

Reflections on Lexicography



Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages

4

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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.

Reflections on Lexicography

Explorations in Ancient Syriac, Hebrew, and Greek Sources

Edited by

Richard A. Taylor

Craig E. Morrison



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SERIES 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 constitutes 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 both 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
Series editor

LOOKING FOR WHAT'S NOT THERE

In the film *The Magic of Belle Isle* we hear an ageing author (Morgan Freeman) saying to a nine-year-old aspiring writer (Emma Fuhrmann), “Whenever you look down the road keep looking for what’s not there.” The International Syriac Language Project (ISLP) began in 2001. At that time its aim was to further the knowledge of Syriac by laying the foundations for Syriac lexicography and Syriac-English lexica. It described itself as interdisciplinary because it called upon many specializations and was alert to research in other ancient languages. The series *Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics* (PoSL) became its research forum. But not long after, ISLP participants found themselves looking down the road for what’s not there.

A millennium had ended. With it what surely was humankind’s most violent, fear-filled, hate-fuelled, and self-destructive century came to its close. Around the globe new forms of encounter and dialogue had emerged. Many began to see things with a clear eye—and they liked the view. They denied violence and despair the last word: they put their trust in the power of good to overcome evil, the power of love to overcome hatred. In the world of Syriac studies, East and West had come together, due as always to the work and foresight of a few. As Samuel Rayan says, “A candle-light is a protest at midnight. It is a non-conformist. It says to the darkness, ‘I beg to differ.’”

Is it too much to see the ISLP in this wider historical context: to see in retrospect a candle-light in its cooperative intents? Perhaps not, for what emerged was a team-orientated approach that sought to step over the disempowering obstacles of status, gender, ethnicity, and academic egocentricity. The group meets, collaborates, debates, publishes together and dreams together with the goal of producing robust good-quality peer-reviewed research.

An academic discipline is always a multi-universe, and dangers lurk for one that concentrates only on its own questions, problems, and solutions. Knowing this, the ISLP sensed that it should no longer restrict itself to Syriac lexicography; the time had come to work with a wider community of ancient-language scholars and lexicographers. It had been self-consciously interdisciplinary. Now it added the term multidisciplinary to refer to its embrace of all ancient languages. What we were looking for down the road was who we were becoming.

Destinations often prove not to be endings but points of transition. Lexicography that seeks to “take nothing on trust,” to use a phrase from John Chadwick and Anne Thompson, is a doorway to research. Conversely, state-of-the-art ancient-language lexicography must draw on all aspects of ancient-language study: codicology, history, social and cultural contexts, archaeology, anthropology, philosophy, theology, exegesis, grammar, semantics, syntax, the research of translationists, and the umbrella discipline of linguistics. Hence the ISLP asked

whether it should widen its scope yet more by recognizing in its endeavours the place of all ancient-language study. In San Francisco in November 2011, our annual meeting unanimously agreed to replace *Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics* with a new series. The result is *Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages*: colloquia and monographs for a wide audience while remaining a resource for ancient-language lexicography in the twenty-first century. Three monographs by Na'ama Pat-El (2012), Mark Meyer (2012), and Tarsee Li (2013) are already available, with several more forthcoming. An indispensable part of the peer-reviewed publication of the monographs is the work of our Editorial Board members, James Aitken, Aaron Butts, Daniel King, and Wido van Peursen. Please be assured of our appreciation for your unseen yet crucial task.

The responsibilities of the ISLP are considerable and we record here our appreciation to Marketta Liljeström (University of Helsinki), Alexey Muraviev (Moscow State University), and Michael Theophilos (Australian Catholic University) for your recent commitment to the ISLP's ongoing work.

What is behind us and before us would not have been possible without the wisdom and vision of our Gorgias Press publisher, George Kiraz, our Acquisitions Editor, Melonie Schmierer-Lee, and my colleague Beryl Turner. Thanks also to Georgia Kelly who indexed this lengthy volume. To each of you we express our indebtedness for your untiring creativity and professionalism and with you our thanks to our contributors. But in the end, this handsome volume is in our hands because of the perseverance and dedication of its editors, Richard A. Taylor and Craig E. Morrison. We are deeply grateful. Thank you.

Terry C. Falla
Series editor

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the publication of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, for a century and a half Samuel Johnson's dictionary of the English language was a staple in the English-speaking world. Johnson, however, took a rather light-hearted stance on the value of dictionaries, his own included. In a letter to Francesco Sastres dated August 21, 1784 he expressed the following opinion: "Dictionaries are like watches. The worst is better than none, and the best cannot be expected to go quite true."¹

The comparison of dictionaries to faulty time-pieces was perhaps more pertinent in the eighteenth century than it is today—watches are now characterized by a level of precision and accuracy unimaginable in Johnson's day. Modern dictionaries, however, continue to undergo change and improvement. While our lexicographical tools are better now than at any prior time, the quest for increased linguistic precision and lexical thoroughness is far from over. Although the goal is clear, there is not yet a consensus with regard to methodology and parameters. What kind of improved lexicon do we yet need for accurate study of ancient texts? What information should be included, and what information should be excluded? How can we achieve the highest level of linguistic and lexicographical precision in the creation of such tools? While the application of computer science to lexicography has of course opened creative new possibilities in this regard, questions still remain.

The essays collected in this volume ponder issues related to such questions. These essays probe various linguistic problems, analyze certain lexicographical methods, evaluate selected lexical tools currently available, and set forth descriptions and/or proposals for forthcoming lexical projects. The papers are organized into three groups, depending on their primary language orientation. The first group focuses on selected areas of lexicography for texts written in classical Syriac. The second group deals with certain areas of semantics and lexicography for Biblical Hebrew. The third group treats aspects of lexical analysis for the Greek New Testament. The common thread that ties the essays together is a focus on lexicography.

The editors of this volume would like to express appreciation for the outstanding work of the contributors. It has been a privilege to work with these gifted scholars in bringing this volume to fruition. We are also grateful for the expertise of the publishing staff at Gorgias Press. And in spite of the considerable geographical distance between Dallas and Rome, the wonder of electronic

¹ James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., Including a Journal of His Tour to the Hebrides* (2 vols.; new ed. with numerous additions and notes by John Wilson Croker; New York: George Dearborn, 1837), 2:515.

communication has enabled the editors to carry on a robust exchange of correspondence with a minimum of delay. We send forth this volume with the hope that it might stimulate further research in the realm of linguistics and lexicography for ancient Syriac, Hebrew, and Greek literary sources.

Richard A. Taylor and Craig E. Morrison

Volume editors

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ABBREVIATIONS

For abbreviations of books of the Bible, journals, series, and certain books we follow guidelines set forth in the *SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*.

>	deriving from
√	root
†	died
//	parallel
AAR	American Academy of Religion
AB	Anchor Bible
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
attrib.	attribute, attributive
Audo	Audo, T. <i>Simta d-leshana suryaya</i> . 2 vols. 1897. Reprint, <i>Treasure of the Syriac Language: A Dictionary of Classical Syriac</i> . Gorgias Historical Dictionaries 9. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008
BAGD	Bauer, W., W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979
B.C.E.	Before the Common Era
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. H. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1907

BDF	Blass, F., A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961
BHQ	<i>Biblia Hebraica Quinta</i> . Edited by A. Schenker et al. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
Br2	Brockelmann, Carolo. <i>Lexicon Syriacum</i> . 2nd ed. Halis Saxonum: Max Niemeyer, 1928
c. st.	construct state
ca.	circa
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956–
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
CAL	<i>Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon</i> . Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College. Available on-line.
C.E.	Common Era
cent.	century
cf.	compare, frequently in reference to citations from ancient texts
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	<i>Church History</i>
COED	<i>Concise Oxford English Dictionary</i> . Edited by Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson. 11 th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009
<i>Colloq</i>	<i>Colloquim</i>
compl.	complement
conj.	conjunction
Costaz	Costaz, L. <i>Dictionnaire syriaque-français</i> . Beirut: Éditions de l'Imprimerie Catholique, 1963
crit. ap.	critical apparatus
CSCO	Corpus scriptorium christianorum orientalem
CSD	<i>A Compendious Syriac Dictionary</i> . Edited by J. Payne Smith. Oxford: Clarendon, 1903

<i>DCH</i>	<i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Edited by D. J. A. Clines. 8 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2011
<i>DGENT</i>	<i>Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento</i> . Edited by J. Peláez del Rosal et al. Cordoba: El Almendro, 2000–
ed.	edited by, editor, edition
emph.	emphatic
enl.	enlarged
esp.	especially
fasc.	fascicle
f(f).	and the following one(s)
fig.	figurative(ly)
GA	Genitive Absolute
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2 nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910
Gr.	Greek
<i>HALOT</i>	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 5 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000
Heb.	Hebrew
<i>HSc</i>	<i>History of Science</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
id.	idem, the same
<i>IDB</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962
<i>IDelosChoix</i>	<i>Choix d'inscriptions de Délos, avec traduction et commentaire</i> . Edited by F. Dürrbach. 2 vols. 2 nd ed. Paris: E. Leroux, 1921
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones graeca ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> . Edited by R. Cagnat et al. 3 vols. Paris: E. Leroux, 1906–1927
<i>IMagnMai</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> . Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Edited by O. Kern. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1900. Reprint, Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967

imp.	imperative
impf.	imperfect
inf.	infinitive
interrog.	interrogative
interj.	interjection
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
<i>IPriene</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> . Edited by F. Hiller von Gaertringen et al. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1906
ISLP	International Syriac Language Project
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
Jennings	Jennings, W. <i>Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament (Peshitta)</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1926
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KPG</i>	Falla, T. C. <i>A Key to the Peshitta Gospels</i> . 2 vols. New Testament Tools and Studies. Leiden: Brill, 1991–
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
lit.	literal(ly)
L&N	<i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains</i> . Edited by J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida. 2nd ed. New York: United Bible Societies, 1989
<i>LS</i>	<i>Lexicon Syriacum</i> . Edited by C. Brockelmann. 2nd ed. Berlin: Reuther and Reichard, 1928. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1995
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9 th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996
LSJ Suppl.	Barber, E. A. et al. <i>Greek-English Lexicon: A Supplement</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1968
LXX	Septuagint

metaph.	metaphorical
meton.	metonymy
m.pl.	masculine plural
MPIL	Monographs of the Peshitta Institute, Leiden
m.s.	masculine singular
Ms(s)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
n.	noun
NA ²⁷	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Edited by E. Nestle, K. Aland, et al. 27th ed. Stuttgart: Bibelgesellschaft, 1993
n. com.	common noun
neg.	negation, negative
n.f.	noun feminine
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
n.m.	noun masculine
NT	New Testament
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta
OGIS	<i>Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> . Edited by Wilhelm Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1903–1905. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1986
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
opp.	opposite
OT	Old Testament
pass.	passive
perh.	perhaps
pers.	person
pf.	perfect
pl.	plural
pred.	predicate, predicative
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun

ptc.	participle
RC	<i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy</i> . Edited by C. B. Welles. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934
ref.	reference(s)
rel. pron.	relative pronoun
repr.	reprint
rev.	revised by, revised
s.	singular
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris: Cerf, 1943–
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
SIG	<i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> . Edited by Wilhelm Dittenberger. 4 vols. 3rd ed. Leipzig: S. Hirzelium, 1915–1924. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1960
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
SL	<i>A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum</i> . Edited by Michael Sokoloff. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
sub.	subordinate
subs.	subsidia
subst.	substantive
Suppl.	Supplement, <i>supplementum</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Translated by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. 8 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–
<i>TebtPap</i>	<i>The Tebtunis Papyri</i> . Edited by A. S. Hunt et al. 4 vols. University of California Publications, Graeco-Roman Archaeology 1–4. London: H. Frowde; New York: Oxford University Press, 1902

Thelly	Thelly, E. <i>Syriac-English-Malayalam Lexicon</i> . Kottayam: Deepika Book House, 1999
<i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i>	<i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i> . Edited by R. Payne Smith. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1879, 1901
trans.	translated by, translator
UBS	United Bible Societies
v(v).	verse(s)
var. lec.	varia lectio (variant reading)
vol(s).	volume(s)
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

REFLECTIONS ON SYRIAC LEXICOGRAPHY

REFLECTIONS ON TWO ARTICLES BY FREDERICK W. DANKER: BACKGROUND AND APPRECIATION

Terry C. Falla

Whitley College, University of Melbourne

Frederick Danker—or Fred, as he was known to family, friends, colleagues, and acquaintances—was arguably the most eminent Greek New Testament lexicographer of the late-twentieth and early twenty-first century: the “D” in BDAG. He was also a wonderful human being. It is therefore a great privilege to have in this volume the last article—and perhaps the *two* last articles—that he wrote. Professor Danker sent the first of these articles to me in mid-2011 in my role as Series Editor. The article was unsolicited. He wished to support this series.

The subject, scope, and aim of the first of these articles, “A Linguistic-Cultural Approach to Alleged Pauline and Lukan Christological Disparity,” demonstrates that at age ninety-one Danker was, in his thinking and methodological perspective, still at the forefront of ancient-language lexicography. Indeed, the content, theme, and focus of the article may make a non-lexicographer pause and ask what it has to do with lexicography. This would be all the more likely if the article’s reader were unfamiliar with the “definitional” research informing BDAG (2000) and Danker’s *Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (2009). The question would be fair and pertinent. Lexicography is steadily gaining a wider audience. But this audience is not necessarily acquainted with relatively recent research into the interrelationship between the meaning of words and their underlying socio-cultural contexts. For this reason, Danker decided to emphasize this connection in two ways. The first is his brief abstract, which focuses on intent rather than content:

The paper deals with the lexical presentation of lexemes in terms of actual definition in association with formal bilingual equivalence. It examines the problem of contextual consideration in determining the meaning of a term and takes into account the problems generated by endeavour to relate the meaning of an ancient text to the modern interpreter’s world.

The second way arose out of correspondence between us, which led to his sending me a paragraph to insert into his original manuscript:

The study helps creators of bilingual dictionaries to be alert to the importance of distinguishing the process of definition in its own right from a long-standing practice of simply offering translation equivalents or glosses. *In short, socio-cultural awareness combined with attention to advances in*

linguistic inquiry may well result in sharper and refined translation of ancient texts
[emphasis added].

The second article, “Syriac Lexicography Problems: Synonymy and Metonymy and Related Issues,” was presented, by invitation, as a paper at one of the ISLP (International Syriac Language Project) sessions in November 2011 at the SBL Annual Meeting in San Francisco. Anyone familiar with Danker’s characteristic approach and who heard this paper would have been conscious of the presence of an unexpected genre: autobiography. It is an element which brings his life’s work, his insistence on scientific method, and his specific subject into conversation with one another. Only in retrospect could one appreciate that the “related issues” in the title refers to moments in this man’s long journey that shaped and defined his academic vocation and that bring us, in a few words, to contemporary frontiers of the subject about which he was so passionate.

Shortly after the conference, Danker sent me his completed article. The abstract to follow never arrived. None of us were to know that his remaining time with us was to be so brief. A fall, surgery, and subsequent complications led to a relatively quick decline in health. Born on July 12, 1920, he died, having farwelled his family, on February 2, 2012.

The personal glimpses and Dankerish pursuit of future New Testament lexicography in this second essay eventuated only because of the care and support of Fred’s daughter, Kathie Danker. Kathie accompanied her father from their home in Chicago, stayed with him in San Francisco, and even joined our informal evening-out at a restaurant found for us by Simone and Michael Sokoloff.

Kathie, we record here our thanks and gratitude to you. We are also grateful to Fred’s good friends Anne Thompson and Peter Burton, who, with Kathie, did all they could to ensure that Fred’s needs were met and that, for the duration of the conference, he was able to lunch, dine, laugh, and converse with acquaintances, people not previously met—and friends and colleagues whom he so valued and loved.

Terry Falla, on behalf of the ISLP group



Anne Thompson and Frederick Danker, SBL, San Francisco, November 2011

LEXICAL PROBLEMS: SYNONYMY AND METONYMY AND RELATED ISSUES

Frederick William Danker

Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago

Lexicography has seen a shift from acceptance of fixed identification of something signified and a term that captures that significance. The one-word gloss has maintained a stranglehold on lexicographical work. The situation was similar in the nineteenth century in the realm of art criticism, when empiricism reflected on the relative differences in sensory data. Reason had to recognize the complexity of individual differences.¹ Similarly, in the twenty-first century, empirical approaches to the nature and function of aspects of language have demanded a new awareness to the way we do lexicography.

At the outset it is necessary to explore the way in which we, who claim to be scholars, do business. I will start the exploration with a statement about my own self-understanding as a scholar. I engage in scientific inquiry. Simply put, I am a scientist. From earliest childhood I was directed to think in terms of many contexts. Radio intrigued me, and we talked about many subjects in our home. China was a mysterious place. I wished to be a missionary to China. “Well, if that’s what you wish, find out all you can about China,” I thought. That meant paying for subscriptions. And so on it went. I never did get to China. But I was committed to scientific inquiry. Dogma was a part of the script, but an adjunct to what came after the evangelists and the apostles had had their say. Matters like the creation, the birth of Jesus Christ, the resurrection, and the role of the Holy Spirit belonged to my inherited belief system. My scientific mind was content to ruminate about clouds and how I might be able to fly. I had a good feel for organizing material and spent a bit of time straightening out stuff in the medicine chest and closets. I also took apart my father’s gold watch. My lesson was completed with a rebuke whose quality was matched by the intriguing value of the timepiece. A brief visit in my early grammar school days to the realm of fine arts was queried with “What’s this?” as I proudly showed a water color piece of modern expressionism to my teacher.

About twenty years later, I queried a systematics instructor on the pertinence of a point of exegesis in his lecture. In vexed dismissive mode, he gave me an

¹ Wilson O. Clough, “Reason and Genius—An Eighteenth Century Dilemma (Hogarth, Hume, Burke, and Reynolds),” *Philological Quarterly* 23, 1 (January 1944): 33–54.

unscientific glare and said, "Let's move on. Later you can write your own dogmatics."

Twenty years later, now professor at Concordia Seminary, I sat before a committee organized by Dr. Jacob Preus to investigate the orthodoxy of the faculty. Ultimately, matters came to a head when our president, John H. Tietjen, was suspended by the Missouri Synod on the charge of harboring false teachers. There followed a series of official lines of inquiry about the orthodoxy of each faculty member, except a few who were deemed worthy of honorable retirement. One of this bureaucratic face-saving number, Dr. Carl Piepkorn, said he wished to be declared 'retired dishonorably', stating that he had been declared retired without being subject to proper process of the Synod's charge of lack of proper doctrinal supervision by President Tietjen.

In the course of my subjection to President Preus' inquisitorial procedure, I was asked to talk about my understanding of the Gospel. This was a big order. So I took his committee through a really orthodox answer: the Gospel of Mark. I could tell that they were a bit uneasy about the implications of the Passion Story. They also asked about my commitment to the *Book of Concord*, which contained the Augsburg Confession. I assured them that I was in wholehearted support, for it focused on the Gospel, with constant warning against any amendment of it through ecclesiastical bureaucratic harassment. Anyway, the seminary's Board of Control was given official direction to examine each professor about his or her position on selected doctrinal matters. One of the members of the Board exhorted us to write more plainly so as not to confuse the synod's lay members. As case in point he referred to my commentary on Luke's gospel, titled *Jesus and the New Age*. I spread out on the table copies of the book, one for each, for I had a hunch that it would come up for discussion. I said to this board member, "Pick a page." He read aloud from a paragraph he had turned up at random. I said, "Read on and you will come to the point where I explain my choice of wording."

Time and again it was apparent that use of the historical critical method at Concordia Seminary underlay much of the antagonism levelled at Dr. Tietjen and the exegetical department. Many lay members had been led to believe that the seminary's biblical scholars used this type of inquiry for study of Greek and Hebrew texts. In their minds this kind of study was associated with questions about the historical accuracy or actual happening of stories related in the Bible. Was the book of Jonah an account about a real prophet and a man-swallowing whale? Was the world actually created within a seven-day period? Was the book of Isaiah written by two or more different prophets? Exegetes pointed out discrepancies in the Bible. Lay people feared: "They are taking the Bible from us." When Dr. Tietjen defended his biblical scholars on the ground that it was impossible to do any serious academic study of the Bible without the use of historical critical methods, demands for examination of his credentials for presiding over Concordia Seminary mounted to a full-throated crescendo.²

² See Frederick W. Danker, assisted by Jan Schambach, *No Room in the Brotherhood: The Preus-Otten Purge of Missouri* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1977), 261–62.

Having had my mind sharpened from early on with the understanding that scientific inquiry and matters of faith belonged to two different realms, I was personally ambivalent about all the fuss that was generated by the term *historical critical method*. Yet the fact is that numerous fine scholars confessed that they had lost their faith in the belief systems they had grown up with. I pondered the fact and finally realized that the answer was to be found at a far deeper level. There was confusion of two different approaches: first, scientific responsibility in determining what a given text states; second, unscientific acceptance of procedure in evaluating the data of texts while making judgments about biblical writers' naïveté relative to wondrous matters (for example, walls of a city falling down at the sound of trumpet blasts, or people walking on water). A further leap takes place in the minds of persons whose biblically oriented belief system is linked with the view that if one detail in the record does not accord with standard perceptions of reality, the Bible as such cannot be trusted. As already indicated, exposure to historical critical methodology may lead one to such unwarranted conclusions. Within the walls of an ecclesiastical institution, members can be propagandized into believing that historical critical methodology at use in their seminaries is the culprit behind division in the community. One of the best solutions to the malady of infectious judgmental tradition is truthful expression. In brief, attacks on the veracity of the Bible had become a tradition in many universities without significant challenge by students about the questionable claim of scientific validity for the mounting tide of competing opinions and "schools." While engaged in the conflict about the use of historical critical methodology, I did not probe its relation to the more general subject of the claim to scientific biblical study and related studies within the larger community of scholars who are included especially in the memberships of the SBL and AAR.

The dominance of tradition in the scholars' realm without sufficient attention to the responsibility of engagement in self-falsification surfaced with alarming impact in the course of my work updating the Preuschen-Bauer-Aland lexicon of the Greek New Testament and associated literature. About a third of the way through my first draft I found it necessary to inform the University of Chicago Press project director that I would have to alter course, as I realized that a completely new format was needed, or the "new" edition would be totally obsolete upon publication. Linguistic developments required a completely new approach. In the writing of lexicons, a variant kind of adherence to scholars' devotion to tradition had become a fixture; a glossatorial approach had maintained itself for centuries. By the term *glossatorial* I signify dependence on principally one-word equivalents for lexemes. Hence I informed the University of Chicago Press project director that my change in format would involve provision of actual definitions or statements of meaning, followed by one or more translation suggestions or glosses.

While carrying out my assignment relating to Syriac lexicography I dealt with the same problem that showed itself during the preparation of BDAG, namely the dominance of tradition in the scholars' realm without sufficient attention to the responsibility of engagement in self-falsification. The observations that follow are designed to contribute to some assistance in pursuing the ongoing lexicographic task, especially in reference to exegetical work.

In Rom 13 St. Paul deals with an extremely delicate matter: life under Roman legal expectations. He is aware that his teaching about freedom from law will invite suspicion about Christians' loyalty. His strategy is to adopt commercial terminology in contractual imagery familiar to all. Roman officials seek to maintain an orderly society. Paul cites the Semitic moral code and puts it, along with any other rules and obligations, under one λόγος: "You shall love your neighbor as your own self." The term λόγος is here used probably metaphorically in the sense of *account, ledger*. Translators offer a variety of glosses, all related to the meaning of "a communication whereby the mind expresses itself in vocalized utterance"; the glosses include *saying, sentence, rule, words*, but not *ledger* or the like.

Emotional aspect is a huge factor in formulating entries. For example, in Rom 1:1, should δοῦλος be rendered *servant* or *slave*? Note that v. 9 reads the verb *serve* for a different verb form: λατρεύω. The two words signal two different ideas: The noun δοῦλος and its cognate verb form δουλόω focus on the idea of unreserved ownership by a master. Paul wishes to assert his commitment to the total claims of Jesus upon him. Λατρεύω signifies the idea of various areas in which he is ready to carry out whatever assignments the Lord may have for him, something like the commitment of an *aide de campe*. The preference of the translation *servant* for *slave* would be defended by those who rely on the principle of dynamic equivalence. But such procedure would nullify Paul's intention to promote Jesus as owner of all humanity.

In a related vein, political correctness instead of interest in lexical accuracy dictates treatment of the word Ἰουδαῖος, ordinarily rendered *Jew*. The context of usage in the New Testament is semantically Roman. The least semantically hazardous option is *Judean*, which covers Jerusalem and its seat of commitment to Mosaic tradition as well as its influence in the provinces. Cultural habits associated with ancient Mosaicly-oriented traditions would elicit the Greek Ἰουδ- terms. *Judean* thus avoids the anachronistic *Jew* and *Jewish* and needless ecclesiastical and semantic battles. I use the term *anachronistic*, for in today's world a Jew can be an atheist, which would be unthinkable as a component of the term *Judean* in the ancient world. Translators are under no obligation to try to satisfy all ranges of patronizing contemporary social and political nuancing of texts ancient and domestic. Notes and prefaces can, for the most part, take care of emotional and personal preferences.

A similar shift from standard usage to transferred sense takes place in the rendering of Jesus' personal address to the paralytic in Luke 5:20. Jesus calls out: ἄνθρωπε. The NIV renders this: "Friend . . ." Unfortunately, the revisers appear to ignore the verbal echo in the text and the focus on Jesus in the story. Jesus observes the "faith" of the people who are ensuring that the paralytic see Jesus. Jesus reinforces their specific goal by declaring his own identity as Son of man to the Pharisees. In short, the paralytic is not put into the category of recipient of socially acceptable recognition. Luke has Jesus simply recognize the man, who remains nameless, as a human being, a category shared by Jesus in the special sense of Son of Man (v. 24). The NIV exhibits the practice followed by generations of lexicographers who transmit standard glosses that are reiterated by translators who do not rigorously inquire about the meaning of a lexeme in a specific context. In this case the NIV followed such versions as *The Twentieth Century* and *Goodspeed*.

William Tyndale, followed by the revisers in the King James tradition, renders *man*. The gloss *friend* suggests a connotation of intimacy, but the literary cast of the text points to the more general sense of one who is a member of humanity. Hence correctly, *man*.

The NIV correctly renders the idea of *reflection* for *αἴνιγμα* in 1 Cor 13:12 but continues the unscientific treatment of the technological quality of ancient mirrors as displayed in many translations and many commentaries by adding the pejorative word *poor*. Compare the denigration expressed in such phrases as “see through a glass, darkly” (KJV, similarly Tyndale); “we see, in a mirror, dimly” (Twentieth Century); “we are looking at a dim reflection in a mirror”; “we see only puzzling reflections in a mirror” (NEB); “we are seeing a dim reflection in a mirror” (JB). Norbert Hagedé shows from archaeological and literary evidence that ancient people were quite pleased with the reflecting qualities of their mirrors.³

Finally, what is the sense of the word *κάθημαι* in Mt 27:61: “They sat before the tomb”? Rick Strelan (Department of Studies in Religion, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia) draws on numerous leads, including that of Carl Schneider,⁴ to support the gesture briefly noted in the Matthean passage.⁵ His supporting data are drawn from classical authors, the Septuagint, and the Talmud and related rabbinical literature.

One could speak at length about the stimulation that J. Payne Smith’s and Michael Sokoloff’s lexicons contribute to enrichment emanating from creative use of engagement in self-falsification. But perhaps this article in itself can serve as the stimulating force for such an outcome. It may also suggest how Clough’s treatment of genius in the context of aesthetics (see n. 1) brings up the ghost of Friedrich Nietzsche in connection with claims to commitment to scientific inquiry as described above.

³ Norbert Hagedé, *La métaphore du miroir dans les Epîtres de saint Paul aux Corinthiens* (Neuchâtel: Delachau et Niestlé, 1957).

⁴ Carl Schneider, “*κάθημαι*,” *TDNT* 3:440–44.

⁵ Rick Strelan, “To Sit Is to Mourn: The Women at the Tomb (Matthew 27:61),” *Colloq* 31 (1999): 31–45.

THE HEBREW AND THE SYRIAC COPULA IN KINGS

Janet W. Dyk

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The verbs **היה** and **ܐܘܫܐ** are cognates, similar both in spelling and significance, yet they do not always correspond to one another in the Masoretic and the Peshitta versions of Kings. In both texts a significant number of cases have no equivalent in the other version; nonetheless, the reasons for the lack of correspondence differ per language. We present a limited number of syntactic and distributional factors which account for the majority of cases where the copula is without correspondence in the other version. On the basis of these observations, we draw some conclusions on differences between the Hebrew and Syriac language systems.

1. INTRODUCTION

The two copulas **היה** in Hebrew and **ܐܘܫܐ** in Syriac are cognate, similar both in spelling and meaning, yet they do not always correspond to one another in the Masoretic Text and the Peshitta translation of Kings.¹ Of particular interest is the fact that in both texts a significant number of occurrences of these verbs have no corresponding form in the other version. Yet the reasons for the verbs not being rendered differ per language. We consider a limited number of factors which account for the majority of the cases without correspondence.

	Hebrew היה	Syriac ܐܘܫܐ
Cognate rendering	222	222
Other translations	9	17
No correspondence	86	149
Total	317	388

Table 1: Occurrences of the Copular Verbs in Kings (MT–Peshitta)

As interesting as the examples belonging to the category ‘other translations’ may be,² we leave those aside and focus on the category ‘no correspondence’.

¹ The contents of this contribution also appear in J. W. Dyk and P. S. F. van Keulen, *Language System, Translation Technique, and Textual Tradition in the Peshitta of Kings* (MPIIL 19; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 401–12.

² In the category ‘other translations’, the Hebrew copula corresponds to other Syriac verbs: **ܐܘܫܐ** (1 Kgs 4:7); **ܐܘܫܐ** (1 Kgs 10:5); **ܐܘܫܐ** (2 Kgs 6:25; 7:18); **ܐܘܫܐ** (1 Kgs 11:15); **ܐܘܫܐ**

2. MACRO-SYNTACTIC NARRATIVE וַיְהִי, ‘AND IT CAME TO PASS’

The element וַיְהִי, translated ‘and it came to pass’ in the King James Version, often marks the beginning of a new paragraph in Hebrew narrative prose, and is frequently accompanied by a temporal expression.³ In later phases of Hebrew, both the imperfect consecutive form of verbs in general and the macro-syntactic function of this form of the copula dropped out of use. Cases of וַיְהִי are unevenly distributed in Kings: 1 Kings has 78 occurrences of clause-initial וַיְהִי, 2 Kings has 55, a difference of nearly one third. Though 2 Kings is somewhat shorter than 1 Kings,⁴ the difference is not sufficient to explain the reduction in the use of clause-initial וַיְהִי.

While the overall frequency of וַיְהִי is less in 2 Kings, there are proportionately more cases of וַיְהִי with a time expression as compared to 1 Kings (see Table 2).

וַיְהִי	1 Kings	2 Kings
With time expressions	43 (55%)	36 (65%)
With other structures	35 (45%)	19 (35%)
Total	78	55

Table 2: Distribution of וַיְהִי in Kings

In considering the rendering of וַיְהִי in the Peshitta, the distinctions made above prove to be significant.

2.1. With Expressions for Time

The expressions for time following the narrative element וַיְהִי in Hebrew assume the form either of a phrase containing an expression for time, such as ‘day’, ‘month’, ‘year’, ‘morning’, or the phrase ‘after these things’, or of a preposition plus an infinitive clause describing the circumstances under which the ensuing action takes place.

(1 Kgs 17:7); וַיְהִי (1 Kgs 7:8); וַיְהִי (2 Kgs 20:13, 15). In contrast, the Syriac copula corresponds 15× to a masc. sing. or plur. pronoun (1 Kgs 3:3; 8:41; 9:20; 11:14; 17:19, 40; 19:18, 19; 20:12, 28; 22:33; 2 Kgs 8:27, 29; 19:37; 22:7), and 2× to the interjection הִנֵּה. This lack of symmetry is another confirmation that the two languages employ distinctive strategies in their use of the copula.

³ See E. Kautzsch, ed., *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar* (trans. A. E. Cowley; Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 111 f, g; F. I. Andersen, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* (The Hague; Paris: Mouton, 1974), 63; R. E. Longacre, *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence: A Text Theoretical and Text Linguistic Analysis of Genesis 37 and 39–48* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 224–27; A. Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; JSOTSup 86; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 50–52.

⁴ In the Hebrew database of the Werkgroep Informatica at the VU University, 1 Kings comprises 13,092 words, and 2 Kings 12,235, a difference of approximately 6.5%.

Syriac has neither the imperfect consecutive as a narrative tense, nor this special function of the copula verb as narrative discourse marker; nonetheless, at times **ויהי** is rendered quite literally by a form of **ܐܘܢܐ**, ‘be’:⁵

1 Kgs 11:29

ܐܘܢܐ ܕܚܘܠܐ ܐܘܢܐ

‘and it was at that time’

ויהי בעת ההיא

‘and it came to pass at that time’

More often, however, when occurring with an expression for time, the Syriac rendering skips the Hebrew introductory element **ויהי** and continues with the following clause:⁶

1 Kgs 9:1

ܘܥܘܕ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ

‘and when Solomon completed ...’

ויהי ככלות שלמה

‘and it came to pass when Solomon had finished...’

When **ויהי** is left unexpressed in Syriac, the time expression can be moved to a later position in the following clause into which it has been incorporated:

2 Kgs 10:9

ܘܥܘܕ ܕܚܘܠܐ

‘and he went out in the morning’

ויהי בבקר ויצא

‘and it came to pass in the morning, and he went out’

The distribution of the use of **ܐܘܢܐ** to render **ויהי** plus time expression is given in Table 3.

⁵ 18×: a time expression introduced by **ב**, rendered **ܕ** in 1 Kgs 6:1; 11:29; 14:25; 20:29; 22:2; 2 Kgs 3:20; 19:35, and rendered **ܘܢܐ** in 2 Kgs 2:1; introduced by **מִן קִצָּה**, rendered **ܡܢ ܩܘܘܘܬܐ** in 1 Kgs 9:10; introduced by **אַחַר**, rendered **ܕܥܘܕ** in 1 Kgs 21:1; introduced by **לְעֵת**, rendered **ܕܚܘܠܐ** in 1 Kgs 11:4; a time phrase without preposition rendered by a phrase introduced by **ܘ** in 1 Kgs 18:1, rendered by a phrase introduced by **ܕܥܘܕ** in 2 Kgs 4:8, and rendered without preposition in 2 Kgs 4:11, 18; introduced by **ל**, rendered by **ܘ** in 1 Kgs 20:26. In 1 Kgs 18:27 a time phrase preceded by **ויהי ב** is rendered by a time phrase preceded by **ܐܘܢܐ**. In 2 Kgs 7:18 an infinitive of speaking preceded by **ויהי כ** is rendered **ܐܘܢܐ** followed by the noun **ܕܡܘܩܘܘܬܐ**, ‘word’.

⁶ 61×, for example, a time expression introduced by **ב**, rendered **ܕ** in 1 Kgs 18:44; 2 Kgs 25:1, 15, rendered **ܕܥܘܕ** in 1 Kgs 3:18, and rendered **ܕܥܘܕ** in 2 Kgs 17:25; introduced by **מִן קִצָּה**, rendered **ܡܢ ܩܘܘܘܬܐ** in 1 Kgs 2:39; introduced by **אַחַר**, rendered **ܕܥܘܕ** in 1 Kgs 13:23; 17:17. The combination of **ויהי** with an infinitive introduced by **ב** or **כ** is most commonly rendered by **ܐܘܢܐ** alone: with **ב** in 1 Kgs 8:10; 11:15; 16:11; with **כ** in 1 Kgs 9:1; 14:6; 18:17; 22:33; 2 Kgs 2:9; 4:6; 5:8; 12:11; 19:1. However, see the last two examples in the previous note for other possibilities.

ויהי plus time expression	1 & 2 Kings
Rendered using וַ	18 (23%)
Rendered without וַ	61 (77%)
Total	79

Table 3: Use of וַ to render ויהי plus Time Expression in Kings

The tendency not to use וַ in rendering ויהי plus time is considerably stronger in 2 Kings than in 1 Kings, as shown in Table 4. There is thus a tendency not to render ויהי when it introduces a time expression in the narrative, and this tendency is more marked in 2 Kings than in 1 Kings.

ויהי plus time expression	1 Kings	2 Kings
Rendered using וַ	11 (26%)	7 (19%)
Rendered without וַ	32 (74%)	29 (81%)
Total	43	36

Table 4: Use of וַ to render ויהי plus Time Expression in 1 and 2 Kings Separately

That this phenomenon is not limited to the imperfect consecutive form ויהי alone can be seen, for example, in the use of the perfect consecutive form within direct speech with the same function that the imperfect consecutive form has within a narrative context:⁷

1 Kgs 2:37

‘and in the day you go out’

סחממל ופס אנ

‘and it shall be (perf. consec.) in the day you go out’

והיה ביום צאתך

This tendency alone accounts for the nearly three-fourths (61 out of 85; see Table 1) of the occurrences of ויהי not rendered in the Peshitta.

2.2. With Other Structures

In contrast to the tendency discussed in the previous section, when the imperfect consecutive of ויהי occurs with other structures, the Peshitta tends to render the copula:⁸

1 Kgs 18:7

‘and Obadiah was on the road’

ויהי עבדיהו בדרך

‘and it came to pass, Obadiah [was] on the road’

ויהי עבדיהו בדרך

⁷ Other examples with perf. consec. are 1 Kgs 1:21; 2 Kgs 4:10; with impf. 1 Kgs 14:5.

⁸ 43×, for example, 1 Kgs 4:1; 5:27; 10:14; 12:22; 2 Kgs 3:27; 7:20; 17:3; 24:1.

2 Kgs 15:5

ܘܝܗܝ ܡܨܪܥ ܥܕܝܘܡ ܡܬܘ
 ܘܝܗܝ ܡܨܪܥ ܥܕܝܘܡ ܡܬܘ

‘and he was a leper until the day of his death’

Because Hebrew nominal clauses do not require an explicit copula, it is possible that in 1 Kgs 18:7 **ויהי** functions as a macro-syntactic element outside of the nominal clause, comparable to its function with time expressions.⁹ This option, however, is not available for 2 Kgs 15:5 since in Hebrew the ensuing clause requires the subject present in **ויהי**. This testifies to the shift in the function of **ויהי** from a macro-syntactic element to a regular expression for being. In contrast, the Peshitta in both cases renders the copula as part of the following clause.¹⁰ This interpretation of the data is substantiated by examples where the Peshitta accommodates the form of the copula to the subject of the following clause:

1 Kgs 5:29

ܘܝܗܝ ܠܫܠܡܗ ܫܒܥܝܡ ܐܠܦ ܢܫܐ ܫܒܠ
 ܘܝܗܝ ܠܫܠܡܗ ܫܒܥܝܡ ܐܠܦ ܢܫܐ ܫܒܠ

‘and Solomon had (lit.: to Solomon were) seventy thousand carriers’

ܘܝܗܝ ܠܫܠܡܗ ܫܒܥܝܡ ܐܠܦ ܢܫܐ ܫܒܠ
 ܘܝܗܝ ܠܫܠܡܗ ܫܒܥܝܡ ܐܠܦ ܢܫܐ ܫܒܠ

‘and it was so, Solomon had (lit., ‘to Solomon’) seventy thousand bearers of burdens’

Thus although the rendering corresponds closely at word level, there is a significant structural difference: the Hebrew text employs **ויהי** as a macro-syntactic narrative element followed by a verbless clause, while the Syriac text incorporates the copula in the ensuing clause.

The distribution of the use of **ܘܝܗܝ** to render **ויהי** with structures other than time expressions is presented in Table 5.

ויהי with other structures	1 & 2 Kings
Rendered using ܘܝܗܝ	43 (80%)
Rendered without ܘܝܗܝ	11 (20%)
Total	54

Table 5: Use of **ܘܝܗܝ** to render **ויהי** without Time Expressions in Kings

The distribution of this data for the two books of Kings separately is presented in Table 6. Again the tendency not to render **ויהי** is stronger in 2 Kings than in 1 Kings.

⁹ For a thorough treatment of the topic, see V. Ber, *The Hebrew Verb HYH as a Macrosyntactic Signal* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008).

¹⁰ On the use of **ܘܝܗܝ** to render Hebrew verbless clauses, see section 3.

ויהי המה הלכים הלוך ודבר והנה רכב־אש וסוסי אש

‘and it came to pass, they went on walking and talking, and see, a chariot of fire and horses of fire’

Rendering both ויהי and a circumstantial particle remains exceptional to the general pattern and perhaps occurred under the influence of the source text.

3. SYRIAC ܐܘܢ WITHOUT CORRESPONDENCE IN THE MASORETIC TEXT

The other side of the coin is that there are even more occurrences of the copula in the Peshitta without a correspondence in the Masoretic Text than vice versa (see Table 1). We consider two factors which play a role in this and which together account for the majority of cases.

3.1. ܐܘܢ as Auxiliary Verb

A difference in the use of the verbal system lies behind many of the cases of the verb ܐܘܢ which have no correspondence in the Masoretic Text. In Syriac the copula frequently occurs together with other verbal forms—often the participle—to form the main predication within a clause:

1 Kgs 1:1

ܘܡܨܘܒܘ ܐܘܢ ܕܗ ܘܠܘܒܘܗ

‘and they were covering (ptc. + ‘be’ [perf.]) him with clothes’

ܘܝܚܝܘܗܘ ܒܒܓדִים

‘and they covered (impf. consec.) him with clothes’

The use of the participle in this manner did become more pervasive in later phases of Hebrew, but was not common in Kings. Nonetheless, a number of examples can be found:¹⁴

1 Kgs 12:6

ܘܡܨܘܒܘ ܐܘܢ ܘܠܘܒܘܗ

‘which were standing (ptc. + ‘be’ [perf.]) before his father’

ܘܥܡܕܝܘ ܐܘܢ ܘܠܘܒܘܗ

‘which were standing (‘be’ [perf.] + ptc.) before Solomon his father’

¹⁴ 1 Kgs 2:45; 5:1, 15; 18:3; 22:35; 2 Kgs 4:1; 6:8; 9:14; 17:25, 28, 29, 32 (2×), 33, 41 (2×); 18:4; 21:15. The shift in the Hebrew use of the verbal system can be seen within this range of examples: those in 1 Kgs 5:1, 15; 18:3 could be debated as being the copula with a nominal or adjectival predicate complement instead of with a verbally functioning participle. The example in 1 Kgs 12:6, cited in the main text, involves a dependent clause, an environment more conducive to the verbal functioning of the participle. Though the list is not exhaustive, the references given occur predominantly in the later part of Kings and could be indicative of a shift in the use of the Hebrew verbal system within Kings itself. For the possibility of the reanalysis of the participle as the main verb, see J. W. Dyk, *Participles in Context: A Computer-Assisted Study of Old Testament Hebrew* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), esp. 136–40, 212.

In a few cases a combination of the tendency to skip over ויהי in its macro-syntactic narrative function and the possibility of the participle functioning with the copula to form a single verbal predication results in a contamination of the two, so that two separate clauses with distinct narrative functions in Hebrew are rendered as a single combined clause in Syriac:¹⁵

1 Kgs 17:4

ܫܘܚܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ

‘and from the brook you should drink (‘be’ [perf.] + ptc.)’¹⁶

והיה מתנחל תשתה

‘and it shall be (perf. consec.), from the brook you shall drink (impf.)’

3.2. Rendering of Hebrew Verbless Clauses

Nominal clauses present another construction in which Syriac ܘܥܝܢܐ appears without a correspondence at word level in the Hebrew text. Although both Syriac and Hebrew have verbless clauses, the Peshitta frequently inserts the copula where the Hebrew has none. In the following example, the first clause is without the copula in both languages; in the second clause, Syriac adds the copula:¹⁷

1 Kgs 19:12

ܘܥܝܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ

‘and after the earthquake, fire; the Lord was not in the fire’

וואחר הרעש אש לא באש יהוה

‘and after the earthquake, fire; not in the fire, YHWH’

¹⁵ See also 1 Kgs 5:24; 2 Kgs 6:26; possibly also 1 Kgs 18:27.

¹⁶ For this rendering, see C. Morrison, “The *hwā qatal* and *hwā qētil* Constructions in the Peshitta Old Testament,” in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography 5. Colloquia of the International Syriac Language Project* (ed. J. Loopstra and M. Sokoloff; Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 7; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013), 98. Morrison also suggests the identical translation for the Hebrew text, but that would depart from my suggestion that ויהיה has a macro-syntactic narrative function at this point.

¹⁷ Other examples can be found in 1 Kgs 1:4; 5:28; 6:18; 7:38; 9:20; 11:17, 28, 29; 12:2; 16:25; 30; 19: 4, 9, 11 (2×), 13, 19; 20:22, 28; 21:15; 22:1, 42; 2 Kgs 4:8; 5:12; 6:19 (2×); 8:26; 12:1; 14:21; 16:2; 18:22; 19:18; 21:1; 22:1; 23:31, 36; 24:8, 18. Not only does the Masoretic Text of 2 Kings have fewer examples of the zero-copula constructions, but with the exception of 2 Kgs 18:22; 19:19, from 12:1 on all examples involve the age formula: ‘so-and-so was so old (when he began to reign)’. For the shift within Hebrew to making the copula explicit, see J. W. Dyk, “‘To Be’ in Hebrew: Expressions for ‘to be’ and the Shift in Their Usage between Classical and Rabbinical Hebrew” (MA thesis: VU University, 1984).

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LEXEMES WITH HIGH RISK OF INFECTION: METHODOLOGY FOR EXAMINING LOW- FREQUENCY LEXEMES

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This paper proposes methodological principles for examining lexemes of low frequency in the Peshitta New Testament, particularly lexemes in the Gospels with parallel contexts in another Gospel. Several principles are applicable to both Syriac and Greek New Testament lexicography. Many low-frequency lexemes require attention. Here the focus is on one example because it raises many interrelated methodological issues: the Peal ܫܚܘܢ (Mk 9:18, 20) in the Gospel episode(s) of the so-called ‘epileptic boy’ (Mt 17:14–20//Mk 9:14–29//Lk 9:37–43). This paper identifies and critiques the methodology previously underlying the tendency, both intentionally and unintentionally, to offer convulsive meanings for the Peal ܫܚܘܢ suggestive of an epileptic perspective. Seven methodological principles emerge that enable a critique of the ‘epileptic’ meanings previously given for the Greek *σεληνιάζομαι* (Mt 17:15) and *σπαράσσω* (Mk 1:26; 9:20, 26) and for the Peal ܫܚܘܢ (Mk 9:18, 20). How a contextual meaning has been derived in this case reveals three currently influential but unsound suppositions, namely, that the text intends to portray a medical condition of the boy (that is, epilepsy); that the Greek underlying the Syriac is explicitly an epileptic verb; and that the context in Mk 9:18–26 is the same as in the parallel accounts of Matthew and Luke.

1. INTRODUCTION: APPROACHING AMBIGUOUS LOW-FREQUENCY LEXEMES

When readers and lexicographers alike face different and sometimes opposing lexicographical meanings for a low-frequency lexeme, what are they to do? How does the lexicographer go about re-evaluating the different optional meanings? Is there a way for a lexicographer who wishes to revisit the issue in a particular instance to decide what it means in order to clarify it for the reader? The present study proposes methodological principles for examining and evaluating meanings for lexemes that occur only once or twice in one’s corpus.

There are many low-frequency lexemes in the Peshitta New Testament, with many of these occurring only in the Gospels. But low-frequency lexemes are not always given the attention necessary to determine their precise meaning within the

lexicographer's corpus. Consequently such lexemes are at higher risk of being influenced by factors other than their uses in their immediate contexts. Lexemes with parallel Gospel contexts are particularly vulnerable to foreign influences.

The proposed methodological principles arose out of a desire to determine contextual meanings for various low-frequency lexemes in the Peshitta Gospels. These principles have since been developed into a more detailed methodology employed on twelve low-frequency Gospel lexemes. Here I focus on the one example, the Peal ܡܠܚ (Mk 9:18, 20) because this was the one that exposed many interrelated methodological issues and which initiated the gradual development of a methodology for addressing low-frequency lexemes.

Semantically, the contextual meaning advanced in several lexicons for the Peal ܡܠܚ in the Peshitta Gospel of Mark initially appealed to me. So I set out to demonstrate the superiority of the proposed contextual meaning. But on closer examination, it was revealed to be based on three unsound suppositions still influential in recent Greek and Syriac lexicons. These will be identified and seven alternative methodological principles will be given along the way. A suggested lexical entry based on the outcomes of the current study is also offered.

1.1. Where to Start?

A good place to begin when discussing a Syriac lexeme from the Peshitta New Testament is usually with the most recent Syriac lexicons, namely those of Terry Falla (*KPG*)¹ and Michael Sokoloff (*SL*).² *SL* now replaces Brockelmann's Syriac-Latin *Lexicon Syriacum*³ ("widely acknowledged," says Sokoloff, "to be the best one ever written for this Aramaic dialect")⁴ We should not, however, overlook J. Payne Smith's *Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (*CSD*), which already provided a useable lexicon in English based on her father's monumental Syriac-Latin *Thesaurus Syriacus* (*RPS*).⁵ Unfortunately neither *CSD* nor *SL* always services the New Testament reader's needs, because neither addresses every occurrence of every lexeme in the Peshitta New Testament. *RPS* still provides a greater number of references to consult and includes many corresponding Greek lexemes. But *RPS*, besides not being in English, does not provide what the reader of the Peshitta New Testament needs, namely a semantic analysis of every low-frequency lexeme, along with its corresponding

¹ Terry C. Falla, *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels* (vol. 1: *Ālaph–Dālatb*; Leiden: Brill, 1991; vol. 2: *He–Yodhb*; Leiden: Brill, 2000). So far only the first ten letters of the lexicon have been completed.

² Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns; Piscataway: Gorgias, 2009).

³ Carl Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (1st ed., Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1895; 2nd ed., Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1928).

⁴ Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, preface, vii. The statement could be supported by the earlier reference to the "three great dictionaries" (by T. Audo; R. Payne Smith; and C. Brockelmann) made by Sebastian P. Brock, "Syriac Lexicography: Reflections on Resources and Sources," *Aramaic Studies* 1.2 (2003): 167, 169.

⁵ R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1879–1901).

Greek. Neither Brun⁶ nor Costaz⁷ fulfils this need, nor does the pocket-sized lexicon of William Jennings' *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament* (hereafter Jennings),⁸ which does at least address every New Testament lexeme. By contrast readers of the Peshitta New Testament can expect to find both features in *KPG*.

Therefore the most relevant points of engagement here for our lexeme will be with *KPG* since its references for the Peshitta Gospels are exhaustive and it provides an analysis, based on the critical editions of the Greek New Testament from Tischendorf to the present,⁹ of the corresponding Greek terms for every occurrence of its Syriac lexemes.¹⁰ Furthermore *KPG* explains its methodology, which makes the task of critiquing and evaluating its meanings a little less complicated.

The goal of the present paper is neither to discuss the various forms of ancient epilepsy nor to decide which forms might coalesce with modern views of epilepsy. Rather it is to examine the methodological issues involved when a lexicon gives convulsive meanings for certain Syriac lexemes (particularly the Peal **ܣܚܝ** but also the Ethpaal **ܫܚܝܢ**) in Mk 9:18, 20. What is at stake concerns carrying over, unintentionally, an epileptic meaning from certain Greek lexicons—a meaning whose presence is dubious for both the Syriac and the Greek.

1.1.1. A Convulsive Meaning Shaped by Four Fronts

SL does not address the meaning of the Peal **ܣܚܝ** in Peshitta Mk 9:18, 20. Neither of the two main meanings *SL* gives for the Peal **ܣܚܝ** indicates how a transitive use of the verb might apply when used of a demon afflicting a boy.¹¹ The same deficit pertains to most other Syriac lexicons. Costaz is aware of several meanings for the Peal¹² but does not assist the reader to know which one, if any, might be applicable to Mk 9:18, 20. Similarly, there is no reference to the New Testament context in Brun.

⁶ J. Brun, *Dictionarium Syriaco-Latinum* (Beirut: Typographia PP. Soc. Jesu, 1911).

⁷ Louis Costaz, *Dictionnaire Syriaque-Français* (2nd ed.; Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1986).

⁸ William Jennings, *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament* (rev. Ulric Gantillon; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926).

⁹ Falla employs two criteria for the citation of variant Greek readings. "The first is that only extant variant Greek readings are cited as corresponding terms. Presumed retroversions of Peshitta renderings such as we find in the critical apparatus of Hermann von Soden's *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* are not included." "The second is that a variant Greek reading is listed for consideration when it can be demonstrated on the basis of an analysis of the relevant data that its Peshitta Syriac parallel is, in the context in which it occurs, conceivable as its translation. 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 source text." Falla, *Key*, 1:xxxii.

¹⁰ Falla, *Key*, 1:xx, provides "the corresponding Greek term for each Syriac term—'term' is used in its widest sense; namely, 'a word', 'phrase', or 'group of words'."

¹¹ In *SL* 1a. is "general" and applies to olives (*to knock off*) and to Isa 27:12; 1b. applies to hail (*to pound, break into pieces*) and 2. is an intransitive use (*to fall*).

¹² 1a. *to beat or cut down*; 1b. *to strike, break*; 2. intransitive *to fall* (hail).

Therefore the first front of influence is that the sense ‘to shake violently, convulse’ developed as an extension of the meaning taken from the Hebrew-Latin lexicons for the Hebrew cognate. Without examining this point of influence in detail, a good example is seen in the entry in Schaaf’s Syriac-Latin lexicon, which makes reference to Mk 9:18, 20 after reproducing word for word what had commonly appeared in the Hebrew-Latin lexicons for the Qal חבט. Schaaf’s entry roughly translates as:

beat out, cast down *fruit from trees, or grain, or pulse from the husks*. Also shake violently, crush, dash in pieces, break in pieces. **ܘܚܒܬܘܢ** shook him, Mk 9:20. *Participle form* **ܘܚܒܬܘܢ** shaking, verse 18.¹⁷

The second part of the entry takes the transitive sense ‘to shake’ as a natural extension of the Latin *excussit* used for harvesting fruit, grain and nuts and quoted almost verbatim from any number of older Hebrew-Latin lexicons such as Leigh,¹⁸ Calascio,¹⁹ Guichard,²⁰ or Pagnini²¹ in relation to the Qal חבט. We shall defer discussion of the Hebrew cognate until later. It is presently sufficient to note that Schaaf accepted the meaning offered for the Hebrew cognate and offered a meaning for Mk 9:18, 20 that took full advantage of the ambiguity of the Latin *excussit* (*beat out; knock out; or shake out, shake*) as well as *decussit* (*strike down; cast down; or shake, shake off*). There is little reason to judge Schaaf’s methodology by modern standards but we do need to acknowledge that Schaaf’s meanings live on in Whish, and Whish influences the entries of Jennings and KPG.

The second, and primary, influence that has shaped the convulsive meaning found in Whish, Jennings, and KPG protrudes from the Greek lexicons. The Greek influence will be examined in sections 3 and 4. One way to observe this is to note the resemblance of the meaning given in several Greek lexicons for *σπαράσσω*. The

¹⁷ “excussit, decussit, *fructus ex arboribus; vel frumenta, aut legumina ex folliculis*: & Concussit quassavit, allisit, contrivit. **ܘܚܒܬܘܢ** *f.* concussit eum, Marc 9:20. *Benoni Foem.* **ܘܚܒܬܘܢ** concutiens, verse 18.” Carolus Schaaf, *Lexicon Syriacum concordantiale, omnes Novi Testamenti Syriaci voces, et ad harum illustrationem multas alias Syriacas, & linguarum affinium dictiones complectens* (2nd ed.; Leiden: J. Muller, C. Boutesteyn, S. Luchtman, 1717).

¹⁸ “baculo, vel virga excussit frumenta aut legumina ex folliculis, aut olivas aliosve fructus ex arboribus, *Ruth* 2.17. *Jud* 6.11.” Edward Leigh, *Critica Sacra* (3rd ed.; London: A. Miller for Thomas Underhill, 1650).

¹⁹ “*Omnis significatio ejus est triturationis. Unde חבט in conjugatione Kal interpretabor baculo, vel virga excussit frumenta aut legumina ex folliculis, aut olivas, aliosve fructus ex arboribus, purgavit, trituro. Convenientia aliarum linguarum.*” de Calascio, Mario, *Concordantiae sacrarum Bibliorum Hebraicorum: &c* (4 vols.; London: J. Ilive and Jacob Hodges, 1747–49; originally published in Rome: Stefano Paolini, 1621–22).

²⁰ “*abat, excutere fructus ex arbore, vel frumenta aut legumina ex folliculis.*” Etienne Guichard, *L’harmonie etymologique des langues hébraïque, chaldaique, syriaque, grecque, latine, françoise, italienne, espagnole, allemande, flamende, angloise, &c* (Paris: G. le Noir, 1606).

²¹ “*excutere fructus ex arboribus, vel frumenta aut legumina ex folliculis. in Kal, Iud 6,12. Isa. 27,12. Extat Niphal 28:27.*” Santes Pagninus, *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae: Lexicon Hebraicum* (Lyons: S. Gryphius, 1529).

clearest example is found in Louw and Nida's *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (hereafter L&N): "σπαράσσω; συσπαράσσω: to cause a person to shake violently in convulsions – 'to throw into convulsions, to throw into a fit'."²² A fuller explanation of this meaning appears in Bratcher and Nida's commentary on the Greek of Mk 1:26 and 9:20, namely that σπαράσσω "clearly points to a seizure, a convulsion (cf. 9:20, Lk. 9:39). . . . *Convulsing him* should be translated by a term used to identify such types of seizures as occur in epilepsy. It is not enough to say 'shook him.'"²³ The tendency toward a medical convulsive meaning is notably more pronounced in the Greek lexicons. It is advocated even more strongly by those, such as John Wilkinson, who consciously seek to find biomedical distinctions lying dormant in the text (in Mk 1:26 and Mk 9:18–26).²⁴

We would expect to find a degree of influence on Syriac lexical entries from the meanings given in the Greek New Testament lexicons given that the Peshitta Gospels are ultimately Greek-Syriac translations. Entries in *KPG* are consciously influenced by the semantic subdomain of σπαράσσω/συσπαράσσω in L&N.²⁵ In L&N σπαράσσω/συσπαράσσω, ῥήσσω, and σεληνιαζομαι are included together as indicative of the same physiological disease (in the same semantic subdomain, entry

²² Johannes P. Louw, Eugene A. Nida, Rondal B. Smith, and Karen A. Munson, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon Based on Semantic Domains* (2 vols.; New York: United Bible Society, 1988; 1989).

²³ Robert G. Bratcher and Eugene A. Nida, *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Mark* (London; New York; Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1961), 52.

²⁴ "Mark tells us that the demon cried out with a loud voice and produced a convulsion in the man (Mk 1.26). He uses the verb *sparasso*, 'to tear or to rend', to describe the convulsion. Luke describes how the demon threw him to the ground and uses the verb *ripto* which the Greek physician Hippocrates frequently uses of convulsions (Lk 4.35). . . . although the evidence is not strong, it is suggestive of the diagnosis of major epilepsy in this case." Wilkinson's footnote says: "For the usage of the word [ῥίπτω] in Hippocrates see Hobart, p2." The reference is given as W. K. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St Luke* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1992 [*sic* 1882]). The frequent Hippocratic use of ῥίπτω requires at least two caveats. The verb's objects differ (middle with reflexive pronouns) and the references are not excerpted from the most relevant treatise on epilepsy (*On the Sacred Disease*, περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου). Having reviewed the Greek text of Littré, I find no occurrences of ῥίπτω in the treatise. Emile Littré, ed., *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate* (vol. 6; Paris: 1839–1861); available online at the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Médecine, <http://www.bium.univ-paris5.fr/histmed/medica.htm> (accessed 22/02/07). Also, Henry Cadbury exposed the methodological flaws in Hobart and others who, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sought to find Greek medical terminology in Luke. Henry J. Cadbury, "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts. II. Recent Arguments for Medical Language," *JBL* 45 (1926): 190–209.

²⁵ The methodology of *KPG* makes some use of the semantic subdomains in L&N for locating other Syriac words of similar meaning. Falla, *Key*, 2:xxxv, "The first step in the process [of locating and ascertaining Syriac words of similar meaning] is to locate in Louw and Nida's work the domain and subdomain of each Greek word underlying a Peshitta catchword."

23.167 under ‘Sickness, Disease, Weakness’), and all three are given epileptic definitions.

Before examining the Greek lexicons, we must consider that the convulsive meaning in the Syriac lexicons may well stand on its own legs (‘supposition 1’: see section 2). The convulsive meaning may be a legitimate meaning justified by its immediate textual context. We will also need to judge whether a non-medical convulsive meaning can be sustained without unintentionally carrying over the medical sense found in Greek lexicons.

The entry in *KPG* reveals that for the two optional meanings there are actually three semantic categories, made clear by the three groupings of words of similar meaning²⁶ (*beat; throw down; convulse*): the Peal ܡܚܣܐ, Peal ܡܚܣܐ, Pael ܡܚܣܐ, Pael ܡܚܣܐ (*beat, strike, hit, flog*); the Peal ܡܚܣܐ, Aphel ܡܚܣܐ; (*throw down*); and the Peal ܡܚܣܐ, Ethpaal ܡܚܣܐ (*be convulsed, writhe, roll about*). The entry implies that the reader should suppose a hierarchy of groupings for the three semantic categories. Thus a level of similarity is supposed in descending order (*beat; throw down; convulse*). The entry is diplomatic by including meanings for the lexeme found in previous New Testament lexicons, including the two main meanings supplied in Whish (*dash on the ground; convulse*) and is judicious in placing the older meaning first.

1.2. First Methodological Principles

Already this brief introductory analysis highlights two methodological principles to employ when revisiting the meaning of Peal ܡܚܣܐ in Peshitta Mark. Firstly, meanings and definitions from the Syriac lexicons are to be viewed critically. Older meanings are not to be collected or added but evaluated according to further methodological principles revealed as we probe the methodology that previously gave rise to the convulsive meaning. The second principle acknowledges that the Peshitta Gospels maintain a relationship with the Greek Gospels which ultimately underlie them (as Greek-Syriac translations) but expects that the Syriac lexicographer must critically evaluate the application of contextual meanings in the Greek lexicons in order to understand what justifies and supports their given definitions. This will hopefully prevent uncritical acceptance of any dubious contextual meanings or prematurely made definitions.

1.3. Justifying a Convulsive Meaning

If we observe how *KPG* justifies its convulsive meaning within the entry, we can detect, faintly, a contextual supposition concerning the relevance of convulsions. We see that of the two Syriac words of similar meaning in the third semantic group (the Peal ܡܚܣܐ, Ethpaal ܡܚܣܐ) the second occurs in Mk 9:20 as a Syriac word of similar meaning (*KPG: be convulsed, writhe, roll about*) and the first (Peal ܡܚܣܐ) appears in Lk 9:42 (ambiguous lexeme ‘trample?’ ‘oppress?’ ‘shake violently?’ ‘convulse?’). Thus

²⁶ The expression ‘Syriac words of similar meaning’ in *KPG* is used for what once were termed ‘synonyms.’ Falla, *Key*, 2:xxv n1. I do not share *KPG*’s aversion to the term *synonyms*, but I do prefer using the phrase ‘words of similar meaning’ because it suggests a less strict category of similarity.

2.1. Significant Themes in Mk 9:14–29

Many of the themes present in Mk 9:14–29 are shared with the remainder of the Gospel, but not all of them are observed in the commentaries.²⁸ The most significant themes are kingdom advancement, exorcism, power, violence, death, resurrection, teaching, and faith.²⁹

The three synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) mention Jesus' 'exorcisms.' I prefer to label them 'banishments of the treacherous, unholy spirits,' especially when discussing those narrated in the Gospel of Mark. There are a total of four 'banishment' examples narrated in Mark (Mk 1:21–28; 5:1–20; 7:24–30; 9:14–29)—each having shorter parallels in either Mathew or Luke (Mathew lacks a parallel to Mk 1:21–28 and Luke lacks a parallel to Mk 7:24–30).

The banishment of unholy/unclean spirits represents a 'clash of kingdoms.' The purpose of the four narrated stories of spirit-banishment in Mark is that they dramatically illustrate the presence of God's βασιλεία (مَلَكُوتًا) 'kingdom, reign, empire'). They give expression to the 'message of salvation' by which the overall narrative was originally named (ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Mk 1:1). The good news concerning the advancement of God's βασιλεία (مَلَكُوتًا) and the removal or 'banishment' of unholy spirits are two sides of the one event (Mk 1:38–39) made possible through the spiritual 'warrior' Jesus.

The first characteristic of Jesus made explicit in Mark is his impressive authority (ἐξουσία in Mk 1:22, 27 corresponding to مَعْلَمًا and مُعَلِّمًا) when his command that an unclean spirit leave a man in the synagogue is successful (for this first banishment account see below, section 3.1). Jesus then restores Peter's mother-in-law and heals many people there before continuing on with his twofold mission of (1) touring Galilee heralding the arrival of God's βασιλεία/مَلَكُوتًا and (2) banishing demons (Mk 1:39). In this way the Gospel of Mark demonstrates that the anticipated 'stronger one' (ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου مُحَمَّدٌ, Mk 1:7) had arrived.³⁰ Similarly, Jesus answers the charge that his power to banish demons is demonic by answering in parables (Mk 3:23) concerning the 'binding of the strong man' (3:27),

²⁸ Several of the following observations will not be found, for example, in the large commentary of Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007).

²⁹ I do not elaborate here on the theme of faith/faithlessness in Mk 9:14–29. For this theme see Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 292–94. Watts draws together various proposals such that the desperate state of the helpless crowd (and the victim and his family) is seen to resemble the fate of the wandering people of Israel in the wilderness who constantly fell into a faithless state. Thus there is a resemblance with Moses' experience on Sinai (Ex 24), which "is intimately linked with his descent to encounter a faithless people (Ex 32). Here in Mark, Jesus' transfiguration on the mountain is likewise followed by a confrontation with his faithless disciples who are then rebuked for being a γενεὰ ἄπιστος."

³⁰ Mitzi Minor, *The Spirituality of Mark: Responding to God* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 78.

which is a “parable of what is involved in each successive exorcism.”³¹ The healing of the possessed boy in Mark is also parabolic in that it both teaches about the source and significance of Jesus’ power and foreshadows Jesus’ (and others’ need for) resurrection.³²

The two most detailed banishment accounts (Mk 5:1–20 and 9:14–29) may be related intratextually since they share several features. Both contain references to physical strength. Both have victims who are saved from receiving further physical harm. Both accounts mention the respective families or communities affected. The two accounts might also be related by battle connotations or military overtones—in Mk 5:1–20 Jesus’ power is shown to be greater than the violent unclean spirit named “Legion” (thousands of army troops) whilst in Mk 9:14–29 the confrontation is similarly battle-like, where a demon intends to destroy the boy’s life.³³ The connection here with ‘strength’ is more noticeable in the Greek, where we read that no one had yet been strong enough (ἰσχύω) to subdue the tormented Gerasene man (Mk 5:4), and similarly nine of Jesus’ disciples were not strong enough (ἰσχύω) to expel the unclean spirit afflicting the tormented youth (Mk 9:18). In the Greek this lexeme resonates with the substantive use of ἰσχυρός in Mk 1:7 and 3:27 (an anticipated ‘strong’ salvific figure found in Jesus).

There is a lot to unpack in Mk 9:14–29. The demonic intruder in Mk 9:16–26 is non-speaking, making it rather difficult to communicate with and all the more difficult to overpower.³⁴ The fact that the intruder threatens the life of the youth and throws him down suddenly is suggestive of an animal-like attack. This is evoked also by the ‘froth’ and the ‘teeth gnashing.’ ‘Gnashing one’s teeth’ was commonly

³¹ C. F. Evans, *The Beginning of the Gospel...Four Lectures on St Mark’s Gospel* (London: SPCK, 1968), 39.

³² D. E. Nineham, *The Gospel of St Mark* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), 243–4, was perhaps the first in the modern period to perceive the significance of this pericope for the resurrection of Christians. It remains unclear how many early readers of Mark would have so read the pericope. Cf. James R. Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 280, who translates the Greek in verse 27 as “he raised him, and he was resurrected.”

³³ Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 488–98, notices the theme of ‘power’ in both banishment episodes.

³⁴ I take the non-speaking characteristic of the demon as a feature of it being particularly animalistic/ferocious. For early readers of Mark who had any knowledge of the Roman ‘sport’ of throwing expendable people to wild animals, this particular nasty spirit takes on a further imperialistic dreadfulness. An image of a wild beast attacking helpless victims would be suggestive of the Roman cruelty of throwing persons into the arena to the lions and bears (or wild dogs or boars) and watching them being ‘torn apart’ as public entertainment. Given that Josephus (*Jewish War* 7.2) mentions that Titus exhibited such ‘shows’ (using prisoners of war) when he stayed in Caesarea Philippi, we may have a clue as to the location of the earliest readers of Mark (Caesarea Philippi). In a similar fashion, Sjef van Tilborg has attempted to read the death threats in Revelation as written against a similar historical backdrop. Sjef van Tilborg, “The Danger at Midday: Death Threats in the Apocalypse,” *Bib* 85 (2004): 1–23.

seen as a death threat, signifying hate or the desire to see someone destroyed, and naturally linked with verbs for ‘tearing’ or ‘destroying.’³⁵

The spirit-banishment is performed like a resurrection and narrated as a teaching episode on kingdom advancement in the face of foreign powers within a faithless generation. The desperation of the disciples, of the crowd, and of the boy’s father stands out. The account is significant as Jesus’ final encounter with the unclean spirits, prior to the fulfilment of his ‘death-resurrection mission’ in Jerusalem (the material before and after our episode, Mk 8:31–9:32, deals with Jesus’ determination to complete his mission as the ‘The Human’/‘Son of Man’: ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου/بْنُ الْإِنْسَانِ). We also note that in Mk 8:34–35 any would-be disciples are shockingly instructed that to save one’s life one must “destroy it” (ἀπόλλυμι // Aphel اَهْل), using the same lexeme that appears in the centre of our episode (Mk 9:22).

The struggle over the implementation of God’s empire in Mk 9:14–29 is ‘fought’ and ‘won’ unconventionally. Jesus succeeds to remove the unclean spirit (where nine disciples failed),³⁶ thus rescuing the son from a violent death by supernaturally ‘raising’ him, as it were, from death. The disciples receive private teaching in Mk 9:28–29 concerning how they too might have overcome this ‘type’ of deadly spirit. Later a similar example, in Mk 9:38, suggests an authority to banish unclean spirits, is not simply based on being one of the disciples.

The larger section is bracketed by two sets of ‘books ends’ (*inclusio*) with two accounts of Jesus restoring the sight of a blind man (Mk 8:22–26 and 10:46–52) with the implication of whether or not readers (unlike the disciples) can truly ‘see’ who Jesus is (as the one who suffers and transcends death).³⁷

Therefore it can be seen that the pericope appears within a context of death, suffering, and resurrection. The encounter of a boy possessed with a deadly spirit occurs within the expansion and explanation in Mark of Jesus’ death-resurrection mission. Jesus is on his way to face the forces who intend his destruction and he rescues a boy whose life is threatened by a powerful enemy force. Jesus teaches his disciples that the power to banish such a spirit derives from God.

With this context in mind, it is now appropriate to examine the series of verbs appearing in Mk 9:18–26.

³⁵ Cf. Acts 7:54 and Job 16:9. Cf. also Ps 3:7; 35:15–16; 37:12; 112:10; Lam 2:16; Job 4:8b–11; 29:17. Cf. also Deut 32:22–24; Job 41:13–14; Ps 3:7; 57:4; 124:6; Prov 30:14; Isa 41:15; Joel 1:6; Rev 9:5–8.

³⁶ The point of contention in Mk 9:16 between the disciples and the scribes concerned why the disciples could not do what their teacher had taught them to do. Graham H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Miracle Worker: A Historical & Theological Study* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1999), 86.

³⁷ Cf. Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 230: “There is the use of *inclusio*, such as the correspondence between the two healings of blind men in 8:22–26 and 10:46–52, framing a section within which there are almost no miracles but a development of the theme of suffering.”

The Peal ܡܫܫ in Mk 9:26 is, similarly, befitting of a battle/conflict of kingdoms ('shatter,' 'break to pieces,' 'crush').⁴⁰ The Peal ܡܫܫ is not usually used with a person as the verb's object; the closest object used elsewhere would be a person's heart (Acts 21:13; Prov 17:10) as a more figurative application. It is obviously a Syriac word of similar meaning (corresponding here to *σπαράσσω*). The meaning in Syriac suggests 'crack him (against the ground)' or 'beat him down.' How specific the violence is not clear but it is again visibly torturous and intentionally harmful, and is followed by the boy looking dead (the Peal of ܡܫܫ).⁴¹

If we were to draw any conclusions at this point concerning the meaning of the Peal ܡܫܫ it would be that its accompanying vocabulary is certainly aggressive. The boy gets suddenly forced to the ground and he is fighting for his life as he struggles for air, having been 'crushed' by his attacker who intends to take his life. *KPG*'s three options for the Peal ܡܫܫ (*beat; throw down; convulse*) remain possible. But if we are constrained by the textual context then a convulsive sense can only be promoted if we can manage to clarify that a medical sense (epileptic convulsions) is not intended by the context either in Peshitta Mark, nor Greek Mark (see section 3 below). Therefore the convulsive meaning remains potentially ambiguous and misleading.

This is the company of verbs that helps us establish the meaning of the Peal ܡܫܫ (Mk 9:18, 20). In a matter of only three verses we find the Aphel ܡܫܫ (Mk 9:18), the Peal ܡܫܫ (Mk 9:18), the Peal ܡܫܫ (Mk 9:20), the Aphel ܡܫܫ (Mk 9:18, 20), the Ethpaal ܡܫܫ (Mk 9:20), the Aphel ܡܫܫ (Mk 9:22), the Aphel ܡܫܫ and the Peal/Pael ܡܫܫ which assist us with the Peal ܡܫܫ (Mk 9:18, 20). Only the Aphel ܡܫܫ ('foam [at the mouth]') and the Ethpaal ܡܫܫ ('writhe about in pain' or 'struggling/flailing/kicking convulsively') might tempt us toward an epileptic sense (as potentially physiological symptoms of the boy, depending on context). However, within the context of Mk 9:14–29 these verbs appear as a direct result of an attack by a hostile spirit (and the Ethpaal ܡܫܫ could be passive, thus more directly implicating the unclean spirit). Therefore none of these verbs need to be taken as 'medical.' The point is reiterated by acknowledging the twofold portrait of 'healthcare' within Mark, whereby spirit banishment remains distinct from healing.

2.3. Healthcare in Mark: Absence of Healing Vocabulary for Spirit Banishment

Throughout Mark, as noted by John Pilch,⁴² a "two-fold division seems to emerge...: [1] sickness, and [2] affliction by unclean spirits or demons" namely, (1)

⁴⁰ Cf. Rom 16:20 and Rev 2:27. In the Old Testament its meanings are also destructive in nature, for example Eccl 12:6 (Ethpeel 'broken, smashed') and Dan 2:40 ('break to pieces, crush [a kingdom].')

⁴¹ In Mk 9:26 some Peshitta manuscripts agree with the Sinaitic in attaching the intensifying adverb to the demon's 'crushing' of the victim rather than the demon's screaming (after the Peal ܡܫܫ rather than with the Peal ܡܫܫ), thus agreeing better with the Greek.

⁴² John J. Pilch, *Healing in the New Testament: Insights From Medical and Mediterranean Anthropology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 68.

3.2. The Undead Convulsive Meaning

We must ask: What supports an epileptic convulsive meaning in the Greek lexicons? There could be some justification for allowing such a meaning to influence corresponding Syriac vocabulary if we knew that the underlying Greek was explicitly epileptic terminology, as is supposed in L&N. L&N's meaning has its origin in Barclay Newman's entry for *σπαράσσω* "throw into convulsions." Newman prioritises the contextual meaning of lexemes and gives meanings "in present-day English."⁴⁸

The most influential source for the convulsive meaning in *KPG* comes from the Greek lexicons, namely directly via L&N (and Newman) and indirectly via the treatment in Jennings and Whish (both influenced by the Greek). Although the given convulsive meaning is not particularly medical in Whish, the meaning is obviously tied down to the meaning of the underlying Greek and of the Greek parallel in Lk 9:42. Likewise we can see that the meaning in Jennings resembles the meaning given in the Greek lexicons, such as Thayer, for *σπαράσσω* ("to convulse *τινά*" and here also Thayer's cross reference to meaning 'c' for *ρήγνυμι*). The main difference between Thayer and earlier biblical Greek lexicons of the nineteenth century is that the entry in Thayer is a little clearer about the lexeme having different senses in other texts, implying that 'convulse' is not a sense found outside the New Testament. Thus 'to convulse someone' is a conscious contextual application of a transitive use of the verb with a person as object of the verb and the demon as subject (the demon is specified in the entry for the third meaning of *ρήγνυμι* "c. i.q. [equivalent to] *σπαράσσω*, to distort, convulse: of a demon causing convulsions in a man possessed").

The nineteenth century saw a buttressing of the epileptic/convulsive meaning when the seventh and eighth editions of the Liddell-Scott lexicon (1883; 1897) specified a fourth 'medical' sense for *σπαράσσω*. It is into this fourth sense that the ninth edition (1925–1940) adds 'convulse' 4b:

4. Medic., σ. τὸ στόμα τῆς κοιλίας provoke sickness, Gal.II.57; cf. *σπαρακτέον*:—Pass., σ. ἀνημέτως: *retch* without being able to vomit, Hp.Coac.546. b. *convulse*, of an evil spirit, Ev.Marv.1.26.⁴⁹

Whether the convulsive meaning fitted best within the fourth (medical) category was, apparently, not critically evaluated. A more viable option would have been to treat *σπαράσσω* in Mk 1:26 as a figurative use of the verb (meaning 3: "metaph., *pull to pieces, attack*" or perhaps as meaning 1: "*tear, rend, esp. of dogs, carnivorous animals, and the like*"). The medical references given in LSJ (for meaning 4a) align

of a 'wild beast' mauling ('tearing apart') its prey in Mk 9:18–26. An unpointed text remains ambiguous here (as either 'tear with the teeth' and/or '[cause to] shake violently').

⁴⁸ Barclay M. Newman Jr., *Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament* (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), preface. L&N based its meanings on Newman. See John Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 158.

⁴⁹ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (rev. Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie; 9th ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940; with supplement 1968), 1624.

more readily with the ‘middle-passive’ morphology of the verb as would be expected of bodily ‘disturbances’ and ‘ruptures’ so the verb’s subject is significantly different in Mk 1:26. Nevertheless we have now seen that the convulsive meaning is largely indebted to the Greek lexicons and that such a meaning rests on shaky foundations.

3.3. Greek-Syriac Correspondences in Mk 9:18–26

In our main episode under evaluation (Mk 9:18–26) we find that a textually secure Greek-Syriac correspondence exists in Mk 9:26 between *σπαράσσω* and the Peal ܣܡܥܐ ‘crush’ (Sinaitic and Peshitta). If one accepts the meaning of the Greek *σπαράσσω* given in the Greek New Testament lexicons, one is again faced with an apparent lack of semantic correspondence. Rather than believe in another coincidental divergence of meaning, it is more natural to suppose that the Syriac versions have uniformly picked up on an aspect of assault that they perceived to exist for *σπαράσσω* in Greek (and thus for us again to doubt that the medical meaning given in several Greek lexicons is accurate for Mk 1:26 and/or Mk 9:26).

3.3.1. Fourth Methodological Principle

Our fourth methodological principle: The sister Syriac translations provide us with Syriac words of potential similar meaning, and/or they may indicate an unrecognised meaning for the corresponding Greek lexeme (or in the case of the Harklean, simply indicate its underlying Greek lexeme). In the present case they affirm our lexeme in the Peshitta and put a larger question mark over the medical/epileptic meaning.

3.4. The Similar Use of *Σπαράσσω* and *ῤήσσω* in Mk 9:18, 20

Apparently what *σπαράσσω* means within the context of Mk 9:18–26 is virtually synonymous to *ῤήσσω*. The entry in BDAG for *σπαράσσω* does at least acknowledge that the meaning was “orig. tear, pull to and fro, rend.” Thus we find such a meaning in the Septuagint (four appearances): two in the active (in Dan 8:7; 3 Macc 4:6) and two in the passive (‘torn apart’ in 2 Sam 22:8; Jer 4:19). Thus the more ‘original’ sense of *σπαράσσω* in the Septuagint also resembles the meaning of *ῤήσσω* in the Septuagint (‘break apart, split, tear apart, pull apart, rip apart’) as a Greek word of similar meaning.

A semantic similarity persists between *σπαράσσω* and *ῤήσσω* in Greek Mark. In NA²⁷ the unclean spirit *ῤήσσει αὐτόν* in Mk 9:18, which is the simplest Greek-Syriac correspondence for both verses. The manuscript choice in Mk 9:20 between *συνεσπάρῃξεν αὐτόν* and *σπαράσσει αὐτόν* is less significant. But even the difference in meaning between *σπαράσσω* and *ῤήσσω* within Greek Mk 9:18–20 is negligible. The three phrases *σπαράσσει αὐτόν*, *συνεσπάρῃξεν αὐτόν*, and *ῤήσσει αὐτόν* could be taken as virtually synonymous in Mk 9:18, 20.

Unfortunately the meaning of *ῤήσσω* is no less ambiguous than *σπαράσσω*. We have already ascertained the overall context in Mk 9:14–29 (a clash of kingdoms and the banishment of an unholy, aggressive spirit as God’s kingdom advances). The meaning of both *σπαράσσει αὐτόν* and *ῤήσσει αὐτόν* is not yet in full focus, being either an assault in general terms (‘assaulted him’, ‘attacked him’) or a more specific

kind of assault (‘beat him, pounded him to the ground’ or, ‘cast him down,’ or ‘mangled him, pulled him to and fro’ or perhaps ‘shook him to and fro’ if BDAG’s meaning for *σπαράσσω* is accurate). We turn to look at the variant Greek lexemes underlying the Mk 9:18, 20. These may assist us with other Greek words of similar meaning.

3.5. Potential Correspondences for the Peal ܘܫܘܢ in Mk 9:20

The Greek corresponding to the second occurrence of the Peal ܘܫܘܢ (Mk 9:20) will be discussed first. The Greek variants for Mk 9:20 are *σπαράσσω*, *συσπαράσσω*, or *ταράσσω*. Presumably the rare compound form *συσπαράσσω* is merely an intense form of *σπαράσσω*. Unlike L&N, BDAG differentiates the two with separate entries and, unlike *σπαράσσω*, *συσπαράσσω* is treated more convulsively and is given a definition.⁵⁰ The variant *ταράσσω* (*agitate, cause turmoil, disturb*) in Mk 9:20 provides us with a Greek word of potentially similar meaning to *σπαράσσω*. In its present context *ταράσσω* is potentially ‘toss/shake to and fro’ but it is not a particularly epileptic term and so again warns against the supposition that the Greek of Mk 9:18–26 had specific epileptic vocabulary in view. Yet, *ταράσσω* is less likely to be the Greek behind our Syriac lexeme. Otherwise we would have expected to find the meaning ‘startled, emotionally upset’ or ‘afraid’ in the Peshitta, given that that is the usual sense when *ταράσσω* is applied to people (compare the Peal ܘܫܘܢ, in Mk 6:50). Also the corresponding Sinaitic here in 9:20 has ‘throw down’ (Aphel of ܘܫܘܢ; and in 9:20 the Peal passive participle form). We can dismiss *ταράσσω* as an unlikely source for both the Peshitta and Sinaitic.

3.6. Potential Correspondences for the Peal ܘܫܘܢ in Mk 9:18

The Greek-Syriac correspondence for the first occurrence of the Peal ܘܫܘܢ (Mk 9:18) may be with *ρήσσω*/*ρήγνυμι*, *ράσσω*, or *ρίπτω*. Whether *ρήσσω* is simply a secondary form of *ρήγνυμι* (or whether the two should be distinguished lexically) remains unclear. I prefer to list them both as the same lexeme *ρήσσω*. BDAG lists the two separately thereby providing a total of three meanings for *ρήσσω*: (1) *ρήσσω* as a secondary form of the verb *ρήγνυμι* “to cause to come apart or be in pieces by means of internal or external force, *tear in pieces, break, burst;*” (2) *ρήσσω* as “to effect an action or intensify it by initially throwing off restraint, *tear/break/let loose, break out in [a cry];*” (3) *ρήσσω* meaning “to cause to fall down, *throw down.*” BDAG places our *ρήσσω* under the third category, taking Mk 9:18 (and Lk 9:42) as being used literally “of an evil spirit’s treatment of its victim, who is cast to the ground in convulsions.” Hence the definition in BDAG takes *ρήσσω* (Mk 9:18) as akin to both *ράσσω* and *ρίπτω* but, unlike the latter two lexemes, BDAG’s description assigns to *ρήσσω* a more convulsive interpretation.

⁵⁰ “*συσπαράσσω* 1 aor. *συνεσπαράξα* (Maximus Tyr. 7, 5e ‘tear to pieces’) **to agitate violently, pull about, convulse** τινά someone, of a hostile spirit, who so treats the person who is in his power Mk 9:20; w. *ρήγνυμι* Lk 9:42.”

3.7. A Figurative Meaning

It stands to reason that if BDAG's understanding of *σπαράσσω* is non-figurative and 'convulsive' then so would it also be for the verb *ρήσσω* in Mk 9:18, given the virtual synonymy of these two verbs within Mk 9:18–26. BDAG is not alone in deciding for a 'literal' non-figurative sense. LSJ was perhaps the first to make this move official by treating *σπαράσσω* as a concrete medical application. We, however, cannot dismiss a figurative sense so easily. Given that both *σπαράσσω* and *ρήσσω* are elsewhere used of wild beasts who 'tear apart' their prey ('mangle', 'rip to shreds', 'tear to pieces') and given that the 'unclean' intruder behaves in an animalistic and deadly fashion, a figurative sense is apt ('savage', 'maul', 'tear apart'). Thus our detailed banishment account of the unclean spirit in the Greek of Mk 9:18–26 seems to be evocative of an assault of a beast-like intruder mauling or 'tearing' its victim, rather than a medical application.

Unfortunately the figurative sense 'tear, maul, lacerate, attack viciously' has, in the past, been too speedily equated with the more concrete/physiological notion of 'convulse, throw into convulsions.' The older English gloss 'tear' better preserves the more 'figurative' sense. Theoretically the gloss 'convulse' could still suffice for one or more verbs within Mk 9:18–26 because 'convulse' need not always relay a medical sense. But within the context of an explicitly 'epileptic' definition, such as in L&N, 'convulse' takes on unnecessary medical baggage and is misleading.

We also find *ράσσω* as one of the Greek variants in Mk 9:18. The lexeme here is another word for 'cast down to the ground,' 'fling to the ground.' The meaning of *ράσσω* (or its compound *καταράσσω*) has likely reinforced the meaning the Syriac translators took for *σπαράσσω* in Mk 1:26. Or it is possible that *ράσσω* is another spelling for *ρήσσω*. BDAG distinguishes the two, giving the following meaning for *ράσσω*: "to use violence and so cause someone to fall down to a surface, *strike, dash, throw down, τινά someone* Mk 9:18 D (for *ρήσσω*, q.v. 2a)." Along with the semantic similarity we saw between *ρήσσω* and *σπαράσσω*, we see that the meaning for *ράσσω* would explain the Sinaitic and Peshitta translations of Mk 1:26 (the Peal ܐܫܘܘܢ for *σπαράσσω*). *Ρήσσω* and *ράσσω* were not always equivalent but *ρήσσω* in the old Epic dialect apparently corresponded to *ράσσω* in Attic Greek.⁵¹

The Greek-Syriac correspondences in Mk 9:18, 20 indicate that the Peshitta translators recognised that *σπαράσσω/συσπαράσσω* in Mk 9:20 was similar to *ρήσσω*, or *ράσσω*, or *ρίπτω* in Mk 9:18. The Greek-Syriac correspondence in Mk 9:26 showed that *σπαράσσω* could also be translated with the Peal ܘܫܘܢ ('crush, crush down') and the correspondence in Mk 1:26 showed that it could be translated with the Peal ܐܫܘܘܢ ('throw down'). We have eliminated the possibility of one Greek variant (*ταράσσω* 'startle, cause emotional trouble'), and we are still unsure whether

⁵¹ "To be distinguished is the old Epic *ρήσσειν* 'to strike, stamp', to which Att. *ράττειν* (Soph. *ἐπιρ-*, Thuc. And Xen. *συχ-*, simple form Dem. 54.8) 'to dash to the ground' corresponds; this *ράττειν* may well be found in Mk 9:18 (*ράσσει* D), Lk 9:42 (G 4:27? OT), LXX Wsd 4:19, Herm Man 11.3 (*ράξαι* A) and in *προσέρηξεν* = *προσέβαλεν* Lk 6:48f. Perhaps the two verbs converged in Koine." F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (rev. Robert W. Funk; Cambridge; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 54.

the Greek sense ‘tear to pieces/rip/break apart’ was taken up by the Peshitta translators. It depends partly on what *ῥήσσω* means (the sense ‘tear, mauls’ fits better in the Greek than the Syriac). How exactly the latter sense applied to a boy is not certain, but it leads us toward a more figurative application for a ‘wild’ unclean spirit who suddenly pounces on its ‘prey’ and ‘mangles’ or ‘mauls’ its victim.

3.7.1. Fifth Methodological Principle

We have now seen that a figurative application of the verb cannot easily be converted into a literal ‘medical’ sense without an unnecessary modification of meaning. This probably explains what has happened to the definition given for *σπαράσσω* in L&N. The issue of understanding how figurative meanings work remains an unresolved issue. But evaluating definitions in the Greek lexicons remains essential to avoid reproducing any dubious meanings in a Syriac lexicon.

3.8. What Correspondences Tell Us

The total Greek variants potentially corresponding to the Peal ܕܥܘܢ in both Mk 9:18 and 9:20 are with *σπαράσσω*, *ῥήσσω* (/ῥήγνυμι), *ῥάσσω*, *ρίπτω* or *συσπαράσσω*. The minimum number of correspondences would be to hypothesize *σπαράσσω* in both verses, which we cannot do because *σπαράσσω* does not occur as a potential variant in 9:18.⁵² We have a possible five Greek verbs potentially corresponding to the Peal ܕܥܘܢ in Mk 9:18 and 9:20 (counting *συσπαράσσω* separately and *ῥάσσω* separately). Should this affect our conclusions concerning the meaning of our Syriac verb? A translation usually intends to obscure the fact that it is merely a translation, so the resulting work in Syriac produces its own meaning such that Syriac readers (and hearers) would not be aware of potentially different Greek lexemes corresponding to the Peal ܕܥܘܢ in Mk 9:18 and 20. Apparently two different lexemes were found in the Peshitta’s Greek source. We could imagine that *ῥάσσω* appeared in Mk 9:18 and *συσπαράσσω* in Mk 9:20 and were treated synonymously due not only to their similarity in usage but due to their being uncommon lexemes. We do not necessarily need to resolve the issue of correspondence, nor the issue of the precise Greek nuances of *σπαράσσω*, *ῥήσσω*, *ῥάσσω*, and *συσπαράσσω*.

If we collapse *συσπαράσσω* with *σπαράσσω* and *ῥάσσω* with *ῥήσσω*, then *σπαράσσω*, *ῥήσσω*, and *ρίπτω* still remain. We might contrast this number, for example, by observing how one of these lexemes appears elsewhere in the Greek New Testament. To take *ῥήσσω*, for example, we find no manuscript variations for the appearance of *ῥήσσω* outside the episode of affliction narrated in Mk 9:18–20 (and Lk 9:39–42). In other words, in every other place that *ῥήσσω* appears in the Greek New Testament we find that the correspondences are secure and straightforward (variant free). This may mean that *ῥήσσω* in our verse should be distinguished from *ῥήγνυμι* elsewhere. There is one noteworthy correspondence in Mt 7:6.

Ignoring our episode where the Greek is textually variable (Mk 9:18, 20//Lk 9:42), we find the remaining Syriac correspondences to *ῥήσσω*/*ῥήγνυμι* in the

⁵² According to Legg, *σπαράσσω* is found in Mk 9:18 in only one lectionary (126).

Peshitta New Testament are with the Pael ܘܪ (Mt 7:6), the Etaphal ܘܪܝܢ (Mt 9:17) the Pael ܘܪܝܢ (Mk 2:22) the Pael ܘܪ (Lk 5:37), the Ethpeel ܘܪܝܢ or the Peal ܘܪܝܢ (Gal 4:27). These correspondences are from ‘foreign’ contexts. But the correspondence of ῥήσσω with the Pael ܘܪ in Mt 7:6 is potentially relevant if the description of the unclean spirit in Mk 9:14–29 resembles the kind of language usually used of wild animals attacking their victims. In Mt 7:6 the subject of the verb is an untamed animal and the object of the verb is a person (paralleled by the Greek καταπατέω and the corresponding Peal ܘܪܝܢ, ‘tread down, trample’). The Pael ܘܪ and perhaps the Peal ܘܪܝܢ, are therefore likely relevant to include among the words of similar meaning for the Peal ܘܪܝܢ (Mk 9:18, 20).

3.9. Evaluation of the Greek Influential Front

At those points where the Greek manuscripts offer no variants (Mk 1:26; 9:26) it became much clearer that the Greek σπαράσσω was not explicitly convulsive or epileptic, at least not in the eyes of the Syriac translators, and any strong evidence for an earlier Greek epileptic meaning for σπαράσσω is lacking. The medical meaning for Mk 1:26 appears misplaced in LSJ, since a different subject of the verb is in view. A more figurative application of the verb appears likely. Thus we encountered several issues with the meaning of σπαράσσω given in the New Testament lexicons. Both the Peshitta and Sinaitic texts in Mk 1:26 agree in rendering σπαράσσω with the Peal ܘܪܝܢ (Sinaitic and Peshitta, ‘cast down’). The Syriac translations do not necessary reflect the meaning given in our Greek lexicons. But this need not lead us to suppose that the Syriac has diverged in meaning. Perhaps Greek New Testament lexicographers might need to re-examine their lexical entries for σπαράσσω and begin to question the medical sense within Mark.

Unfortunately the Curetonian is not extant for Mark (until Mk 16:17b), and the Harklean version revealed more about its underlying Greek than it did its intended Syriac meaning. We saw that ῥήσσω was very similar in meaning to σπαράσσω. Overall the variants could be placed into two main categories: ‘throw down to the ground’ and ‘tear to pieces/break apart’ but a third meaning ‘toss to and fro’ still remains a possibility for the Greek variants. Thus we still have not managed to dispense completely with a (non-medical) ‘convulsive’ meaning in Mk 9:18, 20. We have seen that for our three categories (and for the three semantic categories observed in *KPG*) that ‘beat, batter, beat down’ did not present itself as an optional meaning for the underlying Greek, unless the figurative sense for σπαράσσω as ‘attack’ also lends itself to ‘assault,’ ‘mistreat,’ or ‘injure’ (as it does occasionally in Josephus).⁵³ A persistent meaning for the Greek in Mk 9:18, 20 was ‘tear to pieces,

⁵³ Cf. some of the occurrences of the lexeme σπαράσσω in the works of Josephus, as consulted in Benedikt Niese, ed., *De bello Judaico* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1885–1895); 5:526 ‘rip to shreds, tear, mangle’ οἱ γε καὶ νεκρὸν τὸν δῆμον ὡσπερ κύνες ἐσπάραιτον [as dogs do to carcasses]; 1:338, 1:381, 3:468 5:280 (‘pull to pieces, demolish, destroy’ [buildings/houses/wicker building/war constructions]); 2:589 (‘irritate, aggravate’) [in parallel with λήζομαι ‘take as prey, despoil, plunder’]; 2:652 (‘damage, assault, mistreat, harass, injure’ [the houses of the rich paired with torment of their bodies]; 2:521 ‘throw into disorder’ [of attacking the rear of an army]. 2:90 (‘tear to pieces, disembowel’); *Antiquitates*

πάσχει (‘he suffers badly’) or κακῶς ἔχει (‘he has bad [illness],’ ‘he is ill’). The comparable phrases in the sister Syriac versions are: ܕܚܒܐ ܕܚܒܐ ‘badly formed’ (Sinaitic and Peshitta) ܕܚܒܐ ܕܚܒܐ ‘harshly formed’ (Curetonian), and ܕܚܒܐ ܕܚܒܐ ‘badly suffering’ (Harklean).

Σεληνιάζομαι appears twice in the Greek New Testament (Mt 4:24; 17:15). It is used substantively as a label for a physiological illness and is probably correctly categorised in L&N within the subdomain of ‘Sickness, Disease, Weakness’. But the definitions given for the lexeme in L&N and BDAG remain suspicious. The definition and explanation in BDAG reflects the notion that σεληνιάζομαι referred to someone who was affected by the transcendent powers of the moon. BDAG’s definition actually combines two notions from separate sectors (folk and professional).⁵⁵ The definition is slightly at odds with the other information in the entry.⁵⁶ The emboldened definition visually and semantically overrides the less laden meaning of ‘primarily to be moonstruck.’⁵⁷

The entry also gives the appearance of supporting its definition by means of two Greek words of alleged similar meaning (δαιμονιζομένους and ἐπιληπτικούς). But these are obtained from foreign contexts. The latter lexeme (ἐπιληπτικός) is not found in Greek manuscripts of Matthew. Indeed neither is any other ‘epileptic’ vocabulary employed in any known Greek manuscripts (such as ἐπιληψία, ἐπιληπτικός, ἐπιληψις, ἐπιληπτίζω, ἐπιλαμβάνω). This is not to say that the definition in BDAG is illogical. Supporting one’s definition from a foreign context is not unusual. Indeed, Origen’s commentary on this Matthean passage mentions ἐπιληψία along with the noun σεληνιασμός (namely, ‘the moon-stricken experience of epileptic seizure’ τὸ τῆς ἐπιληψίας πάθος σεληνιασμόν).⁵⁸ But note that (a) the label in Origen is not identical; (b) the text remains a ‘foreign’ text; and (c) Origen is here arguing “against a [professional] medical explanation and cure of this

⁵⁵ For discussion of popular and folk sectors see Pilch, *Healing*, 64–72; 78–80; 85–86. Cf. Mervyn J. Eadie and Peter F. Bladin, *A Disease Once Sacred: A History of the Medical Understanding of Epilepsy* (Eastleigh: John Libbey & Company, 2001), 21–27; 168–75.

⁵⁶ “σεληνιάζομαι (σελήνη; TestSol 10:35 C; Lucian; Vett. Val. 113, 10; Cat. Cod. Astr. VIII/1 p. 199, 7; Manetho, Apotel. 4, 81; 217, in both cases the act. as v.l. Prim. ‘to be moonstruck’) **to experience epileptic seizures, be an epileptic** (in the ancient world epileptic seizure was associated with transcendent powers of the moon; cp. Cat. Cod. Astr. IX/2 p. 156, 10f πρὸς <δὲ> δαιμονιζομένους, ἐπιληπτικούς καὶ σεληνιαζομένους). Mt 17:15. W. δαιμονίζεσθαι 4:24.—RE IV 412, 25ff; BHHW II 1236.—DELG and M-M s.v. σελήνη.”

⁵⁷ Pilch, *Healing*, 156, asserts that ‘to be moonstruck’ is, according to Psalm 121:6, “an example of an illness.”

⁵⁸ Origenes, *Commentarium in Evangelium Matthaei*, t. 13, 4; col. 1104. Cited in Owsei Temkin, *The Falling Sickness: A History of Epilepsy from the Greeks to the Beginnings of Modern Neurology* (2nd ed.; Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1945; 1971), 92. BDAG’s definition might have also drawn support from a third-century Greek lexicographer, Apollonius Dyscolus, who defined epileptic as “the disease of the moon” (ἐπιληπτον: τὸν ἐπιλήψιμον τῷ τῆς σελήνης πάθει). Immanuel Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* (Lexica Segueriana 1; Berlin: G. C. Nauckium, 1814).

refers to the demon as ‘this kind’ (τοῦτο τὸ γένος, **لَوْحٌ لِّوَا**).⁶⁴ It is noteworthy that the label of this kind of demon in Mt 17:15 was not imported into the narrative of Mark even though it is tempting to merge both accounts into one, as many ancient and modern readers have done.

If we follow the methodology advocated by Pilch for not imposing foreign categories of illness onto Matthew’s terminology we might obtain an ethnomedical meaning of the lexeme **σεληνιάζομαι** in Matthew.⁶⁵ A professional perspective of the illness conflicts with the presence of a demon in Mt 17:15 because the notion of harmful superhuman spiritual forces was rejected as a cause of illness within the professional sector. Professional healers attributed causes to an imbalance of ‘substances’ rather than blaming evil spirits as was popular amongst non-professionals. The term appearing in Matthew is unlike the term that eventually became a technical term for epilepsy in the following centuries (**ἐπιληψία**/*epilepsia*).⁶⁶

4.2. Speaking Ethnomedically: “Ὅτι Σεληνιάζεται according to Matthew

At minimum the phrase indicates a ‘periodical’ or ‘episodic’ kind of affliction (‘because he is [one who is] periodically-affected’).⁶⁷ Contextually, there is little reason to move beyond this meaning for two reasons.

Firstly, the phrase ‘because frequently he falls. . .’ (**πολλάκις γὰρ πίπτει [εἰς τὸ πῦρ...]**; **صَلَاً لِّمَنْ أَصْبَحَ صَدُوءًا نَفَاً**) indicates that the reference to ‘frequently’ can be taken as clarifying the doubly phrased ‘diagnosis’ immediately preceding, namely: **ὅτι σεληνιάζεται καὶ κακῶς πάσχει** (or **κακῶς ἔχει**).

⁶⁴ The verse is now considered by most textual critics to be an intrusion from the parallel account in Mk 9:29.

⁶⁵ Pilch advocates the avoidance of modern biomedical impositions, but I extrapolate from this to imply we should also avoid imposing any other ‘foreign’ categories, including professional labels. If we acknowledge that ‘epileptic’ is merely a transliteration of **ἐπιληπτικός** identified (allegedly) in BDAG as an ancient word of similar meaning to **σεληνιάζομαι** then we can see that BDAG’s definition has not simply imposed a modern (etic) label onto Matthew’s term (as assumed by Pilch). But the entry in BDAG has imposed a foreign professional label onto Matthew’s account and so remains potentially misleading. Mt 17:15 differs to professional notions of *epilepsia* because **ὅτι σεληνιάζεται** is more informal as a ‘popular’ or ‘folk’ label. So Pilch’s argument, that the term ‘epileptic’ is not emic, still stands.

⁶⁶ The reason the Hippocratic treatise referred to the illness as **περὶ ἱεράς νούσου** ‘the divine/sacred disease’ is not only because that was its popular name. The author of the treatise considered the elements of nature (heat, cold, wind) as ultimately divine (and pure), and thus all illnesses were in a sense divine.

⁶⁷ This seems already to have been understood by the medieval translation of ‘lunatic,’ since many ancient illnesses were considered intermittent. This is noted by Temkin, *Falling*, 93–95, namely that the early medieval term ‘lunatic’ was not necessarily an ‘epileptic’ term “but comprised all such abnormal states as manifested themselves in more or less periodical attacks.” Many of these ‘intermittent’ types of illnesses affected the subject’s decision-making abilities and were not always viewed negatively (both *epilepsia* and ‘falling sickness’ are listed with conjurers of the dead and prophets as affected by such states intermittently).

Secondly, in Mt 4:24 its use suggests that the lexeme *σεληνιαζομαι* reflects an intermittent category of illness. In Mt 4:24 the term is distinguished from two other categories of persons in need of healing (*δαιμονιζομένους και σεληνιαζομένους και παραλυτικούς*). The first category refers to the persons chronically afflicted by demons, and the third category refers to those chronically deficient in their bodies, whilst the middle group of persons are those who are affected intermittently (as a subcategory of demonic possession). The three categories together are apparently meant to encompass the full variety of illnesses healed by Jesus. The list differs in the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac (in pairs following the structure of v. 23c: torments and infirmities; stubborn infirmities and hateful torments; the Curetonian parallels the roof-top ones with *ܣܠܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ* ‘hateful torments’). Still, the intention in the older Syriac is to relay the whole range of desperately ill people Jesus healed. The final three types in the Peshitta of Mt 4:24 correspond to the three kinds in Greek, the middle group being those of the ‘roof-top type’ of demonic possession (*ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ*; ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ, corresponding to *σεληνιαζομένους*).

4.3. Learning Not to Share

Throughout this section it has been demonstrated that the account in Mt 17:14–18 is different from the account in Mk 9:18–26. In Mt 17:18 we see that at the command of Jesus the demon leaves and that ‘the youth was healed from that hour.’ In Matthew there are no verbs of assault by the demon directly upon the boy. Instead the boy suffers in a state of (demon-caused) illness, then is healed. Matthew provides a clear description for this type of illness, indicating an episodic/periodic kind of affliction. Illnesses healed in Mt 4:24 could be specified as those persons *δαιμονιζομένους και σεληνιαζομένους και παραλυτικούς* (those of the permanent demonic affliction, periodic demonic affliction, and permanent physical infirmities). Following an anthropological approach and avoiding foreign imposition of medical categories, we obtained an improved ‘ethnomedical’ understanding of the Greek lexeme *σεληνιαζομαι* in Mt 17:15 (intermittently affected/frequently afflicted). BDAG’s definition was correct only insofar as the explanation *ὅτι σεληνιαζεται* was intended to be a label of illness. We did not find the label to be a professional label/diagnosis. The professional perspective of epilepsy remains foreign to our text (for both Greek and Syriac accounts).

If an epileptic label, as a professional diagnosis, is foreign to Matthew, then why impose it on Mark? Is there perhaps anything to justify a professional label of epilepsy in Luke? Yes, there is some evidence within the context of Lk 9:39–42 that suggests a multifaceted perspective of the affliction, but we have chosen to focus here on Matthew because of its obvious influential Greek label.⁶⁸ By now we have

⁶⁸ Lk 9:37–43 allows for, and encourages, not only a folk-medical perspective (similar to that of Mt 17:15) and something of a conflict-of-kingdoms approach toward spirit-aggression (similar to that of Mk 9:14–29) but also presents a somewhat semi-professional-medical perspective in closer agreement with other professional medical accounts of only depicting the ‘expressive’ symptoms related to epileptic phenomena (e.g., omitting the aspect of paralysis and any cry of the boy mid-seizure). See the comparative medical approach of

come to appreciate the differences between the different Gospel accounts. We can no longer hold that the various contexts are exactly the same or that they should be harmonised (supposition 3). We can no longer assume that the same context in Matthew will be found in Mark.

5. SEVENTH METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLE

Throughout this study we have been constantly reminded of a key methodological principle: For a lexeme under investigation its individual textual context must reign supreme. It cannot be made to serve the interests of another context even if that context appears similar. The integrity of the individual textual context is paramount for determining the context of its lexemes and in order to integrate other meanings from other contexts, with a reduced risk of distorting the context into which a meaning is being imported. In other words, imposition of a foreign context is avoided, or at least reduced, when informed by a critical contextual analysis of the ‘guiding context.’⁶⁹ Therefore the optimum order of analysis for a difficult low-frequency lexeme, such as the Peal **ܣܚܝ** in the Peshitta Gospel of Mark, is to begin not with other contexts, but to begin with the guiding text. If we have not properly ascertained the boundaries of our guiding context then our guiding context cannot properly guide us, in which case we risk having our lexeme defined by a foreign context.

We will now continue to follow this recommended methodology and to examine other biblical occurrences of our lexeme, the Peal **ܣܚܝ**.

5.1. Other Biblical References: Hebrew-Syriac Correspondences

When we observe the few biblical references of our lexeme we also discover its Hebrew cognate, the Qal **חָבַט**. In the Hebrew OT the Hebrew cognate appears five times and corresponds to our Syriac lexeme in all five places (Deut 24:20; Judg 6:11; Ruth 2:17; Isa 27:12; 28:27 [but Ethpeel in Peshitta]). There are a total of seven appearances of our lexeme in the Peshitta OT, but let us begin with the five Hebrew-Syriac correspondences. Its meanings are misleadingly simple in *HALOT*: “1. to beat off (olives)”; “2. “to beat out (the grain that has been cut off).”⁷⁰ These meanings suffice until we meet with a figurative application, or an application without an object, or an application with a peculiar object. In our five corresponding Old Testament Hebrew-Syriac occurrences, we find four different applications.

Annette Weissenrieder, *Images of Illness in the Gospel of Luke: Insights of Ancient Medical Texts* (WUNT 2/164; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 276–81.

⁶⁹ The label ‘guiding context,’ used to describe the textual context of our lexeme under examination, was helpfully suggested to me by my wife, C.-A. Lewis.

⁷⁰ Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, M. E. J. Richardson, and Johann Jakob Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (electronic ed.; Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1999).

5.2. Olive Harvesting (Deut 24:20)

Harvesting olive trees is one application. The object of the verb is the tree, not the olives themselves (any olives that were within reach could simply be picked off by hand). For obtaining the large proportion of olives the branches of the tree were jolted with a suitable instrument to dislodge the olives. The action is repetitious and purposeful. To obtain the olives required more than one jolt of the branches. The force is not particularly violent, so as not to damage the branches.⁷¹ Whether the precise nature of the force should be considered ‘hitting, beating’ or ‘shaking’ remains unclear since the point of the action is to force the tree to release its olives.⁷²

5.3. Wheat Threshing (Ruth 2:17; Judg 6:11)

Another application is the threshing of wheat by hand. Wheat was usually threshed on a hard floor (threshing floor) with metal-toothed threshing logs dragged over the sheaves of wheat by cattle or carts. Our verb is not used for such threshing. But one could thresh a few sheaves with a stick (by hand). This resembles the method of threshing used for extracting cumin.⁷³

5.4. Cumin Extraction (Isa 28:27)

Harvesting cumin and black cumin (caraway seed, fennel or dill) is mentioned in Isa 28:27, where both are distinguished from wheat threshing: ‘Likewise black cumin is not threshed with a sledge, nor is the wheel of a cart rolled over cumin; but black cumin is *beat out* [Ethpeel ] with a stick, and cumin with a flail.’

⁷¹ Cf. Keil and Delitzsch’s commentary on Isa 27:12: “Such fruits, as the prophet himself affirms in Isaiah 28:27, were knocked out carefully with a stick, and would have been injured by the violence of ordinary threshing.” Carl Friedrich Keil and Franz Julius Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament ... By C. F. Keil ... and F. Delitzsch ... Translated from the German. [Those on Genesis-Kings, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Minor Prophets, translated by J. Martin; on Chronicles, by A. Harper, on Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, by S. Taylor; on Job, Psalms, by F. Bolton; on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Daniel, by M. G. Easton; and on Jeremiah, by D. Patrick.]* (54 vols.; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1864–1877).

⁷² Compare the definition for the Hebrew verb in the *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew*: “to strike another object repeatedly; + with a stick or a similar wooden instrument; ► so that items attached to this object will be released -to beat; to thresh.” Reinier de Blois, ed., *A Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew*. <<http://www.sdbh.org/>>. Accessed 01/07/11.

⁷³ Cf. Keil and Delitzsch’s comments on Judg 6:11: “חבט does not mean to thresh, but to knock with a stick. The wheat was threshed upon open floors, or in places in the open field that were rolled hard for the purpose, with threshing carriages or threshing shoes, or else with oxen, which they drove about over the scattered sheaves to tread out the grains with their hoofs. Only poor people knocked out the little corn that they had gleaned with a stick.”

5.5. Figurative Use in Isaiah (Isa 27:12)

A fourth application is a figurative use based on either olive harvesting or wheat threshing—its object and goal is ‘people collection’ throughout Israel (‘On that day the LORD will thresh’). The precise kind of ‘threshing’ envisaged in Isa 27:12 is ambiguous (does the following ‘picked up one by one’ mean none are left on the ground? or picked off the branches?). The imagery is likely of olive pickings, or (unless a mixed threshing metaphor is intended) it might refer to sheaves of wheat gathered by hand as every last sheaf is ‘gleaned.’ Either way it is the Lord himself who personally ‘collects’ every one.

Our Syriac lexeme corresponds in all five places to the Hebrew cognate, and this suggests an obvious semantic correspondence (the force determined to extricate a handful of grain or cumin or to harvest olives). But there are two extra occurrences of the verb in the Peshitta OT that correspond to different Hebrew lexemes. In Isa 17:6 the word still belongs in our first category (olive harvesting) even though it is the form of the Peal passive participle. The passive participle form functions as an adjective ‘severe,’ ‘violent’ according to Brun (*vehemens*), which does not apply in this case. Here it refers to the olive tree (ܐܘܠܝܘܬܐ ܘܫܬܪܐ) corresponds to תִּזְתֵּן whereby the Hebrew noun נִקְרָה indicates the ‘striking off’ of olives from the olive tree).⁷⁴

5.6. A Fifth Application: Torrential Rain and Hail

A potentially violent application appears in Isa 28:17, where the Syriac verb corresponds to the rare Hebrew verb ‘to shovel’ (*HALOT*: ‘to sweep away’). Here the figurative ‘shelters of lies’ in Hebrew will be shown to be defective shelters when they are ‘swept away’ by a hail storm (and accompanied by a flood). It is possible that the Syriac perceived that the shelters were ‘threshed away’ by hail, as though the shelters of lies were simply ‘husks’ to be removed, releasing their contents. But this application of our verb is apparently not considered figurative in the lexicons. To follow *CSD*, for example, we will have to choose between the action achieved by hail (“to beat down like hail”) or by a flood or stream (“to snatch away as a torrent”). Thus Isa 28:17 is not regarded figuratively to reflect a harvesting sense. But we should question whether the hail/rain/torrent application has fallen into the trap of supposing that the Syriac verb in Isa 28:17 means ‘sweep away’ because of the corresponding Hebrew (and as in the Peshitta translation of Lamsa).⁷⁵ Another potential ‘foreign’ influence here is the noun used for violent rainstorms ܫܚܘܢܐ. Likewise we find a similar meaning given for the substantive use of the participle in

⁷⁴ Francis Brown, Samuel R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, eds., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907; corr. reprint, 1972). נִקְרָה according to *HALOT* is “what has fallen, been knocked down (olives from the tree).” In Isa 24:13 the same Hebrew noun נִקְרָה is translated by the Syriac noun ܫܚܘܢܐ.

⁷⁵ At the time of this writing Lamsa’s translation is the only English translation of the Peshitta Old Testament of which I am aware. George M. Lamsa, *The Holy Bible from the Ancient Eastern Text: George M. Lamsa’s Translations from the Aramaic of the Peshitta* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985).

Isa 30:30 **דַּרְבֵּי מַחֲלָה וְשֹׁמֵט** (literally ‘a storm of threshing’) corresponding to **נִפְץ וְזָרַם** ‘a blast and a storm’. But being a participle, our ‘verb’ here is behaving more like the noun **מַחֲלָה** or like the adjective for ‘severe’, ‘violent’. These multiple associations with the underlying Hebrew and with the noun for violent rainstorms (and with the adjective) make it difficult to ascertain whether or not ‘(hail-)storming’ could have any connection with thresh/harvest. Both Isa 30:30 and Isa 28:17 remain ambiguous.

5.7. Determining the Application: The Integration of Other Meanings in Mk 9:18, 20

If it is the verb’s object (or lack of object) that is most determinative for the sense of the application then we are left with little precedent for distinguishing between different applications of the verb. There are only three other biblical contexts with a clear subject and object: Deut 24:20 (subject = you, object = olive tree); Ruth 2:17 (subject = Ruth, object = them [wheat gleanings]); Isa 28:17 (subject = hail, object = shelter of lies). What, if anything, is paradigmatically useful here in these three contexts? In each of these cases the goal of the verb was to remove something from the object by repetitively pelting it or knocking it with something hard. The action involves working away at the ‘holding object’ until the contents fall out/are released.

Do these other contexts assist us in deciding how to determine the verb’s sense in Mk 9:18, 20? To some degree, yes. Our guiding context provided us with a clear subject and object. So we know that the subject is the unclean spirit and thus the one with the aim of achieving an outcome on its object, the boy. Our guiding context clarified what this goal was in Mk 9:22 by **אֶמְצִיאוֹ חַיָּו וְדָבַר** ‘cast him into fire and water’ and reiterated it with the Aphel **אֶדְבֵּר** corresponding to **ἀπόλλυμι** (‘to cause [him] to perish’) and confirmed with the Peal **מָסַח** (Mk 9:26) ‘crush’ ‘break apart’ (corresponding to **σπαράσσω**) and finally with the Peal **הָסַח** (Mk 9:26).

The unclean spirit was attempting to take the boy’s life. If the action is repetitive, what exactly is repeated? Most likely it is either a beating action or a jolting to and fro. But we can clarify this further. In our other biblical contexts we saw a hard surface involved in the action. The beating out of a small seed such as cumin, or caraway seed, is done with a stick against a hard surface. The beating out of a small amount of grain also required a hard surface. The harvesting of olives required a long rod to knock olives onto the ground. In our guiding context we see that the boy is being knocked down to the ground, which resembles olive threshing. Also likely is that the demon is repeatedly knocking him against the hard surface of the ground, with the boy’s arms, legs, and head being knocked against the ground.

The description of the boy is unlike that of the other biblical contexts. He is not an olive tree full of olives (though he does become ‘withered’ in Mk 9:18), he is not a handful of wheat, nor is he a plant full of cumin seeds (though is crushed/broken apart in Mk 9:26). We will have to admit that the application appears somewhat figurative, but the boy is nevertheless real, and the outcome of his sudden afflictions is visible and violent. Early Syriac readers of our text would have understood the reference without as much effort as we have exerted here. They would probably have understood that the intrusive spirit was trying to ‘get at’

the boy and remove his life with a repetitive assault that immediately reminded them of how someone would crack open a small seed with a hand-held implement, or knock all the olives down from olive tree branches, both of these harvesting actions having a clear goal of obtaining essential food. It is further logical that we saw phlegm foaming out of his mouth during the assault, and his life began to wither away, as signs that the unclean spirit is succeeding in its goal to take away the boy's life.

The Old Testament contexts have now assisted our guiding context and have enriched our understanding of the verb in Mk 9:18, 20.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study had as its origin an intention to argue in favour of a convulsive meaning for several lexemes in the Gospel episode(s) of the so-called epileptic boy. A convulsive meaning already appeared in *KPG* for the Peal ܣܕܘܢ (and for the Ethpaal ܣܕܘܢ) and it seemed initially more appealing as a supposed contextual meaning than 'beat, batter, beat down' which seemed to suppose a divergence in meaning from the Greek. However, the supposed contextual meaning revealed that it was composed of several influential fronts that required further examination. The first front had already faded in influence, so only the latter three needed to be put to the test. Each was found to be methodologically flawed. In the process of testing these three suppositions, a more secure methodology took its place.

The convulsive (and unintentional 'epileptic') supposition gave way to a more contextual reading of Mark whereby the text in both its Greek form and Syriac rendering was seen to be advocating not a healing episode but the banishment of an aggressive spirit—the two remaining distinct within Mark. The most likely candidate for an epileptic-like verb within Mk 9:18–26 appeared for the action of the boy himself who struggled violently on the ground against his attacker—the Ethpaal ܣܕܘܢ. But it still appears within a non-medical context and the cause ultimately remains with the unclean spirit (especially so if the sense is taken as passive, "torturously tossed and pulled to and fro").

The next influential supposition gave way to an observation that none of the various potential Greek lexemes underlying the Syriac were explicitly epileptic lexemes and even a medical convulsive meaning for *σπαράσσω* was not methodologically sound. At both points where the Greek offered no variants for *σπαράσσω* (Mk 1:26; 9:26) the correspondence in the Peshitta (and the Sinaitic) indicated either 'cast down to the ground' (resembling the meaning for *ῥάσσω* and one of the meanings for *ῥήσσω*) or 'crush' or 'break apart' (as more figuratively of torturous harm). The most that could be said about *σπαράσσω* was that it was taken to be virtually synonymous, within Mk 9:18–26, with *ῥήσσω* (and perhaps *συσπαράσσω*) and that the Greek was evocative of a wild beast tearing apart its victim. The numerous potential Greek lexemes corresponding to the Peal ܣܕܘܢ in vv. 18 and 20 (five Greek verbs) suggested against any specifically medical terminology having originally been intended in the Greek, with no explicit epileptic vocabulary appearing.

an unnecessary modification of meaning. Keeping this in mind can avoid hasty equations between figurative and literal, especially when the presumed literal potentially stems from a foreign category of meaning (see methodological points 2 and 3). The area is in need of further study to better understand how figurative applications work.

- (6) Greek variants can be helpful in providing other Greek words of similar meaning. Critical Greek editions are consulted so as not to misjudge or prejudice the Greek corresponding to the Syriac (the precise Greek underlying the Peshitta is unknown).
- (7) The individual textual context must reign supreme—it cannot be made to serve the interests of another context even if that context appears similar. The various textual contexts remain unique; this includes Gospel parallels. Imposition of a foreign context is avoided, or reduced, when informed by a critical contextual analysis of the ‘guiding context.’ This is a foundational principle that informs the implementation of all the above methodological points. The integrity of the individual textual context is paramount because it will determine the context of its lexemes. It is into this context that other contextual meanings from other contexts can be carefully integrated with a reduced risk of distorting the individual context. The best order of analysis for a difficult low-frequency lexeme, such as the Peal ܘܚܘܘܢ in the Peshitta Gospel of Mark, is to begin not with the lexeme’s other contexts, but to begin with the guiding text.

The employment of the above seven methodological points has resulted in the following suggested revised entry for *KPG*:

ܘܚܘܘܢ

PEAL ܘܚܘܘܢ *pf. 3fs. with sf. 3ms., ܘܚܘܘܢ act. pt. fs.* beat against the ground, beat to the ground, beat on the ground, beat the life out of, knock down against the ground; assault repetitively, attack, *of a non-speaking spirit’s frequent and sudden attacks upon a boy that were intended to take his life, cf. Peal ܘܚܘܘܢ, ܘܚܘܘܢ, ܘܚܘܘܢ, Pael ܘܚܘܘܢ, ܘܚܘܘܢ, Aph ܘܚܘܘܢ; cf. also Peal ܘܚܘܘܢ, ܘܚܘܘܢ, Aph ܘܚܘܘܢ; cf. also Peal ܘܚܘܘܢ, Peal/Pael ܘܚܘܘܢ, Pael ܘܚܘܘܢ, Aphel ܘܚܘܘܢ, Ethpa ܘܚܘܘܢ.*

■ ῥήσσω/ῥήγνυμι Mk 9:18(*or ῥάσσω, or ῥίπτω*). ■ συσπαράσσω Mk 9:20(*or σπαράσσω*).

This paper sought to study a way for the lexicographer who wishes to revisit the issue of a meaning in a passage to decide what a lexeme means in order to clarify the meaning for the reader. During this process several methodological issues were encountered and principles were identified and proposed specifically for the analysis for low-frequency lexemes. A revised entry based on the outcomes of the current study was also offered.

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REMARKS ON THE FUTURE OF A SYRIAC LEXICON BASED UPON THE CORPUS OF PHILOSOPHICAL TEXTS

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This essay discusses issues arising from the proposal to produce a specialist lexicon of philosophical terminology in Syriac. The proposal is conceived within the framework of the ISLP corpus-based lexica project, but it also presents its own peculiar difficulties. Various remarks are made upon some of these problems, although these are not meant as exhaustive treatments of these problems. Suggestions are offered as to what the inclusion criteria for texts should be and a tentative list of texts within the corpus is offered. The question of whether or not to include translations is also discussed, and various suggestions are made as to the limits of philosophy in Syriac.

1. INTRODUCTION

For some time now, the International Syriac Language Project has developed plans for a corpus-based approach to Syriac lexicography aimed at the eventual publication of a number of discrete lexica for various corpora of texts in Syriac. Such a project would make good the deficient situation in the study of Syriac lexicography which forces the modern researcher to depend largely upon dictionaries produced in the early phases of the discipline,¹ a deficiency partially, but not ultimately, made good by the reissue of an updated Brockelmann.²

Given that the task of the lexicographer grows more out of hand with each passing year and with each new text that is brought to press, it seems too much to

¹ S. P. Brock, "Syriac Lexicography: Reflections on Resources and Sources," *Aramaic Studies* 1 (2003): 165–78, at p. 169.

² M. Sokoloff, ed., *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009). The new Brockelmann is a helpful tool insofar as all the references have been cross-checked and made easier to follow. But the overall substance of the work, which although dated is by no means obsolete, remains what it was when it left the desk of that indefatigable Orientalist (it is not the new lexicon that is needed; cf. p. xv). It is a shame that Sokoloff (p. xii) concedes that the aspiring Syriacist need not take the trouble to gain a little Latin.

hope that a new Payne Smith or Brockelmann will arise to take the baton from these august forebears; hence the feeling that a series of smaller projects based around self-contained corpora might prove a more workable, if no less ambitious, hope. A few further thoughts on the advantages and potential pitfalls of such an approach are added below. For the present, this necessarily very brief article will focus upon the arena of philosophical texts in Syriac and provide no more than a few remarks upon how a lexicon for such a corpus might be achieved. It is readily appreciated by this author, however, that it is the one who climbs the mountain, and not the one who draws the map (or, even worse, simply ruminates on the difficulties), who receives all the glory.

2. CHALLENGES FOR A PHILOSOPHICAL LEXICON

Any proposal to produce a specialist lexicon of philosophy in Syriac will need to reckon with a corpus of data with its own distinctive characteristics which must be carefully accounted for and which will present a number of challenges.

The most significant problem is the incontrovertible fact that Syriac philosophy is in essence a translated discipline. The dictum needs qualification. Bardaisan and his school wrote in natural Syriac about philosophical subjects. But even though most readers are at first struck by the maturity of the native language at such an early date, the influence of Greek upon the diction as well as upon the genre of the *Book of the Laws* should not be overlooked. The letter of Mara bar Serapion remains a source of considerable disagreement among experts as to date, genre, etc. and may prove to be even older than the *Book of the Laws*, but in any case seems to contain an assortment of technical terms peculiar to itself.³ Apart from these early flowerings, however, Syriac philosophy is Greek-breathed through and through. As a movement (perhaps that is too strong—a phenomenon at least) Syriac philosophy emerged within monasteries and schools during the course of the sixth century and sought to adopt/adapt into its own world the curriculum of Greek philosophy as it was taught in the late antique, broadly peripatetic, schools of Alexandria.⁴

One must stress therefore also its pedagogical origins. All the early Syriac philosophers are indebted to it. There is certainly also influence at a later stage from the Persian and Indian spheres, especially in astronomy, but here too the same considerations apply insofar as the phenomenon was not autochthonous—the early, and perhaps more indigenous, stages of Syriac philosophy affected its later manifestations barely at all.

For the intrepid lexicographer, the main consequence of all this is that the lexical stock is packed full of not only loan words proper, but also loan translations, loan shifts, and other shades of borrowing. The simple correspondence system which worked within the very limited scope of the Peshitta Gospels corpus will

³ See the forthcoming monograph: A. Merz, D. Rensberger, and T. Tieleman, eds., *Mara Bar Serapion. Letter to His Son* (Scripta antiquitatis posterioris ad ethicam religionemque pertinentia 18; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

⁴ D. King, “Why Were the Syrians Interested in Greek Philosophy?” in *History and Identity in the Late Antique Near East* (ed. P. Wood; Oxford: University Press, 2013), 61–81.

need serious nuancing in the case of the philosophical corpus.⁵ Neither are we simply talking about loanwords as traditionally understood. What is needed rather is a more sophisticated typology of loan types, such as that developed by Werner Betz for the analysis of old German Bible translations, but which could be effectively used in other contexts.⁶ Following a basic dichotomy between loanwords proper and what he calls ‘loan shift/moulding’ (*Lehnprägung*), Betz carefully describes a more detailed typology for the latter. There are both loan formations (*Lehnbildungen*) in which the semantic and/or formal structures of a word are mapped into the target language, and loan meanings (*Lehnbedeutung*) in which existing words take on new meanings under the impact of the foreign term. Further subdivisions are also possible.

To give an example of *Lehnprägung*, the term ܐܝܢܐ *’ayna*, under normal conditions a regular indefinite pronoun (i.e., *a certain one*, as it often is in philosophical works too), came to be used in the developed work of the Qenneshre school for *πῶτος* in the Aristotelian sense of the category of qualification. This rather unexpected type of lexical shift (what we are calling a loan shift) may be discerned already in earlier philosophical texts, albeit to a limited degree.⁷

Whether by using Betz’s typology or some other, the precise extent and nature of the influence of Greek technical terms upon Syriac ones within the philosophical sphere will need to be carefully described in the lemmata of a future lexicon. Falla’s proposal for very complete information regarding such correspondences is, of course, more realistic for a corpus that is digitised and hence searchable.⁸ When dealing with a large and wholly undigitised corpus, the production of an exhaustive concordance (a *sine qua non* for a truly complete lexicon) would seem, given the present state of human and electronic resources, something close to impossible. The alternative is the production of a lexicon based on a less-than-exhaustive survey of the texts. We need to decide whether that will do.

⁵ T. C. Falla, “A Conceptual Framework for a New Comprehensive Syriac-English Lexicon,” in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography I* (ed. A. Dean Forbes and D. G. K. Taylor; Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 1; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2005), 1–79, at p. 37.

⁶ W. Betz, “Lehnwörter und Lehnprägungen im Vor- und Frühdeutschen,” in *Deutsche Wortgeschichte*, vol. 1 (ed. F. Maurer and H. Rupp; Grundriss der germanischen Philologie 17/1; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974), 135–63. For the application of Betz’s typology to a quite different environment see M. Deeg, “Creating Religious Terminology—A Comparative Approach to Early Chinese Buddhist Translations,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 31 (2008): 83–118.

⁷ Further examples and discussion of the phenomenon may also be found in D. King, “The Genesis and Development of a Logical Lexicon in the Syriac Tradition,” in *Interpreting the Bible and Aristotle* (ed. J. W. Watt and J. Lössl; Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 225–37.

⁸ Falla, “Conceptual Framework,” 37–39: “... nothing less than a full analysis reveals the complex relationship between the source and target texts ... without such [concordantial] information the correspondences cannot be properly evaluated or employed in applied research.” True enough, though excellent research has nonetheless often been carried out in the absence of such sources.

Of course there is nothing new here. Payne Smith often gives Greek equivalents to Syriac terms in his dictionary entries, usually starting from those found in the biblical text itself.⁹ In the case of philosophical language, less work has been done in this field, however, and Greek texts will need to be studied alongside the Syriac ones in order to ascertain the various complex relationships that pertain between them. There is a significant difference here, for whereas the Peshitta Gospels could theoretically be understood on their own terms with little or no recourse to their *Vorlagen*, the vast majority of philosophical texts are wholly dependent on a Greek mode of discourse, without a good knowledge of which they are incomprehensible.¹⁰ Examples would be Jacob of Edessa's *Encheiridion* or George of the Arabs' commentaries on the *Organon*. Such works are the products not of Syriac literature *per se*, but of the Graeco-Syriac literary and intellectual culture that flourished in certain of the late antique monasteries of Syria and Mesopotamia.¹¹ A not dissimilar procedure may well be required in some theological texts, especially those relating to post-Chalcedonian Christology, such as Philoxenos' *Commentaries* or the Nestorian texts published by Abramowski and Goodman. Here again loan translations abound and lexical entries in future dictionaries must of necessity describe in as much detail as possible the Greek background of the terms employed.

This complex of trans-linguistic interaction and influence will become even more of a hurdle for the later period of the flowering of Syriac philosophy. Most obviously, Barhebraeus (d. 1286) worked under the strong influence of Arabic philosophy, of Avicenna and Al-Razi in particular. The correlation of technical terms between the Arabic and Syriac texts will be, for this period, as important as was the case for Greek in the earlier period. The recent and forthcoming critical editions of the various parts of Barhebraeus' encyclopaedic *Cream of Wisdom* (ܩܪܘܡܐ ܕܗܘܨܦܐ ܕܗܘܨܦܐ, *Butyrum Sapientiae*) will be of immeasurable value in this task, but

⁹ There is an important rider to this aspect of the *Thesaurus*, as helpfully pointed out by a reviewer of this essay: "The provision of these [Greek] terms is relatively arbitrary. The Greek is given for a particular occurrence of a particular Syriac word that has been provided as an illustrative example. But that Syriac word may occur frequently and have several or even many other Greek correspondences. This is information that *Thesaurus Syriacus* does not seek to provide. In fact, the Greek correspondence furnished by *Thesaurus Syriacus* may not be the most common Greek correspondence for the Syriac lexeme in question. It may be an exception. In other words, the furnishing of a Greek correspondence in *Thesaurus Syriacus* is a guide to the Greek behind the Syriac *only* for the occurrence that is referenced and is *not* a guide to the Greek behind all occurrences of a particular Syriac lexeme. If this is not understood then this feature of *Thesaurus Syriacus* can be very misleading."

¹⁰ The difference is relative but is still, I believe, significant. I think it would generally be agreed that the Peshitta can be understood in a certain way by a Syriac speaker with no knowledge of Greek (of course s/he may *misunderstand* as a result of that ignorance, but they would not necessarily be aware of that), whereas Jacob of Edessa's *Categories* is incomprehensible on its own and shows itself as such.

¹¹ For which culture see J. W. Watt, "Commentary and Translation in Syriac Aristotelian Scholarship: Sergius to Baghdad," *Journal of Late Antique Religion and Culture* 4 (2010): 28–42.

nonetheless an excellent knowledge of Avicennan philosophy will be a *sine qua non*.¹² Other writers of the so-called Syriac renaissance such as Jacob bar Shakkō fall in part under the same category, and the extensive but as yet wholly veiled philosophical commentaries of Dionysius bar Salibi are likely to prove also to have been written under the heavy hand of classical Arabic logic.

Another question raised by lexicalising jargon such as one finds in a corpus of this type is that of how and when to distinguish between the ‘regular’ usage and the ‘specialist’ usage of a term. Does one imagine reading a Syriac text from the point of view of the ‘normal’ usage of words, as if the reader were a non-specialist, or does one take the position of the trained student (and there is no doubt that philosophical texts were meant to be read by students with a teacher present)¹³ and hence translate/gloss the jargon with its equivalent technical term in modern English?¹⁴ In the case of ܐܝܢܐ *’ayna*, can a dictionary be expected to provide guidance on which register of the word is being used in any given case, and hence which meaning to apply? This problem only becomes more acute when a lexicon seeks to provide semantic definitions as such rather than merely list suggestive glosses à la Brockelmann.¹⁵ The practical issue is this: if a term, take ܟܘܢܢܐܫܐ *kunnāšā* for example, is used in a technical sense throughout the corpus (in our case, it refers to the conclusion of a syllogism), is a description of this ‘special sense’ sufficient to complete the lexical entry, without any reference to its more basic meanings in non-philosophical literature? Such an approach might be confusing to the student who may be unaware of the other meanings and ends up needing to consult more than one lexicon to get the rounded view. On the other hand, if one includes some or all of these other (more commonplace) meanings, then repetition and duplication will result to an almost absurd degree across the proposed corpus-based lexica. If the lexicon is limited to those definitions (or glosses) only that are found in the corpus, then this would seem to be a glossary (such as Hoffmann’s, to be discussed below) rather than a lexicon proper. The same question arises in the case of paradigmatic, syntagmatic, and syntactical data, which could usefully be included in any lexicon—for again, duplication will result if this is repeated across multiple corpus-based lexica, especially for common basic terms. These problems are certainly not insuperable, but careful consideration needs to be given to the question of how one

¹² The recently edited volumes of Barhebraeus contain excellent Arabic/Greek/Syriac glossaries which would need to be carefully considered and incorporated.

¹³ Just as was the case also with Justinianic legal texts in Greek, in which the strange Greek was designed as a calque on the Latin jargon and meant to be read with a specialist (D. King, *The Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril of Alexandria: A Study in Translation Technique* [CSCO 626; Leuven: E. Peeters, 2008], 378–86). There is no doubt that the same was true of the texts of the Qenneshre school (D. King, *The Earliest Translation of Aristotle’s Categories in Syriac* [Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus 21; Leiden: Brill, 2010], 221, 237; King, “Genesis and Development,” 229).

¹⁴ In the case of logic, English terminology is based ultimately on the translational decisions of Boethius in his Latin versions of Aristotle.

¹⁵ As advocated in Falla, “Conceptual Framework,” 40–46.

controls the scope of an entry, especially for common words, in a lexicon that restricts itself to a corpus defined by genre or period.

A few further questions of a methodological nature:

- How does one decide the meanings of terms being used in the early less sophisticated stages of Syriac philosophy when words may be used without yet having developed the precise senses which they gained in a later age. This problem applies equally to the ongoing lexicon of Arabic philosophical translations.¹⁶
- It will be vital to distinguish different meanings across periods. Barhebraeus' understanding of some terms is quite different from that of Sergius of Resh'aina (d. 536), and it would be as easy to read the former back into the latter as it is to read Boethius as though he were using terms as Aquinas does.
- The scope of the dictionary should be carefully limited. There is no need to repeat words used in philosophical texts with their ordinary meanings which will be treated elsewhere. Clear criteria will therefore need to be drawn up leading to the formation of a comprehensive list of words needing to be treated. We are thus looking at a lexicon of technical terms as such, though this could be broadly defined.

3. WHEN IS A CORPUS A CORPUS?

Do Syriac philosophical texts constitute a corpus? The time scale covered from Bardaisan to Barhebraeus exceeds a millennium and the philosophical jargon of the latter would have been incomprehensible to the former. Having allowed for this, however, Syriac philosophers (if we may use the term with a liberal definition) do seem to have been aware of being located within a definable tradition and to have been working within a genre. This genre and tradition have some rather distinctive characteristics as we have outlined above, especially on account of the Greek influence.

Syriac lexicographers must take care, however, to define carefully what a corpus is before attempting a lexicon based upon one. A lexicon of early Syriac poetry, for instance, seems a reasonable proposition, to include the verse of Ephrem, of Jacob of Serug, of Balai and others. The Old Testament Peshitta is for the most part a cohesive enough corpus and distinctive enough to warrant a lexicon of its own. It is less certain whether a much smaller group of texts, such as the Peshitta Gospels, can do so with equal surety, since it would be hard to say what it is about the Gospels from a linguistic point of view which sets them apart from other groups of texts. The existence of handbook-type dictionaries of the New Testament sets no precedent, for these are always heuristic devices for the aid of students and not pieces of serious linguistic research, although they may of course incorporate

¹⁶ D. Gutas and G. Endress, eds., *A Greek and Arabic Lexicon (GALex): Materials for a Dictionary of the Medieval Translations from Greek into Arabic* (Leiden: Brill, 1992–), much of the unpublished data for which is available online at <http://telota.bbaw.de/glossga> [Oct 2013].

excellent and novel insights. Better would be, for example, a dictionary of early Syriac prose theology, starting with Ephrem's prose works and extending to perhaps ca. A.D. 550, i.e., to include Philoxenus but not to pass the moment at which the East/West schism became irretrievable. After this time, East and West Syriac could be treated separately. A self-standing dictionary of the philosophical corpus would only cut across this to a very limited degree, since very little of the philosophical material predates 550. A glossary of translation-Syriac parallel to the aforementioned Arabic project (see n. 16) would also, naturally, be another realistic and desirable objective—and plans of this kind are in fact underway, with the usual reservations about funding. The major part of such a corpus would be theological and many of the texts required for its compilation already edited.

4. PRACTICALITIES OF A PHILOSOPHICAL LEXICON

As I have said before, so much excellent work was done in the past that our future lexicographer need not begin in a vacuum. There is no doubt that the starting point for the construction of a dictionary of the philosophic corpus should be the glossary to Hoffmann's *De Hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristoteleis* of 1873. Although the monograph itself was limited to works relating to the second book of the *Organon*, the extensive glossary that Hoffmann compiled constitutes more than just a reference list for the texts actually edited in the volume. Rather it is a mine of references and information drawn from other texts, usually those found within Berlin Syr. 88 (Petermann 9), one of the best known collections of Syriac philosophy. The list contains all terms used in anything like a technical sense, including common terms being used in specialist ways.

Hoffmann's list is difficult to use at first, since he nowhere explains any of his very numerous abbreviations. Where a simple page and line number is given, this refers to Hoffmann's own edited text. Where a folio reference is given this refers to an otherwise unedited text from the above-mentioned manuscript, preceded by a letter indicating the text in question. A = Analytica priora;¹⁷ I = Isagoge;¹⁸ S = Sergius of Resh'aina's Commentary to Philotheos on the Categories;¹⁹ B^{def} =

¹⁷ Later published as A. Nagy, "Una versione siriana inedita degli *Analitici* d'Aristotele," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 5, 7 (1898): 321–47.

¹⁸ The revised version by Athanasius of Balad was partly published by A. Freimann, *Die Isagoge des Porphyrios in den syrischen Übersetzungen* (Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1897). Its lexicon was studied by S. P. Brock, "Some Notes on the Syriac Translations of Porphyry's Eisagoge," *Mélanges en hommages au professeur et au penseur libanais Farid Jabre* (Beirut: Université Libanaise, 1989), 41–50.

¹⁹ I.e., the shorter of his two commentaries (Hoffmann unfortunately never looked at the longer version), for which see H. Hugonnard-Roche, *La logique d'Aristote du grec au syriaque: Études sur la transmission des textes de l'Organon et leur interprétation philosophique* (Paris: Vrin, 2004), 143–64.

Bazud's Book of Definitions;²⁰ Bar Ali = the Gothian manuscript of the famous lexicographer, upon which was based Hoffmann's own later edition.²¹

Hoffmann's glossary is only a starting point and wants deepening and broadening by extending its textual scope to the whole corpus, or at least a considerable portion of it. How is that corpus to be defined? The following is a suggested list of texts that could profitably be used in the enterprise, though it is not meant to be exhaustive.

1. *Book of the Laws of the Countries*,²² together with related material in BL Add. 14658.²³
2. The letter of Mara bar Serapion.
3. The works of Sergius of Resh'aina, by far the most capacious of which is his *To Theodore, on the Aim of the Logic of Aristotle*, in seven books.²⁴
4. The commentaries of Proba of Antioch on *Isagoge*, *Peri Hermeneias*, and *Analytica Priora*.
5. The Anonymus Vaticanus (Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern*, 233ff.).
6. An anonymous commentary on *Analytica Priora* (BL Add. 14738; 14658).
7. Paul the Persian, *Introduction to Logic and Elucidations on Peri Hermeneias*.²⁵

²⁰ Later edited by G. Furlani, “<Il libro delle Definizioni e Divisiono> di Michele l'Interprete,” *Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, s. 6. 2,1 (1926): 1–194. See also L. Abramowski, “Zu den Schriften des Michael Malpana / Badoqa,” in *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J. W. Drijvers* (ed. G. J. Reinink and A. C. Klugkist; OLA 89; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 1–10.

²¹ J. G. E. Hoffmann, ed., *Syrisch-arabische Glossen: Autographie einer gothaischen Handschrift enthaltend Bar Ali's Lexikon von Alaf bis Mim* (Kiel: Schwerts'sche Buchhandlung, 1874).

²² This is the only philosophical text which is already served by its own modern lexicographical study, viz. J. Lund, *The Book of the Laws of Countries: A Dialogue on Free Will versus Fate, A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007).

²³ Such as the dialogue *Erosthophus*. P. de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* (Leipzig, 1858), 158; also W. M. Newbold, “The Syriac Dialogue ‘Socrates’: A Study in Syrian Philosophy,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 57 (1918): 99–111.

²⁴ See the full listing in Hugonnard-Roche, *Logique d'Aristote*, 125–32. For editions/translations of any work of logic see S. P. Brock, ‘The Syriac Commentary Tradition’, in *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic, and Latin Traditions* (ed. C. Burnett; Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 23; London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1993), 3–18, which only missed the edition of Sylvanus (n. 37 below).

8. Ahud'emmeh, *On the Composition of Man*.²⁶
9. The works of Severus Sebokht, *On Analytica Priora*,²⁷ and the two letters *To Aitilaba* and *To Yunan*.²⁸ There are also numerous astronomical works (see below on astronomy more generally).²⁹
10. Athanasius of Balad, *Introduction to Logic*.³⁰
11. Jacob of Edessa, *Encheiridion*.³¹

²⁵ For the latter, the less-well known work of this philosopher, see H. Hugonnard-Roche, “Du commentaire à la reconstruction: Paul le Perse interprète d’Aristote (sur une lecture du *Peri Hermeneias*, à propos des modes et des adverbes selon Paul, Ammonius et Boèce),” in *Interpreting the Bible and Aristotle* (ed. J. W. Watt and J. Lössl; Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 207–24.

²⁶ *Patrologia Orientalis* 3.1 (ed. F. Nau; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1909), 97–115.

²⁷ There appear to be two different such treatises (unless they turn out merely to be different recensions of the same)—one in Mingana Syr. 44 and Cambridge Add. 3284; the other in BL Add. 14660 and Add. 17156.

²⁸ G. J. Reinink, “Severus Sebokhts Brief an den Periodeutes Jonan. Einige Fragen zur aristotelischen Logik,” in *Symposium Syriacum III* (ed. R. Lavenant; OCA 221; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1983), 97–101.

²⁹ Enumerated in Baumstark’s *Geschichte*, 246–7; also a useful listing of the manuscripts in the online *Encyclopedia of Syriac Literature* (currently at <http://roger-pearse.com/wiki>).

³⁰ Text in G. Furlani, “Contributi alla storia della filosofia greca in Oriente, Testi siriaci, VI, Una introduzione alla logica aristotelica di Atanasio di Balad,” *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, serie quinta, 25 (1916): 717–78, and studies by id., “Sull’introduzione di Atanasio di Baladh alla logica e sillogistica aristotelica,” *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 81 (1921–1922): 635–44, and “L’introduzione di Atanasio di Baladh alla logica e sillogistica, tradotta dal siriano,” *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 85 (1925–1926): 319–44, as well as H. Hugonnard-Roche, “Le vocabulaire philosophique de l’être en syriaque, d’après des textes de Sergius de Res’aina et Jacques d’Édesse,” in *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy. From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank* (ed. J. E. Montgomery; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 101–25. There is also a brief introduction to the *Isagoge* in Vat. Syr. 158.

³¹ G. Furlani, “L’*Encheiridion* di Giacomo di Edessa nel testo siriano,” *Rendiconti dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, s. 6, 4 (1928): 222–49. See also Furlani’s comments in two further articles: “Di alcuni passi della metafisica di Aristotele presso Giacomo di Edessa,” *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* s. 5, v. 30 (1921): 268–73, and “Il Manualetto di Giacomo di Edessa,” *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 1 (1925): 262–82. There are also some brief comments in Hugonnard-Roche, *Logique d’Aristote*, 52–55.

12. The commentaries of George of the Arabs on the *Organon*.³²
13. Timothy I Catholicos. The dispute with al-Mahdi;³³ some of the letters are of a philosophical nature, esp. nos. 7, 40, 43.³⁴
14. Antony of Tagrit, *Rhetoric*.³⁵
15. Works by David bar Paulos, such as the scholion on the *Categories*.³⁶ More philosophical material to be found in his letters and other scattered works such as on grammar.³⁷
16. Sylvanus of Qardu, Extracts from profane books and from the philosophers.³⁸
17. Theodore bar Koni, *Book of Scholia*, which includes numerous scattered discussions relevant to the *Categories*, especially in Book 6.³⁹
18. Īshōʿbōkht of Rēw Ardashīr, *Scholia on the Categories*. Not a commentary, but a short tract introducing the student to a number of aspects of philosophy, principally Aristotelian, including, for

³² Initial discussion in G. Furlani, “La versione e il commento di Giorgio delle Nazioni all’Organo aristotelico,” *Studi italiani di filologia classica* n.s. 3 (1923): 305–33, was followed by more detailed treatments in his “Sul commento di Giorgio delle Nazioni al primo libro degli Analitici Anteriori di Aristotele,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 20 (1942): 47–64, and “Sul commento di Giorgio delle Nazioni al secondo libro degli Analitici Anteriori di Aristotele,” *Rendiconti dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, s. 5, 20 (1943): 229–38.

³³ M. Heimgartner, ed., *Timotheos I. Ostsyrischer Patriarch: Disputation mit dem Kalifen Al-Mahdi* (CSCO 631/632; Leuven: Peeters, 2011).

³⁴ O. Braun, ed., *Timothei patriarchae I: Epistulae I* (CSCO 74; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1914) contains only the first of these. Otherwise, see the forthcoming editions of M. Heimgartner in the CSCO series (Leuven: Peeters).

³⁵ J. W. Watt, ed. *The Fifth Book of the Rhetoric of Antony of Tagrit* (CSCO 481; Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1986).

³⁶ E. Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1899), 1:331.

³⁷ Daniel King, “Elements of the Syriac Grammatical Tradition as These Relate to the Origins of Arabic Grammar,” in *The Foundations of Arabic Linguistics. Sibawayhi and the Earliest Arabic Grammatical Theory* (ed. Amal Marogy; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 189–209, with a brief discussion of David on p. 197f.

³⁸ R. Hespel, ed., *Theodore bar Koni, Livre des Scolies (recension d’Urmiah). Les collections annexées par Sylvain de Qardu* (CSCO 464; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1984).

³⁹ Editions of the two recensions by A. Scher, ed., *Theodorus bar Koni. Liber Scholiorum II* (CSCO 69; Paris: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1910) and in Hespel, op. cit.

example, short mnemonics for learning the four elements, the five faculties of the soul, etc.⁴⁰

19. Ps-Michael Badoqa, *Book of Definitions*.⁴¹
20. Jacob Bar Shakko, *Dialogues*. The second book of dialogues deals with philosophy proper and should be the main source of important lexicographical data.⁴² The first book focuses on Grammar, Rhetoric, and Poetics.⁴³
21. Dionysius bar Salibi's commentary on the *Categories*, *Peri Hermeneias*, *Analytica Priora*, and *Analytica Posteriora*.⁴⁴
22. Barhebraeus, *Cream of Wisdom*;⁴⁵ as well as the minor works of philosophy.⁴⁶

There is also a mass of anonymous material, from small extracts on logic to larger treatises, mostly of a pedagogical nature and other 'classroom-type' items. The following list is just a sample of this material. A more thorough trawl of the manuscript catalogues will reveal more, though the quality, usefulness, and interest are very variable:

- a. A fragment (7 fol.) of an anonymous pedagogical commentary on the *Categories*.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Unpublished. Manuscripts: Cambridge Add. 2812, 69v–74a, Notre-Dames des Semances 52,5; Mosul 110,4. There is also a very short scholion on modalities: G. Furlani, "Contributi alla storia della filosofia greca in Oriente, Testi siriaci I," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, s. 5, 23 (1914): 154–75, at pp. 157–59.

⁴¹ Edition by Furlani. See n. 18 above and the there-cited article by Abramowski, which discusses the confusion over the authorship.

⁴² The most useful parts were edited in A. Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1900), 1–2. In his translation (pp. 192–210), Baumstark offers Greek equivalents wherever possible, which is of great value to the lexicographer. Furlani often followed the same procedure. The latter's "La logica del Libro dei Dialoghi di Severo bar Shakko," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 86, 2 (1927): 289–348, is also useful on terminology although unfortunately not printing the actual Syriac text on logic, which must still be consulted in manuscript. The Mathematics was edited by J. Ruska, *Das Quadrivium aus Severus Bar Šakko's Buch der Dialoge* (Heidelberg, 1896).

⁴³ Baumstark, 312, gives details of these old editions. See also Watt, *Antony of Tagrit*, xix.

⁴⁴ Cambridge Gg 2,14,II.

⁴⁵ Brill's series *Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus* has now published the Meteorology (ed. H. Takahashi), Ethics, Economy, and Politics (ed. P. Joosse), Rhetoric (ed. J. W. Watt), and most recently the Physics (ed. J. Schmitt).

⁴⁶ All bibliographic details are in H. Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2005).

⁴⁷ Unedited. Vat. Syr. 586.

- b. The Tree of Porphyry, which exists in a number of Syriac versions, with important terminology.⁴⁸
- c. Other ‘divisions of philosophy’ which are mostly dependent upon the general prolegomena to philosophy attributed to Elias and David.⁴⁹
- d. The corpus of ‘definitions’ literature.⁵⁰
- e. Questions and Answers on philosophical-theological definitions.⁵¹
- f. Fragments from a ‘Book of the Philosophers’.⁵²

Another vital task to sort out before beginning work will be deciding what the boundaries of ‘philosophy’ should actually be. Rhetoric, for instance, was certainly included in the antique philosophical curriculum and was naturally treated by Jacob bar Shakko and Barhebraeus as part of the *Organon*,⁵³ although it would not automatically be considered core philosophy today. Anthropology and Psychology (or “philosophy of mind,” as we have it today) should certainly be included, but in the Syriac sphere these easily slide into theology and mysticism. In psychology, the main authors are Ahud’emmeh and Barhebraeus (in the latter a number of texts are relevant);⁵⁴ perhaps also ps-Aristotle, *On the Soul*,⁵⁵ though the works of John of Dara and Isaac of Antioch on the same subject are more theological; but no hard and fast distinction is made between them. I would suggest including Ahud’emmeh but perhaps not John of Dara.⁵⁶

If it were decided that translations should be included as well as native Syriac works, then any list would begin with the logical texts already catalogued by Brock,⁵⁷

⁴⁸ E.g., Vat. Syr. 158. See Hugonnard-Roche, *Logique d’Aristote*, 101–22. See also Furlani, “Contributi alla storia della filosofia greca in Oriente, Testi siriaci I,” 165.

⁴⁹ Hugonnard-Roche, *Logique d’Aristote*, 105–7.

⁵⁰ Examples may be found in BL Add. 14658 and 12155, no. 32. See the article mentioned in n. 4 above.

⁵¹ G. Furlani, “Un recueil d’énigmes philosophiques en langue syriaque,” *Revue de l’orient chrétien* 21 (1919): 113–36.

⁵² W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* (London: British Museum, 1870–1872), 3:1164.

⁵³ J. W. Watt, “Grammar, Rhetoric, and the Enkyklios Paideia in Syriac,” *ZDMG* 143 (1993): 45–71.

⁵⁴ Furlani summarised his various studies on Syriac psychology in “I miei lavori dal 1925 al 1940 sulla filosofia greca presso i Siri,” *Rivista di filologia e d’istruzione classica* 69 (1942): 121–49.

⁵⁵ G. Furlani, “Contributions to the History of Greek Philosophy in the Orient, Syriac Texts, IV: A Syriac Version of the λόγος κεφαλαιώδης περι ψυχῆς πρὸς Τατιανόν of Gregory Thaumaturgus,” *JAOS* 35 (1915): 297–317.

⁵⁶ See also M. Zonta, “Nemesiana Syriaca: New fragments from the missing Syriac Version of the De Natura Hominis,” *JSS* 36 (1991): 223–58, for the reception of Greek psychology.

⁵⁷ Brock, “The Syriac Commentary Tradition.”

to which must then be added the translations of Philoponus,⁵⁸ the versions of the *De Mundo* and Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Universe*,⁵⁹ the Syriac version of Nicolaus of Damascus' summary of material from Physics, Meteorology, *De Caelo*, and *De Generatione et Corruptione*,⁶⁰ and various fragments of other Alexandrian commentators, to include at least the following:

1. The Compendium ascribed by Baumstark to Philoponus/Stephanus (Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern*, 156ff.), but in reality a compendium of Alexandrian general introductory material that was used also by Bar Zu'bi, as has been shown from parallels in a Byzantine compendium and in John of Damascus. This must have been a Greek compilation translated into Syriac before 897.⁶¹
2. Divisions of philosophy dependent upon the general prolegomena attributed to Elias and David.⁶²
3. A scholion attributed to Olympiodorus, deriving mostly from material in Elias' commentary on the *Categories*, supplemented by further matter from Olympiodorus himself. The scholion's source was probably already a Greek compilation.⁶³

⁵⁸ A. Sanda, ed., *Opuscula monophysitica Ioannis Philoponi* (Beirut: Typographia catholica PP. soc. Jesu, 1930). Here again the division between theology and philosophy becomes a matter of individual judgment rather than clear distinction, but at least the piece on *the whole and the parts*, of which I shall be publishing a translation to appear in the *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle* series (Duckworth Press), is a very important piece for inclusion. So perhaps some of the tritheist material preserved in Syriac and published in R. Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, and L. R. Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum: Anti-Tritheist Dossier* (Orientalia lovaniensia analecta 10; Leuven: Peeters, 1981) and other publications by Van Roey.

⁵⁹ The former was published in Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, together with A. McCollum, *A Greek and Syriac Index to Sergius of Resbaina's Version of the De mundo* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009) for lexical equivalents; the latter by Emiliano Fiori, "L'épitomé syriaque du *Traité sur les causes du tout* d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise attribué à Serge de Res'ayna," *Le Muséon* 123 (2010): 127–58, together with the article following in the same volume which deals with some lexical matters.

⁶⁰ H. J. Drossaart Lulofs, ed., *Nicolaus Damascenus on the Philosophy of Aristotle: Fragments of the First Five Books Translated from the Syriac with an Introduction and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1965).

⁶¹ The true history of the text was elucidated by H. Daiber, "Ein vergessener syrischer Text: Bar Zo'bi über die Teile der Philosophie," *Oriens christianus* 69 (1985): 73–80.

⁶² Hugonnard-Roche, *Logique d'Aristote*, 105–07.

⁶³ G. Furlani, "Contributi alla storia della filosofia greca in Oriente, Testi siriaci, III, Frammenti di una versione siriana del commento di pseudo-Olimpiodoro alle *Categorie* d'Aristotele," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 7 (1916): 131–63.

4. A piece attributed to an otherwise unknown Eusebius going back to a source deriving from the school of Ammonius.⁶⁴
5. A translation of the scholion on *Categories* found at *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 4:xi–xii which may be from Porphyry’s lost question-and-answer commentary.⁶⁵
6. Note also a few pages that may turn out to be from, and are attributed to, Olympiodorus in *Peri Hermeneias* in Mingana Syr. 44.

Other branches of scientific writing that could potentially be included in a projected corpus might be grammar, medicine, astrology/astronomy, and alchemy. Probably one should include also the texts of so-called ‘popular philosophy’, e.g., the translations of Themistius, ps-Isocrates, ps-Lucian, ps-Menander, etc., and various other collections of like sort.⁶⁶

For the language of technical grammar, an excellent beginning is already available in the glossary to Moberg’s edition of Barhebraeus’ *Book of Rays*.⁶⁷ This has been supplemented by a short addendum published by Talmon.⁶⁸ Together these constitute an excellent start to a lexicon of grammatical terms. A complete listing of texts that would need to be included in such a corpus may be found in the introduction to the forthcoming English translation of Merx’s *Historia Artis Grammaticae apud Syros* (Gorgias Press).

Alchemy has been well served by Duval, much of whose lexicographical work was incorporated into the supplementary volume of the *Thesaurus Syriacus*. The corpus is essentially the three manuscripts used for the texts published in the second volume of Berthelot’s *Chimie au Moyen Age*.⁶⁹ This even includes such technical sections as instructions on how to build a glass-making furnace, and thus extends well beyond philosophy and rather into the sphere of engineering.⁷⁰

Medicine should perhaps constitute another corpus altogether and brings with it its own difficulties. Because very little has been published in this field, however, a case could be made for retaining it together with philosophy. Degen provides the

⁶⁴ G. Furlani, “Un scolio d’Eusebio d’Alessandria alle categorie d’Aristotele,” *Rivista trimestrale di studi filosofica e religiosi* 3 (1922): 1–14.

⁶⁵ Furlani, “Contributi alla storia della filosofia greca in Oriente, Testi siriaci I.”

⁶⁶ S. P. Brock, “Syriac Translations of Greek Popular Philosophy,” in *Von Athen nach Bagdad: zur Rezeption griechischer Philosophie von der Spätantike bis zum Islam* (ed. P. Bruns; Bonn: Borengässer, 2003), 9–28.

⁶⁷ A. Moberg, *Buch der Strahlen, die grössere Grammatik des Barhebräus* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1907, 1913), appendix to the first (1907) volume.

⁶⁸ R. Talmon, “Jacob of Edessa the Grammarian,” in *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day* (ed. B. T. H. Romeny; MPIL 18; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 159–87.

⁶⁹ M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, vol. 2: *L’alchimie syriaque* (Histoire des Sciences; Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1893).

⁷⁰ The description of the glass-furnace in the alchemical BL ms closely matches the results of excavations of mediaeval glass making factories in ar-Raqqa (ancient Callinicum). This demonstrates that the Syrians were intermediaries in the realm of technical skills as well as higher philosophy.

best overview of the material,⁷¹ and the lexicographer should also note the promising start made by Bhayro,⁷² together with new work coming through from Kessel.⁷³ There is also the problem of whether to include the *Book of Medicines*, which is of quite a different character from the Galenic texts.

5. CONCLUSION

As promised, the remarks we can offer here are no very great advance towards the eventual goal. Although a good methodology has been largely worked out by the research of the International Syriac Language Project, only some of the relevant material is readily available in published editions, and a lexicon without the full inclusion of the unpublished texts would suffer the same problems as the old lexica.⁷⁴ A good background will be needed not just in the Aristotelian texts but in the Alexandrian commentary tradition which lies at the root of so much of the Syriac tradition. Arabic philosophy is also key to understanding the later authors. Nonetheless, the field stands wide open and is ready to be occupied. The spoils will prove to be of great value in establishing just what is the true significance of Syriac philosophy within the larger story of mankind's efforts at comprehending the meaning of all things.

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⁷¹ R. Degen, "Galen im Syrischen: Eine Übersicht über die syrische Überlieferung der Werke Galens," in *Galen: Prospects and Problems* (ed. V. Nutton; London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1981), 131–66.

⁷² S. Bhayro, "Syriac Medical Terminology: Sergius and Galen's Pharmacopia," *Aramaic Studies* 3 (2005): 147–65, though he misses I. Löw, "Bemerkungen zu Merx, Proben der syrischen Übersetzung von Galenus' Schrift über die einfachen Heilmittel," *ZDMG* 40 (1886): 763–65.

⁷³ G. Kessel, "The Syriac Epidemics and the Problem of Its Identification," in *Epidemics in Context: Greek Commentators on Hippocrates in the Arabic Tradition* (ed. Peter E. Pormann; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 93–123.

⁷⁴ Many of the above-listed texts are already published, but the exceptions are significant—Sergius' larger commentary, most of George of the Arabs' commentary material, Severus Sebokht, who has in general been poorly served by editions, Dionysius Bar Salibi's wholly untouched commentary which slumbers yet in Cambridge, and the remaining parts of Jacob Bar Shakkō's *Dialogues* and Barhebraeus' *Cream of Wisdom*. Digitisation with its enormous lexicographical advantages is, of course, quite another thing.

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THE INCLUSION OF ENCYCLOPEDIC INFORMATION IN SYRIAC LEXICAL ENTRIES¹

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Most current Syriac dictionaries provide lexical coverage for a large and diverse quantity of Syriac literature. The extent of treatment for particular lexical items is of necessity limited by practical considerations of space and size. However, in the future Syriac lexicography will likely focus on detailed analyses of particular corpora of texts, such as Ephrem, Aphrahat, or the Peshitta Old and New Testaments. Syriac dictionaries that specifically target such corpora will be able to provide a fuller analysis of lexical items as used throughout these texts. A desideratum is that future Syriac dictionaries include analysis of figurative language, as well as a limited amount of relevant encyclopedic information for items that present significant interpretational difficulties. This essay illustrates the benefits of such an approach by considering the meaning of selected terms that are key to the interpretation of the book of Daniel.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Hebrew/Aramaic text of the book of Daniel is characterized by many enigmatic and puzzling features that most modern readers find difficult to understand. Particularly in the apocalyptic section of this book, consisting of chapters 7–12, the language of Daniel is frequently mysterious, puzzling, and at times elusive. One often encounters common and familiar terms that are used in unfamiliar and puzzling ways. Not surprisingly, the apocalyptic language of this book seems to be coded for insiders who were apparently at home with its unique world-view, its sectarian religious milieu, and its distinctive literary idiom.

When ancient translators rendered the text of Daniel into languages such as Greek, Syriac, or Latin, they tended to translate the Hebrew/Aramaic text rather literally. For the most part, not much was done to clarify the meaning of the text.

¹ An earlier form of this paper was presented at the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, which met in Helsinki, Finland, August 1–6, 2010. I am appreciative of those who hosted those meetings at the University of Helsinki, as well as the stimulating conversations with colleagues that took place in that picturesque setting.

Consequently, readers of these ancient translations are as likely to puzzle over the meaning of difficult words as are readers of the original source text.

The question that occupies the attention of this essay concerns the proper role of a lexicon in helping readers to understand ancient texts. In particular, should readers expect that lexica dedicated to a specific corpus of literature such as the Old Testament provide help with such things as, for example, interpreting the use of figurative language? Or, to go a step further, should users expect to find in a lexicon a modicum of explanatory and encyclopedic information relative to word usage? If the standard lexical tools for the Hebrew Bible can be taken as a reliable barometer, the answer seems at least to some degree to lie in the positive.² In these tools one typically finds not only glosses for words, but also an analysis of their semantic range, a categorization of their usage, mention of selected textual and philological difficulties, citation of relevant secondary literature, and inclusion of etymological information taken from cognate Semitic languages.³ Such varied information is appropriate in a lexical tool, since users are often looking for information other than basic word meaning as indicated by simple glosses. In fact, advanced users of lexical tools will frequently turn to the lexicon for information other than basic word meaning. Quite often these researchers will be looking for help of a very different sort, motivated by questions that cannot be answered by lexical glosses alone. As Clines points out in describing the intended function of his eight-volume dictionary of classical Hebrew:

This Dictionary is therefore not simply a word-book. Its function is not primarily to tell the user the meaning of words. It has not been written in order to help readers of Hebrew texts to discover how to translate those texts. It would indeed be a very inconvenient way of studying a Hebrew text to look up the meanings of all the words in this large and exhaustive work. Rather, the primary function of this Dictionary 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, which has been arranged in such a way as to make that task feasible.⁴

It is this nearly exhaustive inclusion of Hebrew lexical evidence and the accompanying “rationalization” of that evidence that justifies the rather unwieldy size of *DCH*. Readers are presented with a veritable treasure-trove of lexical

² Here I have in mind the following Hebrew dictionaries in particular: *BDB*, *DCH*, *HALOT*.

³ *DCH* is a bit unusual among Hebrew dictionaries in that it chooses to ignore the cognate Semitic data. For the rationale behind this strategy see *DCH*, 1:17–18. Not all users will embrace this approach with equal enthusiasm, since cognate information is often helpful in the study of Hebrew vocabulary, particularly in the case of *hapax legomena* or other words of limited usage. On the other hand, no one is likely to dispute the notion that the cognate Semitic data cannot trump attested Hebrew usage when that is available.

⁴ *DCH*, 1:26.

information so that they can ascertain with confidence the meanings of words found in classical Hebrew texts.

In lexical research it is a given that meanings of words must always be determined by usage, to the extent that this is feasible. Of course, *hapax legomena* and other words of limited usage in a particular corpus present special problems, necessitating such things as the use of cognate sources, etymological considerations, and at times even contextual guesswork. But actual usage takes priority in the process of semantic analysis. It seems reasonable therefore to expect that a lexicon should account for usage in the texts that it covers to the fullest extent possible given the scope of the lexicon and its intended readership. For that reason lexical categories of meaning must be capable of covering all the bases if they are to suffice for the analysis of a particular corpus of literature.

2. DICTIONARIES FOR CLASSICAL SYRIAC

The situation with current lexica for classical Syriac is a bit different in this regard from that of lexica available for Biblical Hebrew,⁵ especially in cases where a lexicon is broadly inclusive in its coverage of extant literature. In order to meet the needs of as large an audience as possible, Syriac lexicographers of the past have usually chosen to be as inclusive as possible in their coverage of ancient literature rather than focusing on a particular corpus of limited scope. There are exceptions, of course. One thinks of Falla's lexical analysis of the Peshitta gospels, which targets only a limited portion of the Syriac New Testament.⁶ One might also mention Jennings' lexicon, which provides brief lexical coverage for all the Syriac New Testament.⁷ But the major Syriac dictionaries—such as Robert Payne Smith's large *Thesaurus Syriacus*,⁸ or Jessie Payne Smith's smaller dictionary based on her father's work,⁹ or Thelly's adaptation of Audo's dictionary,¹⁰ or Sokoloff's recent revision of Brockelmann's lexicon¹¹—all provide lexical treatment for a vast array of Syriac literature. Their coverage of distinctive phenomena related to a particular corpus of Syriac literature is of necessity restricted and limited. One cannot help but be

⁵ For a helpful evaluation of modern dictionaries for Biblical Hebrew see the following essay: M. O'Connor, "Semitic Lexicography: European Dictionaries of Biblical Hebrew in the Twentieth Century," in *Semitic Linguistics: The State of the Art at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century* (ed. Shlomo Izre'el; IOS 20; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 173–212.

⁶ Terry C. Falla, *A Key to the Peshitta Gospels* (2 [of 4] vols.; NTTS, ed. Bruce M. Metzger; Leiden: Brill, 1991–).

⁷ W. Jennings, *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926).

⁸ R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1879–1901; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1981).

⁹ J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903; repr., Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998).

¹⁰ Emmanuel Thelly, *Syriac–English–Malayalam Lexicon* (Kottayam, India: Deepika Book House, 1999).

¹¹ Michael Sokoloff, ed., *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009).

impressed with the breadth of learning required for undertaking and completing such a gargantuan task.¹² But the downside of this approach is that treatment of lexical issues peculiar to any particular corpus of literature is often either lacking in sufficient detail or sometimes even non-existent in our standard lexical tools. In such instances readers may look in vain for help with lexical items that present special problems of usage and/or meaning. Insight on the precise meaning of otherwise familiar words that happen to take on less-than-obvious meanings, especially in ancient texts that assign non-literal meanings to such words, is sometimes conspicuously absent in available dictionaries.

To acknowledge this limitation is not to fault our lexical tools but only to surface a desideratum that must be addressed in the future. Of necessity our lexical resources up to the present have tended to be comprehensive in nature, seeking to provide summary coverage for a large quantity of Syriac literature. The advantage of such an approach is that one conveniently gains an overview of the semantic range of Syriac words used in a rich and diverse collection of literature. The disadvantage is that space limitations often preclude detailed attention to a particular corpus of literature, such as the Peshitta or the writings of Ephrem or Aphrahat or Jacob of Serugh, since the evidence of a plethora of texts must of necessity be represented.

However, in the future we may anticipate that our lexical tools will become increasingly specialized in their treatment of particular corpora of ancient texts, allowing for more detailed coverage of vocabulary used sometimes in specialized ways in particular texts. For example, a lexicon dedicated to the writings of Ephrem will be able to give attention to word-usage in this corpus in a way that could not rightly be expected of a general lexicon such as that of Jessie Payne-Smith. Likewise, a lexicon dedicated to the Peshitta Old Testament will be able to inventory comprehensively the usage of vocabulary items found in this corpus, whereas that would not be practical in a lexicon intended for more general use.

In the following discussion I will consider how this specialization might affect the landscape of certain Syriac lexical entries, using as a test-case for this purpose selected examples that appear in the Peshitta Old Testament, especially in the book of Daniel. Since ancient biblical translators usually opted for formal equivalents in representing figurative expressions found in the Hebrew Bible, fairly often in the Peshitta one encounters common Syriac words that are used in not-so-common ways to describe certain historical or theological topics. Readers may know the normal semantic range of such terms and yet have no clear sense of their meaning in these literary contexts. My thesis is that lexical tools that focus on this material should identify and catalog these meanings as exhaustively as possible within the constraints of certain practical considerations. I will begin by considering a few lexical items that illustrate the problem I have in mind. I will also comment on early reception history of the book of Daniel as it pertains to the interpretation of these

¹² That Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956) could command such a control of Syriac literature by the age of twenty-seven, when he published the first edition of his Syriac dictionary, is a remarkable achievement that has seldom been equaled. See Carlo Brockelmann *Lexicon Syriacum* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1895; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2004); Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, xi.

words in particular, since in some cases significant exegetical differences are present with regard to their proper interpretation. I will conclude by offering some suggestions about how these matters might contribute to our lexical treatment of such words, especially in a dictionary that targets the Syriac Old Testament in particular.

3. EXAMPLES

Here I will consider four lexical items found in the Syriac text of the book of Daniel whose meaning is complicated by figurative usage.¹³ Many words could be selected for the present purpose. The choice is somewhat arbitrary; there is no shortage of illustrative examples elsewhere. The words that I will consider are the following: ܐܢܝܡܐ *animal*, ܩܪܢܐ *ram*, ܩܘܨܐ *goat*, and ܩܒܠܐ *horn*. I will briefly discuss the use of these words in the Syriac Peshitta in relation to their Hebrew or Aramaic cognates. Readers who consult the available lexica can expect to find accurate information concerning the normal usage of these terms in Syriac literature. However, they will not find sufficient guidance regarding contextually nuanced meanings within specific corpora of texts such as the Peshitta Old Testament. The question to be asked here is whether lexical tools of the future should attempt to be more comprehensive in their treatment of such words than is the case in our current lexica.

3.1. ܐܢܝܡܐ *animal, beast*

Biblical Hebrew אַיִם and biblical Aramaic ܐܢܝܡܐ both mean *animal* or *beast*, usually in the sense of a wild animal as found in its natural habitat. In addition to this literal sense of undomesticated animals or beasts of prey, these words are sometimes used figuratively to refer to living beings, individuals, or nations that can be viewed as beast-like in certain ways. While the use of figurative terminology may lend vividness to a textual description, appealing as it does to the senses and the imagination of readers, it may also obscure the precise identification of the referent, leaving some readers adrift with regard to the precise meaning.

The Syriac word ܐܢܝܡܐ, as expected, is used in the Old Testament in much the same way as its Hebrew and Aramaic cognates are used in that corpus. In a literal sense ܐܢܝܡܐ can refer generally to various wild animals (e.g., Gen 1:25; 1 Sam 17:46; Ezek 29:5). Sometimes these animals are beasts of prey (e.g., Ezek 14:15; 33:27; Zeph 2:15; Ps 148:10; Job 37:8). ܐܢܝܡܐ is also used in a figurative sense. For example, in Ezek 1:5, 13–22; 3:13 Ezekiel’s strange creatures, portrayed with both human and animal features, are designated as ܐܢܝܡܐ. These living creatures seem to be attendants to a heavenly throne, where they call to mind ideal elements of God’s creation (i.e., man, lion, ox, and eagle). Their composite character and extraordinary powers (see vv. 5–24) underscore the unusual scene that the prophet describes.

While the designation ܐܢܝܡܐ is normally clear when a literal animal is in view, figurative usage of the word requires further analysis and clarification, particularly in cases where a specific human being or national entity is in view. The use of this

¹³ I cite the Masoretic Hebrew text from *BHS*. I cite the Syriac text from the Leiden edition of the Peshitta Old Testament. The English translations are mine.

word in the book of Daniel further illustrates the problem. A major theme of the book of Daniel concerns four world empires that according to the author of this apocalyptic book were to play a significant role in world history. These four empires are presented in two different symbolic images. First, in Daniel 2 they are described as body parts of a large metal statue erected by King Nebuchadnezzar. The head of the statue is said to be made of gold; its chest and arms are of silver; its belly and thighs are of bronze; its legs are of iron; its feet are partly of iron and partly of clay. Daniel's interpretation of the dream (Dan 2:36–45) makes clear that the dream pertains to a succession of world empires. Second, in Daniel 7 these same four empires are described as unique animals that emerge from the sea. In Dan 7:3 these empires are introduced under the rubric of weird, even grotesque, beasts that both resemble their natural counterparts and at the same time differ considerably from them. The intended referents are not immediately clear to most readers.

The figurative descriptions of these beasts are as follows.¹⁴

וְאַרְבַּע חַיּוֹת רַבְרָבוֹן סָלְקוּן מִן יַמָּא שְׁנַיִן דָּא מִן דָּא
 ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ
 “And four great beasts were coming up from the sea, each one differing from the others.”

The first of these beasts is likened to a lion with eagle wings:

קִדְמֵיָתָא כְּאַרְיֵה וְגַפִּין דִּי־נֶשֶׁר לָהּ
 ܡܘܨܘܪܐܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ
 “The first was like a lion, and it had wings of an eagle.”

The second beast is likened to a bear leaning to one side with three ribs between its teeth:

חַיּוֹת אַחֲרֵי תַנְיִנָּה דְמִיָּה לְדָב וְלִשְׁטֵר־חַד הֶקְמַת וְחָלַת עַלְעִין בְּפִמָּה בֵּין שְׁנַיִה
 ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ
 “Another beast, a second one, was like a bear, and it was raised to one side. And three ribs were in its mouth between its teeth.”

The third beast is likened to a leopard with four wings on its back and four heads:

חַיּוֹת הָיִית וְאַרְבַּע רַבְרָבוֹן וְלָהּ גַּפִּין אַרְבַּע דִּי עוֹף עַל־גְּבִיָּה וְאַרְבַּעָה רֵאשִׁין
 ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ ܘܘܚܕܘܫܘܢܝܢ
 “I was looking, and behold, another like a leopard. And it had four wings of a bird on its back, and the [Syr., *that*] beast had four heads.”

The fourth beast is non-descript, but is said to have large iron teeth and ten horns on its head:

¹⁴ The English translations that follow are based on the Aramaic/Hebrew text, with occasional observations on variations from the source text found in the corresponding Syriac translations. Minor variations in the Syriac translations, such as the presence or absence of a conjunction, are not noted, since they do not contribute to the present discussion.

וְשֵׁנִים דִּי-פְרָזֵל לָהּ רַבְרָבָן . . . וְקַרְנֵי עֶשֶׂר לָהּ
 סַמְתָּא וְסַמְתָּא וְסַמְתָּא וְסַמְתָּא וְסַמְתָּא וְסַמְתָּא וְסַמְתָּא וְסַמְתָּא וְסַמְתָּא וְסַמְתָּא

“And it had large iron teeth . . . and it had ten horns.”

In both Dan 2 and Dan 7 the fourth empire is said to be superseded by a divinely appointed kingdom that will know no end. The vision thus summarizes the anticipated flow of human history under the rubric of four major world empires, portrayed figuratively in unusual zoomorphic imagery. According to Daniel’s vision, these human empires are but precursors to an everlasting kingdom of divine origin that will bring their power and influence to an end.

The intended identity of these four empires was debated in early Christian interpretation.¹⁵ According to one view, the historical sequence of empires was first, Babylon (represented by the lion); second, Media-Persia (represented by the bear); third, Greece (represented by the leopard); and fourth, Rome (represented by the non-descript animal). This view was held, for example, by Hippolytus¹⁶ and Jerome¹⁷ in the west and by Aphrahat¹⁸ in the east. Jerome in particular was adamant and even militant in defending this view as the only acceptable interpretation of Dan 7. According to another view, the historical sequence of empires was first, Babylon (represented by the lion); second, Media (represented by the bear); third, Persia (represented by the leopard); and fourth, Greece (represented by the non-descript animal). This view was held, for example, by the anti-Christian pagan philosopher Porphyry¹⁹ and by Cosmas Indicopleustes.²⁰ This scheme is also found, with minor variation, in glosses that appear in Syriac manuscripts of the book of Daniel.

¹⁵ I have discussed this matter elsewhere in greater detail. See Richard A. Taylor, “The Interpretive Glosses in Syriac Manuscripts of Peshitta-Daniel,” *Parole de l’Orient* 36 (2011): 469–92 (= *Actes du 10^e Symposium Syriacum [Granada, septembre 2008]*). See also Wido van Peursen, “Daniel’s Four Kingdoms in the Syriac Tradition,” in *Tradition and Innovation in Biblical Interpretation: Studies Presented to Professor Eep Talstra on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. W. Th. van Peursen and J. W. Dyk; SSN 57; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 189–207.

¹⁶ For the Greek text of Hippolytus’s commentary on Daniel see Georg Nathanael Bonwetsch and Marcel Richard, eds., *Hippolyt, Kommentar zu Daniel* (2nd ed.; GCS 7; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000).

¹⁷ For the Latin text of Jerome’s commentary on the book of Daniel see Fr. Glorie, ed., *Jerôme, Commentariorum in Daniele* (Corpus christianorum: Series latina 75A; Turnhout: Brepols, 1964). For an English translation see Gleason L. Archer Jr., trans., *Jerome’s Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958).

¹⁸ For Aphrahat’s Syriac text see Ioannes Parisot, ed., *Patrologia syriaca* (part 1, vol. 1; Paris, 1894; repr., Turnhout: Brepols, 1993).

¹⁹ For Porphyry’s interpretation of the book of Daniel we are largely dependent on Jerome’s vigorous response to Porphyry in his commentary on Daniel.

²⁰ For the Greek text of Cosmas see E. O. Winstedt, ed., *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, edited with Geographical Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909); Wanda Wolska-Conus, ed., *Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie chrétienne: Introduction, texte critique, illustration, traduction et notes* (3 vols.; SC 141, 159, 197; Paris: Cerf, 1968, 1970, 1973). For an English translation, based on the Greek text found in Migne’s *Patrologia graeca*, see J. W. McCrindle, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk: Translated from the Greek*,

The bizarre features of the four beasts of Dan 7 serve to call attention to historical details with regard to the nations represented by the beasts. For example, the lion is said to have wings of an eagle, apparently referring to its ability to move swiftly in its conquest of other nations. Loss of these wings speaks of a reduction of military prowess (Dan 7:4). The three ribs in the mouth of the bear seem to depict the conquest of three other nations by this second beast (Dan 7:5). The four wings on the back of the third beast speak of a capacity for rapid and effective deployment of troops. The four heads of this beast figuratively depict a fourfold division of this kingdom following the unexpected demise of its charismatic leader (Dan 7:6). The large iron teeth of the fourth beast suggest incredible strength and ferocious power for overcoming all its opponents (Dan 7:7).

Given the importance of a grasp of these metaphors for understanding the biblical text, 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 *ܡܨܗܐܐ* *beast*. Inclusion of an appropriate level of historical or encyclopedic information regarding the significance of *ܐܘܠܐ* *lion*, *ܐܚܒܐ* *bear*, and *ܒܥܘܠܐ* *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.

3.2. *ܐܘܢܐ* *ram* and *ܐܘܨܐ* *goat*

Rams played a significant role in the social and religious life of ancient Israel. They were an important source of food (e.g., Gen 31:38; Deut 32:14), and their wool was viewed as a valuable commodity of exchange (e.g., 2 Kgs 3:4). Rams and goats were sometimes used as a sort of currency that was acceptable for the payment of tribute (e.g., 2 Chr 17:11) and certain commercial debts (e.g., Ezek 27:21). Along with various other animals, large numbers of rams on occasion made for impressive gifts intended to pacify the anger of an opponent (e.g., Gen 32:15 [14]). Rams were also an important part of religious ritual in the Hebrew Bible and are frequently mentioned in connection with animal sacrifices (e.g., Gen 22:13; Num 23:1) and religious rituals such as guilt-offerings (e.g., Lev 5:15–16), burnt-offerings (e.g., Lev 9:2; Num 15:6, 11; Ezek 46:4–7, 11), and peace-offerings (e.g., Lev 9:4, 18–19).

Rams also play an important role in the figurative language of the Old Testament. They may represent human leaders. According to 2 Kgs 24:15 [*qêrê*] (cf. Ezek 17:13; 31:11; 32:21; Exod 15:15), among the Judeans taken captive by King Nebuchadnezzar was an influential group called figuratively “the rams of the land” (*ܐܘܢܐ ܕܗܐ ܐܕܡܐ*). In this instance the Peshitta provides a dynamic-equivalent translation (*ܐܘܨܐ ܕܗܐ ܐܕܡܐ*, *the great ones of the land*), dropping altogether the metaphorical allusion to rams.

Like rams, goats also figure prominently in the social and religious life of ancient Israel. They were regarded as valuable property (e.g., Gen 30:32, 33, 35;

31:15, 38; 1 Sam 25:2) and as a source of food (e.g., Gen 27:9, 16; 37:31). Like rams, they were a common element of the Old Testament sacrificial system (e.g., Lev 22:27; Num 15:11; Lev 22:19; Ezek 43:22; 45:23). Goats' hair is included in a list of worthy offerings for the Tabernacle (Exod 25:4). A pejorative simile found in 1 Kgs 20:27 likens the army of Israel to a couple of small flocks of goats arrayed against a numerous and powerful enemy that menacingly covered the entire countryside.

Rams and goats also figure significantly in the symbolism of the Old Testament. In Dan 8 considerable attention is given to a vision that cryptically portrays military conflict between the armies of Persia and Greece at the time of Alexander the Great. The description is presented entirely in zoomorphic imagery. Persia is depicted as an aggressive and powerful ram (Heb., **אַיִל**; Syr., **ܩܒܠܐ**) without rival, while Greece is portrayed as a swift and strong goat (Heb., **צִפְרִיָּה עֲזִים**; Syr., **ܩܦܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܪܐ**). In this vision the goat mounts a successful charge against the attacking ram and quickly renders it ineffective and helpless. As a result, the goat becomes even more powerful than before. The language is picturesque, vivid, and memorable. The intended meaning, however, is cryptic and not immediately comprehensible to most readers.

The denotative meanings of **ܩܒܠܐ** and **ܩܦܝܢܐ** are clear in this passage; they mean *ram* and *goat* respectively. But the connotative meanings are not so clear. Standard Syriac lexica suffice for informing readers that **ܩܒܠܐ** means *ram* and **ܩܦܝܢܐ** 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,²¹ where **ܩܒܠܐ** is employed as a code term for Persia, and **ܩܦܝܢܐ ܘܥܘܪܐ** is used as a code term for Greece. An explanatory notation to this effect in a lexicon that registers Old Testament usage would be helpful to readers, since the passage remains unintelligible apart from such an understanding.

3.3. **ܩܒܠܐ** *horn*

In the Hebrew Bible the term **קֶרֶן** *horn* has a variety of meanings, which for the most part are mirrored in the Peshitta by the cognate term **ܩܒܠܐ**. In its most basic sense **קֶרֶן** or **ܩܒܠܐ** refers to a bony protrusion extending from the head of certain animals, whether still intact on the animal's head or removed to serve a variety of human purposes. For example, **קֶרֶן** or **ܩܒܠܐ** refers to the horns of a ram (e.g., Gen 22:13; Ezek 34:21) or the horns of an ox (e.g., Deut 33:17; Ps 22:22). It may also refer to a musical instrument made from the horn of such an animal (e.g., Josh 6:5; Dan 3:5, 7, 10, 15 [Aram.]) or to a flask used for holding oil (e.g., 1 Sam 16:13; 1 Kgs 1:39). Ivory tusks, designated in the Hebrew text as **קַרְנֹת שֵׁן** (lit., *horns of teeth*; cf. Peshitta, **ܩܒܠܐ ܘܡܚܡܠܐ**, *horns of oil*), were especially valuable in the ancient Mediterranean world and were accepted as payment in certain commercial dealings (e.g., Ezek 27:15).

The Hebrew Bible—and in a similar way its ancient versions, including the Syriac—also uses *horn* in a figurative sense, attributing horns to human beings. As such, Hebrew **קֶרֶן** or Syriac **ܩܒܠܐ** may have a positive nuance, symbolizing the

²¹ See the accompanying chart at the end of this essay, where the entries for the terms under discussion here are summarized from several standard Aramaic or Syriac dictionaries.

strength or dignity of its owner. For example, in Ps 89:25 [24] (cf. Ps 112:9 [8]) Yahweh extends to his faithful servant the following promise:

וּבְשֵׁמִי תָרוּם קַרְנוֹ
סַחֲחֵם אֱלֹהִים מִיָּדוֹ

“And by my name his horn will be exalted.”

The Old Testament expression *to raise (or exalt) the horn* means to strengthen someone. For example, the psalmist says in Ps 92:11 [10],

וַתָּרֵם כְּרָאִים קַרְנֵי
אֲנִיחֵם מִיַּד אֱמֹר וְיִסְחָא

“You have exalted my horn(s) like those of a wild ox.”

As a source of personal strength the Lord himself is sometimes in biblical idiom called a horn. In 2 Sam 22:3 (cf. Ps 18:3 [2]) David extols the Lord with these words:

קַרְן־יְשׁוּעִי
סַחֲחֵם אֱלֹהִים מִיָּדוֹ

“the horn of my salvation”

Such an expression may also be used with reference to the entire nation of Israel, calling attention to Yahweh’s role as Israel’s defender. Lam 2:3, for example, ascribes to the Lord the following title:

קַרְן־יִשְׂרָאֵל
סַחֲחֵם אֱלֹהִים מִיָּדוֹ

“the horn of Israel”

Hannah refers to the Lord with similar language in 1 Sam 2:10:

קַרְן־מְשִׁיחוֹ
סַחֲחֵם אֱלֹהִים מִיָּדוֹ

“the horn of his anointed one”

In such references *horn* is a hypocatastastic figure of speech which substitutes a familiar physical feature of an animal for a non-physical theological concept. It means *strength*. In such passages the term utilizes a common zoomorphic symbol of strength to convey the theological notion of divine strength ready to assist people both individually and collectively in time of need.

קַרְן־ or סַחֲחֵם may also at times have a pejorative sense, symbolizing human pride or arrogance wrongly flaunted before others. For example, in Ps 75:5–6 [4–5] the Psalmist warns the ungodly of the consequences of such pride displayed against God:

אַל־תָּרִימוּ קַרְנֵיכֶם. אַל־תָּרִימוּ לְמַרוֹם קַרְנֵיכֶם
וְלֹא־אֲנִיחֵם מִיָּדוֹ. הִלָּא־אֲנִיחֵם חֲכִימֵם מִיָּדוֹ

“Do not lift up your horn; do not lift up your horn against heaven.”

In a similar way, to debase or bring low a person or nation may be expressed by the image of cutting off one’s horn so as to bring about humiliating defeat. An example of this usage appears in Jer 48:25:

“Rays flashed from his hand” (Heb. lit., “horns from his hand were to him”).

This use of קָרַן *born* in the MT of Hab 3:4 is unusual. The only other place in the Old Testament where this root is used to describe a brilliant display of light is found in Exod 34:29, 30, 35, where the cognate verb קָרַן refers to unnatural radiance emanating from the human countenance as a result of a divine encounter. Specifically, the word is used in Exodus to describe the radiance on Moses’ face when he descended Mount Sinai after conversing there with the Lord.²³ That the Hebrew verb קָרַן is cognate to the noun קָרַן *born* led to a common but misplaced belief that Moses actually had horns protruding on his forehead, as famously depicted in a sixteenth-century sculpture of Moses by Michelangelo.²⁴ In the passage in Exodus the Peshitta provides an accurate functional equivalent (i.e., ܩܪܝܢܐ, *shined*), rather than slavishly following the Hebrew text by retaining the cognate verbal root.

In 1 Sam 2:1 קָרַן or מָלַא is used of the human countenance lifted toward God in praise. There Hannah joyously exclaims,

ܩܪܝܢܐ ܩܪܝܢܐ ܒܝܗܘܐ
ܣܘܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܝܐ

“In the LORD [*in my God*, according to some Syriac Mss] my horn is lifted high.”

In the book of Daniel *born* is also repeatedly used to refer to human leaders (e.g., Dan 8:3^{bis}, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 20, 21). Several figurative expressions appear in this material. A horn that is said to be longer than other horns signifies a leader more influential or powerful than other leaders to whom he is compared (e.g., Dan 8:3, 5, 8). The expression *to shatter the horns* (Dan 8:7) of such an individual means to render that person powerless and ineffective politically or militarily. Figurative use of *born* to depict the military leaders of Persia and Greece is an important part of the symbolic language of the book of Daniel. An influential individual described as *a little born*

a secondary reading. It appears that the Peshitta has sustained textual damage here due to graphic confusion of *yôd* and *nûn*. As Gelston notes, ܩܪܝܢܐ *in the city* of the Peshitta is probably an inner-Syriac corruption of ܩܪܝܢܐ *with the horns*. In that case the original reading of the Peshitta (in agreement with MT, except for the preposition) was ܩܪܝܢܐ *with the horns*, which was later misread as ܩܪܝܢܐ *in the city*. In light of the uniform Syriac manuscript evidence the error must have occurred early in the process of textual transmission. For discussion see Anthony Gelston, ed., *The Twelve Minor Prophets* (vol. 13 of *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010), 122*. See also A. Gelston, *The Peshitta of the Twelve Prophets* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 94–95; Robert P. Gordon, “Inner-Syriac Corruptions,” *JTS* 22 (1971): 502–04.

²³ It seems likely that קָרַן in Exod 34 is a denominative verb based on the noun קָרַן (so BDB, 902, and *HALOT*, 1144), although some scholars isolate a separate root here. *DCH*, for example, treats this occurrence under the homonym קָרַן I, meaning *to shine*, but with the following allowance: “unless קָרַן II *have horns*.” See *DCH*, 7:326.

²⁴ The Latin Vulgate renders קָרַן in Exod 34:29 by *cornuta* (i.e., *horned*), which provides the biblical basis for this unusual feature of Michelangelo’s marble statue depicting a horned Moses. Due to the influence of the Latin Vulgate the notion that Moses had horns on his forehead was apparently common in Europe during the Medieval period.

(Heb., קַרְנֵי-אַחַת מִצְעִירָה; Syr., ܩܪܢܐ ܫܒܠܐ) is the topic of extended discussion in Dan 8:9–12; 23–25. This horn represents the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.), who notoriously engaged in cruel persecution of Jews in the second century B.C.E. His attempts at enforced Hellenization, briefly detailed in Dan 11:21–45 (cf. 1–2 Maccabees), met with strong and determined resistance from the Jewish community of that day.

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 קַרְנֵי are found in the Peshitta with its Syriac cognate ܩܪܢܐ. For that reason, simply knowing that ܩܪܢܐ refers generally to a horn may not sufficiently inform 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.

4. INCLUSION OF ENCYCLOPEDIC INFORMATION IN LEXICAL ENTRIES

The reception history of Daniel and the ambiguity of certain terms employed in this book raise a significant methodological question. To what degree should our lexical tools inventory the figurative uses of lexical items that play a crucial role in the interpretation of ancient texts? And to what degree should basic historical or encyclopedic information pertaining to key persons, events, or entities make its way into the dictionary? To a large extent the answer to these questions will be determined by the level of specialization adopted in the dictionary with regard to its chosen corpus of literature. Dictionaries that opt for a comprehensive coverage of large quantities of literature will of necessity be restricted in this regard. But dictionaries that focus on a particular corpus of literature will have the opportunity to treat lexical usage in greater detail. A dictionary that focuses on the Peshitta Old Testament, for instance, will be obliged to take into account—at least to some extent—figurative use of language found in the corpus under consideration. Inclusion of a limited amount of judiciously selected encyclopedic information would be helpful for users as well. Without this sort of contextually nuanced information readers will at times be uncertain as to the meaning of words, even though they may be fully aware of common general glosses for those words.

For the main examples considered in this paper the following addenda illustrate 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.²⁵

ܩܪܢܐ *beast, animal* Fig., an ancient political empire, according to the vision of Dan 7. The first three of Daniel's four beasts are

²⁵ Depending on limitations of space for entries and projected size of the completed dictionary, inclusion of biblical references (preferably exhaustive in most cases) would be a helpful feature as well.

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).

ܩܘܨܐ *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.

ܩܘܨܐ *goat* Fig., the Greek empire, according to the vision of Dan 8. In particular, a shaggy goat (ܩܘܨܐ ܩܘܨܐ) 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.

ܩܘܨܐ *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” (ܩܘܨܐ ܩܘܨܐ) who violently enforced Hellenization on the second-century Jewish population of the land of Israel.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have called attention to certain familiar lexical items whose precise meaning in the book of Daniel is not immediately clear to most readers. Current Syriac dictionaries offer little exegetical help in determining the precise meaning of such words as *animal*, *ram*, *goat*, or *horn* in Old Testament contexts that use these terms figuratively. At stake here is the determination of meaning and proper interpretation of key words found in a particular corpus of literature. This in turn is related to the question of the proper role of a dictionary for ancient literature. How much lexical information, or how little, should a dictionary include?

It 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. It is probably impractical to incorporate such matters into lexical tools that are intended to provide coverage for a wide range of Syriac literature, since practical considerations of size and cost may not permit such detailed information in works intended for general use. But as our

lexical tools increasingly specialize in particular collections of literature, such as Aphrahat or Ephrem or Syriac Bible, we should expect these tools to include a certain amount of historical or encyclopedic information for lexical items that are especially important for the interpretation of these texts. We should also expect fuller coverage of figurative language. This is a desideratum for future dictionaries that specifically target such texts as the Syriac Bible.

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Table: Summarized Lexical Entries for Selected Aramaic/Syriac Words in the Book of Daniel

	C. Brockelmann 1895, 1928	R. Payne Smith 1879-1901	J. Payne Smith 1903	L. Costaz [1963]	E. Vogt 1971	E. Thelley 1999	M. Sokoloff 2009	CaL accessed July 2010
ܠܫܢ ܠܗܪܢ	1. cornu; 2. vas forma cornus; 3. administratum (sellae) <i>side-raili</i> ; 4. pinna (recti) <i>dap</i> ; 5. lacunia; 6. caput (pecuniae); 7. littera gr. <i>xepoia</i> ; 8. mensura = 12 sextarii; 9. <i>δίκταμνον</i> planta	1. cornu (animalis); 2. cornu, tuba, buccina; 3. cornu, vas; 4. cornu (ut signum potentiae, dignitatis, etc.); 5. extremitas, apex; 6. acies, ala exercitus; 7. cornu, sors capitalis, caput pecuniae	1. horn (of an animal); trumpet, vessel; 2. cornea of the eye; a corn, horny excrescence; claw of a crab; 3. a corner, angle; 4. tip; arm of a seat, title of a letter; border of a garment; peak of a mountain; wing of an army; 5. a capital sum; 6. a measure (= twelve pints); 7. dictamnus, dittany	1. horn; 2. phial; 3. trumpet; 4. wing (building, army); 5. arm (of seat); 6. summit, top; 7. end, border; 8. angle; 9. capital; 10. power; 11. pride; 12. ܠܫܢ corner-stone	cornu	1. horn; 2. cornea (of the eye); 3. corner; angle; 4. tip; 5. capital, sum; 6. power; 7. dittany; 8. a measure; 9. arm of a seat	1. horn (gen., metaph.); 2. jar in form of horn; 3. trumpet; 4. wing (of building); 5. corner (of roof); 6. arm; 7. corner (of building); 8. end, border; 9. extreme part; 10. capital; 11. projection, hook of a letter; 12. a measure; 13. dittany	1. horn; 2. corner; 3. wing; 4. capital; 5. tuba; 6. letter; 7. measure; 8. plant name
ܠܫܢ ܪܗܡ	1. mas, masculus; 2. anes; 3. membrum virile	1. mas, masculus; ܠܫܢ ܪܗܡ ܠܫܢ ܪܗܡ hermaphroditus; per euphemismum = membrum virile; 2. anes; 3. metaph. machinae bellicae, sc. anetes obsidionales	1. male, masculine; 2. arsenic; 3. a male (pl. the male organs); 4. ܪܗܡ hermaphrodite; 5. ram; 6. Anes, a sign of the zodiac; 7. battering-ram	1. male, masculine; 2. virile member; 3. ram; 4. ܪܗܡ hermaphrodite; 5. battering-ram		male, masculine (pl. male organs)	1. male, masculine animal; 2. ram; 3. penis; 4. arsenic	1. male; 2. ram; 3. penis
ܠܫܢ ܗܘܥܕ	caper, hircus; ܠܫܢ ܗܘܥܕ anniculus	caper, hircus; ܠܫܢ ܗܘܥܕ anniculus	a kid, yearling goat	he goat		kid, young goat	young goat	young goat
ܠܫܢ ܒܝܫܬܐ	1. animalitas, vivacitas; vita; 2. animal, bestia, coll. animalia	1. animalitas, vivacitas; vita; 2. animal, bestia, coll. animalia	1. life, living, vitality; 2. a living creature, an animal (coll. animals, beasts)	animal, coll. animals	bestia, fera (sg. coll., ferae)	1. life, living, vitality; 2. living creature, animal, beast	1. animal; 2. coll. animals, esp. carnivores	1. animal; 2. pl. zoomorphic angels bearing the divine name

**A USER'S VIEW OF MICHAEL SOKOLOFF, ED., A
*SYRIAC LEXICON: A TRANSLATION FROM THE
LATIN: CORRECTION, EXPANSION, AND UPDATE
OF C. BROCKELMANN'S LEXICON SYRIACUM
(2009)***

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1. INTRODUCTION

The 1928 edition of Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum* has sat on my bookshelves for over twenty years. It is a beautiful piece of typography, with many strengths as a lexicon, and also many weaknesses, the chief of which is the use of Latin rather than German or English as the language of the glosses. Another severe deficiency is the system of references to the use of lexemes in works of Syriac literature. Even in 1928 these were confusing, but with the advent of new critical editions, they are now out of date as well. Michael Sokoloff's English translation and revision of Brockelmann evidently set out to remedy these problems, while building on the strengths of the original work. In many ways he has succeeded in what was a formidable task even just in terms of the sheer number of references that needed to be checked and updated, let alone the translations from Latin and the inclusion of illustrative examples in Syriac. The result is certainly much more usable than its predecessor and represents an enormous contribution to Syriac studies.

This is not to say that there are no problems with the new edition, but I hope that any criticisms made here will not detract from Michael Sokoloff's considerable achievement. Asked for an evaluation of Sokoloff-Brockelmann's *Syriac Lexicon* (= *SL*), I approached it "blind," in the role of a user. This was then followed by a comparison with the editor and reviser's description of the aims and scope of the work in the Introduction. For this "test drive" I used *SL* when looking up words in a Memra of Jacob of Serugh on the book of Daniel.

2. EVALUATION

First of all, I believe that a beginner Syriacist with about one year's experience of reading texts from chrestomathies and the New Testament could find the Estrangelo script rather unfamiliar, and also the East Syrian vocalisation. This is

The inclusion of words found only in the Harqlean version of the New Testament, as advocated by Andreas Juckel, is interesting. However, given Juckel's own remarks regarding the tendency for the Harqlean to be a calque of the Greek,² they should perhaps have been handled a little differently.

p. 1161b ܦܫܝܬܐ 1. “banquet”

Mark in the Harqlean version 6.39

ܦܫܝܬܐ ܦܫܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܬܐ

No translation is supplied, but the definition given in *SL* would suggest understanding the phrase as “he commanded them all to recline, banquets, banquets,” or “in banquets.” This is of course a literal rendering of *καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀνακλιῖναι πάντας συμπόσια συμπόσια* (ἐπὶ τῷ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ), NRSV “Then he ordered them to get all the people to sit down in groups on the green grass.” The Greek *συμπόσια συμπόσια* here means, according to Danker,³ “in parties,” the repetition indicating a distributive sense. Clearly ܦܫܝܬܐ ܦܫܝܬܐ is a calque on the Greek in the Harqlean version of this verse. Given that according to *SL* later in the entry, the Syriac word in the plural can also mean “2. metaph. contemptuously, of a. **bands, crowds,**” it is likely that the reader of the Harqlean text would have understood ܦܫܝܬܐ ܦܫܝܬܐ to have this metaphorical and distributive meaning, “in groups” (but certainly not in a pejorative sense).

Br2 included plenty of other calques, usually from the Peshitta OT, and so gives the Hebrew alongside to explain that the Syriac word has taken on a Hebrew flavour. Probably the best course with the Harqlean words would be either to cite the single Greek equivalent on which they are based (as Br2 usually does, followed by *SL*), or to omit the Syriac phrase and give only the reference, at the end of that particular sub-entry.

In other places Sokoloff has seamlessly incorporated the Harqlean into the entries with no problems, and he has also corrected Br2's erroneous “Phil[oxenian]” to the Harqlean (e.g., Br2 p.61a = *SL* p.122a, 3a ܕܡܫܝܬܐ “calm”). All additions based on Juckel's article are noted at the end of the relevant entries.

3. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, *SL* represents a sizeable achievement and a significant contribution to Syriac studies, though as in the case of any other lexicon, scholars should use it in tandem with other dictionaries for the sake of completeness. The principal value of *SL* for the user lies in not having to go via a Latin dictionary, and also in its updating of abbreviations; and secondarily the alphabetical order and the inclusion

² Andreas Juckel, “Should the Harklean Version Be Included in a Future Lexicon of the Syriac New Testament?” in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography I: Colloquia of the International Syriac Language Project* (ed. A. Dean Forbes and David G. K. Taylor; Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 1; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2005), 171.

³ W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (3d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

of Syriac glosses. The references to other Aramaic dialects are also very valuable as they serve to contextualize Syriac within a larger linguistic sphere. Prof. Sokoloff deserves the thanks of all Syriacists.

BROCKELMANN IN ENGLISH GUISE

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1. INTRODUCTION

The recent publication of an English version of C. Brockelmann's monumental *Lexicon Syriacum* (2nd ed., 1928) is a most welcome event for every Syriacist and Semitist.¹ M. Sokoloff is heartily to be congratulated and thanked for this marvellous achievement. Here we shall make some observations on the changes introduced by Sokoloff in comparison with the Latin original (*LS* for short) of the lexicon.² We hasten to say that we have not read the lexicon from cover to cover.

2. ALPHABETICAL LISTING

Sokoloff decided to list entries in alphabetical order, replacing Brockelmann's root-based arrangement. This issue is not unique to Syriac lexicography, nor is the alphabetic arrangement a modern trend. Nearly two centuries ago, serious critics such as Delitzsch criticized the innovative method of even Gesenius. Though Sokoloff mentions (p. xiii) *HALOT* and *CAD* as examples of the contemporary trend, H. Wehr in his *Modern [!] Written Arabic* dictionary sticks to the root method.³

Sokoloff's decision is practically informed. He wants to make the lexicon user-friendly. True, there are lexemes whose root is difficult even for trained Syriacists to identify. But, then, such cases are not a legion. They could be listed alphabetically and simultaneously cross-referenced. In this way the extreme of Brockelmann can be avoided, for he even tried to press Greek loan-words into the straitjacket of triliterality.

On the contrary, the average user of the lexicon would miss not a few valuable advantages of the traditional root-method. Even beginning students of Syriac, or any Semitic language for that matter, know that the feature of root carries in these languages a far greater value in their linguistic structure than that of "stem" in

¹ Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009).

² Carl Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (2nd ed.; 1928; repr., Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1995).

³ Hans Wehr and J. Milton Cowan, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic: (Arabic-English)* (4th ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979).

English, for instance: $\sqrt{s-ng}$ as in *sing, sings, singing, sang, sung, song, singer, songstress*, etc. Without a proper appreciation of the place that “root” occupies in the structure of Semitic languages, one cannot begin to learn the verb inflection of those languages. The reason for Sokoloff’s not creating separate, alphabetically arranged entries for Afels, Ethpeels, etc. must be this consideration. To a lesser degree, the same holds for the declension of the noun. Otherwise, a beginning Syriacist would have trouble locating in his Brockelmann-Sokoloff (*SL* henceforward) the first word of the phrase $\text{ܥܕܘܩܠܐ ܥܕܘܩܠܐ} \textit{holy of holies}$, for the noun falls in *SL* under ܥܕܘܩܠܐ .

The “root,” of course, plays a very significant role in the derivation of lexemes. Under the verb “root” ܥܕܘܩܠܐ and right at the start of the entry (p. 563b) we find a long list of twenty-one lexemes which are alphabetically listed elsewhere as so many separate entries and spread all over the dictionary. Some of its derivatives happen to appear listed immediately before or after it, whilst some others are far removed (e.g., ܥܕܘܩܠܐ , ܥܕܘܩܠܐ). Although under each of these derivationally related entries we do find a cross-reference to this arch-entry, the semantic relationship between these twenty-two lexemes would become more transparent when one can glance, as in *LS*, at all of them in a single location. One could list all of them alphabetically with just a cross-reference. Such an arrangement also has a pedagogic advantage, helping students to build up their vocabulary much more easily.

Take another example. In *SL* we find ܥܕܘܩܠܐ (p. 451b). A derivative of it, ܥܕܘܩܠܐ *sandy* appears seven pages farther on (p. 458a), but another, ܥܕܘܩܠܐ , also glossed as *sandy*, appears separated by two derivationally unrelated lexemes: ܥܕܘܩܠܐ plurale tantum *gems* and ܥܕܘܩܠܐ *acidic*, probably because of the short /a/ of the first consonant due to the gemination of the second consonant /l/. By contrast, in *LS* these two adjectives meaning *sandy* are listed immediately under the latter as the only derivatives of ܥܕܘܩܠܐ .

3. ETYMOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

Sokoloff has largely eliminated this compartment from *LS* on account of the difficulty of the task (p. xvi).

To illustrate again with the verb root ܥܕܘܩܠܐ , *LS* gives information not only on inter-Aramaic etymology but also on comparative Semitic aspects. Brockelmann notes the root as SEM, very important. He refers to Nöldeke’s grammar (§175A), where a complete survey of this verb is to be found, thus paying respect to the still only comprehensive reference grammar of Syriac. He also mentions a couple of places in his own *Grundriss*. Sokoloff confines himself to the former, and at that selectively (EA: JBA, DJBA, Ma).

LS, under ܥܕܘܩܠܐ , notes it as “AR,” then mentions Hebrew חזל and Arabic حال . With Sokoloff’s superb expertise in the field of comparative Semitic etymology as well as other fields, at least AR should have been retained. On the other hand, a well-trained and careful Semitist would not fail to note that Sokoloff has very often updated information on secondary literature by adding references to relevant studies published since *LS*. Compare, for instance, the entry in *SL* ܥܕܘܩܠܐ *hip* with that in *LS*.

In an extensive list of abbreviations we find “SA” for Samaritan Aramaic, and in the entry ܥܕܘܩܠܐ (p. 667b) we find “DSA 423,” presumably a reference to A. Tal’s

dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic,⁴ but the title itself is missing in the List of Abbreviations.⁵

For the entry *חִיָּא* *brick*, *LS* (p. 357a) has: “(SEM exc. Aeth. ex acc. *libittu* a *labānu* planare Del. Prol. 93, contra Nöld ZDMG 36 181, Bauer ZA 30 108).” All this information about the comparative Semitic etymology and the relevant secondary literature has gone down the drain in *SL* (p. 672a), where instead we read “↓ *√* *ח*; JBA *לְבִיתָא*, *לְבִיתָא*, pl. *לְבִינֵי* DJBA 617, Ma *לִבְתָא* MD 235.” Leaving aside the question of whether or not the Assyriological debate between Delitzsch, Nöldeke, and Bauer is now obsolete, lack of mention of the Akkadian cognate is to be regretted, and this in view of the general Babylonian milieu in which a large proportion of Syriac speakers would subsequently reside. Moreover, we now know that the Akkadian noun is also attested in the form of *libnatu*, which retains the original nasal unassimilated, and *SL* rightly traces the Syriac noun from the root L-B-N. Many students of Hebrew and the Hebrew Bible, who would account for a sizeable percentage of learners of Syriac, would sorely miss a reference to Hebrew *לְבִנָּה*, which in its turn, according to the time-honoured tradition anchored in the Hebrew Bible, can trace its roots back to ancient Mesopotamia.

Another reason for lamenting this wholesale deletion of the comparative Semitic data from *LS* is that since its appearance *LS* has served as a valuable source of such information, and this because of the absence of a modern, comprehensive comparative Semitic lexicon. Hence the immense value of such a laconic label as “SEM.” Here Brockelmann was ahead of the late James Barr, who rightly emphasised that an etymological section in many current Biblical Hebrew lexicons is of limited use, since they only list languages in which the Hebrew lexeme in question is attested, for we would rather want to know, he said, in which languages it is unattested. That is precisely what Brockelmann did with his “exc. Aeth.”

Incidentally our entry in *SL* raises another problem with its lexicographical methodology. The noun in question is cross-referenced to the root *ח*. Going there (p. 670), we find only one line reading: *ח* vb. ↓ *חִבְּבָא*, *חִבְּבָא*, *חִבְּבָא*. This “root” is thus unattested in Syriac as a verb. Brockelmann, true to his methodological principle, placed the noun where his understanding of its root required and warranted. What we see here in *SL*, by contrast, appears to us to be a half-hearted compromise between the two approaches.

4. CITATION FORM

SL follows *LS* in giving the singular masculine absolute state form as the citation form of adjectives. This is probably rooted in a misconception, according to which nouns and adjectives belong to the same inflectional category. This does not, however, reflect the linguistic reality and structure of Syriac. Although the two parts of speech share the same inflectional categories—two numbers, two genders, and

⁴ A. Tal, *Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

⁵ We also miss some other abbreviations in the list such as *pers.*, *impers.* If *v. ib.*, another missing abbreviation, is supposed to represent *vide ibidem*, it is ironic that such a Latin phrase should have been allowed to remain in this lexicon.

three states—we all know that the absolute state of nouns is on the way out in Syriac or its use is severely restricted by certain syntactic rules, whilst the st. abs. of adjectives is very much alive, and its use is the rule when an adjective is used predicatively. The very first example cited for **ܘܦܢܝܢ** (p. 1588a) reads **ܘܦܢܝܢ ܘܗܘ ܘܦܢܝܢ**. Hence beginning students learn that *beautiful* in Syriac is **ܘܦܢܝܢ**, not **ܘܦܢܝܢܐ**. The same goes for **ܘܦܢܝܢܐ**. Why both *LS* and *SL* are sometimes inconsistent in this respect escapes us (e.g., **ܘܦܢܝܢ** but **ܘܦܢܝܢܐ**).

5. ACTUAL TEXTS QUOTED, NOT JUST REFERENCES

This is undoubtedly the most important and valuable contribution made by *SL*. Brockelmann could have been excused when most of his readership had easy access to the majority of sources he copiously mentioned throughout *LS*. Users of a simple bilingual dictionary come away too often with their interest aroused but not satisfied with mere one-word glosses, unable to see how lexemes are actually used apart from a foreign text they are reading with the help of the dictionary. Sokoloff not only typed and keyed in tens of thousands of phrases or clauses or copied from a digitalised version, but he actually read them in their context. Otherwise an added piece of information (missing in *LS*) such as “in fig. sense” under **ܘܦܢܝܢܐ** (p. 458a) would be unlikely.

As another boon, we are often offered an English translation of quoted Syriac phrases and clauses. There must have been a good reason or reasons why this has not been done systematically. However, in its present form we are being served very generously indeed.

6. TRANSLATION OF TRANSLATION

It is wonderful to have *LS* translated into a language nowadays more widely and easily understood. Very many, and perhaps too many, Bible scholars and students of Semitic languages, even on the continent, are increasingly revising the proverbial “It’s Greek to me” to “It’s Latin to me.”

The method adopted as described above (under 4.) has spared Sokoloff very many pitfalls necessarily awaiting anyone attempting to translate Brockelmann’s Latin glosses into English. Such pitfalls become all the more threatening when those glosses can mean two or more distinct things. Even so, one does come across somewhat infelicitous renditions, if not plain mistranslations.

For instance, under **ܘܦܢܝܢ** Pe. 3 (p. 564a) we read “**to cohabit with,**” for which **ܘܦܢܝܢ** 1 Kgs 1:4 is mentioned as the only reference, which is the same in *LS* (p. 296b) with *cohabit* as a gloss. Undoubtedly the Syriac usage here is a calque of the well-known specific use of the underlying Hebrew **וַיִּשְׁכַּב**. Surely the Peshitta translator did not mean to say that the ageing king was content with the good-looking Shunamite wench coming to visit him daily and entertain him with soothing or titillating fables. Brockelmann must have meant to say that the Syriac text means that the king did not go as far as having a *coitus* (< *√coire*) with her. In plain English, he didn’t make love to her, which is of course not quite the same as *he did not cohabit with her*.

Under Pa. of the same verb *LS*'s “certiorem fecit” is rendered **to determine, fix**, for which **لحا وهدجه سبه** is adduced, and “report of his birth” is offered as a partial translation. “To ascertain, verify” might be a slight improvement.

Under **بحقلا** (p. 562a), beside the well-known sense “**1. dry land**” we read “**2. Mesop. dial. stupid bustard,**” for which the only source is an entry in the indigenous Syriac lexicon of Ḥassan bar Bahlul. *LS* (p. 294b) reads: “**2. in Mesopotamia: otis tarda.**” The Syrian lexicographer explains the word as equivalent to Arabic **حبارى bustard**. The creature under consideration, bustard, is generally considered to be a swift-moving one. *Tardus* can mean “slow of apprehension,” but whence this specification and narrowing down by Sokoloff? The earliest etymon is Lat. *avis tarda*, still unknown it was so called. Though the bird, the largest on the planet earth, may be heavy-footed, it could run with a considerable velocity. In any case, Brockelmann did not mean, we dare say, the figurative sense of Lat. *tardus*.

Under **لاه** Pe. (p. 1628) we read “**1. pers. to repent o.s. لاه صومه صحابه**” “he repented himself completely,” for which the idiomatic English is “he repented him.” The tyrant, however, was not in a penitent mood at this stage of the story. Hence, a better rendition of *poenituit eum* (*LS* 817a) would be “he had very much regretted.”

Thereafter we read: “**2. impers. to regret a. w. -بعم**,” followed by four illustrative citations. But all the examples have **بعم** as the grammatical subject. This is an unusual use—so in *LS* (p. 817a)—of this technical term. The same reservation applies to the other collocation listed: “**b. in phrase لامة جيه**.”⁶

Enfin we have “**3. in phrase لامة اةاب وختلا لامة اةاب** **a feeling of regret urged me to** **لامة اةاب وختلا لامة اةاب** **a feeling of regret urged me to** (turn to the teaching).” *LS* (817a) uses the present tense: “animus me fert,” which is probably preferable. This resultative use of the suffix conjugation is common with stative verbs expressing emotions.

7. *LS*CORRECTED

SL has corrected many errors in citations, bibliographical references, etc. as they had slipped into *LS*, but did Sokoloff and his team consider whether Brockelmann's definitions and lexicographical analysis are correct?

For instance, under **حجم** Af. (p. 1056a) we read: “**1. to make, perform, carry out**” < “fecit, perfecit” in *LS* (p. 505b). Then we have a citation from Isa 62:7 **ישים את ירושלים תהלה בארץ** < MT **בארץ** **ירושלים תהלה בארץ**. The English glosses in *SL* do not mark the causative value of this Afel verb. One should rather render the glosses in *LS* with “to make perform, to make carry out.” More importantly, however, Brockelmann's lexicographical analysis is at fault. The sense here is not “he causes to perform worship of praise,” but “he makes Jerusalem a place worthy of praise.” *Jerusalem* is not in the vocative, which is quite clear from the Hebrew original. It is unlikely that the Peshitta translator misunderstood its intent in view of the verb **ישים**.⁷ This is a common syntagm in which the direct object of the

⁶ One of the references given is 1 Sam 24:6, a typo for 24:5 (correctly in *LS*).

⁷ Did the translator read **את** as **את**?

verb ʾšm is raised to the grammatical subject of an embedded classificatory nominal clause with another noun phrase. Likewise Isa 3:7 “you shall not make me leader of the people” > ܐܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ. The Syriac etymological equivalent, ܥܡܐ, is not used in this fashion. Besides, the noun ܐܢܝܢܐ is not used as a *nomen actionis* in Syriac.

The second quote is from Jdt 5:11 ܐܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ, followed by a text-critical note (missing in *LS*): “[but M (= Mossul ed. of the Peshitta): ܐܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܢܐ.]” Brockelmann possibly misread the text. In that case the quote could simply have been expunged. The LXX agrees, reading the verb as Peal: ἔθεντο αὐτοὺς εἰς δούλους “they turned them into slave workers.”

The following quote is mystifying: Gen 28:18 ܐܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ, where the verb is Peal: “he made it a (memorial for a) covenant.”

Still under the same verb in Afel we have: “2. to be engaged in, be busy with” (< *LS*, p. 505b [“2. operatus est”]), for which 1 Kgs 9:23 ܥܡܐ ܕܥܠܝܢܐ is quoted. But the Peshitta text preceding, -ܐܢܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ, and the MT ܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ make it plain that the text is about a team of foremen set over a gang of corvée, forced labourers. This reference should therefore be placed under sense 1, and Brockelmann, the grand master, tripped again.

8. CONCLUSION

In sum, we have in *SL* an invaluable tool for anyone even remotely interested in Classical Syriac as a Semitic language and in texts written in this language. We have attempted above to evaluate *SL* in comparison with *LS* with reference to a number of parameters. Whilst the arrangement of entry words in the alphabetical order has its obvious advantages, the traditional arrangement by roots also has strengths of its own. Much of the data in *LS* which pertained to etymology and comparative Aramaic/Semitic lexicography has been discarded, though it is partly replaced with some inner-Aramaic data and more up-to-date information on the secondary literature. Here, too, one wonders at times whether the baby has been thrown away with the bath water. In quoting nouns and adjectives in their st. det. form *SL* follows *LS*. Adjectives ought to have been registered in their st. abs. form. An indisputably welcome innovation of *SL* is replacement of mere references in *LS* with actual texts. Though this has not been done systematically, finding actual texts is a great advantage. Translating a translation is sometimes quite a challenge. Fussy scholars may, when quoting from *SL*, also wish to consult *LS*. *SL* has eliminated not a few errors in *LS*—wrong references, for instance.

REFLECTIONS ON HEBREW LEXICOGRAPHY

WHERE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS INTERSECT: THE STORY OF שלח

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This paper discusses the role that syntax can play in the semantic analysis of a Hebrew lexeme. The specific subject of this study is the valence of the Hebrew root שלח *to send*. Even though the different meanings of this root can be determined with little difficulty due to its frequent occurrence in the Old Testament texts, a study of the valence of this verb can be very informative. It informs us about subtle nuances of meaning in certain passages that can be easily overlooked, such as irony, disdain, etc. In this paper the entire range of lexical meanings of שלח will be presented, with special focus on valence. Then a number of apparent exceptions will be discussed, and an effort will be made to explain why they may not be exceptions at all.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is an undisputed fact that the work of a lexicographer is primarily semantic in nature. It is equally obvious, however, that semantics cannot be completely separated from syntax and morphology. Semantics and grammar depend on each other, and one of the areas in which this becomes obvious is that of *valence*. In their *Dictionary of Lexicography*, Hartmann and James define valence as “the bonding potential of words and phrases in sentences, usually in relation to the verb as a syntactic nucleus.”¹ When trying to determine the meaning of a verb, the lexicographer should not just look at the verb itself but at the entire argument structure of the clause of which it is a part. S/he should examine the verb in combination with its constituents and try to determine to what extent variations in structure trigger variations in meaning. A careful study of the valence of a verb sometimes yields very interesting results, as we can see, for example, in the work of

¹ R. R. K. Hartmann and Gregory James, *Dictionary of Lexicography* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 153.

Janet Dyk on both Biblical Hebrew and Syriac,² and as will be illustrated in this article, in a case study featuring the Hebrew verb שלח.

First, however, a word of caution. The corpus of Biblical Hebrew data that is available spans at least a thousand years. There is no doubt that language can change significantly over such a period of time. Dating the different Hebrew documents, however, is not easy because of the huge amount of redaction work that has taken place in the course of the centuries. This sometimes makes it difficult to determine which phase of the language a particular passage represents. In addition, the texts that we have represent different dialects, sociolects, and idiolects. As a result, variations in valence do not always necessarily indicate variations in meaning. One of the meanings of the Hebrew verb חזק, for example, is *to be strong*. This verb is sometimes accompanied by a prepositional phrase governed by the preposition בן, which gives it a comparative meaning *to be stronger than* (e.g., Num 13:31, 1 Sam 17:50, etc.). In later texts, however, we commonly find the collocation על חזק, which has the same meaning (e.g., 2 Chr 27:5, Dan 11:5).

The best way to prove to the reader the usefulness of a study of valence is by looking at common verbs so that we have more data against which we can verify our findings. The verb שלח is a suitable example, as it is found around 840 times in the Hebrew Old Testament. Most dictionaries concur that the basic meaning of this verb is *to send*. All other senses can be easily derived from it. Even in contexts such as שלח ידך stretch out your hand, most of us will intuitively understand the cognitive link with the basic meaning of this verb, even though our native language may work differently. In this paper we will not be able to discuss all lexical meanings of שלח. We will need to restrict ourselves to a limited number of lexical meanings.

2. METHODOLOGY

Before we go any further we will need to deal with a few methodological issues. In the first place, it must be clear that the semantic analysis that is presented here has been done from a cognitive linguistic perspective. That means that the semantic distinctions that are presented in this article are those that are considered relevant from the point of view of the original Hebrew speakers. This sounds very reasonable, but it differs significantly from what has been common practice in most Hebrew dictionaries. The following statement, found in the introduction to Clines' dictionary, confirms this: ". . . our perception of senses is often dependent on the semantic structure of the English language. That is how it must be, and should be, of course, in an interlingual dictionary."³ In other words, according to Clines, the semantic structure of English prevails over the semantic structure of Hebrew. If, however, we look at the Hebrew data from a cognitive linguistic perspective, it is imperative that the semantic structure of Hebrew prevail.

² Janet W. Dyk, "The Cognate Verbs שים and ܫܝܡ in the Books of Kings: Similarities and Differences," in *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography IV* (ed. Kristian Heal and Alison Salvesen; Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 5; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, forthcoming).

³ David J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (8 vols.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–2011), 1:19.

The second methodological issue is the one of definitions vs. glosses. The system of experiences, beliefs, and practices underlying the Biblical Hebrew language is vastly different from ours today. That is one of the reasons why lexica may render a better service to their audiences by using definitions in addition to glosses. This is confirmed by Wierzbicka when she says, “when it comes to concepts encoded in words of a foreign language, especially a culturally distant one, the intuitive link between a word and a concept is missing, and a full definition is the only way of ensuring true understanding of the cultural universe encoded in the language’s lexicon.”⁴

A definition, however, is more than a descriptive phrase. I have written extensively about the structure of definitions in another article.⁵ Here I only want to add that the definition of a verb should also include a certain amount of valence information. A verb cannot be completely separated from the verb phrase of which it is a part. Its meaning often depends on the way the noun phrases and prepositional phrases that are part of its constituent structure have been arranged around it. We should pay special attention to the prepositional phrases governed by the verb, as Hebrew has only a handful of prepositions, which can have a wide range of meanings. Any effort to translate a Hebrew prepositional phrase without properly taking into consideration the valence of the verb that governs it may well result in an incorrect rendering of the text. That is why valence deserves a prominent place in the semantic analysis of Hebrew words.

Finally, a few words about *binyanim*. Most of the existing Hebrew dictionaries, such as Gesenius,⁶ Brown-Driver-Briggs,⁷ HALOT,⁸ and Clines’ *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew (DCH)*,⁹ treat each of the *binyanim* of שָׁלַח as a separate sub-entry. From a grammatical point of view this is understandable. From a semantic perspective, however, it makes less sense. It has become common knowledge that the meaning of a Hebrew verb cannot always be determined on the basis of its *binyan*. As Verheij concludes after a detailed study of the Hebrew *binyanim*, “it does not appear that there is a clearly defined function for each *binyan*, nor a system capturing such functions.”¹⁰ In other words, *binyanim* appear to play a relatively insignificant role in

⁴ A. Wierzbicka, *Lexicography and Conceptual Analysis* (Ann Arbor: Karoma, 1985), 5.

⁵ Reinier de Blois, “Wine to Gladden the Heart of Man: The Art of Writing Definitions,” in *Contemporary Examinations of Classical Languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Greek): Valency, Lexicography, Grammar, and Manuscripts* (ed. Timothy Martin Lewis, Alison G. Salvesen, and Nicholas Al-Jeloo; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, forthcoming).

⁶ W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch* (repr., Berlin: Springer, 1962).

⁷ F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).

⁸ L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (4 vols.; trans. and ed. under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson in collaboration with G. J. Jongeling-Vos and L. J. de Regt; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993–1999).

⁹ David J. A. Clines, *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2010).

¹⁰ A. J. C. Verheij, *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim: A Quantitative Study of Verbal Lexeme Formations in the Hebrew Bible* (Louvain: Peeters, 1999), 135.

the semantic analysis of Hebrew lexemes. If this is true, Hebrew lexicographers might do well to reconsider the way they organize their sub-entries. A primary division on the basis of lexical meaning rather than on *binyanim* might be more efficient, and that is the approach that will be used in this article. The data that will be presented will show the practicality of this.

3. ANALYSIS

As was already mentioned earlier, there is no room in this paper to present each of the lexical meanings of שלח. We will restrict ourselves to five different *frames*, consisting of the verb שלח together with its core constituents. The focus will be on the prepositions that are used to mark the different constituents and how they contribute towards distinguishing the meaning of one frame from the other.

First, a few details about the frames. For pragmatic reasons, the constituents are marked with Hebrew characters. The English equivalent, on the other hand, uses roman characters, again for pragmatic reasons. Note, however, that א refers to A, ב to B, etc. In order to distinguish the subject from the other constituents more clearly, it has been placed in front of the verb. Again, this is a pragmatic decision, and does not indicate that the author has taken a position in the ongoing debate as to whether Biblical Hebrew is a VSO or SVO language.

The most common frame is:

Frame 1

[א שלח ב אֶל־ג ל־ד] “A sends B to C in order to D”

Alt #1: [א שלח ב עֲלֵ־ג ל־ד] “A sends B to C in order to D”

Alt #2: [א שלח לֶ־ג ב ל־ד] “A sends B on an errand to C in order to D”

A: human, divine

B: human

C: human

D: verb (infinitive)

In this most common frame a human or divine sender sends human messengers to other humans with a certain goal. Constituents B, C, and D are not always stated explicitly for pragmatic reasons, though at least one or two constituents should be there. In most cases the preposition אֶל is used to mark the recipient of the message. In Late Biblical Hebrew this preposition is often replaced by עַל. In a number of cases the preposition לְ is used to mark the recipient. These latter cases are grammatically marked, for לְ directly follows the verb and has a pronominal suffix. As far as the *binyanim* of this sub-entry of שלח are concerned, the majority (275) are Qal-forms. In addition, twelve Piel-forms have been attested, and one Pual-form.

Jer 37:7

השלח אתכם אלי לדרשני

“..., who sent you to me to inquire of me, ...” (NRSV)

2 Chr 32:31

המשלחים עליו לדרש המופת

“..., who had been sent to him to inquire about the sign, ...” (NRSV)

2 Chr 2:6

שלח לי איש-חכם לעשות בזהב ובכסף ובנחשת ובברזל ובארגון וכרמיל

ותכלת

“... send me a craftsman to work in gold, silver, bronze, and iron, and in purple, crimson, and blue yarn ...” (NRSV)

Frame 2

[א שלח ב אל-ג ביד-ד] “A sends B to C by D”

A: human, divine

B: letter, message, command

C: human

D: human

Frame 2 differs from the preceding frame in two ways. In the 31 passages where this frame is found, the focus is not on the messenger but rather on the message. What is sent is a letter, a commandment, or a message. There is obviously an intermediary and this person is sometimes mentioned explicitly in a phrase that is preceded by the expression *בִּיד* *through the hand of*. Again, the majority (29) are Qal-forms, though one Niphal and one Piel were attested as well.

A few examples:

1 Kgs 21:8

ותשלח ספרים אל-הזקנים ואל-החרים

“... she sent the letters to the elders and the nobles ...” (NRSV)

Prov 26:6

מקצה רגלים חמס שתה שלח דברים ביד-כסיל:

“It is like cutting off one’s foot and drinking down violence, to send a message by a fool.” (NRSV)

Frame 3

[א שלח ב ל־ג בִּיד־ד] “A sends B to C by D”

- A: human, divine
- B: animal, inanimate object
- C: human
- D: human

The third frame deals with other objects that are sent to someone else. These are usually animals or inanimate objects that are sent as gifts, tribute, or payment for a transaction. The most important difference between this frame and the preceding ones lies in the fact that the recipient is marked with the preposition לִּי instead of אֶל. As far as the *binyanim* are concerned, these are distributed more evenly. Of the 45 occurrences of שלח within this frame, 24 occurrences feature the Qal-form. The remaining 21 cases are Piel-forms.

Some examples:

1 Kgs 9:14

וַיִּשְׁלַח חִירָם לְמֶלֶךְ מֶאֱהָ וְעֶשְׂרִים כֶּכֶר זָהָב

“But Hiram had sent to the king one hundred twenty talents of gold.”
(NRSV)

Gen 38:20

וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוּדָה אֶת־גְּדֵי הָעִזִּים בְּיַד רֵיעָהּ הָעַדְלָמִי

“When Judah sent the kid by his friend the Adullamite, to recover the pledge from the woman, he could not find her.” (NRSV)

Gen 32:19

מִנְחָה הוּא שְׁלוּחָה לְאֲדָנִי לְעֵשָׂו

“... they are a present sent to my lord Esau” (NRSV)

The following example, however, appears to be an exception:

Jer 27:3

וְשִׁלַּחְתֶּם אֶל־מֶלֶךְ אֱדוֹם בְּיַד מְלָאכִים הַבָּאִים יְרוּשָׁלַם אֶל־צִדְקִיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ

יְהוּדָה:

“And send them to the king of Edom ... by envoys who have come to King Zedekiah of Judah in Jerusalem” (NJPS)

According to the reading of MT the root שלח is followed by a third person plural pronominal suffix, referring to a yoke mentioned in the preceding verse. Since a yoke is an inanimate object, one would expect the preposition לִּי rather than אֶל. It is generally assumed, however, that וְשִׁלַּחְתֶּם should be read as וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ. That would solve the problem, because in that case the implicit direct object of שלח would be “messengers,” and this verse would have to be translated as the NRSV does:

“Send word to the king of Edom ... by the hand of the envoys who have come to Jerusalem to King Zedekiah of Judah.” (NRSV)

There is another interesting exception in the following example:

2 Kgs 10:7

וַיִּשְׂמוּ אֶת־רִאשֵׁיהֶם בְּדוֹדִים וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ אֵלָיו יִזְרְעֵאלָה:

“... they put their heads in baskets and sent them to him at Jezreel.” (NRSV)

This passage is part of the story of Jehu’s campaign against the house of Ahab and the worship of Baal. The elders of Samaria have killed seventy sons of Ahab and sent their heads to Jehu. Strictly speaking these heads are inanimate objects, and one would expect the preposition לְ to be used in this verse. This, however, is not the case. The verse states that the heads of these people were sent to Jehu as if they were messengers. It is very possible that the author did this on purpose as a (somewhat morbid) joke. After all, the author of Kings is not very sympathetic towards the victims, who were descendants of the infamous Ahab.

Frame 4

[א שלח ב בִּג] “A sends B against C”

A: divine

B: human, animal, event

C: human, location

The fourth frame is commonly used to describe situations in which God punishes people by sending enemies, dangerous animals, or suffering. The preposition אֶל found in Frame 1 has been replaced by בִּ. This frame is attested seventeen times, and the *binyanim* are distributed as follows: Piel 14, Hifil 2, Pual 1.

The following example contains two phrases featuring שלח.

2 Kgs 24:2

וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוָה | בּוֹ אֶת־גְּדוּדֵי כַּשְׂדִּים וְאֶת־גְּדוּדֵי אַרְם וְאֵת | גְּדוּדֵי מוֹאָב וְאֵת

גְּדוּדֵי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן וַיִּשְׁלַח בְּיהוּדָה לְהַאֲבִידוּ

“The Lord let loose against him the raiding bands of the Chaldeans, Arameans, Moabites, and Ammonites; He let them loose against Judah to destroy it, in accordance with the word that the Lord had spoken through His servants the prophets.” (NRSV)

Ps 78:45

וַיִּשְׁלַח בָּהֶם עָרָב וַיֹּאכְלֵם וַצַּפְרָדִּיעַ וַתִּשְׁחִיתֵם:

“He inflicted upon them swarms of insects to devour them, frogs to destroy them.” (NJPS)

Note that there are also phrases where the preposition בְּ marks a simple locative phrase that is not really part of the constituent frame of the verb. The example below is actually a variant of frame 1:

Judg 15:5

וַיִּבְעַר-אִישׁ בַּלְפִּידִים וַיִּשְׁלַח בְּקִמּוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים

“He lit the torches and turned [the foxes] loose among the standing grain of the Philistines ...” (NJPS)

Frame 5

[א שלח ל-ב] “A sends for B”

A: human, divine

B: human

This frame occurs only four times, but it is clearly different from the preceding ones. Even though the event described here presupposes the involvement of a messenger, this person is not mentioned at all. The message is very specific: constituent B is summoned to come to constituent A.

The following example contains two phrases representing this frame:

Jer 16:16

הֲנִי שֹׁלַח לְדִיגִים רַבִּים נְאֻם-יְהוָה וְדִיגוּם וְאַחֲרֵי-כֵן אֶשְׁלַח לְרַבִּים צִידִים

וְצִדּוֹם מֵעַל כָּל-הָר וּמֵעַל כָּל-גְּבֻעָה וּמִנְקִי קִי הַסְּלָעִים:

“I am now sending for many fishermen, says the Lord, and they shall catch them; and afterward I will send for many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every mountain and every hill, and out of the clefts of the rocks.” (NRSV)

Ezek 23:40

וְאִף כִּי תִשְׁלַחְנָה לְאֲנָשִׁים בְּאִים מְרֹחֵק

“They even sent for men to come from far away ...” (NRSV)

The example below raises some questions:

2 Chr 17:7

וּבִשְׁנַת שְׁלוֹשׁ לְמַלְכוֹ שֹׁלַח לְשָׂרָיו לְבִן-חַיִּל וְלַעֲבָדָהּ וְלִזְכַּרְיָה וְלִנְתַנְאֵל

וְלְמִיכָיָהוּ לְלַמֵּד בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה:

“In the third year of his reign he sent his officials, Ben-hail, Obadiah, Zechariah, Nethanel, and Micaiah, to teach in the cities of Judah.” (NRSV)

Most English translations render this verse as the NRSV has done. If this is correct the preposition ל suggests a strong Aramaic influence. This is not impossible, as this text is obviously Late Biblical Hebrew. Gesenius mentions several similar cases in his grammar.¹¹ One could argue that frame 5 applies here after all and that the correct translation is “he sent for his officials.” This is not very likely, however, because of the phrase לְלַמֵּד בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה “to teach in the cities of Judah” at the end of this verse, which would not fit very well if this alternative interpretation were to be adopted. In other words, it would be better to treat this example as part of frame 1 and consider the preposition ל to be an Aramaism.

4. CONCLUSION

It would be possible to continue with some of the other lexical meanings of שלח. We will restrict ourselves, however, to the five frames that were mentioned above, since these are closely related in meaning. And because of this close relationship it has become even more useful to see the subtle differences in meaning that become manifest if we pay due attention to the syntax. If lexicographers would pay more attention to valence and present their data in such a way that these valence relations receive the attention they deserve, the user would get another step closer to a better understanding of Biblical Hebrew.

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¹¹ GKC, §117n.

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HEBREW THOUGHT AND GREEK THOUGHT IN THE SEPTUAGINT: FIFTY YEARS AFTER BARR'S *SEMANTICS**

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In his book *Semantics of Biblical Language*, James Barr refuted Thorleif Boman's views on the way language regulates thought. But Barr never denied that language and thought are closely related. In the present paper, two aspects of the question are explored and illustrated with examples from the Septuagint. The concept of translatability strongly relativizes the notion that Hebrew thought can only be expressed in the Hebrew language. Translators find, and the Septuagint demonstrates, that everything can be translated, even although in some cases it means doing violence to the target language. On the other hand, the concept of frame in cognitive linguistics strengthens the idea that there is a link between language and thought. Even where Hebrew words find ready equivalents in Greek, the associative implications of the words may be rather different. Although associative meaning is difficult to define when one is dealing with ancient languages, some examples suggest that the Greek translators, although ostensibly faithful to the source text, did indeed inject Hellenistic thoughts into the translation.

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the main targets of criticism in James Barr's *Semantics of Biblical Language* is the idea that Hebrew and Greek impose distinct and incompatible modes of thought on their speakers.¹ A particular application of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, this idea had been argued in detail in Thorleif Boman's book, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek*.² Barr had much fun, presumably, shooting to pieces some of Boman's main

* Invited lecture presented in the Lexicography session of the SBL annual meeting in San Francisco (November 19–22, 2011), remembering the publication of James Barr's *Semantics* after fifty years. The oral style of this presentation has been modified only slightly. I thank James Aitken for the invitation to speak in the session, participants for their questions and remarks, and Terry Falla for the proposal to publish in the present volume.

¹ James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

² Thorleif Boman, *Das hebräische Denken im Vergleich mit dem griechischen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952).

arguments, notably the ones reasoning from grammatical phenomena to patterns of thought. There can be no doubt that Barr's critique was on the whole well founded. Boman's case was indefensible. It is wrong to connect, say, grammatical gender to cultural views on men, women, and inanimate objects. The problematic type of reasoning represented by Boman's book has not entirely gone away even today. It is less in evidence in academic publications, but still widespread among theologians, as a quick visit of the internet will show.³ Reading *Semantics of Biblical Language* remains a salutary experience even fifty years after it was first published. One should not conclude, however, that Barr's is the last word and that the case is now closed.

Evidently, Barr's strictures did not intend to suggest that Hebrew thought could not be distinct from Greek thought. The Hebrew Bible contains many ideas that find scant analogy in the Greek world, and vice versa. Moreover, there can be no doubt that biblical notions are typically expressed in Hebrew, and Hellenic conceptions in Greek. What is at issue is whether the link between language and thought is a necessary one. To what extent can biblical ideas only be expressed in Hebrew? Will the thought change if it is expressed in another language? More concretely, did the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek entail a denaturation of its theology? And if it did, was the change of language to blame? These are very difficult questions to which Barr's *Semantics* does not really give an answer. If one particular way of arguing the connection between language and thought is effectively refuted this does not make the connection itself spurious. In general linguistics, different forms of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis continue to be debated.⁴

In the present paper I will revisit the relation between thought and language. In the first section, I will submit a few reflections that tend to relativize the dominance of language over thought. Then in a second section, I will propose some contrary observations. Illustrations will be brought mostly from the Septuagint.

2. TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATABILITY

The last fifty years have seen the emergence of translation studies as a full-fledged academic discipline. A question much debated among "traductologists" is that of translatability: is interlingual translation possible? Can metaphors and idiomatic expressions, can literature and poetry be translated? Generally, the answer given to these questions has been that they can.⁵ Arguably, the whole point of having a science devoted to translation lies in giving an affirmative answer. If any language

³ The English translation of Boman's book is still in print: *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (New York; London: W. W. Norton, 2002).

⁴ See, e.g., John J. Gumperz and Stephen C. Levinson, eds., *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Iman Tohidian, "Examining Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis as One of the Main Views on the Relationship between Language and Thought," *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 38 (2009): 65–74; specifically dealing with the question of translation: G. M. Hyde, "The Whorf-Sapir Hypothesis and the Translation Muddle," *Translation and Literature* 2 (1993): 3–16.

⁵ See, e.g., the extensive discussion in Rade Gundis Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien: Eine Einführung* (2nd ed.; Narr Studienbücher; Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 1997).

use were wholly and definitively untranslatable, the *raison d'être* of translation would be undermined, and traductologists would be deprived of their object of study. But it is not just a question of principle. Translators the world over find that it is indeed possible to put even very recalcitrant utterances and expressions into a different language. The result may not be pretty, but it will be serviceable. An interesting illustration of this principle is offered in a little book by Christopher J. Moore called *In Other Words: A Language Lover's Guide to the Most Intriguing Words around the World* (2004).⁶ In this booklet, the author has collected “untranslatable” words from many different languages, from the well-known German *Schadenfreude* to lesser-known examples such as Finnish *sisu* and Spanish *chungo*. Many of these words have no equivalent in any other language. But that does not make them untranslatable. Their meaning can be paraphrased: *Schadenfreude* is the satisfaction one secretly experiences upon learning of someone else's misfortune; *sisu* is “a dogged and proud refusal to lie down and be beaten.”⁷ When everything else fails, the words can simply be adopted into the target language: *Schadenfreude* is perhaps somewhat rarefied in English (and *sisu* is reported only for some local Michigan dialects), but one might call to mind *glasnost* or *seppuku*.

Key to adequate translation is to understand—as fully and as correctly as possible—the meaning of an expression in its original context and culture. More challenging than notoriously untranslatable words are ostensibly banal expressions whose meaning rests for a large part on implicature. A list that has been circulating in Europe explains some famous traps of British English. When an Englishman says “I hear what you say,” most Europeans will interpret this to mean “he accepts my point of view,” whereas in fact what he is saying is “I disagree and I do not want to discuss it any further.”⁸

The examples are funny, even hilarious. But they are, as far as I can tell, entirely accurate in regard to British speakers of a certain level of education. I suspect the phrases are not used in this way in the US—perhaps another case where Britain and the States are “divided by a common language.” Expressions like this are not untranslatable. Once the rhetorical mechanism underlying them has been recognized, a skillful translator will know how to handle them. But wherever the surface meaning and the pragmatic implication of an expression diverge, it is indeed easy to err.

⁶ Christopher J. Moore, *In Other Words: A Language Lover's Guide to the Most Intriguing Words around the World* (New York: Walker, 2004).

⁷ Moore, *In Other Words*, 10.

⁸ See http://www.economist.com/node/3152907?story_id=3152907 and several other sites on the internet.

British phrase	Apparent meaning	Correct translation
“Up to a point”	“Partially”	“Not in the slightest.”
“I hear what you say”	“I accept your point of view”	“I disagree and I do not want to discuss it any further.”
“With the greatest respect”	“I respect you”	“I think you are wrong, or a fool.”
“By the way/incidentally”	“This is not very important”	“The primary purpose of our discussion is ...”
“I’ll bear it in mind”	“I’ll take care of it”	“I’ll do nothing about it.”
“Correct me if I’m wrong”	“I may be wrong; please let me know”	“I’m right; don’t contradict me.”

In the biblical field, the basic postulate of translatability has been much advocated by Eugene Nida.⁹ The principle completely sidelines the idea that biblical thought can only be expressed in Hebrew. Bible translators through the ages, starting with the Seventy, have shown a similar attitude. The Septuagint embodies a robust faith in the possibility of translation. Everything in the source text is translated. Passages judged to be difficult or incomprehensible are not left aside; frequently they are rendered word for word in such a way as to reflect their perceived obscurity. “Untranslatable” words—words that did not have a ready translation in Greek (of which there are many)—are generally dealt with by “enriching” the target language in one way or another.¹⁰ Some wholly alien words, like *Cherubim* or *Shabbat*, are taken over in Semitic form (some of them actually from Aramaic, but that is not our subject today). In a few cases, new Greek words are created, for instance *ἀκροβυστία* for *עַרְשֵׁין* *foreskin*. Most often, however, terms are fitted with a Greek equivalent that is made to absorb, wholly or partly, the meaning of the Hebrew: *κτίζω* to *found* renders *בָּרָא* to *create*, *εὐλογέω* to *speak well of* renders *בָּרַךְ* to *bless*. Such extension and modification of the target language might be taken as evidence that establishes the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis: Hebrew words, or at least their meanings, turn out to be needed to express biblical ideas. But this conclusion is completely unwarranted: the process merely illustrates the capacity of Greek to integrate new words and meanings. By incorporating the originally Aramaic word *σάββατα*, Hellenistic Greek does not cease to be Greek anymore than English ceased to be

⁹ Eugene A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating, with Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating* (Leiden: Brill, 1964).

¹⁰ On various types of innovation in the vocabulary of the Septuagint, see my essay “The Vocabulary of the Septuagint and Its Historical Context,” in *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception* (ed. E. Bons and J. Joosten; *Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 58; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 1–11.

English when it adopted words like “glasnost” or “computer.” Translation is expected to affect the target language in one way or another. Rudolf Pannwitz writes, “The one who translates, particularly when translating from a very distant language, . . . *must deepen and enlarge his own language by the help of the foreign one.*”¹¹ The application of this principle in the Septuagint demonstrates the translatability of Biblical Hebrew.

I do not intend to argue that the Septuagint translation is perfect. There are many passages where the Greek translation appears to fall short, to be inaccurate, or even completely mistaken. Different factors may be invoked to explain the divergences of the Septuagint: the use of defective copies of the source text; misreading of letters or words; imperfect knowledge of ancient Hebrew; harmonization; updating; theological corrections; and so on. In many instances, the translators prove to be out of tune with the particular genius of the Hebrew language. To pick just one example somewhat akin to the “British phrases” referred to above, the Hebrew locution **אֶמְצָא חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ**, literally: “May I find favor in your eyes” (and its equivalents) are used in Biblical Hebrew as a deferential expression of gratitude, as was first discovered by Arnold Ehrlich.¹²

2 Sam 16:4

“The king said to Ziba, ‘Everything that was Mephibosheth’s now belongs to you.’ Ziba replied, ‘I bow before you. *May I find favor in your sight, my lord the king.*’”

What Ziba means is something like: “Please allow me not to repay you for this kindness, for I couldn’t possibly do so.” In English this could be rendered as “I’m much obliged,” or more simply “Thank you.”¹³ See also Gen 33:15; 47:25; 1 Sam 1:18; Ruth 2:13. The Greek translators systematically miss the idiomatic meaning of this Hebrew phrase. In literal translation units such as Ruth or the *kaige* sections of Kingdoms they translate word for word: **εὕρομι χάριν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου** “May I find grace in your eyes” (2 Sam 16:4 *kaige*). In Genesis and in the Old Greek of Kingdoms the oddness of the expression in the context leads the translators to put the verb in a past tense (aorist or perfect): **εὔρηκα χάριν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ κυρίου μου** “I *have found* grace in the eyes of my Lord” (2 Sam 16:4 Ant). Neither rendering comes close to the contextual meaning of the Hebrew.¹⁴ The translators

¹¹ Rudolf Pannwitz, *Die Krisis der europäischen Kultur*, quoted by Walter Benjamin, “Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers,” in idem, *Illuminationen. Ausgewählte Schriften* (ed. Siegfried Unseld; Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977), 50–62, in particular 61 (emphasis added).

¹² Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen* (vol. 1 of *Genesis und Exodus*; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908), 163–64.

¹³ The Hebrew expression is essentially analogous to French *merci* (“thank you”). Etymologically identical with English “mercy,” *merci* originally meant something like: “Have mercy on me if I don’t repay your kindness.” See Jean-Marc Babut, *Les expressions idiomatiques de l’hébreu biblique* (CahRB 33; Paris: Gabalda, 1995), 169–70.

¹⁴ In Gen 33:15, the phrase is further modified by an addition: **ἰκανὸν ὅτι εὔρον χάριν ἐναντίον σου** “*It is enough* that I found grace before you.”

went astray after the Hebrew words, manifestly unaware of the pragmatic function of the phrase.

Now, the misunderstanding will have something to do with the elliptic nature of the Hebrew expression, which some might estimate to be typically Semitic.¹⁵ Mostly, however, the inadequacy of the translation is simply due to unfamiliarity with the Hebrew idiom.¹⁶ Had the translators known the import of the expression, they would have found adequate resources in the Greek language to translate its global meaning (e.g., *ὁμολογῶ σοι, εὐχαριστῶ σοι, I thank you*). They could even have preserved something of the literal meaning of the Hebrew if they had used a Greek expression such as *οἶδα χάριν* to *acknowledge thanks*. Certainly the notion that a kindness received puts one into debt, and that returning thanks is a way of recognizing this, is as easy to express in Greek as in Hebrew.

The basic translatability of the Hebrew Bible exemplified by its translation into Greek shows that the linkage of biblical thought to the Hebrew language is at most partial. The rendering of Hebrew meanings into Greek is not always elegant, but it is largely effective. The most obvious divergences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew source text do not have their origin in any fundamental incommensurability between languages, but rather in various types of human error.

3. COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND ASSOCIATIVE MEANING

The Septuagint, or any other “free-standing” Bible translation, illustrates the possibility to express biblical thoughts in languages other than Hebrew. The Septuagint, however, as well as other Bible translations, also illustrates how different languages do lead to different thought patterns. Between basic translatability and manifest translation errors lies a grey area covered in the above discussion by expressions such as “largely effective” and “more or less equivalent.”

In recent years, cognitive linguistics has, among other things, drawn attention to pragmatic implications of lexical semantics. While meaning is basically conceptual—meaning is not to be confused with reference—associative elements from the “real world” may also come into play. To the present writer, the word “horse” almost always comes with subliminal thoughts of biting and stamping, but to his daughter it goes hand in hand with ideas of hugging and riding. More seriously, cognitive linguists have developed the idea of encyclopedic knowledge, which permits conceiving of pragmatic associations of words in a scientific way.¹⁷

¹⁵ On indirectness in biblical style, see Jan Joosten, “La persuasion coopérative dans le discours sur la loi: Pour une analyse de la rhétorique du Code de Sainteté,” in *Congress Volume: Ljubljana 2007* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTSup 133; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 381–98, in particular 388–89.

¹⁶ The Hebrew phrase is found in Genesis, Samuel, and Ruth, but never in Late Biblical Hebrew, Qumran Hebrew, or Ben Sira (although the expression “to find favor” is found in other usages). The usage seems to have become obsolete in the transition from classical to late Biblical Hebrew. The translator can hardly be faulted for missing a meaning that was retrieved only in the early twentieth century.

¹⁷ See, e.g., William Croft and D. Alan Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Different cultures structure the “real world” in different ways, so that words of identical meaning may nevertheless be connoted differently. This amounts to an influence of language on thought. One or two examples from the Septuagint will show the relevance of these considerations.

In the story of the sale of the Cave of Machpelah found in Genesis 23, the Greek version contains a rare attestation of the noun *πολίτης* *citizen, fellow citizen*:

Gen 23:11

MT: “I give you the field, and I give you the cave that is in it. In the presence of the children of my people (בני עמי) I give it to you.”

LXX: “I give you the field, and the cave that is in it. Before all my fellow citizens (τῶν πολιτῶν μου) I have given it to you.”

The rendering is faithful enough. Ephron is a notable inhabitant of the *city* (עיר in Hebrew [vv. 10, 18], πόλις in Greek [v. 2], 10, 18) of Hebron. He is referring to the other free men in his city, who will witness the cession of the field. This is equally clear in the Hebrew source text and in the Greek translation. Nevertheless, the associations are different. While the Hebrew term *sons of my people* is in tune with the ethnic and genealogical discourse that dominates in the book of Genesis, the Greek word *citizen* resonates with political notions of the Hellenistic age.¹⁸ Historical questions, such as whether and until when Jews were considered citizens in Alexandria, may or may not be germane here. But in any event, the notion of citizenship evokes a system of rights and responsibilities connected to the typically Greek institution of the *polis*. The use of a Greek word brings Greek thought into the associative background (the “frame” in terms of cognitive linguistics) of a biblical passage.

Associative meaning is difficult to recover, all the more so when one is dealing with ancient languages more or less sparsely attested. It stands to reason that many other Greek words of the Septuagint activate associations differing from those evoked by the Hebrew equivalent. But it is difficult to prove any single case. One should spy out textual evidence establishing the case. In Gen 23:11, the terminological divergence between *sons of my people* and *my fellow citizens* is a tell-tale sign. In the following passage, the context is the revealing factor:

Prov 11:9–12

MT: 9 “With his mouth the godless man destroys his **neighbor** (עֵר),
 But the righteous will be delivered through knowledge.
 10 When it goes well with the righteous, the **city** rejoices.
 When the wicked perish, there is shouting.
 11 By the blessing of the upright, the **city** is exalted,
 But it is overthrown by the mouth of the wicked.
 12 One who despises his **neighbor** (עֵר) is void of wisdom,

¹⁸ See, e.g., Ceslas Spicq, *Lexique théologique du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Cerf; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1991), 1256–66.

But a man of understanding holds his peace.”

- LXX: 9 “In the mouth of the impious is a snare for his fellow citizens (πολίταις),
 But the understanding of the righteous makes them prosper.
 10–11 In the prosperity of the righteous a **city** is established,
 but by the mouth of the impious it is overthrown.
 12 A person who lacks sense sneers at his fellow citizens (πολίτας),
 but an intelligent man keeps quiet.”

In Proverbs, the usual equivalent of the Hebrew word ער *associate, fellow human being, 'other'* is φίλος *friend*.¹⁹ In the present context, what seems to have happened is that the mention of the *city* in vv. 10–11 (telescoped into one statement in the Greek) has suggested a notional background for the surrounding verses. The translation of ער with the term πολίτης is apt. But it creates a mental image that is at variance with what is suggested by the Hebrew: the misdemeanors in vv. 9a and 12a receive a political dimension that is absent in the Hebrew text. Moreover, in Greek the three proverbs are welded into a unit far more than is the case in Hebrew.

Other political terms may also merit consideration. Another promising field is that of honor and shame/praise and blame. Before instituting his covenant with him, God tells Abram, in the Hebrew text, to be *perfect* (תמים). In the Greek version the Hebrew word is rendered ἄμεμπτος *irreproachable*. The translation is sufficiently precise. Yet the Greek word's derivational connection to μέφομαι *to find fault* could easily lead to the idea that “perfection” is something one acquires in the public arena. This idea is absent from the Hebrew. Similar conclusions might be drawn from the (rare) instances where Hebrew כבוד *glory* is rendered with the Greek word τιμή *honor*.²⁰ In all these cases, language molds thought in a more or less unconscious way. Although it is possible to express biblical thoughts in Greek, doing so at times leads to conceptions that are slightly different.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Without slighting Barr's contribution to biblical studies, one may still underscore that his chief merits are situated in the field of criticism. Barr excelled in picking out problematic lines of reasoning and showing why they were unable to achieve what they pretended to achieve. When it came to showing positively how progress could be made, he was apt to run out of breath. To the very least, this estimate applies to his monograph on the *Semantics of Biblical Language*. While the comments on Boman's monograph and on contributions to the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* are devastating, his constructive proposals remain somewhat meager and general.

The reason for carting out this rather commonplace appreciation of Barr in the present context is that, at the end of my paper, I understand better what kept Barr from fleshing out such proposals. Language and thought go hand in hand, and languages differ from one another in an astonishing variety of ways. But it is hard to

¹⁹ The equivalent πολίτης recurs in Prov 24:28.

²⁰ This equivalence is rare. However, see, e.g., Exod 28:2, 40.

get a handle on the interplay between any given language and the ideas expressed in it. Fifty years after the publication of Barr's *Semantics* little progress has been made on this issue. Haggling over the precise import of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has not led to a definitive theory.

The principle of translatability, experienced by translators through the ages, shows that thoughts are not captive of any single language. Language communities are not hermetically closed containers. On the other hand, as suggested by the concept of frame in cognitive semantics, words of similar meaning can activate very different connotations. The effect may be that of leading the thought in a different direction.

Perhaps what may be concluded is that a vast domain is still open for investigation. Barr's criticisms should be taken to heart. But far from discouraging us from probing the relation between language and thought they should spur us on to explore this issue further.

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IS ‘RIGHTEOUSNESS’ A RELATIONAL CONCEPT IN THE HEBREW BIBLE?¹

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Most modern lexica and wordbooks of the biblical languages make the claim that “righteousness” (צְדָקָה, צְדָקָה) in the Hebrew Bible is a relational concept, in contrast to “righteousness” (δικαιοσύνη and *iustitia*) in Hellenistic contexts, where it is a norm concept. This claim is repeated as an established lexicographical fact in countless Bible dictionaries, commentaries, and works of theology. The relational interpretation is the view that “righteousness” in the Hebrew Bible does not mean conformity to a norm or distributive justice, as it often does in Greek and Latin contexts. Rather, in the biblical/Hebraic thought-world, “righteousness” denotes the fulfillment of the demands of a relationship, since the relationship itself is the norm. Although there were precursors in the nineteenth-century Ritschlian school, the relational interpretation was first articulated in this form by Hermann Cremer in 1899. On the basis of his relational interpretation of “righteousness,” Cremer argued that “the righteousness of God” is his faithfulness to the covenant expressed in his saving activity toward his people. Cremer’s novel lexical theory has exercised a profound influence in both Old Testament and New Testament scholarship throughout the twentieth century to the present. In this paper, I examine Cremer’s chief arguments for the relational interpretation of “righteousness” and attempt, in the spirit of James Barr, to raise some doubts about this widely-held scholarly assumption.

1. INTRODUCTION

I was introduced to James Barr’s *Semantics of Biblical Language* in the late 1980s as an undergraduate through Moisés Silva’s *Biblical Words and Their Meaning*.² Since that time, I have been fascinated by the subject of biblical lexicography and its important

¹ An earlier form of this paper was presented at the SBL Annual Meeting in San Francisco (November 19, 2011) at the Biblical Lexicography Program Unit, the theme of which was “50 years of Barr’s *Semantics of Biblical Language* (1961).”

² James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961); Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (1983; rev. and exp. ed.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995).

role in biblical theology. Most Old Testament and New Testament scholars are aware of Barr's work and as a result are more cautious about distinguishing clearly between a lexicon and a theological dictionary. It is probably true that whenever professors recommend Kittel's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* to their students, the necessary Barr-disclaimer must be added as a warning. But as much as Barr's work has impacted biblical studies, there are still areas where his strictures have yet to be heeded and applied. The focus of this paper is to apply the groundbreaking insights of James Barr to one such area. I will use Barr as an impetus to argue against the widely held view that "righteousness" is a relational concept in the Hebrew Bible.

Most modern lexica and wordbooks of the biblical languages make the claim that "righteousness" in the Hebrew Bible is a relational concept, in contrast to "righteousness" in Hellenistic contexts, where it is a norm concept. For example, the 1962 article on "Righteousness in the OT" in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, written by Elizabeth Achtemeier, defines "righteousness" as follows:

Righteousness is in the OT the fulfillment of the demands of a relationship, whether that relationship be with men or with God ... Furthermore, there is no norm of righteousness outside the relationship itself.³

Similar citations can be documented from the realm of New Testament scholarship. James Dunn in his treatment of "the righteousness of God" in Paul makes this claim. By the way, it is interesting to note that Dunn acknowledges that he was first introduced to the Hebraic/relational interpretation of "righteousness" by Achtemeier's article.⁴ But here is Dunn:

More to the theological point, "righteousness" is a good example of a term whose meaning is determined more by its Hebrew background than its Greek form ... In the typical Greek worldview, "righteousness" is an idea or ideal against which the individual and individual action can be measured ... In contrast, in Hebrew thought "righteousness" is a more relational concept ... It should be equally evident why God's *righteousness* could be understood as God's *faithfulness* to his people. For his righteousness was simply the fulfilment of his covenant obligations as Israel's God in delivering, saving, and vindicating Israel, despite Israel's failure.⁵

Dunn contrasts "Hebrew thought" with "the typical Greek worldview." The argument is that the lexical differences between "righteousness" in Hebrew and in Greek reflect broader differences in the thought-world of the two cultures. Building theological conclusions on the basis of an alleged Hebrew-Greek antithesis is

³ E. R. Achtemeier, "Righteousness in the OT," *IDB* 4:80.

⁴ James D. G. Dunn, "The New Perspective: Whence, What and Whither?," in *The New Perspective on Paul: Collected Essays* (WUNT II, 185; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 2.

⁵ James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 341–42.

precisely the scholarly house of cards that James Barr supposedly toppled fifty years ago.

This claim is repeated as an established lexicographical fact in countless biblical dictionaries, lexica, and theological wordbooks.⁶ In fact, I could find only one dictionary of Old Testament theology whose entry on “righteousness” did not appear to reflect the influence of this widespread relational interpretation of righteousness.⁷

When did this relational interpretation originate? As far as I can tell, it is first detectable in an 1860 article by Ludwig Diestel (1825–1879) entitled “The Idea of Righteousness, particularly in the Old Testament, biblico-theologically set forth.”⁸ Next, Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889) took up Diestel’s ideas and developed them in his three-volume magnum opus, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation* (1870–1874).⁹ Under the influence of Kant and Schleiermacher, Diestel and Ritschl took exception with the traditional view that “righteousness” in the Old Testament has to do with *iustitia distributiva*, that is, God’s rewarding of the good and his recompensing of evil. For them, God’s righteousness is his steadfast commitment to

⁶ Gottlob Schrenk, “δικαιοσύνη, κτλ,” in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (ed. Gerhard Kittel; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935), 2:180–229; Klaus Koch, “Gerechtigkeit im Alten Testament,” in *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* (ed. Heinz Brunotte and Otto Weber; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 1:1501–2; Fr. Horst, “Gerechtigkeit Gottes im AT und Judentum,” in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (ed. Kurt Galling; 3rd ed; Tübingen: Mohr, 1958), 2.1403–6; Klaus Koch, “קָדַשׁ,” in *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (ed. Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann; Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971–1976), 2:507–30; Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), 1:452; Karl Kertelge, “δικαιοσύνη, δικαίωμα, δικαιοσύνη,” in *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (ed. Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 1:325–35; K. L. Onesti and M. T. Brauch, “Righteousness, Righteousness of God,” in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (ed. Ralph P. Martin, Gerald F. Hawthorne, and Daniel G. Reid; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1993), 827–37; Eckart Otto, “Gerechtigkeit, Biblisch, Alter Orient und Altes Testament,” in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (ed. Hans Dieter Betz; 4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 3:702–3; Frederick William Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (3rd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 247–49; Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (trans. M. E. J. Richardson; 2 vol. study ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1004–7; B. Johnson, “קָדַשׁ, etc.,” in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 12:239–64.

⁷ David J. Reimer, “קָדַשׁ,” in *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis* (ed. Willem VanGemeren; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997), 3:744–69.

⁸ Ludwig Diestel, “Die Idee der Gerechtigkeit, vorzüglich im Alten Testament, biblisch-theologisch dargestellt,” *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* 5 (1860): 173–253.

⁹ Albrecht Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* (3 vols.; Bonn: A. Marcus, 1870–1874). The second volume is subtitled *Der biblische Stoff der Lehre* (3rd ed.; Bonn: A. Marcus, 1889). See pp. 102–13 for Ritschl’s discussion of righteousness in the Old Testament.

achieving the aim of “the covenantal salvation of the godly.”¹⁰ This is why God’s righteousness in the Old Testament so frequently appears as equivalent to salvation and grace. God’s very essence is love; therefore, his righteousness is nothing other than his unswerving fidelity to pursuing his loving will. “The righteousness of God” in the Old Testament has a thoroughly positive and saving significance; it never connotes divine wrath or judgment.¹¹

It is within this late nineteenth-century context that Hermann Cremer (1834–1903), Protestant Professor of Dogmatics at the University of Greifswald, wrote his famous treatise, *Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhange ihrer geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen*. It was first published in 1899 and reissued in a second edition in 1900.¹² The title may be translated, *The Pauline Doctrine of Justification in the Context of Its Historical Presuppositions*.

Given his concerns as a biblical theologian, Cremer sought to define righteousness in a non-philosophical manner. He was fighting on two fronts. The first front was Ritschl’s notion that righteousness is an “aim concept” (*Zweckbegriff*),¹³ The other was Emil Kautzsch’s view that it is a “norm concept” (*Normbegriff*), with God himself as the norm defining what righteousness is.¹⁴ Against both Ritschl and Kautzsch, Cremer argues that righteousness in scriptural usage is in fact “a thoroughly relational concept (*durchaus Verhältnisbegriff*) based on an actual relationship between two parties.”¹⁵ The central, constitutive element of Cremer’s *Verhältnisbegriff* is that there is no abstract norm lying outside the relationship to the judgment of which either God or humanity is subordinate; rather, “the relationship itself is the norm” (*das Verhältnis selbst ist die Norm*). He agrees with Ritschl that righteousness is “thoroughly positive” (*durchaus positiver*)¹⁶ and does not include any thought of punishment. “Righteousness, which someone possesses or which he exercises, *always* comes to the good of those with whom he stands in relationship (*Verhältnis*).”¹⁷

So there are three views: *Normbegriff*, *Zweckbegriff*, *Verhältnisbegriff*. In a sense, they are all *Normbegriffe*; they just define the norm differently. In Kautzsch’s *Normbegriff* theory, the norm is the moral law, which is itself founded on God’s unchanging holy nature. In Diestel’s and Ritschl’s *Zweckbegriff* theory, the norm is God’s loving aim. In Cremer’s *Verhältnisbegriff* theory, there are no norms outside of the relationship; the relationship itself is the norm. Righteousness is faithfulness to the demands of a given relationship. Based on this reinterpretation of

¹⁰ Diestel, “Die Idee der Gerechtigkeit,” 198.

¹¹ Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, 2:110.

¹² Hermann Cremer, *Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhange ihrer geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen* (2nd ed.; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1900).

¹³ See Cremer, *Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*, 33–34, 39, where he explicitly characterizes his debate with Ritschl in terms of *Zweckbegriff* vs. *Verhältnisbegriff*.

¹⁴ Emil Kautzsch, *Über die Derivate des Stammes צדק im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch* (Tübingen: Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 1881).

¹⁵ Cremer, *Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*, 34, 53.

¹⁶ Cremer, *Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*, 23.

¹⁷ Cremer, *Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*, 37. The translations are mine.

“righteousness” as a relational concept, Cremer then defines “the righteousness of God” as his saving righteousness (*iustitia salutifera*), i.e., as God’s salvation and deliverance, which he accomplishes in accordance with his faithfulness to his covenant relationship with his people.

Cremer’s achievement has to be recognized for the Copernican revolution that it is. His relational theory has indeed become the entrenched consensus in both Old Testament and New Testament scholarship since the twentieth century. Gerhard von Rad said, “It was H. Cremer who . . . succeeded in breaking through to a completely different way of thinking which has so far been rightly accepted as proven, in its basic thesis at least.”¹⁸

In this paper, I want to provide some arguments that I think raise serious doubts about the lexical validity of this interpretation of “righteousness” in the Hebrew Bible.

2. RIGHTEOUSNESS NOT “THOROUGHLY POSITIVE”

Deistel, Ritschl, Cremer, and von Rad argued that the “righteousness of God” in the Old Testament is never negative (i.e., it never denotes punishment) but always positive¹⁹ (i.e., saving righteousness, or what Cremer calls *iustitia salutifera*). They quote dozens of passages, mostly from Deutero-Isaiah and the Psalms, that use “righteousness” positively, that is, in a way that at first seems incompatible with the notion of distributive or retributive justice.²⁰ Beginning with Deutero-Isaiah, Cremer quotes the passages where God’s “righteousness” stands in poetic parallelism with God’s “salvation,” e.g., in Isa 56:1b, “My *salvation* is about to come and My *righteousness* to be revealed” (NASB). The fundamental concept in these passages is that the righteousness of God is God’s saving activity on behalf of Israel. In the Psalms, a similar usage prevails, though the focus is on God’s righteousness as refuge for the oppressed, e.g., as in Ps 31:1: “In you, O LORD, I have taken refuge; let me never be ashamed; in Your *righteousness* deliver me” (NASB). This is the heart of the case for the relational interpretation.

While all four scholars quoted these positive usages of divine righteousness, it was Cremer who first suggested that the explanation for this *iustitia salutifera* usage is that “righteousness” in Hebrew is, at its base, a relational concept (*Verhältnisbegriff*). Von Rad, in agreement with Cremer, says that the righteousness of Yahweh is “always” a gift that brings salvation. “It is inconceivable that it should ever menace Israel. No references to the concept of a punitive צדקה can be adduced—that would be a *contradictio in adiecto*.”²¹ Von Rad is claiming that in Old Testament theology the notion that God ever exercises “punitive righteousness” is an oxymoron, that is, a self-contradictory phrase like “deafening silence.”

¹⁸ Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (2 vols.; trans. D. M. G. Stalker; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), 1:371.

¹⁹ Cremer claims that righteousness in the Old Testament is “not a negative, but thoroughly positive” (*nicht ein negativer, sondern ein durchaus positiver*) concept (pp. 23, 29, 37).

²⁰ Cremer, *Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*, 11–17, 23, 27.

²¹ Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:377.

It must be admitted that in the forty-one occurrences of this phrase in the Old Testament, “God’s righteousness” (almost always with the pronoun, “my,” “his,” or “your”) is undeniably a positive, saving righteousness in the clear majority of cases. But against Diestel, Ritschl, Cremer, and von Rad, it is not true that “righteousness” is never used punitively. Let me briefly review the evidence. There are seven passages where someone recognizes that “God is righteous or just” (five using the adjective צַדִּיק) for bringing judgment upon them for their rebellion or sin.²² These belong to the genre called the *Gerichtsdoxologie* or confession of divine righteousness in the face of God’s just judgment against human sin. There are four passages in the Psalms that are a general affirmation of the theological truth that God is a righteous judge who punishes the wicked.²³ Finally, there are four passages in Isaiah in which the noun “righteousness” (whether masculine or feminine) is used in reference to God’s justice in punishing the wicked.²⁴ These four passages are significant because they show that Isaiah does not use “righteousness” in an exclusively saving sense, contrary to widespread scholarly opinion. In view of these fourteen texts which use “righteousness” in a punitive or retributive sense, we can confidently say that Diestel, Ritschl, Cremer, and von Rad were simply wrong when they claimed that “righteousness” is a thoroughly positive term in the Old Testament.²⁵

This is really the decisive argument against Cremer’s relational theory, because it is the alleged fact that God’s righteousness is always and only used in a positive sense which provides the principal rationale for Cremer’s claim that righteousness is a fundamentally relational concept.

3. HEBREW PARALLELISM

One of the principal arguments for taking the righteousness of God as equivalent to God’s covenant faithfulness is the fact that God’s “righteousness” often occurs in Hebrew parallelism with divine “salvation” or, less frequently, “faithfulness.” But the appeal to *parallelismus membrorum* to determine lexical meaning is problematic because Hebrew parallelism may set up a variety of relationships between the parallel members. In the eighteenth century the Anglican bishop Robert Lowth, in his Oxford lectures *De sacra poesi hebraeorum* (first edition published in 1753),²⁶ argued that there were three types of Hebrew parallelism: synonymously, antithetical, and synthetic parallelism.

Although Lowth’s analysis was widely accepted for two centuries, in the 1980s, James Kugel²⁷ and Robert Alter²⁸ challenged the received Lowthian orthodoxy.

²² Exod 9:27; 2 Chr 12:6; Ezra 9:15; Neh 9:33; Lam 1:18; Dan 9:7, 14.

²³ Pss 7:11; 11:7; 50:6; 129:4.

²⁴ Isa 5:16; 10:22; 28:17; 42:21.

²⁵ Ritschl and von Rad unconvincingly set these texts aside as exilic or postexilic.

²⁶ For a facsimile of the 1787 translation from Latin into English by G. Gregory, see Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (1787), vols. 1–2 (Anglistica & Americana 43; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969).

²⁷ James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 23, 42, 54, 57–8.

²⁸ Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 3–26.

They rejected Lowth's category of synonymous parallelism, pointing out that even when the two lines seem to be saying something roughly similar, they are never perfectly equivalent, and that the difference, however small, when viewed in light of the similarity of the two lines, produces a new meaning that goes beyond what each line contributes individually. James Kugel's formula was "A, and what's more, B." More recently, the Dutch scholar J. P. Fokkelman vividly explained the new theory of parallelism with the helpful metaphor of binoculars. Just as binoculars provide depth perception by bringing two nearly identical pictures together to form a new unity, so in Hebrew parallelism the similarities and the differences between the two lines complement one another, and the result is that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Parallelism helps us to see in stereo.²⁹

So when "righteousness" is used in parallel with "salvation" or "faithfulness," these terms should not be equated with one another, thereby swallowing up their distinctiveness. Each word must be allowed to make its unique semantic contribution to the total idea. To translate צדקה/צדק simplistically as "salvation" or "faithfulness" is to leave out the forensic overtones uniquely contributed by "righteousness." When "God's salvation" or "God's faithfulness" (e.g., Ps 96:13; Ps 143:1; Hos 2:19–20) is found in parallel with "God's righteousness," the conclusion we are to draw is not that the word "righteousness" itself means "faithfulness," but that God's delivering activity as the righteous Judge comes in fulfillment of his covenant promises and is an expression of his righteousness.

The relational interpretation commits the fallacy of "illegitimate totality transfer" that James Barr warned against, that is, the fallacy that occurs when "the value of the context comes to be seen as something contributed by the word, and then it is read into the word as its contribution where the context is in fact different. Thus the word becomes overloaded with interpretative suggestion."³⁰ Or, as Peter Cotterell and Max Turner put it, this is the fallacy that arises when the "discourse concept" that the word has from its usage in a specific context is equated with the "lexical concept" of the word itself.³¹

4. ANALOGOUS BEHAVIOR OF מִשְׁפָּט

In addition, the Cremer relational theory is seriously called into question by an analysis of the analogous lexical behavior of מִשְׁפָּט (*judgment, justice*) in the Old Testament. The Hebrew word מִשְׁפָּט belongs to the same semantic domain as צדקה/צדק and is in fact the closest word to being its synonym.³² By my count, the two terms occur in parallel sixty-nine times in the Hebrew Bible.

²⁹ J. P. Fokkelman, *Reading Biblical Poetry: An Introductory Guide* (trans. Ineke Smit; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 78–79.

³⁰ James Barr, *Semantics of Biblical Language*, 233–34. Barr uses the actual phrase "illegitimate totality transfer" on pp. 218, 222.

³¹ Peter Cotterell and Max Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1989), 140–41, 151–53, 164–66. I prefer Cotterell and Turner's way of describing this lexicographical error.

³² Johnson, *TDOT* 12:247–8.

Now the critical observation about **מִשְׁפָּט** is that, like **צְדָקָה/צִדְקָה**, it can be used in parallel with both the verb and the noun for *salvation* (Pss 72:1–4; 76:9; Isa 59:11), the verb *redeem/ransom* (Isa 1:27), *lovingkindness* (Ps 101:1; Hos 2:19; 12:6[7]; Mic 6:8; Zech 7:9), and other positive, non-punitive terms. And yet for all that, Cremer admits that **מִשְׁפָּט** is not a thoroughly positive term.³³ No doubt he recognizes this because it is frequently used in a strictly negative, punitive sense as well.³⁴ Both terms or sets of terms can be used in positive contexts, without thereby being positive words, because they provide a further specification of the nature of the concept with which it is in parallel.

5. THE LEGAL CONTROVERSY CONTEXT

Perhaps at this point it would be helpful to seek an explanation for the positive usage of “righteousness” in the Old Testament that does not rely on Cremer’s dubious relational theory. The best explanation is that the forty-one references to God’s righteousness (“my,” “his,” “your”) in the Old Testament are affirming that God judges in righteousness or that he executes righteousness/justice. The preponderance of occurrences of “the righteousness of God” in the Old Testament occurs in a judicial context in which God is figuratively seated on his throne as the great Judge who executes justice by punishing the wicked and vindicating his people. Most of the cases where “the righteousness of God” is used in a positive, saving sense (Cremer’s *iusiitia saluifera*) can be explained in this manner. The kernel sentence that lies behind the saving/delivering righteousness of God is made explicit in Ps 103:6: “The LORD works righteousness and justice for all who are oppressed” (**עֲשֵׂה צְדָקוֹת יְהוָה וּמִשְׁפָּטִים לְכָל-עֲשׂוּקִים**) (ESV).³⁵ This verse is highly instructive for two reasons: first, “righteousness” is used along with “justice,” which shows that the forensic context is very much to the fore; and, second, both words are in the plural, literally “righteous acts” (**צְדָקוֹת**) and “judgments” (**מִשְׁפָּטִים**), locutions which draw attention to the acts of God the judge in rendering judicial verdicts in favor of the oppressed, thus securing their deliverance from their oppressors.

The law-court imagery here is clear. There are three parties in the legal conflict or controversy (**רִיב**): (1) the opponent at law, often referred to as “the wicked,” “the enemy,” and “the oppressor,” (2) the godly one who is being pursued and oppressed by the opponent and referred to by epithets such as “the poor,” “the needy,” and “the humble,” and (3) the judge whose duty is to bring about justice by rendering a verdict against the opponent at law and in favor of the one being oppressed, a verdict which amounts to their vindication and deliverance. In Israel, the duty of giving justice to the oppressed, the poor, the widow, and the needy fell particularly

³³ “Here lies the point where the concepts of righteousness (*Gerechtigkeit*) and judgment (*Gericht*) differ from one another: one can pray to be spared from God’s *judgment* but not from God’s *righteousness*.” Cremer, *Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*, 29.

³⁴ Ps 149:9; Isa 3:14; 5:16; 26:9; 34:5; Jer 1:16; 4:12; 48:21, 47; Ezek 5:8; 16:38; 23:24, 45; 39:21; Hos 6:5; Hab 1:12; Zeph 3:8, 15.

³⁵ Cf. Ps 9:4, 8; 98:9; 99:4; Jer 9:24; 11:20.

to the king. The king was to “seek justice, correct oppression; bring justice to the fatherless, plead the widow’s cause” (Isa 1:17 ESV).³⁶

The “righteousness of God” terminology in the Hebrew Old Testament can be fully explained in light of the judicial context of legal controversy (רִיב) in a manner that does not require a total reconceptualization of righteousness as a relational concept. God’s saving or vindicating righteousness is precisely one function of his distributive justice. *Iustitia salutaris* is a subset of *iustitia distributiva*. The forty-one occurrences of “my/your/his righteousness” are focused on God’s judicial activity of issuing מִשְׁפָּטִים/κρίματα (*judgments, verdicts, legal decisions*) on behalf of the oppressed and against their adversaries. Cremer set up a false dichotomy between *iustitia salutaris* and *iustitia distributiva* that has haunted scholarship ever since.

6. CONCLUDING THOUGHTS ON GREEK VS. HEBREW

Barr’s *Semantics of Biblical Language* deals in large part with the alleged contrasts between Greek and Hebrew thought as a basis for the study of the lexical semantics of biblical terms. Barr points out that it had become commonplace in biblical theology circles of the mid-twentieth century to contrast the Hebrew and the Greek way of thinking. Scholars interested in biblical theology assumed that Greek thought is static and abstract, while Hebrew thought is dynamic and concrete. They claimed that Greek thought views the human being as an isolated individual, while Hebrew thought views the human being in the context of a society or covenant community. Greek thought is analytic and bent on making distinctions, while Hebrew thought is synthetic and holistic. Barr’s aim was not to cast doubt on these polarities and contrasts, but to call into question the way in which these contrasts, whether true or not in themselves, had been used to draw sweeping linguistic and lexical conclusions.³⁷

In this paper I have applied Barr’s critique to one particular lexical issue, namely, the meaning of “righteousness” in the Hebrew Bible. To be sure, there are differences between the Hebrew and the Greek words for “righteousness.” Only Hebrew uses “righteousness” in the plural (צְדָקוֹת) to refer to specific judicial acts of righteousness on God’s part. Yet there is no basis for the claim that “righteousness” in the Greek worldview is in conformity to an abstract ideal, whereas in the Hebrew mind it is a relational concept. The Hebrew usage of “righteousness” can be just as judicial, normative, and distributive as δικαιοσύνη in Greek. And although it is beyond the scope of this paper to compare δικαιοσύνη in extra-biblical and biblical Greek with “righteousness” in the Hebrew Bible, I would argue that both broadly use the term in two main meanings, an ethical meaning, as conformity to a moral standard, and a judicial usage in terms of the justice of the judge or king exercising *iustitia distributiva*. There may in fact be many differences between Greek and Hebrew thought, and these worldview differences may be reflected in a whole range of lexical differences as well, but the alleged contrast

³⁶ Cf. Ps 72:1–4; Prov 29:14; 31:4–5, 8–9; Jer 22:3, 15–16.

³⁷ Barr, *Semantics of Biblical Language*, 8–20 (Chapter Two: “The Current Contrast of Greek and Hebrew Thought”).

between a Hebraic/relational concept of “righteousness” and a Greek/normative or distributive concept of “righteousness” is not one of them.

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TAKE ONE HEBREW LEXICON, ADD FRESH THEOLOGY, AND MIX WELL: THE IMPACT OF THEOLOGY ON HEBREW-ENGLISH LEXICONS

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In spite of their reputation as authoritative, lexicons are products of their age, influenced by the same intellectual milieu as commentaries, sermons, or any other literary publications. Just as the attentive reader can identify the school of thought to which a writer belongs, so too the attentive reader can identify what scholarship is influencing a lexicographer. This paper explores the impact of one aspect of scholarship on Hebrew-English lexicons, namely theology. Theology was chosen not only because it is a significant element in lexicons of biblical languages, but also because it has a larger influence than most scholars who use these lexicons realize. This paper not only demonstrates the impact of theology on Hebrew-English lexicons, it also helps the reader recognize that influence in the lexicons of four specific lexicographers—Parkhurst, Levi, Leo, and Lee—of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The paper challenges both the users and the writers of lexicons to be critically aware of cultural influences on the content of lexicons.

1. INTRODUCTION

In spite of their reputation as authoritative, lexicons are products of their age, influenced by the same intellectual milieu as commentaries, sermons, or any other literary publications. Just as the attentive reader can identify the school of thought to which a writer belongs, so too the attentive reader can identify what scholarship is influencing a lexicographer.

This paper explores the impact of one aspect of scholarship on Hebrew-English lexicons, namely theology. Theology was chosen not only because it is a significant element in lexicons of biblical languages, but also because it has a larger influence than most scholars who use these lexicons realize. To demonstrate the impact of theology on Hebrew lexicons, I have chosen four lexicons from a period of Hebrew-English lexicography where there was a significant shift in the understanding of God's revelation and the inspiration of Scripture. The paper is not a theological paper but a paper about the impact of theology on Hebrew lexicons, so only enough detail of the theology will be given to explain the lexicons. The four

lexicons chosen are the lexicons of Parkhurst (1728–1797),¹ Levi (1741–1801),² Leo,³ and Lee (1783–1852).⁴ These four lexicons are substantial, ground-breaking lexicons. Each was the first major lexicon of its school of thought and each adequately demonstrates the impact of theology on its approach to lexicography and on the content of their entries.

2. PARKHURST AND HUTCHINSONIAN THEOLOGY

Parkhurst's lexicons⁵ belong to the Hutchinsonian school of Hebrew lexicography. Hutchinsonian lexicons are easily identified by three visible characteristics: their lexicons are unpointed, they do not acknowledge the two different pronunciations of ψ , and they recognize only five forms of the verb, excluding the Piel and Pual forms. The second and third of these visible characteristics stem from the first. In an unpointed text there is no method for separating ψ and Ψ , nor is the characteristic doubled second radical of the Piel and Pual visible. The first characteristic is therefore the key.

The use of the unpointed Hebrew in these lexicons is a direct result of Hutchinsonian theology. Hutchinson was a natural philosopher who was concerned that the new science, as presented by scholars like Isaac Newton (1642–1727), was in conflict with revelation. He argued that this conflict could be resolved by a correct interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures.⁶ He believed that Hebrew was a

¹ John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: To this work is prefixed a methodical Hebrew grammar, without points* (London: Printed by and for W. Faben, 1762).

² David Levi, *Lingua sacra in Three Parts* (3 vols.; [London]: W. Justins, 1785–1788).

³ Christopher Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon to the Books of the Old Testament: Including the Geographical Names and Chaldaic Words in Daniel, Ezra, etc. by D. Wilhelm Gesenius* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, for Treuttel and Würtz, Treuttel, 1825–1828).

No birth or death dates are available for Leo but he worked in England sometime between 1815 and 1825, as a language teacher first at the University of Cambridge and then at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst (see the title page of his lexicon). His last publication was his *Hebrew Grammar: Designed for the Use of Schools and Students in the Universities* (London: Treuttel & Würtz; Glasgow: Smith & Son, 1832).

⁴ Samuel Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English; Compiled from the Most Approved Sources, Oriental and European, Jewish and Christian* (London: Duncan and Malcolm, 1840).

⁵ Parkhurst produced three different editions of his lexicon, published in 1762, 1778, and 1792. I am using the first edition of Parkhurst's lexicon in this paper. While each subsequent edition has additional material, it is the first edition that will be discussed in this paper. The reason for this choice is both scholarly and practical. Only the first two editions were published before Levi published his lexicon in 1885, so it is sensible to use an edition he is likely to have seen, rather than one written later. I would have preferred to use the second edition but I have been unable to acquire a scanned copy of the second edition and only have photographs, which are harder to manage for illustrations. There is, however, an advantage in using the first edition. Its entries are shorter and so more compact for illustrations, while still providing sufficient samples of the theology under discussion.

⁶ John Hutchinson, *A Treatise of Power Essential and Mechanical* (London: W. Bowyer, 1732), 1–3. See also John C. English, "John Hutchinson's Critique of Newtonian

unique language given by God for the purpose of revelation and that it must, therefore, express perfectly the ideas that God wished people to understand.⁷ Hutchinson therefore developed a method of semantic research that aimed to discover the primitive meaning of Hebrew roots and to apply rigorously that meaning to every derivative.⁸ Part of this process involved identifying the original Scriptures as God had given them, and this resulted in Hutchinson's dismissing the vowel pointings and other diacritical markings as later additions. To justify this he argued that Jewish scholars had tried to hide the true revelation of the Trinitarian God with the additions of the points and their interpretation of the Hebrew text.⁹ His whole argument was based on his conviction that the correct interpretation of the Hebrew would reveal a Trinitarian God in the Genesis account of creation. The use of the unpointed text allowed Hutchinson to ignore traditional interpretations of words and to manipulate the text to reveal his particular theology. Hutchinson himself did not write a lexicon but he did numerous word studies throughout his works.¹⁰ His word studies and his methods were used by Parkhurst and Bate (1710–1771),¹¹ another early Hutchinsonian lexicographer, as the foundation of their lexicons. Later Hutchinsonian lexicographers, for example Pike (ca. 1717–1773),¹² Barker (1743/4–1816),¹³ and Reid (1776–1822),¹⁴ relied more on Parkhurst or Bate than on Hutchinson.

As a consequence of his use of Hutchinsonian methods, Parkhurst used unpointed Hebrew, and did not refer to Jewish commentaries or lexicons, or to Christian lexicons that relied on Jewish scholarship. One of the most important early lexicons was Buxtorf's *Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum*.¹⁵ This work depended

Heterodoxy," *CH* 68, no. 3 (1999): 581–97; Albert J. Kuhn, "Glory or Gravity: Hutchinson vs. Newton," *JHI* 22, no. 3 (1961): 303–22; C. B. Wilde, "Hutchinsonianism, Natural Philosophy and Religious Controversy in Eighteenth Century Britain," *HSc* 18 (1980): 1–24.

⁷ John Hutchinson, *Moses's Principia. Part II* (London: J. Bettenham, 1727), xxix–xxxii.

⁸ John Hutchinson, *Moses's Principia. Part II*, xxx; John C. English, "John Hutchinson's Critique," 588–89.

⁹ John Hutchinson, *Moses's Principia. Part II*, xxxviii–xxxix; John Hutchinson, *A Treatise of Power*, 7–8.

¹⁰ Hutchinson's complete works (1748–1749) were published in a twelve-volume set after his death.

¹¹ Julius Bate, *Critica Hebraea: or, A Hebrew-English Dictionary, Without Points* (London: M. Folingsby, 1767).

¹² Samuel Pike, *A Compendious Hebrew Lexicon, Adapted to the English language, and Composed upon a New, Commodious Plan: To Which is Annexed a Brief Account of the Construction and Rationale of the Hebrew Tongue* (London: Printed for the author and sold by E. and C. Dilly, J. Buckland, T. Vernor, and W. Watts, 1766).

¹³ William Higgs Barker, *The Hebrew and English Lexicon Improved: With Great Additions and Amendments. To which is added, a Compendious Grammar of the Hebrew Language* (Carmarthen: The author, 1776).

¹⁴ John P. Reid, *A Hebrew Lexicon upon an Improved Plan and Grammar* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1821).

¹⁵ Johannes Buxtorf, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (Basil: Waldkirch, 1615).

heavily on Jewish scholarship. But although it was readily available, Parkhurst did not use it as a resource.¹⁶ He put great emphasis on the primitive meaning of roots, rigorously applied that meaning to the derivatives, and was inclined to a strong Trinitarian emphasis. The lack of points meant that Parkhurst could not have two separate pronunciations of **ש**, nor could he identify the Piel or Pual forms of the verb.

How this affected his lexicon is best demonstrated by looking at specific entries. The first example examines the complete entry for the headword **שם**; the second example examines the treatment of one word, **אַלְהִים**, found in Parkhurst under the headword **אלה**, and the third example is the root **משח**.

The entry with the headword **שם** provides a good illustration of the Hutchinsonian method, which Parkhurst adopted. Parkhurst included in this entry any word that contains **ש** or **שׁ** and **מ** as permanent radicals.¹⁷ He therefore included in this entry the verb **שׂוּם** or **שִׂים** (*put, place, set*), the noun **שֵׁם** (*name*), the adverb **שָׁם** (*there, thither*), the noun **שָׁמַיִם** (*heavens, sky*), the noun **שׂוּמִים** (*garlic*), and the verb **שָׁמַם** (*be desolated, appalled, astonished*).¹⁸ Parkhurst also had a separate entry for **שׂוּם**. In the **שם** entry he put all forms of **שָׁמַם** that have a *daghesh forte* in the **מ** in the pointed text and so appear in the unpointed text to have only a single **מ**. In the entry **שׂוּם** he put all the forms in which the **מ** is written twice. For all the roots and words included in the entry with the headword **שם**, Parkhurst gave a meaning connected with the meaning of the verb **שׂוּם** or **שִׂים** (*put, place, set*), which he considered was the primitive meaning.

To understand why Parkhurst put all these words into the same entry and why he connected them to the verb **שׂוּם**,¹⁹ we must read Hutchinson's works, particularly *Moses's Principia. Part II*, where Hutchinson discussed the meaning of **שָׁמַם** in Gen 1:1.²⁰ Typical of Hutchinson, the discussion is obscure and excessively

¹⁶ John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), v; John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: To this work is prefixed an Hebrew and Chaldee grammar, without points* (2nd ed.; London: Printed for B. Law and W. Faden, 1778), ii.

¹⁷ "Permanent radicals" are root consonants that are not lost as the word form changes.

¹⁸ In discussing Parkhurst's entries, I will be using pointed Hebrew even though Parkhurst did not, so that there will be no confusion as to which word Parkhurst was discussing. For the headwords of the entries for all lexicons, however, I will give the headword as it is found in the lexicon under discussion. In the case of Parkhurst and Levi the headwords are unpointed.

All significations given here are taken from Francis Brown, Samuel Rolles Driver, and Charles Augustus Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic: Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as Translated by Edward Robinson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907) to remind the reader of the meanings to which they are accustomed for comparison with Parkhurst's treatment.

¹⁹ When speaking of this verb in connection with Parkhurst and Levi I will use only this form of the verb, because they did not recognize the root **שִׂים**. More detail of this is given later in the paper.

²⁰ John Hutchinson, *The Philosophical and Theological Works of John Hutchinson, Esq; In twelve volumes* (3rd ed.; London: J. Hodges, 1748–1749), 54–88. I am using Hutchinson's *Works*

long. The patient reader, however, will find that Hutchinson clearly believed that שְׁמִים was a derivative of שׁוּם and the plural of both שָׁם and שָׁמָּה. He provided what is almost a dictionary entry, in part quoting Calasio's *Concordance*,²¹ as follows:²²

שׁוּם with a Point on the left Hand, signifies, Position, שׁוּם and שָׁם to set, to set to, to dispose, to constitute. *Hiphil* הַשִּׁים *the same*, to set, to set to, repose, impose, dispose, place, *Hophal*, to be set, &c.—שׁוּמָה something set or placed, or hidden, or set by, a Treasure. תְּשׁוּמָה a Position, Society, Communication, *ibid. Chald. and Syr. &c.* so שְׁמִים the Places, the Placers, the Shifters, the Disposers. The Heavens were at first the Scene, the Place of Atoms for Things, and for them to act upon those Atoms to form those Things; soon after they were and are now the Theatre for the Sun and the *Shemosh*, the other Celestial Bodies, and their Stars; the Earth, all Creatures, (Fish excepted) and all for Man; and as Agents, the Formers, the Disposers, the Placers, the Shifters of all; the Producers, Augmenters, &c. of some.

Hutchinson argued that the different pointing—שׁ in שׁוּם and שׁ in שְׁמִים—was the result of a mistake in the derivation of שְׁמִים.²³

Hutchinson held a dualistic understanding of creation. The שְׁמִים were the agents of creation, which God put in motion, and which Hutchinson called fire, light, and spirit. These agents displayed the character and action of the three Persons in the Trinity. This view is hinted at in *Moses's Principia. Part II*, but it is discussed in detail in *Moses's—sine Principio*.²⁴ Hutchinson was able to ignore the dual form of the word and treat it as a plural because in the unpointed form the dual could not be distinguished from the plural. Later in this paper we will see that Leo also classed the word as plural, but for an entirely different reason.

Much later in his discourse in *Moses's Principia. Part II*, Hutchinson argued that שָׁם (both שָׁם and שָׁמָּה), means both name and place:²⁵

It seems hard to reduce this Word שָׁם, which is a Sound, or Character of Distinction for a Things, and so a Substitute for the Thing, to be the same as Place; but if there be no other Place in this System, but what is Things, then Place and Things are the same.

because the editors have translated all the Latin quotes into English, which makes this edition easier to read.

²¹ Mario de Calasio, *Concordantiae sacrorum bibliorum Hebraicorum, in quibus Chaldaicae etiam Librorum Esdrae, & Danielis suo loco inseruntur* (Rome: Stephanum Paulinum, 1621). The quote from Calasio ends with “*ibid. Chald. and Syr. &c.*” In the 1727 edition the quote from Calasio is in Latin.

²² Hutchinson, *Works*, 2:54.

²³ Hutchinson, *Works*, 2:54.

²⁴ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:181–227.

²⁵ Hutchinson, *Works*, 2:79.

Finally, he posited that the word שָׁמַיִם was “frequently used to express, as the Matter of the Heavens were at first, Desolation, and when set to work, are said to be Astonishment, Admiration, &c.”²⁶ So he also connected the root שָׁמַם to שוּם.

The only word in Parkhurst’s entry not dealt with by Hutchinson in either *Moses’s Principia. Part II* or *Moses’s—sine Principio* is the word שוּמִים (*garlic*). Hutchinson connected this word with שָׁם and שִׁם in *The Names and the Attributes of the Trinity of the Gentiles*,²⁷ where he takes Eben Ezra’s statement that שָׁמַיִם is a dual form²⁸ and argued that, because of the mistaken idea of two poles, the Egyptians worshipped onions. The logic of this is somewhat difficult to follow and is an example of Hutchinson’s dubious reasoning, which Parkhurst took into his lexicon.

Parkhurst divided his entry with the headword שָׁם into thirteen sections, each labelled with a capital roman numeral.²⁹ In Sections I–V he dealt with the verb שוּם or שִׁם, to which he gave the meaning *to place, set, put*. In each of these five sections he explained how the meaning of the verb was developed in different contexts (Illustration 1). Parkhurst considered any form of the verb that contained י as its second radical a Hiphil verb, explaining that in Hiphil “the initial ה is often dropped.”³⁰ This is not a result of his Hutchinsonian method, but the standard interpretation of י”ע verbs at the time Parkhurst was preparing his lexicon.³¹

In the next section he showed how the meaning of the noun שֵׁם is connected to the primitive meaning he had proposed by arguing that it meant “*a name, an articulate sound, which is placed or substituted for a thing, as its sensible mark or sign*.”³² To support this definition he referred the reader to Locke’s argument about language in his *Essay on Human Understanding*, book 3, chapters 1 and 2, where Locke argued that words had no intrinsic value, but were merely signs to which was attached an agreed meaning.³³ So Parkhurst argued that the word שֵׁם came from שוּם or שִׁם because meaning was put onto an articulate sound (a term Locke used) as the sensible sign (another term used by Locke) for an idea or thing. Although Parkhurst used Locke’s terminology in this instance, the idea is not absent from Hutchinson, who was also in the habit of using Locke without acknowledging him³⁴ and who presented similar arguments.³⁵

²⁶ Hutchinson, *Works*, 2:88.

²⁷ Hutchinson, *Works*, 4:261–62.

²⁸ Hutchinson, *Works*, 2:51.

²⁹ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 372–74.

³⁰ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 372.

³¹ Wilhelm Gesenius, *Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache mit Vergleichung der verwandten Dialekte* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1817), 409.

³² Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 372.

³³ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London: Awnsham & John Churchill & Samuel Manship, 1706), 345–50.

³⁴ Hutchinson, *Works*, 2:xxii.

³⁵ Hutchinson, *Works*, 2:79; 3:190–91. What Locke said about words does not fit with either Hutchinson’s or Parkhurst’s understanding of the unique nature of the Hebrew language, but when it suited them they both quoted Locke.

Parkhurst extended his definition of שם in the next section where he took specific noun phrases in which the word שם is used and stated that “שם יהוה” *The name of Jehovah*, שם אלהים *The name of the Aleim*, and simply השם or שם *The name* are used as titles of the *second* Person of the ever blessed Trinity.”³⁶ He explained this by using his meaning for שם and his interpretation of Locke, saying,

The reason of the expression seems to be this. A *name* is the *representative* of a being or thing; Christ in the New Testament is called the *image of God*, 2 Cor. iv. 4. and *the image of the invisible God*, Col. i. 15. So being not only *very God*, but also being the *representative* of the whole ever-blessed Trinity, he is in the Old Testament stiled [*sic*] *the name of Jehovah*, or of the *Aleim*.³⁷

This section of the entry is a wonderful example of how Parkhurst, following Hutchinson’s example, incorporated Trinitarian theology into the interpretation of Biblical Hebrew (Illustration 2).

In section VIII of the entry, Parkhurst connected the adverb שם to the primitive meaning by simply saying it was “a particle of *place*.”³⁸

Of more interest to this paper, however, is the extended discussion of the meaning of the noun שמים found in sections IX and X.³⁹ Parkhurst gave the traditional meaning *the heavens* but added “literally *the disposers, placers*,” as Hutchinson did in *Moses’s Principia. Part II*.⁴⁰ The lack of points made it possible for Parkhurst to read the word as plural rather than dual as previous lexicographers had.⁴¹ Parkhurst then presented a very abbreviated summary of Hutchinson’s discussion on שמים as found in *Moses’s Principia. Part II*⁴² and *Moses’s—sine Principio*.⁴³ The mention of gravity in connection with pagan belief in section IX was a criticism of Newton’s Law of Gravity that Hutchinson also criticized (Illustrations 3 and 4).⁴⁴

³⁶ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 372. The word *Aleim* in this quote is Hutchinson’s transliteration of אֱלֹהִים.

³⁷ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 372–73. This odd transliteration of the Hebrew word אֱלֹהִים is common in Hutchinson’s writings. For example, it is used frequently in the section on שמים in *Moses’s—sine Principio* (Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:181–227).

³⁸ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 373.

³⁹ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 373–74.

⁴⁰ Hutchinson, *Works*, 2:54.

⁴¹ Buxtorf, *Johannis Buxtorfi Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (London: Typis Jacobi Junii & Mosis Bell, sumptibus Richardi Whitakeri & Samuelis Cartwright, 1646), 784; Leigh, *Critica Sacra Observations on All the Radices, or Primitive Hebrew Words of the Old Testament in Order Alphabetical, Wherein Both They (and Many Derivatives Also Issuing from Them) Are Fully Opened out of the Best Lexicographers and Scholiasts* (London: Printed by G. M. for Thomas Underhill, 1641), 537–38; Robertson, *אוצר לשון הקודש Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae* (London: Excudebat Samuel Roycroft, imprensus Georgij Sawbridge, 1680), 1216.

⁴² Hutchinson, *Works*, 2:48–119.

⁴³ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:181–227.

⁴⁴ Anywhere Hutchinson talked about the “Imaginers” he was referring to Newton and those who followed his empirical methods. The most obvious work in which Hutchinson

In section XI Parkhurst explained the meaning of שׁוּמִים by quoting Hutchinson’s discussion of this word in *The names and the attributes of the Trinity of the Gentiles*.⁴⁵ Then finally in the last two sections Parkhurst expanded on Hutchinson’s hints that the verbs and nouns derived from the root שׁמם that only have one printed מ are also connected to the meaning *to place*, which Parkhurst gave as the primitive meaning. He did this by explaining in section XII that the verb in Qal and Hiphil means “*To make waste, or desolate, to reduce to such a state as to leave place or room for other things.*” Having established the connection between the primitive meaning and these words, he then gave two meanings for the Niphal form. The first is literal, “*to be desolate, reduced to a vast solitude,*” and the second is figurative, “*To be desolate in mind, to be [a]stounded, amazed, confounded, so we have no sense left.*” In connection with both these explanations Parkhurst gave two meanings for the noun שְׁמָה, “*desolation, waste*” and “*amazement, astonishment.*”⁴⁶ In this Parkhurst did not follow Hutchinson’s explanation of these forms. Neither of the verbs included in this entry have Piel or Pual forms, so Parkhurst in this instant avoided the error of ignoring those forms (Illustration 5).

In the entry שׁם Parkhurst relied heavily on Hutchinsonian material, but this was not always the case, as in his treatment of the word אֱלֹהִים in his first edition. Parkhurst put אֱלֹהִים under the headword אֱלֵה.⁴⁷ The primitive meaning he gave for this root was, “*To interpose, intervene, mediate, come or be between for protection, prevention, or &c.*”⁴⁸ He then put every biliteral word containing the radicals א and ל in this entry as well as all words containing א, ל, and ה. As with the entry שׁם, Parkhurst connected all the words in the entry to the primitive meaning he gave at the beginning of the entry.

Hutchinson, however, stated very clearly that אֵל “had no Relation to the Root of the Word *Aleim*.”⁴⁹ Hutchinson argued that names came from the actions performed by the person named.⁵⁰ Based on this theory he contended that the word אֱלֹהִים was a name that came from the root אֵלֵה, to which he gave the meaning *to take an oath*. He pointed out that

in Man who takes an Oath, it is to imprecate a conditional Malediction upon himself, if he perform not the Covenant. In *Jehovah* or *Aleim*, it is a Condescension to the Capacity of Creatures; he or they call their own

attacked Newton is כְּבוֹד יְהוָה *Glory or Gravity Essential, and Mechanical* (London: H. Woodfall, 1733). This was reprinted in his *Works*, vol. 6.

⁴⁵ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 374; Hutchinson, *Works*, 4:261–62.

⁴⁶ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 374.

⁴⁷ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 7–11.

⁴⁸ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 7.

⁴⁹ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:52. The word *Aleim* in this quote is Hutchinson’s transliteration of אֱלֹהִים.

⁵⁰ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:87.

Attributes to witness, and cannot lye [*sic*] nor can there any evil come to them.⁵¹

Quoting Glassius,⁵² Hutchinson added, “*Jehovah* thereby intimats [*sic*] that he would sooner cease to be God than the Word spoken by him should not be accomplished, which Assertion drawn from the impossible Thing, is of all the strongest and most certain.”⁵³ After a long discussion Hutchinson provided what amounts to a dictionary entry for אֱלֹהִים:

The Word is applied to the Persons in the Essence-existing [his translation of יהוה], in a vast number of Places

The *Aleim* of the Essence-existing are said to be the living *Aleim*; the true *Aleim*; the most high *Aleim*; the only *Aleim*. It is said that there are none other, none besides. They are said to have created the Heavens and the Earth; to be the *Aleim* of *Jacob*'s Father. . . . These *Aleim* are said to have sworn, to have made a Covenant, to have redeemed. It was expected from these true *Aleim*, that they should perform their Part of the Covenant; that as a Type or Earnest, they were to go before the People to deliver them from their Enemies and their *Aleim*, 2 *Sam.* vii. 23. And that they were to redeem Man from the Captivity of his spiritual Enemy, from the Penalties of the Forfeiture; for which Love, Praise, Homage, Worship, Service, Sacrifice, &c. were to be paid to them. To this End, they were to know, and remember, and believe in the *Aleim*; that Knowledge, Regard, and Confidence, was Life; and Ignorance, Neglect or forgetting of them, was Death, and cursing them was unpardonable. . . .

This Word was carried down to those who were appointed by the Word of God either particularly, or generally, as an Order of Princes or Kings, &c. who were sworn to lead, protect, or deliver, in a lower Sense. . . .

The Word is applied to the Trinity in the Matter of the Heavens

This Word is applied to Creatures, or Images of them, or of some of their Parts These Images were made of Gold or Silver; molten and carved; of Wood or Stone; graved

So in Opposition to the *Aleim* of the Essence-existing, to the *Aleim* of *Israel*, they are called the *Aleim* of others.⁵⁴

Hutchinson's emphasis in aligning the word אֱלֹהִים to the verb אָלַה was to argue that אֱלֹהִים was a name given to יהוה, or as Hutchinson framed it the “Essence-existing,” to reveal his oath-making nature, the oath being one of redemption.⁵⁵ He

⁵¹ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:98.

⁵² S. Glassius, *Philologia sacra* (1623–1636).

⁵³ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:99.

⁵⁴ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:114–18.

⁵⁵ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:99–113.

argued that the name was also applied to false gods because of oaths made to them.⁵⁶

In contrast, Parkhurst connected אֱלֹהִים to the primitive meaning “*To interpose, intervene, mediate, come or be between for protection, prevention, or &c.*,”⁵⁷ and his emphasis was on the intervening nature of the covenant-making God. Parkhurst still connected אֱלֹהִים to the verb אָלַה but he connected the verb to the primitive meaning first. He introduced Section VI of the entry in which he deals with אָלַה by saying, “The most eminent of all *interpositions* was performed by *pronouncing a curse*; hence אֱלֹהִים, as a *V. to interpose, by pronouncing a curse.*” In the same section he described the noun אָלַה as “*an interposition by pronouncing a curse, a curse pronounced.*” He added,

It must be observed, that the antient [*sic*] manner of *adjuring* subjects or inferiors to any conditions, was by their superiors *pronouncing a curse* on them in case they violated those conditions. . . . the superior who pronounced it was as much bound by it, as the inferior who heard it.⁵⁸

Parkhurst avoided using the word *oath* in connection with אָלַה, although he did use the word *swear*. His emphasis, then, is on the *interposition* idea not the *swearing an oath* signification (Illustration 6).

To introduce the word אֱלֹהִים in the next section (section VII), Parkhurst said, “As a N. masc. pl. אֱלֹהִים *the interposers by pronouncing a curse.*”⁵⁹ He did not give the English words “*God, gods*” as a signification, and even though later in the first sub-section he used the term “true God” this is not given as a signification. For Parkhurst the word is a proper name, not a common noun.

Parkhurst divided section VII into three sub-sections, each of which deals with a different use of the word. The first begins with this statement:

A name usually given in the Hebrew Scriptures to the *ever-blessed Trinity*, by which they represent themselves as under the obligation of an *oath* to perform certain conditions, and as having *pronounced a curse* on ALL, men and devils, that do not conform to them.⁶⁰

Parkhurst then spent three columns explaining the theology of this with particular emphasis on Jesus’ role in redemption. In the midst of this discussion he challenged the Arians, Socinians, and Jews, who did not accept a Trinitarian theology (Illustrations 6 and 7).⁶¹

The second and third sub-sections are much shorter. In them Parkhurst addressed the instances where the word אֱלֹהִים is used to refer to other than the true God. The second section covers when the word is used for false gods: “All the ancient Idolaters falsely called *the material heavens*, or their representatives אֱלֹהִים, and

⁵⁶ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:102–103.

⁵⁷ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 7.

⁵⁸ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 9.

⁵⁹ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 9.

⁶⁰ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 9.

⁶¹ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 10.

accordingly expected from them, *protection, victory, happiness*.”⁶² Again he argued that the word was a proper noun. The Hutchinsonian influence is seen not in the interpretation of the word in this context but in the use of the term “*the material heavens*.” The third sub-section covers contexts where the word is used for people. This is the only place in the whole section where Parkhurst gave translation equivalents for the word. For this usage he gave the words “*princes, rulers, judges*” and explained that these people “had power to *denounce a curse*, so *adjure* their subjects, and were themselves *sworn* to lead, protect or deliver them.”⁶³ He supported his statement by referring to Hutchinson’s *Moses’s—sine Principio* (Illustration 7).⁶⁴

In this entry, Parkhurst relied less on Hutchinsonian material than he did in the שׁמ entry, although he was still committed to Hutchinson’s method and the theology behind that method. In his discussion on אֱלֹהִים Parkhurst was attempting to discover what the word revealed about the nature of God, using the Hutchinsonian theory that Hebrew was a unique language given by God for the purpose of revelation and that if the primitive meaning could be identified then the meanings of the derivatives could be discovered. Parkhurst, like Hutchinson, expected that the revelation uncovered would involve the Trinity. Trinitarian theology figures strongly in both Hutchinson’s and Parkhurst’s discussions concerning אֱלֹהִים.

The last entry of Parkhurst’s to be examined in this paper is that of מִשַׁח.⁶⁵ The purpose of including this entry is to demonstrate the contrast between the entries for מְשִׁיחַ in all four lexicons. Parkhurst’s entry מִשַׁח shows very little if any influence from Hutchinson, apart from the ever present insistence on including the Trinity. Hutchinson only has a small amount to say about the word מְשִׁיחַ and that is found in *Moses’s—sine Principio* in the section on מְלִיךְ. Hutchinson argued that

as *Aleim* is used for kings, so מִשַׁח *Messiah* is also, as they were anointed as Shadows of the true *Messiah*. But as this Action of Anointing was also used at constituting of כֹּהֵן a Priest, it also includes that Office.⁶⁶

He continued,

And it was also used at the instituting of נָבִיא a *Prophet*, whose Office was to foretel [*sic*] Things to come in this World or the next, and direct People how to behave in respect thereof, it also includes that Office. But as *Christ* begun as a Prophet, then acted as a Priest, and lastly as a King, great Contests arise about the Predictions of him, and of his Speeches and Actions in each of those respective Offices, for want of distinguishing them.⁶⁷

⁶² Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 10.

⁶³ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 10.

⁶⁴ John Hutchinson, *Moses’s—sine Principio* (London: W. Bowyer, 1729), 77; or Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:77.

⁶⁵ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 180–81.

⁶⁶ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:62.

⁶⁷ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:63.

Parkhurst did not include any direct quotes from this discussion in his entry. His entry contains two sections. The first contains the verb **מָשַׁח** for which Parkhurst gave the signification “to anoint, pour or rub unctionous matter upon,” the noun **מִשְׁחָה** for which he gave the signification “anointing, unction,” and the noun **מְשִׁיחַ** for which he gave the signification “anointed, or rather instituted to an office by unction. And since this was a ceremony used at the inauguration both of kings and priest, the word **מְשִׁיחַ** is applied to both.”⁶⁸ This certainly reflects the Hutchinson passage above, although it leaves out the prophets. Parkhurst then said that **מְשִׁיחַ** “most eminently denotes THE CHRIST, the Saviour of mankind, who was *anointed* with the reality of the typical oil, even *with the Holy Ghost and with power*.”⁶⁹ His idea of “the reality of typical oil” reflects the Hutchinsonian tendency to dualism. The “type” is the Holy Ghost, the “emblem” is the oil. Similarly, the inclusion of both Christ and the Holy Spirit demonstrates again the tendency of the Hutchinsonians to interpret the Old Testament with the theology of the New. The claim Parkhurst made for the Old Testament title **מְשִׁיחַ** as a title for Jesus is very definitely refuted by Levi and carefully avoided by the culture-conscious Leo, but more of that later.

The second section of the entry is a rather odd discussion about whether Elijah anointed Elisha with oil or by some other action.⁷⁰ The relevance of the passage is not obvious, although it may be Parkhurst’s concession to the prophets in Hutchinson’s discussion (Illustration 8).

Many Hebrew words were not discussed by Hutchinson in his writings. For this reason many entries in Parkhurst’s lexicons have no material in them that came directly from Hutchinson’s writing. The influence of Hutchinsonianism in these entries is seen in the continued use of the method outlined above and the persistent Trinitarian interpretation.

At the time that Parkhurst published his first lexicon, his was only the third Hebrew-English lexicon ever published. The first, published in 1593, was the little dictionary that Udall prepared to accompany his translation of Martinez’s Hebrew grammar.⁷¹ The second was Robertson’s *The Second Gate*, an experiment in Hebrew-English lexicography, which was published in 1655⁷² and shortly after abandoned for a larger and more traditional Hebrew-Latin lexicon.⁷³ Neither of these Hebrew-English lexicons would have been readily available in Parkhurst’s day. There was

⁶⁸ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 180–81.

⁶⁹ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 181.

⁷⁰ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 181.

⁷¹ John Udall and Pierre Martinez, **מִפְתֵּחַ לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ**, *that is the Key of the Holy Tongue. Wherein Is Contained, First the Hebrue Grammar (in the Manner) Woord for Woord out of P. Martinus. Secondly, a Practize Upon the First, the Twentie Fift, and the Syxtie Eyght Psalmes, According to the Rules of the Same Grammar. Thirdly, a Short Dictionary Containing the Hebrue Woords That Are Found in the Bible with Their Proper Significations. All Englished for the Benefit of Those That (Being Ignoraunt in the Latin) Are Desirous to Learn the Holy Tongue* (Leyden: Francis Raphelengius, 1593).

⁷² William Robertson, **שַׁעַר הַשְּׂנִי אוֹ פֶתַח תְּפִנִּימֵי אֵל לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ** *The Second Gate, or The Inner Door to the Holy Tongue* (London: Printed by Evan Tyler, for Humph. Robinson, and G. Sawbridge, 1655).

⁷³ William Robertson, *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae* (1680).

one other “almost English” resource, Leigh’s *Critica sacra*, the Hebrew section of which was first published in 1641, and was reprinted a number of times, the last being 1664. This work, however, was more Latin than English and required the reader to be fluent in Latin.⁷⁴ The best resource available in English in the middle eighteenth century was Taylor’s *Hebrew Concordance*, based on the King James Version.⁷⁵ Parkhurst’s lexicon, therefore, filled a much needed gap in Hebrew studies in England, and Parkhurst published another two editions.⁷⁶ After his death the third edition was reprinted seven times, sometimes labeled as editions.⁷⁷

The first edition, which we have been examining, was not received with unqualified approval. In fact a supportive reviewer of the third edition said of the first edition that “some years elapsed before its intrinsic merit could so far do away certain well-known prejudices,”⁷⁸ presumably anti-Hutchinsonian prejudices. Another reviewer of the third edition said that although Parkhurst himself acknowledged that the first edition had faults, “the whole former impression had been *sold off*, and that there was still a demand for the work,”⁷⁹ which clearly shows there was a need for a Hebrew-English lexicon.

⁷⁴ Edward Leigh, *Critica Sacra* (1641).

⁷⁵ John Taylor, *The Hebrew Concordance, Adapted to the English Bible; Disposed after the Manner of Buxtorf. In Two Volumes* (London: Printed by J. Waugh and W. Fenner, and sold by P. Vaillant, 1754–1757).

⁷⁶ John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (2nd ed.; 1778); John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: To this work are prefixed an Hebrew and a Chaldee grammar, without points* (3rd ed.; London: Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1792).

⁷⁷ John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: To this work are prefixed an Hebrew and a Chaldee grammar, without points* (4th ed.; London: Printed by J. Davis, for G. G. and J. Robinson, 1799); John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: To this work are prefixed an Hebrew and a Chaldee grammar, without points* (5th ed.; London: Printed by T. Davison, for J. Johnson et al., 1807); John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: To this work are prefixed an Hebrew and a Chaldee grammar, without points* (6th ed.; London: Printed by T. Davison for Wilkie and Robinson et al., 1811); John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: To this work are prefixed an Hebrew and a Chaldee grammar, without points* (7th ed.; London: Printed by T. Davison, 1813); John Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: To this work are prefixed an Hebrew and a Chaldee grammar, without points* (8th ed.; London: Printed for C. and J. Rivington et al., 1823); John Parkhurst, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: To this work are prefixed an Hebrew and a Chaldee grammar, without points* (London: Printed for William Baynes and Son, and H. S. Baynes and Co., 1823); John Parkhurst, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points: To this work are prefixed an Hebrew and a Chaldee grammar, without points* (London: Printed for Thomas Tegg, William Baynes, J. Cumming, and Richard Griffin & Co., 1829).

⁷⁸ Review of J. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon Without Points*, *The British Critic, A New Review* 2 (1793): 43–44.

⁷⁹ Review of J. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon Without Points*, *The Monthly Review or, Literary Journal* 12 (1794): 443.

3. LEVI AND THE JEWISH CONTRIBUTION

While the Christian community could come to appreciate Parkhurst's lexicon, clearly the Jewish community would have considerable difficulty with its Trinitarian theology. Seven years after the appearance of Parkhurst's second edition, the first fascicle of the first large Hebrew-English lexicon by a Jewish lexicographer appeared. That lexicographer was David Levi, who was largely self-educated but had read widely.⁸⁰ He had followed the Hutchinsonian debate, particularly on the word אֱלֹהִים, but the precarious position of the Jews in England at the time made it unwise for him to enter the discussion in the public forum.⁸¹ Instead he wrote a lexicon in which he was able to present the Jewish theological position on some of the topics under debate without bringing the wrath of the established church down on the Jewish community.

Levi's lexicon, entitled *Lingua sacra*, was published over four years.⁸² It was the first large Hebrew-English lexicon by a Jewish scholar. There are two distinguishing characteristics of Jewish Hebrew-English lexicons in this period: all forms of Hebrew are included in the corpus, and the lexicons are bidirectional, that is, there is an English-Hebrew section or volume as well as the Hebrew-English section or volume. Jewish lexicographers worked from the pointed text of the Hebrew Bible. They used Jewish scholarship in their sources, but were also conversant with Christian Hebraists. The Jewish lexicographers belonged to both the pre-modern and the modern eras of Hebrew-English lexicography, with Levi representing the pre-modern view of Hebrew.

Levi believed that Hebrew was "the first and most perfect of all languages" and, in opposition to the Hutchinsonians, he believed that "the vowel points, as well as the letters were given by God himself."⁸³ Consequently he distinguished the different pronunciations of שׁ but, like all Jewish lexicographers, past and present, he did not separate the different pronunciations into separate sections of the lexicon as modern Christian Hebrew lexicographers do, that is, all Christian Hebrew lexicographers from Gesenius onward. Unlike Parkhurst, Levi recognized the seven common verb forms. In the third chapter of his grammar, entitled "Of the necessity of the points," he argued that without points, "it is impossible to mark the difference between verbs active and passive; between some of the conjugations, moods, tenses, and persons, in *kal*, *pingel*, and *pungel*, imperatives and infinitives."⁸⁴

Levi did not discuss his linguistic theory, and his theology only impacted the entries of words that had particular theological weight. For instance, in his treatment of the words that Parkhurst put under the headword שׁ, Levi used four entries,

⁸⁰ S. Singer, "Early Translations and Translators of Jewish Liturgy in England," *Transactions / Jewish Historical Society of England* 3 (1896–1898): 56–71.

⁸¹ Marcus R. Roberts, "The Story of England's Jews: The First Thousand Years" (Great Britain, 2007) [online: http://www.jtrails.org.uk/about/history-of-english-jews/?content_id=90]; W. D. Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English-speaking World: Great Britain* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: McMillan Press, 1996).

⁸² Levi, *Lingua sacra*.

⁸³ Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 1, "Hebrew Grammar," 33.

⁸⁴ Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 1, "Hebrew Grammar," 33.

with the headwords שום, שום, שם, and שמים.⁸⁵ Levi only pointed his headwords when he wanted to distinguish between ש and ש, and he only ever pointed ש. Levi put the entry for שום before the entry for שום. For שום he indicated that in Hebrew it only occurred in the plural form and he gave the translation “*garlic*.” The word in Chaldee, however, meant “*The name*,” but in Talmudic Hebrew, it denoted “*garlic*.” For שום Levi gave the signification “to put; order; dispose, &c.” with sufficient biblical illustrations to make the meaning and usage clear. In the Qal section he put all the verb forms that contain only the radicals שם, while in Hiphil section he included all the verb forms that have ך as their second radical, as was normal for the time.⁸⁶ He also gave the Chaldee, Talmudic, and Rabbinical Hebrew meanings (Illustration 9).

Under the headword שם, Levi included שם, שם, and שמים. He gave each word a distinct section labeled with the ordinal numbers, “1st.,” “2d.,” and “3d.,” and he made no attempt to connect the meanings. The entry essentially functions as three separate entries under the same headword. Levi quietly corrects Parkhurst in that he labels שמים as dual as the points indicate, not plural as Parkhurst argued. The entry for שמים immediately follows the entry for שם as is customary in Jewish lexicons and includes all forms of the verb (Illustrations 10 and 11).

Levi’s entries for these words contain the significations, basic morphology with biblical illustrations, and any Chaldee, talmudic Hebrew, or rabbinic Hebrew words that have the same radicals. There is no theological discussion or exegesis, which in itself offers a telling alternative to Parkhurst. For the word אלהים, however, Levi’s entry is an academic paper refuting not only the Hutchinsonian interpretation of its etymology but a number of other Christian and Jewish etymological arguments.

Under the headword “אלה Eloeha, GOD,” Levi wrote a thirty-one page entry of which thirty pages are dedicated to Levi’s argument supporting his view that the word אלהים is a compound singular word from אל and יהוה, the absolute of which ends with ם to distinguish it from the construct form, which ends with ך.⁸⁷ Levi established early in the entry that he was refuting the Hutchinsonian decision to put אלהים under the root אלה (Illustration 12). To support his argument that אלה is not the root of אלהים as well as to support his own conclusion that אלהים is a compound singular word, he referred first to works by Christian lexicographers and commentators and then to Jewish commentators, not all of whose arguments he accepted. Finally he presented his own conclusions concerning the etymology of the word. In this section it becomes clear that Levi understood אלהים to be one of the names of God, that is, a proper noun rather than a common noun, an argument he has in common with the Hutchinsonians. This being the case, he then must explain how a name of God can be used to refer to angels, idols, and judges. He argued that

⁸⁵ Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 3. The dictionary section of *Lingua sacra* has no page numbers, so these entries must be found by their alphabetical position. I will give the volume in which they are found. In Jewish lexicons the entries for geminate roots, that is roots whose second and third radical are the same, can be found immediately after the biliteral root of the same two letters. So the entry for שם immediately follows the entry for שם.

⁸⁶ Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, 409.

⁸⁷ Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 1.

when the word is used of God it is not used figuratively, but when it is used of other beings then the use is figurative.

Having examined the previous scholarship on the topic of the meaning and etymology of אֱלֹהִים and having dealt with the problem of the word's usage for beings other than God, Levi argued that there are two principles that can be perceived when studying "the Supreme Being." The first is the principle of his existence and essence, which are both perfection "in the most unlimited sense." This principle is signified by the name יְהוָה, a name that is never given to any other being. It is interesting to note that Hutchinson also says that the word יְהוָה contains the concepts of existence and essence, resulting in his translation "*the Essence-existing*" for this word.⁸⁸ The second principle is that of "his influence, as all creatures are influenced from him, according to his perfection; and as his influence is agreeable to his potency, as not being limited or circumscribed." This principle is signified by the name אֱלֹהִים or אֵל. His argument here is a little confused because he connected these two words at this point, but later he argued that אֱלֹהִים is a compound word formed from יְהוָה and אֵל. This argument is best left in his own words:

It must be further observed that as the שם המפורש *shem hamfoerash*; i.e. *nomen explicatum*, is the very essence and perfection of holiness without end; and the name of אֵל *Eal*, being a manifestation of the power of his influence, it was for that reason, that when the Supreme Being was pleased to sanctify the name of אֵל *Eal*, with an extraordinary sanctification, (such as the creation of the universe) he joined to it half of the שם המיוחד *shem hamyuchad*; i.e. his peculiar or incommunicable name; that is, one half of the letters, in order to add to the holiness of that name: but the whole of the שם המפורש *shem hamfoerash*, is not joined to it.

This entry could have been published as a pamphlet along with the many pamphlets that were produced in the Hutchinsonian debate over the word אֱלֹהִים,⁸⁹ but Levi chose to hide it in his lexicon. He did the same with his correction of Parkhurst's interpretation of מְשִׁיחַ.⁹⁰

The entry with the headword מִשַׁח in Levi's lexicon begins with the signification "to anoint" followed by a number of biblical illustrations of the use of the Qal and Niphal forms of the verb.⁹¹ In other entries Levi was content to give one biblical illustration for each context, so one would expect Levi to give an example of the anointing of inanimate objects, such as in Gen 31:13 or Exod 29:2 and 36, as well as examples of the anointing of priests and kings, as Parkhurst did. Levi, however, only gave examples of the anointing of high priests and kings, because he had a point to make. Following the Niphal illustrations of the anointing of kings and priests, Levi said,

⁸⁸ Hutchinson, *Works*, 3:21–46.

⁸⁹ For more on this see D. Gurses, "The Hutchinsonian Defence of an Old Testament Trinitarian Christianity: The Controversy over Elahim, 1735–1773," *History of European Ideas* 29 (2003): 393–409.

⁹⁰ It is also worth comparing the entries for בָּרָא in both Parkhurst and Levi.

⁹¹ Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 2.

Hence the king, or high priest, are called **מְשִׁיחַ** *The anointed*; as Adj **יִכָּרֵת מְשִׁיחַ וְאֵין לוֹ** *The Anointed shall be cut off, and not to him; the king shall be cut off, and not to him*; i.e. the[re] shall be no more kingly power in the Jewish nation. Dan. ix. 26. And it may also allude to the high priest (who was also called **מְשִׁיחַ**, as will be shewn [*sic*] in the following example;) for after the people that came with the prince, destroyed the city and the sanctuary, the ministry of the priesthood was cut off; and there was no more of it, nor hath been to this day.

By saying this, Levi argued that the title could not be applied after the exile, and so he refuted Parkhurst's application of the term to Jesus (Illustration 13).

Levi then went on to complete the entry with more adjectival forms and the derivative nouns. In this section of the entry there is no mention of the connection between the anointing oil and the Holy Spirit as there was in Parkhurst. The entry ends, according to Levi's usual method, with the Chaldee use of the root **משח** and any talmudic and rabbinical Hebrew words with the same radicals (Illustration 14).

Levi's lexicon, like Parkhurst's first edition, did not receive unqualified acceptance. It had a sufficient following to warrant being reprinted again in 1803 after Levi's death in 1801, but Levi's contemporaries were more impressed by his capacity to produce a large amount of scholarly work while continuing to work his trade than they were by the quality of the work itself, as this quote from *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1801 shows: "This performance, though by no means the most perfect of its kind that might be produced, is a great instance of industry and perseverance in a person who was confined all the time to a mechanical business to supply the necessaries of domestic concerns."⁹²

4. LEO AND THE INTRODUCTION OF GERMAN NEOLOGY

English-speaking Hebrew scholars and students of Hebrew in the late eighteenth century now had access to two Hebrew-English lexicons, neither of which fully satisfied the reading public. There was room for another Hebrew-English lexicon, but another was not published until 1825, after Parkhurst's third edition had been reprinted for the fifth and sixth times.⁹³ The lexicon published in 1825 was Leo's "translation" of Gesenius.⁹⁴

Leo was the first Hebrew scholar to provide the English audience with a version of Gesenius' lexicography in English. He began his work as a translation of Gesenius' *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des Alten Testament*

⁹² "Additions and corrections in former obituaries," *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 71, no. 2 (1801): 1206–8.

⁹³ Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (8th ed.; London: Printed for C. and J. Rivington et al., 1823), and Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (London: Printed for William Baynes and Son, and H. S. Baynes and Co., 1823).

⁹⁴ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*.

published in 1810–1812.⁹⁵ When he was part way through **א** he learned that Gesenius had published an abridged version of his first lexicon, called *Neues hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über das Alten Testament*.⁹⁶ So he acquired a copy and used both in his lexicon.⁹⁷ The work, therefore, is a combination of Gesenius' 1810–1812 large lexicon and his second shorter lexicon, so strictly speaking it is not a translation. Leo, however, added very little new material of his own.

The visual presentation of Leo's lexicon is very different from both Parkhurst's and Levi's. The headwords are not biliteral or triliteral roots, but words arranged alphabetically. On most pages there are Syriac and Arabic words in the text. At the beginning of the entries for verbs every form in which the verb occurs in the Hebrew Bible is stated and the entry is ordered by these forms. The lexicon is divided into twenty-three sections, rather than the twenty-two that all previous lexicons used, because Gesenius treated the two different pronunciations of **שׁ** as two different letters. The entries do not contain any exegesis or theological discussion, although some do contain information about the Hebrew culture in order to explain the meaning and usage of the word under discussion.

Gesenius held very strong views about what should or should not be included in a lexicon. Leo, by faithfully translating the preface of Gesenius' first lexicon, made these views available to the English-speaking audience. Of interest to this paper is Gesenius' insistence that commentary, that is, "historical, moral, and intellectual elucidation of entire passages,"⁹⁸ did not belong in a lexicon. Consequently, the entries of words such as **אֱלֹהִים** and **מֹשֶׁה** do not contain the theological discussions that the entries for those words in Parkhurst and Levi did. This does not mean, however, that Gesenius' lexicons were not influenced by theology. In fact, quite the opposite is true. Gesenius' lexicographical methods were developed out of his theology. While there were no theological discussions in the entries of his lexicon, the direction his lexicons took and the impact his work had on Biblical Hebrew linguistics were almost entirely the result of his theology.

Tregelles described Gesenius as having "rationalist views"⁹⁹ and "neological tendencies."¹⁰⁰ Neology was a German theological movement in the late eighteenth century composed of scholars such as J. S. Semler (1725–1791), J. A. Ernesti (1707–1781), J. D. Michaelis (1717–1791), and W. M. L. de Wette (1780–1849), among

⁹⁵ Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des Alten Testament mit Einschluss der geographischen Nahmen and der chaldäischen Wörter bey dem Daniel und Esra* (2 vols.; Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1810–1812).

⁹⁶ Wilhelm Gesenius, *Neues hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über das Alten Testament mit Einschluss des biblischen Chaldäismus. Ein Auszug aus dem grössern Werke in vielen Artikeln desselben umgearbeitet vornehmlich für Schulen* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1815).

⁹⁷ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 1:(vii–viii). Note that the bracketed Roman numerals represent the numbering Leo used for the "Translator's Preface."

⁹⁸ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 1:xiv.

⁹⁹ Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures. Translated, with Additions and Corrections from the Author's Thesaurus and Other Works* (London: S. Bagster, [1857]), iv.

¹⁰⁰ Tregelles, *Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, v.

others, who influenced Gesenius. “Neologians were concerned about history as a hermeneutical problem in evaluating biblical texts; they wanted to establish grounds for a rationally criticizable theory of historical revelation.”¹⁰¹ Semler argued that the Bible *contained* the word of God, rather than *being* the word of God, and because this was the case it was the scholar’s duty “to deliver God’s Word from the historical and philological morass of the text” by going behind the text to the real events, people and institutions.¹⁰² Because of this emphasis on historical research, Gesenius argued that the role of the lexicographer was “to ascertain the peculiar phraseology of the Hebrew, as founded on its own distinct dialect, and to place it in a proper point of view, with relation to the peculiar phraseology of the cognate Semitic dialects,” to present the significations of words in such a way that historical development of the significations is apparent, to draw the reader’s attention to the particular styles of different authors and different genres, and to provide sufficient information about Oriental antiquity, including natural history, technology, architecture, and geographical places to illuminate the meanings of certain terms in the context of the culture in which the language was used.¹⁰³

Critics of the neologists said that neologists “regard the Scriptures as merely human compositions, and have endeavoured to divest them of every vestige of miracle, and of divine inspiration and authority.”¹⁰⁴ Although couched negatively, this description of Gesenius’ view of the Hebrew Bible is accurate.

Unlike Hutchinson, Parkhurst, Levi, and many earlier Hebrew scholars, Gesenius did not believe that Hebrew was a unique language; instead he believed that Hebrew was “only one single dialect of a large middle-eastern language family and ethnic family.”¹⁰⁵ This shift in understanding was not sudden but the result of the development of comparative linguistics throughout the previous century and more. The accumulated effect of the linguistic works of Scaligero,¹⁰⁶ Casaubon,¹⁰⁷ Simon,¹⁰⁸ Kircher,¹⁰⁹ Schultens,¹¹⁰ and Vico,¹¹¹ among others, was influential in this

¹⁰¹ Thomas Albert Howard, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism: W. M. L. de Wette, Jacob Burckhardt, and the Theological Origins of Nineteenth-Century Historical Consciousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 35.

¹⁰² Howard, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism*, 35–36.

¹⁰³ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 1:i, vi, xvii, and xix.

¹⁰⁴ Lucius, and G. d. F., “Conversion of a Neologist Pastor,” *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* 14 (1835): 342.

¹⁰⁵ Wilhelm Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Spracher und Schrift. Eine philologisch-historische Einleitung in die Sprachlehren und Wörterbücher der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1815), 4. The translation is mine.

¹⁰⁶ Guiseppe Giusto Scaligero, *Diatribae de europaeorum Linguis* (1599).

¹⁰⁷ Meric Casaubon, *De Quattor linguis Commentatio* (1650).

¹⁰⁸ Richard Simon, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* (1678).

¹⁰⁹ Athanasius Kircher, *Turris Babel* (Amsterdam: Jansson-Waesberge, 1679).

¹¹⁰ Albert Schultens, *Disputatio theologico philologica de Utilitate Linguae arabicae in Interpretanda Scriptura* (Groningæ: Rijksuniversiteit, 1707).

¹¹¹ Giambattista Vico, *Scienza nuova seconda*, 1744.

shift.¹¹² The shift allowed Gesenius to pursue two new methods for Hebrew linguistics that could not be considered if Hebrew was believed to be a unique language. First, he could explore the historical development of the language. Consequently, Gesenius found traces of an earlier stage of the language in the stone tablets of the Ten Commandments and in other inscriptions described in Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Joshua,¹¹³ but he insisted that Biblical Hebrew only went back as far as the period of David and Solomon and that only some Biblical Hebrew was that early. He divided Biblical Hebrew into two periods, the first before the exile, which he called “the Golden Age,” and the second after the exile, which he called “the Silver Age,” with the books of Job and Ezekiel falling between the two.¹¹⁴ This historical understanding of Hebrew caused Gesenius to say,

It is unnecessary to mention that one of the first duties of a Lexicographer consists in giving progressively the significations of each word in the most natural order, as they may have developed themselves, and illustrating them by proper examples.¹¹⁵

According to Joosten, Gesenius’ sensitivity to the historical development of Hebrew is “at the heart of his approach” to his linguistic work.¹¹⁶

Secondly, Gesenius was able to compare Hebrew to other Semitic languages and to use the comparisons in his understanding of Hebrew phonemes and also in his semantic research. He stated that “the most accurate knowledge and comparison of the cognate dialects are among the first and most indispensable requisites for investigating the significations of Hebrew words.”¹¹⁷ As he compared Hebrew to other Semitic languages, Gesenius came to believe that “it is more than probable that there was time, when the Hebrew language was more joined with the cognate dialects.”¹¹⁸

The separation of **ש** and **שׁ**, mentioned above, was a direct result of Gesenius’ understanding of the Hebrew language. In comparing words across the cognate languages, Gesenius noticed that when Syriac used **ܫ** for a root, Hebrew used either **ש** or **שׁ** or in some words both as alternate spelling, and Arabic mostly used **س** in the corresponding roots.¹¹⁹ So Gesenius noted that for the sound *s* the Syriac and

¹¹² See Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language* (trans. J. Fentress; Oxford: Blackwell, 1995) for a survey of this development.

¹¹³ Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Spracher und Schrift*, 141.

¹¹⁴ Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Spracher und Schrift*, 21–22.

¹¹⁵ Gesenius, *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, 1:x. The translation is from Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 1:vi.

¹¹⁶ Jan Joosten, “Wilhelm Gesenius and the History of Hebrew in the Biblical Period” (paper presented at the Gesenius Conference, Halle, Germany, March 14–18, 2010). This paper may be accessed online: http://unistra.academia.edu/JanJoosten/Papers/1189807/Wilhelm_Gesenius_and_the_history_of_Hebrew_in_the_Biblical_period, 1.

¹¹⁷ Gesenius, *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, 1:iv. The translation is from Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 1:i–ii.

¹¹⁸ Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Spracher und Schrift*, 15.

¹¹⁹ Gesenius, *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, 2:763.

Arabic had one letter while the Hebrew had two. For the sound ʃ Syriac used ܫ only and Hebrew used ש only, but Arabic used س, ش, ث or, in rare cases, ت.¹²⁰ Because the Hebrew letter ש, then, represented two phonemes indicated by the two different pointings of the letter, Gesenius decided to treat ש and ש as two different letters, and because in the Arabic alphabet س comes before ش, Gesenius chose to do the same with the Hebrew, even though in Jewish lexicons ש is placed before ש.¹²¹

Leo, by providing his version of Gesenius' first two lexicons, introduced this new understanding of Hebrew to the English audience. Leo presented Gesenius' diachronic approach to Hebrew without comment. His acceptance of the comparative method used by Gesenius, however, was not necessarily because he was convinced by Gesenius' theology. It may be due to his Jewish heritage. Leo was born a Jew, was given a Jewish education in Europe, and was involved in *Haskalah* as one of the editors of *Ha-Me'assef*, the journal of *Haskalah*, prior to his conversion to Christianity. Concerning the use of Arabic, he explained that

the true interpretation of a great many words and phrases has been preserved to the Jews, either by a faithful tradition or in old versions, or by their learned Rabbins through the assistance of the Arabic tongue. The Jews have long since interpreted several Hebrew words and phrases on the authority of the Arabic without having any knowledge of that language.¹²²

He argued that Hebrew students did not need to know Arabic although they did need to know the “Syro-Chaldea” to read the Chaldee parts of the Bible and to read the Jewish commentators.¹²³ In spite of this different understanding, Leo faithfully made Gesenius' scholarship available to the English-speaking audience.

In Leo's lexicon, as a result of the two sections for ש and ש, the entry for שום or שים is in a different section of the lexicon¹²⁴ to the other words that Hutchinson included in his entry שם.¹²⁵ The first obvious difference in Leo's entry is the double headword. This double headword first appeared in Gesenius' lexicons as a result of what Gesenius observed of the structure of verbs in Hebrew and other cognate languages. In *Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache mit Vergleichung der verwandten Dialekte*, Gesenius argued that there were two distinct

¹²⁰ Gesenius, *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, 2:1099–1100.

¹²¹ Levi, *Lingua sacra*, and Selig Newman, ספר השרשים *A Hebrew and English Lexicon: Containing all the Words of the Old Testament, with the Chaldee Words in Daniel, Ezra, and the Targums: and also the Talmudical and Rabbinical Words Derived from Them* (London: Printed for the author and sold by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1834). The reader may examine the order of the entries for שוח and שוח in both Levi and Newman and the entries for שום and שום in Levi and the entries for שומא, שומים, and שום in Newman's lexicon (pp. 665–66) to see that in the normal Jewish order of ש comes before ש.

¹²² Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 1:(v). Note that the bracketed Roman numerals represent the numbering Leo used for the “Translator's Preface.”

¹²³ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 1:(iv).

¹²⁴ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 2:755–57.

¹²⁵ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 2:810–13.

hollow verbs, the first with ׀ as the second radical and the second with ׀.¹²⁶ Previous grammarians—Gesenius identified Buxtorf, Alting, Danz, and Simonis¹²⁷—had treated all hollow verbs as ׀׀ verbs and had explained all forms that contained ׀ as Hiphil forms, some of which had discarded the initial ה of the Hiphil form. Gesenius pointed out that in some forms the morphology of ׀׀ and ׀׀ verbs coincide with each other, for instance in their preterite or perfect forms and in the infinitive absolute. His observations, however, also led him to conclude that the ׀׀ verbs had a tendency to borrow certain forms from ׀׀ verbs, so that there were “only a few pure ׀׀ verbs.” With many other verbs “the form ׀׀ and ׀׀ occur promiscuously.”¹²⁸ To indicate to the readers of his lexicon which ׀׀ verbs were pure and which borrowed ׀׀ forms he used the headword as well as the morphology in his entries. A pure ׀׀ or ׀׀ verb was given a single headword, while the hollow verbs that occurred in both forms were given a double headword. Not all his students agreed with Gesenius. Fürst, and so also Samuel Davidson, who provided a Hebrew-English version of Fürst’s lexicon, continued to recognize only ׀׀ verbs.¹²⁹ Others accepted Gesenius’ opinion that there were two forms of hollow verbs.¹³⁰

In this entry for שׁוּם or שׂוּם Leo gave no Arabic or Syriac comparisons. The entry begins with a summary of the different forms in which the verb can be found because of the mixing of the ׀׀ and ׀׀ forms. Leo then stated that the verb “occurs in three conjugations.” The entry is set out according to those conjugations with the Qal first, then the Hiphil and the Hophal. The Qal section is the longest and contains three sub-sections, each dealing with separate significations. In the first of these sub-sections Leo gave the signification “to set, place, lay” then added “of persons and things, very frequently in several constructions, of which the following are the most distinguished.” He then gave seventeen different contexts in which the Qal form of the verb is used with this first signification, giving other translation equivalents as needed. The first context, labelled a), is a military context and the translation equivalent is “to arrange, form.” The second context has very little information but is given the signification “to set” and the alternative translation equivalents “to fix, appoint, ordain, establish.” Leo did not explain this, but the context involves an object or place being appointed or set rather than a person. The third

¹²⁶ Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, 407–9.

¹²⁷ See also Parkhurst’s and Levi’s treatment of the Hiphil in their entries for שׁוּם.

¹²⁸ Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, 408. The translation is mine.

¹²⁹ Julius Fürst, *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament. Mit einer Einleitung eine kurze Geschichte der Hebräischen Lexicographie enthaltend* (2 vols.; 2nd ed.; Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1863), 2:423; Samuel Davidson, *A Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament* (3rd ed.; Leipzig and London: Tauchnitz and William & Norgate, 1867), 1358.

¹³⁰ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 573; Tregelles, *Gesenius’s Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, 786–87; Benjamin Davidson, *The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1848), 706; Benjamin Davies, *Student’s Hebrew Lexicon. A compendious and complete Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament: Chiefly Founded on the Works of Gesenius and Fürst with Improvements from Dietrich and Other Sources* (London: Asher & Co., 1872), 625; Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 962–64.

context is given the signification “to place in office” and the translation equivalent “to appoint to something,” where the object is a person. He pointed out that this usage sometimes has a double accusative and sometimes uses prepositions. He continued in this manner in d) to f). Then from g) onwards Leo explained phrases and idioms in which the verb is used. The other two sub-sections of Qal are much shorter and are not divided into contexts, although prepositional and other phrases are noted. The entry continues with the Hiphil and Hophal forms of the verb. Leo always gave biblical illustrations for each signification, context, and usage. The Chaldee verb with the same form is treated in a separate entry (Illustrations 15, 16, and 17).

Leo’s version of the entry for שׂוּם or שׂוּם shows very clearly the emphasis Gesenius put on the Hebrew idiom, but the entry itself is not a good example of the use made of cognate languages in interpreting Hebrew. Similarly the entries for שָׂם¹³¹ and שָׂם¹³² show the emphasis on the Hebrew idiom but make no use of comparative work (Illustrations 18 and 19).

In the entry for שָׂמַיִם, however, Leo compared the Hebrew to the Arabic. He did this to support the parsing of the word at the beginning of the entry, where he labelled שָׂמַיִם as a plural masculine noun, even though it appears to have a dual form, with the signification “the heavens.”¹³³ He argued that שָׂמַיִם can be compared to the Arabic singular noun سماء from the verb سما meaning “to be high, and must be considered in Hebrew as of the form שָׂמַי, whence the plural שָׂמַיִם.” He added weight to his explanation by comparing the word not only with Arabic but also with the Hebrew word גּוֹי and its plural גּוֹיִם. To understand why Leo classed שָׂמַיִם as a plural not a dual noun, we need to read Gesenius’ explanation in *Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache mit Vergleichung der verwandten Dialekte*, in which Gesenius provided a detailed discussion of the historical development of the forms of שָׂמַיִם and מַיִם. Gesenius argued that the forms were plural not dual, based on his comparative work.¹³⁴ Biblical Hebrew lexicons that were published after Gesenius adopted this view, while those that were published before, excluding Parkhurst, parsed שָׂמַיִם as dual.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 2:810.

¹³² Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 2:810–11.

¹³³ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 2:813.

¹³⁴ Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, 537.

¹³⁵ I examined Johannes Buxtorf, *Johannis Buxtorfi Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (London: Typis Jacobi Junii & Mosis Bell, sumptibus Richardi Whitakeri & Samuelis Cartwright, 1646), 784; Leigh, *Critica Sacra*, 537–538; Edmund Castell, *Lexicon Heptaglotton, {Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum} {Samaritanum, Aethiopicum, Arabicum} conjunctim; et Persicum, septim* (London: Imprimebat Thomas Roycroft, 1669), column 3772; Robertson, *Thesaurus*, 1216, and Levi, *Lingua Sacra*, who all parsed the word as dual. Then I examined Newman, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 690; Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 604; Marcus Hyman Bresslau, *אוצר לשון עברי וכשדי Hebrew and English Dictionary, Biblical and Rabbinical: Containing the Hebrew and Chaldee Roots of the Old Testament Post-Biblical Writings* (London: J. Weale, 1855), 624; William Osburn, *A New Hebrew-English Lexicon: Containing all the Hebrew and Chaldee Words in the Old Testament Scriptures, with their Meanings in English* (London: Samuel

As with the entries for שָׁמַיִם or שָׁמַיִם, שָׁמַיִם, and שָׁמַיִם, the entry for שָׁמַיִם focuses on the Hebrew idiom, but this entry also includes Hebrew cultural material. Leo explained that

the Hebrew representation of heaven is that of a solid arch, (see רִקִּיעַ); resting on pillars, (Job xxvi. 11.) having foundations, (2 Sam. xxviii. 17); and a gate or sluice, (Gen. xxviii. 17.); which, when opened, sends down rain. (Gen. vii.11. Ps. lxxviii. 23. 2 King vii. 2) Comp. Isai. lv.10. Hence the Rabbins explain it by שָׁמַיִם מִים. In other passages the heaven is compared with the covering of a tent which the Creator spreads out over the globe, Isai. xl. 22. xlv. 24. Ps. civ. 2.¹³⁶

This is not theology, but a presentation of evidence in Scripture and Jewish commentary (Illustration 20).

Even entries for words that are given theological weight in Parkhurst and Levi, such as אֱלֹהִים, are treated the same way. The word אֱלֹהִים is found under the headword אֱלֹהִים in Leo's lexicon, which is parsed as a masculine noun with the signification "God."¹³⁷ Leo gave the root as אֱלֹהִים, a verb not used in the Hebrew Bible and not to be confused with אֱלֹהִים. He compared it to the Arabic verb الله meaning "to fear, to be afraid; (2) to worship." He pointed out that the singular form אֱלֹהִים is only used in later writing and poets and he explained a difficult idiom found in Job 12:6, before moving on to the plural אֱלֹהִים. For the plural, Leo gave two sub-sections. The first deals with the use of the word in contexts where the translation is the plural "gods." He included in this sub-section 1 Sam 28:13¹³⁸ where he translated אֱלֹהִים as "godlike apparitions." Also included are verses where the use of אֱלֹהִים was sometimes translated "judges," but where Leo translated it as "God." The second sub-section deals with contexts where אֱלֹהִים is translated by the singular "god" or "God." These contexts include both the word's application to an idol, such as the god of another nation or to a man-made god, and also its application to "Jehovah." He began this sub-section with the statement "as plural *excellantiae*, God," adding "It is applied to idols. But by way of pre-eminence especially to Jehovah." He gave a small explanation of how the plural *excellantiae* is used in this case. The rest of the entry is taken up with phrases and idioms in which the word is used (Illustration 21). There is no mention of any New Testament theology. This is in keeping with Gesenius' goal, which Leo adopted, "to ascertain the peculiar phraseology of the Hebrew." Since New Testament theology was later than the writing of the Old Testament, Gesenius did not consider the New Testament a valid tool for interpreting it.

Bagster and sons, 1845), 270, and Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 1029, who all parsed it as dual.

¹³⁶ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 2:813.

¹³⁷ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 1:37–38.

¹³⁸ Leo gave the reference as 1 Sam 28:3, but this is an error. There are two other errors in this section, and Exod 20:20 should be Exod 20:23; Deut 4:18 should be Deut 4:28.

The same principle works in the entry for **מָשִׁיחַ**.¹³⁹ Leo began the entry with “*m.* from **מָשַׁח**” indicating the root from which the word came. This was helpful because the entry for the root is on the previous page and there are a number of entries between the two entries. Leo divided the entry into three sub-entries. In the first he stated that **מָשִׁיחַ** is properly a passive participle with the signification “*anointed*” found in connection with the word **הַכֹּהֵן** (*the priest*) referring to the high priest. In the second sub-section he began with the parsing “*subst.*” and the signification “*the anointed, i. e. the prince.*” He explained that the phrase **הַמָּשִׁיחַ הַהוּא** referred to the king. In the third sub-section he covered the usage in Ps 105:15 which he stated referred to priests and patriarchs. There is no mention of the words *Messiah* or *Christ*, nor any mention of any New Testament usage of the word (Illustration 22).

In Leo’s lexicon then the theology is not found in the content of the entries but in the motivation and reason behind the Gesenian¹⁴⁰ lexicographical method. The neological understanding that the Bible contained the word of God, rather than being the word of God, as well as the growing understanding of language families and the developing skills in comparative linguistics, allowed for the historical approach to the study of the Bible. Leo’s lexicon was only published once, but another version of Gesenius’ 1815 lexicon was compiled by Gibbs for the American market and published as a full lexicon¹⁴¹ and an abridged version.¹⁴² Both of Gibbs’ versions were later also printed in England.¹⁴³

5. LEE AND THE ENGLISH ADAPTION OF GESENIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

Not all Englishmen were convinced about the Gesenian method. Most particularly Gesenius’ failure to use the New Testament to interpret the Old was a cause for concern. In response to this concern Lee published a Hebrew-English lexicon which embraced much of Gesenius’ method, but also used the New Testament

¹³⁹ Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, 2:458.

¹⁴⁰ The term “Gesenian” is a term I coined to describe the method of lexicography that Gesenius developed. Gesenian lexicography involves several specific characteristics: priority is given to the Hebrew context and idiom, a diachronic approach to Hebrew is used, an emphasis is placed on the cultural and historical context of the Bible and the Hebrew language, comparative linguistics is used as one of the research tools, and there is a strict rule about what should or should not be included in a lexicon.

¹⁴¹ Josiah W. Gibbs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament: Including the Biblical Chaldee from the German Works of Prof. W. Gesenius* (Andover: Printed at the Codman Press by Flagg and Gould, 1824).

¹⁴² Josiah W. Gibbs, *A Manual Hebrew and English Lexicon, Including the Biblical Chaldee. Designed Particularly for Beginners* (Andover: Printed for the author, at the Codman Press by Flagg and Gould, 1828).

¹⁴³ Josiah W. Gibbs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon to the Old Testament, Including the Biblical Chaldee. Edited, with Improvements, From the German Works of Gesenius* (London: James Duncan, and Whittaker, Treacher, & Co., 1832); Josiah W. Gibbs, *A Manual Hebrew and English lexicon, Including the Biblical Chaldee. Abridged with the Latest Improvements from the Works of Professor W. Gesenius, and Designed Particularly for the Use of Students* (London: John R. Priestley, 1833).

interpretations of the Old. In the preface to his lexicon, Lee explained the need for another Hebrew-English lexicon by pointing out what he considered the shortcomings of both the Jewish lexicons and the lexicons based on German scholarship. He argued that,

as to orthodoxy or heterodoxy, singly and respectively, I am well aware how far Grammarians and Interpreters, as such, have been led astray by an overweening and imprudent attachment to considerations connected with one or other of these. The Jews, for example—opposed as they necessarily are to the interpretations of the Old Testament which are found in the New—have spared no pains in the construction of their Grammars, Dictionaries, and Commentaries, tacitly to make every provision against their adoption.¹⁴⁴

He concluded his opinion on Jewish scholarship by stating that the tradition to which they appeal rests “on foundations no better than those of conjecture.”¹⁴⁵ Lee then presented his opinion of the scholarship coming out of Germany:

Heterodoxy had produced similar results among the writers of modern Germany. Grammar, Dictionaries, Scholia, Commentaries, evincing very considerable learning, industry, and talent, have been composed in the greatest abundance. In these, appeal is very generally made to Oriental languages and customs, to the opinions of heathen philosophers and poets, to Jewish Grammarians, Targumists, Commentators, Cabbilists, and the like; more for the purpose of adapting the several views and opinions cited to the sacred text, than for that of illustrating mere grammatical, rhetorical, or other usages, and which might fairly be supposed to have been common to writers both sacred and profane.¹⁴⁶

His criticism is not that they used the sources he listed, but that they used them to adapt Old Testament theology, rather than to illustrate linguistic issues. He became even more scathing about their lack of practical knowledge of the “Grammarians and Rhetoricians of the East.” According to Lee, not only had the German scholars “perpetuated the mistakes of their predecessors,” they had made more mistakes of their own. These assessments of the work of Jewish and German scholars prepared the ground for Lee’s argument that “as to orthodoxy in the article of Biblical interpretation, the only authoritative guide and corrective is, beyond all dispute, the New Testament.”¹⁴⁷

Lee argued that whatever notions or principles were adopted by grammarians influenced their theology and as a result “cannot fail, in the first place, to exercise a considerable influence on the Grammarian, and thence also on the Interpreter of Scripture in the second.”¹⁴⁸ It is theology that causes the differences to be found

¹⁴⁴ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, viii.

¹⁴⁵ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, ix.

¹⁴⁶ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, ix.

¹⁴⁷ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, ix.

¹⁴⁸ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, ix.

between the interpretations, grammatical as well as theological, of the Jew, the Neologian, and “the conscientious and well-informed Christian divine.”¹⁴⁹ He summed up his concern succinctly by saying, “Heathenish principles have here, as in other instances, led to heathenish results.”¹⁵⁰

In addition to his determination to use the New Testament interpretation, Lee’s lexicon displays other differences to Leo’s. In the three entries we are studying we will also see differences between Leo’s and Lee’s linguistic theories. Lee argued that nouns were the primitive roots of Hebrew, not verbs,¹⁵¹ and his method of semantic research bore similarities to Parkhurst’s in that he aimed to ascertain the “*precise primary force and meaning*” of the primitives and from them derive the subsequent significations of the derivatives.¹⁵²

In his entry שׁוּם and שׁוּם Lee began first with the double headword and then with morphology and a Syriac comparison.¹⁵³ When Leo included comparisons with other cognate languages, it was to provide support for different or new semantic or syntactical arguments. In this case, Lee was not using the comparisons to support any argument. The significations “*statuit, constituit*” (*he set, he appointed*) that he gave for the Syriac ܫܘܡ were not needed to support the primitive meaning he gave for the Hebrew “*placed, appointed, rendered.*” The arrangement of the content of the entry was by the verb forms, as in Leo, and Lee presented both the usage of the word alone and its use in phrases. No detail, however, is given about the context; the readers are left to read the biblical references to find the context (Illustration 23).

The entries for שָׁם,¹⁵⁴ שָׁם,¹⁵⁵ and שְׁמַיִם¹⁵⁶ are set out in a similar manner with the corresponding words in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic listed, but not supporting any argument (Illustration 24). Lee labeled שְׁמַיִם “masculine plural” without giving a reason why (Illustration 25). There are no significant differences in the significations given between Leo and Lee for these entries.

¹⁴⁹ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, ix.

¹⁵⁰ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, ix.

¹⁵¹ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, vi.

¹⁵² Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, vii.

¹⁵³ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 573. From the entry מְרַבֵּית (p. 389) onward most of the copy was prepared by Rev. T. Jarrett, Arabic Professor at the University of Cambridge (p. vi). The entries prepared by Lee and the entries prepared by Jarrett are quite different in content and organization. Lee provided more discussion and included his biblical illustrations within the text, while Jarrett simply provided significations labelled with bracketed letters—a, b), etc.—without any discussion or biblical references. At the end of the entry he provided the list of biblical references using the same bracketed letters. Strictly speaking then for all entries after מְרַבֵּית, the work is Jarrett’s, rather than Lee’s. Lee, however, claimed the work was his and Jarrett was only assisting. For this reason and for the sake of simplicity I will continue to speak of Lee rather than Jarrett for all entries.

¹⁵⁴ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 603.

¹⁵⁵ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 603–4.

¹⁵⁶ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 604.

In the treatment of אֱלֹהִים, however, Lee's theological differences become apparent.¹⁵⁷ Like Leo, Lee put the word under the headword אֱלֹהֵי. Rather than give the word the verbal root אֱלֵה, which Leo gave, Lee gave emphasis to the nominal forms in both the Arabic and the Syriac, in accordance with his theory of nominal roots. Following the comparisons with the cognate languages, Lee presented a discussion of the way the word had been treated previously, specifically by Gesenius and the Hutchinsonians. It is here that we find a deliberate theological discussion. Lee objected to Gesenius' diachronic approach to Hebrew. He presented Gesenius' statement from his *Thesaurus*, which argued that אֱלֹהֵי was an imitation of the usage of the Aramaic singular form and was used in poetic language and in late Hebrew. Lee, unlike Gesenius, believed that Moses wrote Deuteronomy and that Job lived as early as the sons of Israel, so he argued that it was not possible that Moses was imitating the Syrians in the Deuteronomy passage where אֱלֹהֵי is used, nor that the word was a specimen of "modern Hebrew." He added the evidence of the use of the word in Job, comparing these "early" examples with later examples in Daniel and then with the Roman emperors who claimed to be gods (Illustration 26).

Lee then moved on to look at the "speculations" concerning the plural form אֱלֹהִים. In this discussion he rejected the Hutchinsonian Trinitarian interpretation and also the German rationalists' argument that in the word "vestiges of a very ancient polytheism were discoverable." He used Gesenius' principle of interpreting Hebrew through Hebrew idiom and culture against both the Hutchinsonians and the German rationalists by saying that both

have taken too much for granted, viz., that the ancients were guided in their writings by the technical rules of modern grammarians; and also that they were complete metaphysicians: neither of which can be maintained; hence both are probably false."¹⁵⁸

In this section he also argued against the German Rationalists' textual criticism (Illustration 27).

In his discussion of the significations of the word, Lee relied heavily on the New Testament interpretation of passages like Ps 8:6. Lee rejected the translation "angels" for אֱלֹהִים in Ps 8:6 and compared the verse to Heb 2:7, arguing that אֱלֹהִים referred to Christ and his suffering on earth. He argued that the use of the word in Ps 82:1 "is manifestly a prophecy relating to the victories of Christianity," and that the use of the word in Ps 97:7 "is clearly a prediction of the victories of Christ"¹⁵⁹ (Illustration 28). Lee finished the entry with phrases in which אֱלֹהִים is used (Illustration 29).

In the entry for מְשִׁיחַ, which was prepared by Jarrett,¹⁶⁰ the New Testament theology is less pronounced.¹⁶¹ The entry begins with the information that it is a masculine noun and that its root is מִשַׁח, which runs contrary to Lee's stated belief

¹⁵⁷ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 31–33.

¹⁵⁸ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 31.

¹⁵⁹ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 32.

¹⁶⁰ See n. 30.

¹⁶¹ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 395.

that all Hebrew roots are nouns. Within the morphological information the reader is told that קִשְׁט is the same as χριστός . This was not in the early Gesenius lexicons, but can be found in his *Lexicon manuale* and his *Thesaurus*.¹⁶² Gesenius used the term purely as the translation found in the LXX, but Lee added an allusion to the discussion in Hebrews where Christ is compared to the “Divine priest and king whose priesthood is after the order of Melchizedek, and whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom.”¹⁶³ The allusion is not explained, nor do any of the Old Testament passages he gave refer to Melchizedek (Illustration 30).

Lee’s lexicon was printed only once more,¹⁶⁴ but his concern was taken up by other lexicographers who also modified the Gesenian method by adding New Testament interpretations into their lexicons, for example, Tregelles,¹⁶⁵ S. Davidson,¹⁶⁶ and Davies.¹⁶⁷

6. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper was to demonstrate the impact of theology on Hebrew-English lexicons so that users of those lexicons can more readily identify how a lexicographer’s approach to lexicography and the content of his entries were influenced by his theology. Four Hebrew-English lexicographers from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—Parkhurst, Levi, Leo, and Lee—were chosen to demonstrate this influence. During this period of time there was a significant shift in the understanding of revelation and the inspiration of scripture. Parkhurst and Levi both believed that Hebrew was a unique language used by God to communicate his revelation. Parkhurst believed that the original Hebrew was unpointed, and that a better understanding of the primitive meaning of the roots would lead to a better understanding of the derivatives and consequently of the whole of God’s word. Levi believed that not only the consonantal text was given by God but also the points. He placed less emphasis on the derivations of a root and more on the traditional Jewish interpretation. Leo did not believe that Hebrew was unique. Rather he believed that Hebrew was only one language of a larger family of languages, that it had developed historically, and that it could, therefore, be studied historically. He believed that the Hebrew Bible contained the word of God, rather than being the word of God. Because Hebrew was a human language developed in a human culture, he gave the Hebrew idiom and culture high priority in the interpretation of Hebrew. Lee too believed that Hebrew was a human language with a history. But he also believed that the New Testament interpretation of the Hebrew

¹⁶² Wilhelm Gesenius, *Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti Libros: Post editionem germanicam tertiam latine elaboravit multisque modis retractavit et auxit* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1833), 626; Wilhelm Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: Vogel, 1835–1858), 825.

¹⁶³ Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 395.

¹⁶⁴ Samuel Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English: Compiled from the Most Approved Sources, Oriental and European, Jewish and Christian* (London: Duncan and Malcolm, 1844).

¹⁶⁵ Tregelles, *Gesenius’s Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*.

¹⁶⁶ S. Davidson, *A Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon*.

¹⁶⁷ Davies, *Student’s Hebrew Lexicon*.

Bible was essential to a true understanding of God's revelation, so he extended the material available to the interpreter to include the interpretations of the Hebrew found in the New Testament. The theology of inspiration held by each of the lexicographers impacted both their method and their content, so that each lexicographer produced a distinct lexicon with distinct characteristics.

This paper challenges readers of current Hebrew lexicons to engage with the culture out of which the lexicon was written. By reading the prefaces of the lexicons, other works by the lexicographers, and the works of other linguists and scholars who influenced them, in conjunction with the entries in the lexicons themselves, readers can begin to appreciate the richness of the contemporary culture contained within each lexicon. This appreciation allows readers to engage with the content of the entries critically and so better engage with the text of the Hebrew Bible, the Hebrew language as a whole, and the history of interpretation.

Finally, this paper challenges modern lexicographers in two ways. First, they are challenged to beware of assuming that a particular method is independent of specific cultural and intellectual influences. Secondly, they are challenged to be aware of the impact of their own theology and culture on their work, critically assessing whether it will produce the kind of lexicon for which they are aiming.

- שׁוּם
- I. In Kal. *To place, set, put, generally in order, with care and art.* Gen. ii. 8. vi. 16. xxiv. 47. & al. freq. In Hiph. The same, Gen. xxx. 42. xliv. 2. & al. freq. the initial ה is often dropped, as Gen. xxiv. 2. xxxi. 37. As a N. fem. in Reg. תּשׁמַת *A placing or putting.* Lev. vi. 2. תּשׁמַת־יָד *The putting, joining, or striking of the hand,* seems in this passage to denote *suretyship*, which was confirmed by that action. comp. Job xvii. 3. Prov. vi. i. xvii. 18. xxii. 26.
- II. In Kal and Hiph. *To make, constitute.* Gen. xiii. 16. xxi. 18. xxvii. 37. xlv. 9. & al. freq.
- III. In Kal and Hiph. with ב following, *To lay upon, lay to the charge of, to impute to.* 1 Sam. xxii. 15. Job xxiv. 12.
- IV. In Hiph. A military term, *To set in array.* 1 Kings xx. 12.
- V. שׁוּם לֵב or הִשִּׁים לֵב *To apply the heart, mind, or understanding to a thing, to mind or attend to it.* 1 Sam. ix. 20. 2 Sam. xviii. 3. Isa. xli. 22. Sometimes לֵב is omitted, and שׁוּם alone is used in this sense, as Isa. xli. 20. שׁוּם אֶל לְבוֹ *To put to his heart, take into his mind, think upon,* 2 Sam. xiii. 13. שׁוּם עַל לְבוֹ *To put upon his heart, to purpose or resolve in his heart.* Dan. i. 8. Mal. ii. 2.

Illustration 1. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 372.

This illustration shows Parkhurst's treatment of the verb שׁוּם in the entry שׁוּם. Parkhurst's comment on the Hiphil form is in the rectangular boxes. Note that in sections I, II, and III Parkhurst made no distinction between the significations for the Qal and the Hiphil. Sections III and V deal with phrases formed with the verb. These are highlighted with the ovals.

VI. As a N. שם plur. fem. שמות. *A name, an articulate sound, which is * placed or substituted for a thing, as its sensible mark or sign.*

Gen. ii. 11. xxv. 13. & al. freq.

VII. שם יהוה *The name of Jehovah,*
שם אלהים *The name of the Aleim,* and
simply השם or שם *The name,* Levit.

xxiv. 11, 16. comp. 1 Cor. xii. 3. are used
as titles of the *second Person* of the ever
blessed Trinity. Isa. xxx. 27. (comp. ch.

xxxvii. 36. 2 Kings xix. 35.) Exod.
xxiii. 21. (comp. 1 Cor. x. 9.) Jer. xiv.

7, 21. Ps. xx. 1. The reason of the ex-
pression seems to be this. A name is the *re-*
representative of a being or thing; Christ in
the New Testament is called the *image of*

* See Mr. Locke's *Essay on human Understanding*. Book
iii. ch. 1 and 2.

God, 2 Cor. iv. 4. and the *image of the invi-*
sible God, Col. i. 15. So being not only *very*
God, but also being the *representative* of the
whole ever-blessed Trinity, he is in the Old
Testament stiled *the name of Jehovah,* or
of the *Aleim.*

Illustration 2. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 372–73.

This illustration shows Parkhurst's treatment of the noun שם in the entry שם. Parkhurst connected his signification of the noun, *name, an articulate sound*, to the verb by the use of the word *placed* in the explanation, highlighted by the rectangle in section VI. Parkhurst explained the phrases שם יהוה and שם אלהים with Trinitarian theology, highlighted by the rectangles in section VII.

VIII. As a participle of *place*, שם *There, thither*,
 Jer. ii. 6. Deut. i. 37. Jer. xxii. 11. & al.
 freq. שמה *The same*. Gen. xix. 20. xxiii.
 13. & al. freq.

IX. As a participial N. masc. plur. שמים
The heavens, literally *the disposers, placers*,
 (in which sense the word is plainly used, Isa.
 v. 20. Mal. ii. 2.) This is a *descriptive*
name of the heavens, or of that immense
celestial fluid, subsisting in the three condi-
 tions of *fire, light, and spirit* or *gross air*,
 which fills every part of the universe, not
 possessed by other matter. So *Aquila* and
Theodotion render שמים by *Αἴρ*, *the air*.
 Job xxxv. 11. This name שמים was first
 given by God to the *celestial fluid*, or air,
 when it began to act in *disposing* and *arrang-*
ing the earth and waters, Gen. i. 8. and since
 that time the שמים have been the great
agents in disposing all material things in their
 places and orders, and thereby producing
 all those great and wonderful effects, which
 are attributed to them in the Scriptures, and
 which it hath been of late years the fashion
 to ascribe to *attraction, gravity, &c.* which,
 (though the *effects* are manifest) are, when
 taken for *causes* as occult as the *sympathy* and
antipathy of *Aristotle* and the *Peripatetics*.

Illustration 3. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 373.

This illustration shows section VIII of the entry שם where Parkhurst treated the adverb שם, and the first part of section IX, where Parkhurst used Hutchinson's explanation of the word שמים. Note the way Parkhurst used the word *place*, from the primitive meaning of the verb, in both sections, highlighted by the ovals. Also note the parsing of the noun שמים as plural, highlighted by the small rectangle. In the larger rectangle criticism of Newton is highlighted.

X. As the שמים are eminently what *declare the glory of God*. Pl. xix. 1. and are, I apprehend, according to that of St. Paul, Rom. i. 20. the created, visible type or emblem of his *eternal power and Godhead*, and as each of the *three divine persons*, and their *aeconomical act* are described to us in Scripture, by the *three conditions* of the heavens, and their operations, (v. under כרב p. 146, 7.) so the Heb. שמים and Chald. שהיא are used as a name of the *eternal and ever blessed Trinity*. 2 Chron. xxxii. 20. (comp. 2 Kings xix. 25. Isa. xxxvii. 15.) Dan. iv. 23, or 26. comp. שלט III. Thus also in the New Testament *σρανος*, *heaven*, is used for *God*. Mat. xxi. 25. Luke xx. iv. xv. 18. So Βασιλειᾶ των σρανων, literally, *the Kingdom of the * heavens*. (plur.) occurs frequently in St. Matthew, for *the kingdom of God*. comp. inter. al. Mat. iv. 17. with Mark i. 15. and Mat. xix. 14. with Mark x. 14. and Mat. xix. 23. with ver. 24.

Illustration 4. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 373–74.

This illustration shows section X of the entry שם, where Parkhurst continued his Hutchinsonian treatment of the word שמים. In this example the Hutchinsonian connection of the word to Trinitarian theology is highlighted in the rectangle.

- XI. As a N. masc. plur. שומים Some species of *onions*, so denominated from the *regular disposition* of their several involucra, or integuments. occ. Num. xi. 5. Mr. *Hutchinson* has ingeniously observed, (vol. iv. p. 262.) that the worshipping of *onions*, by the *Egyptians*, with which they have been so sarcastically upbraided by † others of the heathen was, like the rest of their idolatrous service, merely *emblematical*.—Our (common) *onion*, adds he, is a perfect *emblem* of the *disposition* of this *fluid system* (of the *heavens*) supposing the root, and top of the head, to represent the two Poles. If you cut any one transverse or diagonally, you will find it divided into the same number of spheres, including each other, counting from the sun or center, to the circumference, as they knew the motions or courses of the orbs (or planets) divided this *fluid system* into ; and so the divisions represented the courses of those orbs.”
- XII. In Kal and Hiph. *To make waste, or desolate, to reduce* to such a state as to leave place or *room* for other things ; so the Latin *vasto, to waste*, is derived from *vastus, vast wide*. Ezek. xxxvi. 3. Ps. lxxix. 7. Jer. x. 25. In Niph. *To be desolate, reduced to a vast solitude*. Levit. xxvi. 22. Isa. xxxiii. 8. & al. freq. As a N. fem. שמה *Desolation, waste*. Isa. v. 9. xxiv. 12. Hof. v. 9. comp. שם.
- XIII. In Niph. *To be desolate in mind, to be stounded, amazed, confounded*, so as to have no sense left. 1 Kings ix. 8. Job xviii. 20. Jer. iv. 9. & al. As a N. fem. שמה *Amazement, astonishment*. Jer. v. 30. viii. 21. & al.

Illustration 5. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 374.

This illustration shows sections XI to XIII of the entry שם. Parkhurst used Hutchinson’s treatment of the word שומים in section XI. Then he developed the primitive meaning *place* (see the rectangle) into a signification for the verb שָׁמַם and the noun שָׁמָה.

אל [9] אל

piter. Hence the *Druids*, the *Oak-prophets* or *Priests of Britain, Gaul, and Germany*, v. *Univerf. Hift.* vol. xviii. p. 543, 546—548. & vol. xix. p. 24. 77.

VI. The most eminent of all *interpositions* was performed by *pronouncing a curse*; hence אלה, as a V. 10 *interpose*, by *pronouncing a curse*, occ. *Jud.* xvii. 2. *Hof.* x. 2. 1 Sam. xiv. 24. *And Saul ויאל את העם* interposed *with the people* by *pronouncing a curse*, or laid the people under a conditional curse, saying, *Cursed be [or is] the man who shall eat bread*, &c. As a N. fem. אלה, *An interposition by pronouncing a curse*, a *curse pronounced*, freq. occ. It must be observed, that the antient manner of *adjuring* subjects or inferiors to any conditions, was by their superiors *pronouncing a curse* on them in case they violated those conditions, for proof of this I refer to *Gen.* xxiv. 41. *Deut.* xxvii. 14. & seq. *Jer.* xi. 2, &c. *Lev.* v. 1. *Num.* v. 19—21. *Josh.* vi. 26. *Jud.* xxi. 18. 1 Sam. xiv. 24. 1 Kings viii 31. xxii. 16. *Prov.* xxix. 24. (where our Translators very properly render אלה *curfing*.) And to this manner of *swearing* our blessed Lord himself submitted, *Mat.* xxvi. 63, 64. And, to prevent mistakes, let it be further remarked, that when the curse was expressed in general terms, as *cursed be he*, i. e. *whofoever*, the superior who pronounced it was as much bound by it, as the inferior who heard it; thus there can be no doubt, but the curses pronounced *Deut.* xxvii. 14, &c. obliged the *Levites*, who pronounced them, and those also, *Josh.* vi. 26. and 1 Sam. xiv. 24. obliged *Jeshua* and *Saul* who pronounced them as well as the other People. They therefore by pronouncing those curses swore or took an oath *themselves*. Hence

VII. As a N. malc. plur. אלהים *the interposers by denouncing a curse*.

1. A name usually given in the Hebrew Scriptures to the *ever-blessed Trinity*, by which they represent themselves as under the obligation of an *oath* to perform certain conditions, and as having *pronounced*

a *curse* on ALL, men or devils, that do not conform to them.

What those terms or conditions were which the אלהים *sware*, is, I think, evident from *Pf.* cx. namely, that the *M: Christ Jesus* in consequence of his *humiliation* and *sufferings* (ver. 7. comp. *Ph* ii. 6. 10.) should be *exalted to the right hand of God* till all his enemies were made his *foot-stool*, (comp. 1 *Cor.* xv. 25 *That the rod of his strength* (his *Gospe* should be sent out of *Sion*, and that *he* should rule even in the midst of *his enemies*, that his people [true *Christian* should offer themselves willingly in the ornaments of holiness, and that those which should be * *begotten* by him to a *resurrection* from *here*, and from death hereafter, should be more numerous than the *drops of morning-dew*. All this I take to be briefly comprehended or summed up in that *oath of Jehovah* to *Christ*, ver. 4. *Thou art a Priest* for ever after the order of *Melchisedec*, which by interpretation is *King of Righteousness*. *Heb.* vii. 2. As a *Priest*, *Christ thro' the eternal Spirit* offered himself without spot to *God*, *Heb.* viii 3. xi. 14. As a *Priest* for ever, *he is able to save them to the uttermost* (*Marg.* evermore) *that come unto God by him*, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. As being after the order of *Melchisedec* he is *King* as well as *Priest* *King of Righteousness* and *King of Peace* *Heb.* vii. 2.

Hence then we learn, that *Jehovah* swore to *Adoni* or *Christ* (*v.* *Mat.* xxii. 43.) and that this *oath* had reference to the *redemption of man* by him. The *Pfalm* itself does not indeed determine the *time* when this oath was pronounced, but other Scriptures do. For *St. Paul* says, that *Christ* was made a *Priest*, i. e. after the order of *Melchisedec*, by this very oath, *Heb.* vii. 21. But his *inauguration* to the *Priesthood* and *Kingdom* was prior to the *creation of the world*, *Prov.* viii. 23, & seq. (for the use of נסכתי v. י'רהך *Thy progeny*.)

Illustration 6. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 374.

This illustration shows section VI and first part of section VII of the entry אלה. The rectangles show the connections between the primitive meaning, the verb, and אלהים. The ovals show the Christological argument that Parkhurst developed.

אל

[10]

אל

Pfal. ii. 6. and comp. John xvii. 24.) Therefore * *this very oath*, recorded in Pf. cx. was *prior to the creation*. Accordingly *Jehovah* is at the beginning of the creation called אלהים Gen. i. 1. which implies, that the divine persons had sworn *when* they created; it is evident also from Gen. iii. 4, 5. that both the serpent and the woman knew *Jehovah* by this name (אלהים) *before the fall*; and to cite but two passages out of many that might be produced from the *New Testament* to this purpose, St. *Peter* is express 1 Ep. i. 18—20. that *Christ* was *fore-ordained* to redeem us—προ καταβολης κοσμου, *before the foundation of the world*: and St. *Paul* affirms, Eph. i. 4. that *God even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath chosen us in him*, προ καταβολης κοσμου, *before the foundation of the world*.

By virtue of this *antemundane oath*, the Man *Christ Jesus* was enabled to overcome the Devil and all the enemies of man, and perfect his redemption; and from this oath it was that the ever blessed THREE were pleased to take that *glorious and fearful* name, (Deut. xxviii. 58.) יהוה אלהים *Jehovah Aleim*; *glorious* in as much as the transaction, to which it refers, displays in the most *glorious* manner the attributes of God to men and angels, and *fearful* in as much as by one part of the oath eternal and infinite *power*, *Jehovah himself* is engaged to make the enemies of *Christ* his foot-stool, Pf. cx. 1.

Let those, who in these days of *Arian*, *Socinian*, and *rabbincal* blasphemy, have any doubt whether אלהים when meaning the true God, *Jehovah*, is plural or not, consult the following passages, where they will find it joined with Adjectives, Pronouns, and Verbs plural, Gen. i.

26. iii. 22. xi. 7. xx. 13. xxx. xxiv. 19. 2 Sam, vii. 23. Pf. lvi. 8. v. also Prov. ix. 10. xxx. xii. 1.

Further, as to the relation of ה' tion by a curse, or a curse denoun interposition, mediation (μεσσιτευση) stle seems to have it in view wh of *Jehovah's oath* to *Abraham*, F that God μεσσιτευσεν ορω interpo an oath. Marg.

From this name אלהים, of the the Greeks had by a perverted their Zeus ορωιος *Jupiter*, that 1 oaths. Hence also the corrupt *Jupiter's oath* which over-ruled itself, that is, the fatal and nece of the elements of *this world*.

did *Jehovah Aleim* when they by *miracles*; this will they agai most glorious manner at the re bodies from the grave, when themselves that are thus *necessi cbanically* moved shall pass awa elements melt with fervent heat.

2. All the antient Idolaters falsely *material heavens*, or their rep אלהים, and accordingly exp them, *protection, victory, happin* this *glorious and fearful* title is claimed for *Jehovah* in exclusiv idols. v. inter al. Deut. iv. 35, xxxii. 17. 2 Kings xix. 19. Iia 21. Jer ii. 11. Hof. xiii. 4.

3. *Princes, Rulers, Judges*: those power to *denounce a curse*, so a subjects, and were themselves *sw* protect or deliver them. Exod. 8; 9, 28. 1 Sam. ii. 25. Pfal. xcvi. 7. cxxxviii. 1. comp. J 35, 36. v. *Hutchinson's Moses's* eip. p. 77. &c.

Illustration 7. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 374.

This illustration shows the second part of section VII of the entry אלהים. The oval shows the rest of the Christological argument that Parkhurst developed, while the rectangle indicates the attack on Arian, Socinian, and Jewish writings. This illustration includes the second and third sub-sections of section VII.

מִשַּׁח

- I. *To anoint, pour or rub unctuous matter upon.*
Gen. xxxi. 13. Exod. xxix. 7. 1 Sam. xvi.

13. Pf. xlv. 8. lxxxix. 21. As a N. מִשְׁחָה
Anointing, unction. Exod. xxv. 6. & al freq.
מִשִּׁיחַ *Anointed,* or rather *instituted* to an
office *by unction.* And since this was a cere-
mony used at the inauguration both of
kings and priests, the word מִשִּׁיחַ is applied
to both (*v. inter. al. Levit. iv. 3, 5. 1 Sam.*
xii. 3, 5. xxiv. 7, 11. Isa. xlv. 1.) but
most eminently denotes THE CHRIST,
the Saviour of mankind, who was *anointed*
with the reality of the typical oil, even *with*
the Holy Ghost and with power. (Acts x. 38.
comp. ch. iv. 27.) Pf. ii. 2. Dan. ix. 25,
26. & al. freq.

- II. It is remarkable that, when *Elijah* was
commanded (מִשַּׁח) to *anoint Elisba* to be
Prophet in his room, we read only that he
passed by him, and cast his mantle upon
him. *v. 1 Kings. xix. 16, 19.* Hence it
may at first sight seem that in this passage
מִשַּׁח must be understood in a secondary
sense, *To appoint or constitute by some outward*
sign, but yet from the silence of Scripture,
as to the *actual anointing of Elisba* to the prop-
hetic office, we have no more reason to
conclude that he was not anointed, than we
have to infer from the same silence that *Ha-*
zael was not anointed to the regal, which
unction however *Elijah* was commanded to
perform. *1 Kings xix. 15.* and no doubt
did perform it: and that *anointing with oil,*
or some *unctuous matter* was one usual cere-
mony at the inauguration to the prophe-
tical, as well as to the regal and priestly of-
fice, seems evident from *Luk. iv. 18.* com-
pared with *Isa. lxi. 1.*

DER. *MESSIAH.*

Illustration 8. Parkhurst, *An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Without Points* (1762), 374.

This illustration contains the entry מִשַּׁח. Parkhurst connected the primitive meaning he gave with the signification for both nouns, מִשְׁחָה and מִשִּׁיחַ. In the first section the Hutchinsonian influence is seen in both the dualism and the Trinitarian references.

שום	שום	שוע
<p>שׂוּמָה Sheveelena; In <i>Talm.</i> Heb. denotes an infamous epi- dat given to a Midianitish woman called כּוּבִי (Numb. xxv. 15) San. fol. lxxxii. 2.</p> <p>שׂוּמָה Shum ; whence, Noun Masc. Plur. according to the idiom of the Heb.</p> <p>וְאֵת הַשׂוּמִים And the gar- lic. Numb. xi. 5.</p> <p>In <i>Cba.</i> שׂוּמָה The name ; the fame as שׂוּמָה in the Heb. which see.</p> <p>In <i>Talm.</i> Heb. it denotes garlic ; as in the pure Heb. Bava Kama, fol. lxxxii. 1. and Kelayeem, chap. i.</p> <p>שׂוּמָה Sum ; To put ; or- der ; dispose, &c.</p> <p>אֲשֶׁר שָׂמָה Which he had put. Gen. xxviii. 18.</p> <p>שָׂמָה אֱלֹהִים לְאֹהֶן God hath appointed (or made) me lord. Ibid. xiv. 9.</p> <p>כִּי שָׂמָה לְאִישׁ יֵשׁר Who hath appointed (or made) thee a man, a prince ? Exod. ii. 14.</p> <p>לְשׂוּמָה אֶת שְׁמוֹ שָׂמָה (Infn.) To put his name there. Deut. xii. 5.</p> <p>בְּשׂוּמָה לֵים דָּקָה When he put (or gave) to sea his de- ceree. Prov. viii. 28.</p>	<p>כִּבְלֵי מַיִם (Hiph. Particp.) Without any putting (it to heart ;) i. e. regarding it. Job, iv. 20.</p> <p>לְבַלְתִּי שֵׁם As not to leave. 2 Sam. xiv. 7.</p> <p>שֵׁם נָא יָרֵךְ (Imp.) Put, I pray thee, thy hand. Gen. xxiv. 2.</p> <p>שֵׂמוֹ לֶחֶם Put ye (or set) on bread. Ibid. xliii. 30.</p> <p>וְאֵשׁ לֹא אָשִׂים (Futur.) And I will put no fire (under.) 1 King, xviii. 23.</p> <p>תָּשִׂים בְּפִי אֶמְתַּחַת Thou shalt put in the mouth of the sack. Gen. xliv. 2.</p> <p>כִּי יִשְׁמְנֵי שְׂפָמִי בְּאַרְצִי O that I were appointed judge in the land. 2 Sam. xv. 4.</p> <p>וַיִּוָּשֶׁב לְפָנָיו לְאֹכַל (Huph.) And there was put (or set meat) before him to eat. Gen. xxiv. 33.</p> <p>אוֹ בְתֻשְׁמַת יָד (Noun Fem.) Or in putting of the hand ; properly a partnership, where each puts his money in the common stock. Levit. v. 21.</p> <p>(In <i>Cba.</i>) it denotes to put, &c. as in the Heb. with a small variation in the form.</p> <p>In</p>	<p>(In <i>Talm.</i> and <i>Rab.</i>) Heb. שׂוּמָה Shum, and שׂוּמָה Shuma ; also denotes partnership. Bava Kama, fol. cxii. 2. and Choe- shan Hamitshpat, sect. 103. Properly a judicial letter giving power to the creditors of the effects of the partners, &c.</p> <p>שׂוּמָה Suma ; In <i>Talm.</i> Heb. also denotes a wart. Metfia, fol. xxvii. 2.</p> <p>שׂוּמָה Shuma ; In <i>Talm.</i> Heb. denotes estimation ; value ; reckoning, &c. Bava Kama, fol. xxx. 2.</p>

Illustration 9. Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 3.

The illustration contains the entries שום and שום. Levi only pointed ש and this pronunciation came after ש alphabetically, as shown by the rectangles. The ovals show the order of the entry. Note that of the verbs Levi identified as Hiphil only the first is Hiphil. The rest are Qal verbs in the "ע" form.

שָׁלֵשׁ

Affix. שָׁלֵשׁוֹ *His captains.*
Ibid. xv. 4:

3d. Excellent, or wonderful things, which are more honorable, or above the common level; whence also musical instruments: and which some think had three strings.

Noun Masc. Plur.

הֲלֹא כָּתַבְתִּי לָךְ שְׁלֵשִׁים
Have I not written thee *excellent things*? Prov. xxii. 20.

And some think, it denotes *thrice*.

וּבְשָׁלֵשׁוֹ *And with three stringed instruments.* 1 Sam. xviii. 7.

In *Talm.* and *Rab.* Heb. it denotes the same as in the first sense of the pure Heb.

משלש *Meshulash*; In *Rab.* Heb. denotes *a triangle*.

שילוש *Sheelush*; In *Rab.* Heb. denotes *the trinity*.

שליש Is also used in *Rab.* Heb. to denote *a deposit*; also *the person in whose hand it is deposited*. Choefhan Hamiffhat, Numb. lv.

שם Sheam; 1st. A name;
a word used to distinguish a person from others of the
Vol. III.

שֵׁם

same species; also reputation, &c.

שֵׁם הָאָהָרָה *The name of the one.* Gen. ii. 11.

וְנַעֲשֶׂה לָנוּ שֵׁם *And let us make us a name.* Ibid. xi. 4.

אֲנָשֵׁי הַשֵּׁם *The men of renown.* Ibid. vi. 4.

Affix. שְׁמוֹ *His name.* Ibid. iv. 25.

זֶה שְׁמִי *This (is) my name.* Exod. iii. 15.

וְהִכְרִיתוּ אֶת שְׁמִנִּי *And they will cut off our name.* Joshua. vii. 9.

וְהָיָה שְׁמִךָ אַבְרָהָם *But thy name shall be Abraham.* Gen. xvii. 5.

Plur. שְׁמוֹת *Names.* Ibid. xxvi. 18.

Const. בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *The names of the children of Israel.* Exod. i. 1.

Plur. וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמֹתָם *And these (are) their names.* Gen. xxv. 16.

2d. There. An Adverb.

וַיִּבֶן שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ *And he built an altar there.* Gen. xii. 8.

And with מ mem prefixed.

וַיַּעֲזֹב מִשָּׁם *And he removed from thence.* Ibid.

5 N

And

Illustration 10. Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 3.

This illustration contains the first part of the entry שֵׁם, which includes three separate words. The first two are in the rectangles. The ovals show the different morphology.

שָׁמַיִם

And with paragogic הָ *he.*
 וְהֵבֵאתֶם שָׁמַיִם And *thither*
 shall ye bring. Deut. xii. 6.

3d. The heaven.

Noun Masc. Dual. accord-
 ing to the idiom of the Heb.

וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְרִקְעַת שָׁמַיִם
 And God called the firmam-
 ent *heavens.* Gen. i. 8.

הִבֵּט נָא הַשָּׁמַיְמָה Look
 now *toward the heavens.* Ibid.
 xv. 6.

(Const.) וְשָׁמַיִם הַשָּׁמַיִם And
 the *heavens of heavens.* Deut.
 x. 14.

(Affix.) שָׁמַיִךְ Thy *heavens.*
 Ibid. xxviii. 23.

אֶף שָׁמַיִךְ יִגְדְּפוּ טֵל His
heavens also shall drop dew.
 Ibid. xxxiii. 28.

שָׁמַיִכֶם Your *heavens.* Le-
 vit. xxvi. 19.

(In *Cha.*) it denotes a name;
 also *the heavens*; as in the
 Heb. with a trifling variation
 in the form.

(In *Talm. and Rab. Heb.*) it
 denotes the same as in the
 pure Heb.

שָׁם Sheam; In Heb. Gram-
 mar; denotes a *noun* For the
 different forms of which, see
 the Grammar, chap. vii. sect.

שָׁמַם

1, 2, &c. page 107, 108, &c.

שָׁמַם Sheam; In *Talm. and*
Rab. Heb. denotes *God*; used
 as a pronoun, as, קְדוּשַׁת שָׁמַם
 The sanctification of *God.*

יְיִוֹד הַשָּׁמַם The unity of
God. Maim. in קְרִיאת הַלְלוֹת
 שָׁמַם, chap. i.

כַּשֵּׁם In *Rab. Heb.* de-
 notes *as*, &c.

And with לָ lamed prefixed,
 or עַל *for*; *because*, &c.

שָׁמַם Shamam; Desolate;
 waste, &c. Also to be affo-
 nished.

עַל הַר צִיּוֹן שָׁשָׁכֶם Because
 of mount Zion, *which is de-*
solate. Lament. v. 18.

בְּאִשֶּׁר שָׁמַם עֲלֵיד רַבִּים As
 many *were affonished* at thee,
 Ifai. lii. 14.

בְּיַעַשׂ שָׁמֹת For be-
 cause of *the destroying* (you)
 Ezek. xxxvi. 3.

Imp. שָׁכֹן שָׁמַיִם Be *affo-*
nished, O ye heavens. Jeam.
 ii. 12.

Futur. אֶשָּׁמַם I *will destroy*
 Ifai. xlii. 14.

כָּל־עֹבֵר עָלָיו יִשָּׁם Every
 one that passeth by it *shall be*
affonished. 1 King ix. 8.

Niph. נִשְׁמַם כְּסִלּוֹת The

Illustration 11. Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 3.

This illustration contains the third word in the entry שָׁמַם, and the first part of the entry שָׁמַם, indicated by the rectangles. The ovals show the different morphology and the sections on Chaldee and Talmudic and Rabbinic Hebrew. Note the dual designation of שָׁמַיִם.

אלה

אלה Eloha, GOD.

Under this root the generality of lexicographers have arranged אלהים, *Eloheem*; and which, as some say, is a plural noun. To this, many of the commentators, both Jews and Christians agree, though in different senses. But others go much farther, and place it under the root אלה *Alah*, (a verb) “To curse, or denounce a curse;” and that, אלהים *Eloheem* signifies, “those that have denounced a curse.” But the learned *Abarbanal* is of opinion that it hath no root, but is a compound word. To this last I heartily agree; and shall therefore produce my reasons for embracing that opinion; and which I submit to the candour of a liberal public; who, I hope, will view them with an impartial and candid eye.

But, before I proceed, I must take the liberty to mention, that some time before I proposed publishing this dictionary, I spent much time

אלה

in investigating this point, which took its rise from the following cause:—A worthy friend of mine, (a member of the church of England) in consequence of a conversation between us concerning the etymology and scripture meaning of the noun אלהים *Eloheem*, put into my hand several tracts written on the subject, by Mr. *Hutchinson*, Mr. *Catcott*, and Mr. *Bate*, who had embraced the opinion of the derivation of אלהים from אלה; and archdeacon *Sharp*, who hath endeavoured to confute it. The fruit of which investigation I now propose laying before my readers: and that they may the better be enabled to judge of the force of my observations, I shall lay before them as much of the controversy as is necessary for the purpose.

Mr. *John Hutchinson* was of opinion, that אלהים being derived from אלה *to take an oath*, signified *the Persons of the Deity*, engaged in an oath to perform a covenant. See Mo-

Illustration 12. Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 3.

This illustration contains the first page of the entry אלה, in which Levi announced his intention to refute the Hutchinsonian interpretation of the word אלהים.

משח		משח	
	(see in אבר.) The four last tracts are cabalistical.	my holy oil <i>have I anointed him.</i> Pfalm. lxxxix. 21.	king
	He also composed a number of other tracts on the Cabala.	Niph.	
Who/what was anointed?	משח Mashach; To anoint.	בִּי וּמִשַׁח דָּוִד לְמֶלֶךְ עַל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל That David was anointed king over all Israel.	king
high priest	אֲשֶׁר מָשַׁח אֹתוֹ בְּשֶׁמֶן הַקֹּדֶשׁ That was anointed with the holy oil. Numb. xxxv. 25.	בְּיוֹם הַמָּשַׁח אֹתוֹ In the day when he is anointed. Levit. vi. 13.	high priest
king	וַיִּמְשַׁח אֶת שְׁלֹמֹה And he anointed Solomon. 1 King. i. 39.	Hence, the king, or high priest, are called מְשֻׁחַ The anointed; as, Adj.	
king	וַתִּשָּׁחֲתָ לִי אֶת אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֲלֶיךָ And thou shalt anoint unto me (him)whom I shall name unto thee. 1 Sam. xvi. 3.	וַיִּכְרַת מְשֻׁחַ וְאִין לוֹ The anointed shall be cut off, and not to him; the king shall be cut off, and not to him; i. e.	
high priest	וְלִקְחָתָ אֶת שֶׁמֶן הַמִּשְׁחָה וַיִּצְתָּהּ עַל רֵאשׁוֹ וַתִּשָּׁחֲתָ אֹתוֹ And thou shalt take the anointing oil, and pour (it) upou his head, and thou shalt anoint him. Exod. xxix. 7.	the shall be no more kingly power in the Jewish nation, Dan. ix. 26. And it may also allude to the high priest (who was also called מְשֻׁחַ, as will be shewn in the following example;) for after the people that came with the prince, destroyed the city and the sanctuary, the ministry of the priesthood was cut off; and there was no more of it, nor	
king	וַתִּשָּׁחֲתוּ לְנָגִיד עַל עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל And thou shalt anoint him to be captain (or prince) over my people Israel. 1 Sam. ix. 16.	hath been to this day.	
king	אֲנִי מִשְׁחָתִיךָ לְמֶלֶךְ עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל I anointed thee to be king over Israel. 2 Sam. xii. 7.	אִם הִבְהִין הַמְּשֻׁחִים יַחְמֹא If the anointed priest doth sin. Levit. iv. 3. Const.	
	בְּשֶׁמֶן קֹדֶשׁ מִשְׁחָתִי With		

Illustration 13. Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 3.

This illustration contains the first part of the entry משח. Levi only gave biblical examples where the verb is used of high priests and kings (square rectangles), in order to prove the point that anointing of priests and kings stopped at a point in Jewish history and could not be applied to Christ (rounded rectangles).

משח	משח	משח
<p>(Conf.) כִּי מְשִׁיחַ הוּא ה' For he is <i>the anointed of the Lord.</i> 1 Sam. xxiv. 7.</p> <p>(Affix.) מְשִׁיחוֹ <i>His anointed.</i> 1 Sam. ii. 10.</p> <p>Another form of the Adj. אַתָּה כְּרוֹב מִמֶּשֶׁךְ דֹּסֹכֵךְ Thou (att) <i>the anointed che-</i> <i>rub that covereth.</i> Ezek. xxviii. 14.</p> <p>(Noun Fem.) וְאֵת שֶׁמֶן הַמִּשְׁחָה And <i>the</i> <i>anointing oil.</i> Exod. xxxi. 11.</p> <p>(Noun Fem. Conf.) מְשַׁחַת קֹדֶשׁ <i>An ointment of</i> <i>holiness.</i> Ibid. xxx. 25.</p> <p>(Another form of the Fem.) לְמִשְׁחָה בָּהֶם <i>To be anointed</i> <i>therein.</i> Ibid. xxix. 29.</p> <p>לְךָ נָתַתִּים לְמִשְׁחָה Unto <i>thee have I given them, by</i> <i>reason of the anointing.</i> Numb. xviii. 8.</p> <p>(Affix.) מְשַׁחֲתָם <i>Their anoint-</i> <i>ing.</i> Exod. xl. 15.</p> <p>(Another form of the Adj.) וּמִשְׁחָה בְּשֵׁשֶׁר <i>And painted</i> <i>with vermilion.</i> Jer. xxii. 14.</p> <p>(In <i>Chal.</i>) it denotes, (1st) To</p>	<p>anoint; ointment, &c. as in the Heb. also oil.</p> <p>It also (in <i>Talm.</i> and <i>Rab.</i>) Heb. denotes to anoint, &c.</p> <p>2d. In <i>Chal.</i> to measure. מִשַּׁח אֹרְכָיָהּ <i>He measured</i> <i>the length thereof.</i> Targ. Jona. Ezek. xl. 20.</p> <p>(Infin.) לְמִכְשַׁח יְיָ יְרוּשָׁלַם <i>To mea-</i> <i>sure Jerufalem.</i> Targ. Jona. Zech. ii. 2.</p> <p>Futur. אֶמְשַׁח <i>I will mea-</i> <i>sure.</i> Targ. Jeruf. Psalm. lx. 8.</p> <p>וְתִמְשְׁחוּ מִבְּרָא לְמִדְּתָא <i>And</i> <i>ye shall measure from without</i> <i>the city.</i> Targ. Onk. Numb. xxxv. 5.</p> <p>(The Noun.) מִשְׁחָתָא תְּרָא לְתַלְתֵּיהוֹן <i>One measure to all three of</i> <i>them.</i> Targ. Jona. Ezek. xl. 10.</p> <p>(Conf.) בְּמִשְׁחָת תִּרְעָא קַדְמָא <i>Ac-</i> <i>cording to the measure of the</i> <i>first gate.</i> Targ. Jona. Ibid. 21.</p> <p>It denotes the same in (<i>Talm.</i>) Heb. Metfia, fol. cvii. 2.</p> <p>In <i>Talm.</i> Heb. מְשִׁיחָה Me- sheechah</p>	<p>sheechah, denotes <i>a cord.</i> Shab. fol. l. and Succa, fol. xxxvii. 1.</p>

Illustration 14. Levi, *Lingua sacra*, vol. 3.

This illustration contains the second part of the entry משח, in which Levi continued to apply his method of providing examples of all forms in Biblical Hebrew, Chaldea, and Talmudic and Rabbinic Hebrew. The ovals highlight each form and language.

שׂים and שׂום fut. יָשִׂים abbrev. יָשֵׂם, יָשֵׂם, once יָשִׂים (Exod. iv. 11.) imp. שִׂים, inf. absol. שׂום const. שׂום, seldom שׂים, (Job xx. 4.)

It occurs in three conjugations; in **(Kal)**,

1. *To set, place, lay*, of persons and things, very frequently in several constructions, of which the following are the most distinguished.

(a) *to arrange, form*, (an army), Job i. 17: שָׂמוּ בַּשָּׂדֵי כַּשְׂדִּים שָׂמוּ שְׁלֹשָׁה רֵאשִׁים *the Chaldeans formed three bands*. Josh. viii. 2, 13. Also intrans. (or with the omission of the accus. מִחֲנֶה, *aciem*), *to set themselves in battle array*, 1 Kings xx. 12: שִׂמוּ רִשְׁמוֹ עַל הָעִיר *set yourselves in battle array, and they set themselves in array against the city*. Ezek. xxiii. 24. (Compare in *Hiph.* Ezek. xxi. 21.) 1 Sam. xv. 2: אָשַׂר שָׂם לוֹ בְּדַרְדָּר *when he placed himself in the way*. So likewise are used elliptically the verbs עָרַד, No. 2. and שִׂית, q. v.

(b) *To set, i. q. to fix, appoint, ordain, establish*, Gen. xlvii. 26. Exod. xxi. 13.

Illustration 15. Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, vol. 2, 755.

The illustration contains the first part of the entry שׂים and שׂום. The first rectangle indicates the double headword, and the second highlights Leo's method of saying how many conjugations of the verb occur. The oval shows where the Qal section begins. The circle indicates the first signification for the Qal form. Note that the forms with י as the second radical are included in the Qal section, not the Hiphil.

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(c) *To place in office, to appoint* to something, Hos. ii. 2. (i. 11.) With double accus. 1 Sam. viii. 1. or with לְ of the predicate, Gen. xlv. 9. Exod. ii. 14; with עַל of the thing, to place, appoint over any thing, Exod. i. 11. v. 14. Deut. xvii. 15.

(d) *To lay upon a person, to impose any thing upon him, e. g. to do, to perform*, with עַל of the person, Exod. v. 8. xxii. 24: לֹא-תִשְׂכֵּן עָלָיו נֶשֶׁךְ ye shall not lay upon him usury. With בְּ, Deut. vii. 15. Sometimes it signifies i. q. to lay to the charge of, to charge, with לְ, Deut. xxii. 14: לֹא עָלִיתָ דְבָרִים and lays evil things to her charge. Verse 17, with בְּ, 1 Sam. xxii. 15: אֵל יֵשׁוּם הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּעֶבְרֵוֹ דָבָר let not the king lay this to his servant's charge. Job iv. 18; with the accus. xxiv. 12; with עַל, Judg. ix. 24.

(e) *To put on* (a garment), Ruth iii. 3.

(f) *To place, put in*, (surety), Job xvii. 3.

(g) *To give a name to a person*, Dan. i. 7. Different from this is the construction Judg. viii. 31: וַיִּשֶׂם אֶת-שְׁמוֹ אֲבִימֶלֶךְ and he gave him the name Abimelech. properly he fixed for his name Abimelech, Neh. ix. 7. Compare in Chald. Dan. v. 12.

(h) *To set, put up one's name in a place, i. e. to fix his habitation, dwelling, there, applied to Jehovah*, Deut. xii. 5, 21. xiv. 24: לִישׁוּם שְׁמוֹ שָׁם to let his name abide there. 1 Kings ix. 3. xi. 36. 2 Kings xxi. 4. Synonymous with שָׁבַן שְׁמוֹ, Deut. xii. 11. xxvi. 2.

(i) *To beget children, suscipere liberos*, Ezra x. 44.

(k) *To instruct a person about any thing*, Exod. xvii. 14.

(l) *To pay attention, to attend to, to consider, animum advertere*. Isai. xli. 22: נְשִׂיחוּ לִבְנֵי let us attend to. Hag. ii. 15, 18. Without לְ idem, Isai. xli. 20. elliptically without לְ, Job xxxiv. 23:

שִׁיבוּ לְקָם: שִׁיבוּ לְקָם he needs not to ob-
serve man long. Judg. xix. 30: רַחֵם עָלֶיהָ
reflect on it. Comp. Hiph. Job iv.
20. See a similar ellipsis under רָחַם
No. 4. and שָׂת. The thing to which one
attends, takes עַל, Job i. 8. Hag. i. 5, 7;
אֵל, Exod. ix. 21. 1 Sam. xxv. 25; לְ, Deut.
xxxii. 46. Ezek. xl. 4; with בְּ, Job xxxiii. 6.
(m) *To take, or lay to heart*,
Isai. lvii. 1, 11; also with אֵל, 2 Sam. xiii.
33; with בְּ, 1 Sam. xxi. 13. Job xxii. 22.
The same is expressed by לְ שָׂם, 1 Sam. ix. 20. Ellipt. Ps. i. 28: שָׂם דַּרְךְּ, viz. על לבו he that takes his way to heart, i. e. reflects upon it.

(n) *To determine, to resolve*, Dan. i. 8. Mal. ii. 2.

(o) *To direct one's face*, see פָּנִים, No. 1. letter (b).

(p) *To direct one's eye upon one*, see עֵץ, No. 1. (e).

(q) *Absolute, to heap up, to accumulate*, Job xxxvi. 13: הֵאָפוּ יְשׁוּבֵי הָאָרֶץ heap up the wrath (of God).

2. *To make*, i. q. נָתַן, No. 3. Gen. iv. 15. vi. 16.—*To do wonders, perform miracles*, Exod. x. 2. Ps. lxxviii. 43. Esp. to make into any thing, (as τίθημι in Homer very frequently), with double accus. Ps. xxxix. 9. Josh. viii. 28; with לְ of the predicate, Gen. xxi. 13, 18. Job xxiv. 25. Isai. v. 20. or with בְּ, to make as, Gen. xxxii. 13. (12). 1 Kings xix. 2. The construction is peculiar in Isai. xxv. 2: שִׂמְתָּ לְעֵל מַעְרֵי לֵבָן thou will make this city a heap (of stones).

3. *To give*, e. g. יָדָהּ לְיְהוָה to give honour to Jehovah, Josh. vii. 19. Isai. xlii. 12. לְ שָׁלוֹם to give peace to, Numb. vi. 26. שָׂם רַחֲמִים לְ to show mercy, Isai. xlvi. 6; otherwise with נָתַן. See רָחַם.

Hiph. הִשִּׂים, i. q. Kal, it occurs only in the imp. הִשִּׂי, Ezek. xxi. 21. (xxi. 16.)

Illustration 16. Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, vol. 2, 756.

The illustration contains the second part of the entry שׁוּם and שִׁים. The bracketed letters in the text are different contexts or phrases in which the Qal form is found. The circles indicate the second and third significations for the Qal form. The oval shows where the Hiphil conjugation begins.

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in the signification of No. 1. (a), and *Part.* מִשָּׁם, Job iv. 20. in the signification of No. 1. (l).

(*Hoph.*) only Gen. xxiv. 33 in *Kri.* the Chethib has יִשָּׁם, to which the same signification must be given. (See יִשָּׁם).
Deriv. תְּשׁוּבָה.

- שׁוּר Chald. *to set, place, put.* Especially
- (a) *To appoint, to place in office,* Ezra v. 14.
 - (b) שׁוּר מִצֵּעַם *to issue an edict,* Dan. iii. 10, 29. iv. 3. Ezra iv. 19 &c.
 - (c) שׁוּר מִצֵּעַם עַל *to take notice of, to regard,* Dan. iii. 12.
 - (d) שׁוּר בְּלִי *to be concerned about any one,* Dan. vi. 15.
 - (e) שׁוּר שֵׁם דִּי פִּי *to give a name to, to name a person,* Dan. v. 12: דִּי מְלִכָּא שָׁם שְׁמֵיהּ *whom the king named Belteshazzar.*

Illustration 17. Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, vol. 2, 757.

The illustration contains the third part of the entry שׁוּר and שִׁים. The oval shows where the Hophal conjugation begins. The rectangle indicates a new entry for the Chaldee form of the verb.

שָׁמָּה adverb

1. *There, at that place.* מִשָּׁמָּה *thence, from that place*; relatively אֵי-שָׁמָּה *where*. Mostly separated by intervening words, Gen. xiii. 3. 2 Sam. xv. 20. rarely combined, 2 Chron. vi 11. שָׁמָּה שָׁמָּה *here and there*, Isai. xxviii. 10.
2. Like שָׁמָּה *thither, yonder*, 1 Sam. ii. 14. 2 Kings xix. 32. Combined with אֵי-שָׁמָּה, *whither*, 1 Kings xviii. 10. Jer. xix. 14.
3. Of time, *then* (as the Greek *ἐκεῖ*, the Latin *ibi*). Ps. xiv. 5. cxxxii. 17. Judg. v. 11. מִשָּׁמָּה *from that time*, Hos. ii. 17.

With the ה parag. שָׁמָּה (Milel, hence, read *shamma*).

1. *Thither, to yonder place*, Gen. xix. 20.
2. More rarely i. q. שָׁמָּה *there, at that place*, Isai. xxxiv. 15. Jer. xviii. 2. With אֵי-שָׁמָּה, *whither*; more rarely *where*, e. g. in 2 Kings xxiii. 8.

שָׁמָּה *stat. const.* שָׁמָּה, sometimes before Makkeph שָׁמָּה, with suffix. שָׁמָּי, שָׁמָּה, שָׁמָּה. *Plur.* שָׁמָּה, *stat. const.* שָׁמָּה *m.*

1. *A name.* בְּשֵׁם פֶּֿ in the name of any one, Exod. v. 23. Esth. iii. 12. viii. 8, 10. בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה in the name of Jehovah, Jer. xi. 21.

Illustration 18. Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, vol. 2, 810.

This illustration contains all of the entry שָׁמָּה and the first part of the entry שָׁמָּה. The rectangles indicate where the new entries start or where a new section starts within an entry. For the entry שָׁמָּה, Leo concentrated on the Hebrew idiom by explaining many of the phrases in which the word was used. He divided the entry into six sections, indicated by the circles in this illustration and in Illustration 19. The ovals in both this illustration and Illustration 19 indicate the phrases in which שָׁמָּה occurs. The large number of phrases included in this entry show Leo's emphasis on Hebrew idiom.

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xxvi. 9. **קָרָא בְשֵׁם**, see under **קָרָא**. Especially a celebrated name, fame, renown, **אֲנָשֵׁי שֵׁם** men of renown, i. e. celebrated men, Numb. xvi. 2. 1 Chron. v. 24. Gen. vi. 4. opposed to **בְּנֵי בְלִי שֵׁם** children without renown, i. e. children of the ignoble, Job xxx. 8; **עָשָׂה לִּי שֵׁם** and **שֵׁם לִי שֵׁם** to make one's self a name, Gen. xi. 4. Jer. xxxii. 20. 2 Sam. vii. 23.—Zeph. iii. 19: **עֲשֵׂתִים לְהַרְלֹחַ יְלֵשָׁם** I will make them for a praise and a name. Verse 20. Deut. xxvi. 19. Ezek. xxxiv. 29. xxxix. 13. Jer. xiii. 11.—Gen. ix. 27: **הָרְחַל שֵׁם** in the tents of renown.

2. Rarely, a rumour, report. **שֵׁם רָע** an evil report, Deut. xxii. 14, 19. Neh. vi. 13: **הֲיָה לָהֶם לְשֵׁם רָע** this might have given them (the enemies) subject for an evil report.

3. **שֵׁם יְהוָה** the name of Jehovah, especially in the following significations and combinations:

(a) The praise or glory of Jehovah, e. g. Isai. xlvi. 9: **לְמַעַן שְׁמִי** for the sake of my name, i. e. for my glory. [Parall. (לְמַעַן) תְּהַלֵּלֵנִי Ps. lxxix. 9: **לְמַעַן שְׁמִי**, parallel with **לְמַעַן שְׁמוֹ** for the glory of thy name. Comp. cvi. 8: **לְמַעַן שְׁמוֹ** parallel with **לְהוֹדִיעַ אֶת נְבוֹרָתוֹ** in order to make known his power. Ezek. xx. 44. 1 Kings viii. 41. (In other passages it signifies according to, by virtue of his name, i. e. by which he announces himself in his real character, viz. Jehovah, the God of Israel. See **מַעַן**, No. 2.) Ps. xxiii. 3. xxv. 11. xxxi. 4. cix. 21. cxliii. 11. comp. **לְמַעַן חַסְדֶּךָ** in virtue of thy mercy. Hence

(b) **קָרָא בְשֵׁם יְהוָה** to call upon the name of Jehovah; comp. the phrases under **קָרָא** No. 1. letter (h). **אֲרָבֵי שְׁמֶךָ** they who love thy name, Ps. v. 12. **יִרְעֵי שְׁמֶךָ** they who fear thy name, Ps. ix. 11. **יִרְאֵי שְׁמֶךָ** they who fear thy name, Ps. lxi. 6. xcix. 3, &c.

(c) The presence of Jehovah, (comp. **פָּנִים**), or Jehovah, inasmuch as he is present

everywhere. Exod. xxiii. 21: **כִּי יִשְׁמֵי בְּקִרְבּוֹ** for my name abides in him, (the angel. 1 Kings viii. 29: **תָּרַח שְׁמִי שָׁמָּה** my name shall abide there (in the temple), 2 Kings xxiii. 27. 2 Chron. vi. 5. xxxiii. 4. 1 Kings iii. 2: **לֹא נִבְנְהוּ בַּיִת לְשֵׁם יְהוָה** there was yet no house built to the name of Jehovah. v. xvii. 19. (v. 3, 5.) viii. 17, 20. **שָׁבַן שְׁמוֹ** and **שֵׁם שְׁמוֹ** to set, or place his name, to abide anywhere, see under **שָׁבַן** and **שָׁמָּה**. Farther, considered as present and mighty to help, Ps. liv. 3: **בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִשְׁעֵנוּ** by thy name, (i. e. thy powerful presence) save us. xlv. 6: **בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִשְׁעֵנוּ** through thy name, (i. e. thy powerful assistance) we tread down our enemies. cxxiv. 8: **עֲזָרְנוּ יְהוָה בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה** our help is in the name of Jehovah, i. e. in Jehovah, in that he is present to help us. xx. 2. lxxxix. 25. 4.

4. **שֵׁם** and **הַשֵּׁם**, Levit. xxiv. 11, 16. Deut. xxviii. 58, by way of pre-eminence for Jehovah. (The Samaritans read **שְׁמָא**, i. q. **שֵׁם** for יהוה, where the Jews read יהוה).

5. Monument, memorial, which preserves the remembrance of the name, 2 Sam. viii. 13. Isai. lv. 13.

6. Proper name, Sem, second son of Noah. Gen. v. 32. In the genealogical account, (Gen. x.) verse 22—30, the nations in the south-west part of Asia are derived from him, as Persians, Assyrians, Arameans, Hebrews, and a part of the Arabs. Hence the modern term (first adopted by Eichhorn) Semitic languages, denoting the dialects kindred with the Hebrew; which however is not quite suitable, since the Semitic people includes several nations which do not belong to that branch of language, e. g. the Persian.

שֵׁם m. Chald. a name, Dan. iv. 5. Ezra v. 1. With suffix. **שְׁמָה** (שֵׁם) Dan. ii. 20, 26. iv. 5. v. 12. Ezra v. 14: **וְהָיוּ לְשֵׁבַצָר שְׁמָה** and they were given to Sheshbazzar, as his name was, properly they were given

Illustration 19. Leo, A Hebrew Lexicon, vol. 2, 811.

This illustration contains the second part of the entry שם and a small section of the entry for the Chaldee word שם. See the comments under Illustration 18 for more details.

שָׁמַיִם *plur.* *m. stat. const.* שָׁמַיִ, *the heavens.*

(The singular is to be found in the Arabic سماء from سما, *to be high*, and must be considered in Hebrew as of the form שָׁמַי, whence the *plur.* שָׁמַיִם, as גֹּיִם, *plur.* גֹּיִם.)

Comp. שָׁמַיִם. With the ה, parag. הַשָּׁמַיִם *towards heaven*, Gen. xv. 5. xxviii. 12:

אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם *God of heaven*, a frequent expression in the later books. (See the Chald.) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23. Ezra i. 2.

Neh. i. 4, 5. ii. 4, 20. Ps. cxxxvi. 26. Jon. i. 9. Construed with Jehovah יְהוָה, Gen. xxiv. 3, 7. שָׁמַיִם וְשָׁמַיִ הַשָּׁמַיִם *the heaven*

and the heaven of heavens, a rhetorical phrase for *the most high, most holy heaven*, Deut. x. 14. 1 Kings viii. 27. 2 Chron. ii. 5. הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ *heaven and earth*, an

expression for the whole creation, *univ-ersum*, Gen. i. 1. ii. 1. xiv. 19, 22. The Hebrew representation of heaven is that

of a solid arch, (see רִקְיָע); resting on pillars, (Job xxvi. 11.) having foundations, (2 Sam. xxviii. 17.); and a gate or sluice, (Gen. xxviii. 17); which, when opened,

sends down rain. (Gen. vii. 11. Ps. lxxviii. 23. 2 Kings vii. 2.) Comp. Isai. iv. 10. Hence the Rabbins explain it by שָׁמַיִם. In other passages the heaven is compared with the covering of a tent,

which the Creator spreads out over the globe, Isai. xl. 22. xlv. 24. Ps. civ. 2.

Illustration 20. Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, vol. 2, 813.

This illustration contains the entry שָׁמַיִם. Leo argued that it was plural rather than dual and used comparisons with Arabic to support his argument. See the first two rectangles. The ovals indicate the phrases in which שָׁמַיִם is found, which Leo explained. The last rectangle highlights the Hebrew representation that Leo gave of heaven with the biblical references to support it.

אלוהים *m. God.* (Root אלה, אל to fear, to be afraid; (2) to worship.) By way of pre-eminence, of Jehovah, but also of other gods, Dan. xi. 37. 39. however in sing. only in the latter writings and poets, Neh. ix. 17. 2 Chron. xxxii. 15. Deut. xxxii. 15. 17. most frequently in Job, iii. 4. 9. v. 17, &c. (Thus in Chaldee and Syriac.) Job xii. 6: אֲשֶׁר הֵבִיא אֱלֹהִים בְּדָוִד *he who carries the deity in his hand*, i. e. whose hand is his God. Comp. Hab. i. 11. **Plur. אֱלֹהִים.**

① *Gods*, in plur. Exod. xx. 3. 20. Deut. iv. 18. hence *godlike apparitions*, 1 Sam. xxviii. 3. אֱלֹהִים רָאִיתִי עֹלִים מִן הָאָרֶץ *I saw gods ascending out of the earth*, i. e. apparitions of supernatural beings. Also i. q. בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים *sons of gods*, i. e. kings, Ps. lxxxii. 1. 6. It has also been understood of other authorities and judges, e. g. Exod. xxi. 6. xxii. 7, 8. (But Deut. xix. 17. shows that it is here to be understood of God himself, whom the arbitrating priests only represented.)

② *אֱלֹהִים* as plural *excellentiæ*, *God*. It is applied to idols 2 Kings i. 2, 3. 1 Kings xi. 33. Exod. xxxii. 23. Judg. xvi. 23. But by way of pre-eminence especially to Jehovah. It is construed (contrary to the usage of the plural *excellentiæ*) with the adjective in plural, e. g. 1 Sam. iv. 8. xvii. 26. but with the verb almost always in the singular, as Gen. i. 1. Exceptions to this rule are, Gen. xx. 13. xxxi. 53. 2 Sam. vii. 23. Ps. lviii. 12.

The following constructions and phrase are yet to be noticed :

- (a) בֶּן אֱלֹהִים *the son of God*, applies
 (a) To kings, Ps. ii. 7. lxxxii. 6. Comp. 2 Sam. vii. 14. also Ps. lxxxix. 27. in which David is called the first-born, i. e. the dearest son of Jehovah. The usual notion of the ancients, that the royal dignity was derived from God, is here traced to its foundation; hence the Homeric διογένη βασιλευς, comp. Il. i. 279. ii. 196. 97. To which belongs the almost divine reverence paid to Oriental kings; whence it is perceivable how they themselves came to be called gods, (Ps. lxxxii. 6. xlv. 7, 8.)
- (β) In pl. בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים to the inferior gods angels, Gen. vi. 1, &c. Job i. 6. ii. 1. xxxviii. 7.
 (γ) To a faithful adherent, worshipper of God, Deut. xiv. 1. Ps. lxxiii. 15. Prov. xiv. 26
 (b) אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים *a man of God*, used of angels Judg. xiii. 6. 8. Prophets, 1 Sam. ii. 27. ix. 6. 1 Kings xiii. 1. and other faithful servant of God, e. g. Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 1. David Neh. xii. 24. 36. The same is אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים *a prince of God*, Gen. xxiii. 6. of Abraham with the accessory idea of princely dignity
 (c) *Great before God*, in the sight of God i. e. *very great*, Jonah iii. 3. עַרְגֹּלָה לְאֱלֹהִים *a city great before God*, comp. Acts vii. 20 ἀστειὸς τῷ θεῷ and Gen. x. 9. *a mighty hunter לפני יהוה before Jehovah*.

Illustration 21. Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, vol. 1, 37–38.

This illustration contains the entry אלוהים. Leo began with both comparative and diachronic comments. See the first rectangle. Most of the entry focuses on the plural form, אֱלֹהִים, indicated by the oval. Leo divided this section of the entry into two sections, dividing the plural usage from the singular. The circles indicate these. The last rectangle shows the beginning of the section on the phrases in which the plural form is found.

מָשִׁיחַ *m.* from מָשַׁח :

1. Properly, part. pass. *anointed*. 2 Sam. i. 21. הַכֹּהֵן הַמְּשִׁיחַ *the anointed priest, i. e. the high priest*, Levit. iv. 3, 5, 16. vi. 15.
2. Subst. *the anointed, i. e. the prince*. Dan. ix. 25, 26. More frequently יְהוָה מְשִׁיחַ *the anointed of Jehovah, the king*, 1 Sam. xxiv. 7, 11. xxvi. 16. 2 Sam. i. 14, 16. xix. 22.
3. Also of *priests, patriarchs*, Ps. cv. 15.

Illustration 22. Leo, *A Hebrew Lexicon*, vol. 2, 457–58.

This illustration contains the entry מָשִׁיחַ. Leo indicated at the beginning of the entry that the word came from the root מָשַׁח, then in three sub-sections he gave three contexts where the word referred to priests, kings, and priests and patriarchs. No New Testament usage is mentioned.

שׂוּם, and שִׂים, v. pret. שָׂם, pres. שׂוֹם (Exod. iv. 11), שִׂים, apoc. שָׂם, שִׂים.
Constr. immed. Syr. **ܫܘܡ**, *statuit, constituit. Placed, appointed, rendered.* (a) *Placed, set*, [1] A thing. [2] A person. (b) *Set up*. (c) *Set in array*. (d) *Placed aside*. Phrr. (e) **לִבּוֹ שָׂם**, *Set his heart, considered, regarded*. (f) **לֵב לָא**, or **לֵב שָׂם**, *Laid to heart, considered*. (g) **לְפָנָיו שָׂם**, or **לְפָנָיו שָׂם**, *Set his face against, or towards*. (h) **עַל עֵינָיו שָׂם**, *Set his eyes upon*. (i) **בְּפִי דְבָרִים שָׂם**, *Told*. (k) **בְּפִי דְבָרִים שָׂם**, *Put words into his mouth*. (l) **שָׂם שֵׁם**, *Named*. (m) *Appointed*, [1] A thing. [2] A person. (n) *Rendered, made*; followed by two nouns, constr. of one, immed. and of the other immed. or med. הָ, or קָ. (o) *Made, esteemed, an object of confidence, &c.* (p) *Shewed mercy, pity, &c.* (q) *Inflicted*. (r) *Ascribed*. (a), [1] Gen. vi. 16; xxviii. 18; Exod. xxvi. 35; 2 Kings iv. 29, &c. [2] Gen. xl. 15; Exod. xxxiii. 22; 2 Kings x. 24, &c. (b) Ps. lxxxix. 30; Jer. xliii. 10, &c. (e) Exod. ix. 21; Job i. 8, &c. (f) Is. xlvi. 7; lvii. 1; Jer. xii. 11, &c. (g) Lev. xx. 5. (h) Jer. xxiv. 6; Amos ix. 4, &c. (k) Exod. iv. 15; 2 Sam. xiv. 19; Is. li. 16, &c. (l) Judg. viii. 31;

2 Kings xvii. 34; Neh. ix. Exod. xv. 25; Job xxviii. &c. [2] Exod. xviii. 21; Ps. cv. 21, &c. (n) Gen. 17; xxi. 4; Joel i. 7; Ze. Ps. xl. 5; xci. 9; Jer. xv. xlvii. 6. (q) Exod. x. 2; xlii. 12.

Inf. abs. שׂוֹם, constr. t Deut. xvii. 15; 1 Kings Prov. viii. 29, &c.

Imp. שִׂים, שִׂימָה, fem. 1 Kings xx. 12. (d) 1 Exod. vii. 14. (r) Josh. v &c.

Part. שָׂם, pl. שָׂמוּ, Is. v &c.

Part. pass. f. שְׂוֹמָה, 2 Sa **Hiph.** **Imp.** f. שִׂימִי. xxi. 21.

Part. שָׂם, Job iv. 20.

Hoph. **pres.** שִׂימָה, Pass xxiv. 33.

Illustration 23. Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 573.

This illustration contains the entry שׂוּם and שִׂים. Lee used the double headword and gave comparisons with Syriac, as indicated by the first two rectangles. Like Leo he arranged the entry by verb forms, as indicated by the second two rectangles. The ovals highlight the partition of these sections into the infinitives, imperatives, and participles of the three forms in which the verb occurs. In this section of the lexicon, the significations and the biblical references were separated. The line shows the divide.

ִּשְׁ, adv. Arab. ٴٴ, *istic remotioris*
 loci. ٴٴ, *tum, deinde*. Syr. ܦܫܐ,
ibi. (a) *There*. (b) For ִּשְׁ, *Thither*.
 (c) ִּשְׁ-ִּשְׁ, *Here—there*. (d) ִּשְׁ ִּשְׁ,
Where. (e) ִּשְׁ, [1] *Thither*, [2] *There*.
 (f) ִּשְׁ ִּשְׁ, [1] *Whither*, [2] *Where*.
 (g) ִּשְׁ, *Thence, from that place or thing*.
 (h) ִּשְׁ ִּשְׁ, *Whence*. (a) Gen. ii. 8. 12;
 Exod. viii. 18, &c. (b) Deut. i. 37; Judg.
 xviii. 3; 1 Sam. ii. 14, &c. (c) Is. xxviii.
 10. (d) Gen. ii. 11; Exod. xx. 18; 2 Sam.
 xv. 21, &c. (e), [1] Gen. xix. 20; Exod.
 xxvi. 33; Num. xxxv. 6, &c. [2] Ps.
 cxxii. 5; Is. xxxiv. 15; 1 Chron. iv. 41, &c.
 (f), [1] Gen. xx. 13; Num. xxxv. 25;
 Deut. xxx. 3, &c. [2] Ruth i. 7; 2 Kings
 xxiii. 8; Jer. xiii. 7. (g) Gen. ii. 10;
 1 Sam. iv. 4, &c.; 1 Kings xvii. 13. (h)
 Gen. iii. 23; xxiv. 5; Deut. ix. 28, &c.

ִּשְׁ, m. constr. ִּשְׁ, sometimes with
 Mak. ִּשְׁ, aff. ִּשְׁ, ִּשְׁ, ִּשְׁ, ִּשְׁ, ִּשְׁ, ִּשְׁ,
 pl. ִּשְׁ, constr. ִּשְׁ, aff. ִּשְׁ. Arab.
 ٴٴ. Syr. ܦܫܐ. Æth. 𐩪𐩣𐩪 : *nomen*.
 (a) *A name*. (b) *Fame*. (c) *A great name,*
reputation. (d) ִּשְׁ ִּשְׁ, *Id.* (e) ִּשְׁ ִּשְׁ,

Men of renown, disting.
 ִּשְׁ ִּשְׁ, *Id.* (g) ִּשְׁ,
good name. (i) ִּשְׁ, *evil name*. (l) ִּשְׁ,
those without distinction
 Phrr. [1] ִּשְׁ. [2]
 ִּשְׁ, *Destroyed their*
 ִּשְׁ, *The name of*
Lord himself as the ol
worship, reverence or ce
 ִּשְׁ, *Called on the*
invoked him. (p) ִּשְׁ,
 ִּשְׁ ִּשְׁ, *Dishono*
the Lord. (r) ִּשְׁ ִּשְׁ
of the name of the Lord
 xvi. 15; xxiv. 29, &c.
 17. (c) Gen. xi. 4; 2 Sam.
 xvii. 8, &c. (d) 2 Sam.
 xvii. 8. (e) Num. xvi. 1.
 (g) 1 Chron. v. 24. (h)
 Eccl. vii. 1. 3. (k) Deut.
 vi. 13. (l) Job xxx. 8.
 14; 2 Kings xiv. 27; 1
 1 Sam. xxiv. 22. [3] .
 xiii. 2. (n) Job i. 21; P
 &c. (o) Deut. xxxii. 3.
 Exod. xxxiii. 19; 1 Ki
 (q) Lev. xviii. 21; xix.
 &c. (r) Ps. xxv. 11; 1
 xx. 9, &c.

Illustration 24. Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 603–4.

This illustration contains the entries ִּשְׁ and ִּשְׁ. Lee started his entries with comparative work, indicated by the rectangles. The lines show the division between the significations and the biblical references.

שָׁמַיִם, pl. m. constr. שָׁמַיִם, aff. שָׁמַיִם,
 שָׁמַיִם, שָׁמַיִם. Arab. سَمَاءٌ, *cælum*; سَمًا,
altus fuit. Syr. سَمَاءٌ, and Æth.
 ስማይ : *cælum*. (a) *The heights ;*
heaven, the sky. (b) שָׁמַיִם הַשָּׁמַיִם, *The*
heaven of heavens, the highest heavens. (c)
 אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם, *The God of heaven.* (d)
 הַשָּׁמַיִם, *Towards, or to, the sky.* (e)
 עַל הַשָּׁמַיִם, *Id.* (a) Gen. i. 1—30; Lev.
 xxvi. 19; Deut. xxviii. 23; xxxiii. 28; Ps.
 xx. 7, &c. (b) Deut. x. 14; 1 Kings viii.
 27; Ps. cxlviii. 4, &c. (c) Gen. xxiv. 3. 7;
 Neh. i. 4; Jonah i. 9, &c. (d) Gen. xv. 5;
 xxviii. 12; Exod. ix. 8, &c. (e) Exod. ix.
 22, 23; x. 21, 22.

Illustration 25. Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 604—5.

This illustration contains the entry שָׁמַיִם. Lee labelled שָׁמַיִם as plural (see the oval) without providing the supporting argument that is found in Leo (see the rectangle). The lines show the division between the significations and the biblical references.

The pl. אֱלֹהִים, used for the *True God*, has given rise to various speculations; some supposing, particularly the elder divines and Hutchinsonians, that the notion of a Trinity in Unity lay concealed in this word; others, again, particularly the Rationalists of modern Germany, have thought that vestiges of a very ancient polytheism were discoverable in it.† Both seem, in this case, to have taken too much for granted, viz., that the ancients were guided in their writings by the technical rules of modern grammarians; and also that they were complete metaphysicians: neither of which can be maintained; hence both are probably false. On the former, see Gram. art. 215. 6, 216, &c. The latter needs no refutation. The Rationalists, too, suppose that, from the occurrence of this word in conjunction with, or separated from, that of אֱלֹהִים, they can ascertain the fact that the

† So think Dr. Gesenius, Ewald, &c. The plural form seems intended to intimate excellence. See Gram. art. 223. 3.

book of Genesis was originally of two or more documents; the one word, another the plural has applied this the Psalms also; and has added that, in some instances, the more frequently than the Thesaurus sub voce. This to Genesis, must necessarily be expressly informed, (see also my Prolegomena Poly. Bib. Prolog. i. § iii. par. 1.) אֱלֹהִים was unknown to the probability is, that if this be archaic, which I believe to be the introduction of this word in the work of Moses, its authority in the other cases, the inquiry will be of no useful result.—When defining the article (אֱלֹהִים), or the *true God*, Gen. i. 1; Deut. xviii. 21, &c.: but not in the article, Exod. xviii. 11.

Illustration 27. Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 31–32.

This illustration contains the second part of the entry אֱלֹהִים. This section contains Lee's discussion about the meaning of the plural אֱלֹהִים. He argued against the Hutchinsonian Trinitarian interpretation and the view of the German Rationalists that the word contained "a very ancient polytheism." He also argued against the text criticism of the Rationalists.

It has been supposed occasionally to signify *Angels*,* but there is no real necessity for this. Ps. viii. 6, אֱלֹהִים עָרַב אִתּוֹתָי, which the LXX. and St. Paul, Heb. ii. 7, take thus: Ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, i. e. *thou hast lowered him, in some degree, as it respects the angels*, is applicable to Christ, and manifestly relates to his sufferings on earth. "The angels" here, are probably those who only sustained the messages, and spoke in the words, of Jehovah, Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19. St. Paul then comments only here.

In Ps. lxxxii. 1, אֱלֹהִים, *God hath been* (i. e. surely shall be) *set up in the congrega-*

* The Jewish commentators and translators of the Scriptures, as well as their Samaritan neighbours, filled as they were with metaphysical notions of the Deity, (which Dr. Gesenius terms *puriores*) have constantly had recourse to this interpretation, whenever the appearance of God was mentioned in the Scriptures. The way in which they have managed Gen. iii. 22, will be seen in my Proleg. to Mr. Bagster's Polyg. Bible, Proleg. ii. § 3. par. xi.

tion of the mighty one, (אֱלֹהִים, *of gods* (inferior deities) *ment*,—is manifestly a proof of the victories of Christianity said ye are *gods* (אֱלֹהִים, from the next hemistich, a children), *and sons of the all*; i. e. I have declared proper designation, comp. i. 6: it is added, but as ye fall by your heathenish *worship him all gods* (אֱלֹהִים, personification), is clearly victories of Christ. See also It is not necessary, therefore Gesenius, that אֱלֹהִים בָּנִים (must mean *kings*. Nor is in Persian, signifies "*Don of rex or princeps*"; nor that are equivalent in this respect must have grown out of a of Persian usage.

Illustration 28. Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 32.

This illustration contains the section of the entry אֱלֹהִים, in which Lee applied New Testament theology to the use of אֱלֹהִים in selected Psalms.

It is occasionally used (like אֵל) to form phrases expressive of *goodness, plenty, or greatness*; as הַר הָאֱלֹהִים, *mountain of God*, i. e. of *great plenty*, Ps. lxxviii. 16; comp. Ps. xxxvi. 7. פְּהַרְי אֵל, *as the hills of God*, i. e. *abundant*, see the context. So Ps. lxxv. 10, נַחַל אֱלֹהִים, *God's river*, i. e. מְלֵא מַיִם, *full of water*, comp. Exod. iii. 1. יְרֵאָה אֱלֹהִים, *the fear of God*, i. e. *great fear*, Gen. xxxv. 5, see ib. xxx. 8; 1 Sam. xiv. 15; Ps. lxxx. 11; Job vi. 4. לְאֱלֹהִים, Jon. iii. 3, עִיר־גְּדוֹלָה לְאֱלֹהִים, *a great city of God*, i. e. God allowing it to be so, as in לְאֵל תָּ, *of God (is) the hand, or power*, sub voce אֵל, comp. לְיְהוָה, Jud. xvii. 2.

So the Arabs, لِلَّهِ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ, *God's (is) what (is) in the heavens*; لِلَّهِ دَرَكٌ, *God's (is) thy good fortune*, i. e. it is of God. So also Acts vii. 20, ἀστέριος τῷ Θεῷ, comp. 2 Cor. x. 4. On the same analogy, אֵישׁ אֱלֹהִים,

בֶּן אֱלֹהִים, בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, * &c., must determine the theological prefixes and affixes, אֱלֹהִים, &c., contr. Gram. art. 1 אֱלֹהִים, &c.: constr. אֱלֹהֵי. *God, truth*, i. e. *the source of God*, i. q. אֱלֹהֵי אֱמֶת, 2 C x. 10. So אֱלֹהֵים יִשְׂרָאֵל, *God of Israel Jacob, &c.*

* Winer, in his edition of these expressions equal to the secular sense. He then cites 6; lxxxix. 27, to be compared and with the heathenish θεοκρατία, in Hom. This is of Rationalism. See my Suggestions, Diss. i. part. ii. be more clear from the context that spiritual kingdom is meant.

Illustration 29. Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 32–33.

This illustration contains the section of the entry אֱלֹהֵים, where Lee explained phrases in which the word אֱלֹהִים is used.

מְשִׁיחַ, m. r. מָשַׁח, constr. מְשִׁיחַ, i. q.
 Gr. *χριστός*. Aff. מָשַׁח, מָשַׁח, מְשִׁיחַ. Pl. aff.
 מְשִׁיחִים. *Anointed*. Applied, (a) To the high
 priest. (b) To kings. (c)—As the title of
 that Divine priest and king whose priesthood
 is after the order of Melchizedek, and whose
 kingdom is an everlasting kingdom. (d)—To
 the Israelites, &c., as the chosen (anointed)
 people of God. (a) Lev. iv. 3. 5. 16; vi.
 15. (b) 1 Sam. ii. 10. 35; xvi. 6, &c.—To
 Saul, 1 Sam. xii. 3. 5; xxiv. 7. 11; xxvi. 9.
 11. 16. 23; 2 Sam. i. 14. 16. 21.—To David,
 2 Sam. xix. 22; xxii. 5; xxiii. 1; Ps. xx. 7;
 xxviii. 8; cxxxii. 17.—To Solomon, 2 Chron.
 v. 42. To Cyrus, Is. xlv. 1. (c) Ps. ii. 2;
 Dan. ix. 25, 26. (d) Hab. iii. 13; 1 Chron.
 xvi. 22; Ps. cv. 15.

Illustration 30. Lee, *A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English*, 395.

This illustration contains the entry מְשִׁיחַ. The only comparative work is with the Greek translation of the word. In section (c) Lee made an allusion to Melchizedek, but did not support it with relevant biblical references.

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A TALE OF TWO SITTERS AND A CRAZY BLUE JAY¹

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In the Spring of 1970, I made my first computer-assisted study of a biblical text, an analysis of the incidence patterns of **נתן** in Jeremiah. Frank Andersen, my Hebrew philology professor, already had a huge store of index cards inscribed with clause patterns and thus was receptive when I suggested that use of a computer might facilitate his work. We agreed to carry out a pilot study using the book of Ruth. By the end of the year, I had devised a transliteration scheme, designed and implemented a Hebrew font, and modified assembler code to allow its display and printout. By early 1971, Frank had transcribed our pilot corpus (the book of Ruth) and was inputting and correcting Hosea, Amos, and Micah. Together, we were at work segmenting the texts. Our collaboration had begun. The '70s were our decade for dealing with fonts, in-line texts, the dictionary, enhanced morphologically-tagged texts, and corrections, corrections, corrections. The '80s brought us HP-UX and workstations—we focused these on orthography, syntactic representation, and book publications. The '90s saw us working on text chunking and the parsing of the Hebrew Bible. During the '00s, we continued our work on parsing, made an initial study of discourse analysis, prepared our data for *Logos Bible Software*, and wrote our grammar book.

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF A COLLABORATION

In late February of 1970, as part of a Graduate Theological Union (GTU) seminar conducted by J. H. Otwell, I introduced the Bayesian approach to statistical inference. I examined the power of one textual feature for Bayesian discrimination between Mowinkel's sources in Jeremiah.² The work described was done manually. It took five hours to count the words in Jeremiah. All the while, I was painfully aware that a simple mini-computer could count far more rapidly and accurately than I, once the text was entered correctly.³

¹ An earlier form of this paper was presented at the 2011 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in San Francisco.

² A. D. Forbes, "Style, Meaning, and Statistics: The House of Israel in Jeremiah" (GTU: Jeremiah Seminar, 27 February 1970), unpublished.

³ Four decades later, my vanilla PC counts the words of Jeremiah in .04 seconds.

Two months later, I made my first computational study of a biblical text, a statistical analysis of the incidence patterns of the Qal forms of קָטַל in Jeremiah.⁴ That analysis relied on a computer that I had access to at Hewlett-Packard Laboratories (HPL).⁵

The details of the computer analysis and the meaning of the results were not particularly significant, but at least I had performed my first computer-assisted investigation of biblical data. In presenting my paper, I discovered just how difficult making mathematical work clear to fellow Biblicists was and likely would remain.

Frank Andersen, my Hebrew philology professor, being familiar with statistics and mathematics and having a M.Sc. in Physical Chemistry, readily understood what I was up to. By then, Frank already had meter-long trays of index cards inscribed with clause patterns. He thus was receptive when I suggested that the computer might assist his work. We decided to make a pilot study of the book of Ruth.

2. EARLY CONSTRAINTS

From the outset, our work was limited by the available time and equipment.

2.1. Available Time

We could devote only scraps of time to the pilot study, since Frank was a full-time professor and I was a full-time student and a consultant at HPL.

2.2. Available Equipment

My manager at HPL allowed us to use a 2116A “instrumentation controller,” HP’s first computer product.⁶ Use of the machine was only possible on weekends, on site at HPL, and then only if no one else signed up for the machine. Shown at the right is our computer setup in April of 1971. Text in our stick-figure Hebrew font is displayed on the monitor.

The 2116A had a core memory of 4K words and a clock speed of 10 MHz. The input devices were a paper tape reader and a teletype with paper



⁴ Each token was characterized as to its Mowinkel source, its (crude) genre, the identity of any direct-object marker, and the direct object ‘type’.

⁵ *Technical note:* I used a singular value decomposition routine written in HP Algol to carry out a factor analysis of data extracted from Mandelkern.

⁶ David Packard insisted that the 2116A not be called a “computer,” lest IBM, then one of HP’s top customers, become annoyed by HP’s audacity.

tape punch/reader. Initially, output was via the teletype. The teletype was later augmented by the storied 1300A monitor⁷ and a high-speed paper tape punch. An HP prototype electrostatic line printer and a tape drive were added in late 1970.

Compiling a Fortran program required that the source paper tape successfully make four passes through the reader, a journey that sometimes frustratingly led to a torn tape—only restored after tedious scotch-tape-rejoining and paperclip-piercing.

Although the mini-computer hardware was very spare and the associated software very restricted, they sufficed for our pilot study.

3. OUR LONG-TERM PLAN

Our long-term plan was to:

- Phase I Prepare each biblical book:
 - a. enter the text into the computer verse-by-verse,
 - b. print it (initially transliterated and later in Hebrew),
 - c. divide it into segments,
 - d. proofread and correct it.
- Phase II Distill the text into a fully-tagged dictionary.
- Phase III Propagate the tags into the complete text.
- Phase IV Extend our work into syntax and (some) semantics.
- Phase V Disseminate results. Investigate discourse analysis.
- Phase VI Extend into discourse analysis.

Our pilot study consisted of carrying out Phase I for the book of Ruth. We then adjusted our policies and practices and cycled through Phases I–III for the entire Hebrew Bible, producing studies and publications along the way. Once all that was done, we moved on to Phase IV. Phase V got interpolated as circumstances dictated. At present, Phase VI is getting underway.

⁷ Predicted difficulties in manufacture and likely dismal sales led David Packard to decree in 1966: “When I come back next year, I don’t want to see [the 1300A] project in the lab.” By the time he returned in 1967, the project had been accelerated to completion and pushed out the door—the monitor was on the market. The project manager, Chuck House, was eventually given “A Medal of Defiance” by Packard for “extraordinary contempt and defiance beyond the normal call of engineering duty.” See C. H. House and R. L. Price, *The HP Phenomenon* (Stanford: Stanford Business Books, 2009), 108.

4. PHASE I (1970–1979): IN-LINE SEGMENTED TEXT

4.1. Initial Decisions

Our initial short-term and intermediate-term goals, the severe limitations of the available equipment, and our realization that entering the Hebrew Bible was going to be a Herculean enterprise led us to simplify text inputting as much as possible.

One Teletype Character per Consonant or Vowel: Because the addressable memory in the 2116A was so limited, and because we wanted to minimize the inputting tedium, we decided at the outset to limit ourselves to single-character encoding. While we were keen to investigate syntax and discourse,⁸ we had little interest in cantillations and Masoretic marginalia, greatly reducing the number of symbols that we needed to reserve for representing the text. This was just as well, since the teletype keyboard included only a few up-shifted printing characters and no lowercase alphabetic characters. But even then, we had to scrounge for symbols. Hence, we were forced to use several symbols that were usually reserved for special uses.

Forbes's Hebrew Fonts: Although we were soon comfortable with our transliterated Hebrew, it was clear that our quality control and publications would benefit from being cast in Hebrew characters.

Font #1—Consequently, I designed a Hebrew font, evidently the first computer-generated pointed Hebrew. It was defined in a 10x20-pixel matrix. Each character stroke was about one pixel across, yielding minimalist characters. No effort was made to kern the resulting character combinations. Figure 1 shows enlarged forty-year-old renditions of the first clause of the book of Ruth in initial transliteration and as printed by the HP prototype line printer.

1WAY:HIY B.IYMZY S:P-\ HAS.-P:\IYM
 ם'ט'פ'ט'ה'ש'פ'ט'ט'פ'ט'ב'י'ס'י'ה'י'י'י'י'

Figure 1. Transliterated and Raster-Printed Text (Font #1)

This '70s *apple-of-our-eyes font* was only used in a never-published keyword-in-context concordance of Ruth produced in 1972⁹ and in *A Synoptic Concordance to Hosea, Amos, Micah* published in 1974.¹⁰

⁸ Our first paper was presented in February of 1971 to the SBL West-coast Division: “The Use of the Mini-computer for Discourse Analysis of Biblical Hebrew—A Progress Report.” It was thirty years before we were able seriously to take up discourse analysis, in a paper presented at AIBI7 in Leuven in 2004 entitled “Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualised: Discourse,” published in part as Chapter 21 of F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012).

⁹ Three copies of “The Book of Ruth—A Vocabulary Concordance” exist: one in the Andersen library, one in the Forbes library, and one in the rare books stack of the GTU library.

¹⁰ F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *A Synoptic Concordance to Hosea, Amos, Micah* (Computer Bible 6; Wooster, OH: Biblical Research Associates, 1974).

Font #2—In 1975, my wife, Ellen, and I created a successor font, an enlarged instance of which appears in Figure 2. (The arrows are discussed in the next subsection.)

יְהוָה בְּיָמֵי שֶׁשֶׁת הַשָּׁפְטִים

Figure 2. Raster-Printed Text (Font #2)

This font had more weight than its predecessor and was properly kerned. It was used for the three keyword-in-context concordances that Frank and I published in 1976–1978.¹¹

Word got to us¹² that G. E. Weil wanted to know how we went about producing our camera-ready pointed Hebrew (remember, it was 1975!), and thereby began a very pleasant and informative series of letters and conversations with Professor Weil.

Font #3—To finish the discussion of our fonts, consider the example of Font #3 in Figure 3 (Gen 1:13). I designed the font in 1989 using Donald Knuth’s Metafont program.¹³ The resulting font was fully scalable. It was intentionally “squatty” so that we could squeeze more lines onto the page. This font was used in the five books produced in 1989–1997.¹⁴

וַיְהִי-עָרֵב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר יוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי:

Figure 3. Raster-Printed Text (Font #3)

4.2. Text Segmentation

Where to Cut: Very early on, our interest in syntax and our awareness that the address space of our little computer was severely cramped caused us to realize that we would

¹¹ F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Eight Minor Prophets: A Linguistic Concordance* (Computer Bible 10; Wooster, OH: Biblical Research Associates, 1976); *A Linguistic Concordance of Ruth and Jonah: Hebrew Vocabulary and Idiom* (Computer Bible 11; Wooster, OH: Biblical Research Associates, 1976); *A Linguistic Concordance of Jeremiah: Hebrew Vocabulary and Idiom* (Computer Bible 14; Wooster, OH: Biblical Research Associates, 1978).

¹² Private correspondence, J. Arthur Baird, 29 April 1975.

¹³ D. E. Knuth, *The Metafontbook* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1986).

¹⁴ **1.** F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *The Vocabulary of the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1989 [second printing: 1992]). **2.** F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance to Psalms, Job, and Proverbs* (Computer Bible 34; Wooster, OH: Biblical Research Associates, 1992). **3.** F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance to the Pentateuch* (Computer Bible 35a/b; Lewiston, NY: Mellen Biblical Press, 1995). **4.** D. N. Freedman, A. D. Forbes, and F. I. Andersen, *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography* (Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego, ed. William Henry Propp, vol. 2; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992). **5.** A fifth book was generated for fun, and no attempt was made to publish it. It is the sixteen-volume (9,234 pages) *Key-Word-in-Context Concordance to the Hebrew Bible*, printed out in 1997. The sole copy is in the Andersen library.

need to dissect most affixes off of the orthographic words of which they were part. In deciding where to cut, we adopted four conventions:

1. Allow multiple affix alloforms so as to minimize the number of stem alloforms.
2. Keep consonants with dagesh as-is rather than doubling.
3. On verb forms, dissect off pronoun suffixes.
4. Leave verb number/gender morphemes undivided.

The fourth convention is the most controversial since it yields whole clauses that lack explicit subjects even though implicit subjects are indicated in the verb morphology. Further, when we track referential cohesion, the convention may complicate our analyses.¹⁵

How to Cut: We had a fair idea of what we wanted to accomplish regarding segmentation. The next problem was how to go about the task. We tried doing the segmentation as we typed in the text. That proved to be a very error-prone approach. We decided to insert segment-separating arrows (see Figure 2) into the already stored text.

Our Earliest Approach—Initially, as the computer read through a text, it performed three tasks:

1. *Stop-list:* It would output words on a hand-crafted *stop-list* unaltered. For example, מִשֶׁ was not segmented.
2. *Go-list:* It would segment words as per a hand-crafted go-list. The go-list contained always-to-be-divided words. For example, מִן was always split into $\text{מִן} + \text{ב}$.
3. *Switch tagging:* The program would then display the text on the monitor, including newly added separating arrows. It would step through the text, pausing for the operator to toggle front-panel switches to strike out improper arrows or insert needed ones.

Operator fatigue set in before too long, leading to errors. Also, the results were not consistent. A better way was sought.

Context-sensitive rules: A battery of nearly two-hundred context-sensitive arrow-handling rules was defined and implemented. This enhanced segmentation consistency, but maintaining the rules was very time-consuming and anxiety-inducing. Also, as the rules were “tightened up” to produce fewer false-positive segmentations, they yielded fewer true-positives. The rule efficiencies declined.¹⁶ Enter, bootstrapping...

¹⁵ For a full discussion of the problem of where to cut, see F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *A Linguistic Concordance of Ruth and Jonah: Hebrew Vocabulary and Idiom* (Computer Bible 11; Wooster, OH: Biblical Research Associates, 1976), 14–26.

¹⁶ For a discussion of context-sensitive rules, see *ibid.*, 27–29.

Bootstrapping: When we introduced bootstrapping, we greatly enhanced the efficiency of the segmentation process while maintaining consistency. The division patterns in words in a previously analyzed text (text A) were mimicked on equivalent words in a virgin text (text B). If a word was found in text B that did not occur in text A, the character “J” was appended to that word to signal that it needed to be analyzed by an expert. Once all J-suffixed words had been dealt with and their alerting J’s had been removed, text B was appended to text A to form a new text A. Then a new text B was submitted for analysis, and the process was repeated. After a few iterations, this bootstrap process correctly dealt with 80% of the words in a previously unanalyzed text. Across the whole of the Hebrew Bible, we ended up inserting 167,593 segmenting arrows.¹⁷ By the end of 1979 we had completed Phase 1. We had entered, segmented, and checked the entire text of the Hebrew Bible.

At this point, a few words about our choice of text are perhaps in order. For reasons discussed at some length elsewhere,¹⁸ we decided to follow the Leningrad Codex, **L** (B^{19A}), in its entirety. In the early years of our work, we transcribed our texts from various editions. We were able to regularize the text once we acquired our own copy of the 1971 Makor facsimile of **L** in Jerusalem in 1983. We considered that manuscript determinative, to the extent that a blurry low-resolution halftone reproduction can be authoritative. It was eventually replaced by the greatly superior 1998 Eerdmans-Brill facsimile of **L**.

5. PHASE II (1979–1980): THE DICTIONARY

A prerequisite to studying the syntax of Biblical Hebrew was to have a morphologically-tagged text. We could have gone through the text, adding tags to the segments, token-by-token, but such a slog promised both tedium and inconsistency. Instead, we decided to “distill the complete text into a fully tagged dictionary,” our Phase II.

Our first important decision was how we would format the dictionary. Should we use a flat file or a database? Proper relational databases were just being developed in the early ’70s, but after a trial use—during which our simple operator errors unnervingly corrupted the entire database—we decided to stay with flat files.¹⁹

5.1. Specifying the Dictionary Columns (Unifying Information)

We next settled on what fields our flat file would have. As the thirteen dictionary records shown in Table 1 document, we settled for nine fields. These were, and are, in brief:

¹⁷ For a more detailed treatment, see *ibid.*, 29–31.

¹⁸ F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), §1.1 and Appendix 1.

¹⁹ We found it disquieting when we asked an IBM salesman how one would perform a certain kind of search important to our work, only to be told after a slight pause: “No one would ever want to do that.”

1. **Lemma Number**—Each major dictionary entry has a unique “lemma number.” As a practical matter, each began as a multiple of ten. This made it possible to subdivide lexemes to resolve senses and/or relocate lexemes when they had been initially mis-positioned, without changing the numbers on unmoved items.²⁰ As of this writing, our dictionary has 8,940 different lemmas.
2. **Paradigm Number**—The natures and, hence, ordering of the dictionary items making up lemmas are specified by their three-position *paradigm numbers*. The significance of the three characters is well beyond the scope of this essay. An illustrative example must suffice. The first five records in Table 1 have a paradigm number of 290. This encodes the facts that the segments and their associated feature vectors specify Qal active infinitives construct.
3. **Index**—The *index* orders the records in a lemma/paradigm.
4. **First Citation**—This tells where the item first appears.
5. **Count**—This tells how many times the item occurs.
6. **Root**—We list nouns by stem consonants and verbs by traditional roots, following the practice of the Even-Shoshan concordance and the Koehler-Baumgartner lexicon.
7. **Feature Vector**—This seven-character string encodes the grammatical specifics of a segment. For example, GA[^]SMNj tells us that we are dealing with a singular (S) masculine (M) Qal (G) active (A) transitive (j) purely verbal participle (^).
8. **Segment**—The actual attested spelling, in transliteration.
9. **Gloss**—A rough-and-ready one-size-fits-best “type” gloss.

²⁰ The lemma numbers are crucial parts of the navigational pointers (“locators”) in Andersen and Forbes, *The Vocabulary of the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1989), 10.

Table 1. A Thirteen-Record Extract from the A-F Dictionary

1 Lemma Number	2 Paradigm Number	3 Index	4 First Citation	5 Count	6 Root	7 Feature Vector	8 Segment	9 Gloss
78390	290	0	C1016033	1	\$P\	GATVTCj	\$.P.O\	judge
78390	290	1	EX018013	9	\$P\	GATVTCj	\$.P._\	judge
78390	290	2	C2020009	1	\$P\	GATVTCj	\$.PO\	judge
78390	290	3	RU001001	1	\$P\	GATVTCj	\$.P._\	judge
78390	290	4	S1008005	3	\$P\	GATVTSj	\$.@P:\	judge
78390	2A2	0	PS007012	2	\$P\	GA^SMNj	\$.OP%\	judging
78390	2A2	1	S1003013	4	\$P\	GA^SMNj	\$.P%\	judging
78390	2A6	0	JD004004	1	\$P\	GA^SFNj	\$.P:\@H	judging
78390	2B2	0	PS009005	2	\$P\	GAPSMNj	\$.OP%\	judge
78390	2B2	1	GE018025	4	\$P\	GAPSMNj	\$.P%\	judge
78390	2B5	0	S1008001	2	\$P\	GAPPMNj	\$.P: \M	judges
78390	2C2	0	PS094002	1	\$P\	GA:SMCj	\$.P%\	judge of
⋮								
78395	AD5	0	DE016018	9	\$P\	GA_PMNH	\$.P: \M	judges

Two records in Table 1 describe segments in the clause in Figures 2 and 3: **טָשַׁט** is 78390/290/3 while **שִׁפְטִים** is 78395/AD5/0 (a purely nominal participle), *not* 78390/2B5/0 (a noun-verb participle).

5.2. Specifying the Dictionary Rows (Handling Homography)

In two circumstances a new lemma should be created by subdividing an old one, that is, homography should be resolved:²¹

1. Altered Part-of-Speech Assignment—An example should suffice. A very early homograph resolution involved distinguishing the two

²¹ For more extended treatments of our approach to homography, see Andersen and Forbes, *Ruth and Jonah*, 32–36.

prepositional uses of **תַּא**: [*nota accusativ*] (assigned root **תֹּא**, lemma number 2160, 11,023 instances) and *with* (assigned root **תַּא**, lemma number 8250, 842 instances).

2. Word-Sense Pressure—When the text made up of glosses is inscrutable or silly, word-sense overlap is often implicated. In such cases, a new lemma is called for. For example, the root **גַּמַּל** has two distinct verbal senses: *do* (as in Ps 142:8) and *wean* (as in Hos 1:8). Thus, two lemmas are designated, 14960 and 14963.

Readers seeking more information on our dictionary should consult the references.²²

6. PHASE III (1980–1984): THE AUGMENTED TEXT

The augmented text files were produced by:

1. Associating the appropriate dictionary information with each segment of the in-line text.
2. Introducing additional information into the text.

6.1. Dictionary Information

Table 2 shows the flat-file records for the first seven segments in the book of Ruth (encompassing the first clause in the book). The segments and spacers of the in-line text were placed in fields 4 and 5 of successive records of the flat file being built up to become the augmented text file. Fields 2, 3, 7, and 8 were then drawn from the dictionary as appropriate to the content of fields 4+5 in context.

Table 2. Sample Text Records for the First Clause in Ruth

1 Citation Source Text Type <i>Qere/Ketib</i>	2 Root	3 Features	4 Segment	5 Spacer	6 Onset	7 Gloss	8 VOT Locator
RU00100101a_NX	W	J w +	WA	'	RC	and	1957~CC
RU00100101b_NX	HYH	GA \ SM3 =	Y:H		--	he was	1870~GA
RU00100102a_NX	B	p j +	B.I	'	--	in	848~Pp
RU00100102b_NX	YWM	N PMC T	YM;		--	days of	2968~Nn
RU00100103_NX	\$P\	GA T VTC j	\$.P_\		--	judge	7839~GA
RU00100104a_NX	H	h +	HA	'	--	the	1802~Ar
RU00100104b_NX	\$P\	GA _ PMh H	\$.P:\ M		--	judges	7839.5~Nm

²² J. J. Hughes, *Bits, Bytes and Biblical Studies* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987), 501–5. See also F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, “Problems in Taxonomy and Lemmatization,” in *Proceedings of the First International Colloquium: Bible and the Computer—The Text* (Paris; Geneva: Champion-Slatkine, 1986), 38–44.

6.2. Additional Information

The contents of fields 4+5 in context were then used to reckon an eleven-character citation string for each segment-spacer pair.²³ The three rightmost characters of field 1 were initialized to ???, a placeholder string waiting to receive the source, text type, and *qere-ketib* information pertaining to the record. At this point, the three trailing characters in field 1 as well as field 6 (clause “onset”)²⁴ had not been specified. The *qere-ketib* status character was available from the in-line file, but each of the other kinds of information had to be manually inserted, three very big tasks. We adopted Eissfeldt’s Pentateuchal source assignments and accepted the *qere-ketib* indications in L. The *ketib* consonants were vocalized using Gordis’s specifications.²⁵ Assignment of text types and clause onsets was a major and protracted assignment, involving hours and hours of what Peter Patton, in a review, once attributed to us: much *Sitzfleisch*...

7. “STAYING AHEAD OF ALBRIGHT” (1981–1992): ORTHOGRAPHY

7.1. The Background of Our Orthography Project

Frank Moore Cross remarked that “when *Early Hebrew Orthography* was actually born . . . [Freedman and I were simply] trying to stay ahead of Albright.”²⁶ Frank Andersen also traces his interest in Hebrew orthography to Albright, specifically to a 1958 seminar—Frank’s first at Hopkins—that worked through the inscriptions.

By 1981, Frank and I were investigating Hebrew orthography using our newly minted computer-readable text of the Hebrew Bible.²⁷ So when Frank was invited to present the Dahood Memorial Lecture for 1983 at the University of Michigan and write it up for publication by the Pontifical Biblical Institute Press,²⁸ we decided to focus on Hebrew orthography.

During 1982–1985, I was the manager of the speech group at HP Laboratories. HP-UX was the operating system on our dedicated mainframe, and my workstation had the industrial-strength statistical package S-PLUS ever at the ready. Elsewhere in HPL was a friendly group working out “Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar” (HPSG...get it?). In addition, HPL had several Ph.D. linguists and statisticians supportive of my biblical work. And, the management of HPL allowed me to take

²³ The format of the citation string is: <bk><chp><vrs><wrđ>. Hence, the first segment (1) in the book of Ruth has citation string RU00100101a, since the segment is part *a* of the two-part first word.

²⁴ Field 6 marks where so-called “root clauses” (RC) begin, while it also tracks the extent of speech embedding. The details need not detain us.

²⁵ R. Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making: A Study of the Kethib-Qere* (Jersey City, NJ: Ktav, 1971).

²⁶ L. G. Running and D. N. Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright: A Twentieth-Century Genius* (New York: Morgan, 1975), 211.

²⁷ F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, “Computer Methods in Old Testament Study,” *Symposium on Biblical Studies and the Computer*, February 21–22, 1980, unpublished.

²⁸ F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1986). Henceforth, *SHB*.

Fridays off to work on my biblical studies. I had a splendid environment for making progress in analyzing the orthography of Biblical Hebrew statistically!

7.2. The Characteristics of Our Statistical Analyses

As we carried out our research on orthography and wrote our book (twice!),²⁹ several emphases regarding our statistical analyses emerged. We concluded that the analyses needed to be:

1. *center-stage*, not sequestered in optional appendices.
2. *intelligible to all*, relying on carefully explained examples.
3. *maximally sophisticated*, using powerful-but-accessible methods.
4. *refined*, in dealing with confounding factors and sample-sizes.
5. *backed up*, by silently employing hyper-advanced techniques.

The emphases were laid as we wrote our first book on orthography, *SHB*. In our follow-up book,³⁰ we corrected limitations of *SHB* and presented some “hyper-advanced technique” results. The statistical methods and concepts listed in Table 3 were critical to those books.

**Table 3. Statistical Methods and Concepts
Used to Analyze Hebrew Orthography**

Chi-square testing	Mahalanobis distances
Confidence interval estimation	Markov chain theory
Contingency table analysis	Measures of goodness of fit
Cophenetic correlation coefficients	Multidimensional scaling
Dendrograms	Outlier detection
Hierarchical agglomerative clustering	Sample-size constraints
Linear regression estimation	Seriation and ordination
Log likelihood-ratio statistics	Structural & sampling zero theory

We have been asked both directly and by implication why our books incorporated such seeming *esoterica*. Two responses are in order:

²⁹ After we reached the five conclusions given below, we completely reworked the manuscript that was eventually published as *SHB*.

³⁰ D. N. Freedman, A. D. Forbes, and F. I. Andersen, *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992).

1. Most of our methods/concepts are statistical commonplaces.
2. In recruiting some of the less well known methods, we were attempting to follow Nobel physicist Percy W. Bridgman’s definition of the scientific method: “doing one’s damndest with one’s mind, no holds barred.”

Approaches to future work exploiting the methods that have emerged since we wrote our two books may be inferred from a recent publication.³¹

8. PHASE IV (1991–2000): SYNTAX, THEN SOME SEMANTICS

8.1. Our Starting Points for Parsing Biblical Hebrew

The ‘As-is’ Use of Our Data: We needed no convincing that we should fully exploit the information that we had laboriously included in our enhanced text files: segmentation, homograph resolution, mark-up with grammatical features.³² To supply our parsers only with raw text would have made the parsing problem unnecessarily difficult.

Our Preferred Representation: Among the syntactic representations available in the literature, the phrase marker appeals most to us.³³ It is very widely used, and its pictorial presentation makes it particularly accessible. The orthodoxy in linguistics in the early-’90s was that a phrase marker was a binary tree.

Our analyses, however, led us to the conclusion that Biblical Hebrew was a non-configurational language, and that therefore its phrase markers sometimes were flat N-ary graphs exhibiting discontinuity and/or reticulation.³⁴ A concrete example should make this clearer. Figure 4 shows the reticulated phrase marker for the text from Genesis 1:31 reproduced in Figure 3.

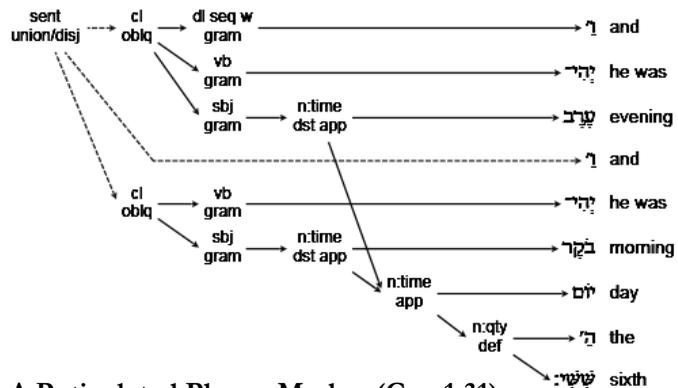


Figure 4. A Reticulated Phrase Marker (Gen 1:31)

³¹ A. Dean Forbes and Francis I. Andersen, “Dwelling on Spelling,” in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew* (ed. Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and Ziony Zevit; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 127–45.

³² As we were not confident of our text-types, we did not exploit them.

³³ For an introduction to (enhanced) phrase markers, see F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*, §1.3 and Chapter 4.

³⁴ See *ibid.*, §7.2 for a detailed discussion of non-configurationality.

Two Overtaken 'Laws' of Linguistics: In the late-'80s, two “givens” of the structuralist and transformationalist eras were shown to be at best optional and at worst false:

1. *The context sensitivity of natural language*—Once it was shown that almost no aspect of natural language required context sensitive handling, relatively simple (context-free) methods of text parsing suggested themselves.
2. *The autonomy of syntax*—Several linguistic camps concluded that—far from being independent—the traditional strata of grammar (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics) were intimately related.

As we will see in §8.3, our parsing tactics for Biblical Hebrew explicitly relied upon the ‘repeal’ of these ‘laws.’

8.2. Locate Clause Boundaries

Before parsing the Hebrew Bible, we divided it into major clauses by marking all main clause boundaries. Twelve clause-onset rules³⁵ were defined and evaluated by applying them to the Primary History. The rules gave a low false positive rate for marking boundaries (0.7%) but a quite high false negative rate (34%). Consequently, we applied the rules to the Hebrew Bible but then had to finish up the task manually. Across the entire Hebrew Bible, we marked 62,250 main clauses and 8,444 embedded clauses, a total of 70,694 clauses in all. A quite full exposition of our methods and results was published in 1992.³⁶

8.3. Incremental Parsing

From the inception of our work on parsing, we were aware of the context-free analysis of agreement proposed in generalized phrase structure grammar.³⁷ Consequently, we (too?) confidently set about using parts of the HP-UX toolkit to parse the clause-delimited text of the Hebrew Bible. Specifically, we wrote *C-shell* scripts that made extensive calls on *yacc*, supported by *lex* and *awk*. Rather than attempting to write one grand grammar, we wrote a battery of partial grammars. Each partial grammar had its domain of expertise, and the text could be passed through any partial grammar repeatedly, forward or backward, as required. Successive grammars dealt with:

- Suffixation, hendiadys, adjective phrases, and numbers.
- Construct chains and certain apposition constructions.

³⁵ We discovered that reliable clause-offset rules were difficult to find.

³⁶ F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, “On Marking Clause Boundaries,” in *Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium: Bible and the Computer—Methods, Tools, Results* (Paris; Geneva: Champion-Slatkine, 1992), 181–202.

³⁷ G. Gazdar, E. Klein, G. Pullum, and I. Sag, *Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 83–94. Sag and Pullum were members of the Natural Language Group at HPL.

- Preposition and apposition phrases grown backwards from clause ends.
- Preposition and apposition phrases grown from other boundaries.
- Embedded clauses (nominalization, participles, infinitives construct, *et cetera*).
- [Complements identified verb semantics in their clauses.]
- [Final adjustments: link preposition with following noun, cleanup, *et cetera*.]

8.4. Introduction of Naïve Semantics

The reader will have noticed that the final two grammars are bracketed in the list. This is because, for our initial foray into parsing, the final two grammars were not yet defined. The results were promising but less-than-stellar. The battery of grammars did a very good job of building up clause phrase structure, but it was quite poor in classifying subjects and objects. We concluded that this poor performance was partly because the text and dictionary, at that point, included no semantic information. Our poor practical results then, in effect, led us to reject the dogma of the autonomy of syntax.

We therefore devised a set of naïve semantic classes, installed their codes in the feature vectors, and propagated them across the dictionary and the segments making up the Hebrew Bible.³⁸ We also had to implement conventions for propagating semantic information upward in the phrase markers. Consider these examples. While the semantic class of the construct noun phrase *throne of David* is *furniture*, that of *six of days* is *time*, not *quantity*.

For the Hebrew Bible, our incremental parsers “dealt with” 95% of the text segments (that is, assigned segments to structures). Roughly 85% of the parsing assignments were correct. We have elsewhere published a fairly extensive exposition of the details of our approach to parsing.³⁹

8.5. Inclusion of Semantic Roles

So, we attached a simple semantic category to each text segment. We also labeled each clause immediate constituent (CIC) having a grammatical function of *adjunct* as to its *semantic role*. At this stage of development of our grammatical formalism, we have introduced forty-four different semantic roles. A full treatment of this topic

³⁸ The semantic classes did a fair job of describing the nouns, but they were, and are, woefully inadequate where the verb stock is concerned. The verb classes might better be termed valences, but even that is not precisely correct. For example, one of the verb classes is “passive.” This information can help a parser, but it most certainly is not a semantic category.

³⁹ F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, “Opportune Parsing: Clause Analysis of Deuteronomy 8,” in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Colloquium: Bible and the Computer—Desk & Discipline* (Paris: Editions Honoré Champion, 1995), 49–75.

can be found in our grammar book.⁴⁰ For present purposes, a pair of examples must suffice. Ignoring the initial CIC (dl and), the clause in Figure 5 has two CICs labeled with their grammatical functions (sbj and vb) and two CICs labeled with their semantic roles (mvt aim and tm pt).

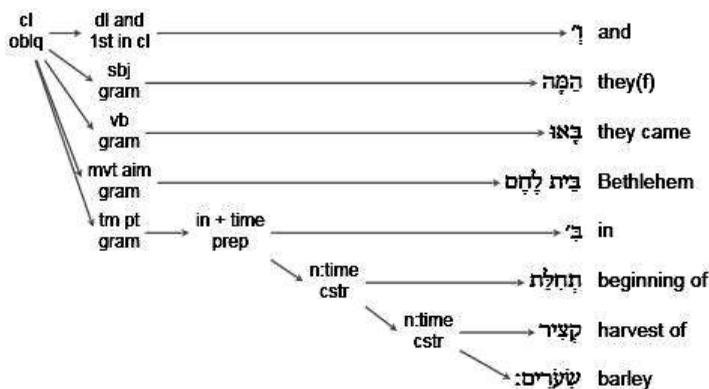


Figure 5. Simple Phrase Marker for Ruth 1:22b

8.6. Enhancing Accuracy and Consistency

Assessment of Accuracy: Over the years, we have ever been on the prowl to detect and correct errors in our data. It has invariably been the case that we have found errors in former work whenever we launched into a new phase of our work. We have also found that detecting an error is quite a different matter from deciding how best to set it right. The acquisition of a copy of the Makor facsimile of **L** did not prove much of a boon. It led to much near-microscopic examination of badly printed pages followed by inconclusive debate.

In addition to our in-house search for errors, we have made external comparisons on three occasions:

1. At some point in the '80s, an assistant checked our dictionary against BDB, flagging entries meriting study by Frank Andersen. The details and results of this work are unfortunately lost in the mists.
2. In 1987, we had the opportunity to compare our consonantal text with that of Weil.⁴¹ We corrected 248 errors in our text of around 1.2 million consonants (99.98% correct).
3. In 2005, our complete pointed text was compared with the Westminster text. We were able to correct 831 errors in our text of around 2.6 million graphemes (99.97% correct).

⁴⁰ F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), Chapter 10.

⁴¹ The comparison would not have been possible without the collaboration of Philippe Cassuto.

Assessment of Self-Consistency: Some of the parser errors were foolish, while others were deep—especially those involving the clause immediate constituent assignments. But whatever their nature, we had to find the errors and correct them. And so we turned to our human over-reader. Of course, once the mind of a man (Frank) began finding and correcting errors and sub-optimal parses, the reality of human inconsistency was introduced. A careful review of the phrase markers after human over-reading disclosed five distinct kinds of errors, namely:

1. Part-of-speech assignment error.
2. Formal structural ambiguity differently resolved.
3. Uneven use of world knowledge.
4. Free choices and conventions.
5. Inconsistent assignment of constituent function.

In a pilot study of inconsistencies between the parsing of segment strings in the Torah and the parsing of identical segment strings in the Other Writings, an error rate across all types of information⁴² of 0.12% was observed.⁴³

9. PHASE V (2001–2010): DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS AND INVESTIGATION OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The decade of the '00s was one of dissemination of results and of preparation for the next phase of our work.

Disseminating Our Work: In addition to the unending consolidating task of refining our data, we embarked on two missions of outreach:

1. *Preparation of our data for Logos Bible Software release:* Our data files and documentation were supplied to Logos in October of 2004. Following extensive and inventive programming at Logos, version 0.5 of the *Andersen-Forbes Analyzed Text* (“AFAT”) and *Andersen-Forbes Phrase Marker Analysis* (“AFPMA”) was (beta) released in November of 2005.
2. *Writing our book on the grammar of Biblical Hebrew:* This task took the better part of five years. The ready-to-publish PDF of *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized* was supplied to Eisenbrauns in mid-December of 2009.
3. *Investigating Discourse Analysis:* As preparation for AIBI7 in Leuven in 2004, I reviewed the discourse analysis literature in biblical studies and in computational linguistics. I then wrote a ninety-page summary of what I had found, adding possible ways of addressing discourse analysis. Part of this material was published as Chapter 21 of F. I. Andersen and A. D.

⁴² We distinguish five types of phrase marker information: (1) edges, (2) nodes, (3) parts of speech, (4) licensing relations, (5) form/function labels. The extent of inconsistency increases as one moves up in the ordering.

⁴³ A. D. Forbes, “The Challenge of Consistency,” in *Computer Assisted Research in the 21st Century* (ed. L. Vegas Montaner et al.; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2010), 111–26.

Forbes, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012).

10. PHASE VI (2011–): DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Just now we are formulating our approach to discourse analysis. The work proposed four decades ago⁴⁴ is finally becoming our focus:

The writers have embarked on a long-range project to exploit the mini-computer to improve the efficiency and accuracy of taxonomic studies in Hebrew discourse structure which hitherto have had to rely on hand-counted data.

11. LESSONS LEARNED: THAT CRAZY BLUE JAY

In the early '70s as we worked in the HPL computer room, our constant companion was a particularly obsessed Western scrub-jay. He would repeatedly attack his reflection in the mirrored window of the computer room. Periodically, for a change of pace, he would also attack the scores of scrub-jays that he saw in rearview mirrors in the parking lot. Hour after hour, over and over, incessantly... That jay came to symbolize for us the dangers of *working hard, not smart*, a fate that we determined to avoid.



Figure 6. Western Scrub-Jay⁴⁵

To that end we tried, and continue to try, to carry out our research in accord with this set of precepts:

- When planning:
 - Heed, but test, informed intuition.
 - Always have plans at least one step ahead.
 - Beware of premature closure.
 - Assess all confounding factors.
- When researching:
 - Focus on capturing information, not on formatting details.

⁴⁴ F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, “The Use of the Mini-computer for Discourse Analysis of Biblical Hebrew—A Progress Report,” SBL West-coast Division, February 1971 (unpublished).

⁴⁵ From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/ciloisin/2997875808>. Lorcan Keating©. Used with permission.

- Opt for “successive refinements” rather than “one-pass” analyses.
- Execute only one kind of operation at a time.
- Devise alternate ways of checking results.
- Use expert-accessible methods, as checks on results.
- Be alert for possible interim “products.”
- When communicating:
 - Teach, don’t preach.
 - Avoid priestly mumbo-jumbo.
 - Eschew “it’s obvious” non-explanations.
 - Avoid jargon and obscure acronyms.

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HOW MY (LEXICOGRAPHICAL) MIND HAS CHANGED, OR ELSE REMAINED THE SAME¹

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The paper offers, for the interest of co-workers on the International Syriac Language Project, some reflections on lexicographical practice in the light of my experience with the *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, completed in 2011. I begin with a number of principles and procedures that I would consider changing or improving if I were beginning the work again, and I continue with some of the features that I would be most eager to preserve.

1. INTRODUCTION

Merely weeks after completing the eight-volume *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew (DCH)* (1993–2011),² I am reflecting, at the invitation of the International Syriac Language Project (ISLP), on how I would do things differently if I were starting again now, and on what I would want to preserve, even in the light of experience. I realize that not all these issues I will raise are relevant to a dictionary of the much larger corpus of Syriac literature, 100 times larger than the Hebrew Bible if the estimate I have come across of a Syriac corpus of 30,000,000 words is correct.³

¹ An invited paper read to the International Syriac Language Project at the SBL Annual Meeting in San Francisco, November 20, 2011.

² David J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vols. 1–5 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–2001), and vols. 6–8 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007–2011).

³ James L. Carroll, Robbie Haertel, Peter McClanahan, Eric Ringger, and Kevin Seppi, “Modeling the Annotation Process for Ancient Corpus Creation” (citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/summary?doi=10.1.1.158.1648). Or perhaps the corpus is even 250 times larger; see the paper by Kristian S. Heal, Deryle Lonsdale, Eric Ringger, and David G. K. Taylor, “The BYU–Oxford Corpus of Syriac Literature” (byu.academia.edu/KristianHeal/Talks/17673/The_BYU-Oxford_Corpus_of_Syriac_Literature), which spoke (in 2008) of a possible Syriac corpus the size of the *Thesaurus linguae graecae*, which was 73 million words. Four years later (2012), the *TLG* apparently contains 105 million words (www.tlg.uci.edu/about/). By comparison, the database of the Historical Dictionary Project of the Hebrew Language (of the Academy of the Hebrew Language in Jerusalem) contains some ten million words, with an envisaged target of twenty-five million (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_Dictionary_Project_of_the_Hebrew_Language).

Many moons ago, no SBL programme was complete without a session called Fireside Chat, in which some elderly worthy was invited to reminisce about his career (I think the speaker was always a male) under the rubric *How My Mind Has Changed*. Legend has it that it was Raymond Brown who demurred at the title, claiming his was not the sort of mind that was changing, and so the series became called *How My Mind Has Changed, or Else Remained the Same*. That will serve well enough as the title of the present fireside chat.

2. HOW MY MIND HAS CHANGED

2.1. Survey of End-Users

Before we began with *DCH* in 1987, I talked with many people about the project and sought their views on what it should do and how it should look. If I were starting again now, I would do a much more systematic and extensive survey of end-users. For without users, there can be no lexicon; no one will publish for a non-existent market. I am not sure, though, that it would make a lot of difference to what I actually did. For users have not actually been writing a dictionary, so they have little idea of what is and what is not possible, or what the time costs are to create a particular feature that they would like. They might like to have Semitic cognates listed for each word, for example, but they do not know the problems involved in so doing. I believe, though, that if I had had more end-user input at the beginning I might have been sustained by that during some of the more agonizing or dreary patches of the work, when I didn't know how the work would be received.

2.2. The Size of the Task

I must admit that I had little realistic sense of how long the work would take and what it would cost when I first began. I know I imagined it could be completed in five years, when the reality was twenty-four. Perhaps it was just as well I didn't know where the money was coming from, or else I would not have begun a course of action so fraught with anxiety about funding. One thing is certain, though: it will take longer and cost more than you ever thought.

2.3. Semantic Domains

I think my biggest regret is that *DCH* does not consider semantic domains. It should have, not least because my first dissertation, in 1959, was in this very area: *Words for Good and Bad in Demosthenes and the New Testament*. It was both a synchronic and a diachronic study of a semantic field. I think that what deterred me from an analysis of semantic fields when we began *DCH* in 1987 was simply the absence of any independent analysis of this kind that we could borrow from, and the recognition that we would have to work it out for ourselves—as well as writing the Dictionary itself. The other consideration was that we thought that systematically listing the synonyms and antonyms of words that actually occurred in the texts was a step in that direction, and one moreover that could not be accused of superimposing a set of categories devised in the modern world upon an ancient language. I am still a little troubled, to tell the truth, by this issue. More important,

however, is the question of how a proper regard for semantic domains can be integrated in a dictionary that is arranged alphabetically. It must be a rare user who wants to go first to a treatment of a field and then find within that discussion a treatment of the word they are interested in.

2.4. Definitions

Provision of definitions, rather than simple glosses, has been something of a vogue, if not a fad, in recent biblical lexicography; it is illustrated by the most recent edition of the New Testament lexicon BAGD by Frederick Danker.⁴ *DCH* could have done better on this front, and indeed there are more definitions to be found in the later volumes than in the earlier. In some cases the definition becomes more like encyclopaedic information, as when we write:

טֶד 2 n.[m.] **fetters, shackles**, an instrument of punishment, binding the feet together but allowing some movement to the person punished, rather than **stocks**, in which feet (and sometimes also hands) are held fast in holes made in heavy pieces of wood (for which **מְהַפְּכֵת** is the term).⁵

Nevertheless, I remain somewhat diffident about the creation and provision of definitions for all kinds of words, as when “dog” is defined as “domesticated canine” and “run” is defined as “move forward in a linear direction at a pace faster than that of walking.” Anyone who does not know what “dog” or “run” means should not be using this dictionary. There is also the difficulty that definitions are so easy to pick holes in. What about wild dogs, for example, and what about running on the spot? I will gladly agree that the lexicographer should always have an eye open for unusual or culturally distinctive terms that could be beneficially “defined,” not least for the sake of end users who may have English as their second or third language. And I hope to include in the Addenda and Corrigenda volume we are planning as a supplement to the *Dictionary* a significant number of additional definitions, especially positioning the lemma within its own semantic field (as in the case of **טֶד** above).

2.5. Historical Periods

I would love to have created a historical dictionary of the Hebrew language, on the lines of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Indeed, if the scope of the dictionary were Hebrew as a whole, from the earliest times to modern Hebrew, such a programme would be possible and rewarding (such is the goal of the *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* in Jerusalem).⁶ However, with the biblical texts, there is hardly a book one could with any certainty ascribe to a particular century, and even to classify texts as pre-exilic and postexilic would be open to many cavils and errors.

⁴ W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (3rd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

⁵ Clines, ed., *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, 6:121a.

⁶ See n. 3 above.

All occurrences in Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls may however be understood to be later than most occurrences in the Hebrew Bible (in my opinion), so that periodization is implied in a sense by the specification of the distinct corpora of Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and Dead Sea Scrolls. The other corpus of texts, the Inscriptions, does not of course fit into any period, the texts ranging in date from clearly pre-exilic times to the close of the period surveyed, namely the second century C.E. In a Syriac dictionary, the dates of most authors are known, and there is much more ground for an arrangement on historical principles.

2.6. Use of Prepositions

One misgiving I have about *DCH* is the amount of space given to the uses of words with prepositions. Clearly enough, some verbs, for example, are used as bound forms, as when **קָח** is followed by *beth* in the sense “take hold of.” But such cases are not formally different from examples where *beth* is used in its normal sense of “in,” for example a place. *DCH* includes all cases where the verb is used with this preposition, though only the former is significant lexicographically. My difficulty was that I could not establish for myself rules for distinguishing the two types, and therefore could not train my researchers how to distinguish them. Maybe such rules exist somewhere in the literature, but it is a bit late now for me to find out about them.

2.7. Use of Semitic Cognates

It is well known that entries for Hebrew words in *DCH* do not contain information about cognates (often wrongly called etymologies), supposed or real, in other Semitic languages (being in this respect like *CAD*⁷ and unlike *BDB*⁸ and *HALOT*⁹). There were two reasons for this:

(1) A more theoretical one, namely the belief that the significance of cognates is misunderstood by most Hebrew dictionary users. Frequently people say that it is by displaying the cognates that dictionaries show where they got their meanings from. In fact, cognates have little impact on ascertaining the meaning of words; it is usually in the case of very rare or disputed words that their evidence is of importance. The source of most meanings of Hebrew words is generally the same: the contexts of the occurrences of the word. In *DCH* we tried systematically to infer the meaning(s) of words from their use in their contexts. In practice, however, it

⁷ I. J. Gelb, Erica Reiner, Martha T. Roth, et al., eds., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (21 vols. in 26; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956–2011).

⁸ Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an Appendix: Containing the Biblical Aramaic, Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906). The *Lexicon* had been published in seven parts between 1892 and 1901. The date of publication of the one-volume edition is often stated as 1907.

⁹ Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (trans. M. E. J. Richardson; 5 vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994–2000). It was translated from *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–1995).

would be a strange lexicographer who did not look at other Hebrew dictionaries and the inferences they had earlier made about meanings. We always read the work of our predecessors with a hermeneutic of suspicion, I must say.

(2) The difficulty of acquiring sound, up-to-date information about the meanings of words in languages ranging from Old Babylonian to Old South Arabic (even to find Arabists among biblical scholars becomes more and more difficult) seemed to me at the beginning of the project insuperable. What specialists were going to offer to devote themselves for untold hours to selfless work on behalf of someone else's dictionary? Nowadays, I suppose I could get together a SBL group just for that purpose, but I would be misleading people if I suggested it would be an easy task and that it would take less than twenty-four years. And I would still have the problem of presenting a mass of material of uncertain relevance for a Hebrew dictionary to the reader. I would not want to follow the example of the new Gesenius (the eighteenth edition),¹⁰ where not infrequently more than half the space given to a Hebrew word is devoted to the cognates. And I would have to work out how to present the fact that a given Arabic cognate, for example, is found in Dozy¹¹ but not in Lane,¹² or that a given Akkadian cognate is attested only in a glossary.

3. HOW MY MIND HAS REMAINED THE SAME

3.1. The Scope of the Dictionary

Looking back on it, it is truly surprising that no dictionary of the classical Hebrew language has ever before been attempted. Invariably we have been offered dictionaries of the biblical texts, alone. Primary though those texts are (even today they constitute 75% of *DCHP*'s source texts), it is more than a hundred years since the only Hebrew we have had has been the Bible: the Siloam tunnel inscription and Ben Sira were already known when *BDB* was published, but they were not included because they are not in the Hebrew Bible.

I realize that for Syriac it may be expedient to proceed with dictionaries of individual authors. But the confusion of a corpus of canonical texts with the attested Syriac language as a whole is not going to arise, so this point is hardly relevant to your project.

3.2. The Management of the Project

Most scholars in the humanities like ourselves have little experience of working in teams and less still of leading teams of researchers. From my limited experience the most important lesson has been the fragility and unreliability of groups of leaders. I

¹⁰ Rudolf Meyer and Herbert Donner, eds., *Wilhelm Gesenius. Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (18th ed.; 6 vols.; Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1987–2010).

¹¹ R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2 vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1881). The problem with it is that one cannot easily tell whether a word it mentions belongs to the classical language.

¹² Edward William Lane, *An Arabic–English Lexicon, Derived from the Best and the Most Copious Eastern Sources* (8 vols.; London: Williams & Norgate, 1863–1893).

have come to realize that is unrealistic to expect three people or more to sustain an equal interest in the one project for twenty years. Their own careers, and their quite properly changing priorities, will not be able to support a large-scale project. I prefer the dictum of some Hollywood mogul: “Teamwork I like: it’s having a bunch of people doing what I tell them.” There are all kinds of ways of directing the work of others, from dictatorial tyranny to the creation of a symphony, and I myself set the highest premium on delegation and on the autonomy of one’s co-researchers. But as I see it, a project like this cannot be carried out democratically, but needs to be the execution of a single vision, always adaptable of course and open to criticism, but ultimately the responsibility of the director.

3.3. Protocols

I have been very conscious of the need throughout the project to have clear and extensive guidelines or protocols for every aspect of the *Dictionary*’s presentation—all the more so because the researchers have been at the same time the typesetters of a work that aims always at absolute accuracy and total perfection, even if it does not always manage to achieve that. There are many matters, especially of presentation, where there is not obviously a right and a wrong; but our principle has been that we stick to the design laid down at the beginning, for the sake of the uniformity of the work, even if things could have been done differently, or even perhaps slightly better some other way.

3.4. Other Features

There are other features of *DCH* that I would not at all easily give up if I were to begin the work all over again. I mention some briefly:

- the notation of all morphological forms that occur
- the statistical information about occurrences, giving immediate information about the frequency of a word and the types of material in which it is found
- a fresh analysis of the data in structuring articles rather than following the lead of prior dictionaries, prioritizing frequency of occurrence over against “logical” structure in articles
- a Hebrew–English index (which would, incidentally, be a very welcome addition to a new Syriac dictionary)

3.5. Metaphor

I will conclude with a topic on which I can offer you not a theoretical treatment but rather some practical thoughts for consideration.

I myself would take a rather radical view, that deciding what is metaphorical is not the lexicographer’s task. I fully accept that some usages are metaphorical, indeed, sometimes plainly so; but one cannot be sure often enough to make decisions systematically. Yet in dictionary making you *must* be systematic. For if you ever say a usage is metaphorical you imply that every other usage that is not so

labelled is *not* metaphorical. And it is a very problematic concept. Are God's eyes metaphorical? Is "God said" metaphorical? Is "God is" metaphorical? They're questions for a philosopher, perhaps for an exegete; but are they the lexicographer's business?

But suppose we all agree that certain usages are metaphorical. There is more than one way of indicating that without getting into the fix of labelling or not labelling usages as "metaphorical." You can convey much of the necessary evidence for a possible metaphorical use by stating, for example, the subjects and objects of the verb; if fire "eats" (אכל), that is all we need to know, not whether our favourite lexicographer judges that is a metaphor or not if Israel eats or a nation eats or a moth eats or fire eats or a sword eats.

4. CONCLUSION

I realize that not all my observations are pertinent to the task of creating a new Syriac lexicon, but wish you well in your task, remembering nostalgically my own happy/laborious hours as a student of Syriac fifty years ago, wrestling with Mar Rabbula and Isaac of Antioch and the others, not excluding a certain Christian Palestinian Syriac horologion, also appearing on our programme.

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REFLECTIONS ON GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY

A LINGUISTIC-CULTURAL APPROACH TO ALLEGED PAULINE AND LUKAN CHRISTOLOGICAL DISPARITY

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This article considers the alleged disparity between the writings of St. Paul and St. Luke. These two authors share a common language for understanding the significance of Jesus, since they both borrowed diction, phrasing, and themes from public monuments in order to communicate with their audiences. Proof of this borrowing, such as describing Jesus as a “great benefactor,” is illustrated with specific examples from the language of the Gospel of Luke and Paul’s Letter to the Romans. In Romans, God is presented as the “Supreme Benefactor,” who looks to what is beneficial to society. According to Paul, the Christian is indebted to Jesus Christ for having been liberated from the law and now has obligations within the benefactor-reciprocity system, though ultimately all believers are entitled to God’s grace as a free gift.

1. INTRODUCTION

The need to reassess traditional patterns of alleged disparity between St. Paul and St. Luke is of paramount importance if literary criticism of the documents for which they are responsible is to move forward in a manner that is fair to these recognized masters of communication in the first century.¹

To level the field, I have chosen for treatment of the topic the two books ascribed to Luke and Paul’s Letter to the Romans. In general reference to the Gospel and the book of Acts I use the symbol ‘Luke’, without any presumption of authorial origin. Inasmuch as allegations of disparity are based on the content of Luke-Acts and to a considerable extent on the content of Romans, I have limited this study to those documents. Moreover, these documents contain material content of considerable length and so provide a sufficient amount of data for comparative

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¹ For the main lines of alleged disparity, see J. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I–IX* (AB 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 47–51.

purposes. In addition, they are forms that lay claims on their auditors' attention by drawing on familiar models within their everyday experience.²

Confronted by the fact that their publics came from a variety of backgrounds and traditions, Paul and Luke were compelled by such circumstance to use a hermeneutical approach that would introduce their publics to the lines of thought in their works through a linguistic common denominator. Close reading of their texts indicates that they chose a dominant and well-established socio-political variation of reciprocity. A primary feature was the celebration of an entity's exceptional merit. Performance and recognition of such a figure were the key components. Paul and Luke could count on the awareness of their publics when they incorporated this phenomenon in their writings. Streets, avenues, temples, and public buildings were filled with statues and monuments on which records of such transactions were inscribed. Acts 17:23 in fact records that Paul made rhetorical use of inscriptional data. What Paul did in Athens could be done on a larger scale. Some discontinuity between the thinking of people in a common Hellenic world who were more traditionally accustomed to Mosaic patterns of thinking and those who were more connected with that world through traditional absorption of Hellenic ideas and material forms of transmittal was formidable. Inscriptions could provide a visible and verbal base for bridging some of the gaps. Unfortunately, Luke's and Paul's unobtrusive implementation of this cultural phenomenon in their writings has long led their readers practically to ignore its function while many interpreters remained attracted to the dominant lines of what they considered "theological" thought. The present study therefore calls attention to the many and varied ways in which our ancient writers used diction, phrasing, and themes that were readily accessible in public monuments to convey especially the identity and significance of God and Jesus Christ in outreach to humanity across social and cultural boundaries.

In this study I use various terms in reference to an entity of exceptional merit and therefore worthy of special recognition. In general, I use the term *Benefactor* for such an entity. Ancient writers have no one generic term for the honorands who are celebrated. They come from various levels: a deity, a political entity called *deme* or state, one in service to the public, or simply a person of exceptional character. The following three decrees display a typical format.

Whereas Hippocrates, son of Thessalos and citizen of Cos, constantly renders all aid and assistance to the people as a whole and privately to citizens who request his services, be it resolved by the People to commend Hippocrates, citizen of Cos, for his policy of goodwill to the people, and to crown him in the theater, at the Dionysia, with a golden crown in recognition of his *arete* and goodwill.

After the battle of Pharsalus, Gaius Julius Caesar displayed his vaunted clemency. In gratitude especially for his remission of some taxes, cities and provinces honored him with a monument at Ephesus:

² I am grateful for the stimulation that Stanley E. Porter has given in a variety of publications to related lines of inquiry.

The cities in Asia and the townships and the tribal districts honor Gaius Julius Caesar, son of Gaius, Pontifex, Imperator, and Consul for the second time, descendant of Ares and Aphrodite, our God Manifest and Common Savior of all human life.

A long decree of 105 lines in one sentence, found in the city of Sestos, located in the Chersonese, begins its resolution in honor of an otherwise unknown Menas as follows:

. . . whereas [Menas, son of Menas], from his earliest youth considered useful service to his home city the finest way to spend his life, and spares himself no expense or public service, avoids no personal inconvenience or danger, and gives no thought to any hazards threatening his own interest when he leaves on embassies in behalf of our city. . . and thereby, through the thanksgiving that constantly redounds to him from the multitude, aims to acquire for himself and his family imperishable glory . . ., be it resolved by the Council and the People to commend Menas, son of Menas, for all his achievements herein recorded and for all his goodwill displayed toward the people . . . and (be it further resolved) to set up a bronze statue . . ., and since he desires, in view of the problems confronting the public at this time, to do the city a favor by personally assuming the cost of the statue, provision is to be made for the best place in the gymnasium, with this decree inscribed on a stele of fine marble, which is to stand in the gymnasium.³

2. LUKE-ACTS

That Luke defines Jesus as a person with the kind of status recognized throughout the Hellenic world is clear from Acts 10:34–43. This passage directs the auditor's attention to a number of features that delimit Luke's narrative program. The centerpiece is the person of Jesus, carefully framed within geographical borders familiar to Israelites. This spatial border serves not only to connect Luke's present book with his earlier work (*πρῶτος λόγος*) but creates the initial base for his bridge from the Semitic precinct to the larger Hellenic world. Luke effects the bridging through use of the term *εὐεργετέω*. In its context, this word takes on an aspectual feature that jolts the early auditor with a reality shock. Mosaic world and the vast Mediterranean world meet in the astonishing identification of Jesus, who is first linked with Israel's messianic expectation (v. 38) and then described in the participial form of the verb *εὐεργετέω*. This choice of the verbal form rather than the nominal *εὐεργέτης* (*one who does what is helpful or beneficial, a benefactor*) is not to be ignored. English requires the neologism *benefacting* to convey the linguistic maneuver. The focus here is on the action side of one presumed to be a benefactor. Claimants to the status of benefactor come under review in Lk 22:25: οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν κυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν εὐεργέται καλοῦνται. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐχ

³ For the three decrees see F. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1982), 61, 213–14, 92–96.

οὕτως. An initial reading of this statement sounds like a disavowal of the role of benefactor as a model for interpreting the significance of Jesus. But a closer reading of the text points one in a different direction. In effect, Luke states that kings, of whom there are many in the Mediterranean world, do in fact have executive authority (ἐξουσιάζω) and they like to be recognized (καλοῦνται) as benefactors. Whether Luke had in mind the kind of character displayed by Ptolemy VIII, who liked to refer to himself as Euergetes, the Benevolent One, cannot be determined.⁴ What Jesus points to is the self-interest of worldly rulers who delight in praise and adulation that ordinarily comes in the form of public honorary decrees. The disciples are not to think in that direction, but are to prize the opportunity for rendering service (διακονέω). In this way they would be εὐεργέται in the truest sense of the word.

Further evidence that Lk 22:25 is not to be construed as a negative appraisal for application of the concept to members of the Christian community is at hand in Acts 4:9–10, where the qualitative noun εὐεργεσία, *beneficence*, is applied to a deed of healing ascribed to Jesus by the mediators Peter and John. The identity of Jesus as an exceptional person of merit is expressed in the passage, with the significance of the Passion and Resurrection accounts briefly formulated. An outsider would have concluded that the followers of Jesus considered him an immortal, like Asclepius, with healing benefits as a mark of his largesse. In truth, Luke's insiders are convinced that Jesus is the immortal Son of God, at the apex of any status group known as persons of exceptional merit and one entitled to be called a Euergetes without need of qualification.

A common motif in appraisal of a benefactor's credentials is whether he matches words with performance. Homer helped popularize the theme. He has Phoenix express an expectation that Achilles would not only be an orator but a man of deeds.⁵ A benefactor at Cyzike named Apollodorus receives praise from the people of Delos for 'doing whatever he can λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ for the people of Delos'.⁶ According to Luke, Jesus passes muster. That Jesus was acclaimed for matching words with action is explicitly stated in Lk 24:19: he was δυνατὸς ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ. A similar affirmation is made about Moses (Acts 7:22).

Seeing and hearing correspond to this word-pair. In Lk 7:22 disciples are told to inform John the Baptizer what they have seen (implying performances) and heard (implying proclamation of good news), as described in Lk 7:22. In Acts 4:20, Peter and John assert that they cannot avoid talking about what they have seen (i.e., what Jesus did) and heard (i.e., his words).

The preceding information sets the stage methodologically for analysis of Luke 1. The evangelist's publics would not need to be told about the data submitted

⁴ Athenaeus 4, 184c states that he was labeled κατεργέτης for his tyrannous reign. For a Roman's view on the subject of interest in securing fame as a benefactor without sense of responsibility see Horace 3, 24, 27–29: "If one desires to be recognized on statues as 'Father of Cities', let him dare to put the bridle on uncontrolled wantonness."

⁵ *Iliad* 9, 443.

⁶ *IDelosChoix* 20, 6. The formulation varies: e.g., λέγων/πράττων (ibid., 42, 4f.), or simply descriptive phrases using various words for speaking and doing (*SIG*² 762, 25–29).

above in order to understand what goes on in his first chapter. But the modern interpreter requires assurance that there is strong probability for Luke's publics to draw on their acquaintance with their cultural environment to appreciate the significance of God and Jesus as benefactors with the gift of salvation designed for all humanity.

Five stories, with speeches, in Luke 1 enlarge on the theme. First, the introductory message from the angel to Zachariah (Lk 1:13–17): John the Baptist is to serve as advance man for Jesus. Here the theme is joy, 'many will rejoice at his birth'. This theme was in a paean about Caesar Augustus (63 B.C.–A.D. 14), published in observance of his birthday in many parts of the Roman empire, a few years before the birth of Jesus: No one will regret the day when Augustus was born; it was a day like no other day; it was equivalent to creation itself, the beginning of the cosmos.⁷

The second angelic speech is assigned to Gabriel. His stature in the angelic hierarchy is not to be overlooked: a peasant girl is honored by one of God's most exalted envoys. An exceptional person of merit like Jesus must have his genealogical connections certified, and they must be of the highest order. Luke 1:27 therefore records that Jesus belongs to the royal house of David. Mary's offspring is to be named after a great deliverer named Ἰησοῦς (*Joshua*) (Lk 1:31). Hellenic members in Luke's public would be familiar with the name as found in some Greek versions in use at the time. Hebrew auditors are invited to take pride in the association. God, as the Supreme Benefactor, is the main player. God gives the new Joshua the throne of David. Through Gabriel's words Luke leaves no room for doubt: God will be the supreme hero in all the narrative that is to follow. Gabriel proceeds and associates Jesus with God as Son of God (Lk 1:34). This is a high thematic moment, and Lk 1:36 records a second portent: an aged relative defies all odds and will give birth. She in turn offers in Lk 1:42 a very brief speech about Mary's privileged status.

A fourth speech is from Mary. God is her Savior (Lk 1:47). He is a mighty potentate, but despite his majesty he looks on a peasant child who is about to inherit a very lofty position in Israel's history. God's business is elevation of the lowly and the disenfranchisement of the proud and the rich. Mercy is God's name.

Elizabeth bears her son, and we have a concluding portent. Zachariah is now freed of his muteness. His speech (Lk 1:68–79), the fifth in the chapter, reproduces the principal benevolent themes: salvation and mercy (vv. 7–72); mindfulness of covenant and fidelity to oath (vv. 72–74); reciprocity in holiness and uprightness (vv. 74–75). In brief, all the qualities that are necessary for the security of a prosperous state are present.

After the preceding presentation, Luke writes specifically about Augustus (Lk 2:1–2). The conjunction with the esteemed emperor is an outstanding literary achievement. Luke's publics would be thinking at a subliminal level of Caesar Augustus throughout the accolades in chapter 1, and next they hear Rome's super benefactor set aside in favor of the one described in chapter 2. People said of Augustus that his birth could justifiably be described as the ἀρχὴ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς

⁷ In such vein, *IPriene* 105, 4f. For a complete translation of the long inscription, see Danker, *Benefactor*, 216–19.

ζωῆς ‘the beginning of a good life and prosperity’.⁸ It is also affirmed that he is a savior who has put an end to war and will put everything in order.⁹ Luke’s heavenly messenger announces to shepherds: ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σήμερον σωτὴρ ὅς ἐστιν Χριστὸς κύριος. Subsequently, the angel and colleagues steal lines from Caesar Augustus: δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας. This is the last angelic speech before the ministry of Jesus begins. The end of the shepherd’s story in Lk 2:20 is amazing. The shepherds commend God for all that they had heard and seen precisely as it was told them. The thematic note is pointed. Word and performance are linked. God, the super benefactor, wins the laurels.

Through the presentation in Lk 1:1–2:24, the evangelist establishes the roles of God and Jesus as superior entities of excellence and beneficence. Luke then concludes with testimony from an aged pious person named Simeon and a widow named Hannah. Simeon gives a speech that contains basic thematic information for Luke’s publics. (1) God is in charge with peace for Simeon. The words echo ideas that surfaced in connection with the evaluation of Jesus alongside appreciation for Caesar Augustus by people from all walks of life. Word and practical performance on the part of God are now exhibited for Simeon as realized performance of salvation, visibly perceived in the person of the one held in his arms. (2) Jesus is made ready to function as savior for all peoples. He is light¹⁰ for the gentiles, and through his beneficence to them Israel’s reputation will be enhanced and she can boast that from her ranks came the savior of the world. At the same time, Mary and her husband must face the fact that there will be a division in the house of Israel resulting in great sorrow for them.

Through his record of Simeon’s speech Luke puts his public on alert for much of what is to be related in his two-part work. Together with Simeon, Hannah exhibits Israel at its best. She speaks about Jesus to all who await the deliverance of Jerusalem. Implicit in Luke’s account is the idea that Israel could spare itself from disaster by imitating these two faithful Israelites.

The achievement of this goal requires repentance. John the Baptist’s speech summarizes the prophetic mind (Lk 3:4–6). It is the language of the arrival of a great head of state. Climactic is the term τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, which picks up the anticipation of Simeon (Lk 2:30).

At the Jordan Jesus is distinguished from ‘all the people’ (Lk 3:21), indicating that he is a super man of excellence. Consistent with the estimation of Jesus defined in Luke 1–2 is the functioning of the Holy Spirit (Lk 3:22a) at his baptism. Jesus is identified as the ‘Son of God with whom God is well pleased’ (Lk 3:22b). God takes

⁸ *IPriene* 105, 10.

⁹ *IPriene* 105, 35–36. The word ‘savior’ is conjectured for a lacuna in the stone, but the qualifications that follow in the inscription make the restoration certain. This is especially so in the light of the usage in *IGR* 3, 719, a decree honoring θεὸν Σεβαστὸν, θεοῦ υἱὸν, Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τοῦ σύνπαντο[ς] κόσμου (“God Augustus, Son of god, Caesar ruler of earth and sea, benefactor and savior of all the world”). Similarly, Emperor Galba’s legate Tiberius Julius Alexander “shines with salvation for the benefit of all humanity” (*OGIS* 669, II, 7).

¹⁰ See n. 8 on praise of Emperor Galba.

delight in him.¹¹ Thus this statement echoes Lk 2:14, but puts a special stamp on the uniqueness of Jesus as an entity of special merit. This datum receives support from the presentation of the genealogy (Lk 3:23–38), which is a prime feature for recitation of a hero's credentials.

The status of a person of exceptional merit involved in heavy affairs of state may be qualified by describing such an individual as a person of supreme valor. In the recital of his accomplishments known as the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*,¹² Rome's most distinguished emperor declared that he endured many trials in the course of his interest in preserving the state. In his presentation of Jesus as super hero, Luke proceeds to show in Lk 4:1–13 the intensity of the opposition that he faces in performing his obligation to fulfill God's promise of salvation. Jesus is conducted in connection with the Spirit into an area devoid of habitation. There he is tempted by Diabolos, the ultimate entity devoted to disruption. Diabolos forthrightly declares that he is the beneficiary of one who has put it all under his authority. In effect, Diabolos considers himself the Son of God. With such authority he can empower anyone with the same favor, but with one reservation: Jesus is to recognize him as the one to whom Jesus is totally indebted. After rejoinders by Jesus to Diabolos' three temptations, Diabolos withdraws from him, waiting for the arrival of an opportune time. That comes most significantly when Jesus enters Jerusalem. Yet, at this point in Luke's narrative it is important to note that Diabolos had set out a performance sheet for one who would lay claim to being a person of exceptional merit, or benefactor recognized for extraordinary performance.

Between the temptation episode and the passion account lies the interval in which the marks of Jesus as one who wedded word and deed are recited. The first stage takes place in Galilee in general, where Jesus teaches in synagogues. From the expression *δοξάζομενος ὑπὸ πάντων* Luke's auditors could readily infer from the normal inscriptional use of this theme that Jesus did extraordinary deeds. One can conclude, therefore, on the basis of a subsequent specific reference to Jesus' action at the town (v. 23), that Capernaum would be included in the observation at v. 14.

The prelude to action takes place in dramatic manner at Nazareth (Lk 4:16–21), where Luke shows Jesus in effect serving notice on Diabolos through word of proclamation and promise of deeds (v. 18). The message and promise described in vv. 18–21 result in praise and admiration for 'Joseph's son' (v. 22). The motif again serves to show how Luke's auditors would readily infer the evangelist's ongoing intention to provide bridges from the surrounding world of Israel and gentiles for perception of his delineation of God and Jesus as benefactors. Jesus is praised as an exceptional benefactor, but one important factor, namely deeds, is missing. Luke draws attention to the fact by an arresting hiatus and then shows Jesus himself calling attention to what the townsfolk are awaiting (vv. 23–24) along with an indictment which Luke uses as an occasion to help his public make a connection

¹¹ Cf. the recognition of divine providence in giving Caesar August, along with all his virtues, to the world (*IPriene* 105, 32–36; *OGIS* 458, 32–36).

¹² This autobiographical production was published on stone in many parts of the Roman empire. For a translation see Danker, *Benefactor*, 258–70; see also E. G. Hardy, *The Monumentum Ancyranum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923).

with the temptation episode in Lk 4:1–13. They would discern that the townsfolk engage in a temptation of their own, capped by an attempt to lynch Jesus. Luke’s auditors here receive a hint of what Luke will recite about events that took place a few years later in Jerusalem’s environs. But at this moment Jesus goes on his way unscathed from a murderous attempt on his life (v. 30). The notice of his onward way prepares the auditors for the rest of Luke’s narrative as the record of Jesus on a remarkable journey.

The first stop is Capernaum. After much emphasis on the words of Jesus (Lk 4:1–32), Luke reports that the people at Capernaum were astonished that his speech was marked by authority. It would not be lost on Luke’s auditors that Jesus, who renounced the offer of Diabolos for authority, here displays what could readily be determined as the Supreme Benefactor’s gift. With this authority Jesus takes on Diabolos doing his infernal work, through one of his subordinates, on a deranged victim. The demon not only is muted by Jesus’ word but fails to accomplish the nefarious deed it had conceived. The coupling of word and deed as a mark of persons of exceptional merit impresses the observers of Jesus’ functional authority. Luke’s account is a parade piece of his forthcoming accounts that exhibit Jesus’ mercy, helpfulness, and concern for the poor, and especially those oppressed by Diabolos.¹³

Closely associated with the theme of excellence in backing of word with deed is the pandemic theme expressed in Lk 4:36f. and throughout Luke–Acts. Inscriptions are replete with it. Repeatedly persons of exceptional merit are noted for their outreach beyond narrow borders of kinship or political structures. It is said of the outstanding philanthropist Menas that he took care not only of his fellow-citizens and other inhabitants of his city, but also of temporary residents. Furthermore, when he was in charge of sacrificial rites in connection with athletic contests, he not only invited non-athletes but gave a share of the offerings to strangers.¹⁴ A biographical inscription of Antiochus of Kommagene records a wish that on his father’s and his own birthday all citizens have a share in the feast.¹⁵ Besides exalted figures, doctors are honored for their zeal in providing aid to the general citizenry.¹⁶ The pandemic aspect relates to the point that God’s activity is not limited to a select few, but reaches beyond borders. At Lk 2:30–31 the theme embraces God’s interest in all peoples. Israel is, of course, the medium through which the pandemic objective is to be achieved.¹⁷

Luke’s use of the pandemic theme throughout his work contributes to his effort to help his public appreciate the roles of God and Jesus as exceptional benefactors. Modern interpreters benefit from the insights Luke’s public would gain at given points in his story. Thus, in Lk 2:10 a heavenly messenger declares good

¹³ See the summary in Acts 10:38.

¹⁴ *OGIS* 339, 65f.

¹⁵ *LArsameia* 129f.

¹⁶ See Danker, *Benefactor*, nos. 1–5.

¹⁷ Cf. Ps 97:2 LXX and Isa 52:10.

news for *all* the people.¹⁸ The phrase *καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς*¹⁹ would remind auditors that the angel speaks in imperial bureaucratic tones. If Israel carries out her task, she will win international *δόξα*, i.e., recognition or praise. Acts 28:28 will echo the message. At Lk 4:40 the pandemic phrase *ἅπαντες ὅσοι εἶχον ἀσθενοῦντας νόσοις ποιήλαις* not only points to the large number of invalids, but that no one was considered ineligible for the Lord's therapeutic help. And the observation that he touched each one is designed to amplify the tenderheartedness of Benefactor Jesus. The pandemic motif in Lk 6:19, *ἴατο πάντας*, is strengthened in Acts 5:16 and echoed in Acts 10:38.

At points, Luke amplifies his interpretation of Jesus as benefactor through references to Jesus' interest in the poor and his warnings about piling up wealth. Luke readily bridges Israelite and Hellenic perspectives. The Scriptures of Israel make constant reference to the poor, especially in the book of Psalms, and Hellenes see countless inscriptions that record accolades for benefactors who give generously, even to the extent of putting the state to no expense when on service as envoys or judges. An Athenian named Herodes Atticus (A.D. 101–177) had much to say about the use of wealth and probably reflects what was on the minds of many of his predecessors. According to a eulogy by Philostratos, he said,

‘Right use of wealth means giving to the needy so that their need might end; and to those who need not, so that they might have no acquaintance with need.’ . . . Wealth that was kept close to home and knew no sharing, he would call ‘dead riches’. And the vaults in which some people put their money for safe-keeping he called ‘detention centers for cash’.²⁰

Luke's record of Jesus' perspectives on the topic are many. From his vignette in Lk 14:12–14 one might conclude that Luke would have welcomed support from someone like Herodes Atticus. Luke's public would find especially compelling the description of religious figures who wish to be noticed as persons of exceptional merit but are lacking in deeds that ought to attend the status. Their prayers are long even while they ‘devour the houses of widows’ (Lk 20:46f.). The reference to their love for ‘front seating’ (v. 46) would remind Luke's public of a perquisite frequently inscribed on honorary stelaē.²¹ For other stories illustrating anti-cultural attitude, see Lk 12:16–20; 16:14–31.

Luke's interest in Jesus as exemplar *par excellence* of a person celebrated for extraordinary merit culminates in the recital of his suffering and death and his resurrection, where Luke points his public to three virtues that singly or collectively mark a person or state: fidelity, piety, and uprightness. Numerous inscriptions

¹⁸ Cf. the praise bestowed on Caesar Augustus for the good tidings his birthday spells for the world (*IPriene* 105).

¹⁹ Cf. M. Benner, *Studies in the Rhetorical Style in Edicts of the Early Empire* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1975). The verb itself appears frequently in decrees that refer to a public official formulating a motion: so-and-so *εἶπεν* (e.g., *IPriene* 4: 5, 50).

²⁰ Philostratos, *Lives of the Sophists* 2, 1 (547). For an English translation see Danker, *Benefactor*, 375.

²¹ See, e.g., *IPriene* 26, 12f.

record that the honorand was faithful in fulfilling a commitment.²² En route to his execution, Jesus salvages the ear of the chief priest's aide. He then chastises the arresting party and calls attention to their misguided use of *ἐξουσία* (Lk 22:52f.). Luke's public knows that this is Diabolos' convenient hour. Two parties with claims of authority meet in a cosmic clash. Jesus remains faithful. His performance contrasts with that of Peter, whose boasts yield a disastrous loss of loyalty (vv. 54–62).

Also, a reputation for piety and respect for deity is frequently expressed on monuments as a badge of honor. Antiochus I of Kommagene recorded that he considered 'piety (*εὐσέβεια*) not only the most secure possession, but also the most pleasurable delight for humans'.²³ Luke's auditors would be impressed by the evangelist's accounts in Lk 22:39–46 and Lk 23:46.

Since uprightness receives frequent approbation in honorary inscriptions, Luke knows that his public will appreciate the significance of *δίκαιος* in Lk 23:47. This virtue is sometimes linked with *δσίως*, *with reverence*, either shown to gods or to humans.²⁴ The significance of Jesus' prayer in v. 46 would not escape Luke's public.

Luke's resurrection account completes the apotheosis of Jesus as the Great Benefactor. In the first section (Lk 24:1–8) 'two men' announce the credentials of one who deserves a monument. He is first declared to be 'The Human One', defined as one who has gone through great peril and paid the ultimate price. After all the accounts of Jesus as the Great Benefactor, Luke's public might well recall one or another of the potentates who left a record of their struggles. Eumenes II prided himself on being 'the common benefactor (*εὐεργέτης*) of the Greeks, and had undertaken many great struggles (*ἀγώνας*) against the barbarians'.²⁵ The reference to Jesus being *δυνατὸς ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ* is in effect an accolade, and v. 21 calls the public back to Hannah's words (Lk 2:38). In the climactic ending (Lk 24:50–52), with its chancery flourish, Jesus becomes the Immortal above all immortals. The followers of Jesus go back to Jerusalem with the joy once promised to shepherds (Lk 2:10). And they respond appropriately: they praise (*εὐλογέω*) the Supreme Benefactor.

3. PAUL'S LETTER TO THE ROMANS

In the preceding narrative I have endeavored to show how Luke treats traditions relating to Jesus so that his auditors can meet on common cultural ground to understand the significance of Jesus. Can the same be said for Paul? Admittedly, the apostle shows little interest in the details of Jesus' life. But at the same time he acknowledges his own divine assignment to proclaim the significance of Jesus Christ to a large part of the earth's population. This means he must find a way to make his case through verbal and cultural signals that could serve as linguistic code for bridging a variety of chasms, including especially Israelite and Hellenic tradition.

²² See, e.g., *OGIS* 557, 16; *SIG* 675, lines 11, 22; *IGR* 739, 4, lines 68–71.

²³ *OGIS* 594, 11–13; of honorands, *IPriene* 108, 328; 118, 33.

²⁴ *SIG* 800, 20f.; *IPriene* 46, 12; 60, 8f.

²⁵ *OGIS* 763, 7–10. Cf. Antiochus of Kommagene, *OGIS* 383, 20–22, 64–67.

Paul's opening chapter begins with a self-description that immediately presents to his audience a topic that would arouse their interest: *εὐαγγέλιον*. The term refers to no ordinary message. It is the proclamation of God, who is the ultimate entity of exceptional merit behind Paul's message. In tightly structured syntax Paul links Hebraic and Hellenic perspectives. Jesus is presented as God's Son, who would thus be immediately recognized as an entity of exceptional merit, one who belongs to the circle of Immortals and worthy to be celebrated by virtue of his resurrection from the dead. Most Hellenes would think that only deities can be recognized as immortal. Hebraic perspective is not much different. Even humans close to God go to the regions of the dead. But the Books of the Maccabees opened up the possibility for new perspectives. Hellenic people were also exposed to new ideas about the matter, but Athenians, as Acts 17 records, were quite sceptical.

Having packed his opening paragraph with all the principal themes that he will develop in his letter, Paul closes with a crescendo: JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD (Rom 1:5). Judean interest in the Anointed One, the heir of David in more than normal genealogical sense (v. 3), is here bridged with Hellenic understanding of the role of a head of state. The total impression left on the minds of the recipients by the introductory paragraph would be along the following lines: this is a letter about entities of superior excellence, God and Jesus, and in a lesser sense about the apostle Paul.

At Rom 1:16–17 the focus is on God, recognized as the supreme possessor of exceptional merit with credentials for effecting salvation through *σωτηρία* in and through the *εὐαγγέλιον*. This salvation is available on a pandemic or global scale. The pandemic motif, as noted earlier, is frequently associated with persons of exceptional merit. As in Luke, it is here refined with the qualification that the Supreme Benefactor embraces insiders and outsiders, Judeans and Hellenes. Not surprisingly, Paul immediately introduces the idea of *δικαιοσύνη*. The general or central sense of this term is conveyed in English by such renderings as *righteousness* and *uprightness*. What Paul specifically means by it will become clearer in his epistolary context, but the immediate context displays his awareness of the cultural contexts and contingent verbal associations that his auditors would bring to it. To auditors steeped in Israelite tradition, its use would primarily signal one of God's principal attributes.²⁶ To a Hellene it would signify the prime characteristic of a civically oriented person. The poet Theognis wrote that all virtue is summed in uprightness.²⁷

The connection of *δικαιοσύνη* with the pandemic motif intimates the idea of a relationship between the parties involved. But who initiates the relationship and how is it characterized? Verse 17 provides the first part of the answer in the phrase *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*. God's primary characteristic is here defined as excellence functioning in connection with the *εὐαγγέλιον*. From Hellenic perspective this means that the beneficiary of one who is marked by *δικαιοσύνη* is placed in a fiduciary relationship: the benefactor commits himself to the well-being of the

²⁶ For a Roman's perspective on this, see Horace, *Odes* 3, 4, 48, of Jupiter who with sole responsibility rules with justice and fairness (*aequo imperio*) over gods and mortals.

²⁷ Ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνη συλλήβδην πᾶς ἀρετή 'στι, Theognis 1, 147.

beneficiary, and the recipient declares himself committed to the caretaker, in the sense that he trusts the caretaker to carry out his promise.²⁸ The arrangement is concisely expressed in the phrase ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν, that is, ‘from God’s fidelity to the recipient’s trustful commitment.’ Hence, what is written in Hab 2:4 finds realization: God’s δικαιοσύνη results in a new circumstance. Instead of being classed in opposition to God, the beneficiary of God’s outreach becomes δίκαιος and thus equipped to display the character of God. This means that he will experience real life out of trustful commitment to God. The Hellenic mind would think in terms of reciprocity, which Paul refines and adapts to his line of presentation.

After his introduction, Paul proceeds to disclose the flipside of God’s approach to humanity. In contrast to the revelation of God’s beneficence displayed in Rom 1:16–17, Paul deals with the revelation of God’s wrath, beginning in v. 18.²⁹ The terms ἀσέβεια and ἀδικία would readily attract attention: they are the opposites of εὐσέβεια and δικαιοσύνη, two standard terms applied frequently to persons of exceptional merit and character, such as Caesar Augustus, but also lesser mortals. Equal to the shocking character of the recipients of God’s beneficence is their reaction. Anyone, Judean or Hellene, would know that the proper response to generosity is thanksgiving, but the beneficiaries pictured by Paul are thankless, without εὐχαριστία (v. 21).³⁰ In contrast to the one who is made upright and lives out of faith, those under indictment for behavior contrary to δικαιοσύνη are subject to discipline that disqualifies them for any claim to public recognition. Inscriptions frequently record that a person with reputation for excellence does things that are καθήκοντα. Paul states that those under indictment by God do that which is ‘inappropriate’ (τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα, v. 28). What is more, they are delivered over to an undiscerning frame of mind, the opposite of the self-acclamation in Rom 1:22.³¹ Between the lines one hears a Hellene gasp, “Woe to them, they are held in the vise of κόρος–ὑβρις–ἄτη (*satiety, insolence, doom*),” the celebrated moral-theological trinity, expressed in a variety of ways.³² Capping the indictment is the verdict on those whose own cultural system displays the justice of it: they are ἄξιοι θανάτου *worthy of death*.³³ To a Hellenic ear the word ἄξιος in the context of discussion about δικαιοσύνη and a divine δικαίωμα (v. 32) sounds an ironic note³⁴ and signals the

²⁸ Theognis 1, 66 ὡς σφιν ἐπ’ ἔργοισιν πίστις ἐπ’ οὐδεμία ‘no trust is to be placed in their performances’; similarly παῦροί τοι πολλῶν πιστὸν ἔχουσι νοόν ‘few out of many, rest assured, have a trustworthy mind’, line 74.

²⁹ Such exhibitions of the wrath of deity are common in Roman and Greek literature. See n. 38.

³⁰ See Luke above on the lepers (Lk 17:16–17). εὐχαριστία is a synonym for δοξάζω.

³¹ Cf. 1 Cor 1:20; 3:19.

³² Cf. Theognis 1, 151–54, 631–32; Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 13, 10.

³³ Cf. P. Tebtunis 5, 92 τοὺς δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιούντας θαν[άτω] ζ[ημιούσθαι] ‘those in violation are subject to death’.

³⁴ Cf. Acts 13:46.

opposite of what would be said about a person of exceptional merit and therefore worthy of special recognition.³⁵

Paul has now put those who are familiar with Mosaic ordinances and those who are outsiders to such a judicial system on the same footing relative to God's expectations. In view of the indictment of all humanity, he proceeds to review the *δικαιοσύνη* θεοῦ, with focus on the significance of the role of *πίστις*. Paul establishes that God's uprightness has to do with all who believe that God accepts them in a new relationship with him. At the plural *πάντες*,³⁶ Hellenically trained ears pick up, and they will readily catch the emphatic phrase *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή*, *for there is no distinction* (Rom 3:22). Precisely because there is no distinction, with no advantage for either, *πίστις* is the only option, for all have sinned (v. 23). Fundamentally, they are in arrears (*ὑστερέω*) in the matter of response to God's goodness; they have not glorified him. God's uprightness then goes into effect in a surprising manner. He puts them all in the right, with no fee attached, *δικαιούμενοι δωρεάν* (v. 24). This expression of liberality is reinforced by the phrase *τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι* 'by virtue of his favor'.³⁷ Israelites have no advantage. 'Without fee' would readily be understood by Paul's public, for whom generosity would be an impressive mark of a person of exceptional excellence.³⁸ Inasmuch as a major aspect of *δικαιωμένη* is fairness, God finds a way to exhibit it on a grand scale of executive privilege. By putting all under indictment, God clears the way for inviting all to receive release from their indictment by trusting in his ultimate gift, Jesus Christ. Paul declares that God's justifying favor is made available *διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* 'through deliverance associated with Christ Jesus.' Nothing could be more fair; no entity has an advantage over the other. At the same time, God's reputation for uprightness passes scrutiny in connection with the way he has handled sin in the past. The book of Job is the classic exposition of questions raised about God's apparent lack of fairness in dealing with those who prosper while violating his precepts, whereas lawkeepers who are in compliance suffer. Paul provides an answer, especially for Hellenes who are accustomed to see their deities on the side of uprightness in dealing with human violations of social relations.³⁹ Paul declares that God functioned with *ἀνοχή*, *forbearance*, until the time of Jesus Christ. Through, and in connection with Jesus Christ, God demonstrates that he is indeed upright with all fairness, and especially so by putting one in the right through faith in Jesus.⁴⁰

³⁵ Typical is the laudation of M. Annius for contributions to the welfare of his province; he is to be awarded a wreath (*SIG* 700, 34–38 = *IG* 2²).

³⁶ Cf. *IPriene* 117, 64; 132, 10.

³⁷ *RC*, 35, 13; associated with *φιλανθρωπία*, *IPriene* 118, 29.

³⁸ See above on Luke.

³⁹ Theognis 1, 328 cautions that gods do not put up with wrongdoing. Similarly, *SIG* 985, 33–35 records that the 'great gods' stand strict watch in the temple on the alert for violators of its ordinances. On the wrath of Jupiter see Horace, *Odes* 1, 2, 14–16; 1, 3, 38–40.

⁴⁰ Not "although." The use of the name Jesus without the qualification "Christ" is unusual in the letter. Cf. Rom 4:24 (but here with *κύριος*); 8:11; 10:9; cf. 1 Cor 12:3; 2 Cor 4:10.

Paul's use of the model of exceptionality reaches a high point in his presentation of the relationship of Messianists to Roman governing authorities (Rom 13). The existing powers owe their authority to their position in the ordered structure of human society. In his singularity as the supreme arbiter, God is at the apex.⁴¹ Paul does not specifically refer to the emperor, but the general reference to 'authoritative bureaucratic figures'⁴² does not rule out the idea of their authorization by imperial action.

This governing system is an arrangement designed by God to secure the welfare of everyone entrusted to its care.⁴³ The policies and actions of Caesar Augustus as recited in his *Res Gestae* would certainly be in the minds of some of Paul's public.⁴⁴ The poet Horace dedicates an entire poem to the praises of Augustus for his contributions to peace, prosperity, and moral improvement of the populace.⁴⁵ Some of the poet's description, especially the results of moralistic legislation, requires a reality check. On the other hand, it is true that imperial policies, beginning with Augustus, eventually led to a relatively safe world in the Mediterranean area.⁴⁶

The reciprocity system is in full swing at Rom 13:3: τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἕξ αὐτῆς. Inscriptions containing these complementary ideas are in abundance. The nominal τὸ ἀγαθόν in commemorative context frequently refers to public service,⁴⁷ and the noun ἔπαινος and its verbal cognate ἔπαινώ appear in phrases expressing the concern of a beneficiary to requite a benefactor, whether individual or city.⁴⁸ Paul goes on to state that the magistracy is God's διάκονος, designed to function in the service of what is beneficial to the larger society (v. 4).⁴⁹

⁴¹ Similarly, Horace, Rome's official court poet in the time of Caesar Augustus, repeatedly calls attention to the lofty position of Jupiter, 'who governs the affairs of humans and deities, with control over the sea, lands, and the world with its various seasons, and so it is that nothing superior to him comes into being, nor does anything excel him or rival him' (*Odes* 1, 12, 13–18). In his governance of the cosmos, Jupiter shows special regard for Caesar, who rules only second to Jupiter (*Odes* 1, 12, 46–60).

⁴² The phrase ἐξουσία ὑπερέχουσαι (Rom 13:1, lit. 'structures of governing authority') serves by extension as abstract for concrete in the sense 'rulers under authority' or 'governing authorities'. Individual ruling persons are subsequently specified in v. 3 with the plural ἄρχοντες.

⁴³ Cf. Paul's expectation of favorable treatment from the emperor (Acts 25:1).

⁴⁴ On the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* see n. 12.

⁴⁵ Horace, *Odes* 4, 5.

⁴⁶ For a convenient selection of literature on the subject, see E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (3d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).

⁴⁷ E.g., *IPriene* 64, 7; 108, 31; 109, 199; ποιεῖν ἀγαθόν (*SEG* 40, 74, 20–21 = *IG* 2² 373).

⁴⁸ E.g., Heraclitus, son of Theodorus and honored official, receives commendation for his εὐσέβεια (*piety*) toward the gods, for his δικαιοσύνη (*fairness*) displayed to all, and for his εὐνοία (*goodwill*) toward the people (*δήμος*). See *IPriene* 117, 64–65. For the use of ἔπαινώ in connection with ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες see *IMagnMai* 93, 9 and 15; 101, 17, 20f., 24, 80.

⁴⁹ In Rom 13:4 διάκονος is feminine. For the extended sense of διάκονος as attending official in a religious setting, see *IMagnMai* 207, 4f., a Hermes dedication.

On the other hand, magistracy also serves to discourage perpetration of that which is inimical to society's interest.⁵⁰

Paul cannot avoid saying something about a Christian's responsibility to the imperial bureaucratic system, especially after declaring them free from the legal system bearing the Mosaic name.⁵¹ Therefore he moves from a sub-ethical approach based on concern for avoidance of judicial wrath to a more positive approach rooted in awareness of one's sense of societal responsibility. Hence the use of the term *συνείδησις*. In the context of the public square as sketched by Paul, Hellenic understanding of reciprocity must be taken seriously. Receipt of beneficence should automatically produce appreciation: public entities reward the good, and those who claim goodness for themselves return the favor. *Συνείδησις* has to do with capability for distinguishing right from wrong. One can learn from one's violations of what is proper and at the same time recognize the proper course of action in a new situation. Also, one's cultural context functions pedagogically.⁵² In Paul's community everyone would know how the system of reciprocity works. As noted above, one of the worst things one can perpetrate is lack of appreciation for bestowal of a favor, or 'good' deed. To respond appropriately is the "right" thing to do.

In dealing with the imperial establishment, a prime question relates to payment of taxes. How does one relate to the matter of Caesar's image? The question lingered long in the early Christian tradition. Lk 20:22–25 incorporated it along with Jesus' answer, but without signals of the Hellenic reciprocity system in the immediate context. Independently, Paul answers the question that would be on the mind of any Messianic Christian aware of the reciprocity system that he had presented in vv. 1–5. Caesar is entitled to tax monies. Their payment belongs to recognition of the service rendered by authorities. Lest there be any misgivings about doing the "right" thing vis-à-vis God, Paul points out that God in sovereignty authorizes the system. The imperial magistracy is in God's service. Officials, in whatever capacity they function, are God's *λειτουργοί*. The *λειτουργ-* family would be as familiar to Paul's addressees as olives on salad.⁵³ A *λειτουργός* is one who renders public service, frequently at personal expense. Magistracy involves more than the collection of taxes. Public officials are responsible for the welfare of the people in their area of activity. Paul uses the verb *προσκαρτερέω* to express the idea of diligence in carrying out the assignment of *λειτουργία*.⁵⁴ The phrase *εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο* focuses on the liturgists' awareness of the responsibility and privilege

⁵⁰ In contrast to *ποιέω*, Paul uses *πράσσω* of one who makes a practice out of turpitude. On the understanding of wrath in the context of affairs of state, see above.

⁵¹ On freedom from law as determinant of uprightness see Rom 3:28; 4:5; cf. chs. 7–9.

⁵² The modern idea of conscience is alien to the ancient Hellenic view.

⁵³ See F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie: Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1917).

⁵⁴ Antiochus of Kommagene uses the verb *προσκαρτερέω* in reference to expectation of carefully rendered priestly service at his burial site. See *OGI*, 383, 130; see also 553, 5, of a military officer.

connected with their functions. Testimonies of their diligence to liturgical responsibility are inscriptionally recorded throughout the Mediterranean world.⁵⁵

In Rom 13:7 Paul practically encapsulates the entire system of reciprocity, beginning with the key word ἀποδίδωμι. The central sense of this term is ‘render in return’, which can be applied to various types of requital including private monetary transactions. But Paul’s use in v. 7 is context-specific, pertaining to the benefactor-reciprocity system. Use of the verb in such a context is documentable from stones throughout the Mediterranean area. For example, in *IPriene* 50, 14 the council and *deme* of Erythrae passes an honorary decree for circuit judges with the intent that the *deme* of Erythrae not lose its reputation for showing appropriate recognition of judges sent to her. They will look around and see ἀποδιδόμενας τὰς καθηκούσας τιμὰς τ[οῖς] ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ‘the appropriate honors bestowed on men of merit’. Paul concludes his list of requited responses with τιμή, thereby moving his public out of the realm of material response, from which there could be no escape, to more ethically motivated expressions of appreciation.

Reciprocity obligations (ὀφειλαί, v. 7) belong to the social and cultural order of things and are to be paid as part of the dues incurred as a member of society. At this point Paul puts into motion a principal theme in his letter: life liberated from dependence on rules and regulations of any kind. To forestall the idea that Christians who claim to be liberated from law must therefore have a propensity for disorderly conduct, Paul uses the metaphor of contractual obligation in commercial transactions. This usage flows naturally as an extension out of the benefactor-reciprocity system. Paul makes the connection by picking up the idea of indebtedness in v. 7. He plays on the ὀφειλ- word-family: μηδενὶ μηδὲ ὀφείλετε εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν. Paul can count on his auditors to follow him in his wordplay, for they are well acquainted with procedures relative to a financial contract. From the context it is apparent that Paul has in mind ledgers or documents dealing with financial matters. The perfect tense of the word πληρώω (v. 8) would signify full payment of a charge. The term λόγος (v. 9) would suggest a ledger heading dealing with income and outlay.⁵⁶ Hence the instruction ‘to have concern for’ or ‘to love’ (ἀγαπάω, v. 8) serves notice of an obligation that comes under the ledger heading ἀγάπη (v. 10). One who loves ‘pays up any law in full’ (τὸν ἕτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκεν). Paul here demonstrates that one can live without anxiety under the imperial system, for love satisfies all obligation in reference to what interests authorities, namely a well-ordered society. Indeed, love will meet expectations for

⁵⁵ For example, in *IPriene* 113, 16 the *deme* praises a recorder of documents for discharging his scribal λειτουργία in a diligent manner (ἐπιμελῶς). Additionally, he is commended for carrying out his assignment at personal expense. *IMagnMai* 163, 15f. states of the honorand that he served on his own volition, that is, he was not drafted into the assignment. *OGIS* 566, 11 celebrates a liturgist for serving ἐπιφανῶς.

⁵⁶ See BDAG, s.v. λόγος 2a: an official is credited for expenses under the heading ‘festivals’. Cf. the various line items in *TebtPap* 2, 122. For πληρώω see the extensive list of papyri containing the term in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin: self-published by heirs, 1925), esp. cols. 35f. and references cited under κεφάλαιον, ‘sum total’, cols. 789–90.

good behavior under any legal system or set of customs generally recognized as standard for conduct. The list of prohibitions in v. 9a is a sample of expectations under the Mosaic legal code. In the same vein as the use of ἕτερος νόμος in v. 8 is the expression τις ἑτέρα ἐντολή (v. 9b), in reference to whatever directive one might mention. Again, Israelites and Hellenes meet on common ground. All moral expectation finds summation under a specific ledger heading (οὗτος λόγος): ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, ‘You shall love your neighbor as another self’. In retrospect of the contrast between good and evil (vv. 3–4), Paul concludes: ‘Love does not effect something bad for the neighbor. So love is the fulfilling of law’s interest.’

In Rom 15, Paul expands on the theme of well-conceived indebtedness. By seeking the best interest of one another, God’s prestige, linked with his Son Jesus Christ, is enhanced (v. 6). Thus, Paul proceeds to move to the end of his letter in the thematic vein with which he had begun: the surpassing excellence of God expressed in Jesus Christ, who is the model for Christians in their relations with one another. In affection for one another they enhance God’s prestige (εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, v. 7). In Rom 15:8 Paul echoes the word διάκονος of Rom 13:4, with focus on the role of Israel. Jesus Christ became an assistant of Israel to promote understanding of the truth relating to God, which according to Rom 1:18, 25 was subverted. Thus Israel is reminded of her responsibility to ensure that the promise God made to Abraham is fulfilled, namely that the gentiles as beneficiaries of God’s mercy might acknowledge their benefactor with appropriate praise.

After this reinforcement of the role of Jesus Christ as associate in beneficence with the God of Israel and the gentiles, Paul proceeds to describe his own role in God’s plan of outreach. But first he uses a *captatio benevolentiae* as prelude to his endeavor to secure the Roman congregation as partner with him in God’s enterprise. The recipients of his letter are personal manifestations and exhibits of God’s beneficence (Rom 15:14). The stress on the words πληρῶ and πᾶς points to their fullness of knowledge and capability of instructing others on course of action. Paul’s directive to recollect (ἐπαναμνησκῶν, v. 15) refers to the apostolic assignment given him by God.⁵⁷ In keeping with his description of God as a benefactor, Paul calls this assignment a χάρις, *favor*.

In vv. 16–29 Paul continues to write autobiographically, but with increasing use of diction employed in celebration of public benefactors. The favor God has given him is the privilege of being a λειτουργός Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. This is not self-adulation. Paul’s idea is to sharpen his public’s appreciation of the importance of the task in which he would like to have their participation. The favor has to do with a very special assignment: he is to be an envoy—the specific sense of λειτουργός in this passage—to the gentiles. Defining this responsibility further, he states that he serves in the sacred capacity of administering the gospel. The term ἱερουργέω in Hellenic bureaucratese refers to official responsibility for carrying out religious or cultic rites. Paul extends the usage to his task of tending the global advancement of the gospel. Since this is the Supreme Benefactor’s own gift to the world, the job must be done right so that Paul’s προσφορά, *offering*, of the gentiles to

⁵⁷ See esp. Rom 1:1–7.

God (v. 16) might be of the highest order. The noun *προσφορά* picks up the sense of the passive verb *προσφέρομαι* and refers to the performance of a responsibility. Paul looks back on his management of the gospel as a hierophant-benefactor in far-flung areas. He has seen the responsiveness of the gentiles to the gospel proclamation. Their conduct contrasts with the description in Rom 1:18–32. Instead of possessing *ἀδόκιμος νοῦς* (*undiscerning mind*, Rom 1:28) they can now serve in a manner pleasing to God and approved by people (Rom 14:18). Their new state of being makes Paul's offering *εὐπρόσδεκτος* (*well-approved*, Rom 15:16) and *ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* (an echo of Rom 14:17) in a twofold sense.

And so Paul can brag, but it is a boast intimately linked with Christ Jesus in matters pertaining to God. He is only an agent in the service of the Supreme Benefactor. To further forestall any idea that he brags about himself, Paul states in v. 18 that he would not be so foolhardy as to think of any accomplishment for which Christ was not responsible while working through him. All his work is done to secure the obedience of the gentiles to God's outreaching gospel, as defined at the beginning of the letter (Rom 1:5). As liturgist of the gospel Paul has been faithful to his task in terms applied to persons of exceptional merit: *λόγος* matched by *ἔργον* (Rom 15:18). Disavowing any power other than God's spirit, he calls attention to signs and wonders accompanying his administration of the gospel. Because the gospel was entrusted to him, it is God's property and Paul is like a debtor. He can spend it only to secure the obedience especially of those outside the congregation of Israel (see Rom 1:14). In a pure economic context he would say, "If I don't deliver the goods, I'll have to give the money back." To avoid any charge of malfeasance or fraud in connection with the *χάρις*, he uses the perfect tense of *πληρώω* to emphasize that he has paid the debt in full. Thereupon, in reinforcement of what God was doing through him, Paul gives his epistolary recipients a geographical tour from Jerusalem to areas that took him as far as Illyricum. The formulation generates the idea of a vast territory. He concludes the description of his work as liturgist with use of the verb *φιλοτιμέομαι*, a term appropriate to the diligence with which he pursued it. The noun *φιλοτιμία* literally equals 'love of honor', but as used in praise of honorands it means that so-and-so is filled with ambition to exhibit unusual zeal in fulfillment of a task or assignment. Recognition for such dedication to the interest of the public is standard procedure. Of course, Paul is not interested in fame as the motive for his dedication. He uses the cultural practice of grateful recognition exhibited everywhere in statuary as a metaphor for his total commitment to God's mission. But his effort is distinguished by the fact that he does not take credit for work done by others. He seeks opportunity beyond present borders. Hence his desire to seek the support of the Roman congregation in helping him on his way to Spain (Rom 15:22–29). On his way to Rome he intends to render service as a *διάκονος* (v. 25, *διακονέω*) to God's people (*ἄγιοι*) in Jerusalem. In further extension of the benefaction theme, he includes fellow believers in Macedonia and Achaia in the circle of benefactors. The reciprocity system is fully apparent. The fellow believers are under obligation—the code word is *ὀφειλέται*—to the believers in Jerusalem. For the recipients of his letter Paul then translates the transaction: the donors engaged in *λειτουργία* to them. In context, the

accompanying verb *ἐπιτελέω* suggests that a task has been done in a manner worthy of a benefactor.⁵⁸

What is the function of Rom 16 in Paul's letter? The manner in which Paul presents the list of persons is in keeping with his attentiveness to the benefaction model for communication in the Mediterranean world. To Paul, all signatories to the message of the gospel are people of exceptional quality. The list begins with Phoebe. She is a *διάκονος*, in service to the assembly of God's people in Cenchræe, and is to be welcomed in a manner that reflects well on the Roman congregation.⁵⁹ Paul appeals to their beneficent spirit—supply her with whatever she needs—implying that they will be generous beyond the call of duty.⁶⁰ Then he closes the deal. The phrase *καὶ γὰρ αὕτη* implies that Phoebe is like the Roman congregation. How so? She is known for her generosity. She is a *προστάτις* of many, including Paul himself.⁶¹ Prisca and Aquila are then singled out as benefactors, with thanksgiving from many quarters, for their distinguished service (Rom 16:1–4). In a deviation from standard terms for benevolent service, Paul uses the verb *κοπιᾶζω*, *labor*, of a certain Mary (Rom 16:6; so also of Persis, v. 12). At Rom 16:7 two of Paul's kinsmen are cited for being *ἐπίσημοι*.⁶² They stand out for service among those in mission (*ἀπόστολοι*) for the gospel and were also fellow prisoners.

In contrast to the noble group of addressees are those who do not serve the Lord Christ but their own interests. Their behavior is the opposite of the kind for which a public assembly praises itself.⁶³ Paul wishes the Roman congregation or assembly to have a reputation for what is *ἀγαθόν*, not *κακόν*. They are in obedience to God's message (Rom 16:19). The observation is thematic and echoes Rom 1:5; 6:16. The assembly's reputation for obedience has gone out far and wide. Inscriptions frequently record the interest of a *deme* seeking to maintain a reputation for recognition of judges, envoys, and other officials from another city or state. Paul globalizes the expectation. Their obedience 'has come to everyone's attention'.

After the standard salutations, the letter ends with a crescendo of chancery prose that resounds with the main themes of the letter. Paul's delivery of the gospel, as well as the general proclamation of it, have Jesus Christ as its point of origin and promoter. All is under the jurisdiction of God, whose beneficence is available to all

⁵⁸ For inscriptional use of *ἐπιτελέω* see, e.g., *IPriene* 108, 165, of an envoy who discharged his services in a manner advantageous to the public that sent him.

⁵⁹ *Ἄξιως* occurs frequently in inscriptions (e.g., *IPriene* 124, 3 *ἀ. τοῦ ἡμετέρου δήμου* 'worthily of our *deme*').

⁶⁰ The request is carefully worded in awareness of the benefactor system. For *παρίστημι* see, e.g., *IPriene* 108, 56 *ἑαυτὸν παρίστατο πρόθυμον* 'eagerly put himself at disposal'.

⁶¹ *Προστάτις* is used in inscriptions in reference to one who is at the forefront in rendering service to an entity (e.g., *IPriene* 112, 107, of a deity); similarly the masculine *προστάτης* (*IPriene* 53, 56; 54, 53; 246, 19).

⁶² Inscriptions use the term *ἐπίσημος* to describe something that is remarkable or distinguished. See *IPriene* 108, 382; 113:61, 74.

⁶³ Inscription after inscription includes phrases indicating that the *deme* wishes to be remembered for its good attitudes and behavior, especially in recognition of judges and envoys from another state.

peoples who respond in faith. This is the *ὑπακοή πίστεως* announced in Rom 1:5. For all of this beneficence God is to be recognized in grateful praise.⁶⁴ Whatever one may think about the genuineness of vv. 25–27, the fact remains that they fit well into the thematic scheme of the letter.

4. SUMMARY

The publics of Paul and Luke consist of persons coming from a variety of traditions and people groups. What common hermeneutical ground can they find to interpret the identity of God and Jesus, and the message connected with them? They received their answer in the social and cultural system clearly displayed on walls, statuary, and narratives about leaders throughout the Mediterranean area. There they found themes and diction that would help their auditors wend a way through sayings that seemed in part like riddles, through speeches that contained much about a distant past, and stories that seemed to have little or no connection to their current experience.

To interpret the significance of the gospel for the Roman congregation, Paul uses as a basic hermeneutical framework the reciprocity system recognized throughout the Greco-Roman world. The principals in this cultural arrangement are an entity, divine or human, of exceptional merit, and a receptive community that gratefully recognizes benefits or values associated with such an entity. Generosity and moral excellence are among the primary traits that invite praise and adulation. In Paul's adaptation of the cultural model, God assumes the preeminence. Since benefits of various kinds derive from him, he can be viewed as the Supreme Benefactor, who unveils his gracious intentions for humanity. This message is the *εὐαγγέλιον*, the fulfillment of the promise made to Abraham and a free gift for believers in God's mercy. Intimately associated with the supreme benefactor is Jesus Christ, the Great Benefactor. Through Jesus Christ, God administers his gracious intentions for humanity. In service to the promises, Paul takes on the status of a benefactor, primarily assigned for communication of God's generosity to the gentiles. Israel, as the community of privilege, is the prime recipient of the promise made to Abraham. Paul emphasizes his outreach to the gentiles (Rom 11:14) in the hope that his own people Israel will be stimulated to glorify God by participating in the promise made to Abraham (Rom 11:11–14). Through the death of Christ God effects a reconciliation of humans with himself, and this same uprightness of God becomes active through the Holy Spirit as new life not subject to God's wrath (Rom 5:6–11). Sin as a deeply seated malady has invaded humans via Adam, but the obedience of one being, Jesus Christ the Great Benefactor, replaces death as the power in one's existence. God's free gift (*χάρις*) now reigns (Rom 5:12–21). Ultimately, all believers participate in entitlement to God's beneficence, exemplified in Jesus Christ.

Luke also makes use of the social-cultural model of an entity marked by exceptional merit. God is at the apex of the reciprocity system. Jesus, by virtue of

⁶⁴ For *δόξα* in the sense of *renown* see *IPriene* 11, 9; 108, 20; 110, 21; 119, 9; *IMagnMai* 53, 48.

his association with God as son, qualifies as Son of God. Intimately connected with the Holy Spirit, Jesus performs signs and wonders that bring rescue out of miserable circumstances to recipients of God's power. The chief antagonist of Jesus is Diabolos-Satan, who engineers the death of Jesus with the help of Judeans and Roman authorities. God frustrates all intentions by raising Jesus from the dead. Selected apostles spread the story of the resurrection as God's assurance of another chance for all who were associated in the crime. The Scriptures certify that the death of Jesus actually confirms his identity as the benefactor of the world. The proclamation of his real identity as the Messiah of Israel includes a call to all humans to repent and receive forgiveness of sins on the authority vested in Jesus as the Son of God. Thus he is the Great Benefactor. In the book of Acts Paul receives the assignment to carry out Israel's mission to the gentiles. Thus he becomes a benefactor in the service of God and Jesus Christ, who are the benefactors *par excellence*. Many in Israel may be blind to their mission to bring the gentiles out of darkness into light and thereby receive adulation for their beneficence (Acts 2:32). Paul is determined that Israel shall not fail, and so he goes as benefactor to the gentiles to carry out Israel's assignment.

In certain aspects Luke differs from Paul. Luke says nothing about sin as a deeply seated reality of rebellion against God, out of which individual sins emerge. For Luke salvation is primarily deliverance from all that harms an individual, such as disease, marginalization in social situations, and the tricks and devices of Diabolos or Satan. Luke appears to have no interest in the topic of *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, which Paul treats at length. On the other hand, none of these apparent disparities can be used to support an inference that Luke could not have been very knowledgeable about Paul or his correspondence. Paul writes letters in argumentative format. Luke writes as an historian, with very little intrusion of his own persona. Yet they share common ground in celebrating God as the Supreme Benefactor and Jesus Christ as the Great Benefactor, with Paul as envoy in the service of both with a message of salvation.

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CONTEXTUAL FACTORS IN THE *GREEK-SPANISH DICTIONARY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT (DGENT)*

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In this contribution the author, director of the *Greek-Spanish Dictionary of the New Testament* project, illustrates the importance of contextual factors in order to explain the different senses of a given word in context. Taking as an example the entry βαπτίζω, the author shows *grosso modo* how this word is treated in other New Testament dictionaries and then compares this with its treatment in the *Greek-Spanish Dictionary of the New Testament*. In the second part of this contribution, the author proposes the way in which lexicography should advance and explores various types of contextual factors.

1. INTRODUCTION

Bilingual dictionaries in general, and New Testament dictionaries in particular, entangle users in a trap in that (1) they either do not provide a complete definition for words, but instead for each word in the original language give a list of translations (glosses) in the target language, or (2) they provide a definition for words, but do not explain the production of different senses of a given word when it enters a new context.¹

To overcome this difficulty, the *Diccionario Griego Español del Nuevo Testamento (DGENT)* (i.e., *Greek-Spanish Dictionary of the New Testament*) not only gives the definition of the word under every entry and for each of its different senses when they exist, but at the same time it indicates the contextual factors that give rise to different senses of a given word, and thus, to new translations.²

We understand by contextual factors “the new elements that appear in a certain context and affect a word’s basic or obvious sense, leading it to take on a new sense

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² As far as possible we avoid the terminology specific to our method of semantic analysis, so that colleagues who are unfamiliar with this method can readily follow the argument.

and/or translation.” These elements can be of different types. Without going into full detail here, as we are currently preparing an article to cover them exhaustively, they are as follows:

- Morphological: gender, number, and aspect for nouns; number, tense, mode, voice, and aspect for verbs.
- Syntactic or stylistic: the place a certain word takes in the sentence; the nature of the noun it accompanies where adjectives are concerned; elements corresponding to style, rhetoric, etc. of a given text.
- Semantic: the specific use made of a word in a certain context.
- Extratextual, consisting of everything that embraces the use of a word in, for example, the cultural, historical, social, political, and religious context.

The study of contextual factors thus becomes the new challenge for lexicography in general, and New Testament lexicography in particular. This step must be taken so that all dictionaries, both monolingual and bilingual, stop entangling users in their traps. The study of contextual factors not only distinguishes our dictionary from existing ones to date, but opens up a path hitherto unexplored systematically by lexicography.

2. AN EXAMPLE: βαπτίζω

To illustrate the importance of contextual factors, I will give as an example how our dictionary deals with the verb βαπτίζω. But first we will see *grasso modo* how this entry is treated in other New Testament dictionaries in use. The six dictionaries I will refer to, in chronological order, are:³

- Thayer’s dictionary.⁴
- The *Lexicon Graecum Novi Testamenti*, by F. Zorell.⁵
- The translation and adaptation of the fifth edition of Walter Bauer’s dictionary (BAGD).⁶

³ A chronological list of New Testament lexicons can be found in John A. L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 327–68.

⁴ Wilke-Grimm-Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: being Grimm’s Wilke’s Clavis Novi Testamenti* (trans., rev., and enlarged by Joseph Henry Thayer; 4th ed.; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1898; repr., 1901, 1991, 1996, 1999).

⁵ F. Zorell, *Lexicon Graecum Novi Testamenti* (4th ed.; Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1990, photo impression of the first edition in 1930 with the bibliographical appendix updated). An extensive critical analysis of this dictionary’s methodology can be found in my work *Metodología del Diccionario Griego-Español del Nuevo Testamento* (Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria 6; Córdoba: El Almendro, 1996), 29–37.

⁶ W. Bauer, F. W. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature: A translation and adaptation of the fourth revised*

- The sixth edition of Walter Bauer's dictionary.⁷
- J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*.⁸
- The Bauer-Danker (BDAG) dictionary.⁹

These dictionaries, at a glance, can be divided into two groups:

1. A first group is made up of the first four dictionaries, which do not normally give a definition of the words but just a gloss, except in the case of *realia* (i.e., words that refer to objects, plants, animals, institutions, professions, etc.).

If we look at the entry βαπτίζω, we can see that none of these dictionaries says in a precise manner what this verb means, but all of them offer its glosses expressed in one or more words in Latin, German, or English. In fact, we could say that these dictionaries do not distinguish between meaning (or sense) and translation (or gloss), a distinction that should always be present in a dictionary so as not to confuse its users. Therefore, all dictionaries should give a definition of the words before offering their translation.

By *translation* we understand “the statement in another language (i.e., target language) of what is stated in the original language, maintaining the semantic and stylistic equivalences.” In keeping with this, what this group of four dictionaries gives is not the definition of the word, but its translation.¹⁰

On the other hand, if we look closely at the entry βαπτίζω in these dictionaries we see that they are structured in a similar way. None of them defines the verb or indicates its different senses. They limit themselves to giving translation glosses, mentioning in each case the different elements in the context (e.g., active or middle voice, in a ritual or figurative sense) of Jesus' or John's baptism or of the use of

and augmented edition of Walter Bauer's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testament und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

⁷ W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testament und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, 6th ed., völlig bearbeitete Auflage, im Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung/Münster unter besonderer Mitwirkung von Viktor Reichmann, herausgegeben von Kurt und Barbara Aland (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988); former editions: Berlin, 3rd ed., 1937; 4th ed., 1952; 5th ed., 1958; 6th ed., 1963, repr. 1971 and 1976. A criticism of the sixth edition of this dictionary can be found in my work *Metodología del Diccionario Griego-Español del Nuevo Testamento*, 37–43.

⁸ An extensive critical analysis of this dictionary's methodology can be seen in my work *Metodología del Diccionario Griego-Español del Nuevo Testamento*, 43–54.

⁹ W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

¹⁰ These dictionaries give the definition or description of the word in the case of *realia* terms. Accordingly, Zorell gives a long description of the verb βαπτίζω in its Jewish-Christian sense, replete with theological connotations, something far removed from a philologist's task.

certain expressions such as βαπτίζω with preposition εἰς / ὑπέρ / ἐν, etc. Moreover, each of them presents exactly the same senses of βαπτίζω, although perhaps in a different order.

2. A second group of dictionaries does take a step forward in their lexicographical method, as they offer a definition of the word for each of its senses. Among these, in chronological order, are the Louw-Nida dictionary and the Bauer-Danker-Arndt-Gingrich (BDAG) dictionary.

The Louw-Nida lexicon represented an important lexicographical innovation in its day for two reasons:

- by being a dictionary organized in semantic domains, and
- by giving a definition of the words before indicating their translation, thus distinguishing systematically between sense and translation.

With regard to this dictionary I have only two comments. First, although its authors give a definition of the different senses of each word, they lack a method of semantic analysis in the construction of the definitions. Perhaps for this reason, they are often vague and imprecise. It is a pity that they have not systematically applied the theoretical principles that they themselves describe, clearly and brilliantly, in the same work's introduction.

For the entry βαπτίζω, Louw-Nida gives four definitions with their corresponding glosses, each of which is inserted within the corresponding semantic domain.

53.31 βαπτίζω; καταβαπτίζω; βαπτισμός, οὖ *m*: to wash (in some contexts, possibly by dipping into water), with a view to making objects ritually acceptable—'to wash, to purify, washing, purification.'

βαπτίζω: ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν 'nor do they eat anything that comes from the market unless they wash it' Mk 7.4. It is also possible to understand βαπτίσωνται in Mk 7.4 as a middle form meaning 'to wash themselves.' ...

53.41 βαπτίζω; βάπτισμα, τος *n*; βαπτισμός, οὖ *m*: to employ water in a religious ceremony designed to symbolize purification and initiation on the basis of repentance—'to baptize, baptism.'

βαπτίζω: ἐγὼ ἐβάπτισα ὑμᾶς ὕδατι 'I baptized you with water,' Mk 1.8; ...

53.49 βαπτίζω: (a figurative extension of meaning of βαπτίζω 'to baptize,' 53.41) to cause someone to have a highly significant religious experience involving special manifestations of God's power and presence—'to baptize.' αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ 'but he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit' Mk 1.8; ...

24.82 βάπτισμα βαπτίζομαι: (an idiom, literally 'to be baptized with a baptism') to be overwhelmed by some difficult experience or ordeal—'to suffer, to undergo.' βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πῶς συνέχομαι

ἕως ὅτου τελεσθῆ Ἰ have a baptism to undergo, and how constrained I am until it is over' or 'I must undergo an ordeal, and how constrained I am until the ordeal is over' Lk 12.50 ...

Second, it is surprising that Louw-Nida group together under the same definition words each of which is susceptible to being defined in a different way. Thus in 53.31 only one definition appears for βαπτίζω, καταβαπτίζω, and βαπτισμός, two verbs and one noun. In 53.41 βαπτίζω, βάπτισμα, and βαπτισμός, one verb and two nouns, have the same definition.

The second dictionary in this group is the Bauer-Danker-Arndt-Gingrich (BDAG) dictionary, which has introduced in the same way as Louw-Nida definitions of the headwords with their different senses. For each entry this dictionary normally follows the structure of the Bauer dictionary, and as John A. L. Lee states:

The glosses that were in BAGD are retained, but a definition is incorporated ahead of them and distinguished typographically. Not all words are so treated: about 60% are given definitions, and the rest continue to rely on glosses alone. The glosses are generally unchanged from BAGD. . . . BDAG continues to rest on Bauer's analysis. Definitions have been introduced, but they have been generated out of, and grafted on to, the existing glosses. They thus reflect Bauer's—or more often Preuschen's—lexical analysis of the New Testament occurrences . . . There has not been a fresh re-examination of all the data.¹¹

BDAG gives only three definitions for βαπτίζω. It often happens that this dictionary has borne in mind the Louw-Nida definitions, so close points of literary contact exist, as can be seen by comparing definitions and glosses in the two authors.

BDAG: “wash ceremonially for purpose of purification, *wash, purify*.”

Louw-Nida: “to wash (in some contexts, possibly by dipping into water), with a view to making objects ritually acceptable—“to wash, to purify, washing, purification.””

BDAG: “to use water in a rite for purpose of renewing or establishing a relationship w. God, *plunge, dip, wash, baptize*.”

Louw-Nida: “To employ water in a religious ceremony designed to symbolize purification and initiation on the basis of repentance—“baptize, baptism.””

BDAG: “to cause someone to have an extraordinary experience akin to an initiatory water-rite, *to plunge, baptize*.”

¹¹ Lee, *History of New Testament Lexicography*, 166.

Louw-Nida: “To cause someone to have a highly significant religious experience involving special manifestations of God’s power and presence—“to baptize.”

The same criticism can be leveled at this dictionary as at Louw-Nida as regards the definitions, namely, the absence of a method of semantic analysis in constructing the definitions. However, in general we can say that the BDAG definitions are somewhat better fashioned than those of Louw-Nida.

3. LOOKING FORWARD

Up to now we have looked briefly at how dictionaries present the entry βαπτίζω. However, we should ask ourselves if we have reached the desired goal in New Testament lexicography or whether a few more steps are still needed in order to make progress towards new goals. In my opinion, New Testament lexicography should advance at least two steps further forward, the steps we have taken in the writing of our dictionary.

1. Scholars should set up a method of semantic analysis that would be useful in defining the words. We have proposed such a method in two works, one by Juan Mateos, *Método de análisis semántico aplicado al griego del Nuevo Testamento* (i.e., *Method of Semantic Analysis Applied to New Testament Greek*), and another of my own, *Metodología del Diccionario Griego-Español del Nuevo Testamento* (i.e., *Methodology of the Greek-Spanish Dictionary of the New Testament*).¹²

2. Scholars should indicate systematically in the body of each entry the contextual factors that produce new senses and, consequently, translation glosses when the word enters a different context.

And it is precisely this second point that I would like to develop briefly to show how it is not enough to give the definition of the words with their different senses, but there must also be an explanation of why the words acquire new senses when the context changes. In other words, I would like to sum up the important role contextual factors play in determining the different senses of a given word in context. And I will do this taking as an example the verb βαπτίζω, for which DGENT gives three definitions:

- a) “Introduce something or someone into a liquid medium”: *to submerge, to sink, to bathe, to wet.*
- b) “Submerge someone in water, as a sign of death to a past behaviour”: *to submerge (in water); to baptize.*¹³

¹² Juan Mateos, *Método de análisis semántico aplicado al griego del Nuevo Testamento* (Estudios de filología neotestamentaria 1; Córdoba: El Almendro, 1989); Jesús Peláez, *Metodología del Diccionario Griego-Español del Nuevo Testamento*.

¹³ Water appears in the Bible as a destructive element. See Ps 18:5f.; 69:3; Jonah 2:3f.; Job 26:5f. (βαπτίζω in Hellenistic Greek: “sink [a boat],” in middle voice, “sink, go down”). In the New Testament it is not used in its strict sense. Immersion is the sign of change of lifestyle (death of past behaviour); see Rom 6:3–4; Col 2:12.

- c) “Pour a liquid over something or someone, so that it penetrates”: *to instill, to soak; to baptize*.¹⁴

Our dictionary does not limit itself to giving the definition and gloss for each of the senses of the verb βαπτίζω, as Louw-Nida and BDAG do, but goes further, explaining why three definitions of the same word are given. And in order to do this, *DGENT* systematically resorts to identifying the contextual factors or the new elements in the context in which the word is found and which justify a different definition. Thus, in those entries which have different senses, after the first definition of the obvious sense, the dictionary’s user will find a paragraph identifying the contextual factors that produce other different senses. So for the entry βαπτίζω, after giving the definition of the word and justifying it by establishing the semantic formula, the following paragraph appears:

The definition given corresponds to the first sense of βαπτίζω, obvious sense, when contact with the liquid is exterior (we are talking about an object or person introduced into a liquid): *to submerge, to sink, to bathe, to wet*. When immersion in the liquid refers *symbolically* to loss of life (a person who is introduced into a liquid, disappearing in it, to symbolise the death to a past behaviour), it has the second sense: *to submerge (in water); to baptize*. Finally, when, instead of the subject being submerged in water, it is the water (metaphorically, the Spirit) that penetrates into the subject (interior contact with liquid-Spirit) it has the third sense: *to instill, to soak*.

So we can say that the different contextual factors with βαπτίζω are structured around two points: (a) whether it is the subject that penetrates the liquid (exterior contact of the subject with the liquid: first and second senses) or (b) whether it is the liquid that penetrates the subject (interior contact of the subject with the liquid: third sense). From the context, it can be deduced that the first definition represents the obvious sense of the word, placing the second and third ones at a symbolic or metaphorical level.

4. CONTEXTUAL FACTORS: SELECTED EXAMPLES

As mentioned earlier, the contextual factor can be of different types: morphological, syntactic-stylistic, semantic, or extra-contextual. Let us look briefly at various examples of words that have different senses. For each word I will (a) indicate the type of contextual factor, (b) give the definition of each of its senses, and (c) identify the elements that in each case cause a new sense and gloss.

ἀσέβεια, ας, ἡ (6)

- *Grammatical criterion*: change of number, from singular to plural.
- Definitions:

¹⁴ In the Bible the Holy Spirit is symbolised by water as a revitalising element (*rain*, see Isa 32:15); Joel 3:1–2 MT (Acts 2:17), Isa 34:15–18; 44:3 and Zech 2:10 (ἐκχέω *to pour*); Ezek 39:29 MT (*to instill*); Isa 29:10; 1 Cor 12:13 (ποτίζω *to water*).

1. “Lack of respect and esteem towards the divinity, manifested in behaviour”: *impiety, irreligiousness*.
2. “Acts that show lack of respect and esteem towards the divinity”: *irreligious acts*.

- Contextual factors

The first definition corresponds to the first sense of ἀσέβεια, when it appears in the singular: *impiety, irreligiousness*. In the plural, by metonymy, it denotes impious acts: *irreligious acts*.

ἀφίημι (131)

- *Combined type*: grammatical and semantic (obvious or figurative sense and voice).
- Definitions:
 1. “Deliberately separate oneself from something or someone”: *to leave, to abandon*.
 2. “Hand over to someone something that in a certain way belongs to that person”: *to give, to entrust, to leave; to deliver*.
 3. “Not look after something”: *to neglect, to disregard, to ignore*.
 4. “Set someone free from a debt or fault”: *to pardon*.
 5. “Not object to someone doing something or that a certain thing happens”: *to let, to permit, to consent, to tolerate*.
- Contextual factors

The first definition corresponds to the first sense of ἀφίημι in transitive use, when the direct object indicates the item, personal or otherwise, from which the subject separates himself: *to leave, to abandon*. In ditransitive use with the thing from which the subject separates himself as direct object and as indirect object the person who receives it, the second sense appears; *to give, to entrust, to leave*. When the separation consists of a psychological distancing by the subject as regards the object, we have the third sense: *to neglect, to disregard, to ignore*. When the separation is understood as freedom from a debt, fault or sin, the fourth sense appears: *to pardon*. In these senses, ἀφίημι denotes action; when it does not denote action, but the attitude of the subject with respect to the object, we get the fifth sense: *to let, to permit, to consent*.

The contextual factors are different for each of the definitions. In the first we have transitive use; in the second, ditransitive use. In both cases, physical displacement by the subject is implied. When the displacement is figurative, we have the third and fourth definitions. In all these first four senses actions on the part of the subject are involved. Finally, when

ἀφίημι does not indicate action, but attitude on the part of the subject as regards the object, the fifth sense appears.

ἀποδίδωμι (47)

- *Semantic criterion*: the kind of donation.
- *Definitions*:
 1. “Give something of one’s own to someone in exchange for a prior donation”: *to pay, to settle up or to settle a debt.*
 2. “Give something to someone in exchange for money or something else”: *to sell.*
 3. “Hand over to someone something that, to a certain point, is one’s due”: *to give back, to repay.*
 4. “Give someone something in return for one’s prior positive or negative behaviour”: *to reward, to compensate, to award a prize / to punish.*
 5. “Act towards someone according to a commitment or a previous ethical norm”: *to fulfil, to requite, to do / carry out what was owed or promised.*
- *Contextual factors*

In this entry in the dictionary the basic meaning (1) is first described by way of this definition: “Give something of one’s own to someone in exchange for a prior donation.” After the definition, the different contextual factors that intervene in the lexeme’s change of sense are indicated as follows:

2. When what is given is a material reality in the context of an exchange, we have the second translation: *sell.*
3. When what is given belonged in the recent or distant past to the receiver, so he recovers it, the third translation arises: *give back.*
4. If the donation is made because of the merits of whoever perceives it, the fourth translation appears: *reward, recompense.*
5. Finally, when the individual’s action corresponds to a prior commitment or ethical norm on the part of the donor, the fifth translation arises: *fulfill, requite.*

The criterion applied here is the kind of donation made by the donor, according to whether it is made in concept of compensation (first sense), exchange (second sense), return (third sense), reward (fourth sense), or correspondence (fifth sense). The senses presented here are not

exhaustive, as several figurative senses also appear along with certain idiomatic uses.¹⁵

5. CONCLUSION

Through this method of determining the contextual factors or elements that give rise to the different senses of a given word in context, we believe lexicography has taken a step forward. New Testament bilingual dictionaries began by giving only a translation of the words, making no distinction between sense and translation.

With Louw-Nida and BDAG a definition was incorporated systematically into each and every sense of the words, often distributed across different semantic fields (only Louw-Nida), in this way systematically distinguishing between definition and gloss. However in constructing the definitions, neither Louw-Nida nor BDAG has applied any method of semantic analysis.

Our dictionary contributes two new elements to this process of development in lexicography: (a) a method of semantic analysis for constructing the definition, and (b) the establishment of contextual factors that indicate the change of sense of a given word in a new context.

In this way, as we said at the beginning, the dictionary stops being a trap for users, because they will always know (1) how the word is defined, (2) how it is translated, and (3) why it acquires new senses when it comes into contact with a new context.

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THE *GREEK-SPANISH DICTIONARY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT (DGENT)*: MEANING AND TRANSLATION OF THE LEXEMES; SOME PRACTICAL EXAMPLES¹

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This essay describes the method and purposes underlying the *Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento* (i.e., *Greek-Spanish Dictionary of the New Testament*), produced by the GASCO (or Semantic Analysis Group of the University of Córdoba). The first part of the essay discusses this project from a theoretical standpoint. The second part of the essay presents some examples that clarify the theoretical aspects discussed in the first section.

1. INTRODUCTION

The *Greek-Spanish Dictionary of the New Testament (DGENT)* by the GASCO² (Semantic Analysis Group of the University of Córdoba) intends to fill several gaps in modern New Testament philology. In the first place, it intends to provide the Spanish-speaking community with a valuable tool both for exegesis and for the understanding of New Testament Greek. Due to the lack of a major New Testament Greek-Spanish dictionary, Spanish-speaking readers and scholars have had to work through other languages, such as German (Bauer),³ English (Thayer,⁴

¹ This paper has been prepared within the framework of the “Spanish-Greek New Testament Dictionary” Research Program financed by the Ministry for Science and Innovation. General Directive for Programs and Knowledge Transfer. 2008–2011 (FFI2008/03429).

² The GASCO (Grupo de análisis semántico de la Universidad de Córdoba) consists of the following members (in alphabetical order): L. Arroyo, L. Domingo, J. I. Fernández, P. Godoy, R. Godoy, J. Guillén, M. Merino, I. Muñoz Gallarte, J. Peláez del Rosal (dir.), L. Roig Lanzillotta, D. Romero.

³ W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, 6th ed., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage, im Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung/Münster unter besonderer Mitwirkung von Viktor Reichmann, herausgegeben von Kurt und Barbara Aland (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988); former editions: Berlin: Töpelmann, ³1937; ⁴1952; ⁵1958; ⁶1963 [repr., 1971,

BDAG,⁵ or Louw-Nida⁶), or Latin (Zorell⁷), just to mention the most important ones.⁸

Secondly, owing to its semantic nature, *DGENT* allows users to determine with precision not only the meaning of a given lexeme but also why and how the meaning of this lexeme may change according to the changing context, and this is due to transformations that take place in its semantic nucleus. *DGENT*, consequently, is something more than a mere list of Greek words with the corresponding possible translations.

Thirdly, *DGENT* incorporates the latest developments in linguistics and semantics. Admittedly, *DGENT* is perhaps not the first to include the principles of modern semantics (so for example Louw-Nida). However, it is certainly the first time that a dictionary has been compiled by applying a thoroughly developed method of analysis and definition of the lexemes. In fact, extensive practical and theoretical research preceded the appearance of the first volume of the *Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento*. This research, published under the title *Análisis semántico de los vocablos*, established *a priori* both the method and the methodology behind the dictionary.

In the following pages I shall describe the method and the purposes of the work in progress at the University of Córdoba. Within this framework I shall divide my presentation into two parts. The first part approaches the matter from a theoretical point of view; the second part has a more practical nature and provides

1976]. For an analysis of the sixth edition see J. Peláez, *Metodología del Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento* (Estudios de filología neotestamentaria 6; Córdoba: El Almendro, 1996), 37–43.

⁴ J. H. Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: being Grimm's and Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti* (trans., rev., and enl. by Joseph Henry Thayer, 4th ed.; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1898 [repr., 1901, 1991, 1996, 1999]).

⁵ W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, 3rd edition revised and edited by Frederick William Danker, based on Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur, 6th ed., ed. Kurt and Barbara Aland, with Viktor Reichmann* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

⁶ J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (2 vols; New York: United Bible Societies, 1988). For a thorough scrutiny of the dictionary's principles and methodology see Peláez, *Metodología*, 43–64. See also J. A. L. Lee, "The United Bible Societies' Lexicon and Its Analysis of Meanings," *Filología neotestamentaria* 10 (1992): 167–89; J. P. Louw, "The Analysis of Meaning in Lexicography," *Filología neotestamentaria* 12 (1993): 139–48; S. Wong, "Leftovers of Louw-Nida's Lexicon: Some Considerations towards a Greek-Chinese Lexicon," *Filología neotestamentaria* 14 (1994): 137–74.

⁷ F. Zorell, *Lexicon Graecum Novi Testamenti* (4th ed.; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1990), photo impression of the first edition in 1930, with the bibliographical appendix updated. For a critical analysis of Zorell's methodology, see Peláez, *Metodología*, 31–37.

⁸ For a complete overview, see J. A. L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 327–68.

some examples that might illuminate those points that may not have become totally clear in the first section.

2. *DGENT*: METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

The semantic method behind the Greek-Spanish dictionary has its roots in the studies by A. J. Greimas, who in his *Sématique structurale*⁹ paved the way for the analysis of the lexeme's semic nucleus¹⁰ and established an important differentiation between 'nuclear semes', that is, 'meanings' which belong to the word as such, and 'contextual semes', that is, 'senses' which depend on the context in which a given word appears.¹¹

However, it is from the contributions by E. A. Nida to the study of semantics that the method received its main impulse.¹² In point of fact, in different studies Nida¹³ already established four of the five semantic categories (with the exception of Determination¹⁴) on which, as I will immediately show, *DGENT* bases the analyses of the lexemes. He also pointed out that some terms might include more than one semantic category—thus, for example, the term 'father', which combines two semantic categories (i.e., Entity + Relation), or 'teacher', which combines three semantic categories (i.e., Entity + Attribute + Event).¹⁵

On the basis of these previous studies Juan Mateos fully developed the method behind the dictionary. In his *Método de análisis semántico aplicado al griego del Nuevo Testamento*,¹⁶ Mateos not only added the last semantic category, *Determination*, which is a necessary element both for classifying the terms and for the interpretation of texts, he also described the semantic formulas used in the drafting of the entries and proposed the most frequent patterns for the five semantic categories.¹⁷

Indeed, when compared with most traditional dictionaries of the Greek New Testament, *DGENT* presents clear distinctive features. To begin with, the classification of the lexemes is neither based on grammatical classes (substantive, adjective, adverb, etc.), such as Zorell or Bauer, nor on semantic fields, such as Louw-Nida. Rather, *DGENT* bases its analysis of the lexemes on the five *semantic*

⁹ A. J. Greimas, *Sématique structurale* (Paris: Larousse, 1966).

¹⁰ For a definition of "semic nucleus" see J. Mateos, *Método de análisis semántico aplicado al griego del Nuevo Testamento* (Estudios de filología neotestamentaria 1; Córdoba: El Almendro, 1989), Intr. §17.

¹¹ Mateos, *Método*, 2.

¹² Mateos, *Método*, 3.

¹³ E. A. Nida and C. R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (4th ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2003 [1969]); E. A. Nida, *Exploring Semantic Structures* (Internationale Bibliothek für allgemeine Linguistik 11; Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1975); idem, *Componential Analysis of Meaning: An Introduction to Semantic Structures* (Approaches to Semiotics 57; The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

¹⁴ Mateos, *Método*, 3–4.

¹⁵ Nida, *Exploring Semantic Structures*, 37.

¹⁶ See above, n. 10.

¹⁷ See Mateos, *Método*, chs. 5–7, pp. 69–147.

categories, namely on those groups of words that have in common the same predominant semantic feature (*seme*).¹⁸

These five semantic categories are the following: Entity, Event, Attribute, Relation, and Determination.

1. Entity (E) is a semantic category that includes all things whether animate (beings) or inanimate (objects) or those things that, even if not being such, are normally conceived of with these characteristics.¹⁹
2. The second category is the so-called Event (Ev) and mainly consists of verbs, though not exclusively, for which it is important to determine the aspect, namely whether the event referred to by the lexeme is static (e.g., *καθεύδω to sleep*), or whether it is an act (e.g., *βάλλω to throw*) or a process (e.g., *ποιέω to produce*).²⁰
3. In the third category, Attribute (A), are those words that fulfill the description, since they describe qualities or modalities attributed to beings.²¹
4. Relation (R), in the fourth place, is the category that includes the lexemes that establish relationships among lexemes, mostly prepositions (e.g., *πρός*) but also adjectives (e.g., *πατρικός*) and adverbs (e.g., *εὐθύς*).²²
5. Determination (D) is the category of lexemes that delimit the sense and includes, for example, the article (*ὁ, ἡ, τό*), deictics (*οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος*), and numerals (*δύο*). But it also includes lexemes that delimit time and space (e.g., *τέλος end, μίλιον mile, ἡμέρα day*).²³

¹⁸ For a differentiation between grammatical classes and categories as well as between semantic fields and categories, see Mateos, *Método*, 12–15; see also ch. 3, pp. 49–59; Peláez, *Metodología*, 79–85.

¹⁹ Mateos, *Método*, 17: “Lexemas-Entidad son primariamente todos aquellos que denotan *seres designables* (. . .) Sin embargo, también se considera entidades (*cuasi-entidades*) las que se conciben como tales, cualquiera que sea su naturaleza: *χρόνος, tiempo, λόγος, palabra, φῶς, luz*.”

²⁰ Mateos, *Método*, 23–30, esp. p. 23: “Son Lexemas-Hecho todos aquellos que denotan primordialmente acción o estado. Gramaticalmente se clasifican, en su gran mayoría, en la especie Verbo, pero pueden expresarse también con la especie Sustantivo.”

²¹ Mateos, *Método*, 19–22, esp. p. 19: “Son Lexemas-atributo los que denotan cualidad, forma, dimensión, o cantidad.”

²² Mateos, *Método*, 31–32, esp. p. 31: “En la especie Relación se clasifican lexemas y, sobre todo, gran número de morfolexemas (adverbios, preposiciones, conjunciones) que indican relaciones muy variadas: lugar, tiempo, posesión, causalidad, finalidad, consecuencia, efecto, condición, modo, instrumento, etc.”

²³ Mateos, *Método*, 33–36, esp. p. 33: “Pertencen en primer lugar a la especie Determinación los morfolexemas o lexemas anafóricos y deícticos.”

As I shall show below, it is on the basis of these five semantic categories that our dictionary analyses the lexical corpus of the New Testament. The organisation and presentation, however, simply follow the alphabetical order.

However, the dictionary would not have been possible without the methodology published a few years later by Jesús Peláez. In his *Metodología del Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento*, Peláez built on the method established by Mateos. After offering a critical study of the main New Testament dictionaries,²⁴ he presented a reasoned analysis of the semantic categories,²⁵ provided models for defining each of them,²⁶ described the way each entry should be organized, and established the basic premises that underlie our dictionary.²⁷ For the sake of brevity, I have selected just two of these principles:

- First, the systematic distinction between *meaning* and *translation* in the treatment of each and every entry of the dictionary.
- Second, the construction of the definition of the lexemes and of each of its sememes or ‘senses’, which are now included in the same entry of the dictionary.

As far as the first issue is concerned, unlike other bilingual dictionaries, which do not usually give a definition of the terms but only a translation, our dictionary always provides the definition of the word before proceeding to offer its translation. In this it resembles monolingual dictionaries rather than bilingual ones, which only exceptionally include definitions, such as for example in the case of words of *realia*.

In addition, we take *meaning* to be ‘a set of semantic features or components of a word, organised according to a certain hierarchy and expressed by way of a verbal paraphrase’. The meaning of a Greek word is therefore not another word from another language, which is in turn subject to being defined in its own way and could have a different meaning, but rather a descriptive statement; that is, a metalinguistic description of the same word, which we call *definition*. This definition is, in fact, ‘a paraphrase (or expansion) which demonstrates the set of semantic features contained in the lexeme or sememe (= different contextual meaning or sense), according to the order corresponding to the configuration of its components’. All this may sound somewhat cryptic, but it will become clearer, I hope, in the practical section of this paper.

The second principle or basic premise underlying our dictionary is the construction of the definition of the words. Semantic dictionaries do in general attempt to do this systematically; that is, they try to provide well-constructed definitions that may serve to give the users a glimpse into the meaning of a given term. In point of fact, however, this rarely results in anything more than good intentions, as they usually define intuitively and without a clear and solid method that may be applied to each and every entry of a corpus. This, for example, is the

²⁴ Peláez, *Metodología*, 29–64.

²⁵ Peláez, *Metodología*, 67–73.

²⁶ Peláez, *Metodología*, 92–111.

²⁷ Peláez, *Metodología*, 113–31.

case with the Louw-Nida dictionary. In spite of serious attempts at a systematic definition, the authors do not indicate which method they apply to construct their definitions, nor are these always clear and precise.

In contrast, the Greek–Spanish dictionary has been preceded by a theoretical and methodological *Vorarbeit*, which led us to devise a method of semantic analysis to defining words in a suitable, clear and unambiguous way. This method is thoroughly explained by J. Peláez in the third chapter of his *Methodology of the Greek–Spanish New Testament Dictionary*.²⁸

3. SOME PRACTICAL EXAMPLES

All this will become clearer if I provide a couple of examples. Let me begin with the first basic principle or premise, namely the systematic distinction between meaning and translation.

Let us take a verbal lexeme such as ἀγνοέω. The form appears seventeen times in the New Testament, where it presents two different senses. Accordingly, our dictionary includes two separate definitions together with the corresponding translations:

- a. According to the first, which is the obvious sense or lexical meaning,²⁹ we define the verb ἀγνοέω as ‘Not knowing someone or something.’ It can be translated as *being unaware of, ignorant of, not knowing, not understanding*. With this meaning it appears, for example, in Mk 9:32, Acts 13:27, and Rom 2:4.³⁰
- b. Sometimes, however, the lexeme adds a sense of ‘will’. In such cases, we get the second sense or sememe, which can be defined as ‘not wanting to know someone or something’ (as in Rom 10:3, 1 Cor 14:38 and 2 Cor 6:9). The translation in this case is *to ignore, to pay no attention*.

As this first example shows, the Greek–Spanish lexicon not only clearly separates both sememes or senses, but also allows the user to understand, by means of the metalinguistic description, how and why the sense changes.

Let us take another example; for instance, the nominal abstract lexeme ἀγαθωσύνη.³¹ It appears four times in the New Testament and presents two different meanings as well. As in the previous case, two definitions are given for this nominal lexeme:

²⁸ Peláez, *Metodología*, 65–111.

²⁹ For the distinction between lexical and contextual meaning, see J. P. Louw, “How Do Words Mean, If They Do?,” *Filología neotestamentaria* 8 (1991): 125–42, esp. p. 133.

³⁰ See J. Peláez del Rosal et al., *Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento I* (Córdoba: El Almendro, 2000), s.v. cols. 81–82. See also J. Peláez, “Significado y traducción de las palabras en el *Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento*,” in *EPIEIKELA. Studia Graeca in memoriam Jesús Lens Tuero* (ed. M. Alganza Roldán et al.; Granada: Athos-Pérgamos, 2000), 387–96.

³¹ Peláez del Rosal et al., *Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento I*, s.v. cols. 17–18.

- a. The first sememe or sense appears in Rom 15:14, Gal 5:22, and 2 Thess 1:11 and can be defined as ‘Willingness to do good which is manifest in the behaviour towards someone’, with the translation in context being the equivalent of *goodness, kindness, benevolence, goodwill*.
- b. In Eph 5:9, however, we find a metonymical use of the term, by which the sense changes. The lexeme is now defined as ‘Behaviour towards someone, which shows willingness to do good’. In this case the translation is *good deed, goodness*.

Owing to this analysis, and by means of the semantic formula provided along with the definition and translation of the lexeme, the reader realises not only that there is a metonymical use of the term, but also, as I shall show below, that in this metonymy an inversion of the semes takes place in the semic nucleus of the word.

Let us now take one last example. In the treatment of ἀγαθός we find three senses or sememes with their corresponding definitions and translations:

- a. In the first sememe or sense ἀγαθός is defined as ‘Being disposed to having a favourable attitude towards another or others, which is manifest in the behaviour shown towards them’. The translation is *good, charitable, benign, honest, generous*.³² With this sense it appears, for example, in Mt 5:45; 12:35; 20:15, etc.
- b. In the second sememe, however, we have those cases in which the lexeme is used to express that someone is fulfilling his duty appropriately. In these cases it may be defined as ‘Fulfilling one’s duty appropriately’ and, consequently, may be translated as *diligent, hardworking, reliable*. So, for example, in Mt 25:1; Mk 10:17; Jn 7:46.
- c. In the third sense, it is defined as ‘Being right in itself and/or favourable for man’. The translation is *good, right* (see Mt. 12:17; 12:34, etc.).

This is the way we present the entries in the dictionary, which always distinguish meaning and translation, define the lexeme by means of a metalinguistic description that corresponds to the word itself (lexical meaning), and provide a suitable definition every time the word develops a new meaning due to contextual factors (contextual meaning).³³

It is fair to say that, with the possible exceptions of Louw-Nida and BDAG, no other dictionary of the Greek New Testament establishes such a clear distinction between lexical and contextual meaning. In general, dictionaries tend to be lists of words in which the user finds a catalogue of possible equivalents in the reference language beside every Greek word, which do not always correspond to the exact meaning of the word. In point of fact, some of them are simply translations of the word in a given context. What is even worse, sometimes dictionaries mix up the

³² Peláez del Rosal et al., *Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento* I, s.v. cols. 9–17.

³³ See the previous footnote. See also I. Muñoz Gallarte, “La importancia del factor contextual,” *Fortunatae* 21 (2010) 101–125.

different senses of a given lexeme and the subsections in the entries simply respond to purely grammatical and syntactic criteria rather than to semantic ones.

The previous examples were mainly intended to show the entries' distinction between meaning and translation. I will now present some examples of how we build up the definition of a word. Let us begin with the word *ἄγαμος*, an adjectival lexeme, which is easy to analyse.³⁴

In order to define this word we must complete the following steps: establishing the meaning and semantic classes of a term; describing the semantic formula; analysing its semic development; proposing a definition; providing a translation.³⁵

1. In the first place, from our knowledge of the Greek language or by simply consulting a dictionary, we know that this word translates as the equivalent of 'unmarried, without husband or wife'. In this sense, we can affirm that this lexeme refers to a state (semantic class *Event*) and implies a relation of attribution (semantic class *Relation*) of this state to a personal subject (semantic class *Entity*).
2. We then proceed to establish the term's semantic formula, which in the case of *ἄγαμος* looks graphically as follows:

$$\boxed{\boxed{\text{Ev}}} \leftarrow \text{R} \rightarrow \text{E}$$

3. The next step is to determine which components make up each of the semantic classes included in the word's semantic formula. This detailed analysis of the semes of a term is what we call 'semic development', a full-length description of all the semic traits included in each and every semantic class:
 - In this case, the semantic class *Event* (Ev)—which may include events, states, or processes—is made up of the following three components: staticity (this is a state *Event*), non-union, and conjugality.
 - The semantic class *Entity* (E) is made up of the following two components: individuality, and humanity.
 - The semantic class *Relation* (R) is in turn specified with the following component: attribution.
4. We are now at the point where we can formulate the definition, which should encompass all the components listed. We can provide in the first place a classificatory description of the word that helps to identify both the grammatical species and the semantic categories included in the lexeme. Thus, we say that *ἄγαμος* is an adjectival lexeme that indicates a state of non-union with a spouse (Ev) by a human being

³⁴ Peláez del Rosal et al., *Diccionario griego-español del Nuevo Testamento* I, s.v. col. 21.

³⁵ These steps are fully described and exemplified in Peláez, *Metodología*, 65–111.

(E). Its definition could be ‘Who is not joined in conjugal union’. It can be translated as *single, celibate* (1 Cor 7:8; 7:11; 7:32).

Thus in the first example I deliberately chose a word with a simple structure and analysis in order to demonstrate clearly step-by-step how we proceed every time we construct a definition. Let us now examine a more complicated word, as it is in the complexity of the lexemes analysed that the efficiency of our methodology is illustrated. Let us take as an example the verb *ἀγαπάω*, which appears 141 times in the New Testament.

1. We know that the term means ‘to show affection or love’. Having studied the contexts in which the verb appears, we conclude that it denotes, first of all, a state (semantic class *Event–static–*), which is shown (semantic class *Relation*) in the behaviour (semantic class *Event–dynamic–*). The agent of this conduct is a human being (semantic class *Entity*); the action by the subject has another human being (semantic class *Entity*) as its object or target.
2. Graphically expressed, the semantic formula of the lexeme is the following:

$$\boxed{\boxed{\text{Ev} + \text{R} + \text{Ev1}}} \leftarrow \text{R1} — \text{E1}$$

3. Each of the semantic classes in the formula may now, in turn, be decomposed into its corresponding semic components. As may have been noticed in the previous semic development, this procedure generates some neologisms. This fact should not cause alarm, since they will help us to understand what words signify for us.

Ev	staticity disposition innerness esteem benevolence
R	manifestness
Ev1	dynamism behaviour beneficialness
E1	personality individuality
R1	agent
R2	respectivity
E2	personality Individuality

4. Taking this component development, or listing of the parts which make up each of the semantic classes, as the starting point, we can

construct the definition of the lexeme in abstract. The lexical meaning of the word may be expressed as follows: ‘To be favourably disposed (Ev) towards (R2) a person (E2) who is esteemed (Ev) and show it (R) favouring his well-being (Ev1)’.

5. Once we have the definition we can proceed to find suitable translations for the term. In this case, the possible translations include *to love, cherish, be fond of*. The word appears with this meaning in Jn 3:35; 17:23; Rom 9:25; Eph 1:6; Heb 12:6, etc.

However, this definition is not valid for all the contexts in which *ἀγαπάω* appears. Sometimes, through metonymy (in this case due to change of effect for cause), the context produces an inversion of the semantic classes expressed in the formula, in such a way that it is not ‘a state that manifests behaviour’, but ‘concrete behaviour that manifests a state or inner disposition of the person’.

$$\boxed{\boxed{\text{Ev1} + \text{R} + \text{Ev}}} \quad \leftarrow \text{R1} — \text{E1}$$

Although the semic development of each of the semantic classes continues to be the same, the definition changes. It now means ‘To behave showing a favourable inner disposition and the desire for good towards someone who is cherished’. We could give as translations the following: *to manifest/show/display love* (as in Mk 10:2; Jn 3:16; Gal 2:20; 2 Thess 2:16, etc.).

But this does not exhaust the meaning of the verb we are studying. In the former two instances of the verb *ἀγαπάω*, the object of the action was a personal being. There are also cases where the target is a material object or a fact. Consequently, a third sense arises in which the characteristic of manifestation (‘manifestness’ in the semic development) has disappeared. The verb now therefore includes one semantic class only. Its semantic formula may be expressed as follows:

$$\boxed{\boxed{\text{Ev}}} \quad \leftarrow \text{R1} — \text{E1}$$

Obviously, with the appearance of a new meaning and due to the changes in the semantic formula, some changes will appear in the semic development as well:

Ev	staticity disposition pleasure innerness
E1	individuality humanity
R1	attribution
R2	respectivity
X	objects / facts

The definition we obtain from the combination of these parts is ‘to be pleased with things or facts’. Possible translations include *be pleased by (something)*, *take pleasure in*, *love*. It appears with this meaning in Lk 11:43; 1 Pet 3:10; 1 Jn 2:15a.

4. CONCLUSION

These two groups of examples serve to illustrate two of the basic principles behind the *Greek-Spanish New Testament Dictionary*. On the one hand, there is the systematic distinction between meaning and translation. On the other hand, there is the construction of an entry by first establishing a semantic formula, semic development, and full definition that takes into account the semantic reality of the term. By giving a definition of the word every time a new meaning or sense appears we hope to prevent the dictionary, a translator’s primary tool, from turning into an unfathomable maze with no way out.

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THE GENITIVE ABSOLUTE IN DISCOURSE: MORE THAN A CHANGE OF SUBJECT

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For generations of scholars the genitive absolute in Classical and Koine Greek has been a well attested literary device parallel to the “ablative absolute” in Latin. It effects cohesion in discourse and has been viewed as giving background information as well as indicating a change of subject or “switch reference.” This paper disputes the latter as being the predominant function of this participial construction and discusses its role in the New Testament, Xenophon, and the papyri with reference to a modern theory of cognition which claims to give principles for the way in which humans communicate with one another.

1. INTRODUCTION

There are, broadly speaking, two approaches to the analysis of discourse. First, there is **a descriptive approach** which catalogues the uses of “discourse features,” analyses the criteria for paragraph breaks or topical units, and generally examines what are the constituent properties of a “text.” This approach may identify “background” information and contrast it with what is foregrounded or in focus. It relies heavily on charting text and identifying structure. Of course there will be structure to a text, but one cannot deduce from such a structure the way in which the speakers of a language organise their thoughts. Second, there is **a cognitive approach** which might question the reality of much of the above or suggest that all these are decided not by intrinsic features but by the pragmatics of the context. Such an approach would expect there to be procedural instructions given to a reader or hearer to support what has gone before, or to deny previous assumptions in order to help her¹ to navigate the text.

I want to suggest that both these approaches have their place but that the second is the one that will take us furthest in attempting to discover the communicative intention of the author or speaker. Sixteen years ago I worked on

¹ In this paper the speaker or writer will be referred to as “he,” and the hearer or reader as “she.”

the genitive absolute for my MTh thesis at the University of Aberdeen.² At that time I took the first approach in analysing the incidences of this construction in the gospels. Since then I have become convinced that the second approach is the more useful one in attempting to understand what inferences the first readers or hearers would have drawn from the use of this feature in narrative text. Many readers will be more sympathetic to my MTh thesis than they will be to this paper. Nevertheless, I will lay out my arguments and try to make a persuasive case for their usefulness in understanding the biblical text.

2. GENITIVE ABSOLUTE³

Genitive absolute refers to a participle which appears in the genitive case and is accompanied (usually) by either a pronoun or noun to which it refers. The Blass-Debrunner definition of its use is as follows: “The genitive absolute is limited in normal classical usage to the sentence where the noun or pronoun to which the participle refers does not appear either as subject or in any other capacity.”⁴ BDF goes on to point out that this strictly classical definition is not always adhered to in the New Testament. In fact, it was not always strictly adhered to in classical authors either.⁵ But the usage in Koine in general is much more relaxed. It is particularly used in narrative genre. But it may be found in the epistles, where it is also used in a manner similar to that of classical authors such as Demosthenes. At the other end of the register spectrum it is found in many papyri letters from Egypt with different levels of literacy, and of course in official documents from the Ptolomaic period, which are much more formal.

In using the word *absolute* as a description we should bear in mind the fact that such participial phrases were only absolute in *syntactic* terms. There was always a pragmatic and often also a semantic or lexical link to the surrounding material.⁶ Also, in focusing on the “head” of the phrase and whether or not it is “independent” we may fail to recognise the function and importance of the participle and its role in the discourse. I do not propose to debate the issue of so called “ungrammatical” or “clumsy” GAs, as this has already been dealt with by Fuller (2006)⁷ and also by my own MTh thesis (1995). My position is that the Greek language had already changed in the few hundred years from the end of the classical period until the writings of the New Testament and one should not attempt to condemn speakers/writers of a language who use more innovative grammatical

² This unpublished dissertation is entitled “The Genitive Absolute in the Synoptic Gospels.” It is available electronically from the author if requested.

³ The acronym GA will be used in this paper to represent the term *genitive absolute*.

⁴ BDF, §423.

⁵ Thucydides 1.114.1; Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.5.16; Plato *Republic* 8.547.b. have examples of the subject of the GA occurring in the main clause in the dative case. This is the same environment in which it is criticised in New Testament writers.

⁶ For example, we see the repetition in the GA of an earlier verb in Mt 2:1, 13 and an earlier noun in Mt 2:19; 22:41.

⁷ Lois Fuller, “‘The Genitive Absolute’ in New Testament/Hellenistic Greek: A Proposal for Clearer Understanding,” *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 3 (2006): 142–67.

forms than those of speakers and writers of an earlier age.⁸ I shall attempt to demonstrate that the inferences which hearers and readers were being invited to draw by the use of this feature did not depend on a completely absolute or grammatically independent phrase. The motivation for its use was not so much to indicate syntactic independence as to strengthen assumptions which the reader may have already held but which needed to be brought to the surface to achieve a more relevant reading of the text or to create bridging assumptions. In short, what did a writer want his readers to infer by his use of the GA? Why was a GA often preferred to a concordant participle in those instances in which the subject of the GA appeared in another case in the main clause of the sentence? Before I move on to this approach I will summarise the varied uses of the GA which may be seen in both pagan and New Testament Greek, in both classical and Koine. This is background, but it has been the accustomed approach to the topic, and so I want to cover it first.

3. EXAMPLES OF USE OF GENITIVE ABSOLUTE

As it is a circumstantial participle, the GA may show a variety of logical relationships to the main clause as do other concordant circumstantial participles, such as concessive, causal, or temporal relations. But as with the latter these are derived from the context and not from the form of the participles themselves.⁹ I have selected some examples not only from the New Testament and Septuagint, but also from Xenophon's *Anabasis* and a few papyri letters. In each case the GA is presented in bold type.

3.1. Jn 12:37

Τοσαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ σημεῖα πεποιηκότος ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπίστευον εἰς αὐτόν, . . .

“Although he had done so many signs in front of them, they did not believe in him . . .”

In this example there is in the main clause a co-referent to the subject of the participial phrase. But this can also be attested in classical times, as I have pointed out in note 4. Here the inference is that they *should* have believed, but they did not. The main clause is contrary to expectation. The GA phrase is therefore an integral part of the sentence in pragmatic terms and not merely a cohesive link.

⁸ It may be seen that in classical authors there is an *implicit* grammatical link with the main clause, such as an accusative or dative pronoun which references the subject of the GA. But that pronoun is understood rather than being present in the text. Two examples from Thucydides are found in Bk. II.67.4 and Bk. IV.101.1. In the New Testament in particular such a pronoun would be inserted.

⁹ See Margaret Sim, “Underdeterminacy in Circumstantial Participles,” *Bible Translator* 55 (2004): 348–59.

3.2. Mt 1:18

... **μνηστευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῷ Ἰωσήφ**, πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου.

“When his mother Mary was engaged to Joseph, before they came together, she was found to be pregnant by/from the Holy Spirit.”

In this example the subject of the absolute phrase is the same as the subject of the main verb, but the intervening *πρὶν* clause may excuse this. The reader should be able to access the assumption that by being betrothed to Joseph, Mary was not free to marry anyone else. Joseph and Mary have already been introduced to the reader in v. 16 of this chapter, with a preview of the birth of “Jesus who is called ‘anointed’.”

3.3. Lk 3:1

... **ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τετρααρχοῦντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδου, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετρααρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας, καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς τετρααρχοῦντος**, . . .

“When Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea and Herod was the tetrarch of Galilee and his brother Philip was tetrarch of Iturea and the country of Trachonitis, and Lysanias was tetrarch of Abilene . . .”

This example is a genitive absolute used in the classical manner, setting out contextual information for the reader. Examples such as these can be found regularly in Thucydides and Xenophon. The question I will raise later is this: why did the writer choose to encapsulate such background information in a participle in the genitive case? Does it assist the reader to access the information given at the beginning of the gospel that this is to be an “accurate” account? Does it invite her to view the context of a country which was now divided among different “governors” as compared with the situation under Herod the Great?

3.4. Exod 5:20

συνήντησαν δὲ Μωυσῆ καὶ Ααρων ἐρχομένοις εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῖς ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Φαραω καὶ εἶπαν αὐτοῖς . . .

“They [i.e., the Israelite foremen] met Moses and Aaron coming to meet them as they were coming out from Pharaoh and said to them . . .”

This is very interesting! The genitive here refers to the subject of the main clause. Of course, this is translation Greek. But it does illustrate the fact that this feature was not primarily indicating “change of subject,” although in most instances there obviously must be a subject in the GA phrase different from that of the main verb. Again, why did they not use a concordant participle? I suggest that the use of the GA leads the reader to infer the mind set and discouragement of these foremen as they left the presence of Pharaoh after their request for leniency was turned down.

They would see Moses and Aaron as the source of their problems, not as their saviours.

3.5. Xenophon 1.1.6

ὅποσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἑκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι.

“He [i.e., Cyrus] ordered as many commanders as he had in the garrison cities to take as many and as good Peloponnesian men (as they could), **as (if) Tissaphernes was plotting against the cities.**”

Here the GA is used with a particle which constrains the interpretation of the participle to a conditional interpretation. The GA does not have a cohesive function within this sentence, but it does give the factor which made Cyrus’ instruction credible. It gives rise to contextual implications which are then discussed in the next sentence. In fact, the rest of the paragraph introduces the fact that the said Tissaphernes had been actively involved with these cities and in no good way. This is then introduced by the GA, but explicated by the γάρ and the following narrative.¹⁰

3.6. Xenophon 1.3.17

βουλοίμην δ’ ἂν ἄκοντος ἀπιὼν Κύρου λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθών·

“I would wish to escape his notice as I go away, Cyrus being unwilling [or, since Cyrus is unwilling]. / I would wish to escape his notice (as I leave), since I go away without Cyrus’ permission.”

In this example the pronoun αὐτόν refers to Cyrus who is also the subject of the GA. The use of the GA invites the reader to access the contextual assumption that it would not be in the interests of the speaker to defy Cyrus by going against his will. This is more marked by the use of a GA rather than a concordant participle.

3.7. Xenophon 1.4.17

καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

“As they crossed the river no one was wet above the chest from/by the river.”

This example is of course one sentence taken from a longer account in which soldiers are debating about the wisdom of following Cyrus, after discovering that they are expected to cross the River Euphrates in an attempt to unseat the Great King (Artaxerxes) and put Cyrus in his place. Here the GA is more than a temporal

¹⁰ Cf. Acts 17:25, which uses a GA to express a potential but untrue situation, and Acts 27:30, which is a closer parallel, using as it does the particle ὡς.

phrase. It alerts the reader to the significance of this crossing by the soldiers for the success of the expedition and looks ahead to this being identified as a sign of the favour of the gods, since it was only at this time of year that the river could be crossed on foot. Of course, it may be read as a partitive genitive—‘no one of those crossing the river’—but its initial position allows it to be read as a GA, particularly in view of the comments above.

3.8. P.Par. 49¹¹

Τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ σου συμπεσόντος μοι τῆι ἰζ τοῦ Μεχειρ καὶ ἀξιώσαντός με ὅπως . . . μεταλάβωσι αὐτῶι οἱ παρ ἐμοῦ γραμματεῖς πάντας τοὺς χρηματισμούς, εἶπα αὐτῶι μὴ ἐμὲ ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλὰ . . . παραγίνεσθαι . . .

“When your brother met me on 17th Mechir and asked me ...that my scribes might take on (transcription of) all his documents, I told him not to ask me but . . . to come . . .”

This example is followed by a long clause introduced by ὅπως and dependent on the second verb of the GA. Of course, the writer could have used a participle concordant with the pronoun in the main clause (αὐτῶι). But it is the use of the genitive case, I would argue, which gives the signal that the participial phrase or clause is pragmatically connected although syntactically separate from the main clause. In fact, it is logically connected to the previous sentence, which has brought to the recipient’s attention the generous attitude of the writer towards him. The reader is invited to infer that the writer has made every effort to help his brother, with a meeting having taken place between the two of them some time before. The date is given to establish this.

In the above examples we can see logical relationships of time, condition, and concession all pragmatically discerned from the context. We can also see that a GA does more than this. It alerts the reader to contextual information which is now being strengthened. Now I will consider in more detail the alternative approach which I outlined in the introduction, namely asking what the use of the GA leads us to infer about the nature of the information which it encapsulates. If a GA is used rather than a concordant participle, for example in those cases in which a dative pronoun is found in the main clause, the writer wishes us to infer further contextual information from such a construction.

4. BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO RELEVANCE THEORY

At this point I must give a very brief introduction to the model that I hope to use in my analysis of this feature of Greek discourse which is ubiquitous across both the classical and Koine periods. The publication of the first edition of *Relevance* in 1986 by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson marked a very different approach to the

¹¹ This letter, dated ca. 160 BCE, is from Dionysius to Ptolemaeus. It appears in A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (2 vols.; LCL; London: Heinemann, 1988), 1:284.

interpretation of utterances.¹² The authors claimed that the main principle driving successful communication was the principle of relevance, namely that a speaker assumes that a hearer listens to what he has to say because she is interested in it; it has relevance for her. We do not merely throw words at one another. Those words relate to situations, contexts in which both speaker and hearer share a common body of knowledge.¹³ The principle which drives communication, according to Sperber and Wilson, is that of relevance. Humans do not make remarks, or even signs, without an assumption that the hearer will increase her knowledge by listening or will be able to reassess some information previously held. This does not necessarily or even usually involve a conscious process, but even a superficial consideration of why we communicate with one another involves the belief that the listener will have some interest in what we have to say. This might not necessarily be of benefit to the hearer, but it will be relevant to her. Even those situations in which a speaker wants to obtain information may give some relevance to a hearer. Consider how often we are unwilling to ask a question or to seek help because of the inferences which the hearer will draw from such a request.¹⁴ Sperber and Wilson then allow that words communicate ideas, but that the principle which decides their interpretation in terms of disambiguating pronomial reference and multiple senses is that of relevance.

Certain theoretical constructs are involved in the outworking of this principle, such as inferencing, underdeterminacy, metarepresentation, and ostention. If language is underdetermined, then inferences are required to make a communication successful. If utterances are a representation of human thought, then humans must be communicating such representations both of their own thought and that of others. It is reasonable to believe that they may alert a hearer to expect such a representation by giving her procedural instructions, or by making it obvious that they intend to make something clear to her: ostention.

These are interesting concepts, but it is not my intention to examine them in detail since this paper is not primarily addressed to a linguistic audience but is concerned with biblical studies. In this paper my focus is on the information which a reader is invited to access by the use of the GA, and initially by the use of the genitive case more generally.

The genitive case in Greek has many functions, but in general it indicates a relationship between one noun or pronoun and another. It is sometimes said to indicate separation, the evidence for this coming from its use with numerous prepositions. I am bold enough to suggest that the GA encapsulates both of these general notions: it separates the phrase syntactically, while indicating a pragmatic relationship. It is also true that case marking is a feature of nouns and pronouns, *not* of verbs! Of course we know that participles display case marking, but the

¹² Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1995).

¹³ If this condition is not fulfilled then communication *may* fail. But the principle of relevance will lead a hearer to persevere until she “makes sense” of the utterance.

¹⁴ Consider Jn 4:27; 21:12 and the author’s presentation of the disciples as reluctant to ask a question.

combination of a nominal feature such as case with verbal features of tense alerts a reader to process the phrase in a different way. It is the breaking of this principle of *iconicity* which alerts the reader/hearer to process the information in a different way.

I could give different analyses of the way in which various New Testament writers or editors use the GA in presenting their material,¹⁵ but at the heart of this we can deduce the basic inference of a pragmatic link allied to a syntactic independence. Some analysts will designate a GA as background or distant background information, as scene setting, and so on. But I want to invite readers to consider this feature as giving rise to contextual assumptions or as making bridging assumptions more manifest. Now this means that we have to ask what these assumptions might be. To make this easier and less theoretical I will examine instances of the GA in various gospel writers.

5. EXAMPLES OF USE OF GENITIVE ABSOLUTE TO ALLOW READERS TO ACCESS CONTEXTUAL ASSUMPTIONS

In Mark's gospel there are five uses of the phrase *ὀψίας γενομένης* 'when it was evening'. In each case the use of this phrase is significant not merely as giving temporal information but as leading a reader to access other contextual assumptions as follows.

5.1. Mk 1:32

Ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε ἔδυν ὁ ἥλιος, ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους.

"When it was evening, when the sun had set, they brought to him all those who were sick and demon possessed."

This is not merely a temporal phrase. It invites the reader to infer additional contextual information: if it was evening, then the Sabbath was over and movement and activity could resume.¹⁶

5.2. Mk 4:35

Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὀψίας γενομένης· διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν.

"On that day, when it was evening, he said to them, 'Let's go over to the other side.'"

This time we are invited to infer a journey by boat across the lake at a time when a rising wind would be dangerous. A storm was not inevitable, but the conditions made it more likely than during the hours of daylight. The scene in Mk 6:47 is

¹⁵ In Mark, for example, the majority of uses apart from time phrases have Jesus as the subject of the GA.

¹⁶ Marcus comments on Mark's use of dual time expressions, but these do not all use a GA and there are multiple reasons for the duality. See Joel Marcus, *Mark 1–8: A New Translation, with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 27; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 196–97.

similar: the disciples are out on the lake in the late evening and the wind springs up. There is no storm, but the wind is against them.

5.3. Mk 11:11

Και εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ περιβλεψάμενος πάντα, ὀψίας ἤδη οὔσης τῆς ὥρας, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα.

“He entered Jerusalem to the temple, and after looking round at everything he went away to Bethany with the Twelve, because it was already late.”

Here the phrase is slightly different, but again we are invited to infer something from the fact that it is a GA. There may be different inferences for modern readers, but the following must have been true: the temple gates would be closed in the evening, and Jesus had to reach Bethany for his overnight lodging. The concordant participle, on the other hand, prepares for what will take place the next day. I am not claiming that a concordant participle does not lead us to draw inferences, but that the use of a GA makes the need to do so more salient.

5.4. Mk 14:17–18

Καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα. καὶ ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσθιόντων ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με ὁ ἐσθίων μετ’ ἐμοῦ.

“When it was evening he came with the Twelve. As they were reclining and eating, Jesus said to them, ‘I’m indeed telling you that one of you will betray me—one eating with me.’”

I suggest that the contextual assumption which we are invited to draw here from the use of the GA is the recognition that the Passover meal would be eaten in the evening and in Jerusalem. Then the second GA (v. 18) leads us to infer that this was a close group, a family group when taken with the assumption of a Passover meal, which makes the statement about betrayal much starker. A further GA in v. 22 repeats the ‘eating’ verb and leads in to the last supper, which then becomes the Lord’s Supper.

5.5. Mk 15:42

Καὶ ἤδη ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευὴ ἧ ἔστιν προσάββατον, ἐλθὼν Ἰωσήφ [ὁ] ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας εὐσχήμων βουλευτῆς, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον καὶ ἠτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

“When it was already evening, since it was preparation which is the eve of the Sabbath Joseph of Arimethea came, an honourable counsellor who was also waiting for the kingdom of God. He dared to come to Pilate and ask for the body of Jesus.”

Here the contextual assumption would be that there was a window of opportunity for Joseph between the time of the death of Jesus and the beginning of the day on which ritual cleanness should be maintained. In Deuteronomic law a man who had been hung on a tree must be buried before night.¹⁷

5.6. Additional Examples

5.6.1. From Isias to Hephaeston, 168 BC

Κομισαμένη τήν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν παρ' Ὁρου, ἐν ἧι διεσαάφεις εἶναι ἐν κατοχῇ ἐν τῷ Σαραπιείῳ τῷ ἐν Μέμφει, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ἐρρῶσθαι σε εὐθέως τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαρίστουν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μὴ παραγίνεσθαι σε [π]ά[ντ]ων τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀπειλημμένων παραγεγο[νό]των ἀηδίζομαι ἔ[νε]κα τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ το<ιο>ύτου καιροῦ ἐμαυτὴν τε καὶ τὸ παιδίον σου διακεκυβερνηκυῖα καὶ εἰς πᾶν τι ἐληλυθυῖα διὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου τιμὴν καὶ δοκοῦσα νῦν γε σοῦ παραγενομένου τεύξεσθαι τινος ἀναψυχῆς, σὲ δὲ μὴδ' ἐντεθυμῆσαι τοῦ παραγενέσθαι μὴδ' ἐνβεβλοφέναι εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν περί-στασιν, ὡς ἔτι σοῦ παρόντος πάντων ἐπεδεόμην, μὴ ὅτι γε τοσοῦτου χρόνου ἐπιγεγόντος καὶ τοιούτων καιρῶν καὶ μὴθὲν σοῦ ἀπεσταλκός. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ὁρου τοῦ τὴν ἐπιστολήν παρακεκομικός ἀπηγγελκός ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπολελύσθαι σε ἐκ τῆς κατοχῆς παντελῶς ἀηδίζομαι.

“When I received your letter from Horus, in which you announce that you are in detention in the Serapeum at Memphis, for the news that you are well I straightway thanked the gods, but about your not coming home, **when all the others who had been secluded there have come**, I am ill pleased, because after having piloted myself and our child through such bad times and been driven to every extremity owing to the price of corn I thought that now at least, **with you at home**, I should enjoy some respite, whereas you have not even thought of coming home nor given any regard to our circumstances, remembering how I was in want of everything **while you were still here, not to mention this long lapse of time and these critical days, during which you have sent us nothing. As, moreover, Horus who delivered the letter has brought news of your having been released from detention**, I am thoroughly ill pleased.”¹⁸

- ‘**when all others who have been secluded there have come.**’ This GA leads us to infer that the writer had expectations of the return of the addressee in company with his fellow detainees. This is not spelled out because the use of the genitive gives sufficient signal to a reader to ask why this information is given.

¹⁷ See Deut 21:23. Of course there is the issue of whether or not the eating of the Passover in Mk 14 means that for Joseph the Passover has actually passed, in contrast with the Johannine account which places the killing of the Passover lambs at the time of the crucifixion.

¹⁸ The translation is from Hunt and Edgar.

- **‘with you at home.’** The writer expects the addressee to consider the benefits which would accrue to her if he had come home. These are not spelled out but left implicit in the GA.
- **‘while you were still here.’** If the writer was experiencing hard times even when the addressee was present how much greater would her suffering be if he was absent. The benefits of his presence are again left implicit, but should be understood.
- **‘during such hard times when you have sent us nothing.’** Two GAs here remind the addressee of both the writer’s financial situation and her need of his support. He knew the ‘hard times’ and his responsibility to provide, but the use of the extensive GA lays these facts out for consideration.
- **‘as . . . Horus has brought news . . .’** This is the final complaint. The bearer of the very letter which should have reassured the writer was able to tell its recipient that the sender had actually been released! The unspoken complaint is: ‘why have you not come or sent us money?’ The last word, which is the only one of the main clause in syntactic terms, is a repetition of an earlier statement: ἀηδίζομαι ‘I am thoroughly ill pleased’.

This letter has so many uses of a GA construction with very little in the syntactic main clause that it provides an excellent example of the role of such a construction in giving not only circumstantial information, but in alerting the reader to uncover contextual information. It builds up the writer’s argument and the causes for her grievance, culminating in the final verb ἀηδίζομαι. The facts are in the GAs, but her unfulfilled expectations are left implicit.

5.6.2. Acts 28:6

ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν προσδοκῶντων καὶ θεωρούντων μηδὲν ἄτοπον εἰς αὐτὸν γινόμενον μεταβαλόμενοι ἔλεγον αὐτὸν εἶναι θεόν.

“While they were watching and seeing that nothing happened to him, they changed their minds and said that he was a god.”

The watching involved a result contrary to expectation which forced the onlookers to reassess their negative opinion of the castaway Paul. This is a particularly interesting example in which the subject of the GA is the same as that of the verb in the main clause! This too is from ‘Luke’, whose Greek is said to be superior to that of the other Synoptists. The ‘obvious’ construction would have been a participle in the nominative case, but the use of a GA presents the link between the facts which the onlookers understood as part of their world view and the actual outcome of the event with the snake, which then caused them to come to a different conclusion.

6. GENITIVE ABSOLUTE AS INDICATING A CHANGE OF SUBJECT

I want to deal briefly with an analysis of GAs as exhibiting “switch reference,” not because I agree with this analysis but because it is often mentioned as the rationale for its use. The respected linguists Talmy Givon and John Haiman have made this

claim, as well as Austin and Phyllis Healy. As this is not the focus of this paper, I will not discuss their claims in detail. But I do want to refute the argument as it applies to Hellenistic Greek.

As one considers those features which are said to indicate the canonical identification of switch reference, the majority may be seen to be inapplicable to Hellenistic Greek: (1) Switch reference is commonly found in languages which exhibit clause chaining; (2) Almost invariably (a few exceptions have been documented) switch reference operates in languages with a verb final word order; (3) Switch reference operates almost exclusively between adjacent clauses; (4) The function of switch reference is to avoid ambiguity.

Greek, on the other hand, (1) does not exhibit clause chaining, although a sentence may consist of a number of subordinate clauses together with one or more main clauses; (2) does not in the Hellenistic period exhibit an incontrovertible verb-final word order; (3) may have an absolute clause before or after the main clause, with other clauses interposed between; (4) has a case system which relates each substantive and its accompanying participle to its function in its own clause, or in the sentence as a whole. I have dealt with this in detail in my MTh thesis, and I only mention this analysis here as it is often still raised as a viable option.

7. OTHER EXPLANATIONS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE GENITIVE ABSOLUTE

Scholars who have worked with proto Indo-European languages have suggested that the origin of “absolute” constructions lies in their function as time references. Robertson and Goodwin point out that the genitive case was used for “time within which,” while Berent sees the absolute case as an intermediate form interposed between an earlier stage of the language in which parataxis was the rule and a later one in which subordinate clauses became predominant. Of course it is true that parataxis is much more common in oral discourse than in written discourse. Further, it is well attested that the Koine exhibited a considerable change from syntactic subordination to dependent clauses introduced by particles such as *ὅτι* and *ἵνα*. In Modern Greek the participle has almost disappeared. It may well be that the genitive absolute in the Koine was not used in oral communication, but nevertheless it may be found in many letters from this period both formal and informal. The number of occurrences in the book of Acts is considerable, particularly in chapter 27.

8. CONCLUSION

The burden of this paper has been the conviction that using a cognitive theory of communication gives us a much more satisfying explanation for the use of the genitive absolute in Hellenistic (as well as Classical) Greek. The GA is used to invite the reader to access one or more contextual assumptions. These may be known to her but need to be made more manifest. When these assumptions are manifest, the text will have more relevance for her. These assumptions in turn will give rise to bridging assumptions which make the text clearer and more relevant. Many will agree with the notion of a GA signalling contextual assumptions. What is new in this approach is the highlighting of such contextual assumptions *as well as* the bridging assumptions which should be accessed in order to achieve maximum relevance. The

examples of the use of *ὀψίας γενομένης* have been adduced to make just this point. This phrase gives temporal information, but more than that it prompts the reader to ask why such information was relevant.

In conclusion we have to ask why this construction was used even in those examples where a concordant participle would have been grammatically possible, and in particular, as is the case in many examples both in the LXX and the papyri, not to mention Matthew and Luke-Acts, where the subject of the GA is the same as the subject of the main verb. A new explanation—and a non-prescriptive one—is called for. I offer this view of the GA as enabling a reader to access contextual assumptions which must be made manifest in order that the text will be optimally relevant.

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NOW AND THEN: CLARIFYING THE ROLE OF TEMPORAL ADVERBS AS DISCOURSE MARKERS

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Conjunctions and temporal adverbs contribute significantly to the shaping of a discourse. Although conjunctions nearly always serve as discourse markers, the same cannot be said of temporal adverbs. Blakemore suggests that only a subset of temporal adverbs function as discourse markers, those which are not part of the propositional form (i.e., which are conceptually separate from the main proposition).¹ However, there is a tendency to treat temporal adverbs monolithically, e.g., as though *νῦν* and *τότε* always mark transitions in the discourse. This paper outlines principles for determining whether or not a temporal adverb is functioning as a marker within the discourse. The principles will be applied to *νῦν* and *τότε* and illustrated using representative examples from the Greek New Testament.

1. INTRODUCTION

Νῦν and *τότε* provide something of a conundrum based on their diverse uses. On the one hand, they play an important role within a clause to refer respectively to present or past time (i.e., as simple temporal adverbs). On the other hand, grammarians and linguists have claimed that temporal adverbs play other roles. Westfall has claimed that these adverbs carry varying degrees of emphasis.² New Testament grammarians like Blass, Debrunner, and Funk (BDF hereafter) have treated “narrative *τότε*” as distinct from the simple adverbial function, calling it a “connective particle.” The second sense for *νῦν* from *A Greek-English Lexicon of the*

¹ Diane Blakemore, *Relevance and Linguistic Meaning: The Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse Markers* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 178.

² “Temporal and spatial markers that are semantically close are particularly emphatic when contrasted with temporal or spatial markers that are semantically distant. However, when deictic markers that are semantically distant are used alone, they are emphatic.” See Cynthia Long Westfall, “A Method for the Analysis of Prominence in Hellenistic Greek,” in *The Linguist as Pedagogue: Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O’Donnell; New Testament Monographs 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 87.

New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (BDAG hereafter) refers “not so much to the present time as the situation pertinent at a given moment.”³ These claims are compatible with the broader linguistic understanding of temporal adverbs functioning as discourse markers (DMs). However, very little has been said regarding how either linguists or readers are to distinguish prototypical adverbs from those which function as DMs.

BDAG provides two primary senses for *τότε*.⁴ The first concerns references to specific points of time, either past or future. The second sense describes its sequential use “to introduce that which follows in time,” like narrative *τότε*. This second sense is by far the most frequent, yet it is listed as the secondary rather than the primary sense. The same holds true for *νῦν*, with the first sense describing its more literal use as a temporal adverb “with focus on the moment,” whereas the second describes the more figurative use “with focus not so much on the present time as the situation pert. at a given moment.”⁵ As with *τότε*, the primary sense of *νῦν* represents only about 35% of the usage in the New Testament.⁶

Accurately describing words manifesting such diverse usage is a challenge. The two main senses proposed by BDAG capture the usage, but no criteria are provided for distinguishing one sense from the other. Linguists working in the area of cognitive semantics have addressed this problem of fuzzy boundaries between categories by describing forms in terms of their prototypical attributes. Describing something in terms of its prototypical attributes enables us more specifically to understand why some usages are construed as more normal or prototypical than others.⁷

Lakoff uses the concept of “mother” to illustrate this point. In most Western cultures, there are a number of attributes prototypically associated with being a mother:

- a. “The birth model: The person who gives birth is the *mother*.”
- b. The genetic model: The female who contributes genetic material is the *mother*.”
- c. The nurturance model: The female adult who nurtures and raises a child is the *mother* of that child.
- d. The marital model: The wife of the father is the *mother*.”

³ Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), §459, 2; Walter Bauer, Frederick W. Danker, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (3rd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 681.

⁴ BDAG, 1012–13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 681.

⁶ All counts or examples of Greek text are taken from Michael W. Holmes, ed., *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2010).

⁷ John R. Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 44.

- e. The genealogical model: The closest female ancestor is the *mother*.⁸

Taylor makes the point that although these attributes are highly idealized and may not represent the most commonly occurring instantiation, they are nonetheless central to what comes to mind when “mother” is mentioned. It also explains the prevalent usage of compound descriptions when one or more of the idealized attributes is missing, for example:

- a. Birth mother/surrogate mother: missing the *nurturance* domain;
- b. Adoptive mother: missing the *birth* domain;
- c. Stepmother: missing the *birth* domain;
- d. Unmarried mother/single mother/widowed mother: missing the *marital* domain at some point in time or altogether;
- e. Working mother: missing the *nurturance* domain, perhaps.⁹

So although all of these compound descriptions rely on the concept of a mother, the absence of one or more prototypical attributes explains the perceived need to add a qualifying modifier like birth- or step-.

Utilizing prototypical attributes to describe a concept enables us better to understand why some uses are more typical than others. The less-prototypical uses can be objectively identified by the absence of one or more of the proposed attributes. Attributes also better enable us to understand the meaningful distinction between seemingly synonymous terms. Consider the challenge of distinguishing *τότε* from *είτα* or *έπειτα*. All three have *then* listed as one of their BDAG glosses, and at first blush there seems to be significant semantic overlap. So too with *νύν* and *άρτι*. Both share *now* as their primary gloss, with *άρτι* having a narrower, more immediate limitation. The use of attributes can help us better understand the fuzzy boundary between these lemmas. If we consider possible contextual or referential limitations, we can discern prototypical attributes that allow for finer distinctions to be made.

Table 1. Prototypical Attributes

	<i>With Conj.</i>	<i>Post-verbal</i>	<i>Referential</i>	<i>Deictic</i>	<i>Directionality</i>
<i>τότε</i>	Y/N	Y/N	Y	Y/N	Non-present
<i>είτα</i>	N	N	N	Y	Non-present
<i>έπειτα</i>	N	N	N	Y	Non-present
<i>νύν</i>	Y	Y/N	Y	Y/N	Present
<i>άρτι</i>	Y	Y/N	N	Y	Present

We find that *τότε*, *νύν*, and *άρτι* can co-occur with coordinating conjunctions like *καί* or *δέ*, whereas *είτα* and *έπειτα* do not. In terms of distribution within the clause,

⁸ George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 74.

⁹ Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization*, 91.

there is a meaningful difference in functions between what typically follows the verb (the newly asserted information) and what precedes the verb (framing information that is established or inferable). We see that while *εἶτα* and *ἔπειτα* are only found at the beginning of the clause or phrase they modify, the other adverbs are found both before and after the verb. Although these words are adverbs, some function as “pro-adverbs,” referring to a specific temporal context much like a pronoun refers to a substantive.¹⁰ This referential attribute meaningfully distinguishes *νῦν* and *τότε* from their seeming synonyms. Finally, there is the issue of deixis, which is related to referentiality.¹¹ All these adverbs have the capacity to point directly to something in the discourse context. *Νῦν* and *ἄρτι* point to the present from a non-present situation, whereas the opposite is true of *τότε*, *εἶτα*, and *ἔπειτα*. The exception is that in certain less-prototypical uses of *νῦν* and *τότε* this deictic attribute is seemingly absent (see sections 3 and 4). Finally, although *νῦν* and *τότε* share many of the same attributes, they differ in the directionality of their deixis. The former refers to the present discourse context, whereas the latter points away from it, either to the past or the future.

Prototype theory enables us to identify the core attributes of a concept. As with the example of “mother” above, when one or more attributes is absent in a given context, the usage will be deemed less-prototypical. This is precisely what we will find with some uses of *νῦν* and *τότε*. Prototype theory provides an important corrective to attempts to explain less-prototypical uses as the result of a diachronic development of the language. Many linguists have construed the use of temporal adverbs as DMs as somehow representing a diachronic transformation of the word from a simple deictic adverb into something else.¹² Regardless of whether such a

¹⁰ Paul Schachter, “Parts-of-speech Systems,” in *Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Clause Structure* (ed. Timothy Shopen; 2 vols.; Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 2:34.

¹¹ Crystal defines deixis as referring to “those features of language which refer directly to the personal, temporal or locational characteristics of the situation within which the utterance takes place, whose meaning is thus relative to that situation; e.g. now/then, here/there, I/you, this/that.” See David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (3rd ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 96.

¹² Barbara Frank-Job, “A Dynamic-Interactional Approach to Discourse Markers,” in *Approaches to Discourse Particles* (ed. Kerstin Fischer; Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 363, 371; Lawrence Schourup, “The Discourse Marker Now: A Relevance-Theoretic Approach,” *Journal of Pragmatics* 43, no. 8 (2011): 2110–11. Some have hypothesized that the adverbs are undergoing a diachronic process of fossilization called “grammaticalization” or “pragmaticalization.” See, e.g., Yves Bestgen and Jean Costermans, “Temporal Markers of Narrative Structure: Studies in Production,” in *Processing Interclausal Relationships: Studies in the Production and Comprehension of Text* (ed. Jean Costermans and Michel Fayol; Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997), 201–18; Jesus Romero Trillo, “The Pragmatic Fossilization of Discourse Markers in Non-Native Speakers of English,” *Journal of Pragmatics* 34, no. 6 (2002): 769–84; Michel Charolles, “Framing Adverbials and Their Role in Discourse Cohesion: From Connection to Forward Labeling,” in *Proceedings of the Symposium on the Exploration and Modeling of Meaning (SEM-05)* (ed. M. Aurnague et al.; Biarritz, France,

diachronic shift is indeed underway, the question remains how readers are able to differentiate successfully the core function of the temporal adverb within a clause from its use as a DM operating at some higher level of the text. Data from the Greek New Testament will be used to demonstrate the heuristic value of prototype theory to resolve the apparent polysemy of $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ and $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$.¹³ This approach also provides clear parameters for resolving exegetical problems arising from the polysemy.

Section 1 of this paper reformulates the description of $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ and $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ in terms of prototype theory.¹⁴ Differentiating nuances between senses can be difficult, since the relationships are scalar rather than discretely definable. It will be shown that the different senses can be explained based on the clustering of different prototypical attributes in a given context. Although there is theoretically a multitude of potential attributes, delineating three will be sufficient to account for the senses typically associated with $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ and $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$:

1. Referential: it points to a specific event or situation.
2. Deictic: it has a directional orientation.
3. Post-verbal: it follows the verb.

Section 2 describes the effects achieved by moving $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ and $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ to the preverbal field. The typological tendency across languages is to move from what is most known to what is least known. Since Greek is a verb-prominent language, the newly asserted or “focal” information typically follows the verb. Thus when the adverb precedes the verb, it is accomplishing some less-prototypical function. When the fronted adverb is not part of the newly asserted information, it serves as a framing adverbial. Framing adverbials provide cohesive shifts from one temporal situation to another. When the fronted adverb is part of the focal domain, the word is placed in marked focus, emphasizing its salience in the context. Section 3 describes narrative $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ as lacking two prototypical attributes. The positional attribute is absent since the adverb is clause-initial. The deictic attribute, while not absent, is abused in that $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ is not switching to a non-present context, but from the present one to the

2005), 13–30; Kerstin Fischer, “Frames, Constructions and Invariant Meanings: The Functional Polysemy of Discourse Particles,” in *Approaches to Discourse Particles* (ed. Kerstin Fischer; Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 427–47; Laurel Brinton, “Pathways in the Development of Pragmatic Markers in English,” in *The Handbook of the History of English* (ed. Ans van Kemenade and Bettelou Los; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 307–34; Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen, “A Dynamic Polysemy Approach to the Lexical Semantics of Discourse Markers (with an Exemplary Analysis of French *Toujours*),” in *Approaches to Discourse Particles* (ed. Kerstin Fischer; vol. 1; Studies in Pragmatics 1; Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 21–42; Yves Bestgen and the Psycholinguistic Group of the Spatial Framing Adverbial Project, “The Discourse Functions of Sentence-Initial Adverbials: Studies in Comprehension” (presented at the Linguistic and Psycholinguistic Approaches to Text Structuring; Paris: Ecole Normale Supérieure, 2009), 7–14.

¹³ “A monosemous lexical item has a single sense, while polysemy is the association of two or more related senses with a single linguistic form” (Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization*, 102–3).

¹⁴ Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, 18–19.

present one. This switch achieved is semantically redundant due to the assumption that events in a narrative are sequentially ordered unless otherwise indicated. Thus the deictic attribute is not prototypically instantiated with narrative *τότε*. Section 4 describes a similar effect using *νῦν* to switch from the present context back to the present in addition to the positional attribute. The literal temporal meaning is metaphorically extended to refer to the realis/irrealis domain.¹⁵ It is only when two prototypical elements are not fully present that *νῦν* and *τότε* truly operate as normal DMs. The presence or absence of prototypical attributes is what enables readers successfully to resolve the potential polysemy. The absence of core attributes also explains why some scholars have classified the non-prototypical usage as desemanticalization, semantic bleaching, or diachronic fossilization.¹⁶

2. PROTOTYPICAL FUNCTION OF *νῦν* AND *τότε*

Prototype theory describes words or devices according to the clustering of prototypical attributes that meaningfully differentiate one entity from another. BDAG describes *νῦν* as a “temporal marker with focus on the moment as such, *now*”; *τότε* is defined as a “correlative adverb of time . . . *at that time*.”¹⁷ Recall the three prototypical elements posited in the preceding section: referential, deictic, and post-verbal. Both *νῦν* and *τότε* are temporal adverbs like their counterparts *ἄρτι*, *εἶτα*, and *ἔπειτα*. But the additional attributes allow us to differentiate *νῦν* and *τότε* from the others. Both are deictic, meaning these adverbs *point* to some aspect of the temporal situation. *Νῦν* points *to* the present temporal situation of the discourse. *Τότε* points *away* from the present temporal situation, most typically to the past. Thus the meaningful distinction between *νῦν* and *τότε* is their deictic orientation.

These temporal adverbs are also referential, meaning that they can be used as pro-adverbs to refer to points in time or situations. Finally there is the issue of position with respect to the verb. In the broader linguistic literature on DMs there is a consistent association of DMs with the beginning of the clause.¹⁸ The same holds true within Koiné Greek for *νῦν* and *τότε*; the less-prototypical functions are associated with preverbal positioning. Example 1 illustrates the role of each prototypical element.

¹⁵ On metaphor see Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization*, 132–41.

¹⁶ See Laurel J. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 54; Frank-Job, “A Dynamic-Interactional Approach to Discourse Markers.”

¹⁷ BDAG, 681, 1012.

¹⁸ See Benjamin Fagard and Laure Sarda, “From Local Adverbials to Discourse Markers: Three Case Studies in the Diachrony of French,” *Discours. Revue de linguistique, psycholinguistique et informatique* [in press]: 3; Fischer, “Frames, Constructions and Invariant Meanings,” 431, 444–45.

Example 1: Rom 6:20–21

²⁰ Ὅτε γὰρ δοῦλοι ἦτε τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ἐλεύθεροι ἦτε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ. ²¹ τίνα οὖν καρπὸν εἶχετε **τότε** ἐφ’ οἷς **νῦν** ἐπαισχύνεσθε; τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἐκείνων θάνατος.

“²⁰ For when you were slaves of sin, you were free with respect to righteousness. ²¹ Therefore what sort of fruit did you have **then**, about which you are **now** ashamed? For the end of those *things* is death.”¹⁹

The underlined temporal clause “when you were slaves to sin” specifies a situation that precedes the present discourse context. Thus **τότε** in v. 21a does not just refer to some undefined situation in the past but to a specific one. In terms of prototypes, we note the following:

- Referential: it refers to a specific situation “when you were slaves to sin.”
- Deictic: it points away from the present discourse context toward the past.
- Post-verbal: it follows the verb.

The deixis is oriented with respect to the pro-adverb’s referent: the *ὅτε* clause of v. 20a. **Τότε** refers back to when this state of affairs existed, whereas **νῦν** marks the switch back to the present situation when the previous states of affair no longer exist. In terms of referentiality, **νῦν** refers to a present situation when we are no longer slaves to sin, and in terms of deixis it points away from the past situation to the present one. It is lacking one prototypical element, however: post-verbal position. This will be covered more thoroughly in the next section, but the preverbal position explicitly marks the change in situation from slavery to freedom. It also provides a cohesive bridge across this switch of time. The referent of **τότε** (“when you were slaves to sin”) provides the contextual basis for the deictic distinction with **νῦν** in this context. We may not be able to delineate the exact extent of the reference on a calendar or clock, but it is nonetheless a specific period of time.

Example 2: 1 Pet 2:25

ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεστράφητε **νῦν** ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.

“For you were going astray like sheep, but you have turned back **now** to the shepherd and guardian of your souls.”

Example 2 comes from 1 Peter 2, following a description of all that was accomplished by Jesus’ suffering and death for sinners. In v. 25 the readers are reminded that they too were sinners, pictured figuratively as sheep having gone astray. The connective *ἀλλά* constrains what follows to be viewed as correcting or

¹⁹ All English translations are taken from W. Hall Harris III et al., eds., *The Lexham English Bible* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2012).

replacing some aspect of what precedes, which in this case is turning back from their straying.

The use of $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ in v. 25b exhibits all of the prototypical elements. The referent is defined in v. 25a, the deixis points to the present situation, and $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ follows the verb as part of the newly asserted information. The balance of the paper will demonstrate the explanatory power of prototypes for providing objective criteria for distinguishing what appear to be fuzzy shades of meaning or usage.

3. PLACEMENT BEFORE THE VERB

3.1. Framing Function

$\text{N}\tilde{\nu}\nu$ and $\text{t}\acute{o}\text{t}\epsilon$ are very commonly used explicitly to mark shifts from one temporal context to another, referred to as a *framing* function. Framing adverbials “open a frame, a sort of file into which several sentences can be gathered under the index they provide. It follows that readers are expected to keep in mind the frame introduced for the processing of the host sentence and beyond, until the occurrence of some indicators that signal the end of its scope.”²⁰

This framing function is accomplished by placing the adverb at the beginning of the clause. Levinsohn notes that there is a pragmatic choice involved regarding preverbal placement, with the writer choosing the primary basis for linking the clause that follows with what precedes. If the shift in time is the primary basis for linking to the preceding context, then the adverbial element will be placed at the beginning of the clause; if not, it will be placed after the verb in its canonical position.²¹ Even though it is permissible in Indo-European languages like English and Greek to place temporal adverbs either at the beginning or the end of the clause, Diessel has found this framing principle to hold true more broadly: “As argued by Chafe (1984), Thompson (1987), Givón (1990), Ford (1993) and many others, initial adverbial clauses are commonly used to organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse; they function to provide a thematic ground or orientation for subsequent clauses.”²² BDF’s observation that “transitional temporal phrases tend to stand at the beginning” suggests a similar understanding of the significance of preverbal placement.²³

²⁰ Michel Charolles et al., “Temporal and Spatial Dimensions of Discourse Organisation,” *Journal of French Language Studies* 15, no. 2 (2005): 115.

²¹ “In all languages in which adverbial constituents (and nominal constituents, where applicable) have the option of beginning a sentence or of occurring later in the sentence, a corollary follows from the principle that points of departure indicate the primary basis for relating the sentence to its context. This is that, if a potential point of departure is *not* the primary basis for relating the sentence to its context, it will *not* be placed initial in the sentence.” See Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek* (2nd ed.; Dallas: SIL International, 2000), 14.

²² Holger Diessel, “Competing Motivations for the Ordering of Main and Adverbial Clauses,” *Linguistics* 43, no. 3 (2005): 459.

²³ BDF, 248.

Charolles et al. describe the function of framing adverbials as “the grouping together of a number of sentences which are linked by the fact that they must be interpreted with reference to a specific criterion, realised in an initial introducing expression.”²⁴ There is thus a meaningful distinction between the prototypical post-verbal placement and the less-prototypical preverbal placement. The latter affects the way one or more of the following clauses is processed.

Any change in time represents a discontinuity within the discourse, potentially disrupting the reader’s processing of the text. Framing adverbials make such shifts more explicit based on the clause-initial position. Framing adverbials not only mark discontinuities, they simultaneously provide cohesive linkage to help readers successfully bridge the shift in the discourse. Consider the following pair of verses:

Example 3. Initial versus Non-Initial Placement within the Clause

<i>Clause-Initial</i>	<i>Non-Initial</i>
1 Pet 2:10 <u>οἱ ποτε οὐ λαὸς</u> νῦν δὲ λαὸς θεοῦ, <u>οἱ οὐκ ἠλεημένοι</u> νῦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες. “ <u>who once were not a people,</u> but now are the people of God, <u>the ones who were not shown mercy,</u> but now are shown mercy.”	1 Pet 2:25 ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν. “For <u>you were going astray like sheep,</u> but you have turned back now to the shepherd and guardian of your souls.”

Although νῦν is functioning in both verses to mark the switch from a past situation to the present, there is a noticeable difference in contrast between v. 10 and v. 25. The primary basis for relating vv. 10a and 10c to vv. 10b and 10d is the temporal switch from πότε. Compare this to the placement after the verb, where the primary basis for relating v. 25a to v. 25b is the “turning back.” There has been a temporal switch in both verses, but the clause-initial placement makes the temporal change more prominent, increasing the perceived degree of contrast.²⁵ The clause-initial element also specifies the primary basis for relating what follows to what precedes, a temporal change versus a change in action.

In the next example, taken from Rom 15, Paul switches from past and future situations to the present one, using νυνί. In both cases the adverb refers to established information from the underlined clauses, which provides the temporal basis for the deixis of νυνί.

²⁴ Charolles et al., “Temporal and Spatial Dimensions of Discourse Organisation,” 115.

²⁵ Compare Elliott’s discussion of temporal contrast in 1 Pet 2:10 with his treatment of the shift in 1 Pet 2:25 as a change in action from turning away to returning. See John Hall Elliott, *1 Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 37; New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008), 441, 537.

Example 4. Rom 15:22–25

²² Διὸ καὶ ἐνεκοπτόμην τὰ πολλὰ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ²³ νυνὶ δὲ μηκέτι τόπον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς κλίμασι τούτοις, ἐπιποθίαν δὲ ἔχων τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ ἰκανῶν ἐτῶν, ²⁴ ὡς ἂν πορεύωμαι εἰς τὴν Σπανίαν, ἐλπίζω γὰρ διαπορευόμενος θεάσασθαι ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι ἐκεῖ ἐὰν ὑμῶν πρῶτον ἀπὸ μέρους ἐμπλησθῶ— ²⁵ νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ διακονῶν τοῖς ἀγίοις.

“²² For this reason also I was hindered many times from coming to you, ²³ and **now**, no longer having a place in these regions, but having a desire for many years to come to you ²⁴ whenever I travel to Spain. For I hope while I am passing through to see you and to be sent on my way by you, whenever I have first enjoyed your company for a while. ²⁵ But **now** I am traveling to Jerusalem, serving the saints.”

Because the present situation is readily accessible based on the preceding context, the placement of νυνὶ in a marked position establishes a new frame of reference for vv. 23 and 25.²⁶

3.2. Emphasis/Marked Focus

An important caveat must be made about clause-initial constituents in languages that exhibit a flexible word order like Greek. Much of the linguistic research on DMs has focused on configurational languages like English, which exhibit a fairly rigid word order. In contrast, highly inflected languages like Greek have much more freedom to reorder clauses for pragmatic reasons other than simply creating frames of reference.

Although νῦν and τότε most commonly serve a framing function, the clause initial placement can serve a second pragmatic function. Simon Dik's Functional Grammar model posits two preverbal slots in a clause, labeled P1 and P2.²⁷ A meaningful distinction must be made between information which is *already established or inferable* from the preceding context versus information that is *newly asserted* in a clause. This long-recognized distinction began with the Prague School's *theme* vs. *rheme*, with M. A. K. Halliday using the same terms in his work.²⁸ Chafe expressed

²⁶ For a complete description of frames of reference see Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010), 207–41.

²⁷ Simon C. Dik, *Functional Grammar* (Dordrecht, Holland: Foris, 1981), 363. In his later work, Dik changes the expression used for the marked focal constituent from P2 to P0. See Simon C. Dik, *The Theory of Functional Grammar: Complex and Derived Constructions* (ed. Kees Hengeveld; Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 2:288. For an introduction to Dik's framework applied to Greek see Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 191–95.

²⁸ See Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday, “Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English: Part 2,” *Journal of Linguistics* 3, no. 2 (1967): 205.

the distinction as *given* vs. *new* as he explored the role cognitive processing played.²⁹ Lambrecht built upon the work of Chafe, describing the distinction as *presupposed* vs. *newly asserted*.³⁰ Givón used the terms *figure* and *ground* to describe the grounding role that presupposed information serves for what is newly asserted.³¹

Simply put, the basic purpose of any clause is to assert or convey some new information. This newly asserted information is more salient than the presupposed information because it is the reason for the utterance. As a result of this difference in salience, different pragmatic effects are achieved by clause-initial placement, depending upon the status of the information. Fronting presupposed information results in the framing effects described above, corresponding to Dik's P1. Placing newly asserted information in the preverbal position effectively adds prominence to what was already most salient. The added prominence has the effect of emphasizing it, which linguists refer to as placing it in marked focus.³² Marked focus corresponds to Dik's P2 position.

To summarize, preverbal placement of clause constituents has various pragmatic effects, depending on the status of the information. If the preverbal information is presupposed or inferable (P1), it creates an explicit frame of reference for the clause that follows. If the preverbal information is newly asserted (P2), the resulting effect is emphasis, placing the information in marked focus.

Compare the following examples with those above where the information referred to was either established or inferable from the context. In the next two examples a question has been asked that anticipates an answer. Since the referent of *τότε* is filling in the blank, the information is newly asserted. The preverbal placement of the newly asserted information results in emphasis rather than a framing effect. Thus it is not the syntactic position alone or the proximity of the deictic reference which leads to judgments of emphasis, but the status of the information.³³

John the Baptist's disciples observe that Jesus' disciples are not fasting, raising the question "Why not?" Jesus' answer in v. 34 indicates that they indeed will fast,

²⁹ Wallace L. Chafe, "Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View," in *Subject and Topic*, vol. 55 (ed. Charles N. Li; New York: Academic Press, 1976), 25-56; Wallace L. Chafe, "Cognitive Constraints on Information Flow," in *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse* (ed. Russell S. Tomlin; Typological Studies in Language; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1987), 21-52.

³⁰ Knud Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 77.

³¹ Talmy Givón, "The Grammar of Referential Coherence as Mental Processing Instructions," *Linguistics* 30, no. 1 (1992): 5-56.

³² See Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 296-306.

³³ Westfall claims, "Temporal and spatial markers that are semantically close are particularly emphatic when contrasted with temporal or spatial markers that are semantically distant. However, when deictic markers that are semantically distant are used alone, they are emphatic." It is unclear whether the placement of the adverb in Halliday's "prime position" plays a role in these claims of emphasis (Westfall, "Analysis of Prominence," 87).

but not while the bridegroom is with them. It is when he leaves that the fasting will happen. This answer to their implied question is introduced using a left-dislocation, then emphasized in the main clause by placing τότε in marked focus (i.e., Dik's P2 position).

Example 5. Lk 5:33-35

³³ Οἱ δὲ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτόν· Οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου νηστεύουσιν πυκνὰ καὶ δεήσεις ποιοῦνται, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων, οἱ δὲ σοὶ ἐσθίουσιν καὶ πίνουσιν. ³⁴ ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Μὴ δύνασθε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ποιῆσαι νηστεῦσαι; ³⁵ ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι, καὶ ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.

“³³ And they said to him, ‘The disciples of John fast often and make prayers—likewise also the disciples of the Pharisees—but yours are eating and drinking!’ ³⁴ So he said to them, ‘You are not able to make the bridegroom’s attendants fast as long as the bridegroom is with them, are you? ³⁵ But days will come, and when the bridegroom is taken away from them, then they will fast in those days.’”

If the open proposition had been something like “What will your disciples do when you leave?” τότε would be understood as performing a framing function because Jesus’ departure would be presupposed. Information status is *the* determining factor regarding whether a fronted constituent performs a framing function versus receiving emphasis.

In 2 Cor 6:2 Paul quotes Isa 49:8 to encourage the readers not to lose heart. The quotation asserts that there will be an acceptable time when God hears, a day of salvation when he helps them. The question remains, though, as to when exactly that time will come about. Paul asserts that it is the present time, using ἰδοὺ νῦν twice in close succession.

Example 6. 2 Cor 6:2

λέγει γάρ· Καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι· ἰδοὺ νῦν καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἰδοὺ νῦν ἡμέρα σωτηρίας·

“For he says, ‘At the acceptable time I heard you, and in the day of salvation I helped you.’ Behold, **now** is the acceptable time; behold, **now** is the day of salvation!”

Based on the open proposition established in the quotation, νῦν here cannot be serving a framing function. The presence of ἰδοὺ in both instances provides added confirmation that νῦν is in marked focus, drawing attention to the importance of the proposition that follows.³⁴

Westfall has claimed that deictic temporal adverbs are emphatic, with the near deictic being more emphatic than the far one: “Temporal and spatial markers that

³⁴ See Runge, *Discourse Grammar*, 122–24.

are semantically close are particularly emphatic when contrasted with temporal or spatial markers that are semantically distant.”³⁵ In other words, she views the prominence as deriving from the lemma itself rather than as a natural consequence of the status of the information to which it refers. To be clear, her use of emphasis does not refer simply to placing something in marked focus, but more to the salience of something above the sentence-level.³⁶ Nevertheless, the status of the information to which the adverb refers is still the determining factor accounting for its prominence, not some emphatic, semantic quality of the lemma itself. This is illustrated in Example 7, where the opposite of Westfall’s claim holds true: the referent of the far deictic is more salient than the near one. Within this discourse context the *future* situation is more salient to Paul’s argument, even though it is more distant; the present situation simply provides the basis of comparison.

Example 7. 1 Cor 13:12-13

¹² βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι’ ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον. ἄρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους, τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθη. ¹³ νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη· τὰ τρία ταῦτα, μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη.

“¹² For now we see through a mirror indirectly, but **then** face to face. Now I know in part, but **then** I will know completely, just as I have also been completely known. ¹³ And **now** these three things remain: faith, hope, and love. But the greatest of these is love.”

In v. 12a ἄρτι follows the verb and is part of the newly asserted information, thereby disqualifying it from serving a less-prototypical function. It also establishes a reference point which the subsequent adverbs will use to switch back and forth between present and future. Thus the status of the information is the determining factor for salience and emphasis, not simply the lemma used or the position in the clause.

Placing an adverbial constituent before the verb adds prominence to it, but the determining factor for differentiating emphasis from a framing function is the status of the information in the specific context. If the information is newly asserted, then the preverbal placement results in emphasis or marked focus, captured by Dik’s P2. If the adverbial information is established or inferable from the context, then it performs a framing function, as Diessel and Charolles et al. have observed in other languages, and as Levinsohn has claimed for Greek. In either case two of the three prototypical elements are present: the adverbs are deictic and referential. So while fronting an adverbial element can create a frame of reference for the clause that follows, one cannot overlook the role that information status plays. In non-configurational languages like Greek, Dik’s P2 position of marked focus has been conflated with P1. Though both are clause-initial, the distinguishing characteristic

³⁵ Westfall, “Analysis of Prominence,” 86.

³⁶ Ibid., 77.

between the two is the status of the information, something Diessel and Charolles et al. seem to overlook.

4. Τότε AS A DISCOURSE MARKER

Recall from Section 1 the three proposed prototypes to describe the core functions of νῦν and τότε: referential, deictic, and post-verbal. Section 2 demonstrated the effects achieved by removing the attribute of position, resulting in a frame of reference or emphasis depending upon the status of the information referred to. This section considers the effect of τότε redundantly marking a switch to the next action in a narrative. Rather than the prototypical switch away from the present discourse time, narrative τότε switches from the present back to the present (i.e., the next action in the narrative sequence).

All the examples so far have had some identifiable, non-present referent in the preceding context. BDF refers to “the use of τότε as a connective particle to introduce a subsequent event, but not one taking place at a definite time.”³⁷ Similarly BDAG describes Sense 2 as introducing “that which follows in time (not in accordance with earlier Greek).”³⁸ The vast majority of their examples come from the Gospels.

Levinsohn’s description of narrative τότε focuses primarily upon the clause-initial occurrence in narrative proper where there is no other connective present. In such contexts “it seems most appropriate to interpret τότε itself as the conjunction, since asyndeton is so rarely found in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts.”³⁹ Levinsohn notes that when τότε switches to the present discourse situation rather than some other one, the usage conveys an element of sameness, “indicating continuity of time and of other factors between the subsections.”⁴⁰ It might appear as though there is no referent, but in fact there is one: the present temporal context. Levinsohn notes that this less-prototypical shift to the present situation brings about a generic shift to the next distinct step of the discourse while indicating continuity of time and other factors.⁴¹ Consider the following example.

Example 8. Mt 25:43–45

⁴³ ξένος ἦμην καὶ οὐ συνηγάγετέ με, γυμνὸς καὶ οὐ περιεβάλετέ με, ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ καὶ οὐκ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με. ⁴⁴ τότε ἀποκριθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγοντες· Κύριε, πότε σε εἶδομεν πεινῶντα ἢ διψῶντα ἢ ξένον ἢ γυμνὸν ἢ ἀσθενῆ ἢ ἐν φυλακῇ καὶ οὐ διηκονήσαμεν σοι; ⁴⁵ τότε ἀποκριθήσεται αὐτοῖς λέγων· Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐφ’ ὅσον οὐκ ἐποιήσατε ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων, οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε.

³⁷ BDF, 240.

³⁸ BDAG, 1012.

³⁹ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 96.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

“⁴³ I was a stranger and you did not welcome me as a guest, naked and you did not clothe me, sick and in prison and you did not care for me.’ ⁴⁴ **Then** they will also answer, saying, ‘Lord, when did we see you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison and not serve you?’ ⁴⁵ **Then** he will answer them, saying, ‘Truly I say to you, in as much as you did not do it to one of the least of these, you did not do it to me.’”

In vv. 44 and 45 *τότε* lacks two of the proposed prototypical elements: positioning after the verb and a non-present deictic referent. The absence of these two factors motivates the reader to look for alternative, less prototypical explanations for the usage. The usage is not substantially different from the framing function, but represents a metaphorical extension, eliminating the need for another particle or connective. Recall the discussion of *εἶτα* and *ἔπειτα* from the introduction. Narrative *τότε* exhibits much more similarity with *εἶτα* and *ἔπειτα*, with the exception of being referential. Narrative *τότε* is still referential, but the reference to the present temporal context is semantically redundant. In comparing the distribution in the New Testament of *εἶτα* and *ἔπειτα* (26x) to narrative *τότε* (90x), it appears that exploiting the polysemy of the one form provided a more elegant and efficient solution for marking sequential temporal transitions. The fact that *ἔπειτα* and *εἶτα* occur only infrequently in Mark (4x), Luke (1x), and John (4x), and are not found in Matthew or Acts could be attributed to register or idiolect. Compare this to the use of narrative *τότε*: 70x in Matthew and 20x in Luke/Acts, but absent in Mark or John.

I had expected that there would be instances in the Epistles where this less-prototypical use as a DM could be found, but I was wrong. There were no unambiguous examples outside the narrative corpus where *τότε* could not be reasonably construed as a framing adverbial, affecting a literal temporal switch in the context of asyndeton. In short, I learned what *doesn't* happen. But there are a few instances within the speeches reported in Luke where it appears to function as a DM like *εἶτα* and *ἔπειτα*, simply introducing the next action in a sequence without an explicit referent.

Example 9. Lk 11:24–26

²⁴ Ὄταν τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ζητοῦν ἀνάπαυσιν, καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκον λέγει· Ὑποστρέψω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον. ²⁵ καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐρίσκει σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον. ²⁶ **τότε** πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει ἕτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ, καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ, καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἕσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χεῖρονα τῶν πρώτων.

²⁴ “Whenever an unclean spirit has gone out of a person, it travels through waterless places searching for rest, and does not find it. It says, ‘I will return to my house from which I came out.’ ²⁵ And when it arrives it finds the house swept and put in order. ²⁶ **Then** it goes and brings along seven other spirits more evil than itself, and they go in and live there. And the last state of that person becomes worse than the first!”

In Luke 11 an unclean spirit has left a person, sojourned in desolate places, and *then* decides to return to the original host (v. 24). “Όταν in v. 24 anticipates a temporal switch, which occurs toward the end of v. 24 with τότε. Thus the presence of τότε in v. 26 appears to be a DM, a narrative τότε in the embedded narrative. The other example is found in Lk 14:21 in the parable of the great banquet. Τότε introduces the master’s response to the slave’s report that none of the invited guests is willing to attend the banquet. It is in the context of asyndeton, and there is not a non-present referent in the context. We will now consider the use of νῦν as a discourse marker.

5. Νῦν AS A DISCOURSE MARKER

In the introduction I noted BDAG’s reference to the use of νῦν when “the focus [is] not so much on the present time as the situation pertinent at a given moment.”⁴² The entry for νῦν is even more telling for its alternate sense adding “with the idea of time weakened or entirely absent.”⁴³ Roughly 6% of the instances of νῦν in the Greek New Testament fall into this category, functioning much like narrative τότε to signal the next distinct step in the discourse.⁴⁴ The preceding temporal context was the present rather than some non-present context. The use of νῦν is thus semantically redundant, just as was the case with narrative τότε. The deictic reference does not involve a prototypical switch.

In Col 1:21 there is a switch back to a time when the addressees were alienated and enemies of God, followed in v. 22 with a switch to their present situation when they have been reconciled with him. This switch back to the present is achieved using νῦν in the clause-initial position to provide a temporal frame of reference for what follows; there is no new development. Verse 24 begins what ESV, NIV, NKJV, NRSV, and UBS all consider to be a new unit. Since νῦν has already switched back to the present discourse situation, there is no explicit referent that the νῦν in v. 24 can be switching back from. Just as with narrative τότε, this use of νῦν as a DM achieves a switch back to the very same situation. It serves as what Levinsohn would call a point of departure by renewal, marking the shift to a new point, just as the topic headings in the versions suggest.⁴⁵

Example 10. Col 1:24

Νῦν χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία,

⁴² BDAG, 681.

⁴³ Ibid., 682.

⁴⁴ See Lk 11:39; Acts 10:5, 33; 13:11; 16:36; 20:25, 32; 22:16; 23:15; Col 1:24; 1 Jn 2:28; 2 Jn 5.

⁴⁵ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 23–25.

“²⁴ **Now** I rejoice in my sufferings on behalf of you, and I fill up in my flesh what is lacking of the afflictions of Christ, on behalf of his body which is the church,”

The lack of a specific non-present referent and the preverbal placement indicate that the usage here has moved away from the prototype.

In 12% of the data *νῦν* is used to switch from an irrealis situation back to a realis one.⁴⁶ BDAG notes, “Not infrequently *νῦν* δέ serves to contrast the real state of affairs with the statement made in an unreal conditional clause.”⁴⁷ In such contexts the preceding situation might be specified using negation to talk about what did *not* happen, or using a conditional construction to talk about a hypothetical situation. In either case, the usage is deemed less prototypical based on the lack of an explicitly temporal situation. As with the narrative *τότε*, this irrealis/realis switch is a natural metaphorical extension of the prototype. So not only is it preverbal, but the deictic reference is also not purely temporal. Consider the case of Jas 4:16, where the last temporal reference was “now” in v. 13.

Example 11. Jas 4:13–16

¹³ Ἄγε *νῦν* οἱ λέγοντες· Σήμερον ἢ αὔριον πορευσόμεθα εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ποιήσομεν ἐκεῖ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἐμπορευσόμεθα καὶ κερδήσομεν· ¹⁴ οἵτινες οὐκ ἐπίστασθε τὸ τῆς αὔριον ποία ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν· ἀτιμὶς γάρ ἐστε ἢ πρὸς ὀλίγον φαινομένη, ἔπειτα καὶ ἀφανιζομένη· ¹⁵ ἀντὶ τοῦ λέγειν ὑμᾶς· Ἐὰν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ, καὶ ζήσομεν καὶ ποιήσομεν τοῦτο ἢ ἐκεῖνο· ¹⁶ *νῦν* δὲ καυχᾶσθε ἐν ταῖς ἀλαζονείαις ὑμῶν· πᾶσα καύχησις τοιαύτη πονηρά ἐστιν.

“¹³ Come now, you 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,’ ¹⁴ you who do not know what will happen tomorrow, what your life will be like. For you are a smoky vapor that appears for a short time and then disappears. ¹⁵ Instead you should say, ‘If the Lord wills, we will live and do this or that.’ ¹⁶ But **now** you boast in your arrogance. All such boasting is evil.”

The writer calls for the attention of a hypothetical group with the idiomatic expression “Come, now.” Ἄγε is treated by BDAG as an interjection rather than an imperative, suggesting that the use of *νῦν* here should be viewed as idiomatic. The situation he addresses concerns presumptuous planning about the future, which he rebukes in vv. 14–15. As he returns from the hypothetical situation to make a positive assertion about what should be done, the switch is achieved using a less-prototypical sense of *νῦν*. The adverb precedes the verb and lacks the prototypical deictic reference involving a non-present temporal context. We find a metaphorical extension of the prototypical usage achieving a shift from an irrealis situation to a

⁴⁶ See Lk 12:52; Jn 8:40; 9:41; 12:27; 14:29; 15:22, 24; 18:36; Rom 7:17; 1 Cor 5:11; 7:14; 12:18, 20; 14:6; 15:20; Heb 8:6; 9:24, 26; 11:16; Jas 4:16.

⁴⁷ BDAG, 681.

realis one, with the irrealis situation metaphorically functioning as the non-present basis for the shift.

My final example illustrates the challenge we still face despite a deeper understanding of the prototypical attributes of $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$. Paul refers to an earlier letter he wrote to the Corinthians in which he exhorted them not to associate with sexually immoral people. In v. 10 he clarifies that he did not mean *any* immoral or greedy or idolaters, since doing so would require removal from the world. The implication of v. 10 is that they misunderstood his earlier intentions to avoid fellowshiping with immoral people who also claim to be believers.

Example 12. 1 Cor 5:11

$\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι ἐάν τις ἀδελφὸς ὀνομαζόμενος ἢ πόρνος ἢ πλεονέκτης ἢ εἰδωλόατρης ἢ λοῖδορος ἢ μέθυσος ἢ ἄρπαξ, τῷ τοιούτῳ μηδὲ συνεσθίειν.

“But **now** I have written to you not to associate with any so-called brother, if he is a sexually immoral person or a greedy person or an idolater or an abusive person or a drunkard or a swindler—with such a person not even to eat.”

The exegetical crux is whether this use of $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ in v. 11 is the prototypical framing function with a literal referent (i.e., the earlier letter), or whether it is the less-prototypical switch back from the irrealis situation of v. 10 (i.e., what he did *not* mean by his exhortation). The telling indicator is the tense used to translate ἔγραψα. NIV, NIV84, NRSV, ESV, and NET begin v. 11 as “But now I am writing you . . .,” which constrains reading $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ as switching from the earlier letter-writing event. Note that these translations render the perfective verb ἔγραψα as a present *imperfective* in English, implying that they had misunderstood his previous exhortation. Now he is writing a new exhortation to replace the previous one. Understanding $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ as referential naturally leads to treating the second exhortation as distinct from the first, but it also necessitates changing the aspect of the verb from perfective to imperfective.

Only NASB, RSV, and NLT translate $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ as switching from an irrealis situation, strange bedfellows to be sure! All use perfective verbs for ἔγραψα, and all use something other than *now* to represent $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ in their translation. NASB reads, “But actually, I wrote to you...,” where *actually* makes clear that the switch is from the irrealis of v. 10 to the present situation. So too with the RSV’s use of *rather* for $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$: “But rather I wrote...” Both clearly understand $\nu\tilde{\nu}\nu$ as marking the irrealis/realis switch. NLT reads, “I meant that you are not to associate . . .,” where the literal verb of writing has been substituted for a verb expressing intentionality. It retains the perfective aspect of ἔγραψα. According to these translations, Paul is not writing something new or retracting a former command, but is repairing what he had written before to make clear his intentions.

The *UBS Handbook* advocates this latter reading, saying “that if Paul intended a contrast between past and present letters, it is difficult to see why he did not make this plain by using the present tense here, as for example in 1 Cor 14:37; 2 Cor

13:10. If the translator follows RSV's text, *I wrote* must really mean 'I meant to write.' TEV and many other contemporary language translations have rendered it in this way. It is probably the best way to translate this phrase."⁴⁸ Alford also supports reading the *νῦν* as an irrealis/realis switch rather than a literal one.⁴⁹

6. CONCLUSIONS

Prototype theory provides a heuristic descriptive strategy for understanding the building blocks of meaning. Identifying the prototypical attributes which contribute to meaning gives insight into why certain usages at times resemble one another, while also allowing for meaningful distinctions to be drawn between them. This was demonstrated by considering the close relationship of *τότε*, *εἶτα* and *ἔπειτα* on the one hand, and *νῦν* and *ἄρτι* on the other. Conversely, *νῦν* and *τότε* were shown to share significant overlap, differing only in their deictic reference. Understanding these words in terms of attributes also enabled us to understand exactly what differentiated the prototypical usage from the less prototypical ones and how they came about. The alternate senses could each be accounted for as metaphorical extensions of the prototypical meaning based on one or more attributes not being present. This approach also offers a more satisfying explanation of the various functions than appealing to diachronic change because it explains how readers are able to successfully process the synchronic polysemy of forms like *νῦν* and *τότε*. Understanding the various effects achieved by the less-prototypical usage also provided insight for resolving exegetical problems like 1 Cor 5:11.

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⁴⁸ Paul Ellingworth and Howard Hatton, *A Handbook on Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians* (UBS Handbook Series; Helps for Translators; New York: United Bible Societies, 1995), 119.

⁴⁹ "Thus by the right rendering, we escape the awkward inference deducible from the ordinary interpretation,—that the Apostle had previously given a command, and now retracted it." See Henry Alford, *Alford's Greek Testament: An Exegetical and Critical Commentary* (7th ed.; Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2010), 1 Cor. 5:11.

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‘THEREFORE’ OR ‘WHEREFORE’: WHAT’S THE DIFFERENCE?¹

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The inferential connectives of New Testament Greek are best differentiated not “according to emphasis,”² but in terms of the unique constraint on interpretation³ that each conveys. Οὖν constrains what follows to be interpreted as inferential material that advances a theme line, whether the current one or an earlier one that is being resumed following intervening material (+Development). This constraint applies even to passages in which some have assigned an adversative ‘sense’ to οὖν. Ἄρα is marked as +Consequence, so ἄρα οὖν is +Consequence +Development. In contrast, διό constrains what follows to be interpreted as inferential material that does not advance the theme line (unmarked for development). When ὥστε introduces an independent clause or sentence, it constrains it to be interpreted as the result of what has previously been stated (+Result). When διὰ τοῦτο is used anaphorically, it constrains what follows to be related inferentially to a specific referent (+Specific). The paper concludes with suggestions as to the constraints associated with three other inferential connectives (τοιγαροῦν, τοίνυν, διόπερ).

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper compares and contrasts the most common inferential connectives found in the Greek New Testament and, in particular, the Pauline epistles (including those

¹ Shorter versions of this paper were presented in November 2011 at the Wales Evangelical School of Theology and at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in San Francisco.

² Cynthia Long Westfall, “A Method for the Analysis of Prominence in Hellenistic Greek,” in *The Linguist as Pedagogue: Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O’Donnell; New Testament Monographs 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 84.

³ Diane Blakemore, *Relevance and Linguistic Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 184.

whose authorship is disputed). The function of each connective is described in terms of the unique cognitive “constraint” on interpretation that it conveys.⁴

My starting point is Reboul and Moeschler’s approach to connectives. The following is my translation, with modifications, of their definition of a connective:⁵

“A connective is a linguistic marker, drawn from a number of grammatical categories (coordinating conjunctions [e.g., ‘but’], subordinating conjunctions [e.g., ‘since’], adverbs [e.g., ‘thus’], adverbial expressions [e.g., ‘after all’]), which:

- (a) links a linguistic or discourse unit of any size to its context;
- (b) gives instructions as to how to relate this unit to its context;
- (c) constrains conclusions to be drawn on the basis of this discourse connection that might not have been drawn had it been absent.”

Point (a) of the above definition asserts that one cannot tell the **size** of the unit being linked from the connective itself. For example, I claim in sec. 1 that οὖν constrains what follows to be interpreted as a distinct point that is to be related inferentially to the context. However, one cannot tell from the presence of οὖν how far that new point will extend. So in Rom 6:1 (Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν); οὖν constrains what follows to be interpreted as a distinct point that advances Paul’s argument in an inferential way. However, one cannot tell from its presence how far this point will extend and, in particular, whether it continues to Rom 6:11,⁶ 6:14,⁷ or 7:6.⁸

Point (b) of Reboul and Moeschler’s definition asserts that the presence of a connective guides or **constrains** the reader as to how to relate what follows to the context. Each connective places a **different** constraint on the way the material it introduces is to be related to the context. English versions such as NIV translate several inferential connectives as “therefore” (e.g., οὖν in Rom 15:17; διό in Rom 1:24; ἄρα in Rom 8:1; ἄρα οὖν in Rom 8:12; ὥστε in 1 Cor 15:58; διὰ τοῦτο in Rom 4:16; διόπερ in 1 Cor 8:13; τοιγαροῦν in 1 Thess 4:8; τοίνυν in 1 Cor 9:26; δῆ in

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Anne Reboul and Jacques Moeschler, *Pragmatique du discours: de l’interprétation de l’énoncé à l’interprétation du discours* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1998), 77. See also Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Self-Instruction Materials on Narrative Discourse Analysis* (online at www.sil.org/~levinsohn, 2011), §6.2. Reboul and Moeschler’s definition includes the adjective “pragmatic,” which is omitted here as any distinction between ‘pragmatic’ and other sorts of connectives is not relevant to this paper.

⁶ Sang-Hoon Kim, “Triple Chiastic Structures in Romans 6” (paper presented at the International Conference of the Society of Biblical Literature held in Tartu, Estonia in July 2010).

⁷ Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 33-34.

⁸ Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Pillar New Testament Commentary Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 33.

1 Cor 6:20b).⁹ According to Reboul and Moeschler’s definition, though, each one will place a different constraint on interpretation.

According to the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter, *COED*), inferential connectives introduce a THESIS, CONCLUSION or RESULT which is “reached on the basis of evidence and reasoning.”¹⁰ As such, they contrast with strengthening connectives such as γάρ, which “support a THESIS by introducing a reason, ground or explanation.”¹¹

I now consider in turn the inferential connectives that are used most frequently in the Pauline epistles. They are οὖν (about 110 tokens in NA²⁷),¹² διό (27 tokens), ἄρα and ἄρα οὖν (27 tokens), and ὥστε (24 tokens). There are 22 tokens of διὰ τοῦτο in the corpus, though not all of them function as a connective. The paper concludes with discussion of three complex connectives: διόπερ (two–three tokens), τοιγαροῦν and τοίνυν (one token each).

2. Οὖν

I have argued elsewhere¹³ that οὖν constrains what follows to be interpreted as a distinct point that advances an argument in an inferential way. It is therefore characterised as **+Inferential +Distinctive**.

Rom 15:28 (below) illustrates the most common usage of οὖν in the epistles: to introduce a distinct point that advances an earlier theme, following material introduced with γάρ that was strengthening the previous point of the theme line. The previous point was the assertion, “At present, however, I am going to Jerusalem in a ministry to the saints” (v. 25, NRSV). Verse 28 takes up the same theme and further develops it: “So, when I have completed this, and have delivered to them what has been collected, I will set out by way of you to Spain.”

²⁵ νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ διακονῶν τοῖς ἁγίοις. ²⁶ εὐδόκησαν γὰρ Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα κοινωνίαν τινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. ^{27a} εὐδόκησαν γὰρ καὶ ὀφειλέται εἰσὶν αὐτῶν. ^{27b} εἰ γὰρ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκοινωνήσαν τὰ ἔθνη, ὀφείλουσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς σαρκικοῖς λειτουργῆσαι αὐτοῖς. ²⁸ τοῦτο οὖν

⁹ Connectives that are sometimes translated ‘therefore’ but do not feature in the Pauline epistles include διότι (variant: οὖν) in Acts 20:26 and ἕθεν in Heb 3:1.

¹⁰ *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (11th ed.; ed. Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

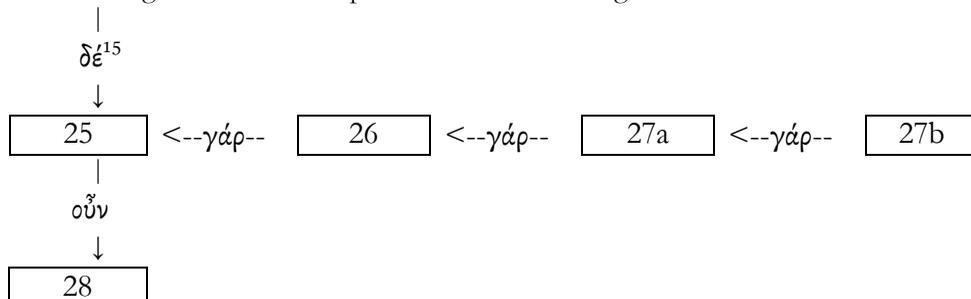
¹¹ Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Self-Instruction Materials on Non-Narrative Discourse Analysis” (available online at www.sil.org/~levinsohns, 2011), §3.5.3.

¹² Barbara and Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

¹³ Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek* (2nd ed.; Dallas: SIL International, 2000), 126–28; Stephen H. Levinsohn, “A Holistic Approach to the Argument Structure of Romans 6” (paper presented at the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature held in London, England in July 2011; online at www.sil.org/~levinsohns), 4.

ἐπιτελέσας καὶ σφραγισάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸν καρπὸν τοῦτον, ἀπελεύσομαι
δι' ὑμῶν εἰς Σπανίαν·

The following chart seeks to capture the flow of the argument of Rom 15:25–28.¹⁴



Rom 15:17 (ἔχω οὖν [τὴν] καύχησιν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν) illustrates the use of οὖν when strengthening material does not separate the propositions that it links. Its presence again constrains what follows to be interpreted as a distinct point that advances Paul’s argument in an inferential way. As Alford comments, “**I have therefore** (consequent on the grace and ministry just mentioned . . .).”¹⁶

Point (c) of Reboul and Moeschler’s definition states that the presence of a particular connective may constrain “conclusions to be drawn . . . that might not have been drawn had it been absent.” Although a number of commentators have recognised an “adversative” sense for οὖν in certain contexts,¹⁷ such a sense is not consistent with the inferential constraint that it imposes.¹⁸ In other words, the presence of οὖν in such passages instructs the reader to relate what follows to the context in an inferential way, rather than an adversative way.

¹⁴ Arrows down the page in the flow-charts represent places at which the argument advances to a distinct point. Backward-facing arrows represent places at which the argument is being strengthened by material introduced with γάρ.

¹⁵ “[W]hereas both δέ and οὖν constrain the material with which they are associated to be processed as developing from previous material, they differ in that, when οὖν is used, a previous main topic continues to be considered, whereas no such constraint applies to δέ” (Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 128). Δέ is therefore **+distinctive**. Winer uses the term “distinct” in his discussion of δέ, but not +inferential. See G. B. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1882), 552.

¹⁶ Henry Alford, *The Greek Testament* (London: Rivingtons, 1881), 2:462.

¹⁷ See, for example, W. F. Moulton, A. S. Geden, and H. K. Moulton, *Concordance to the Greek Testament* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1978), 1104; Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 214.

¹⁸ See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 128–29 for application of this point to οὖν in Rom 10:14 and 1 Cor 11:20.

3. Διό

BDAG considers διό to be derived from δι’ ὅ,¹⁹ so I treat it as a member of the set of connectives that are made up of διαί plus the accusative and are used for “cause.”²⁰

The title of this paper is “‘Therefore’ or ‘Wherefore’: What’s the Difference?,” and a hint as to the answer is to be found in the dictionary definition of ‘wherefore’: “related adverb . . . as a result of which” (*COED*). Although Porter is right to claim that it is not clear that διό is used as a subordinator in the New Testament,²¹ material that it introduces still retains some of the characteristics of a “continuative” relative clause.²² In such clauses, “the information preceding the relative pronoun is *backgrounded* vis-à-vis what follows.”²³ Διό functions in a similar way, in that it typically introduces an expository or hortatory THESIS that is inferred from what has already been stated.

I therefore classify the constraint that the presence of διό imposes as **+Inferential +Continuative**. It contrasts with οὖν in that it does not move the argument on to a new point. This is seen in Rom 4:22 (διό [καί] ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην). Verse 9 had already stated that “Faith was reckoned to Abraham as righteousness” (Ἐλογίσθη τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἡ πίστις εἰς δικαιοσύνην). So although v. 22 is in an inferential relationship to its context, it does not move the argument on from the point made in v. 9.²⁴

In this connection, it is noteworthy that Rom 15:22 (Διό καί²⁵ ἐνεκοπτόμην τὰ πολλὰ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς) reiterates Rom 1:13 (οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι πολλάκις προεθέμην ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐκωλύθη ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο). Commentators recognise that “the contents of 15:14–33 match those of 1:1–15, and especially 1:8–15.”²⁶ So although Rom 15:22 relates back inferentially to the

¹⁹ BDAG, 250.

²⁰ Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 369.

²¹ Porter, *Idioms*, 209.

²² Winer, *Treatise*, 680.

²³ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 191.

²⁴ See also Rom 13:5 (διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι reiterates the command of v. 1 [Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασθήσθω]); 1 Cor 14:13 (διὸ [variant: διόπερ] ὁ λαῶν γλώσση προσευχέσθω ἵνα διερμηνεύη reiterates the position stated in v. 5 [μείζων δὲ ὁ προφητεύων ἢ ὁ λαῶν γλώσσαις ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ διερμηνεύη, ἵνα ἡ ἐκκλησία οἰκοδομῆν λάβῃ]); Gal 4:31 (διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας makes a similar point to that of v. 28 [ὕμεις δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ]); 1 Thess 5:11 (Διὸ παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους repeats the exhortation of 1 Thess 4:18 [Ὡστε παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις]); plus 1 Cor 12:3 (διὸ γνωρίζω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαῶν λέγει, Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς expands on Περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν, ἀδελφοί, οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν [v. 1], rather than being a distinct point), and Eph 2:11 (relating back to v. 2).

²⁵ “My discussion assumes that διὸ καί is a combination of διό and non-conjunctive καί, as seems clear in Lk. 1:35 and 2 Co. 5:9, rather than a complex conjunction” (Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 104 n. 19).

²⁶ Moo, *Romans*, 886.

immediate context,²⁷ it does not move the argument on, as far as the overall purpose of the letter is concerned. To capture this function, NIV appropriately translates *διό* “that is why.”

Because *διό* does not move the argument on to a new point, it may be used to indicate an inferential relationship within material that supports a THESIS. This is illustrated in Phil 2:1–11, which NIV entitles “*Imitating Christ’s Humility.*” I follow Hendriksen and Banker in understanding vv. 6–11 to be supportive of the exhortations of vv. 1–5.²⁸ *Διὸ καὶ* in v. 9 (*διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν*) then provides an inferential link between the two parts of this supportive material.²⁹

The above discussion means that other passages containing *διό* should be exegeted in such a way that what follows is understood not as a new point of the argument, but as part of the current point that follows inferentially from the context.

So in Rom 15:7 (*Διὸ προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς προσελάβετο ὑμᾶς εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ*), “Welcome one another just as Christ has welcomed you, for the glory of God,” is to be understood not as a new exhortation, but as making a similar point to vv. 1–2 (*Ὁφείλομεν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ τὰ ἀσθενήματα τῶν ἀδυνάτων βαστάζειν καὶ μὴ ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκειν. ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τῷ πλησίον ἀρεσκέτω εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς οἰκοδομήν*).³⁰

Similarly, 2 Cor 12:10 (*διὸ εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ἐν ὕβρεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν διωγμοῖς καὶ στενοχωρίαις, ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ*) is not to be understood as making a new point. Rather, “These words afford further evidence of the unity and coherence of this epistle, for they are closely linked in thought with 4:7–10 and 6:4–10.”³¹

²⁷ “‘Therefore’ might link this verse with the missionary principle that Paul has just enunciated (v. 20)—I have been hindered in coming to you because I did not want to build on another’s foundations—but more likely connects it with his description of his missionary work in the eastern Mediterranean (vv. 17–19, esp. 19b)—I have been hindered in coming to you because I was concentrating on ‘fulfilling the gospel from Jerusalem to Illyricum.’ It was the needs of ministry in these regions that ‘hindered’ Paul ‘many times’ from coming to Rome” (Moo, *Romans*, 899).

²⁸ “In order to underscore this exhortation [2:1–4] and to indicate the source of the strength needed to live up to it, he now points to *the example of Christ.*” See William Hendriksen, *Philippians* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1962), 102. “While 2:5–11 has its own exhortation, its dominant feature is the model of Christ’s humility and service, and so it also functions as a motivational basis for the other hortatory paragraphs of the section.” See John Banker, *A Semantic and Structural Analysis of Philippians* (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1996), 77.

²⁹ *Διὸ* also provides an inferential link within supportive material in Rom 1:24, 2:1; 1 Cor 1:20; 2 Cor 6:17; 12:7. See also Phmn 8 (the supportive material continues until v. 16). See Levinsohn, *Non-Narrative*, §2.2.3.

³⁰ “‘Therefore’ gathers up the threads of Paul’s entire exhortation to the ‘strong’ and the ‘weak’” (Moo, *Romans*, 874).

³¹ Philip E. Hughes, *Paul’s Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962), 453. See also 2 Cor 2:8 (continuing the point made in v. 7); 2 Cor 4:16 (continuing the point in v. 14); 2 Cor 5:9 (complementing v. 8); Eph 3:13 (the main theme

4. ἄρα AND ἄρα οὖν

BDAG glosses ἄρα as “so, then, consequently, you see,”³² which suggests that the presence of ἄρα constrains what follows to be interpreted as a consequence of what has already been stated in the context. I therefore consider ἄρα to be characterised as **+Inferential +Consequence**.

Most of the examples of ἄρα in the Pauline corpus link clauses rather than sentences. In contrast with classical Greek,³³ its default position is at the beginning of the clause that presents the consequence of what was stated earlier.

Following a conditional clause (protasis), for instance, ἄρα introduces the consequence in the apodosis. The condition may be true, as in Gal 3:29 (εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, κατ’ ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι). Alternatively, the condition may be untrue, as in Gal 2:21 (εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν) and 1 Cor 15:14 (εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, κενὸν ἄρα [καί] τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν). The postpositive position of ἄρα in 1 Cor 15:14 adds to the prominence given to the preposed focal constituent κενόν.

In Gal 5:11 (ἐγὼ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω, τί ἔτι διώκομαι; ἄρα κατήργηται τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ), a rhetorical question separates the consequence from the conditional clause. In 1 Cor 15:17–18 (εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, ματαία ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, ἄρα καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπώλοντο), ἄρα introduces the last of three apodoses. In 2 Cor 5:14 (κρίναντας τοῦτο, ὅτι εἰς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον), the protasis is expressed as an independent clause. In 1 Cor 7:14 (ἐπεὶ ἄρα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκάθαρτά ἐστιν), the protasis is ἐπεὶ “otherwise” (“if not” in many languages).³⁴

1 Cor 15:15 (εὕρισκόμεθα δὲ καὶ ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἤγειρεν τὸν Χριστόν, ὃν οὐκ ἤγειρεν εἴπερ ἄρα νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται) is a residual example. Alford renders ἄρα, “as they assert” and cites an

line appears to resume at v. 14; see Alford, *Greek Testament*, 3:14); Eph 4:25 (continuing the exhortations of vv. 17–24); and 1 Thess 3:1 (continuing the point made in 1 Thess 2:17). In 2 Cor 4:13, διό is used twice within a sentence, so is readily interpreted as not introducing a new point. In Eph 4:8 and 5:14, διό appears to introduce strengthening material.

³² BDAG, 127 §1. See also BDF, §451 (2). Robertson renders ἄρα ‘fittingly, accordingly’. See A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (New York; London: Harper, [1934]), 1189. Denniston rejects “the most widely-held view” for Classical Greek that “ἄρα denotes connexion (consequence or mere succession).” See J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (2nd ed.; rev. K. J. Dover; London: Bristol Classical Press, 1996), 31. However, his own position, “Primary use, expressing a lively feeling of interest”, “II. ἄρα expressing the surprise attendant upon disillusionment” (ibid., 33, 35), is more likely to be the description of the pragmatic effects of using ἄρα in certain contexts.

³³ “ἄρα was postpositive in classical Greek” (Porter, *Idioms*, 206).

³⁴ In 1 Cor 5:10 (ἐπεὶ ὠφεῖλετε ἄρα ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελεθεῖν), ἐπεὶ is treated as a subordinating conjunction (‘since’) and ἄρα is postpositive, while still introducing the hypothetical consequence.

example of ἄρα with εἶπερ from Plato, *Protagoras* §319 (line 8).³⁵ Fee's cross-reference to ἄρα in v. 14, however, seems to imply that he associates this ἄρα with the apodosis (ὄν οὐκ ἤγειρεν), even though it is postpositive in the following protasis.³⁶ Perhaps Alford's comment is to be understood as meaning "consequent upon a false premise."

Ἄρα is used inter-sententially on five occasions in the Pauline corpus: initial in Rom 10:17 and 2 Cor 7:12; and postpositively in Rom 7:21, 8:1, and Gal 3:7. In Rom 10:17 and 2 Cor 7:12, ἄρα is initial, following strengthening material that was introduced with γάρ.

Moo states for Rom 10:17 (ἄρα ἢ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀκοή διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ) that the material following ἄρα "picks up immediately the connection between 'believing' and 'hearing/report' that the quotation of Isa. 53:1 in v. 16b assumes and restates the second step in the series of salvation requirements: faith comes as a result of 'hearing' (cf. v. 14b)."³⁷

As for 2 Cor 7:12 (ἄρα εἰ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, οὐχ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος ... ἀλλ' ἕνεκεν τοῦ φανερωθῆναι τὴν σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ), Omanson and Ellington write, "although some see this transition word [ἄρα] as connecting this verse with 5–7, it is more likely that it joins what follows with the entire preceding passage, including 8–11."³⁸ Confirmation of this interpretation is the presence of a point of departure (εἰ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν) following ἄρα, signalling a switch of situation from that of the immediate context.³⁹ A direct logical connection is then to be made between the material following ἄρα and an earlier proposition that relates to the situation described in the point of departure, viz., "when I wrote to you." This is found in v. 8 (ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐλύπησα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, οὐ μεταμέλομαι· εἰ καὶ μετεμελόμην). It is as though Paul is saying, "Consequently, when I wrote to you, it turns out that you, rather than the one who did wrong or the injured party, were the beneficiaries!"

In Rom 7:21 and Gal 3:7, ἄρα is postpositive, following a verb that functions as an orienter for the next main assertion. In both instances, the presence of the orienter probably highlights the following assertion.⁴⁰ In Rom 7:21 (Εὐρίσκω ἄρα τὸν νόμον, τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ ποιεῖν τὸ καλόν, ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται), ἄρα "leads us to the logical consequence."⁴¹ In Gal 3:7 (Γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ

³⁵ ἢ καλόν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τέχνημα ἄρα κέκτησθαι, εἶπερ κέκτησθαι—Alford, *Greek Testament*, 2:607. However, Adam Beresford (*Protagoras and Meno* [London: Penguins, 2005], 17) translates ἄρα in this passage as an inferential: 'Wow!' I said, 'In that case, that's quite an impressive little skill you've got there—if what you are saying is true'.

³⁶ Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 742.

³⁷ Moo, *Romans*, 665. Although Moo uses "result," "consequence" would be more appropriate. See sec. 4.

³⁸ Roger L. Omanson and John Ellington, *A Translator's Handbook on Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1993), 135.

³⁹ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 9.

⁴⁰ Levinsohn, *Non-Narrative*, §§7.7, 8.10.

⁴¹ Morris, *Romans*, 294.

πίστεως, οὗτοι υἱοὶ εἰσιν Ἀβραάμ), “ἄρα marks this statement as a logical consequence of the preceding,”⁴² in particular v. 6.

In Rom 8:1 (Οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ), ἄρα is again postpositive, this time following a negative. There is general agreement among the commentators that it “links the great chapter on life in the Spirit logically to the preceding.”⁴³ However, they do not agree whether it relates to Rom 7:24–25a, to 7:6,⁴⁴ or to “the whole of the preceding argument.”⁴⁵ If νῦν signals a switch of situation from that described in Rom 7:25b to “**now** that a deliverance has been effected from the body of this death, by Christ . . .),”⁴⁶ then a consequence of Jesus Christ having rescued “me from this body of death” (vv. 24b–25a) is that there is “now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus”⁴⁷

I turn now to the combination ἄρα οὖν, which is sentence-initial twelve times in the Pauline corpus (Rom 5:18; 7:3; 7:25; 8:12; 9:16; 9:18; 14:12;⁴⁸ 14:19; Gal 6:10; Eph 2:19; 1 Thess 5:6; 2 Thess 2:15). BDAG glosses the combination “*so then*” and observes, “here ἄ. expresses the inference and οὖν the transition.”⁴⁹ This observation reflects the fact that, in most of the examples, οὖν introduces a distinct point that advances an earlier theme, following material introduced with γάρ that was strengthening the previous point of the theme line, while ἄρα makes explicit that this new point is a logical consequence of the previous point, together with the strengthening material. We may therefore characterise ἄρα οὖν as **+Inferential +Consequence +Distinctive**.

I start with Rom 9:14–18 (below), as it contains two instances of ἄρα οὖν, found in vv. 16 and 18. On both occasions, ἄρα οὖν follows strengthening material that is introduced with γάρ (vv. 15, 17) and constrains what follows to be interpreted as a distinct point of the theme line (οὖν) that is a logical consequence of what has just been stated in the context (ἄρα), viz. vv. 14–15 and 16–17 respectively.⁵⁰

¹⁴ Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; μὴ ἀδικία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ; μὴ γένοιτο. ¹⁵ τῷ Μωϋσεῖ γὰρ λέγει, Ἐλεῶ δὲ ἂν ἐλεῶ καὶ οἰκτιρήσω δὲ ἂν οἰκτιρῶ. ¹⁶ ἄρα οὖν οὐ τοῦ

⁴² Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1921), 155.

⁴³ Morris, *Romans*, 300.

⁴⁴ C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), 145.

⁴⁵ Morris, *Romans*, 300.

⁴⁶ Alford, *Greek Testament*, 2:385.

⁴⁷ Although νῦν is not a point of departure, as it is not initial in the proposition, its presence may well imply a switch to the current situation from a previous one (see the discussion of τοῖνυν in sec. 6).

⁴⁸ Some manuscripts lack οὖν.

⁴⁹ BDAG, 127 §2b.

⁵⁰ The following instances of ἄρα οὖν also follow strengthening material introduced with γάρ: Rom 5:18; 7:3; 14:12; 14:19; Gal 6:10; Eph 2:19 (the strengthening material begins at v. 14); 1 Thess 5:6. In the case of 2 Thess 2:15, ἄρα οὖν may well mark the resumption of the hortatory theme line of v. 3a, following strengthening material introduced with ὅτι in v. 3b.

θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεῶντος θεοῦ. ¹⁷ λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή τῷ Φαραῶ ὅτι Εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου καὶ ὅπως διαγγελῆ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ. ¹⁸ ἄρα οὖν ὃν θέλει ἐλεεῖ, ὃν δὲ θέλει σκληρύνει.

Rom 8:12 (**Ἄρα οὖν**, ἀδελφοί, ὀφειλέται ἐσμέν οὐ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν) is not preceded by strengthening material introduced with γὰρ, but the material following ἄρα οὖν may readily be interpreted as a distinct point of the theme that follows as a logical consequence of what has just been stated. Many commentators and versions begin a new paragraph at v. 12 (thereby suggesting that the verse indeed begins a distinct point). Morris is one of those who do so, but he writes that ἄρα οὖν “introduces the logical consequences. This paragraph is closely connected with the preceding.”⁵¹

I conclude this section with consideration of Rom 7:25b (ἄρα οὖν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῷ μὲν νοῖ δουλεύω νόμῳ θεοῦ τῇ δὲ σαρκὶ νόμῳ ἁμαρτίας). Commentators tend to view “v. 25b as a summarizing recapitulation of the ‘dividedness’ of the ἐγὼ that Paul has portrayed in vv. 15–23.”⁵² However, Moo continues, “For the first time in this context, Paul contrasts his two responses, or situations, in terms of ‘serving,’”⁵³ So v. 25b can still be viewed as a distinct point of the theme line that is a consequence of the previous point. As for the perceived difficulty of having v. 25b immediately after an “outburst of thanksgiving”⁵⁴ (χάρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν—v. 25a), it is not unusual for οὖν to follow “material of a digressional nature.”⁵⁵

5. ὥστε

Whether ὥστε introduces an infinitival clause or an independent clause or sentence, it constrains what follows to be interpreted as the “result—actual, natural, conceived, intended”⁵⁶ of what has previously been stated, so may be characterised as **+Inferential +Result**.

It is not apparent from the *COED* definitions for “result” (“a consequence, effect, or outcome”) and “consequence” (“a result or effect”) how “result” is to be distinguished from “consequence,” so I begin this section by discussing how ὥστε differs from ἄρα.

Typically, there is a direct logical connection between propositions linked by ἄρα and, most often, the input for the consequence introduced by ἄρα is a single

⁵¹ Morris, *Romans*, 311.

⁵² Moo, *Romans*, 467.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Morris (*Romans*, 297) cites Moffatt and Dodd in this connection.

⁵⁵ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 126. See, for example, 1 Tim 2:1, following the digressional material of 1 Tim 1:19b–20.

⁵⁶ Porter, *Idioms*, 234.

proposition. Such is even the case in three of the five inter-sentential examples of ἄρα (see the discussion above of Rom 7:21, Rom 10:17, and Gal 3:7).⁵⁷

When ὥστε introduces an independent clause or sentence, in contrast, the logical relation with the context is less direct and, quite often, the input for the result introduced by ὥστε is more than one proposition. This is particularly evident when ὥστε is accompanied by a vocative and introduces a concluding exhortation. See 1 Cor 14:39 (ὥστε, ἀδελφοί [μου], ζηλοῦτε τὸ προφητεύειν καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν μὴ κωλύετε γλώσσαις), for instance. These exhortations do not relate directly to the propositions of vv. 37–38 (Εἴ τις δοκεῖ προφήτης εἶναι ἢ πνευματικός, ἐπιγινωσκέτω ἂ γράφω ὑμῖν ὅτι κυρίου ἐστὶν ἐντολή· εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, ἀγνοεῖται). Rather, they result from the teaching of the whole chapter.⁵⁸

Like οὖν, ὥστε often follows strengthening material introduced with γάρ, so I now contrast the function of the two inferential connectives by considering Rom 7:10–13 (below).⁵⁹

¹⁰ ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέθανον καὶ εὐρέθη μοι ἡ ἐντολὴ ἢ εἰς ζωὴν, αὕτη εἰς θάνατον·
¹¹ ἢ γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐξηπάτησέν με καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς ἀπέκτεινεν. ¹² ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή. ^{13a} Τὸ οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἐμοὶ ἐγένετο θάνατος; μὴ γένοιτο·

In the above extract, ὥστε introduces a conclusion to vv. 7–12 that results from the reasoning of the previous verses.⁶⁰ In turn, οὖν in v. 13 introduces the next distinct point of the argument.⁶¹

The following is a possible flow-chart of the overall argumentation of Rom 7:7–13 (the flow of the argument within the strengthening material of vv. 7d–11 is not indicated).⁶²

⁵⁷ See sec. 3 for the effect in 2 Cor 7:12 of having a point of departure after ἄρα, and of the presence of νῦν in Rom 8:1.

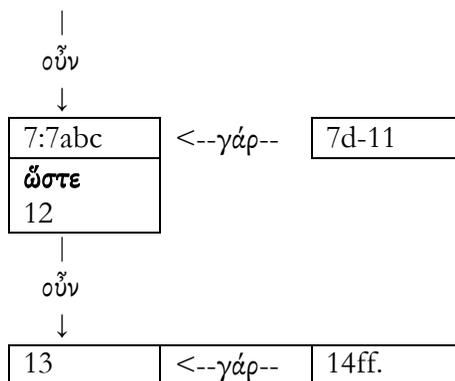
⁵⁸ “The first clause repeats the imperative with which Paul began in v. 1 . . . The second speaks to their favorite: ‘and do not forbid speaking in tongues.’ . . . These two clauses together thus summarize vv. 1–25. The third clause (v. 40) summarizes the argument of vv. 26–33” (Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 712). See also 1 Cor 11:33; 15:58; Phil 2:12; 4:1. In each, a concluding exhortation is introduced by ὥστε plus a vocative. 1 Cor 4:5, 10:12, and 1 Thess 4:18 (without a vocative) are similar. In Rom 7:4, ὥστε plus a vocative introduce a result that is obtained by drawing a parallel with vv. 1–3.

⁵⁹ See also Rom 13:2; 1 Cor 3:21; 11:27; 2 Cor 4:12; 5:16; Gal 4:16.

⁶⁰ “Having shown that the law is the innocent “cat’s paw” of sin, Paul can now return and complete the point with which he began the paragraph. ‘Is the law sin? Of course not! [v. 7a] . . .’” (Moo, *Romans*, 440).

⁶¹ “Once again Paul advances his argument with a question” (Morris, *Romans*, 289).

⁶² See Ellis W. Deibler Jr., *A Semantic and Structural Analysis of Romans* (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1998), 161.



In summary, *ὥστε* imposes a different constraint on interpretation from both *ἄρα* and *οὖν*. *Ἄρα* typically introduces a direct logical consequence of, usually, a single proposition. *Οὖν* constrains what follows to be interpreted as a distinct point that advances the argument in an inferential way. *Ὡστε* introduces a result that is not necessarily in a direct logical relation to the immediate context and often has more than one proposition as its input.⁶³

6. Διὰ τοῦτο

Like *διό*, *διὰ τοῦτο* consists of *διά* and the accusative. I have argued elsewhere that, when used anaphorically, the referent of the proximal demonstrative *οὗτος* is **thematic** and salient.⁶⁴

In 1 Cor 4:17 (*διὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον*), for instance, the referent of *διὰ τοῦτο* is the exhortation of v. 16 (*παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε*), which is Paul's current concern in the epistle. Because *τοῦτο* is singular, it is to be expected that its referent will also be **specific**. In the case of 1 Cor 4:17, the specific referent is the exhortation, "be imitators of me."⁶⁵ I therefore consider that, when *διὰ τοῦτο* is used anaphorically, it constrains what follows to be related inferentially to a specific, thematic referent: **+Inferential +Specific Thematic**.

I begin by contrasting *διὰ τοῦτο* with *διό*, whose constraint was **+Inferential +Continuative**. Consider Rom 1:21–26 (below), which features both connectives.

21 διότι γνόντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ἠὲ χαρίστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία. 22 φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν 23 καὶ ἠλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνης φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἐρπετῶν. 24 Διὸ παρέδωκεν αὐτοῦς ὁ θεὸς ἐν

⁶³ The other passages in the Pauline epistles in which *ὥστε* is followed by an independent clause or sentence are 1 Cor 3:7; 7:38; 14:22; 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 2:13; 3:9; 3:24; 4:7.

⁶⁴ 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* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O'Donnell; New Testament Monographs 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 212.

⁶⁵ Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 188.

ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς·²⁵ οἵτινες μετήλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλόγητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.^{26a} **διὰ τοῦτο** παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας,

Moo writes, “The ‘therefore’ at the beginning of this verse [24] shows that God’s ‘handing over’ of human beings is his response to their culpable rejection of the knowledge of himself that he has made generally available (vv. 21–23).”⁶⁶ Moo’s reference to vv. 21–23 is consistent with the referent of *διό* not being very specific but, instead, encompassing the various characteristics described in those verses. In v. 26, in contrast, the referent of *διὰ τοῦτο* is specifically “the idolatry referred to immediately before it.”⁶⁷

NRSV and/or NIV capture the ‘specific’ constraint imposed by *διὰ τοῦτο* in most passages by translating the expression with a demonstrative in the singular, such as “For this reason.”⁶⁸ This leaves five tokens, four of which pose few problems for a ‘specific’ interpretation. They are 2 Cor 4:1 (KJV and RV both render *διὰ τοῦτο* “For this cause”); Eph 5:17 (Alford renders *διὰ τοῦτο* “On this account”);⁶⁹ Eph 6:13 (Alford interprets the referent of *διὰ τοῦτο* to be “since our foes are in power too mighty for us,—and in dwelling, around and above us”);⁷⁰ and 2 Tim 2:10 (Hendriksen translates *διὰ τοῦτο* “On account of this,” which he interprets as “*On account of the fact that the word is not bound*”).⁷¹

The remaining token is Rom 5:12 (*Διὰ τοῦτο ὡσπερ δι’ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθεν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, καὶ οὕτως εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος διῆλθεν, ἐφ’ ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον*), about which Alford comments, “This verse is one of acknowledged difficulty.” He then asks, “To what does *διὰ τοῦτο* refer?”⁷² Morris notes various interpretations that have appeared in the literature (“It is possible to see *Therefore* as referring to verse 11, to verses 1–11, or to the whole long passage from 1:18 on”), but then he writes, “Whichever way

⁶⁶ Moo, *Romans*, 110.

⁶⁷ Morris, *Romans*, 92. Moo (*ibid.*) makes a similar point, but also draws a parallel with the use of *διό* to relate v. 24 to v. 23, in opposition to his earlier observation that the material to which *διό* related was found in vv. 21–23!

⁶⁸ ‘For this reason’ is the NRSV rendering in Rom 1:26; 4:16; 1 Cor 4:17; 11:10; 11:30; Col 1:9; 1 Thess 3:5; 3:7; 2 Thess 2:11 (following *καὶ*); plus Eph 1:15 (NIV). See also Rom 13:6 (following *γάρ*), where it is translated ‘For the same reason’; 2 Cor 7:13 (‘In this’); 2 Cor 13:10 (‘This is why’—NIV); Phmn 15 (following *γάρ*), where it is translated ‘this is the reason’; and 1 Tim 1:16 (following *ἀλλά*), where the translation is ‘for that very reason’. In Rom 15:9, *διὰ τοῦτο* is part of the quotation from Ps 18:49 (translating *יְהוָה*). In 1 Thess 2:13, *διὰ τοῦτο* (‘for this’—NRSV) is cataphoric.

⁶⁹ Alford, *Greek Testament*, 3:134.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 3:145.

⁷¹ William Hendriksen, *Commentary on I and II Timothy and Titus* (London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1959), 252.

⁷² Alford, *Greek Testament*, 2:359.

we take it (and there is much to be said for the simpler view that it depends on v. 11), it is the conclusion of the foregoing argument.”⁷³

I conclude that it is not unreasonable to insist that *διὰ τοῦτο* **always** constrains what follows to be related inferentially to a specific, thematic referent, so that Rom 5:12 is interpreted in line with that constraint.

7. BRIEF COMMENTS ON *διόπερ*, *τοιγαροῦν*, AND *τοίνυν*

I conclude with suggestions as to the constraints conveyed by three connectives with augments that occasionally feature in the Pauline corpus: *διόπερ*, *τοιγαροῦν*, and *τοίνυν*.⁷⁴

Διόπερ. This connective consists of *διό* and the “emphatic enclitic particle”⁷⁵ *περ*.⁷⁶ It is used two or three times in 1 Corinthians (8:13; 10:14; and as a variant of *διό* in 14:13). In both 1 Cor 8:13 (*διόπερ εἰ βρῶμα σκανδαλίζει τὸν ἀδελφόν μου, οὐ μὴ φάγω κρέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἵνα μὴ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου σκανδαλίσω*) and 1 Cor 10:14 (*Διόπερ, ἀγαπητοί μου, φεύγετε ἀπὸ τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας*), with *διόπερ* “Paul brings the preceding argument to its logical conclusion.”⁷⁷ It is possible to read *διὸ/διόπερ ὁ λαλῶν γλώσση προσευχέσθω ἵνα διερμηνεύῃ* (1 Cor 14:13) in the same way.

These examples indicate that, like *διό*, *διόπερ* introduces an expository or hortatory THESIS that is inferred from what has already been stated. The constraint on interpretation that its presence imposes can therefore be expressed as **+Inferential +Continuative +Intensive**.⁷⁸

Τοιγαροῦν and **τοίνυν**. BDAG describes *τοί* as a “marker of emphasis on the reliability of a statement,”⁷⁹ and Porter ascribes it the same function, whether used as an enclitic or as a proclitic.⁸⁰

Τοιγαροῦν is used twice in the New Testament (1 Thess 4:8; Heb 12:1). Westfall’s gloss “for that very reason then”⁸¹ brings out the three elements that make up this complex connective: emphatic *τοί*, treatment of what has just been

⁷³ Morris, *Romans*, 228.

⁷⁴ I do not discuss *δή* in 1 Cor 6:20b, as it is not inherently inferential. If Porter (*Idioms*, 208) is right in relating it to *δέ*, then the constraint on interpretation that it imposes will be **+Distinctive +Emphatic**. *ὅστω(ς)* is not inherently inferential either (see Lk 24:46). As Porter (*Idioms*, 215) notes, “This particle is an adverb, but it is also used to draw inferences, often following an introductory *ὥσπερ* in the conclusion to a comparison,” as in Rom 6:19. In connection with Rom 6:11, I described the constraint it imposes on interpretation as **+Comparative** (Levinsohn, *Holistic Approach*, 4).

⁷⁵ Porter, *Idioms*, 215.

⁷⁶ Winer (*Treatise*, 557, n. 3) considers *διόπερ* to be a “strengthened form” of *διό*.

⁷⁷ Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 464.

⁷⁸ BDAG, 797, describes *περ* as having “intensive and extensive force.”

⁷⁹ BDAG, 1009.

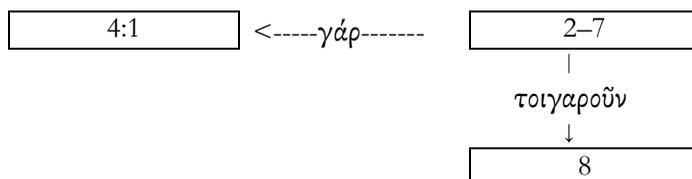
⁸⁰ Porter, *Idioms*, 217.

⁸¹ Cynthia Long Westfall, “A Method for the Analysis of Prominence in Hellenistic Greek,” in *The Linguist as Pedagogue: Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O’Donnell; New Testament Monographs 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 85. See also BDAG, 1009.

stated as strengthening the expository or hortatory THESIS that it introduces (γάρ), and οὖν to constrain what follows to be interpreted as a distinct point that advances Paul’s argument in an inferential way.⁸²

Such an analysis is consistent with the use of τοιγαροῦν in 1 Thess 4:8 (τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἀθετῶν οὐκ ἀνθρωπον ἀθετεῖ ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν τὸν [καὶ] διδόντα τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἰς ὑμᾶς). I have elsewhere described its function as follows:⁸³

4:8 *for that very reason* (τοιγαροῦν). Draws an inference specifically from the supportive proposition of 7 that was introduced with γάρ *for* [οὐ γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσία ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀγιασμῶ]. “So then in verse 8 . . . is a strong and unusual expression which leads the reader to expect (rightly) that Paul is about to say his last word on the present subject.”⁸⁴ It is an implied consequence of not heeding commands. The argumentation of 1–8 is therefore:



I therefore conclude that the constraint on interpretation imposed by τοιγαροῦν is **+Inferential +Emphatic +Distinctive**.

Τοίνυν is found three times in the New Testament (Lk 20:25; 1 Cor 9:26; Heb 13:13). In each instance, it signals a switch of attention to or back to the current situation. In Lk 20:25 (Τοίνυν ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ), the switch of attention is from discussion of the image and inscription on a denarius back to the question of whether it is lawful for Jews to pay taxes to Caesar or not (v. 21). In Heb 13:13 (τοιίνυν ἐξερχώμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς τὸν ὄνειδισμὸν αὐτοῦ φέροντες), the switch is from Jesus suffering outside the city gate (v. 12) to an exhortation applicable to the readers’ current situation. 1 Cor 9:26–27 (ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὕτως τρέχω ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλωσ, οὕτως πυκτεύω ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων· ἀλλὰ ὑπωπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγῶ, μή πως ἄλλοις κηρύξας αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι) is more complex, as two switches of attention are signalled: one from the contrast between those who compete in the games and ‘we’ to Paul himself

⁸² Denniston’s assertion that τοιγαροῦν “sometimes even convey[s] the effect that the logical connexion is regarded as more important than the ideas connected” (*Greek Particles*, 566) does NOT fit either instance in the Greek New Testament.

⁸³ Stephen H. Levinsohn, “Some Notes on the Information Structure and Discourse Features of 1 Thessalonians” (available online at www.sil.org/~levinsohn, 2009), 19.

⁸⁴ Paul Ellingworth and Eugene A. Nida, *A Translator’s Handbook on Paul’s Letters to the Thessalonians* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1976), 83.

(signaled by initial ἐγώ),⁸⁵ and the other from the general theme of competing in a race (vv. 24–25) to Paul’s current situation.⁸⁶

I therefore conclude that τοίνυν is placed in initial position to function as a situational point of departure.⁸⁷ As such, it signals a switch to the current situation. The constraints it imposes on interpretation may therefore be characterised as **+Situational Point of Departure** (because of its initial position) and **+Current Situation+Emphatic** (τοίνυν itself).⁸⁸

8. CONCLUSION

This paper has argued that the inferential connectives used in the Pauline epistles (including those whose authorship is disputed) should be distinguished from each other on the basis of the distinct constraint on interpretation that each imposes. The following constraints have been proposed:

οὖν	+Inferential +Distinctive (sec. 1) ⁸⁹
διό	+Inferential +Continuative (sec. 2)
διόπερ	+Inferential +Continuative +Intensive (sec. 6)
ἄρα	+Inferential +Consequence (sec. 3)
ἄρα οὖν	+Inferential +Consequence +Distinctive (sec. 3)
ὥστε	+Inferential +Result (sec. 4)
διὰ τοῦτο	+Inferential +Specific Thematic (sec. 5)
τοιγαροῦν	+Inferential +Emphatic +Distinctive (sec. 6)
τοίνυν	+Current Situation +Emphatic; +Situational Point of Departure (because initial) (sec. 6).

Cross-linguistically, the default way of connecting sentences in texts that are not organised chronologically is **juxtaposition**⁹⁰ (asyndeton, if understood to mean not the omission, but the absence of a conjunction).⁹¹ The above categorisation therefore fits into a larger schema in which distinct constraints are also conveyed by the other conjunctions commonly found in the Greek New Testament. For

⁸⁵ A referential point of departure (Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 10-11).

⁸⁶ “With an inferential “therefore” and an emphatic “I,” Paul now elaborates on the preceding metaphors by applying them to his own life” (Fee, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 437). See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 11 for other sentences that begin with two points of departure.

⁸⁷ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features*, 9.

⁸⁸ In all three passages, τοίνυν introduces an expository or hortatory THESIS that is inferred from what has previously been stated. Since οὖν is not inherently inferential, however, it may be that τοίνυν is not inherently inferential either.

⁸⁹ Although οὖν is marked +Inferential when compared with δέ (+Distinctive), its overall frequency when compared with the other inferential connectives suggests that it is the default inferential in New Testament Greek. It may, therefore, be the case that it is the norm for inferential connectives to introduce a distinct point, unless otherwise constrained (as is the case with διό—sec. 2).

⁹⁰ Levinsohn, *Non-Narrative*, §3.1.

⁹¹ Levinsohn, *Discourse Analysis*, 118.

example, **γάρ** is +strengthening, **δέ** is +distinctive and **καί** is +associative/additive.⁹²

Such a categorisation differs from Westfall’s approach to intersentential conjunctions and particles, in that it is based on cognitive constraints, rather than prominence and “markedness according to . . . text frequency (the conjunctions with the highest number of occurrences are unmarked).”⁹³ In reality, the relative frequency of the inferential connectives varies from epistle to epistle, depending on the content and the nature of the argument. In 1 Thessalonians, for instance, the most frequent inferential connective is **διὰ τοῦτο** (three tokens); **διό** and **οὖν** are used twice, while **ἄρα** and **ὥστε** occur once. In Galatians, in contrast, **ἄρα**, **οὖν**, and **ὥστε** are equally common (five tokens each), **διό** is used once, and **διὰ τοῦτο** does not appear. Such statistics do not suggest that **διὰ τοῦτο** is the default inferential connective in 1 Thessalonians, but not in Galatians. Rather, they arise because Paul chooses to refer to particular themes in an inferential way on three occasions in 1 Thessalonians, but he never does so in Galatians. I do agree with Westfall, though, that “augmented or compound forms are marked.”⁹⁴ In particular, **τοιγαροῦν** and **τοίνυν** are marked as emphatic.

I conclude with another quotation from Westfall: “Conjunctions are often neglected in discussions of structure, but they provide some of the best formal indications of how the author intended the discourse to be processed.”⁹⁵ I heartily concur! Let’s take seriously the cognitive constraint on interpretation that each imposes!

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⁹² Levinsohn, “Holistic Approach,” 4.

⁹³ Westfall, “Analysis of Prominence,” 84.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

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