludes nouns such as *arrival* or *war* that are not prototypically noun-like from a semantic point of view.

Haspelmath bases cross-linguistic typological comparison of categories on *roots* rather than on words because he wants to exclude inflection and derivation as the basic determiner of classes.⁴⁸ This means that he would include the English word *king* (which is a root) but not *kingdom* (which involves a root plus a derivational affix). By limiting his cross-linguistic comparisons to roots which are semantically close to the prototypical meanings of their respective categories, he argues that methodologically rigorous cross-linguistic comparisons can be made across languages even though languages are compared with respect to only a part of their vo-

⁴⁵ Jan Anward, Edith Moravcsik, and Leon Stassen, “Parts of Speech: A Challenge for Typology,” *Linguistic Typology* 1 (1997): 170–171.

⁴⁶ Martin Haspelmath, “How to Compare Major Word-classes across the World’s Languages,” in *Theories of Everything: In Honor of Edward Keenan* (ed. Thomas Graf, Denis Paperino, Anna Szabolcsi, and Jos Tellings; UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics 17; Los Angeles: UCLA, 2012), 109. See also “Word Classes/Parts of Speech,” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (ed. Paul B. Baltes and Neil J. Smelser; Amsterdam: Pergamon, 2001), 16538–16545; “Does Linguistic Explanation Presuppose Linguistic Description?” *Studies in Language* 28 (2004): 554–579; “Pre-established Categories Don’t Exist: Consequences for Language Description and Typology,” *Linguistic Typology* 11 (2007): 119–132; “Comparative Concepts and Descriptive Categories in Cross-linguistic Studies,” *Language* 86 (2010): 663–687; “The Interplay between Comparative Concepts and Descriptive Categories (Reply to Newmeyer),” *Language* 86 (2010): 696–699; “Escaping Ethnocentrism in the Study of Word-Class Universals,” *Theoretical Linguistics* 38 (2012): 91–102.

⁴⁷ Haspelmath, “Escaping Ethnocentrism in the Study of Word-Class Universals,” 122.

⁴⁸ Haspelmath, “Escaping Ethnocentrism in the Study of Word-Class Universals,” 122–123.

cabulary. Language comparison, as he notes, is “a different enterprise from language description, which must be all-encompassing (all aspects of a language have to be described).”⁴⁹

6 EVALUATION OF APPROACHES TO GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

The various theories that were sampled above differ in a variety of ways with respect to the critical questions concerning grammatical categorization. First, are grammatical categories primes or are they composed of clusters of features? In approaches using prototype semantics, grammatical categories are primes with central members and peripheral members. In approaches using formal grammar such as generative linguistics, grammatical categories are clusters of features, which may differentiate both sub-categories and cross-categories.

Second, how should grammatical categories be identified? We have seen that there are major differences of opinion between theories that place an emphasis on semantics (especially prototype semantics) as the basis of grammatical categories as opposed to theories that place an emphasis on formal features such as morphological features of inflection and derivation and syntactic features of constructions. Many theories use distributional features of grammatical constructions as well as semantics to provide empirical data concerning grammatical categories.

Third, the nature of grammatical categories as monolithic, gradient, overlapping or flexible is directly related to the previous two questions. Prototype theory allows for gradient categories. Functional grammar allows for flexible as well as rigid categories. Generative grammar has monolithic categories in a formal sense, but the complexity of language data can be described through sub-categorization of categories through the addition of features as well as through cross-categorial features.

Fourth, are grammatical categories cross-linguistically valid or are they language specific? From a generative point of view, grammatical categories are notionally valid cross-linguistically with language specific features which are identified on the basis of language specific morphosyntactic properties and distributional facts. In other words, grammatical categories relate to universal grammar, the innate knowledge that humans have about language, but the instantiation of the grammatical categories within a particular language is specific. For typological linguistics such as Haspelmath, grammatical categories are language-specific. He describes formal linguistic approaches to grammatical categories as “ethnocentric” because in his view the grammatical categories are based upon English and other European languages and do not allow for the range of variation found among more “exotic” languages elsewhere in the world. Haspelmath’s criticism of formal linguistics has been answered by Chung and Newmeyer.⁵⁰ Chung suggests that English and major world

⁴⁹ Haspelmath, “Escaping Ethnocentrism in the Study of Word-Class Universals,” 123.

⁵⁰ See Sandra Chung, “Reply to the Commentaries.” *Theoretical Linguistics* 38 (2012): 137–143; and Frederick J. Newmeyer, “Linguistic Typology Requires Crosslinguistic Formal Categories,” *Linguistic Typology* 11 (2007): 133–157.

languages should also contribute to typological studies; Haspelmath's view she describes as running the "real danger of romantizing the exotic."⁵¹ Newmeyer argues that cross-linguistic categories are necessary for typology since universal concepts (the semantic prototypes) without universal cross-linguistic categories lead to a solipsistic view of grammar in which even related dialects of a language would not share categories.⁵²

Finally, do all languages distinguish grammatical categories, especially the most basic categories of noun and verb, or are there languages which lack these most basic distinctions? While the grammatical categories of noun and verb are widely considered to be universally attested among the world's languages, a few languages have been hotly debated concerning whether they have only one category or grammatical categories whatsoever. For example, Chamorro, an Austronesian language, has been argued to have only two unusual grammatical categories: Category 1 consisting of transitive verbs and Category 2 consisting of intransitive verbs, nouns, and adjectives.⁵³ Using formal linguistic tests, Chung demonstrates, however, that Chamorro does in fact have the usual grammatical categories of noun, verb and adjective.⁵⁴ In addition, Chamorro exhibits multifunctionality in the sense that a lexical word may have membership as both a noun and a verb or as a verb and an adjective. The question, then, of languages without basic categories has not yet been answered in the affirmative.

7 APPLICATION TO A HEBREW PROBLEM

7.1 General Approach

In this section, aspects of the theories examined above are applied to a deceptively simple but particularly vexing problem of Hebrew morphology and syntax – the grammatical categorization of טוב. Is טוב a noun, an adjective or a verb? All three? Or none of them?⁵⁵

⁵¹ Chung, "Reply to the Commentaries," 143.

⁵² Newmeyer, "Linguistic Typology Requires Crosslinguistic Formal Categories," 146–149.

⁵³ Donald M. Topping, *Chamorro Reference Grammar* (assisted by Bernadita C. Dungca; Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1973).

⁵⁴ Sandra Chung, "Are Lexical Categories Universal? The View from Chamorro," *Theoretical Linguistics* 38 (2012): 1–56.

⁵⁵ In his extensive research on Hebrew adjectives, Werner used a "strictly pragmatic manner" of identification; namely, any word classified as either "adjective" or "noun or adjective" in a monolingual Hebrew dictionary was included in his analysis of adjectives; see Fritz Werner, "Adjective" in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (ed. Geoffrey Khan; 4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1: 35–44 and *Wortbildung der hebräischen Adjektiva* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983). This approach has the advantage of including every word ever identified in some Hebrew dictionary as an adjective, but does not result in a coherent set of data for analysis.

In general, the category of adjective in Biblical Hebrew is a small lexical class as compared to the class of nouns.⁵⁶ Instead of adjectival modification, Hebrew prefers to use construct phrases or appositional phrases.⁵⁷ Furthermore, there is superficial morphological overlap in the inflectional morphology of nouns and adjectives; adjectives differ from nouns in their inflection only in not having dual morphology (but the dual in Biblical Hebrew is also not fully productive).⁵⁸ There is also overlap in the inflectional morphology of the adjective with the cognate stative verbal root. Given these limitations, is it possible to differentiate טֹב as an adjective from טוֹב as a noun from טוב as a verbal form?

In the following discussion, we approach this issue from a primarily syntactic perspective, utilizing the generative viewpoint of Baker as described above (section 2.0). In our view, syntax provides the most certain way to differentiate lexical categories, especially when examining an ancient language. Because lexical categories bear a direct relationship to the syntactic constructions in which they are found, syntax can serve as an important heuristic device. By contrast, cognitive and functional approaches depend upon determining first the semantics and pragmatics of the usage in question before a functional or cognitive category can be assigned. In employing a formal approach to categories, we see categories as composed of clusters of features, thus allow for both sub-categories and cross-categoriality. We view grammatical categories as cross-linguistically valid and see the basic categories as features of all languages.

7.2 Attributive and Predicative Adjectives

Adjectives in Biblical Hebrew have two main functions – they modify nouns (as attributive adjectives) and they serve as the predicates of verbless sentences (as predicative adjectives).⁵⁹ Attribute adjectives follow the noun that they modify and

⁵⁶ The same is true cross-linguistically; languages typically have many more nouns than adjectives.

⁵⁷ Waltke and O'Connor, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 255–256.

⁵⁸ As we have demonstrated previously, the morphological similarities between noun and adjective are only superficial. An adjective exhibits agreement features with its noun in terms of number and gender, whereas nouns are inherently masculine or feminine and exhibit singular or plural morphology for referential reason. See Miller-Naudé and Naudé, “Is the Adjective Distinct from the Noun as a Grammatical Category in Biblical Hebrew?” and Amikam Gai, “The Category ‘Adjective’ in Semitic Languages,” *JSS* 40 (1995): 1–9.

⁵⁹ We accept the usual syntactic distinction of attributive and predicative adjectives as described by the grammars, e.g. Ronald J. Williams, *Williams' Hebrew Syntax* (3rd ed.; revised and expanded by John C. Beckman; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), §§73, 75; P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (2d reprint of the 2d edition with corrections; Rome: Gregorian Biblical Press, 2009), §§141, 154d; Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 258–263; and C.H.J. van der Merwe, Jackie A. Naudé and Jan H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Biblical Languages: Hebrew; Shef-

agree with it in number, gender and definiteness. As noted above, Baker has shown that adjectives are unique among the lexical categories in functioning as direct, attributive modifiers of nouns. In the following example, the adjective functions to modify a noun (i.e., it is an attributive adjective):

(7) Exodus 3:8

וְאֵרָד לְהַצִּילָם מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם וְלְהַעֲלֵתָם מִן־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת אֶל־אֶרֶץ טוֹבָה וְרַחֲבָה אֶל־אֶרֶץ זָבַת חֶלֶב וְדָבָשׁ אֶל־מְקוֹם הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְהַחִתִּי וְהָאֱמֹרִי וְהַפְּרִזִּי וְהַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי:

I have come down to deliver them (lit. him) out of the hand of the Egyptians and to bring them (lit. him) up out of that land *to a good and broad land*, to a land flowing with milk and honey, to the place of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites.

In this example the noun אֶרֶץ is modified by two conjoined adjectives, both of which agree with it in gender, number and definiteness.

In contrast to the attributive function of adjectives (which is unique to the lexical category of adjectives), predication is a secondary, non-inherent function of adjectives and requires an overt or covert copula (the latter realized in Hebrew as the so-called verbless or nominal clause). Predicate adjectives in Hebrew agree in number and gender with the subject noun phrase but are not definite. The predicate adjective usually precedes the subject, as in (8):⁶⁰

(8) 1 Kings 2:38

וַיֹּאמֶר שִׁמְעִי לְמֶלֶךְ טוֹב הַדְּבָר בְּאִשֶּׁר דִּבֶּר אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּן יַעֲשֶׂה עַבְדְּךָ וַיֵּשֶׁב שִׁמְעִי בִירוּשָׁלַם יָמִים רַבִּים: ס

And Shimei said to the king, “*The matter is good*; just as my lord the king has said, so will your servant do.” So Shimei lived in Jerusalem many days.

The predicate adjective may also follow the subject, as in (8):⁶¹

(9) 1 Samuel 25:15

וְהָאֲנָשִׁים טַבִּים לָנוּ מְאֹד וְלֹא הִכְלַמְנוּ וְלֹא־פָקְדְנוּ מֵאִמָּה כָּל־יְמֵי הַתְּהַלְכָנוּ אַתֶּם בְּהִיֹּתְנוּ בַשָּׂדֶה:

field: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 232–235. Rarely adjectives may have adverbially functions; see Joüon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §102c.

⁶⁰ See also, for example, Exod 2:2 and Isa 41:7 (טוֹב הוּא “he is good”); 1 Sam 9:10 (טוֹב דְּבָרְךָ “your word is good”); 1 Kgs 2:38 and 1 Kgs 18:24 (טוֹב הַדְּבָר “the word (matter) is good”); Jer 33:11, Nahum 1:7, Ps 34:9; 100:5; 135:3; 145:9; Lam 3:25 (טוֹב יְהוָה “the LORD is good”).

⁶¹ See also, for example, Gen 2:12 (וְזָהָב הָאָרֶץ הַהוּא טוֹב “the gold of that land is good”); 2 Kgs 2:19 (מוֹשֵׁב הָעִיר טוֹב “the situation of the city is good”); Ps 119:39 (מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ טוֹבִים “your judgements are good”).

The men were very good to us, and we were not harmed, and we did not miss anything all the days we were going around with them when we were in the open country.

In this example, the verbless clause is also modified by the adverb **מְאֹד** thus strengthening the identification of **טֹבִים** as a predicate adjective.⁶²

The predicate adjective may also be identified by its presence in comparative constructions:⁶³

(10) 2 Samuel 17:14

וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְשָׁלוֹם וְכָל־אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל טוֹבָה עֲצַת חוּשֵׁי הָאָרֶץ מֵעֲצַת אַחִיתֹפֶל

And Absalom and all the men of Israel⁶⁴ said, “The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahithophel.”

An additional indication of the predicative status of the adjective is its position preceding the noun phrase **עֲצַת חוּשֵׁי הָאָרֶץ** “the counsel of Hushai the Archite”; the adjective cannot be understood as adjectivally modifying the noun phrase.

7.3 Verbal Forms

We can also differentiate the clear cases of verbal forms. Forms involving the Hiphil derivational stem can easily be identified:⁶⁵

(11) 2 Kings 10:30

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־יהווא יַעַן אֲשֶׁר־הֵטִיבָתָּ לַעֲשׂוֹת הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינַי כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר בִּלְבָבִי עָשִׂיתָ לְבַיִת אַחֲאָב בְּנֵי רַבְעִים יֵשְׁבוּ לָךְ עַל־כִּסֵּא יִשְׂרָאֵל:

And the LORD said to Jehu, “Because *you have acted well* by doing what is right in my eyes according to all that was in my heart to the house of Ahab, four generations of your sons will sit on the throne of Israel.”

A few Qal perfect forms are also attested with clear inflectional morphology:

⁶² See also Jer 24:3 **מֵאֹד טוֹבוֹת טָבוֹת** “the good figs are very good.” In Jer 24:2, the adjectives should also be understood as predicate adjectives because of the adverbial modification: **הַדּוֹד אֶחָד טָבוֹת מְאֹד כְּתֹאנֵי הַבְּכֹרוֹת וְהַדּוֹד אֶחָד תֹּאנִים רְעוֹת מְאֹד אֲשֶׁר לֹא־: הָאֶבְלָנָה מְרַע:** “As for one basket, *the figs were very good* like first-ripe figs; as for the other basket, *the figs were very bad, which could not be eaten for badness.*”

⁶³ See also, for example, Song 1:2 **כִּי־טוֹבִים דְּדִיד מִיַּי** “for your love is better than wine”).

⁶⁴ The quantifier **כָּל** with a singular definite noun has the meaning “the totality of the individual members of the entity” (see Jacobus A. Naudé, “Syntactic Patterns of Quantifier Float in Biblical Hebrew,” *Hebrew Studies* 52 [2011]: 121–136). In this verse, the meaning in English is approximately “the totality of the group comprising the manhood of Israel.”

⁶⁵ See also 1 Kgs 8:18; 2 Chron 6:8. Zeph 1:12 has an imperfect Hiphil form.

(12) Numbers 24:5⁶⁶

מֵה־טֹבֹו אֶהְלִידָּ יַעֲקֹב מִשְׁכְּנֹתַיִךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל:

How *lovely* are your tents, O Jacob, your encampments, O Israel!

However, since the form **טֹב** could be understood as a finite Qal perfect 3ms verb, as a Qal infinitive construct, a Qal infinitive absolute or a Qal active participle, we must examine the syntactic context very carefully to try to determine which form is involved.⁶⁷ One of the most problematic examples is found in (13):

(13) Judges 11:25

וַעֲתָה הֲטֹב טֹב אֶתָּה מִבְּלָק בֶּן־צִפּוֹר מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב הַרְּוֹב רַב עַם־יִשְׂרָאֵל אִם־נִלְחַם נִלְחַם בָּם:

Now are you really any better than Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab? Did he ever really contend against Israel, or did he ever really go to war with them?

The repetition of **טֹב** at the beginning of the sentence has been widely understood to involve the infinitive absolute form of the verb by analogy to the two sentences later in the verse which exhibit infinitive absolute forms (**נִלְחַם נִלְחַם** and **הַרְּוֹב רַב**).⁶⁸ If that is the case, then we would expect the second instance of **טֹב** in (13) to be a finite form. However, a finite form is out of the question because the independent personal pronoun that follows is second person not third person. It is also conceivable that the second form is the Qal active participle,⁶⁹ but it is very rare for an infinitive absolute to modify a predicative participle. Predicative adjectives also are not modified by the infinitive absolute form. However, Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley prefer instead to argue that **טֹב** is an adjective which is “specially intensified by repetition.”⁷⁰ In this viewpoint, the repeated adjective is both *semantically* similar to finite predications modified by the infinitive absolute and *formally* similar to the infinitive absolute construction. Although no identification of the grammatical category of the

⁶⁶ See also Songs 4:10.

⁶⁷ As noted in the standard lexica, distinguishing the forms of the verb from those of the adjective is difficult: “for most forms (of the verb) distinction from **טֹב** adj. unclear” (David J.A. Clines, *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* [Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009], 139); “it (the verb) cannot always be distinguished with certainty from adv.” (Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* [rev. Walter Baumgartner and Johann Jakob Stamm; trans. M.E.J. Richardson; Leiden: Brill, 2001], 370).

⁶⁸ This is the approach of *HALOT*, s.v. **טֹב**.

⁶⁹ This is the approach of *BDB* s.v. **טֹב**, while noting that it is often difficult to decide between verb and adjective.

⁷⁰ W. Gesenius; E. Kautzsch, and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (2d English edition; Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), §133a n. 2.

two instances of טוב in this verse is completely satisfactory, the analysis of Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley provides the best syntactic interpretation.

7.4 Expressions with “Good in the Eyes of”

A second problematic construction for identifying the grammatical category of טוב involves the expression “in the eyes of.” We begin with the use of טוב with the definite article, as in the following example:

(14) 2 Samuel 19:28

וַיְהִי בְעֵבֶרְךָ אֶל-אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ כְּמַלְאֲךָ הָאֱלֹהִים וַעֲשֵׂה הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ:

He has slandered your servant to my lord the king. But my lord the king is like the angel of God; *do the good (thing) in your eyes.*

Many Hebrew grammarians consider adjectives to be nominal (or substantival) when they occur in contexts like this one; in other words, in contexts where the adjective neither modifies a noun nor is used predicatively. Waltke and O'Connor are representative of this viewpoint: “Because the boundary between adjectives and substantives is not fixed or rigid, it is common to find nouns that are most often used as adjectives in substantive slots.”⁷¹ However, we have previously argued that such adjectives are neither nouns nor noun-like (i.e. substantives) because they are not referential, an essential quality of the lexical category of nouns.⁷² Instead, adjectives in these constructions modify a null (or covert) noun – a noun which is phonologically unexpressed but grammatically present. The fact that the unexpressed noun is grammatically present can be clearly seen in those cases where the adjective inflectionally agrees with the underlying noun, as illustrated in (15):⁷³

(15) Genesis 42:13

וַיֹּאמְרוּ שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר עֲבָדֶיךָ אֲחֵים | אֲנַחְנוּ בְּנֵי אִישׁ-אֶחָד בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וְהִנֵּה הַקֶּטָן אֶת-אָבִינוּ הַיּוֹם וְהָאֶחָד אֵינָנוּ:

They said, “We your servants were twelve brothers, sons of a certain man in the land of Canaan; look, *the young (one)* is now with our father, and one is no more.”

In some cases, there is an explicit antecedent for the null noun in the preceding context. In other cases, however, the null noun must be pragmatically inferred from the interpretation of the passage:

⁷¹ Waltke and O'Connor, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 261.

⁷² Miller-Naudé and Naudé, “Is the Adjective Distinct from the Noun as a Grammatical Category in Biblical Hebrew?”

⁷³ See also, for example, Gen 29:16; Lev 27:10; Num 16:7; 1 Sam 16:11.

(16) 2 Chronicles 18:30

וּמֶלֶךְ אֲרָם צִוָּה אֶת־שָׂרֵי הָרֶכֶב אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ לֵאמֹר לֹא תִלָּחֲמוּ אֶת־הַקָּטָן אֶת־הַגָּדוֹל כִּי אִם־
אֶת־מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְבַדּוֹ:

The king of Aram had given these instructions to his chariot officers, “Do not attack *an insignificant (soldier)* or an *important (soldier)*, but only the king of Israel.”

Frequently, the null noun makes a generic reference to a person (or people), word(s) or thing(s), as in the example of טוב modifying a definite null noun in (14) above. Another example is found in (17), where the adjective modifies an indefinite null noun:⁷⁴

(17) Genesis 31:24

וַיָּבֹא אֱלֹהִים אֶל־לָבָן הָאֲרָמִי בַחֲלֹם הַלַּיְלָה וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הַשָּׁמֶר לְךָ פִּזְתָּדָבָר עִם־יַעֲקֹב מִטּוֹב
עַד־רָע:

But God came to Laban the Aramean in a dream by night and said to him, “Be careful yourself not to say anything to Jacob, *either good or bad [lit. from a good (word) to a bad (word)]*.”⁷⁵

Another argument for understanding a null noun involves the fact that adjectives without nouns may be modified by the quantifier כל, as in (18):

(18) 1 Samuel 11:10

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אַנְשֵׁי יַבֶּשׁ מַחֵר נֵצֵא אֵלֵיכֶם וַעֲשִׂיתֶם לָנוּ כְכֹל־הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינֵיכֶם:

The men of Jabesh said, “To-morrow we will come out unto you, and you will do to us *according to all that seems good* (lit. all of the good) in your eyes.”

Since nouns can be quantified but adjectives cannot, there must be a null noun which is quantified with כל.

Adjectives with pronominal suffixes must also be understood as modifying a null noun, as in (19):

(19) Nehemiah 6:19

גַּם טוֹבֵתָיו הָיוּ אִמְרִים לְפָנַי וּדְבָרֵי הָיוּ מוֹצִיאִים לוֹ אֲגָרוֹת שְׁלַח טוֹבִיָּה לִירְאָנִי:

Also they were speaking about *his good [deeds]* in my presence and they were reporting my words to him. And Tobiah sent letters to frighten me.

⁷⁴ See also Hosea 8:3.

⁷⁵ For the translation “be careful yourself,” see Jacobus A. Naudé, “Dative: Biblical Hebrew,” in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (ed. Geoffrey Khan; 4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1: 655–658.

Indefinite adjectives may also modify a null noun, as exemplified in (20) in which the bare indefinite adjective is preceded by כל. The quantifier demonstrates that there is a null indefinite noun which is modified by the adjective:

(20) Psalm 34:11

כְּפִירִים רָשׁוּ וְרָעְבוּ וְדָרְשׁוּ יְהוָה לֹא־יִחְסְרוּ כָל־טוֹב:

The young lions lack, and suffer hunger; but those who seek the LORD do not lack *any good* [thing].

An alternative interpretation of examples (17) through (20) would argue that the adjective טוב has become grammaticalized as an abstract noun. We doubt that such is the case in light of the fact that Hebrew has other abstract nouns related to the same root, e.g., טוֹבָה “goodness, good thing,” טוב “goodness, well-being.” Further evidence for טוב as an adjective modifying a null noun rather than as a grammaticalized noun comes from the use of טוב as the construct member of a construct phrase, as in the following two examples:

(21a) 1 Kings 1:6

וְלֹא־עָצְבוּ אָבִיו מִיָּמָיו לֵאמֹר מִדּוּעַ כָּכָה עָשִׂיתָ וְגַם־הוּא טוֹב־תָּאֵר מֵאֹד וְאֵתוֹ יְלָדָה אַחֲרַי אֲבִשָׁלוֹם:

His father had never at any time displeased him by saying, “Why have you done thus and so?” *He was also a very handsome man* (lit. *very good of appearance*), and he was born after Absalom.

(21b) 1 Samuel 25:3

וְשֵׁם הָאִישׁ נָבָל וְשֵׁם אִשְׁתּוֹ אֲבִיגַיִל וְהָאִשָּׁה טוֹבַת־שֵׁכֶל וַיִּפְתַּח תָּאֵר וְהָאִישׁ קָשָׁה וְרָע מֵעֲלָלִים וְהוּא כְּלָבִי [כְּלָבִי]:

Now the name of the man was Nabal, and the name of his wife Abigail. *The woman was discerning* (lit. *good of intelligence*) and beautiful (lit. *beautiful of appearance*), but the man was harsh and badly behaved and he was a Calebite.

In both examples, the construct phrase functions as the predicate of a verbless sentence. In 1 Kings 1:6, the bound member of the construct phrase agrees with the masculine subject; in 1 Samuel 25:3, the bound member of the construct phrase agrees with the feminine subject. It is therefore clear that the adjective occurs within the construct phrase, rather than a form of טוב in which the adjective has become grammaticalized as a noun. Further evidence for this identification of טוב as an adjective is the fact that in (21a) it is modified by מֵאֹד.

To return to the expression of טוב with “in the eyes of”, we have demonstrated that the expression may occur with a definite noun (as in [14]) or an indefinite noun (as in [20]). The expression may also occur with a finite verbal form from the cognate verbal root:

(22) 2 Samuel 3:36

וְכָל־הָעָם הִפְּיָרוּ וַיִּטְבַּח בְּעֵינֵיהֶם כָּכָל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּעֵינֵי כָל־הָעָם טוֹב:

And all the people took notice of it, *and it was good in their eyes*, just as everything that the king did *was pleasing* in the eyes of all the people.

In the first example of the expression in this verse, a finite verbal form is found with the expression. In the second example, only טוב is found. On the basis of the parallel structure with the first half of the verse, it is probably the case that טוב should be understood as the Qal perfect 3ms of the same verbal root; however, it is equally possible from a grammatical point of view that טוב could be understood as a predicative adjective.

In a number of cases, טוב in this expression follows כַּאֲשֶׁר, as in (23):

(23) 2 Samuel 15:26

וְאִם כֹּה יֹאמֶר לֹא חֲפָצְתִי בְךָ הַנְּלִי יַעֲשֶׂה־לִּי כַּאֲשֶׁר טוֹב בְּעֵינָיו:

But if he says as follows, ‘I have no pleasure in you,’ behold, here I am, let him do to me *according to what is good in his eyes*.

The construction with כַּאֲשֶׁר requires a finite verbal form or a participle; therefore, טוב in this context should be interpreted as a Qal perfect 3ms. However, it is less clear that a verbal form is in view after the simple relative אֲשֶׁר, as in (24):⁷⁶

(24) 2 Samuel 3:19

וַיְדַבֵּר גַּם־אַבְנֵר בְּאָזְנוֹ בְּנִימִין וַיֵּלֶךְ גַּם־אַבְנֵר לְדַבֵּר בְּאָזְנוֹ דָּוִד בְּחֶבְרוֹן אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־טוֹב בְּעֵינֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבְעֵינֵי כָּל־בֵּית בְּנֵי־מִן:

Abner also talked with the Benjaminites; then Abner also went to inform David in Hebron of *all that was good in the eyes of Israel and of the whole House of Benjamin*.

The relative clause has the quantifier כָּל modifying a null noun as its head. The instance of טוב within the relative clause seems to be a predicative adjective rather than a verb. For comparison, we can note that other adjectives may also appear in this construction, as illustrated in (25):

(25) Exodus 11:3

וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אֶת־חַן הָעַם בְּעֵינֵי מִצְרַיִם גַּם | הָאִישׁ מֹשֶׁה גָּדוֹל מְאֹד בְּאַרְץ מִצְרַיִם בְּעֵינֵי עַבְדֵי־פַרְעֹה וּבְעֵינֵי הָעַם:

The LORD gave the people favor in the eyes of the Egyptians. Moreover, the man Moses was very *great* in the land of Egypt, in the eyes of the servants of Pharaoh and in the eyes of the people.

In some ambiguous cases, however, it may be best to understand טוב as a Qal perfect finite verb, rather than as a predicative adjective. This is the case in (26) for two reasons. First, if טוב is identified as a predicate adjective, it would not have a subject.

⁷⁶ Similarly, 2 Sam 19:38.

Second, identifying **טוב** as a finite verb provides a matrix verb for the infinitival complement that follows it:

(26) Numbers 24:1

וַיֵּרָא בַלְעָם כִּי טוֹב בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה לְבָרֵךְ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא־הִלָּךְ כְּפַעַם־בְּפַעַם לְקַרְאֵת נְחָשִׁים
וַיִּשֶׁת אֶל־הַמִּדְבָּר פָּנָיו:

Balaam saw that *it was pleasing in the eyes of the LORD to bless Israel*, and he did not go, as at other times, to look for omens, but set his face toward the wilderness.

The infinitival clause “in order to bless Israel” is dependent upon **טוב** as a finite verb. In the Hebrew Bible, only verbal forms of **טוב** serve as the matrix verb for infinitival complements, as illustrated in (27), where a participial form of **טוב** has this function:⁷⁷

(27) 1 Samuel 16:17

וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל אֶל־עַבְדָּיו רְאוּנָא לִי אִישׁ מִיֵּטִיב לַנְּגִן וְהִבִּיאֹתֶם אֵלָי:

Saul said to his servants, “Provide for me a man *who can play well* (*lit. doing well to play*) and bring him to me.”

However, other predicative adjectives are attested in the Hebrew Bible serving as the matrix predicate for an infinitival complement:

(28) Jeremiah 4:22

כִּי אֲנִיל עַמִּי אוֹתִי לֹא יָדְעוּ בָנִים סְכָלִים הֵמָּה וְלֹא נְבוֹנִים הֵמָּה חֲכָמִים הֵמָּה לְהִרְעוּ
וְלִהְיֵטִיב לֹא יָדְעוּ:

For my people are foolish; they do not know me; they are stupid children; they have no understanding. They are *wise in doing evil* (*lit. to do evil*). But to do good they do not know.

It is therefore possible that **טוב** as an adjective could be used in a similar construction. But, as noted above, **טוב** as a predicative adjective in (26) would not have a subject; as a result, the interpretation of **טוב** as a finite verb remains preferable:

A different kind of infinitival clause is found in the following example, in which the infinitival clause functions as the subject of the sentence (note the absence of a preposition before the infinitives construct) and **טוב** is probably the predicative adjective:

(29) 1 Samuel 29:6

וַיִּקְרָא אָכִישׁ אֶל־דָּוִד וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלָיו חַי־יְהוָה כִּי־יִשָּׁר אֶתָּה וְטוֹב בְּעֵינֵי צֹאֲתֶךָ וּבִאֲזָן אֶתִּי
בְּמַחְנֶה כִּי לֹא־מִצְאָתִי בְּךָ רָעָה מִזֶּם בִּאֲזָן אֲלֵי עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וּבְעֵינֵי הַסְּרָנִים לֹא־טוֹב אֶתָּה:

⁷⁷ See also Jer 1:12 and Ezek 33:32 (without the preposition *lamed* preceding the infinitival complement).

Then Achish called David and said to him, “As the LORD lives, you have been honest, *and your going out and your coming in with me in the battle is good in my eyes*. For I have found nothing wrong in you from the day of your coming to me to this day. Nevertheless, the lords do not approve of you.”

What we have seen is that in order to determine the categorial status of טוב, it is important to move beyond simply the morphosyntactic features to a syntactic understanding of the broader context. This allows the analyst to curtail the possible categorial assignments.

7.5 טוב Followed by a Preposition Phrase with *lamed*

Another problematic expression involves טוב followed by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *lamed*, as in (30):

(30) Deuteronomy 15:16

וְהָיָה כִּי־יֹאמֵר אֱלֹיִךְ לֹא אֵצֶא מֵעִמָּךְ כִּי אֶהְבְּדֶךָ וְאֶת־בֵּיתְךָ כִּי־טוֹב לְךָ עִמָּךְ:

But if he says to you, “I will not go out from you,” because he loves you and your household, *since it is good for him with you....*

Should טוב be identified as a Qal 3ms verb or as a predicate adjective?

A similar example with a comparative meaning is also found:

(31) Numbers 11:18

וְאֶל־הָעָם תֹּאמַר הִתְקַדְּשׁוּ לְמָחָר וְאִכְלִיתֶם בָּשָׂר כִּי בִכִּיתֶם בְּאָזְנֵי יְהוָה לֵאמֹר מִי יֵאֲכַלְנוּ בָּשָׂר כִּי־טוֹב לָנוּ בְּמִצְרַיִם וְנָתַן יְהוָה לָכֶם בָּשָׂר וְאִכְלִיתֶם:

And to the people you will say, ‘Consecrate yourselves for tomorrow, and you shall eat meat, for you have wept in the hearing of the LORD, saying, “Who will give us meat to eat? *For it was better for us in Egypt.*” Therefore, the LORD will give you meat, and you shall eat.’

In these two examples, there is no subject constituent if we identify טוב as an adjective, thus suggesting that perhaps it is better to identify it as a verbal form. However, there are cases in which a subject is specified in the form of a verbal complement, as in (32):

(32) Psalm 119:71

טוֹב־לִי כִּי־עֲנִיתִי לְמַעַן אֶלְמַד חֻקֶּיךָ:

It is good for me that I was afflicted, in order that I might learn your statutes.

The complement “that I was afflicted” serves as the syntactic subject of the sentence, making it possible for טוב to be understood as a predicate adjective. It is also possible for the subject to be an infinitival complement, as in (33):

(33) Qoheleth 11:7

וּמְתוֹק הָאֹר וְטוֹב לְעֵינַיִם לְרֹאוֹת אֶת־הַשָּׁמֶשׁ:

The light is sweet, and it is good for the eyes to see the sun.

In this example, the infinitival clause governed by the preposition *lamed* serves as the subject of the sentence and טוב may be the predicate adjective. It is also possible to have an infinitival clause that is not governed by the preposition *lamed* as the subject of the sentence:

(34) Exodus 14:12

הלא־זֶה הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְנוּ אֵלֶיךָ בְּמִצְרַיִם לֵאמֹר חַדְל מִמֶּנּוּ וְנַעֲבֹדָה אֶת־מִצְרַיִם כִּי טוֹב לָנוּ
עֲבֹד אֶת־מִצְרַיִם מִמֶּתְנֶנּוּ בַּמִּדְבָּר:

Is not this what we said to you in Egypt: ‘Leave us alone that we may serve the Egyptians?’ *For it would have been better for us to serve the Egyptians than to die in the wilderness.*

The absence of the preposition *lamed* in this example probably relates to the fact that the preposition *min* introduces the infinitival complement.

In yet another example of this construction, the subject is a noun phrase and again טוב may be understood as the adjective:

(35) Psalm 73:28

וְאֲנִי קִרְבַּת אֱלֹהִים לִי־טוֹב שְׁתִּי | בְּאֲדָנִי יִהְיֶה מַחְסִי לְטֹפֵר כָּל־מַלְאָכֹתַיִךְ:

But as for me it is good for me to be near God; I have made the Lord GOD my refuge to tell of all your works.

7.6 Two Instances of טוב in Qoheleth 7:1

Another syntactically problematic example is the following:

(36) Qoheleth 7:1

טוֹב שֵׁם מִשֶּׁמֶן טוֹב
יּוֹם הַמָּוֶת מִיּוֹם הַהוֹלָדוֹ

A name is *better* than precious (lit. *good*) ointment
and the day of death [is better] than the day of his birth.

The sentence in the first line of the verse has two occurrences of טוב; we will therefore carefully consider the possible syntactic interpretations of the verse based upon how these two instances of טוב (labelled TOV#1 and TOV#2) are interpreted. Note, first, however, that almost every English translation of the verse implies three instances of טוב in the first line, rather than two – the nouns “name” and “oil” are modified as “good” (or “precious” or “fine”) in addition to the predicate “better”:

(36a) Qoheleth 7:1a

A good name is better than good ointment (NAB)

A good name is better than precious ointment (NRSV)

A good name is better than fine perfume (NIV)

These translations must therefore infer one instance of טוב, regardless of the syntactic interpretation that the translators accept.

The following interpretations of the syntax must be considered. In the first interpretation, the first טוב is a predicative adjective and second טוב is an attributive adjective:

(36b) Interpretation 1

TOV#1=predicative adjective, TOV#2 = attributive adjective

good (is) a name more than *good* oil = A name is better than fine (or, precious) oil.

This interpretation is syntactically unproblematic. The predicate (TOV#1) precedes “name”; this is the normal position for the predicative adjective.⁷⁸ Most English translators who accept this syntactic interpretation of the Hebrew are inferring that the “name” is qualified as “good” (“a good name”) from the context, as explicitly indicated by the italicized adjective in the ASV:⁷⁹

(36c) A *good* name is better than precious oil (ASV)

However, it is not necessary to infer that a “*good* name” is meant in this verse. Instead, the sense of “name” as “reputation” need not be modified as “good,” as, for example, in Prov 22:1 (see also Job 30:8).⁸⁰ Put differently, the concept of “name” in the Hebrew Bible should be viewed “in a dynamic sense as the sum of a person’s deeds and accomplishments, means and reputation”; the verse then can be translated “an (honored) name (*šēm*) is better than fine ointment.”⁸¹

⁷⁸ Delitzsch views the first instance of טוב as predicative; the sentence indicates that a name is better than a sweet scent (F. Delitzsch, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon* [Commentary on the Old Testament 6; Reprint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976], 313). Similarly, Aalders indicates that it is not necessary for טוב modify שם because the adjective can be inferred from context (G. Ch. Aalders, *Het Boek de Prediker. Vertaald en Verklaard* [Commentaar op het Oude Testament; Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1948], 140–141).

⁷⁹ German translations are similar, see, for example “Ein guter Ruf ist besser denn gute Salbe (feines Öl)” (Helmut Lamparter, *Das Buch der Weisheit* [Die Botschaft des Alten Testaments 46.1; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1955], 92 n. 6); and “Wertvoller ist ein (guter) Name als großer Reichtum” (Aarre Lauha, *Kohélet* [Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament 19; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978], 124).

⁸⁰ On the uses of שם to refer to a good or bad “reputation” and then for “memory” or “fame” after death in the Old Testament and Hellenistic Judaism, see H. Bietenhard, “*Ōnoma* [name, person], *onomázō* [to name], *eponomázō* [to nickname], *pseudōnymos* [bearing a false name],” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich; abridged by Geoffrey W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 695–698.

⁸¹A.S. van der Woude, “שם *šēm* Name,” in *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (ed. Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann; Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, and Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1976), 947. See also Michael V. Fox, *A Time to Tear Down and a Time to Build Up* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 251.

In the second interpretation, the first טוב is an attributive adjective modifying “name” and the second טוב is a predicative adjective:

(36d) Interpretation 2

TOV#1 = attributive, TOV#2 = predicative

A good name (is) more than oil *good* (predicate) = A good name is better than oil.

This syntactic interpretation involves seeing טוב שם as an unusual noun phrase in which the adjective precedes the noun; this is very problematic from the standpoint of Hebrew syntax.⁸²

In the third interpretation, the first טוב is an adjective in construct with the noun and the second טוב is a predicative adjective:

(36e) Interpretation 3

TOV#1 = adjective in construct state, TOV#2 = predicative

good of name (is) more than oil *good* (predicate) = A good name is better than oil.

This syntactic interpretation involves seeing טוב שם as a construct phrase. A similar example involving טוב as a feminine adjective in a construct phrase occurs in Genesis 24:16 טבת מראה “beautiful (lit. good of appearance).” English translations that accept this syntactic interpretation would require inferring that the oil is good, since the טוב that follows “oil” (TOV#2) is the predicate of the sentence and not an attributive adjective modifying “oil.”

In the fourth interpretation, the first טוב is non-predicative (either an anomalous attributive adjective as in Interpretation 2 or as an adjective in construct as in Interpretation 3) and the second טוב is an attributive adjective:

(36f) Interpretation 4

TOV#1 = non-predicative (either anomalous attributive adjective as in #2 or as an adjective in construct as in #3), TOV#2 = attributive

A good name (is) more than good oil = A good name is superior to fine oil.

This syntactic interpretation involves seeing TOV#2 as an attributive adjective and not as the predicate of the sentence. In this case, the preposition *min* only indicates that X is more than Y and “better” (טוב as a predicate) must be inferred from the

⁸² Friedrich Eduard König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* (Band III; Teil 2; Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1979), §334θ. See also GKC §132 remark 1.

context.⁸³ This syntactic interpretation seems to be followed by many commentators, although not many of them explicitly address the syntactic issues.⁸⁴

In the fifth and final interpretation, the first טוב is a verb (Qal perfect 3ms) and the second טוב is an attributive adjective:

(36g) Interpretation 5

TOV#1 = verb; TOV#2 = attributive

good (verb) is a name more than good oil

A comparable sentence with a form of טוב as a verb in a comparative construction with מן occurs in Song 4:10.

We accept the first syntactic interpretation of the verse for the following reasons: (1) it does not involve an unusual order of TOV#1 as attributive adjective to head noun (as in the second interpretation); (2) TOV#1 as a predicative adjective is syntactically unproblematic. Two additional, non-syntactic arguments lend support, namely, the similar use of טוב in sentence-initial position as a predicative adjective in a comparative sentence occurs multiple times in the immediate context (Qoh 7:2, 7:3, 7:5, 7:8 [twice], 7:10 [with the copula הִיָּה], 7:18); and the phrase הַשֶּׁמֶן הַטוֹב “fine oil” which is a known phrase in the Hebrew Bible (Psalm 133:2; Isa 39:2).

8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We have examined a variety of syntactic contexts within which טוב appears in order to illustrate how attentiveness to morphosyntactic features can assist us in identifying the grammatical category of each occurrence. Although טוב is primarily an adjective, there are also homonyms which must be classified as verbs. We do not view any examples of טוב as nouns (or adjectives which have been grammaticalized as nouns). Instead, we have demonstrated that טוב, like adjectives in general, may modify a null noun in Hebrew.

We have demonstrated how differentiating the various homophonous forms can be done best by means of morphosyntactic facts as well as distributional syntactic facts relating to specific constructions. We are presently left with a number of indeterminacies. Are there instances of טוב which are ambiguous with respect to grammatical categorization or are there additional factors which we have not yet considered that may solve the puzzles? Should we consider a small subset of cases of טוב to be instances of gradient or flexible categories? Would such a description actually assist us with analysis or description of the phenomena we have identified? We are hopeful that further research involving the distributional facts of other

⁸³ In a few verses, the attribute of the comparative is not expressed; see GKC §133e; König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräische Sprache*, §308a.

⁸⁴ See, for example, Murphy’s translation “better is a good name than good ointment” (Roland E. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes* [WBC 23A; Dallas: Word Books, 1992]). So also Aalders, *Het Boek de Prediker*, 140–141.

noun-adjective-verb clusters in Biblical Hebrew will assist us in answering these questions.

In conclusion, we have attempted to provide a survey and overview to a variety of issues relating to grammatical categorization in linguistic theory. It is very important for scholars of ancient languages to be keenly aware of the linguistic methods and theories as a way to provide new perspectives with which to analyse the languages of ancient texts. Grammatical categorization, regardless of one's theoretical perspective, lies at the heart of the analysis and description of ancient texts. For that reason, we hope that more scholars of ancient languages will self-consciously consider how and why we categorize as we do.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aalders, G. Ch. *Het Boek de Prediker. Vertaald en Verklaard*, Commentaar op het Oude Testament. Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1948.
- Andersen, Francis I., and A. Dean Forbes. *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 6. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Ansaldo, Umberto, Jan Don, and Roland Pfau. "Parts of Speech: Particulars, Universals and Theoretical Constructs." *Studies in Language* 32 (2008): 505–508.
- Anward, Jan, Edith Moravcsik, and Leon Stassen. "Parts of Speech: A Challenge for Typology." *Linguistic Typology* 1 (1997): 167–184.
- Baker, Mark C. *Lexical Categories: Verbs, Nouns, Adjectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Becker, Dan. "Grammatical Thought: Influence of the Medieval Arabic Grammatical Tradition." Pages 113–128 in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 2. Edited by Geoffrey Khan. 4 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Berlin, Brent, and Paul Kay. *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Bietenhard, H. "Ónoma [name, person], onomázō [to name], eponomázō [to nickname], pseudónymos [bearing a false name]." Pages 694–700 in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Abridged by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985.
- Boas, Franz. *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Vol. 1). Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40. Washington: Government Print Office (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology), 1911.
- Bosson, Georg. "Reflections on the History of the Study of Universals: The Example of the *partes orationis*." Pages 1–16 in *Meaning and Grammar: Cross-linguistic Perspectives*. Edited by Michel Kefer and Johan van der Auwera. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992.
- Brown, Francis, S.R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1906. Abbreviated BDB.
- Bybee, Joan. *Language, Usage and Cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

- Chomsky, Noam. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Studies in Generative Grammar 9. Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1981.
- Chung, Sandra. "Are Lexical Categories Universal? The View from Chamorro." *Theoretical Linguistics* 38 (2012): 1–56.
- . "Reply to the Commentaries." *Theoretical Linguistics* 38 (2012): 137–143.
- Clines, David J.A. *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009.
- Comrie, Bernard, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil, and Martin Haspelmath. "Introduction." Pages 1–8 in *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. Edited by Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil and Bernard Comrie. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Croft, William. *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theories in Typological Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- . *Syntactic Categories and Grammatical Relations: The Cognitive Organization of Information*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- . "Word Classes, Parts of Speech and Syntactic Argumentation." *Linguistic Typology* 9 (2005): 431–441.
- Croft, William, and Keith T. Poole. "Inferring Universals from Grammatical Variation: Multidimensional Scaling for Typological Analysis." *Theoretical Linguistics* 34 (2008): 1–37.
- Delitzsch, F. *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon*. Commentary on the Old Testament 6. Reprint. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976.
- Forbes, A. Dean. "Distributionally Inferred Word and Form Classes in the Hebrew Lexicon: Known by the Company They Keep." Pages 1–34 in *Syriac Lexicography II*. Edited by Peter Williams. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009.
- . "How Syntactic Formalisms Can Advance the Lexicographer's Art." Pages 139–158 in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography III*. Edited by Janet Dyk and Wido van Peursen. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009.
- . "Squishes, Clines, and Fuzzy Signs: Mixed and Gradient Categories in the Biblical Hebrew Lexicon." Pages 105–139 in *Syriac Lexicography I: Foundations for Syriac Lexicography*. Edited by A. D. Forbes and D. G. K. Taylor. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006.
- Fox, Michael V. *A Time to Tear Down and a Time to Build Up*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.
- Gai, Amikam. "The Category 'Adjective' in Semitic languages," *JSS* 40 (1995): 1–9.
- Gesenius, W.; Kautzsch, E. and Cowley, A. E. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. 2nd English edition. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
- Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. "Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection." Pages 111–176 in *The View from Building 20*. Edited by Kenneth Hale and S. Jay Keyser. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993.

- . “Some Key Features of Distributed Morphology.” Pages 275–288 in *Papers on Phonology and Morphology*. Edited by Andrew Carnie and Heidi Harley. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 21. Cambridge, MA, 1994.
- Haspelmath, Martin. “Comparative Concepts and Descriptive Categories in Cross-Linguistic Studies.” *Language* 86 (2010): 663–687.
- . “Does Linguistic Explanation Presuppose Linguistic Description?” *Studies in Language* 28:3 (2004): 554–579 (special issue on linguistic evidence, guest edited by Martina Penke and Anette Rosenbach).
- . “Escaping Ethnocentrism in the Study of Word-Class Universals.” *Theoretical Linguistics* 38 (2012): 91–102.
- . “How to Compare Major Word-Classes across the World’s Languages.” Pages 109–130 in *Theories of Everything: In Honor of Edward Keenan*. Edited by Thomas Graf, Denis Paperno, Anna Szabolcsi, and Jos Tellings. UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics 17. Los Angeles: UCLA, 2012.
- . “Pre-established Categories Don’t Exist: Consequences for Language Description and Typology.” *Linguistic Typology* 11 (2007): 119–132.
- . “The Interplay between Comparative Concepts and Descriptive Categories.” (Reply to Newmeyer). *Language* 86 (2010): 696–699.
- . “Word Classes/Parts of Speech.” Pages 6538–6545 in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Edited by Paul B. Baltes and Neil J. Smelser. Amsterdam: Pergamon, 2001.
- Hengeveld, Kees. “Parts of Speech.” Pages 29–55 in *Layered Structure and Reference in a Functional Perspective*. Edited by Michael Fortescue, Peter Harder and Lars Kristoffersen. Pragmatics and Beyond New Series 23. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1992.
- Hengeveld, Kees, and Eva van Lier. “An Implicational Map of Parts-of-speech.” Pages 129–156 in *Semantic Maps: Methods and Applications*. Edited by Andrej Malchukov, Michael Cysouw and Martin Haspelmath. *Linguistic Discovery* 8 (2010).
- . “Connectivity in Implicational Maps: Authors’ Reply to Caterina Mauri.” Pages 160–161 in *Semantic Maps: Methods and Applications*. Edited by Andrej Malchukov, Michael Cysouw and Martin Haspelmath. *Linguistic Discovery* 8 (2010).
- Hopper, Paul and Sandra Thompson. “The Discourse Basis for Lexical Categories in Universal Grammar.” *Language* 60 (1986): 703–752.
- Jackendoff, R. *X-Bar Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977.
- Jouïon, P. and T. Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. 2d reprint of the 2d edition with corrections. Rome: Gregorian Biblical Press, 2009.
- Koehler, Ludwig and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Revised by Walter Baumgartner and Johann Jakob Stamm. Translated by M.E.J. Richardson. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Abbreviated HALOT.
- König, Friedrich Eduard. *Historisch-kritisches Lebrgebäude der hebräische Sprache*. Band III, Teil 2. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1979.

- Lamparter, Helmut. *Das Buch der Weisheit*. Die Botschaft des Alten Testaments 46.1. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1955.
- Lauha, Aarre. *Kobelet*. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament 19. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978.
- Libert, Alan Reed. "Word Classes (Parts of Speech)." Pages 915–917 in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language Sciences*. Edited by Patrick Colm Hogan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Marantz, Alec. "No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon." *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 4.2 (1997): 201–225 (issue titled, *Proceedings of the 21st Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium*, edited by Alex Dimitriadis et al.).
- Miller-Naudé, Cynthia L. and Jacobus A. Naudé, "Is the Adjective Distinct from the Noun as a Grammatical Category in Biblical Hebrew?" *In Luce Verbi* (forthcoming).
- Mithun, Marianne. "Noun and Verb in Iroquoian Languages." Pages 397–420 in *Approaches to the Typology of Word Classes*. Edited by Petra M. Vogel and Bernard Comrie. Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 23. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000.
- Murphy, Roland E. *Ecclesiastes*. WBC 23A. Dallas: Word Books, 1992.
- Naudé, Jacobus A. "Dative: Biblical Hebrew." Pp 655–658 in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, vol. 1. Edited by Geoffrey Khan. 4 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- . "Syntactic Patterns of Quantifier Float in Biblical Hebrew." *Hebrew Studies* 52 (2011): 121–136.
- Newmeyer, Frederick J. "Linguistic Typology Requires Crosslinguistic Formal Categories." *Linguistic Typology* 11 (2007): 133–157.
- Payne, Thomas E. *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Radford, Andrew. *Analysing English Sentences: A Minimalist Approach*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- . *Minimalist Syntax: Exploring the Structure of English*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . *Syntactic Theory and the Structure of English: A Minimalist Approach*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *Syntax: A Minimalist Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *Transformational Grammar: A First Course*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Richter, W. *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. I: Das Wort (Morphologie)*. Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 8. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1978.

- . *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. II: Die Wortfügung (Morphosyntax)*. Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 10. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1979.
- . *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. III: Der Satz (Satztheorie)*. Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 13. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1980.
- Rosch, Eleanor. “Cognitive Representation of Semantic Categories.” *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 104 (1975): 192–233.
- . “Principles of Categorization.” Pages 27–48 in *Cognition and Categorization*. Edited by Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1978.
- Schachter, Paul. “Parts of Speech Systems.” Pages 3–61 in *Clause Structure*. Vol. 1 of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Edited by Timothy Shopen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Taylor, J. R. “Categorization.” Page 146 in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language Sciences*. Edited by Patrick Colm Hogan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- . *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- . *Cognitive Grammar*. Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Topping, Donald M. *Chamorro Reference Grammar*. Assisted by Bernadita C. Dungca. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1973.
- Trask, R. L. “Parts of Speech.” Pages 278–284 in *Concise Encyclopedia of Grammatical Categories*. Edited by K. Brown and J. Miller. Oxford: Elsevier, 1999.
- van der Auwera, Johan and Jan Nuyts. “Cognitive Linguistics and Linguistic Typology.” Pages 1074–1091 in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Edited by Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- van der Merwe, C. H. J.; Jackie A. Naudé and Jan H. Kroeze. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. Biblical Languages: Hebrew. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- van der Woude, A. S. “שֵׁם *šēm* Name.” Pp. 935–963 in *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag and Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1976.
- Waltke, Bruce K. and M. O’Connor. *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- Werner, Fritz. “Adjective.” Pages 35–44 in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 1. Edited by Geoffrey Khan. 4 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- . *Wortbildung der hebräischen Adjektiva*. Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. “Lexical Prototypes as a Universal Basis for Cross-Linguistic Identification of Parts-of-Speech Systems.” Pages 285–317 in *Approaches to the Typology of Word Classes*. Edited by Petra M. Vogel and Bernard Comrie. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000.

Williams, Ronald J. *Williams' Hebrew Syntax*. 3rd edition. Revised and expanded by John C. Beckman. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

INTERNATIONALISMS IN THE HEBREW PRESS 1860S–1910S AS A MEANS OF LANGUAGE MODERNIZATION

Sonya Yampolskaya

Higher School of Economics in St. Petersburg

The article at hand aims to demonstrate the development of international loanword adaptation in Early Modern Hebrew based on Hebrew press published in Russia during the period from the 1860s to the 1910s. In the period, various languages from both Eastern and Western Europe were enriched by internationalisms. For Hebrew, the challenge was even more complex, since in that same period Hebrew was undergoing language modernization that is referred to by various terms in scholarly use – revival, revitalization, revernacularization, relexification and others. I intend to show that most trends in the area of loanword adaptation had been formed by the 1910s in European Hebrew. The image of language change that is reflected by the sources I use contradicts both traditional and revisionist general theories on Israeli Hebrew emergence.

1 INTRODUCTION

Apart from general tendencies of different languages to acquire international lexis at the turn of the 20th century, Hebrew itself was short of lexis in some areas of current discourse in the Russian and European press. That was a natural outcome of Hebrew modernization,¹ in the course of which Hebrew adherents strove to use Hebrew in new domains. New topics being articulated in traditional language discover some lexical gaps. Newspapers, with their necessity to create texts on current topics rapidly, with no opportunity to weigh linguistic decisions, are the best vehicle for language novelties; however, we do not have colloquial data for the period.

¹ See Joshua A. Fishman, “The Sociolinguistic ‘Normalization’ of the Jewish People,” in *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honour of Archibald A. Hill. Vol. 4: Linguistics and Literature/Sociolinguistic and Applied Linguistics* (ed. Mohammed A. Jazayery, Edgar C. Polomé, and Werner Winter; The Hague: Mouton, 1978), 223–231.

“Newspapers and mass media that grow out of them ... were perhaps the major force that disseminated and unified Modern Hebrew.”²

In Palestine, the idea of lack of daily lexis became a part of the more general mythology of Hebrew revival, as one of the key functions of Ben-Yehuda was creating new, urgently necessary words. This view was questioned by Glinert, who demonstrated the wide acquaintance of Eastern European Jews with daily Hebrew lexis.³ Indeed, Ben-Yehuda strove not to fill lexical gaps in Hebrew, but more precisely struggled against loanwords, trying to replace them with newly created Semitic words.

The European Hebrew press faced the problem of lexical lack throughout its functioning; it solved this problem in a variety of ways and developed different language patterns to adopt foreign lexis or to compose counterparts with inner language tools. The present article is meant to describe general tendencies of adopting internationalisms in the Hebrew press issued in Russia up to the 1910s, tracing them back to the 1860s, i.e. for a period of fifty years.

In what follows, I will first present the general background of the topic, in which I will specify the place of the research among overall conceptions of Modern Hebrew origin. Next, I will describe the sources I used, giving a brief overview of Hebrew press in Russia. Third, I will analyze internationalisms in seven paragraphs: (1) general functions of loanwords; (2) first stage of introducing foreign lexis (parentheses); (3) orthography of loanwords; (4) plural forms of loan nouns; (5) gender distribution of loan nouns; (6) morphology of loanwords and grammatical adaptation; (7) derivational activity of loanwords. Finally, I will present conclusions and discuss new questions that can be posed in that regard.

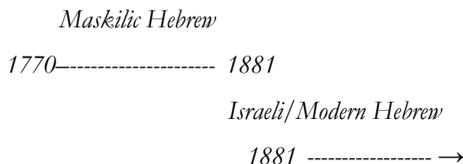
2 GENERAL BACKGROUND AND THE DATA

2.1 Periodization of Hebrew

Conventional periodization of the Hebrew language distinguishes two stages in late Hebrew language history: the maskilic period (European Hebrew from the second half of 18th century to the 1880s); and the Modern Hebrew (Israeli Hebrew from the 1880s until now).

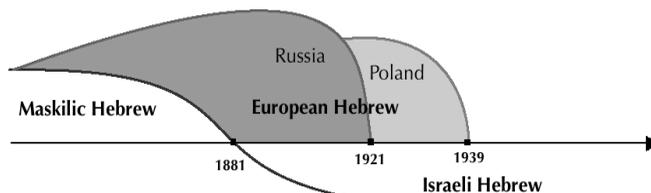
² Benjamin Harshav, *Language in Time of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 127.

³ Lewis Glinert, “Hebrew-Yiddish Diglossia: Type and Stereotype Implications of the Language of Ganzfried’s *Kitzur*,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 67 (1987): 39–56.



Picture 1

The year 1881 marks the end of maskilic Hebrew, since it was the beginning of the First Aliyah – the first modern wave of Jewish migration to Palestine⁴. That same year Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, perceived in traditional framework as the father of Modern Hebrew, settled in Palestine. Therefore, this is the best symbolical terminus post quem, dividing two language periods. However, this periodization, deeply rooted in the minds of both the wider audience and scholars, is misleading; it implies that Hebrew language activity abruptly stopped in Europe in 1881 and immediately switched to Palestine. The actual state of things at least during the first twenty years of the 20th century was quite the opposite: in those years Hebrew activity was flourishing in Eastern Europe, mainly in Russia, while Palestine was a “remote Ottoman province.”⁵



Picture 2

Indeed, actual centers of Hebrew culture in the 1910s were in Moscow, Warsaw, Vilnius, Odessa and St. Petersburg. Later historical cataclysms wiped out Eastern European Hebrew culture: the Soviet system de facto prohibited any activity in Hebrew, and the Holocaust annihilated the bearers of Jewish culture. The greater part of the Hebrew producing/reading audience of Eastern Europe disappeared. Some of them left for Western Europe, the USA and Palestine. The stream of Hebrew users (as we know little about the extent to which they were Hebrew speakers), who one way or another ended up in Palestine, was vast enough to have a significant impact on the development of Hebrew there. To give an example, three editors of the Moscow Hebrew daily newspaper *Hoom* (העם) worked later in key positions in the Palestine Hebrew press: Moshe Glikson held the post of the editor of the

⁴ See Lily Kahn, “Maskilic Hebrew”, in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (ed.: Geoffrey Khan. Brill Online, 2013).

⁵ Benjamin Harshav, *Language in Time of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 127.

newspaper Haaretz for 15 years (and was a member of Hebrew Language Committee); Shmuel Chernovitz was an editor in Haaretz; Benzion Katz worked as a journalist in Haaretz (he was one of the founders of the newspaper Haboker and issued a newspaper Khadashot as well). At the same time I do not know a single Hebrew journalist or writer who was born in Palestine, acquired Hebrew as the first/mother/native language and then worked with Hebrew in Eastern Europe in the period. Thus, an actual and noticeable influence of Palestine Hebrew on East European Hebrew is hard to support.

At the same time, the symbolic importance of the Holy Land both for Zionist and traditional Jewish culture put Palestinian Hebrew at the center of imagined mapping. The after-effect of Zionist ideas, together with retrospective distortion, can easily misrepresent the entire picture. That is how European Hebrew from the late 19th century until the first quarter of the 20th century finds itself beyond the scope of the scholar's attention. Notably, the lack of investigations in the area was indicated by Glinert in his preface to a volume "Hebrew in Ashkenaz: language in exile".⁶ It should be mentioned also that a monograph by Harshav – "Language in Time of Revolution", printed first in 1993 – was the first step to improving the disregard of late European Hebrew sources.

2.2 Concepts of Israeli Hebrew Origin

Processes that Hebrew was undergoing in the period under discussion are described in different ways in Hebrew sociolinguistics. The traditional concept of Israeli Hebrew origin draws a picture of so called Hebrew "revival" as a miracle, which occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, when a "dead" language was resurrected and came to life in the Holy Land thanks to the incredible efforts of a small group of romantics headed by Eliezer Ben-Yehuda. Thus at the basis of the myth is a magical union of three components: the chosen people, the Holy land (land of the Covenant), and their national language, which enabled the miracle of language resurrection. The myth about Ben-Yehuda as a "father of Modern Hebrew" became a cornerstone in the forming of Israeli state ideology; this is why it is still so vital today. Due to the same myth researchers still have a broad grey area in Hebrew history, which requires detailed study.

Even contemporaries of Ben-Yehuda refuted the "revival myth."⁷ Once in a while, different works appeared against the background of the "revival" that stated

⁶ Lewis Glinert, "Preface," in *Hebrew in Ashkenaz: A Language in Exile*, ed. Lewis Glinert (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3.

⁷ See Shlomo Haramati, *Ivrit ḥaya bi-merutsat ha-dorot*. (Rishon le-Tsion, 1992), 16–19.

that the Hebrew language had not been dead.⁸ Now the concept is usually rejected by most Hebrew researchers, although it appears widely in less specialized texts.⁹

New concepts of Israeli Hebrew origin have emerged as opposed to the traditional view. Three authors – Wexler, Zuckermann, and Izre'el – should be mentioned. They adopt the thesis of Ben-Yehuda that Hebrew was a dead language (defining it through the notion of native speaker), but reject the concept of magic revival. The general idea of the concepts is that no language can be revived in the absence of native speakers; thus modern Israeli Hebrew is not a revived Holy tongue, but a newly created non-semitic language.¹⁰ Wexler treats Israeli Hebrew as relexified Yiddish, Izre'el sees it as a creole language which emerged from the mix of Hebrew and Slavic and European languages, and Zuckermann defines it as a hybrid of both Semitic and Indo-European languages. According to these concepts language shift has occurred in Palestine, when the Hebrew language was nativized by children as their “mother tongue”, while for their parents it was not a native language. These researchers collect features of influence of Yiddish language, Slavic languages and Western European languages on Hebrew, especially in the areas of vocabulary and morphology. Hence the following issues can be raised: if the process of nativization indeed caused the emergence of a new language, then some drastic changes in language structural elements should be observed, not only on the level of language social functioning, but in the area of pure linguistics. At least Hebrew language changes in Palestine (as a result of language nativization) should be much more remarkable than those in Eastern Europe, since we have no opportunity to suspect native Hebrew speakers there. The case of internationalisms, as I will try to show below, does not sustain this thesis.

2.3 Primary Sources

The first Hebrew newspaper began publication in the middle of the 18th century in Germany; a century later the center of the Hebrew press moved to the Russian Empire. St. Petersburg National Library contains 79 periodicals in the Hebrew language, issued in Russia and Eastern Europe before 1918. The Hebrew daily newspaper Hoom, issued in Moscow in 1917–1918, served as a basic source for the present research. Five hundred new internationalisms found in it constituted the primary

⁸ Jack Fellman, *The Revival of a Classical Tongue: Eliezer ben Yehuda and the Modern Hebrew Language* (The Hague, 1974); Haramati, *Ivrit haya bi-merutsat ha-dorot*; and others.

⁹ For example, see Tomasz Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 309–310.

¹⁰ See Paul Wexler, “The Slavonic ‘Standard’ of Modern Hebrew,” *The Slavonic and East-European Review* 73 (1995): 201–225; Shlomo Izre'el, “The Emergence of Spoken Israeli Hebrew,” in *The Corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew (CoSIH): Working Papers I* (2001), 85–104; Ghil'ad Zuckermann, “Language Contact and Lexical Enrichment in Israeli Hebrew,” in *Palgrave Studies in Language History and Language Change* (London – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Ghil'ad Zuckermann, “Hybridity Versus Revivability: Multiple Causation, Forms and Patterns,” *Journal of Language Contact* 2 (2009): 40–67.

corpus. By “the new internationalisms,” I mean those international loanwords that first appeared in Hebrew no earlier than the 1860s; most of them entered Hebrew press in the 1880s to 1910s. Other newspapers – Ha-Magid, Ha-Melitz, Ha-Tzifira, Ha-Yom and Ha-Zman – were used as additional sources to trace features of foreign word acquisition found in Hoom, or their counterparts in earlier Hebrew press.

3 THE FUNCTIONS OF LOANWORDS

The following three main semantic functions can be proposed to analyse the causes of borrowings found in the newspaper Hoom. The first function is **nomination of objects of practical actuality**. In its pure form, this function is realised in transmitting proper nouns, mostly toponyms and andronyms, which were required prolifically by the genre of the political newspaper, especially during WWI, the Civil War and the Russian Revolution, when reports from the front line introduced new toponyms every day. Already inside the language derivative nouns of various kinds were being formed out of them: ethnonyms, ethnicons and others. Proper nouns, being the most legitimate borrowings, entered Hebrew easily and numerous, thus opening the gates for a wider range of foreign words: names of political parties and movements, new administrative institutions and positions, military ranks and different elements of armed forces and the like.

The second function is **nomination of abstract notions** such as *romanticism*, *irony*, *illusion*, *aesthetics*, and *ideal* that actually denote important concepts of European culture. The large number of loanwords of this type that appeared in Hoom reflects the dynamic acquisition of those ideas by Jewish/Hebrew culture, as well as the general focus of the Hebrew language of that period on European culture and openness to its influence.

The third group of loanwords consists of doublets that have denotational equivalents in Hebrew, such that their usage is not motivated by the objective necessity to fill a lexical gap. Both words – the loanword and its equivalent – were used in the same contexts, so even slight stylistic difference is hard to detect. To give an example, the words **אהוזים** and **פרוצנטים** both mean percents. In those cases the appearance of the loanword has the purely **symbolic function of reference to European culture** or, as Haspelmath determines, “speakers adopt such new words in order to be associated with the prestige of the donor language.”¹¹

4 FIRST STAGE OF BORROWING: FOREIGN WORDS IN PARENTHESES

In the 1860s, loanwords were rarely used in the main text body. New concepts were transferred descriptively by Hebrew expressions, while foreign word (frequently in German, rarely in Eastern European and Western European languages) appeared in parentheses as an explanation.

¹¹ Martin Haspelmath, “Lexical borrowing: Concepts and issues”, in *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook* (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2009), 48.

4.1 Explanations in parentheses by means of foreign words in source-language script:

1 European word in Latin script:

(1)

ומלבד אלה יצאו בכל שנה באניות מחוף ראסטאווע שעורה, עלי קיטור (טאבאק), קרבי דגים (Caviar), עורות, תופינים (Zwieback), לביבות ישבות (Makoron), קמח ...

And besides that every year on ship from the bank of Rostov were standing out barley, smoke leaves (tobacco), fish innards (caviar), leather, pastry (pasta), cracker (rusks), flower ...¹²

2 Russian word in Cyrillic script:

(2)

... ויוציאו משם את הילד להצפינו (Полиц. Служ.) פחד פחדנו פן ישחדו היהודים את עבדי בית השוטרים

... we were very scared, that Jews would bribe workers of the policemen's house (Police) and take the child out of there to hide him.¹³

(3)

היום שמענו כי יחפצו להעמיס את משא החטא הזה על הכהן ראש (Протоирей) אשר ...

And in the day we heard, that they wanted to put the burden of that guilt to the head priest (Protoiereus), which ...¹⁴

4.2 Explanations in Parentheses by Means of Foreign Words in Hebrew Script:

It should be mentioned, that among these four alternatives, the third one was the most commonly used, although the others were not infrequent.

3 European word in Hebrew script:

(4)

... גם נתן רשיון ליסד בית החולים (האספיטאל) ליהודים בעיר קיעוו

... he also gave a permission to establish a house of sick (hospital) for Jews in Kiev city.¹⁵

¹² *Ha-Melitz*, 16 Jan 1862, p. 224.

¹³ *Ha-Melitz*, 27 Nov 1862, p. 68.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

(5)

... כלם באי כח עם ענגלאנד יושבים בבית המחוקקים (פארלאמענט)

... all of them were representatives of people of England [that] sit in the house of lawmakers (parliament).¹⁶

4 *Russian word in Hebrew script:*

(6)

... "משגח" (סמאטריטעל) על בית הספר הנוסד מטעם הממשלה בעיר ווילייקע

... supervisor (caretaker) over the school that was established on behalf of the government in Vileyke town.¹⁷

Those numerous cases, when foreign words were used to elucidate Hebrew circumlocution, clearly indicate the general sociolinguistic situation among Jews of Eastern Europe as multilingualism¹⁸, which is usually a fertile ground for borrowings.

When we compare to Hebrew press of the 1910s, we can hardly find therein any lexical explanations in parentheses. One clear reason is that the system of designation had been formed: either adapted loanwords, or new words (or expressions) constructed in Hebrew were used. A second reason is not so obvious: the mode of absorbing foreign lexis itself has changed, and the way, which foreign word should go through, shortened. Those foreign words that entered Hebrew in the 1910s skip the first stage of parentheses. Two words – מנשביק “Menshevik” and בולשביק “Bolshevik” – seem to be the best examples, as we know for sure the year when they become topical in Russian – 1917. At the same moment, those words appeared in the Hebrew newspaper Hoom, but not once in parentheses, and not once with any clarifications in parentheses.

5 ORTHOGRAPHY OF LOANWORDS

Step by step, foreign words were coming out of parentheses and entering the main text body, preserving the orthography of maskilic spelling, so called taytsh, that goes back to Mendelssohn's monumental translation of the Pentateuch into the German language and in Hebrew characters, formally titled ספר נתיבות השלום and known as הביאור.¹⁹ The orthography system is close to that which was used for Yiddish, but

¹⁵ *Ha-Zfira*, 26 Feb 1862, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Ha-Magid*, 17 Jan 1877, p. 24.

¹⁷ *Ha-Melitz*, 25 Dec 1862, p. 132.

¹⁸ See Joshua Fishman, “Epilogue: Contributions of The Sociology of Yiddish to the General Sociology of Language”, in *Never Say Die!: A Thousand Years of Yiddish in Jewish Life and Letters* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), 747.

¹⁹ See Mendelssohn, Moses, *Netivot hashalom* (Wiene, 1846).

has some specific features.²⁰ *Alef* was used to signify the vowels *a* and *o* (sometimes *alef kometz*), *ayin* represented *e*, the consonant combinations טש and זש represented the sounds *ʃ* and *ʒ*, double consonants were usually reflected in orthography. However, it would be wrong to state that Hebrew used Yiddish orthography for loanwords. Instead, we can determine that for Hebrew lexis traditional Hebrew orthography (mainly *ktiv haser*) was used, while for European lexis they used *taytsh* orthography. And that was relevant both for Hebrew and Yiddish texts. Indeed, till the 1890s the same orthography was used for Yiddish (except for *hebraisms*) and for loanwords in Hebrew with no strict standardized rules, but with two strong tendencies: (1) phoneticization (for example, they frequently used *zayn* for the European letter *z*, when it was pronounced as *ʒ*, such as גימנאזיום from German *Gymnasium*); and (2) Germanization,²¹ that can be seen in expressing double consonants (פראפעסאר “professor”), in the designation of silent *b* by the letter *hey*, and so on.

Gradually, from the 1900s, the orthography of Yiddish and of loanwords in Hebrew increasingly diverged. In Hoon we can hardly find any traces of Germanized orthography: neither double consonants, nor silent *hey* or others. *ayin* is scarcely used to signify the vowel *e*; instead *yud* was used or even nothing: ריבולוציה or רבולוציה “revolution.” *Alef* could signify the vowel *a*, as in the previous period, but in the 1910s in many cases it was omitted, in such words as אנרכיה “anarchy.” And what is even more important, *alef* with few exceptions ceased to signify the vowel *o* in favour of *vav*, which as in Israeli Hebrew has been used both for *o* and *u* in loanwords. This orthographic change discovers a curious situation: the letter *vav*, pronounced in Ashkenazic Hebrew as *oy* or *ey* (or *u*) began to signify *o* in loanwords, which means that loanwords started to be read with special rules not relevant for other words. This phenomenon can be considered as the first and unconscious step to future pronunciation shift that occurred later in Palestine, when new Israeli pronunciation norms developed.

The described changes in Hebrew orthography can be summarised as an intention to avoid coincidences with Yiddish orthography, as a desire to separate Hebrew on the visual level. Indeed, one orthography for European component both in Hebrew and Yiddish of the 19th century and its following dissimilation can be well interpreted by Yiddish-Hebrew diglossia in the 19th century²² and its gradual dissolution in the first quarter of the 20th century.

²⁰ See Neil Jacobs, *Yiddish: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 295–296.

²¹ Jacobs calls it *dayschmerish* tendency. See Neil Jacobs, *Yiddish: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 301.

²² First determined by Joshua Fishman in “Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism,” *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (1967): 31.

6 PLURAL FORMS OF LOAN NOUNS

In the 1860s to 1890s, the plural of loanwords was frequently formed according to German models: mostly with **ען** ending, though **ים** forms of the same loanwords were used. Thus, the forms **אדרעסען/אדרעססען** (address) occur in the period ten times more often than **אדרעסים/אדרעססים**. The following contextual examples are to illustrate the phenomenon.

(7)

... ומערי המדינה וחול' ילחו המחיר על שם הרעדאקציע ויכתבו מפורש האדרעססען שלהם.

... and from [other] towns of the country and [from] abroad send the price in the name of editors office and write their addresses explicitly.²³

(8)

... שאמר אחד מהדיפלומאטען האייראפיים

... that one of the European diplomats said²⁴

(9)

שמונים סענאטארען חדשים עתידים להיות נבחרים ביום ההוא

Eighty new senators are to be selected that day.²⁵

Loanwords with **יום** ending used to have **יען** in plural forms, following German morphological patterns as well:

(10)

בבתי הגימנאזיען והרעאלשולען בעיר ברעסלוי שוקדים כעת 1031 תלמידים יהודים

In gymnasiums and secondary schools in the city of Breslau 1031 Jewish pupils are working hard now.²⁶

(11)

לנהל שני מיניסטעריען בימי צרה וצוקה ומלחמה נוראה

To head two ministries in the days of sorrow and misery and terrible war²⁷

Certainly, Germanized plural forms should not be taken as freak deviations. Jews of Eastern Europe were familiar with similar cases from their language experience: Hebrew nouns in Yiddish form the plural according to Hebrew grammar as a rule,

²³ *Ha-Melitz*, 21 Jan 1869, p. 1.

²⁴ *Ha-Magid*, 17 Jan 1877, p. 25.

²⁵ *Ha-Melitz*, 28 Dec 1887, p. 2852.

²⁶ *Ha-Magid*, 14 Feb 1877, p. 65.

²⁷ *Ha-Melitz*, 3 Sen 1872, p. 57.

Aramaic nouns both in Yiddish and Hebrew usually follow Aramaic patterns for plurals. Germanisms could constitute similar group of nouns within Hebrew with special plural forms ad modum Latinisms in English. But the tendency of Germanization began to decline in the 1890s and almost completely disappeared in the 1910s, when German-style loanwords were gradually replaced with other models of the same notions, that are to be discussed in part 8. It is true that the German language's influence diminished at the end of the 19th century, but the new impact of Slavic languages on Hebrew did not bring to Hebrew any foreign grammatical flexions.

7 GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF LOAN NOUNS

Gender distribution of loanwords, as we know it in Israeli Hebrew, took shape in the Russian Hebrew press by the 1910s as well. In short, all internationalisms since the 1910s have been distributed between masculine and feminine genders as follows: those with endings ה, whether the ending is ציה/יה/ה, or derived words with ות and ית are attributed to the feminine gender; all the others, to the masculine. In the 19th century it was different. Internationalisms of special types that are referred to as feminine in German took the feminine gender in Hebrew. The following examples illustrate gender agreement of three of those types.

CION

(12)

עתה אין עוד לעמי עסטרייך קאנסטיטוציאן כוללת אשר שמחו בה במשך שנים אחדות

Now the peoples of Austria have no more common constitution, which they have enjoyed during several years.²⁸

(13)

... לשלוח דעקלאראציאן מיוחדת

... to send special declaration.²⁹

IK

(14)

... הפאליטיק הגדולה החיצונית

... big foreign policy.³⁰

²⁸ *Ha-Magid*, 4 Oct 1865, p. 1.

²⁹ *Ha-Magid*, 21 May 1879, p. 155.

³⁰ *Ha-Magid*, 26 Feb 1868, p. 1.

(15)

לא לבד כי לא נמנה למיניסטער בהרעפובליק החדשה ...

Not only that was not commissioned as a minister in the new republic ...³¹

UR

(16)

בכלל אומר לך כי ליטעראטור העברית עומדת עתה על הפרק, ועוד מעט תפול ולא תוסיף קום.

In general, I tell you, literature of Hebrew is now on the agenda, and just a step more and it will fall down and will not continue to stay.³²

(17)

... כי על ארבע דברים הקולטור עומדת ...

... because culture stands on the four things ...³³

In the 1910s, all the internationalisms given above were superseded either by other forms of the same notions with ending ה- or by their Hebrew counterparts; thereby the problem of a huge number of new lexis that constitute groups of gender agreement exceptions was solved. Since then the model has been admitted in European Hebrew and in Israeli Hebrew as well, as in the words: מודרניזציה, קריקטורה, פרנמטיקה, סמנטיקה (modernization, caricature, pragmatics, semantics).

8 MORPHOLOGY AND GRAMMATICAL ADAPTATION OF LOANWORDS

8.1 Vowel Ending of Loan Nouns

In the 1860s to 1880s, the vowel ending of loan nouns whether *a* or *e* (since in Ashkenazic Hebrew both of them were pronounced as *e*), was signed usually by ‘ayn, even though the number of such loanwords was small. At times their agreement was according to the feminine, following German grammar, and at other times their agreement was masculine, as is shown in the examples below:

(18)

... סינאדע אחת ...

... one synod [FEM]³⁴

³¹ *Ha-Melitz*, 3 Sen 1872, p. 57.

³² *Ha-Melitz*, 2 Feb 1866, p. 5.

³³ *Ha-Yom*, 21 May 1886, p. 2.

³⁴ *Ha-Magid*, 11 Apr 1883, p. 113.

(19)

... ישלחו לידי על אדרעססע הרשום

... send to me to the address, that is inscribed. [MASC]³⁵

In late 1880s–1890s the same words with alef ending become more popular:

(20)

האדרעססא שלי לעת עתה

My current address.³⁶However, in the 1900s the new tendency can be observed: the vowel endings of loanwords become signed with *hey* in increasing frequency.

(21)

... עפ"י אדריסה ידועה לו

... According to [the] address known for him [FEM]³⁷That seemingly orthographic change includes vowel ending loanwords in the framework of traditional Hebrew grammar, attributing them as common feminine nouns. Since the last vowel is signed with *hey*, no more variations in gender agreement of such loanwords occur.Moreover, in the same period groups of loanwords with consonant endings that were agreed in the feminine (like -IK and -UR nouns) accept *hey* endings; thus the whole system of gender agreement of loanwords fits into Hebrew grammar, as it does in Israeli Hebrew.

(22)

... לא יתנהג על פי פוליטיקה ריאקציונית

... will not behave according to reactionary policy. [FEM]³⁸

(23)

... לברוא ריפובליקה דימוקראטית

... to create democratic republic [FEM]³⁹

³⁵ *Ha-Magid*, 14 Aug 1867, p. 257.

³⁶ *Ha-Melitz*, 24 Sep 1889, p. 7.

³⁷ *Ha-Zfira*, 2 Arp 1905, p. 2.

³⁸ *Ha-Tzifira*, 9 Jul 1905, p. 2.

³⁹ *Ha-Zman*, 8 Jan 1907, p. 3.

(24)

... קולאטרה פולנית

... Polish culture. [FEM]⁴⁰

A similar tendency to prefer ה forms for internationalisms can be seen in later Israeli Hebrew in such words as *מנדרינה*, *דיאתזה*, and others.

8.2 Morphological Adaptation

Two general tendencies of morphological adaptation of internationalisms appeared in the 1890s and become dominant in the 1910s: (1) advanced grammatical adaptation of internationalisms and (2) switching from Germanized to Slavicized models, along with general unification of derivational models. New loanwords appeared in Hebrew as well; other internationalisms, which had been used in Hebrew press for many years heretofore, changed morphologically.

Examples of that morphological switching and grammatical adaptation in several loan noun types are given below. It is worth mentioning that Slavic gender markers are rather close to Hebrew, since feminine nouns mostly have vowel endings, and masculine nouns have consonant endings, unlike the German language, which makes gender distribution and grammatical adaptation easier and promotes the vitality of those models in Israeli Hebrew.

TET → *TA*

Internationalism with טעט ending, and thus attributed to feminine in German, usually received new forms with feminine marker:

(25)

... פראפעססארען של האוניווערזיטעט

... professors of the university.⁴¹

(26)

מיניסטער הצבא והצי קרנסקי הראה בנאומו שנשא בשעת פתיחת האוניברסיטה של הספנים

Minister of the Army and Fleet Kerensky noticed in his speech, which he held during the opening of the university of sailors.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Ha-Tzifira* 14 Jan 1913, p. 3.

⁴¹ *Ha-Magid*, 28 Feb 1883, p. 69.

⁴² *Hoom*, 21 Aug 1917, p. 3.

SION → *SLA*

Internationalisms with סיון ending that are of feminine gender in German changed for Slavicized סיה with feminine marker:

(27)

... ויפקיד גם קאמיססיון מיוחדת לשים עין פקוחה

... and he will also institute a special committee to keep a close eye on.⁴³

(28)

... נבחרה קומיסיה מיוחדת שתעסוק בקבוץ החומר

... special committee, that would be concerned with collecting of the material, was elected⁴⁴

CION → *CLA*

Internationalisms with ציה ending constitute one of the largest group of loanwords. A switch to the Slavicized model occurred in the 1900s–1910s. Most of the loanwords of the type were used in previous Hebrew press with ציאן suffix. Thus, the words קאסאציאן, קאנווענציאן “cassation, convention,”⁴⁵ used in 1870s, changed to קונבנציה,⁴⁶ קסציה⁴⁷ in 1910s. The contextual examples are given below.

(29)

... והמה אזנו חקרו ותקנו יסודות העדה על פי חקי הקאנסטיטוציאן לטוב לה

... and they poised, investigated and corrected basic principles of the community according to the constitution [and] for the good of it.⁴⁸

(30)

לאלפי רבבות עבדים שנשתחררו ברוסלאנד יש להם תקוה יותר מאל העבדים השחורים באמעריקא לשוב במהרה אל מצב הציוויליזאציאן

Many thousands of slaves that have been liberated in Russia have more hope to come back to the civilization than black slaves in America do.⁴⁹

Usage of those Slavic models in Israeli Hebrew borrowings was noticed by Wexler, but for him it is a matter of spoken Hebrew “revival”, or more precisely relexifica-

⁴³ *Ha-Tzifira*, 25 Nov 1879, p. 345.

⁴⁴ *Hoom*, 4 Nov 1917, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Both in *Ha-Magid*, 27 Jan 1875, p. 28.

⁴⁶ *Hoom*, 26 Jul 1917, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *Ha-Tzifira*, 14 Oct 1913, p. 3.

⁴⁸ *Ha-Magid*, 1 Jan 1883, p. 2.

⁴⁹ *Ha-Magid*, 16 Jan 1866, p. 1.

tion, in Israel, whereas present materials demonstrate that those models were adopted in written the Hebrew of the Russian Hebrew press.⁵⁰

IUM

Some loanwords with **יום** ending changed their form to **יה**, like in the word **גימניה** **גִּימְנָאזְיוֹם** →, thereby preserving the feminine gender of the nouns. Other internationalisms with the same ending were still widely used in 1910s, like **קונסרבטוריום**. In addition, certain loanwords with **יום**-ending were used alongside the new form with **יון**-ending, like **מיניסטריון = מיניסטעריום**.

Although those **יום**-forms were present in German, their resistance can be explained through the third tendency of the period, namely a tendency to prefer borrowing or even creating latinised/grecisized words, as will be discussed below.

ION

In the period of the 1900s–1910s, various loanwords acquired the Greek suffix *ion* in Hebrew, even if it was not present in source languages; thus, it began to act as a productive Hebrew suffix. The following are some examples: **פּרִינְצִיפִיּוֹן** “principle,”⁵¹ **סִיקְרִיטָאָרִיוֹן** “secretariat,”⁵² **פְּרוֹלִיטָרִיוֹן** “proletariat,”⁵³ **קוֹמִיסָרִיוֹן** “comissariat,”⁵⁴ **הִיסְטוֹרִיוֹן** “historian.”⁵⁵ The same phenomenon is observed in Israeli Hebrew: **קניון**, **טכניון** (Technion, shopping center).

According to the same tendency in Hebrew of the 1910s, internationalisms with **יוזום** ending were sometimes preferred to their counterparts with **זום** ending, even though the last model was used in Slavic languages: **סוציאליזמוס**, **אבסולוטיזמוס**, **אידיוטזמוס** and others. When Simon Dubnov formulated his theory of autonomism (автономизм – avtonomizm in Russian) at the beginning of 20th century in his articles in the Russian language, the concept entered the Hebrew press in the form **אוטונומיזמוס**.⁵⁶

9 DERIVATIONAL ACTIVITY OF LOANWORDS

Loan adjectives as well as adjectives derived from loan stems were hardly used in the Hebrew press of the 19th century. In the 1900s–1910s, the number of new adjectives derived from loan stems began to gradually grow – they were adjectives formed on the model of relative adjectives by means of *i* suffix and with all corre-

⁵⁰ See Paul Wexler, “The Slavonic ‘Standard’ of Modern Hebrew,” *The Slavonic and East-European Review* 73 (1995): 202.

⁵¹ *Hoom*, 3 Aug 1917, p. 3.

⁵² *Hoom*, 6 Aug 1917, p. 2.

⁵³ *Ha-Tzifira*, 13 Sep 1912, p. 2.

⁵⁴ *Hoom*, 2 Apr 1918, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *Hoom*, 1 Sep 1917, p. 1.

⁵⁶ See Simon Dubnov, “Autonomism as the Basis of the National Program,” *Voskrebod*, 12 (1901).

sponding forms of feminine and plural, for example: פוליטי,⁵⁷ גורמלי,⁵⁸ פרימיטיבי,⁵⁹ דימוקרטי,⁶⁰ אימפריאליסטי,⁶¹ ריאלי,⁶² אידיאלי,⁶³ שוביניסטי,⁶⁴ סינטימנטלי.⁶⁵

Moreover, relative adjectives were formed in the period so easily that we find in *Hoom* a number of occasional new adjectives mostly formed from proper nouns but only: התעמולה הפוגרומית “the group of Vinaver,”⁶⁶ הקבוצה הווינאברית “the program agitation,”⁶⁷ המרד האירלנדי “Irish rebellion” (rebellion in Ireland).⁶⁸

In the same period, abstract nouns began to be formed out of the relative adjectives by means of the formant *ut* that was pronounced *us* in Ashkenazic Hebrew, and therefore was aligned with the corresponding Latin formant *us*, propensity for which was discussed above: סולידריות,⁷¹ נייטראליות,⁷⁰ דימוקרסיות,⁶⁹ ביורוקרטיות,⁷² ביוורוקרטיות.

At least three verbs derived from loan stems that were rarely used at the end of the 19th century began to be used more and more frequently in the 1900s-1910s: לטלגרף, לטלפן, לארגן. The verb לארגן began to be used in the form of Passive Participle as well:

(31)

הוא מודיע, כי אופוזיציה מאורגנת איננה.

He reports that the opposition is not organised.⁷³

10 CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER DISCUSSION

Summarizing the development of international loanword adaptation in the Eastern European Hebrew press from the 1860s to the 1910s, we can observe several tendencies: (1) unification of the models of loanwords adaptation; (2) focus on Germanized models changed to focus on Slavicized models; (3) propensity toward Greek/Latin endings; (4) advanced grammatical adaptation of internationalisms; (5)

⁵⁷ *Hoom*, 5 Mar 1918, p. 3.

⁵⁸ *Hoom*, 26 Jul 1917, p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Hoom*, 19 Oct 1917, p. 2.

⁶⁰ *Hoom*, 9 Sep 1917, p. 3.

⁶¹ *Hoom*, 21 Mar 1918, p. 2.

⁶² *Hoom*, 24 Jul 1917, p. 1.

⁶³ *Hoom*, 26 Aug 1917, p. 2.

⁶⁴ *Hoom*, 7 Nov 1917, p. 1.

⁶⁵ *Hoom*, 20 Mar 1918, p. 1.

⁶⁶ *Hoom*, 5 Sep 1917, p. 4.

⁶⁷ *Hoom*, 5 Sep 1917, p. 4.

⁶⁸ *Hoom*, 5 Sep 1917, p. 3.

⁶⁹ *Hoom*, 21 May 1918, p. 4.

⁷⁰ *Hoom*, 6 Aug 1917, p. 2.

⁷¹ *Hoom*, 17 May 1917, p. 3.

⁷² *Hoom*, 6 Aug 1917, p. 3.

⁷³ *Ha-Tz'fira*, 5 Sep 1913, p. 1.

derivational activity of loanwords; (6) differentiation of Hebrew and Yiddish orthography of internationalisms as a result of the gradual dissolution of Hebrew-Yiddish diglossia.

There is no generally accepted conception of what happened with the Hebrew language from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century. The most prudent term for the language change is probably modernization. In the course of Hebrew modernization, new lexis in general and internationalisms in particular played a significant role.

Basic patterns of international lexis adaptation in Israeli Hebrew that seem to be obvious and unquestionable for modern Hebrew speakers were formed at the beginning of the 20th century in East European and predominantly Russian Hebrew far away from both the Hebrew Language Committee and first generations of so called Hebrew native speakers, or to be more precise first generations of Hebrew monolinguals in Palestine that had nativized the language. However, the latter conceptions could be reconciled with my data, if we claim that the new Hebrew/Israeli language emerged on the level of spoken speech, whereas the written language demonstrates the continuity of the Hebrew of previous stages. In this case the sociolinguistic situation in Israel should be regarded as diglossia, which, if so, is a topic for future investigation. However, the task seems to be further complicated by the fact that the process of Hebrew language nativization is not a matter of distant Israeli history, but an everlasting factor of Israeli social reality that definitely influences language development.

REFERENCES

- Dubnov, Simon. "Autonomism As the Basis of the National Program." *Voskrebod* 12 (1901). (in Russian)
- Fellman, Jack. *The Revival of a Classical Tongue: Eliezer ben Yehuda and the Modern Hebrew Language*. The Hague, 1974.
- Fishman, Joshua A. "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism," *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (1967): 29–38.
- . "The Sociolinguistic 'Normalization' of the Jewish People." Pages 223–231 in *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honour of Archibald A. Hill. Vol. 4: Linguistics and Literature/Sociolinguistic and Applied Linguistics*. edited by Mohammed A. Jazayery, Edgar C. Polomé, and Werner Winter. The Hague, Mouton, 1978.
- . "Epilogue: Contributions of The Sociology of Yiddish to the General Sociology of Language." Pages 739–757 in *Never Say Die!: A Thousand Years of Yiddish in Jewish Life and Letters*. Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Glinert, Lewis. "Hebrew-Yiddish Diglossia: Type and Stereotype Implications of The Language of Ganzfried's Kitzur." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 67 (1987): 39–56.
- . "Preface." Pages 3–11 in *Hebrew in Ashkenaz: A Language in Exile*, Edited by Lewis Glinert. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Haramati, Shlomo. *Tvrit haya bi-merutsat ha-dorot*. Rishon le-Tsion, 1992. (In Hebrew)

- Harshav, Benjamin, *Language in Time of Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Haspelmath, Martin, "Lexical borrowing: Concepts and issues." Pages 35–54 in *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin: 2009.
- Izre'el, Shlomo, "The Emergence of Spoken Israeli Hebrew" Pages 85–104 in *The Corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew (CoSIH): Working Papers I*. 2001.
- Jacobs, Neil G., *Yiddish: A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Kahn, Lily, "Maskilic Hebrew." In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*. Edited by Geoffrey Khan. Brill Online, 2013.
- Kamusella, Tomasz. *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Mendelssohn, Moses, *Netivot hashalom*. Wiene, 1846 (First edition: Berlin, 1783).
- Zuckermann, Ghil'a, "Hybridity Versus Revivability: Multiple Causation, Forms and Patterns." *Journal of Language Contact* 2.2 (2009): 40–67.
- . "Language Contact and Lexical Enrichment in Israeli Hebrew." In *Palgrave Studies in Language History and Language Change*. London – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Wexler, Paul, "The Slavonic 'Standard' of Modern Hebrew." *The Slavonic and East-European Review* 73 (1995): 201–225.

PART 3: GREEK STUDIES

PREVENTING DRUNKENNESS IN THE CHRISTIAN GATHERING: HINTS FROM THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

Valeriy Alikin

St. Petersburg Christian University

In the gatherings of the earliest Christians, wine mixed with water was drunk regularly during the communal meals called the Lord's Supper or Eucharist. There is evidence in the earliest accounts of Christian meetings, starting with Paul, that early Christians sometimes got drunk at their communal gatherings. This was not an acceptable way of conduct and therefore early Christian authors admonished their fellow believers to conduct themselves with decency in their drinking practice and provided recommendations to correct abuse. In Ephesians 5:19, for instance, Christians are advised to sing songs instead of becoming drunk. It is remarkable that the pagan author Plutarch in his *Table Talk* gives a similar piece of advice to participants at a banquet. This article investigates the evidence of drunkenness and admonitions to prevent drunkenness in early Christian gatherings and their parallels in Graeco-Roman literature. The available evidence shows that Christians followed advice presented by pagan sources and also devised their own ways to prevent excessive drinking that lead drunkenness in their gatherings. Singing songs and choosing appropriate topics for conversation as well as understanding one's status as a Christian and having appropriate leadership at the gatherings are the main ways to prevent drunkenness in the gatherings of Christians.

INTRODUCTION

This article deals with a neglected topic in the study of the early Christian gatherings and that is excessive drinking leading to drunkenness and its prevention. The available sources from antiquity show that drunkenness was a widespread reality at Graeco-Roman symposia. The gatherings of the earliest Christians were analogous to gatherings of Graeco-Roman associations which consisted of a meal followed by ensuing symposium. Pagans as well as Christians had problems with excessive drinking of wine and drunkenness in their gatherings. Similar to their pagan counterparts, Christian authors described those problems and at the same times suggested various methods and activities that would help to prevent wine abuse in the gatherings of Christians. In the first part of this article the evidence for wine abuse in early Chris-

tian gatherings will be presented. The second part of the article investigates considers various approaches to prevent drunkenness in the Christian gatherings.

1 EVIDENCE FOR WINE ABUSE IN EARLY CHRISTIAN GATHERINGS

During the first and second centuries of the Common Era, numerous religious associations and clubs conducted communal gatherings which consisted of dinner and an ensuing symposium.¹ The customary drink at these feasts was a mixture of wine and water. Generally, at the beginning of every symposium, a president or toastmaster (*symposiarcho*s) was appointed by lot or dice to oversee the rest of the evening. His was the duty to determine the strength of the mixture, for the wine was never drunk undiluted, and the proportions of wine and water could vary considerably. The amount of wine in the mixture could be small: sometimes three parts of wine to five of water, or one to three.²

The symposium began with libations, offered to the deity who was considered the patron of the society or party at issue. Sometimes incense was burned. If a flute girl was present at the beginning of the symposium, the solemn proceedings were probably accompanied by flute playing. Every guest had to obey the ordinances of the toastmaster, who exercised unlimited authority in the matter of drinking, unless one had agreed from the beginning that everyone was allowed to drink as much or as little as he liked during evening.³

Although the wine was mixed with a large amount of water, drinking could go on far into the night, and considerable amounts of drink could be consumed, which often resulted in drunkenness and misconduct.⁴ Wilkins and Hill state that the difficulties of dealing with alcohol are reflected in many forms in the Graeco-Roman literature. This included poetry which urged balance and restraint; the existing drinking rituals which balanced communal intoxication with dexterity and wit; the writing of warning stories of drinking that got out of hand.⁵ To discourage drunkenness ancient authors wrote about famous people like Alexander the Great who got drunk

¹ Indicative examples are the association of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium (Latium), the Iobacchoi society in Athens and the association dedicated to Zeus (or Theos) Hypsistos in Anatolia and Philadelphia, Egypt. For more information, see Valeriy Alikin, *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering. Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries*. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 17–39; Dennis E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist. The Eucharist in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 87–132.

² Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 10.423–427; Plutarch, *Quaestiones conviviales* 3.657. See Valeriy Alikin, *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering*, 20–22.

³ Plutarch, *Quaestiones conviviales* 1.620a–622b.

⁴ Dennis E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, 36–37. See Lucian, *Symposium* 17; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 2.36.

⁵ John Wilkins and Shaun Hill, *Food in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 170.

at symposia.⁶ Philosophers who embraced a variety of schools and approaches also called for moderation in drinking.⁷

In ancient literature specifically devoted to Graeco-Roman symposia one can frequently find descriptions of wine-drinking and its abuse that resulted in drunkenness.⁸ Graeco-Roman authors like Longus, Achilles Tatius, Chariton, Apuleius frequently described “banquet scenes” in their novels where drinking of wine and its consequences were presented without embellishments. Despite drinking of diluted wine, the problem of drunkenness was considered as something negative. That is why some ancient authors wrote special treatises on drunkenness and sobriety.⁹ Various regulations for associations and *collegia* attempted to prevent disorderly conduct in a banquet setting.¹⁰ Therefore, wine abuse at symposia caused various responses among people in the Graeco-Roman world.

In the first, second, and third centuries, as is clear from Paul, Ephesians, the Didache, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and the Apostolic Tradition, wine was also a self-evident element of the meals of Christian communities.¹¹ The problem of drunkenness was also evidenced in the gatherings of the early Christians.

In the earliest Christian writing, 1 Thessalonians, the apostle Paul admonishes his readers, “to keep awake and be sober; for those who sleep, sleep at night, and those who are drunk get drunk at night.¹² But since we belong to the day, let us be sober” – which clearly critiques being drunk.¹³ Similar words are found in Paul’s epistle to the Christians in Rome. He appeals to them “to live honorably, as in the day, not in reveling and drunkenness....”¹⁴ These admonitions make sense only when there were real experiences of Christians getting drunk.

⁶ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 10.432–441.

⁷ Seneca, *Epistle* 83.20–21; Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things* 3.476–486. See John Donahue, *Food and Drink in Antiquity. Readings from the Graeco-Roman World. A Sourcebook* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), 251.

⁸ Plato, *Symposium*; Lucian, *Symposium*; Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales*; *Banquet of the Seven Sages*; Petronius, *Satyricon*.

⁹ For example, Aristotle, *On drunkenness* and Philo’s works *On drunkenness* and *On sobriety*.

¹⁰ George Paul, “Symposia and Deipna in Plutarch’s Lives and in Other Historical Writings,” in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. William J. Slater (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1991), 159.

¹¹ Andrew McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 93.

¹² “Drunkenness during the day was less common and considered more reprehensible (Acts 2:15 and 2 Pet 2:13).” So Ben Witherington, *1–2 Thessalonians. A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 149.

¹³ 1 Thess 5:6–8: “*nephōmen*” as opposed to “*methuskomenoi*”, “*methusousin*”.

¹⁴ Rom 13:13: “*kōmois kai methais*.” The close connection between these two nouns suggests that reveling refers to a drinking bout. Douglas Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 825.

In writing to the Christians in Corinth, Paul's purpose was to expose and correct some abuses that had crept into their communal gatherings: some participants got drunk during their gatherings, whereas others ate excessively, to the detriment of less well-to-do participants who had to leave hungry because they received little to eat (1 Cor 11:21).¹⁵ In the same letter, as the apostle enumerates his list of vices, he exhorts his readers not to associate with brothers or sisters who are drunkards (1 Cor 5:11).¹⁶ Paul says that Christians should not eat with such a one. This is probably a reference to the members of the Corinthian community, who should not allow fellow believers who persist in their former ways of life to participate in their communal meals. Drunkenness was a real problem for Paul, and that is why he adds that drunkards will not inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor 6:10). It is probable that, before they became believers, some members of the Corinthian community had problems with excessive drinking. Paul's admonitions are likely to imply that some members could not immediately overcome their former addictions.¹⁷

The author of Ephesians admonishes his readers not to get drunk, "but be filled with the Spirit as you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs to one another."¹⁸ The author is probably referring here to the singing during the Christian gathering which is confirmed by the phrase "to one another." He encourages his addressees to use their time spent in the symposium singing, rather than drinking. The condition of being filled with the Spirit was compared to the state of being drunk, as one also reads in the accusations against disciples in the second chapter of Acts. Speaking in tongues was also regarded as behavior that resulted from the drinking of wine.¹⁹

Several indirect references to the misuse of wine among the earliest Christians are found in the Pastoral Epistles.²⁰ In the list of characteristics attributed to the leaders (overseers) of the Christian community, one reads that they should not be drunkards or addicted to wine,²¹ but temperate in the use of wine.²² This also concerns deacons in the Christian communities who should not indulge in much wine

¹⁵ Although Gordon Fee is correct in stating that Paul is not primarily concerned here with the issue of drunkenness, nevertheless it does seem that Paul was still addressing drunkenness in the Corinthian community in this passage. See Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 543.

¹⁶ Cf. Paul's other vice lists where drunkenness is mentioned are 1 Cor 6:9–12 and Gal 5:19–21.

¹⁷ Where further evidence in this article is considered from writings which post-date 1 Corinthians, it is not claimed that those writings influenced the author of the Corinthian correspondence; rather perhaps it was the milieu in which they were produced that had impact on both.

¹⁸ Eph 5:19. This passage is an elaboration of Col 3:16.

¹⁹ Acts 2:13, 15.

²⁰ 1 Tim 3:8, 11; Titus 1:7; 2:3.

²¹ 1 Tim 3:3: "*mē paroinon*" stand first in the list of prohibitions. Cf. Titus 1:7.

²² 1 Tim 3:2: "*nephalios*."

(1 Tim 3:8).²³ The wives of deacons must be temperate in the use of wine (1 Tim 3:11).²⁴ In Titus, the virtues of the elders (*presbuteroi*) and older women (*presbuteraí*) resemble those of overseers and deacons in 1 Timothy, and they must be temperate in the use of wine and not slaves to drink (Titus 1:7; 2:3). Plutarch also writes that “it is the symposiarch’s business to know the characteristics common to men of the same temperament or to men of the same age; namely that old men get drunk more quickly than young men.”²⁵ He also discusses an issue of why old men are fond of strong drink.²⁶ It is to be expected that if one strives to become the leader of a Christian community, he should not have problems with alcohol. But is it not also implied that every member of the Christian community *a priori* should be free from drunkenness? Do these texts in the mind of the author(s) of the Pastorals mean that some members of the community might have been drunkards and enslaved to wine? Weren’t the leaders elected from the members of the community who abstain from alcohol? It seems that the demands on leaders to be free from the enslavement to alcohol had to do with the fact that they were responsible for the consumption of wine in the gatherings of Christians, and thus they could serve as bad examples to the rest of the community – by loving much wine they could lead the whole community into excessive drinking.

In his *Apology*, where Tertullian describes the ordering of Christian gatherings at the end of the second century, he presents a test that Christians used to determine how much wine was consumed by members of the community: “After the bringing in of water for washing the hands, and lights, each is invited to sing publicly to God as he is able from his knowledge of Holy Scripture, or from his own mind; thus it can be tested how he has drunk.”²⁷ This seems to be an ingenious test to check on members of the community in their attitude towards wine. However, Tertullian notes that banquets of pagan clubs go beyond Christians in their use of wine.²⁸

In the second century CE, pagan authors were aware of the use of wine in Christian gatherings. Among various types of accusations pagans had against Christians there is mention that various abuses occurred at Christian meetings due to excessive use of wine. Minucius Felix, in his dialogue *Octavius*, describes gatherings of Christians where a pagan opponent claims that abuses are due to too much drinking:

On the day appointed they gather at a banquet with all their children, sisters, and mothers, people of either sex and every age. There, after full feasting, when the

²³ 1 Tim 3:8: “*mē oinō pollō prosechontes.*” This prohibition condemns excessive use of wine that leads to drunkenness. Howard Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 492–494, 489.

²⁴ For arguments that here the deacons’ wives are meant see Howard Marshall, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 492–494.

²⁵ Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales* 1.621.

²⁶ Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales* 1.625.

²⁷ Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 39.18.

²⁸ Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 39.14–15.

blood is heated and drink has inflamed the passions of incestuous lust, a dog which has been tied to a lamp is tempted by a morsel thrown beyond the range of his tether to bound forward with a rush. The tale-telling light is upset and extinguished and, in the shameless dark, lustful embraces are indiscriminately exchanged; and all alike, if not in act, yet by complicity, are involved in incest, as anything that occurs by the act of individuals results from the common intention.²⁹

Christians respond to these accusations stating that their feasts are conducted not only with modesty, but in sobriety because they do not indulge in delicacies or prolong conviviality with wine.³⁰

In the beginning of the third century, the author of the *Apostolic Tradition* exhorts his readers to be temperate in drinking during the gathering of Christians:

When you eat and drink, do so with integrity and do not get drunk so that you become ridiculous and cause grief to the one who invites you through your unruliness, but rather let him give thanks that he is worthy that the saints should come to him. For he said “You are the salt of the earth.”³¹

Looking at the context of this admonition it is clear that drinking takes place during the gathering of Christians in the presence of their bishop. The above evidence from the works of Christian authors in the first, second, and the beginning of the third centuries reveals the issue of excessive use of wine in the gatherings of Christians.

2 PREVENTING DRUNKENNESS IN THE GATHERINGS OF CHRISTIANS

In the writings of the ancient authors including those of the New Testament, there are various accounts of the misuse of wine and drunkenness at symposia.³² In this part of the article we will consider the means and rationale that Christian and other Graeco-Roman authors gave for preventing drunkenness in the gatherings of their communities. Looking at various methods to prevent drunkenness one can see that early Christians used rationale suggested by the pagan authors and also created their own ways to prevent drunkenness in the Christian gathering.

²⁹ Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 9.6–7.

³⁰ Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 31.5.

³¹ *Traditio apostolica* 28.1.

³² In the famous episode of the wedding at Cana, the steward of the banquet (*architriklinos*) said to the bridegroom that wine of poor quality is usually served after the participants of the banquet have gotten drunk (Jn 2:9–10). See Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John. A Commentary*, vol. 1 (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003), 514. In the Gospel of Matthew 24:45–51 there is a parable of an unfaithful servant who ate and drank with drunkards.

2.1 Proper Leadership at Christian Gatherings Guards the Whole Community from Drunkenness

Leaders played an important role at the Graeco-Roman symposium. They were responsible for order at the banquets and determined the ratio for diluting wine.³³ Plutarch enumerates three different ratios at banquets:

“Five,” indeed, is in the ratio 3:2, three parts of water being mixed with two of wine; “three” is in the ratio 2:1, two parts of water being mixed with one of wine; and “four,” three parts of water being poured into one of wine, this is a ratio of 3:1, a drink for some group of sensible magistrates in the *prytaneion*, or logicians their brows contracted as they meditate upon syllogistic conversations, a sober (*nēphalios*) and feeble mixture.³⁴

We can note that mixture with largest quantity of water is called sober and is suitable for discussion and thus preventing drunkenness. The best means of preventing drunkenness in a Christian gathering was to have a leader who was temperate in relation to wine drinking. This is what the leaders of the Christian communities were supposed to be, as is seen in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 3:3; Titus 1:7). If an overseer of a Christian community is temperate in the use of wine, he will not allow the members to indulge in drunkenness at their gatherings.

2.2 New Status in Christ as Rationale against Getting Drunk like Gentiles

It is not enough, however, to check whether one gets drunk or not at the gathering, Christian authors, in their attempts to prevent drunkenness, also admonish their readers to have a proper understanding of the believer’s identity and status. Christians are children of light and must act accordingly.

In 1 Thessalonians, Paul writes that believers are all children of light, and children of the day; they are not of the night or of darkness, “. . . But since we belong to the day, let us be sober, and put on the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet the hope of salvation.” (1 Thess 5:5, 8). Paul insists that the believers’ new identity in Christ has nothing to do with their former gentile-type behavior. In 1 Cor 6:10, Paul states that some members of the Corinthian community used to be drunkards but now they must not allow themselves to continue in the old ways because they have been washed, sanctified, and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ (1 Cor 6:10–11). As Gordon Fee states: “Christians belong to the new age; their lives have been invaded by the Holy Spirit. They are therefore to “celebrate the Feast”, that is, to live out on a continuing basis the ethics of the new people of God.”³⁵ It is remarkable that some ancient philosophers reasoned in a similar way.

³³ For more information on the function of toast-master see Ezio Pellizer, “Outlines of a Morphology of Symptotic Entertainment,” in *Symptotica. A Symposium on the Symposium*, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 178–179.

³⁴ Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales* 3.657c.

³⁵ Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 224.

Those who adopted philosophy as way of life have become wise and thus must not follow the world's foolish ways. This thought was also accepted on a general level as expressed by Pindar: "Become such as you are, having learned what that is."³⁶

The author of 1 Peter reminds his readers that they have already spent enough time in doing what gentiles like to do, that is, living in licentiousness, passions, and drunkenness (1 Pet 4:3).³⁷ Now they are no longer to live according to human desires, but according to God's will. At their gatherings, Christians participate in the Lord's Supper and the cup of wine is the new covenant in Jesus' blood. Having this understanding of the elements of the meal, according to Paul, Christians should behave accordingly (1 Cor 11:23–33).

Additionally, early Christian authors warned their readers against indulging in drunkenness and other vices since believers "are a holy portion, and should do everything that pertains to holiness."³⁸ In his *Shepherd*, Hermas admonishes believers to abstain from harmful luxuries. If the adulterer, the drunkard, the slanderer, the liar, etc. follows his desires, he enjoys a luxury.³⁹ In another passage the desires for drunken revelries in a Christian are explained by the presence of a wicked angel. Knowing that, the believer should draw away from him and trust the angel of righteousness.⁴⁰

Writing about proper conduct in Christian gatherings, Clement of Alexandria states that Christians should turn to Jesus for a dining and drinking exemplar. Was Jesus shameless in his consumption? By no means, Clement assures us. Jesus had excellent table manners. "From the things he taught about banquets, he plainly insisted that one who drinks must keep self-control. He set the example by not drinking freely himself" (*Paedagogus* 2.2.32).⁴¹

In the third century, the author of the *Apostolic Tradition* writes: "Let everyone eat in the name of the Lord. We should compete among the heathen in being like-minded and sober, for this is what pleases God."⁴² Tertullian also compares the sobriety and harmony of Christian suppers to what he characterizes as the drunkenness and lawlessness of their pagan equivalents.⁴³

³⁶ Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 2.72. So also Craig S. Keener. *1–2 Corinthians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 52.

³⁷ Graeco-Roman authors as well as their New Testament counterparts used vice lists to exhort people to behave properly. See René A. López, "Vice Lists in Non-Pauline Sources," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 168 (April–June 2011), 182.

³⁸ 1 Clement 30.1.

³⁹ Hermas, *Parables* 6.5.5.

⁴⁰ Hermas, *Commandments* 6.2.5–6.

⁴¹ Jennifer Glancy, "Temptation of the Table: Christians Respond to Reclining Culture," in *Meals in Early Christian World. Social Formation, Experimentation, and Conflict at the Table*, eds. Dennis E. Smith and Hal Taussig (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 233.

⁴² *Traditio apostolica* 29.

⁴³ Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 39. See comment in Hippolytus, *On the Apostolic Tradition*, tra. Alistair Stewart-Sykes (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001), 147.

2.3 Singing Songs instead of Getting Drunk

Christian and non-Christian authors agree in recognizing that singing after supper is useful in preventing the participants from getting drunk. As a rule, music played an important part in the Graeco-Roman symposia. The participants took part in both singing and playing instruments. There were three kinds of singing: choruses sung all together; part songs, in which all shared, not together, but each in his turn; and solos, sung by those who had special musical ability and education. The flute or harp girls commonly entertained by playing and singing, and probably also by dancing.

Plutarch states that at the symposium it is advisable to sing *scolia*.⁴⁴ He points out the risk that if some of the guests cannot follow a discussion, they will throw themselves into the singing of any kind of song. It is better, therefore, to have the guests sing *scolia* in a more organized and orderly manner. Plutarch also describes how singing at a symposium took place. First, the guests sang the god's or the gods' song together, all raising their voice in unison. Subsequently, the lyre was passed around and the guests who could play the instrument would take it, tune it, and sing.⁴⁵ Plutarch observes that singing can help to prevent disorders and foolish arguments at the banquet: "I dare to say it is a reasonable thing to sing those songs called *scolia*, but to engage in pedantic argumentation over one's wine is a sophistical thing to do, and it is not seemly nor it is suitable to a party."⁴⁶

Similarly, Athenaeus states that, "the ancients ... included in their customs and laws the singing of praises to the gods by all who attended feasts, in order that our dignity and sobriety might be retained through their help."⁴⁷ A similar admonition occurs in Ephesians 5:18–20:

Do not get drunk with wine, for that is debauchery; but be filled with the Spirit, as you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs among yourselves, singing and making melody to the Lord in your hearts, giving thanks to God the Father at all times and for everything in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The author of Ephesians urges Christians not to get drunk during their gathering, since this may lead to dissipation.⁴⁸ Instead, they should channel their spiritual *élan* into the singing of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs among each other, thus making melody to the Lord. Indeed, the purpose of singing in the gatherings of Chris-

⁴⁴ *Scolia* are drinking songs which were sung in the *prytaneion*. A singer held a myrtle-branch and, after finishing singing he passed the branch to another person calling on him for a song. See *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1369.

⁴⁵ Plutarch, *Quaestiones conviviales* 1.615b.

⁴⁶ Plutarch, *Quaestiones conviviales* 1.615b.

⁴⁷ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 14.627f–628a.

⁴⁸ As Harold Hoehner states, "Intoxicated people are not in control of their faculties and thereby act foolishly. Therefore, they are unable to comprehend intelligently the will of the Lord." See Harold W. Hoehner, *Ephesians. An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 700.

tians was to give glory to God, and add to the proper atmosphere through the avoidance of drunkenness and disorder.

In the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr wrote that Christians express their gratitude to God by invocations and singing hymns. Since he is contrasting here the praises of Christians with the sacrifices and libations of pagans, he must be thinking of the singing in the Christian assemblies. He affirms that Christians worship God by singing rather than by making libations, as pagans do during their banquets.⁴⁹ Similarly to Justin Clement of Alexandria states that when Christians get together to drink they should rather rise their voice in singing hymns of praise accompanied by lyre.⁵⁰ He makes the connection between Greeks singing *scolia* at their symposia on the manner of Hebrew psalms and Christians singing their hymns in their gatherings. It is striking that Clement's reference to *scolia* is practically identical to the one found in Plutarch. Both Clement and Plutarch lived in one cultural environment where singing songs at banquets was preferable to getting drunk during a symposion.

As was mentioned above, Tertullian, too, states that singing served to check drunkenness. According to him, participants in the Christian symposium are invited to sing a hymn in order to see whether they have drunk too much.⁵¹

2.4 Appropriate Topics for Sermons to Encourage Sobriety

One more means to prevent drunkenness at banquets is to have appropriate topics for discussions, lessons, or *homiliai*. Speeches were meant to entertain the participants in the symposium and to serve as contributions to conversations or discussions. That is why Plutarch also calls them *homiliai*.⁵² The word *homilia* is related to the verb *homileō* which means "to be in company with, to converse with, to speak to, to address, to talk." The noun means "conversation", "instruction", or "lecture." The Christian adoption of the term *homilia* seems to confirm that the Christian sermon originated as a contribution to the conversation in early Christian gatherings and goes back to the custom of giving speeches at symposia in the Graeco-Roman world in general.

Plutarch, in his *Quaestiones convivales*, relates his view of the function of speeches held at symposia. He says that the speeches are a good means to prevent the participants from becoming heavily drunk and from having their minds dissipate completely under the influence of wine. As to the topics for speeches and discussions, Plutarch recommends choosing them from history, contemporary events, philosophy, and religion and to treat them in such a way as to encourage the audience to-

⁴⁹ Justin Martyr, *1 Apology* 13.1–2.

⁵⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* 2.4.44.1–3.

⁵¹ Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 39.18.

⁵² Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales* 1.616e, 9.743b. In other places Plutarch uses simply *logoi* to designate speeches at the symposium. Cf. 1 Tim 5:17.

wards great deeds and charity.⁵³ Aulus Gellius makes several comments on the teaching activity of L. Calvisius Taurus, a student of Plutarch and for a time Aulus Gellius' own teacher. Taurus often invited those students with whom he was on intimate terms to dinners at his home. Each dinner guest was obliged to bring a problem of a light and entertaining kind, suitable for a mind "enlivened with wine."⁵⁴ It should be noted that similar topics were preached in sermons in the gatherings of Christian communities during the after-supper symposium as evidenced by the writings of Christian authors around the time of Plutarch.⁵⁵

Despite the fact that oral presentation, readings and recitation were made at symposia Lucian describes a situation where those activities did not help the participants to stay sober:

Most of the company were drunk by then, and the room was full of uproar. Dionysodorus the rhetorician was making speeches, pleading first on one side and then on the other, and was getting applauded by the servants who stood behind him. Histiaeus the grammarian, who had the place next him, was reciting verse, combining the lines of Pindar and Hesiod and Anacreon.... But Zenothemis was reading aloud from a closely written book that he had taken from his attendant.⁵⁶

In a similar way, oral communication and exchange took place in the context of the Christian after-supper assembly in Corinth. Paul mentions a number of ways in which Christians could express themselves; he says: "each one has a hymn, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue, or an interpretation. Let all things be done for building up" (1 Cor 14:26). Paul probably means here that members of a Christian congregation should come to their gathering with some idea of what they were going to contribute to the exchange of thoughts at the symposium. Ignatius in his *Letter to Polycarp* 5.1 admonishes him to preach against evil arts as well as instruct Christians to love the Lord and their spouses. A passage in *2 Clement* 17.3 is an example of a sec-

⁵³ Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 1.614b: "Then, too, there are, I think topics for discussion that are particularly suitable for a drinking-party. Some are supplied by history; others it is possible to take from current events; some contain many lessons bearing on philosophy, many on piety; some induce an emulous enthusiasm for courageous and great-hearted deeds, and some for charitable and humane deeds. If one makes unobtrusive use of them to entertain and instruct his companions as they drink, not the least of the evils of intemperance will be taken away."

⁵⁴ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 7.13; 17.8; 18.10.5.

⁵⁵ The Epistle to the Hebrews is considered by scholars an early Christian sermon. See, for example, Gareth Lee Cockeril, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 11–15. From the contents of the sermon it can be seen that the author employs various material aimed to encourage the audience to do be faithful (Heb 3:12–13), care for one another (Heb 6:10; 10:24) and do the works of love and hospitality (Heb 9:14; 13:1–6). The Epistle to the Hebrews characterizes itself as such an exhortation (Heb 13:22). In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 5–7 Paul preaches in the house of Onesiphorus inviting his hearers to chastity, continence, love and mercy.

⁵⁶ Lucian, *Symposium* 17.

ond century sermon which illustrates the topics that were preached during Christian gatherings:

And not only should we appear to believe and pay attention now, while being admonished by the presbyters, but also when we return home we should remember the commandments of the Lord and not be dragged away by worldly desires. But by coming together for worship more frequently we should try to progress in Lord's commandments, so that all of us, being unified in what we think, may be gathered together to inherit life.

In the mid-second century, Justin Martyr describes the content of Christian meetings and states that after the memoirs of the apostles (the Gospels) or the writings of the prophets are read, the president of the congregation exhorts his audience to imitate those things that have been read.⁵⁷ In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 5–6 Paul preaches on the contents of the Beatitudes at the gathering of Christians held in the house of Onesiphorus inviting his hearers to chastity, continence, love and mercy:

Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God; blessed are those who have kept the flesh chaste, for they shall become a temple of God; blessed are the continent, for God shall speak with them; blessed are those who have kept aloof from this world, for they shall be pleasing to God: ...blessed are those who through love of God no longer conform to the world, for they shall judge angels, and shall be blessed at the right hand of the Father; blessed are merciful, for they shall obtain mercy and shall not see the bitter day of judgement.

The above evidence supports the idea that the earliest Christians desired to have order and decency in their gatherings and they admonished participants to lead good and moral lives. The topics they chose for their sermons should prevent Christians from getting drunk in their meetings.

Therefore, following the instruction of Clement of Alexandria in his *Paedagogus*, Christians should recline together, and dine together, and drink together, and converse together, and sing together; but that reclining and dining and drinking and talking and music-making must manifest a kind of corporal self-control that Clement sees as atypical for banquets in his day. The good cheer arising from a cup of cheer must be appropriate to a feast of reason.⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

People in the Graeco-Roman world held communal banquets that consisted of a meal followed by a drinking party. Though wine was drunk diluted this did not prevent participants from getting drunk. Graeco-Roman authors describing drinking

⁵⁷ Justin Martyr, *1 Apology* 67.3–4. Sometimes an entire sermon like the Epistle to the Hebrews is given over to exhortation and summons to the right faith.

⁵⁸ Jennifer Glancy, "Temptation of the Table: Christians Respond to Reclining Culture," 233.

parties devised them in such way so that they would have admonitory effect to prevent disorders. The available early Christian sources testify that in the early Christian gatherings there were instances of wine abuse and drunkenness. In early Christian writings, we find admonitions against drunkenness. Similar to pagan authors Christian authors wrote about various methods to prevent drunkenness and disorder in the gatherings of Christians. In this they followed the common means that were used by pagans and also devised their own rationale for preventing drunkenness. The best way to avoid drunkenness was, firstly, to have temperate leader(s) at the gathering, and secondly to remember that Christians are children of light, and at their gatherings their behavior must differ from the behavior of those who do not know God. Thirdly, they can sing songs instead of getting drunk, for while one is singing, his/her mouth is busy and he/she has less of an opportunity to drink and get drunk. Finally, appropriate topics for sermons also contribute to the prevention of drunkenness in the gathering of early Christian communities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

- Apostolic Fathers*. 2 vols. Edited and translated by Bart D. Ehrman. LCL 24, 25. Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Athenaeus. *The Deipnosophists*. Books 8–15, vols. IV–VII. Translated by Charles Gulick. LCL 235, 274, 327, 345. London and Cambridge MA: Heineman, Harvard University Press, 1927–1941.
- Aulus Gellius. *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*. Vols. I–III. Translated by John Rolfe. LCL 195, 200, 212. London and New York: Heineman, Putnam, 1927–1928.
- Clement of Alexandria. *Paedagogus*. Edited by M. Markovich. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- . *Le Pedagogue II*. Translated by Claude Mondesert. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1965.
- Elliott, J. K., ed. *Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Hippolytus (Ps.-). *La Tradition apostolique*. Translated by Bernard Botte. SC 11 bis. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1984.
- . *On the Apostolic Tradition*. Translated by Alistair Stewart-Sykes. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001.
- Justin Martyr. *Apologies*. Edited by André Wartelle. Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1987.
- . *The First and Second Apologies*. Edited and translated by L. W. Barnard. New York: Paulist Press, 1997.
- Pindar. *Olympian Odes. Pithyan Odes*. Edited and translated by William H. Race. LCL 56. Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Plutarch. *Moralia*. Vol. II. Translated by Frank C. Babbitt. LCL 222. Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1928.

- . *Moralia*. Vol. VIII. Translated by Paul A. Clement and Herbert B. Hoffleit. LCL 424. Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1969, repr. 2006.
- . *Moralia*. Vol. IX. Translated by Edwin L. Minar, Jr., F. H. Sanbach, W. C. Helmbold. LCL 425. Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1961, repr. 1999.
- Tertullian. *Apologeticum; De spectaculis; Octavius*. Translated by T.R. Glover. LCL 250. London and Cambridge: Heineman, Harvard University Press, 1977.

Secondary literature

- Alikin, Valeriy. *The Earliest History of the Christian Gathering. Origin, Development and Content of the Christian Gathering in the First to Third Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Cockeril, Gareth Lee. *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012.
- Donahue, John F. *Food and drink in Antiquity. Readings from the Graeco-Roman World. A Sourcebook*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2015.
- Fee, Gordon. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987.
- Glancy, Jennifer A. "Temptation of the Table: Christians Respond to Reclining Culture." Pages 229–238 in *Meals in Early Christian World. Social Formation, Experimentation, and Conflict at the Table*. Edited by Dennis E. Smith and Hal Taussig. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.
- Hoehner, Harold W. *Ephesians. An Exegetical Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002.
- Keener, Craig S. *The Gospel of John. A commentary*, vol. 1. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003.
- Keener, Craig S. *1–2 Corinthians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- López, René A. "Vice Lists in Non-Pauline Sources." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 168 (April–June 2011), 178–195.
- Marshall, Howard. *The Pastoral Epistles*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999.
- McGowan, Andrew. *Ascetic Eucharists: Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Moo, Douglas. *The Epistle to the Romans*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996.
- Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth, eds. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Paul, George. "Symposia and Deipna in Plutarch's Lives and in Other Historical Writings." Pages 157–170 in *Dining in a Classical Context*. Edited by William J. Slater. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- Pellizer, Ezio. "Outlines of a Morphology of Symptotic Entertainment." Pages 177–184 in *Symptica. A Symposium on the Symposion*. Edited by Oswyn Murray. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Smith, D. E. *From Symposium to Eucharist. The Eucharist in the Early Christian World*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002.

- Wilkins, John M., and Shaun Hill. *Food in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.
- Witherington, Ben. *1–2 Thessalonians. A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.

***BASILEIA* OR *IMPERIUM*? ROME AND THE RHETORIC OF RESISTANCE IN THE REVELATION TO JOHN**

Keith Dyer
Whitley College
University of Divinity

Recent interpretations of first century Greek texts in the context of the Roman Empire have often assumed that *basileia* language refers directly to the Roman imperium. The assertion is often made, for example, that the *basileia tou Theou* language in the New Testament means the Empire of God which then directly confronts the Empire of Rome. Exegetes need to pay much more attention to lexicography on these matters, for *basileia* terminology is very seldom used of Rome or its Caesars in the first century. The implications of this for interpreting the critique of Rome in the Book of Revelation is briefly explored, with special attention to Rev. 11:15.

1 ROME AND THE RHETORIC OF RESISTANCE IN THE REVELATION TO JOHN

The naming and critiquing of oppressive powers by the victims of those powers is a particularly sensitive and context-bound issue. Here I will explore such tensions in the first century world and our interpretation of them today, and in particular the language of “kingdom” (*basileia*) and “empire” (*imperium*) and its use in the interpretation of the Apocalypse (or Revelation) to John.¹ I will argue that *basileia* is not a direct reference to the Roman *imperium* in the first century, and that therefore the text of Revelation does not construct a binary opposition between the “Empire of

¹ For general readability, I will use transliterations for widely used terminology, and language fonts for quoting specific texts. The Latin *imperium* and its cognates are not used as loan words in the Greek texts that are the focus here, but their English derivatives “empire/emperor” have become increasingly significant for the translation of *basileia* and its cognates. Note that the author of Revelation resolutely avoids using specific ethnic or religious descriptors, and never names Rome as such. I am interested here in the rhetorical effects of certain vocabulary choices (and vocabulary that is avoided), then and now, rather than wider rhetorical structures and strategies.

God” and the “Empire of Rome.”² Rather, the author resists, redefines, relativizes and rejects the language of empire in his vision of an alternative and transforming reality. Doing all this without once directly mentioning “Rome” or its empire is a remarkable achievement, but one that has left an ambiguous hermeneutical legacy ever since. It is perhaps to be expected that whenever the critique of power moves across linguistic and social boundaries between tribes, languages, people and nations (as John repeatedly intends; Rev. 5:9; 7:9; 14:6; c.f. 11:9; 13:7), ambiguities and misunderstandings are bound to emerge, together with new expressions of hope and transformation.

These ambiguities include not just “what,” but “how” words mean when they move from one language to another, and one culture to another; how formative texts and key terms continue to shape identities within indifferent or hostile dominant cultures; and how a vision of an alternative community or “kin(g)dom” (a *basileia* movement) continues to be a life-giving and transformative presence within the hegemony of an Empire.³ Even, and perhaps especially, the act of compiling lexicons and of preserving and furthering such scholarship from the past is an act of resistance against, and within, dominant languages and cultures – an assertion of alternative visions, of hybrid and particular identities. I am interested in the sensitive and subversive use of words in precisely such power-laden political contexts as these, and in particular, analogies with the language of sovereignty, hegemony, hybridity and resistance in the first century.

I am approaching this topic from the perspective of the *basileia tou Theou* (“kingdom/empire of God”) language of Jesus of Nazareth and his followers, since that is the tradition within which I teach, but I hope that those from different traditions will see helpful parallels with their own struggles and identities. I am aware of my own place within a much wider tradition, teaching what might be called Appendix III to the Hebrew Scriptures, after Appendix I (the translated and additional Greek writings in the Septuagint/LXX), Appendix II (the Dead Sea Scrolls/DSS), and then that slim volume of Gospels, letters and one so-called apocalypse from the first century of the Common Era (NT). I come from a subculture within that tradi-

² Hence, I support the recent and more nuanced postcolonial approaches to interpreting Revelation (see notes 6 and 7 below for examples), without denying that in many cases the text is powerfully anti-imperial in its symbolism and implications. I contend that the construction of “apocalyptic dualities” in the interpretation of Revelation owes more to the binary opposites of high modernism and popular American culture than to so-called “apocalyptic.” John thinks he is writing prophecy in the form of a circular letter to be read aloud to the *ekklēsiai* of Asia (Rev 1:3–4). We should begin by accepting his word for that, rather than by applying later labels for literary genres that can distort our interpretation before we even begin.

³ The neologism “kindom of God” for *basileia tou Theou* is from Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz, in *En la lucha (In the Struggle): Elaborating a Mujerista Theology*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), and referred to by Stephen D. Moore, *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 120, n 41.

tion that affirms a critical distance (and an inherently artificial distinction!) between religion and politics, church and state – such that the *basileia* vision (as redefined by the Jesus traditions) is always seeking to transform the *imperium* for the common good – and not just the benefit of any one religious group. I say that not to persuade the reader of my position, but so that they know where I am coming from and can retain some objectivity, even if I fail to do so.

2 TRANSLATING THE *BASILEIA TOU THEOU* (“EMPIRE” OF GOD?)

The various theocratic traditions within the Jewish Scriptures, vividly interpreted and portrayed in the *basileia tou Theou* (“kingdom of God”) parables of Jesus, provide the literary context for the Seer John’s use of *basileia* language, and the Roman Province of Asia Minor provides the religio-political context.⁴ Thus if the English translation choice for *basileia* is between (European) “kingdom” and (Roman) “empire,” then the latter is less anachronistic and surely preferable – but we need to be alert to the centuries of pro- and anti-imperial and colonial rhetoric we import into such translations, and to the blurring of Greek and Roman terminology by contemporary assumptions about medieval castles and kingdoms on one hand, and imperial superpowers on the other.

Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza has wisely preferred to leave *basileia* untranslated, although she partly affirms its “oppositional character” towards Rome (writing at a time when many scholars underestimated the significance of the Roman context), because she wishes to “use it as a tensive symbol that evokes a whole range of theological meanings and at the same time seeks to foster a critical awareness of their ambiguity.”⁵ The parables of Jesus embody that tensive symbolism (*basileia* as a mustard seed that grows to a *giant* “shrub;” yeast that a woman “hides” in an enormous batch of dough; Matt. 13:31–33 and parallels), but some recent commentators have argued that the visions of Revelation are effectively steno-symbols, one-dimensional metaphors, that use imperial language and violence to overthrow and replace Roman Empire with Christian Empire. Stephen Moore has argued very persuasively that,

(e)ssentially, Revelation’s messianic empire (“The world empire [*bē basileia tou kosmou*] has become the empire of our Lord and his Messiah,” 11:15) will be established by the same means through which the Roman Empire was established:

⁴ See George Raymond Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Kingdom of God* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1986), for a classic overview of the origins of the Kingdom of God language, and Steven J. Friesen for a detailed description of the relationship between regional and Roman cultures in Asia Minor: *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins* (Oxford; OUP, 2001); and “Myth and Symbolic Resistance in Revelation 13,” *JBL* 123 (2004): 281–313.

⁵ Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, “To Follow the Vision: The Jesus Movement as *Basileia* Movement” in: *Liberating Eschatology*, ed. Margaret A. Farley and Serene Jones (Louisville: WJKP, 1999), 134.

war and conquest, entailing, as always, mass slaughter, but now on a hyperbolic scale.⁶

Others have also argued for a similar rhetoric of reversal, such that Steven Friesen asks the question: “does Revelation become imperial in order to oppose empire?”⁷ If so, then as he says, Revelation “actually ends up advocating the values it opposes.”⁸ In part, such interpretations are built on an over-emphasized duality and opposition between *basileia* and *imperium*, as if the former is the Greek translation of the latter, and as if John’s imagination of Divine rule is constrained entirely by his experience of Roman hegemony. I will argue that John’s references to, and critique of (Roman) Empire are more subversive and nuanced than this, precisely because the first-century context does not allow us to construct such direct oppositions between the *basileia/basileus* language of John and the Roman Empire. Contemporary exegesis needs to pay more careful attention to lexicography on these matters, since *basileia* does not obviously or directly refer to empire in the first century. I will then offer an alternative translation of one of the key verses (Rev. 11:15) in Moore’s interpretation.

3 *BASILEIA* IN CONTEMPORARY EXEGESIS AND INTERPRETATION

Recent scholarship on the Gospels and the letters of Paul has focused on the significance of the Roman imperial context for interpretation, and the assertion that *basileia* language refers primarily and directly to Rome has frequently been made.⁹ We

⁶ Stephen D. Moore, *Untold Tales from the Book of Revelation; Sex and Gender, Empire and Ecology* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), “Raping Rome,” 146.

⁷ Steven J. Friesen, “Roman Imperial Imagery in Revelation: Space, Knowledge, and Time” in *Imagery in the Book of Revelation*, ed. Michael Labahn and Outi Lehtipuu (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 43. Friesen does not take this view himself, but suggests the following authors do: C. Keller, *Now and Then: A Feminist Guide to the End of the World* (Boston: Beacon, 1996); R. M. Royalty, *The Streets of Heaven: The Ideology of Wealth in the Apocalypse of John* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998); and C. A. Frilingos, *Spectacles of Empire: Monsters, Martyrs, and the Book of Revelation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2004) – to which we can add Stephen Moore’s work on Revelation. Friesen aligns himself more with those who argue that Revelation subverts empire in more ambiguous ways, such as: Barbara R. Rossing, *The Choice Between Two Cities: Whore, Bride, and Empire in the Apocalypse* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999); David L. Barr, *Tales of the End: A Narrative Commentary on the Book of Revelation* (Santa Rosa: Polebridge, 1998); and Harry O. Maier, *Apocalypse Recalled: The Book of Revelation after Christendom* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002).

⁸ Friesen, “Roman Imperial Imagery,” 43. Moore puts it more colorfully: “So while Revelation is busy shaming Roma by turning her into a prostitute, on the one hand, Revelation is also busy modeling Jesus on Roma, on the other hand, the one hand not knowing what the other is doing.” *Untold Tales*, 154.

⁹ I have examined the implications of how this over-reading of *basileia* as empire plays out in the Gospel of Mark, in “The Empire of God, the Postcolonial Jesus, and Postapoca-

read in both popular and scholarly literature such claims as “(i)n any Roman province, the primary referent of *basileia* would have been the *imperium Romanum*,”¹⁰ and that “(p)ut simply, *basileia* was how the Roman Empire presented itself in its Greek-speaking eastern half.”¹¹ Such assertions are used to support claims such as: “the very language of ‘empire’ or ‘reign’ or ‘kingdom’ (*basileia*) underlines how great a threat the assertion of God’s empire poses to empires like Rome’s.”¹² At this point we need to protest that over-enthusiasm for the Roman context of the New Testament is leading to semantic shortcuts and an anachronistic sense of history. Rome continued from strength to strength for another few hundred years whilst the mustard seed of the *basileia* of God was only just sprouting – hardly a great threat – and if exegetes would only consult their lexicons more closely, they would see that *basileia* is almost never used of, or by, Rome in the first century anyway. There is more evidence that *basileus* (‘king’) was occasionally used of the Caesars (later called the emperors), but I can find only one clear case of *basileia* being used of Roman rule in the first century – an exceptional instance by Josephus, who far more frequently refers to Roman hegemony, or power.¹³ Carter’s listing of the evidence here does nothing to strengthen his claims:

lyptic Mark” in *Colonial Contexts and Postcolonial Theologies: Storyweaving in the Asia-Pacific*, ed. M. Brett and J. Havea (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 81–97.

¹⁰ Moore, *Empire and Apocalypse*, 38, note 31.

¹¹ Wes Howard-Brook and Anthony Gwyther, *Unveiling Empire: Reading Revelation Then and Now* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1999), 224.

¹² Warren Carter, *Matthew and Empire: Initial Explorations* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001), 62. In Carter, *John and Empire: Initial Explorations* (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 302, the opposition is also expressed at the Christological level: “(t)he term “king” (*βασιλεύς*, *basileus*) was used for the Roman emperor (Josephus, *J.W.* 3.351; 4.596; 5.58; 5.563; 1 Pet 2:13,17), so it sets Jesus and the emperor in antithetical relationship (cf. John 19:15).” Carter has since affirmed a less polarized approach: “While oppositional binaries have been dominant in the first wave of studies, my sense is that now increasingly there is an emerging recognition of the complexities of interaction and negotiation with the empire, and more sophisticated analysis embracing not just opposition but various dynamics, including claims of superiority, self-protective accommodation, hybridity, reinscribing, and imitation.” See Carter, “Roman Imperial Power: A New Testament Perspective” in *Rome and Religion. A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*. Edited by Jeffrey Brodd and Jonathan L. Reed (Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 138–139.

¹³ The text (*J.W.* 5.409) reads: *καίτοι Μάγνος μὲν καὶ Σόσσιος πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν παθεῖν καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἔλαβον τὴν πόλιν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δ’ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολέμου καὶ βασιλείας ἤρξατο, Τίτω μὲν γὰρ καὶ πηγαὶ πλουσιώτεροι ῥέουσιν αἱ ξηρανθεῖσαι πρότερον ὑμῖν [although Magnus and Sossius did not only suffer nothing, but took the city by force; as did Vespasian go from the war he made against you to receive the empire; and as for Titus, those springs that were formerly almost dried up when they were under your power, since he is come, run more plentifully than they did before; (Whiston translation)]. This text explicitly claims that Vespasian ‘received (the) empire/kingdom/*basileia*’ but is the only first century*

The term is *basileia*. It names Rome's empire in Josephus, *J.W.* 5.409. See also Dan 2:37–45, the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Greek empires; 1 Macc 1:6, Alexander's empire; 1 Macc 1:16, 41, 51 and Josephus, *J.W.* 1.40, for Antiochus Epiphanes and the Seleucid empire.¹⁴

Clearly, the use of *basileia* here to refer to what we now anachronistically call 'empires' (since these that Carter names pre-dated the *imperium* of Rome), cannot be used as evidence that *basileia* meant empire in the first century – so we are left with that one solitary instance in Josephus. The references to the Maccabean texts above indeed support the normal Greek usage of *basileia* for Alexander and his successors (again, pre-dating the Roman *imperium*), but the account in 1 Macc 8:14–30 clearly demonstrates that the Romans were understood to be very different to a *basileia* (οὐδὲ εἰς διάδμηα 'not one crown!' 8:14) and then goes on to describe (and even romanticize) their republican ideals and praxis.

David Aune cites this same reference in Josephus (above) to *basileia* as used to describe the beginning of Vespasian's rule, and gives two examples of the verbal form (βασιλειάω) being used of Emperors (*J.W.* 1.5 after the death of Nero; and 4.546 of Vitellius).¹⁵ But none of this evidence is enough to substantiate a direct lexical confrontation between the *basileia tou Theou* and the Empire of Rome in the first century. *Basileia* and cognates do begin to appear more frequently with reference to Rome towards the end of the second century and they are commonplace

instance of *basileia* being used in this way that I have found so far. Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, ed. *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: Brill, 2002/1973), suggests "imperial rule" for this reference. Carter, *John and Empire*, 302, n. 29, also lists *J.W.* 5.409 (correctly), but adds *Ant.* 18.120 (which refers to the "kingdoms under Rome"); and Appian *Bell. Civ.* 2.86 (which refers to the "Roman βασιλεύς Hadrian," not to *basileia*). There are a small number of uses of *basileus* for the emperor in the first century (four in the *Jewish War*, for example), but in contrast, Josephus refers to Roman hegemony (*hēgemōn* and cognates) around 30 times in the narrative of the *Jewish War*, and to *autokratōr* (around 20 times) and *Kaisar* (over 200 times).

¹⁴ Carter, *Matthew and Empire*, 189, n 71. I affirm Carter's intent to overcome the dichotomy between the "individual, spiritualized, and moral" view of God's saving activity and the "deliverance from political oppression" which "anachronistically and inappropriately assumes a divide between the religious and the political spheres" (*Matthew and Empire*, 75–6), but I wish to contest his conclusion (regarding Matthew, and also Stephen Moore's similar conclusion regarding Revelation) that "(i)ronically, and regrettably, the Gospel ultimately envisages the replacement of one imperial ideology with another" (*Matthew and Empire*, 107).

¹⁵ David E. Aune, *Revelation 6–16. WBC 52B* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998), 946. Aune goes on to repeat the oft-stated assumption that the "term βασιλεῖς, usually translated 'kings', and the most elevated title of Hellenistic monarchs, can equally well be translated 'emperors.'" He then immediately qualifies this with: "(h)owever, βασιλεύς is not widely used as a Greek translation of the Latin term imperator, "emperor," until the second century A.D." (*Revelation 6–16*, 946), and "the term βασιλεύς never entered the official language of Rome until the Byzantine period." *Revelation 6–16*, 875.

after the fourth century. Edwin Judge locates the earliest use of *basileia* as a self-reference by Romans to around 200CE,¹⁶ but locates the official change in such usage to the Eastern Roman Empire some 400 years later.

I do not dispute here Carter's assertion that we should be aware that "(e)ven when the New Testament texts seem to be silent about Rome's empire, it is, nevertheless, ever present."¹⁷ I think this heightened awareness of the power of Rome lurking behind the Herodian rulers and the Jerusalem Temple authorities has borne much exegetical fruit (even if some of it is over-ripe on occasions), and the realization that the NT authors might not be able to address these powers openly – perhaps only by using "hidden transcripts," the language of the oppressed – has made better sense of some difficult texts (such as the Gerasene demoniac, and the trial of Jesus).¹⁸ But I wish to argue here that some of the proponents of the significance of the Roman context for NT hermeneutics have overstated their case by asserting direct equivalences and oppositions between NT language (in particular the *basileia* word group) and imperial Roman vocabulary and hierarchies of power.

4 *BASILEIA* IN THE LEXICONS AND DICTIONARIES

The Greek lexicons and dictionaries make very clear reference to royal rulers, kings, queens and sovereign powers in their entries for the *basileia* word group. Under the *basileia* entry itself, there are no connections made with the Roman Empire in the literature roughly contemporaneous with Revelation (first century B.C.E. to second centuryCE).¹⁹ The more detailed lexicons go on to list under *basileus* some examples

¹⁶ A reference found in P. Oxy. 9.1185, as cited in Edwin Judge, "We Have No King but Caesar.' When was Caesar First Seen as a King?" in E. A. Judge, *The First Christians in the Roman World*, ed. James R. Harrison (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 401, published in 2008 but first presented in 1986. Regarding *basileus*, Judge explains that "(t)he Latin term *rex* was never accepted as a title suitable for the leaders of the Roman *res publica*, as the state continued to be called officially for the next 500 years at least. It was not until Heraclius (AD 610ff) that the Greek term *basileus* officially displaced *autokratōr*, the translation of *imperator*" ("We Have No King But Caesar," 399), though the term was widely used of the Roman ruler by others from the third century onwards.

¹⁷ Warren Carter, *The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2006), 1.

¹⁸ See, for example, Stephen D. Moore, "My Name Is Legion, for We Are Many: Representing Empire in Mark," in *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament*, ed. Stephen D. Moore, Bible in the Modern World 12 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006), 24–44; Hans Leander, *Discourses of Empire: The Gospel of Mark from a Postcolonial Perspective*, SemeiaSt 71 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 201–19; and Andrew Simmonds, "Mark's and Matthew's *Sub Rosa* Message in the Scene of Pilate and the Crowd," *JBL* 131 (2012): 733–754.

¹⁹ There are no references to Rome or empire under the *basileia* entry (as distinct from *basileus*) in the following major lexicons: Franco Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, vol. 1, A–K, eds. of the English Edition, Madeleine Goh and Chad Schroeder (Lei-

of the word being used for Roman emperors, but the evidence given is limited to a handful of examples in Josephus, Plutarch, Pausanias,²⁰ and a few New Testament citations.²¹ This is hardly surprising. The Roman republican ethos was allergic to any claims of royalty amongst their own citizens, and the Senate only affirmed distant kings amongst the lesser *ethnē* if they subordinated themselves and maintained the *pax Romana*. Indeed, by some accounts, the civil wars of the first century BCE were fought over this very issue – the fear that a Roman *rex* would again oppress the people – and the early “emperors” themselves were very careful not to make any overt claims to power, whether as “kings” or “emperors.”²² There is only occasional

den: Brill, 2015), 379; T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 114; Frederick William Danker with Kathryn King, *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 69; Frederick William Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000) 168–9; H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon with a Revised Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940/1996), 309; or Ceslas Spicq, *TLNT* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994), 1:260. Karl Ludwig Schmidt, “The Word Group βασιλεύς κτλ. in the NT,” *TDNT* 1:580, briefly mentions that the Roman Empire “understood apocalyptically and therefore regarded as devilish, seeks to represent the *basileia* and to spread light, even though it is in distress and darkness” (Rev. 16:10), but makes no claim that *basileia* is equivalent to empire. The online beta version of DGE, *Diccionario Griego-Español*, edited by Francisco R. Adrados and Juan Rodríguez Somolinos (Madrid, 2011), <http://dge.cchs.csic.es/bib/bib.htm> (accessed 01/11/2016) lists for *basileia* under I 3, a few references to Roman rule, notably Augustus in Pausanias (Paus.3.11.4).

²⁰ The texts from Josephus are examined further below. The reference in Plutarch (*De tranquillitate* 6.467E) seems to refer to the original seven kings of Rome, beginning with Romulus, before the beginning of the Republic in the 6th century BCE, not to the later Roman emperors, as pointed out by David E. Aune, *Revelation 6–16*. WBC 52B (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 946. Pausanias (c.110–c.180CE) refers to the ‘*basileus* Augustus’ twice and to Hadrian some nine times (Paus. 10.32.19 &c).

²¹ The New Testament texts where *basileus* is sometimes translated as ‘Emperor’ are 1 Peter 2:13,17; but *Kaisar* is used more usually for ‘Emperor’ 29 times (Matt. 4 times; Mark 4; Luke 7; John 3; Acts 10; Philippians 1). In using ‘kings of the Gentiles’ rather than ‘rulers of the Gentiles’ (as in Matt. and Mark), Luke 22:25 may be avoiding a more direct reference to the *Kaisar*. The texts suggesting an (ironic?) equivalence/distinction between *basileus* and *Kaisar* are Acts 17:7 and John 19:12,15. As Judge points out, the heavily ironic response of the Judean leadership to Pilate in John 19:15 – “we have no king (*basileus*) but Caesar (*Kaisar*)” – “is to be taken as a repudiation of monarchy rather than an interpretation of Caesar himself as king,” with Caesar being seen as “the alternative to a king.” Judge, “We have no king but Caesar,” 395, 403.

²² Nor did they claim the title “emperor” (“imperator”) or “*autokrator*” – we apply it to them anachronistically from the later tradition. Amongst the Julio-Claudians it appears to have been more publicly acceptable to allow acclamations of divinity rather than royalty, though this was more common in the East than in Rome itself.

evidence that before 300CE *basileus* is used of the Romans, or by the Romans of themselves, and even less for *basileia*.²³

We find instead that the overwhelming tendency is for the Roman ruler to be called *Kaisar* or eventually *autokratōr* – together used over two hundred and thirty times by Josephus in the *Jewish Wars* alone, for example – and for his rule to be described using the *hēgemōn* word family. The counter-evidence cited by Warren Carter provides the few exceptions that “prove” (as in “test”) the rule: Josephus does indeed connect “kings” and “Romans” four times (using the plural *basileis*), but it is by no means clear that the Caesars alone are the focus of these references.²⁴ The first explicit use of “Roman kings” is when Josephus remembers his dreams about the “future calamities of the Jews and the events concerning the Roman kings” (*J.W.* 3.351), and the second is his reference to how the “Roman kings” (especially Augustus) honored and adorned the Jerusalem temple, in contrast to some of the Jewish revolutionaries who profaned it (*J.W.* 5.563). Possibly these references to the “Roman kings” could include the Herodian kings who ruled under Rome and rebuilt the Jerusalem Temple in the years from 18BCE to 64CE,²⁵ though it is clear that Josephus means to refer as well to the Roman emperors who stood behind these Herodian kings and their massive building projects, including the honoring and adorning of the Jerusalem temple. The fact remains, however, that when Josephus wishes to refer explicitly to the Roman rulers he does so far more frequently by using *Kaisar*/*autokratōr*.

The one instance that Carter cites where Titus is referred to as “king” by Josephus (the singular *basileus*, *J.W.* 5.58) relates to the siege of Jerusalem some nine years before he became emperor in his own right, though even then Josephus refers

²³ The earliest inscriptional evidence I have found so far is in the archives of third century imperial correspondence with the Aphrodisians, confirming the *basileia* of the incoming *autokratōr* and *Kaisar* (8.102 and 8.114, for example, dated 239 and 250–1CE respectively), and viewable on the King’s College, London, Aphrodisias website. I am aware of the claim by Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient Near East*, translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910/1927), 362 n.6, that there are “numerous examples from inscriptions” (of the use of *basileus* for emperor), citing Magie, 62, and this reference is repeated in Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 170, but it does not align with David Magie *et al* (eds.), *Greek and Latin Inscriptions. A. Southern Syria* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1904–21), 62 (for example), so I have been unable to locate or date this evidence so far as the reference details are incomplete.

²⁴ The references to “kings” in *J.W.* 4.596 and 5.60 are maxims about kings in general that are applied favorably and analogically by Josephus to Vespasian and Titus respectively.

²⁵ For the view that Herod the Great and some of his successors can properly be termed “Roman kings,” see Byron R. McCane, “Simply Irresistible: Augustus, Herod and the Empire,” *JBL* 127 (2008), 726.

to Titus as Caesar some seven times in the same siege narrative (5.63, 67, 94, 97, 121, 122, 128).²⁶

Josephus gives his reasons for using this peculiar name (*Kaisar*) for Roman rulers when he explains why the Egyptian rulers were known distinctively as Pharaohs. From Josephus' perspective, the issue is still at core one of translation:

Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signifies a king (*basilea*), but I suppose they made use of other names from their childhood; but when they were made kings (*basileis*), they changed them into the name which, in their own tongue, denoted their authority (*exousian*); for thus it was also that the kings (*basileis*) of Alexandria, who were called formerly by other names, when they took the kingdom (*basileian*), were named Ptolemies, from their first king (*basileōs*). (*Antiq.* 8:155–6).

By the same logic, he goes on to argue, “(t)he Roman rulers (*autokratōres*) also were, from their birth, called by other names, but are styled Caesars (*Kaisares*), their empire (*hēgemōnia*) and their honor imposing that name upon them” (*Antiq.* 8.157). Yet despite this apparent underlying assumption that Caesars and Pharaohs were the equivalent of *basileis*, Josephus persists in using the usual terminology nearly all the time, and significantly, only once uses *basileia* for Roman hegemony – thus ‘proving’ the rule.

Such considerations as these inevitably raise methodological issues that underlie all hermeneutical endeavors: the relationship between lexicography and exegesis – between ever more readily accessible databases of comparative word usage and translation, and the interpretation of particular words in particular texts in varying contexts. Inevitably, this leads to the problem of dissembling language, of “hidden transcripts,” and whether to attempt to describe or to avoid ambiguity, irony and catachresis in lexicons and dictionaries. Of course, John of Revelation implies Rome and its puppet kings when he uses *basileia* language, but the connection is not straightforward. So how should lexicographers indicate the possibility of “veiled” and “unstable” meanings such as these? On what evidential basis can they be established anyway – or is it to be left to the fertile imaginations of exegetes and interpreters? This issue is more ably addressed in other chapters in this volume. I simply repeat the corollary, that to ignore the lexicographical evidence (or lack of evidence!) and persist with an exaggerated anti-imperial paradigm for interpreting the Jesus traditions (including Revelation) is to run the risk of replacing transformation with reversal, such that the polarities remain and the kingdom of God becomes the new patriarchal empire of Rome.²⁷

²⁶ Judge suggests it may be the “feat of Homeric prowess” by Titus that leads Josephus to evoke the ideal of the Hellenistic king at this point in the narrative, despite his father Vespasian having just been affirmed as ruler by the Senate in Rome (Judge, “We Have No King But Caesar,” 400–1). Note also the clear distinction made by Josephus between Agrippa as *basileus* and Claudius as *Kaisar* in *J.W.* 5.152.

²⁷ This is arguably what has happened historically to some extent, as has been pointed out most forcefully by Tat-siong Benny Liew, *Politics of Parousia: Reading Mark In-*

5 *BASILEIA* AND ROME IN THE REVELATION TO JOHN

The interpretation of the Book of Revelation (The Apocalypse to John) as an anti-imperial text set in the context of the late first century Roman Empire has been widely, if not universally, accepted.²⁸ We might expect some clear evidence of this in the vocabulary used, yet John's vision of "Babylon" and of an alternative reality is filled with *basileus* language in such phrases as "the kings of the earth" (eight times), "king of kings" (twice), and "king of the nations, abyss, the East, the inhabited world" (once each).²⁹ The Seer John never uses an explicit reference to Rome or to Roman rule or power. He uses Babylon for the former, and *basileia* language or other vivid metaphors for the latter. The argument that John really means Rome when he uses *basileia* language (given the evidence above) should not therefore be predicated on false assumptions about the first-century use and primary meaning of *basileia* language itself, but on the parallel use of Babylon and other metaphors in first century Jewish literature.³⁰ The resulting narrative thus remains one long "hidden transcript" for its intended audience – John's fellow prophets, saints and sufferers in the Roman province of Asia. We look in vain in Revelation for the vocabulary widely used of Rome in the inscriptions and documents of the first-century, whether expressed in Latin loan-words or by the Greek: *imperator/autokrator*, *Augusti/Sebastoi* (the plural was in common use as a reference to the "emperors"), or *Caesar/Kaisar*.

Other texts of that era also demonstrate that even these explicitly Roman terms – who uses them, when, and why – were very sensitive issues amongst the sub-cultures (the *ethnē*, or nations) of the Roman Empire for many centuries, and particularly so amongst those who questioned the construction of power by the domi-

ter(con)textually (Leiden: Brill, 1999), and Stephen Moore, but the question is whether the texts themselves envision this. The former believes this is so of Mark's gospel; the latter is less sure with regard to Mark, but makes the point, using Rev 11:15 again, that it can be read both ways, such that the result is "an empire that is both Roman and Christian at one and the same time." *Empire and Apocalypse*, 119.

²⁸ See David E. Aune, *Revelation 1–5*. WBC 52A (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1997), xlvii–lxx; and Koester, *Revelation*, 85–103, for overviews of the issues.

²⁹ The complete list of references follows, with the positive uses of *basileic* language (used of the Lamb/Christ or his followers) underlined: "kings of the earth (*gē*)" 1:5; 6:15; 17:2,18; 18:3,9; 19:19; 21:24; "king of the abyss" 9:11; "kings" 10:11; "king of the nations (*ethnē*)" 15:3; "kings from the East" 16:12; "kings of the inhabited world (*oikoumenē*)" 16:14; "seven kings" 17:9; "ten kings" 17:12 X 2; "king of kings" 17:14; 19:16; "flesh of kings" 19:18. The *basileia* language is less frequent and initially positive: "made us to be a kingdom" 1:6; "I share with you in the persecution and kingdom" 1:9; "made them to be a kingdom" 5:10; "the kingdom of the *kosmos* of our Lord and his Christ" 11:15 (as I translate it); "the kingdom of our God" 12:10; "beast and its kingdom" 16:10; "ten kings who have not yet received a kingdom" 17:12; "give their kingdom to the beast" 17:17; "the woman you saw is the great city that has a kingdom over the kings of the earth" 17:18.

³⁰ For a concise introduction to the use and meaning of "Babylon" in Revelation and first century Jewish literature, see Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 829–31.

nant authorities. For example, rather than use *Sebastos* language (implying reverence for, or worship of, the emperor), there are six additional references to Caesar in the Peshitta version of The Acts of the Apostles. They are quite distinctive, and, it seems to me, theologically and politically motivated in order to avoid that other more problematic language (they do not simply follow variant Greek texts). The Syriac adds the family name *Caesar* to Claudius's name on two occasions (quite correctly, in Acts 11:28; 18:2), in a manner consistent with the naming of Caesar elsewhere; it replaces *Sebastos*/*Augustus* with *Caesar* two times (in Acts 25:21,25, perhaps to avoid any hint of *sebomai/sebasma* ("worship") and the emperor cults, though it retains the adjective *sebasti* in 27:1 for the Imperial cohort);³¹ and it replaces an awkward and unusual non-christological use of *Kurios* in Acts 25:26 (in the words of Festus, where it refers to the "emperor"!)." If we add the use in the Peshitta of the plural in 1 Peter 2:13 and 17 ("honor kings" rather than "honor the king/emperor as supreme" as in the Greek), we see evidence that these "terms of power" are very politically and theologically sensitive, since the Peshitta has explicitly avoided any hint of worshipping the "emperor" (Acts 25:21,25), to the possible lordship of the "emperor" (Acts 25:26), or to submitting to or honoring the "emperor" in particular (1 Pet 2:13,17), by referring to "kings" in general. The Greek text of Revelation avoids explicit "emperor" language even more thoroughly than this, instead preferring the use of vivid (and ambiguous) images and metaphors, such as beasts "out of the sea," 13:1f, and "out of the earth" 13:11f, and Roma as inverted and perverted Amor, 17:1–18.³²

Stephen Moore has analyzed and deconstructed this 'Revelation language' with customary rigor and creativity, and with scintillating results.³³ I think that Moore's application of postcolonial sensitivities (not as "a method of interpretation ... so much as a critical sensibility acutely attuned to a specific range of interrelated historical and textual phenomena")³⁴ accords brilliantly with the mimic parody, catachresis, and cultural hybridity of much of John's narrative as it critiques, subverts, and ignores the dominant culture/s in seven representative cities of Roman Asia. The

³¹ The Latin *Augustus* is transliterated into Syriac in Luke 2:1, but the Greek *Sebastos* (Acts 25:21,25) is not, except when used adjectivally of the Imperial cohort (Acts 27:1). The *seb-* word group is also used sparingly in the Greek New Testament; most commonly of foreign worship or "god-fearers" (in Acts a dozen times, and much less so in Matt., Mark, Rom., and 2 Thess.).

³² Given that this vocabulary is politically and religiously sensitive, it is no surprise also to see evidence of this in the early textual traditions of Revelation. The textual variants around the use of *basileia* language in Rev. 1:6 and 5:10 demonstrate how early communities differed when answering the question: "Are we 'kings' and 'priests' or does God set 'kings' and 'priests' over us?" Depending on how we date these variants, there is evidence here that the rhetoric of resistance to Roman hierarchy is being replaced by a rhetoric of reversal and/or compliance.

³³ Moore, *Untold Tales from the Book of Revelation*.

³⁴ Moore, *Empire and Apocalypse*, 7.

prominence of Temple cults (including imperial cults), the imposing theatres (many in the process of being enlarged and ‘Romanized’ in the late first century), and the associated architecture and statuary, provide an extraordinarily diverse and rich visual backdrop to John’s own vivid imagery.³⁵ The interplay of words and images from the Jewish Scriptures, local, Greek, and Roman cultures, and John’s own convictions about alternative prophetic communities, create a smorgasbord of interpretive possibilities, and Moore assembles many enticing offerings. I wish here to introduce just two possible dietary restrictions in order to avoid mimicking yet another Roman banquet, complete with regurgitation (Rev 3:16). For notwithstanding Moore’s post-colonial sensitivities, his conclusion (like that of Carter on Matthew) is that in the end Revelation is anti-imperial rather than transformative, a text that seeks to replace one imperial, patriarchal ideology with another, such that “the empire (*basileia*) of the world (*kosmos*) has become the (empire) of our Lord and his Christos-Messiah (Caesar?)” (paraphrasing Rev 11:15b).³⁶

The two limitations I wish to propose to challenge such a conclusion are that as I have shown above, there should be no easy equation between *basileia* and empire in the first century. The head-to-head confrontation between the *basileia tou Theou* and the *basileia* of Rome may make some historical sense by the fourth and fifth centuries, but should not be read back into the first century, nor into Revelation. Secondly, the usual translation of Revelation 11:15 that forms the climax of Moore’s argument in many ways,³⁷ can be challenged on a number of grounds – in terms of the vocabulary used, the wider structure of Revelation, and the grammar of the verse. So rather than: “the empire of the world has become the empire of our Lord and his Messiah,” I suggest that the genitive chain in the text:

Rev 11:15 ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

be translated in the following way:

³⁵ For a detailed account, see Friesen, “Myth and Symbolic Resistance in Revelation 13” and *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John*. For a recent exploration of the possible interface between Revelation and theatre, street mime, and other first century visual arts, see U-Wen Low, “What Have the Romans Ever Done For Us? Postcolonialism, mimicry and hidden transcripts in the Book of Revelation,” *Pacifica*, Vol. 27 No. 3 (2014): 253–270.

³⁶ Whether this is what happened historically in the rise of Christendom and the various “Christian empires” throughout the centuries since is another matter. I am asking here about a plausible understanding of the text in the first century context of Revelation.

³⁷ It seems that the usual translation of Rev 11:15 trumps the subtleties of Moore’s postcolonial approach and reinscribes an inversionary, anti-imperial framework on his overall interpretation. See Moore, “‘The World Empire Has Become the Empire of Our Lord and his Messiah’: Representing Empire in Revelation,” in *Empire and Apocalypse*, chapter 5; and also in *Untold Tales from the Book of Revelation*, 97ff.

The *basileia* of the *kosmos* of our Lord and of his Christ has come, and he will reign into the *aeons of aeons*.

Why is this change in translation significant, when both translations announce the arrival of the *basileia* of the Lord and his Christ anyway? The problem is I think, that the traditional translation assumes that the *basileia* of this world (*kosmos*) is evil and demonic until invaded by the *basileia* of our Lord and his Christ, thus reinscribing an apocalyptic dualism. The suggested translation affirms more strongly the *basileia* of the *kosmos* as God's ("from the foundation of the *kosmos*"), though it is temporarily the abode of the ancient serpent thrown down from above, and the beasts coming up from below. As Eugene Boring expresses this verse: "The last trumpet sounds, and the glad announcement is proclaimed in heaven that God, the rightful sovereign of the universe who has always been king *de jure*, has now become king in fact, has taken his power and begun to reign."³⁸ There are other good reasons for translating the verse this way.

Regarding the vocabulary used in 11:15, note that *kosmos* is used only two other times in Revelation, both positively – of the "book of life from the foundation of the world/*kosmos*" (13:8 and 17:8) – suggesting that the *basileia* of the *kosmos* (as distinct from the 'kings' of the earth, *gē*) belongs to God and his Christ the founder/creator (3:14), not to the Satan/serpent/devil. Indeed, all five uses of *basileia* up until the appearance of the beasts in chapter 13 refer to God's *basileia*, with the first three (1:6,9; 5:10) revealing a *basileia* of the suffering saints of all nations, very unlike Rome's brutal power over the vanquished nations. The next two uses proclaim the coming of the *basileia* of the *kosmos* to earth (11:15 at the seventh trumpet); and of the *basileia tou Theou* (12:10), announced in heaven even as the great dragon is cast down onto earth for the final *denouement*. Four negative uses of *basileia* then follow (16:10; 17:12,17,18), revealing the relationship between the beast and the woman who is the great city that has a *basileia* over the 'kings' of the earth (*gē*). The overall vision generated is not that a Satanic *basileia* rules the *kosmos* and God needs to invade. Rather, that in God's *basileia* of the *kosmos*, where the book of life has been written from the beginning (from the "foundation," 13:8; 17:8), an aberrant being has been thrown out of heaven onto earth, where that great dragon/ ancient serpent/ Devil/ Satan/ accuser has deceived the whole world (note: *oikoumenē*, not *kosmos*! 12:9), and that this represents an opportunity for victory over evil.

The same point can be made via the perspective from below, from beneath the earth (*gē*). *Basileus* ("king" in the singular) is used of God ("king" of the nations, 15:3), the Lamb ("king of kings," 17:14) and the rider on the white horse called the Word of God ("king of kings," 19:16). Evil is never described as "king" (singular) of anything except of the abyss (9:11, from whence also comes the second beast, 11:7: 13:11), and certainly not of the world/*kosmos* (apart from the implied claim of the

³⁸ Eugene Boring, *Revelation*. Interpretation (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1989), 148. I accept Boring's translation of *kosmos* as "universe" rather than "world," provided that universe includes earth and all that can be seen from earth.

usual translation of 11:15). As the references in footnote 29 above show, there are positive and negative references to the “kings of the earth (*gē*),” and various other references to “kings” that are led astray by the beast, but there is no basis in the language or cosmology of Revelation to suggest that the *basileia* of the *kosmos* (“the kingdom of the world”) refers to Rome or to evil powers.

The wider structure of Revelation also supports the understanding that “the Lord and his Christ” have always been in ultimate control of the *basileia* of the *kosmos*, rather than needing to invade an evil world as in an apocalyptic melodrama. The seventh seal, trumpet and bowl each give a glimpse of the heavenly throne/s (7:1–8:1; 11:15–19; 16:17), a scene that many commentators describe as the eternal, present reality that frames the whole book of Revelation (along with the key texts 1:12–20; 4–5; 20–22), sustaining hope for those communities of the faithful as they struggle with the evil thrown down onto the earth after having been defeated in heaven (12:7–9). Thus, the loud voices in heaven in 11:15 also affirm this eternal reality of God’s cosmic rule, rather than a recent (or proleptic) change in cosmic ownership. This is reinforced by another loud voice using very similar language in 12:10, with another string of genitives following *egeneto*:

“Then I heard a loud voice in heaven, proclaiming,
Now have come the salvation and the power
and the *basileia* of our God
and the authority of his Messiah,
for the accuser of our comrades has been thrown down,
who accuses them day and night before our God.” (NRSV)

Grammatically, the genitive string of 11:15 can, and arguably should, also be translated in a similar way, rather than inserting *egeneto* and another *basileia* into the middle of the genitives, as in the usual translation. The general rule is that a genitive relates to the preceding noun, as also in Hebrew, yet I can find very little discussion about this verse in the literature.³⁹ Craig Koester does comment rather mysteriously that “some interpreters argue that the world does not “become” God’s kingdom and that 11:15 simply affirms that God always “was” its ruler (Rowland).”⁴⁰ I have not

³⁹ For the rule governing genitives, see F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, transl. and ed. Robert W. Funk (Cambridge/Chicago: Cambridge University Press/The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 93: “the governing genitive must always precede the dependent genitive... (which corresponds to Hebrew usage),” citing 2Cor. 4:4; Phil. 2:30; Rev. 14:8 as examples. Aune, *Revelation 1–5*, clxxiv–clxxv, comments on strings of genitives in Revelation (especially 16:19 and 19:15, the longest), but does not mention 11:15.

⁴⁰ Craig R. Koester, *Revelation* (The Anchor Yale Bible), (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 514. I have not yet been able to locate the elusive reference to Christopher Rowland supporting this argument. The only published Bible translation I can find that agrees with me is the Darby translation. John Nelson Darby, *The Holy Scriptures: A New Trans-*

yet been able to locate these arguments, though they may well be embedded in discussions of analogous constructions occurring in 12:10; 14:8; 16:10,19; and 19:15 – none of which are translated in the same way as the usual translation of 11:15.

So, has the (evil) *basileia* of the *kosmos* just become the *basileia* of our Lord and his Christ at the last (seventh) trumpet? Or has the *kosmos* always been “our Lord’s” from its very foundation? Commentators seem to assume that Revelation (as the archetypal apocalypse) must have a dualistic cosmology and eschatology: the evil kingdom of the world invaded by the messianic king on a white charger – or the Empire of Rome defeated by the Empire of God. But such dualistic constructions are not consistent with the narrative shape of John’s visions. Rather, the people and “kings of the earth” have been seduced by the whore of Babylon in league with the forces of evil from above and below the earth. Is this not a possible, if not plausible, response to the rhetoric of resistance in Revelation, or should we concur with Moore that “one of its foundational rhetorical strategies” is the

construction of the Roman Empire as the absolute antithesis of ‘the Empire of God and his Messiah’ (11.15). The success of the strategy is evident from the fact that this binary opposition has been endlessly (and unreflectively) replicated even in critical commentaries.⁴¹

Indeed, it has! But might not the problem lie with we who interpret from positions of power – needing an imperial Christ to justify our own empires? If our arguments above have any weight, then the *basileia* of the *kosmos* of our Lord and his Christ is not an empire like Rome’s – nor any other human empire – just as the *basileus* of the *kosmos* is not Satan/the ancient dragon/the devil, though it does seem that the kings and empires on earth are hell-bent on making it so.

WORKS CITED

- Adrados, Franciso R. and Juan Rodríguez Somolinos, eds. *Diccionario Griego-Español*. Online beta version of DGE. Madrid, c. 2011.
<http://dge.cchs.csic.es/bib/bib.htm> (accessed 01/11/2016).
- Aune, David E. *Revelation 1–5*. WBC 52A. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1997.
- . *Revelation 6–16*. WBC 52B. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998.
- Barr, David L. *Tales of the End: A Narrative Commentary on the Book of Revelation*. Santa Rosa: Polebridge, 1998.
- Beasley-Murray, George Raymond. *Jesus and the Kingdom of God*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1986.
- Blass, F. and A. Debrunner. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*. Translated and edited by Robert W. Funk. Cam-

lation from the Original Languages (1867, with revised editions in 1872 and 1884): “The kingdom of the world of our Lord and of his Christ is come, and he shall reign to the ages of ages.”

⁴¹ Moore, *Apocalypse and Empire*, 108.

- bridge/Chicago: Cambridge University Press/The University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Boring, Eugene. *Revelation*. Interpretation. Louisville: John Knox Press, 1989.
- Brodd, Jeffrey and Jonathan L. Reed, eds. *Rome and Religion. A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*. Atlanta: SBL, 2011.
- Howard-Brook, Wes, and Anthony Gwyther. *Unveiling Empire: Reading Revelation Then and Now*. Maryknoll: Orbis, 1999.
- Carter, Warren. *Matthew and Empire: Initial Explorations*. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001.
- . *The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide*. Nashville: Abingdon, 2006.
- . *John and Empire: Initial Explorations*. New York/London: T&T Clark, 2008.
- Danker, Frederick William. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- , with Kathryn King. *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Deissmann, Adolf. *Light from the Ancient Near East*. Translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927.
- Dyer, Keith. “The Empire of God, the Postcolonial Jesus, and Postapocalyptic Mark.” Pages 81–97 in *Colonial Contexts and Postcolonial Theologies: Storyweaving in the Asia-Pacific*. Edited by M. Brett and J. Havea. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler. “To Follow the Vision: The Jesus Movement as *Basileia* Movement.” In *Liberating Eschatology*. Edited by Margaret A. Farley and Serene Jones. Louisville: WJKP, 1999.
- Friesen, Steven J. *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins*. Oxford: OUP, 2001.
- . “Myth and Symbolic Resistance in Revelation 13.” *JBL* 123 (2004): 281–313.
- . “Roman Imperial Imagery in Revelation: Space, Knowledge, and Time.” Pages 43–54 in *Imagery in the Book of Revelation*. Edited by Michael Labahn and Outi Lehtipuu. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.
- Frilingos, C. A. *Spectacles of Empire: Monsters, Martyrs, and the Book of Revelation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2004.
- Horsley, Richard. *Jesus and Empire: The Kingdom of God and the New World Disorder*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003.
- Isasi-Diaz, Ada Maria. *En la lucha (In the Struggle): Elaborating a Mujerista Theology*, 2nd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003.
- Judge, Edwin. “‘We Have No King but Caesar.’ When Was Caesar First Seen as a King?” Pages 395–403 in E. A. Judge, *The First Christians in the Roman World*. Edited by James R. Harrison. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.

- Keller, C. *Now and Then: A Feminist Guide to the End of the World*. Boston: Beacon, 1996.
- Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
- Koester, Craig R. *Revelation*. The Anchor Yale Bible. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Leander, Hans. *Discourses of Empire: The Gospel of Mark from a Postcolonial Perspective*. Semeia Studies 71. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013.
- Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott, eds. *Greek-English Lexicon with a Revised Supplement*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Liew, Tat-siong Benny. *Politics of Parousia: Reading Mark Inter(con)textually*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Low, U-Wen. “What Have the Romans Ever Done For Us? Postcolonialism, mimicry and hidden transcripts in the Book of Revelation.” *Pacifica* 27 (2014): 253–270.
- McCane, Byron R. “Simply Irresistible: Augustus, Herod and the Empire.” *JBL* 127 (2008): 725–735.
- Magie, David et al, eds. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions. A. Southern Syria*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1904–21.
- Maier, Harry O. *Apocalypse Recalled: The Book of Revelation after Christendom*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002.
- Montanari, Franco. *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, vol. 1, A–K. English Edition edited by Madeleine Goh and Chad Schroeder. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Moore, Stephen D. *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006.
- . *Untold Tales from the Book of Revelation; Sex and Gender, Empire and Ecology*. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014.
- . “‘My Name Is Legion, for We Are Many:’ Representing Empire in Mark.” Pages 24–44 in *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament*. Edited by Stephen D. Moore. Bible in the Modern World 12. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006.
- Muraoka, T. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Leuven: Peeters, 2009.
- Rengstorff, Karl Heinrich, ed. *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*. Leiden: Brill, 2002/1973.
- Rossing, Barbara R. *The Choice Between Two Cities: Whore, Bride, and Empire in the Apocalypse*. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999.
- Royalty, R. M. *The Streets of Heaven: The Ideology of Wealth in the Apocalypse of John*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998.
- Simmonds, Andrew. “Mark’s and Matthew’s *Sub Rosa* Message in the Scene of Pilate and the Crowd.” *JBL* 131 (2012): 733–754.

Spicq, Ceslas. *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament*. Translated and edited by James D. Ernest. 3 vols. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994.

THE BIRTH OF EUROPEAN LINGUISTIC THEORY: THE IDEA OF LANGUAGE IN THE SOPHISTS

Nikolay P. Grintser

School of Advanced Studies in the Humanities

Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration

A survey of statements by Sophists, especially Protagoras and Prodicus, suggests that they anticipated both the general principles and technical distinctions of later scholarly linguistic research. Moreover, through them the study of language emerged from some sort of commentary on literary texts – just as happened two centuries later in Hellenistic Alexandria.

INTRODUCTION

Several decades ago in the linguistic historiography of Antiquity a radical ‘new trend’ was established. As claimed by such scholars as Michael Frede, Daniel Taylor and others, it produced a new perspective from which the history of classical linguistic science should be treated. The main idea was to distinguish a proper “scholarly” grammar originating in Hellenistic Alexandria from the treatment of language as reflected in various literary or philosophical sources, such as the works of Plato, Aristotle and others.¹ As Michael Frede has once put it:

¹ See the extensive description of this “new model” in D. Taylor, “Rethinking the History of Language Science in Classical Antiquity,” in *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*, ed. D. Taylor (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamin, 1987), 13–14:

In fine then, we have no reason, it seems to me, not to accept the new model of the history of Graeco-Roman language science that has been developing over the course of the last decade or so. That model declines to treat the growth of language science in a strictly cumulative “bottom line” fashion, eliminates the analogy/anomaly quarrel from consideration, and refrains from articulating an explicit dichotomy between technical and philosophical grammar. Instead, it emphasizes the discontinuous creation of grammatical knowledge and the literary, philosophical, logical, rhetorical, and philological nexus out of which this knowledge came. In particular, it stresses that the Stoics were doing a lot more to create such knowledge than we have heretofore acknowledged and, especially, that the Alexandrians were first and foremost philologists, not grammarians. It understands that epistemological issues and technical details continuously

historians of language have usually proceeded as if their subject had a continuous history starting in the fifth century B.C., with the Sophists. But even if one is willing to credit Sophists like Protagoras and Prodicus, and later philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, with a theory of language, it is obvious that their theories were not grammatical theories: they were not interested in finding out how a particular language, Greek, actually works in such detail as to be in a position even to attempt to start the canons for correct Greek. Hence to treat them as a part of one continuous tradition with later grammarians is to invite neglect of important questions.²

However, both before and after this radical turn of approach, in all historical surveys of classical linguistic thought, chapters dealing with the Sophistic treatment of language were, and still are, present.³

2 SOPHIST STATEMENTS CONCERNING LANGUAGE

This is rather suggestive, taking into consideration that in fact our knowledge of relevant data is very constrained and somewhat blurred. We gather evidence of theoretical (and maybe, practical) innovations achieved by Prodicus and Protagoras mainly from ironical remarks of Plato's Socrates or the mocking parodies by Aristophanes. Certainly, we do have some impartial evidence, like that of Diogenes (Laertius 9.54) who tells us that Protagoras was the first to distinguish four types of speech: request (εὐχολή), question (ἐρώτησις), assertion (ἀπόκρισις), and command (ἐντολή).⁴ Hence, he laid the foundation for further development of the grammatical theory of verbal moods, and in this respect we still have reason, contrary to Frede's statement, to treat Sophists and later grammarians as belonging, at least to some extent, to "a continuous tradition."

exist side-by-side for the simple reason that both are germane to language science. It maintains that Aristotelian and Stoic and Alexandrian observations and notions on language and grammatical phenomena were incorporated into a general overall system of grammar, we might say linguistic theory, and that this occurred in the first century B.C. The crucial difference between this new system or theory and its predecessors is that it considers grammar an autonomous science, an independent discipline. This then is the significant event in the early history of linguistics, for it is when linguistic questions are asked for their own sake.

² M. Frede, "Principles of Stoic Grammar," in *The Stoics*, ed. J. Rist. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 28.

³ See, e.g., D. di Cesare, "Die Geschmeidigkeit der Sprache. Zur Sprachauffassung und Sprachbetrachtung der Sophistik," in *Sprachtheorien der abendländischen Antike*, ed. P. Schmitter (Tübingen: Narr, 1991), 87–118.

⁴ "He was also the first person who divided discourse into four parts: entreaty, interrogation, answer, and command" (δειλίε τε τὸν λόγον πρῶτος εἰς τέτταρα· εὐχολήν, ἐρώτησιν, ἀπόκρισιν, ἐντολήν).

Another similar case we find in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1407b6–8) where Protagoras is named as the first to distinguish three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter, the latter being called by him “inanimate”, or “corporeal” (τὰ σκεύη).⁵ Again, we have here a direct link to later grammatical distinctions which in my view, could be strengthened by one additional observation. It is unanimously agreed that Protagoras' theory of grammatical gender is mocked by Aristophanes in his *Clouds* (660–666),⁶ where comic Socrates persuades his elderly pupil, Strepsiades, that the latter should not call cock and hen by one and the same name ἀλεκτρυών (which was the case in Greek), but by two different words, ἀλέκτωρ and ἀλεκτρυάιννα, respectively, the former being actually used, the latter being a comic neologism (wonderfully rendered in some English translations as *cock-ette*). Without plunging into detailed discussion of the passage and some parallels that could be drawn to endorse my interpretation,⁷ I would like to claim that it can be used as an indication that Protagoras was also dealing with the problem of the so-called “common” (κοινόν – Dionysius Thrax 12, 7) or “mutual” (ἀμφοτέρων – Sch. in Dion. Thr. 247, 7) gender discussed by later grammarians who, in fact, also took words ending with –ων as an example of it.⁸ Thus, Protagoras could be responsible not only for the first general distinction of grammatical genders, but also for discussion of its minor technicalities.

Aristophanes seems to imply that Protagoras practiced some kind of prescriptive linguistic approach urging changes in verbal form or the grammatical characteristics of real usage. This claim is supported by further evidence, namely by Aristotle

⁵ “A fourth rule is to observe Protagoras' classification of nouns into male, female, and inanimate” (τέταρτον, ὡς Πρωταγόρας τὰ γένη τῶν ὀνομάτων διήρει, ἄρρενα καὶ θήλεα καὶ σκεύη).

⁶ See the commentaries on this passage in K. Dover, ed., *Aristophanes. Clouds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 179, 182; and G. Guidorizzi, ed., *Aristofane. Le Nuvole* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 2002), 274–278. Cf. D. O'Regan, *Rhetoric, Comedy and the Violence of Language in Aristophanes' Clouds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 81–82.

⁷ Elsewhere, in Nikolay P. Grintser, “Aristofan o grammatike I lybvi (Aristophanes on Grammar and Love),” in *Institutionis Conditori. In Honor of Ilya S. Smirnov* (Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities, 2013), 91–103, I have argued that Aristophanes' speech in Plato's *Symposium* with its famous myth of three kinds of ancient human beings: male, female and androgynous, bears an allusion to the *Clouds*, and therefore, to the Protagorean distinctions of genders, the androgynous being a parallel to the third, ‘common’ one. It is rather suggestive, in this respect, that both later grammatical terms, κοινόν and ἀμφοτέρων, are used in Platonic text as characteristics of ancient androgynes. Cf., for instance, 189e1: ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον προσῆν κοινόν ὃν ἀμφοτέρων τούτων “there was also a third species common to the other two”; 190b2–4: τὸ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων μετέχον τῆς σελήνης, ὅτι καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἀμφοτέρων μετέχει “the one that combined both genders was an offspring of the moon, because the moon shares in both”; 191d6–7: ὅσοι μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ τμημά εἰσιν, ὃ δὴ τότε ἀνδρόγυνον ἐκαλεῖτο “those men split from the common gender, that was called androgynous.”

⁸ Cf., e.g., Apollonius Dyscolus, *On Adverbs*, 142.21.

in *Sophistical Refutations* (173b17–25), according to whom Protagoras claimed that such words as μῆνις “wrath” or πῆληξ “helmet” should not be feminine (as they are in Greek), but masculine. Aristotle doesn’t report what reasons Protagoras had for such a “gender reassignment.” Scholarly guesses differ. Jacob Wackernagel, for instance, referred to the semantics, as helmet is a hero’s attribute and anger is a man-like passion.⁹ In his turn, Andreas Willi relies on morphology citing a similar statement from Aristotle’s *Poetics* (1458a9–10), claiming (again, contrary to the linguistic reality) that all nouns ending with –ς (including “composite sounds,” like –ξ and –ψ) are masculine.¹⁰ However, although Aristotle doesn’t tell us anything about Protagoras’ way of reasoning, he does reveal some issues concerning the very technique of the sophist’s argumentation. And it turns out that Protagoras might not be arguing about the nature of a given word as such, but was discussing its actual usage in a given, and widely known, poetical context. In fact, his statement on “wrath” seems to be nothing else but a sort of commentary on the first line of the *Iliad*: “According to him a man who calls wrath a ‘destrucress’ (*ouloméneēn*) commits a solecism, though he does not seem to do so to other people, where he who calls it a ‘destructor’ (*oulómenon*) commits no solecism though he seems to do so” (*Sophistical Refutations* 173b20–23: ὁ μὲν γὰρ λέγων “οὐλόμενην” σολοικίζει μὲν κατ’ ἐκείνον, οὐ φαίνεται δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὁ δὲ “οὐλόμενον” φαίνεται μὲν, ἀλλ’ οὐ σολοικίζει).

Attention is drawn here not to a single noun but to its combination with a participle; not to morphology but to syntax. It is rather significant in this respect, that in his exposition of Protagoras’ point, Aristotle uses the verb σολοικίζειν, as in later grammatical theory the term “solecism” was contrasted with “barbarism” (the latter defining a mistake within a single word), as a failure against the grammatical and syntactical rules of language.¹¹

We come across a similar pattern in sophistic discussion of verbal moods that we have already mentioned. From Aristotle’s *Poetics* (1456b15–17) we learn that Protagoras blamed Homer for addressing Muse in the imperative (“command”, in his terminology): “Muse, sing (Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά...) of the wrath of Achilles.”¹² One

⁹ J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch und Deutsch*, Bd.1 (Basel: Emil Birkhäuser, 1928), 4–5.

¹⁰ A. Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes: Aspects of Linguistic Variation in Classical Attic Greek* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 99.

¹¹ Cf. the classical definition of solecism as opposed to barbarism by Apollonius Dyscolus, *On Syntax of the Parts of Speech* (2.2.273.10–11), μιᾶς λέξεως κακία ἐστὶν ὁ βαρβαρισμός, ἐπιπλοκῆς δὲ λέξεων ἀκαταλλήλων ὁ σολοικισμός. J. Lougovaya, and R. Ast, “Menis and Pelex. Protagoras on Solecism,” *The Classical Quarterly* 54 (2004): 274–277, have rightly drawn attention to the idea of “incorrect collocation” implied by that argumentation of Protagoras. However, their general conclusion, according to which Protagoras is concerned with the ambiguity of Pelex and Menis as proper names, seems to me rather implausible.

¹² “For who could suppose that there is any fault in the passage which Protagoras censures, because Homer, intending to utter a prayer, gives a command when he says, “Sing,

might perceive here the same way of argumentation as in the case of *μῆνις*: two words, Muse and the imperative “sing” are badly conjoined, and the latter should be replaced by a better suiting optative (*ἄειδοι*): “Muse, would you, please, sing...”. In Protagoras’ terms, instead of a “command” Homer should use a “request.”

Hence one may assume with some due reservation that Protagoras’ linguistic observations resulted from a sort of text criticism and commentary on literary works.¹³ The basic principle of such criticism, then, could be to perceive and establish a proper sequence, or combination of words in a given poetical context. That could be the meaning of the often discussed notion of Protagorean “rightness, or directness of words” (*ὀρθοέπεια*) mentioned by Plato in his *Phaedrus* (267c4–7 = 80A26 DK: Πρωταγόρεια...ὀρθοέπειά γέ τις... καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ) and in other dialogues. Scholarly opinions differ on whether this was the title of a separate work of Protagoras and on the very meaning of the term.¹⁴ In Hermias’ commentary to Plato’s *Phaedrus* this term is explained as *κυριολεξία* (B III 4 Radermacher), that is, the usage of words in their direct meaning as opposed to glosses, metaphors and so forth.¹⁵ Some modern commentators are following this interpretation in understanding *ὀρθοέπεια* as being an “unequivocal mode of expression, setting forth a logical sequence of ideas and entirely self-consistent.”¹⁶ That puts the notion into the more general framework of a sophistic rhetorical scheme of “strong vs. weak argument”, within which it becomes a characteristic of “the most correct way of speech” (*ὀρθότατος λόγος*) that, according to Plutarch (*Pericles* 36.5), was the subject of the daylong discussion Protagoras once held with Pericles. In a more general sense, this part of Protagoras’ teaching is also linked to a philosophical world outlook presuming the correct correspondence between a word and an object signified by it. This

goddess, the wrath”? To order something to be done or not is, he points out, a command” (τί γὰρ ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι ἡμαρτήσθαι ἃ Πρωταγόρας ἐπιτιμᾷ, ὅτι εὐχέσθαι τί γὰρ οἰόμενος ἐπιτάττει εἰπὼν «μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά» τὸ γὰρ κελεύσαι, φησὶν, ποιεῖν τι ἢ μὴ ἐπιτάξις ἐστίν).

¹³ In fact, already in 1965 Detlev Fehling proposed that all “linguistic” quotations from Protagoras by Aristotle could be traced back to one passage criticizing the poem of the *Iliad*. See Detlev Fehling, “Zwei Untersuchungen zur griechischen Sprachphilosophie,” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 108 (1965): 212–217.

¹⁴ Fehling, “Zwei Untersuchungen,” and George Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 26, thought it to be the case; however, the majority of experts think that *ὀρθοέπεια* was discussed within the treatise on *Truth* (cf. Plato, *Cratylus*, 391c. See C. J. Classen, “The Study of Language among Socrates’ Contemporaries,” in *Sophistik*, ed. C. J. Classen (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976), 220; E. Schiappa, *Protagoras and Logos: a Study in Greek Philosophy and Rhetoric* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 164ff.; A. Ford, “Sophists without Rhetoric: the Arts of Speech in Fifth-Century Athens,” in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Yun Lee Too (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2001), 101; Willi, *The Languages of Aristophanes*, 119, n.2.

¹⁵ Cf. the opposition of *κύρια ὀνόματα* to all other types of words in Aristotle’s *Poetics* (1457b1 ff.).

¹⁶ Classen, “The Study of Language,” 225.

way of interpretation makes some scholars ascribe to Protagoras some sort of objectivist conception of language,¹⁷ a hypothesis that utterly contradicts the common view of him as a representative of the most radical conventionalism.¹⁸ Another rhetorical interpretation of ὀρθοέπεια is to connect it with the idea of “just opinion” represented in speech.¹⁹

The majority of scholars, however, tend to restrict the relevance of the notion by using an exclusively linguistic framework, treating it as a reflection of the general idea of a grammatical and/or rhetorical correctness of verbal expression. The exact content of this correctness is again debated. For instance, the aforementioned “gender change” practiced by Protagoras makes Donatella di Cesare see in ὀρθοέπεια “rationalistische Reform der Sprache.”²⁰ However, Protagoras’ focus on particular instances of poetic usage demonstrated above could be an additional reason for treating ὀρθοέπεια as a paraphrase for the correct combination of words within a text, relevant both to literary and rhetorical approaches to language. In fact, in Plato’s *Protagoras* we come across an actual description of a search for such a correct sequence within a poetic text. In discussing a passage from Simonides (*Protagoras* 339ff.) both Socrates and Protagoras are trying to show how the words of Simonides could be bound together (ὁμολογεῖσθαι) without any inner contradiction. Certainly, here they are addressing mainly the contents of poetic diction, but this unity of inner sense is achieved by detailed analysis of words and their meaning.

A possible connection between Protagorean ὀρθοέπεια and the interpretation of poetic diction (Homeric, in particular) could be strengthened, on the one hand, by the fact that the word ἔπος in 5th century Greek language already meant not just “word”, but “[epic] poetry,”²¹ and on the other, by the title of a lost work of Democritus that was named “On Homer, or On the Correctness of Words and Glosses” (Περὶ Ὁμήρου ἢ Ὀρθοεπειῆς καὶ γλωσσέων. DK A33).

It was noticed long ago that the Sophistic “correctness of words” has in Greek another, slightly different terminological variant: sometimes it is defined not as “righteousness, or directness of words” (ὀρθοέπεια), but as “directness of names,”

¹⁷ M. Untersteiner, *The Sophists* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953), 34; Schiappa, *Protagoras and Logos*, 164.

¹⁸ W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*. Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 205–208.

¹⁹ B. Donovan, “The Project of Protagoras,” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 23 (1993): 44–46.

²⁰ Di Cesare, “Die Geschmeidigkeit der Sprache,” 100 ff.

²¹ Fehling, “Zwei Untersuchungen,” 213; Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, 205. On the connection of ὀρθοέπεια with the studies of poetry, see also A. Ford, “Performance, Text and the History of Criticism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 633–634. One may recall in this respect that Charles Segal once persuasively revealed allusions to the Protagorean “correctness” in the *agon* of Aristophanes’ *Frogs*, where both Aeschylus and Euripides are again scrupulously criticizing particular lines of each other’s poetry. See, Segal, “Protagoras’ Orthoepeia in Aristophanes’ ‘Battles of Prologues’ (Frogs 1119–97),” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 113 (1970): 158–162.

ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων. As a matter of fact, it is this very variant that is widely used in the most famous and first European treatise on language, namely in Plato's *Cratylus*. I will not go deeply into discussion of this enigmatic text's structure and meaning, but would like only to say that, along with David Sedley and others, I take it not as a joke or an entirely skeptical refutation of language veracity, but all Socratic irony granted, as a somewhat true reflection of Plato's views of language and his reaction against the ideas of his predecessors, Sophists being the most obvious target among them. In *Cratylus*, ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων is associated with Protagoras (λιπαρεῖν χρῆ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ διδάξαι σε τὴν ὀρθότητα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἢν ἔμαθεν παρὰ Πρωταγόρου, 391c2–c4), but much more often with two other thinkers, Euthyphro (about whom we know practically nothing)²² and Prodicus, who, as Socrates tells us, dedicated to the problem a course of lectures (384b).

Expertise in “directness of names” is ascribed to Prodicus also in other dialogues, e.g. in *Euthydemus* (277e3–4, πρῶτον γάρ, ὡς φησι Πρῶδικος, περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος μαθεῖν δεῖ). We are also fortunate to know from Plato and some other sources the specific contents of such expertise. Prodicus was famous for discerning subtle semantic distinctions between words with similar meaning. In *Protagoras* (337a–c) he distinguishes between “impartial” (κοινός) and “equal” (ἴσος), discerns nuances in the verbs “to debate” (ἀμφισβητεῖν) and “to fight” (ἐρίζειν), “to respect” (εὐδοκιμεῖν) and “to praise” (ἐπαινεῖσθαι), “to cheer” (εὐφραίνεισθαι) and “to please” (ἡδεσθαι – *Protagoras* 337a–c). In *Charmides* (163b–d), Prodicus' skill in “word distinction” (Προδίκου ... περὶ ὀνομάτων διαιρουντος) is demonstrated by the comparison of the verbs “to produce” (ἐργάζεσθαι) and “to make” (ποιεῖν). There are other examples of such “distinctions” (διαίσεις) in *Meno* (75e), *Laches* (197b–d), and *Euthydemus* (277e–278a).

So, the natural question arises as to how the ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων, mainly associated with the name of Prodicus, corresponds to the ὀρθόεπεια of Protagoras and whether we may treat them as reflections of one and the same, or similar, Sophistic doctrine. Some scholars treat these terms as equivalent,²³ others, such as Donatella di Cesare for instance, take ὀρθότης to refer to the ontological relation word–object, whereas ὀρθόεπεια, in her view, deals with the pragmatics of linguistic communication.²⁴ I think that truth, as always, lies somewhere in between. The two notions reflect two interrelated sides of linguistic analysis, those of “division” (διαίσεις) and “combination” (σύνθεσις) as pursued later on, for instance, by Aristotle. Thus, in *Metaphysics* (1014a27–29) he defined sounds, or “elements of speech” as “the parts

²² On the discussion of this figure and his possible contribution to the studies of language, see e.g., T. Baxter, *The Cratylus. Plato's Critique of Naming* (Leiden-New York: Brill, 1992), 108; C. Kahn, “Was Euthyphro the Author of the Derveni Papyrus?” In *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus*, ed. A. Laks and G. Most (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); and D. Sedley, *Plato's Cratylus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 77–78.

²³ See, for instance, G. Kerferd, *The Sophistic Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 68–77; Sedley, *Plato's Cratylus*, 77; and Schiappa, *Protagoras and Logos*, 163.

²⁴ Di Cesare, “Die Geschmeidigkeit der Sprache,” 110.

of which speech *consists* and into which it is ultimately *divided*” (φωνῆς στοιχεῖα ἐξ ὧν σύγκειται ἡ φωνή καὶ εἰς ἃ διαιρεῖται ἔσχατα); and in his treatment of utterance in *On Interpretation* (16a12–14) he emphasized the same idea: “...truth and falsity (that is, the main characteristics of an utterance, or statement – N.G.) imply *combination* and *separation*. Nouns and verbs, provided nothing is added, are like thoughts without *combination* or *separation*” (περὶ γὰρ σύνθεσιν καὶ διαίρεσιν ἔστι τὸ ψεῦδός τε καὶ τὸ ἀληθές. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ ῥήματα ἔοικε τῷ ἄνευ συνθέσεως καὶ διαίρεσεως νοήματι). As I have argued elsewhere, the same two interrelated procedures are applied to language in the so-called “linguistic chapters” of Aristotle’s *Poetics*.²⁵

Moreover, the same ideas of separation and distinction could be perceived as structural principles underlining the text we were just talking about – that is, Plato’s *Cratylus*. Its first part, defending the naturalistic approach to language, is dealing with semantics: words are divided into meaningful parts to show that they are combined into some truthful statement (“a name is born from a phrase,” 399b7 *ἐκ γὰρ ῥήματος ὄνομα γέγονεν*, on the name of Zeus). That implies the process of *διαίρεσις* and the word as such is defined as “a tool for giving instruction, that is for *dividing* being” (388b13–c1: *ὄνομα ἄρα διδασκαλικόν τί ἐστὶν ὄργανον καὶ διακριτικόν τῆς οὐσίας*).

By way of contrast, in the second, conventionalist part of the dialogue, where the etymologies of the first part are called into question, the main argument is whether or not a name could be adequately understood within a phrase, that is within a combination with other words. And here a word as such is treated not as a “dividing tool,” but as a product of *σύνθεσις*, combination of its verbal form with meaning: “Names are products of *concord*, revealing their sense to those who made this *concordance* knowing in advance the essence of things, and that is the correctness of names, the *concord*” (433e3–5: *συνθήματα εἶναι τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ δηλοῦν τοῖς συνθεμένοις προειδόσι δὲ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ εἶναι ταύτην ὀρθότητα ὀνόματος, συνθήκην*).

Bearing in mind the interpretation of Sophistic “directness of names/words” that I suggested above, one may argue that the two formally opposite parts of *Cratylus* are dealing with two interrelated ways of approaching language that are relevant for classical linguistic theory in general and to its Sophistic prototype. With due reserve, we may say that in the first part of the dialogue Plato addresses the *ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων* of Prodicus, whereas in the second Protagorean *ὀρθόεπεια* comes to the forefront.

And now comes the last question I wish to discuss in my paper. *Cratylus* is dedicated to etymology, and if we are right in making Sophistic doctrine the fundamental basis of the dialogue’s discussion, etymology should have been an important top-

²⁵ Nikolay P. Grintser, “Grammar of Poetry (Aristotle and Beyond),” in *Grammatical Theory and Philosophy of Language in Antiquity*, Orbis Supplementa T. 19, edited by P. Swiggers and A. Wouters (Leuven: Peeters., 2002), 71–99.

ic in Sophistic treatment of language. However, we can hardly find in our sources any clear evidence of Sophistic etymological research. As David Sedley has stated the problem with regard to Prodicus: “It would be surprising if etymological analysis had not been one of the methods by which he achieved this end, but we should not assume, in the absence of evidence, that his enterprise was etymological in its essence.”²⁶

In my view, the situation is not that desperate. In fact, we do have at least one example of etymological argument ascribed to Prodicus by Galen, who says that the Sophist “called the heated and as it were overcooked element in the bodily humours the ‘phlegm’ (φλέγμα from φλέγειν ‘to burn’), and the mucous discharge which is universally named ‘phlegm’ he called ‘blenna,’ slime” (Πρόδικος δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου γράμματι τὸ συγκεκαυμένον καὶ οἶον ὑπερρωπημένον ἐν τοῖς χυμοῖς ὀνομάζων φλέγμα παρά τὸ πεφλέχθαι τῇ λέξει μὲν ἐτέρως χρήται, φυλάττει μέντοι τὸ πρᾶγμα κατὰ ταῦτό τοῖς ἄλλοις... ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε τὸ πρὸς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ὀνομαζόμενον φλέγμα, τὸ λευκὸν τὴν χροάν, ὃ βλένναν ὀνομάζει Πρόδικος, ὁ ψυχρὸς καὶ ὑγρὸς χυμὸς ἐστὶν οὗτος... – fr. 83B4 DK).

Moreover, if we look closely at Prodicus’ exercises in discerning (διαίρεσις) synonyms, we can perceive at least in one example some hint of etymological reasoning. In *Protagoras* 337 c2–4 he establishes the difference between “to comfort” (εὐφραίνεισθαι) and “to please” (ἡδεσθαι) in such a way: “we listeners would thus be most comforted, not pleased; for he is comforted who learns something and gets a share of good sense in his mind alone, whereas he is pleased who eats something or has some other pleasant sensation only in his body” (εὐφραίνεισθαι μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν μαθηθῆναι τι καὶ φρονήσεως μεταλαμβάνοντα αὐτῇ τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἡδεσθαι δὲ ἐσθίοντά τι ἢ ἄλλο ἡδὺ πάσχοντα αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι). As Timothy Baxter has noted,²⁷ here a double etymology could be implied: “comfort” is related to “mind” (εὐφραίνεισθαι < φρόνησις), and “pleasure” to “sweetness” (ἡδεσθαι < ἡδύ) and, possibly, to the verb “to eat” (ἐσθίειν). It is worth noting that the latter, seemingly far-fetched etymology could be supported by later grammatical tradition. Thus, in the lexicon of Hesychius the verb ἡδομαι “I am pleased” is glossed not only with the natural “I enjoy” (Greek τέρπομαι), but also with the unprecedented meaning “I eat” (ἐσθίω). Later on in the same dictionary, we come across the noun τὸ ἡδος,

²⁶ Among those who earlier maintained that Prodicus’ linguistic observations were based on etymology, one may mention, for instance, J. Rijlaarsdam, *Platon über die Sprache. Ein Kommentar zum Cratylus* (Utrecht-Bohn: Scheltema & Holkema, 1978), 35–37. However, others denied his interest in etymology altogether [so Classen, “The Study of Language,” 237; A. Verlinsky, *Antichnyje uchenija o vosniknovenii jazyka (Classical Doctrines on the Origin of Language)*, (Saint-Petersburg: Saint-Petersburg State University Press, 2006), 119]. In his recent edition of Prodicus’ fragments, Robert Mayhew lists etymology as one of the three main principles of his linguistic analysis, but admits that the evidence is very scarce. See Robert Mayhew, *Prodicus the Sophist. Texts, Translations, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), xv–xvi.

²⁷ Baxter, *The Cratylus*, 153.

which is explained (this time, according to regular usage) both as “sweets, from ‘to eat’” (ἡδυσμα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔδειν), and as “pleasure” (τινὲς δὲ ἡδονήν). It seems plausible that the semantic link between “pleasure” and “eating” was well-established in the grammatical tradition and could be traced back all the way to Prodicus.²⁸

One further example was supplied by David Sansone,²⁹ who suggests that in Xenophon’s paraphrase of Prodicus’s speech on the *Choice of Heracles*, the etymology of the Greek word for “god” (θεός) from the verb “to establish” (τίθημι) is implied: “I will rather tell you truly the things that are, as the *gods* have *established* them” (*Memorabilia*, 2.1.27: ἀλλ’ ἤπερ οἱ θεοὶ διέθεσαν τὰ ὄντα διηγῆσομαι μετ’ ἀληθείας). The existence of such an etymological rapprochement is confirmed by Herodotus 2.52.4–5: “Pelasgians ... called them gods from some such notion as this, that they had set in order all things and so had the distribution of everything” (Θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον).³⁰ Interestingly enough, in the *Cratylus* Plato suggests another etymological explanation of the Greek word – from θεῖν “to run:”

I think the earliest men in Greece believed only in those gods in whom many foreigners believe today – sun, moon, earth, stars, and sky. They saw that all these were always moving in their courses and running, and so they called them gods (θεοὺς) from this running (θεῖν) nature; then afterwards, when they gained knowledge of the other gods, they called them all by the same name (φαίνονται μοι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους [τοὺς θεοὺς] ἡγεῖσθαι οὐσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανόν· ἅτε οὖν αὐτὰ ὁρῶντες πάντα αἰεὶ ἰόντα δρόμῳ καὶ θέοντα, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς φύσεως τῆς τοῦ θεῖν “θεοὺς” αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάσαι· ὕστερον δὲ κατανοοῦντες τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἤδη τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι προσαγορεύειν (*Cratylus*, 397c8–d6).

However, in the passage immediately preceding this explicit etymology, another example, this time a hidden etymology, seems to be contained (as sometimes happens in the *Cratylus*). This implicit etymology turns out to be quite similar to that of Herodotus and, presumably, Prodicus: “but we are most likely to find the correct names in the nature of the eternal and absolute; for there the names ought to have been given with the greatest care and perhaps some of them were given by a power more divine than is that of men” (εἰκὸς δὲ μάλιστα ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν τὰ ὀρθῶς κείμενα

²⁸ This assumption might be supported by the fact that the distinction of various types of “pleasure” was strongly associated with Prodicus in the later philosophical tradition, e.g., by Aristotle (*Topics* 112b21–26), and later on, by the Neoplatonist Hermias. See on that, D. Wolsdorf, *Pleasure in Ancient Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 10–13.

²⁹ D. Sansone, “Heracles at the Y,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 124 (2004): 125–142.

³⁰ On the possible connection of this and other Herodotean etymologies to the Sophistic notions of the “correctness of words,” see R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context. Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 275–278.

περὶ τὰ αἰεὶ ὄντα καὶ πεφυκότα. ἐσπουδάσθαι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα πρέπει τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων· ἴσως δ' ἓν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ θειοτέρας δυνάμεως ἢ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐτέθη. *Cratylus*, 397b7–c2). “Divine power” comes into interplay with the verb “to set” and the very “setting of names”, thus giving another possible explanation of the meaning of the word “god.”

If we are right in ascribing to Prodicus (and Plato who might have followed him) this etymological explanation, we may now come back to the idea I stressed in the first part of my paper where I claimed that some of the Sophistic linguistic observations could be traced back to some sort of literary reflection. It is worth mentioning here that the θεός – τίθημι connection could have been found also in literary texts, beginning again with Homer where a formulaic expression θεοὶ (ἔ)θέσαν is rather frequent (cf. *Iliad*, 1.290, 9.637; *Odyssey*, 11. 274, 555, 23.11). Following Homeric example, tragedians of the 5th century also favored this sort of *paronomasia*: ἔθέσαν θεοὶ (Aeschylus. *Persae* 283), ἄκραντα γὰρ μ' ἔθηκε θεσπίζειν θεός (Euripides. *Alexandra*, fr. 11.1), μακάριόν μὲ τις θεῶν ἔμελλε θήσειν, εἰ τύχοιμι σῶν γάμων (Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis* 1494–1405). One can also perceive a similar etymological reasoning in Hesiod's passage describing Fame:

φήμη γὰρ τε κακὴ πέλεται κούφη μὲν αἰεῖραι ρεῖα μάλ', ἀργαλέη δὲ φέρειν, χαλεπὴ δ' ἀποθέσθαι. φήμη δ' οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἦντινα πολλοὶ λαοὶ φημίξουσι· θεός νύ τις ἔστι καὶ αὐτή. “Bad fame is flying, easy to be raised, but hard to bear and difficult to be set apart. It never dies altogether, if lots of people voice it, so she is somehow a goddess” (*Works and Days*, 761–764).

As Martin West has rightly stressed,³¹ Fame is personified here as a deity. The expression οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται could be taken as a paraphrase for ἀθάνατος, and hence the final clause: “and she is somehow a goddess” becomes a conclusion from the previous assumption. Thus, θεός in the last line is specifically marked and could be contrasted with ἀπο-θέσθαι in line 762: Fame is a god (θεός) also because it is very hard to set her apart (ἀπο-θέσθαι).

So, it seems that the etymology of θεός from τίθημι was used recurrently in literary texts, and Prodicus could have picked it up from there. This could be also true for his other possible etymological exercises. For instance, the aforementioned connection of εὐφραίνεσθαι “to comfort” with φρήν “soul, mind” (> φρονεῖν, φρόνησις) could be also found in the texts of the 5th century tragedies, cf. e.g., Aeschylus, *Suppliants* (515): σὺ καὶ λέγων εὐφραίνε καὶ πράσσω φρένα.

3 CONCLUSION

Now it is time to sum up. I hope to have demonstrated that in their linguistic observations, the Sophists anticipated both the general principles and technical distinctions of later scholarly linguistic research. Moreover, through them the study of language emerged from some sort of commentary on literary texts – just as happened

³¹ M. West, ed., *Hesiod. Works and Days* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 345.

two centuries later in Hellenistic Alexandria. Prodicus' distinction of word meanings could be seen as an indispensable tool for Protagorean "directness" of word usage in a particular, especially Homeric, text. So, Sophistic linguistic theory was deeply related to the "judgment on poems" (κρίσις ποιημάτων) that Dionysius Thrax in the 1st century BC would claim to be the utmost goal of grammar in the first European linguistic textbook, *Techne grammatike*. And one of the links between this emerging literary theory and literary tradition was etymology, that, in spite of all scholarly doubts, seemed to have been practiced by Sophists, thus inspiring Plato to respond to their ideas with his *Cratylus*.³²

REFERENCES

- Ademollo, F. *The Cratylus of Plato. A Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Baxter, T. *The Cratylus. Plato's Critique of Naming*. Leiden-New York: Brill, 1992.
- Classen, C. J. "The Study of Language among Socrates' Contemporaries." Pages 215–247 in *Sophistik*. Edited by C. J. Classen. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976.
- Di Cesare, D. "Die Geschmeidigkeit der Sprache. Zur Sprachauffassung und Sprachbetrachtung der Sophistik." Pages 87–118 in *Sprachtheorien der abendländischen Antike*. Edited by P. Schmitter. Tübingen: Narr, 1991.
- Donovan, B. "The Project of Protagoras." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 23 (1993): 35–47.
- Dover, K. (ed.) *Aristophanes. Clouds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Fehling, D. "Zwei Untersuchungen zur griechischen Sprachphilosophie." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 108 (1965): 212–229.
- Ford, A. "Sophists without Rhetoric: The Arts of Speech in Fifth-Century Athens." Pages 85–109 in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Edited by Yun Lee Too. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2001.
- . "Performance, Text and the History of Criticism." Pages 628–636 in *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

³² I am not arguing that in *Cratylus* Plato's criticism of etymology is exclusively based upon and aimed against the Sophists. In the last part of my paper I tried to show that etymological reasoning was inherent in the literary tradition, and it is from there that it found its way into philosophy, rhetoric and early linguistics. In the 5th century BCE language was a vital issue of intellectual discussion both in poetic texts and in philosophical and rhetorical treatises, and there is no need to strictly discern these various lines of inquiry. In his *Cratylus*, Plato was reacting to the entirety of these interdependent traditions. See Baxter, *The Cratylus*, 184; Susan B. Levin, *The Ancient Quarrel between Poetry and Philosophy Revisited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 13–31; and F. Ademollo, *The Cratylus of Plato. A Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 33–35.

- Frede, M. "Principles of Stoic Grammar." Pages 27–75 in *The Stoics*. Edited by J. Rist. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Grintser, N. "Grammar of Poetry (Aristotle and Beyond)." Pages 71–99 in *Grammatical Theory and Philosophy of Language in Antiquity*. Orbis Supplementa. T. 19. Edited by P. Swiggers and A. Wouters. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.
- . "Aristofan o grammatike I lybvi (Aristophanes on Grammar and Love)." Pages 91–103 in *Institutionis Conditori. In Honor of Ilya S. Smirnov*. Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities, 2013.
- Guidorizzi, G. (ed.) *Aristofane. Le Nuvole*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 2002.
- Guthrie, W. K. C. *A History of Greek Philosophy*. V. III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Kahn, C. "Was Euthyphro the Author of the Derveni Papyrus?" Pages 55–63 in *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus*. Edited by A. Laks and G. Most. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Kennedy, G. A. *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Kerferd, G. *The Sophistic Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Levin, Susan B. *The Ancient Quarrel between Poetry and Philosophy Revisited*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Lougovaya, J., R. Ast, "Menis and Pelex. Protagoras on Solecism." *The Classical Quarterly* 54 (2004): 274–277.
- Mayhew, R. *Prodicus the Sophist. Texts, Translations, and Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- O'Regan, D. *Rhetoric, Comedy and the Violence of Language in Aristophanes' Clouds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Rijlaarsdam, J. *Platon über die Sprache. Ein Kommentar zum Kratylos*. Utrecht-Bonn: Scheltema & Holkema, 1978.
- Sansone, D. "Heracles at the Y." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 124 (2004): 125–142.
- Schiappa, E. *Protagoras and Logos: A Study in Greek Philosophy and Rhetoric*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003.
- Sedley, D. *Plato's Cratylus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Segal, C. "Protagoras' Orthoepeia in Aristophanes' "Battles of Prologues" (Frogs 1119–97)." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 113 (1970): 158–162.
- Taylor, D. "Rethinking the History of Language Science in Classical Antiquity." Pages 1–16 in *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*. Edited by D. Taylor. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: Benjamin, 1987.
- Thomas, R. *Herodotus in Context. Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Untersteiner, M. *The Sophists*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1953.

- Verlinsky, A. *Antichnyje uchenija o vosniknovenii jazyka* (Classical Doctrines on the Origin of Language), Saint-Petersburg: Saint-Petersburg State University Press, 2006.
- Wackernagel, J. *Vorlesungen über Syntax mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch und Deutsch*. Bd.1. Basel: Emil Birkhäuser, 1928.
- West, M. (ed.) *Hesiod. Works and Days*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Willi, A. *The Languages of Aristophanes: Aspects of Linguistic Variation in Classical Attic Greek*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Wolsdorf, D. *Pleasure in Ancient Greek Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

AMAZEMENT, FEAR AND BEING TROUBLED IN RESPONSES IN GOSPEL MIRACLE STORIES: ESTABLISHING THE SEMANTIC CONTOURS OF THE TERMS AND THEIR INTERRELATIONS¹

Jordash Kiffiak

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Form- and redaction-critical studies tend to adopt a reductionist approach to the feelings portrayed in the miracle stories found in the canonical Gospels. Literary studies of the Gospels follow suit. Notably, scholars lump together terms that denote fear and amazement, envisioning no significant distinctions between them. Yet substantial lexicographical developments in years post-dating the far-reaching influence of form criticism call into question the alleged lack of meaningful difference between these various types of feelings. Particularly relevant are three sub-domains within the semantic domain of “attitudes and emotions” in Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida’s *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*. Owing to some methodological problems inherent in these lexicographers’ project, the categorization scheme needs reevaluation. The analysis compares the lexicon’s full definitions with those in Frederick W. Danker et al.’s *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (BDAG). Given a substantial amount of agreement between these lexicons, the result is that the categories of amazement, fear and being troubled can be meaningfully distinguished in the portions of text under consideration, with the first of these being more removed semantically from the other two. Secondary considerations confirm the assessment.

¹ This article is a revised version of the appendix in Jordash Kiffiak, “Responses in Miracle Stories in the Gospels: Between their Role in the Gospel Narratives and Debt to Prior Tradition” (Ph.D. diss, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2015). I thank Michael Theophilos for reading an early version of the piece and offering valuable feedback. I owe a debt of gratitude to Phillip Lasater for his thorough job of editing the language and style of the article. All mistakes that remain, of course, are my own.

1 INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM IN DISCUSSIONS OF AFFECTIVE TERMINOLOGY

When discussing feelings that arise in response to miracles, New Testament form- and redaction-critics treat them rather monolithically. According to Rudolph Bultmann, a motif that occurs frequently at the end of miracle stories – “der Eindruck des Wunders auf das anwesende Publikum [*sic*]” – pertains primarily to the feelings of relevant figure(s).² He indiscriminately lists eight “characteristic” terms in the following order: θαυμάσαι, φοβηθῆναι, φόβος, θαμβηθῆναι, θάμβος, ἐκστῆναι, ἔκστασις, ἐκπλαγῆναι (I provide definitions of these and other Greek terms below).³ Kenzo Tagawa adopts a similar procedure and examines “la formule finale des récits de miracles.”⁴ Although he distinguishes between “l’étonnement” and “la crainte,” the two feelings are for him functionally equivalent.⁵ Gerd Theissen, ostensibly offering a more focussed investigation of affective responses in miracle stories, follows Bultmann’s lead by identifying one monolithically conceived “Motiv,” namely, “Admiration.”⁶ Strangely, Theissen lists the same eight terms that Bultmann mentioned, making no mention of terms such as παραχθῆναι (Mt 14:26 || Mk 6:50) and ἔκφοβος (Mk 9:6).⁷

The trend established by Bultmann, Tagawa, and Theissen continues in more recent works. Timothy Dwyer’s redaction-critical and literary-critical study of “the motif of wonder in the Gospel of Mark” applies Theissen’s definition it to all in-

² Rudolph Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 241. “The impression of the miracle on the crowd that is present.” Since not only crowds are relevant, but also other characters such as petitioners, healed individuals and the disciples, I have inserted “sic” into the citation.

³ The best verb form for lexical entries is the infinitive, since as ancient texts demonstrate this form is used when ancients wrote abstractly about lexemes and the related concepts. (In addition, various entries given in modern lexicons are not the first person, singular, present forms they purport to be. A search of the massive TLG corpus shows that the word “φοβέω,” e.g., never occurs!) For the vast majority of lexemes, the aorist infinitive, not the continuative aspect infinitive, is the default. The quantity and quality of instances in which the aorist occur are evidence that supports this claim. For more on the rationale, see Randall Buth, “Verbs Perception and Aspect, Greek Lexicography and Grammar: Helping Students to Think in Greek,” in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honour of Frederick W. Danker*, ed. Bernard Alwyn Taylor, Peter R. Burton, Richard E. Whitaker, and John A. L. Lee (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 177–98.

⁴ Kenzo Tagawa, *Miracles et Évangile: La Pensée Personnelle de l’Évangéliste Marc* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 93–99. “The concluding formula of miracle stories.”

⁵ “Amazement” and “fear.”

⁶ “Motif” and “admiration.” “Das Admirationsmotiv umfaßt alle erzählerischen Momente, die ein Staunen, Fürchten, Sich-Entsetzen, Verwundern zum Ausdruck bringen,” Gerd Theissen, *Urchristliche Wundergeschichten: Ein Beitrag zur formgeschichtlichen Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien*, Studien zum Neuen Testament 8 (Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1974), 78.

⁷ Cf. Tagawa, *Miracles et Évangile*, 95, 97, who discusses also ἔκφοβος.

stances of “narrative elements which express astonishment, fear, terror and amazement,” both within and outside of miracle stories.⁸ Similarly, the narrative critic Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, taking the disciples and the crowd jointly as “fallible followers” in Mark, finds that associated with each is “a response of amazement, astonishment, and even fear in relation to Jesus.”⁹ Responses in miracle stories that involve different feelings are thus understood to serve a single purpose of characterisation. Ruben Zimmermann also follows suit in his introduction to the monumental *Kompendium der frühchristlichen Wundererzählungen, Band 1: Die Wunder Jesu*, a work that seeks, among other things, to provide a literary analysis of all Gospel miracle stories. But even though Zimmermann, like Tagawa, distinguishes between two feelings (“Staunen” and “Erschrecken”), he nevertheless claims a uniform literary function and a single reader-response goal for their employment.¹⁰

A problem for such reductionist approaches immediately arises when one turns to New Testament Greek lexicography. Dividing the body of New Testament lexemes into semantic domains, the Louw – Nida lexicon distinguishes categorically between terms such as φόβος and θάμβος. The terms listed by scholars such as Bultmann and Theissen are found within the Louw – Nida domain concerned with “emotions”¹¹ and are divided among three subdomains that pertain respectively to astonishment, anxiety and fear. The lexicographers’ definitions of the relevant lexemes would seem to corroborate the distinctions. At the same time, Bultmann’s reliance on the work of Erik Peterson, who considers only terms denoting amazement, throws doubt on the original impetus for indiscriminately lumping together the affective response terminology.¹² Before examining the lexicon’s treatment of

⁸ Timothy Dwyer, *The Motif of Wonder in the Gospel of Mark*, JSNTSup 128 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 1.

⁹ Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *In the Company of Jesus: Characters in Mark’s Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster, 2000), 85.

¹⁰ “Astonishment” and “fright.” Ruben Zimmermann, “Frühchristliche Wundererzählungen – eine Hinführung,” in *Kompendium der frühchristlichen Wundererzählungen, Band 1: Die Wunder Jesu*, ed. Ruben Zimmermann, Detlev Dormeyer, Judith Hartenstein, Christian Münch, Enno Edzard Popkes, and Uta Poplutz (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2013), 14, preliminarily refers to the topic addressed in his discussion of “Staunen und Erschrecken” simply as the motif “des Staunens.” Through descriptions of the affective responses, the miracle stories allegedly seek to underscore the beyond-normal nature of the occurrences involved: “... dass die Erzählungen bemüht sind herauszustellen, dass die Handlung des Wundertätigen – hier Jesus – bewusst den Bereich des Normalen übersteigt,” 15. The presumed goal in narration is to bring the stories’ recipients to experience the same “wonder”: “Ziel dieser Texte ist es, dass sich die Rezipienten gleichsam mit den Augenzeugen und Handlungsfiguren auf der Erzählebene wundern,” 13.

¹¹ See below on the inverted commas around the term “emotions.”

¹² Butlmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 241, cites Erik Peterson, *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ* *Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* 41 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,

the relevant terms more closely, I will first indicate in what ways the following analysis broadens the field of inquiry.

2 DELIMITATING THE PHENOMENA FOR INVESTIGATION

Bultmann refers to *Eindruck* with regard to stories of healing, exorcism and nature miracles.¹³ But Theissen, applying a taxonomy of miracle stories that diverges from that of Bultmann, includes epiphany stories.¹⁴ My approach takes as its starting point a Jewish context in which epiphanic episodes have just as much to do with “miracles” as do stories of the performance of mighty deeds.¹⁵ Importantly, the relevant episodes include not only those where a “miracle worker” appears in epiphanic mode, but also an angel(s), a voice from heaven, and/or a divine cloud. Accordingly, the following number of miracle stories in the Gospels contain responses with one or more pertinent affective components – Matthew (9), Mark (10), Luke (17), John (1). Often the terms of response are found in parallel locations, involving two or three Gospels.¹⁶ At other times, just one Gospel contains the feature in question, whether or not the respective story has a parallel in another Gospel.¹⁷ In alphabetical order, the 16 relevant lexemes are: διαταραχθῆναι, ἐκθαμβηθῆναι, ἐκπλαγῆναι, ἔκστασις, ἐκστῆναι, ἔκφοβος, ἔμφοβος, θαμβηθῆναι, θάμβος, θαυμάσαι, πτοηθῆναι, παραχθῆναι, τρέμειν,¹⁸ τρόμος, φοβηθῆναι and φόβος. Mark and Luke each use 12 of these terms, while Matthew employs just five, showing less variation.¹⁹ It should be noted that I am investigating here responses to miracles that occur particularly in stories and not, for example, in summaries of miracles.

1926), 193–195. In Jordash Kiffiak, “Responses in Gospel Miracle Stories,” I address Bultmann's use of Peterson's work in Butmann's attempt to identify a tradition-historical context for the Gospel phenomena.

¹³ Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 224, 227, 230, 241.

¹⁴ Theissen, *Urchristliche Wundergeschichten*, 102–107.

¹⁵ See Kiffiak, “Responses in Gospel Miracle Stories.”

¹⁶ Mt 8:27 || Mk 4:41 || Lk 8:25 (stilling of the storm) – Mt 9:8 || Mk 2:12 || Lk 5:26 (paralytic) – Mt 12:23 || Lk 11:14c (exorcism alongside accusation of collusion with Beelzebul) – Mt 14:26 || Mk 6:49–50 || Jn 6:19 (walking on water) – Mt 28:8 || Mk 16:8 (angel at the tomb) – Mk 1:27 || Lk 4:36 (exorcism in Capernaum synagogue) – Mk 5:15 || Lk 8:35, 37 (exorcism of Legion) – Mk 5:33 || Lk 8:47 (hemorrhaging woman) – Mk 5:42 || Lk 8:56 (resurrection of Jairus' daughter) – Mk 16:5 || Lk 24:5 (angel[s] at the tomb). The phenomena in Mt 17:6, Mk 9:6 and Lk 9:34 roughly parallel one another also.

¹⁷ Mt 9:33; 15:31; 21:20; 28:4; Mk 6:51; 7:37; Lk: 1:12; 1:21; 1:29; 1:65; 2:9; 2:18; 5:9; 7:16; 9:43; 24:12; 24:37; 24:41.

¹⁸ A search in the online TLG database reveals that no aorist form for the verb is attested prior to the 4th c. CE. And it is extremely rare thereafter.

¹⁹ διαταραχθῆναι (Lk 1:29), ἐκθαμβηθῆναι (Mk 16:5), ἐκπλαγῆναι (Mk 7:37; Lk 9:43), ἔκστασις (Mk 16:8; Lk 5:26), ἐκστῆναι (Mt 12:23; Mk 2:12; 5:42; 6:51; Lk 8:56), ἔκφοβος (Mk 9:6), ἔμφοβος (Lk 24:5, 37), θαμβηθῆναι (Mk 1:27), θάμβος (Lk 4:36; 5:9), θαυμάσαι (Mt 8:27; 9:33; 15:31; 21:20; Mk 5:20; Lk 1:21; 2:18; 8:25; 11:14; 24:12, 41), πτοηθῆναι (Lk 24:37),

3 INITIAL EVALUATION OF THE LOUW–NIDA LEXICON FOR AFFECTIVE RESPONSE TERMINOLOGY

Louw–Nida Domain 25, which is entitled “attitudes and emotions,” contains 24 subdomains (A–X).²⁰ As noted above, three are pertinent to the present study: (I) “surprise, astonish”; (U) “worry, anxiety, distress, peace”; and (V) “fear, terror, alarm.” Observing in a footnote that Domain 25 contains “a number of clusters of related subdomains,” these lexicographers submit that the three above-mentioned subdomains form one such cluster: “Subdomains T, U, and V involve varying degrees of ‘astonishment,’ ‘anxiety,’ and ‘fear.’”²¹ With the single exception of *τρόμος*, all of the lexemes listed above appear in these three subdomains.²²

For each lexeme that pertains to fear, being troubled, or amazement in responses to miracles in the four Gospels, Louw–Nida provide just one entry in Domain 25, “attitudes and emotions,” with one nominal exception (two entries for *φόβος* in the *same* subdomain).²³ (Note, Louw–Nida give separate entries for verbs that use active forms and verbs of the same root that use middle/passive forms, when a different sense is in question.) Thus, each of the lexemes is located in just one subdomain. In the subdomain “surprise, astonish” are *θαμβηθῆναι*, *θάμβος*, *ἐθαμβηθῆναι*, *θαυμάσαι*, *ἐκπλαγῆναι*, *ἐκστῆναι*,²⁴ *ἔκστασις*. In “worry, anxiety, distress, peace” are *ταραχθῆναι*,²⁵ *διαταραχθῆναι*. And in “fear, terror, alarm” are *πτοηθῆναι*, *τρέμειν*, *φοβηθῆναι*, *φόβος*, *ἔκφοβος*, *ἔμφοβος*.

ταραχθῆναι (Mt 14:26; Mk 6:50; Lk 1:12), *τρέμειν* (Mk 5:33; Lk 8:47), *τρόμος* (Mk 16:8), *φοβηθῆναι* (Mt 9:8; 17:6; Mk 4:41; 5:15, 33; 16:8; Lk 2:9; 8:25; 8:35; 9:34; Jn 6:19) and *φόβος* (Mt 14:26; 28:4, 8; Mk 4:41; Lk 1:12, 65; 2:9; 5:26; 7:16; 8:37).

²⁰ The vast majority of domains (91 of 93) concern “class referents,” which “belong to three principal classes: (1) objects or entities, (2) events, and (3) abstracts,” J. P. Louw and Eugene A Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (New York, NY: United Bible Societies, 1989), 1:vi. Domain 25 belongs to “events.”

²¹ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:288, n. 1.

²² Only one entry for *τρόμος* exists in Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*: in Domain 16, “non-linear movement.” However, accompanied by the observation elsewhere that for some “emotions... there are significant physiological aspects” (1:288, n. 1) and given the entry for *τρέμειν* in Domain 25, their examples and concluding comment in this entry indicate an awareness that the action connoted by *τρόμος* and the related verb alike is associated with fear.

²³ The meanings pertain, respectively, to a state of fear and a cause or source of fear.

²⁴ An instance of the active form, *ἐκστῆσαι*, which receives its own entry in Louw–Nida’s subdomain “surprise, astonish,” is of some relevance to the present study (cf. Lk 24:22).

²⁵ In Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:315, there is an entry only for “*ταράσσω*,” but none specifically for the middle/passive form, though the lexicographers take a different approach to, e.g., *ἐκστῆναι* and *ἐκστῆσαι* (see above, n. 23). Besides the said lexeme and *τρέμειν*, the entries for verbs pertaining to fear, being troubled and amazement in responses pertain to verbs given by Louw–Nida in the middle/passive form.

In each case, the *definitions* of the lexemes are consistent with the designations of the subdomains. But in the entry for *ἐκθαμβηθῆναι*, a gloss that follows the definition and a related comment at the entry's end reveal an inconsistency. Louw–Nida state the term can mean “to be afraid.” If they thereby indicate that the lexeme has a second meaning, which they seem to do, then they should have listed it separately in the subdomain “fear, terror, alarm.” On the other hand, if they maintain that the lexeme has just one meaning (represented by both “to be afraid” and “to be greatly astounded”), then their subdomains' organisation should have acknowledged that the lexeme's one meaning actually occupies a semantic space on the boundary between two subdomains.²⁶ Yet in a footnote, Louw–Nida acknowledge a special relationship between the subdomains “worry, anxiety, distress, peace” and “fear, terror, alarm,” stating that “...in so many meanings involving worry, anxiety and distress, there is an element of fear and apprehension...”²⁷

To be sure, Louw–Nida's work deserves the high acclaim it has received. John A. L. Lee praises their lexicon as “the breakthrough” in New Testament lexicography, “an event as significant as any since 1514.”²⁸ Their lexicon is the first to provide not mere glosses, but rather detailed definitions for entries. This procedure and their “subtle discussions” especially help to distinguish between words with similar meanings.²⁹ Following Louw–Nida's lead in providing such definitions, BDAG compliments the trend-setters through imitating them. Organisation according to semantic domain, which Louw–Nida consider the most original and defining part of their work,³⁰ is likewise helpful, albeit less acclaimed.³¹ The lexicon's usefulness in this respect has already been demonstrated to some extent in the present paper.

Nonetheless, a degree of caution is needed. The first ground for caution is that the structuralist approach undergirding Louw–Nida's semantic domains and subdomains is open to criticism. Their approach to the theory of lexical field analysis is just one among many.³² Furthermore, structuralist semantics, which reached “its

²⁶ The brief note by Louw–Nida on the cluster of subdomains pertaining to “‘astonishment,’ ‘anxiety’ and ‘fear’” (see above, n. 20) does not do justice to the issue.

²⁷ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:316, n. 18.

²⁸ John A. L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, Studies in Biblical Greek (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003), 155.

²⁹ John Lyons, “Review of J. P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida: *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*,” *International Journal of Lexicography* 3 (1990): 210–11.

³⁰ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:vi.

³¹ The organization enables one to consider synonyms, antonyms, hypernyms, hyponyms etc. together relatively easily, though much more could have been done to make explicit use of such “structural notions,” as noted by Lyons, “Review of *Greek-English Lexicon*,” 210.

³² Dirk Geeraerts, *Theories of Lexical Semantics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 56, discusses some theorists' conceptions of the interrelation of “lexical field” and “semantic field” (roughly the equivalent of “semantic domain”), noting that “the terminology of lexical

peak in the 1970s and 80s,” suffers “from a number of problems, above all the belief that vocabulary has a definitional structure with distinct boundaries.”³³ Other “currents” of approaches have followed structuralism, such as generativist, cognitive and neostructuralist.³⁴ Worthy of note at present is a growing awareness that, even for lexical semantics, meaning is negotiated through the act of communication. Relatedly, through computer-assisted searches (e.g., for collocations), studies of corpora contribute to our understanding of how lexemes are invested with meaning. But notwithstanding these developments, the criticisms against Louw–Nida’s theoretical leanings are not as serious as they might initially appear. In fact, John Lyons criticises Louw–Nida for not being theoretical *enough* (in his words, “not theoretically strong”) in articulating and applying their approach.³⁵ Such a fault could turn out to be a virtue, especially because Louw–Nida’s attention to lexeme usage has similarities to recent semantic studies focussed on corpora and understanding meaning as determined through communication.

Indeed, statistical observations on collocations of affective response terminology in miracle stories corroborate Louw–Nida’s point that fear is more closely related to being anxious, distressed or troubled than it is to surprise, amazement and astonishment. Two of the three relevant instances of *ταραχθῆναι* (Mt 14:26a; Lk 1:12a) occur in sentences contiguous to those expressing the same character’s fear (*φόβος*: Mt 14:26b; Lk 1:12b). The one remaining instance (Mk 6:50b) and the single occurrence of *διαταραχθῆναι* (Lk 1:29), each being the sole indication of a feeling in the respective responses, both precede the epiphanic character’s encouragement not to be afraid (Mk 6:50d; Lk 1:30; cf. Mt 14:27; Lk 1:13).³⁶ In contrast, only three of twenty four instances (13%) of the many relevant terms within the subdomain “surprise, astonish” are accompanied by a description of the same character’s fear (Mk 16:8; Lk 5:29; 8:25).³⁷ On a very rare occasion (4%) is an expression of amazement followed by encouragement not to be afraid (Lk 5:10). One should note that there is one instance of *μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε* (Mk 16:6), which follows a description of feeling that also uses the term (16:5).

field theory is relatively unstable.” Lyons, “Review of *Greek-English Lexicon*,” 205, an influential structuralist, states baldly in a review of Louw–Nida’s lexicon that “there are no unchallengeable and readily applicable ‘basic principles of semantic analysis and classification’” (citing Louw–Nida).

³³ Petra Storjohann, “Lexico-Semantic Relations in Theory and Practice,” in *Lexical-Semantic Relations: Theoretical and Practical Perspectives*. Edited by Petra Storjohann (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010), 5, 6.

³⁴ Geeraerts, *Theories of Lexical Semantics*, 273–276, 273.

³⁵ Lyons, “Review of *Greek-English Lexicon*,” 210.

³⁶ In Mk 6:50d there is also an encouragement to be courageous.

³⁷ In Mk 16:8b *τρόμος* accompanies *ἔκστασις*, while *φοβηθῆναι* follows shortly after, in 16:8d. In Lk 5:26 *ἔκστασις* is followed by *φόβος*. *φοβηθῆναι* and *θαυμάσαι* collocate in Lk 8:25.

A second ground for caution is that, even if one views Louw–Nida’s semantic domains and subdomains simply as categories of thought and linguistic expression more or less emic to Hellenistic Greek, the justification of the divisions is nowhere clear. The fact that Louw–Nida rely on English terminology for the headings of their domains and subdomains is itself potentially problematic,³⁸ with the absence of explicit discussion or rationale only worsening the situation. The (sub)domains are denoted by glosses only, not by robust definitions (in contrast to their stated principal of defining the specific meanings of lexemes). Specific to the present study, this procedure makes it impossible to evaluate why “emotions” and “attitudes” are joined together to form the designation of Domain 25. And as Stephen Voorwinde complains, it seems dubious to place the meanings of lexemes like ὀργισθῆναι and ἄνοια, which express “concepts as anger, fury and indignation,” not in the domain of “attitudes and emotions,” but rather in the domain of “moral and ethical qualities and related behavior.”³⁹ The criteria for such organizational judgments are not discernible at all.⁴⁰

At this point, before addressing further criticisms of Louw–Nida’s lexicon, I will briefly consider some possible solutions to the problem of categorising lexemes pertaining to feelings. One potential solution is to investigate ancient Greek discussions of feelings. By having restricted themselves to the ca. 5,000 Greek words in the New Testament, Louw–Nida ruled out such a possibility. For example, in *Ethica Nicomachea* (1105b21–23) Aristotle lists 11 passions (πάθη):⁴¹ λέγω δὲ πάθη μὲν

³⁸ Lyons, “Review of *Greek-English Lexicon*,” 208, is worth citing at length on this issue: “Now, one of the most damaging criticisms made of versions of componential analysis that were fashionable in linguistics in the 1970s was that they used a semantic metalanguage (sometimes referred to as Markerese) which purported to be universal, but whose vocabulary was semantically isomorphic with that of (a sub-part of) some natural language, usually English, and that this metalinguistic vocabulary was left unanalyzed and assumed to be unproblematical and not to require analysis. [Louw–Nida] may well be vulnerable to this by now familiar line of criticism, regardless of whether they consider their semantic metalanguage to be universal or not. It certainly looks as if some of the semantic distinctions between subdomains or lexical entries are drawn where they are because that is where English draws them.”

³⁹ Stephen Voorwinde, *Jesus’ Emotions in the Fourth Gospel: Human or Divine?* Library of New Testament Studies (JSNTSup) 2 (London: T & T Clark, 2005), 23. A related problem of not listing πρόμος in “attitudes and emotions,” as τρέμειν is, was noted above, in n. 21.

⁴⁰ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:288, n. 1, acknowledge, “Domain 25 Attitudes and Emotions is very closely related to a number of domains, including Think (30), Psychological Faculties (26), Sensory Events and States (24), Behavior and Related States (41), and Moral and Ethical Qualities and Related Behavior (88).” This note may constitute tacit acknowledgement of the difficulty of classification lexemes for “attitudes and emotions.”

⁴¹ Use of πάθος as a hypernym may be less than ideal for the feelings in the Gospel miracle stories, given its more specific and negative connotation in New Testament epistles

ἐπιθυμίαν ὀργὴν φόβον θάρσος φθόνον χαρὰν φιλίαν μῖσος πόθον ζῆλον ἔλεον, ὅλως οἷς ἔπεται ἡδονὴ ἢ λύπη. The list is not meant to be exhaustive, so that, the presence of φόβος, on the one hand, and absence of terms for astonishment and distressed, on the other, does not indicate that Aristotle and his contemporaries would have considered the latter two feelings to be something other than common πάθη. When describing ostensible pairs of passions in *Rhetorica* (1378a–1388b), Aristotle covers 14 passions, half of which are found in the list in *Ethica Nicomachea* and one of which is again fear. The remaining seven are πραότης, αἰσχύνη, ἀναισχυντία, τὸ νεμεσᾶν, χάρις (kindness), ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν χάριν (unkindness), and ἔχθρα. Once again, there is no specific mention of feelings such as amazement and being troubled. But παραχῆ is used explicitly in the definition of φόβος, adding support to the association of fear and being troubled for some ancient Greek minds both prior to and during the Koine period.⁴² At any rate, Aristotle here discusses passions that are deemed the most common or advantageous for the rhetor to evoke. The absence of amazement should not be a surprise. I know of no classical or Hellenistic Greek lists that cover more passions than these do.⁴³ In the organization of lexemes, even if one were to put aside the idea of *static* domains and develop a concept more capable of accounting for “meaning, and hence sense relations, as context-dependent, variable and dynamic,”⁴⁴ one could still very profitably use Greek terms as hyponyms of πάθος for lexeme groups in certain contexts, such as miracle stories.

A second potential solution is to look to modern psychological studies, though caution is immediately necessary. The reasons for such caution warrant brief elaboration. While a virtual consensus sees “emotion” as a specific, identifiable part of human psychological experience, the definitions of just what an “emotion” is vary.⁴⁵ Be that as it may, among the lists of individual “emotions” that psychologists have given,⁴⁶ fear is often distinguished from surprise, even when a short list is in view.⁴⁷

(Rom 1:26; 1 Thess 4:5 – incl. the absolute use in Col 3:5). This is to my mind an open question that could be revisited in another context.

⁴² Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1382a21–22, ἔστω δὴ ὁ φόβος λύπη τις ἢ παραχῆ ἐκ φαντασίας μέλλοντος κακοῦ φθαρτικοῦ ἢ λυπηροῦ. A related adjective (λύπη μὲν γὰρ παραχῶδης) is used to define both τὸ νεμεσᾶν and φθόνος (1386b18).

⁴³ As did the early Stoics, Cicero (see *Tusc.* 4.11) divided the passions into four categories: fear (metus), sorrow (aegritudo), lust (libido), joy/pleasure (laetitia). Augustine (see *Civ.* 14.3) also adopted a four-fold scheme: fear (timor), sorrow (tristitia), desire (cupiditas), joy/pleasure (laetitia).

⁴⁴ Storzjohann, “Lexico-Semantic Relations in Theory and Practice,” 9.

⁴⁵ Wolfgang Aichhorn and Helmut Kronberger, “The Nature of Emotions: A Psychological Perspective,” in *Emotions from Ben Sira to Paul*, ed. Renate Egger-Wenzel and Jeremy Corley. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature 2011 (Berlin; Boston, Mass.: De Gruyter, 2012), 515, 524.

⁴⁶ For a general discussion of such lists see Voorwinde, *Jesus’ Emotions in the Fourth Gospel*, 26.

Related to modern psychology is the study of religion and “emotion,” which uses social scientific and historical approaches. Despite a “scholarly inclination toward a view of cultural difference rather than universalism” in this context, “most researchers continue to embrace, in some measure, the notion that certain aspects of emotional life are consistent across cultural boundaries.”⁴⁸ Here too it would seem that there may be support for distinguishing between fear and amazement.⁴⁹ Indeed, a somewhat comparable distinction from Rudolf Otto’s work has played an influential role in theories of religion. But one should be aware that Otto’s notion, ostensibly based on philological observations in the Hebrew Bible, can no longer be maintained for this corpus or for the Septuagint: i.e., the notion “that ‘the numinous feeling’ (*das numinose Gefühl*, i.e., *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*) is the human response to the sacred and finds expression in the Hebrew Bible’s language of ‘holiness’ (*qds*) and its motif ‘fear of God.’”⁵⁰ Incongruity between Otto’s conceptual framework and New Testament texts is likely also the case. Even though there may be advantages to using contemporary psychology or comparative study of religions as a lens for interpreting ancient texts, when it comes to feelings such a mode of interpretation seems to create more problems than it solves.

As Phillip Lasater demonstrates, the modern introduction of the term “emotion” into psychology overlaps with conceptual shifts in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁵¹ Unlike what the ancients and early moderns meant by “passions,” “affections” and so forth, the modern psychological category of the “emotions” is part of a conceptual framework in which feelings are *involuntary states* and a strict dichotomy exists between them and cognitive activity. At its inception, this modern psychological tradition is consciously revisionist.⁵² In contrast, for the influential thinkers inform-

⁴⁷ For example, Paul Ekman, as cited by Aichhorn and Kronberger, “The Nature of Emotions,” 516, argues for “seven basic emotions... fear, anger, happiness, disgust, contempt, sadness, and surprise.” Space does not permit a discussion of how either “fear” or “surprise” is defined in this literature.

⁴⁸ John Corrigan, “Introduction: The Study of Religion and Emotion,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*, ed. John Corrigan (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6, 7.

⁴⁹ The six chapters found in Part 3, “Emotional States,” in John Corrigan, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*, are entitled: “Ecstasy,” “Terror,” “Hope,” “Melancholy,” “Love” and “Hatred.” It is beyond the scope of the present study to discuss in what ways “ecstasy” and “terror,” as envisioned here, might relate respectively to amazement and fear as found in the responses in Gospel miracle stories.

⁵⁰ Phillip Lasater, “Fear,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

⁵¹ Phillip Lasater, “The Snark Hunt for ‘Emotions’ in the Ancient Near East” (n.p.). Cf. Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁵² “The category of ‘the emotions’ is not part of a timeless psychology but, on the contrary, is firmly traceable to 18th–19th century Scottish thinkers in the Humean tradition who

ing medieval and early modern Western anthropology and psychology (e.g., Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas), passions and affections are *movements* of the soul that need to be *governed* by reason. This conception is likely close to that found in the Gospel miracle stories, though room for some difference in nuance should be allowed. One might justifiably continue to use the term “emotion” if one were to be very clear about the way one uses it in distinction from its use in common parlance.⁵³ But the danger of importing a modern concept into an ancient context through imprecise use of terminology is very real, as many studies seem to demonstrate unwittingly. For this reason, I opt in this paper to employ words such as “feelings” and “passions.”⁵⁴

Finally, a third potential solution based on Hellenistic Greek usage is to make categories (whether using Greek and/or foreign language terms for the hyponyms) from linguistic analysis of how words with like meanings are used in similar contexts. This solution seems in part to be how Louw–Nida, in fact, have organised their semantic subdomains, a case in point being their categories of amazement, being troubled and fear. The success of Louw–Nida’s categorisation, then, depends on the ability of their definitions of lexemes to account for the textual data, an issue to which I will return below.⁵⁵ Relatedly, in light of the recent emphasis in semantic studies on corpora and language receiving meaning through usage, schemes of categorisation could be made that are corpora specific. This is certainly what Louw–Nida have done, though they sometimes give the impression that they purport to do something more universal.⁵⁶

The third criticism of Louw–Nida’s lexicon that is pertinent to the present discussion has to do with the artificial limit on the number of lexemes treated, a limit I

consciously rejected classical or Aristotelian faculty psychology (i.e., the faculties of intellect and will) and sought, on pragmatic as well as ideological grounds, to replace it with a mechanistic (i.e. non-teleological) explanation of the body and its parts,” Phillip Lasater, *The Snark Hunt for 'Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, 10–11. David Hume and, especially, Thomas Brown, sought to employ an analogy between psychology and Newtonian physics of matter.

⁵³ Martha Craven Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), uses the term “emotions” to describe something like the Stoic notion of “passions,” though she does not make it explicit that, historically, the term “emotions” has been used in reference to a notion pitted decidedly against ancient and medieval conceptions of feelings.

⁵⁴ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 288, n. 1, are aware that items in “attitudes and emotions” are not to be dissociated from cognitive activity. On the contrary, they note regarding this ancient vocabulary that “Domain 25 Attitudes and Emotions is very closely related to a number of domains, including Think (30) ...”

⁵⁵ Voorwinde, *Jesus’ Emotions in the Fourth Gospel*, 26, also focuses more on the use of language pertaining to feelings in the text itself, since “the categories used by one language [for feelings] will seldom have exact equivalents in another.” See also Corrigan, “Introduction: The Study of Religion and Emotion,” 6, 9–10.

⁵⁶ E.g., Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:xvii.

mentioned previously. The limitation has a more serious negative effect insofar as one is left to wonder whether a given domain or subdomain has been exhaustively covered; and whether some subdomains have been improperly defined, owing to an insufficient data set.⁵⁷ These concerns are especially acute when common Hellenistic words do not appear in the New Testament. One might ask, for example, what other (common) words for feelings were options for the New Testament authors – options that were decided against in favor of another word in a given instance. Possibilities would include: *τεθηπέναι*, *καταπλαγῆναι*, *διατραπήναι*, *καταιδεσθῆναι*, *χανεῖν*, *χανδός*, *ἀχανής*.⁵⁸ Are there words pertaining to “‘astonishment,’ ‘anxiety,’ and ‘fear’” which might bring the division between the related subdomains into question? This problem persists even when focusing on a given, limited corpus (i.e., the New Testament). And different (overlapping) corpora may be envisioned. In addition to the New Testament, relevant corpora for the question at hand would include the following: Jewish texts written in Hellenistic Greek, generally, from the Second Temple Period; Jewish narrative texts of the same period; a subgroup of these texts that includes miracle and epiphany stories (also considering subgroups separately, determined according to whether the style is more or less elevated and, if less, whether evidence of Semitic influence is detectable, including “translation Greek,” e.g., notably the Septuagint); and more broadly, all texts of the period that concern miracle and epiphany stories. Furthermore, related questions pertain to how common a given word is and what specific register it might belong to, if any.

Fourth, caution is needed on a number of levels with respect to the definitions offered in individual entries, despite the fact that Louw–Nida’s definitions have made a profound, positive impact on Hellenistic Greek lexicography, as mentioned above. It is never certain that all the instances in the New Testament have been covered.⁵⁹ And unlike BDAG and its predecessors, Louw–Nida source material is limited entirely to the New Testament.⁶⁰ Louw–Nida definitions also have some shortcomings in their descriptive nature.⁶¹ A case in point is their definition of

⁵⁷ This is an implicit ramification of one aspect of Louw–Nida’s approach that Lee affirms, though the implication may not be felt by any of them. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, 180, 182, who attests that “[t]he full description of how a word is used requires sensitivity to its place in the complex web of sense-relations of which it is a part,” nevertheless sees that the “direction for the future” is still the narrow focus of “delivering an accurate description of the meaning of each Greek word in the New Testament...” (emphasis added); cf. John A. L. Lee, “The Present State of Lexicography of Ancient Greek,” in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honour of Frederick W. Danker*, ed. Bernard Alwyn Taylor, Peter R. Burton, Richard E. Whitaker, and John A. L. Lee (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 72–73.

⁵⁸ Compounds of verbs that pertain to amazement already appearing in the New Testament would include: *ὑπερεκπλαγῆναι*, *ἀποθαυμάσαι* and *ὑπερθαυμάσαι*.

⁵⁹ Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, 162–163.

⁶⁰ Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, 158.

⁶¹ Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, 158–161.

ἐκθαμβηθῆναι (see below). A partial solution to the problem is found in definitions in BDAG, where “[a]ll the work of the twentieth century... may be regarded as summed up and encapsulated.”⁶² Lee suggests that in comparing these “two attempts,” which offer “‘first-run’ definitions,” one can get a better appreciation of the problems at hand and come to better definitions.⁶³

I have dwelt on pertinent criticisms of Nouw and Lida’s lexicon at some length. The attention to detail does not stem from a basic distrust of their organisation and distribution of terminology pertaining to “‘astonishment,’ ‘anxiety,’ and ‘fear.’” On the contrary, these seem plausible. Rather, the purpose was to be clear about the methodological problems inherent in adopting the categorisation scheme without further investigation. As a result, a positive way forward has presented itself: namely, to compare Louw–Nida’s definitions with those of BDAG. When they are not in agreement, further discussion is necessary. In such cases I will also consult the two lexicons of the Septuagint, in order to “fill-out” the picture of various words’ usage in Hellenistic Greek. Here as well, caution is needed. On the one hand, entries in LEH provide glosses, not full definitions.⁶⁴ On the other hand, the definitions in Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, often lack enough detail to allow one to draw distinctions between lexemes with similar meanings.⁶⁵ Both lexicons are heavily based on LSJ.⁶⁶ And neither lexicon consistently gives extensive (let alone exhaustive) examples for the meanings of the lexemes at stake in the present study.⁶⁷ LSJ will also be consulted at times, though this lexicon’s

⁶² Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, 178.

⁶³ Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, 169. Lee claims that this procedure works because BDAG’s definitions are “the product of a largely independent effort.”

⁶⁴ These are points made by Lee, “The Present State of Lexicography of Ancient Greek,” 70.

⁶⁵ Takamitsu Muraoka, “Septuagintal Lexicography,” in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honour of Frederick W. Danker*, ed. Bernard Alwyn Taylor, Peter R. Burton, Richard E. Whitaker, and John A. L. Lee (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 87, indicates that his working method is to provide full definitions when a gloss is insufficient. I find, however, that he offers such definitions far too infrequently.

⁶⁶ Yet it may go too far to say that LEH takes “most of the meanings... wholesale from LSJ,” as Lee, “The Present State of Lexicography of Ancient Greek,” 70, claims. See Katrin Hauspie, “The LXX Quotations in the LSJ Supplements of 1968 and 1996,” in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honour of Frederick W. Danker*, ed. Bernard Alwyn Taylor, Peter R. Burton, Richard E. Whitaker, and John A. L. Lee (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 108–25.

⁶⁷ By way of example, I mention ἐκστῆναι, LEH, 215, and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain; Paris; Walpole, Mass.: Peeters, 2009), 252. Although both of these dictionaries have relatively longer entries for “ἐξίστημι,” they fail to cite some important instances of ἐκστῆναι where it denotes a feeling. Some narrative instances of human affective reactions are absent (e.g., Exod 19:18; Lev 9:24; Jdt 13:17; 15:1; 1 Macc 16:22; the first two of these instances are responses to miracles).

focus on classical Greek means its usefulness for the analysis is severely limited. In addition, it provides not definitions, but glosses. Thus, for the sake of the analysis being slightly beyond the New Testament, other early Christian literature and the Septuagint, I add two cases studies. I have chosen Josephus' *Judean Antiquities* Books 1–11 and Philo's *On the Life of Moses* (2 books), since they are Jewish narrative texts roughly contemporary to the Gospels.⁶⁸ Moreover, these texts by Josephus and Philo frequently contain miracles and miracle stories, as well as a number of the lexemes in question.⁶⁹ In addition, they both relate stories that are narrated in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, many of which have an important influence on the way that the miracle stories of the Gospels are narrated. Josephus and Philo's data will be analysed if and when it becomes clear that there is incongruity among the lexicons. I make no effort to identify specific instances of feelings that occur in responses in miracle stories in Philo and Josephus, though this would be a worthy endeavour for the future. Their texts contain other words denoting relevant feelings, which will be considered briefly following the analysis.

4 COMPARISON OF DEFINITIONS IN LOUW–NIDA, *GREEK-ENGLISH LEXICON*, AND BDAG

4.1 Fear

For lexemes whose meanings involve what one may call “fear,” the definitions in both the Louw–Nida lexicon and BDAG are basically in agreement. Importantly, neither group of lexicographers identify amazement, astonishment, etc. as belonging to the sense(s) of these terms.

4.1.1 φοβηθῆναι and φόβος

Two terms denote the basic feeling of “fear”: φοβηθῆναι and φόβος. By listing these two terms first in the relevant subdomain, Louw–Nida make this point explicitly.⁷⁰ I

⁶⁸ On the designation “Judean Antiquities” (not Jewish Antiquities), see Louis H. Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1–4*, Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 3 (Leiden; Boston, Mass.; Köln: Brill, 2000), and subsequent volumes in this series.

⁶⁹ A convincing case could be made for taking Josephus, Ant. 1–10 as a unit due to the work's overall structure, though the widely recognised parallels with biblical narrative in Ant. 1–11 have made researchers interested in this section. Cf. Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1–4*, xii, xx–xxi. James R. Royle, “The Works of Philo,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, ed. Adam Kamesar (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 33–34, 50–51, lists Moses among Philo's “apologetic and historical works,” which include Flaccus and Embassy, not among his works of “allegorical commentary” or “exposition of the law.” Though Moses “fits chronologically (and rather naturally, it seems) between De Josepho and De decalogo,” the “differences in style make clear that they are not properly a part of it,” 51.

⁷⁰ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:vi.

cite both sets of lexicographers on the basic word for which the most detailed definition is given. This word is φόβος, in its sense as a passion:

a state of severe distress, aroused by intense concern for impending pain, danger, evil, etc., or possibly by the illusion of such circumstances – “fear”;⁷¹

the product of an intimidating/alarming force... a. *fear, alarm, fright*.⁷²

It should be noted that, following a definition, the lexicons may offer a gloss or a series of glosses as rough translation equivalents, indicated by quotations (Louw–Nida) or other means (BDAG). One should understand the meaning primarily on the basis of the definitions themselves, regarding the glosses with due caution.⁷³ Taking a maximalist approach, then, the basic sense common to all these terms is a feeling that arises from awareness of an undesired, impending pain or the possibility of such pain, caused by some other force.

It is important to note that both Louw–Nida and BDAG see the usage of φόβος and φοβηθῆναι to denote the feeling of fear as distinct from usage of the lexemes to denote reverence or respect, although the lexicographers envision differently the relation between the two senses of the terms.⁷⁴ This observation is important, since in miracle stories the feeling of fear is at times explicitly designated by an epiphanic character (and thus by a reliable character) as undesirable and/or inappropriate.⁷⁵ Alternatively, in two pericopae φόβος or φοβηθῆναι appears in a response to a miracle alongside praise of God or a recognition of God’s agency.⁷⁶ Here, therefore, the terms may indicate a reverence or respect of God in addition to a feeling of fear. Yet caution is required, since the praise or confession is never related to φόβος/φοβηθῆναι in such a way that the notion of reverential “fear” is clearly intended.⁷⁷ More generally, New Testament writings attest to such competing usages

⁷¹ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:316.

⁷² BDAG, 1062, emphasis original. In subsequent citations from BDAG it is to be understood that the emphasis is original, unless otherwise indicated.

⁷³ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:vii; BDAG, viii.

⁷⁴ For Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, φοβηθῆναι with the sense of reverence, awe and/or respect is given entries in Domain 53, “religious activities” (i.e., respect for deity), and in Domain 87, “status” (i.e., respect for a person). This seems problematic. Are we really dealing with three distinct meanings of the lexeme? An entry for φόβος is similarly found in Domain 53. In BDAG, 1062, fear, alarm, fright” and “reverence, respect” are two subcategories of the second meaning of φόβος, “the product of an intimidating/alarming force.” This is preferable, but still leaves something to be desired. See below.

⁷⁵ Mt 14:27 || Mk 6:50 || Jn 6:20; Mt 17:7; Mt 28:5 (cf. Mk 16:6); Lk 1:13; 2:10 – cf. Mt 28:10; Lk 1:30.

⁷⁶ Mt 9:8 || Lk 5:26; Lk 7:16. A similar phenomenon occurs once in another type of narrative context (Mt 27:54). Lk 1:64–79 is not relevant, since the character praising God (Zechariah) is not among those who become afraid.

⁷⁷ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (Dallas: SIL, 2000), 184, 185, notes, “Participial

of φόβος/φοβηθῆναι. The alternative concepts can be portrayed as negative or positive in the extreme.⁷⁸

4.1.2 ἔκφοβος and ἔμφοβος

Both sets of lexicographers explicitly define ἔκφοβος as an intensified form of fear: “pertaining to being extremely afraid – ‘very frightened, terrified, very much afraid’” (Louw-Nida); “**pert. to being intensely afraid, terrified**” (BDAG).⁷⁹ For Louw–Nida, ἔμφοβος and ἔκφοβος are functionally equivalent. They give the same definition for both. BDAG defines ἔμφοβος as “**pert. to being in a state of fear, afraid, startled, terrified**.”⁸⁰ While the definition suggests the basic sense of fear represented by φόβος, one of the glosses, “terrified,” allows for greater intensity of the feeling. While not as clear as in the case of ἔκφοβος, it seems reasonable to accept that ἔμφοβος can be used to denote a greater level of fear.⁸¹

4.1.3 πτοηθῆναι

πτοηθῆναι also denotes intensified fear. Louw–Nida give the following definition for πτοηθῆναι: “to be terrified as the result of being intimidated.”⁸² BDAG gives only a gloss for “πτοέω”: “**terrify, frighten** pass. *be terrified, be alarmed, frightened, startled*.”⁸³ Vocabulary used by both sets of lexicographers suggests an intensified form of the feeling represented by φόβος/φοβηθῆναι, as they define it.

clauses that follow the nuclear clause may be concerned with some aspect of the nuclear event itself,” as when “... post-nuclear participles refer to the manner in which the action of the nuclear clause... [is] carried out.” In the relevant cases, a nuclear clause with φοβηθῆναι followed by a speech verb as a participle could have been used to indicate that the latter specifies the manner in which the former is carried out. (Cf. Lk 8:25 for a response to a miracle in which a post-nuclear participle that denotes speech modifies a feeling).

⁷⁸ The terms can represent something that is in its nature antithetical to God and that ought to be removed from humans (1 Jn 4:18) or something that is valued and appropriate, a correct relation to God (e.g., Lk 18:2; 2 Cor 7:1). More research is needed on how in various contexts the usage of φόβος or φοβηθῆναι may combine aspects of the two meanings (the feeling of fear and reverence/respect) of each term, proposed by Louw–Nida and BDAG. Perhaps focussing on difference corpora, such as texts of theological/philosophical discourse and narrative discourse, may help shed light on the matter.

⁷⁹ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:316, and BDAG, 312.

⁸⁰ BDAG, 326.

⁸¹ Note that out of the 5 instances of ἔμφοβος in the New Testament (NA27), the sense of intensified fear fits best for three (Lk 24:5 [note the accompanying physical gesture]; 24:37 [note use of πτοηθῆναι in the hendiadys]; Rev 11:13 [extreme, cataclysmic events]), is possible for another (Acts 10:4) and seems less preferable to regular fear in yet another (Acts 24:25).

⁸² Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:317.

⁸³ BDAG, 895.

4.1.4 τρέμειν and τρόμος

Both the Louw–Nida lexicon and BDAG distinguish between a meaning of τρέμειν that pertains more to the physical act of trembling and another that pertains more to an “emotional” (Louw–Nida) or “psychological” (BDAG) aspect.⁸⁴ The Louw–Nida definition of the relevant sense clearly pertains to fear: “to be so afraid as to tremble, often with the implication of awe.”⁸⁵ BDAG’s definition is less clear as to which feeling might be involved: “**to feel intensely the impact of someth. transcendent, tremble, be in awe.**”⁸⁶ It is peculiar that the lexicons speak here of “psychological aspect” rather than any particular passion, given BDAG’s one meaning for τρόμος: “**trembling, quivering** fr. [from] fear.”⁸⁷ Louw–Nida’s single entry on τρόμος in Domain 16, “non-linear movement,” defines the term thus: “to shake or tremble, often with the implication of fear and/or consternation.”⁸⁸ It is strange that τρέμειν should receive an entry in Domains 16 and 25 but τρόμος only in Domain 16. Indeed, when assessing the data from both lexicons, it seems reasonable to maintain that both the noun and the verb have meanings that, in addition to the physiological component of trembling or shaking, denote a feeling. The semantic range of the feeling involves fear, principally, though awe may also be indicated. The Septuagint lexicons are in general agreement with this assessment.⁸⁹

4.2 Amazement

As for lexemes that denote amazement, astonishment, etc., BDAG and Louw–Nida, while agreeing in some cases, diverge more frequently than in the case of lexemes that pertain to fear. At times the lexicons refer to feelings of fear and being alarmed, in addition to amazement and the like.

4.2.1 θαυμάσαι

Louw–Nida’s definition of θαυμάσαι is: “to wonder or marvel at some event or object – ‘to wonder, to be amazed, to marvel.’”⁹⁰ BDAG endeavours⁹¹ to give a more detailed definition: “**to be extraordinarily impressed or disturbed by someth....** a. intr. *wonder, marvel, be astonished* (the context determines whether in a good or bad

⁸⁴ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, also suggest a third meaning of τρέμειν, in Domain 87, “status,” identical to that of φοβηθῆναι in the same domain (see above, n. 72).

⁸⁵ Yet the suggested translation equivalents in Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 317 – “to fear, to have awesome respect for” – seem to blur the distinction between this meaning of τρέμειν and that in Domain 87 (see above, nn. 72, 73).

⁸⁶ BDAG, 1014.

⁸⁷ BDAG, 1016.

⁸⁸ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:212. Further, on Louw–Nida’s treatment of τρόμος, see above, n. 21.

⁸⁹ Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 685, 687; LEH, 618, 621.

⁹⁰ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:312.

⁹¹ For the sense of the intransitive, however, BDAG resorts to glosses.

sense).⁹² The words “impressed” and “disturbed” seem to correspond to the “good or bad sense” of the wonder or astonishment mentioned in the gloss for the intransitive. Both groups of scholars use the English words “wonder” and “marvel” to capture the sense of θαυμάσαι. Adopting a minimalist approach, I accept these glosses. A more accurate full definition for the term is still a desideratum.

4.2.2 ἐκστῆναι and ἔκστασις

Louw–Nida define ἐκστῆναι as, “to be so astonished as to almost fail to comprehend what one has experienced – ‘to be greatly astonished, to be astounded.’”⁹³ BDAG is in basic agreement. I cite here their general definition of the middle/passive meaning, as well as their definition of the specific usage in question: “**be out of one’s normal state of mind... b. be amazed, be astonished**, of the feeling of astonishment mingled w. fear, caused by events which are miraculous, extraordinary, or difficult to understand.”⁹⁴ But even though they emphasise amazement and astonishment, they ascribe an element of “fear” to the sense of this usage.⁹⁵ Both Septuagint lexicons also give primacy to the sense of astonishment or amazement, while allowing for instances in which being “alarmed”⁹⁶ or “a sense of horror and shock”⁹⁷ is denoted. The evidence from Josephus and Philo is of little help in this case.⁹⁸ Thus, I propose that the pertinent meaning of ἐκστῆναι is a feeling whose semantic range covers principally being astonished/amazed (also being astounded), but the word may also indicate fear or alarm. A sense of unsuccessful comprehension is also present. Speaking proleptically and bracketing some nuances, the feeling indicated by ἐκστῆναι (intense astonishment/amazement) can be understood roughly as a greater degree of the feeling denoted by θαμβηθῆναι (astonish-

⁹² BDAG, 444.

⁹³ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:312. The related definition of ἐκστῆσαι (“ἐξίστημι ἐξιστάνω”) is: “cause someone to be so astounded as to be practically overwhelmed – ‘to astonish greatly, to greatly astound, to astound completely,’” 1:313.

⁹⁴ BDAG, 350.

⁹⁵ BDAG, 350, whose definition of ἐκστῆσαι pertains to amazement and not to fear (“to cause to be in a state in which things seem to make little or no sense, confuse, amaze, astound”), proposes a close link between the meanings of ἐκστῆσαι and ἐκστῆναι: “In both trans. and intr. usage the main idea is involvement in a state or condition of consternation.” In effect this further mitigates the sense of fear in their definition of ἐκστῆναι. Also, all of the examples cited for ἐκστῆναι which get translated into English involve the words “astonished,” “astounded” and “amazed,” but no words pertaining to fear.

⁹⁶ LEH, 215.

⁹⁷ Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 252.

⁹⁸ None of the very few (3) instances of ἐκστῆναι in Josephus, Ant. 1–11 (3.68; 10.114; 11.176) refer to a passion (though 10.114 denotes a mental state). The same is true of the one instance in Philo, Moses (1.242). Both authors refer frequently enough to the passions of fear and amazement in the texts under consideration. See below for discussion.

ment/amazement), which in turn is a stronger version of the feeling denoted by *θαυμάσαι* (wonder/marvel).⁹⁹

Very similar to Louw–Nida’s definition of *ἐκστῆναι* is the definition of *ἔκστασις*: “a state of intense amazement, to the point of being beside oneself with astonishment – ‘amazement, astonishment.’”¹⁰⁰ While BDAG’s definition is more general, “**a state of consternation or profound emotional experience to the point of being beside oneself,**” the lexicon immediately suggests a number of different feelings as possibilities – “distraction, confusion, perplexity, astonishment’ in var. aspects.” Fear, alarm and related terms are not among them.¹⁰¹ Indeed, all examples from the New Testament are listed after the subsequent gloss of “**amaze-ment/astonishment.**” The agreement between the two lexicons is a strong indication that they are correct. Still, it is to be noted that both of the two Septuagint lexicons disagree in different ways.¹⁰² For these reasons, further study of the related usages of *ἔκστασις* – along with *ἐκστῆναι* – in Hellenistic literature is truly a desideratum. Neither Josephus (*Ant.* 1–11) nor Philo (*Moses*) uses the term.¹⁰³ For the time being, it is reasonable to conclude that the basic affective sense of *ἔκστασις* is a relatively greater feeling of astonishment/amazement. It is noteworthy that LSJ agrees, in as much as it pertains to the Gospels, with my assessment of *ἐκστῆναι* and *ἔκστασις*.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 311–312, may disagree with my assessment, since *θαυμάσαι* is not listed very early in the relevant subdomain (surprisingly it follows after *θαμβηθῆναι*). But the order of listing following the alleged most basic term does not always indicate relative semantic distance from it.

¹⁰⁰ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:312.

¹⁰¹ BDAG, 309.

¹⁰² LEH, 187, gives no preference to “astonishment” over “terror,” “dismay,” “torpor” or other possibilities. In the definition of *ἔκστασις* offered by Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 216, neither the sense of astonishment nor fear are listed as possible specifications of the general meaning, “loss of mental equilibrium, displacement of mind,” though, e.g., “excitement” is listed.

¹⁰³ There is but one instance of *ἔκστασις* in Josephus’ writings (*Ant.* 17.247). Philo uses the term 22 times throughout his writings (in a variety of meanings).

¹⁰⁴ Although LSJ, 520, offers one definition of *ἔκστασις* as a “distraction of mind, from terror, astonishment, anger, etc.,” which includes both “terror” and “astonishment” as possible sources of distraction, they offer another albeit laconic definition (“entrancement, astonishment”) immediately thereafter, citing only two examples, both of which come from the Gospels (Mk 5:42; Lk 5:26). Evidently, LSJ sees the feeling of astonishment as having become predominant for the distraction-of-mind sense of *ἔκστασις* in the Gospels (in literature of the 1st century CE in general?). A similar phenomenon occurs in the definition in LSJ, 595, for the absolute use of *ἐκστῆναι*, which, generally, is defined as “to be out of one’s wits, be distraught.” After this follows the related definition “to be astonished, amazed,” for which the cited examples come from the New Testament alone – “Ev.Matt.12.23, Ev.Marc.2.12, etc.”

4.2.3 θαμβηθῆναι and θάμβος

Louw–Nida define θαμβηθῆναι as, “to experience astonishment as the result of some unusual event – ‘to be astonished, to be startled, to be amazed.’”¹⁰⁵ BDAG agrees. Following the definition of θαμβῆσαι as to “*be astounded*,” the lexicon observes that “elsewh[ere] in our lit[erature] only [the] trans[itiv]e [means] ‘astound, amaze’ and only in the pass[iv]e w[ith] [an] act[iv]e sense [is there the meaning] *be astounded, amazed*...”¹⁰⁶ BDAG notes, though, that θαμβηθῆναι can be used “w[ith] less force,” offering the glosses “*wonder, be surprised*.” This observation strengthens the sense of a continuum inherent in the Louw–Nida definitions, moving from lesser to greater intensity of a related passion for the verbs θαυμάσαι, θαμβηθῆναι and ἐκστῆναι. The Septuagint lexicons, while largely in agreement, cite an example where fear is allegedly indicated and address two relevant instances of θαμβῆσαι.¹⁰⁷ Josephus’ single occurrence helps little; there is no record of the word in Philo’s writings.¹⁰⁸ For the active, Liddell *et al.* also list one example of “alarm” amid a host of examples for both the active and the passive that are glossed as to be “astounded” and “astonished at.”¹⁰⁹ More research is needed on this issue. For now, it will suffice to accept the concurrence of Louw–Nida and BDAG. The usage of θαμβηθῆναι in the New Testament indicates astonishment/amazement.

The two lexicons focused on the New Testament agree in their definitions of the related term θάμβος:

a state of astonishment due to both the suddenness and the unusualness of the phenomenon and with either a positive or a negative reaction – ‘astonishment, alarm’;¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:311.

¹⁰⁶ BDAG, 442.

¹⁰⁷ LEH, 269, glosses θαμβηθῆναι as “to be astounded, to be astonished,” while observing an anomalous usage of θαμβηθῆναι in Judg A 9:4 that signifies “afraid.” θαμβῆσαι is glossed first as “to amaze, to alarm” (2 Kgdms 22:5b) and then as “to be terror-struck” (1 Kgdms 14:15). Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, XXII, 323, likewise, while glossing θαμβηθῆναι with “to be astonished,” notes the once-occurring meaning “to be feared” (Judg A 9:4), which is “not attested prior to the LXX.” He cites 2 Kgdms 22:5b as the sole example of θαμβῆσαι with the sense “to alarm.” In both lexicons, far too few examples are cited for the various meanings, thus failing to provide a sense of which meaning(s) is (are) most common.

¹⁰⁸ In Josephus’ corpus, the only instance of θαμβηθῆναι (the active occurs nowhere) is in Ant. 6.92, where amazement is probably denoted (note, though, the collocation of περιδεής). Philo’s corpus is void of any term with the root θαμ* (see below on τεθηπέναι in Philo’s writings).

¹⁰⁹ The one exception (“alarm”), 2 Kgdms 22:5, is the same as cited by Lust *et al.* and Muraoka (see above, n. 94).

¹¹⁰ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:311.

a state of astonishment brought on by exposure to an unusual event, *amazement*, *awe*.¹¹¹

Not only does the meaning of *θάμβος* correlate with that of *θαμβηθῆναι*, but also the continuum from amazement to intense amazement holds for both the verbs and nouns that include the pairs of *θάμβος* and *θαμβηθῆναι*, *ἔκστασις* and *ἐκστῆναι*. However, one should note Louw–Nida’s second gloss, “alarm.”¹¹² Muraoka’s definition leans slightly more in this direction, though “astonishment” is still the key sense, while the definition by Lust *et al.* seems significantly wanting.¹¹³ Once again, there are no instances from Josephus (*Ant.* 1–11) or Philo (*Moses*).¹¹⁴ LSJ gives the gloss “amazement,” with only one relevant exception.¹¹⁵ In light of the present state of lexicographical affairs, it seems best to adopt the following definition for *θάμβος*, this time adopting the minimalist stance in relation to Louw–Nida and BDAG: a feeling of astonishment owing to the unusualness of a phenomenon or event (and possibly its suddenness). Importantly, the understanding of *θαμβηθῆναι* and *θάμβος* in both the Louw–Nida lexicon and BDAG excludes the feeling of fear. And alarm is scarcely mentioned. Instead, they have in mind surprise, wonder, amazement, astonishment and being astounded, which are seen as associated with one another. This basic picture is not altered by the evidence from the lexicons.

4.2.4 *ἐκθαμβηθῆναι*

The most complicated case is *ἐκθαμβηθῆναι*. First, the term itself is rare. As noted above, Louw–Nida’s single entry on the lexeme is in the domain “surprise, astonish.” They offer the definition, “to be greatly astounded, with either positive or negative reactions – ‘to be amazed, to be astounded, to be alarmed.’”¹¹⁶ While the gloss “to be alarmed” raises questions of categories in itself, their note at the end of the entry is more revealing: “In the meaning of ‘alarmed,’ *ἐκθαμβέομαι* may often be rendered simply as ‘to be afraid.’” They thus attest to a usage of *ἐκθαμβηθῆναι* that lies not in the semantic domain of “surprise, astonish,” but rather in the domain of

¹¹¹ BDAG, 442.

¹¹² A sense of “alarm,” if truly present, would naturally best be listed in the subdomain “fear, terror, alarm.” For the one example in Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1: 311, the translation “were astonished” is given.

¹¹³ Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 323, defines *θάμβος* as “astonishment tinged with alarm and a sense of shock” and notes one instance (Ct 3:8) in which the sense comes “close to dread.” The basic gloss for *θάμβος* of “stupor” in LEH, 269, citing a number of texts, is unacceptable. They also cite one example (Eccl 12:5: *θάμβοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ* – see below, n. 102 for LSJ on the same text) for the gloss “fear.”

¹¹⁴ Josephus’ three instances of *θάμβος* are in J.W. (3.394; 5.324; 7.30). Philo’s corpus contains none.

¹¹⁵ LSJ, 783, notes that in the LXX *θάμβοι*, taken “in objective sense,” means “terrors in the way.”

¹¹⁶ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:312.

“fear, terror, alarm,” though they do not give an entry in the latter.¹¹⁷ BDAG leaves greater room for semantic range of feeling in their single definition of *ἐκθαμβηθῆναι*:

to be moved to a relatively intense emotional state because of someth. causing great surprise or perplexity, *be very excited* Mk 9:15 (...[possibly] be amazed...); *be overwhelmed, be alarmed* 16:5f; *be distressed* w. *ἀδημονεῖν* 14:33.¹¹⁸

Citing all four examples in Mark (and, thus, in the New Testament altogether), they recognise the possibilities as, “be very excited,” possibly “be amazed”; “be distressed”; “be overwhelmed, be alarmed.” The one instance of *ἐκθαμβῆσαι* in the Septuagint is defined in the relevant lexicons in terms of astonishment/amazement.¹¹⁹ In this way, they follow the lead of LSJ, whose treatment of the term is uniform.¹²⁰ The term does not appear anywhere in Philo and Josephus’ writings. In light of this situation, it seems best to take a modified version of Louw–Nida’s approach. This rare term expresses the feeling denoted by *θαμβηθῆναι* (astonishment/amazement) but to a greater degree that, owing to its intensity in extreme cases, blurs the boundaries between alarm, fear, etc., on the one hand, and wonder, amazement, astonishment, etc., on the other. At any rate, no dictionary that I consulted takes *ἐκθαμβηθῆναι* in Mark 16:5 – which is the term’s only occurrence in a response – as an instance of (great) amazement or astonishment, but only of being overwhelmed, alarmed and/or afraid.

4.2.5 *ἐκπλαγῆναι*

To a surprising degree, the two New Testament lexicons agree on the one meaning given for *ἐκπλαγῆναι*:

to be so amazed as to be practically overwhelmed – ‘to be greatly astounded’;¹²¹

to cause to be filled with amazement to the point of being overwhelmed, *amaze, astound, overwhelm* (lit. strike out of one’s senses)... – Pass. in act. sense *be amazed, overwhelmed* w. *fright*... or *wonder*...¹²²

Both lexicons agree that: the feeling of amazement is (principally) denoted; the amazement is of a greater intensity; and it is joined with a notion of being overwhelmed. For present purposes, the main difference is that BDAG allows that the

¹¹⁷ Each of the two examples cited pertains to a different domain: in one example people are astounded (Mk 9:15), in the other alarmed (Mk 16:5).

¹¹⁸ BDAG, 303.

¹¹⁹ The usage of *ἐκθαμβῆσαι* in Sir 30:9 is defined as, “to astonish” (Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 208) and “to amaze, to astonish” (LEH, 180–181).

¹²⁰ I reproduce in full the short entry for “*ἐκθαμβέω*” in LSJ, 506: “to be amazed, Orph.A.1218(tm.). trans., amaze, astonish, LXX Si.30.9: – Pass., Ev.Marc.9.15, Gal.16.493.”

¹²¹ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:312–313.

¹²² BDAG, 308.

passive (only!) may indicate being overwhelmed “with fright,” which is distinguished from “wonder,” though apparently it more often indicates being amazed. However, the two examples they cite are not convincing.¹²³ Both LEH and Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, define ἐκπλαγῆναι in terms of amazement and the like and they exclude fear, fright etc. as possibilities.¹²⁴ Analysis of Josephus and Philo’s data suggests that amazement is the principal sense, consternation is a possible referent, but fear is not.¹²⁵ LSJ attests to a usage of ἐκπλαγῆναι that evidently does not distinguish between “amazement” and “astonishment,” on the one hand, and “fear” and “panic,” on the other.¹²⁶ Taking into consideration all the evidence cited, it seems best to maintain that the feeling principally associated with ἐκπλαγῆναι in Hellenistic Greek is amazement, while fear is not associated. Like ἐκστῆναι, ἐκπλαγῆναι presents a more intensive notion of astonishment/amazement, which in its basic or default level is represented by θαμβηθῆναι.

¹²³ BDAG, 308, offers the translation “the disciples were terribly shocked” for Mt 19:25, Mk 10:26. This is unnecessary. Being overwhelmed with amazement would fit the context well.

¹²⁴ The definition in LEH, 186, reads thus: “M: to marvel at, to be amazed at [τι]... P: to be astonished...; to be confounded.” The entry in Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 214, which does not assume a difference between middle and passive, reads thus: “to be astonished at, marvel at.”

¹²⁵ The majority of the ten instances of ἐκπλαγῆναι in Josephus, Ant. 1–11 clearly refer to amazement or astonishment: 1.288; 2.231, 270; 4.66; 6.56, 290, 332; 8.168; 10.211; cf. 8.169 (ὑπερεκπλήξαι). One instance may refer to consternation (1.341; cf. 3.82 [the one instance of ἐκπλήξαι]). The verb ἐκπλαγῆναι is one of Josephus’ most common words for indicating amazement. Related is the term ἐκπλήξεις (e.g., Josephus, Ant. 2.139; 5.279; 7.176; 9.58), which translators of Josephus take as more commonly referring to fear, terror, dread, consternation etc. than to astonishment. E.g., see William Whiston, *The New Complete Works of Josephus*, rev. and exp. ed., ed. Paul L. Maier (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Kregel, 1999); Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1–4*; Christopher Begg, *Judean Antiquities 5–7*, Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 4 (Leiden; Boston, Mass.; Köln: Brill, 2005); and Christopher Begg and Paul Spilsbury, *Judean Antiquities 8–10*, Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 5 (Leiden; Boston, Mass.; Köln: Brill, 2005). Incidentally, LSJ, 517, gives principally “consternation” and in one case “terror,” but not amazement etc., as glosses of ἐκπλήξεις. According to C. D. Yonge, *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*, new updated ed., ed. David M. Scholer (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1993), in none of Philo’s three instances of ἐκπλαγῆναι – Joseph 2.18 (to be “quite overwhelmed”); Spec. Laws 1.73 (to “marvel”); Good Person 124 (“admired”) – nor in the two instances of ἐκπλήξαι – Moses 1.81 (“to astonish”); Spec. Laws 1. 253 (to make “a great impression”) – is fear indicated, but rather a sense of astonishment, marvel and, more generally, being impressed.

¹²⁶ Though in their definition of the active verb (ἐκπλήξαι) LSJ, 517, gives, “drive out of one’s senses by a sudden shock, amaze, astound,” the glosses for ἐκπλαγῆναι involve various feelings: “to be panic-struck, amazed, esp. by fear.” They would associate the usage employing a dative object with the sense “to be astonished at a thing” and that using an accusative object with “to be struck with panic fear of.”

For this reason, consternation may at times be involved. At least in some nuances, the terms differ: being overwhelmed (*ἐκπλαγῆναι*) and being beside oneself (*ἐκστῆναι*). Further, broad research is necessary to determine differences in shades of meaning, based not least of all on the question of the contexts where the terms appear.

4.3 Being Troubled

The two New Testament lexicons more or less agree on the two terms – *ταραχθῆναι*, *διαταραχθῆναι* – which pertain to having a feeling of distress or to being troubled. The feeling of fear is brought into the discussion below at various points.

4.3.1 *ταραχθῆναι*

Louw–Nida define “*ταράσσω*” in this way: “to cause acute emotional distress or turbulence – ‘to cause great mental distress.’”¹²⁷ BDAG’s pertinent definition of “*ταράσσω*” reads thus: “to cause inward turmoil, stir up, disturb, unsettle, throw into confusion... in our lit. of mental and spiritual agitation and confusion.... – Pass. *be troubled, frightened, terrified...*”¹²⁸ The sense of being troubled, disturbed or distressed is common to both definitions, while it is the only sense in Louw–Nida’s definition. Louw–Nida’s suggested translation equivalent and BDAG’s gloss for the active form and comments about “our lit[erature]” bring in the notion of less than successful cognitive activity related to the feeling. The Septuagint lexicons attest, in varying ways, to a use of *ταραχθῆναι* that indicates being “alarmed” or “troubled,” but also give the less descriptive “moved” as a gloss in some cases.¹²⁹ The numerous instances of *ταραχθῆναι* in Josephus’ *Ant.* 1–11 indicate that, when a feeling is denoted, the most frequent sense is being troubled, though fear also can be denoted.¹³⁰ The relevant gloss that LSJ offers pertains not to

¹²⁷ Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1:315.

¹²⁸ BDAG, 990.

¹²⁹ The entry in LEH, 605, for “*ταράσσω*” offers: “A: to trouble... P: to be troubled Gn 19:16; to be inwardly moved Jdt 14:19....” Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 671, reads: “to stir, set in motion: ... b. of mental agitation... pass., ‘became alarmed’ Ge 19:16, ‘became deeply moved’ 43.30, 45.3....”

¹³⁰ Of the usages of *ταραχθῆναι* in Josephus, *Ant.* 1–11 that denote a feeling (and cognition), 3 or 4 likely indicate fear (2.82a; 2.301 [note collocation with *δεῖσαι*]; 8.352 [possibly]; 10.269 [accompanies *πεισῖν ἐπὶ στόμα*] – cf. *ταράξαι*: 2.82b [collocation with *ἐκφοβῆσαι*]; 3.81 [with *δεινῶς* (cf. also *ἀστραπαί... φοβεραί* in 3.80)]; 6.328 [compared with *καταδεισαι* in 6.329]; 9.76 [collocation with *ἐκφοβῆσαι*]). The majority (16 or 17) of the remaining instances refer to affective distress or trouble (2.55, 76, 127; 4.110; 6.166, 332 [collocation with *ἐκπλαγῆναι*]; 7.153 [collocation with *συσχεθῆναι*], 156 [collocation with *πάσχειν*]; 8.243, 273 [collocation with *περιαλγῆς* etc.], 352 [possibly]; 9.150; 10.18, 234 [note this escalates to *ἀγωνία* and *λύπη* in 10.235]; 11.208, 222, 265; cf. *ταράξαι*: 2.113 [compared with *ἀπορῆσαι*];

feelings, but rather to a troubled, agitated or disturbed mental state.¹³¹ For the passive form, two of BDAG's glosses that pertain to fear ("frightened, terrified") are outliers among the lexicons consulted, even though being alarmed is semantically close. Unfortunately, BDAG does not cite any texts for these specific glosses. Rather, references to a variety of sources follow the introduction of the passive, "Pass. *be troubled, frightened, terrified...*" I will return to this issue in a moment.

4.3.2 διαταραχθῆναι

For Louw–Nida, διαταραχθῆναι denotes an intensified version of the feeling and mental state indicated by the active form of the simplex: "(similar in meaning to παράσσω^b 'to cause acute distress'... but probably somewhat more emphatic) to be mentally disturbed and thus deeply troubled – 'to be deeply troubled, to be very much upset.'" ¹³² BDAG's very short definition of "διαταράσσω" is: "**confuse, perplex** (greatly)." ¹³³ It seems that feelings are no longer in view, only cognitive activity. Still, a sense of intensity about the frustrated attempts at understanding is indicated. The lexeme does not occur in the Septuagint. An instance in Josephus (*Ant.* 2.120) unequivocally links διαταράξαι with fear.¹³⁴ And LSJ's brief entry offers only "throw into confusion."¹³⁵

In light of the cumulative data from the lexicons on παραχθῆναι and διαταραχθῆναι, it seems reasonable to accept the following definition of the former: "to be in a state of emotional distress or trouble, owing to a frustrated attempt to process mentally." I accept Louw–Nida's notion that διαταραχθῆναι is in essence an intensified version of παραχθῆναι. But as BDAG suggest, in some instances, the feeling of fear may be involved. More research is needed. At any rate, fear is not an integral part of the meaning. Perhaps as with ἐχθαμβηθῆναι *mutatis mutandis*, being affectively troubled naturally bleeds into fear when the intensity is of a sufficiently great degree. No lexicon associates either παραχθῆναι or διαταραχθῆναι with the English words "wonder," "marvel," "amazed," "astonished" or "astounded." It is

possibly 4.151). One instance (3.310) refers to being stirred up by passions. It is possible in a few instances that the usage does not pertain to feelings, but to a group of people or animals being in disorder (5.206, 300; 6.115 [twice]; 7.359; 9.239; and possibly 4.151). See the various glosses in LSJ, 1757–1758, pertaining to being "in disorder" (cf. LEH, 605: "P: ... to be in commotion"). But given the fact that feelings are so frequently signified in the usage of παράξαι and παραχθῆναι in Josephus, *Ant.* 1–11, it is worth asking whether not here too a feeling is to be understood as accompanying the disorder/commotion.

¹³¹ LSJ, 1757–1758.

¹³² Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 315.

¹³³ BDAG, 237.

¹³⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* 2.120: φόβος δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν διετάραττε. Josephus' corpus contains διαταραχθῆναι once (*Life* 281 – disorder/commotion is the sense) and διαταράξαι only two other times (*Ant.* 13.313; *J.W.* 1.80 – both refer to feelings of distress). Philo's corpus contains διαταράξαι only and just once (*Embassy* 337 – disorder/commotion).

¹³⁵ LSJ, 414.

worth noting again that, within the cluster of three proposed subdomains in question, Louw–Nida observe a closer general connection between “worry, anxiety, distress, peace” and “fear, terror, alarm” than with “surprise, astonish.”¹³⁶

4.4 Other Terminology in the New Testament

In Louw–Nida’s three interrelated subdomains, instances of other vocabulary that denotes feelings occur elsewhere in the Gospels. This vocabulary includes fear – *δειλιάσαι* (Jn 14:27); *θροηθῆναι* (Mt 24:6; Mk 13:7) – astonishment – *ἐκθαυμάσαι* (Mk 12:17) – and distress – *σεισθῆναι* (Mt 21:10); *θορυβηθῆναι* (Mt 9:23; Mk 5:39); *ὀδυνηθῆναι* (Lk 2:48); and *συσχεθῆναι* (Lk 12:50). Similar vocabulary appears elsewhere in the New Testament also. The notable examples are fear – *δειλία*, *ἐκφοβῆσαι*, *πυρῆναι*, *φρῖξαι* – astonishment – *ἐκθαμβος*, *ξεμισθῆναι*, *στυγνάσαι*,¹³⁷ *συγχείαι*¹³⁸ – and distress – *ἀδημονῆσαι*, *ἀνασκευάσαι*, *σαλευθῆναι*, *τάραχος*. Yet none of these lexemes occurs with any frequency in reference to feelings. Indeed, of the lexemes in the New Testament pertinent to the discussion, those occurring most frequently are found also in responses in miracle stories. On a total word count without regard to sense, these words in the Gospels/New Testament are reflected parenthetically as follows: *φόβος* (14:47), *φοβηθῆναι* (58:95), *θαυμάσαι* (30:43), *ἐκστῆσαι* and *ἐκστῆναι* (8:17), *ἐκπλαγῆναι* (12:13), *ταραχθῆναι* (11:17).¹³⁹ I note that “surprise,” in the end, does not seem an adequate indicator of the respective category of feelings, but rather “astonishment” or, my preference, “amazement.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ See above, n. 35.

¹³⁷ This term would better be listed in the category of “worry, anxiety, distress, peace.” See below, n. 127, on the English word “surprise,” which appears in Louw–Nida’s definition of *στυγνάσαι*.

¹³⁸ A preliminary re-examination of the evidence suggests this lexeme would better be listed in the category of “worry, anxiety, distress, peace.” (The definition of Louw–Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 313, reads thus: “to cause such astonishment as to bewilder and dismay – ‘to cause consternation, to confound.’”)

¹³⁹ The remaining lexemes pertaining to fear, amazement and being troubled in responses appear with the following frequency (regardless of sense): *τρέμω* (2/3), *τρόμος* (1/5), *πτοηθῆναι* (2/2), *θάμβος* (2/3), *θαμβηθῆναι* (3/3), *ἐκθαμβηθῆναι* (4/4), *ἔκστασις* (3/7), *διαταραχθῆναι* (1/1). As noted above, other terms listed in the relevant subdomains of Louw–Nida occur in the Gospels once or twice.

¹⁴⁰ The English term “surprise,” when referring to a feeling, focusses on the basic cause of the feeling, i.e. an event that happens without warning, and less on the type of feeling itself: “the feeling caused by something unexpected happening” (http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/surprise_2, accessed 25 May 2014). The surprise event might be “pleasant” or “horrible” etc., and the resultant feeling might vary. Related, if someone is “caught by surprise,” it is not implied that she is astonished, though she may be (other information would be needed to establish this point). Thus, I would suggest that, if accepted, Louw–Nida’s definition of, e.g., *θροηθῆναι* as “to be in a state of fear associated with surprise – ‘to be startled,’” should not be understood as refer-

4.5 Terminology in Josephus' Judean Antiquities 1–11 and Philo's Moses

Penultimately, I offer a few concluding remarks on lexemes in the works of Josephus and Philo that refer to amazement, this being the one category of relevant feelings that the preceding analysis has shown to be semantically farthest from the other two. For the sake of efficiency, I focus on verbs. Although I cannot claim to have conducted an exhaustive study of Josephus' *Ant.* 1–11, it seems that the words that most often refer to wonder, amazement/astonishment and the like are *θαυμάσαι*, *ἐκπλαγῆναι* and *καταπλαγῆναι* and their cognate nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Occasionally, Josephus uses another word, such as *θαμβηθῆναι* or *ξενισθῆναι*.¹⁴¹ One of these lexemes (*καταπλαγῆναι*), alternatively, can refer to fear or dismay. To denote amazement and the like, Philo's *Moses* uses *θαυμάσαι*, *τεθηπέναι*, *καταπλαγῆναι*, and, on one occasion, *ἐκπλαγῆναι*. Thus, there is a range of possible terms for amazement that neither Josephus nor Philo utilize.¹⁴² While it is beyond the scope of the present discussion to identify which of these terms appear in what might arguably be called responses in miracle stories, the general survey of terminology shows some important similarities and differences with respect to the lexemes that express astonishment in the Gospels. Noticeably, in all four Gospels, Josephus' *Ant.* 1–11, and Philo's *Moses*, *θαυμάσαι* is regularly used.¹⁴³ The case of *ἐκπλαγῆναι*, though less common, is similar: the Synoptics and Josephus use it from time to time and Philo uses it once.¹⁴⁴ While *ἐκστῆναι* and *ἔκστασις* occur sometimes in the Synoptics, neither Josephus nor Philo utilizes them.¹⁴⁵ Alternatively, *καταπλαγῆναι*, which Josephus and Philo use commonly, does not appear in the

ring to fear accompanied by astonishment, but to fear caused by an unexpected occurrence (Mt 24:6; Mk 13:7; 2 Thess 2:2).

¹⁴¹ Josephus *Ant.* 1.35.

¹⁴² Of the terms that are not used in the Gospels to signify amazement, I mention the following: *διατραπήναι* is not used in Josephus' *Ant.* 1–11 nor in Philo's *Moses*; and *χανεῖν*, though appearing in the former work, does not denote amazement there.

¹⁴³ Mt (7 instances): 8:10, 27; 9:33; 15:31; 21:10; 22:22; 27:14. Mk (4): 5:20; 6:6; 15:5, 44. Lk (13): 1:21, 63; 2:18, 33; 4:22; 7:9; 8:25; 9:43; 11:14, 38; 20:26; 24:12, 41. Jn (6): 3:7; 4:27; 5:20, 28; 7:15, 21. Josephus, *Ant.* (45): 1.57, 167, 286; 2.87, 89, 130, 188, 252, 262, 274, 347; 3.38, 65, 179, 322; 4.66, 116; 5.143, 307, 317; 6.56, 137, 159, 181, 206, 242, 290; 7.198, 277, 287; 8.9, 83, 129, 136, 168, 235, 276; 9.21, 60, 124, 194; 10.266, 277; 11.6, 268 (for a number of instances a feeling weaker than wonder/marvel, represented perhaps by the English “admire,” though that is not entirely adequate, is in view – the usage in 7.312 does not pertain to a feeling). Philo, *Moses* (7): 1.78, 177, 264; 2.25, 167, 197, 236 (“admire” fits some instances better here, too). Note *ἀποθαυμάσαι* does not occur in Josephus' *Ant.* 1–11 or Philo, *Moses*; and in *Ant.* *ὑπερθαυμάσαι* (8.170) and *ἐκθαυμάσαι* (5.279) occur once each.

¹⁴⁴ Mt (4 instances): 7:28; 13:54; 19:25; 22:33. Mk (5): 1:22; 6:2; 7:37; 10:26; 11:18. Lk (3) 2:48; 4:32; 9:43. On Josephus, *Ant.* (10 instances) and Philo, *Moses* (1), see above, n. 112.

¹⁴⁵ While indicating a feeling, *ἐκστῆναι* occurs in Mt (1): 12:23 – Mk (3): 2:12; 5:42; 6:51 – Lk (2): 2:47; 8:56 (see also *ἐκστῆσαι* in 24:22). “Ἐκστασις” appears, with the relevant meaning, twice in Mk (5:42, 16:8) and once in Lk (5:26).

Gospels.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, two terms that appear regularly in Mark – namely, *θαμβηθῆναι* and *ἐκθαμβηθῆναι* – occur in no other Gospels nor in Philo, though *θαμβηθῆναι* occurs once in Josephus.¹⁴⁷ Finally, Philo uses *τεθηπέναι* a number of times, though one does not find the word in the Gospels or in Josephus.¹⁴⁸

4.6 Collocations of Feelings and Posturing the Body Towards the Ground

I now make one final observation. In Gospel miracle stories, collocations of feelings and certain physical actions in responses further solidify the distinction between terms that express amazement and fear. Where falling, prostration or related action occurs and where a feeling is also present, only the following relevant terms occur: *φοβηθῆναι* (Mt 17:6; Mk 5:33), *φόβος* (Mt 28:4),¹⁴⁹ *ἔμφοβος* (Lk 24:5), *τρέμειν* (Mk 5:33; Lk 8:47), *θάμβος* (Lk 5:8–9; but cf. 5:10 [μὴ φοβοῦ]). Thus, the tendency is strong for posturing of the body upon or towards the ground to have fear rather than amazement as the accompanying passion.

5 SUMMARY OF RESULTS

I began this comparative analysis of lexicons by asking whether Louw–Nida’s distinction between the proposed categories or semantic domains of fear, anxiety and astonishment is maintainable in light of the definitions offered by BDAG. As many as three other lexicons were consulted, two for the Septuagint and one mainly for classical Greek. At various points, I included evidence from Josephus’ *Ant.* 1–11

¹⁴⁶ Of the 11 instances of *καταπλαγῆναι* in Philo, *Moses* nine pertain to wonder and amazement (1.27, 59, 180, 200, 213, 288; 2.70, 166, 264; cf. 1.231 [*καταπλήξαι*]) and two to being alarmed or afraid (1.92, 170; cf. 1.251 [*καταπλήξασθαι*]). In Josephus *Ant.* the ratio is reversed: only 5 of 25 instances of *καταπλαγῆναι* (2.286, 288; 3.38; 7.313; 11.266), perhaps 6 (add 3.37) denote amazement, while the remainder relate fear (9 instances: 2.267, 333; 3.305, 308; 4.89; 5.355; 6.72; 8.371; 9.16) or dismay (15 or 16: [3.37;] 4.7, 9; 5.204, 216; 6.99, 127, 174, 348; 7.62, 122, 218, 309, 339; 8.274; 10.132). Of the 9 instances of *καταπλήξαι*, only once (Josephus *Ant.* 2.284) is amazement denoted (the others denote fear or dismay: 4.9; 5.28, 38, 64, 158, 216, 251; 6.24).

¹⁴⁷ In Mk the terms occur three (*θαμβηθῆναι*) and four (*ἐκθαμβηθῆναι*) times, respectively. The former occurs also in Josephus, *Ant.* 6.92. Because of the rarity of the terms related to the root *θαμ** in the writings of Josephus and Philo, I now refer briefly to the entire corpus of each, respectively. Philo never uses *θαμβηθῆναι*, *θάμβος*, *ἐκθαμβηθῆναι* or related cognates. His preferred words for amazement and so forth are others (see above). Josephus uses, in addition to the one instance of *θαμβηθῆναι*, *θάμβος* but three times (J. W. 3.394; 5.324; 7.30), the last two being instances of amazement, possibly the first as well.

¹⁴⁸ Philo, *Moses* (4 instances): 1.27; 2.23, 40, 70. Note the Septuagint contains no instances of *τεθηπέναι*.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Mt 14:26 (with *ταραχθῆναι* also), 33.

and Philo's *Moses*. For the sake of consistency, all five lexicons and the consulted editions of Josephus and Philo were in English.¹⁵⁰

Ironically, attempting to answer adequately our main question has required more space than would have been needed for new entries on the discussed lexemes. (Of course, the amount of time it would have taken to do a thorough analysis of each lexeme in light of all Hellenistic literature, papyri and inscriptions in order to write entries would have been exceedingly greater.) But the exercise is worth the effort, since it reveals the difficulty of answering such a deceptively simple question given the present state of lexicographical affairs, which is especially inadequate for Hellenistic Greek. But the end result is a positive one. Although the notion of “semantic domain” might be held in question, Louw–Nida’s scheme of categorisation holds true in the present case.

A comparative analysis of definitions from BDAG and other lexicons shows that the semantic categories for fear and amazement, especially, are separate. On the one hand, a number of terms denoting fear (φόβος, φοβηθῆναι, ἔκφοβος, ἔμφοβος, πτοηθῆναι) never indicate wonder, amazement or the like. On the other hand, one term (θαυμάσαι) signifies marvel or wonder, but never fear. Other lexemes associate themselves closely with one or the other group – that is, either with fear (τρόμος, τρέμειν) or with wonder/marvel (θάμβος, θαμβηθῆναι, ἔκστασις, ἐκστῆναι, ἐκπλαγῆναι). Because all of these latter terms express principally degrees of astonishment/amazement, it seems better to call the category by that feeling, rather than by wonder/marvel. The only word that occupies a space somewhere between these two camps is ἐκθαμβηθῆναι. The collocation of physical posturing towards the ground and terms expressing fear, but not amazement, corroborates the assessment based on the examination of the lexicons.

A third category consists of two terms with four total instances that express degrees of being distressed or troubled: παραχθῆναι and διαταραχθῆναι. Comparative analysis of the lexicons reveals that the semantic category, though distinct, is closer to that of fear than that of amazement/astonishment. This aligns with Louw–Nida’s explicit statement to the effect that, as a whole, terms for being anxious and being troubled are closely related to lexemes expressing fear. Further confirmation comes from the observation that all four relevant instances of παραχθῆναι and διαταραχθῆναι collocate with explicit reference to fear, whether a description of characters’ feelings or an encouragement not to be afraid.

Finally, surveying the texts from Josephus and Philo helps to answer the third criticism of Louw–Nida’s lexicon offered above. In the affective category of

¹⁵⁰ One could reasonably expand the investigation to German, French and Spanish lexicons and editions of Philo and Josephus. But for present purposes, incorporating all of these languages was not necessary. The best direction for future research on the topic would be to employ a much wider base of primary sources and to give detailed analysis of usage, checking translations into modern languages only as a secondary means of corroboration or of refining the findings made by other means. In such a lexicographical project, papyri and inscriptions should be in view, in addition to literary sources.

amazement, Louw–Nida’s list of lexemes misses two important terms that recur in the work of the said ancient authors, i.e., *καταπλαγήναι* and *τεθηπέναι*. The latter, which may be a lexeme of a higher register in Hellenistic Greek,¹⁵¹ fits squarely in the category, like *θαυμάσαι* does, thus reinforcing the categorization scheme. The former, however, at times denotes amazement, on the one hand, and fear and dismay, on the other, thereby offering a challenge to the scheme. In light of the evidence surveyed, it seems reasonable to affirm three categories of feelings in Hellenistic Greek based on lexical-semantics, recognizing some lexemes (notably *ἐκθαμβηθῆναι* and *καταπλαγήναι*) blur the lines between categories and noting a close relation between two of the categories (fear and being troubled).

The results are important for Gospel studies. It is no longer acceptable to place, e.g., *φοβηθῆναι* and *θαυμάσαι* side-by-side without differentiation in a category of affective responses labeled *Eindruck*, *Admiration* or “wonder.” While generalizing to some extent, the following table (Table 1) illustrates how terms in the responses in the miracle stories of the Gospels interrelate. Attention to nuance (e.g., *ἐκστῆναι* can at times entail fear) should of course not be neglected when using such heuristic tools. For ease of reference, “amazement” indicates a continuum of feelings that are related and that range in intensity from wonder to great amazement. “Fear” and “being troubled” are similar in this respect.

Table 1: Lexemes for Amazement, Fear and Being Troubled¹⁵²

| | Intensity | | | (Further Semantic Nuance) ¹⁵³ |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------------|--|
| | Low | Medium | High | |
| Amazement | <i>θαυμάσαι</i> | <i>θαμβηθῆναι</i> | <i>ἐκπλαγήναι</i> | (being overwhelmed) |
| | | | <i>ἐκστῆναι</i> | (being beside oneself) |
| | | <i>θάμβος</i> | <i>ἐκστασις</i> | (being beside oneself) |
| | | <i>ἐκθαμβηθῆναι</i> | | |
| Fear | | <i>φοβηθῆναι</i> | <i>πτοηθῆναι</i> | |
| | | <i>φόβος</i> | <i>ἔμφοβος</i> | |
| | | | <i>ἔκφοβος</i> | |
| <i>τρόμος</i> | | | (physical trembling) | |

¹⁵¹ Found in Philo, but not in Josephus, the New Testament or the LXX, *τεθηπέναι* occurs also in the works of Hellenistic Greek authors such as Plutarch, Cassius Dio and Lucian. Note that Philo never uses lexemes related to the root *θαμ**. LSJ, 1766, states that *τεθηπέναι* is “[p]rob[ably] cogn[ate] with *θάμβος*.”

¹⁵² In the table verbs are placed in boxes beside one another horizontally, as are nouns and adjectives, jointly.

¹⁵³ Further semantic nuance, where relevant, applies only to the term contained in the same box as the phrase contained in parentheses. Light shading indicates that the “high” intensity range is not relevant for the boxes in question.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|--|------------|---------------|----------------------|
| | | τρέμειν | | (physical trembling) |
| Being Troubled | | ταραχθῆναι | διαταραχθῆναι | |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aichhorn, Wolfgang, and Helmut Kronberger. "The Nature of Emotions: A Psychological Perspective." Pages 515–25 in *Emotions from Ben Sira to Paul*. Edited by Renate Egger-Wenzel and Jeremy Corley. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature, 2011. Berlin; Boston, Mass.: De Gruyter, 2012.
- Begg, Christopher. *Judean Antiquities 5–7*. Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 4. Leiden; Boston, Mass.; Köln: Brill, 2005.
- Begg, Christopher, and Paul Spilsbury. *Judean Antiquities 8–10*. Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 5. Leiden; Boston, Mass.; Köln: Brill, 2005.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, FRLANT Neue Folge, 12, 2nd rev. ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995.
- Buth, Randall. "Verbs Perception and Aspect, Greek Lexicography and Grammar: Helping Students to Think in Greek." Pages 177–98 in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honour of Frederick W. Danker*. Edited by Bernard Alwyn Taylor, Peter R. Burton, Richard E. Whitaker, and John A. L. Lee. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Corrigan, John. "Introduction: The Study of Religion and Emotion." Pages 3–13 in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*. Edited by John Corrigan. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- , ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Danker, Frederick W, Walter Bauer, and William Arndt. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Dixon, Thomas. *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Dwyer, Timothy. *The Motif of Wonder in the Gospel of Mark*. JSNTSup 128. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Feldman, Louis H. *Judean Antiquities 1–4*. Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, 3. Leiden; Boston, Mass.; Köln: Brill, 2000.
- Geeraerts, Dirk. *Theories of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Hauspie, Katrin. "The LXX Quotations in the LSJ Supplements of 1968 and 1996." Pages 108–25 in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honour of Frederick W. Danker*. Edited by Bernard Alwyn Taylor, Peter R. Burton, Richard E. Whitaker and John A. L. Lee. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.

- Kiffiak, Jordash. "Responses in Miracle Stories in the Gospels: Between their Role in the Gospel Narratives and Debt to Prior Tradition" (Ph.D. diss, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2015).
- . *Responses in Gospel Miracle Stories: Between Artistry and Inherited Tradition*. WUNT II. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming.
- Lasater, Phillip. "Fear." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Theology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.
- . "The Snark Hunt for 'Emotions' in the Ancient Near East." (n.p.).
- Lee, John A. L. *A History of New Testament Lexicography*. Studies in Biblical Greek. Bern: Peter Lang, 2003.
- . "The Present State of Lexicography of Ancient Greek." Pages 66–74 in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honour of Federick W. Danker*. Edited by Bernard Alwyn Taylor, Peter R. Burton, Richard E. Whitaker and John A. L. Lee. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek*. 2nd ed. Dallas: SIL, 2000.
- Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie. *A Greek-English Lexicon: With a Supplement 1968*. 9th ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.
- Louw, J. P, and Eugene A. Nida. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. New York, NY: United Bible Societies, 1989.
- Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie. *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003.
- Lyons, John. "Review of J. P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida: Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains." *International Journal of Lexicography* 3 (1990): 204–11.
- Malbon, Elizabeth Struthers. *In the Company of Jesus: Characters in Mark's Gospel*. Louisville: Westminster, 2000.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. "Septuagintal Lexicography." Pages 85–90 in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honour of Federick W. Danker*. Edited by Bernard Alwyn Taylor, Peter R. Burton, Richard E. Whitaker and John A. L. Lee. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- . *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Louvain; Paris; Walpole, Mass.: Peeters, 2009.
- Nussbaum, Martha Craven. *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Peterson, Erik. *ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ: Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 41. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926.
- Royse, James R. "The Works of Philo." Pages 32–64 in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*. Edited by Adam Kamesar. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

- Storjohann, Petra. "Lexico-Semantic Relations in Theory and Practice." Pages 5–13 in *Lexical-Semantic Relations: Theoretical and Practical Perspectives*. Edited by Petra Storjohann. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010.
- Tagawa, Kenzo. *Miracles et Évangile: La Pensée Personnelle de l'Évangéliste Marc*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966.
- Theissen, Gerd. *Urchristliche Wundergeschichten: Ein Beitrag zur formgeschichtlichen Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien*. Studien zum Neuen Testament 8. Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1974.
- Voorwinde, Stephen. *Jesus' Emotions in the Fourth Gospel: Human or Divine?* Library of New Testament Studies (JSNTSup), 2. London: T & T Clark, 2005.
- Whiston, William. *The New Complete Works of Josephus*. Rev. and exp. ed. Edited by Paul L. Maier. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Kregel, 1999.
- Yonge, C. D. *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*. New updated ed. Edited by David M. Scholer. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1993.
- Zimmermann, Ruben. "Frühchristliche Wundererzählungen – eine Hinführung." Pages 5–67 in *Kompendium der frühchristlichen Wundererzählungen, Band 1: Die Wunder Jesu*. Edited by Ruben Zimmermann, Detlev Dormeyer, Judith Hartenstein, Christian Münch, Enno Edzard Popkes, and Uta Poplutz. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2013 pp. 5–67.

THE ASS AND THE LYRE: ON A GREEK PROVERB

Olga Levinskaja (Akhunova)

Institute for Oriental and Classical Studies

Russian State University for the Humanities

The topic of this article is the syntactic structure, meaning and origin of an ancient Greek proverb about an ass and a lyre. The syntax of the proverb (or, more exactly, the proverbial expression) ὄνος λύρας seems to be very simple, but the lack of a verb or preposition makes its meaning vague. What is this proverbial ass doing with the musical instrument? Is he listening? Or playing? Or something else? An answer depends on the syntactic motivation of the genitive case λύρας. It is quite evident, that ancient poets and writers were not unanimous in their understanding of this proverbial expression, which may mean, I suggest, that the proverbial phrase ὄνος λύρας *was not the result of a reduction* of a full-fledged proverb, but *originally* appeared in the Greek language in precisely this form and then, in the course of time, developed full-fledged proverbial contexts. This could have happened as a result of translation or calquing from another language. The following circumstances serve as the basis for this supposition: the image of an ass with a lyre is generally not very characteristic of the classical tradition. In addition to the proverbial phrase of interest to us, it only appears in a fable by Phaedrus. But then, this image is highly popular in the tradition of the Ancient Near East, where asses with strings are present in the iconography of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Syria.

1 INTRODUCTION

The ass is a special character in the cultural tradition of Ancient Greece and Rome. He is on the fringe.

1. The ass was completely ousted from the Greek cults,¹ although a place for him was found in the Roman cults – not only as a sacrificial animal for Priapus but also as an honored participant in the Vestalia.²

¹ However, Mycenaean material makes it possible to think that this was not always the case; in addition, traces of the cult status of asses were preserved in the mystery cult of Despoina in Arcadia.

2. Asses are not found in Greek myths.
3. In the literary tradition, both Greek and Roman, the image of an ass is confined within very strict boundaries. They are limited solely to the sphere of laughter and, inside it, to a strictly defined set of forms: the image of an ass could only appear as (1) part of a *comparison*; (2) part of a *proverb/saying*; or (3) as an *expletive*. The image of an ass itself has a consistent set of features: he is stubborn, stupid, lecherous and gluttonous; he carries burdens and is always beaten. Therefore, the image of an ass was turned to in classical literature when there was a need to give an example of a pitiable lot or of shameful qualities. The only genre where the ass was admitted as a character was the fable, which did not break the general rule, for the fable is an extensive edificatory example. One exception was Apuleius's famous novel *Metamorphoses or The Golden Ass*, where the ass, as everyone remembers, is not just a character but a protagonist. This controversial exception, however, warrants a separate discussion. Here we will examine a proverb where the ass is to be seen next to the lyre.

2 EVIDENCE FROM GREEK SOURCES

Greek paroimiographers have preserved for us the following form of the proverbial phrase: ὄνος λύρας ἀκούων – literally, “the ass listening to the lyre”. For example:

Diogenianus (Paroemiographi Graeci VII. 33):

ὄνος λύρας ἀκούων – ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν.

“The ass listening to the lyre – about the uneducated.”

Gregorius Cyprius (Paroemiographi Graeci III. 29):

ὄνος λύρας ἀκούων – ἐπὶ τῶν ἄξυνέτων.

“The ass listening to the lyre – about the slow-witted.”

Joannes Stobaeus' *Anthology* provides us with a full-fledged proverb (as a matter of fact, set in the iambic meter):

Stobaeus Anthologium III. 4. 42 (ΠΕΡΙ ΑΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ):

Παροιμία: Ὄνος λύρας ἤκουε καὶ σάλπιγγος ὕς.

“Proverb: The ass listened to the lyre, and the pig to the trumpet.”

Photius' *Lexicon* and the *Suda* dictionary cite the proverbial phrase in the briefest possible form – ὄνος λύρας, and then quote the proverb in full:

Suda:

Ὄνος λύρας. ... ἢ δ' ὅλη παροιμία, ὄνος λύρας ἤκουε καὶ σάλπιγγος ὕς. λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ συγκατατιθεμένων μηδὲ ἐπαινούτων.

“The ass to the lyre.... The proverb in full: ‘the ass listened to the lyre and the pig to the trumpet.’ Said of those who do not express their consent and approval.”

² Ovid. *Fasti*, 6. 311–348. Propertius. *Elegies*, 4.1, 21–22.

It is precisely the brief proverbial phrase, which Clement of Alexandria and Eustathius knew and used:

τὸ «ὄνος λύρας» παροιμιακῶς – “according to the proverb ‘the ass to the lyre’”.³

As can be seen, there is no substantial difference of opinion on the meaning of the proverbial phrase about the ass and the lyre among collectors and commentators. In their view, it characterizes a situation of complete insensibility, a kind of deafness. A divergence is only to be seen in the form itself – from the brief ὄνος λύρας to the full-fledged proverb.

Let us now look at how the proverb of interest to us was used in a lived and not a dictionary context. In later prose, judging from its usage by Plutarch and Lucian, the meaning and imagery of the proverb were perceived exactly as suggested by paroimiographers and dictionary compilers.

Plutarchus. *Adversus Colotem*, 1122 A:

Κωλώτη δ' οἶμαι τὰ περι ὀρμῆς καὶ συγκαταθέσεως ὄνω λύρας ἀκρόασιν εἶναι.

“For to speak to Colotes of instinct and consent is, I suppose, all one as to play on the harp before an ass”.

Lucianus. *Adversus Indoctum et libros multos ementum*, 4, 16:

καὶ σὺ τοίνυν βιβλίον μὲν ἔχεις ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκεις αἰεὶ, τῶν δὲ ἀναγιγνωσκομένων οἶσθα οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὄνος λύρας ἀκούεις κινῶν τὰ ὦτα.

“Although you have a book in your hand and read all the time, you do not understand a single thing that you read, but you are like the donkey that listens to the lyre and wags his ears.”

But in earlier contexts the situation is different. First, the authors use only the brief form of the proverb, ὄνος λύρας. Thus, in Menander's *Psophodees* (“The Bashful Man”)⁴ and his other comedy, *Misoumenos* (“The Hated Man”),⁵ we find:

..... ταυτὶ λέγει

[...]α] κλαῶν ἀντιβολῶν ὄνος λύρας

..... all of this he utters,

[...].....weeping and entreating – the ass to the lyre.

The fragment is syntactically ambiguous. If the proverbial ὄνος λύρας is used to refer to the ‘weeping and entreating’ person, it characterizes not his insensibility or deafness, but the manner of his weeping – its unharmonious sound or, perhaps, persistent character. But if it is used to refer to an addressee of all these complaints, as some editors think, we have to admit that the proverb describes a person who refuses to pay heed to tearful complaints.

³ Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem. Volume 4, p. 806, 13.

⁴ J. M. Edmonds, ed., *The Fragments of Attic Comedy: Vol. III B: Menander* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), fragment 527.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fragment 344 B.

And here is what another comic dramatist, Machon,⁶ a contemporary of Menander, writes:

Κλέων τις ἦν κιθαρῳδός, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Βοῦς,
 δεινῶς ἀπάδων τῆ ἴνυρα τ' οὐ χρώμενος.
 τούτου διακούσας ὁ Στρατόνικος εἶφ' ὅτι
 ὄνος λύρας ἐλέγετο, νῦν δὲ βοῦς λύρας.'

Cleon was a harp-singer, nicknamed Ox,
 Who sang terribly off pitch, shamefully abusing his lyre.

Having heard him to the end, Stratonicus remarked:

“We used to have a proverb about an Ass [and] the Lyre (ὄνος λύρας ἐλέγετο),
 But now it’s the Ox [and] the Lyre (νῦν δὲ βοῦς λύρας).”

Machon, just as did Menander, cites the proverb in a “closed-up” form, so to say, and it is hard to tell precisely how Machon understood the syntax of this phrase. It is clear, however, that he does not see the obligatory ἀκούω, ‘listen,’ behind the genitive case λύρας. Moreover, it seems to me that sophisticated Athenians, Machon’s audience, were also not assumed to feel such obligatory semantics in the proverb. Otherwise the pun would have seemed strained to them, for the character in the comedy refers the proverb to the unskillful *performer* and not to the insensitive and unperceptive *listener*.

Comic dramatist Cratinus, the elder rival of Aristophanes, treated the proverb of interest to us in his own way. We learn about this from the scholia to Plato’s *Theaetetus*. In explaining the meaning of the expression “to sit like an ass” used in a children’s ball game, the scholiast reports that Cratinus in his *Cheirones*, having mixed this expression with the proverb about the ass and the lyre, produced a new one. Here is how it looks: ὄνοι <δ> ἀπωτέρω κάθηνται τῆς λύρας – “They sit like asses away from the lyre.”⁷ As we can see, Cratinus easily makes the genitive case λύρας in the proverb dependent on the adverb ἀπωτέρω (“away from the lyre”) and not on the verb ἀκούω (“listen to the lyre”). Thus, from the proverb ὄνος λύρας there also appears the image of an ass who neither *listens* to the lyre nor *plays* it but keeps *away from* it.

Thus, the proverbial phrase ὄνος λύρας has a “floating” meaning to earlier authors: one sees behind it the image of an ass who *listens* to the lyre, another one the image of an ass who *plays* the lyre, and still another one sees an ass that keeps *away from* the lyre. One gets the impression that the authors did not know for sure what image was behind this phrase and therefore used it in connection with different situations – of profound unresponsiveness, professional unsuitability or complete foreignness to the craft of playing music.

⁶ Athenaeus. *Deipnosophistae*, VIII. 41, 61.

⁷ Scholia in Platonem recentiora. *Theaetetus* 146A, in J. M. Edmonds, ed., *The Fragments of Attic Comedy: Vol. I* (Leiden: Brill, 1957), fragment 229.

The very possibility of various interpretations lies not only in the compactness of the proverbial phrase of interest to us but in its extreme syntactic uncertainty – its “openness,” if one may say so, usually making it unsuitable for a good proverbial phrase. For, as is known, the genitive case has an exceedingly broad range of functions in the Greek language, and *outside the context*, this genitive case can be understood in the structure of the phrase both as the designation of the *object* with ἀκούω ([*listens*] *to the lyre*) absent yet implied, and as Genetivus Separationis ([*from*] *the lyre*), and even as Genetivus Subjectivus with φωνή (*sound of the lyre*) implied; in the latter case, the ass may not only listen to that sound but also produce it.

But if the proverbial phrase ὄνος λύρας appeared as a result of the reduction of a full-fledged and generally known proverb, such variations in interpretations should not have emerged. I will therefore risk formulating the question as follows: Could it not be that the proverbial phrase ὄνος λύρας *originally* appeared in the Greek language in precisely this form and then, in the course of time, developed one or more full-fledged proverbial contexts? This could happen as a result of translation or calquing from another language. From this point of view, both the syntactic and semantic ambiguity of ὄνος λύρας as an independent proverbial phrase could be explained.

3 EVIDENCE FROM NEAR EASTERN ICONOGRAPHY

The following circumstances serve as the basis for this supposition of mine. The fact is that the image of an ass with a lyre is generally not very characteristic of the classical tradition: in addition to the proverbial phrase of interest to us, it only appears in a fable by Phaedrus. But then, this image is highly popular in the tradition of the Ancient Near East.

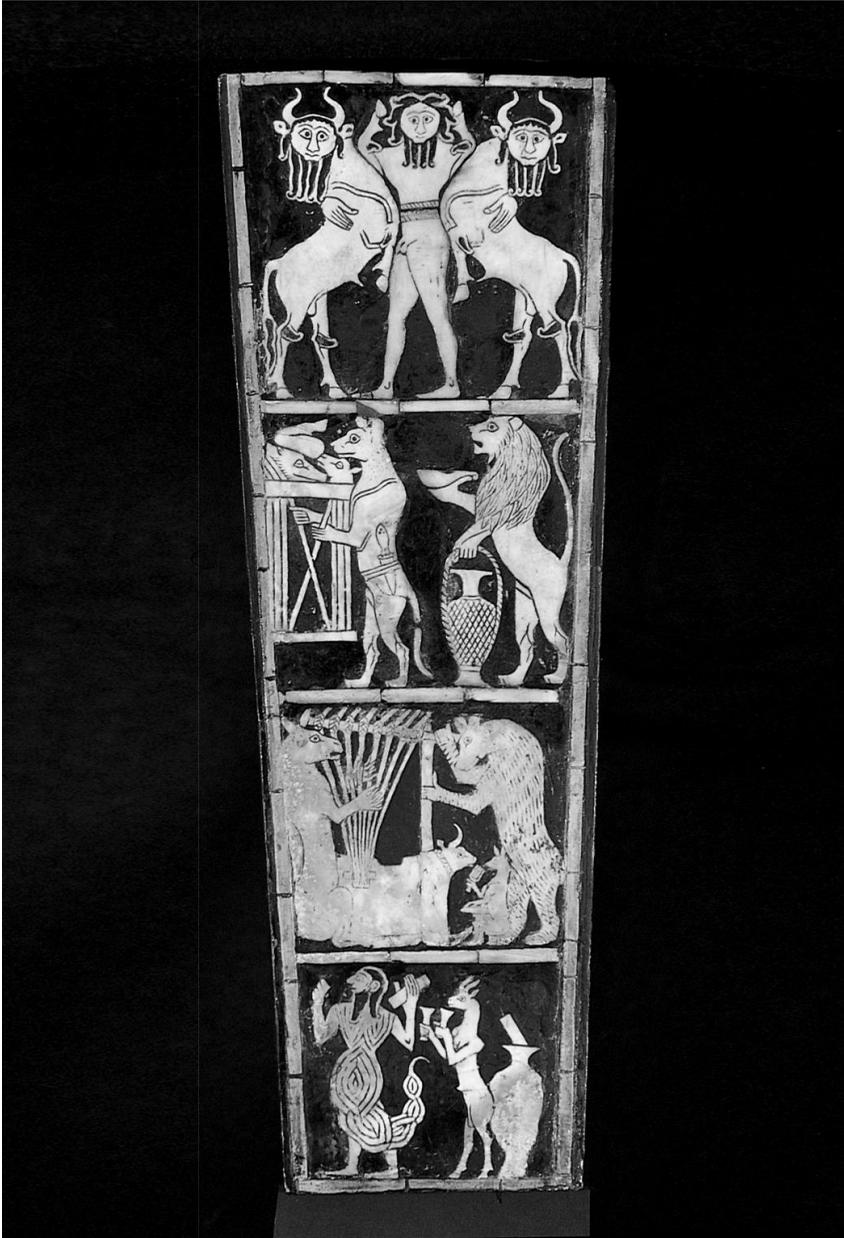


Figure 1. Sound box of the bull-headed harp from tomb 789 (“King’s Grave”), Royal Cemetery, Ur (modern Tell Muqayyar), Iraq, ca. 2600–2400 BCE. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.

Among other animals pictured on the sound box of the harp from Ur, we can see an ass playing the harp.



Figure 2. The Turin Erotic Papyrus (Papyrus 55001), Deir el-Medina, Egypt, ca. 1150 BCE. Museo Egizio in Turin, Italy.

In the so-called erotic papyrus dating from the period of the New Kingdom, we once again see animals playing music: a lion is playing the lyre and an ass is playing the harp.

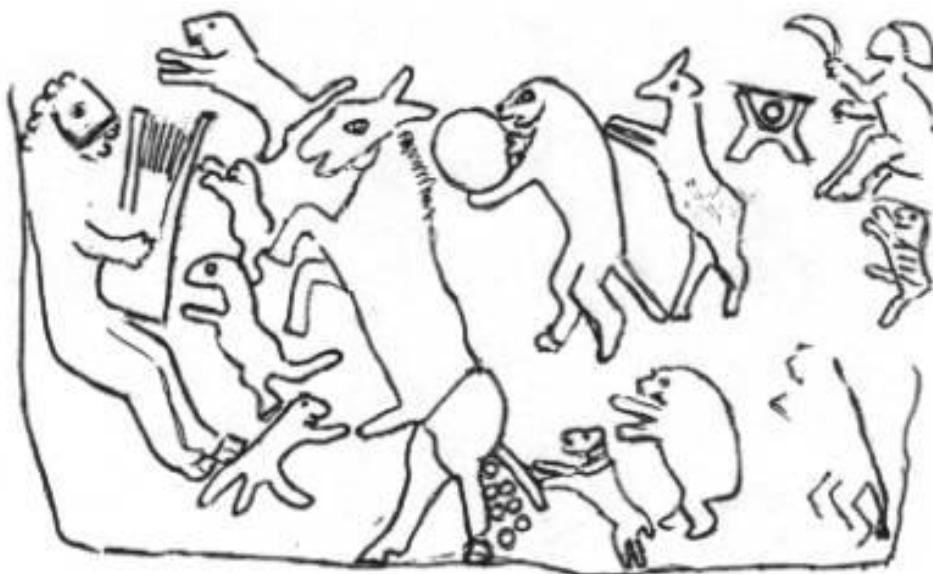


Figure 3. A so-called “Tierkapelle” from Tell Halaf, 9–8 BCE.

Thus, asses with strings are present in the iconography of the Ancient Near East. The ass’s relations with the musical instrument are represented in different ways: the ass may play it; he may listen to it, or, on the contrary, keep away from it.

The question arises: Could the imagery of Near Eastern iconography have become the direct source of the briefer Greek proverbial phrase? And can an *iconographic* image generally become the source of a *verbal* image? Or was it that the image of an ass with a lyre/harp was reflected in the Ancient Near Eastern tradition itself not only iconographically but also verbally – in a proverb, a saying or a fable, which could have been calqued by the Greeks?

4 CONCLUSION

Here I cannot set out on a search for an answer without the help of specialists in the Ancient Near East. And even if this should turn out to be a success, we will inevitably face the question of the types and forms of language contacts. However, in any case the Greek proverb about the ass and the lyre leads us to most fascinating questions – those about the ways of formation of Greek folklore, about the interaction between iconography and literature, and about the ties between the classical world and the Ancient Near East.

CONSTITUENT ORDER IN AND USAGES OF εἰμί – PARTICIPLE COMBINATIONS IN THE SYNOPTICS AND ACTS¹

Stephen H. Levinsohn
SIL International

Combinations of εἰμί and a participle in the Synoptics and Acts, including those that are described as “periphrastic,” typically consist of a participial clause preceded by εἰμί and, on occasion, a subject, with the default position of the subject being after εἰμί. Variations from this order depend on a number of factors, including the articulation of the sentence (whether it makes a comment about a topic, presents a new entity to the discourse or focuses on a single constituent) and whether the constituent provides an anchor to the context or is emphasised. Cross-linguistically, imperfectives that involve a copula are more stative than those that do not; applied to Greek, this means that copular imperfects are less dynamic than their simple counterparts. In the few cases where a copular imperfect at the beginning of a pericope presents an event in progress, the effect is to background that event in relation to what follows.

1 PRELIMINARIES

I have argued elsewhere that NT Greek is a VS/VO language² and that three factors underlie most variations in constituent order:³

¹ Shorter versions of this article were presented as papers at the July 2013 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in St Andrews, Scotland, and at the August 2013 congress of the International Syriac Language Project in Munich, Germany. I am very grateful to Nicholas A. Bailey for reading an earlier draft of this article and for the many valuable suggestions that he made.

² See Matthew S. Dryer, “On the six-way word order typology,” *Studies in Language* 21.2 (1997): 69–103, on reasons for classifying a language in terms of two variables: whether or not the object (O) follows the verb (V) (OV versus VO) and whether or not the subject (S) follows the verb (VS versus SV).

The “articulation” of the sentence:⁴ whether it makes a comment about a topic (topic-comment), presents a new entity to the discourse (“thetic”),⁵ or is identificational (with “narrow focus” on a single constituent);⁶

The “Principle of Natural Information Flow,”⁷ which concerns the order in which established and non-established information is presented;⁸

Simon Dik’s P1 P0 V X template, which states that two different types of constituents may be placed before the verb: topical ones (in P1) and focal ones (in P0).⁹

The present paper shows that the same principles explain variations in the order of constituents in sentences that contain εἰμί and an anarthrous participial clause, including those constructions that are commonly referred to as “periphrastic” (so called because they are “a *round-about* way of saying what could be expressed by a single verb”).¹⁰ These principles apply, regardless of whether the participle is present (with imperfective aspect), aorist (with perfective aspect) or perfect.

Definitions of what constitutes a “periphrastic verbal construction” typically refer to the “*combination of a form of the auxiliary verb εἰμί and a participle.*”¹¹ However, Porter’s subsequent assertion, that “it is useful to keep in mind that no elements may intervene between the auxiliary verb and the participle except for those which

³ Stephen H. Levinsohn, “The relevance of discourse analysis to exegesis,” *Journal of Translation* 2.2 (2006), 3; *Self-Instruction Materials on Narrative Discourse Analysis* (online at www.sil.org/~levinsohns, 2013), 6.

⁴ “Sentence ARTICULATION: the **way** that the information in a sentence is presented” (Levinsohn, *Narrative*, 23).

⁵ Knud Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representation of Discourse Referents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 144.

⁶ Robert D. Van Valin Jr., *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 51.

⁷ Comrie, Bernard, *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*, 2nd edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 127–28.

⁸ “According to this principle, non-verbal constituents that convey **established** information are placed before those that convey new or **non-established** information” (Levinsohn, “Relevance,” 4).

⁹ Simon Dik, *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part I: The Structure of the Clause* (Dordrecht, Providence, R.I.: Foris, 1989), 363. “A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent” (Lambrecht, *Information Structure*, 131). The focus of a proposition is the information “that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him [or her] and the hearer” (R. S. Jackendoff, *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972], 230).

¹⁰ Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1996), 647.

¹¹ Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 45.

complete or directly modify the participle (not the verb εἰμί),”¹² implies that such constructions actually consist of εἰμί and a participial clause.

Porter would classify Lk 15:1a (Ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ ἐγγίζοντες πάντες οἱ τελῶναι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ) as periphrastic, since the indirect object αὐτῷ modifies the participle ἐγγίζοντες, while the subject πάντες οἱ τελῶναι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ follows it.

In contrast, he considers Lk 1:21a (Καὶ ἦν ὁ λαὸς προσδοκῶν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν) not to be periphrastic, as “the grammatical subject is placed between the auxiliary verb and the participle.”¹³ This is reflected in his translation, “the people were there, expecting Zacharias.”¹⁴

However, as Bailey notes, “most grammarians assume that several words, including part or all of the subject (against Porter 1992:45), *can* intervene.”¹⁵ So, since reference had already been made to “the whole assembly of the people” in v. 10, it is unlikely that Luke was positing their presence in v. 21.¹⁶ A rendering such as “the people were waiting for Zechariah” (NRSV) seems much more plausible.

A number of grammarians have listed criteria for distinguishing periphrastic participles from those that function as predicate adjectives (for example, Boyer,¹⁷ Bailey¹⁸ and Johnson¹⁹). This paper does not attempt to evaluate such criteria, however, as my concern is rather to discuss constituent order in any sentence in the Synoptics and Acts that contains εἰμί and a participial clause.

Typological studies predict that, in VO languages, the default will be for auxiliaries to precede the verb or clause that they govern.²⁰ This expectation is confirmed statistically for combinations of εἰμί and a participial clause in the Synoptics and Acts. Out of 160 tokens, in only 15 is the participial clause followed by εἰμί.²¹ In

¹² Porter, *ibid.*, 45.

¹³ Porter, *ibid.*, 46.

¹⁴ Porter, *ibid.*, 45–46.

¹⁵ Nicholas A. Bailey, “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek” (doctoral dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2009), 199. See, for example, H. E. Dana and Julius R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York: MacMillan, 1955), §203; Maximilian Zerwick, S.J., *Biblical Greek Illustrated by Examples*. English ed. adapted from the 4th Latin ed. by Joseph Smith, S.J. (Rome: Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1963), §362.

¹⁶ Bailey, “Thetic Constructions,” 199, fn. 329.

¹⁷ Boyer, J. L., “The classification of participles: A statistical study,” *Grace Theological Journal* 5 (1984), 167.

¹⁸ Bailey, “Thetic Constructions,” 199–206.

¹⁹ “[P]rototypical periphrastic imperfects ... show an agent, located spatially, in the midst of an activity at a referential time” (Carl E. Johnson, “A Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect in the Greek New Testament Writings of Luke” [doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Arlington, 2010], 136).

²⁰ John R. Roberts, “The Syntax of Discourse Structure,” *Notes on Translation* 11.2 (1997): 16–18.

²¹ Mt 3:15, 10:30, 12:4; Lk 1:7, 20:6, 24:32 (UBS), 24:38; Ac 1:10, 1:17, 2:13, 8:16, 14:7, 19:36, 20:13, 25:10 (UBS). “(UBS)” refers to the preferred reading in *Novum Testamentum*

such instances, which I consider in §4, part or all of the participial clause is focally prominent.

First, though, I discuss the position of the subject *vis-à-vis* εἰμί and/or the participle (§2). I then address the position of the object and adjuncts in relation particularly to the participle (§3). I end the paper with an evaluation of the claims Johnson makes about periphrastic imperfects in Luke-Acts (§5).²²

2 THE POSITION OF THE SUBJECT IN εἰμί – PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

Statistically, the subject precedes εἰμί about as often as it follows it (5 tokens versus 5 in Matthew, 26 versus 22 in Luke-Acts, but only 3 versus 13 in Mark).²³ Typologically and functionally, however, it is more insightful to treat the post-copular position of the subject as default (see further below).²⁴

This allows Lk 1:21a to be parsed as follows:

| | | | |
|--------|---------|-----|------------------------|
| Copula | Subject | / / | Participial Clause |
| Καὶ ἦν | ὁ λαὸς | / / | προσδοκῶν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν |

A basic distinction, when considering the position of the subject in relation to the participle, is between its frequent use as the topic of a topic-comment structure and the rarer occasions when it is the focus of athetic construction.²⁵ The following pair of sentences illustrates the difference.

In Lk 1:21a (above), the subject, ὁ λαὸς, is the topic about which the comment προσδοκῶν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν is made. When a subject is topical, it never carries primary stress in oral English: ²⁶ “Meanwhile the people were WAITing for Zechariah” (NIV).²⁷

Graece 27th ed., rev. 1994, when relevant variants (most often in Codex Bezae) are noted there.

²² Johnson, “Discourse Analysis,” v.

²³ I exclude from consideration the 14 occasions when the subject is expressed as a relative pronoun (Mt 1:23, 12:4, 27:33; Mk 5:41, 15:22, 15:34, 15:46; Lk 5:17c [UBS], 5:18b, 23:55; Ac 4:36, 9:33, 13:48, 18:7), since its initial position in the clause is fixed. The same observation applies in §3 to clauses that begin with the locative relative pronoun οὗ (e.g., Ac 1:13, 2:2).

²⁴ Johnson (“Discourse Analysis,” 25) expects the default order of constituents in periphrastic constructions to be “verb + subject + locative + participle.”

²⁵ Examples with narrow focus are considered later.

²⁶ Lambrecht, *Information Structure*, 234. See also Mt 26:43; Mk 1:6, 1:33 (UBS), 2:18, 6:52, 14:4 (UBS), 14:40, 15:26; Lk 2:33, 8:40, 9:18 (UBS), 11:1, 12:35, 18:34, 22:69; Ac 12:6, 19:32. Ac 26:26 is discussed in §3. Lk 3:23 (with a discontinuous subject – UBS) is considered below.

²⁷ The position of the primary accent in Lk 1:21 and 5:17 has been checked against the dramatized recording of the NIV which is available at biblegateway.com//resources/audio.

In Lk 5:17 (καὶ ἦσαν καθήμενοι Φαρισαῖοι καὶ νομοδιδάσκαλοι), in contrast, a new subject, Φαρισαῖοι καὶ νομοδιδάσκαλοι, is being presented to the scene, so the construction is thetic.²⁸ In oral English, the subject of such constructions carries primary stress: “and Pharisees and teachers of the LAW were sitting there” (NIV).²⁹

The default position for subjects in topic-comment structures is between the copula and the participle. In thetic constructions in Luke-Acts, in contrast, the subject may follow the participle, provided it “persist[s] as an argument in its first S[busequent] P[redication].”³⁰ In Lk 5:17, for instance, the Pharisees and teachers of the law are the subject of the next clause (οἱ ἦσαν ἐληλυθότες ἐκ πάσης κώμης τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ).

When a construction is thetic but the subject is placed between εἰμί and the participle, the subject does not feature as an argument in the next clause and/or the participial clause is adjectival.³¹ In the case of Lk 8:32 (Ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ ἀγέλη χοίρων ἱκανῶν βοσκομένη ἐν τῷ ὄρει – UBS), for instance, the herd of pigs does not feature again until the final clause of the sentence (καὶ παρεκάλεσαν αὐτὸν ἵνα ἐπιτρέψῃ αὐτοῖς εἰς ἐκείνους εἰσελθεῖν). Furthermore, GNB translates the participial clause as adjectival: “There was a large herd of pigs nearby, feeding on a hillside.”³²

Mt 27:55 (Ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι) provides an example in which the thetic subject does feature as an argument in the next clauses (αἵτινες ἠκολούθησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας διακονοῦσαι αὐτῷ), but the participial clause is adjectival (“Many women were also there, looking on from a distance” – NRSV).³³

Brown and Comfort gloss Mt 18:20 (οὗ γάρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα) as thetic (“FOR~WHERE THERE ARE TWO OR THREE HAVING BEEN

²⁸ “[T]hetic sentences like that in **Luk 5:17** (introducing ‘Pharisees and law-teachers’) can be judged to be periphrastic on more or less constituent order grounds alone” (Bailey, “Thetic Constructions,” 200).

²⁹ Lambrecht, *Information Structure*, 234–35. See also Lk 15:1 and Ac 2:5 (Bailey, *Thetic Constructions*, 200).

³⁰ Bailey (“Thetic Constructions,” 272). No examples of thetic constructions with this order are found in Mt and Mk. §3.2 considers why the subject follows the participle in Mk 10:32b.

³¹ “[W]hen the participle is independent, it presumably always follows the thetic subject” (Bailey, “Thetic Constructions,” 200).

³² “[W]e can argue that in **Luk 8:32** ‘there’ pairs with εἰμί and ‘on the hill’ with the participial” (Bailey, “Thetic Constructions,” 205). The same arguments can be applied to the parallel passages (Mt 8:30, Mk 5:11). See also Mk 3:1; Lk 6:43, 12:52, 17:35, 23:53. Mt 27:61 is similar, though Bailey (*ibid.*, 160–61) argues that it is not thetic, because they were introduced to the scene in v. 56. Bailey (*ibid.*, 204) considers Ac 19:14 (UBS) to have narrow focus, answering the question, “Who did this?”

³³ See also Bailey (“Thetic Constructions,” 205) and §3.2.

GATHERED...”).³⁴ Since the subject precedes the participle and features in the next clause (*ἐκεῖ εἶμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν*), it should follow that the participial clause is adjectival. However, there seems to be a general consensus that the construction is periphrastic. This suggests that the structure is in fact a comment about the topic “two or three (of you)” (see the CEV translation, “whenever two or three of you...”).

When the subject of a topic-comment structure precedes the verb, it usually signals a switch of attention from the previous subject-as-topic. See, for example, Lk 5:16 (*αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑποχωρῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις καὶ προσευχόμενος*).³⁵ The previous subject was “many crowds” (v. 15), and *αὐτὸς* signals a switch of attention from them to Jesus.³⁶

Lk 1:10 (*καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ προσευχόμενον ἕξωτῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ θυμιάματος*) is a residual example. The pre-verbal subject indicates a (temporary) switch of attention from Zechariah, but only part of it (*πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος*) precedes the copula. The effect may be to give prominence to the “great crowd” (NLT).

Lk 3:23 (*Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα* – UBS) also has a split subject. A number of commentators consider *Ἰησοῦς* to be in apposition to pre-verbal *αὐτὸς*,³⁷ which signals a switch of attention from the voice from heaven (v. 22) to “Jesus himself” (NIV).

Although most pre-verbal subjects signal a switch of attention, they occasionally represent a renewal of attention, following a discontinuity in the flow of the discourse or in connection with a new point. This is illustrated by Lk 5:17a (*Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν διδάσκων*), which begins a new pericope about Jesus.³⁸

³⁴ Robert K. Brown and Philip W. Comfort, trans., *The New Greek-English Interlinear New Testament* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, Inc., 1990), 69. Bailey (“Thetic Constructions,” 199, fn. 323) classifies Mt 18:20 as “existential” (in the broad sense), but not “clearly thetic in the narrow sense” (ibid., 134).

³⁵ Underlining indicates that the constituent is in P1 in Dik’s P1 P0 V X template (see §1).

³⁶ See also Mt 16:19 (bis), 18:18 (bis); Mk 4:38 (UBS), 13:25; Lk 1:22, 4:38, 5:1 (UBS), 9:32, 9:53, 12:6, 14:1, 21:24; Ac 8:1, 10:24 (UBS), 21:3, 22:19. In Lk 4:20, the pre-verbal subject (*πάντων οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ*) is complex, with the genitival part split to emphasise *πάντων*. In Lk 24:13 (UBS), the pre-verbal subject (*δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν*, following the presentative particle *ἰδοὺ*) is followed by the time phrase *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*. In Ac 5:25 (discussed in §3), the pre-verbal subject establishes the topic of the speech.

³⁷ For example, R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St Luke’s Gospel* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1946), 218. I. Howard Marshall, (*The Gospel of Luke. The New International Greek Testament Commentary* [Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1978], 162) offers the translation, “And he, namely Jesus.”

³⁸ See also Mk 15:43 (*ὅς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*); Lk 23:51; Ac 1:14 (marking the transition from a list of names to an action involving the referents), 11:5 (see §3), 18:25 (UBS) and 22:20 (introducing flashbacks; also 22:29, with the object pronoun *αὐτὸν* proposed).

We turn now to thetic constructions in Luke-Acts which place the focal subject before εἰμί and participle,³⁹ as in Ac 16:9 (ἄνθρωπος Μακεδὼν τις ἦν ἐστὼς καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων – UBS).⁴⁰ The preposing of the subject may well be because “this participant temporarily replaces the global VIP of the section and becomes thematically salient.”⁴¹ In other words, the introductory reference to the Macedonian is preposed because he temporarily replaces Paul as the centre of attention.⁴²

Lk 23:15 (καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ) illustrates the combination of the presentative particle ἰδοὺ and a pre-verbal focal subject. The use of ἰδοὺ not only indicates a change of perspective from that of Pilate to that of Herod, but also emphasises the following subject.⁴³

In summary, I consider the default position of the subject in εἰμί – participial clause combinations to be after εἰμί. When the subject is thetic in a periphrastic construction in Luke-Acts, however, then it follows both εἰμί and the participle, as long as it “persist[s] as an argument in its first S[busequent] P[redication].”⁴⁴ Most subjects that precede εἰμί signal a switch of topic, though some indicate a renewal of attention, following a discontinuity in the flow of the discourse or in connection with a new point. Finally, thetic subjects precede εἰμί in Luke-Acts when the referent temporarily replaces the global VIP of the section as the centre of attention.

3 THE POSITION OF OBJECTS AND ADJUNCTS IN εἰμί – PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

I suggested above that constructions such as Lk 1:21a should be parsed:

³⁹ This order is not found in Mt and Mk.

⁴⁰ Bolding indicates that the constituent is in P0 in Dik’s P1 P0 V X template (see §1).

⁴¹ Levinsohn, *Narrative*, §8.1.4. In *Narrative* §2.1.3, I suggest that the use of “one” or “a certain” (τις) allows authors to “combine presentational [thetic] and topic-comment articulation in a single clause.”

⁴² Contrast Bailey’s explanation (“Thetic Constructions,” 206): “A vision ... appeared’ (also thetic) functions to open up a new mental space, equivalent to an embedded discourse, and this explains why the subject ‘a certain Macedonian’ precedes ἦν.” See also Lk 2:8 (discussed in §3), 14:8; Ac 12:5 (discussed in §3), 25:14.

⁴³ “The particle precedes a constituent [narrow] focus phrase that is emotively emphatic” (Bailey, “Thetic Constructions,” 320).

⁴⁴ Bailey (“Thetic Constructions,” 272).

| | | | | | |
|--------|--|---------|--|---|------------------------|
| Copula | | Subject | | / | Participial Clause |
| Καὶ ἦν | | ὁ λαὸς | | / | προσδοκῶν τὸν Ζαχαρίαν |

Because Koine Greek is a VS/VO language, it follows that the default position of non-verbal constituents that are part of the participial clause should be after the participle, as in Lk 2:33:⁴⁵

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|--|---------------------------|--|---|-------------|--|----------------------------------|
| Copula | | Subject | | / | Participle | | Prepositional Phrase |
| καὶ ἦν | | ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ | | / | θαυμάζοντες | | ἐπὶ τοῖς λαλουμένοις περὶ αὐτοῦ. |

This is confirmed statistically. On at least 76 occasions in the Synoptics and Acts, one or two non-verbal constituents that are part of the participial clause follow the participle, whereas I find only 32 instances when a non-verbal constituent precedes the participle and, in several of these, a further non-verbal constituent follows the participle.⁴⁶

Once again, it is important to separate thetic from topic-comment structures when seeking to explain why non-verbal constituents are sometimes placed between *εἰμί* and the participle.

In the following discussion, I distinguish between non-verbal constituents whose referent is established information and those that convey non-established information.

3.1 Non-Verbal Constituents Whose Referent is Established Information

Dative pronouns are only placed between *εἰμί* and the participle in thetic constructions. In topic-comment (T-C) structures, they follow the participle. The following pair of sentences shows this:

⁴⁵ “For Lk’s writings, Björck (1940:51) suggests a default constituent order for periphrasis with background-progressive aspect: *copula-participle-modifier* (where the modifier, his ‘Bestimmung,’ can be an object or adverbial” (Bailey, “Thetic Constructions,” 199, fn. 328); Gudmund Björck, *HN ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen in Griechischen*. Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, 32.2 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1940), 51. In contrast, Johnson (“Discourse Analysis,” 25) considers the pre-participle position to be default for spatio-temporals (which he calls “locatives”) and asserts (ibid., 151), “the locative force is strongest when found in fronted position or immediately following the copula.” The examples he then cites (Lk 2:8, 24:13; Ac 10:30) make it clear that “locative force” refers to spatio-temporal expressions that anchor a sentence to its context, not those that are placed between the copula and the participle for focal prominence.

⁴⁶ In Mt, non-verbal constituents follow the participle on 12 occasions and precede it on 4. In Mk, they follow the participle on 16 occasions and precede it on 9. In Lk, they follow the participle on 47 occasions and precede it on 20.

| | | | |
|---------|----------------|--------------------|---|
| Thetic: | | | |
| Copula | Dative Pronoun | Participial Clause | Focal Subject |
| ἦσαν δὲ | αὐτοῖς | ἐγγίζοντες | πάντες οἱ τελῶναι καὶ οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ (Lk 15:1) |

| | | |
|--------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| T-C: | | |
| Copula | Participle | Dative Pronoun |
| καὶ ἦν | ὑποτασσόμενος | αὐτοῖς. (Lk 2:51) ⁴⁷ |

Lk 2:26 (UBS) is also thetic, with the dative pronoun between εἰμί and the participle, and the infinitival clause (ἰδεῖν θάνατον πρὶν [ἦ] ἂν ἴδῃ τὸν Χριστὸν κυρίου) functioning as the subject:

| | | | |
|--------|----------------|---|------------------------|
| Copula | Dative Pronoun | Participial Clause | Focal Subject |
| καὶ ἦν | αὐτοῖς | κεχρηματισμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίουμῃ | ἰδεῖν θάνατον πρὶν [ἦ] |

In both Lk 2:26 (UBS) and 15:1, the dative pronoun αὐτοῖς anchors the thetic construction to the context.⁴⁸ **Adverbial** expressions that refer to the current location are also used to anchor thetic constructions (and a few topic-comment ones – see below) to the context. See, for example, Ac 2:5 (UBS):⁴⁹

| | | |
|---------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Copula | Locative Anchor | Participial Clause |
| ἦσαν δὲ | εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ | κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι... |

Lk 2:8 is similar, except that the focal subject is preposed (the shepherds temporarily replace the Holy Family as the centre of attention – see §2):

| | | | |
|--------------|--------|--------------------|--|
| Subject | Copula | Locative Anchor | Participial Clauses |
| Καὶ ποιμένες | ἦσαν | ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ | ἀγραυλοῦντες καὶ φυλάσσοντες φυλακὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ποίμνην αὐτῶν. |

⁴⁷ See also Lk 4:20 and 23:55.

⁴⁸ Such anchors are similar to “points of departure” (Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, §2.2) which begin a clause or sentence and indicate a discontinuity of situation, reference or action. Anchors that follow εἰμί often occur when there is a discontinuity of action such as “a shift from the description of events to *non-events*” (ibid., chap. 1), as in Lk 15:1 and Ac 2:5.

⁴⁹ See also Lk 8:32 (discussed in §2) and the parallels in Mt 8:30 and Mk 5:11. Bailey (“Thetic Constructions,” 204) states that Ac 21:23 (εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἄνδρες τέσσαρες εὐχὴν ἔχοντες ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν) and Lk 10:39 (καὶ τῆδε ἦν ἀδελφὴ καλουμένη Μαριάμ – with the dative pronoun before ἦν; see also Ac 21:9) “cannot be periphrastic,” either. See also Mt 27:55 (ibid., 205). In Mk 2:6 (ἦσαν δὲ τινες τῶν γραμματέων ἐκεῖ καθήμενοι καὶ διαλογιζόμενοι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν), the subject precedes ἐκεῖ, thereby violating the Principle of Natural Information Flow. I question whether Björck (*Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen*, 50) is right to list this example as periphrastic.

Ac 16:12 is one of three examples in which a locative phrase anchors a topic-comment structure to the context:⁵⁰

| | | |
|---------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Copula | Locative Anchor | Participial Clause |
| ἦμεν δὲ | ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει | διατρίβοντες ἡμέρας τινάς. |

In Ac 9:28 (UBS), the accompaniment phrase μετ' αὐτῶν follows the copula and provides an anchor to the context:⁵¹

| | | |
|--------|----------------------|--|
| Copula | Accompaniment Anchor | Participial Clauses |
| καὶ ἦν | μετ' αὐτῶν | εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ... |

Finally, in Lk 21:37 (UBS), the time phrase τὰς ἡμέρας follows the copula and probably provides an anchor to the context (the following clause begins with a temporal expression, τὰς νύκτας, which contrasts with it; see §3.2 on the position of the locative phrase ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ):⁵²

| | | | | |
|--------|-------------|----------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| Copula | Time Anchor | Participial Clause | / | ταὺς δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος... |
| Ἦν δὲ | τὰς ἡμέρας | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων, | / | ταὺς δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος... |

3.2 Non-Verbal Constituents Whose Referent Is Non-Established Information

When an object or adjunct placed between εἰμί and the participle conveys non-established information, such preposing typically makes it focally prominent (emphasises it).⁵³

In Lk 23:8 (ἦν γὰρ ἐξ ἰκανῶν χρόνων θέλων ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν – UBS), preposing the time phrase makes ἐξ ἰκανῶν χρόνων focally prominent.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ See also Mk 10:32a (Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα), with an articular locative expression that relates to anarthrous εἰς ὁδὸν in v. 17. The NRSV rendering “They were on the road, going up to Jerusalem” treats this sentence as non-periphrastic (contrast Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. III Syntax* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1963], 88). NRSV also treats Mk 1:13 (καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ) as non-periphrastic (“He was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan”), with τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας focal within the copular clause.

⁵¹ See also Lk 5:29 (οἱ ἦσαν μετ' αὐτῶν κατακείμενοι – UBS). In Mk 14:49 (καθ' ἡμέραν ἦμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων), the accompaniment phrase is followed by a temporal expression – see §3.2.

⁵² See also Mt 24:38 (ὡς γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις [ἐκείναις] ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τρώγοντες καὶ πίνοντες, γαμοῦντες καὶ γαμίζοντες – UBS), in which the time phrase ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις [ἐκείναις] ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ relates back to αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Νῶε in the previous verse.

⁵³ See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, §3.6.

In Ac 5:25 (Ἴδου οἱ ἄνδρες οὓς ἔθεσθε ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστῶτες), preposing the locative phrase makes ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ focally prominent.⁵⁵

In Lk 23:19 (ὅστις ἦν διὰ στάσιν τινὰ γενομένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φόνον βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ), preposing the complex reason phrase makes διὰ στάσιν τινὰ γενομένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φόνον focally prominent.

In Ac 12:5 (προσευχὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκτενωῶς γινομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ – UBS), preposing the manner adverb makes ἐκτενωῶς focally prominent.⁵⁶

In Mk 15:7 (ἦν δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδεμένος), preposing the accompaniment phrase makes μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν focally prominent.⁵⁷

There remain six residual examples.

Lk 5:10 (ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν) is noteworthy because the focal object (ἀνθρώπους) precedes ἔσῃ as well as the participle. This is because the sentence has narrow focus, “people” contrasts with “fish.”⁵⁸

In Lk 19:17 (ἴσθι ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων), the focal object (ἐξουσίαν ... ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων) is split, with only the first part preposed. Such splitting is usually “because its parts are unequally relevant.”⁵⁹ In this instance, prominence is probably being given to ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων.

⁵⁴ See also Ac 9:9 (καὶ ἦν ἡμέρας τρεῖς μὴ βλέπων). In Ac 10:30 (ἤμην τὴν ἐνάτην προσευχόμενος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου – UBS), τὴν ἐνάτην is interpreted as either a time expression (“at three o’clock” – NRSV) or an object (“keeping the ninth hour of prayer” – RSV).

⁵⁵ See also Lk 21:37 (Ἦν δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων – UBS); Ac 8:16 (οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιπεπτωκός); as well as Mt 27:55 (Ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ / ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι) and the parallel passage in Mk 15:40 (Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες / ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι). Mk 4:38 (καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ / ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον καθεύδων), which NRSV treats as non-periphrastic (“But he was in the stern, asleep on the cushion”) contains two locative phrases. Mk 14:49 (καθ’ ἡμέραν ἤμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων) may be analysed in the same way (“Day after day I was within your reach as I taught in the temple” – NEB). In Ac 11:5 (Ἐγὼ ἤμην ἐν πόλει Ἰόππῃ προσευχόμενος), the locative expression ἐν πόλει Ἰόππῃ προσευχόμενος could theoretically have been preposed for focal prominence. However, the NRSV rendering, “I was in the city of Joppa praying” suggests either that the sentence is not periphrastic or that the participle has been postposed for focal prominence (see Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, §3.5).

⁵⁶ Bailey (“Thetic Constructions,” 202) classifies this sentence asthetic.

⁵⁷ Bailey (*ibid.*, 203) considers this expression to be “probably periphrastic.”

⁵⁸ “taking not fish but men” (Marshall, *Luke*, 205). See also Ac 21:33 (καὶ τί ἐστὶν πεποικώς).

⁵⁹ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, §4.4.2.

In Lk 24:53 (καὶ ἦσαν διὰ παντὸς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεόν – UBS), two adjuncts follow ἦσαν. According to Plummer, the sentence is not periphrastic⁶⁰ (“and they were continually in the temple praising God” – NRSV).

Mk 10:32b (καὶ ἦν προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς) is residual because the subject follows the participle, as well as ἦν. The effect is to give thematic prominence to Jesus.⁶¹ In other words, although the verse refers to different groups of participants, the spotlight is on Jesus.

Ac 26:26 (οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγμένον τοῦτο) is similar. The locative phrase (ἐν γωνίᾳ) is preposed for focal prominence and, in addition, the subject (τοῦτο) follows the participle. The selection of a proximal demonstrative marks the referent as thematic,⁶² and its position at the end of the clause makes it prominent. In other words, as Paul prepares to address king Agrippa (v. 27), the referent of τοῦτο is in the spotlight.⁶³

Finally, Mt 27:33 (Καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Γολγοθᾶ, ὃ ἐστιν Κρανίου Τόπος λεγόμενος – UBS) may well have the complement preposed not for prominence, but because chiasm is preferred to parallelism.⁶⁴

In summary, this section has argued that the default position of non-verbal constituents that pertain to the participial clause is after the participle. In thetic constructions, dative pronouns that anchor the sentence to its context are placed after εἰμί and before the participle. Other anchoring constituents whose referents are established are also located between εἰμί and the participle in both thetic and topic-comment structures. Placing constituents that convey non-established information between εἰμί and the participle, in contrast, makes them focally prominent.

4 FRONTED PARTICIPLES

When part or all of a participial clause is placed before εἰμί, instead of in its default position after εἰμί, the effect is to give it focal prominence.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Luke*, 4th ed. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1901), 565.

⁶¹ “Topical subjects may also be placed at the end of their clause to give them extra (thematic) prominence” (Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, §3.4, fn. 10).

⁶² See Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Towards a unified linguistic description of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος,” in *The Linguist as Pedagogue: Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O’Donnell (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 216.

⁶³ B. M. Newman and E. A. Nida (*A Translator’s Handbook on the Acts of the Apostles* [London: United Bible Societies, 1972], 479) take the referent of τοῦτο to be “what has happened.”

⁶⁴ “Certain languages prefer parallel structures to chiasmic structures” and *vice versa* (Levinsohn, *Non-Narrative*, §8.6). See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, §3.7, for discussion of the chiasm in Mk 1:34.

In Lk 1:7 (καὶ ἀμφοτέροι προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν ἦσαν), following the pre-verbal subject-as-topic that signals a switch of attention from Elizabeth back to them both, the participial clause is preposed to give focal prominence to how old they were.⁶⁶

In Ac 2:13 (Γλεύκουσ μεμεστωμένοι εἰσίν), the participial clause is preposed and, within in it, γλεύκουσ is preposed to give focal prominence to “filled with sweet wine.”⁶⁷

In Ac 8:16 (μόνον δὲ βεβαπτισμένοι ὑπῆρχον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ...), the participial clause is split, with the first part, μόνον βεβαπτισμένοι, focally prominent.⁶⁸

A possible exception to the above claim occurs when a clause would have begun with εἰμί, had the participle not preceded it, as in Ac 19:36 (δέον ἐστίν...). When a clause or sentence begins (apart from any connective) with a third person form of εἰμί, the expectation is that it will bethetic or, at least, existential.⁶⁹ When a copular clause makes a comment about a third person topic, Greek writers therefore have a strong tendency not to begin the clause with the copula.⁷⁰ This may well explain why δέον is placed before ἐστίν in Ac 19:36.⁷¹

⁶⁵ No example of a fronted participle occurs in Mark’s Gospel. I have found no commentary that discusses the significance of preposing the participle in the passages listed in this section.

⁶⁶ See also Mt 3:15 (οὕτως γὰρ πρόπον ἐστίν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην), 12:4 (ὁ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν αὐτῷ φαγεῖν), 20:13 (οὕτως γὰρ διατεταγμένος ἦν); Lk 24:32 (Οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν [ἐν ἡμῖν] – UBS); Ac 14:7 (καὶ εἰ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ἦσαν). Identificational structures such as Lk 24:38 (Τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστὲ) often end with the verb, anyhow (Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, §4.2).

⁶⁷ “[T]his may be the force of the periphrastic perfect: they are in a state of fullness” (C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994], I.125). See also Ac 25:10 (Ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος Καίσαρος ἐστὼς εἰμι – UBS). Leon Morris (*The Gospel according to Matthew* [Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1992], 264) writes about Mt 10:30 (Ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι ἠριθμημένοι εἰσίν – UBS), “The word order... draws attention to ‘all’ and thus emphasizes that the Father has complete knowledge of the most insignificant information about each one of his children.”

⁶⁸ “All that had happened was that they had *been baptized in the name of Jesus*” (I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary* [Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980], 157).

⁶⁹ Bailey (“Thetic Constructions,” 99) states concerning present indicative forms of εἰμί, “[I]n existential sentences, including thetics, initial position is common.” What I am asserting here concerns third person forms, regardless of the tense or mood.

⁷⁰ See Bailey, *ibid.* 98–99, for discussion of this point and of provisos about applying the term “postpositive” to copular instances of εἰμί.

⁷¹ See also Lk 20:6 (πεπεισμένος γὰρ ἐστίν Ἰωάννην προφήτην εἶναι); Ac 1:10 (καὶ ὡς ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν), 1:17 (ὅτι κατηριθμημένος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν). In addition, some MSS of Lk 15:24 have ἀπολωλὼς ἦν. When it is clear from the context that a comment is

5 BRIEF COMMENTS ON THE FUNCTION OF COPULAR IMPERFECTS⁷² IN LUKE-ACTS

The purpose of this section is not to give a comprehensive account of the different uses of the εἰμί plus participial combination that different grammarians have proposed,⁷³ but to evaluate Johnson's claim that "the periphrastic imperfect provides highlighted background"⁷⁴ and is, therefore, more dynamic than the simple imperfect.⁷⁵

Cross-linguistically, if a language has two imperfectives and one of them involves the copula, the norm is for the copular form to be more **stative** than the other.⁷⁶ So, for Greek, the εἰμί plus participial combination can serve "to emphasize the adjectival [stative] idea inherent in the ptc. rather than the concept of action expressed by the finite verb."⁷⁷

Turner asks, "What possible distinction can there be ... between ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν προσευχόμενον and ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι αὐτὸν in Lk 9^{18, 29}?"⁷⁸ The distinction is a stative-active one; the copular form implies that Jesus was in a **state** of prayer without suggesting that he was actually praying when he questioned his disciples (v. 18). In contrast, the simple infinitive is consistent with him actually praying (an **action**) when the appearance of his face changed (v. 29).

The copular imperfect is particularly suitable for presenting iterative events,⁷⁹ as its stative nature allows the actor to be viewed as performing the action from time

being made about a third person topic, however, then the participle may follow the copula, as in Lk 15:24 (ἦν ἀπολωλώς – UBS).

⁷² I use the term "copular imperfect" in this section because of disagreements between authors as to which εἰμί plus participial combinations are periphrastic and which are not.

⁷³ See Bailey, "Thetic Constructions," 195–96 for a useful summary.

⁷⁴ Johnson, "Discourse Analysis," v.

⁷⁵ See Johnson, *ibid.*, 53, for a "Cline of Dynamicity for Greek verbs in Lk's narrative" that places the periphrastic imperfect higher on the cline than the simple imperfect.

⁷⁶ In Chinese, for example, "–zhe, a stative imperfective ... imposes a stative coloration on non-stative situations" (Carlota S. Smith, *The Parameter of Aspect*, 2nd ed. [Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997], 77).

⁷⁷ *BDAG* εἰμί §II.f. "It is usually the descriptive imperfect that uses the periphrastic form" (A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* [New York/London: Harper, 1934], 888). Chrys C. Caragounis (*The Development of Greek and the New Testament* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 177) states that, in the NT, periphrastics mostly "stress the idea of linearity" and cites Lk 5:17 as an example. *BDF* state (§353), "The reason for periphrasis is the emphasis on duration," but do not indicate whether the duration is stative or active.

⁷⁸ Turner, *Syntax*, 87.

⁷⁹ Buist M. Fanning (*Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990], 315) refers to the "customary, general, or iterative sense" when "the imperfect periphrastic denotes a generalized multiple occurrence or one which is characteristic of a broad period."

to time during the period envisaged, rather than continuously. So, in Lk 4:44 (καὶ ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς τῆς Ἰουδαίας), the copular form is an appropriate way of conveying that Jesus was preaching regularly in the synagogues without suggesting that that was the only thing he did during that time.

Both imperfects occur in Ac 12:5 (ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος ἐτηρεῖτο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ· προσευχὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκτενωῶς γινομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ – UBS). The simple one (ἐτηρεῖτο) is consistent with Peter being kept continuously in the prison. The copular form (ἦν ... γινομένη), being more stative, suggests that, while prayer was being repeatedly offered for him, it may not have been 24/7.⁸⁰

In Lk 4:31–32 (καὶ ἦν διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν· καὶ ἐξεπλήσσοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ), the copular imperfect precedes the simple one. As in 4:44, the copular form (ἦν διδάσκων) is consistent with the iterative nature of Jesus' ministry ("on the Sabbaths").⁸¹ This statement provides the background for the following statement, and the use of the simple imperfect (ἐξεπλήσσοντο) implies that the people were amazed whenever he taught (and not just sometimes).⁸²

So, when the copular imperfect is used for iterative events, it is of a more stative nature than the simple imperfect. At least in such passages, it is less dynamic than its simple equivalent.

In many other passages, the copular imperfect is used to describe an ongoing state, Ac 18:7 (οὗ ἡ οἰκία ἦν συνομοροῦσα τῇ συναγωγῇ) being a particularly clear example.⁸³

⁸⁰ "The word [ἐκτενωῶς] has rather the idea that their prayer was *earnest* and *fervent*, than that it was constant" (Albert Barnes, *Notes on the New Testament: III. The Acts of the Apostles* [Glasgow: Blackie, n.d.], 217).

⁸¹ *BDAG* (εἰμί Πε) translate this copular imperfect, "*He customarily taught*" and cite it as an instance in which "the usage w. the ptc. serves to emphasize the duration of an action or condition." The word "emphasize" is perhaps unfortunate, as the copular form may well be the default way of presenting an iterative event.

⁸² See also Lk 1:21 (the people were in a state of expectation [copular imperfect] and became and continued to be amazed [simple imperfect] at his delay). Lk 15:1–2 is similar ("the periphrastic form ἦσαν ... ἐγγιζοντες is perhaps meant to indicate that the general circumstances of Jesus' ministry rather than one particular incident are in mind" – Marshall, *Luke*, 599).

⁸³ I judge the following copular imperfects in Luke-Acts to be describing either an iterative event or an ongoing state: Lk 1:10, 1:22, 2:8 (UBS), 2:33, 2:51, 3:23 (UBS), 4:20, 4:38, 5:16, 5:17b (UBS), 5:29 (UBS), 6:12, 8:32, 8:40, 9:18 (UBS – infinitival), 9:53, 11:1 (infinitival) 13:11, 14:1, 19:47, 21:37, 23:8, 24:32, 24:53 ("The description of them being there continually ... is obviously not to be taken with strict literalness, and therefore need not conflict with the description in Acts 1:12–14 of prayer in the upper room" [Marshall, *Luke*, 910]); Ac 1:10, 1:13, 1:14, 2:2, 2:5, 2:42, 8:1, 8:13, 9:9, 9:28, 10:24 (UBS), 10:30, 11:5, 12:6, 12:12b, 12:20, 14:7, 16:12, 19:14 (UBS), 21:3, 22:19, 22:20 ("the tenses are descriptive imperfects" – Lenski, R.C.H., *The Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934], 913).

There remain a few tokens at the beginning of pericopes which “report a state of affairs with progressive aspect that functions as background to a punctiliar event.”⁸⁴ The clearest examples are Lk 5:17a (καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν διδάσκων – UBS), 11:14 (Καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον – UBS), 13:10 (Ἦν δὲ διδάσκων ἐν μιᾷ τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν) and 24:13 (Καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦσαν πορευόμενοι – UBS).⁸⁵ Ac 16:9 (ἀνὴρ Μακεδὼν τις ἦν ἐστῶς καὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων – UBS) may be similar, though the event could well be iterative.⁸⁶

I conclude that, even if Johnson is right in claiming that the above four or five passages provide “highlighted background” information,⁸⁷ this effect would arise from them being a marked usage of the copular imperfect, rather than from it being inherently more dynamic than the simple one.⁸⁸ Personally, though, I prefer Bailey’s description of their function as “background-progressive.”⁸⁹

6 FINAL COMMENTS

This paper has argued that εἰμί plus participial combinations in the Synoptics and Acts typically consist of a participial clause preceded by εἰμί and, on occasion, a subject, with default order in topic-comment structures being: εἰμί – (subject)⁹⁰ – participial clause.

⁸⁴ Bailey, “Thetic Constructions,” 195.

⁸⁵ Ac 8:28 (ἦν τε ὑποστρέφων καὶ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ – UBS) may also be a valid example, though it functions in the first instance as background for an event in the simple imperfect (καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκεν τὸν προφήτην Ἡσαΐαν). In addition to this passage and the others listed in this paragraph, Fanning (*Verbal Aspect*, 314–15) classifies Lk 1:22, 4:20, 24:32; Ac 1:10, 8:1, 12:6 as “*progressive*... they provide a descriptive narration of a particular occurrence ‘as it is going on’ or denote something which was in process at the time of another occurrence.”

⁸⁶ “The participles are descriptive rather than members of a periphrastic tense” (Barrett, *Acts*, II.771).

⁸⁷ Johnson, “Discourse Analysis,” 136. Bailey (“Thetic Constructions,” 201) suggests that, “with inherently stative verbs,” periphrasis “would **highlight** the idea of the participle or the state of affairs as a whole.”

⁸⁸ For a similar argument applied to the simple imperfect and other aspectual forms in Mark, see Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Aspect and prominence in the Synoptic accounts of Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem,” *Filologia Neotestamentaria* XXIII (2010), 161–74. I argue there (p. 173) for “the value of distinguishing between the ‘meaning’ of a tense-form such as the imperfect, which remains basically unchanged, and the “overtones” associated with it, which vary with the context.”

⁸⁹ Bailey, “Thetic Constructions,” 195. Bailey credits this label to Björck (*Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen*, 46, 96).

⁹⁰ In the majority of the 37 cases in which no reference is made to the subject and εἰμί is immediately followed by a participle in the Synoptics and Acts, the subject is the same as that of the previous clause or sentence (23 tokens). Of the remainder, εἰμί and the participle immediately follow a relative pronoun on five occasions (Lk 1:20, 4:17; Ac 2:2, 4:31, 20:8); in

Given that the participial clause can also precede εἰμί, it would be appropriate to consider (though not in the present paper) whether the εἰμί and participle combination should ever be referred to as a “verb phrase.”⁹¹

The paper has also brought out the need to distinguish thetic and identificational (narrow focus) structures from topic-comment ones when discussing the position of the subject and other non-verbal constituents in relation to εἰμί and/or the participle.

Finally, I have argued that copular imperfects are less dynamic than their simple counterparts. Cross-linguistically, imperfectives that involve a copula are more stative than those that do not. In the few cases where a copular imperfect at the beginning of a pericope presents an event in progress, the effect is to background it in relation to what follows.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bailey, Nicholas A. “Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek.” Doctoral dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2009.
- Barnes, Albert. *Notes on the New Testament: III: The Acts of the Apostles*. Glasgow: Blackie, [n.d.].
- Barrett, C. K. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1994.
- Björck, Gudmund. *HN ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen in Griechischen*. Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, 32.2. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1940.
- Boyer, J. L. “The Classification of Participles: A Statistical Study.” *Grace Theological Journal* 5.2 (1984): 163–79.
- Brown, Robert K., and Philip W. Comfort, trans. *The New Greek-English Interlinear New Testament*. Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, Inc., 1990.
- Caragounis, Chrys C. *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Comrie, Bernard. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Dana, H. E., and Julius R. Mantey. *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament*. New York: MacMillan, 1955.

seven, the subject was mentioned in the previous clause (Mt 7:29, 19:22, 24:9; Mk 1:22, 9:4; Lk 9:45, 21:17); and in the remaining two (Mt 10:22 // Mk 13:13), the subject is 2nd person plural and was last referred to two verses before.

⁹¹ Bailey, “Thetic Constructions,” 197. Albert Rijksbaron (*The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002], 126–27) writes of the participle plus εἰμί “together forming an ‘analytic’ or complex VP.”

- Dik, Simon. *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part I: The Structure of the Clause*. Dordrecht, Providence, R.I.: Foris, 1989.
- Dryer, Matthew S. "On the six-way word order typology." *Studies in Language* 21.2 (1997): 69–103.
- Fanning, Buist M. *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Jackendoff, R. S. *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- Johnson, Carl E. "A Discourse Analysis of the Periphrastic Imperfect in the Greek New Testament Writings of Luke." Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Arlington, 2010.
- Lambrecht, Knud. *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representation of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Lenski, R.C.H. *The Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934.
- . *The Interpretation of St Luke's Gospel*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1946.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. "The Relevance of Discourse Analysis to Exegesis." *Journal of Translation* 2.2 (2006).
- . "Towards a Unified Linguistic Description of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος." Pages 204–16 in *The Linguist as Pedagogue: Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O'Donnell (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009).
- . "Aspect and prominence in the Synoptic accounts of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem." *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 23 (2010): 161–74.
- . Self-Instruction Materials on Narrative Discourse Analysis (online at www.sil.org/~levinsohn, 2013).
- Marshall, I. Howard. *The Gospel of Luke*. The New International Greek Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1978.
- . *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary*. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980.
- Morris, Leon. *The Gospel according to Matthew*. Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1992.
- Newman, B. M., and E. A. Nida. *A Translator's Handbook on the Acts of the Apostles*. London: United Bible Societies, 1972.
- Plummer, Alfred. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Luke*. 4th ed. Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1901.
- Porter, Stanley E. *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992.
- Rijksbaron, Albert. *The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

- Roberts, John R. “The syntax of discourse structure.” *Notes on Translation* 11.2 (1997): 15–34.
- Robertson, A. T. *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*. New York/ London: Harper, 1934.
- Smith, Carlota S. *The Parameter of Aspect*. 2nd ed. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997.
- Turner, Nigel. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. III Syntax*. Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1963.
- Van Valin Jr., Robert D. *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Wallace, Daniel B. *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1996.
- Zerwick, S. J., Maximilian. *Biblical Greek Illustrated by Examples*. English ed. adapted from the 4th Latin ed. by Joseph Smith, S.J. Rome: Scripta Pontificii Institutii Biblici, 1963.

REDUNDANCY, DISCONTINUITY AND DELIMITATION IN THE EPISTLE OF JAMES

Steven E. Runge

Faithlife Corporation | University of Stellenbosch

The purpose of this article is to describe the discourse functions of semantically redundant nominative and vocative forms of direct address in the book of James. Attention will be given to the role they play in delimiting units within the text. It does not attempt to predict the usage of address forms, but rather to describe the apparent motivations for and effects of the usage. Particular attention is given to those instances where it is semantically redundant, where the addressees are already clearly identified.

1 PREVIOUS DESCRIPTIONS

Most of the discussions we find in traditional grammars focus on the vocative's relation to the nominative, and to assume that it is used primarily for semantic reasons to identify the addressee of a speech or letter.¹ When there is discussion about the position of the direct address form, it mainly concerns the possible locations. Consider Robertson's description: "The vocative is often at the beginning of the sentence... but not always..."² He goes on to note that it typically follows the verb or pronoun which refers to the addressees. He says little about what motivates the use or placement, as is illustrated here: "It comes within the sentence... or at either end according as occasion requires."³ Although his reference to "occasion" indicates that the writer's placement is pragmatically motivated, no principles are offered to account for the varied distribution.

BDF make similar observations about the distribution without offering motivating principles: "The normal position of the vocative: at the beginning (Mt 8:2 and often) or near the beginning of the clause... after the 2nd person pronoun... after a

¹ Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 2d ed., Biblical Languages: Greek 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 87; Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 66–67; Friedrich Blass, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, trans. Henry St. John Thackeray (London: Macmillan and co., limited, 1898), 86–87.

² A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1923), 419.

³ *Ibid.*

verbal form in the 2nd person... and also after a 1st person plur. which includes the persons addressed.”⁴ As with Robertson, the concern is not so much with what motivates its use other than identifying the intended addressee.

Alternatively, Beekman and Callow (1974) have argued that the vocative is a marker of paragraph boundaries, but their claims are demonstrated to be too rigid to adequately account for the usage we find in the Greek NT.⁵ Rogers has demonstrated that at least in the Pauline literature, paragraph boundaries are defined on the grounds of thematic information. She further argued that paragraph boundaries are established on other grounds, and that the vocative is not a decisive marker. Rogers’s critique does not stop Longacre from reasserting the paragraph-marking role of vocatives, despite the fact that they occur in non-initial positions in a paragraph.⁶ Terry’s application of Longacre’s model to the book of James takes a moderated view, recognizing that forms of direct address are only one of several factors that must be considered in any judgments about paragraphing: “To be sure, surface marking devices of paragraphs, such as vocatives and switch in verb person, occur at the beginning of the paragraphs as analyzed, but for the most part, an analysis of paragraph structure is dependent on notional relationships.”⁷ Banker catalogs the distribution of ἀδελφοί without addressing the motivation behind the variation, concluding that it “acts with other forms and constructions to signal the beginning of new units in discourse on various levels.”⁸ Levinsohn likens the function of vocatives to that of redundant noun phrase reference to active participants: “As such, they may be cited as supporting evidence for a boundary, but their presence does not automatically indicate a boundary.”⁹ He goes on to note that they can reinforce commands introduced by inferential conjunctions.¹⁰

Despite all of the attention given to the structuring role forms of direct address may play, questions remain regarding the broader discourse function of direct address in the New Testament. A preliminary survey of Paul’s usage of direct address

⁴ Fredrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 250.

⁵ Elinor Rogers, “Vocatives and Boundaries,” *Selected Technical Articles Related to Translation* 11 (1984): 24–29.

⁶ Robert E. Longacre, “Toward an Exegesis of 1 John Based on the Discourse Analysis of the Greek Text,” in *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation*, ed. Black, Katherine Barnwell, and Stephen H. Levinsohn (Nashville: Broadman, 1992), 273–274.

⁷ Ralph Bruce Terry, “Some Aspects of the Discourse Structure of the Book of James,” *Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics* 5, no. 2 (1992): 118.

⁸ John Banker, “The Position of the Vocative ADELPHOI in the Clause,” *Selected Technical Articles Related to Translation* 11 (1984): 36.

⁹ Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (revised) (Dallas: SIL International, 2000), 280.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

demonstrated that the traditional semantic explanation of introducing new addressees could only explain 39% of the examples. In other words, the majority of the direct address must be serving some other discourse function than simply identifying “who is doing what to whom.”¹¹

2 LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK

Vocatives and nominatives of address are a sub-component of the referential system, and are thus best understood and explained in this light. Dooley and Levinsohn have demonstrated the level of encoding assigned to a participant serves one of three basic functions: The semantic function, the discourse-processing function, and the pragmatic function.¹² In building on their work, I have postulated elsewhere that these three functions are best understood as forming an entailment hierarchy.¹³ The basic presupposition of the reader is that referential encoding is intended to accomplish a semantic function, identifying “who did what to whom.” This is consistent with what has been claimed by the traditional grammarians. However, in many cases the referential encoding is deemed semantically redundant, such as a full noun phrase used to refer to an active participant, or direct address used to refer to the same group of addressees. The semantic redundancy is what enables the encoding to serve a secondary function, what Dooley and Levinsohn call discourse processing. In such cases, the redundant encoding serves to help mark a transition in the discourse, such as the beginning of a new unit or sub-unit.¹⁴ The semantic meaning has not disappeared. Instead the redundancy constrains the reader to move further up the tripartite hierarchy to explain the usage.

The same holds for the pragmatic function. Over-encoded references to active participant that are found in contexts of high continuity – where there is clearly no transition in the discourse – the disruption in processing caused by the redundant encoding serves as something of a speed bump just before something surprising or important. It serves pragmatic highlighting function to draw attention to what immediate follows. The importance of viewing these three functions as part of an entailment hierarchy is that it avoids the fallacy of claiming only one function may be present at a time. Instead, the more basic functions are understood to still be pre-

¹¹ Sean Boisen and Steven E. Runge, “‘So, Brothers’: Pauline Use of the Vocative” (Paper delivered to Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics Section presented at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA, November 17, 2007), <http://semanticbible.org/other/presentations/2007-sbl-vocative/>.

¹² Robert A. Dooley and Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts* (Dallas: SIL International, 2001), 56.

¹³ Steven E. Runge, “A Discourse-Functional Description of Participant Reference in Biblical Hebrew Narrative” (DLitt, University of Stellenbosch, 2007), 39, <http://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/1212>.

¹⁴ See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 280, 137–45.

sent when a higher-level function occurs. The redundancy is what drives the reader to continue up the hierarchy in search of an adequate explanation.¹⁵

In the following sections, each of the three basic functions will be introduced and used to account for a portion of the usage observed in the epistle of James. Section 2.4 will consider anomalous usage that appears to fall outside the bounds of the tripartite framework.

2.1 Semantic Function

The most basic level of the hierarchy is the semantic function. The semantic task is to “identify the referents unambiguously, distinguishing them from other possible ones.”¹⁶ This seems to be what is generally referred to as the ‘vocative or nominative of address’ usage by the grammarians, identifying the audience or individual(s) that the speaker is addressing in a speech or discourse. If the reader judges that the form of address is semantically necessary, there is no need to search for alternative explanations. The reader continues on their merry way without moving up the hierarchy. Clear examples of this semantic function are found in Eph 5:22, 25; 6:1, 4, 5, and 9, where the succession of address forms are semantically required in order for the reader to make the mental shifts from address to wives, husbands, children, fathers, slaves and masters, respectively. Without these address forms, the reader would have a difficult time knowing whom the writer was addressing.

There are a number of such semantically required address forms to be found in the book of James. The direct address is indicated by bolding in the following examples.¹⁷ In 4:13, the writer is addressing a hypothetical group of people who speculate about the future. The verb of speaking generally identifies them, whereas the reported speech makes the description more specific.

4:13 Ἄγε νῦν οἱ λέγοντες· Σήμερον ἢ αὔριον πορευσόμεθα εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ποιήσομεν ἐκεῖ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἐμπορευσόμεθα καὶ κερδήσομεν

Come now, the ones who say, “Today or tomorrow we will travel to such and such a city and spend a year there, and carry on business and make a profit,”

We find another switch to a new group of addresses in 5:1, where James addresses the rich. There is a running dispute among commentators about whether the rich

¹⁵ For a more complete account of this phenomenon, see Stephen H. Levinsohn, “NP References to Active Participants and Story Development in Ancient Hebrew,” *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session 44* (2000): 1–13; Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010), 131–33.

¹⁶ Dooley and Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse*, 56.

¹⁷ All Greek text quoted from Michael W. Holmes, ed., *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2010); all English translations quoted from W. Hall Harris, III et al., eds., *The Lexham English Bible* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2012).

were part of the community of believers, or whether the words were intended to encourage the community about what lay in store for those rich outsiders who oppressed them. In either case, the form of address here significantly narrows down the potential scope of the audience to a specific group.

5:1 Ἄγε νῦν **οἱ πλούσιοι**, κλαύσατε ὀλολύζοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις ὑμῶν ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις.

Come now, **you rich people**, weep and cry aloud over the miseries that are coming upon you!

Other instances involving a semantically-required shift are Jas 4:8 and 9.

In other cases, forms of address recharacterize the present audience from the speaker's point of view by using a thematically loaded referring expression. Barnwell lists this function before the more standard semantic function ("focusing attention on an individual or group of individuals"), stating they "may show the attitude of the speaker towards the person he is speaking to" or "to focus on certain qualities of an individual or group."¹⁸ This newly introduced expression often contrasts with the expected referring expression, exemplified by Jesus referring to his disciples as ὀλιγόπιστοι "you of little faith" in Lk 12:28.¹⁹ The direct address provides a particularly salient characterization based upon the context, as will be demonstrated by the instances in James. These recharacterizing forms are not semantically required to identify the audience, but they are necessary for the readers to correctly understand how the writer views the audience. It is not a narrowing down of the audience as in Eph 5–6, but rather a recharacterization of the audience. Consider these examples from James 4:

4:4 **μοιχαλίδες**, οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ἡ φιλία τοῦ κόσμου ἔχθρα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν; ὃς ἐὰν οὖν βουληθῆ φίλος εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου, ἐχθρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσταται.

Adulterous people! Do you not know that friendship with the world is enmity with God? Therefore, whoever wants to be a friend of the world makes himself an enemy of God.

4:8–9 ἐγγίσατε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐγγιεῖ ὑμῖν. καθαρίσατε χεῖρας, **ἁμαρτωλοὶ**, καὶ ἀγνίσατε καρδίας, **δίψυχοι**. ταλαιπωρήσατε καὶ πενήθησατε καὶ κλαύσατε· ὁ γέλως ὑμῶν εἰς πένθος μετατραπήτω καὶ ἡ χαρὰ εἰς κατήφειαν.

Draw near to God, and he will draw near to you. Cleanse your hands, **you sinners**, and purify your hearts, **you double-minded!** Lament and mourn and weep! Let your laughter be turned to mourning, and your joy to gloominess.

These changes in address from the more generic ἀδελφοί would likely have come as an unwelcomed surprise. They offer little opportunity for the hearers to exclude

¹⁸ Katherine Barnwell, "Vocative Phrases," *Notes on Translation* 53 (1974): 9–10.

¹⁹ See Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 349–364.

themselves as an intended addressee based on their breadth of reference. Other possible instances of thematic address include Jas 2:20 and 4:4.

2.2 Segmentation Function

The next task in the processing hierarchy is the segmentation function. According to Dooley and Levinsohn, this task concerns overcoming “disruptions in the flow of information.”²⁰ Transitions to a new theme or topic represent a disruption, and may be marked with various devices to help the reader successfully navigate them. These devices essentially say, “Mind the gap,” explicitly marking what might otherwise have been missed. Recall Beekman and Callow’s (1974) association of address forms with paragraph boundaries.²¹ Cognitive studies have demonstrated that it takes longer for readers to process redundant information. As a result, it is not surprising that many languages utilize redundant encoding of active participants to alert readers that they have reached a transition of some kind.²² Generally speaking, the greater number of markers found at a given transition, the higher the level of the transition within the discourse. The association of forms of address with paragraph boundaries is thus not a surprise. Bear in mind that redundant forms of address may be operating either at the clause level or at higher levels of discourse, such as pericope boundaries. In either case they can be used to explicitly mark a transition in the discourse based on how they slow the reader’s processing. Without an explicit marker the transition would have been much less obvious and potentially overlooked.

The association of direct address with clause initial position makes sense when it is semantically required, calling attention to some new addressee. Redundant address forms often occur initially as well, as seen in Jas 2:1 and 5:19.

2:1 Ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ ἐν προσωπολημψίαις ἔχετε τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης;

My brothers, do not hold your faith in our glorious Lord Jesus Christ with partiality.

5:19 Ἀδελφοί μου, ἐάν τις ἐν ὑμῖν πλανηθῆ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἐπιστρέψῃ τις αὐτόν,

My brothers, if anyone among you should wander away from the truth and someone turns him back,

Both of these verses are understood to begin new paragraphs in the UBS⁴, NA²⁷ and SBLGNT editions.

²⁰ Dooley and Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse*, 56.

²¹ See also Barnwell, “Vocative Phrases,” 10.

²² See Levinsohn, “NP References to Active Participants and Story Development in Ancient Hebrew”; Runge, “A Discourse-Functional Description of Participant Reference in Biblical Hebrew Narrative,” 149–50.

Grammarians have noted that forms of address are also found following 2nd person verbs, such as imperatives. In James, many of these tokens fall at what editors have judged to be paragraph boundaries, as in 1:16.

1:16 μή πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί.

Do not be deceived, **my dear brothers**.

In the SBLGNT, this verse concludes the discussion about the source of our temptations in vv. 12–16, whereas it begins the section on the source of all good gifts in the NA²⁷. Verse 16 may best be called a Janus verse, forming a hinge between the two units. However, note that the information in the verse – both the verb and the address form – contributes little to the propositional content.²³ This lack of required semantic content may explain the difficulty of determining its connection. Nevertheless, its status as redundant information enables it to serve as a processing function.

According to the processing hierarchy, the perceived lack of semantic relevance moves the reader to find an alternative explanation. The redundant information slows the processing, leading readers to infer a transition of some kind. Other examples of redundant forms ending a clause and following a verb of exhortation include 1:19; 2:5; and 4:11.

2.3 Pragmatic Function

The final function in the processing hierarchy is the pragmatic one. I have claimed elsewhere that there are two basic kinds of pragmatic tasks: cataphoric highlighting and thematic highlighting.²⁴ The latter concern changes in referring expression used compared to the default or previously used expression, illustrated at the end of section 2.1 As noted in section 1, forms of address may be used to signal disruptions in the text. They also are syntactically independent of the clause with which they co-occur.²⁵ This extra-sentential status makes them ideal as spacers – non-propositional content that slows or disrupts the flow of the discourse.²⁶ The tighter the continuity of the context, the more disruptive the redundant address is judged to be. This use of the redundant address form “dude” in American English evinces similarities to certain redundant uses of ἀδελφοί we find in the Greek NT, especially when they do not begin a clause.²⁷

²³ I construe this verb to be a metacomment. For more on the co-occurrence of redundant forms of address with metacomments see Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 117–122.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 131–132, 315, 349–355.

²⁵ Vocatives are “wholly outside of syntax in that the word is isolated and has no word-relations” (Robertson, *A Grammar*, 461).

²⁶ Dooley and Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse*, 73; Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Self-Instruction Materials on Non-Narrative Discourse Analysis*. (Self-published, 2008), 36, <http://www.sil.org/~levinsohns/NonNarr.pdf>.

²⁷ For a basis of comparison see Scott F. Kiesling, “Dude,” *American Speech* 79, no. 3 (2004): 281–305.

As with the last examples, the address forms below follow a 2nd person verb. Based on its placement after the verb, the redundant address form disrupts the flow of the clause, adding prominence to proposition that follows. In terms of pragmatic effects, they can create a dramatic pause immediately before or immediately after some salient element, as one would expect of a spacer. Consider the following examples:

1:2 Πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἠγήσασθε, **ἀδελφοί μου**, ὅταν πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικίλοις,

Consider it all joy, **my brothers**, whenever you encounter various trials,

In 1:2, the redundant address creates a delay between the command to consider something all joy and the disclosure of the rather unexpected object: trials. In 2:14 we find one of the rare instances where a condition is introduced at the *end* of the clause rather than the beginning. Such an ordering is unusual due to the important role conditions play in properly processing the main clause.²⁸ In this case, the form of address delays the introduction of the required complement of ὄφελος.

2:14 Τί ὄφελος, **ἀδελφοί μου**, ἐὰν πίστιν λέγη τις ἔχειν ἔργα δὲ μὴ ἔχει; μὴ δύναται ἡ πίστις σῶσαι αὐτόν;

What is the benefit, **my brothers**, if someone says that he has faith but does not have works? That faith is not able to save him, is it?

In 3:1 the break is less dramatic; only the elaborating participial clause is delayed, which is not a required complement of the main clause. It nonetheless adds prominence – probably anaphorically – by punctuating the end of the main clause. The participle merely provides the justification for only the few aspiring to teach.

3:1 Μὴ πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε, **ἀδελφοί μου**, εἰδότες ὅτι μεῖζον κρίμα λημψόμεθα

Not many should become teachers, **my brothers**, because you know that we will receive a greater judgment.

The last two examples in this section involve negated auxiliary verbs, where the infinitives, which complete the thought following the address form. As with the other examples in this section, the delay in processing also delays the disclosure, adding prominence to the remaining portion of the clauses.

3:10 ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στόματος ἐξέρχεται εὐλογία καὶ κατάρα. οὐ κρί, **ἀδελφοί μου**, ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι.

²⁸ Diessel states, “If a conditional clause occurs sentence-finally, the hearer might interpret the previous main clause as a factual statement when in fact it was meant as a hypothesis (cf. Diessel 1996).” Holger Diessel, “Competing Motivations for the Ordering of Main and Adverbial Clauses,” *Linguistics* 43 (2005): 462.

From the same mouth come blessing and cursing. **My brothers**, these things ought not to be so!

3:12 μὴ δύνανται, **ἀδελφοί μου**, συκῆ ἐλαίας ποιῆσαι ἢ ἄμπελος σῦκα; οὔτε ἄλυκόν γλυκὺ ποιῆσαι ὕδωρ.

A fig tree is not able, **my brothers**, to produce olives, or a grapevine figs. Neither can a saltwater spring produce fresh water.

Two more examples of clause-medial address forms are found in 5:9–10. The general command not to grumble has a delayed application, specifically applying it to relations with those in the church. Verse 10 calls the readers to take an example, but the kind of example and the rationale for doing so are delayed.

5:9–10 μὴ στενάζετε, **ἀδελφοί**, κατ' ἀλλήλων, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἰδοὺ ὁ κριτὴς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἔστηκεν. ὑπόδειγμα λάβετε, **ἀδελφοί**, τῆς κακοπαθίας καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας τοῦ προφήτου, οἱ ἐλάλησαν ἐν τῷ ὄνόματι κυρίου.

Do not complain, **brothers**, against one another, in order that you may not be judged. Behold, the judge stands before the doors! Take as an example, **brothers**, of perseverance and endurance the prophets who spoke in the name of the Lord.

2.4 Anomalies

One thing uniting all of the clauses that we have considered so far is the lack of an explicit connective linking the main clause to the preceding context; each features asyndeton. The last two examples stand out since a conjunction is present. We will now consider the factors that may have influenced this.

Recall from section 2.1 that 5:1 begins with a semantic switch of addressees from the primary audience to ‘the rich.’ Whether the rich are a subgroup of the church or outsiders doesn’t change the semantic requirement that James faces in signaling a return to the wider group. The οὖν in 5:7 constrains readers to closely connect what follows to what precedes, as well as signaling the next step in the discourse.²⁹ The point concerns how the believers should respond while they await God’s judgment on the rich.

5:7 Μακροθυμήσατε οὖν, **ἀδελφοί**, ἕως τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου. ἰδοὺ ὁ γεωργὸς ἐκδέχεται τὸν τίμιον καρπὸν τῆς γῆς, μακροθυμῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἕως λάβῃ πρόϊμον καὶ ὄψιμον.

Therefore, be patient, **brothers**, until the coming of the Lord. Behold, the farmer waits for the precious fruit of the soil, being patient concerning it until it receives the early and late rains.

They are to be patient, but the object of the patience is delayed by the clause medial placement of ἀδελφοί. It may be semantically required, but its placement is pragmat-

²⁹ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 128.

ically motivated. This illustrates how the position of even a semantically required expression can still accomplish pragmatically motivated effects.

In 2:18, James reports the speech of a hypothetical person who might claim that he or she has faith without works. The same hypothetical person is in view in v. 20 as he addresses the person, and the thematically loaded expression recharacterizes them as more than just a faith-without-works advocate.

2:20 θέλεις δὲ γινῶναι, **ὦ ἄνθρωπε κενέ**, ὅτι ἡ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων ἀργή ἐστίν;

But do you want to know, **O foolish person**, that faith apart from works is useless?

The presence of the conjunction **δέ** indicates that this is not a new section, but instead builds upon what precedes. The vocative expression is semantically required to bring about this recharacterization of the hypothetical person. Its placement midway through the clause pragmatically delays the introduction of the thing that is to be known.

The final example is taken from 5:12, where **ἀδελφοί** comes before the verb but follows an adverbial element that establishes a frame of reference for the clause that follows.³⁰

5:12 Πρὸ πάντων δέ, **ἀδελφοί μου**, μὴ ὀμνύετε, μήτε τὸν οὐρανὸν μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε ἄλλον τινὰ ὄρκον· ἦτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ Ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ Οὐ οὐ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κρίσιν πέσητε.

Now above all, **my brothers**, do not swear either by heaven or by earth or by any other oath, but let your yes be yes and your no, no, in order that you may not fall under judgment.

There is some question in the versions whether v. 12 connects to the preceding context or the following. Moo states, “Although this verse stands essentially on its own, the introductory *above all* does appear to suggest some connection with the previous context.”³¹ Although he seems to question this claim, the presence of **δέ** confirms the connection back to the preceding context.³² Note the dramatic pause created by the inclusion of the non-initial direct address, drawing attention to the proposition that follows.

³⁰ Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 207–220.

³¹ Douglas J. Moo, *James: An Introduction and Commentary* (Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1985), 178.

³² Richardson states, “The repetition of “brothers” (5:7, 9–10, 12), along with the negative exhortation, reinforces the interconnection of this verse with the larger context. James placed the greatest of emphasis on this prohibition of oaths because of what he had stated earlier about speech: ‘If anyone is never at fault in what he says, he is a perfect man, able to keep his whole body in check’ (3:2)” (Kurt A. Richardson, *James*, The New American Commentary Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2001, 228).

3 CONCLUSION

The preceding analysis has demonstrated why a “one-size-fits-all” explanation of direct address is unable to adequately account for the uses of nominative and vocative forms found in the book of James. Despite this varied usage, there is a viable strategy for systematically accounting for the data. The proposed processing hierarchy is able to explain how a single grammatical form is able to accomplish multiple functions within the discourse. Although the semantic function is indeed the most basic, the fact that it is not the most frequently occurring function is telling. If the form of address is not semantically required to identify the address, one should move on to consider the other possible functions.

If the form of address shifts from the expected appellation to one that is thematically motivated, then something other than simple identification is intended. This change of reference accomplishes the pragmatic function of thematic highlighting, disclosing how the writer or speaker views the addressee, and ostensibly how others should view the addressees. This explanation is able to account for the re-characterizing effect that redundant forms of address have when the expression differs from the current representation of the addressee.

If the redundant expression occurs at a natural boundary in the discourse, it may well serve as a signal to the reader to aid their processing of the transition. If the redundant address occurs in a context of high continuity rather than at a transition, then the form is likely intended to pragmatically highlight what immediately follows.

The syntactic detachment of address forms from the propositional content of the clause is another factor that must be considered, since it allows for the placement of these forms at the beginning, middle and end of clauses. The default expectation is that the forms will occur clause-initially. When they do not, they are serving as a spacer, a pragmatic device to slow down the processing of the discourse. When the form occurs clause-medially, the redundant address generally draws attention to the element that immediately follows. When the form occurs at the very end of the clause, it serves to punctuate the preceding clause. This clause-final position might also serve to mark the close of a discourse unit.

WORKS CITED

- Banker, John. “The Position of the Vocative ADELPHOI in the Clause.” *Selected Technical Articles Related to Translation* 11 (1984): 29–36.
- Barnwell, Katherine. “Vocative Phrases.” *Notes on Translation* 53 (1974): 9–17.
- Blass, Friedrich, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.
- Blass, Friedrich. *Grammar of New Testament Greek*. Translated by Henry St. John Thackeray. London: Macmillan and co., limited, 1898.
- Boisen, Sean, and Steven E. Runge. “‘So, Brothers’: Pauline Use of the Vocative.” Paper delivered to Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics Section presented at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA, Novem-

- ber 17, 2007. <http://semanticbible.org/other/presentations/2007-sbl-vocative/>.
- Diessel, Holger. "Competing Motivations for the Ordering of Main and Adverbial Clauses." *Linguistics* 43 (2005): 449–70.
- Dooley, Robert A., and Stephen H. Levinsohn. *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts*. Dallas: SIL International, 2001.
- Harris, III, W. Hall, Elliot Ritzema, Rick Brannan, Douglas Magnum, John Dunham, Jeffrey A. Reimer, and Micah Wierenga, eds. *The Lexham English Bible*. Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2012.
- Holmes, Michael W., ed. *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition*. Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2010.
- Kiesling, Scott F. "Dude." *American Speech* 79 (2004): 281–305.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek*. 2nd ed. (revised). Dallas: SIL International, 2000.
- . "NP References to Active Participants and Story Development in Ancient Hebrew." *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session* 44 (2000): 1–13.
- . *Self-Instruction Materials on Non-Narrative Discourse Analysis*. Self-published, 2008. <http://www.sil.org/~levinsohns/NonNarr.pdf>.
- Longacre, Robert E. "Toward an Exegesis of 1 John Based on the Discourse Analysis of the Greek Text." Pages 271–86 in *Linguistics and New Testament Interpretation*. Edited by Katherine Barnwell Black and Stephen H. Levinsohn. Nashville: Broadman, 1992.
- Porter, Stanley E. *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*. 2d ed. Biblical Languages: Greek 2. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.
- Robertson, A. T. *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1923.
- Rogers, Elinor. "Vocatives and Boundaries." *Selected Technical Articles Related to Translation* 11 (1984): 24–29.
- Runge, Steven E. "A Discourse-Functional Description of Participant Reference in Biblical Hebrew Narrative." DLitt, University of Stellenbosch, 2007. <http://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/1212>.
- . *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010.
- Terry, Ralph Bruce. "Some Aspects of the Discourse Structure of the Book of James." *Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics* 5 (1992): 106–25.
- Wallace, Daniel B. *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996.

AN EXAMINATION OF METAREPRESENTATION AS AN ESSENTIAL FEATURE OF WRITTEN AND ORAL COMMUNICATION

Margaret Sim
SIL International

This paper deals with an author's use of the words or thoughts of others in communication. This practice which is widespread but frequently unrecognized underlies our use of metaphor and irony as well as being prominent in creating humor. Greek signals this in various ways, not all of which are generally recognized by scholars and exegetes of the biblical text. Identification of such representation in the source text is crucial for accurate understanding of the communicative intent of the author or editor and the exegesis of the text. Recognizing the part representation plays, we will deal with the following issues in this paper: speech boundaries, representation marked by the article τὸ, representation not morphologically marked, echoic speech and ironic utterance. Examples of these will be drawn from the Discourses of Epictetus and the New Testament including the Corinthian correspondence. The translations in this paper are my own unless stated otherwise.

1 INTRODUCTION TO METAREPRESENTATION

The ability to represent what someone is thinking, as well as what they have actually uttered, is an innate part of most human communication. The cognitive anthropologist Dan Sperber comments,¹

Humans are all spontaneous psychologists. They attribute to one another many kinds of propositional attitudes: beliefs, regrets, opinions, desires, fears, intentions and so on.

Sometimes this is colloquially referred to as "mind reading." I will argue that the understanding of the crucial role which such attribution and representation plays in

¹ Dan Sperber, "Introduction," in *Metarepresentations: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, ed. Dan Sperber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 4.

the interpretation of utterances, and of course in communication in general, is a major component in interpretation of ancient text as well as oral communication.²

At the heart of representing the thoughts of others, that is metarepresentation,³ is the concept of the transfer of thought to utterance. The utterance will then be enriched by the recovery of inferences which should lead the hearer or reader to an understanding of the communicative intention of the speaker or writer. I will present the position that the concept of (meta) representation is foundational for the understanding of figures of speech such as metaphor and irony. It claims to give a more satisfactory account of these tropes than traditional literary analysis. This is based on the notion that when a speaker uses a metaphor he loosely resembles his thought or that of someone else. The use of an underdetermined or “loose” expression may give rise to a wider and richer range of inferences for the hearer than a carefully explicit sentence. This will be discussed in more detail below.

2 REPRESENTATION OF THE SPEECH OF OTHERS

Both orally and in written form we represent the thoughts and speech of others in various ways. The most obvious is by using direct speech which we may feel claims to give a verbatim account of the words and phrases used, but the notion that direct speech should record the *ipsisima verba* of a speaker is both modern and academic. It may be helpful to consider this as *re-presentation* of the words or thoughts of another. When representation is describing such speech with the claim of being a close but not an exact resemblance to the original it will be described as indirect speech. In indirect speech the pronouns will be changed and in English – but not in Greek – the tense form of the verb will be adjusted also.

2.1 Direct Speech

It has been said that direct speech is the commonest use of reporting in the New Testament and this is sometimes said by older grammarians to reflect the Hebrew or Aramaic preference. Speech margins are common in the gospels and indicate the speaker and the beginning of what he has to say, and indeed the participle λέγων prefacing a speech is sometimes assumed to give an assurance of a verbatim account. The particle ὅτι regularly introduces such direct as well as indirect speech, and it is not always possible to decide if one rather than the other is the intended representation as in Lk 9:7–8.

I would like to point out two issues: firstly in the Greek text in which no quotation marks were used the boundaries of a speech are only indicated contextually, not

² The theoretical basis for the analyses presented in this paper is Relevance Theory which has been introduced and refined by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986/1995).

³ From this point on I will use the non-technical term “representation,” on the understanding that this use may in fact be a representation of another representation. This avoids linguistic terminology which may be discouraging to non-linguists.

morphologically. The beginning of an utterance may be indicated by a speech verb but the ending must be derived from the context and that is not always apparent. Frequently the phrase *ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς* closes extended speech in Matthew's gospel,⁴ while in dialogue pronomial reference usually makes the speech boundaries clear. Examples of the uncertainty concerning where a speech ends may be noted in Jn 3:15 following, as well as in Gal 2:15–21. In both instances scholars disagree about the boundaries.

Secondly, as noted in the introduction the notion that direct speech should record the *ipsisissima verba* of a speaker is a modern academic one, and not held by the ancients – consider the comments of Thucydides⁵ on his “speeches:”

With reference to the speeches in this history, some were delivered before the war began, others while it was going on; some I heard myself, others I got from various quarters; it was in all cases difficult to carry them word for word in one's memory, so my habit has been to make the speakers say what was in my opinion demanded of them by the various occasions, of course adhering as closely as possible to the general sense of what they really said.

Arrian presents a slightly different perspective on the way in which he reported the teaching of his mentor Epictetus in the *Discourses*:

...whatever I heard him say I used to write down, word for word, as best I could, endeavouring to preserve it as a memorial, for my own future use, of his way of thinking and the frankness of his speech.⁶

The fact that the *Discourses* are in the Koine while Arrian's own literary compositions are in Attic Greek supports this assertion, but the interesting point to note is the way in which the editor of these (Oldfather) adds the name of a speaker⁷ or even “he said” to make clear that different voices were in focus. Oldfather also adds quotation marks at some points but omits them in others! I submit that this indicates the difficulty in discerning whose voice we are hearing as well as the uncertainty concerning the boundary of such as speech. This will be discussed in more detail at a later point.

There is no way of proving that this Thucydidean view of speech recording was universal practice among New Testament writers also, but it is certainly the case that our modern preoccupation with accurate literal representation was not an issue for the ancient world. Translation is also a particular case of resemblance in representation and so we should bear in mind that the text of the Gospels at least was already a translation from the situation in which Jesus and his disciples spoke and

⁴ Mt 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; 26:1.

⁵ Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.22.1; LCL 108 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919).

⁶ Flavius Arrian, *Epictetus: The Discourses*; trans. W. A. Oldfather; LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Reprinted 1998), 5.

⁷ Epictetus *Discourses* 1.22.17.

taught. The most common scholarly assumption is that the language of communication in Palestine in the time of Jesus was Hebrew or Aramaic, with Greek being understood and used in certain contexts. When we look at what may seem to be *ipsisima verba* therefore in the Greek text we already are faced with an interpretation of the representations of the original situation. This is not the focus of this paper but it does need to be brought out into the light as a factor in the interpretive cycle.

As with Arrian and Epictetus, in biblical text there is the issue of direct speech attributed to others as noted above. Is the writer claiming a faithful representation of what was said or a “loose resemblance”? Occasionally we find that we have a different language used to give, we presume, a closer resemblance to an utterance. Consider Mk 5:41 which claims to give the original Aramaic words of Jesus as well as their translation. Matthew’s account⁸ of the same incident gives no speech at all while Luke’s account⁹ gives the speech in Greek alone. The whole narrative together with the intervening incident of the woman with a haemorrhage differs with the three Synoptic writers, Matthew’s account being the most concise but I suggest that each writer gives what seems to him the most relevant representation of the actual words said or reported. They are not contradictory, but only the information which the author considers relevant is given.

On the other hand, we have a good example in Jn 21:23 of speech claimed to be direct and compared with a loose resemblance in order to make a point.

ἐξῆλθεν οὖν οὗτος ὁ λόγος εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὅτι ὁ μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει· οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει ἀλλ’ ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν ἕως ἔρχομαι [τί πρὸς σέ]?

So the word/report went out to the disciples that that disciple would not die. But Jesus did not say to him “he will not die” but “if I wish him to live/remain until I come what is that to you?”

The common interpretation in biblical studies is that the disciple in question has already died and that this comment on Jesus’ words has been added to show that the original was not a prediction.¹⁰ On the other hand, Morris¹¹ points out that the claim to exact representation in this pericope is unusual for this author

In view of the fact that in this Gospel slight variations when statements are repeated are almost universal, it is noteworthy that here the statement is reported exactly from v. 22.

I have included this to demonstrate the point made above that while exact representation is not what the ancients focused on, in other instances it appears that writers

⁸ Mt 9:25.

⁹ Lk 8:54–55.

¹⁰ L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984 [reprint]), 879, denies that this is a likely scenario.

¹¹ Morris, *John* (1984 reprint), 878–9.

did attempt to resemble the speech of others as accurately as they could. In either scenario resemblance rather than identity is all that can be claimed and this is acceptable.

2.2 Indirect Representation of the Speech of Others

I would now like to consider representation which is not so clear cut. Since there is no speech verb to introduce it, such representation does not fit the description of indirect speech but it is nevertheless a representation of what has been said or assumed to have been said by someone else.

2.2.1 *Indicating Distance from a Stated Proposition*

In Mt 27:39–40, 42 we have examples of passersby using in mockery phrases which had been reported as being said by Jesus or which had been assumed to be the claim of Jesus, namely “King of Israel:”

οἱ παραπορευόμενοι ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτὸν κινοῦντες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ λέγοντες· ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἰκοδομῶν, σῶσον σεαυτὸν εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, [καὶ] κατὰβηθι ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ.

Those who were passing by vilified him shaking their heads and saying, “The one who destroys the temple and builds it in three days should save himself; if you are the Son of God come down from the cross.”

βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐστίν

He is King of Israel

The context indicates that they did not believe the titles which they were using.¹² They did not think that Jesus was “King of Israel” nor did they believe that he would destroy the temple and build it in three days. They are re-presenting what they thought that Jesus had said but in the context no one who heard would understand that they agreed with such language.

The use of the word “sinners” in the Gospels is also an example of an attribution which was not necessarily agreed upon by the speaker for example in Lk 6:32–34.¹³ It would, however, have been the accepted designation by the Pharisees and teachers of the law of those who did not keep the minutiae of the Torah.

Occasionally “evidentials”¹⁴ are used in order to distance the speaker or to avoid responsibility for the accuracy of the claim. In English “they say,” “it appears,” “apparently” etcetera fill this slot while in Koine we may have *δοκεῖ, λέγεται*

¹² I deal with verbal irony later, but I suggest that this is used with a different purpose, namely mockery, and is being addressed to the supposed origin of the titles.

¹³ Many modern English translations add quotation marks around the phrase when used in this way, e.g. NIV.

¹⁴ Elly Ifantidou has worked on this extensively in *Evidentials and Relevance* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000).

or λέγει εἶναι which has the idea of “claim to be” with the truth or otherwise of that claim being left open. In Gal 2:6–9 we have οἱ δοκοῦντες (twice), in each case to distance Paul from the opinions of others. Perhaps the English “so-called” is used in a comparable way when a phrase or title is being reported but the speaker does not accept the truth of it.¹⁵

2.2.2 Reported Metarepresentation which is not Marked

This may be seen as “shorthand” for a common position which was well known by both speaker and hearer/writer and reader or even a well known saying. Unfortunately, at a distance of almost 2,000 years it is not as clear to us! The Corinthian correspondence has many examples of this, in particular the recurring proposition: “All things are lawful for me.”¹⁶ This is marked with quotes in ESV as are several other phrases in chapter 8: “all of us possess knowledge;” “an idol has no real existence.” The Greek text does not mark these as being said by someone other than the author, but it is clear from the whole context that such statements were part of the ongoing debate concerning meat offered to idols and more generally, who were the ones with “knowledge.” The representation frequently follows the phrase “we know that ...”

Epictetus also prefaces an unattributed quotation by the participle *μεμαθηκώς* but in the Loeb volume Oldfather helpfully adds quotation marks to show that this is a representation!

καὶ μεμαθηκώς ὅτι τὸ μέγιστον καὶ κυριώτατον καὶ περιεκτικώτατον πάντων
τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σύστημα τὸ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῦ ...

and having learned that the greatest, most lordly and all embracing government of
all is this which comprises men and god ...¹⁷

For later readers this quotation may not be transparent but in the time of Epictetus, particularly for the students listening to him these words would have been familiar as part of Stoic philosophy. The question of the frequent allusions which have been the subject of scholarly interest in more recent years, and the topic of intertextuality are also relevant here, but that topic is too wide for this paper which is concerned specifically with verbal representation.

¹⁵ The danger of ignoring such an evidential marker may be seen in the attribution to Vince Cable the business Secretary of the British Coalition Government of a phrase which he had quoted. By ignoring his “so-called” the reporter assumed that he had been the originator of a phrase which in fact he had quoted from someone else.

¹⁶ 1 Cor 6:12; 10:23.

¹⁷ Epictetus *Discourses* 1.9.4, in which Oldfather points out a quotation from Poseidonius which has been ascribed to other Stoic philosophers also.

2.2.3. Reported Representation Marked by τὸ

This is a very interesting feature of Koine Greek, indicating as it does a representation without the use of any speech verb, but by the insertion of the neuter form of the definite article. British English does something similar in oral communication: “I don’t like the/*this* ‘we’re all in this together’ approach!” An example from *Discourses* 1.18.17 is:

διὰ τοῦτο παρήγγελον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ Γνωθὶ σαυτὸν

For this reason the men of old instructed, “Know yourself.”

Perhaps 1 Corinthians 4:6 is the most intriguing of these examples in indicating the content of what has to be learned.

μετεσχημάτισα ἐφ’ ἐμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλῶν δι’ ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται

I have used this figure for Apollos and myself on your account so that you should learn (the phrase) “not beyond what has been written.”

The statement following the article in this example would seem to be a representation of knowledge shared between writer and readers. Other examples include Lk 1:62; 22:2, 4, 23; 1 Thess 4:1. Many of these represent a question which was being discussed or raised and Luke and Paul are the most frequent users of this feature. In Mk 9:23, however, there is a very interesting example of the use of τὸ to echo what has been said by another speaker:

ἀλλ’ εἰ τι δύνη, βοήθησον ἡμῖν σπλαγχμισθεὶς ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς

But if you are able, help us.

ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν – τὸ εἰ δύνη – πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ πιστεύοντι.

But Jesus said “If you are able” – everything is possible for the one who believes/trusts.

Here Jesus seems to pick up a phrase used by the father of the sick boy and to posit his demonstration of the link between faith and actions on it. This is the only example in Mark of this grammatical device.¹⁸ There are however at least twenty other occurrences in the New Testament, with Paul and Luke being the most frequent users. Matthew uses the construction once to introduce a quotation from the Hebrew Bible and Mark only in the above reference. Luke uses it ten times with only one of these occurrences being the introduction of a quote from the Hebrew Bible. Paul (if we include Ephesians) uses it seven times with four of these introducing quotations.

¹⁸ This feature is still a “work in progress” and much more needs to be researched concerning its use in pagan Greek.

2.2.4 *Representing the Thoughts of Others*

We have noted the use of the particle ὅτι to alert the reader to a direct or indirect quotation but of course this has always included what someone might have thought, heard or hoped. This has to be a “resemblance” only since one human does not have access to such thoughts or even when present to any certainty that two hearers record the same propositions. In addition, since humans seem incapable of desisting from attributing thoughts to others (and motives as we shall see below) this particle may introduce the reasons for speech as in the example from Jn 12:6:

εἶπεν δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ ὅτι κλέπτῃς ἦν καὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον ἔχων τὰ βαλλόμενα ἐβάσταζεν.

He said this not because he cared about the poor, but because he was a thief, and being in charge of the collecting bag he used to keep what was being put into it.

In this example the writer picks up the word “poor” from the words of Judas (12:5) and gives his own account of why Judas said what he did. It could be said that Judas was making ostensive¹⁹ his concern for the poor but the writer of the fourth Gospel clearly did not believe him. I have translated the particle as “because” but in fact it is representing firstly the thoughts of another and then denying the truth of such ostensive communication.

In the *Discourses* the same particle often is used to introduce a section of discussion, particularly in the *Enchiridion* and as the heading for 1.8.

ὅτι αἱ δυνάμεις τοῖς ἀπαιδέτοις οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς

The powers are not safe for the uneducated (MGS)

The reasoning faculties in the case of the uneducated are not free from error (Oldfather)

This particle is used to set out a proposition which then forms the topic of an ensuing discussion. The proposition is a position held by someone – Epictetus or another philosopher – which needs to be tested against situations in life.

2.2.5 *Representing the Wishes or Motivations of Others*

The particle ἵνα also alerts the reader to expect a representation not of an actual (as with ὅτι) but rather a potential state of affairs, in other words what the subject might want to see happening. As before a writer or speaker may attribute such desires to another without the other agreeing with it. Humans seem willing to attribute malicious motives to others on the basis of very little evidence. The use of the subjunctive with this particle also indicates *irrealis*. Gal 6:13 is a good example of this:

βέλουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκὶ καυχῶσινται.

They want you to be circumcised so that they may boast/take pride in your flesh.

¹⁹ In Relevance Theory “ostension” indicates what a speaker wants his hearers to think.

The subjects here would almost certainly NOT have agreed with this assessment of their motivation, but Paul represents their hidden agenda as it seems to him. This particle has been considered in the past only as introducing purpose clauses, but its basic function is to introduce a representation and often it is a representation of someone's purpose. In the Gospel of John it frequently introduces what *ought* to happen or what *should* be done, rather than a so-called “purpose” clause:

συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπόληται

It is fitting that one man should die for the people rather than the whole nation perish.²⁰

ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους, καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους.

I give you a new command that you should love one another, as I loved you, that you also should love one another.²¹

In this latter example the two clauses introduced by ἵνα indicate the content of the command. It does not represent a state of affairs but rather what *should* happen, or what the subject wanted to happen.²²

2.2.6 εἰ as Indicating Representation

The particle εἰ is usually regarded as introducing the protasis of a conditional sentence or merely indicating an independent clause expressing some doubt or uncertainty. It might also be regarded as giving the hearer or reader a potential viewpoint of some other person, perhaps even being put forward by the speaker as a possible position. Rom 9:22 is a good example:

εἰ δὲ θέλων ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ γνωρίσαι τὸ δυνατὸν αὐτοῦ ἤνεγκεν ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ σκευὴ ὀργῆς κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπόλειαν, καὶ ἵνα γνωρίσῃ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σκευῇ ἐλέους ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν?

What if God wishing to show his anger and make known his power bore with vessels of anger prepared for destruction with much patience and that he might make known the riches of his glory towards the vessels which he prepared for glory?

There is no apodosis in this sentence – hence my translation of the particle as “what if” – but only a potential proposition of the way in which God *might* have acted.

²⁰ Jn 11:50.

²¹ Jn 13:34.

²² This has been dealt with in considerably more detail in my *Marking Thought and Talk* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2010).

This is representation. Some commentators feel the need to add an apodosis but Dunn comments²³

This is the principal clause of the sentence and thus bears the main weight of the argument.

Similar constructions include Lk 19:42, Jn 6:62, Acts 17:27 and 23:9. In each case the speaker is putting forward a potential situation and urging the hearers to consider it. I would also submit that even in a full conditional sentence the protasis is regularly a representation of a point of view, perhaps of the speaker but more likely of another person or even a widely held view. This is seen clearly in dialogue in the Gospels and is very common in the Pauline writings, the following example from 1 Cor 15:13 being one of a series in which a “view” is laid out:

εἰ δὲ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται·

If there is no resurrection of the dead, then Christ has not been raised.

This is a clear example of the use of εἰ to re-present a view which was being preached in Corinth, according to the previous verse, namely: “there is no resurrection of the dead.” A series of clauses follows each one built on what “they” were saying, with the logical conclusion of such a statement being laid out for all to see.

We can see this also in the *Discourses* of Epictetus as follows:

εἰ πιστόν ἐστι τὸ θεῖον, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι πιστόν. εἰ ἐλεύθερον, καὶ τοῦτον ἐλεύθερον· εἰ εὐεργετικόν, καὶ τοῦτον εὐεργετικόν.²⁴

If the godlike/deity is trustworthy, this man also is trustworthy. If he is free, this man also is free; if he shows good works, then this man also shows good works.

This is part of Epictetus’ argument that the way to please the gods is to resemble their character. If a man believes the deity to have certain qualities, then he should imitate these in order to please the gods.

3 A NEW ACCOUNT OF IRONY

We have seen in a previous example from Mt 27:40 and 42 that speakers may echo others but by their attitude it is clear that they do not believe what they are saying. In that earlier example the speakers were echoing in order to mock and insult their addressee, but in other contexts such echoing is used to create stronger contextual effects by stating a proposition which others believe but from which the speaker distances himself. Relevance Theory describes such a distancing attitude as *irony*. I wish to focus more seriously on this category now because it is so easy to miss the distancing and to give the impression that the speaker believed what he said rather than distancing himself from it.

²³ Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, WBC (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1988), 566.

²⁴ Epictetus *Discourses* 2.14.13.

As I have pointed out in the introduction metarepresentation is ubiquitous in human communication although we are not usually conscious of this unless it is pointed out. We echo the words or thoughts of others on a regular basis and in modern colloquial speech we may add “like” as a preface to such representation. Using this fact Relevance Theory has proposed a new definition of verbal²⁵ irony, namely the re-presenting of a statement made by someone else and from which the speaker wishes to distance himself. There is a straightforward and fairly transparent example in Mk 7:9, transparent since we have the word *καλῶς* to alert us.

καὶ ἐλέγεν αὐτοῖς· καλῶς ἀθετεῖτε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν στήσητε.

And he said to them, “You have a fine way of setting aside the command of God in order to set up your own tradition!”

In the parallel passage in Mt 15:3 a rhetorical question is asked instead of an ironic statement:

Διὰ τί καὶ ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν

Why do you also break/transgress the command of God because of your tradition?

It is clear that Jesus did not think that they were doing well in setting aside the commands of God, but the point is that the Pharisees *did* think so!²⁶ Matthew has a question – rhetorical? – in place of Mark’s ironic statement, but even a little thought will lead us to the conclusion that verbal irony and rhetorical questions are very close and share the common feature of echoing the thought or utterance of another.

In both Matthew and Mark the rebuke follows the complaint of the Pharisees concerning the lack of attention paid by the disciples to ritual washing. Jesus points out their setting aside the command of God and the repetition of the verb *παραβαίνω*²⁷ in Jesus’ rebuke mirrors the original complaint as does the juxtaposition of “command of God” with “tradition of men.”

The classic definition of verbal irony as “saying the opposite of what one means” is seriously defective. If one actually did say this one might be accused either of obfuscation or outright lying! The whole point of irony is to indicate a distance from a position or statement. Irony “metarepresents an attributed opinion with a

²⁵ Verbal irony must be distinguished from situational irony which is used for dramatic effect. When biblical scholars – and others – speak of a text as being “ironic” it is almost always this concept of situational irony to which they are referring.

²⁶ *Epictetus Discourses* 2.4.8 shows a very similar ironic form: *καλὸς συμπότης καὶ σύνδειπνος Σωκρατικός* “You are a good fellow diner and dining companion of Socrates!” The context of a greedy and grabbing eater shows the irony.

²⁷ This echoes *παραβαίνουσιν* of the original complaint in Mt 15:3.

dissociative attitude not overtly marked.”²⁸ Of course the audience must recognize the distancing or the point of the trope is lost. It is a dangerous trope but extremely effective as we can see from the previous example in Mk 7:9.²⁹

Returning to the passages in Mk 7 and Mt 15 which we have noted we have a further example of irony in the following pericope, I suggest. Bear in mind the context of the meeting with the Syro-Phoenician woman which is presented in both Synoptists as following the discussion of what constitutes “uncleanness.” Even if this did not follow on chronologically both writers place it significantly after this discussion. For Jews in general and Pharisees in particular at this time the issue of contact with Gentiles was a hot topic.³⁰ The fact of Jesus’ travelling to these regions should give us a signal as well as the healing of a deaf and dumb man in the Decapolis. I note below the sentence which I argue is ironic:

οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν καλὸν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων καὶ τοῖς κυναρίοις βαλεῖν.

It isn’t good to take the children’s bread and throw it/put it for the small dogs.

The disciples and their fellow Jews believed this proposition heartily. In Matthew’s account they tell Jesus to send her away. The question is: did Jesus agree with it? My argument is that we should consider it as an echo of popular belief from which Jesus distanced himself, rather than perform theological gymnastics to get out of a difficult verse. The woman accepts the statement but is not deterred. The response of Jesus shows that he is not ethnically bound as his disciples were. I would argue that the context in which this pericope has been placed gives us the clue we need to read it ironically. There has been a discussion about what constitutes uncleanness with Jesus pointing out that a man does not become clean by external washing. Non Jews were always considered unclean particularly by Judeans and the very area in which Jesus had chosen to move was outside the boundaries of what a strict Jew would have considered to be “safe” from contamination arising from contact with Gentiles.

3.1 Further Examples of Verbal Irony from 1 Corinthians

It has been said that irony is a way of getting out of a difficult text. The real issue is: why is a text difficult? In the case of verbal irony I suggest that this is because we are dealing with a writer or speaker saying something we had thought that he didn’t believe, but then he says it! There is also the issue of sacred text. Christians have been reluctant to see humor and many other tropes in biblical text just because it is biblical text. In fact, the prophets of the Hebrew Bible show us that they could be

²⁸ Noh, E-J. *Metarepresentation: A Relevance-Theoretic Approach* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 96.

²⁹ Consider also Amos 4:4 – “Come to Bethel and transgress; to Gilgal and multiply transgression.” The use of irony makes the prophet’s denunciation more strident.

³⁰ See the Book of Jubilees (XX11.16) for a diatribe on Gentiles and dire warnings about associating with them.

bitingly ironic in order to make their point strongly, from the account of Micaiah ben Imlah in 1 Kgs 22:15–17 in which the prophet echoes the other prophets initially to the words of God in Isa 6:9–10.³¹ In neither of these examples is there an overt signal of distancing, but it is clear – from the King of Israel’s response – that such distancing was understood.

The Corinthian correspondence has many examples of statements which Paul repeats but then distances himself from such, most of which – but not all – are accepted by scholars as irony.

This is what Paul does in many places in the Corinthian correspondence. I have selected a few below.

1 Corinthians 4:8

The context here is one of fairly direct challenge to attitudes in Corinth, rebuking arrogance and promoting humility.

ἤδη κεκορησμένοι ἐστέ, ἤδη ἐπλουτήσατε, χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἐβασιλεύσατε. καὶ ὀφελόν γε ἐβασιλεύσατε, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν συμβασιλεύσωμεν.

Already you have been satisfied, already you have become rich, without us you are kings! And, in fact, I wish you were kings that we also might reign with you!

The second half of the sentence makes the verbal irony incontrovertible³² and English translations put exclamation marks after each phrase to indicate this. The irony continues in verse ten. Although there are many acknowledged examples of verbal irony in these letters, others may be more contentious:

1 Corinthians 11:19

δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἰρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ἵνα [καὶ] οἱ δόκιμοι φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν.

For there must also be “parties” among you so that the “approved” also might be clear in your midst!

This example is of course more controversial but I suggest that the context in which such “parties” have been condemned in an earlier part of the letter gives the clue that Paul does *not* think that this is a good thing.³³

2 Corinthians 11:19–21

ἡδέως γὰρ ἀνέχεσθε τῶν ἀφρόνων φρόνιμοι ὄντες.

³¹ Bruce Hollenbach has an excellent article on this in his “Lest they should turn again and be forgiven,” *The Bible Translator* 34 (1983): 312–321.

³² Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 172, points out that these clauses may be taken as questions but “in either case it is all irony.”

³³ The translation in NIV shows this and many commentators agree.

For you put up with fools since you are so wise/being so wise!

Here it is clear that Paul did *not* think they were wise but he also knew that the Corinthians *did* think so. He also knows that they have called him “weak” and he uses this in another ironic remark in verse 21:

κατὰ ἀτιμίαν λέγω, ὡς ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἡσθενήκαμεν

I say in shame that we have been weak!

The irony is clear in the contrast between what the Corinthians have put up with from others, noted in verse 18, and what he himself has suffered as an apostle.

Now many languages *do* have ways of indicating that a speaker is distancing himself from what he says by being ironic. Recently in several advertisements and cartoons in Britain ironic statements have been made followed by the cryptic: “Not” or “as if!”³⁴ This obviates the danger of the distancing not being recognized.

4 METAPHOR AS LOOSE RESEMBLANCE.

The richness of metaphor is well understood but as with other literary tropes it is not always easy to describe the way in which it operates. Relevance Theory claims that this figure encapsulates a “loose resemblance” to a proposition.

We see metaphors as simply a range of cases at one end of a continuum that includes literal, loose and hyperbolic interpretations.³⁵

The danger in working with ancient texts is that we may not be clear about what should be accepted as literal truth and what is a less literal but more dramatic presentation. The following example from Acts 20:29 shows the power of metaphor without its danger:

ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι εἰσελεύσονται μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξίν μου λύκοι βαρεῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς μὴ φειδόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου

I know that after I have gone/my departure fierce wolves will come in to you, not sparing the flock.

The figurative language begins earlier with the believers being considered as a “flock” but the strong picture language creates a much richer effect than a straight description of false teachers who will cause trouble to the believers in Ephesus.

³⁴ Ian MacKenzie, *Paradigms of Reading* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 220, quotes the playwright Tom Stoppard as saying that there should be a special typeface for irony! It seems that to make the trope clear advertisers or cartoonists now need to add “Not” or “as if.”

³⁵ Wilson, Deirdre and Dan Sperber, *Meaning and Relevance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 97.

A less transparent example of metaphor used by Jesus but which clearly caused great misunderstanding is that of destroying the temple and raising it in three days. The original metaphor is recorded in the Gospel of John,³⁶ as follows:

λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτὸν

Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it again.

Although it is not repeated in the Synoptic Gospels as words of Jesus, it recurs in the words of witnesses at his trial:

Mt 26:60

προσελθόντες δύο εἶπαν, Οὗτος ἔφη, Δύναμαι καταλύσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν οἰκοδομηῆσαι.

Two came forward and said, “This man said ‘I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it again in three days.’”

Mk 14:57–58

καὶ τινες ἀναστάντες ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατ’ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες ὅτι Ἡμεῖς ἠκουσάμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω

Some stood up and gave false witness against him saying, “We heard him saying ‘I will destroy this temple made with hands and in three days I will build another not made with hands.’”

The verses in John’s Gospel which follow the original statement³⁷ explain not only the metaphorical meaning but also the misunderstanding under which all the hearers laboured and which was resolved for the disciples after the resurrection of Jesus, but it seems that it was not understood at all before that. Metaphorical language is rich in contextual implications but it is significant that the richness of this picture was also the cause of deep offence to the Jews at that time. The book of Revelation also is full of rich metaphors which many readers still read literally, but selectively.

This issue is merely being touched on here since treating metaphor as “loose resemblance” to a proposition then views it as re-presenting a literal statement in a more colourful way for dramatic effect. It gives richer contextual effects, namely a more dramatic picture than a literal proposition would offer.

5 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The purpose of this paper has been to raise awareness of the crucial part that metarepresentation plays in communication. We are well aware of quotation from the Hebrew Bible in the New Testament, but the frequent allusions both to non-

³⁶ Jn 3:19.

³⁷ Jn 2:20–22.

canonical Jewish texts and to the Hebrew Scriptures are not always recognised and these also affect our interpretation of text. We have already considered the comments of Thucydides the Greek historian at the beginning of his *Peloponnesian War*. When comparing the accounts of Jesus' teaching we can see that each Synoptic writer gives the most relevant translation or interpretation from the point of view of his audience. Mark will add Aramaic together with a translation, Luke will keep to the Greek and Matthew may miss out the direct speech completely. This is interpretive resemblance in which a writer selects events and oral records to re-present to others. It is a constant feature of human communication in the present day as in the past. Our current preoccupation with exact resemblance, or an expectation of such, may obscure our understanding of the role of re-presentation, although in oral communication and in relaying information to others we use interpretive resemblance without even thinking about it.

ANCIENT TEXTS

Arrian, Flavius. *Epictetus, The Discourses*. LCL. Harvard University Press. Reprinted 1998.

Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. LCL 108. Harvard University Press. 1919.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dunn, J. D. G. *Romans 9–16*. WBC. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1988.

Fee, G. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. NICNT. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1987.

Hollenbach, Bruce. "Lest they should turn again and be forgiven." *Bible Translator* 34 (1983): 312–321.

Ifantidou, E. *Evidentials and Relevance*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2001.

Mackenzie, Ian. *Paradigms of Reading*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002.

Morris, L. *The Gospel According to John*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1984. [Reprint]

Noh, E.-J. *Metarepresentation: A Relevance-Theoretic Approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000.

Sim, M. G. *Marking Thought and Talk in New Testament Greek*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010.

Sperber, Dan, ed. *Metarepresentations: A Multidisciplinary Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Sperber, D. and D. Wilson. *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986/1995.

Thrall, M. *2 Corinthians 1–7*. 2nd edition. London: T. & T. Clark, 2004.

———. *2 Corinthians 8–13*. 2nd edition. London: T. & T. Clark, 2004.

Wilson, Deirdre & Dan Sperber. *Meaning and Relevance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

PRAYER AND THE PAPYRI AT OXYRHYNCHUS

Michael P. Theophilos

Australian Catholic University

The form and content of Christian prayers preserved in fragmentary papyri from Oxyrhynchus contribute to a distinct picture of an emerging and divergent form of early Christianity. This article will provide a richly illustrated comparative and structural analysis of Christian prayer at Oxyrhynchus, and compare these findings with an examination of the form and function of non-Christian prayers from the same period. In doing so, the pervasive influence of similar non-Christian prayer formulae will be demonstrated at the level of structure, syntax, and titular vocabulary. The preliminary conclusions reached regarding the Oxyrhynchus material will then be juxtaposed with contemporaneous comparative Christian liturgical and individual prayers preserved on papyri from other locations (including texts from Aboutig, the Fayum, Hermopolis, and Kellis). This will determine whether our findings of a porous interchange of prayer formulations between Christian and non-Christian prayers at Oxyrhynchus are more broadly attested throughout Egypt and the Mediterranean world or are demonstrably a local trait of the city of Oxyrhynchus.

1 INTRODUCTION

The philosopher Epicurus insightfully notes that, εἰ ταῖς ἀνθρώπων εὐχαῖς ὁ θεὸς κατηκολούθει, θᾶπτον ἂν ἀπώλλυντο πάντες ἄνθρωποι, συνεχῶς πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων εὐχόμενοι [“If God listened to the prayers of people, all people would quickly have perished: for they are forever praying for evil against one another”].¹ Prayer, in its polyvalent ancient forms, functioned as an indispensable facet of both classical and Greco-Roman life. The form and content of Christian prayer preserved in fragmentary papyri from Oxyrhynchus contribute to a distinct picture of an emerging and divergent form of early Christianity. This article will provide a richly illustrated and structural analysis of Christian prayer at Oxyrhynchus, and compare these findings with an examination of the form and function of non-Christian prayers from the same period. In doing so, the pervasive influence of similar non-

¹ Cyril Bailey, *Epicurus: The Extant Remains* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), fragment 388.

Christian prayer formulae will be demonstrated at the level of structure, syntax, and titular vocabulary. The preliminary conclusions reached regarding the Oxyrhynchus material will then be juxtaposed with contemporaneous comparative Christian prayers preserved on papyri from other locations (including texts from the Fayum, Karanis, Kellis, and Hermopolis). This will determine whether our findings of a porous interchange of prayer formulations between Christian and non-Christian prayers at Oxyrhynchus are more broadly attested throughout Egypt and the Mediterranean world or are demonstrably a local trait of the city of Oxyrhynchus.

2 CHRISTIAN PERSONAL PRAYER AT OXYRHYNCHUS

A fruitful starting point in the analysis of Christian prayer at Oxyrhynchus is P.Oxy 925, a small seven-line completely intact papyrus written with the fibers, with only minimal evidence of horizontal abrasion from a potential fold line in the central portion of the manuscript. Paleographically it is written in what the original editors describe as a “clear cursive” and dated the manuscript to the fifth or sixth century. The verso is blank. The essence of the prayer is a request to ascertain whether it is the divine will that a journey to Chiout is undertaken and whether such a trip will receive divine blessing and accompaniment. The text runs as follows, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινὸς φιλάθρωπος καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ πατήρ τοῦ κυρίου (καὶ) σωτήρ(ος) ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ φανέρωσόν μοι τὴν παρὰ σοὶ ἀλήθειαν εἰ βούλη με ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Χιούτ ἢ εὕρισκω σε σὺν ἐμοὶ πράττοντα (καὶ) εὐμενῆν γένοιτο ϩθ [“God almighty, holy, true, and merciful, creator, Father of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, reveal to me your truth, if you will that I go to Chiout, and if I shall find you aiding me and gracious. So be it; Amen”]. Interestingly, the word “amen” is represented by its numeric equivalent, koppa-theta, i.e. ninety-nine (α=1; μ= 40; η= 8; ν= 50). The manuscript can be clearly identified as Christian based, not least, upon the phenomenon of nomina sacra, including the words “God” (l. 1), “father” (l. 3), “lord” (l. 3), “savior” (l. 3), “Jesus” (l. 4), and “Christ” (l. 4).

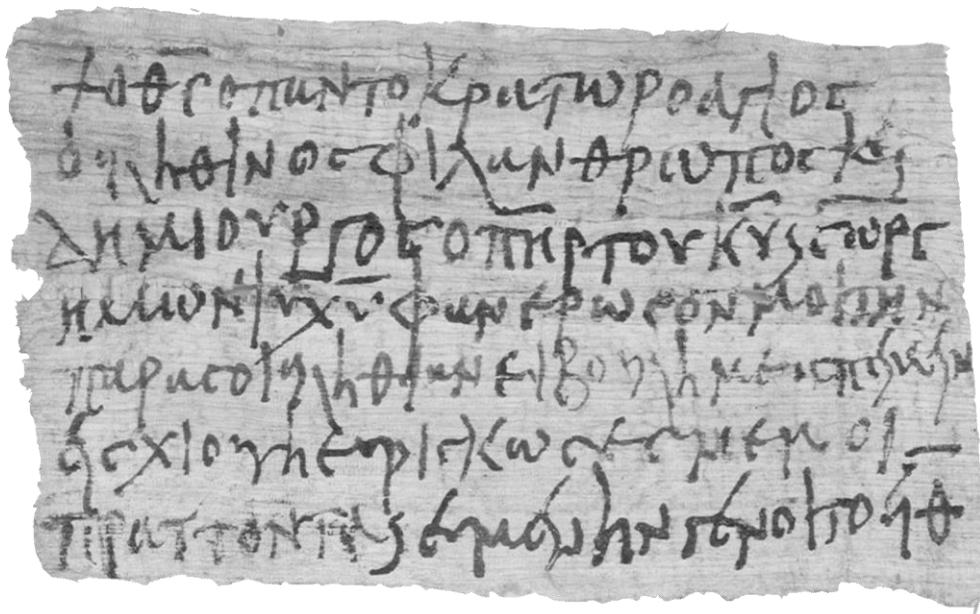


Figure 1. P.Oxy 925 recto

P. Oxy 407 is dated to the late third or early fourth century and the uncial script is paleographically described by the editors as “rather elongated and ornate, though not very regular.”² Of particular interest is the title *προσευχη* [“prayer”] on the verso, with some additional indecipherable cursive script beneath. The recto preserves the entire prayer in seven lines, ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντ[ο]κράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς βοήθησόν μοι ἐλέησόν με [[εξ]] ἐξάλειψόν μου τὰς ἀμαρτίας σῶσόν με ἐν τῷ νῦν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι διὰ τοῦ κυρίου κα[ι] σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι’ οὗ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων[ν]. ἀμήν [“God Almighty, who made heaven and earth and sea and all that is therein, help me, have mercy on me, wash away my sins, save me in this world and in the world to come, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen”].

P. Oxy 1058 is a late fourth / early fifth century five-line prayer, written in what the original editors refer to as a “large rude uncial.”³ It reads Ὁ θε(ε)ς τῶν παρακειμένων σταυρῶν, βοήθησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου Ἀρφουᾶν. ἀμήν [“God of the crosses that are laid upon us, help your servant Apphouas”]. It is indeed interesting that the writer / speaker addresses God as Ὁ θε(ε)ς τῶν παρακειμένων σταυρῶν, for in doing so, they identify God as the one who has inflicted the trial from which they desire to be free.

² B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part III* (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1903), 12.

³ A.S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part VII* (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1910), 212.

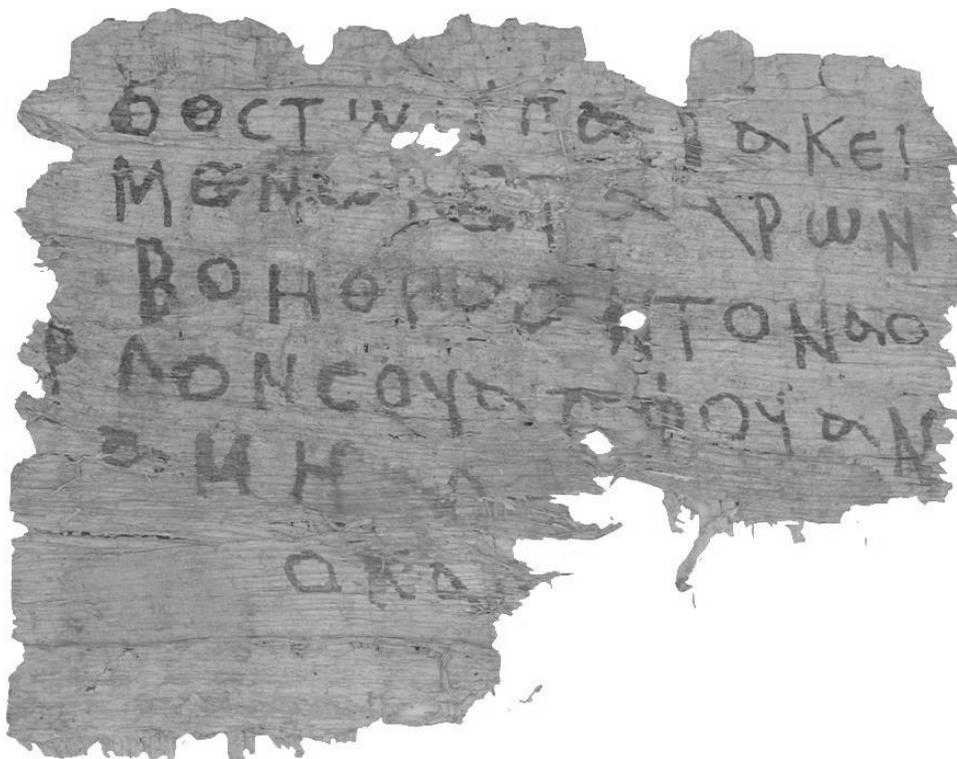


Figure 2. P.Oxy 1058 recto

P. Oxy 1059 (verso) consists of a fifth century prayer written in a “rude hand in illiterate Greek.”⁴ It reads, Κύ(ριε) θε(ε)έ μου και υ έρπίς μου [ή έλπίς], ώψε Θεκλα και τοίς τέκνοις αυτή<ς>, ώψε Άννηα και της δούλης αυτής, ώψε Άπφοϋς, ώψε Σακαύων, ώψε Διωνυσίου και τών τέκνον αυτου, ώψε Έλλαδίου, ώψε Πτολεμέου, ώψε κατ' όνομα [“Lord my God and my hope, look on Thecla and her children, look on Anna and her servant, look on Apphous, look on Sakalon, look on Dionysius and his children, look on Helladius, look on Ptolemaeus, look on each one of them”]. We assume that ώψε is for ώψαι from όπτεσθαι, meaning “look upon”, which then implies protection. The same concept is apparent in Psalm 32:18 οί όφθαλμοί κυριου επί τούς φοβουμένους αυτον” [“The eyes of the Lord are on those who fear him”].

P. Oxy 1150 is dated to the sixth century and consists of a prayer of six lines asking for guidance in a particular health matter regarding an individual named Anoup. It reads, Ο θεός του προστάτου ήμων του άγίου Φιλοξένου, εάν κελεύεις εισενεγκείν εις τó νοσοκομίόν σου Άνουπ; δείξον τήν δύναμ[ίν σου] και έξέλθη τó πιττ[ά]χ[ιον] [“God of our patron saint Philoxenus, do you command that we take Anoup to your hospital? Show us your power and let this prayer be accomplished”].

⁴ A.S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part VII* (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1910), 212.

P. Oxy 1152 consists of a short prayer, often referred to as an amulet or incantation, but displays several features consistent with a prayer. It reads, *Ωρωρ φωρ ἔλωει, ἀδωναί, Ἰαὼ σαβαώθ, Μιχαήλ, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, βοήθῃ ἡμῖν καὶ τούτῳ οἴκῳ. ἀμήν* [“Oror phor, eloi, adonai, Iao sabaoth, Michael, Jesus Christ, help us and this house. Amen”].

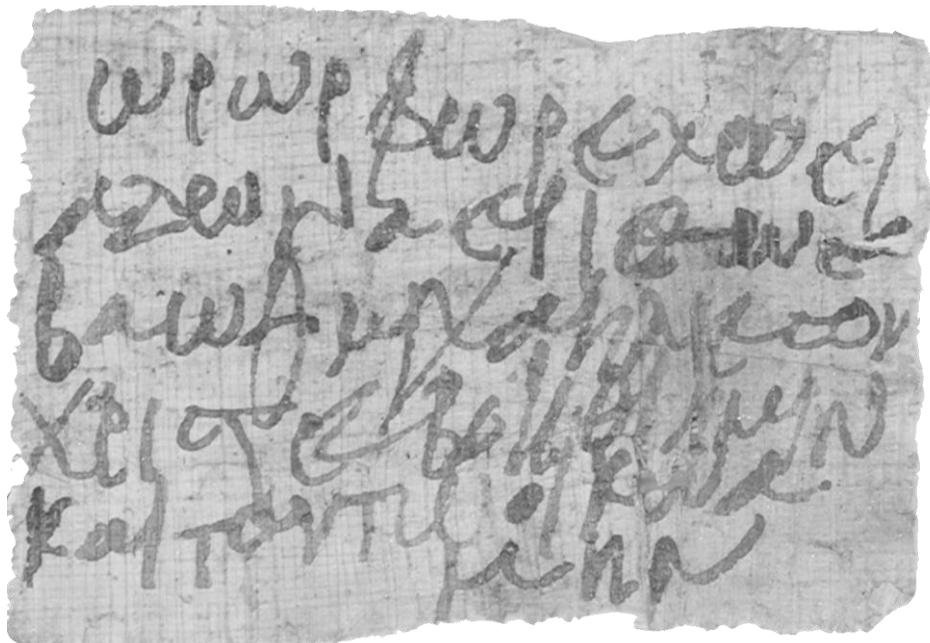


Figure 3. P.Oxy 1152 recto

P. Oxy 1926 is a sixth century Christian prayer appealing to God, while simultaneously invoking Saint Philoxenus for help discerning a financial matter. It reads, *Δέσποτά μου θεέ παντοκράτωρ, καὶ ἄγι(ε) Φιλόξενε πρόστατά μου, παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τὸ μέγα ὄνομ(α) τοῦ δεσπότου θεοῦ, ἐὰν οὐκ ἔστιν θέλημα ὑμῶν μὴ λαλήσαά με μηδὲ περὶ τραέζ(ης) μηδὲ περὶ ζυγοστασίας, παρακελευσαί με μαθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ λαλήσω* [“My Lord God Almighty and St. Philoxenus my patron, I ask you by the great name of the Lord God, if it is not your will that I speak either about the bank or about the weighing-office, to bid me learn this, in order that I may not speak”].

P. Oxy 4010 consists of a fragmentary fourth century Paternoster with an introductory prayer. Paleographically, it is reminiscent of the severe style with some evidence of shading, and contrast between broad and narrow letterforms. The generous margins (≥ 3 cms) and the fact there are no obvious signs of folding or deterioration along specific lines of the manuscript, would suggest that it was not folded and used as an amulet, but rather was a single page, single column papyrus leaf produced for an individual or ecclesiastical context. The Paternoster begins halfway through line eleven, and continues to the foot of the sheet, omitting “γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου” in line 13 (possibly due to homoeoteleuton), and duplicating “ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμ[ᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ]” in line 19. The introductory prayer (lines 1–11a), unfortunately is the portion of the manuscript which has suffered the most severe

deterioration, with only 64 of, an estimated, 332 letters preserved. Line 1 preserves a single letter (α) towards the left hand portion of the column which is impossible to reconstruct in its current state. Lines 2–5 have been affected by the horizontal fibers having been stripped away. There is however a short stroke detectable in line 5 which may be a paragraphos or a portion of an unidentified letter. A μ is discernable from line 6 with enough space on the manuscript to restore $\mu[\text{ou και}] \text{ἐλέη}[\text{σον}]$, but this is only suggestive. A conservative restoration is as follows, “1 ... α [... 2 ... 3 ... 4 ... 5 ... 6 ...] μ [...] ἐλέη[σον ... 7 ...] ἐλέ[ησον ...] υμο [...8 δέσποτα πάντ[ων ... πατήρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν. 9 και θεός πάσης πα[ρακλήσεως ... 10 και ἐλέησον και κυβ[έρνησον ... 11 καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς, [“6 ... have mercy(?) ... 7 ... have mercy(?) ... 8 Master of all th[ings ...] Father of tender mercies 9 and God of all co[mfort ...] 10 and have mercy and guide (us) ... 11 and consider us worthy...”]. The phraseology in lines 8–9 is reminiscent of 2 Cor 1:3, $\acute{\omicron}$ πατήρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν και θεός πάσης παρακλήσεως [“the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation”].

We will now turn our attention to non-Christian personal prayer at Oxyrhynchus to enable comparison.⁵

3 PAGAN PERSONAL PRAYER AT OXYRHYNCHUS

P. Oxy 1148 and 1149 are oracular questions and requests addressed to the oracle of Serapis (Helios in 1148, and Zeus-Helios in 1149). The hand of 1148 is described in the editio princeps as “a crabbed cursive hand”⁶ and dated to the first century CE. The text of P.Oxy 1148 runs as follows, $\text{Κύριέ μου Σάραπι Ἴηλιε εὐεργέτα. εἰ βέλτερόν ἐστιν Φανίαν τὸν υἱό(ν) μου και τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ μὴ συμφωνῆσαι νῦν τῷ πατρὶ α(ὐτοῦ), ἀλλὰ ἀντιλέγειν και μὴ διδόναι γράμματα, τοῦτό μοι σύμφωνον ἔνεγκε. ἔρρω(σο)}$ [“Lord Serapis Helios, beneficent one. (Say) whether it is fitting that Phantias my son and his wife should not agree now with his father, but oppose him and not make a contract. Tell me this truly. Goodbye”]. P. Oxy 1149,

⁵ P. Oxy 5023 and 5024 are excluded from our analysis due to the parchment manuscripts being stored in a separate location and there being some ambiguity as to whether the fragments were purchased or products of the excavations at Oxyrhynchus, although the two scenarios are not mutually exclusive. As admitted by C.E. Römer in the *editio princeps* there is “no guarantee that they [5023 and 5024] were found at Oxyrhynchus” (C.E. Römer, “5023–5024. Parchment Slips” in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part LXXV* (London: Egyptian Exploration Society, 2010), 8. It is striking however that the language of the LXX is woven throughout. Furthermore, P.Oxy 924, dated to the fourth century, has also been excluded from our analysis as it is has discernable Gnostic elements, in addition to being more akin to an amulet or charm than a prayer. Attention has been devoted to personal prayers, excluding hymns, prayer in private letters, or brief health wishes at the conclusion of letters.

⁶ A.S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part VIII* (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1911), 249.

dated to the second century,⁷ is similarly brief when it states, Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σεράπ[ι]δι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις. ἐρωτᾷ Νίκη εἰ σ[υ]μφέρει μοι ἀ[γο]ράσαι παρὰ Τασαράπ[α]πίωνος ὃν ἔχει δοῦλον Σαραπίωνα τ[ὸ]ν κα[ὶ] Γ[α]ίωνα. [τοῦτό μ]οι δός [“To Zeus Helios, great Serapis, and the associate gods. Nike asks whether it is expedient for her to buy from Tasarapion her slave Sarapion also called Gaion. Grant me this”].

Other possibilities to explore here include P.Oxy 923, which consists of a petition to a pagan deity of an Oxyrhynchite temple. The content of the petition is that the local deity will prevent a certain individual from travelling to Alexandria to offer sacrifice, but rather will offer it in the Serapeum of Oxyrhynchus. P.Oxy 1477 consists of a late third / early fourth century list of questions to a deity. The questions are numbered consecutively, with the text preserving twenty-one questions (numbers 72–92). There is no discernable pattern or structure to the arrangement of the questions, and, as noted by the authors of the *editio princeps*, the questions are of a “general character, suitable for persons of various ranks, not one particular individual, and apparently intended to cover the principal subjects on which people were accustomed to appeal to the gods for information.”⁸ The following are representative of their generic character, οβ· εἴ λήμψομαι τὸ ὀψώνιον; ογ· εἴ μενῶ ὅπου ὑπάγω;...π· εἴ ζῆ ὁ ἀπόδημος; πα· εἴ κερδαίνω ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματ[ος];...ρ· εἴ ἀπαλλάσσομαι τῆς γυναικός[ς]; ρα· εἴ πεφαρμάκωμαι;[“72. Shall I receive the payment? 73. Shall I remain where I am going? 80. Is the person abroad alive? 81. Am I to profit by the transaction? 90. Am I to be divorced from my wife? 91. Have I been poisoned?”]. The essential non-literary character of the short prayers makes any literary comparison difficult in this particular case, but it is instructive to see the breadth and variety of material at Oxyrhynchus.

4 ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON: STRUCTURE, SYNTAX AND VOCABULARY

Comparison of the Oxyrhynchus Christian personal prayers with pagan prayers and questions to the oracle is illuminating on various levels. Larry J. Alderink and Luther H. Martin detect a tripartite pagan prayer structure which they trace to the dawn of the Greek tradition, as far back as the Homeric prayer of Achilles to Zeus (Iliad 16.233–48). This includes: 1) Invocation (High Zeus Lord of Dodona...); 2) Justification (one time before...you listened and did me honour...); and 3) Request (...Let glory, Zeus...go forth with him to fight).⁹ Characteristically however, pagan

⁷ A.S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part VIII* (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1911), 250.

⁸ B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part XII* (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1916), 235.

⁹ Larry J. Alderink and Luther H. Martin, “Prayer in Greco-Roman Religions” in *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine*, eds. Mark Kiley et al. (London: Routledge, 1997), 123. See further Barbara E. Bowe and John Clabeaux, “Post New Testament Christian Prayers” in *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine*, eds. Mark Kiley et al. (London: Routledge, 1997), 250–252.

prayers and petitions to an oracle within the Greco-Roman context, as far as can be ascertained from the extant, yet often fragmentary documentary papyri, consist of a related fivefold structure: 1) Appellation of the deity (naming the relevant deity); 2) Listing characteristics of the deity; 3) supplication; 4) question; 5) concluding statement. This structure is clearly evident in P.Oxy 1148 and P.Oxy 1149, two of the extant complete non-Christian prayer texts from Oxyrhynchus. For identification purposes, we will present each text marked for structure with a distinctive underline as follows: 1) Appellation of the deity [no underline]; 2) Characteristics of the deity [dotted underline]; 3) Supplication [underline]; 4. Question [double underline]; 5. Concluding statement [wave underline].

P.Oxy 1148: Κύριέ μου Σάραπι Ἥλιε εὐεργέτα. εἰ βέλτερόν ἐστιν Φανίαν τὸν υἱό(ν) μου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ μὴ συμφωνῆσαι νῦν τῷ πατρὶ α(ὐ)τοῦ), ἀλλὰ ἀντιλέγειν καὶ μὴ δίδόναι γράμματα, τοῦτό μοι σύμφωνον ἔνεγκε. ἔρρω(σο).

P.Oxy 1148: O Lord Serapis Helios, beneficent one. (Say) whether it is fitting that Phantias my son and his wife should not agree now with his father, but oppose him and not make a contract. Tell me this truly. Goodbye.

P. Oxy 1149: Διὶ Ἥλιωι μεγάλωι Σεράπ[ι]δι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις. ἐρωτᾷ Νίκη εἰ σ[υ]μφέρει μοι ἀ[γ]ο[ρ]άσαι παρὰ Τασαρ[α]πίωνος ὃν ἔχει δοῦλον Σαραπίωνα τ[ὸ]ν κα[ὶ] Γ[α]ίωνα. [τοῦτό μ]οι δός

P.Oxy 1149: To Zeus Helios great Serapis and his fellow gods. Nike asks whether it is to my advantage to buy from Tasarapion her slave Sarapion also called Gaion. Grant me this.

Of particular interest for us is the Christian prayer P.Oxy 925, which displays almost identical structural characteristics.

P.Oxy 925: ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινὸς φιλόθρωπος καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ π(α)τήρ τοῦ κ(υ)ρίου (καὶ) σω(τή)ρ(ος) ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ φανέρωσόν μοι τὴν παρὰ σοὶ ἀλήθειαν εἰ βούλη με ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Χιούτ ἢ εὕρισκω σε σὺν ἐμοὶ πράττοντα (καὶ) εὐμενῆν γένοιτο qđ

P.Oxy 925: O God almighty, holy, true, and merciful, Creator, Father of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, reveal to me your truth, whether it be your will that I go to Chiout, and whether I shall find you aiding me and gracious. So be it; Amen.

Evidently, the formal structure of the pagan prayers has been adhered to, without a single instance of significant deviation. With regard to these prayers, A. Hunt concludes that, “the old practice was carried on under different nomenclature.”¹⁰ There are several further parallels which we could cite in support of this general characteristic at Oxyrhynchus.

¹⁰ A.S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part VIII* (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1911), 251.

P. Oxy 407: ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντ[ο]κράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς βοήθησόν μοι ἐλέησόν με [[εξ]] ἐξάλειψόν μου τὰς ἀμαρτίας σῶσόν με ἐν τῷ νῦν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι διὰ τοῦ κυρίου κα[ι] σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. δι' οὗ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων[ν]. ἀμήν

P. Oxy 407: God Almighty, who made heaven and earth and sea and all that is therein, help me, have mercy on me, wash away my sins, save me in this world and in the world to come, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen.

P. Oxy 1058: Ὁ θεὸς τῶν παρακειμένων σταυρῶν, βοήθησον τὸν δούλον σου Ἀφρουᾶν. ἀμήν.

P. Oxy 1058: God of the crosses that are laid upon us, help your servant Aphrouas. Amen.

P. Oxy 1059: Κύ(ριε) θε(ε)έ μου καὶ ὑ. ἐρπίς μου. [ἡ. ἐλπίς], ὦψε Θεκλα καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς, ὦψε Ἄννη καὶ τῆς δούλης αὐτῆς, ὦψε Ἀφροῦς, ὦψε Σακαύων, ὦψε Διωνυσίου καὶ τῶν τέκνον αὐτοῦ, ὦψε Ἐλλαδίου, ὦψε Πτολεμέου, ὦψε κατ' ὄνομα

P. Oxy 1059: Lord my God and my hope, look on Thecla and her children, look on Anna and her servant, look on Apphous, look on Sakalon, look on Dionysius and his children, look on Helladius, look on Ptolemaeus, look on each one of them.

P. Oxy 1150: Ὁ θεὸς τοῦ προστάτου ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλοξένου, ἐὰν κελεύεις εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ νοσοκομῖόν σου Ἀνούπ; δεῖξον τὴν δύναμ[ίν σου] καὶ ἐξέλθη τὸ πιττ[ά]κ[ιον]

P. Oxy 1150: God of our patron saint Philoxenus, do you command that we take Anoup to your hospital? Show us your power and let this prayer be accomplished.

P. Oxy 1152: Ωρωρ φωρ ἐλωεί, ἀδωναεί, Ἰαὼ σαβαώθ, Μιχαήλ, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, βοήθῃ ἡμῖν καὶ τούτῳ οἴκῳ. ἀμήν.

P. Oxy 1152: Oror phor, eloi, adonai, Iao sabaoth, Michael, Jesus Christ, help us and this house. Amen.

P. Oxy 1926: Δέσποτά μου θεέ παντοκράτωρ, καὶ ἅγι(ε) Φιλόξενε πρόστατά μου, παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα(α) τοῦ δεσπότη θεοῦ, ἐὰν οὐκ ἔστιν θέλημα ὑμῶν μὴ λαλήσαί με μηδὲ περὶ τραέζ(ης) μηδὲ περὶ ζυγοστασίας; παρακελεύσαί με μαθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ λαλήσω.

P. Oxy 1926: My Lord God Almighty and St. Philoxenus my patron, I ask you by the great name of the Lord God, if it is not your will that I speak either about the bank or about the weighing-office? Bid me learn this, in order that I may not speak.

The assimilation of Christian prayer at Oxyrhynchus, to contemporary and older forms of Greco-Roman expressions, is evident on multiple levels and abundantly demonstrated through the above listed examples.

The question that naturally arises however, is to what extent this expression of assimilated Christian prayer was distinctive element of papyri preserved at Oxyrhynchus? The answer, not surprisingly, is that such linguistic and structural parallels are found between several non-Oxyrhynchite Greco-Roman and Christian prayers. For example, P. Yale 2.130 from Aboutig, 250kms south of Cairo on the west bank of the Nile, PGM II² P21 from the Fayum, P. Würzburg 3 from Hermopolis, P. Kell 98 from Kellis, all of which display high levels of syncretistic tendencies within their Greco-Roman, albeit Egyptian, contexts.

5 CONCLUSION

Upon comparing a corpus of Christian prayers from Oxyrhynchus, including P. Oxy 407, 925, 1058, 1150, and 1926, to other non-Christian prayers from Oxyrhynchus, it is apparent that the former are effectively Christian counterparts to pagan petitions to the oracle. It was found that such evidence is attested for other locales and this stylistic syncretism, cannot, as such, be seen as a distinctive of Christian prayer at Oxyrhynchus.

THE LEXICOGRAPHIC EDITOR AND THE PROBLEM OF CONSISTENCY¹

Anne Thompson
University of Cambridge

Achieving consistency through all the entries of a large lexicon is a daunting task. With several writers working over a period of many years, there is inevitably the risk that different approaches will emerge. Editors sometimes work without being able to describe with any precision the theory of what they are doing and, even when there is a stricter methodology in place, this has often been transmitted orally without a written manual of instructions for writers or explanation for readers. In the case of Ancient Greek, a tradition of copying from earlier lexicons introduces further complications. A lexicon should be a scientific linguistic study of the vocabulary of the language, not just an exercise in translation of words along with freely-worded commentary. Senses need to be correctly identified and then presented according to a layout and wording that is rigorously governed by identical principles in every similar case. The benefits to be gained are a heightened understanding and appreciation of the literature and documents of the language.

1. INTRODUCTION

Given the scale of time and resources required to complete a large dictionary, inconsistency of method and style of presentation are understandable even under the watchful eye of the most vigilant of editors. From the point of view of readers, older standard dictionaries come to be regarded as authoritative, and are thus often consulted uncritically, making for lower expectations of rigorous methodology in dictionaries generally. The vocabulary of a classical language surely has to be at least as important as its phonology, morphology or syntax, and likely to be governed in some similar way by definable rules, yet to date it has not been afforded the same attention by historical linguists. Dictionaries are therefore hampered by not having comprehensive scholarly studies as a firm basis. The time when this will change is a

¹ I would like to thank Terry Falla, my colleague Simon Westripp, and the editors for suggesting improvements and corrections to this paper.

long way off, but I would like to argue that much can be achieved by laying down the ground rules for proper lexicographic methodology, whether developed for new dictionaries or for lexical studies. Consistency has to be a starting point for a more scientific approach.²

The focus in this paper is on lexicons of Ancient Greek, with some attention paid to English and Latin for the sake of comparison.

2. A MULTIPLICITY OF EDITORIAL DECISIONS

There are many decisions to be made about the presentation and style of an entry in a large lexicon of Ancient Greek which covers a considerable body of literary or documentary sources. Before an entry is written, the source material on which it is based has to be collected. Consistency in assembling this has traditionally been incomplete and imbalanced, for the most part due to the impossible amount of labour required, especially before the advent of electronic technology.³ After this, before the main business of definition of senses is tackled, the seemingly simple task of setting up the entry's skeleton can prove to be unexpectedly complicated and difficult to keep consistent from alpha to omega. There are questions about the most appropriate dialect form for the headword, about the manner of indicating gender and so-called regular and irregular inflections, whether information about word re-

² Although the literature on Greek vocabulary in commentaries and periodicals is vast, there is relatively little devoted to the subject in general books. Palmer, *The Greek Language*, has little in comparison to discussion of phonology and morphology, though there had been more on Latin vocabulary in his earlier companion volume, *The Latin Language*. The Preface in Clackson and Horrocks, *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language*, vii, states that, in comparison to the Palmer *Latin* volume, space for lexical discussions is sacrificed in order to allow an increase in the exposition of syntactic changes. They point out that, unlike in Palmer's time, *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* [OLD] is completed and the ongoing *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* [TLL] well advanced, works which allow the reader to trace word histories in a more systematic way than was previously possible. This statement seems to signal that work on vocabulary may in fact be the preserve of the lexicographer. However, a completed dictionary on scientific principles, no matter how well done, is not the same as the scientific account of those principles. Clarke, "Semantics and Vocabulary", points out how little has been published about the senses of Greek words, 132. He mentions the exception of Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca*, to which could have been added the case studies in Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, 191–320. Both Chadwick and Lee argue strongly that all is not well with our Greek lexicons. Clarke criticizes Chadwick's work for "lack of theoretical underpinnings" and introduces his own methodology. Another modern approach, exemplified in a new lexicon, is introduced by Peláez in his *Metodología del Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento*.

³ On this problem in general, and in particular relating to epigraphy, see Aitken, *No Stone Unturned*, especially Chapter 2, *Documentary Evidence in Biblical Lexicography*, 16–33. The *Diccionario Griego-Español* [DGE] has greatly improved methods, see Somolinos and Berenguer, "El trabajo de documentación en el *Diccionario Griego-Español*."

latedness or etymology is to be included, whether adverbs should have separate entries,⁴ in what position substantivized adjectives are to be placed, and many other things. Making the right decisions can be far from straightforward. For example, the short or long quantity of vowels in headwords must be indicated in order to aid the reader in scansion of poetry or in pronunciation of the classical language. But from Hellenistic times, vowel quantity distinction is gradually lost, so words attested only for later periods look odd with the quantity marks, and yet also odd without, because in most cases the historic quantity is known, and the inconsistency of appearance compared with other headwords is awkward. In the absence of well-worked and time-honoured procedural manuals, not all the problems are going to be predictable at the outset, and yet it is difficult or impossible to go back to rewrite things once a wrong or less than ideal course has been embarked on.

3. THE PARTICULAR PROBLEM RESULTING FROM ALPHABETIZATION

Words in Greek, Latin, English and many other language dictionaries are usually arranged in alphabetical order, judged to be the best system for enabling a reader to find entries in a book easily.⁵ One result is that words are not always next to others to which they have some relatively close connection. This is just one reason why editorial consistency in treating all words according to the same principles is extraordinarily difficult. If the dictionary is written with alphabetic ordering, connections of meaning that should be made end up in practice being dropped. This happens in our lexicons not just occasionally but in a wholesale way.⁶

To take a simple example, if one looks up “discontinuous” in an English dictionary, how related is the entry to that for “continuous”? Is the one the complete opposite of the other, or is it only so for certain senses, with some divergence in the

⁴ In LSJ many adverbs are incorporated in the related adjective entries. *The Oxford English Dictionary* [OED] and *Oxford Latin Dictionary* [OLD] always give adverbs full weight with their own entries.

⁵ A dictionary has by nature to be an ordered list of items, but it took some time for alphabetic ordering to become commonplace. For the history of alphabetic ordering as opposed to other systems, see: Considine, *Dictionaries in early modern Europe* (for relevant pages see 375, *Index*, under *alphabetical order*), Dickey *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (see 341, *Index*, under *alphabetization*), Béjoint, *The Lexicography of English*, 15–23 and Hüllen, *A History of Rogel's Thesaurus*, 277–321. For methods in the ancient world, see Tosi, “Typology of Lexicographical Works,” (622–636 in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* Vol. I). For some of the complex problems for the lexicographer arising from alphabetization, see: Partridge, *The Gentle Art of Lexicography*, 38–62, and Landau, *Dictionaries*, 107–109.

⁶ Etymological dictionaries, such as Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique* [DEG], traditionally order according to stems or root derivation, a type of word-relatedness recognized in LSJ, with derivatives marked as relating to a “key” form, e.g. βάσις to βαίνω or, more remotely, βαδιζω to βαίνω. But this is not adequately followed up in the entries themselves with an examination of the precise semantic relatedness or divergence. On some of the problems, see Clarke, “Semantics and Vocabulary,” 130–132.

history of the words having taken place. Is the meaning of the prefix “dis-” always the same in other words? If the entries are written separately without cross-checking, and the wording of definitions does not match for where senses are the same, this question cannot easily be answered, with the result that the dictionary is failing to some degree in giving an accurate description. In some cases, there may not be enough material available for the lexicographer to examine the full history, particularly in the case of ancient languages where evidence is always going to be incomplete, but the question is still theoretically valid. A counter-argument can be made that a dictionary is simply a tool or source of help, not a precise description of the vocabulary of the language. But it is surely the case that aiming for the ideal is better, whenever practically possible, so that description of meaning will be improved.

It is instructive to illustrate the kind of disjunction which can arise from treating entries according to their place in the alphabet rather than according to their shared features by looking not at a language dictionary but an encyclopaedic one. A case in point are the entries for the Greek goddess Aphrodite and the Roman Venus in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.⁷ At the end of the articles there are initials, the signatures of the scholars who prepared them, different for these two entries. It looks as if the articles are not a product of collaboration, but that the writers were free to present the material as they saw fit, with just some general instructions from the overall editors.

With different writers who are not collaborating, there are inevitably inconsistencies. Most noticeable is length, one and a half columns for Aphrodite, half a column for Venus, but we are not to conclude that the Roman goddess is less important for Roman culture than Aphrodite for Greek. The distribution of Aphrodite cults is investigated more thoroughly than those of Venus. There is a longish section on whether temple prostitution really existed as part of Aphrodite’s cult at Corinth, but nothing of that for Venus, though similar questions have been asked, for example, about Eryx in Sicily.⁸ Some earlier classical dictionary might have been used as a model for entry headwords, in which Aphrodite was the “key” article, with a cross reference to certain material there under Venus, in order to reduce duplication of information.⁹ Language dictionaries similarly have of necessity to contain “key” articles in order to reduce duplication. For example, the first definition in the entry for

⁷ Hornblower and Spawforth (editors), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 120 and 1587.

⁸ See the article for Eryx in the same dictionary, 557–558.

⁹ Encyclopaedic dictionaries are also similar to language dictionaries in that they sometimes take material from their forerunners. The *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, through all its editions, has no entry for Venus’ son Cupid, only for Greek Eros (556–557 in the 3rd ed.), where Cupid is not mentioned. Cupid has only the briefest of mentions under his own entry in William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, and there is a cross reference to Eros. Perhaps that was originally the intention in the Oxford work, but Cupid was somehow forgotten. Anyone who attempts to write a language dictionary is at risk of falling into this kind of trap.

the adjective “continuing” in *OED* is: “that continues (in various senses of the verb)”, referring the reader to the “key” entry “continue.” Relevant cross references obviously cannot always be mentioned but, as far as possible, the connections should be in the mind of the lexicographer so that entries are consistent.

The practice of adding signatures to entries in a dictionary, if adopted, could be seen as an admission of inevitable inconsistencies of style. In practice, language dictionary entries are usually not signed, the whole team taking collective responsibility.¹⁰ But signed or not, the reasons for consistency to be imposed are much more compelling. An entry for Ἀφροδίτη will show that this is both the name of the goddess and a common noun reflecting qualities associated with her, in *LSJ* defined with several words over three subsections: *sexual love, pleasure, vehement longing or desire, enjoyment, beauty, grace, charm*. The entry for the derived adjective ἐπαφρόδιτος, ideally needs to be written with the Aphrodite entry in mind, to see if there are any direct connections, but in fact most probably it was written after some lapse of time, perhaps by a different person. In contrast with the Ἀφροδίτη entry, under ἐπαφρόδιτος there are four definition words, the adjectives *lovely, fascinating, charming*, and (in a different sense section) *gracious*. There is also a translation of Sulla’s agnomen Felix, *favoured by Venus*. Two of the adjectives tie in directly with two of the nouns in the other article, but *fascinating* seems to offer something a bit different. Under the noun ἐπαφροδίτια there is *loveliness, elegance, charm*, again with one word, *elegance*, introducing something new. The reader is left not knowing whether subtle sense distinctions are really being made for these words. It looks rather as if a fairly random selection of synonyms has been chosen, words which will more or less fit as translations in the various contexts. But this is not a proper description of meaning and it does not make for precision in understanding a passage. Single word translations, known as glosses, are in any case notoriously inadequate in describing meaning¹¹ but, even within the scope of the method, there is a failure to make these three articles relate to each other properly. Another problem is that there is a tendency for glosses to date more quickly than phrasal definitions. We may be misled in some cases, because words may have changed meaning since the writing of the entries, on the other hand not so much that we always realize it. *OED* defines “fascinating” as “That fascinates, in senses of the vb. Now chiefly, Irresistibly attractive, charming,” and there is a quotation with the phrase “fascinating flowers.”¹² This is not a natural collocation in modern English, unless with the somewhat different sense of “provoking strong interest or curiosity,” and without checking back to the original text, the

¹⁰ There are exceptions. Articles in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* [TLL] are signed, also in the *Lexikon des Frühgriechischen Epos* [LfgE].

¹¹ See Glare, “Liddell & Scott: It’s Background and Present State,” 11–12, Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca*, 20–21, Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, especially 15–29, 155–175. See also my review of Lee’s book, 114–117. I erroneously reported there that Lee uses the term “definition gloss,” 114, whereas gloss and definition are quite separate terms. For clarification of the proper terminology, see Lee, 22.

¹² The quotation is dated 1794: “bewitching and fascinating flowers.”

modern reader is not going to be sure what is meant. Thus, with older dictionaries, and indeed more modern ones somewhat carelessly derived from them, the reader can have the extra obstacle of having to define the definition, a situation that can be even more challenging for a non-native speaker.

4. INCONSISTENCIES IN ARRANGEMENT OF SENSES

After all the tricky preliminary decisions, there remain those about the arrangement of senses in an article. The principal criteria are: according to chronology, frequency, or plausible semantic development over time, the latter usually involving a reconstruction of prehistory for which there are no documents. These three will give different results, and even when one is prioritized, the others will continue to clamour for attention, making total consistency difficult or even, in some cases, undesirable.¹³ Large historical dictionaries correctly prioritize chronology, but this should not be done at the expense of correct identification of senses.¹⁴ A fourth criterion for ordering is according to syntax, which LSJ frequently prioritizes over meaning.¹⁵

The challenges of arranging the senses in an entry for an ancient language dictionary are more demanding than for a modern language because there are many uncertainties and unknowns. We can appreciate more readily the different possibilities by looking at examples from modern monolingual dictionaries. Below are three types of entry for the word “shower,” each with a different approach:

Cambridge Learner’s Dictionary:

shower *noun*

¹³ The Introduction to TLL (see Praemonenda in the Online version), 28, section II B, has a short passage on the problems of designing an outline for an article, how the needs of the history of the individual word must take precedence over universal rules, and how one’s view changes with increasing lexicographical experience.

¹⁴ For the historical principle, Liddell and Scott 1925 Preface iii (reprinted in LSJ), also Glare, “Liddell & Scott: It’s Background and Present State” 5–8, and Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca*, 18–20. For a general overview, see Considine, “Historical Dictionaries.” On arrangement of senses, see further Ashdowne, “Dictionaries of Dead Languages,” especially 362–365

¹⁵ For a simple example in an LSJ article of the prioritization of syntax over sense, a feature which is not always easy to appreciate, see *ἀμαθής* 1 a, line 6, where two examples of the adjective with the genitive construction, labelled “c. gen. rei,” are placed together, even though they are semantically different. This is not obvious because the definition “*without knowledge* (of)” is used as a translation for both. The first example (Euripides *Orestes* 417 *ἀμαθέστερός γ’ ὦν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς δίκης*) is about not having knowledge of moral values, the second (Thucydides 4.41.3 *οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ληστείας καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πολέμου*) is about not having prior experience of predatory incursions into one’s territory and a particular type of warfare, i.e. these are different types of knowledge differently acquired. Catch-all translations can be no substitute for precise definition.

WASH

If you have or take a shower, you wash your whole body while standing under a flow of water:

I got up, had a shower and got dressed.

BATHROOM EQUIPMENT

a piece of bathroom equipment that you stand under to wash your whole body:

He likes to sing in the shower.

RAIN

a short period of rain

> a shower of sth

a lot of small things in the air, especially falling through the air:

a shower of glass

Here senses are arranged according to frequency of use. We know that a “shower” of rain was an earlier sense than the “shower” in a modern bathroom, but in everyday life people may come across the latter more frequently. The entry here moves from “shower” as an act of washing, to the place where it is done, then to the “shower” of rain, and finally to other small items arriving in one’s possession, seen metaphorically as similar to rain from the sky.¹⁶

Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary

shower *noun* (RAIN)

a brief rain, or a light fall of snow:

a snow shower

a shower is also something that falls like rain:

a shower of sparks

a shower of confetti

shower *noun* (DEVICE)

¹⁶ A case for Greek where chronology clashes with frequency is the verb βλάπτω. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, gives “cause to fall or break down, make useless, impede ..., entangle, etc.” This is somewhat different from translations “harm, injure” for classical literature which readers will encounter more frequently. Traditionally, dictionaries of ancient languages do not indicate frequency. It is easy now to give frequency counts for words, but the ideal, which would be to indicate the frequency of a particular sense in authors, involves a huge amount of labour.

a device that sprays water on your body while you wash yourself, or an act of washing using such a device:

He stays in the shower until there is no more hot water!

Have I got time to take a shower before we go out?

shower *noun* (PARTY)

a party held to give presents to someone who will soon be married or will become a parent:

a bridal shower

a baby shower

This takes a historical approach, with the assumed first sense at the beginning, “shower” of rain. The entry also includes a further development of meaning: “shower” as an occasion when friends bring gifts to a woman who is going to get married or have a baby, an American usage which is being adopted in British English. For this word there appears to be all the evidence needed to deduce the historical semantic development, whereas in other cases, especially for words in ancient languages, we know the development has in part to be reconstructed. This obviously affords scope for error and variation in judgement between different writers.

The third entry is from the large *Oxford English Dictionary* [OED] (here just the skeleton of the entry, with some amplifying sections omitted).¹⁷

shower

1.

a. A fall of rain, of short duration and (usually) comparatively light. Also, a similar fall of sleet or hail, rarely of snow. ...

c. In extended use: A copious downfall of anything coming or supposed to come from the clouds or sky: in recent use often of meteors.

f. A group or crowd (of people). Usu. *derogatory*, a pitiful collection or rabble. *slang*.

2.

a. *transf.* A copious fall or discharge of water or other liquid in drops. Often of tears; ...

b. *poet.* Of light, sound, etc.

¹⁷ Simpson and Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary* [OED], and Simpson, *OED Online*.

c. Short for SHOWER-BATH. (Now the more usual term.)

3. *fig.*

- a. A copious or liberal supply bestowed.
- b. An abundance of gifts of a similar kind presented by guests at a party to celebrate esp. a wedding or birth; a party given for this purpose. ...

4.

- a. A copious fall or flight of solid objects, esp. of missiles. Also of blows.

†5.

- a. A conflict, combat, battle, assault, attack. Also, an attack of pain; a pang, throe. *Obs.* Very common in Middle English. ...

The aim of *OED* is to give a comprehensive account of the history of a word from the earliest sources. The policy of the first editor James Murray was that senses should be ordered chronologically, except when this contradicted reasonable deduction about the order in which senses might actually have developed. But now there is a new policy for the third edition, which is to order more strictly according to chronology, with the aim of impartiality, rather than editorial opinion.¹⁸ The entry for “shower” is from the second edition and has not yet been revised. It is set out according to the older style of plausible semantic development, allied to chronology as far as possible. It assumes the “shower” of rain is the earliest sense, even though probably the earliest examples in Old English are about showers of missiles. In fact, if etymology and early usage were followed as a significant clue, this might be a case of an original abstract becoming concrete, because one early meaning is something like “crisis,” referring to a conflict or a sharp pain (see *OED* 5. a., marked as an obsolete sense). When it comes to reconstructing semantic development, there are plenty of unknowns, even for a well-documented language like English.¹⁹

¹⁸ See Simpson, *OED Online*: “Preface to the Third Edition of the *OED*” (<http://public.oed.com/the-oed-today/preface-to-the-third-edition-of-the-oed/>), the section “Chronology and the historical method.” For online 3rd ed. entries it is still possible to refer to the earlier entry.

¹⁹ On ordering, see also Silva, “Sense and Definition in the *OED*.” For Greek vocabulary, see Chadwick, “The Semantic History of Greek *ἐσχάρα*” and “Semantic History and Greek Lexicography,” also Clarke, “Semantics and Vocabulary.” The TLL Introduction gives an account of how examples are arranged in articles, 30–32.

5. INCONSISTENCY IN LABELS

As an aid to the reader in understanding how the meaning of a word developed historically and how the senses are distinct from one another, a number of labels are used in *OED*, some of which are exemplified in this article for “shower.” A down-pour from the sky which is like rain but not rain, involving meteors or supernatural elements, is described as “in extended use,” that is, one which pushes the boundaries a bit beyond a sense which is considered to be normal usage.

In section 2 there is the label *transf.* (*in a transferred sense*). “shower” is assumed to apply properly to raindrops, but when it starts to be used of drops of water falling not from the sky but in other situations, then this is labelled a transfer. We might note that *OED* and *OLD* do not use “metaphor,” but have instead two divisions “figure” and “transfer.” *LSJ* however uses only “metaphor,” as under ὄμβρος (A) *storm of rain*, in the second main section:

II. metaph., *storm, shower*, ἐν πολυφθόρῳ Διὸς ὄ., of a battle, *Pi.I.5(4).49*; δέδοικα δ' ὄμβρου κτύπον . . τὸν αἵματηρόν *A.Ag.1533*(lyr.); μέλας ὄ. χάλαζά θ' αἵματοῦσ' (*χαλάζης αἵματος* codd.) *S.OT1279*; ὄμβρω δακρυσέεντι *Nonn.D.16.345*; πυρὸς ὄμβροι *Opp.H.3.22*; ἡδὺς ὄ. ἀοιδῆς *AP9.364* (Nestor).

In the first text quoted here, the word refers poetically to the storm of battle sent by Zeus (Pindar *Isthmian* 5.49, about the battle of Salamis), a use in some ways similar to the sense attested for Middle English “shower,” now obsolete, *OED* 5. a. Following this are various poetic texts referring to a shower of blood, tears, fire or sound, corresponding to more than one section in *OED*.²⁰ Showers of tears and blood are in 2. a. labelled *transf.*, and then in 2. b., “of sound” is labelled as *poet.* Fire from the sky in *LSJ* (Oppian *Halientica* 3.22, referring to lightning) perhaps belongs in the same section: “of light,” though it could go with the meteor 1. c. section labelled “in extended use” in *OED*.

Further down in the *OED* entry, when the copious amounts of small things are no longer like liquid drops but solid (section 3), only then does the label *fig.* for *figurative(y)* appear. The conclusion seems to be that at some point in the history of the word, solid things such as gifts or missiles, are envisaged figuratively as coming thick and fast like a shower of rain. But we have in *OED* a diachronic description, and a label such as *fig.* often refers not to all instances of a particular sense, but to the original point of departure in the assumed sense development. The occasion of a “shower” when gifts are given is not figurative synchronically in current English. But it would have started out as a figure.

We can thus see that in *OED* a label *fig.* might not always refer necessarily to the same situation: it might indicate that a sense is figurative outside normal usage in

²⁰ In H. Lloyd-Jones and N. G. Wilson's Oxford Classical Text of Sophocles (OUP 1990), the manuscript version for *S.OT1279* is retained but obelized and the line, along with the one before, is bracketed.

the instances quoted, or it might indicate that it started out as figurative but no longer is.

In some ways the labels in *OED* and other dictionaries seem to be there to aid navigation of an article rather than as terms which provide precise semantic description. Some lexicographers may indeed see the function of labels more in terms of a device of convenience to help with the laying out of complicated facts on a page. A justificatory argument would be that a dictionary is meant to be a useful tool for readers, not a textbook on the semantics of the language.

The examples above show that labels can be difficult for both writers and readers of dictionaries, but it is difficult to find help. As a rule, introductions to dictionaries give the key to the abbreviations of labels, but not an explanation of how they are used. Disappointingly, there is no dedicated account of the lexicographic uses in *OED* entries for “figurative” and “transferred.”²¹

There is some help to be found in Berg, *A Guide to the Oxford English Dictionary*, published in 1993, long after the original formulation of these labels for the dictionary.²² *fig.* is defined as “A label applied to the use of a word or phrase in other than its literal or concrete sense in order to suggest a comparison, i.e., metaphorically.” One of the examples given is the verb in “A new play... unspools inside Christopher’s head.” *transf.* is defined as “A label applied to the use of a word or sense in other than its normal context.” *transf.* is illustrated by Dickens’s reference to “sundry towers of buttered Yorkshire cakes,” with the use of “tower” “extended or transferred” to describe a lofty pile. (There is no explanation of how this might be different from “in extended sense,” which is also used in *OED*.) An example is provided²³ to show the difference between *fig.* and *transf.*: Ogden Nash’s “they will give you a look that implies that your spine is spaghetti and your soul is lard.” Here, the word “spaghetti” is figurative but, when it is a name for “insulating tubing used over bare wire” it has a sense which is “transferred” or “extended.” Again, Berg uses these two words as though they are equivalent.²⁴

²¹ Salvesen, “The User Versus the Lexicographer,” 90, makes the relevant point that abbreviations “need to be clear, and also to a degree intuitive.” In the context, this is in relation to abbreviations of works and editions, but the same is true of labels. Methodology needs to be readily inferred from the entries themselves, because most readers will not read an introduction to a dictionary, Salvesen, 89.

²² For *fig.*, see 122 and 124, for *transf.*, 183.

²³ Berg, 124.

²⁴ Such semantic labels are only one category of label. On labels in general, see Berg, 19–20, 37, 137. There is some evidence that James Murray, the original principal editor of *OED*, was himself not entirely consistent over time in his use of *transf.*, see 183. On inconsistency in the use of labels in general, see Brewer, *Treasure-house of the Language*, especially 244–249, and “Labelling and Metalanguage,” also Hawke, “Quotation Evidence and Definitions,” 186–188. On the desirability of objectivity in the use of labels and the challenges in terms of accuracy and inconsistency, see Mugglestone, “Labels Revisited: Objectivity and the *OED*” and “An Historian not a Critic: The Standard of Usage in the *OED*.” For problems

From this information, it may be deduced that a more or less one-off metaphorical use of a word is to be considered as “figurative,” but once a figure has been used many times, thus establishing a regular sense, then it is “transferred.” This is not going to happen suddenly with one leap, so in some cases the categorisation may not be all that clear. Care has also to be taken to give separate consideration to cases where the whole phrase is figurative not just the word. Berg’s example is “rope,” as in “know the ropes,” “to give someone plenty of rope,” or “to come to the end of one’s rope.”²⁵

If we consider some Latin and Greek words with a similar meaning to “shower,” it is soon clear that these guidelines are not easy to apply, and that the judgements of different writers of dictionary entries are not likely to be the same. A certain haziness is an ever-present hazard. Outlines for *OLD* entries for “imber” and “grandō” are as follows:

imber

1 Rain. **b** a shower or storm of rain; also a snow- or hailstorm. **c** rain-water.

2 (applied a to artificial showers. **b** to supernatural downpours.)

3 **a** A shower or stream of other liquids. **b** a hail or shower of missiles.

4 Water in general.

grandō

Hail; (pl.) hailstorms. **b** (transf., applied to volleys of missiles).

There is no label for the “hail or shower of missiles” in “imber” **3**, but “grandō” has “transf.” for the “volleys of missiles.” *OLD* does use “in extended sense” for some entries, but not here under **imber 2**, which seems to be a different judgement call from what is done under “shower” **1. c.** in *OED* under “shower.”

If we were writing an entry for the Greek verb βρέχω some similar cases would have to be considered:

Pindar *Olympian* 7.34

ἐνθα ποτὲ βρέχε θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας

χρυσέαις νιφάδεσσι πόλιν

where once the great king of the gods *showered* the city with snowflakes of gold

Pindar *Olympian* 6.55–56

ἴων ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀ-

κτῖσι βεβρεγμένους ἄβρόν

σῶμα

with inconsistency in respect of literal and figurative labelling relating to New Testament vocabulary, see Danker, “Lexical Evolution and Linguistic Hazard,” 20–21.

²⁵ Berg, 122. See further, Cowie, “Phraseology,” 166.

while his tender body was *bathed* by the golden and purple rays of violets²⁶

New Testament *Luke* 17.29

ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐξῆλθεν Ἄωτ ἀπὸ Σοδόμων, **ἔβρεξεν** πῦρ καὶ θεῖον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντας

but the day that Lot went out from Sodom, *it rained* fire and sulphur from heaven and made an end of them all.²⁷

In the first Pindar text, Zeus rained down on a city with gold, i.e. wealth, coming down like snowflakes rather than raindrops. In the second passage a baby is bathed in reflected rays of light as though with rain. In the New Testament example there is a raining down of fire and brimstone. A lexicographer has here opportunities to use labels such as “in extended sense,” “metaphorical,” “figurative,” “poetic,” “transferred.”²⁸ But without strict guidelines and consultation, writers will not be able to maintain consistent practice throughout all other entries. There may well be a “best” solution in each case, but it is hard to find instruction from textbooks.²⁹

The likelihood is that different systems need to be considered according to the kind of language the dictionary covers (for example in terms of a diachronic or synchronic perspective) or, more radically, that minimal use or even abolition of the labels will be the best policy. Of the labels discussed here, *fig.* and *fig.phr.* will be the most enduring, but well-written definitions along with quotations or indications of context can reflect senses for the most part without the need for labels.³⁰

²⁶ Translation: Loeb Classical Library, William H. Race, 1997.

²⁷ Translation: *The New English Bible*. Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, 1961.

²⁸ LSJ and Slater *Lexicon to Pindar* label only Pi.O.6.55 as “metaph.,” but *DGE* labels both Pindar examples as “fig.” The lack of label for the New Testament *Luke* example in LSJ may be either deliberate in terms of semantics, or because it is quoted for the syntactic construction with the accusative, so its semantic features may not be in focus. *DGE* does not have this example but quotes an identical phrase from the Septuagint, labelled as “fact. (factive),” again relating to the syntactic construction. Danker, *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, describes the *Luke* example as “by extension” from the usual impersonal verb “it rains.” *OLD* distinguishes similar uses of the impersonal of “pluo” not with a label, but with a different definition, also in the selection of quotations which, it should not be forgotten, are integral to definition in *OED* and *OLD* methodology.

²⁹ For New Testament vocabulary, an introduction to the problems presented to the lexicographer by figurative language can be found in Nida and Louw, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament*, 70–72, 113–114. Falla, “A Conceptual Framework,” 33–36, discusses the approaches taken by various dictionaries. There is still much to be worked out in relation to the treatment of figurative language in definitions, referred to as “a vexing question” by Roberts, “A Review of BDAG,” 64.

³⁰ It is interesting to note that in monolingual modern language dictionaries even the *fig.* label is “in serious decline,” see Rundell, “Recent Trends in English Pedagogical Lexicography,” 233. Clarke, “Semantics and Vocabulary,” 125, says that there is no longer any room for “the array of arcane abbreviations – *fig.*, *transf.*, *metaph.* – that traditionally link together the subsections of a dictionary definition.”

6. CONSISTENCY OF INTERPRETATION AND DEFINITION: THE CASE OF

βαδίζω

Defining is obviously going to be the most difficult part of writing an entry, and the one most at risk from inconsistency, whether there is just one writer or a team. Although no one will frame definitions in quite the same way as another person, and even the same individual will come up with different wordings on different days, there should be strict editorial guidelines.³¹

A web archive named ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ, providing a simultaneous lookup of entries in several dictionaries, has been developed by the University of Chicago and the Perseus Digital Library [Perseus].³² For Greek it is possible to retrieve dictionary entries side by side for LSJ, the *Intermediate Lexicon* of Liddell & Scott [IGL], the *Diccionario griego-español* [DGE], Autenrieth's *Homeric Dictionary* and Slater's *Lexicon to Pindar*. Their varying approaches and definitions can easily be inspected. In the past, regularly looking up words in several dictionaries would have involved a lot of effort, even if you had them all to hand on a shelf right next to you. Now it is easy, also to summon up the texts referred to in the entries.³³ This new regular accessibility is going to attract much more attention to lexicographic theory. Inconsistencies of interpretation and presentation are now much more noticeable than they have ever been, and to many more people.

Below are the ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ side by side entries for the verb βαδίζω.³⁴

LSJ

βαδίζω, Att. fut. βαδιοῦμαι Ar.Th.617, Pl.495, Pl.Smp.190d, etc.; later βαδίσομαι Gal.UP12.10, and βαδιῶ Nicol.Prog.p.69F., Ael.Tact. 36.4, (δια-) Luc.Dem.Enc.1; βαδίσω D.Chr.10.8: aor. ἐβάδισα Hp.Int. 44, Pl.Erx.392b, Arr.An.7.3.3, etc.: pf. βεβάδικα Arist.Metaph.1048b31, J.Ap.2.39: – Med., imper. βαδίζου Cratin.391: – *walk*, ἐπιστροφάδην δ' ἐβάδιζεν h.Merc.210; β. ἀρρύθμως Alex.263; opp. τρέχω, X.Cyr. 2.3.10, etc.; of horsemen, interpol.

³¹ Some important things to be kept in mind are set out by Landau, *Dictionaries*, 153–216, Glare, “Liddell & Scott: It’s Background and Present State” 11–15, Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca*, 20–24, and Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, 20–25. The identification of senses and framing of definitions are the most challenging of all the tasks in lexicography.

³² ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ is at <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/> The Perseus site is <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>

³³ ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ has some examples from texts, and there are also links now in Thesaurus Linguae Graecae [TLG] between texts and several Greek lexicons: LSJ, Cunliffe’s *Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, Powell’s *Lexicon to Herodotus*, and Trapp, *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität*. There are plans for more to be added.

³⁴ There are some formatting changes here to give an appearance which is somewhat closer to the printed versions. The more generous spacing however of the online versions is maintained. This verb rarely occurs in classical poetry, nor is it in Herodotus, so the other electronic lexicons are not relevant.

in *Id.An.*6.3.19; ἐπὶ κτήνους β. *D.Chr.*34.5; *go by land*, opp. πλέω, *D.*19.164,181; also of *sailing*, X. *Oec.*16.7; of a ship, *LXXJn.*1.3; *march*, of armies, *Ael.Tact.* l.c.; of certain animals, κατὰ σκέλη β., v. σκέλος I: c. acc. cogn., βάδον β. *Ar.An.*42; ὁδὸν *Hr.*l. c., X.*Mem.*2.1.11; αἰεὶ μίαν ἀτραπὸν *Arist.HA* 622b25; ὁδῶ β. *Luc. Tim.*5; βάδιζε *go!* *Men.Epit.*159, *Sam.*43.

2 *go about*, βῆ βῆ λέγων β. *Cratin.*43, al.; κατὰ ζυγά in pairs, *Arist.HA* 544a5.

3 generally, *go, proceed*, *Antipho* 5.24; ἐπ' οἰκίας β. *enter* houses, *D.*18.132, cf. *Test. ap. eund.* 21.121; β. ἐπὶ τινα *ψευδοκλητείας proceed* against him for . . ., *D.*53.15; εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα, εἰς τὰς ἀρχάς, εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα, *Arist.Pol.*1293a24, 1298a15, 1299a36; β. εἰς τὰ πατρῶα *enter* on one's patrimony, *Is.*3.62; *proceed* (in argument), πρὸς τὰ κατηγορήματα *D.*18.263, cf. *Arist.APo.*97a5; εἰς ἄπειρον β., of an infinite *process*, *Metaph.* 1000b28; ὁμόσε τῆ φήμη β. *Plu.Thes.*10.

4 of things, αἱ τιμαὶ ἐπ' ἔλαττον ἐβάδιζον *prices were getting* lower, *D.* 56.9; τὸ πρᾶγμα πορρωτέρω β. *Id.*23.203. – Very rare in Poets: [ἥλιος] β. τὸν ἐνιαύσιον κύκλον *E.Ph.*544.

DGE

βαδίζω

• Morfología: [fut. act. y med. gener. contr., pero βαδίσεις *D.Chr.*10.8]

I 1 *andar, caminar, pasear, ir paso a paso* ἐπιστροφάδην δ' ἐβάδιζεν *h.Merc.*210, μετ' αὐτοῦ βαδίζων *Isoc.*18.5, ὁ δ' ἡλίθιος ὡσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει *Cratin.*45, βαδίζειν ἀρρῦθμωσ *Alex.*263.2, εὐρύθμωσ βαδίζειν *Aristid.Quint.*31.6, τετρωμένον ... καὶ βαδίζειν οὐ δυνάμενον *Isoc.*19.39, ἐπὶ τῶν τεττάρων ποδῶν βαδίζειν ἐπεχείρησεν *Gal.*17(2).245, cf. *Arr.An.*7.3.3, *Philostr.* *VS* 557, *VA* 5.9, ἄρα οὐχ ... ἀνυπόδητος βαδίσεις; *D.Chr.*l.c.

•tb. en v. med. βαδιοῦνται ὀρθοὶ ἐπὶ δυοῖν σκελοῖν *Pl.Smp.*190d, cf. *Gal.*4.43, *Ach.Tat.*2.10.1

•en v. act. de un ejército *marchar al paso*, *Hell.Oxy.*11.6, *Ael.Tact.*36.4, *LAp.*2.24

•op. τρέχω y πλέω *Pl.Grg.*468a, op. τρέχω *X.Cyr.*2.3.10, op. πλέω *D.*19.164

•medic. *ir gota a gota* τὰ τε οὖρα σπάνια βαδίζει *los escasos orines caen gota a gota* *Dieuch.*14.13.

2 gener. *ir, caminar* *Pl.Phdr.*227d, *R.*515c, *Antipho* 5.24, *E.Ep.*5.29, *Arist.Metaph.*1048^b31, *Aen.Tact.*10.15, βάδιζε *¡ve!* *Men.Epit.*376, *Sam.*258

•c. ac. int. *recorrer un camino* βάδον βαδίζομεν *Ar.An.*42, βαδίσαι μακρὴν ὁδὸν *Hr.Int.*44, ὁδός, ἦν πειρῶμαι βαδίζειν *X.Mem.*2.1.11, αἰεὶ μίαν ἀτραπὸν βαδίζουσι *Arist.HA* 622^b25, del sol βαδίζει τὸν ἐνιαύσιον κύκλον *E.Ph.*544

•c. dat. ὁδῶ βαδίζων *yendo por un camino* *Luc.Tim.*5

•c. giro prep. Μεγαρόθεν *Pl.Erx.*392b, εἰς Τακόνα *POxy.*743.29 (I a.C.), εἰς ἀγοράν *Plot.*3.1.1, ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων *entrando en las casas* *D.*18.132, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν *Test. en D.*21.121, ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι βαδιοῦμεν ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος *Nicol.Prog.*p.69

•tb. en v. med. οὐ βαδιεῖ δεῦρ' ὡς ἐμέ; *¿no vendrás aquí cerca de mí?* *Ar.Th.*617, ὡς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βαδιεῖται *Ar.Pl.*495

•de jinetes *cabalgar* ἀνήρ Φρυξ ἐπὶ κτήνους ἐβάδιζεν *D.Chr.*34.5

•de navegantes *navegar* *X.Oec.*16.7, *Is.*1.31, de un barco, *LXX In.*1.3

- de anim. *marchar* X.*Cyn.*5.31, D.P.*Au.*1.31, βαδίζουσι ... κατὰ ζυγά *van (las sepías) por parejas* Arist.*HA* 544^a5, κοχλίας αὐτομάτως βαδίζων *un caracol (mecánico) que se mueve por sí mismo* Plb.12.13.11.

II usos fig. c. giros prep.

- 1 de pers. *entrar* ἐβάδιζεν ἄν ἡ γνησία εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῆς πατρῶα *la hija legítima habría entrado en posesión de la herencia de su padre* Is.3.62, τοὺς εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα βαδίζοντας *los que entran en el gobierno* Arist.*Pol.*1293^a24, cf. 1298^a15, 1299^a36, εἰς τὰ πένθη βαδίζειν Ael.*VH* 6.1.

- 2 de pers. *comportarse, proceder* οὕτω μὲν οὖν βαδίζοντι ἔστιν εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐδὲν παραλέλειπται *el que procede así puede saber que nada ha quedado fuera* Arist.*APo.*97^a5, βαδίζειν κατὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς 1*Ep.Clem.*3.4, οἱ δὲ Μεγαρόθεν ... ὁμόσε τῇ φήμῃ βαδίζοντες Plu.*Thes.*10, τῷ λόγῳ βαδίζοντες *yendo por el camino del razonamiento* Plot.5.3.2

- jur. *proceder contra* ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τὸν κλητῆρα ... τῆς ψευδοκλητείας *procedí contra el testigo por falsa citación* D.53.15

- en v. med. en una argumentación *pasar a hablar de* πρὸς αὐτὰ ... βαδιοῦμαι *κατηγορήματα* D.18.263.

- 3 de abstr. *avanzar* de los primeros principios βαδίζει εἰς ἄπειρον *continúa hasta el infinito* Arist.*Metaph.*1000^b28, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤδη καὶ πορρωτέρω βαδίζει *el asunto progresa más y más lejos* D.23.203, αἱ τιμαὶ τοῦ σίτου ἐπ' ἔλαττον ἐβάδιζον *los precios del trigo iban bajando* D.56.9, ὁδῶ βαδίζειν τὴν σκέψιν εὐαγγελιζόμενος *anunciando que el asunto va por buen camino* Hld.5.30.3.

- Etimología: V. βαίνω.

Middle Liddell (Liddell & Scott Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon [IGL])

βαδίζω, f. Att. βαδιοῦμαι: aor. 1 ἐβάδισα: pf. βεβάδικα: (βάδος, βαίνω) **1** *to go slowly, to walk*, Lat. *ambulare*, hHom., Xen.: *to go, march*, of horsemen, Id.: *to go by land*, Dem.: – c. acc. cogn., βάδον, ὁδὸν β. Ar., Xen. **2** generally, ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδ. *to enter houses*, Dem.: *to proceed* (in argument), Id.: – of things, αἱ τιμαὶ ἐπ' ἔλαττον ἐβάδιζον *prices were getting lower*, Id.

It is not the case that the Liddell and Scott tradition and entries in *DGE* present completely different assessments of the evidence. Some of the citations are traditional, copied from editions of one dictionary to another, with new ones inserted when material is reworked.³⁵ We might notice that both LSJ and *DGE* mention Antipho 5.24 (LSJ **3**, *DGE* **2**), and also that it appears in the Ancient Greek to Italian dictionary, Montanari's *Vocabolario* (also in the English version *GE*). It is an example of the context “go to another town” (though that is not mentioned specifically).

³⁵ The editors of *DGE* acknowledge the debt to LSJ; see, for example, Somolinos and Berenguer “El trabajo de documentación en el *Diccionario Griego-Español*,” 105. For the dependence of Greek dictionaries on their predecessors, sometimes (unlike *DGE*) in a relatively unprofessional way, see Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, especially Chapter One, 3–14.

Many other passages could have been chosen for this kind of context. There is nothing wrong in the selection of an example which is traditionally cited, but it is an indication that there may be more going on in terms of interdependence that may not be so healthy.

DGE has a clearer arrangement. For instance, LSJ section 2 *go about* is correctly taken out, though you have to work out for yourself why. The focus in these two passages is not on an idea of going about, which can apply to a lot of examples in other sections, but the manner of it, βῆ βῆ λέγων *bleating*, or κατὰ ζυγά *in pairs*, much like uses with adverbs or adverbial phrases which appear in other sections. Early in section 1, just a few lines into the entry, LSJ introduces the information that the verb can be about *sailing*, that is where the usual “walk” translation will not suit. This comes in awkwardly straight after examples where the verb is about travelling overland, as the article states “opp. πλέω.” This kind of problem arises out of the faulty procedure of thinking of one translation word as reflecting a primary meaning rather than identifying separate senses. Cases where the subject is either a person or a ship travelling by sea could have gone in the general section *go, proceed* in 3, as in *DGE* section 2, where they are put more happily nearer the end.³⁶

With the reliance on one-word definitions, such as *walk, go* and, in Spanish, *andar, caminar, ir*, etc., some of the citations which are placed together do not actually match in sense. In *DGE* section 2, the first Plato example is similar to the Antiphon citation. Both are about going in the direction of another town, but the intervening example from the *Republic* is about being able to walk for the first time after being freed from the imprisonment of the allegorical Cave. This is a different sense, walking again after being unable to walk, more like the Isocrates example (19.39) in *DGE* section 1, lines 3–4, τετρωμένον αὐτὸν καὶ βαδίζειν οὐ δυνάμενον *him being wounded and unable to walk*. These citations in section 2 in *DGE* have no accompanying quotations, but in other cases, even when there is a quotation, it does not necessarily reveal the sense. LSJ 1, *DGE* I 2 and *IGL*, also Montanari *Vocabolario* (and *GE*), have an example with ὁδόν from Xenophon (*Memorabilia* 2.1.11; ὁδός, ἣν πειρώμαι βαδίζειν is the text). Only Montanari translates the resulting phrase: “percorrere una strada” (*GE* “to travel a road”), but this does not tell you that in this particular passage the phrase is about moving forward on a particular path in life. Without more information, you would naturally assume that it is a path on the ground.³⁷ The translation in Montanari’s lexicon draws attention to this example, whereas in the other dictionaries it is placed without comment amongst others which have a different

³⁶ At LXX *Jn* 1.3 the subject is indeed πλοῖον. *DGE* adds Is.1.31 as a case where the person is travelling by sea. The destination is a harbour on the Attic coast but the journey is from Athens and presumably made overland. The X.*Oec.*16.7 citation is kept from LSJ.

³⁷ On the danger that brief quotations may mislead as to meaning, see Glare, “Liddell & Scott: It’s Background and Present State,” 17.

kind of context. The syntactic information about the accusative is taking precedence over semantics.³⁸

The appendix contains a draft entry for this verb from the *Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, along with entries which have the same stem.³⁹ As in *IGL*, number references are not given, just author labels which have the function of indicating genre. The scale of coverage of authors approximates to *IGL*. In contrast to the Liddell and Scott dictionaries, there are very few quotations from Greek. These are replaced by description in English of typical contexts. The entry for βαδίζω does not necessarily follow a reconstructed historical semantic development, although chronology of attestation is prioritized where possible. No more is claimed for the entry than a reasonably logical progressive ordering which imposes shape on the data. Traditionally, the reasons for section divisions in dictionaries are never explained, and they can be mystifying to readers.⁴⁰ The semantic history of common words is always going to be complicated, an enormous challenge in terms of clarity of presentation, and the constraints of space on the printed page prevents explanation of all the considerations.

Some of the sections for βαδίζω correspond to different senses of this word: for example, “walk” as equivalent to what would be worded in a monolingual dictionary as “to move along by putting one foot in front of the other, or to move a distance in this way,”⁴¹ which is different from the sense about moving forward in time or in one’s life, just discussed. But there are other competing pieces of information to be included, which arise from usage in particular contexts, such as when there is a focus on the purpose of one’s walking or travelling, or in specialized contexts, official, legal, military, literary or philosophical. As far as possible, syntactic information is given at the beginning of the article, because it applies through many of the sense sections. It helps to lift it out of the way so that other information comes through more clearly.

The beginning of the article is about the bodily movement of walking, as opposed to being still, flying, riding or swimming, continuing on in **2** and **4** to the difference made when various adverbs or adverbial phrases are added which relate to the manner or circumstances, walking fast, across the sand, with a companion, and so forth. Walking as opposed to running or jumping is more about manner and thus belongs in **2** rather than in **1**. Section **3** is a specialized sense which arises out of this, “walk slowly.” Sections **7**, **8** and **9** focus on the destination, but there is a distinction

³⁸ The circumstances invite the suspicion that the reference has been borrowed more than once from an original source but without being checked against the full text.

³⁹ This is a project in the Faculty of Classics of the University of Cambridge. For a description of the project, see Hire, “The Cambridge New Greek Lexicon Project” and James, “Learners’ lexica: the approach of the Cambridge Greek Lexicon.” Sample entries quoted here and in these works are subject to revision before publication. The work will be published by Cambridge University Press, and subsequently online by Perseus.

⁴⁰ See Clarke, “Semantics and Vocabulary,” especially 124.

⁴¹ Definition of “walk” in the Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary.

made between places which are nearby in one's normal environment, and those which involve more long distance travel. These are combined in the section about persons as a destination, that is walking up to a person, or visiting a person some distance away. When it comes to "things" as the subject of the verb, in the last two sections, these mirror earlier sections with persons as the subject, about moving as though walking, i.e. in a gradated way, as in **1**, being on one's way as in **6**, also "get going, get lost," as in the angry imperative *βάδιζε*, common in comedy, in the same section.

Three sections have an added related sense where the idea of motion is diminished, **8**, **12**, **13**. In the absence of subsections, a certain slide of sense in a section has been allowed. These examples could have been placed in a section of their own.⁴²

Returning to the label *fig.*, we might consider putting it at the beginning of section **13**, which is about taking a particular path in life. But would the figure lie in the verb or the noun "path"? Not easy to answer. One could consider *fig.pbr.* as a label, i.e. the figure lies in both words together. But in an entry for *ὁδός*, it is likely there would be no figurative label for an equivalent sense, because abstract *ὁδοί* are common, where any figure, if it ever existed, is no longer felt. Possibly the use with *βάδιζειν* is a fossilized figurative phrase. But there is no certainty, since the etymology of *ὁδός* points to an original abstract "going" which then became secondarily a "place of going," a solid path.⁴³ The case for minimal labelling is strong, because very often not enough is known and any assumptions may be proved wrong in the future. The only section in this draft entry where *fig.* is appropriate is **1**, in Plato's *Euthyphro*, where Socrates is like a Daidalos making words walk like automatons rather than just being stationary things. They are like people rather than the things in **15**, rather as the snail automaton in **3** is more like an animal than a thing. The sense is also related to the literary one in **14**, of advancing in attainment of knowledge or in an argument.

One test of a dictionary is how well it serves the interpretation of a particular passage. This verb is particularly common in Demosthenes, which you would not be able to deduce from traditional dictionary entries. *ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ* however does mention the high frequency: TLG gives a count of 63 instances (including spurious works). Two examples are:

Demosthenes 18.132 (*De Corona*)

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντ' Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος
Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρι' ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ
κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ

⁴² There are many different ways an entry can be ordered which can be considered more or less acceptable, but there are many more ways which are simply wrong. Recognizing the difference is part of the art of lexicography. More important than ordering is the correct identification of senses.

⁴³ Chantraine, *DEG*, s.v. *ὁδός*.

βάσκανος οὔτος καὶ κεκραγώς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατία δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν.

You all remember Antiphon, the man who was struck off the register, and came back to Athens after promising Philip that he would set fire to the dockyard. When I had caught him in hiding at Peiraeus, and brought him before the Assembly, this malignant fellow raised a huge outcry about my scandalous and undemocratic conduct in assaulting citizens in distress and breaking into houses without a warrant, and so procured his acquittal.

Demosthenes 19.122 (*De falsa legatione*)

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπεστέλλετ' αὐθις αὖ τὸ τρίτον τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς τὸν Φίλιππον, ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐλπίσι ταύταις αἷς οὔτος ὑπέσχητο, ἐχειροτονήσατε καὶ τοῦτον κάμῃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων (122) τοὺς πλείστους τοὺς αὐτούς. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ παρελθὼν ἐξωμοσάμην εὐθέως, καὶ θορυβούντων τινῶν καὶ κελευόντων βαδίζειν οὐκ ἂν ἔφην ἐλθεῖν. οὔτος δ' ἐχειροτόνητο. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀνέστη μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡ ἐκκλησία, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύονθ' οὔτοι τίν' αὐτοῦ καταλείψουσιν. ἔτι γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων μετεώρων καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδήλου, σύλλογοι καὶ λόγοι παντοδαποὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγίγοντο τότε

When for the third time you sent your ambassadors to Philip, for the fulfilment of those magnificent expectations which Aeschines had guaranteed, you reappointed most of the former envoys, including Aeschines and me. I immediately declined the appointment on affidavit, and when certain persons were clamorous and insisted that I should go, I declared that I would not leave Athens; but the nomination of Aeschines was still valid. After the dispersal of the Assembly, the envoys met and discussed which of them should be left behind, for the whole business was still in the clouds, and the future uncertain, and all sorts of conferences and discussions were going on in the market-place.⁴⁴

The first example from the speech *On the Crown* is mentioned in all the ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ lexicons, (LSJ section 3, DGE 2 in a subsection, and in IGL),⁴⁵ but it is not mentioned that the context is about the legal right to enter a house. We might wonder if this legal sense of English “enter” is intended in LSJ. Obviously “enter” a house can mean just “go in,” but it can be a legal term as well, just possibly more familiar to nineteenth century speakers than it is to us today, though the crime of “breaking and entering” is commonly referred to.

The second example from *On the Embassy* is clear in the general meaning, but one might question why the verb βαδίζειν is chosen rather than others in Greek meaning “go” or “travel.” When more passages and authors are examined, it be-

⁴⁴ Loeb Classical Library, translation C.A. Vince, M.A. and J.H. Vince, 1926.

⁴⁵ Again, it is also in Montanari, *Vocabolario* and *GE*.

comes clear that the subject is often, as here, an ambassador, official messenger or envoy, and that the verb is specialized in such contexts. This comes in section 11 in the *Cambridge Lexicon* draft. With a proper examination of the evidence we can get a clearer appreciation of the lexical choice.

In this sample from the *Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, entries are also given for other words with the same stem. It is possible to look across the group to see similar usages. For instance, the military leader and fighting force who march or advance in section 10 are picked up for the adverb βάδην in military contexts, in two sections, 1 and 2. These correspond to the verb sections 1 (walking as opposed to riding or sailing) and 2 (about manner). Section 10 for the verb also picks up an instance about manner, “at a certain speed,” from section 2 for the verb. The patterns are going to cut across each other in this way but, as far as possible, the ordering and wording should match. Entries with the same stem under other letters of the alphabet, such as διαβαδίζω, ἀναβαδόν, ἐμβάδες, and so forth, as well as the more distantly related βαίνω, should be written with the senses here under review, from the point of view either of connectedness or divergence.⁴⁶ When the patterns start to match up, this is an indication that the semantic analysis is right.

7. CONCLUSION

The lexicographer has to make a myriad of decisions, usually without much help from textbooks or manuals and in the absence of comprehensive studies by historical linguists. Without a strict discipline of consistency, there can result a kind of chaos on the page which does not serve the reader well. Dictionaries, however they are compiled, can be very useful tools, but it is also true that they are only going to be as good as the semantic analysis they contain. Incomplete or wrong information will give a blurred appreciation of meaning, perhaps not too far off the mark in most cases but nonetheless, with small imprecisions accumulated through many words over a whole text, enough to reduce full understanding. Proper semantic analysis, along with rigorously scientific methods of presentation will help readers to read ancient texts at a level which is nearer to that of a native speaker. Lexicography, because of its practical nature, is a test bed for theory, and the two things should be

⁴⁶ Care has to be taken to distinguish between processes of word formation which are living and synchronic, and etymology which, although it has its place in the reconstruction of plausible semantic development, is a different thing. Greek has a propensity for affixes and compounding, a very live process in the classical language, but which diminishes or changes from the Koine onwards. Poetic compounds such as ποδώκης “swift-footed” are transparent, and the senses of the component parts easily analysed. This is not always true of common prose compounds, such as ῥαδιουργός or συκοφάντης, which resist precise analysis. All such factors need to be taken into consideration in tracing the history of words.

linked, that is semantic and theoretical studies on the one hand, and lexical studies and dictionaries on the other.⁴⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adrados, Francisco R., Elvira Gangutia, Javier López Facal, et al. *Diccionario Griego-Español*. Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1980–. [DGE; this is an ongoing publication which has so far reached ἔξαυος.] Online at <http://dge.cchs.csic.es/>
- Aitken, James K. *No Stone Unturned. Greek Inscriptions and Septuagint Vocabulary*. Critical Studies in the Hebrew Bible 5. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2014.
- Ashdown, Richard. “Dictionaries of Dead Languages.” Pages 350–366 in *The Oxford Handbook of Lexicography*. Edited by Philip Durkin. Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Autenrieth, Georg. *Homeric Dictionary*. (Translated by Robert Keep). London: First Duckworth Edition, 1984.
- Béjoint, Henri. *The Lexicography of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Berg, Donna Lee. *A Guide to the Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Brewer, Charlotte. *Treasure-house of the Language: The Living OED*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- . “Labelling and Metalanguage.” Pages 488–500 in *The Oxford Handbook of Lexicography*. Edited by Philip Durkin. Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 4th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Online at: <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/>
- Cambridge Learner’s Dictionary*, 4th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Online at: <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/learner-english/>
- Chadwick, J. “The semantic history of Greek ἐσχάρα. Pages 515–523 in *O-o-pe-ro-si: Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*. Edited by Annemarie Etter. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986.

⁴⁷ On the importance, despite all the practical problems, of not losing sight of “the true goal” ... which is “a complete lexical treatment of Greek from its beginnings right through to Byzantine Greek (or better still to modern Greek),” see Lee, “The Present State of Lexicography of Ancient Greek,” 72–73. This would be a work comparable to *OED*, not set in stone, but constantly updated and revised. On the work ahead, see also Aitken, *No Stone Unturned*, 105–106, who makes the point that with recently available dictionaries for the Septuagint there is no immediate need for another. With the ongoing *DGE* and other works being published this is probably true for all Greek. What is needed first is more focus on theories of semantic analysis and lexicographic method, backed up by a proper collection of the full range of data.

- . “Semantic History and Greek Lexicography.” Pages 281–288 in *La langue et les textes en grec ancien. Actes du colloque Pierre Chantraine*. Edited by Françoise Létoublon. Amsterdam: Gieben, 1992.
- . *Lexicographica Graeca. Contributions to the Lexicography of Ancient Greek*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Chantraine, Pierre. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1969–1980. New edition: Klincksieck, 2009. [DEG]
- Clackson, James and Geoffrey Horrocks. *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007.
- Clarke, Michael. “Semantics and Vocabulary.” Pages 120–133 in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*. Edited by Egbert J. Bakker. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Considine, John. *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe. Lexicography and the Making of Heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- . “Historical Dictionaries.” Pages 163–175 in *The Oxford Handbook of Lexicography*. Edited by Philip Durkin. Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Cowie, Anthony P. “Phraseology.” Pages 163–167 in *Practical Lexicography. A Reader*. Edited by Thierry Fontenelle. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Cunliffe, Richard John. *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*. London: Blackie, 1924.
- Danker, Frederick William. “Lexical Evolution and Linguistic Hazard. Pages 1–31 in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography*. Edited by Bernard A. Taylor, John A.L. Lee, Peter R. Burton and Richard E. Whitaker. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2004.
- Danker, Frederick William, with Kathryn Krug. *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- . *The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. (with Kathryn Krug.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Dickey, Eleanor. *Ancient Greek Scholarship. A guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*. Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Falla, Terry. “A Conceptual Framework for a New Comprehensive Syriac-English Lexicon.” Pages 1–79 in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography I*. Edited by A. Dean Forbes and David G. K. Taylor. *Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 1*. Piscataway, N. J.: Gorgias, 2005.
- Glare, P. G. W., et al. *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon 1968–1982. [OLD]
- . “Liddell & Scott: It’s Background and Present State.” Pages 1–18 in *Studies in Lexicography*. Edited by Robert Burchfield. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987.
- Hawke, Andrew. “Quotation Evidence and Definitions.” Pages 176–202 in *The Oxford Handbook of Lexicography*. Edited by Philip Durkin. Oxford University Press, 2016.

- Hire, Pauline. "The Cambridge New Greek Lexicon Project." *Classical World (CW)* 98.2 (2005): 179–185.
- Hornblower, Simon and Antony Spawforth, et al. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003 (4th edition 2012).
- Hüllen, Werner. *A History of Roget's Thesaurus. Origins, Development, and Design*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- James, Patrick. "Learners' lexica: the approach of the Cambridge Greek Lexicon." Pages 177–194 in *Classical Dictionaries. Past, Present and Future*. Edited by Christopher Stray. London: Duckworth, 2010.
- Landau, Sidney I. *Dictionaries. The Art and Craft of Lexicography*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Lee, John A. L. *A History of New Testament Lexicography*. Studies in Biblical Greek 8. New York: Peter Lang, 2003.
- . "The Present State of Lexicography of Ancient Greek." Pages 66–74 in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography*. Edited by Bernard A. Taylor, John A.L. Lee, Peter R. Burton and Richard E. Whitaker. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2004.
- Liddell, H. G., and R. Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. Revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie. Oxford: Clarendon, 1940. Revised Supplement. Edited by P.G.W. Glare with the assistance of A.A. Thompson. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996. [LSJ]
- . *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*. Founded upon the seventh edition of Liddell & Scott's Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889. [IGL]
- Lloyd-Jones, H. and N. G. Wilson *Sophoclis Fabulae*, 2nd ed. Oxford Classical Text. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Montanari, Franco. *GI. Vocabolario della lingua greca*, 3rd ed. Turin: Loescher, 2013.
- . *GE The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*. English Edition edited by Madeleine Goh and Chad Schroeder. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Mugglestone, Lynda. "'An Historian not a Critic:' The Standard of Usage in the OED." Pages 189–206 in *Lexicography and the OED. Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . "Labels Revisited: Objectivity and the OED." *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* 21 (2000): 22–36.
- Nida, Eugene A. and Johannes P. Louw. *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament. A Supplement to the Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*. Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study, 25. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1992.
- Palmer, Leonard R. *The Greek Language*. London: Faber and Faber, 1980.
- . *The Latin Language*. London: Faber and Faber, 1954.
- Partridge, Eric. *The Gentle Art of Lexicography as pursued and experienced by an addict. A memoir*. London: André Deutsch, 1963.

- Peláez, Jesús. *Metodología del Diccionario Griego-Español del Nuevo Testamento*. Córdoba: Ediciones el Almendro, 1996.
- Powell, J. Enoch. *A Lexicon to Herodotus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938.
- Roberts, Terry. "A Review of BDAG." Pages 53–65 in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography*. Edited by Bernard A. Taylor, John A.L. Lee, Peter R. Burton and Richard E. Whitaker. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2004.
- Rundell, Michael. "Recent Trends in English Pedagogical Lexicography." Pages 221–243 in *Practical Lexicography. A Reader*. Edited by Thierry Fontenelle. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Salvesen, Alison. "The User versus the Lexicographer: Practical and Scientific Issues in Creating Entries." Pages 81–92 in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography I*. Edited by A. Dean Forbes and David G.K. Taylor. Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 1. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2005.
- Silva, Penny. "Time and Meaning: Sense and Definition in the OED." Pages 77–95 in *Lexicography and the OED. Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest*. Edited by Lynda Mugglestone. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Simpson, J.A. and E.S.C. Weiner. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. [OED]
- Simpson, J.A. *OED Online*, 3rd ed. Available to subscribers at www.oed.com
- Slater, William J. *Lexicon to Pindar*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969.
- Smith, William. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. London: Taylor and Walton, 1849. Available online:
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0104>
- Snell, Bruno, Michael Meier-Brügger, et al. *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1955–2010.
- Somolinos, Juan Rodríguez, José Antonio Berenguer. "El trabajo de documentación en el Diccionario Griego-Español." Pages 105–130 in *La lexicografía griega y el Diccionario Griego-Español*. Edited by Francisco R. Adrados, Juan Rodríguez Somolinos. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005.
- Thompson, A.A. "Review of Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*." *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (BIOSCS)* 36 (2003) 113–127.
- Tosi, Renzo. "Typology of Lexicographical Works." Pages 622–636 in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Vol. I). Edited by Franco Montanari, Stephanos Matthaios and Antonios Rengakos. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Trapp, Erich, Wolfram Hörandner, et al. *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität: besonders des 9–12 Jahrhunderts*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993–.

APPENDIX

- βάδην** *adv.* [βαίνω] **1 walking** (opp. riding) Plu.; (milit.) **marching** (opp. being on horseback, on board ship) A.
2 at a steady walking pace; **walking** (opp. running, galloping) X.;
 • θάπτον ἢ βάδην *almost running* X. Plu.; **advancing steadily** A. Ar.; (milit., sts. opp. running, falling into disorder) Hdt. X. +
3 at a slow or slowish pace; **walking slowly** Plb.; **with faltering steps** (due to age, dejection) ll. Plu.; • μόλις βάδην *barely putting one foot in front of the other* X.
4 bit by bit, gradually —*ref. to starving* Ar.
- βαδίζω** *vb.* [reltd. βάδην] | fut. βαδιοῦμαι | aor. ἐβάδισα | pf. βεβάδικα | neut. impers. vbl. adj. βαδιστέον, pl. βαδιστέα | freq. w. prep. φηρ. *to or into a place, or set of circumstances*, or w. adv. *here, there, home, in a certain manner*, sts. w. intern. acc. ὁδοί, βόδον, βάδισμα; sts. w. dat. ὁδοῖ |
1 (of persons, animals) go forward on foot (opp. stand still, lie, be carried, ride, swim, fly), **walk** Ar. Att. orats. +; (fig., of words) Pl.
2 (w. focus on manner, demeanour, relative position) **walk** (fr. side to side, in front, behind, upright, in procession, slowly, fast, happily, or sim.) hHom. S. Ar. Pl. D. +; **walk** (opp. run, jump) X.
3 walk slowly Plb. Plu.; (of a snail automaton) **move slowly** Plb.
4 (w. focus on the place or circumstance) **walk** (over sand, through fire, in the street, alone, w. a companion, talking, silent, without shoes, a long way, or sim.) hHom. Ar. Att. orats. +
5 (in requests) **walk, come, go** Ar. + • βαδιεῖ δεῦρο; *will you step this way?* Ar. • τί οὐ βαδίζομεν *why don't we go?* Pl.
6 be on one's way (esp. in haste, a state of anger, relief, indifference); **walk away, get going, be off** Ar. D.; (freq. imperatv., as an impatient or angry command) Ar. Men. Plu.
7 (w. focus on destination) **walk, come, go** (to or towards a place: home, a house, dinner, festival, school, the market-place, assembly platform, or sim.) Ar. Att. orats. +
8 walk, go (to or up to a person) Ar. Att. orats. +; (w. idea of motion diminished) **visit, keep company** (w. a person, certain kinds of people; sts. w. sexual meaning) Ar.
9 make one's way (to another city, region, country, esp. overland); **walk, proceed, journey** S. Ar. Att. orats. Pl. +; (through the air, on a boat) Ar. X.
10 (of a leader, a fighting force) **go out, march, advance** (across territory, against enemies) D. Plu.; (in the front ranks or the rear, at a certain speed, or sim.) Plu.; (of lions, on prey) Plu.
11 (w. focus on an official or legal purpose); **come, go, proceed** (to another state or leader, as ambassador, petitioner, messenger; before the people, to court or before an arbiter) D. Plb. Plu.
12 exercise a right of entry, **enter, walk** (into property, over a piece of land) Ar. ls. D.; (w. idea of motion diminished) **come** (into hereditary property) ls. D. Plu.
13 progress (in one's life) or enter upon a new stage; **proceed, advance** (along a particular path, in one's thought, action, life) X. Theoc. Plu.; (w. idea of motion diminished) **enter** (into office, political life) Arist. Plu.; (of a widow) **move on** (to another husband) D.
14 (of writers, orators, or sim.) **proceed, advance** (in knowledge, in one's argument or against another's) Att. orats. Pl. +
15 (of things) move at a gradated or regular pace; (of night, day) **proceed** E.; (of wind, water) **pass** (along a route) Ar. D.; (of prices) **go** (lower) D.; (of nature, a thing by its nature) **tend** (in a certain direction) D. Arist.; (of a sickness, a doctrine) **spread** D. Plu.; (of the body, institutions, power) **grow, develop** Plu.; (of a state of affairs or circumstance) **proceed** D. Arist. Plu.
16 (of things) go or be gone; (of excrement) **be disposed of** Ar.
- βάδις** εως *f.* **1 walking** (as a form of motion, sts. opp. flying, leaping; also, as an exercise for health) Arist.
2 manner of walking (on a particular occasion, or generally); **walk, gait** Ar. Plu.; **movements** (of a hare, evading hunters) X.
βάδισμα ατος *n.* style of walking, **walk, gait** X. D.

βαδισμός οὐ *m.* instances of the action of walking, **walking** Pl.
βαδιστής οὐ *m.* one who advances; ταχύς βαδιστής *fast runner*
E.
βαδιστικός ἢ οὐ *adj.* of the sort who likes walking Ar.
βάδος οὐ *m.* [re]ltd. βάδην] βάδον βαδίσειν *go on a trek* Ar.