A GRAMMAR OF
NEW TESTAMENT GREEK

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BY

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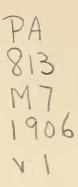TUTOR IN NEW TESTAMENT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
WESLEYAN COLLEGE, DIDSBURY

VOL. I

PROLEGOMENA

SECOND EDITION
WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

IN PIAM MEMORIAM

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PREFACE.

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THE call for a second edition of this work within six or seven
months of its first appearance gives me a welcome opportunity
of making a good many corrections and additions, without
altering in any way its general plan. Of the scope of these new
features I shall have something to say later; at this point I
have to explain the title-page, from which certain words have
disappeared, not without great reluctance on my part. The
statement in the first edition that the book was "based on
W. F. Moulton's edition of G. B. Winer's Grammar," claimed
for it connexion with a work which for thirty-five years had
been in constant use among New Testament students in this
country and elsewhere. I should hardly have yielded this
statement for excision, had not the suggestion come from one
whose motives for retaining it are only less strong than my
own. Sir John Clark, whose kindness throughout the progress
of this work it is a special pleasure to acknowledge on such
an opportunity, advised me that misapprehension was fre-
quently occurring with those whose knowledge of this book
was limited to the title. Since the present volume is entirely
new, and does not in any way follow the lines of its great
predecessor, it seems better to confine the history of the
undertaking to the Preface, and take sole responsibility. I
have unhappily no means of divining what judgement either
Winer or his editor would have passed on my doctrines; and
it is therefore, perhaps, due to *Pietät* that I should drop what
Pietät mainly prompted.

It is now forty years since my father, to whose memory
this book is dedicated, was invited by Messrs T. & T. Clark
to translate and edit G. B. Winer's epoch-making *Grammatik
des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*. The proposal originated
with Bishop Ellicott, afterwards Chairman of the New Testa-

ment Revision Company, and the last survivor of a band of workers who, while the following pages were in the press, became united once more. Dr Ellicott had been in correspondence on biblical matters with the young Assistant Tutor at the Wesleyan Theological College, Richmond; and his estimate of his powers was shown first by the proposal as to Winer, and not long after by the Bishop's large use of my father's advice in selecting new members of the Revision Company. Mr Moulton took his place in the Jerusalem Chamber in 1870, the youngest member of the Company; and in the same year his edition of Winer appeared. My brother's Life of our father (Isbister, 1899) gives an account of its reception. It would not be seemly for me to enlarge on its merits, and it would be as superfluous as unbecoming. I will only allow myself the satisfaction of quoting a few words from one who may well be called the greatest New Testament scholar this country has seen for generations. In giving his Cambridge students a short list of reference books, Dr Hort said (*Romans and Ephesians*, p. 71):—

> Winer's Grammar of the New Testament, as translated and enlarged by Dr Moulton, stands far above every other for this purpose. It does not need many minutes to learn the ready use of the admirable indices, of passages and of subjects: and when the book is consulted in this manner, its extremely useful contents become in most cases readily accessible. Dr Moulton's references to the notes of the best recent English commentaries are a helpful addition.

In 1875 Dr Moulton was transferred to Cambridge, charged by his Church with the heavy task of building up from the foundation a great Public School. What time a Head Master could spare to scholarship was for many years almost entirely pledged to the New Testament and Apocrypha Revision. Naturally it was not possible to do much to his Grammar when the second edition was called for in 1877. The third edition, five years later, was even less delayed for the incorporation of new matter; and the book stands now, in all essential points, just as it first came from its author's pen. Meanwhile the conviction was growing that the next

edition must be a new book. Winer's own last edition,
though far from antiquated, was growing decidedly old;
its jubilee is in fact celebrated by its English descendant
of to-day. The very thoroughness of Winer's work had made
useless for the modern student many a disquisition against
grammatical heresies which no one would now wish to drag
from the lumber-room. The literature to which Winer
appealed was largely buried in inaccessible foreign periodicals.
And as the reputation of his editor grew, men asked for a
more compact, better arranged, more up-to-date volume, in
which the ripest and most modern work should no longer be
stowed away in compressed notes at the foot of the page.
Had time and strength permitted, Dr Moulton would have
consulted his most cherished wish by returning to the work
of his youth and rewriting his Grammar as an independent
book. But " wisest Fate said No." He chose his junior col-
league, to whom he had given, at first as his pupil, and
afterwards during years of University training and colleague-
ship in teaching, an insight into his methods and principles,
and at least an eager enthusiasm for the subject to which he
had devoted his own life. But not a page of the new book
was written when, in February 1898, " God's finger touched
him, and he slept."

Since heredity does not suffice to make a grammarian,
and there are many roads by which a student of New Testa-
ment language may come to his task, I must add a word
to explain in what special directions this book may perhaps
contribute to the understanding of the inexhaustible subject
with which it deals. Till four years ago, my own teaching
work scarcely touched the Greek Testament, classics and com-
parative philology claiming the major part of my time. But
I have not felt that this time was ill spent as a prepara-
tion for the teaching of the New Testament. The study of
the Science of Language in general, and especially in the field
of the languages which are nearest of kin to Greek, is well
adapted to provide points of view from which new light may
be shed on the words of Scripture. Theologians, adepts in
criticism, experts in early Christian literature, bring to a task
like this an equipment to which I can make no pretence.
But there are other studies, never more active than now,

which may help the biblical student in unexpected ways.
The life-history of the Greek language has been investi-
gated with minutest care, not only in the age of its glory,
but also throughout the centuries of its supposed senility
and decay. Its syntax has been illuminated by the com-
parative method ; and scholars have arisen who have been
willing to desert the masterpieces of literature and trace the
humble development of the Hellenistic vernacular down to
its lineal descendant in the vulgar tongue of the present day.
Biblical scholars cannot study everything, and there are some
of them who have never heard of Brugmann and Thumb.
It may be some service to introduce them to the side-lights
which comparative philology can provide.

But I hope this book may bring to the exegete material
yet more important for his purpose, which might not otherwise
come his way. The immense stores of illustration which have
been opened to us by the discoveries of Egyptian papyri, ac-
cessible to all on their lexical side in the brilliant *Bible Studies*
of Deissmann, have not hitherto been systematically treated
in their bearing on the grammar of New Testament Greek.
The main purpose of these *Prolegomena* has accordingly been
to provide a sketch of the language of the New Testament as
it appears to those who have followed Deissmann into a new
field of research. There are many matters of principle need-
ing detailed discussion, and much new illustrative material
from papyri and inscriptions, the presentation of which will, I
hope, be found helpful and suggestive. In the present volume,
therefore, I make no attempt at exhaustiveness, and often
omit important subjects on which I have nothing new to say.
By dint of much labour on the indices, I have tried to provide
a partial remedy for the manifold inconveniences of form
which the plan of these pages entails. My reviewers en-
courage me to hope that I have succeeded in one cherished
ambition, that of writing a Grammar which can be read.
The fascination of the Science of Language has possessed me
ever since in boyhood I read Max Müller's incomparable
Lectures ; and I have made it my aim to communicate what
I could of this fascination before going on to dry statistics
and formulae. In the second volume I shall try to present
as concisely as I can the systematic facts of Hellenistic acci-

dence and syntax, not in the form of an appendix to a grammar of classical Greek, but giving the later language the independent dignity which it deserves. Both Winer himself and the other older scholars, whom a reviewer thinks I have unduly neglected, will naturally bulk more largely than they can do in chapters mainly intended to describe the most modern work. But the mere citation of authorities, in a handbook designed for practical utility, must naturally be subordinated to the succinct presentation of results. There will, I hope, be small danger of my readers' overlooking my indebtedness to earlier workers, and least of all that to my primary teacher, whose labours it is my supreme object to preserve for the benefit of a new generation.

It remains to perform the pleasant duty of acknowledging varied help which has contributed a large proportion of anything that may be true or useful in this book. It would be endless were I to name teachers, colleagues, and friends in Cambridge, to whom through twenty years' residence I contracted debts of those manifold and intangible kinds which can only be summarised in the most inadequate way : no Cantab who has lived as long within that home of exact science and sincere research, will fail to understand what I fail to express. Next to the Cambridge influences are those which come from teachers and friends whom I have never seen, and especially those great German scholars whose labours, too little assisted by those of other countries, have established the Science of Language on the firm basis it occupies to-day. In fields where British scholarship is more on a level with that of Germany, especially those of biblical exegesis and of Greek classical lore, I have also done my best to learn what fellow-workers east of the Rhine contribute to the common stock. It is to a German professor, working upon the material of which our own Drs Grenfell and Hunt have provided so large a proportion, that I owe the impulse which has produced the chief novelty of my work. My appreciation of the memorable achievement of Dr Deissmann is expressed in the body of the book ; and I must only add here my grateful acknowledgement of the many encouragements he has given me in my efforts to glean after him in the field he has made his own. He has now crowned them with the

all too generous appreciations of my work which he has con-
tributed to the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* and the *Theo-
logische Rundschau.* Another great name figures on most of
the pages of this book. The services that Professor Blass
has rendered to New Testament study are already almost equal
to those he has rendered to classical scholarship. I have
been frequently obliged to record a difference of opinion,
though never without the inward voice whispering " *impar
congressus Achilli.*" But the freshness of view which this
great Hellenist brings to the subject makes him almost as
helpful when he fails to convince as when he succeeds ; and
I have learned more and more from him, the more earnestly
I have studied for myself. The name of another brilliant
writer on New Testament grammar will figure more con-
stantly in my second volume than my plan allows it to do
in this. Professor Schmiedel has unfortunately been called
away from grammar by the *b'nē Jerahmeel,* to perform a post-
mortem examination upon the Gospel history. The un-
rivalled ability of his dissection is beyond question. But
as there is reason to believe that the Gospels may still be
studied for some time to come, we will venture to express an
earnest hope that the learned and painstaking grammarian
may soon resume his place among the interpreters, and con-
clude the monumental work which keeps Winer's memory
green in the country of his birth.

The mention of the books which have been most fre-
quently used, recalls the need of one or two explanations
before closing this Preface. The text which is assumed
throughout is naturally that of Westcott and Hort. The
principles on which it is based, and the minute accuracy with
which they are followed out, seem to allow no alternative to
a grammatical worker, even if the B type of text were held
to be only the result of second century revision. But in
frequently quoting other readings, and especially those which
belong to what Dr Kenyon conveniently calls the δ-text,
I follow very readily the precedent of Blass. I need not
say that Mr Geden's Concordance has been in continual
use. I have not felt bound to enter much into questions
of " higher criticism." In the case of the Synoptic Gospels,
the assumption of the " two-source hypothesis " has suggested

a number of grammatical points of interest.　Grammar helps
to rivet closer the links which bind together the writings of
Luke, and those of Paul (though the Pastorals often need
separate treatment); while the Johannine Gospel and Epistles
similarly form a single grammatical entity.　Whether the
remaining Books add seven or nine to the tale of separate
authors, does not concern us here; for the Apocalypse, 1 Peter
and 2 Peter must be treated individually as much as Hebrews,
whether the traditional authorship be accepted or rejected.

　　Last come the specific acknowledgements of most generous
and welcome help received directly in the preparation of this
volume.　I count myself fortunate indeed in that three
scholars of the first rank in different lines of study have
read my proofs through, and helped me with invaluable
encouragement and advice.　It is only due to them that I
should claim the sole responsibility for errors which I may
have failed to escape, in spite of their watchfulness on my
behalf.　Two of them are old friends with whom I have
taken counsel for many years.　Dr G. G. Findlay has gone
over my work with minute care, and has saved me from
many a loose and ambiguous statement, besides giving me the
fruit of his profound and accurate exegesis, which students
of his works on St Paul's Epistles know well.　Dr Rendel
Harris has brought me fresh lights from other points of
view; and I have been particularly glad of criticism from a
specialist in Syriac, who speaks with authority on matters
which take a prominent place in my argument.　The third
name is that of Professor Albert Thumb, of Marburg.　The
kindness of this great scholar, in examining so carefully the
work of one who is still ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ, cannot
be adequately acknowledged here.　Nearly every page of my
book owes its debt either to his writings or to the criticisms
and suggestions with which he has favoured me.　At least
twice he has called my attention to important articles in
English which I had overlooked; and in my illustrations
from Modern Greek I have felt myself able to venture often
into fields which might have been full of pitfalls, had I not
been secure in his expert guidance.　Finally, in the necessary
drudgery of index-making I have had welcome aid at home.
By drawing up the index of Scripture quotations, my mother

has done for me what she did for my father nearly forty years ago. My brother, the Rev. W. Fiddian Moulton, M.A., has spared time from a busy pastor's life to make me the Greek index. To all these who have helped me so freely, and to many others whose encouragement and counsel has been a constant stimulus—I would mention especially my Manchester colleagues, Dr R. W. Moss and Professor A. S. Peake— I tender my heartfelt thanks.

The new features of this edition are necessarily confined within narrow range. The Additional Notes are suggested by my own reading or by suggestions from various reviewers and correspondents, whose kindness I gratefully acknowledge. A new lecture by Professor Thumb, and reviews by such scholars as Dr Marcus Dods, Dr H. A. A. Kennedy, and Dr Souter, have naturally provided more material than I can at present use. My special thanks are due to Mr H. Scott, of Oxton, Birkenhead, who went over the index of texts and two or three complicated numerical computations in the body of the book, and sent me unsolicited some corrections and additions, for which the reader will add his gratitude to mine. As far as was possible, the numerous additions to the Indices have been worked in at their place ; but some pages of Addenda have been necessary, which will not, I hope, seriously inconvenience the reader. The unbroken kindness of my reviewers makes it needless for me to reply to criticisms here. I am tempted to enlarge upon one or two remarks in the learned and helpful *Athenaeum* review, but will confine myself to a comment on the " awkward results " which the writer anticipates from the evidence of the papyri as set forth in my work. My *Prolegomena*, he says, " really prove that there can be no grammar of New Testament Greek, and that the grammar of the Greek in the New Testament is one and the same with the grammar of the ' common Greek ' of the papyri." I agree with everything except the " awkwardness " of this result for me. To call this book a Grammar of the ' Common ' Greek, and enlarge it by including phenomena which do not happen to be represented in the New Testament, would certainly be more scientific. But the practical advantages of confining attention to what concerns the grammatical inter- pretation of a Book of unique importance, written in a language

which has absolutely no other literature worthy of the name,
need hardly be laboured here, and this foreword is already
long enough.   I am as conscious as ever of the shortcomings
of this book when placed in the succession of one which has
so many associations of learning and industry, of caution and
flawless accuracy.   But I hope that its many deficiencies may
not prevent it from leading its readers nearer to the meaning
of the great literature which it strives to interpret.   The
new tool is certain not to be all its maker fondly wished it
to be ; but from a vein so rich in treasure even the poorest
instrument can hardly fail to bring out nuggets of pure gold.

J. H. M.

DIDSBURY COLLEGE, *Aug.* 13, 1906.

CONTENTS.

ABBREVIATIONS.

ABBREVIATIONS for the names of Books of Scripture will explain them-selves. In the OT and Apocrypha the names of the Books follow the English RV (except Ca for Song of Songs), as also do the numbers for chapter and verse : the LXX numbering, where it differs, is added within brackets.

Centuries are denoted iii/B.C., ii/A.D., etc., except when an exact date is given. Where the date may fall within wider limits, the notation is ii/i B.C., iv/v A.D., etc. Where papyri or inscriptions are not dated, it may generally be taken that no date is given by the editor.

The abbreviations for papyri and inscriptions are given in Index I (c) and (d), pp. 251 ff. below, with the full titles of the collections quoted.

The ordinary abbreviations for MSS, Versions, and patristic writers are used in textual notes.

Other abbreviations will, it is hoped, need no explanation : perhaps MGr for Modern Greek should be mentioned. It should be observed that references are to pages, unless otherwise stated : papyri and inscrip-tions are generally cited by number. In all these documents the usual notation is followed, and the original spelling preserved.

Abbott—see Index I (e) iii.

AJP=American Journal of Philology, ed. B. L. Gildersleeve, Baltimore 1880 ff.

Archiv—see Index I (c).

Audollent—see Index I (c).

BCH—see Index I (c).

Blass=Grammar of NT Greek, by F. Blass. Second English edition, tr. H. St J. Thackeray, London 1905. (This differs from ed.[1] only by the addition of pp. 306–333. Occasional reference is made to the second German edition, Göttingen 1902.) Sometimes the reference is to notes in Blass's *Acta Apostolorum* (Göttingen 1895) : the context will make it clear.

Burton *MT*=New Testament Moods and Tenses, by E. D. Burton. Second edition, Edinburgh 1894.

Buttmann=Grammar of New Testament Greek, by A. Buttmann. English edition by J. H. Thayer, Andover 1876.

BZ=Byzantinische Zeitschrift, ed. K. Krumbacher, Leipzig 1892 ff.

Cauer—see Index I (c).

CGT=Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges.

CR = Classical Review (London 1887 ff.). Especially reference is made to the writer's collection of forms and syntactical examples from the papyri, in *CR* xv. 31–38 and 434–442 (Feb. and Dec. 1901), and xviii. 106–112 and 151–155 (March and April 1904—to be continued).

Dalman *Words* = The Words of Jesus, by G. Dalman. English edition, tr. D. M. Kay, Edinburgh 1902.

Dalman *Gramm.* = Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch, by G. Dalman, Leipzig 1894.

DB = Dictionary of the Bible, edited by J. Hastings. 5 vols., Edinburgh 1898–1904.

Deissmann *BS* = Bible Studies, by G. A. Deissmann. English edition, including *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien*, tr. A. Grieve, Edinburgh 1901.

Deissmann *In Christo* = Die neutestamentliche Formel " in Christo Jesu," by G. A. Deissmann, Marburg 1892.

Delbrück *Grundr.* = Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, by K. Brugmann and B. Delbrück : Dritter Band, Vergleichende Syntax, by Delbrück, Strassburg 1893–1900. (References to Brugmann's part, on phonology and morphology, are given to his own abridgement, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, 1904, which has also an abridged Comparative Syntax.)

Dieterich *Unters.* = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrh. n. Chr., by K. Dieterich, Leipzig 1898.

DLZ = Deutsche Literaturzeitung, Leipzig.

EB = Encyclopædia Biblica, edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black. 4 vols., London 1899–1903.

EGT = Expositor's Greek Testament, edited by W. Robertson Nicoll. 4 vols. (vol. iv. not yet published), London 1897–1903.

Exp B = Expositor's Bible, edited by W. R. Nicoll. 49 vols., London 1887–1898.

Expos = The Expositor, edited by W. R. Nicoll. Cited by series, volume, and page. London 1875 ff.

Exp T = The Expository Times, edited by J. Hastings. Edinburgh 1889 ff.

Gildersleeve Studies = Studies in Honor of Professor Gildersleeve, Baltimore.

Gildersleeve *Synt.* = Syntax of Classical Greek, by B. L. Gildersleeve and C. W. E. Miller. Part i, New York 1900.

Giles *Manual*[2] = A Short Manual of Comparative Philology for classical students, by P. Giles. Second edition, London 1901.

Goodwin *MT* = Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb, by W. W. Goodwin. Third edition, London 1889.

Goodwin *Greek Gram.* = A Greek Grammar, by W. W. Goodwin. London 1894.

Grimm-Thayer = Grimm's Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti*, translated and enlarged by J. H. Thayer, as " A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament." Edinburgh 1886.

Hatzidakis = Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik, by G. N. Hatzidakis. Leipzig 1892.

Hawkins *HS* = Horæ Synopticæ, by J. C. Hawkins. Oxford 1899.

HR = A Concordance to the Septuagint, by E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath. Oxford 1897.

IMA — see Index I (*c*).

Indog. Forsch. = Indogermanische Forschungen, edited by K. Brugmann and W. Streitberg. Strassburg 1892 ff.

Jannaris *HG* = A Historical Greek Grammar, by A. N. Jannaris. London 1897.

JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature. Boston 1881 ff.

JHS — see Index I (*c*).

JTS = Journal of Theological Studies. London 1900 ff.

Jülicher *Introd.* = Introduction to the New Testament, by A. Jülicher. English edition, tr. by J. P. Ward, London 1904.

Kälker = Quæstiones de elocutione Polybiana, by F. Kaelker. In *Leipziger Studien* III. ii., 1880.

Kühner [3], or Kühner-Blass, Kühner-Gerth = Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, by R. Kühner. Third edition, *Elementar- und Formenlehre*, by F. Blass. 2 vols., Hannover 1890–2. *Satzlehre*, by B. Gerth. 2 vols., 1898, 1904.

KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. Berlin and Gütersloh 1852 ff.

LS = A Greek-English Lexicon, by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott. Eighth edition, Oxford 1901.

Meisterhans [3] = Grammatik der attischen Inschriften, by K. Meisterhans. Third edition by E. Schwyzer (see p. 29 n.), Berlin 1900.

MG = Concordance to the Greek Testament, by W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden. Edinburgh 1897.

Milligan-Moulton = Commentary on the Gospel of St John, by W. Milligan and W. F. Moulton. Edinburgh 1898.

Mithraslit. — see Index I (*d*).

Monro *HG* = Homeric Grammar, by D. B. Monro. Second edition, Oxford 1891.

Nachmanson = Laute und Formen der Magnetischen Inschriften, by E. Nachmanson, Uppsala 1903.

Ramsay *Paul* = Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen, by W. M. Ramsay. Third edition, London 1897.

RE [3] = Herzog-Hauck *Realencyclopädie.* (In progress.) Leipzig.

REGr = Revue des Études grecques. Paris 1888 ff.

Reinhold = De Græcitate Patrum, by H. Reinhold. Halle 1898.

RhM = Rheinisches Museum. Bonn 1827 ff.

Riddell = A Digest of Platonic Idioms, by J. Riddell (in his edition of the *Apology*, Oxford 1867).

Rutherford *NP* = The New Phrynichus, by W. G. Rutherford, London 1881.

Schanz *Beitr.* = Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache, edited by M. Schanz. Würtzburg 1882 ff.

Schmid *Attic.* = Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus, by W. Schmid. 4 vols. and Register, Stuttgart 1887–1897.

Schmidt *Jos.* = De Flavii Josephi elocutione, by W. Schmidt, Leipzig 1893.

Schulze *Gr. Lat.* = Græca Latina, by W. Schulze, Göttingen 1901.

Schwyzer *Perg.* = Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften, by E. Schweizer (see p. 29 n.), Berlin 1898.

SH = The Epistle to the Romans, by W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam. Fifth edition, Edinburgh 1902.

ThLZ = Theologische Literaturzeitung, edited by A. Harnack and E. Schürer, Leipzig 1876 ff.

Thumb *Hellen.* = Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus, by A. Thumb, Strassburg 1901.

Thumb *Handb.* = Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache, by A. Thumb, Strassburg 1895.

Ti = Novum Testamentum Græce, by C. Tischendorf. Editio octava critica maior. 2 vols., Leipzig 1869–72. Also vol. iii, by C. R. Gregory, containing Prolegomena, 1894.

Viereck *SG*—see Index I (c).

Viteau = Étude sur le grec du Nouveau Testament, by J. Viteau. Vol. i, Le Verbe : Syntaxe des Propositions, Paris 1893 ; vol. ii, Sujet, Complément et Attribut, 1896.

Völker = Syntax der griechischen Papyri. I. Der Artikel, by F. Völker, Münster i. W. 1903.

Votaw = The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek, by C. W. Votaw. Chicago 1896.

Wellh. = Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien, by J. Wellhausen. Berlin 1905.

WH = The New Testament in the Original Greek, by B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort. Vol. i, Text (also ed. minor) ; vol. ii, Introduction. Cambridge and London 1881.

WH *App.* = Appendix to WH, in vol. ii, containing Notes on Select Readings and on Orthography, etc.

WM = A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek, regarded as a sure basis for New Testament Exegesis, by G. B. Winer. Translated from the German, with large additions and full indices, by W. F. Moulton. Third edition, Edinburgh 1882.

WS = G. B. Winer's Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms. Eighth edition, newly edited by P. W. Schmiedel, Göttingen 1894 ff. (In progress.)

ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, edited by E. Preuschen. Giessen 1900 ff.

A GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK.

PROLEGOMENA.

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CHAPTER I.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

New Lights. As recently as 1895, in the opening chapter of a beginner's manual of New Testament Greek, the present writer defined the language as "*Hebraic* Greek, *colloquial* Greek, and *late* Greek." In this definition the characteristic features of the dialect were expressed according to a formula which was not questioned then by any of the leading writers on the subject. It was entirely approved by Dr W. F. Moulton, who would undoubtedly at that time have followed these familiar lines, had he been able to achieve his long cherished purpose of rewriting his English *Winer* as an independent work. It is not without imperative reason that, in this first instalment of a work in which I hoped to be my father's collaborator, I have been compelled seriously to modify the position he took, in view of fresh evidence which came too late for him to examine. In the second edition of the manual referred to,[1] "*common* Greek" is substituted for the first element in the definition. The disappearance of that word "Hebraic" from its prominent place in our delineation of NT language marks a change in our conceptions of the subject nothing less than revolutionary. This is not a revolution in theory alone. It

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[1] *Introduction to the Study of New Testament Greek*, with a *First Reader*. Second Edition, 1904 (C. H. Kelly).

I

touches exegesis at innumerable points. It demands large modifications in our very latest grammars, and an overhauling of our best and most trusted commentaries. To write a new Grammar, so soon after the appearance of fresh light which transforms in very important respects our whole point of view, may seem a premature undertaking. But it must not be supposed that we are concerned with a revolutionary theory which needs time for readjusting our science to new conditions. The development of the Greek language, in the period which separates Plato and Demosthenes from our own days, has been patiently studied for a generation, and the main lines of a scientific history have been thoroughly estab- lished. What has happened to our own particular study is only the discovery of its unity with the larger science which has been maturing steadily all the time. " Biblical Greek " was long supposed to lie in a backwater : it has now been brought out into the full stream of progress. It follows that we have now fresh material for illustrating our subject, and a more certain methodology for the use of material which we had already at hand.

"Biblical Greek."

The isolated position of the Greek found in the LXX and the NT has been the problem dividing grammatical students of this liter- ature for generations past. That the Greek Scriptures, and the small body of writings which in language go with them, were written in the Κοινή, the " common " or " Hellen- istic " Greek [1] that superseded the dialects of the classical period, was well enough known. But it was most obviously different from the literary Κοινή of the period. It could not be adequately paralleled from Plutarch or Arrian, and the Jewish writers Philo and Josephus [2] were no more helpful than their " profane " contemporaries. Naturally the pecu- liarities of Biblical Greek came to be explained from its own conditions. The LXX was in " translation Greek," its syntax determined perpetually by that of the original Hebrew. Much the same was true of large parts of the NT, where

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[1] I shall use the terms *Hellenistic, Hellenist,* and *Hellenism* throughout for the Greek of the later period, which had become coextensive with Western civilisation.

[2] See below, p. 233.

translation had taken place from an original Aramaic. But
even where this was not the case, it was argued, the writers
used Greek as foreigners, Aramaic thought underlying Greek
expression. Moreover, they were so familiar with the LXX
that its idiosyncrasies passed largely into their own style,
which accordingly was charged with Semitisms from two dis-
tinct sources. Hence this " Judaic " or " Biblical " Greek, this
" language of the Holy Ghost," [1] found in the sacred writings
and never profaned by common use. It was a phenomenon
against which the science of language could raise no *a priori*
objection. The Purist, who insisted on finding parallels in
classical Greek literature for everything in the Greek NT,
found his task impossible without straining language to the
breaking-point. His antagonist the Hebraist went absurdly
far in recognising Semitic influence where none was really
operative. But when a grammarian of balanced judgement
like G. B. Winer came to sum up the bygone controversy, he
was found admitting enough Semitisms to make the Biblical
Greek essentially an isolated language still.

Greek Papyri:
Deissmann.
It is just this isolation which the new
evidence comes in to destroy.[a] The Greek
papyri of Egypt are in themselves nothing
novel ; but their importance for the historical study of the
language did not begin to be realised until, within the last
decade or so, the explorers began to enrich us with an output
of treasure which has been perpetually fruitful in surprises.
The attention of the classical world has been busy with the
lost treatise of Aristotle and the new poets Bacchylides and
Herodas, while theologians everywhere have eagerly dis-
cussed new " Sayings of Jesus." But even these last must
yield in importance to the spoil which has been gathered
from the wills, official reports, private letters, petitions,
accounts, and other trivial survivals from the rubbish-heaps
of antiquity.[b] They were studied by a young investigator of
genius, at that time known only by one small treatise on the
Pauline formula ἐν Χριστῷ, which to those who read it now
shows abundantly the powers that were to achieve such

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[1] So Cremer, *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of NT Greek*, p. iv (E.T.), follow-
ing Rothe. (Cited by Thumb, *Hellenismus* 181.)   [a b See p. 242.

splendid pioneer work within three or four years.   Deiss-
mann's *Bibelstudien* appeared in 1895, his *Neue Bibelstudien* [1]
in 1897.   It is needless to describe how these lexical researches
in the papyri and the later inscriptions proved that hundreds
of words, hitherto assumed to be " Biblical,"—technical words,
as it were, called into existence or minted afresh by the
language of Jewish religion,—were in reality normal first-
century spoken Greek, excluded from literature by the nice
canons of Atticising taste.   Professor Deissmann dealt but
briefly with the grammatical features of this newly-discovered
Greek ; but no one charged with the duty of editing a Gram-
mar of NT Greek could read his work without seeing that a
systematic grammatical study in this field was the indis-
pensable equipment for such a task.   In that conviction the
present writer set himself to the study of the collections
which have poured with bewildering rapidity from the busy
workshops of Oxford and Berlin, and others, only less
conspicuous.   The lexical gleanings after Deissmann which
these researches have produced, almost entirely in documents
published since his books were written, have enabled me
to confirm his conclusions from independent investigation.[2]
A large part of my grammatical material is collected in a
series of papers in the *Classical Review* (see p. xviii.), to which
I shall frequently have to make reference in the ensuing
pages as supplying in detail the evidence for the results here
to be described.

Vernacular Greek.
The new linguistic facts now in evidence
show with startling clearness that we have
at last before us the language in which the
apostles and evangelists wrote.   The papyri exhibit in their
writers a variety of literary education even wider than that
observable in the NT, and we can match each sacred author
with documents that in respect of Greek stand on about the
same plane.   The conclusion is that " Biblical " Greek, except
where it is translation Greek, was simply the vernacular of
daily life.[3]   Men who aspired to literary fame wrote in an

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[1] See p. xviii. above.

[2] See *Expositor* for April 1901 and February and December 1903.

[3] Cf Wellhausen (*Einl.* 9): " In the Gospels, spoken Greek, and indeed
Greek spoken among the lower classes, makes its entrance into literature."

artificial dialect, a would-be revival of the language of Athens in her prime, much as educated Greeks of the present day profess to do. The NT writers had little idea that they were writing literature. The Holy Ghost spoke absolutely in the language of the people, as we might surely have expected He would. The writings inspired of Him were those

> Which he may read that binds the sheaf,
> Or builds the house, or digs the grave,
> And those wild eyes that watch the wave
> In roarings round the coral reef.

The very grammar and dictionary cry out against men who would allow the Scriptures to appear in any other form than that " understanded of the people."

A Universal Language. There is one very striking fact brought out by the study of papyri and inscriptions which preserve for us the Hellenistic vernacular. It was a language without serious dialectic differences, except presumably in pronunciation. The history of this *lingua franca* must be traced in a later chapter. Here it suffices to point out that in the first centuries of our era Greek covered a far larger proportion of the civilised world than even English does to-day.[a] The well-known heroics of Juvenal (iii. 60 f.)—

> Non possum ferre, Quirites,
> Graecam Urbem—,

joined with the Greek " *Eἰς Ἑαυτόν* " of the Roman Emperor and the Greek *Epistle to the Romans,* serve as obvious evidence that a man need have known little Latin to live in Rome itself.[1] It was not Italy but Africa that first called for a Latin Bible.[2] That the Greek then current in almost every part of the Empire was virtually uniform is at first a startling fact, and to no one so startling as to a student of the science of language. Dialectic differentiation is the root principle of that science ;[3]

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[1] Cf A. S. Wilkins, *Roman Education* 19 ; SH lii ff.

[2] So at least most critics believe. Dr Sanday, however, prefers Antioch, which suits our point equally well. Rome is less likely. See Dr Kennedy in Hastings' *BD* iii. 54.

[3] See, for instance, the writer's *Two Lectures on the Science of Language,* pp. 21–23. [a] See p. 242.

and when we know how actively it works within the narrow limits of Great Britain, it seems strange that it should apparently be suspended in the vast area covered by Hellenistic Greek. We shall return to this difficulty later (pp. 19–39): for the present we must be content with the fact that any dialect variation that did exist is mostly beyond the range of our present knowledge to detect. Inscriptions, distributed over the whole area, and dated with precision enough to trace the slow development of the vernacular as it advanced towards Mediaeval and Modern Greek, present us with a grammar which only lacks homogeneity according as their authors varied in culture. As we have seen, the papyri of Upper Egypt tally in their grammar with the language seen in the NT, as well as with inscriptions like those of Pergamum and Magnesia. No one can fail to see how immeasurably important these conditions were for the growth of Christianity. The historian marks the fact that the Gospel began its career of conquest at the one period in the world's annals when civilisation was concentrated under a single ruler. The grammarian adds that this was the only period when a single language was understood throughout the countries which counted for the history of that Empire. The historian and the grammarian must of course refrain from talking about " Providence." They would be suspected of " an apologetic bias " or " an edifying tone," and that is necessarily fatal to any reputation for scientific attainment. We will only remark that some old-fashioned people are disposed to see in these facts a σημεῖον in its way as instructive as the Gift of Tongues.

Bilingualism   It is needless to observe that except in the Greek world, properly so called, Greek did not hold a monopoly. Egypt throughout the long period of the Greek papyri is very strongly bilingual, the mixture of Greek and native names in the same family, and the prevalence of double nomenclature, often making it difficult to tell the race of an individual.[1] A bilingual country

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[1] It should be noted that in the papyri we have not to do only with Egyptians and Greeks. In Par P 48 (153 B.C.) there is a letter addressed to an Arab by two of his brothers. The editor, M. Brunet de Presle, remarks as follows on this :—" It is worth our while to notice the rapid diffusion of Greek,

is vividly presented to us in the narrative of Ac 14, where the apostles preach in Greek and are unable to understand the excited populace when they relapse into Lycaonian. What the local Greek was like, we may gauge from such specimens as the touching Christian epitaph published by Mr Cronin in *JHS*, 1902, p. 369 (see *Exp T* xiv. 430), and dated " little if at all later than iii/A.D." We need not develop the evidence for other countries : it is more to the point if we look at the conditions of a modern bilingual country, such as we have at home in the country of Wales. Any popular English poli- tician or preacher, visiting a place in the heart of the Princi- pality, could be sure of an audience, even if it were assumed that he would speak in English. If he did, they would understand him. But should he unexpectedly address them in Welsh, we may be very sure they would be " the more quiet "; and a speaker anxious to conciliate a hostile meeting would gain a great initial advantage if he could surprise them with the sound of their native tongue.[1] Now this is exactly what happened when Paul addressed the Jerusalem mob from the stairs of Antonia. They took for granted he would speak

in Palestine. in Greek, and yet they made " a great silence " when he faced them with the gesture which indicated a wish to address them. Schürer nods, for once, when he calls in Paul's Aramaic speech as a witness of the people's ignorance of Greek.[2] It does not prove even the " inadequate " knowledge which he gives as the alternative possibility for the lower classes, if by " inadequate know-

after Alexander's conquest, among a mass of people who in all other respects jealously preserved their national characteristics under foreign masters. The papyri show us Egyptians, Persians, Jews, and here Arabs, who do not appear to belong to the upper classes, using the Greek language. We must not be too exacting towards them in the matter of style. Nevertheless the letter which follows is almost irreproachable in syntax and orthography, which does not always happen even with men of Greek birth." If these remarks, published in 1865, had been followed up as they deserved, Deissmann would have come too late. It is strange how little attention was aroused by the great collections of papyri at Paris and London, until the recent flood of discovery set in.

[1] These words were written before I had read Dr T. K. Abbott's able, but not always conclusive, article in his volume of *Essays*. On p. 164 he gives an incident from bilingual Ireland exactly parallel with that imagined above. Prof. T. H. Williams tells me he has often heard Welsh teachers illustrating the narrative of Ac 21^{40} 22^2 in the same way. (On Lystra, see p. 233.)

[2] *Jewish People*, II. i. 48 (=^{3} II. 63).

ledge " is implied that the crowd would have been unable to
follow a Greek speech.   They thought and spoke among
themselves, like the Welsh, exclusively in their native tongue ;
but we may well doubt if there were many of them who could
not understand the world-language, or even speak in it when
necessary.[1]   We have in fact a state of things essentially the
same as in Lystra.   But the imperfect knowledge of Greek
which may be assumed for the masses in Jerusalem and
Lystra is decidedly less probable for Galilee and Peræa.
Hellenist Jews, ignorant of Aramaic, would be found there as
in Jerusalem ; and the proportion of foreigners would be
much larger.   That Jesus Himself and the Apostles regularly
used Aramaic is beyond question, but that Greek was also
at command is almost equally certain.   There is not the
slightest presumption against the use of Greek in writings
purporting to emanate from the circle of the first believers.[2]
They would write as men who had used the language from
boyhood, not as foreigners painfully expressing themselves
in an imperfectly known idiom.   Their Greek would differ
in quality according to their education, like that of the
private letters among the Egyptian papyri.   But it does
not appear that any of them used Greek as we may some-
times find cultured foreigners using English, obviously trans-
lating out of their own language as they go along.   Even
the Greek of the Apocalypse itself does not seem to owe any

[1] The evidence for the use of Greek in Palestine is very fully stated by Zahn
in his *Einl. in das NT*, ch. ii. Cf also Jülicher in *EB* ii. 2007 ff. I am glad
to find my view corroborated by Mahaffy, in his lectures on " Hellenism in
Alexander's Empire " : see pp. 130 f., where he says, " Though we may believe
that in Galilee and among his intimates our Lord spoke Aramaic, and
though we know that some of his last words upon the cross were in that
language, yet his public teaching, his discussions with the Pharisees, his talk
with Pontius Pilate, were certainly carried on in Greek." Professor Mahaffy
is no specialist on Gospel criticism—any more, I might add, than on Buddhism,
(p. 100),—and it would be hard to persuade modern scholars that Christ's *public
teaching* was mainly in Greek. But though he goes too far, he takes the
direction in which every student of Hellenism is driven. I wish he had de-
veloped his thesis : we could have spared for this purpose many space-filling
allusions to modern politics, on which the Professor is no wiser than the rest of us.

[2] Dr T. K. Abbott (*Essays* 170) points out that Justin Martyr, brought up
near Sichem early in ii/A.D., depends entirely on the LXX—a circumstance
which is ignored by Mgr Barnes in his attempt to make a different use of
Justin (*JTS* vi. 369). (See further below, p. 233.)

Apocalypse. of its blunders to " Hebraism." The author's uncertain use of cases is obvious to the most casual reader. In any other writer we might be tempted to spend time over τὰς λυχνίας in 1²⁰, where τῶν λυχνιῶν is clearly needed : for him it is enough to say that the neighbouring οὕς may have produced the aberration. We find him perpetually indifferent to concord. But the less educated papyri give us plentiful parallels from a field where Semitism cannot be suspected.[1] After all, we do not suspect Shakspere of foreign upbringing because he says " between you and I." [2] Neither he nor his unconscious imitators in modern times would say " between I and you," any more than the author of the Apocalypse would have said ἀπὸ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός (1⁵) : it is only that his grammatical sense is satisfied when the governing word has affected the case of one object.[3] We shall find that other peculiarities of the writer's Greek are on the same footing. Apart from places where he may be definitely translating a Semitic document, there is no reason to believe that his grammar would have been materially different had he been a native of Oxyrhynchus, assuming the extent of Greek education the same.[4] Close to

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[1] See my exx. of nom. in apposition to noun in another case, and of gender neglected, in CR xviii. 151. Cf also below, p. 60. (Ἀπὸ ὁ ὤν, 1⁴, is of course an intentional *tour de force*.) Note the same thing in the δ-text of 2 Th 1⁸, Ἰησοῦ . . . διδούς (D*FG and some Latin authorities).

[2] *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. (end—Antonio's letter).

[3] There are parallels to this in correct English. "Drive far away the disastrous Kêres, *they* who destroy " (Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 168) would not be mended by substituting *them*.

[4] The grammatical peculiarities of the book are conveniently summarised in a few lines by Jülicher, *Introd. to NT*, p. 273 : for a full account see the introduction to Bousset's Commentary, in the Meyer series. It may be well to observe, *a propos* of the curious Greek of Rev, that grammar here must play a part in literary criticism. It will not do to appeal to grammar to prove that the author is a Jew : as far as that goes, he might just as well have been a farmer of the Fayûm. Thought and material must exclusively determine that question. But as that point is hardly doubtful, we pass on to a more important inference from the imperfect Greek culture of this book. If its date was 95 A.D, the author cannot have written the fourth Gospel only a short time after. Either, therefore, we must take the earlier date for Rev, which would allow the Apostle to improve his Greek by constant use in a city like Ephesus where his Aramaic would be useless ; or we must suppose that someone (say, the author of Jn 21²⁴) mended his grammar for him throughout the Gospel.

the other end of the scale comes the learned Rabbi of Tarsus.

Paul, Luke, "Hebrews." "A Hebrew, the son of Hebrews," he calls himself (Phil 3^5), and Zahn is no doubt right in inferring that he always claimed Aramaic as his mother tongue. But he had probably used Greek from childhood with entire freedom, and during the main part of his life may have had few opportunities of using Aramaic at all. It is highly precarious to argue with Zahn from "*Abba*, Father" (Rom 8^{15}, Gal 4^6), that Aramaic was the language of Paul's prayers. The peculiar sacredness of association belonging to the first word of the Lord's Prayer in its original tongue supplies a far more probable account of its liturgical use among Gentile Christians.[1] Finally, we have the Gentile Luke[2] and the *auctor ad Hebræos*, both of whom may well have known no Aramaic at all : to the former we must return presently. Between these extremes the NT writers lie ; and of them all we may assert with some confidence that, where translation is not involved, we shall find hardly any Greek expression used which would sound strangely to speakers of the Κοινή in Gentile lands.

Genuine Semitisms. To what extent then should we expect to find the style of Jewish Greek writers coloured by the influence of Aramaic or Hebrew ? Here our Welsh analogy helps us. Captain Fluellen is marked in Shakspere not only by his Welsh pronunciation of English, but also by his fondness for the phrase "look you." Now "look you" is English : I am told it is common in the Dales, and if we could dissociate it from Shakspere's Welshman we should probably not be struck by it as a bizarre expression. But why does Fluellen use it so often ? Because

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Otherwise, we must join the ranks of the Χωρίζοντες. Here we only state the contribution grammar must make to this great problem : other considerations must decide the answer. Dr Bartlet (in *Exp T* for Feb. 1905, p. 206) puts Rev under Vespasian and assigns it to the author of Jn : he thinks that Prof. Ramsay's account (*Seven Churches*, p. 89) does not leave sufficient time for the development of Greek style.

[1] Cf Bp Chase, in *Texts and Studies*, I. iii. 23. This is not very different from the devout Roman Catholic's "saying *Paternoster*" ; but Paul will not allow even one word of prayer in a foreign tongue without adding an instant translation. Note that *Pader* is the Welsh name for the Lord's Prayer. (See p. 233.)

[2] Cf Dalman, *Words*, 40 f.

it translates two or three Welsh phrases of nearly identical meaning, which would be very much on his tongue when talking with his own countrymen. For the same reason the modern Welshman overdoes the word " indeed." In exactly the same way the good Attic interjection ἰδού is used by some NT writers, with a frequency quite un-Attic, simply because they were accustomed to the constant use of an equivalent interjection in their own tongue.[1] Probably this is the furthest extent to which Semitisms went in the ordinary Greek speech or writing of men whose native language was Semitic. It brought into prominence locutions, correct enough as Greek, but which would have remained in comparatively rare use but for the accident of their answering to Hebrew or Aramaic phrases. Occasionally, moreover, a word with some special metaphorical meaning might be translated into the literally corresponding Greek and used with the same connotation, as when the verb הלך, in the ethical sense, was represented not by the exactly answering ἀναστρέφεσθαι, but by περιπατεῖν.[2] But these cases are very few, and may be transferred any day to the other category, illustrated above in the case of ἰδού, by the discovery of new papyrus texts. It must not be forgotten

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[1] Note that James uses ἰδού 6 times in his short Epistle, Paul only 9 times (including one quotation) in all his writings. In Ac 1–12 it appears 16 times, in 13–28 only 7 : its rarity in the Gentile atmosphere is characteristic. It is instructive to note the figures for narrative as against speeches and OT quotations. Mt has 33 in narrative, 4 in quotations, 24 in speeches ; Mk 0/1/6 ; Lk 16/1/40 ; Ac (1–12) 4/0 12, Ac (13–28) 1/0/6 ; Jn 0/1/3. Add that Heb has 4 OT quotations and no other occurrence, and Rev has no less than 26 occurrences. It is obvious that it was natural to Hebrews in speech, and to some of them (not Mk or Jn) in narrative. Luke in the Palestinian atmosphere (Lk, Ac 1–12) employs it freely, whether reproducing his sources or bringing in a trait of local character like Shakspere with Fluellen. Hort (*Ecclesia*, p. 179) says ἰδού is "a phrase which when writing in his own person and sometimes even in speeches [Luke] reserves for sudden and as it were providential interpositions." He does not appear to include the Gospel, to which the remark is evidently inapplicable, and this fact somewhat weakens its application to Ac 1–12. But with this reservation we may accept the independent testimony of Hort's instinct to our conclusion that Luke when writing without external influences upon him would use ἰδού as a Greek would use it. The same is true of Paul. Let me quote in conclusion a curiously close parallel, unfortunately late (iv/v A.D.) to Lk 13[16] : BU 948 (a letter) γινώσκειν ἐθέλω ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ πραγματευτὴς ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ σου ἀσθενῖ, εἰδοῦ, δέκα τρῖς μῆνες. (See p. 70.) It weakens the case for Aramaism (Wellh. 29).

[2] Deissmann, *BS* 194. Πορεύομαι is thus used in 1 Pet 4[3] *al.*

that the instrumental ἐν in ἐν μαχαίρῃ (Lk 22⁴⁹) and ἐν ῥάβδῳ
(1 Co 4²¹) was only rescued from the class of "Hebraisms"
by the publication of the *Tebtunis Papyri* (1902), which
presented us with half-a-dozen Ptolemaic citations for it.[1]

Grammatical and Lexical. A very important distinction must be
drawn at this point between Semitisms con-
cerning vocabulary and those which affect
syntax. The former have occupied us mainly so far, and
they are the principal subject of Deissmann's work. *Gram-
matical* Semitisms are a much more serious matter. We
might indeed range under this head all sins against native
Greek style and idiom, such as most NT books will show.
Co-ordination of clauses with the simple καί,[2] instead of the
use of participles or subordinate clauses, is a good example.
It is quite true that a Hebrew would find this style come
natural to him, and that an Egyptian might be more likely,
in equal absence of Greek culture, to pile up a series of geni-
tive absolutes. But in itself the phenomenon proves nothing
more than would a string of "ands" in an English rustic's
story—elementary culture, and not the hampering presence
of a foreign idiom that is being perpetually translated into
its most literal equivalent. A Semitism which definitely
contravenes Greek syntax is what we have to watch for.
We have seen that ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός
does not come into this category. But Rev 2¹³ ἐν ταῖς
ἡμέραις Ἀντίπας ὁ μάρτυς . . . ὃς ἀπεκτάνθη would be a
glaring example, for it is impossible to conceive of Ἀντίπας
as an indeclinable. The Hebraist might be supposed to
argue that the nom. is unchanged because it would be un-
changed (*stat. abs.*) in Hebrew. But no one would seriously
imagine the text sound : it matters little whether we mend
it with Lachmann's conjecture Ἀντίπα or with that of the
later copyists, who repeat αἷς after ἡμέραις and drop ὅς.
The typical case of ἐγένετο ἦλθε will be discussed below ;

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[1] *Expos.* VI. vii. 112 ; cf *CR* xviii. 153.

[2] Cf Hawkins *HS* 120 f., on the frequency of καί in Mk. Thumb observes
that καί in place of hypotaxis is found in MGr—and in Aristotle (*Hellenismus*
129) : here even Vitean gives way. So ἦρθε καιρὸς κι' ἀρρώστησεν (Abbott 70).
The simple parataxis of Mk 15²⁵, Jn 4³⁵ 11⁵⁵, is illustrated by the uneducated
document Par P 18, ἔτι δύο ἡμέρας ἔχομεν καὶ φθάσομεν εἰς Πηλούσι.

and in the course of our enquiry we shall dispose of others, like ἧς τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς (Mk 7²⁵), which we now find occurring in Greek that is beyond suspicion of Semitic influences.

There remain Semitisms due to translation, from the Hebrew of the OT, or from Aramaic "sources" underlying parts of the Synoptists and Acts. The former case covers
Translation Greek. all the usages which have been supposed to arise from over-literal rendering in the LXX, the constant reading of which by Hellenist Jews has unconsciously affected their Greek. Here of course we have abnormal Greek produced by the effort of Greek-speaking men to translate the already obsolete and imperfectly understood Hebrew. When the Hebrew puzzled them, they would take refuge in a barbarous literalness, like a schoolboy translating Vergil. It was ignorance of את, not ignorance of σύν, which was responsible for Aquila's ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν. It is not antecedently probable that such "translation Greek" would influence free Greek except by supplying phrases for conscious or unconscious quotation : these phrases would not become models to be followed by men who wrote the language as their own. How far such foreign idioms may get into a language, we may see by examining our own. We have a few foreign phrases which have been literally translated into English, and have maintained their place without consciousness of their origin : " that goes without saying," or " this gives furiously to think," will serve as examples. Many more are retained as conscious quotations, with no effort to assimilate them to English idiom. " To return to our muttons " illustrates one kind of these barbarisms ; but there are Biblical phrases taken over in a similar way without sacrificing their unidiomatic form. We must notice, however, that such phrases are sterile : we have only to imagine another verb put for *saying* in our version of *Cela va sans dire* to see how entirely such an importation fails to influence the syntax of our language.

Hebraism in Luke. The general discussion of this important subject may be clinched with an enquiry into the diction of Luke, whose varieties of style in the different parts of his work form a particularly interesting

and important problem.[1]   I restrict myself to grammatical
Hebraisms mainly, but it will be useful to recall Dalman's
list (*Words* 20 ff.) to see how far Luke is concerned in it.
He gives as pure Aramaisms (*a*) the superfluous ἀφείς or
καταλιπών and ἤρξατο, as more Aramaic than Hebrew the
use of εἶναι with participle as a narrative tense.   Either
Aramaic or Hebrew will account for (*b*) the superfluous
ἐλθών, καθίσας, ἑστώς, and ἀναστάς or ἐγερθείς.   Pure
Hebraisms are (*c*) the periphrases with πρόσωπον, the use
of ἐν τῷ with infinitive,—but this is found in classical
historians, in Polybius[2] and in papyri, and therefore cannot
fairly be reckoned,—the types ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε and βλέποντες
βλέψετε (see below, pp. 75 f.), and the formulæ καὶ ἐγένετο,
ἐλάλησεν λαλῶν and ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν.[3]   In class (*a*), we find

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[1] In assuming the unity of the two books *ad Theophilum*, I am quite
content to shield myself behind Blass.   To be a great "philologist" is
apparently as sure a guarantee of incompetence as to be an "apologist," to
judge from Jülicher's lofty scorn.   But common sense suggests that on the
integrity of a Greek book the somewhat narrow training of the professional NT
critic cannot compare with the equipment of a master in criticism over the
whole range of Greek literature.

[2] See Kälker 253, and below, p. 215. Add Par P 63 (ii/B.C.) τίς γὰρ οὕτως
ἐστὶν ἀνάλγητως ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι καὶ πράγματος διαφορὰν εὑρεῖν, ὃς οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
δυνήσεται συννοεῖν ; It is of course the *frequency* of this locution that is due to
Semitic thought : cf what is said of ἰδού, above, p. 11.

[3] See Wellh. 16. To class (*c*) I may append a note on εἰς ἀπάντησιν,
which in Mt 27³² (δ-text) and 1 Th 4¹⁷ takes a genitive. This is of course a
very literal translation of לִקְרַאת, which is given by HR as its original in 29
places, as against 16 with dative.   (Variants συναν., ὑπαντ., and others are
often occurring : I count all places where one of the primary authorities has
εἰς ἀπ. with gen. or dat. representing לֹ.   In addition there are a few places
where the phrase answers to a different original ; also 1 ex. with gen. and
3 with dat. from the Apocrypha.) Luke (Ac 28¹⁵) uses it with dat., and in
Mt 25⁶ it appears absolutely, as once in LXX (1 Sa 13¹⁵). Now this last may
be directly paralleled in a Ptolemaic papyrus which certainly has no Semitism
—Tb P 43 (ii/B.C.) παρεγενήθημεν εἰς ἀπάντησιν (a newly arriving magistrate).
In BU 362 (215 A.D.) πρὸς [ἀ]πάντη[σιν τοῦ]ἡγεμόνος has the very gen. we want. .
One of Strack's Ptolemaic inscriptions (*Archiv* iii. 129) has ἵν' εἰδῆι ἣν ἔσχηκεν
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ πόλις εὐχάριστον ἀπάντησιν.   It seems that the special idea of the
word was the official welcome of a newly arrived dignitary—an idea singularly
in place in the NT exx.   The case after it is entirely consistent with Greek
idiom, the gen. as in our "to *his* inauguration," the dat. as the case governed
by the verb. If in the LXX the use has been extended, it is only because it
seemed so literal a translation of the Hebrew. Note that in 1 Th *l.c.* the
authorities of the δ-text read the dat., which is I suspect better Greek. (What
has been said applies also to εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτῷ, as in Mt 8³⁴, Jn 12¹³ : the two
words seem synonymous).   See also p. 242.

Luke unconcerned with the first case. The third we must return to (see pp. 225 ff.): suffice to say now that it has its roots in classical Greek, and is at most only a more liberal use of what is correct enough, if less common. But ἤρξατο raises an interesting question. In Lk 3⁸ we find καὶ μὴ ἄρξησθε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. Dalman (p. 27) shows that in narrative "the Palestinian-Jewish literature uses the meaningless ' he began,'" a conventional locution which was evidently parallel with our Middle-English auxiliary *gan*. It is very common in the Synoptists, and occurs twice as often in Luke as in Matthew. Dalman thinks that if this Aramaic שָׁרִי with participle had become practically meaningless, we might well find the same use in direct speech, though no example happens to be known. Now in the otherwise verbally identical verse Mt 3⁹ we find δόξητε for ἄρξησθε, " do not presume to say," which is thoroughly idiomatic Greek, and manifestly a deliberate improvement of an original preserved more exactly by Luke.¹ It seems to follow that this original was a Greek translation of the Aramaic *logia*-document, used in common by both Evangelists, but with greater freedom by the first. If Luke was ignorant of Aramaic,² he would be led by his keen desire for accuracy to incorporate with a minimum of change translations he was able to secure, even when they were executed by men whose Greek was not very idiomatic. This conclusion, which is in harmony with our general impressions of his methods of using his sources, seems to me much more probable than to suppose that it was he who misread Aramaic words in the manner illustrated by Nestle on Lk 11⁴¹ᶠ· (*Exp* *T* xv. 528): we may just as well accuse the (oral or written) translation he employed.

Passing on to Dalman's (*b*) class, in which Luke is concerned equally with the other Synoptists, we may observe that only a very free translation would drop these pleonasms.   In a sense they are " meaningless," just as the first verb is in " He *went* and did it all the same," or " He *got up* and went out," or (purposely to take a parallel from the vernacular) " So he

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¹ But see E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* ii. 487.

² Luke "probably did not understand Aramaic," says Jülicher, *Introd.* 359.   That Dalman (*Words* 38–41) holds this view, is almost decisive.

ups and says." But however little additional information
they may add—and for us at least the "*stand* praying" is
not a superfluous touch—they add a distinct *nuance* to the
whole phrase, which Luke was not likely to sacrifice when he
met it in his translation or heard it from the αὐτόπται whose
story he was jotting down. The same may be said of the
pleonastic phrases which begin and end Dalman's list of
"pure Hebraisms." In this class (*c*) therefore there remains
only the construction with καὶ ἐγένετο, answering to the
narrative וַיְהִי, which is (strangely enough) almost peculiar to
Luke in the NT. There are three constructions :—(*a*) ἐγένετο
ἦλθε, (*b*) ἐγένετο καὶ ἦλθε, (*c*) ἐγένετο (αὐτὸν) ἐλθεῖν.[1] The
occurrences of these respectively are for Lk $22/11/5$, for
Ac $0/0/17$.[2] It may be added that the construction occurs
almost always with a time clause (generally with ἐν): in Lk
there is only one exception, 16^{22}. The phrase was clearly
therefore temporal originally, like our "It was in the days
of . . . that . . ." (This is (*c*), but we could use the
paratactic (*a*) form, or even (*b*), without transgressing our
idiom.) Driver (*Tenses*, § 78) describes the וַיְהִי construction
as occurring when there is inserted "a clause specifying the
circumstances under which an action takes place,"—a descrip-
tion which will suit the Lucan usage everywhere, except
sometimes in the (*c*) class (as 16^{22}), the only one of the three
which has no Hebrew parallel. We must infer that the
LXX translators used this locution as a just tolerable Greek
which literally represented the original;[3] and that Lk (and
to a minute extent Mt and Mk) deliberately recalled the
Greek OT by using the phrase. The (*a*) form is used else-
where in the NT twice in Mk and five times in Mt, only
in the phrase ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν κτλ. Mt 9^{10} has (*b*) and
Mk 2^{23} has (*c*). There are (*a*) forms with ἔσται Ac $2^{17. 21}$ 3^{23},
Rom 9^{26} (all OT citations) ; and (*c*) forms with γίνεται Mk 2^{15},

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[1] Once (Ac 10^{25}), ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον.

[2] Blass cites Ac 4^5 D for (*a*), and finds (*b*) in 5^7. Certainly the latter sentence
may be thus construed (see below, p. 70); nor is it a fatal objection that the
construction is otherwise isolated in Ac. See p. 233.

[3] W. F. Moulton (WM 760 n.) gives a number of LXX exx. for the (*a*) and (*b*)
forms : the only approach to the (*c*) form is 2 Mac 3^{16}, ἦν . . . ὁρῶντα . . .
τιτρώσκεσθαι.

ἐὰν γένηται Mt 18¹³, and ὅπως μὴ γένηται Ac 20¹⁶. Now in what sense is any of this to be called " Hebraism " ? It is obvious that (b) is a literal translation of the Hebrew, while it is at least grammatical as Greek, however unidiomatic. Its retention to a limited extent in Lk (with a single doubtful case in Ac), and absence elsewhere in NT (except for Mt 9¹⁰, which is affected by the author's love for καὶ ἰδού), are best interpreted as meaning that in free Greek it was rather an experiment, other constructions being preferred even by a writer who set himself to copy the LXX style. At first sight (a) would seem worse Greek still, but we must note that it is apparently known in MGr: cf Pallis's version of Mt 11¹, καὶ συνέβηκε, σὰν τέλιωσε . . ., ἔφυγε . . ., etc. We cannot suppose that this is an invasion of Biblical Greek, any more than our own idiomatic " It happened I was at home that day." [1] What then of (c), which is characteristic of Luke, and adopted by him in Ac as an exclusive substitute for the other two ? It starts from Greek vernacular, beyond doubt. The normal Greek συνέβη still takes what represents the *acc. et inf.*: συνέβη ὅτι ἦρθε is idiomatic in modern Athenian speech, against ἔτυχε νὰ ἔλθῃ which, I am told, is commoner in the country districts. But ἐὰν γένηται with inf. was good contemporary vernacular: see AP 135, BM 970, and *Pap. Catt.* (in *Archiv* iii. 60)—all ii/A.D. So was γίνεται (as Mk 2¹⁵): cf Par P 49 (ii/B.C.) γίνεται γὰρ ἐντραπῆναι. From this to ἐγένετο is but a step, which Luke alone of NT writers seems to have taken : [2] the isolated ex. in Mk 2²³ is perhaps a primitive assimilation to Lk 6¹.[3]

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[1] Cf Thumb's remarks on this criterion of genuineness in vernacular suspected of Hebraism : " What appears Hebraism or Aramaism in the Bible must count as Greek if it shows itself as a natural development in the MGr vernacular " (*Hellenismus* 123).

[2] An interesting suggestion is made by Prof. B. W. Bacon in *Expos.*, April 1905, p. 174 n., who thinks that the " Semitism " may be taken over from the " Gospel according to the Hebrews." The secondary character of this Gospel, as judged from the extant fragments, has been sufficiently proved by Dr Adeney (*Hibbert Journal*, iii. pp. 139 ff.); but this does not prevent our positing an earlier and purer form as one of Luke's sources. Bacon's quotation for this is after the (a) form : "*Factum est* autem, cum ascendisset . . ., *descendit* . . ." (No. 4 in Preuschen's collection, *Antilegomena*, p. 4). The (a) form occurs in frag. 2 of the " Ebionite Gospel " (Preuschen, p. 9).

[3] Παραπορεύεσθαι (אALΔ *al*) may be a relic of Mk's original text.

Conclusions as to Semitism. By this time we have perhaps dealt suf- ficiently with the principles involved, and may leave details of alleged Semitisms to their proper places in the grammar. We have seen that the problem is only complicated in the Lucan writings : else- where we have either pure vernacular or vernacular tempered with " translation Greek." In Luke, the only NT writer except the author of Heb to show any conscious attention to Greek ideas of style, we find (1) rough Greek translations from Aramaic left mainly as they reached him, perhaps because their very roughness seemed too characteristic to be refined away ; and (2) a very limited imitation of the LXX idiom, as specially appropriate while the story moves in the Jewish world. The conscious adaptation of his own style to that of sacred writings long current among his readers reminds us of the rule which restricted our nineteenth century Biblical Revisers to the English of the Elizabethan age.

On the whole question, Thumb (p. 122) quotes with approval Deissmann's dictum that " Semitisms which are in common use belong mostly to the technical language of reli- gion," like that of our sermons and Sunday magazines. Such Semitisms " alter the scientific description of the language as little as did a few Latinisms, or other booty from the victorious march of Greek over the world around the Medi- terranean." [1] In summing up thus the issue of the long strife over NT Hebraisms, we fully apprehend the danger of going too far. Semitic thought, whose native literary dress was necessarily foreign to the Hellenic genius, was bound to fall sometimes into un-Hellenic language as well as style. Moreover, if Deissmann has brought us a long way, we must not forget the complementary researches of Dalman, which have opened up a new world of possibilities in the scientific reconstruction of Aramaic originals, and have warned us of the importance of distinguishing very carefully between Semitisms from two widely different sources. What we can assert with assurance is that the papyri have finally destroyed the figment of a NT Greek which in any material respect differed from that spoken by ordinary

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[1] Art. *Hellenistisches Griechisch*, in *RE*[3] vii. p. 638.

people in daily life throughout the Roman world. If the
natural objection is raised that there must have been dialectic
variation where people of very different races, scattered over
an immense area, were learning the world language, and that
" Jewish-Greek " is thus made an *a priori* certainty, we can
meet the difficulty with a curiously complete modern parallel.
Our own language is to-day spoken over a far vaster area ;
and we have only to ask to what extent dialect difference
affects the modern *Weltsprache*. We find that pronuncia-
tion and vocabulary exhaust between them nearly all the
phenomena we could catalogue. Englishman, Scotchman,
American, Colonial, granted a tolerable primary education,
can interchange familiar letters without betraying except in
trifles the dialect of their daily speech.[a] This fact should
help us to realise how few local peculiarities can be expected
to show themselves at such an interval in a language known
to us solely from writing. We may add that a highly
educated speaker of standard English, recognisable by his
intonation as hailing from London, Edinburgh, or New York,
can no longer thus be recognised when his words are written
down. The comparison will help us to realise the impression
made by the traveller Paul. [a See p. 243.

A special NT diction? There is one general consideration which
must detain us a little at the close of
this introductory chapter. Those who have
studied some recent work upon Hellenistic Greek, such as
Blass's brilliant *Grammar of NT Greek*, will probably be led
to feel that modern methods result in a considerable levelling
of distinctions, grammatical and lexical, on which the exegesis
of the past has laid great stress. It seems necessary there-
fore at the outset to put in a plea for caution, lest an
exaggerated view should be taken of the extent to which
our new lights alter our conceptions of the NT language and
its interpretation. We have been showing that the NT
writers used the language of their time. But that does not
mean that they had not in a very real sense a language of
their own. Specific examples in which we feel bound to assert
this for them will come up from time to time in our inquiry.
In the light of the papyri and of MGr we are compelled to
give up some grammatical scruples which figure largely in

great commentators like Westcott, and colour many passages of the RV. But it does not follow that we must promptly obliterate every grammatical distinction that proves to have been unfamiliar to the daily conversation of the first century Egyptian farmer. We are in no danger now of reviving Hatch's idea that phrases which could translate the same Hebrew must be equivalent to one another. The papyri have slain this very Euclid-like axiom, but they must not enslave us to others as dangerous. The NT must still be studied largely by light drawn from itself. Books written on the same subject and within the same circle must always gather some amount of identical style or idiom, a kind of technical terminology, which may often preserve a usage of earlier language, obsolescent because not needed in more slovenly colloquial speech of the same time. The various conservatisms of our own religious dialect, even on the lips of uneducated people, may serve as a parallel up to a certain point. The comparative correctness and dignity of speech to which an unlettered man will rise in prayer, is a very familiar phenomenon, lending strong support to the expectation that even ἀγράμματοι would instinctively rise above their usual level of exactness in expression, when dealing with such high themes as those which fill the NT. We are justified by these considerations in examining each NT writer's language first by itself, and then in connexion with that of his fellow-contributors to the sacred volume ; and we may allow ourselves to retain the original force of distinctions which were dying or dead in every-day parlance, when there is a sufficient body of internal evidence. Of course we shall not be tempted to use this argument when the whole of our evidence denies a particular survival to Hellenistic vernacular : in such a case we could only find the locution as a definite literary revival, rarely possible in Luke and the writer to the Hebrews, and just conceivable in Paul.

Note on Latinisms. It seems hardly worth while to discuss in a general way the supposition that Latin has influenced the Κοινή of the NT. In the borrowing of Latin words of course we can see activity enough, and there are even phrases literally translated, like λαβεῖν τὸ ἱκανόν Ac 17⁹; ποιεῖν τὸ ἱ. Mk 15¹⁵ (as early as

Polybius); μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας Ac 1⁵, etc. But grammar we must regard as another matter, in spite of such collections as Buttmann's (see his Index, *s.v. Latinisms*) or Thayer's (Hastings' *DB* iii. 40). It will suffice to refer to Prof. Thumb's judgement (*Hellenismus* 152 ff.). Romans writing Greek might be expected to have difficulties for example with the article [1]—as I have noticed in the English efforts of Japanese boys at school in this country ; but even of this there seems to be no very decisive proof. And though the bulk of the NT comes to us from authors with Roman names, no one will care to assert that Latin was the native language of Paul [2] or Luke or Mark. Apart from lexical matters, we may be content with a general negative. " Of any effective *grammatical* influence [of Latin] upon Greek there can be no question : at any rate I know nothing which could be instanced to this effect with any probability." So says Dr Thumb, and the justification of his decision in each alleged example may be safely left till the cases arise. It should of course be noted that Prof. Blass (p. 4) is rather more disposed to admit Latinisms in syntax. Greek and Latin were so constantly in contact throughout the history of the *Κοινή*, that the question of Latinisms in Greek or Graecisms in Latin must always lie outside the range of really decisive answer : [3] our decision will turn largely on general impressions of the genius of each language, and for this point the specialist in *Κοινή* Greek seems better qualified than the specialist in the classical language.

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[1] Foreigners sometimes did find the article a stumbling-block : witness the long inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene, *OGIS* 383 (i/B.c.)—see Dittenberger's notes on p. 596 (vol. i.).

[2] This does not involve denying that Paul could speak Latin : see the additional note to p. 7 (p. 233 below).

[3] How inextricably bound together were the fortunes of Greek and Latin in the centuries following our era, is well shown in W. Schulze's pamphlet, *Graeca Latina*. He does not, I think, prove any real action of Latin on Greek early enough to affect the NT, except for some mere trifles.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE " COMMON " GREEK.

A New Study. We proceed to examine the nature and history of the vernacular Greek itself. This is a study which has almost come into existence in the present generation. Classical scholars have studied the Hellenistic literature for the sake of its matter : its language was seldom considered worth noticing, except to chronicle contemptuously its deviations from " good Greek." In so suffering, perhaps the authors only received the treatment they deserved ; for to write Attic was the object of them all, pursued doubtless with varying degrees of zeal, but in all cases removing them far from the language they used in daily life. The pure study of the vernacular was hardly possible, for the Biblical Greek was interpreted on lines of its own, and the papyri were mostly reposing in their Egyptian tombs, the collections that were published receiving but little attention. (Cf above, p. 7 n.) Equally unknown was the scientific study of modern Greek. To this day, even great philologists like Hatzidakis decry as a mere patois, utterly unfit for literary use, the living language upon whose history they have spent their lives. The translation of the Gospels into the Greek which descends directly from their original idiom, is treated as sacrilege by the devotees of a " literary " dialect which, in point of fact, no one ever spoke ! It is left to foreigners to recognise the value of Pallis's version for students who seek to understand NT Greek in the light of the continuous development of the language from the age of Alexander to our own time. See p. 243.

The Sources. As has been hinted in the preceding paragraph, the materials for our present-day study of NT Greek are threefold :—(1) the prose literature

of the post-classical period, from Polybius down, and including the LXX; (2) the Κοινή inscriptions, and the Egyptian non-literary papyri; (3) modern vernacular Greek, with especial reference to its dialectic variations, so far as these are at present registered.   Before we discuss the part which each of these must play in our investigations, it will be necessary to ask what was the Κοινή and how it arose. We should premise that we use the name here as a convenient term for the spoken dialect of the period under review, using "literary Κοινή" and similar terms when the dialect of Polybius, Josephus, and the rest, is referred to.   Whether this is the ancient use of the name we need not stay to examine :[a] the curious will find a paper on the subject by Prof. Jannaris in *CR* xvii. 93 ff., which may perhaps prove that he and we have misused the ancient grammarians' phraseology. Οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ.   [a See p. 243.

Greek and its Dialects. The history, geography, and ethnology of Hellas are jointly responsible for the remarkable phenomena which even the literature of the classical period presents.   The very schoolboy in his first two or three years at Greek has to realise that "Greek" is anything but a unity.   He has not thumbed the *Anabasis* long before the merciful pedagogue takes him on to Homer, and his painfully acquired irregular verbs demand a great extension of their limits.   When he develops into a Tripos candidate, he knows well that Homer, Pindar, Sappho, Herodotus and Aristotle are all of them in their several ways defiant of the Attic grammar to which his own composition must conform.   And if his studies ultimately invade the dialect inscriptions,[1] he finds in Elis and Heraclea, Lacedaemon and Thebes, Crete[2] and Cyprus, forms of Greek for which his literature has almost entirely failed to prepare him.   Yet the Theban who said Φίττω Δεύς and the Athenian with his ἴστω Ζεύς lived in towns exactly as far apart as Liverpool and Manchester! The bewildering variety of dialects within that little country arises partly from racial

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[1] An extremely convenient little selection of dialect inscriptions is now available in the Teubner series :—*Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas Dialectos selectae*, by Felix Solmsen. The book has less than 100 pp., but its contents might be relied on to perplex very tolerable scholars !   [2] See p. 233.

differences.   Upon the indigenous population, represented best (it would seem) by the Athenians of history, swept first from Northern Europe [1] the hordes of Homer's Achæans, and then, in post-Homeric days, the Dorian invaders.   Dialectic conditions were as inevitably complex as they became in our own country a thousand years ago, when successive waves of Germanic invaders, of different tribes and dialects, had settled in the several parts of an island in which a Keltic population still maintained itself to greater or less extent. Had the Norman Conquest come before the Saxon, which determined the language of the country, the parallel would have been singularly complete.   The conditions which in England were largely supplied by distance, were supplied in Greece by the mountain barriers which so effectively cut off each little State from regular communication with its neighbours—an effect and a cause at once of the passion for autonomy which made of Hellas a heptarchy of heptarchies.

Survival of the Fittest.   Meanwhile, a steady process was going on which determined finally the character of literary Greek.   Sparta might win the hegemony of Greece at Aegospotami, and Thebes wrest it from her at Leuktra.   But Sparta could not produce a man of letters,—Alkman (who was not a Spartan!) will serve as the exception that proves the rule ; and Pindar, the lonely " Theban eagle," knew better than to try poetic flights in Bœotian.   The intellectual supremacy of Athens was beyond challenge long before the political unification of Greece was accomplished ; and Attic was firmly established as the only possible dialect for prose composition.   The post-classical writers wrote Attic according to their lights, tempered generally with a plentiful admixture of grammatical and lexical elements drawn from the vernacular, for which they had too hearty a contempt even to give it a name.   Strenuous efforts were made by precisians to improve the Attic quality of this artificial literary dialect ; and we still possess the works of Atticists who cry out

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[1] I am assuming as proved the thesis of Prof. Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece*, which seems to me a key that will unlock many problems of Greek history, religion, and language.   Of course *adhuc sub iudice lis est ;* and with Prof. Thumb on the other side I should be sorry to dogmatise.

against the " bad Greek " and " solecisms " of their con-
temporaries, thus incidentally providing us with information
concerning a Greek which interests us more than the artificial
Attic they prized so highly.   All their scrupulousness did
not however prevent their deviating from Attic in matters
more important than vocabulary.   The optative in Lucian
is perpetually misused, and no Atticist successfully attempts
to reproduce the ancient use of οὐ and μή with the participle.
Those writers who are less particular in their purism write
in a literary Κοινή which admits without difficulty many
features of various origin, while generally recalling Attic.
No doubt the influence of Thucydides encouraged this
freedom.   The true Attic, as spoken by educated people in
Athens, was hardly used in literature before iv/B.C. ; [1]
while the Ionic dialect had largely influenced the some-
what artificial idiom which the older writers at Athens
used.   It was not strange therefore that the standard for
most of the post-classical writers should go back, for
instance, to the πράσσω of Thucydides rather than the
πράττω of Plato and Demosthenes.

Literary Κοινή.   Such, then, was the " Common Greek "
of literature, from which we have still to
derive our illustrations for the NT to a very large extent.
Any lexicon will show how important for our purpose is
the vocabulary of the Κοινή writers, from Polybius down.
And even the most rigid Atticists found themselves unable
to avoid words and usages which Plato would not have
recognised.   But side by side with this was a fondness for
obsolete words with literary associations.   Take ναῦς, for
example, which is freely found in Aelian, Josephus, and
other Κοινή writers.   It does not appear in the indices
of eight volumes of Grenfell and Hunt's papyri—except
where literary fragments come in,—nor in those to vol. iii
of the Berlin collection and the small volume from Chicago.
(I am naming all the collections that I happen to have by
me.)   We turn to the NT and find it once, and that is

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[1] Schwyzer, *Die Weltsprachen des Altertums*, p. 15 n., cites as the earliest
extant prose monument of genuine Attic in literature, the pseudo-Xenophon's
De republica Atheniensi, which dates from before 413 B.C.

in Luke's shipwreck narrative, in a phrase which Blass
(*Philology* 186) suspects to be a reminiscence of Homer.
In style and syntax the literary Common Greek diverges
more widely from the colloquial. The bearing of all this
on the subject of our study will come out frequently in the
course of our investigations. Here it will suffice to refer
to Blass, p. 5, for an interesting summary of phenomena
which are practically restricted to the author of Heb, and
to parts of Luke and Paul,[1] where sundry lexical and
grammatical elements from the literary dialect invade the
colloquial style which is elsewhere universal in the NT.

Modern "Attic." The writers who figure in Dr W.
Schmid's well-known book, *Der Atticismus*,
were not the last to found a literary lan-
guage on the artificial resuscitation of the ancient Attic.
Essentially the same thing is being tried in our time.
"The purists of to-day," says Thumb (*Hellenismus* 180),
"are like the old Atticists to a hair." Their "mummy-
language," as Krumbacher calls it, will not stand the test
of use in poetry; but in prose literature, in newspapers,
and in Biblical translation, it has the dominion, which is
vindicated by Athenian undergraduates with bloodshed
if need be.[2] We have nothing to do with this curious
phenomenon, except to warn students that before citing MGr
in illustration of the NT, they must make sure whether
their source is καθαρεύουσα or ὁμιλουμένη, book Greek or
spoken Greek. The former may of course have borrowed
from ancient or modern sources—for it is a medley far
more mixed than we should get by compounding together
Cynewulf and Kipling—the particular feature for which it
is cited. But it obviously cannot stand in any line of his-
torical development, and it is just as valuable as Volapük to

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[1] In quoting Blass here, we do not accept unreservedly his opinion that
Luke (Ac 20[29]) *misused* the literary word ἄφιξις. The Κοινή passages cited
in Grimm-Thayer are at any rate ambiguous, and the misunderstanding of the
ἀπό may have been no peculiarity of Luke's. There is also the suggestion that
Paul meant "after my *arrival*, home-coming." For literary elements in NT
writers, see especially E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* ii. 482 ff.

[2] See Krumbacher's vigorous polemic, *Das Problem d. neugr. Schriftsprache*,
summarised by the present writer in *Exp T* xiv. 550 ff. Hatzidakis replies with
equal energy in *REGr*, 1903, pp. 210 ff., and further in an Ἀπάντησις (1905).

the student of linguistic evolution. The popular patois, on
the other hand, is a living language, and we shall soon see
that it takes a very important part in the discussions on
which we are entering.

First Century
Koινή : Sources.
We pass on then to the spoken dialect
of the first century Hellenists, its history
and its peculiarities. Our sources are, in
order of importance, (1) non-literary papyri, (2) inscriptions,
(3) modern vernacular Greek. The literary sources are
almost confined to the Biblical Greek. A few general words
may be said on these sources, before we examine the origin of
the Greek which they embody.

(1) Papyri.
The papyri have one very obvious dis-
advantage, in that, with the not very import-
ant exception of Herculaneum,[1] their provenance is limited
to one country, Egypt. We shall see, however, that the
disadvantage does not practically count. They date from
iii/B.C. to vii/A.D. The monuments of the earliest period
are fairly abundant, and they give us specimens of the spoken
Koινή from a time when the dialect was still a novelty.
The papyri, to be sure, are not to be treated as a unity.
Those which alone concern us come from the tombs and waste
paper heaps of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt ; and their style
has the same degree of unity as we should see in the contents
of the sacks of waste paper sent to an English paper-mill
from a solicitor's office, a farm, a school, a shop, a manse, and
a house in Downing Street. Each contribution has to be
considered separately. Wills, law-reports, contracts, census-
returns, marriage - settlements, receipts and official orders
largely ran along stereotyped lines ; and, as formulæ tend
to be permanent, we have a degree of conservatism in the
language which is not seen in documents free from these
trammels. Petitions contain this element in greater or less
extent, but naturally show more freedom in the recitation of
the particular grievances for which redress is claimed.
Private letters are our most valuable sources ; and they
are all the better for the immense differences that betray

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[1] On these see the monumental work of W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Her-
culanensis* (Teubner, 1903).

themselves in the education of their writers.   The well-worn
epistolary formulæ show variety mostly in their spelling ; and
their value for the student lies primarily in their remarkable
resemblances to the conventional phraseology which even the
NT letter-writers were content to use.[1]   That part of the
letter which is free from formulæ is perhaps most instructive
when its grammar is weakest, for it shows which way the
language was tending.   Few papyri are more suggestive than
the letter of the lower-school-boy to his father, OP 119
(ii/iii A.D.).   It would have surprised Theon *père*, when he
applied the well-merited cane, to learn that seventeen centuries
afterwards there might be scholars who would count his boy's
audacious missive greater treasure than a new fragment of
Sappho !   But this is by the way.   It must not be inferred
from our laudation of the ungrammatical papyri that the
NT writers are at all comparable to these scribes in lack of
education.   The indifference to concord, which we noted
in Rev, is almost isolated in this connexion.   But the
illiterates show us by their exaggerations the tendencies
which the better schooled writers keep in restraint.   With
writings from farmers and from emperors, and every class
between, we can form a kind of " grammatometer " by which
to estimate how the language stands in the development of
any particular use we may wish to investigate.

(2) Inscriptions.   Inscriptions come second to papyri, in
this connexion, mainly because their very
material shows that they were meant to last.   Their Greek
may not be of the purest ; but we see it, such as it is, in its best
clothes, while that of the papyri is in corduroys.   The special
value of the Common Greek inscriptions lies in their corroborat-
ing the papyri, for they practically show that there was but
little dialectic difference between the Greek of Egypt and that of
Asia Minor, Italy, and Syria.   There would probably be varieties
of pronunciation, and we have evidence that districts differed
in their preferences among sundry equivalent locutions ; but
a speaker of Greek would be understood without the slightest
difficulty wherever he went throughout the immense area

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[1] On this point see Deissmann, *BS* 21 ff. ; J. R. Harris, in *Expos.* v. viii.
161 ff. ; G. G. Findlay, *Thess.* (*CGT*), lxi. ; Robinson, *Eph.* 275–284.

over which the Greek world-speech reigned.   With the *caveat*
already implied, that inscription-Greek may contain literary
elements which are absent from an unstudied private letter,
we may use without misgiving the immense and ever-growing
collections of later Greek epigraphy.   How much may be
made of them is well seen in the *Preisschrift* of Dr E.
Schwyzer,[1] *Grammatik der Pergamenischen Inschriften*, an
invaluable guide to the accidence of the Κοινή.   (It has been
followed up by E. Nachmanson in his *Laute und Formen der
Magnetischen Inschriften* (1903), which does the same work,
section by section, for the *corpus* from Magnesia.)   Next to
the papyrus collections, there is no tool the student of the
NT Κοινή will find so useful as a book of late inscriptions,
such as Dittenberger's new *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones
selectae*.[2]

(3) **Modern Greek.**   Finally we have MGr to bring in.   The
discovery that the vernacular of to-day goes
back historically to the Κοινή was made in
1834 by Heilmaier, in a book on the origin of the
" Romaic."   This discovery once established, it became clear
that we could work back from MGr to reconstruct the
otherwise imperfectly known oral Greek of the Hellenistic
age.[3]   It is however only in the last generation that the
importance of this method has been adequately recognised.
We had not indeed till recently acquired trustworthy materials.
Mullach's grammar, upon which the editor of Winer had to
depend for one of the most fruitful innovations of his work,[4]
started from wrong premisses as to the relation between the
old language and the new.[5]   We have now, in such books

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[1] He was Schweizer in 1898, when this book was published, but has changed
since, to our confusion.   He has edited Meisterhans' *Grammatik der attischen
Inschriften*[3], and written the interesting lecture on *Die Weltsprache* named
above.

[2] The appearance of vol. ii. has made it many times more valuable by
the provision of a word-index, and an excellent conspectus of grammatical
peculiarities.

[3] I cite from Kretschmer, *Die Entstehung der* Κοινή, p. 4.

[4] Cf WM index *s.v.* "Greek (modern)," p. 824.

[5] Cf Krumbacher in *KZ* xxvii. 488.   Krumbacher uses the epithet "dilet-
tante" about Mullach, *ib.* p. 497, but rather (I fancy) for his theories than his
facts.   After all, Mullach came too early to be blameworthy for his unscientific
position.

as Thumb's *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache* and
Hatzidakis's *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, the
means of checking not a few statements about MGr which were
really based on the artificial Greek of the schools.   The per-
petual references to the NT in the latter work will indicate
forcibly how many of the developments of modern vernacular
had their roots in that of two thousand years ago.   The
gulf between the ancient and the modern is bridged by the
material collected and arranged by Jannaris in his *Historical
Greek Grammar*.   The study of a Gospel in the vernacular
version of Pallis[1] will at first produce the impression that
the gulf is very wide indeed ; but the strong points of con-
tact will become very evident in time.   Hatzidakis indeed
even goes so far as to assert that " the language generally
spoken to-day in the towns differs less from the common
language of Polybius than this last differs from the language
of Homer." [2]

The Birth of the Κοινή.   We are now ready to enquire how this
Common Greek of the NT rose out of the
classical language.   Some features of its
development are undoubted, and may be noted first.   The
impulse which produced it lay, beyond question, in the work
of Alexander the Great.   The unification of Hellas was a
necessary first step in the accomplishment of his dream of
Hellenising the world which he had marked out for conquest.
To achieve unity of speech throughout the little country
which his father's diplomatic and military triumphs had
virtually conquered for him, was a task too serious for
Alexander himself to face.   But unconsciously he effected
this, as a by-product of his colossal achievement ; and the
next generation found that not only had a common language
emerged from the chaos of Hellenic dialects, but a new and

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[1] Ἡ Νέα Διαθήκη, μεταφρασμένη ἀπὸ τὸν ᾿Αλεξ. Πάλλη (Liverpool, 1902).
(Pallis has now translated the *Iliad*, and even some of Kant—with striking
success, in Thumb's opinion, *DLZ*, 1905, pp. 2084-6.)   Unfortunately the
B. F. B. S. version contains so much of the artificial Greek that it is beyond
the comprehension of the common people : the bitter prejudice of the
educated classes at present has closed the door even to this, much more to
Pallis's version.

[2] *REGr*, 1903, p. 220.   (See a further note below, pp. 233f.)

nearly homogeneous world-speech had been created, in which
Persian and Egyptian might do business together, and
Roman proconsuls issue their commands to the subjects of a
mightier empire than Alexander's own.   His army was in
itself a powerful agent in the levelling process which ulti-
mately destroyed nearly all the Greek dialects.   The
Anabasis of the Ten Thousand Greeks, seventy years before,
had doubtless produced results of the same kind on a small
scale.   Clearchus the Lacedaemonian, Menon the Thessalian,
Socrates the Arcadian, Proxenus the Bœotian, and the rest,
would find it difficult to preserve their native brogue very
long free from the solvent influences of perpetual association
during their march; and when Cheirisophus of Sparta and
Xenophon of Athens had safely brought the host home, it is
not strange that the historian himself had suffered in the
purity of his Attic, which has some peculiarities distinctly
foreshadowing the *Κοινή*.[1]   The assimilating process would
go much further in the camp of Alexander, where, during
prolonged campaigns, men from all parts of Greece were
tent-fellows and messmates, with no choice but to accom-
modate their mode of speech in its more individual character-
istics to the average Greek which was gradually being
evolved among their comrades.   In this process naturally
those features which were peculiar to a single dialect would
have the smallest chance of surviving, and those which most
successfully combined the characteristics of many dialects
would be surest of a place in the resultant "common speech."
The army by itself only furnished a nucleus for the new growth.
As Hellenism swept victoriously into Asia, and established
itself on all the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, the
mixture of nationalities in the new-rising communities de-
manded a common language as the medium of intercourse,

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[1] Cf Rutherford, *NP* 160–174.   The same may be said of the language of
the lower classes in Athens herself in v/b.c., consisting as they did of immigrants
from all parts.   So [Xenophon] *Constitution of Athens* 11. 3 :—"The Greeks
have an individual dialect, and manner of life and fashion of their own ; but
the Athenians have what is compounded from all the Greeks and barbarians."
The vase-inscriptions abundantly evidence this. (Kretschmer, *Entstehung d.
Κοινή*, p. 34.)   The importance of Xenophon as a forerunner of Hellenism is
well brought out by Mahaffy, *Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*,
Lecture i.

and the Greek of the victorious armies of Alexander was
ready for the purpose. In the country districts of the
motherland, the old dialects lived on for generations ; but by
this time Greece herself was only one factor in the great
Hellenising movement to which the world was to owe so
much. Besides, the dialects which strikingly differed from
the new *Κοινή* were spoken by races that mostly lay outside
the movement. History gives an almost pathetic interest to
an inscription like that from Larissa (Michel 41—end of
iii/B.C.), where the citizens record a rescript from King
Philip v, and their own consequent resolutions :—

Ταγευόντουν 'Αναγκίππρι Πετθαλείοι κ.τ.λ., Φιλίπποι τοῖ
βασιλεῖος ἐπιστολὰν ἀπυστέλλαντος πὸτ τὸς ταγὸς καὶ τὰν
πόλιν τὰν ὑπογεγραμμέναν·

Βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος Λαρισαίων τοῖς ταγοῖς καὶ τῆι πόλει
χαίρειν (and so on in normal *Κοινή*).

Decay of the Dialects. The old and the new survived thus side
by side into the imperial age; but Christianity
had only a brief opportunity of speaking in
the old dialects of Greece. In one corner of Hellas alone did
the dialect live on. To-day scholars recognise a single modern
idiom, the Zaconian, which does not directly descend from
the *Κοινή*. As we might expect, this is nothing but the
ancient Laconian, whose broad *ā* holds its ground still in the
speech of a race impervious to literature and proudly con-
servative of a language that was always abnormal to an
extreme. Apart from this the dialects died out entirely.[a]
They contributed their share to the resultant Common Greek ;
but it is an assured result of MGr philology that there are
no elements of speech whatever now existing, due to the
ancient dialects, which did not find their way into the stream
of development through the channel of the vernacular **Κοινή**
of more than two thousand years ago.   [a See p. 243.

Relative Contri- butions to the Resultant. So far we may go without difference
of opinion. The only serious dispute arises
when we ask what were the relative magni-
tudes of the contributions of the several
dialects to the new resultant speech. That the literary
Κοινή was predominantly Attic has been already stated, and
is of course beyond doubt. But was Attic more than one

among many elements assimilated in the new vernacular ?
It has always been taken for granted that the intellectual
queen of Greece was the predominant partner in the busi-
ness of establishing a new dialect based on a combination of
the old ones. This conclusion has recently been challenged
by Dr Paul Kretschmer, a brilliant comparative philologist,
previously distinguished for his studies on the language of
the Greek vase-inscriptions and on the dialects of the Greeks'
nearest neighbours.[1] In his tractate entitled *Die Entstehung
der Κοινή*, published in the Transactions of the Vienna
Academy for 1900, he undertook to show that the oral
Κοινή contained elements from Bœotian, Ionic, and even
North-west Greek, to a larger extent than from Attic. His
argument affects pronunciation mainly. That Bœotian
monophthongising of the diphthongs, Doric softening of β,
δ and γ, and Ionic de-aspiration of words beginning with h,
affected the spoken language more than any Attic influence
of this nature, might perhaps be allowed. But when we turn
to features which had to be represented in writing, as contrasted
with mere variant pronunciations of the same written word,
the case becomes less striking. Bœotians may have supplied
3 plur. forms in -$\sigma\alpha\nu$ for imperfect and optative, but these do
not appear to any considerable extent outside the LXX : the
NT exx. are precarious, and they are surprisingly rare in
the papyri.[2] North-west Greek has the accusative plural in
-$\epsilon\varsigma$, found freely in papyri and (for the word $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$) in
MSS of the NT ; also the middle conjugation of $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$, and the
confusion of forms from -$\acute{\alpha}\omega$ and -$\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ verbs. Doric contri-
butes some guttural forms from verbs in -$\zeta\omega$, and a few lexical
items. Ionic supplies a fair number of isolated forms, and
may be responsible for many -ω or -$\hat{\omega}$ flexions from -$\mu\iota$
verbs, and some uncontracted noun-forms like $\dot{o}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ or
$\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. But the one peculiarly Attic feature of the *Κοινή*
which Kretschmer does allow, its treatment of original $\bar{a}$, in
contrast with Ionic phonology on one side and that of the
remaining dialects on the other, is so far-reaching in its effects

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[1] *Die griech. Vaseninschriften*, 1894 ; *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griech.
Sprache*, 1896.

[2] See *CR* xv. 36, and the addenda in xviii. 110.

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that we cannot but give it more weight than to any other feature. And while the accidence of Attic has bequeathed to the vernacular much matter which it shared with other dialects, one may question whether the accidence of any single dialect would present anything like the same similarity to that of the Κοινή as the Attic does. We can hardly resist the conclusion of the experts that Kretschmer has failed to prove his point. At the same time we may allow that the influence of the other dialects on *pronunciation* has been commonly underestimated. Kretschmer necessarily recognises that Attic supplied the orthography of the Κοινή, except for those uneducated persons to whom we owe so much for their instructive mis-spellings. Consequently, he says, when the Hellenist wrote χαίρει and pronounced it *chéri*, his language was really Bœotian and not Attic.[1] It is obvious that the question does not seriously concern us, since we are dealing with a language which, despite its vernacular character, comes to us in a written and therefore largely Atticised form.[a] For our purpose we may assume that we have before us a Greek which includes important contributions from various dialects, but with Attic as the basis, although the exclusive peculiarities of Attic make but a small show in it. We shall see later on (pp. 213ff.) that syntax tells a clearer story in at least one matter of importance, the articular infinitive.

Pronunciation and MS Tradition. At this point it should be observed that pronunciation is not to be passed over as a matter of no practical importance by the modern student of Hellenistic. The undeniable fact that phonetic spelling—which during the reign of the old dialects was a blessing common to all—was entirely abandoned by educated people generations before the Christian era, has some very obvious results for both grammar and textual criticism. That αι and ε, ει (η) and ι, οι and υ were identities for the scribes of our MSS, is certain.[2] The scribe made his choice according to the grammar and the sense,

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[1] Against this emphasising of Bœotian, see Thumb, *Hellenismus* 228.

[2] On the date of the levelling of quantity, so notable a feature in MGr, see Hatzidakis in 'Αθηνᾶ for 1901 (xiii. 247). He decides that it began outside Greece, and established itself very gradually. It must have been complete, or nearly so, before the scribes of א and B wrote. [a See p. 243.

just as we choose between *kings*, *king's*, and *kings'*, or
between *bow* and *bough*. He wrote σύ nominative and σοί
dative; λύσασθαι infinitive and λύσασθε imperative; φιλεῖς,
εἴδομεν indicative, and φιλῇς, ἴδωμεν subjunctive; βούλει verb,
but βουλῇ noun—here of course there was the accentual
difference, if he wrote to dictation.   There was nothing
however to prevent him from writing ἐξέφνης, ἐφνίδιος,
ἀφειρημένος, etc., if his antiquarian knowledge failed; while
there were times when his choice between (for example)
infinitive and imperative, as in Lk 19[13], was determined only
by his own or perhaps a traditional exegesis.   It will be seen
therefore that we cannot regard our best MSS as decisive
on such questions, except as far as we may see reason to
trust their general accuracy in grammatical tradition.   WH
may be justified in printing ἵνα . . . ἐπισκιάσει in Ac 5[15],
after B and some cursives; but the passage is wholly useless
for any argument as to the use of ἵνα with a future.   Or let
us take the constructions of οὐ μή as exhibited for WH text
in the concordance (MG).   There are 71 occurrences with aor.
subj., and 2 more in which the -σω might theoretically be
future.   Against these we find 8 cases of the future, and 15
in which the parsing depends on our choice between ει and η.
It is evident that editors cannot hope to decide here what
was the autograph spelling.   Even supposing they had the
autograph before them, it would be no evidence as to the
author's grammar if he dictated the text.   To this we may
add that by the time א and B were written o and ω were no
longer distinct in pronunciation, which transfers two more
cases to the list of the indeterminates.   It is not therefore
simply the overwhelming manuscript authority which decides
us for ἔχωμεν in Rom 5[1].   Without the help of the versions
and patristic citations, it would be difficult to prove that the
orthography of the MSS is really based on a very ancient
traditional interpretation.   It is indeed quite possible that
the Apostle's own pronunciation did not distinguish o and ω
sufficiently to give Tertius a clear lead, without his making
inquiry.[1]   In all these matters we may fairly recognise a

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[1] o and ω were confused in various quarters before this date : cf Schwyzer,
Pergam. 95 ; Nachmanson, *Magnet.* 64 ; Thumb. *Hellenismus* 143. We have

case nearly parallel with the editor's choice between such alternatives as τίνες and τινές in Heb 3¹⁶, where the tradition varies. The modern expositor feels himself entirely at liberty to decide according to his view of the context. On our choice in Rom, *l.c.*, see below, (p. 110).

Contributions of NW Greek, Before we leave dialectology, it may be well to make a few more remarks on the nature of the contributions which we have noted. Some surprise may be felt at the importance of the elements alleged to have been brought into the language by the "North-west Greek," [1] which lies altogether outside the literary limits. The group embraces as its main consti- tuents the dialects of Epirus, Aetolia, Locris and Phokis, and Achaia, and is known to us only from inscriptions, amongst which those of Delphi are conspicuous. It is the very last we should have expected to influence the resultant language, but it is soon observed that its part (on Kretschmer's theory) has been very marked. The characteristic Achaian accus. plur. in -ες successfully established itself in the common Greek, as its presence in the vernacular of to-day sufficiently shows. Its prominence in the papyri [2] indicates that it was making a good fight, which in the case of τέσσαρες had already become a fairly assured victory. In the NT τέσσαρας never occurs without some excellent authority for τέσσαρες : [3] cf WH *App* 150.[a] Moreover we find that A, in Rev 1¹⁶, has ἀστέρες—with omission of ἔχων, it is true, but this may well be an effort to mend the grammar. It is of course impossible to build on this example ; but taking into account the obvious fact that the author of Rev was still decidedly ἀγράμματος in Greek, and remembering the similar phen- omena of the papyri, we might expect his autograph to exhibit accusatives in -ες, and in other instances beside τέσσαρες. The middle conjugation of εἰμί is given by

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confusion of this very word in BU 607 (ii/A.D.). Par P 40 (ii/B.C.), with ὤντος, Μακεδώνος, etc., shows us how early this begins with illiterates. See also p. 244.

[1] Brugmann, *Gr. Gramm.*³ 17. [a] See pp. 243 f.

[2] See *CR* xv. 34, 435, xviii. 109. I must acknowledge a curious mistake I made there in citing Dr Thumb for, instead of against, Kretschmer's argument on this point.

[3] Jn 11¹⁷ א Δ ; Ac 27²⁹ and Rev 9¹⁴ א ; Rev 4⁴ א A (WH*mg*), 7¹ A *bis* P *semel.*

Kretschmer as a NW Greek feature; but the Delphian ᾖται
and ἔωνται are balanced by Messenian ἤνται and Lesbian
ἔσσο, which looks as if some middle forms had existed in the
earliest Greek.   But the confusion of the -άω and -έω verbs,
which is frequent in the papyri[1] and NT, and is complete in
MGr, may well have come from the NW Greek, though
encouraged by Ionic.   We cannot attempt here to discuss the
question between Thumb and Kretschmer; but an *a priori*
argument might be found for the latter in the well-known
fact that between iii/ and i/B.C. the political importance of
Aetolia and Achaia produced an Achaian-Dorian Κοινή, which
yielded to the wider Κοινή about a hundred years before Paul
began to write: it seems antecedently probable that this
dialect would leave some traces on that which superseded
it.   Possibly the extension of the 3rd plur. -σαν, and even
the perfect -αν, may be due to the same source:[2] the former
is also Bœotian.   The peculiarities just mentioned have in
common their *sporadic* acceptance in the Hellenistic of i/A.D.,
which is just what we should expect where a dialect like this
contended for survival with one that had already spread over a
very large area.   The elements we have tentatively set down
to the NW Greek secured their ultimate victory through
their practical convenience.   The fusion of -άω and -έω verbs
amalgamated two grammatical categories which served no
useful purpose by their distinctness.   The accus. in -ες
reduced the number of case-forms to be remembered, at the
cost of a confusion which English bears without difficulty,
and even Attic bore in πόλεις, βασιλεῖς, πλείους, etc.; while
the other novelties both reduced the tale of equivalent
suffixes and (in the case of -σαν) provided a useful means of
distinction between 1st sing. and 3rd plur

and of Ionic.   We come to securer ground when we
estimate the part taken by Ionic in the
formation of the Κοινή, for here Thumb and Kretschmer
are at one.   The former shows that we cannot safely trace
any feature of Common Greek to the influence of some

[1] See *CR* xv. 36, 435, xviii. 110.   Thumb suggests that the common aor. in
-ησα started the process of fusion.
[2] The -σαν suffix is found in Delphian (Valaori, *Delph. Dial.* 60) rather pro-
minently, both in indic. and opt.   The case for -αν (*ibid.*) is weaker.

particular dialect, unless it appears in that dialect as a distinct new type, and not a mere survival.   The nouns in -âς -âδος and -οῦς -οῦδος are by this principle recognised as a clear debt of MGr to Ionic elements in the *Κοινή*.   Like the other elements which came from a single ancient dialect, they had to struggle for existence.   We find them in the Egyptian Greek; but in the NT -âς makes gen. -â, as often even in Asia Minor, where naturally -âδος was at home.[1] Kretschmer gives as Ionic factors in the *Κοινή* the forms κιθών (= χιτών) and the like,[2] psilosis (which the Ionians shared with their Aeolic neighbours), the uncontracted noun and verb forms already alluded to, and the invasion of the -μι verbs by thematic forms (contract or ordinary).[3]   He explains the declension σπεῖρα σπείρης (normal in the *Κοινή* from i/B.C.) as due not to Ionism, but to the analogy of γλῶσσα γλώσσης.   To his argument on this point we might add the consideration that the declension -ρᾰ -ρης is both earlier and more stable than -υῖα -υίης, a difference which I would connect with the fact that the combination ιη continued to be barred in Attic at a time when ρη (from ρϜᾱ) was no longer objected to (contrast ὑγιᾶ and κόρη):[a] if Ionic forms had been simply taken over, εἰδυίης would have come in as early as σπείρης.

Did dialectic differences persist?   But such discussion may be left to the philological journals.   What concerns the NT student is the question of dialectic varieties within the *Κοινή* itself rather than in its previous history.   Are we to expect persistence of Ionic features in Asia Minor; and will the Greek of Egypt, Syria,

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[1] But -âδος is rare both at Pergamum and at Magnesia: Schwyzer 139 f., Nachmanson 120.

[2] Κιθών, κύθρα and ἐνθαῦτα occur not seldom in papyri; and it is rather curious that they are practically absent from NT MSS.   I can only find in Ti χειθῶνας D* (Mt 10[10]) and κιτῶνας B* (Mk 14[63]—"ut alibi א," says the editor). Κύθρα occurs in Clem. Rom. 17 fin. (see Lightfoot).   Βάθρακος, which is found in MGr (as Abbott 56) I cannot trace, nor πάθνη.   Cf Hatzidakis 160 f.

[3] The perfect ἕωκα from ἵημι (NT ἀφέωνται) is noted as Ionic rather than Doric by Thumb, *ThLZ* xxviii. 421 n.   Since this was a prehistoric form (cf Gothic saisō from saia, "sow"), we cannot determine the question certainly. But note that the imperative ἀφεώσθω occurs in an Arcadian inscription (Michel 585[15]—iii/?B.C.).   Its survival in Hellenistic is the more easily understood, if it really existed in two or three dialects of the classical period.   [a See p. 244.

Macedonia, and Italy differ to an extent which we can detect
after two thousand years ?   Speaking generally, we may
reply in the negative.   Dialectic differences there must have
been in a language spoken over so large an area.   But they
need not theoretically be greater than those between British
and American English, to refer again to the helpful parallel
we examined above (p. 19).   We saw there that in the
modern *Weltsprache* the educated colloquial closely approxi-
mates everywhere when written down, differing locally to
some extent, but in vocabulary and orthography rather than
in grammar.   The uneducated vernacular differs more, but
its differences still show least in the grammar.   The study
of the papyri and the Κοινή inscriptions of Asia Minor dis-
closes essentially the same phenomena in Hellenistic.   There
are few points of grammar in which the NT language differs
from that which we see in other specimens of Common Greek
vernacular, from whatever province derived.   We have already
mentioned instances in which what may have been quite
possible Hellenistic is heavily overworked because it happens
to coincide with a Semitic idiom.   Apart from these, we
have a few small matters in which the NT differs from the
usage of the papyri.   The weakening of οὐ μή is the most
important of these, for certainly the papyri lend no coun-
tenance whatever to any theory that οὐ μή was a normal
unemphatic negative in Hellenistic.   We shall return to this
at a later stage (see pp. 187 ff.); but meanwhile we may note
that in the NT οὐ μή seems nearly always connected with
" translation Greek "—the places where no Semitic original
can be suspected show it only in the very emphatic sense
which is common to classical and Hellenistic use.   Among
smaller points are the NT construction of ἔνοχος with gen.
of penalty, and the prevailing use of ἀπεκρίθην for ἀπεκρι-
νάμην : in both of these the papyri wholly or mainly agree
with the classical usage ; but that in the latter case the
NT has good Hellenistic warrant, is shown by Phrynichus
(see Rutherford, *NP* 186 ff.), by the witness of Polybius, and
by the MGr ἀποκρίθηκα.

Thumb's Verdict.   The whole question of dialectic differ-
ences within the spoken Κοινή is judicially
summed up by our greatest living authority, Dr Albert

Thumb, in chap. v. of his book on *Greek in the Hel-
lenistic Age*, already often quoted.[1] He thinks that such
differences must have existed largely, in Asia Minor especially ;
but that writings like the Greek Bible, intended for general
circulation, employed a *Durchschnittsprache* which avoided local
peculiarities, though intended for single localities. (The letters
of Paul are no exception to this rule, for he could not be
familiar with the peculiarities of Galatian or Achaian, still
less of Roman, Κοινή.) To the question whether our autho-
rities are right in speaking of a special Alexandrian Greek,
Thumb practically returns a negative. For nearly all the
purposes of our own special study, Hellenistic Greek may be
regarded as a unity, hardly varying except with the education
of the writer, his tendency to use or ignore specialities of
literary language, and the degree of his dependence upon
foreign originals which might be either freely or slavishly
rendered into the current Greek.

It is however to be noted that the minute dialectic
differences which can be detected in NT Greek are some-
times significant to the literary critic.   In an article in
ThLZ, 1903, p. 421, Thumb calls attention to the promin-
ence of ἐμός in Jn, as against μου elsewhere.[2] He tells us
that ἐμός and its like survive in modern Pontic-Cappadocian
Greek, while the gen. of the personal pronoun has replaced it
in other parts of the Greek-speaking area. This circumstance
contributes something to the evidence that the Fourth
Gospel came from Asia Minor. We might add that on the
same showing Luke should come from Macedonia, or some
other country outside Asia Minor, for he hardly uses ἐμός ;
while Rev, in which out of the four possessive pronouns ἐμός
alone occurs, and that but once, seems to be from the pen of
a recent immigrant. *Valeat quantum !* In the same paper
Thumb shows that the infinitive still survives in Pontic,

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[1] Cf Blass 4 n.

[2] Ἐμός occurs 36 times in Jn, once each in 3 Jn and Rev, and 34 times in
the rest of the NT. It must be admitted that the other possessives do not tell
the same story : the three together appear 11 times in Jn (Ev and Epp), 12 in
Lk, and 21 in the rest of NT. Blass (p. 168) notes how ὑμῶν in Paul (in the
position of the attribute) ousts the emphatic ὑμέτερος. (For that position cf
ἡ σοῦ οὐσία, Mithraslit. p. 17 and note.)

while in Greece proper it yields entirely to the periphrasis. The syntactical conditions under which the infinitive is found in Pontic answer very well to those which appear in the NT: in such uses Western Greek tended to enlarge the sphere of ἵνα. This test, applied to Jn, rather neutralises that from ἐμός : see below, p. 205, 211.   Probably the careful study of local MGr patois will reveal more of these minutiæ.   Another field for research is presented by the orthographical peculiarities of the NT uncials, which, in comparison with the papyri and inscriptions, will help to fix the *provenance* of the MSS, and thus supply criteria for that localising of textual types which is an indispensable step towards the ultimate goal of criticism.[1]

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[1] One or two hints in this direction are given by Thumb, *Hellenismus* 179.   Cf Prof. K. Lake's remarks on the problems awaiting us in textual criticism, in his inaugural lecture at Leiden (Oxford, 1904).   See also p. 244.

CHAPTER III.

Notes on the Accidence.

The Uncials and the Papyri. Before we begin to examine the conditions of Hellenistic syntax, we must devote a short chapter to the accidence. To treat the forms in any detail would be obviously out of place in these *Prolegomena*. The humble but necessary work of gathering into small compass the accidence of the NT writers I have done in my little *Introduction* (see above, p. 1 n.); and it will have to be done again more minutely in the second part of this *Grammar*. In the present chapter we shall try to prepare ourselves for answering a preliminary question of great importance, viz., what was the position occupied by the NT writers between the literary and illiterate Greek of their time. For this purpose the forms give us a more easily applied test than the syntax. But before we can use them we must make sure that we have them substantially as they stood in the autographs. May not such MSS as א and B— and D still more—have conformed their orthography to the popular style, just as those of the " Syrian " revision con- formed it in some respects to the literary standards ? We cannot give a universal answer to this question, for we have seen already that an artificial orthography left the door open for not a few uncertainties. But there are some suggestive signs that the great uncials, in this respect as in others, are not far away from the autographs. A very instruc- tive phenomenon is the curious substitution of ἐάν for ἄν after ὅς, ὅπου, etc., which WH have faithfully reproduced in numberless places from the MSS. This was so little recog- nised as a genuine feature of vernacular Greek, that the editors of the volumes of papyri began by gravely subscribing " l. ἄν " wherever the abnormal ἐάν showed itself. They

were soon compelled to save themselves the trouble. Deiss-
mann, *BS* 204, gave a considerable list from the papyri,
which abundantly proved the genuineness of this ἐάν; and
four years later (1901) the material had grown so much
that it was possible to determine the time-limits of the
peculiarity with fair certainty. If my count is right,[1] the
proportion of ἐάν to ἄν is 13 : 29 in papyri dated B.C. The
proportion was soon reversed, the figures being 25 : 7 for
i/A.D., 76 : 9 for ii/, 9 : 3 for iii/, 4 : 8 for iv/. This ἐάν
occurs last in a vi/ papyrus. It will be seen that the above
construction was specially common in i/ and ii/, when ἐάν
greatly predominated, and that the fashion had almost died
away before the great uncials were written. It seems
that in this small point the uncials faithfully reproduce
originals written under conditions long obsolete.[2] This
particular example affords us a very fair test; but we
may reinforce it with a variety of cases where the MSS
accurately reproduce the spelling of i/A.D. We will follow
the order of the material in WH *App* 141 ff. (" Notes on
Orthography ") : it is unnecessary to give detailed references
for the papyrus evidence, which will be found fully stated
in the papers from *CR*, already cited. We must bear
in mind throughout Hort's caution (p. 141) that "all our
MSS have to a greater or less extent suffered from the

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[1] *CR* xv. 32, xv. 434 : for the exx. B.C. I have added figures from papyri
subsequently read. I am sorry I cannot now complete the statistics. See
further on p. 234.

[2] The case of ἄν, *if*, is separate. In the NT this is confined apparently to Jn,
where it occurs six times. In the papyri it is decidedly a symptom of illiteracy.
With this agrees what Meisterhans[3] 255 f. says : "Only six times is ἄν found
from v/ to iii/B.C. The form ἄν is entirely foreign to the Attic inscrip-
tions, though it is often found in the Ionicising literary prose of v/
(Thucydides : cf the Tragedians)." Since ἄν is the modern form, we may
perhaps regard it as a dialectic variant which ultimately ousted the Attic ἐάν.
It is not clear to what dialect it is to be assigned. Against Meisterhans'
suggestion of Ionic stands the opinion of H. W. Smyth (*Ionic Dialect*, p. 609)
that its occasional appearances in Ionic are due to Atticising ! Certainly ἤν is
the normal Ionic form, but ἄν may have been Ionic as well, though rarer. (So
Mr P. Giles.) Nachmanson (p. 68) gives ἐάν as the only form from Magnesia.
Some peculiar local distribution is needed to explain why ἄν (*if*) is absent
from the incorrectly written Rev, and reserved for the correct Jn. Both
ἄν and ἐάν are found promiscuously in the Herculaneum rolls (Crönert
130).

effacement of unclassical forms of words." Note also his
statement that the "Western" MSS show the reverse
tendency. "The orthography of common life, which to a
certain extent was used by all the writers of the NT, though
in unequal degrees, would naturally be introduced more
freely in texts affected by an instinct of popular adaptation."
He would be a bold man who should claim that even Hort
has said the last word on the problem of the δ-text; and
with our new knowledge of the essentially popular character
of NT Greek as a whole, we shall naturally pay special
attention to documents which desert the classical spelling
for that which we find prevailing in those papyri that were
written by men of education approximately parallel with that
of the apostolic writers.

Orthography. We begin with the "unusual aspirated
forms" (p. 143), ἐφ' ἐλπίδι etc., καθ' ἰδίαν,
ἄφιδε etc., and οὐχ ὀλίγος.[a] For all these there is a large
body of evidence from papyri and inscriptions. There are a
good many other words affected thus, the commonest of
which, ἔτος, shows no trace of the aspiration in NT uncials.
Sins of commission as well as omission seem to be inevitable
when initial h has become as weak as in later Greek or in
modern English. Hence in a period when de-aspiration
was the prevailing tendency, analogy produced some cases of
reaction,—καθ' ἔτος due to καθ' ἡμέραν, ἄφιδε to ἀφορᾶν,
etc. ;[1] and the two types struggled for survival. MGr ἐφέτο
shows that the aspirated form did not always yield. The
uncertainty of the MS spelling thus naturally follows from
the history of the aspirate. It is here impossible to determine
the spelling of the autographs, but the wisdom of following the
great uncials becomes clearer as we go on. The reverse
phenomenon, *psilosis*, exx. of which figure on p. 144, is
part of the general tendency which started from the Ionic
and Aeolic of Asia Minor and became universal, as MGr
shows. The mention of ταμεῖον (p. 146—add πεῖν from

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[1] The curious coincidence that many, but by no means all, of these words
once began with Ϝ, led to the fancy (repeated by Hort) that the lost con-
sonant had to do with the aspiration. I need not stay to explain why this
cannot be accepted. The explanation by analogy within the Κοινή is that
favoured by Thumb. (See additional note, p. 234.)   [a See p. 244.

p. 170) brings up a universal law of Hellenistic phonology,
viz. the coalescence of two successive i sounds : the inf. διασεῖν
for -σείειν (LPg—i/B.C.) will serve as a good example—cf
ἀνασῖ in Lk 23⁵ א.[1] Ταμεῖον, πεῖν and ὑγεία are overwhelm-
ingly attested by the papyri, where there are only rare
exx. of the curious reversion seen in Mt 20²². In ἁλεεῖς
(Mk 1¹⁷ al) we have dissimilation instead of contraction.
Under the head of Elision (p. 146), it may be worth while
to mention that the neglect of this even in a verse citation, as
in the MSS at 1 Co 15³³, is in accord with an exceedingly
common practice in inscriptions. The presence or absence of
movable ν (pp. 146 f.) cannot be reduced to any visible rule :
the evanescence of the nasal in pronunciation makes this
natural. Cf p. 49 below. Among the spellings recorded on
p. 148 we note σφυρίς, γένημα (vegetable product), and
-χύννω [2] as well attested in the papyri ; while the wavering of
usage between ρρ and ρσ is traceable down through Hellen-
istic to MGr.[3] The case of the spelling ἀραβών (" only
Western ") is instructive. Deissmann (*BS* 183) gives but
one ex. of the ρρ form, and nine of the single consonant,
from three documents. His natural questioning of Hort's
orthography is curiously discounted by the more recently
published papyri, which make the totals 11 for the " Western "
and 15 for ρρ.[4] The word will serve as a reminder that
only the unanimity of the papyri can make us really sure
of our autographs' spelling : cf Deissmann, *BS* 181. The
wavering of inscriptional testimony as to Ζμύρνα (*ib.* 185)
makes it impossible to be decisive ; but the coincidence of
Smyrnæan coins makes it seem difficult to reject the witness
of א, on suspicion of " Western " taint. In words with σσ the
papyri show the Attic ττ in about the same small proportion
as the NT uncials, and with much the same absence of
intelligible principle. Ὄρνιξ (Lk 13³⁴ אD, also banned as
" Western ") has some papyrus warrant, and survives in the
MGr (Cappadocian) ὀρνίχ: cf Thumb, *Hellen.* 90. It started
in Doric Greek. Coming to the note on τέσσαρες and τεσσα-

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[1] Correct Ti *in loc.* I owe the ref. to Buresch *RhM* xlvi. 213 n.
[2] So MGr (Cyprus), says Thumb in *ThLZ* xxviii. 423.
[3] Thumb *l.c.* 422.   [4] *CR* xv. 33, since supplemented.

ράκοντα (p. 150), we meet our first dissonance between NT uncials and papyri. The ε forms are in the latter relatively few, and distinctly illiterate, in the first centuries A.D. Indeed the evidence for τέσσερα or τέσσερας is virtually *nil* before the Byzantine age,[1] and there does not seem to be the smallest probability that the Apostles wrote anything but the Attic form. For τεσσεράκοντα the case is a little better, but it is hopelessly outnumbered by the -αρ- form in documents antedating the NT uncials; the modern σεράντα, side by side with σαράντα, shows that the strife continued. No doubt before iv/A.D. τέσσερες -α (not τεσσέρων) had begun to establish themselves in the place they hold to-day. Ἐραυνάω is certain from i/A.D. onward;[2] and Deissmann (*BS* 182) gives a iv/A.D. papyrus parallel for ἐγγαρεύω (א *bis*, B *semel*). Spellings like κρίμα (p. 150) are supported by a great multiplication in *Κοινή* documents of -μα nouns with shortened penultimate. Cf Moeris (p. 28), ἀνάθημα Ἀττικῶς, ἀνάθεμα Ἑλληνικῶς; and note ἀφεύρεμα *bis* in Par P 62 (ii/B.C.). Even σύστεμα is found (not *σύσταμα), Gen 1[10], which shows how late and mechanical this process was. The convenient differentiation of meaning between ἀνάθημα and ἀνάθεμα [3] preserved the former intact, though אADX are quotable for the levelling in its one NT occurrence. The complete establishment of εἰ μήν by the papyri is an interesting confirmation of the best uncials. Despite Hort (p. 151), we must make the difference between εἰ μήν and ἦ μήν "strictly orthographical" after all, if the alternative is to suppose any connexion with εἰ, *if*. Numerous early citations make this last assumption impossible.[4]   On ει and ι (p. 153) the papyri are

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[1] Τέσσαρες acc. is another matter : see above, p. 36.

[2] Whether it was general in the Κοινή is doubtful.   MGr has ἔρευνα : cf also Par P 60[2] (ii/B.C. ?), Tb P 38 (*ib.*).   See Buresch, *RhM* xlvi. 213 f.; but note also Thumb, *Hellen.* 176 f., who disposes of the notion that it was an Alexandrinism.   Kretschmer, *DLZ*, 1901, p. 1049, brings parallels from Thera (αὐ- in compounds of εὖ).   See papyrus citations in *CR* xv. 34, xviii. 107.

[3] Deissmann has recently shown that ἀνάθεμα, *curse*, is not an innovation of "Biblical Greek" (*ZNTW* ii. 342).

[4] I have 8 exx. from papyri between ii/B.C. and i/A.D.   Still more decisive is the syntax of εἰ μάν in a well-known Messenian inscription, dated 91 B.C. (Michel 694): ὀρκιζόντω τὸν γυναικονόμον· εἰ μὰν ἕξειν ἐπιμέλειαν, κτλ.   (The same inscription has the form εἶτεν for εἶτα, found in Mk 4[28].)

entirely indecisive : $\epsilon\iota$ even for $\breve{\iota}$ is an everyday occurrence.
At any rate they give no encouragement to our introducing
$\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu o\mu a\iota$ and $\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$, as WH would like to do : to judge
from mere impressions, $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu o\mu a\iota$ is at least as common as
$\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu o\mu a\iota$. This matter of the notorious equivalence of $\epsilon\iota$
and ι is adduced by Thumb (reviewing Blass[2], *ThLZ*, 1903,
421) as a specimen of philological facts which are not always
present to the minds of theological text-critics : he cites
Brooke and M'Lean (*JTS*, 1902, 601 ff.), who seriously treat
$\check{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu$, $\check{\iota}\delta o\nu$, as various readings deserving a place in the LXX
text. Ti did the same in Rev, where even WH (see *App* 162)
marked $\check{\iota}\delta o\nu$, etc., as alternative. In this matter no reader
of the papyri would care to set much store by some of the
minutiæ which WH so conscientiously gather from the great
uncials. It would probably be safer in general to spell
according to tradition ; for even WH admit that their para-
mount witness, B, " has little authority on behalf of $\epsilon\iota$ as
against ι." Finally might be mentioned a notable matter
of pronunciation to which Hort does not refer. The less
educated papyrus writers very frequently use $\bar{a}$ for $a\nu$, before
consonants, from i/B.C. onwards.[1] Its frequent appearance in
Attic inscriptions after 74 B.C. is noted by Meisterhans[3]
154. In Lk 2^1 (Ἀγούστου) this pronunciation shows itself,
according to אC*$\varDelta$; but we do not seem to find $\dot{a}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}a\tau\acute{o}\nu$,
etc., in the MSS, as we should have expected.[2] An excellent
suggestion is made by Dr J. B. Mayor (*Expos.* vi. x. 289)—
following up one of Hort's—that $\dot{a}\kappa a\tau a\pi\acute{a}\sigma\tau o\upsilon\varsigma$ in 2 Pet
2^{14} AB may be thus explained : he compares $\dot{a}\chi\mu\eta\rho\hat{\omega}$ 1^{19} A.
In arguing his case, he fails to see that the dropping of a υ
(or rather *F*) between *vowels* is altogether another thing ; but
his remaining exx. (to which add those cited from papyri in
CR xv. 33, 434, xviii. 107) are enough to prove his point.
Laurent remarks (*BCH*, 1903, p. 356) that this phenomenon
was common in the latter half of i/B.C. We need not assume
its existence in the NT autographs.

[1] The same tendency appeared in late vulgar Latin, and perpetuated itself
in Romance : see Lindsay, *Latin Language* 41 f.

[2] In MGr (see Thumb, *Handbuch*, p. 59) we find $a\dot{\upsilon}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ (pronounced *aftós*)
side by side with $\dot{a}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ (obsolete except in Pontus), whence the short form $\tau\acute{o}$,
etc. There was therefore a grammatical difference in the Koινή itself.

Inflexion :—
Nouns.

We pass on to the noun flexion (p. 156). Nouns in -ρᾰ and participles in -υῖα in the papyri regularly form genitive and dative in -ης -ῃ, except that -υίας, -υίᾳ are still found in the Ptolemaic period. Here again the oldest uncials alone—and even they are not without lapses—support the unmistakable verdict of the contemporary documents of the *Κοινή*. We saw reason (above, p. 38) to regard this as the analogical assimilation of -ρᾰ nouns (and—somewhat later and less markedly—υῖα participles) to the other -ᾰ flexions of the first declension, rather than as an Ionic survival. We may add that as *μάχαιρα* produced *μαχαίρης* on the model of *δόξα δόξης*, so, by a reverse analogy process, the gen. *Νύμφης* as a proper name produced what may be read as *Νύμφᾰ Νύμφᾰν* in nom. and acc. : the best reading of Col 4¹⁵ (*αὐτῆς* B) may thus stand, without postulating a Doric *Νύμφᾱν*, the improbability of which decides Lightfoot for the alternative.[1] The heteroclite proper names, which fluctuate between 1st and 3rd decl., are paralleled by Egyptian place-names in papyri. Critics, like Clemen, whose keen scent has differentiated documents by the evidence of *Λύστραν* and *Λύστροις* in Ac 14⁶,⁸ (see Knowling, *EGT in loc.*), might be invited to track down the "redactor" who presumably perpetrated either *Κερκεσούχῃ* or *Κερχεσούχων* in GH 46 (ii/a.d.). Ramsay (*Paul* 129) shows that *Μύρα* had acc. -αν and gen. -ων. Uncritical people may perhaps feel encouraged thus to believe that Mt 2¹ and Mt 2³, despite the heteroclisis, are from the same hand.[a] The variations between 1st and 2nd decl. in words like *ἑκατόνταρχος* (-ης) are found *passim* in papyri : for conscientious labour wasted thereon see Schmiedel's amusing note in his *Preface* to WS. In contracted nouns and adjectives we have abundant parallels for forms like *ὀστέων, χρυσέων*, and for *χρυσᾶν* (formed by analogy of *ἀργυρᾶν*). The good attestation of the type *νοός νοΐ*, after the analogy of *βοῦς*, may be observed in passing. The fact that we do not find short forms of nouns in -ιος -ιον (e.g. *κύρις, παιδίν*)[b] is a

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[1] See the writer's paper in *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* Oct. 1893, p. 12, where the archaic vocative in -ᾰ is suggested as the connecting link. Cf Δοῦλα as a proper name (Dieterich, *Unters.* 172), and Εἰρῆνα in a Christian inscr. (Ramsay, *C. & B.* ii. 497 n.).   [a b See p. 244.

noteworthy test of the educational standard of the writers,
for the papyri show them even as early as iii/B.C., and always
in company with other indications of comparative illiteracy.
These forms, the origin of which seems to me as perplexed as
ever, despite the various efforts of such scholars as Thumb,
Hatzidakis, and Brugmann to unravel it, ultimately won a
monopoly, as MGr shows everywhere. We must not omit
mention of the "Mixed Declension," which arose from
analogies in the -$\bar{a}$- and -o- nouns, and spread rapidly because
of its convenience, especially for foreign names. The stem
ends in a long vowel or diphthong, which receives -ς for nom.
and -ν for acc., remaining unchanged in voc., gen. and dat.
sing. 'Ιησοῦς is the most conspicuous of many NT exx. It
plays a large part in MGr.[1] Passing lightly over the exact
correspondence between uncials and papyri in the accusatives
of κλείς and χάρις (p. 157), we may pause on χεῖραν in
Jn 20²⁵ א*AB. The great frequency of this formation in
uneducated papyri, which adequately foreshadows its victory
in MGr,[2] naturally produced sporadic examples in our MSS,
but it is not at all likely that the autographs showed it (unless
possibly in Rev). Gregory (in Ti, vol. iii. 118 f.) registers
forms like ἀσφαλῆν and ποδήρην, which also have papyrus
parallels, but could be explained more easily from the analogy
of 1st decl. nouns. Μείζων acc. (Jn 5³⁶ ABEGMΔ) is a good
example of the irrational addition of ν, which seems to have
been added after long vowels almost as freely as the equally
unpronounced ι.[3] One further noun calls for comment, viz.,
'Ελαιῶνος in Ac 1¹² (p. 158). The noun ἐλαιών = olivetum
occurs nearly thirty times in papyri between i/ and iii/A.D.,
which prompts surprise at Blass's continued scepticism.
'Ελικών (salicetum) is an ancient example of the turning of
a similar word into a proper name.[4]

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[1] See CR xviii. 109, Kühner-Blass § 136.

[2] It seems most probable that the modern levelling of 1st and 3rd decl.
started with this accusative. See Thumb, Handbuch 28, 35; also p. 18 for
the pronunciation of -ν final.

[3] Thus ἄλωι is acc. sing., while ἦν (=ῇ) is sometimes subjunctive. For
exx. see CR xviii. 108. So ὅσα ἐὰν ἦν in Gen 6¹⁷ E.

[4] See Deissmann, BS 208 ff., and the addenda in Expos. VI. vii. 111, viii.
429; also below, pp. 69 and 235. See also p. 244.

Indeclinable
Adjectives.

Two curious indeclinables meet us period-
ically among the adjectives. Πλήρης should
be read in Mk 4²⁸ (C*, Hort) and Ac 6⁵
(אAC*DEHP al.), and is probably to be recognised in Jn 1¹⁴.
Cf 2 Jn⁸ (L), Mk 8¹⁹ (AFGM al.), Ac 6³ (AEHP al.) 19²⁸
(AEL 13). Thus in every NT occurrence of an oblique case
of this word we meet with the indeclinable form in good
uncials. The papyrus citations for this[1] scarcely begin, how-
ever, before ii/A.D.; and we cannot well credit educated
writers with such a form. We may probably assume that
in Jn 1¹⁴ an original πλήρη was corrupted to the vulgar
πλήρης in an early copy. B. Weiss and others would make
the adj. depend in sense upon αὐτοῦ, but δόξαν seems more
appropriate, from the whole trend of the sentence: it is the
"glory" or "self-revelation" of the Word that is "full of
grace and truth." One might fairly doubt whether expositors
would have thought of making καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα . . . πατρός
a parenthesis, had it not been for the supposed necessity of
construing πλήρης as a nominative. We may regard D as
having either preserved or successfully restored the original
reading here.[2] The other indeclinables in question are πλείω
and the other forms in -ω from the old comparative base in
-yos. Crönert (in Philologus lxi. 161 ff.) has shown how
frequently in papyri and even in literature these forms are
used, like πλήρης and ἥμισυ, without modification for case.
In Mt 26⁵³ we have a good example preserved in אBD, the
later MSS duly mending the grammar with πλείους. Is it
possible that the false reading in Jn 10²⁹ started from an
original μείζω of this kind?

Many more noun forms might be cited in which the
MSS prove to have retained the genuine Hellenistic, as evi-
denced by the papyri; but these typical examples will serve.

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[1] CR xv. 35, 435, xviii. 109. See also C. H. Turner in JTS i. 120 ff. and
561 f.; Radermacher in RhM lvii. 151; Reinhold 53. LPc (ii/B.C.) is the only
ex. I know, earlier than ii/A.D. It may very well be original in Mk.

[2] Winer, p. 705, compares the "grammatically independent" πλήρης clause
with the nom. seen in Phil 3¹⁹, Mk 12⁴⁰. W. F. Moulton makes no remark there,
but in the note on Jn 1¹⁴ (Milligan-Moulton in loc.) he accepts the construction
found in the RV, or permits his colleague to do so. At that date the case
for the indeclinable πλήρης was before him only in the LXX (as Job 21²⁴
אBAC). See also p. 244.

Verbs naturally supply yet more abundant material, but we
need not cite it fully here.   Pursuing the order of WH *App*,
we pause a moment on the dropped augments,
Verbs :—   etc., in pp. 161 f., which are well illustrated
in papyri.   This phenomenon goes back to Herodotus, and
may well be a contribution of Ionic to the
Augments.   Common Greek. Diphthongs are naturally the
first to show the tendency : it is not likely, for example, that
Drs Grenfell and Hunt would now, as in the *editio princeps*
of the Oxyrhynchus Logia (1897, p. 7), call οἰκοδομημένη a
" more serious error " than αι for ε or ει for ι.   The double
augment of ἀπεκατεστάθη in papyri and NT may be noted as
a suggestive trifle under this head of augments before we pass
on.   Very satisfactory confirmation of our
Person- uncial tradition is supplied by the person-
endings.   endings.   The functionally useless difference
of ending between the strong and the weak aorist began to
disappear in our period.   The strong aorist act. or mid. is
only found in some thirty -ω verbs (and their compounds) in
the NT ; and while the great frequency of their occurrence
protected the root-form, the overwhelming predominance of
the sigmatic aorist tended to drive off the field its rival's
person-endings.   The limits of this usage in the NT text are
entirely in accord with the better-written papyri.   Thus we
find little encouragement for γενάμενος,[1] for which any number
of papyrus citations may be made.   But when we notice γενα
[. . .] in BU 1033 (ii/A.D.) corrected to γενο . . . by a second
hand,[2] we see that education still rebelled against this develop-
ment, which had begun with the Attic εἶπας centuries before.
The tendency, in fairly cultured speech, mainly concerned the
act., and the indic. middle.   For the details see the careful
note in WS p. 111.   Whether the same intrusion should

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[1] So Lk 22⁴⁴ א, Lk 24²² B, and Mk 6²⁶ and 15⁴² Δ : there is no further uncial
support, if Ti is reliable, throughout Mt, Mk, and Lk, in a total of 40 occur-
rences. The ptc. does not occur in Jn.   I have not looked further.

[2] Εὑράμενος in Heb 9¹² (all uncials except D₂) is perhaps due to the frequency
of 1st aor. in -ρα. The ptc. itself appears in an inscr. of the Roman age,
IMA iii. 1119. P. Buttmann cites γενάμενος from Archimedes (iii/B.C.), though
Wilamowitz-Möllendorf in his extracts from the *Psammites* (*Lesebuch* 243 ff.)
edits γενόμενος seven times. But in a Doric author the question concerns us
little. MGr shows that γενάμενος came to stay.

be allowed in the imperf., *e.g.* εἶχαν Mk 8⁷, is doubtful, in view of the scanty warrant from the papyri. It is for the same reason more than doubtful whether we can accept παρελάβοσαν 2 Th 3⁶ א*AD*: I have only 4 imperf. and 2 aor. exx. from Ptolemaic times, and the forms ἐλαμβά-νεσαν and ἀφίλεσαν (BM 18, 41, 161 B.C.—cited by WM 91 n.⁵) show that the innovation had not attained great fixity before i/A.D. The ocular confusion suggested by Hort in 2 Th *l.c.* would be furthered by the later currency of this convenient ending. What we find it hard to allow in a writer of Paul's culture is a little easier in Jn (15²². ²⁴ אBL etc.); and ἐδολιοῦσαν Rom 3¹³ (LXX) might have been written by Paul himself, apart from quotation—we can hardly cite any other 3 pl. imperf. from -όω verbs. As early as ii/B.C. we find ἠξιοῦσαν in *Magn.* 47 : see Nach-manson's parallels, pp. 148 f. The -ες of 2 sg. perf., read by WH in Rev 2³. ⁵ 11¹⁷, and in 1st aor. Rev 2⁴, may perhaps be allowed in Rev as a mark of imperfect Greek : it has no warrant from educated writing outside.¹ The 3 pl. perf. in -αν is well attested in Ac 16³⁶ and Ro 16⁷ אAB, Lk 9³⁶ BLX, Col 2¹ א*ABCD*P, as well as in Jn, Jas and Rev, where it raises less difficulty. It certainly makes a fair show in the papyri, even as early as the Ptolemaic period, but not in documents which would encourage us to receive it for Luke or Paul. As the only difference between perf. and 1 aor.-endings, the -ασι was foredoomed to yield to the assimilating tendency ; but possible occurrences of -αν are relatively so few, and the witness of the papyri so dubious, that it is safer, except in Rev, to suppose it a vulgarism due to the occasional lapse of an early scribe.² If it were really Alexandrian, as Sextus Empiricus says, we could understand its comparative frequency in the papyri ; but Thumb decisively rejects this (*Hellenismus* 170), on the ground of its frequent appearance elsewhere.³ The termina-

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¹ Even B shows it, in Ac 21²².

² Γέγοναν formed the starting-point of a valuable paper by K. Buresch in *RhM*, 1891, pp. 193 ff., which should not be missed by the student of Hellenistic, though it needs some modification in the light of newer knowledge. Thus he accepts the Alexandrian *provenance* of this and the -οσαν type.

³ At Delphi, for example, with imperf. and aor. -οσαν (see p. 37).

tion -ασι invades what is formally, though not in meaning, a present, in the case of ἥκασι, which is a genuine vernacular form (cf ἥκαμεν in Par P 48 (ii/B.C.)). WH (*App* 169) reject it as "Western" in Mk 8³, regarding it as a paraphrase of εἰσίν (BLΔ); but it must be observed that the Lewis Syriac is now to be added to אADN, with the Latin and other versions, which support it. It is after all a form which we might expect in Mk, and equally expect to find removed by revisers, whether Alexandrian or Syrian. By way of completing the person-endings, we may observe that the pluperf. act. has exclusively the later -ειν form, with -ει- even in 3 pl.;[1] and that the 3 pl. imper. in -τωσαν and -σθωσαν are unchallenged.

Taking up the contract verbs, we note how the confusions between -άω and -έω forms (p. 166) are supported by our external evidence, and by MGr. Our first serious revolt from WH concerns the infinitive in -οῖν (and by analogy -ᾷν). The evidence for it is "small, but of good quality" (p. 166—cf *Introd.* § 410): it is in fact confined to B✳D in Mt 13³², B✳ in Mk 4³², א✳ in 1 Pet 2¹⁵, BD✳ in Heb 7⁵ (where see Ti), and a lectionary in Lk 9³¹. This evidence may pass if our object is merely to reproduce the spelling of the age of B; but absolutely no corroboration seems discoverable, earlier than the date of B itself, except an inscription cited in Hatzidakis (p. 193),[2] and a newly published papyrus, also from ii/A.D., PFi 24. Blass (p. 48) does not regard the form as established for the NT. We can quote against it from i–iv/A.D. a dozen examples of -οῦν in papyri. (That -οῦν and -ᾶν (not ᾷν) are the correct Attic forms, may be seen from Meisterhans³ 175 f., which Hort's hesitation as to -ᾶν prompts me to quote: for the reason of the apparent irregularity see Brugmann, *Gr. Gramm.*² 61, or WS 42.) Next may be named, for -άω verbs, the 2nd sing. pres. mid. in -ᾶσαι (καυχᾶσαι, ὀδυνᾶσαι), which has been formed afresh in the Κοινή with the help of the -σαι that answers to 3rd

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[1] There are isolated exceptions in the papyri.

[2] So WS 116 n. Two other inscriptions are cited by Hatzidakis, but without dates. Vitelli (on PFi *l.c.*) refers to Crönert 220 n., who corrects Schmiedel's philology: the form is of course a simple product of analogy— λύει : λύειν : : δηλοῖ : δηλοῖν.

sing. -ται in the perfect.[1]   It is well paralleled by the early
Ptolemaic future χαριεῖσαι, for which χαρίεσαι appears in
OP 292 (i/A.D.).   Φάγεσαι and πίεσαι, which naturally went
together, give us the only exx. outside -άω verbs, to which
the quotations in G. Meyer *Gr. Gram.*[3] 549 suggest that
the innovation was mainly confined.   The later extensions
may be noted in Hatzidakis 188.   Note the converse change
in δύνῃ.   Unfortunately we do not seem to have exx. of the
subj. of -όω verbs, to help the parsing of ἵνα ζηλοῦτε and
the like (p. 167).   Blass (Kühner[3] i. 2. 587, and *Gr.* 48)
accepts Hort's view that the subj. of these verbs became
identical with the indic., just as it always was in the -άω
verbs.   (See W. F. Moulton's note, WM 363.   Ex 1[16] ὅταν
μαιοῦσθε . . . καὶ ὦσι, there cited, is a very good example.)
But Blass rightly, I think, rejects the supposition that
εὐοδῶται (1 Co 16²) can be anything but a pres. subj.   To
read εὐόδωται, as perf. indic., is possible, though the editors
do not seem by their printing to have favoured that
alternative.   That it is a perf. subj. is extremely unlikely.
The parallels on which Hort (p. 172) relies—set forth with
important additions in Blass's Kühner i. 2. 100 f.—do
nothing to make it likely that the Κοινή had any perf. subj.
apart from the ordinary periphrastic form.[2]   It is hard,
moreover, to see why the pres. subj. is not satisfactory here:
see Dr Findlay's note *in loc.* (*EGT* vol. ii.).   Finally we
note the disappearance of the -ήω verbs from the Κοινή,
with the exception of ζήω and χρήομαι[3] (as we ought to call
them); also the sporadic appearance of the uncontracted
ἐδέετο Lk 8³³ (B and a few others -εῖτο, which looks like a
correction).   It is supported by Esth 14³ A, BU 926 (ii/A.D.)
and the Mithras Liturgy (p. 12): it is probably, as Blass
suggests, a mere analogy-product from δέομαι conjugated

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[1] To suppose this (or φάγεσαι, similarly formed from φάγεται) a genuine
survival of the pre-Greek -εσαι, is characteristic of the antediluvian philology
which still frequently does duty for science in this country.   Krumbacher, *KZ*
xxvii. 497, scoffs at E. Curtius for talking of an "uralte" -σαι.

[2] To argue this would demand a very technical discussion.   It is enough
to say that the Attic κεκτῶμαι and μεμνῶμαι are not derivative verbs, and that
the three derivative verbs which can be quoted, from Doric, Cretan and
Ionic respectively, supply slender justification for the supposed Κοινή parallel.

[3] Χρᾶσθαι was the Hellenistic infin., but there is no example of it in NT.

like λύομαι,[1] and owes nothing to Ionic. It affords no
warrant for suspecting uncontracted forms elsewhere : κατέχεεν
Mk 14[3] is an aor., as in Attic.

The verbs in -μι continued in Hellenistic to suffer from
the process of gradual extinction which began even in
Homeric Greek, and in MGr has eliminated every form
outside the verb " be." The papyri agree with the NT

Verbs in -μι. uncials in showing forms like δύνομαι and
-έδετο (as well as -έδοτο), and various
flexions after contract verb types. New verbs like ἱστάνω [2]
are formed, and new tenses like ἔστακα (transitive). The
most important novelty apart from these is the aor. subj.
δοῖ and γνοῖ,[3] as to which W. F. Moulton's view (WM 360 n.)
is finally established by good attestation from papyri. The
pres. subj. διδοῖ, after the -όω verbs, set the analogy at
work. That in much later documents such forms may be
opt. need not trouble us. The form δώῃ is more difficult.
Schwyzer (p. 191) quotes Moeris for ποιώῃ in Common
Greek, and calls in the analogy of τιμώῃ : the further step
to δώῃ (also attested by Moeris) was eased by the fact
that δοίη drew towards δῖι, and would consequently become
monosyllabic : ʼsee p. 45. Δώῃ (subj.) seems a syntact-
ical necessity in Eph 1[17] (B δῷ), 2 Tim 2[25] (cf later
uncials in Eph 3[16] and Jn 15[16]): this form, well known in
Homer, survives in Bœotian and Delphian inscriptions, as
Michel 1411 (ii/B.C., Delphi), 1409 (do).[4] It is quite intel-
ligible that NW Greek (cf above, p. 36 f.) should have
thus contributed to the Κοινή an item which (like other
contributions from a single quarter, e.g. τέσσαρες acc.) kept
only a precarious existence by the side of other forms. We
return to this later (pp. 193 f.). From οἶδα we have in papyri,
as in NT, ordinary perfect indic. flexion,[5] and pluperf. for
ᾔδειν, with occasional literary revival of the older irregular
forms. Finally, in the conjugation of εἰμί, the middle forms

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[1] See below, p. 234.

[2] The form -στάνω in א and D (p. 168) is interesting in that it exactly
anticipates the MGr. So NP 53 (iii/A.D.), in Wilcken's reading.

[3] So in 2nd person also, ἀποδοῖς Lk 12[59] D (as papyri).

[4] See G. Meyer *Gr. Gramm.*[2] 656.

[5] Probably Ionic : so Herodotus, and even our texts of Homer (*Od.* i. 337).

are well established (ἤμην, ἤμεθα—see above, p. 37), as to
a still further extent in MGr. Even the MGr present
εἶμαι is found already in a Phrygian inscription *ap.* Ramsay
C. and B. ii. 565 (early iv/A.D.). G. Meyer (*Gr. Gramm.*[3]
569) regarded ἔσται as the 3rd sing. of this, transferred to
future meaning; but this view seems questionable. It may
be noted that the old 1st sing. ἦν reappears in D at Ac 20[18]:
elsewhere ἤμην stands alone. The rarer ἤτω alternates with
ἔστω, in papyri and late inscriptions, as in NT.

Miscellaneous.   It is needless to add any details as to
noteworthy forms among the " principal
parts " of verbs. Papyrus parallels may be cited for ἠνοίγην,
for the double formation of ἁρπάζω and βαστάζω (ἡρπάγην
and ἡρπάσθην, ἐβάστασα and ἐβάσταξα[1]), for the alternative
perf. of τυγχάνω (see Ti on Heb 8[6]), for the 1 aor. of ἄγω,
etc. Note especially the intrusion of the μ from the present
of λαμβάνω into various parts of the verb, and into derivative
nouns (p. 142). This is normal in the papyri after the
Ptolemaic period, in which there is still some lingering of
the older forms. The same phenomenon occurred partially
in Ionic; but the Ionic fut. λάμψομαι, by taking over the ă
as well as the nasal of the present, shows that it was an
independent development in the *Κοινή*. This will serve as
a final example to show that the late uncials and cursives, in
restoring classical forms which the best MSS set aside, were
deserting the Greek of the NT period in the interests of an
artificial grammar.

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[1] So P 1 38 in Rev 2[2]. It is MGr, and may quite probably be read in
Rev : cf δυσβάστακτος Lk 11[46].

CHAPTER IV.

Syntax: The Noun.

We address ourselves to the syntax, beginning with that of the Noun. There are grammatical categories here that

Number :— scarcely ask for more than bare mention. On the subject of *Number* there is one obvious thing to say—the dual has gone. Many Greek dialects, Ionic conspicuously, had discarded this hoary luxury

The Dual. long before the Common Greek was born; Neuter Plurals. and no theory of the relation of the Κοινή to the dialects would allow Attic to force on the resultant speech a set of forms so useless as these. The dual may well have arisen in prehistoric days when men could not count beyond two; and it is evidently suffering from senile decay in the very earliest monuments we possess of Indo-Germanic language. It had somewhat revived in Attic— witness the inscriptions, and folk-songs like the " Harmodius "; but it never invaded Hellenistic, not even when a Hebrew dual might have been exactly rendered by its aid. We shall see when we come to the adjectives that the disappearance of the distinction between duality and plurality had wider results than the mere banishment of the dual number from declensions and conjugations. The significant new flexion of δύο should be noted here : there is a pluralised dative δυσί, but in other respects δύο is indeclinable. Ἄμφω has dis- appeared in favour of the normally declined ἀμφότερος. Apart from this matter the only noteworthy point under Number is the marked weakening of the old principle that neuter plurals (in their origin identical with collectives in -a[1]) took a singular verb. In the NT we have a large

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[1] See Giles, *Manual*[2], 264 ff. (I might add here that Mr Giles thinks the dual may have been originally a specialised form of the plural, used (as in Homer always) to describe natural or artificial *pairs*. That this is its earliest

extension of what in classical Greek was a comparatively rare
licence, the plural verb being allowed when the individual
items in the subject are separately in view, while the singular
treats the subject as a collective unity.[1]   The liberty of using
the plural freely makes the use of the singular distinctly
more significant than it could be in classical Greek.

"Pindaric"
Construction.
It may be added that the converse
phenomenon, known as the σχῆμα Πινδα-
ρικόν, is found in the NT: see Mk 4[41], Mt 5[18]
6[19], 1 Co 15[50], Rev 9[12].   It is really only a special case of
anacoluthon, no more peculiar to Pindar than to Shakspere.
An interesting communication by Prof. Skeat to the Cam-
bridge Philological Society (*Proceedings,* lxvii. p. 2) describes
a rule in English, from Alfred downwards, that " when a verb
occurs in the 3rd person in an introductory manner . . .,
it is often used in the singular number, though the subject
may be in the plural."   Thus " what *cares* these roarers for
the name of king ?"—" and now *abideth* faith, hope, [love],
these three,"—etc. ; the last being as true to English idiom
as to its original Greek.   That the construction is also pos-
sible with order inverted, is shown by another citation, " For
thy three thousand ducats here *is* six."   (See also p. 234.)

Impersonal
Plural.
An idiomatic use of the plural appears
in passages like Mt 2[20] τεθνήκασιν, Lk 12[20]
αἰτοῦσιν, where there is such a suppression
of the subject in bringing emphasis on the action, that
we get the effect of a passive, or of French *on*, German
man.   Our " they say " is like it.   Lightfoot compares the
" rhetorical plural " in Euripides *IT* 1359, κλέπτοντες ἐκ
γῆς ξόανα καὶ θυηπόλους (*i.e.* Iphigenia).   Add Livy ix. 1,
" *auctores* belli [one man] dedidimus."   Winer gives other
parallels, but rightly refuses to put Mt 9[8] 27[44], 1 Co 15[29]
16[3] into this category.   If Heb 10[1] has not a primitive
error (as Hort suspected), the plural subject of προσφέρουσιν

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extant use is certain, but its origin may very well have been as suggested above.
There are savages still who cannot count beyond two : see Tylor, *Primitive
Culture*, i. 242 f.   The Indo-Germans had numerals up to 100 before their
separation ; but the superfluous dual, I suggest, had been already utilised for a
new purpose.

[1] This is conspicuous in D (Wellh. 12).

and δύνανται might fairly be described in this way; for the priests are certainly not prominent in the writer's thought, and a passive construction would have given the meaning exactly. So Westcott (for προσφ.) who quotes Jn 15⁶ 20², Rev 12⁶, Mt 7¹⁶, Mk 10¹³, Lk 17²³. See also p. 163, n.².

Gender :— On *Gender* likewise there is not much to say. There are sundry differences in the gender of particular words; but even MGr is nearly as much under the domination of this outworn excrescence on language as was its classical ancestor. That English should still be almost the only European language to discard gender, indicating only distinction of sex, is exceedingly strange. As in the case of Number, we have to refer to ordinary grammars for some uses of gender which NT Greek shares with the classical. One or two cases of slavish translation should be mentioned. In Rom 11⁴ the LXX τῷ Βάαλ is cited as τῇ B., which occurs however three times in LXX, and in *Ascensio Isaiae* 12. Prof. F. C. Burkitt (*CR* xiv. 458), in commenting on this last passage, accepts the explanation that the gender is determined by the *Q'rî* בֹּשֶׁת, translated αἰσχύνη. In Mk 12¹¹ and Mt 21⁴² we have the LXX αὕτη = זֹאת: the translators may perhaps have interpreted their own Greek by recalling

Breach of Concord. κεφαλὴν γωνίας. Breach of concord in Gender has been already alluded to in a note on the Greek of Rev (p. 9).ᵃ The very difficult εἴ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί of Phil 2¹ comes in here, involving as it does both number and gender. We might quote in illustration Par P 15 (ii/B.C.) ἐπί τι μίαν τῶν . . . οἰκιῶν, and BU 326 (ii/A.D.) εἰ δέ τι περισσὰ γράμματα . . . καταλίπω.ᵇ But Blass's εἴ τι, read throughout, is a great improvement: *si quid valet* is the sense required, as Lightfoot practically shows by his translation. H. A. A. Kennedy (*EGT in loc.*) makes independently the same suggestion. Note that the Codex Amiatinus (and others) read *si quid viscera*. [ᵃᵇ See p. 244.

A significant remark may be quoted from the great Byzantinist, K. Krumbacher, *à propos* of these breaches of concord. In his *Problem d. neugr. Schriftsprache* (p. 50) he observes : " If one finds in Greek literature, between the early Byzantine age and the present day, mistakes like λεαινῶν μὴ συγχωρούντων, φυλαὶ καταλαβόντες, πάντων τῶν γυναικῶν,

etc., it shows that we have to do with a half-dead form, in which mistakes slip in as soon as grammatical vigilance nods." When we remember that the MGr present participle, *e.g.* δένοντας, is as indeclinable as our own equivalent "binding," we can see some reason for the frequency of non-agreement in this part of the verb. What became common in the early Byzantine literature would naturally be incipient in the vernacular of imperfectly educated persons centuries before, like the author of Rev.[1]   A few nouns wavering in gender may be named.   Λιμός is masculine in Par P 22 (ii/B.C.) and feminine in 26, which is written by the same hand; further parallels need not be sought for the inconsistency between Lk 4[25] and Ac 11[28], Lk 15[14].   The apparently purposeless variation between ἡ θεός and ἡ θεά in Ac 19 is explained by inscriptions.[2]   Some masculine -ος nouns like ἔλεος, ἦχος, πλοῦτος, passed into the neuter declension in Hellenistic, and remain there in MGr : see Hatzidakis, pp. 356 ff.

Case :—   We are free now to examine the pheno-
Disappearance   mena of *Case.*   To estimate the position of
of the   Hellenistic cases along the line of develop-
Local Cases.   ment, we may sum up briefly what may be seen
at the two ends of this line.   MGr has only the three cases we ourselves possess—nominative, accusative, and genitive. (The survival of a few vocative forms, in which MGr and Hellenistic are on practically the same footing, does not affect this point, for the vocative is not really a case.)   At the very dawn of Greek language history, as we know it, there is only one more, the dative, though we can detect a few moribund traces of instrumental, locative, and ablative.   For all practical purposes, we may say that Greek lost in pre-

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[1] Cf Reinhold 57 f., and p. 234 below. We may cite typical breaches of concord from the papyri. Firstly, case :—KP 37 (ii/A.D.) "Ηρων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδὼς γρ(άμματα) :—this is quite true as it stands, but Heron meant εἰδότος ! So BU 31 (εἰδός !). BU 1002 (i/B.C.) 'Αντιφίλου"Ελλην . . . ἱππάρχης. *Letr.* 149 (ii/A.D.) τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ . . . ὁ διάτοχος (=διαδ.). OP 527 (ii–iii/A.D.) περὶ Σερήνου τοῦ γναφέως ὁ συνεργαζόμενος.[a]   Then gender :—BU 997 (ii/B.C.) τὴν ὑπάρχου αὐτῶι οἰκίαν.   *Ib.* 577 (iii/A.D.) ἐκ τῆς μετηλλαχότος γυναῖκαν.   *Ib.* 1013 (i/A.D.) ἡ ὁμολογῶν.   *Ib.* 1036 (ii/A.D.) στολὴν λεινοῦν.   LP*u* (ii/B.C.) τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἄνασσον ἀκούσαντα.   AP 113 (ii/A.D.) ὁ τετελευτηκὼς αὐτῆς μήτηρ.

[2] Cf Blass on 19[27] : " Usitate dicitur ἡ θεός (ut v.[37]) ; verum etiam inscriptio Ephesia . . . τῇ μεγίστῃ θεᾷ 'Εφεσίᾳ 'Αρτέμιδι, cum alibi . . . ἡ θεός eadem dicatur. . . . Itaque formulam sollemnem ἡ μεγάλη θεὰ "A. mira diligentia L. conservavit." [a]

[a][b] See p. 244.

historic times three out of the primitive seven cases (or eight,
if we include the vocative), viz., the *from* case (ablative), the
with case (instrumental [1]), and the *at* or *in* case (locative), all
of which survived in Sanskrit, and appreciably in Latin,
though obscured in the latter by the formal syncretism of
ablative, instrumental, and (except in singular of -*ā*- and
-*o*- nouns) locative.   In other words, the purely local cases,
in which the meaning could be brought out by a place-
adverb (for this purpose called a preposition), sacrificed their
distinct forms and usages.[2]   Greek is accordingly marked,

**Encroachment
of Prepositions.**
like English, by the very free use of preposi-
tions.   This characteristic is most obviously
intensified in Hellenistic, where we are per-
petually finding prepositional phrases used to express rela-
tions which in classical Greek would have been adequately
given by a case alone.   It is needless to illustrate this fact,
except with one typical example which will fitly introduce
the next point to be discussed.   We have already (pp. 11 f.)
referred to the instrumental ἐν, formerly regarded as a trans-
lation of the familiar Hebrew בּ, but now well established as
vernacular Greek of Ptolemaic and later times.   The examples
adduced all happen to be from the category "armed with";
but it seems fair to argue that an instrumental sense for ἐν
is generally available if the context strongly pleads for it,
without regarding this restriction or assuming Hebraism.[3]
Nor is the intrusion of ἐν exclusively a feature of "Biblical"
Greek, in the places where the prep. seems to be superfluous.
Thus in Gal 5[1] the simple dative appears with ἐνέχομαι:
Par P 63 (ii/B.C.—a royal letter) gives us τοὺς ἐνεσχημένους

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[1] The instrumental proper all but coincided with the dative in form
throughout the sing. of the 1st and 2nd decl., so that the still surviving
dative of instrument may in these declensions be regarded as the ancient case :
the *comitative* "with," however, was always expressed by a preposition, except
in the idiom αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, and the "military dative.'

[2] Note that the *to* case also disappeared, the "terminal accusative" seen in
ire Romam.   The surviving Greek cases thus represent purely grammatical
relations, those of subject, object, possession, remoter object, and instrument.

[3] I should not wish to exclude the possibility that this ἐν, although correct
vernacular Greek, came to be used rather excessively by translators from
Hebrew, or by men whose mother tongue was Aramaic.   The use would be
explained on the same lines as that of ἰδού on p. 11.

ἔν τισιν ἀγνοήμασιν. In Par P 22 (ii/B.C.) we have τῷ λιμῷ διαλυθῆναι, while the contemporary 28 has διαλυόμεναι ἐν τῷ λιμῷ. What gave birth to this extension of the uses of ἐν? It seems certainly to imply a growing lack of clearness in the simple dative, resulting in an unwillingness to trust it to express the required meaning without further definition. We may see in the multiplied use of prepositions an incipient symptom of that simplification of cases which culminates in the abbreviated case system of to-day.

Decay of the Dative:—

The NT student may easily overlook the fact that the dative has already entered the way that leads to extinction. I take a page at random from Mk in WH, and count 21 datives against 23 genitives and 25 accusatives. A random page from the Teubner Herodotus gives me only 10, against 23 and 29 respectively; one from Plato 11, against 12 and 25. Such figures could obviously prove nothing conclusive until they were continued over a large area, but they may be taken as evidence that the dative is not dead yet.

Uses with Prepositions.

Taking the NT as a whole, the dative with prepositions falls behind the accusative and genitive in the proportion 15 to 19 and 17 respectively. This makes the dative considerably more prominent than in classical and post-classical historians.[1] The preponderance is, however, due solely to ἐν, the commonest of all the prepositions, outnumbering εἰς by about three to two: were both these omitted, the dative would come down to $2\frac{1}{2}$ in the above proportion, while the accusative would still be 10. And although ἐν has greatly enlarged its sphere of influence[2] in the NT as compared with literary Κοινή, we

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[1] Helbing, in Schanz's *Beiträge*, No. 16 (1904), p. 11, gives a table for the respective frequency of dat., gen., and accus. with prepositions, which works out for Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, taken together, at 1 : 1·2 : 3 ; for twelve post-classical historians, from Polybius to Zosimus, at 1 : 1·5 : 2·4.

[2] This is well seen by comparing the statistics of Helbing, pp. 8 f. He gives the figures for the three favourite prepositions of the historians. Ἐν is one of the three in every author except Polybius, Diodorus, and Josephus; εἰς falls out of the list in Eusebius only. The total occurrences of εἰς in the three classical historians amount to 6,531, those of ἐν to 6,031 ; while in the twelve Hellenistic writers εἰς comes to 31,651, and ἐν to only 17,130. Contrast the NT, where εἰς is preferred to ἐν only in Mk and Heb, and the total occurrences amount to 1,743 and 2,698 respectively. See the list in p. 98 below : note there also the

find very clear examples of εἰς encroaching on its domain.[a] There are many NT passages where a real distinction between εἰς and ἐν is impossible to draw without excessive subtlety, for which all the motive is gone when we find in MGr στό with accusative (= εἰς τόν) the substitute for the now obsolete dative ; while the language in its intermediate stages steadily tends towards this ultimate goal.[1] By the side of this we may put the disappearance of ὑπό with the dative, the accusative serving to express both motion and rest : in the classical historians the dative is nearly as frequent as the accusative, and some of their successors, notably Appian and Herodian, made it greatly outnumber its rival—see Helbing, op. cit., p. 22. Similarly πρός with dative stands in NT in the ratio of less than ·01 to πρός with accusative : in the three classical historians it averages nearly ·12 ; in the later twelve, ·01 again. Ἐπί and παρά are the only prepositions in which the use with three cases is really alive ; and even ἐπί rather illustrates our tendency than contradicts it—see p. 107.

Other cases substituted. We pass on to other symptoms of senescence in the dative. In the papyri there are some clear examples of an accusative expressing point of time instead of duration (see CR xviii. 152); and in Ac 20[16] and Jn 4[52], Rev 3[3] we may recognise the same thing.[2] Of course the dative of " time when " was still very much more common. There were not wanting, indeed, instances where a classical use of the accusative, such as that of specification (Goodwin Greek Gram. § 1058), has yielded to a dative of reference (instrumental).[3] We have examples of its survival in Jn 6[10] al (WM 288 f.); but, as in the papyri, the dative is very much commoner. The evidence of the decay of the dative was examined with great minuteness by F. Krebs in his three pamphlets, Zur Rection der Casus in der späteren historischen Gräcität (1887–1890). He deals only

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marked drop in the total for ἐπί, which in the twelve writers of literary Κοινή comes not far behind ἐν (14,093).

[1] See below, p. 234.

[2] Thus OP 477 (ii/A.D.) τὸ πέμπτον ἔτος, " in the fifth year "—a recurrent formula. Add Gen 43[16] (Dieterich, Unters. 151). With ὥραν, however, the use began in classical times : see Blass 94. See also p. 245.

[3] Cf CR xv. 438, xviii. 153, and the useful Program by Compernass, De Sermone Gr. Volg. Pisidiae Phrygiaeque meridionalis, pp. 20 f. ["See p. 245.

with the literary *Κοινή* ; but we may profitably take up his
points in order and show from the NT how these tendencies
of the artificial dialect are really derived from the vernacular.
Krebs starts with verbs which are beginning to take the
accusative, having been confined to the dative in the earlier
language.   The distinction in meaning between transitive
verbs and verbs whose complement was properly instrumental
(as with *χρᾶσθαι*—which itself takes an abnormal accus. in
1 Co 7³¹),ᵃ or the dative of person interested, inevitably faded
away with time, and the grammatical distinction became
accordingly a useless survival.   Of Krebs' exx., *πολεμεῖν*
takes accus. also in vernacular, *ἐνεδρεύειν* and *εὐδοκεῖν* in the
NT ; but *ξενίζεσθαι*, *ἀπαντᾶν* and *ὑπαντᾶν* retain the dative
there.[1]   The movement was accompanied with various
symptoms of reaction.   *Προσκυνεῖν* in the NT takes the
dative about twice as often as the accusative.[2]   The phrase
παραβάλλεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ (Polybius) is matched in respect of
its innovating dative by *παραβολεύεσθαι* in Phil 2³⁰.   We
will dismiss the decay of the dative with the remark that
the more illiterate papyri and inscriptions decidedly show it
before the NT had acquired any antiquity.   The schoolboy
of OP 119, referred to already (p. 28), uses *σέ* for *σοί* after
γράφω ; while later samples (see *CR* as above) include such
monstrosities as *τίνι λόγου*, *σὺν τῶν υἱῶν*, *χαρίζετε ἐμοῦ*.³ᵇ
Dittenberger would actually recognise the same thing in
OGIS 17 ᾿Αθηνᾶι Σωτείρᾳ Νίκῃ καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου.
But at the beginning of iii/B.C. this confusion is surely
unthinkable, and there is a curious asyndeton left : should
the *καί* be transposed ?[4]   Even OP 811 (A.D. 1), *εὐχαριστῶν*
῾Ερμίππου, seems much too early to be intentional.   We may
follow Krebs further as he shows the encroachments of the
accusative upon the genitive, and upon the field of verbs
which were formerly intransitive.   It will be seen that the

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[1] Also, we may add, *πειθαρχεῖν*, which takes a gen. (like *ἀκούω*) in Tb P 104
(i/B.C.), OP 265 (i/A.D.), and the "Gadatas" inscr. (Michel 32).   For the dat.,
as in NT, cf *Magn.* 114, etc.   *Εὐδοκεῖν* c. acc. is only in a quotation.

[2] Contrast the inscriptions : see *CR* xv. 436.   But note Par P 51 (ii/B.C.)
ἵνα προσκυνήσῃς αὐτόν.

[3] See other exx. in Dieterich, *Unters.* 150.

[4] D.'s further ex., No. 87 (iii/B.C.) *ὑπὲρ βασιλέως . . . καὶ βασιλίσσης . .*
καὶ Πτολεμαίωι τῶι υἱῶι seems merely a mason's carelessness.   [ᵃᵇ See p. 245.

NT does not tally in details with the literary Κοινή, though it independently shows the same tendencies at work. In his second part Krebs turns to the genitive. The first verb in which we are interested is the late compound ἀπελπίζειν, which generally takes acc. instead of the natural gen. This it seems to do in Lk 6³⁵, if we read μηδένα with ℵ etc. and the Lewis Syriac: [1] so Ti WHmg RVmg. Κρατεῖν (Krebs ii. 14) takes the gen. only 8 times in NT, out of 46 occurrences, but διαφέρειν ("surpass") has gen. always. Ἐντρέπεσθαι (p. 15) takes only the acc.,[2] and so does κληρονομεῖν. Δράσσομαι (p. 17) has the acc. in the only place where it occurs (1 Co 3¹⁹, cited from the LXX). Ἐπιθυμῶ may be added to this list, if we may follow BD al. in Mt 5²⁸. Add likewise the sporadic exx. of acc. with verbs of filling (Rev 17³ al.; see Blass 102): Thumb observes (ThLZ xxviii. 422) that the usage lives on in MGr.[3] There follows a category of intransitive verbs which in Hellenistic have begun to take a direct object in the acc. Of these we recognise as NT examples ἐνεργεῖν (six times), συνεργεῖν (in Rom 8²⁸ AB and Origen), πλεονεκτεῖν (four times, and once in passive), and χορηγεῖν. The third part of Krebs' work deals with compound verbs and their cases. Here προσφωνεῖν c. acc. may claim Lk 6¹³, but it has the dat. four times; ὑποτρέχειν has acc. in its only occurrence; ἐπέρχεσθαι has only dat. or prepositional phrase; καταβαρεῖν occurs once, c. acc.; καταλαλεῖν takes gen. in NT, but is once passive, as is καταπονεῖν in its two occurrences; while κατισχύειν shows no sign of the acc. construction.

Accusative gains from genitive,

from intransitive construction,

and from dat. and gen. after compounds.

It would of course be easy to supplement from the NT grammar these illustrations of a general tendency, but exhaustive discussion is not needed here. We must proceed to note a few special characteristics of the individual cases as they appear in NT Greek, in uses deviating from earlier

Limits of the blurring of old distinctions.

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[1] Μηδέν, if not to be read μηδέν', is an internal accus., nil desperantes.

[2] A passage from Dionysius (Krebs 16), οὔτε θεῖον φοβηθέντες χόλον οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνην ἐντραπέντες νέμεσιν, bears a curiously close resemblance to Lk 18².

[3] See further, p. 235.

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language.   Before doing so, however, we must make some
general observations, by way of applying to noun syntax the
principles noted above, p. 20.   We should not assume, from
the evidence just presented as to variation of case with verbs,
that the old distinctions of case-meaning have vanished, or
that we may treat as mere equivalents those constructions
which are found in common with the same word.   The very
fact that in Jn 4²³ προσκυνεῖν is found with dat. and then
with acc. is enough to prove the existence of a difference,
subtle no doubt but real, between the two, unless the writer
is guilty of a most improbable slovenliness.   The fact that
the maintenance of an old and well-known distinction between
the acc. and the gen. with ἀκούω saves the author of Ac 9⁷
and 22⁹ from a patent self-contradiction, should by itself be
enough to make us recognise it for Luke, and for other writers
until it is proved wrong.   So with the subtle and suggestive
variation in Heb 6⁴ᶠ· from gen. to acc. with γενέσθαι.[1][a]
Further, the argument that because εἰς often denotes rest
in or *at*, and sometimes represents that motion *towards* (as
distinguished from motion *to*) which may perhaps have been
the primitive differentia of the dat., therefore it is immaterial
whether εἰς or ἐν or the simple dat. be used with any par-
ticular word, would be entirely unwarrantable.   It depends
upon the character of the word itself.   If its content be
limited, it may well happen that hardly any appreciable
difference is made by placing it in one or another of cer-
tain nearly equivalent relations to a noun.   But if it is a
word of large content and extensive use, we naturally expect
to find these alternative expressions made use of to define the
different ideas connected with the word they qualify, so as to
set up a series of phrases having a perfectly distinct meaning.
In such a case we should expect to see the original force of
these expressions, obsolete in contexts where there was no-

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[1] To illustrate with a lexical example, we need not think that the evidence
which proves ἐρωτᾶν in the vernacular no longer restricted to the meaning
question (cf *Expos.* VI. viii. 431), compromises the antithesis between the verbs
in Jn 16²³, rightly given by RVmg.   Our English *ask* is the complete equivalent
of the Hellenistic ἐρωτᾶν ; and if we translated αἰτήσητε by some other word, say
beg or *petition*, we should naturally take *ask* to mean *question* there.   See West-
cott or Milligan-Moulton *in loc.*, or Loisy, *Le Quatrième Évangile*, p. 789.

[a] See p. 245.

thing to quicken it, brought out vividly where the need of a distinction stimulated it into new life. A critical example is afforded by the construction of πιστεύω, as to which Blass

Construction of πιστεύω. (p. 110) declares that (beside the prepositional construction, with the meaning " believe in ") it takes the dat. "*passim* even in the sense 'to believe in,' as in Ac 5^{14} 18^8."[1] Again, p. 123, " πιστεύειν εἰς alternates with πιστ. ἐν (Mk 1^{15}) and πιστ. ἐπί, in addition to which the correct classical πιστ. τινί appears." Let us examine this. In classical Greek, as LS observe, " the two notions [*believe* and *believe in*] run into each other." To be unable to distinguish ideas so vitally different in the scheme of Christianity would certainly have been a serious matter for the NT writers. Blass allows that with the preposition the meaning is *believe in*. Is this meaning ever found with the simple dat., or is πιστεύειν τινί appropriated entirely for the other idea? The answer must, it would seem, come from examination of the NT passages, rather than from outside. There are about forty occurrences of πιστεύειν with dat., apart from those where the verb means *entrust*. It will be admitted that in the great majority of these passages the meaning is *believe*. There remain a few passages where the alternative is arguable, such as Jn $5^{24. 38}$ (in which the λόγος just preceding shows that *believe* is more appropriate), 8^{31} (where the variation from the previous π. εἰς cannot be merely accidental), Ac 5^{14} (where the dat. may be construed with προσετίθεντο, as in RV), 16^{34} and 18^8 (where *accepting the truth of* God's word satisfies the connexion). (See p. 235.) It might be said that the influence of the LXX tends to weaken the normal distinction in the phrase π. τῷ θεῷ. But it is very clear that the LXX is not responsible for the NT use of πιστεύειν. The only prepositional phrase used in the LXX is that with ἐν, which is itself very rare, and this occurs in only one NT passage,[2] Mk 1^{15}, where there can be little doubt that Deissmann is right[3] in translating " believe in (the sphere of)[a] the

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[1] The second passage is dropped in [2], but not in the English edition.

[2] Eph 1^{13} is only an apparent exception, for the second ἐν ᾧ is assimilated to the first, and its sense is determined by ἐσφραγίσθητε.

[3] *In Christo* 46 f.   [a See p. 245.

Gospel ": he compares 1 Th 3[2], Rom 1[9], 2 Co 8[18] 10[14], etc. The construction πιστ. ἐπί, which outside John is commoner than εἰς, is found in Is 28[16], where B omits ἐπί, and conformity to the NT application of the passage may well have occasioned its insertion in אAQ. It would seem therefore as if the substitution of εἰς or ἐπί for the simple dative may have obtained currency first in Christian circles, where the importance of the difference between mere belief (הֶאֱמִין לְ?) and personal trust (ה" בְּ) was keenly realised. The prepositional construction was suggested no doubt by its being a more literal translation of the Hebrew phrase with בְּ. But in itself it was entirely on the lines of development of the Greek language, as we have seen. There was, moreover, a fitness in it for the use for which it was specialised. To repose one's trust *upon* God or Christ was well expressed by πιστεύειν ἐπί, the dative suggesting more of the state, and the accusative more of the initial act of faith ; while εἰς recalls at once the bringing of the soul *into* that mystical union which Paul loved to express by ἐν Χριστῷ. But as between ἐπί and εἰς, we may freely admit that it is not safe to refine too much : the difference may amount to little more than that between our own *believe on* and *believe in*.[1] The really important matter is the recognition of a clear distinction between *believe on* or *in* and *believe* with the dative simply.[2]

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[1] For a closely allied equivalence, cf that of ἐν and ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι, as demonstrated by Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu* (1903), I. ch. i.

[2] We may give a table of the constructions of πιστεύω, when not absolute, and not=*entrust*. As elsewhere, it depends on WH text, ignoring passages in [[ ]].

| | c. εἰς | c. ἐπί | | c. ἐν | c. dat. | Total. |
		dat.	acc.			
Mt	1	—	1	—	4	6
Mk	—	—	—	1	1	2
Lk and Ac . .	3	1	4	—	9	17
Jn and 1 Jn. .	37	—	—	—	18	55
Paul	3	4	2	—	6	15
Jas	—	—	—	—	1	1
1 Pet	1	1	—	—	—	2
Total .	45	6	7	1	39	98

1 Jn 4[16] is omitted, as ἐγνώκαμεν determines the construction. So also are Ac 5[14] and Eph 1[13], for reasons given above.

Special uses of the Cases :— **Nominative.** We have still to gather some noteworthy points in the use of the cases, particularly the Nominative, on which nothing has been said hitherto. The case has a certain tend-ency to be residuary legatee of case-relations not obviously appropriated by other cases. We have its use as the name-case, unaltered by the construction of the sentence, in Rev 9¹¹: the fact that this has classical parallels (see Blass 85) is perhaps only accidental, for we have already seen that ungrammatical nominatives are prevalent in Rev (see p. 9), and the general NT usage is certainly assimilation (Mt 1²¹, Mk 3¹⁶, Ac 27¹). The classical parallels may serve for a writer such as Luke, if we are to write ἐλαιών in Lk 19²⁹ 21³⁷. In WH and the RV it is ἐλαιῶν, gen. pl., and so Blass. We noted above (p. 49) the conclusive evidence which compels us to accept the noun ἐλαιών, *olivetum*, as a word current in the *Κοινή*. WH (*App* 158) regard the presence of Ἐλαιῶνος in Ac 1¹² as corroborating the argument drawn from the unambiguous τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν. Tertullian's *in Elaeonem secedebat*, the prevalence of *olivetum* in the Latin versions, and the new fact (unknown to WH) that ἐλαιών is a word abundantly occurring in the vernacular, may together perhaps incline us rather to the other view, with Deissmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Weiss (cf W. F. Moulton's note in WM 227). Certainly, if we were forced to emend on conjecture, to substitute Ἐλαιῶνα in Lk *ll.cc.*—in one of which places the initial *ὰ*. following makes it especially easy—would cause much less disturbance than to force Blass's ἐλαιῶν upon Acts and Josephus. (See further on p. 235.)

"Nominativus Pendens." The nominative which stands at the head of a clause without construction is a familiar phenomenon hardly needing to be illustrated: it is one of the easiest of anacolutha, and as much at home in English as in Greek. The special case in which the participle is concerned will en-gage our attention later (p. 225). Typical exx. are Lk 21⁶, Ac 7⁴⁰, Mt 5⁴⁰ D (ὁ θέλων . . . ἄφες αὐτῷ — a plausible reading, as τῷ θέλοντι is an easy correction), 1 Jn 2²⁴, Rev 2²⁶, etc.

The parenthetic nominative in expressions of time is well

seen in Mt 15^{32}, Mk 8^2, also Lk 9^{28}.   In popular Attic the construction goes as far back as v/B.c.[1]   Viteau (*Sujet* 41) cites

Parenthetic Nominative. Eccles 2^{16} (note emendation in A and $\aleph^{c. a.}$) and Jos 1^{11}.   On the latter Nestle notes (*Exp T* xvi. 429) that B (ἔτι ἡμέραι τρεῖς καὶ δια-βαίνετε) gives the rationale.[a]   Deissmann adds from the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (in OP i. p. 9) ἡμέραι γὰρ ἤδη τρεῖς καὶ νύκτες τρεῖς Θέκλα οὐκ ἐγήγερται.[2]   We must leave it an open question whether Ac 5^7 (see p. 16) belongs to this category : it means an isolated return to the construction of ἐγένετο which Luke used in his Gospel, but then abandoned.   This may not however be quite decisive.   The use of parenthetic nominatives appears in the papyri most abundantly in descriptions with οὐλή or γείτονες.   Thus " εἰκόνες "[2] will run, " to A., long-faced, straight-nosed, a scar on his right wrist "; and a piece of land or a house is inventoried with " belonging to A., its neighbours on the south the open street, on the west the house of B."—all nominatives without construction.   We compare such examples as Jn 1^6.

Articular Nominative in address. There is a very marked increase in the use of the articular nominative in address.   Nearly sixty examples of it are found in the NT.   There seems no sufficient reason for assigning any influence to the coincident Hebrew use, for classical Greek shows the idiom well established.   The rough and peremptory tone which characterises most of the other examples seems to have disappeared.   Contrast the Aristophanic ὁ παῖς ἀκολούθει, " you there! the lad, I mean " (Blass), with the tender ἡ παῖς ἔγειρε[2] in Lk 8^{54} : we may still recognise a survival of the *decisiveness* of the older use. *Descriptiveness*, however, is rather the note of the articular nom. of address in the NT : so in Lk 12^{32}, Jn 19^3, where we may represent the *nuance* by " Fear not, you little flock ! " " Hail, you ' King ' ! "   In the latter passage we can easily feel the inappropriateness of the βασιλεῦ found in $\aleph$, which would admit the royal right, as in Ac 26^7.   Its appearance

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[1] Meisterhans³ 203. See *CR* xvii. 197, where Crönert reads in BM ii. 299 (no. 417—iv/A.D.) ἐπειδὴ ἀσχολῶ ἐλθῖν πρὸς σὲν αὐτὲ (= -αὶ) ἡμέρε, "his diebus" —a violent example if true. Cf p. 11 n.[1] *ad fin.*   [ᵃ See p. 245.

[2] See p. 235.

in Mk 15¹⁸ is merely a note of the writer's imperfect
sensibility to the more delicate shades of Greek idiom.

Vocative. Note that Lk, and perhaps Mt (אAL), cor-
rect Mk here. The *anarthrous* nom. should
probably be regarded as a mere substitute for the vocative,
which begins from the earliest times to be supplanted by
the nominative. In MGr the forms in -ε are practically the
only separate vocatives surviving. Hellenistic has little
more, retaining some in -α and -εῦ, with the isolated γύναι,
πάτερ, and θύγατερ; but the nom. is beginning to assert
itself even here, for πατήρ¹ᵃ and θυγάτηρ are well attested
(see the evidence in Blass 86 n.). The vocative itself need
not detain us, the presence or absence of ὦ being the only
feature calling for comment. In the Lucan writings only is
the interjection used in the classical manner without emphasis.
Elsewhere it is mostly used as we use *O*, except that this is
with us appropriate in prayer, from which it is markedly
absent in the NT, though not entirely in the translation
Greek of the OT. The progressive omission of ὦ is not wholly
easy to explain, for the classical examples (see Gerth's
Kühner³ § 357. 4) show that the simple voc. has normally
a touch of dignity or reserve. A specially good ex. occurs in
Plato *Crito* 52Α, ταύταις δή φαμεν καὶ σέ, Σώκρατες, ταῖς
αἰτίαις ἐνέξεσθαι, where "the effect of omitting ὦ is to
increase the impressiveness, since ὦ Σώκρατες is the regular
mode of address: in English we obtain the same effect by
exactly the opposite means" (Adam). NT use has thus
approximated to our own, and may well have travelled upon
the same path without any outside interference, such as A.
Buttmann would find in Latinism.²

Common to nominative and accusative is the use of εἰς
with acc. to replace a predicate, in such phrases as εἶναι εἰς
and ἐγείρειν εἰς (Ac 8²³ 13²²). This cannot fairly be described

¹ There seems no adequate reason to write πάτηρ, as WH (*App* 158).
² J. A. Scott, in *AJP* xxvi. 32–43, has a careful study of the classical use
of ὦ. He shows that ὦ "with the vocative was familiar, and was not freely
used until the familiar language of comedy, dialectic, and the law courts became
the language of literature, when the vocative rarely appears without the inter-
jection." The Attic *sermo vulgaris* in this case did not determine the usage of
the Hellenistic vernacular.   [ᵃ See p. 215.

as a Hebraism, for the vernacular shows a similar extension
of the old use of εἰς expressing destination : so for example

**Predicates
with εἰς.**

KP 46 (ii/A.D.), ἔσχον παρ᾽ ὑμῶν εἰς δά(νειον)
σπέρματα, a recurrent formula. It is obvious
that " I received it *as* a loan " and "*for* a

loan " do not differ except in grammar. The fact that this
εἰς is mainly found in translation falls into line with other
phenomena already discussed—the overdoing of a correct
locution in passages based on a Semitic original, simply
because it has the advantage of being a literal rendering.

Genitive.

We may pass over the accusative, as
little remains to be said of it except on

points of detail. As to the genitive, readers of Winer will
perhaps hardly need reminding now-a-days that to call the
case " unquestionably the *whence-case* " is an utterly obsolete
procedure. The Greek genitive is syncretic (cf p. 61); and
the ablative, the only case which answers to Winer's " case
of *proceeding from* or *out of*," is responsible for a part of the
uses of the genitive in which it was merged. Most of the
ordinary divisions of the case we find still in extensive use.
The *objective* gen. is very prominent, and exegesis has often
to discuss the application of this or the subjective label to a
particular phrase. It is as well to remember that in Greek
this question is entirely one of exegesis, not of grammar.
There is no approximation to the development by which we
have restricted the inflexional genitive in our language almost
entirely to the subjective use. The *partitive* gen. is largely
replaced by the abl. with ἀπό or ἐκ,[a] but is still used freely,
sometimes in peculiar phrases. In Mt 28¹ (RV) we have
ὀψέ with this gen., " late on the sabbath : " cf Tb P 230 (ii/B.C.)
ὀψίτερον τῆς ὥρας, and Par P 35, 37 (ii/B.C.) ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας, and
Philostratus (*ap*. Blass² 312) ὀψὲ τῶν Τρωικῶν, " at a late
stage in the Trojan war." This last writer however has also
ὀψὲ τούτων, " *after* these things," and Blass now (*l.c.*) adopts
this meaning in Mt, giving other quotations. This use of
ὀψέ = *after* involves an *ablative* gen., " late *from*." There
remains the *vespere sabbati* of the Latt. and the Lewis Syr.,
favoured by Weiss, Wright, etc. Since ὀψέ could be used
practically as an indeclinable noun (see Mk 11¹¹ *al*), this seems
a natural development, but the question is not easy to

[a] See p. 245.

decide.[1] How freely the partitive gen. was used in the Κοινή may be seen in passages like Ac 21[16], where it is subject of a sentence. See WM 253 for classical parallels: add *OGIS* 56[59] ὁ προφήτης ἤ τῶν . . . ἱερέων . . . οἴσει. How unnecessary it was there for Dittenberger to insert τις, may be seen from the standing phrase ὁ δεῖνα τῶν φίλων, " X., one of the Privy Council " (as Par P 15 (ii/B.C.), etc.).

Genitive of Time and Place. The papyri show us abundantly the genitive of *time* and *place*, like νότου " on the south," ἔτους β " in the 2nd year." It comes most naturally from the simplest of all genitives, that of possession, " belonging to "; but the abl. is possible, as we find the place idea expressed in Rev 21[13] by ἀπὸ νότου. " Time or place *within which* "—cf τοῦ ὄντος μηνός " within the current month," FP 124 (ii/A.D.)—is the normal differentia of this genitive, which has thus perhaps its closest affinity with the partitive. For *time*, this genitive is common in NT, as in phrases like νυκτός, χειμῶνος, ὄρθρου βαθέως, τοῦ λοιποῦ. For *place*, we have mostly stereotyped words and phrases like ποίας Lk 5[19], and ancient words like αὐτοῦ, ποῦ. It is strange that the commentators and grammarians have so much neglected the difficult gen. in Ac 19[26]. Dr Knowling merely declines Hackett's suggestion that Ἐφέσου and πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας depend on ὄχλον, for which however we might quote a good parallel in Sophocles *OT* 236 (see Jebb). The gloss ἔως (D), " within," may possibly express the meaning; but the vernacular supplies no parallel, except the stereotyped phrases for points of the compass, nor was it ever normal in classical Greek after the Epic period : see the exx., nearly all poetical, in Kühner-Gerth i. 384 f. On the whole, one feels disposed to make ὄχλον responsible after all.

The question of Hebraism is raised again by the genitive of *definition*. Some of the " long series of phrases " coming

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[1] See below, p. 101, for a construction which may be parallel. There is a note in Dalman's *Gram. d. jüd.-pal. Aram.* p. 197, in which Lightfoot's בְּמוֹצָאֵי (*Hor. Hebr.* 500) is tentatively approved as the original of ὀψέ. The phrase "means always the time immediately *after the close of* the Sabbath." In Mt 28[1], accordingly, " at most a late hour of the night would be designated : the term is impossible for dawn. A reckoning of the Sabbath from sunrise to sunrise (Weiss *in loc.*) is unheard of."

under this head "obviously take their origin from Hebrew,"
says Blass (p. 98). The poetical examples collected in
Jebb's note on Sophocles, *Antig.* 114 (or

Genitive of Definition.

more fully in Kühner-Gerth, p. 264), include
some which are quite as remarkable as the
"Hebraisms" quotable from the NT. Thus καρδία πονηρὰ
ἀπιστίας (Heb 3¹²) will pair off well with τόσονδε τόλμης
πρόσωπον (Soph. *OT* 533). That many of these phrases
really are literal translations from the Hebrew need not be
questioned ; and if an existing usage was available for the
purpose, we can understand its being overstrained. Our
only concern is with passages where no Semitic original
is admissible. In these it seems fair to assume that the
poetical phraseology of the Attic period had come down
into the market-place, as happened also, for example, in
ἀπείραστος κακῶν Jas 1¹³, ἀκαταπάστους (p. 47) ἁμαρτίας
2 Pet 2¹⁴, which have plentiful illustration from papyri.[1]

Genitive Absolute.

The rapid extension of the *genitive
absolute* is a very obvious feature of Hel-
lenistic Greek—so obvious, indeed, that we
are not tempted to dwell on it here. In the papyri it may
often be seen forming a string of statements, without a finite
verb for several lines. We also find there a use frequently
seen in the NT—*e.g.*, in Mt 1¹⁸ 8¹ 9¹⁸, Mk 13¹, Lk 12³⁶, Ac
22¹⁷, etc.—the gen. abs. referring to a noun or pronoun already
in the sentence, without any effort to assimilate the cases.[2]
Rarely in NT, but frequently in papyri, we find a participle
standing by itself in gen. abs. without a noun or pronoun in
agreement : thus Mt 17¹⁴, Ac 21³¹. A violent use occurs in
Heb 8⁹ (LXX) ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου : so Blass, but
the construction was probably suggested immediately by the
original Hebrew. Westcott compares Barn 2²⁸ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐντειλ-
αμένου σου αὐτῷ. The old accus. abs., belonging to impersonal
verbs, has vanished except in the word τυχόν " perhaps " (1 Co
16⁶) : Blass points out how Luke avoids it in Ac 23³⁰, where
classical Greek would demand μηνυθέν c. acc. et inf. The papyri
show ἐξόντος *passim* for the classical ἐξόν, *it being allowed.*

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[1] See p. 235.
[2] Cf exx. from Polybius in Kälker 281 ; and below, p. 236.

One example of a noteworthy pure dative, the *dativus incommodi*, may be briefly referred to. In Rev 2⁵· ¹⁶ ἔρχομαί σοι is used rather markedly in place of ἔ. πρός σε: a reason

for the peculiar phraseology is offered in *JTS* iii. 516. It should however be added now that the very phrase occurs in a recently published papyrus, BU 1041 (ii/A.D.), an illiterate document, with context less clear than we should like. See p. 245.

Side by side with the common *locative* dative of time (point of time), we have an *instrumental* dative of extension of time, which is not always easy to distinguish from it. Thus in Lk 8²⁹ πολλοῖς χρόνοις is " oftentimes " (loc.) in RV text, " of a long time " (instr.) in mg. The latter, which is clearly found in χρόνῳ ἱκανῷ Lk 8²⁷, and χρόνοις αἰωνίοις Rom 16²⁵, is supported by the recurring formula in private letters, ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.¹ The field of accusative and instrumental is contiguous also in the " dative of reference ": γένει in Mk 7²⁶, Ac 4³⁶ *al*, as in BU 887 (ii/A.D.) γένει Φρυγίαν. Jn 6¹⁰ affords one of the few NT exx. of the acc. in similar construction. TP 1 (ii/B.C.) προβεβη-κότας ἤδη τοῖς ἔτεσιν (class.), compared with Lk 1⁷· ¹⁸ 2³⁶, shows how the ubiquitous ἐν came in with datives that did not need it : here we may presume an Aramaic background. A difficult dative in Rev 8⁴, ταῖς προσευχαῖς (RV text " with the prayers," and so Milligan and Holtzmann), is probably to be taken as the sociative instrumental : cf BU 69 (ii/A.D.) ἃς καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι τῷ ἔνγιστα δοθησομένῳ ὀψωνίῳ, " *with* (*i.e.* at the time of) my next wages." Cf Abbott *Joh. Gr.* 519.

Finally, we may speak of one more dative use, that of which ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε, Mt 13¹⁴, will serve as a type. In giving a list of these phrases, Blass (p. 119) remarks that " the usage is an imitation of the Hebrew infinite absolute like מוֹת יָמוּת, and is consequently found already in the LXX "; also that " the analogous classical phrases such as γάμῳ γαμεῖν (' in true

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¹ W. Schulze (*Gr. Lat.* 14) would make Latin responsible for the first start of this extension. But it must be allowed that the classical phrase τῷ χρόνῳ, "by lapse of time," was capable of giving the impulse. For the antiquity of this instrumental, see Delbrück, *Grundr.* § 109. Cf *CR* xv. 438, xviii. 153.

wedlock'), φυγῇ φεύγειν ('to flee with all speed') are only
accidentally similar to these." There are two points here on
which we might venture to state the case rather differently.
It may be freely allowed that this construction, and that
with the participle (βλέποντες βλέψετε) are examples of
" translation Greek." But in what sense are they *imitations* of
the Hebrew ? It seems to me that such a description implies
something much nearer and more literal, such as ἀκούειν
ἀκούσετε.[1] Is it then mere accident that we find the Hebrew
locution represented by Greek which recalls respectively the
γάμῳ γαμεῖν and φυγῇ φεύγειν quoted by Blass, and the well-
known Aeschylean

<div align="center">

οἳ πρῶτα μὲν βλέποντες ἔβλεπον μάτην,
κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον (*P.V.* 447 f.),[2]

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or the φεύγων ἐκφεύγει of Herodotus ? The Greek translator,
endeavouring to be as literal as he could, nevertheless took
care to use Greek that was possible, however unidiomatic.[a]
Those who have had to do much in the way of marking
classical examination papers, know very well that " possible,
but unidiomatic," is a good general description of the kind
of language used by translators who have attained the con-
scientious accuracy, but not the sure-footed freedom, of the
mature scholar.

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[1] As we actually find in Jos 17¹³ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐξωλέθρευσαν :
A emends ὀλεθρεύσει. (I owe this to Votaw, p. 56.)

[2] The idea of these words became proverbial : cf [Demosthenes] 797, ὥστε, τὸ
τῆς παροιμίας, ὁρῶντας μὴ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούοντας μὴ ἀκούειν. Of course the resem-
blance to Mt *l.c.* is more superficial than real, for Aeschylus means "*though* they
saw, they saw in vain." But there is enough nearness to suggest the NT form
as possible Greek. An exact parallel is quoted by Winer from Lucian (*Dial.
Marin.* iv. 3) ἰδὼν εἶδον : the participle has vanished in the Teubner text,
whether with or without MS authority I cannot stop to examine. It should be
made penal to introduce emendations into classical texts without a footnote !

[a] See p. 245.

CHAPTER V.

ADJECTIVES, PRONOUNS, PREPOSITIONS.

**Adjectives :—
"Duality,"** THERE is not much to be said under the head of Adjectives, except on the important "Duality" question raised by the phenomena of comparison. The question touches the use of dual pronouns of the ἕτερος class, as well as the relation between comparative and superlative. The abolition of a distinction between duality and plurality is almost inevitable sooner or later in language history. English affords us instructive parallels. The simplicity and convenience of our suffixes -*er* and -*est* have helped to preserve in common speech the old degrees of comparison. But how often does the man in the street say "the better of the two"? One would not like to say offhand how far in this matter modern literature is impeccable on Lindley Murray rules; but in conversation the most correct of us may at times be caught tripping, and even when the comparative is used we are most of us conscious of a kind of pedantic accuracy. That "the best of the two" is the English of the future is a fairly safe assertion. *Whether*, adjectivally, is as archaic as πότερος : [1] when we translate τίνα ἀπὸ τῶν δύο (Mt 27²¹) by the archaism "whether of the twain," we are only advertising the fact that the original was normal speech and our translation artificial. We have not yet arrived at "either of the three," but people say "either A. or B. or C." without a qualm. Of course the first step was taken ages ago in the extinction of the dual, the survival of which in Germanic

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[1] I have twelve papyrus collections by me, with *one* occurrence of πότερος in the indices, and that is nearly illegible and (to me, at least) quite unintelligible (AP 135, ii/A.D.).

is evidenced, centuries after the NT, by Wulfila's Gothic.
Other modern languages tell the same tale. In the NT the
obsolescence of the superlative, except in the *elative* sense, is

in Comparison, most marked. It is mere chance that only
one example of the -τατος superlative has
survived,[1] for there are scores of them in the papyri. Of the
genuine superlative sense, however, the examples there are
very rare; practically we may say that in the vernacular
documents the superlative forms are used to express the
sense of our "very." The confusion of comparative and
superlative is well seen in some illiterate papyri, where
phrases like τὸ μέγιστον καὶ γνησιώτερον occur. One or
two typical examples of irregular comparatives may be cited
—the references will be found, with other examples, in
CR xv. 439 and xviii. 154. Specially instructive is the
papyrus of the astronomer Eudoxus, written in ii/B.C. There
we have καθ' ὃν ὁ ἥλιος φερόμενος τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν βραχυ-
τέραν ποιεῖ τὴν δὲ νύκτα μακροτέραν. The context demands
a superlative, and Blass no doubt rightly assumes that the
author (iv/B.C.) wrote βραχυτάτην and μακροτάτην. In that
case the scribe's alteration is very significant. He has in the
same way altered μεγίστη to μειζόνει in another place, and
he writes ἐν ἑκατέρωι τῶν ζωιδίων for "in each of the
(twelve) signs." In Tb P 33 (ii/B.C.) we have ἐν μείζονι
ἀξιώματι, an elative.[2] It is in fact clear that μέγιστος is
practically obsolete in Hellenistic: its appearance in 2 Pet
is as significant as its absence from the rest of the NT.
The Revisers' scrupulous margin in 1 Co 13¹³ and Mt 18¹
may be safely dispensed with, on the new evidence. Κρείττων
and χείρων are always strictly comparative in NT, but they
have no superlatives :[2] κράτιστος is only a title. Βελτίων[2]
(in adv.) occurs once, in 2 Tim 1¹⁸, but does not appear in any
of Grenfell and Hunt's papyri, except in an official Ptolemaic
document : βέλτιστος (not in NT) has a somewhat better
claim (*ter* in ii/B.C.). Ἀμείνων and ἄριστος (not NT) appear
occasionally. Note especially OP 716 (ii/A.D.) τὴν ἀμείνονα

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[1] Ac 26⁵, in true superlative sense ; this speech is much affected by literary
style.

[2] See p. 236 below.

αἵρεσιν διδόντι, " to the *highest* bidder." Yet ἄριστος is found
in OP 292 (i/A.D.), a vernacular document, but the sole witness
among the papyri named. Ἐλάσσων is common, but ἐλάχιστος
(a true superl. in 1 Co 15⁹, as in Tb P 24 (ii/B.C.)—an official
document, but in very bad Greek) has not wholly disappeared.
Πλείων and πλεῖστος are common, but the latter is generally
elative in the papyri—note however Tb P 105 (ii/B.C.) τὴν
ἐσομένην πλείστην τιμήν, and other exx. which may support
1 Co 14²⁷.   Mt 11²⁰ may show the elative—" those very
numerous mighty works "; but the other rendering is as good.
In Jn 1¹⁵ πρῶτός μου, and 15¹⁸ πρῶτον ὑμῶν, we have the
superlative ousting the comparative.   Winer quotes Aelian
(WM 306), and we can add σοῦ πρῶτός εἰμι from LP*w*
(ii/iii A.D.—magic).[a] There seems no longer adequate reason
to question that πρότερος has here been superseded ; for the
great rarity of the comparative form in the papyri reinforces
the natural inference from Jn *ll.cc.*   In the Grenfell-
Hunt volumes it only occurs once, in a legal document.
The mere use of πρῶτος in Ac 1¹, it must be allowed, proves
very little as to the author's intention to write a third
treatise.   Ramsay himself (*Paul*, p. 28) admits that the
absence of πρότερος from the Lucan writings precludes
certainty for the hypothesis.   See further p. 236. [*ᵃ* See p. 245.

and in
Pronouns.

The case is not quite so strong for the
pronouns.   There are plenty of places where
ἕτερος, ἑκάτερος, ὁπότερος, etc., are used of more
than two, and ἄλλος of two only ; but also places where the
pronouns are used carefully according to classical precedent.
It seems a fair assumption that these words held much the
same relative position as was described just now for our own
comparative and superlative in phrases like " the better (best)
of two."   Educated men would know the distinction and
observe it, unless off their guard.   In these cases we must let
the context decide, paying due attention to the degree of
grammatical precision usually attained by each several author.
It is remarkable that in this respect we find Luke by no
means particular.   In Lk 8⁶⁻⁸ he actually substitutes ἕτερος
for the correct ἄλλος which appears in his presumed source,
Mk 4⁵⁻⁸ (cf Mt 13⁵⁻⁸) ; and in Lk 6²⁹ he does not alter τὴν
ἄλλην (σιαγόνα !) which appears also in Mt 5³⁹, but is corrected

in Clem. Hom. 15⁸. This will clearly need remembering when we examine other "dual" words in Luke.[1] See pp. 245 f.

Ἀμφότεροι = all ?   A difficulty under this head is raised by Ac 19¹⁶. The probability that ἀμφότεροι was used for πάντες in BM 336 (ii/A.D.), and two clear examples of it in NP 67 and 69 (iv/A.D.),[2] with the undeniable Byzantine use, form a strong temptation where the relief would be so great.[3] I cannot but think that Ramsay is quite right in saying (*Paul*, p. 272), "The seven sons in v.¹⁴ change in an unintelligible way to two in v.¹⁶ (except in the Bezan text)." Luke must have been a very slovenly writer if he really meant this, and the Bezan reading of v.¹⁴ does not help us to understand how the more difficult "neutral text" arose if it really was secondary. On the other hand, Luke is one of the last NT writers whom we should expect to fall into a colloquialism of which early examples are so rare : that he shares the loose use of ἕτερος, etc., current in his time, does nothing to mitigate this improbability. If we are to defend these verses from Ramsay's criticisms—and in a purely grammatical discussion we cannot deal with them except on this side—must we not assume that the original text of v.¹⁴ is lost ?[a] If this contained a fuller statement, the abruptness of τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρόν in v.¹⁴, and of our ἀμφοτέρων, might be removed without compromising the characteristic ἑπτά : we might also have a clearer term to describe Sceva's office. The alternative is to suppose the verses an interpolation from a less educated source, which has been imperfectly adapted to Luke's style.[4]

We pass on to the Article, on which there is not very much to say, since in all essentials its use is in agreement

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[1] The aberrant ἕτερον . . . ἄλλον in Lk 7¹⁹ᶠ· B is most simply explained by supposing that the scribe has found a place for two variants. If we press the reading, the messengers are represented as softening the message,—no longer "another kind of Messiah," but "another of the same kind" : cf Gal 1⁶ᶠ·. The meaning "different" naturally developed out of "the other class (of two)," and it survived when the normal use of ἕτερος had faded out.   See also p. 246.

[2] A much earlier ex. seemed to present itself in the just published BU 1057 (13 B.C.) ; but I think the ἀμφοτέρων can be otherwise referred than to the three names immediately preceding.

[3] See notes in *Expos.* VI. viii. 426 and *CR* xv. 440.

[4] The Sahidic and some later versions took ἀμφοτέρων as "all." Were this better supported, we should find another ex. in Ac 23⁸   [ᵃ See p. 246.

with Attic. It might indeed be asserted that the NT is in this respect remarkably " correct " when compared with the

The Article :—
" Correctness "
of NT Greek.

papyri. It shows no trace of the use of the article as a relative, which is found in classical Greek outside Attic, in the later papyri,[1] and to some extent in MGr. The papyri likewise exhibit some examples of the article as demonstrative, apart from connexion with μέν or δέ,[1] whereas the NT has no ex. beyond the poetical quotation in Ac 17²⁸. Further, we have nothing answering to the vernacular idiom by which the article may be omitted between preposition and infinitive. In family or business accounts among the papyri we find with significant frequency an item of so much εἰς πεῖν, with the dative of the persons for whom this thoughtful provision is made. There are three passages in Herodotus where ἀντί behaves thus : see vi. 32, ἀντὶ εἶναι, with Strachan's note, and Goodwin, MT § 803 (see further below, p. 216). In these three points we may possibly recognise Ionic influence showing itself in a limited part of the vernacular ; it is at least noteworthy that Herodotus will supply parallels for them all. The Ionic elements in the Κοινή were briefly alluded to above (pp. 37 f.), where other evidence was noted for the sporadic character of these infusions, and their tendency to enlarge their borders in the later development of the Common Greek.

Hebraisms ?

We are not much troubled with Hebraism under the article.[2] Blass (p. 151) regards as " thoroughly Hebraic " such phrases as πρὸ προσώπου Κυρίου, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ἐν ἡμέρα ὀργῆς ; but κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν " is a regular phrase and perhaps not a Hebraism." Where Semitic originals lie behind our Greek, the dictum is unobjectionable ; but the mere admission that κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν is Greek shows how slightly these phrases diverge from the spirit of the translator's language. Phrases like τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ, διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου, etc., are recurrent in the papyri, and the extension, such as it is, lies in the addition of a dependent genitive.[3] The principle of " correlation " (on which see the note in WM,

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[1] See Völker 5 f. ; also CR xviii. 155.   [2] See p. 236.   [3] See pp. 99 f.

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p. 175) here supports the strong tendency to drop the
article after a preposition. This is seen working in the
papyri : cf Völker, *Der Artikel* pp. 15–17. Without laying
down a law that the noun is naturally
anarthrous when attached to a preposition,
we may certainly say that the usage is so pre-
dominant that no refinements of interpreta-
tion are justifiable. Obviously ἐν οἴκῳ (Mk 2¹) is not " in *a*
house," nor ἐν ἀγορᾷ (Lk 7³²) " in *a* market-place," nor
ἐν ἀγυιᾷ, in the current papyrus formula, " in *a* street." We
say " down town," " on 'Change," " in bed," " from start to
finish." ¹ If we substitute " in my bed," " from the beginning
to the end," we are, it seems, more pictorial ; we point, as it
were, to the objects in question. There is nothing *indefinite*
about the anarthrous noun there ; but for some reason the
qualitative aspect of a noun, rather than the deictic, is
appropriate to a prepositional phrase, unless we have special
reason to point to it the finger of emphatic particularisation.
To this Dr Findlay adds the consideration that the phrases
in question are familiar ones, in which triteness has reduced
their distinctiveness, and promoted a tendency to abbreviate.
It would seem that English here is on the same lines as Greek,
which, however, makes the anarthrous use with prepositions
much more predominant than it is with us. Pursuing further
the classes of words in which we insert *the*
in translation, we have the anarthrous use
" in sentences having the nature of headings "
(Hort, *1 Peter*, p. 15*b*). Hort assigns to this cause the
dropped articles before θεοῦ, πνεύματος and αἵματος in
1 Pet 1² ; Winer cites the opening words of Mt, Mk, and
Rev. The lists of words which specially affect the dropped
article will, of course, need careful examina-
tion for the individual cases. Thus, when
Winer includes πατήρ in his list, and quotes
Jn 1¹⁴ and Heb 12⁷, we must feel that
in both passages the qualitative force is very apparent—

Anarthrous Prepositional Phrases.

Anarthrous "Headings."

Qualitative Force in Anarthrous Nouns.

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¹ According to Ramsay (*Paul*, p. 195), παρὰ ποταμόν, Ac 16¹³, shows famili-
arity with the locality. To accept this involves giving up ἐνομίζομεν προσευχήν
(אABC), a step not to be lightly taken. (See further p. 236.)

" what son is there whom his father, *as a father*, does not chasten ? " (On the former passage see RV margin, and the note in WM 151.) For exegesis, there are few of the finer points of Greek which need more constant attention than this omission of the article when the writer would lay stress on the quality or character of the object. Even the RV misses this badly sometimes, as in Jn 6⁶⁸. [1]

Proper Names. Scholarship has not yet solved completely the problem of the article with proper names. An illuminating little paper by Gildersleeve may be referred to (*AJP* xi. 483–7), in which he summarises some elaborate researches by K. Schmidt, and adds notes of his own. He shows that this use, which was equivalent to pointing at a man, was originally popular, and practically affects only prose style. The usage of different writers varies greatly ; and the familiar law that the article is used of a person already named (anaphoric use), or well known already, is not uniformly observed. Deissmann has attempted to define the papyrus usage in the Berlin *Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1902, p. 1467. He shows how the writers still follow the classical use in the repetition with article of a proper name which on its first introduction was anarthrous. When a man's father's or mother's name is appended in the genitive, it normally has the article. There are very many cases where irregularities occur for which we have no explanation. See also Völker, p. 9, who notes the curious fact that the names of slaves and animals receive the article when mentioned the first time, where personalities that counted are named without the article. The innumerable papyrus parallels to $\Sigma a\hat{v}\lambda o\varsigma$ $\acute{o}$ $\kappa a\grave{\iota}$ $\Pi a\hat{v}\lambda o\varsigma$ (Ac 13⁹) may just be alluded to before we pass from this subject : see Deissmann *BS* 313 ff., and Ramsay, *CR* xix. 429.

Position of Article. The position of the article is naturally much affected by the colloquial character of NT language. In written style the ambiguous position of $\epsilon \grave{\iota}\varsigma$ $\tau\grave{o}\nu$ $\theta\acute{a}\nu a\tau o\nu$, Rom 6⁴, would have been cleared up by prefixing $\tau o\hat{v}$, if the meaning was (as seems

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[1] The marginal reading stood in the text in the First Revision. It is one among very many places where a conservative minority damaged the work by the operation of the two-thirds rule.

probable) " by this baptism into his death." In most cases,
there is no doubt as to whether the prepositional phrase
belongs to the neighbouring noun.   A very curious misplace-
ment of the article occurs in the ὁ ὄχλος πολύς[1] of Jn 12⁹.
As Sir R. C. Jebb notes on Sophocles, *OT* 1199 f., the noun
and adjective may be fused into a composite idea ; but Jebb's
exx. (like 1 Pet 1¹⁸ and the cases cited in W. F. Moulton's
note, WM 166) illustrate only the addition of a *second*
adjective after the group article-adjective-noun (cf OP 99
—i/A.D.—τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ μητρικῆς οἰκίας τριστέγου).[2]
We cannot discuss here the problem of Tit 2¹³, for we must,
as grammarians, leave the matter open : see WM 162, 156 n.
But we might cite, for what they are worth, the papyri
BU 366, 367, 368, 371, 395 (all vii/A.D.), which attest the
translation " our great God and Saviour " as current among
Greek-speaking Christians.   The formula runs ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ
κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος
ἡμῶν, καὶ τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου, κτλ.   A
curious echo is found in the Ptolemaic formula applied to the
deified kings : thus GH 15 (ii/B.C.), τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ εὐερ-
γέτου καὶ σωτῆρος [ἐπιφανοῦς] εὐχαρίστου.   The phrase here
is, of course, applied to one person.   One is not surprised to
find that P. Wendland, at the end of his suggestive paper
on Σωτήρ in *ZNTW* v. 335 ff., treats the rival rendering
in Tit *l.c.* summarily as " an exegetical mistake," like the
severance of τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν and σωτῆρος Ἰ. Χ. in 2 Pet 1¹.
Familiarity with the everlasting apotheosis that flaunts itself
in the papyri and inscriptions of Ptolemaic and Imperial times,
lends strong support to Wendland's contention that Christians,
from the latter part of i/A.D. onward, deliberately annexed for
their Divine Master the phraseology that was impiously
arrogated to themselves by some of the worst of men.

Personal
Pronouns :—   From the Article we turn to the Per-
sonal Pronouns.   A very short excursion
" Semitic   here brings us up against another evidence
Redundance."   of " the dependence of [NT] language on

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[1] If it is merely careless Greek, one may compare Par P 60² (ii/B.C. ?) ἀπὸ τῶν
πληρωμάτων ἀρχαίων.   (On the whole subject, see further p. 236.)

[2] See note in *CR* xviii. 154*a*.

Semitic speech," in the "extraordinary frequency of the oblique cases of the personal pronouns used without emphasis" (Blass 164). Dependence on Semitic would surely need to be very strongly evidenced in other ways before we could readily accept such an account of elements affecting the whole fabric of everyday speech. Now a redundance of personal pronouns is just what we should expect in the colloquial style, to judge from what we hear in our own vernacular. (Cf Thumb, *Hellen.* 108 f.). A reader of the petitions and private letters in a collection of papyri would not notice any particular difference in this respect from the Greek of the NT. For example, in Par P 51 (ii/B.C.) we see an eminently redundant pronoun in ἀνύγω (= ἀνοίγω) τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου. A specially good case is OP 299 (i/A.D.) Λάμπωνι μυοθηρευτῇ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ . . . δραχμὰς η: the syntax is exactly that of Rev 2[7], etc. Kälker (*Quæst.* 274) quotes διὸ καὶ πάλιν ἐπερρώσθησαν διὰ ταῦτα from Polybius, with other redundances of the kind. Such a line as this from a Klepht ballad (Abbott 42),

    καὶ στρίβει τὸ μουστάκι του, κλώθει καὶ τὰ μαλλία του

("and he twirls his moustache and dresses his hair") illustrates the survival of the old vernacular usage in MGr. In words like κεφαλή, where the context generally makes the ownership obvious, NT Greek often follows classical Greek and is content with the article. But such a passage as Mt 6[17], ἄλειψαί σου τὴν κεφαλήν, where the middle voice alone would suffice (cf p. 236), shows that the language already is learning to prefer the fuller form. The strength of this tendency enhances the probability that in Jn 8[38] τοῦ πατρός is "the Father" and not "*your* father": see Milligan-Moulton.

Emphasis in Nominative. It is perhaps rather too readily taken for granted that the personal pronouns must always be emphatic when they appear in the nominative case. H. L. Ebeling (*Gildersleeve Studies,* p. 240) points out that there is no necessary emphasis in the Platonic ἦν δ᾽ ἐγώ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὡς σὺ φῄς, etc.; and Gildersleeve himself observes (*Synt.* § 69): "The emphasis of the 1st and 2nd persons is not to be insisted on too much in poetry or in familiar prose. Notice the frequency of ἐγᾦδα, ἐγᾦμαι." Are we obliged then to see a special

stress in the pronoun whenever it denotes the Master, like
the Pythagorean $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{o}s$ $\ddot{\epsilon}\phi a$? We may perhaps better
describe it as fairly represented to the eye by the capital in
" He," to the ear by the slower pronunciation which reverence
likes to give when the pronoun refers to Christ. Generally
the pronoun is unmistakably emphatic in nom., from Mt 1^{21}
onwards; but occasionally the force of the emphasis is not
obvious—cf Lk 19^2. The question suggests itself whether
we are compelled to explain the difficult $\sigma\dot{v}$ $\epsilon\dot{i}\pi as$ and the
like (Mt 26^{64} 27^{11}, Mk 15^2, Lk 22^{70} 23^3, Jn 18^{37}) by putting
a stress on the pronoun. Can we drop this and translate,
" You have said it," *i.e.* " That is right " ? It is pointed out
however by Thayer (*JBL* xiii. 40–49) that the $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$ in
Mt 26^{64} is not satisfied by making the phrase a mere
equivalent of " Yes "—to mention only one of the passages
where difficulties arise. We seem thrown back on Thayer's
rendering " *You* say it," " the word is yours."

Ἡμεῖς for Ἐγώ? There remains here the difficult question
of the use of $\dot{\eta}\mu\epsilon\hat{i}s$ for $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$. The gram-
marian's part in this problem is happily a small one, and
need detain us only briefly. K. Dick, in his elaborate study
of the question,[1] gives a few apposite examples from late
Greek literature and from papyrus letters, which prove
beyond all possible doubt that *I* and *we* chased each other
throughout these documents without rhyme or reason. We
may supplement his exx. with a few more references taken at
random. See for example Tb P 58 (ii/B.C.), and AP 130 (i/A.D.
—a most illiterate document): add Tb P 26 (ii/B.C.) $\ddot{o}\nu\tau\iota$ $\mu o\iota$ $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$
$\Pi\tau o\lambda\epsilon\mu a\acute{i}\delta\epsilon\iota$ . . . $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ $\dot{\eta}\mu\hat{i}\nu$, *JHS* xix. 92 (ii/A.D.) $\chi a\hat{i}\rho\acute{\epsilon}$
$\mu o\iota$, $\mu\hat{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho$ $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\tau\acute{a}\tau\eta$, $\kappa a\grave{i}$ $\phi\rho o\nu\tau\acute{i}\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\dot{\eta}\mu\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\ddot{o}\sigma a$ $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho o\hat{i}s$, and
BU 449 (ii/iii A.D.) $\dot{a}\kappa o\acute{v}\sigma as$ $\ddot{o}\tau\iota$ $\nu\omega\theta\rho\epsilon\acute{v}\eta$ $\dot{a}\gamma\omega\nu\iota o\hat{v}\mu\epsilon\nu$. Dick
quotes as a particularly good ex. BU 27 (ii/iii A.D.), an
interesting letter, reproduced with some notes in *Expos.* VI.
iii. 276.[a] He succeeds in showing—so Deissmann thinks—
that every theory suggested for regularising Paul's use of
these pronouns breaks down entirely. It would seem that
the question must be passed on from the grammarian to

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[1] *Der schriftstellerische Plural bei Paulus* (1900), pp. 18 ff.   See also
Deissmann's summary of this book, *Theol. Rundschau* v. 65.   [a See p. 246.

the exegete; for our grammatical material gives us not the slightest evidence of any distinction between the two numbers in ordinary writing. It is futile to argue from Latin to Greek, or we might expect help from Prof. Conway's careful study of *nos* in Cicero's Letters;[1] but the tone of superiority, in various forms, which the *nos* carries, has no parallel in Greek.

Reflexive Pronoun. The reflexive pronouns have developed some unclassical uses, notably that in the plural they are all fused into the forms originally appropriated to the third person. The presence or absence of this confusion in the singular is a nice test of the degree of culture in a writer of Common Greek. In the papyri there are a few examples of it in very illiterate documents,[2] while for the plural the use is general, beginning to appear even in classical times.[3] This answers to what we find in the NT, where some seventy cases of the plural occur without a single genuine example of the singular;[4] late scribes, reflecting the developments of their own time, have introduced it into Jn 18^{34} and Rom 13^9 (Gal 5^{14}). As in the papyri, *ἑαυτούς* sometimes stands for *ἀλλήλους*,[a] and sometimes is itself replaced by the personal pronoun. In translations from Semitic originals we may find, instead of *ἑαυτόν*, a periphrasis with *ψυχή*;[5] thus Lk 9^{25}, compared with its presumed original Mk 8^{36}. But this principle will have to be most carefully restricted to definitely translated passages; and even there it would be truer to say that *ἑαυτόν* has been levelled up to *τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ*, than that *ψυχή* has been emptied of meaning.

"Exhausted" ἑαυτοῦ and ἴδιος. In one class of phrases *ἑαυτοῦ* is used without emphasis, in a way that brings up the discussion of its fellow *ἴδιος*.[b] In sepulchral inscriptions we find a son describing his

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[1] *Transactions of Cambridge Philological Society*, v. i., 1899.

[2] See *CR* xv. 441, xviii. 154. I find it rather hard to believe that Lucian's text is sound where he is recorded as using this eminently illiterate idiom : *e.g. Dial. Marin.* iv. 3.

[3] Polybius always uses *αὐτῶν* (Kälker, *Quæstiones*, p. 277).

[4] In 1 Co 10^{29} *ἑαυτοῦ* = "one's."

[5] See J. A. Robinson, *Study of the Gospels*, p. 114, on periphrases for the reflexive.   [a b See p. 246.

father as ὁ πατήρ, ὁ ἴδιος πατήρ, or ὁ ἑαυτοῦ πατήρ, and the
difference between the three is not very easily discernible.
In a number of these inscriptions contained in vol. iii. of the
IMA I count 21 exx. with ἴδιος, 10 with ἑαυτοῦ, and 16
with neither.   The papyrus formula used in all legal
documents where a woman is the principal, viz. μετὰ κυρίου
τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρός (ἀδελφοῦ, etc.), gives a parallel for this
rather faded use of the reflexive.   It starts the more
serious question whether ἴδιος is to be supposed similarly
weakened in Hellenistic.   This is often affirmed, and is
vouched for by no less an authority than Deissmann (*BS*
123 f.).   He calls special attention to such passages in the
LXX as Job 24¹² (οἴκων ἰδίων), Prov 27¹⁵ (τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου),
9¹² (τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμπελῶνος . . . τοῦ ἰδίου γεωργίου), 22⁷
(ἰδίοις δεσπόταις), in which the pronoun has nothing what-
ever answering to it in the original.   He reminds us that
the "exhausted ἴδιος" occurs in writers of the literary
Κοινή, and that in Josephus even οἰκεῖος comes to share this
weakening: a few Attic inscriptions from i/B.C. (Meisterhans³
235) show ἴδιος with the like attenuated content.   Our
inference must be that in Ac 24²⁴ Luke is not ironically
suggesting the poverty of Felix's title, and that in Mt 22⁵
there is no stress on the disloyal guest's busying himself with
his own farm instead of someone else's.   (Cf p. 237 below.)
Perhaps, however, this doctrine of the exhausted ἴδιος is
in some danger of being worked too hard.   In *CR* xv.
440 f. are put down all the occurrences of ἴδιος in BU vols.
i. and ii., which contain nearly 700 documents of various
antiquity.   It is certainly remarkable that in all these
passages there is not one which goes to swell Deissmann's
list.   Not even in the Byzantine papyri have we a single
case where ἴδιος is not exactly represented by the English
own.   In a papyrus as early as the Ptolemaic period we
find the possessive pronoun added—ὄντα ἡμῶν ἴδιον, which
is just like "our own."   (Cf 2 Pet 3¹⁶, Tit 1¹², Ac 2⁸.)
This use became normal in the Byzantine age, in which ἴδιος
still had force enough to make such phrases as ἰδίαν καὶ
νομίμην γυναῖκα.   Now, in the face of the literary examples,
we cannot venture to deny *in toto* the weakening of ἴδιος,
still less the practical equivalence of ἴδιος and ἑαυτοῦ, which

is evident from the sepulchral inscriptions above cited, as well as from such passages as Prov 9^{12} and 1 Co 7^2. But the strong signs of life in the word throughout the papyri have to be allowed for.

In correlating these perplexing phenomena, we may bring in the following considerations :—(1) The fact that Josephus similarly weakens οἰκεῖος seems to show that the question turns on thought rather than on words. (2) It is possible, as our own language shows, for a word to be simultaneously in possession of a full and an attenuated meaning.[1] People who say "It's an awful nuisance," will without any sense of incongruity say "How awful!" when they read of some great catastrophe in the newspaper. No doubt the habitual light use of such words does tend in time to attenuate their content, but even this rule is not universal. "To annoy" is in Hellenistic σκύλλειν,[2] and in modern French gêner. There was a time when the Greek in thus speaking compared his trouble to the pains of flaying alive, when the Frenchman recalled the thought of Gehenna ; but the original full sense was unknown to the unlearned speaker of a later day. Sometimes, however, the full sense lives on, and even succeeds in ousting the lighter sense, as in our word vast, the adverb of which is now rarely heard as a mere synonym of very. (3) The use of the English own will help us somewhat. "Let each man be fully assured in his own mind" (Rom 14^5) has the double advantage of being the English of our daily speech and of representing literally the original ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ νοΐ. What function has the adjective there ? It is not, as normally, an emphatic assertion of property : I am in no danger of being assured in someone else's mind. It is simply a method of laying stress on the personal pronoun : ἐν τῷ νοΐ and "in his mind" alike transfer the stress to the noun.[a] This fact at once shows the equivalence of ἴδιος and ἑαυτοῦ in certain locutions. Now, when we look at the examples of "exhausted ἴδιος," we find that they very largely are attached to words that imply some sort of belonging. Husband and wife account for seven examples in the NT, and other relation-

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[1] Cf p. 237 below.   [2] See *Expos.* VI. iii. 273 f.   [a See p. 246.

ships, including that of master and slave, for a good many
more. A large number come under the category of the
mind, thoughts and passions, and parts of the body. House,
estate, riding-animal, country or language, and similar very
intimate possessions receive the epithet. If occasionally
this sense of property is expressed where we should not
express it, this need not compromise the assertion that
ἴδιος itself was always as strong as our English word *own*.
There are a host of places in the NT, as in the papyri,
where its emphasis is undeniable; *e.g.* Mt 9¹, Lk 6⁴¹, Jn 1⁴¹
(note its position) 5¹⁸ etc., Ac 1²⁵, 1 Co 3⁸, Gal 6⁵, Heb 7²⁷,
and many others equally decisive. One feels therefore quite
justified in adopting the argument of Westcott, Milligan-
Moulton, etc., that the emphatic position of τὸν ἴδιον in Jn 1⁴¹
was meant as a hint that the unnamed companion of Andrew,
presumably John, fetched *his* brother. What to do in such
cases as Ac 24²⁴ and Mt 22⁵, is not easy to say. The Revisers
insert *own* in the latter place ; and it is fair to argue that
the word suggests the strength of the counter-attraction,
which is more fully expressed in the companion parable,
Lk 14¹⁸. The case of Drusilla is less easy. It is hardly
enough to plead that ἴδιος is customarily attached to the
relationship ; for (with the Revisers) we instinctively feel
that *own* is appropriate in 1 Pet 3¹ and similar passages,
but inappropriate here. It is the only NT passage where
there is any real difficulty ; and since B stands almost alone
in reading ἰδίᾳ, the temptation for once to prefer ℵ is very
strong. The error may have arisen simply from the common-
ness of the combination ἡ ἰδία γυνή, which was here trans-
ferred to a context in which it was not at home.

ὁ ἴδιος.   Before leaving ἴδιος something should
be said about the use of ὁ ἴδιος without a
noun expressed. This occurs in Jn 1¹¹ 13¹, Ac 4²³ 24²³.
In the papyri we find the singular used thus as a term
of endearment to near relations: *e.g.* ὁ δεῖνα τῷ ἰδίῳ
χαίρειν. In *Expos.* VI. iii. 277 I ventured to cite this as a
possible encouragement to those (including B. Weiss) who
would translate Ac 20²⁸ " the blood of one who was his
own." Mt 27²⁴, according to the text of ℵL and the later
authorities, will supply a parallel for the grammatical

ambiguity : there as here we have to decide whether the
second genitive is an adjective qualifying the first or a noun
dependent on it. The MGr use of ὁ ἴδιος, as substitute for
the old ὁ αὐτός, has nothing foreshadowing it in the NT ;
but in the papyrus of Eudoxus (ii/B.C.) we find a passage
where τῆι ἰδίαι is followed by τῆι αὐτῆι in the same sense,
so that it seems inevitable to trace, with Blass, an anti-
cipation of MGr here. Perhaps the use was locally
restricted.

**Αὐτὸς ὁ and
ὁ αὐτὸς.**
There is an apparent weakening of
αὐτὸς ὁ in Hellenistic, which tends to blunt
the distinction between this and ἐκεῖνος ὁ.
Dean Robinson (*Gospels,* p. 106) translates Lk 10²¹ " in that
hour" (Mt 11²⁵ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ), and so Lk 12¹² (Mk 13¹¹
ἐκείνῃ), and 10⁷. It is difficult to be satisfied with " John
himself " in Mt 3⁴ ; and in Luke particularly we feel that
the pronoun means little more than " that." Outside Luke,
and the one passage of Mt, αὐτὸς ὁ has manifestly its full
classical force. From the papyri we may quote OP 745
(i/A.D.) αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντᾶν, " the said A.": note also GH 26
(ii/B.C.) ὁ αὐτὸς Ὧρος, " the same Horus," *i.e.* " the aforesaid,"
and so in BU 1052 (i/B.C.). We find the former use in
MGr, *e.g.* αὐτὸ τὸ κρίμα, " this sin " (Abbott 184), etc. We
have already seen (p. 86) that the emphatic αὐτὸς standing
alone can replace classical ἐκεῖνος. (See now Wellh. 26 f.)

**Relatives :—
Use of ὅστις.**
Turning to the Relatives, we note the
limiting of ὅστις, a conspicuous trait of the
vernacular, where the nominative (with the
neuter accusative) covers very nearly all the occurrences of
the pronoun. The phrase ἕως ὅτου is the only exception in
NT Greek. The obsolescence of the distinction between ὅς
and ὅστις is asserted by Blass for Luke, but not for Paul.
A type like Lk 2⁴ εἰς πόλιν Δαυεὶδ ἥτις καλεῖται Βηθλεέμ,
may be exactly paralleled from Herodotus (see Blass 173)
and from papyri : so in an invitation formula αὔριον ἥτις
ἐστὶν ιε, "to-morrow, which is the 15th"—cf Mt 27⁶². Hort,
on 1 Pet 2¹¹ (*Comm.* p. 133), allows that " there are some
places in the NT in which ὅστις cannot be distinguished from
ὅς." "In most places, however, of the NT," he proceeds, "ὅστις
apparently retains its strict classical force, either generic,

' which, as other like things,' or essential, ' which by its very
nature.'"   A large number of the exceptions, especially in
Lucan writings, seem to be by no means cases of *equivalence*
between ὅς and ὅστις, whether agreeing or disagreeing with
classical use.   Some of them would have been expressed
with ὅσπερ in Attic: thus in Ac 11²⁸ we seem to expect
ἥπερ ἐγένετο.   Others throw a subtle stress on the relative,
which can be brought out by various paraphrases, as in Lk 1²⁰,
" which for all that."   Or ὅστις represents what in English
would be expressed by a demonstrative and a conjunction, as
in Lk 10⁴², " and it shall not be taken away."   In Mt we
find ὅστις used four times at the beginning of a parable,
where, though the principal figure is formally described as
an individual, he is really a *type*, and ὅστις is therefore
appropriate.   We may refer to Blass 173, for examples
of ὅς used for ὅστις, with indefinite reference.   The large
number of places in which ὅστις is obviously right, according
to classical use, may fairly stand as proof that the distinction
is not yet dead.   We must not stay to trace the distinction
further here, but may venture on the assertion that the
two relatives are never absolutely convertible, however
blurred may be the outlines of the classical distinction in
Luke, and possibly in sporadic passages outside his writings.
Kälker (*Quæst.* 245 f.) asserts that Polybius uses ὅστις for ὅς
before words beginning with a vowel, for no more serious
reason than the avoidance of hiatus ; and it is curious that
among twenty-three more or less unclassical examples in the
Lucan books fourteen do happen to achieve this result.   We
chronicle this fact as in duty bound, but without suggesting
any inclination to regard it as a key to our problem.   If
Kälker is right for Polybius—and there certainly seems
weight in his remark that this substitution occurs just where
the forms of ὅς end in a vowel—we may have to admit that
the distinction during the *Κοινή* period had worn rather
thin.   It would be like the distinction between our relatives
who and *that*, which in a considerable proportion of sentences
are sufficiently convertible to be selected mostly according
to our sense of rhythm or euphony : this, however, does not
imply that the distinction is even blurred, much less lost.

    The *attraction* of the Relative—which, of course, does

not involve ὅστις—is a construction at least as popular in late

Attraction. as in classical Greek. It appears abundantly in the papyri, even in the most illiterate of them; and in legal documents we have the principle stretched further in formulæ, such as ἀρουρῶν δέκα δύο ἢ ὅσων ἐὰν ὦσιν οὐσῶν. There are to be noted some exceptions to the general rule of attraction, on which see Blass 173. In several cases of alleged breach of rule we may more probably (with Blass) recognise the implied presence of the " internal accusative": so in 2 Co 1⁴, Eph 1⁶ 4¹, where Dr Plummer (*CGT*, 2 Co *l.c.*) would make the dative the original case for the relative.

Relatives and Interrogatives confused. Confusion of relative and indirect interrogative is not uncommon. "Ὅσος, οἷος, ὁποῖος, ἡλίκος occur in the NT as indirect interrogatives, and also—with the exception of ἡλίκος—as relatives," W. F. Moulton observes (WM 210 n.); and in the papyri even ὅς can be used in an indirect question. Good examples are found in Par P 60 (ii/B.C.) ἀπόστιλόν μοι πόσον ἔχει παρά σου Σ. καὶ [ἀφ'] οὗ χρόνου, and RL 29 (iii/B.C.) φράζοντες [τό τε] αὐτῶν ὄνομα καὶ ἐν ἧι κώμηι οἰκοῦσιν καὶ π[όσου τιμῶν]ται. So already in Sophocles, *Antig.* 542, *OT* 1068 (see Jebb's notes); and in Plato, *Euth.* 14ᴇ ἃ μὲν γὰρ διδόασιν, παντὶ δῆλον. It is superfluous to say that this usage cannot possibly be extended to direct question, so as to justify the AV in Mt 26⁵⁰. The more illiterate papyri and inscriptions show τίς for relative ὅστις not infrequently, as εὗρον γεωργὸν τίς αὐτὰ ἑλκύσῃ—τίνος ἐὰν χρίαν ἔχῃς—τίς ἂν κακῶς ποιήσει,¹ etc. Jebb on Soph. *OT* 1141 remarks that while "τίς in classical Greek can replace ὅστις only where there is an indirect question, . . . Hellenistic Greek did not always observe this rule: Mk 14³⁶." There is no adequate reason for punctuating Jas 3¹³ so as to bring in this misuse of τίς. But Mt 10¹⁹ and Lk 17⁸ are essentially similar;² nor does there seem to be any decisive reason against so reading Ac 13²⁵. Dieterich (*Unters.* 200) gives several inscriptional exx., and observes that the use was specially strong in Asia

¹ BU 822 (iii/A.D.), BM 239 (iv/A.D.), *JHS* xix. 299.
² I must retract the denial I gave in *CR* xv 441.

Minor. It is interesting therefore to note Thumb's statement
(*ThLZ* xxviii. 423), that the interrogative is similarly used in
Pontic now—a clear case of local survival. The NT use of
ὅτι for τί in a direct question is a curious example of the
confusion between the two categories, a confusion much
further developed in our own language.

Developments in MGr. MGr developments are instructive when
we are examining the relatives and inter-
rogatives. The normal relative is ποῦ, fol-
lowed by the proper case of the demonstrative, as ὁ γιατρὸς
ποῦ τὸν ἔστειλα, "the doctor whom I sent," etc. The
ingenious Abbé Viteau discovers a construction very much
like this, though he does not draw the parallel, in Jn 9¹⁷ ὅτι
ἠνέῳξέν σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, "thou whose eyes he hath
opened": he cites Mk 6¹⁷ᶠ· 8²⁴ as further exx. Since ὅ τι
and אֲשֶׁר are passable equivalents, we have here a " pure
Hebraism "—a gem of the first water! We might better
Viteau's instruction by tracing to the same fertile source
the MGr idiom, supporting our case with a reference to
Jannaris *HG* § 1439, on MGr parallels to Mk 7²⁵ (ἧς . . .
αὐτῆς) and the like.[1]   It will be wise however for us to sober
ourselves with a glance at Thumb's remarks, *Hellen.* 130,
after which we may proceed to look for parallels nearer home
than Hebrew. In Old English this was the regular con-
struction. Thus, " thurh God, *the* ic thurh *his* willan hider
ásend wæs " (Gen 45⁸); " namely oon *That* with a spere
was thirled *his* brest-boon " (Chaucer, *Knightes Tale* 1851 f.).
Cf the German " der du bist " = who art.[2]   The idiom is
still among us; and Mrs Gamp, remarking " which her
name is Mrs Harris," will hardly be suspected of Hebraism !
The presence of a usage in MGr affords an almost decisive
disproof of Semitism in the *Κοινή*, only one small corner of
whose domain came within range of Semitic influences ; and we
have merely to recognise afresh the ease with which identical
idioms may arise in totally independent languages. It does
not however follow that Blass is wrong when he claims

[1] See below, p. 237 ; also Wellh. 22, who adds exx. from D.
[2] See Skeat's Chaucer, *Prologue and Knightes Tale*, p. xxxvi.   I owe the sug-
gestion to my friend Mr E. E. Kellett.

Mk 7²⁵ 1⁷ 13¹⁹, Lk 3¹⁶, and passages in Rev, as " specially
suggested by Semitic usage." The phenomenon is frequent
in the LXX (see WM 185), and the NT exx. are all from
places where Aramaic sources are certain or suspected.
A vernacular use may be stretched (cf pp. 10 f.) beyond its
natural limits, when convenient for literal translation. But
Blass's own quotation, οὗ ἡ πνοὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστίν,[1] comes
from a piece of free Greek. That this use did exist in the
old vernacular, away from any Semitic influence, is proved
by the papyri (p. 85). The quotations in Kühner-Gerth
§ 561 n.[2], and in Blass and Winer ll.cc., show that it had
its roots in the classical language. As was natural in a
usage which started from anacoluthon, the relative and
the pleonastic demonstrative were generally, in the earlier
examples, separated by a good many intervening words.

The modern Interrogative is mostly ποιός, for τίς has
practically worn down to the indeclinable τί, just as our
what (historically identical with the Latin *quod*) has become
indifferent in gender. The NT decidedly shows the early
stages of this extension of ποῖος. It will not do for us to
refine too much on the distinction between the two pronouns.
The weakening of the special sense of ποῖος called into being a
new pronoun to express the sense *qualis*, namely, ποταπός, which
was the old ποδαπός (" of what country ?"), modified by popular
etymology to suggest πότε, and thus denuded of its associa-
tion in meaning with ἀλλοδ-απός, ἡμεδ-απός, and ὑμεδ-απός.[2]

Numerals :—
εἷς as ordinal ;
We take next the Numerals. The use
of εἷς as an ordinal is " undoubtedly a
Hebrew idiom," according to Blass, p. 144.
Our doubts, nevertheless, will not be repressed ; and they
are encouraged by the query in Thumb's review. To
begin with, why did the Hebraism affect only the first
numeral, and not its successors ? If the use was vernacular
Greek, the reason of the restriction is obvious : πρῶτος is
the only ordinal which altogether differs in form from the

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[1] Clement *ad Cor.* 21 *fin.* (Lightfoot, p. 78). Nestle (*ZNTW* i. 178 ff.)
thinks the writer was of Semitic birth.

[2] The suffix is that of Latin *prop-inquos, long-inquos*, Skt. *anv-añc*, etc. : ποδ-
and ἀλλοδ- are *quod, what, aliud*, while ἡμεδ-, ὑμεδ-, answer to ablative forms
in Skt.

cardinal.[1]   When we add that both German and English say
"*page forty*" (WM 311), we are prepared for the belief that
the Greek vernacular also had this natural use.   Now, although
εἷς καὶ εἰκοστός, *unus et vicesimus, one and twentieth*, are (as
Blass says) essentially different, since the ordinal element is
present at the end of the phrase, this is not so with τῇ μιᾷ καὶ
εἰκάδι,[2] BU 623 (ii/iii A.D.).   But the matter is really settled
by the fact that in MGr the cardinals beyond 4 have ousted
the ordinals entirely (Thumb, *Handbuch* 56); and Dieterich
(*Unters.* 187 f.) shows from inscriptions that the use is as old
as Byzantine Greek.   It would seem then that the encroach-
ment of the cardinal began in the one case where the ordinal
was entirely distinct in form, spread thence over other
numerals, and was finally repelled from the first four, in which
constant use preserved alike the declension and the distinct
ordinal form.   Had Semitic influence been at work, there is
no conceivable reason why we should not have had τῇ πέντε
at the same time.   Simultaneously with this process we note

**Simplification
of the "teens";**
the firm establishment of simplified ordinals
from 13th to 19th, which now (from iii/B.C.
onwards) are exclusively of the form τρισκαι-
δέκατος, τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος, etc., with only isolated exceptions.
Similarly we find δέκα τρεῖς, δέκα ἕξ, etc., almost invariably in
papyri, and δέκα δύο more often than δώδεκα.[3][a] These pheno-
mena all started in the classical period: cf Meisterhans[3] 160.

**εἷς as Indefinite
Article.**
There is a further use of εἷς which calls
for remark, its development into an indefinite
article, like *ein* in German, *un* in French, or
our own *an*: in MGr the process is complete.   The fact that

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[1] Δεύτερος is not derived from δύο, but popular etymology would naturally
connect them.   Curiously enough, Hebrew shares the peculiarity noted above,
which somewhat weakens our argument: Aramaic, like Latin and English, uses
a word distinct from the cardinal for *second* as well as *first*.   Hebrew has lost
all ordinals beyond 10, and Aramaic shows them only in the *Jerus. Targ.*   See
Dalman, *Gramm.* 99 f.   For days of the month, the encroachment of cardinals
has gone further still in both dialects.   The fact that the ordinals up to 10 are
all treated alike in Hebrew, reinforces our view.

[2] Εἰκάς, like τριάς, δεκάς, τριακάς, etc., was originally either *No. 20* or *a set
of 20*, though used only for the 20th of the month.   Cf τριάς in Philo = *3rd day*
(LS), and τετράς, the usual name for Wednesday, surviving in MGr : see p. 237.

[3] Wellhausen notes that D has only δέκα δύο and ῑβ̄.   [[a] See p. 246.

εἷς progressively ousted τις in popular speech, and that even in classical Greek there was a use which only needed a little diluting to make it essentially the same,[1] is surely enough to prove that the development lay entirely within the Greek language, and only by accident agrees with Semitic. (See Wellh. 27.) We must not therefore follow Meyer (on Mt 8[19]), in denying that εἷς is ever used in the NT in the sense of τις: it is dangerous to import exegetical subtleties into the

ὁ εἷς.   NT, against the known history of the Common Greek. The use of ὁ εἷς in Mk 14[10] is, as noted in *Expos.* VI. vii. 111, paralleled in early papyri.[2]

In Blass's second edition (p. 330) we find a virtual sur-

Distributives.   render of the Hebraism in δύο δύο, συμπόσια συμπόσια (Mk 6[39f.]), δεσμὰς δεσμάς (Mt 13[30] in Epiphanius—a very probable reading, as accounting for the variants): he remarks on μίαν μίαν in Sophocles (Frag. 201) that " Atticists had evidently complained of it as vulgar, and it was not only Jewish-Greek." Winer compared Aeschylus *Persæ* 981, μυρία μυρία πεμπαστάν. Deissmann (*ThLZ,* 1898, p. 631) cites δήσῃ τρία τρία from OP 121 (iii/A.D.); and (as W. F. Moulton noted WM 312 n.) the usage is found in MGr.[3]   Thumb is undeniably right in calling the coincidence with Hebrew a mere accident. In the papyri (*e.g.* Tb P 63[5]—ii/B.C.) the repetition of an *adjective* produces an elative = μεγάλου μεγάλου = μεγίστου. It should be added that in Lk 10[1] we have a mixed distributive ἀνὰ δύο δύο (B *al*): so in *Ev. Petr.* 35, as Blass notes, and *Acta Philippi* 92 (Tisch.).[4]

"Noah the eighth person."   Two single passages claim a word before we pass on from the numerals. Ὄγδοον Νῶε ἐφύλαξεν in 2 Pet 2[5] presents us with

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[1] It is difficult to see any difference between εἶς and τις in Aristophanes, *Av.* 1292 :—

πέρδιξ μὲν εἶς κάπηλος ὠνομάζετο
χωλός, Μενίππῳ δ' ἦν χελιδὼν τοὔνομα, κ.τ.λ.

From the papyri we may cite as exx. AP 30 (ii/B.C.) Κονδύλου ἑνὸς τῶν ἀλιείων (sc. προσκληθέντος); BU 1044 (iv/A.D.) ἕνος (*sic* = εἷς) λεγόμενον (= -ος) Φαῆσις.

[2] We may add good exx. from Par P 15 (ii/B.C.) τὸν ἕνα αὐτῶν Ὧρον—τοῦ ἑνὸς τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων Νεχουθοῦ.

[3] Thumb, *Hellen.* 128, *Handbuch* 57.

[4] See W. Schulze, *Graeca Latina* 13.   Add now Wellh. 31.

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a classical idiom which can be shown to survive at any rate in literary Common Greek : see exx. in WM 312, and Schaefer *l.c.* I have not noticed any occurrences in the papyri, and in 2 Pet we rather expect bookish phrases. The AV of this passage is an instructive illustration for our inquiries as to Hebraisms. " Noah the eighth person " is not English, for all its appearing in a work which we are taught to regard as the impeccable standard of classic purity. It is a piece of " translation English," and tolerably unintelligible too, one may well suppose, to its less educated readers. Now, if this specimen of translators' " nodding " had made its way into the language—like the misprint "strain *at* a gnat"—we should have had a fair parallel for " Hebraism " as hitherto understood. As it stands, a phrase which no one has ever thought of imitating, it serves to illustrate the over-literal translations which appear very frequently in the LXX and in the NT, where a Semitic original underlies the Greek text. (Compare what is said of Gallicisms in English on p. 13.)

"Seventy times seven."   Last in this division comes a note on Mt 18²². Blass ignores entirely the rendering " seventy-seven times " (RVmargin), despite the fact that this meaning is unmistakable in Gen 4²⁴ (LXX). It will surely be felt that W. F. Moulton (WM 314) was right in regarding that passage as decisive. A definite *allusion* to the Genesis story is highly probable : Jesus pointedly sets against the natural man's craving for seventy-sevenfold revenge the spiritual man's ambition to exercise the privilege of seventy-sevenfold forgiveness. For a partial grammatical parallel see *Iliad* xxii. 349, δεκάκις [τε] καὶ Ϝείκοσι, " tenfold and twenty-fold," if the text is sound.

Prepositions :— Relative Frequency.   It will be worth while to give statistics for the relative frequency of Prepositions in the NT, answering to those cited from Helbing (above, pp. 62 f.) for the classical and post-classical historians. If we represent ἐν by unity, the order of precedence works out thus :—εἰς ·64, ἐκ ·34, ἐπί ·32, πρός ·25, διά ·24, ἀπό ·24, κατά ·17, μετά ·17, περί ·12, ὑπό ·08, παρά ·07, ὑπέρ ·054, σύν ·048, πρό ·018, ἀντί ·008, ἀνά ·0045. We shall have to return later to prepositions compounded with verbs, following our present principle of

dealing with them in connexion with the parts of speech with which they are used. A few miscellaneous matters come in best at this point. First let us notice the pro-

Prepositions joined with Adverbs.

minence in Hellenistic of combinations of prepositions with adverbs. In papyri we find such as ἐκ τότε, OP 486 (ii/A.D.), ἀπὸ πέρυσι (Deissmann *BS* 221), and even ἀφ' ὅτε ἐλουσάμην, "since I last bathed," OP 528 (ii/A.D.). In NT we have ἀπὸ τότε, ἀπὸ πέρυσι, ἀπ' ἄρτι, ἐκ πάλαι, ἐφ' ἅπαξ, ἐπὶ τρίς, etc. The roots of the usage may be seen in the classical ἐς ἀεί and the like. Some of these combinations became fixed, as ὑποκάτω, ὑπεράνω, κατέναντι. This may be set beside the abundance of " Improper " prepositions. All of these, except ἐγγύς, take the genitive only. Thumb comments [1] on the survival of such as ἕως, ἐπάνω, ὀπίσω, ὑποκάτω, in MGr. Hebraism in this field was supposed to have been responsible for the coining of ἐνώπιον, till Deissmann proved it vernacular.[2] The compound preposition ἀνὰ μέσον was similarly aspersed; but it has turned up abundantly in the papyri,—not however in any use which would help 1 Co 6[5], where it is almost impossible to believe the text sound. (An exact parallel occurs in the *Athenæum* for Jan. 14, 1905, where a writer is properly censured for saying, " I have attempted to discriminate between those which are well authenticated," *i.e.* (presumably) " [and those which are not]." It is hard to believe Paul would have been so slovenly in writing, or even dictating.) We have a further set of " Hebraisms " in the compound prepositions which are freely made with πρόσωπον, χείρ and στόμα (Blass 129 f.) : see above, p. 81. Even here the Semitism is still on the familiar lines : a phrase which is possible in native Greek is extended widely beyond its idiomatic limits because it translates exactly a common Hebrew locution ; and the conscious use of Biblical turns of speech explains the appli- cation of such phrases on the lips of men whose minds are saturated with the sacred writers' language. As early as iii/B.C.,

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[1] *ThLZ* xxviii. 422.

[2] *BS* 213. Cf *Expos.* VI. iii. 113 : add now OP 658 (iii/A.D.), where it appears in the formula of a *libellus*. Th P 14 (114 B.C.) παρηγγελκότες ἐνώπιον, "I gave notice in person," is the earliest ex. I have seen. But see p. 246.

in a Libyan's will, we meet with κατὰ πρόσωπόν τινος ;[1] and in mercantile language we constantly find the formula διὰ χειρός, used absolutely, it is true—*e.g.* MP 25 (iii/B.C.), " from hand to hand," as contrasted with " through an intermediary." We may refer to Heitmüller's proof [2] that the kindred phrase εἰς τὸ ὄνομά τινος is good vernacular.   The strong tendency to use compound prepositional phrases, which we have been illustrating already, would make it all the easier to develop these adaptations of familiar language.

Prepositions with one case. The eighteen classical prepositions are, as we have just seen, all represented in NT Greek, except ἀμφί, which has disappeared as a separate word, like *ambi* in Latin, and like its correlative in English, the former existence of which in our own branch is shown by the survival of *um* in modern German.   It was not sufficiently differentiated from περί to assert itself in the competition ; and the decay of the idea of duality weakened further a preposition which still proclaimed its original meaning, " on both sides," by its resemblance to ἀμφότεροι.   'Aνά has escaped the same fate by its distributive use, which accounts for seven instances, the phrase ἀνὰ μέσον for four, and ἀνὰ μέρος for one.   'Aντί occurs 22 times, but ἀνθ' ὧν reduces the number of free occurrences to 17. Rare though it is, it retains its individuality.   " In front of," with a normal adnominal genitive, passes naturally into " in place of," with the idea of equivalence or return or substitution, our *for*.   For the preposition in Jn 1[16], an excellent parallel from Philo is given in WM (p. 456 n.).[3]   Πρό occurs 48 times, including 9 exx. of πρὸ τοῦ c. inf., which invades the province of πρίν.   In Jn 12[1] we have πρὸ ἓξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα, which looks extremely like *ante diem tertium Kalendas*.   The plausible Latinism forces itself on our attention all the more when we compare *IMA* iii. 325 (ii/A.D.)

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[1] Deissmann *BS* 140.

[2] *Im Namen Jesu* 100 ff.   So p. 63, for ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι, Mk 9[41].

[3] Blass compares γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνεσθαι, ''from one land to another," ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἐλπίδων, and the like (p. 124).   The Philonic passage is from *De Poster. Caini* § 145 (p. 254 M.): διὸ τὰς πρώτας αἰεὶ χάριτας, πρὶν κορεσθέντας ἐξυβρίσαι τοὺς λαχόντας, ἐπισχὼν καὶ ταμιευσάμενος εἰσαῦθις ἑτέρας ἀντ' ἐκείνων, καὶ τρίτας ἀντὶ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ αἰεὶ νέας ἀντὶ παλαιοτέρων . . . ἐπιδίδωσι.

πρὸ ιε̄ Καλανδῶν Αὐγούστων, and parallels in translated documents to be seen in Viereck's *Sermo Graecus* (see pp. 12, 13, 21, etc.). And yet it is soon found that the same construction occurs in phrases which have nothing in common with the peculiar formula of Latin days of the month. In the Mysteries inscription from Andania (Michel 694, i/B.C.) we recognise it in Doric—πρὸ ἀμερᾶν δέκα τῶν μυστηρίων; and the illiterate vernacular of FP 118 (ii/A.D.), πρὼ δύο ἡμερῶν ἀγόρασον τὰ ὀρνιθάρια τῆς εἱορτῆς (" buy the fowls two days before the feast"), when combined with Jn *l.c.*, makes the hypothesis of Latinism, utterly improbable. The second genitive in these three passages is best taken as an ablative—" *starting from* the mysteries," etc. It is found as early as Herodotus, who has (vi. 46) δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων, " in the second year *from* these events": cf also OP 492 (ii/A.D.) μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα τῆς τελευτῆς μου, " a year after (starting from) my death." See also the note on ὀψέ, *supr.* p. 72. There remains the idiomatic use of πρό, seen in 2 Co 12[2] πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων, " fourteen years before." Blass (p. 127 n.) cites πρὸ ἀμερᾶν δέκα from the will of Epicteta (Michel 1001), written in the Doric of Thera, " end of iii/B.C. or beginning of ii/B.C., therefore pre-Roman"—to cite Blass's own testimony.[1] It becomes clear that historically the resemblance between the *ante diem* idiom and the Greek which translates it is sheer coincidence, and the supposed Latinism goes into the same class as the Hebraisms we have so often disposed of already.[2] This enquiry, with the general considerations as to Latinisms which were advanced above (pp. 20 f.), will serve to encourage scepticism when we note the

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[1] Add FP 122 (i/ii A.D.), BU 592 (ii/A.D.), NP 47 (iii/A.D), Ch P 15 (iv/A.D.), BU 836 (vi/A.D.).

[2] W. Schulze, *Graec. Lat.* 14–19, has a long and striking list of passages illustrating the usage in question, which shows how common it became. His earliest citation is πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς τελευτῆς from Hippocrates (v/B.C.), which will go with that from Herodotus given above. We have accordingly both Ionic and Doric warrant for this Κοινή construction, dating from a period which makes Latin necessarily the borrower, were we bound to deny independent development. Schulze adds a parallel from Lithuanian ! Our explanation of the dependent gen. as an ablative is supported by πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἤ c. *acc. et inf.*, in *OGIS* 435 (ii/B.C.) and Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 317 : ἤ replaces the ablative genitive exactly as it does after comparatives.

resemblance of ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε (Jn 11¹⁸) to *a milli-
bus passuum duobus* (Blass 95). Blass cites Jn 21⁸, Rev 14²⁰,
and the usage of **Κοινή** writers like Diodorus and Plutarch.
Mutatis mutandis, this idiom is identical in principle with that
just quoted for πρό. After noting the translation-Hebraism
φοβεῖσθαι ἀπό in Mt 10²³ (= Lk 12⁴),[1] we proceed to observe
the enlargement of the sphere of ἀπό, which encroaches upon
ἐκ, ὑπό, and παρά.[a] The title of the modern vernacular
Gospels, " μεταφρασμένη ἀπὸ τὸν 'Αλεξ. Πάλλη," reminds us
that ἀπό has advanced further in the interval. Already in
the NT it sometimes expressed the agent after passive verbs
(*e.g.* Lk 8⁴³), where it is quite unnecessary to resort to
refinements unless the usage of a particular writer demands
them. The alleged Hebraism in καθαρὸς ἀπό is dispelled by
Deissmann's quotations, *BS* 196. The use of prepositions,
where earlier Greek would have been content with a simple
case, enables ἐκ in NT to outnumber ἀπό still, though
obsolete to-day,[b] except in the Epirot ἀχ or ὀχ.[2] Thus ἀπό
is used to express the partitive sense, and to replace the
genitive of material (as Mt 27²¹ 3⁴); ἐκ can even make a
partitive phrase capable of becoming subject of a sentence, as
in Jn 16¹⁷. For present purposes we need not pursue further
the NT uses of ἀπό and ἐκ, which may be sought in the
lexicon ; but we may quote two illustrative inscriptional
passages with ἐκ. Letronne 190 and 198 have σωθεὶς ἐκ,
" safe home from " (a place), which has affinity with Heb 5⁷;
and ὑπάρχων θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς, from the Rosetta stone
(*OGIS* 90—ii/B.C.), will elucidate Phil 3⁵, if the reader of
the Greek should, conceivably, fall into the misconceptions
which so many English readers entertain. It gives us an
unpleasant start to find the language of the Nicene Creed
used centuries earlier of Ptolemy Epiphanes ![3]

We have already (pp. 62 f.) sketched the developments of

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[1] Were the active φοβεῖν still extant (below, p. 162), this might be taken as
" do not be panic-stricken by." It is much like προσέχειν ἀπό, Lk 12¹.

[2] Thus ὀχ τὸ βουνό, " from the hill," occurs in a modern song, Abbott 128 f.

[3] Epiphanes = Avatar : the common translation "illustrious" is no longer
tenable. See Dittenberger's note, *OGIS* i. p. 144. So this title also antici-
pates the NT (ἐπιφάνεια). Cf what is said on Christian adaptations of heathen
terms, above, p. 84. (On ἀπό see also below, p. 237.)   [a b See p. 246.

εἰς, and need say no more of the single-case prepositions, with one very large exception.[a] The late Greek uses of

Further uses of ἐν. ἐν would take too much space if discussed in full here. It has become so much a maid-of-all-work that we cannot wonder at its ulti-mate disappearance, as too indeterminate. Students of Pauline theology will not need to be reminded of Deissmann's masterly monograph on " *The NT Formula ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*," with its careful investigation of LXX uses of ἐν, and proof of the originality of Paul's use. But SH (on Rom 6[11]) seem rightly to urge that the idea of the mystic indwelling originated with the Master's own teaching: the actual phrase in Jn 15[4] may be determined by Pauline language, but in the original Aramaic teaching the thought may have been essentially present. While there are a good many NT uses of ἐν which may be paralleled in vernacular documents, there are others beside this one which cannot : in their case, however, analogy makes it highly improbable that the NT writers were innovating. If papyri have προβεβηκότες ἤδη τοῖς ἔτεσιν (TP 1—ii/B.C.), we need not assume Hebraism in Lk 1[7] merely because the evangelist inserts ἐν : his faithful preservation of his source's ἡμέραις is another matter. See pp. 61 f. above. In Ac 7[14] (LXX) we have ἐν = " amounting to," from which that in Mk 4[8] *bis* does not greatly differ. This is precisely paralleled by BU 970 (ii/A.D.) προοῖκα ἐν δραχμαῖς ἐννακοσίαις, OP 724 (ii/A.D.) ἔσχες τὴν πρώτην δόσιν ἐν δραχμαῖς τεσσαράκοντα, BU 1050 (i/A.D.) ἱμάτια . . . ἐν . . . δραχμαῖς ἑκατόν (" to the value of "). The use in Eph 2[15] ἐν δόγμασιν, " consisting in," is akin to this. For ἐν τοῖς = " in the house of," as in Lk 2[49], we have RL 38[2] (iii/B.C.) ἐν τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου, Tb P 12 (ii/B.C.) ἐν τοῖς Ἀμεννέως " in A.'s office," OP 523 (ii/A.D.) ἐν τοῖς Κλαυδίου : cf Par P 49 (ii/B.C.) εἰς τὰ Πρωτάρχου καταλύσω, and even ἐν τῶι Ὥρου in Tb P 27. We have in official documents ἐν meaning " in the department of ": so Tb P 27 (ii/B.C.) τὸ ἐν αὐτῶι ὀφειλόμενον, 72 ἃς ἐν Μαρρεῖ τοπογραμματεῖ, *al.* I do not recall an exact NT parallel, but 1 Co 6[2], εἰ ἐν ὑμῖν κρίνεται ὁ κόσμος, is not far away. We have another use of ἐν with a personal dative in 1 Co 14[11] " in my judgement ": possibly Jude[1] ἐν Θεῷ is akin to this. Such uses would answer to παρά c. dat. in classical Greek

[a] See p. 246.

The last might seem to be expressed more naturally by the
"dative of person judging" (like Ac 7²⁰ ἀστεῖος τῷ Θεῷ, or
1 Co *l.c.* ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι βάρβαρος). But the earliest
uses of dative and locative have some common ground, which
is indeed the leading cause of their syncretism. Thus we find
loc. in Sanskrit used quite often for the dat. of indirect object
after verbs of speaking. How readily ἐν was added to the
dative, which in older Greek would have needed no preposi-
tion, we see well in such a passage as OP 488 (ii/iii A.D.),
where "more . . . *by* one *aroura*" is expressed by ἐν. This
particular dative is an instrumental—the same case as our
"*the* more *the* merrier"—, and is therefore parallel to that
of ἐν μαχαίρῃ, "armed *with* a sword," which we have already
mentioned (pp. 12, 61). We may fairly claim that "Hebraistic"
ἐν is by this time reduced within tolerably narrow limits. One
further ἐν may be noted for its difficulty, and for its bearing
on Synoptic questions,—the ὁμολογεῖν ἔν τινι which is common
to Mt 10³² and Lk 12⁸ : this is among the clearest evidences
of essentially identical translations used in Mt and Lk. W. F.
Moulton (WM 283 n.) cites, apparently with approval, Godet's
explanation—" the repose of faith *in* Him whom it confesses":
so Westcott, quoting Heracleon, who originated this view
(*Canon*⁵ 305 n.). Deissmann (*In Christo* 60) quotes Delitzsch's
Hebrew rendering יוֹרֶה בִּי, and puts it with Mt 3¹⁷ 9³⁴ 11⁶
23²¹, as an example of a literal translation "mit ängstlicher,
die hermeneutische Pedanterie nahelegender Pietät." Dr
Rendel Harris recalls the Græcised translation in Rev 3⁵, and
gives me Syriac parallels. On the whole, it seems best not
to look for justification of this usage in Greek. The agreement
of Mt and Lk, in a point where accidental coincidence is out
of the question, remains the most important element in the
whole matter, proving as it does that Luke did not use any
knowledge of Aramaic·so as to deal independently with the
translated Logia that came to him.[1]

Prepositions with two Cases;	Of the prepositions with two cases, διά and μετά show no signs of weakening their hold on both; but κατά c. gen. and περί, ὑπέρ and ὑπό c. acc. distinctly fall behind.

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[1] Cf the similar agreement as to φοβεῖσθαι ἀπό, above, p. 102.

We may give the statistics in proof. Διά gen. 382, acc. 279; μετά gen. 361, acc. 100; κατά gen. 73, acc. 391; περί gen. 291, acc. 38; ὑπέρ gen. 126, acc. 19; ὑπό gen. 165, acc. 50. Comparing this list with that in a classical Greek grammar, we see that μετά, περί and ὑπό[1] have been detached from connexion with the dative—a fact in line with those noted above, pp. 62 ff. Turning to details, we find that κατά (like ἀνά, Rev 21²¹) is used as an adverb distributively, as in τὸ καθ᾽ εἷς or εἷς κατὰ εἷς Mk 14¹⁹, [Jn] 8⁹, Rom 12⁵. The MGr καθείς or καθένας, "each," preserves this, which probably started from the stereotyping of τὸ καθ᾽ ἕνα, ἓν καθ᾽ ἕν, etc., declined by analogy: cf ἔνδημος from ἐν δήμῳ (ὤν), or proconsul from pro consule. The enfeebling of the distinction between περί and ὑπέρ c. gen. is a matter of some importance in the NT, where these prepositions are used in well-known passages to describe the relation of the Redeemer to man or man's sins. It is an evident fact that ὑπέρ is often a colourless "about," as in 2 Co 8²³: it is used, for example, scores of times in accounts, with the sense of our commercial "to." This seems to show that its original fullness of content must not be presumed upon in theological definitions, although it may not have been wholly forgotten. The distinction between ἀντί and the more colourless ὑπέρ, in applying the metaphor of purchase, is well seen in Mk 10⁴⁵ (= Mt 20²⁸) λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, and the quotation of this logion in 1 Tim 2⁶ ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων.[2] Διά c. acc. retains its meaning "for the sake of," "because of," distinct from the meaning "through," "by the instrumentality of," which belongs to the genitive. As early as MP 16 and 20 (iii/B.C.), we have ἵνα διὰ σὲ βασιλεῦ τοῦ δικαίου τύχω; but if the humble petitioner had meant "through you," he would have addressed the king as a mere medium of favour: referring to a sovereign power, the ordinary meaning "because of you" is more appropriate. This applies exactly to Jn 6⁵⁷. So Rom 8²⁰, where Winer's explanation is correct (p. 498). In much later Greek, as Hatzidakis shows (p. 213)

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[1] For ὑπό c. dat. can be quoted OGIS 54 (iii/B.C.) ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶι ποιησάμενος, and OP 708 (as late as ii/A.D.) ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ σοὶ νομοῦ.

[2] Note that δοὺς ἑαυτόν is substituted for the translation-Greek δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ: on this see above, p. 87. See further on ὑπέρ, p. 237.

διά c. acc. monopolised the field, which it still holds in
MGr.[1]   With the genitive, διά is often contrasted with
ἐκ, ὑπό, etc., as denoting mediate and not original authorship,
as 1 Co 8⁶, Mt 1²². In Heb 2¹⁰ it is used of God, who is " the
final Cause and the efficient Cause of all things " (Westcott).
There seems no adequate reason for accepting Blass's con-
jectural emendation, δι᾽ ἀσθενείας, in Gal 4¹³ : " *because of* an
illness " is an entirely satisfactory statement (see Lightfoot
in loc.), and the Vulgate *per* is not strong enough to justify
Blass's confidence.[2]   Μετά c. gen. has in Lk 1⁵⁸ a use
influenced by literal translation from Semitic.[a] Its relations
with σύν are not what they were in Attic, but it remains
very much the commoner way of saying *with*.   Thumb
points out (*Hellen.* 125) that MGr use disproves Hebraism
in πολεμεῖν μετά τινος, Rev 12⁷ *al.*[b] Thus, for example, Abbott
44 : πολέμησε μὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδες Τούρκους, " he fought with
3000 Turks."

and with three.   The category of prepositions used with
three cases is hurrying towards extinction,
as we should expect.   Μετά, περί and ὑπό
have crossed the line into the two-case class ; and in the NT
πρός has nearly gone a step further, for its figures are
c. gen. 1 (Ac 27³⁴, literary), dat. 6 (= " close to " or " at,"
in Mk, Lk, Jn *ter* and Rev), acc. 679.   With the dative,
however, it occurs 104 times in LXX, and 23 times c. gen. :
the decay seems to have been rapid   Cf however PFi 5
πρὸς τῷ πυλῶνι, as late as 245 A.D.   For παρά the numbers
are, c. gen. 78, dat. 50, acc. 60.   Blass notes that c. dat. it
is only used of persons, as generally in classical Greek, except
in Jn 19²⁵.   One phrase with παρά calls for a note on its
use in the papyri.   Οἱ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ is exceedingly common
there to denote " his agents " or " representatives."   It has
hitherto been less easy to find parallels for Mk 3²¹, where
it must mean " his family " : see Swete and Field *in loc.*
We can now cite GH 36 (ii/B.C.) οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν πάντες,

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[1] Contrast Ac 24² with OP 41 (iii/iv A.D.) πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύομεν
διὰ σαί.

[2] Οὐ δυνάμενος δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν πλεῖσαι may be quoted from OP 726 (ii/A.D.),
and a like phrase from OP 261 (i/A.D.), but of course they prove little or
nothing.   [a See pp. 246 f. ; b see p. 247.

BU 998 (ii/B.C.), and Par P 36 (ii/B.C.).[1] Finally we come
to ἐπί, the only preposition which is still thoroughly at home
with all the cases (gen. 216, dat. 176, acc. 464). The
weakening of case-distinctions is shown however by the very
disproportion of these figures, and by the confusion of meaning
which is frequently arising. In Heb 8[10] 10[16] we construe
καρδίας as acc. only because of ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν which follows
it in the latter passage : on the other hand, the original in
Jer 31(38)[33] is singular, which favours taking it as genitive.[2]
Our local *upon* can in fact be rendered by ἐπί with gen.,
dat., or acc., with comparatively little difference of force.
Particular phrases are appropriated to the several cases, but
the reason is not always obvious, though it may often be
traced back to classical language, where distinctions were
rather clearer. Among the current phrases we may note
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό " together," " in all," often used in arithmetical
statements : see Ac 1[15] 2[47]. Blass[2] 330 might be read as
suggesting comparative rarity for this phrase, which recurs
scores of times. The common ἐφ' ᾧ c. fut. indic. " on
condition that," does not appear in the NT. But with a
pres. in 2 Co 5[4], and an aor. in Rom 5[12], the meaning is
essentially the same (" in view of the fact that "), allowing
for the sense resulting from a jussive future.

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[1] *Expos.* vi. vii. 118, viii. 436.

[2] See also Mk 6[39] ἐπὶ τῷ χόρτῳ, where Mt 14[19] substitutes ἐπὶ τοῦ χ., but
with ἐπὶ τὸν χ. in D. In Ac 7[21] D substitutes gen. for acc., and in 8[16] acc. for
dat. In Eph 1[10] it seems difficult to draw any valid distinction between the
cases of ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς and ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. To add one further example, there
seems no difference between ἐπ' ἐσχάτου in Heb 1[1] and the dative in Tb P 69
(ii/B.C.), ὧν ἡ διοίκησις ἐπ ἐσχάτῳ τέτακται.

CHAPTER VI.

The Verb: Tenses and Modes of Action.

Our first subject under the Verb will be one which has not yet achieved an entrance into the grammars. For the last few years the comparative philologists—mostly in Germany—have been busily investigating the problems of *Aktionsart*, or the "kind of action" denoted by different verbal formations. The subject, complex in itself, has unfortunately been entangled not a little by inconsistent terminology; but it must be studied by all who wish to understand the rationale of the use of the Tenses, and the extremely important part which Compound Verbs play in the Greek and other Indo-Germanic languages. The English student may be referred to pp. 477 ff. of Mr P. Giles's admirable *Manual of Comparative Philology*, ed. 2. A fuller summary may be found in pp. 471 ff. of Karl Brugmann's *Griech. Gramm.*, ed. 3, where the great philologist sets forth the results of Delbrück and other pioneers in comparative syntax, with an authority and lucidity all his own.

"Aktionsart."

The student of Hebrew will not need telling that a Tense-system, dividing verbal action into the familiar categories of Past, Present and Future, is by no means so necessary to language as we once conceived it to be. It may be more of a surprise to be told that in our own family of languages Tense is proved by scientific inquiry to be relatively a late invention, so much so that the elementary distinction between Past and Present had only been developed to a rudimentary extent when the various branches of the family separated so that they ceased to be mutually intelligible. As the language then possessed no Passive whatever, and no distinct Future, it will be realised that its resources

Conjugation and Tense Stems.

needed not a little supplementing. But if they were scanty in one direction, they were superabundant in another. Brugmann distinguishes no less than twenty-three conjugations, or present-stem classes, of which traces remain in Greek; and there are others preserved in other languages. We must add the aorists and perfect as formations essentially parallel. In most of these we are able to detect an *Aktionsart* originally appropriate to the conjugation, though naturally blurred by later developments. It is seen that the

Point Action; Aorist has a "punctiliar" action,[1] that is, it regards action as a *point*: it represents the point of entrance (*Ingressive*, as βαλεῖν "let fly," βασιλεῦσαι "come to the throne"), or that of completion (*Effective*, as βαλεῖν "hit"), or it looks at a whole action simply as having occurred, without distinguishing any steps in its progress (*Constative*,[2] as βασιλεῦσαι "reign," or as when a sculptor says of his statue, ἐποίησεν ὁ δεῖνα "X. made it"). On

Action in Perspective; the same graph, the Constative will be a line reduced to a point by perspective. The Present has generally a *durative* action— "linear," we may call it, to keep up the same graphic

Linear Action; illustration—as in βάλλειν "to be throwing," βασιλεύειν "to be on the throne." The *Perfect* action is a variety by itself, denoting what

Perfect Action; began in the past and still continues: thus from the "point" root *weido*, "discover, descry," comes the primitive perfect οἶδα, " I discovered (εἶδον) and still enjoy the results," *i.e.* "I know." The present stems which show an ι-reduplication (ἵστημι, γίγνομαι) are

Iterative Action. supposed to have started with an *Iterative* action, so that γίγνομαι would originally present the succession of moments which are individually represented by ἐγενόμην. And so throughout the conjugations which are exclusively present. Other conjugations are capable of making both present and aorist

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[1] I venture to accept from a correspondent this new-coined word to represent the German *punktuell*, the English of which is preoccupied.

[2] Unity of terminology demands our accepting this word from the German pioneers, and thus supplementing the stores of the *New English Dictionary*. Otherwise one would prefer the clearer word "summary."

stems, as ἔφην compared with ἔβην, γράφειν with τραπεῖν, στένειν with γενέσθαι. In these the pure verb-root is by nature either (a) " punctiliar," (b) durative, or (c) capable of being both. Thus the root of ἐνεγκεῖν, like our *bring*, is essentially a " point " word, being classed as " Effective " : accordingly it forms no present stem. That of φέρω, *fero, bear*, on the other hand, is essentially durative or " linear ", and therefore forms no aorist stem.[1] So with that of ἔστι, *est, is*, which has no aorist, while ἐγενόμην, as we have seen, had no durative present. An example of the third class is ἔχω, which (like our own *have*) is ambiguous in its action. " I had your money " may mean either " I received it " (point action) or " I was in possession of it " (linear action). In Greek the present stem is regularly durative, " to hold," while ἔσχον is a point word, " I received " : ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ is, for instance, the normal expression in a papyrus receipt.[2] Misapprehension of the action-form of ἔχω is responsible for most of the pother about ἔχωμεν in Rom 5[1]. The durative present can only mean " let us enjoy the possession of peace " : (δικαιωθέντες) ἔσχομεν εἰρήνην is the unexpressed antecedent premiss ; and Paul wishes to urge his readers to remember and make full use of a privilege which they *ex hypothesi* possess from the moment of their justification. See p. 247.

Rationale of Defective Verbs. It is evident that this study of the kind of action denoted by the verbal root, and the modification of that action produced by the formation of tense and conjugation stems, will have considerable influence upon our lexical treatment of the many verbs in which present and aorist are derived from different roots. Ὁράω (cognate with our " be*ware* ") is very clearly durative wherever it accurs in the NT ; and

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[1] The new aorist (historically perfect) in the Germanic languages (our *bore*) has a constative action.

[2] Note also a petition, Par P 22 (ii/B.C.), in which the tenses are carefully distinguished, as the erasure of an aorist in favour of the imperfect shows. Two women in the Serapeum at Memphis are complaining of their mother, who had deserted her husband for another man : καὶ τοῦτο ποήσασα οὐκ ἔσχε τὸ τῆς ἀδικησάσης πρόσωπον, ἀλλὰ συνηργάσατο ὡς ἐπανελεῖται αὐτὸν ὁ δηλούμενος, "she did not *put on* the face of the wrong-doer, but (her paramour) began to intrigue with her to destroy (her husband)."

we are at liberty to say that this root, which is incapable of forming an aorist, maintains its character in the perfect, " I have watched, continuously looked upon," while ὄπωπα would be " I have caught sight of." Εἶδον "I discovered," and ὤφθην "I came before the eyes of," are obviously point-words, and can form no present. Εἶπον has a similar disability, and we remember at once that its congeners (F)ἔπος, *vox*, Sanskrit *vāe*, etc., describe a single utterance : much the same is true of ἐρρέθην, and its cognate nouns (F)ῥῆμα, *verbum,* and *word.* On the other hand, λέγω, whose constative aorist ἔλεξα is replaced in ordinary language by εἶπον, clearly denotes speech in progress, and the same feature is very marked in λόγος. The meaning of λόγος has been developed in post-Homeric times along lines similar to those on which the Latin *sermo* was produced from the purely physical verb *sero.* One more example we may give, as it leads to our remaining point. Ἐσθίω is very obviously durative : ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμοῦ, Mk 14¹⁸, is " he who is taking a meal with me." The root *ed* is so distinctly durative that it forms no aorist, but the punctiliar φαγεῖν (originally " to divide ") supplies the defect. It will be found that φαγεῖν in the NT is invariably constative :[1] it denotes simply the action of ἐσθίειν seen in perspective, and not either the beginning or the end of that action. But we find the compound κατεσθίειν,

Compounds and Perfective Action. καταφαγεῖν, used to express the completed act, eating something till it is finished. How little the preposition's proper meaning affects

the resulting sense is seen by the fact that what in Greek is κατεσθίειν and in Latin " *de*vorare," is in English " eat *up* " and in Latin also " *com*esse." In all the Indo-Germanic languages, most conspicuously and systematically in the Slavonic but clearly enough in our own, this function of verb compounds may be seen. The choice of the preposition which is to produce this *perfective* action [2] depends upon conditions

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[1] There is one apparent exception, Rev 10¹⁰, where ὅτε ἔφαγον αὐτό is "when I had eaten it up." But ἔφαγον is simply the continuation of κατέφαγον (see below, p. 115).

[2] One could wish that a term had been chosen which would not have suggested an echo of the tense-name. " Perfective action " has nothing whatever to do with the Perfect tense.

which vary with the meaning of the verbal root. Most of them
are capable of " perfectivising " an imperfective verb, when the
original adverb's local sense has been sufficiently obscured.
We may compare in English the meaning of *bring* and *bring
up, sit* and *sit down, drive* and *drive away* and *drive home*,[1]
knock and *knock in* and *knock down, take* and *overtake* and
take over and *betake, carry* and *carry off* and *carry through,
work* and *work out* and *work off, fiddle* and *fiddle in* (Tenny-
son's " Amphion "), *set* and *set back* and *set at* and *overset, see*
and *see to, write* and *write off, hear* and *hear out, break* and
to-break (Judg 9[53] AV), *make* and *make over, wake* and *wake
up, follow* and *follow up, come* and *come on, go* and *go round,
shine* and *shine away* (= dispel by shining). Among all the
varieties of this list it will be seen that the compounded
adverb in each case *perfectivises* the simplex, the combination
denoting action which has accomplished a result, while the
simplex denoted action in progress, or else momentary action
to which no special result was assigned. In the above list
are included many exx. in which the local force of the
adverb is very far from being exhausted. *Drive in, drive out,
drive off, drive away,* and *drive home* are alike perfective, but
the goals attained are different according to the distinct
sense of the adverbs. In a great many compounds the
local force of the adverb is so strong that it leaves the action
of the verb untouched. The separateness of adverb and
verb in English, as in Homeric Greek, helps the adverb to
retain its force longer than it did in Latin and later
Greek. In both these languages many of the compound
verbs have completely lost consciousness of the meaning
originally borne by the prepositional element, which is
accordingly confined to its perfectivising function. This is
especially the case with *com* (*con*) and *ex* (*e*) in Latin, as in
consequi " follow *out*, attain," *efficere* " work *out* " ;[2] and with
ἀπό,[a] διά, κατά and σύν in Greek, as in ἀποθανεῖν " die "
(θνήσκειν " be dying "), διαφυγεῖν " escape " (φεύγειν =
" flee "), καταδιώκειν " hunt *down* " (διώκω = " pursue "),

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[1] " Prepositions," when compounded, are still the pure adverbs they were
at the first, so that this accusative noun turned adverb is entirely on all fours
with the rest.   [2] See p. 237.   [[a] See p. 247.

κατεργάζεσθαι "work *out*," συντηρεῖν "keep *safe*" (τηρεῖν
= "watch"). An example may be brought in here to
illustrate how this principle works in details of exegesis.
In Lk 8²⁹ the true force of the pluperfect, combined with the
vernacular usage of πολλοῖς χρόνοις (see p. 75), goes to show
that the meaning is "it had long ago obtained and now
kept complete mastery of him." Συναρπάζω then, as the
perfective of ἁρπάζω, denotes not the temporary paroxysm,
but the establishment of a permanent hold. The inter-
pretation of σύν here depends upon the obvious fact that
its normal adverbial force is no longer at work. It is
however always possible for the dormant σύν to awake, as
a glance at this very word in LS will show. "Seize and
carry away" is the common meaning, but in ξυναρπάσασαι
τὰς ἐμὰς εἶχον χέρας (Euripides *Hec.* 1163) we may recognise
the original *together*. Probably the actual majority of
compounds with these prepositions are debarred from the
perfective force by the persistency of the local meaning: in
types like διαπορεύεσθαι, καταβαίνειν, συνέρχεσθαι, the pre-
position is still very much alive. And though these three
prepositions show the largest proportion of examples, there
are others which on occasion can exhibit the perfectivising
power. One is rather inclined to bring ἐπιγινώσκω under this
category, and so take a middle course between the old view
of Lightfoot and that recently propounded by Dean Robinson
(*Ephes.* 248 ff.). The present simplex, γινώσκειν, is durative,
"to be taking in knowledge." The simplex aorist has point
action, generally *effective*, meaning "ascertain, realise," but
occasionally (as in Jn 17²⁵, 2 Tim 2¹⁹) it is constative: ἔγνων
σε gathers into one perspective all the successive moments of
γινώσκωσι σέ in Jn 17³. Ἐπιγνῶναι, "find out, determine,"
is rather more decisive than the γνῶναι (effective); but in
the present stem it seems to differ from γινώσκειν by includ-
ing the goal in the picture of the journey there—it tells
of knowledge already gained. Thus 1 Co 13¹² may be
paraphrased, "Now I am acquiring knowledge which is only
partial at best: then I shall have learnt my lesson, shall
know, as God in my mortal life knew me."

The meaning of the Present-stem of these perfec-
tivised roots naturally demands explanation. Since θνή-

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σκειν is "to be dying" and ἀποθανεῖν "to die," what is
there left for ἀποθνήσκειν?   An analysis of the occur-
rences of this stem in the NT will anticipate
Present Stem some important points we shall have to make
of *perfectivised* under the heading of Tenses. Putting aside
Verbs. the special use μέλλω ἀποθνήσκειν,[1] we find
the present stem used as an *iterative* in 1 Co 15[31], and as
frequentative in Heb 7[8] 10[28], 1 Co 15[22], Rev 14[13]: the
latter describes action which recurs from time to time with
different individuals, as the iterative describes action repeated
by the same agent.[2] In Jn 21[23] and 1 Co 15[32] it stands
for a future, on which usage see p. 120. Only in Lk 8[42],
2 Co 6[9], and Heb 11[21] is it strictly durative, replacing the
now obsolete simplex θνήσκω.[3]   The simplex, however,
vanished only because the "linear perfective" expressed its
meaning sufficiently, denoting as it does the whole process
leading up to an attained goal. *Καταφεύγειν*, for example,
implies that the refuge is reached, but it depicts the journey
there in a *coup d'œil*: *καταφυγεῖν* is only concerned with the
moment of arrival. A very important example in the NT
is the recurrent οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι "the perishing." Just as
much as ἀποκτείνω and its passive ἀποθνήσκω, ἀπόλλυμαι[4]
implies the *completion* of the process of destruction. When
we speak of a "dying" man, we do not absolutely bar the
possibility of a recovery, but our word implies death as the
goal in sight. Similarly in the cry of the Prodigal, λιμῷ
ἀπόλλυμαι, Lk 15[17], and in that of the disciples in the storm,
σῶσον, ἀπολλύμεθα, Mt 8[25], we recognise in the perfective
verb the sense of an *inevitable* doom, under the visible con-
ditions, even though the subsequent story tells us it was
averted.   In οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι, 1 Co 1[18] *al*, strongly durative
though the verb is, we see perfectivity in the fact that the
goal is *ideally* reached: a complete transformation of its

[1] Μέλλω c. pres. inf. comes eighty-four times in NT ; c. fut. twice in Ac
(μ. ἔσεσθαι) ; c. aor. six times (Ac 12[6], Rom 8[18], Gal 3[23], Rev 3[2] (ἀποθανεῖν) 3[16]
12[4]; also Lk 20[36] in D and Marcion).

[2] Both will be (. . .), a series of points, on the graph hitherto used.

[3] Τέθνηκα is really the perfect of ἀποθνήσκω: a perfect needed no per-
fectivising in a "point-word" like this.

[4] Note that in all three the simplex is obsolete, for the same reason in
each case.

subjects is required to bring them out of the ruin implicit in their state.

Preposition not repeated. Before passing on, we may note the survival in NT Greek of a classical idiom by which the preposition in a compound is omitted, without weakening the sense, when the verb is repeated. Thus in Euripides, *Bacch.* 1065, κατῆγον, ἦγον, ἦγον, answers to the English "pulled down, down, down." I do not remember seeing this traced in the NT, but in Rev 10¹⁰ (*supra*, p. 111 n.) ἔφαγον seems to be the continuation of κατέφαγον; in Jn 1¹² ἔλαβον takes up παρέλαβον, and in Rom 15⁴ προεγράφη is repeated as ἐγράφη. So also ἐραυνῶντες 1 Pet 1¹⁰ ᶠ·, ἐνδυσάμενοι 2 Co 5³, and στῆναι Eph 6¹³. (It is just possible that ἤγεσθε in 1 Co 12² is similarly related to the ἀπαγόμενοι that follows, but its position makes serious difficulty.) In all these cases we are justified in treating the simplex as a full equivalent of the compound.

Growth of Constative Aorist, "The perfective *Aktionsart* in Polybius," the earliest of the great *Κοινή* writers, forms the subject of an elaborate study by Dr Eleanor Purdie, in *Indog. Forsch.* ix. 63–153 (1898). In a later volume, xii. 319–372, H. Meltzer controverts Miss Purdie's results in detail; and an independent comparison with results derivable from NT Greek shows that her conclusions may need considerable qualification. Research in this field is, as Brugmann himself observes (*Griech. Gram.*³ 484), still in its initial stages; but that the Newnham philologist is on the right lines generally, is held by some of the best authorities, including Thumb, who thinks her thesis supported by MGr.ᵃ Her contention is that since Homer the aorist simplex had been progressively taking the constative colour, at the expense of its earlier punctiliar character; and that there is a **and of "Perfective" Compounds.** growing tendency to use the compounds, especially those with διά, κατά, and σύν, to express what in the oldest Greek could be sufficiently indicated by the simplex. To a certain extent the NT use agrees with that of Polybius. Thus φυγεῖν is constative eleven times, "to flee," with no suggestion of the prolongation of flight (φεύγειν) or of its successful accom-

ᵃ See p. 247.

plishment (διαφυγεῖν or καταφυγεῖν).   (It seems to me clear
that in Heb 11³⁴ we have ἔφυγον for the *beginning* of action,
—not the goal of safety attained, but the first and decisive step
away from danger.   Similarly in Mt 23³³ we should read
" how are ye to *flee from* the judgement of Gehenna ? "—just
as in 3⁷.   The thought is not of the inevitableness of God's
punishment, but of the stubbornness of men who will not take
a step to escape it.   The perfective therefore would be inap-
propriate.)   The papyri decidedly support this differentiation
of simplex and compound.   In the same way we find that
διῶξαι is always constative in NT, while the perfective
καταδιῶξαι, " hunt down," occurs once in Mk 1³⁶, where
" followed after " (AV and RV) is not exact.   'Εργάσασθαι
is certainly constative in Mt 25¹⁶, 3 Jn⁵, and Heb 11³³: it
surveys in perspective the continuous labour which is so often
expressed by ἐργάζεσθαι.   In Mt 26¹⁰, and even 2 Jn⁸, the
same is probably the case : the stress lies on the *activity* rather
than on its product.   This last idea is regularly denoted
by the perfective compound with κατά.   Φυλάξαι " guard "
seems always constative, διαφυλάξαι " preserve " occurring
in Lk 4¹⁰.   Similarly τηρῆσαι " watch, keep," a continuous
process seen in perspective : συν- and δια-τηρεῖν (present stem
only) denote " watching " which succeeds up to the point of
time contemplated. (See p. 237.)   'Αγωνίζεσθαι is only used
in the durative present, but καταγωνίσασθαι (Heb 11³³) is
a good perfective.   Φαγεῖν and καταφαγεῖν differ quite on
Polybian lines (see above).   On the other hand, in the
verbs Miss Purdie examines, the NT makes decidedly less
use of the compound than does Polybius ; while the non-
constative aorists which she notes as exceptions to the
general tendency are reinforced by others which in Polybius
are seldom such.   Thus ἰδεῖν is comparatively rare in
Polybius : " in several cases the meaning is purely constative,
and those exx. in which a perfective ¹ meaning must be
admitted bear a very small proportion to the extremely
frequent occurrences of the compound verb in the like

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¹ That is, " punctiliar " : Miss Purdie does not distinguish this from per-
fective proper (with preposition).   Brugmann, following Delbrück, has lately
insisted on reserving " perfective " for the compounds.   Uniformity of ter-
minology is so important that I have adapted the earlier phraseology throughout.

sense" (*op. cit.* p. 94 f.). In the NT, however, the simplex
ἰδεῖν is exceedingly common, while the compound (καθορᾶν,
Rom 1²⁰) only appears once. It is moreover—so far as I can
judge without the labour of a count—as often punctiliar
(ingressive) as constative: Mt 2¹⁰, "when they caught sight
of the star," will serve as an example, against constative
uses like that in the previous verse, "the star which they
saw." (In numerous cases it would be difficult to dis-
tinguish the one from the other.) Here comes in one of
Meltzer's criticisms, that the historian's strong dislike of
hiatus (cf above, p. 92) accounts for very many of his
preferences for compound verbs. This fact undeniably
damages the case for Polybius himself; but it does not dis-
pose of inferences—less decided, but not unimportant—
which may be drawn from NT Greek and that of the papyri.
We are not surprised to find that the NT has no perfective
compounds of θεάομαι, θεωρέω, λογίζομαι, πράσσω, κινδυνεύω,
ἄρχομαι, μέλλω, ὀργίζομαι, δύνω, or μίσγω (μίγνυμι), to set
beside those cited (rightly or wrongly) from the historian.
Νοέω is rather difficult to square with the rule. Its present
simplex is often obviously linear, as in νοῶν καὶ φρονῶν, the
standing phrase of a testator beginning a will: the durative
" understand " or " conceive " is the only possible translation
in many NT passages. The aor. in Jn 12⁴⁰ and Eph 3⁴ may
be the constative of this, or it may be ingressive, "realise."
But it is often difficult to make a real perfective out of the
compound κατανοῆσαι, which should describe the *completion*
of a mental process. In some passages, as Lk 20²³ ("he
detected their craftiness"), or Ac 7³¹ ("to *master* the mystery"),
this will do very well; but the durative action is most cer-
tainly represented in the present κατανοεῖν, except Ac 27³⁹
(? "noticed one after another"). Μαθεῖν is sometimes con-
stative, summing up the process of μανθάνειν; but it has
often purely point action, "ascertain": so in Ac 23²⁷, Gal 3²,
and frequently in the papyri. In other places moreover it
describes a fully learnt lesson, and not the process of study.
On Miss Purdie's principle this should be reserved for
καταμαθεῖν, which occurs in Mt 6²⁸: both here and for
κατανοήσατε in the Lucan parallel 12²⁴·²⁷ the RV retains
the durative " consider." It may however mean " understand.

take in this fact about." The NT use of τελέω, again, differs widely from that of Polybius, where the perfective compound (συντ.) greatly predominates : in NT the simplex outnumbers it fourfold. Moreover the aorist in the NT is always punctiliar ("*finish*") : only in Gal 5[16] is the constative "perform" a possible alternative. 'Οργισθῆναι is another divergent, for instead of the perfective διοργ., "fly into a rage," we six times have the simplex in the NT, where the constative aorist "be angry" never occurs.[1] Finally we note that καθέζεσθαι is always purely durative in NT ("sit," not "sit down," which is καθίσαι), thus differing from Polybian use. A few additions might be made. Thus Lk 19[13] has the simplex πραγματεύσασθαι "trade," with the perfective compound in v.[15] διεπραγματεύσαντο "*gained* by trading." But the great majority of the διά compounds retain the full force of the διά.

Provisional Results.   The net result of this comparison may perhaps be stated thus, provisionally : for anything like a decisive settlement we must wait for some χαλκέντερος grammarian who will toil right through the papyri and the Κοινή literature with a minuteness matching Miss Purdie's over her six books of Polybius—a task for which a year's holiday is a *condicio sine qua non*. The growth of the constative aorist was certainly a feature in the development of later Greek : its consequences will occupy us when we come to the consideration of the Tenses. But the disuse of the "point" aorist, ingressive or effective, and the preference of the perfective compound to express the same meaning, naturally varied much with the author. The general tendency may be admitted as proved ; the extent of its working will depend on the personal equation. In the use of compound verbs, especially, we cannot expect the *negligé* style of ordinary conversation, or even the higher degree of elaboration to which Luke or the *auctor ad Hebræos* could rise, to come near the profusion of a literary man like Polybius.[2]

Time and Tense.   Perhaps this brief account of recent researches, in a field hitherto almost untrodden by NT scholars, may suffice to prepare the

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[1] Rev 11[18] might mean "were angry," but the ingressive "waxed angry" (at the accession of the King) suits the context better.   [2] See p. 237.

way for the necessary attempt to place on a scientific basis
the use of the tenses, a subject on which many of the most
crucial questions of exegesis depend.   It has been made
clear that the notion of (present or past) *time* is not by any
means the first thing we must think of in dealing with tenses.
For our problems of *Aktionsart* it is a mere accident that
φεύγω is (generally) present and ἔφευγον, ἔφυγον, and φυγών
past : the main point we must settle is the distinction between
φευγ and φυγ which is common to all their moods.

The Present :—   On the Present stem, as normally denoting
linear or durative action, not much more
need now be said.   The reader may be reminded of one idiom
which comes out of the linear idea, the use of words like
πάλαι with the present in a sense best expressed by our
perfect.   Thus in 2 Co 12^{19} "have you been thinking all
this time ?" or Jn 15^{27}, "you have been with me from the
beginning." So in MGr, ἐξῆντα μῆνας σ'ἀγαπῶ (Abbott 222).
The durative present in such cases gathers up past and pre-
sent time into one phrase.   It must not be thought, however,
that the durative meaning monopolises the present stem.   In
the prehistoric period only certain conjugations had linear
action ; and though later analogic processes mostly levelled
the primitive diversity, there are still some survivals of
importance.   The punctiliar force is obvious in certain
presents.   Burton (*MT* 9) cites as "aoristic presents" such
words as παραγγέλλω Ac 16^{18}, ἀφίενται Mk 2^5 ("are this
moment forgiven,"—contr. ἀφέωνται Lk 5^{23}), ἰᾶται Ac 9^{34},
etc.   So possibly ἀφίομεν Lk 11^4, which has ἀφήκαμεν as
its representative in Mt.   But here it seems better to
recognise the *iterative* present—"for we *habitually* forgive" :
this is like the generalising of Luke seen in his version of
the prayer for daily bread. (Cf also Lk 6^{30}.) Blass (p. 188)
adds ἀσπάζεται as the correlative to the regular ἀσπάσασθε.
It is very possible that in the prehistoric period a distinct
present existed for the strong aorist stem, such as Giles
plausibly traces in ἄρχεσθαι compared with the durative
ἔρχεσθαι.[1] The conjecture—which is necessarily unverifiable

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[1] *Manual*^{2} 482. The αρ is like ρα in τραπεῖν against τρέπειν, the familiar
Greek representative of the original vocalic *r*.

—would sufficiently explain this verb's punctiliar action. But it may indeed be suspected that point and line action were both originally possible in present and aorist-stem formations which remained without formative prefix or suffix. On this assumption, analogical levelling was largely responsible for the durative character which belongs to most of the special conjugation stems of the present.   But this is conjectural, and we need only observe that the punctiliar roots which appear in the present stem have given rise to the use of the so-called present tense to denote future time.[1]   In αὔριον ἀποθνή-σκομεν (1 Co 15³²) we have a verb in which the perfective prefix has neutralised the inceptive force of the suffix -ίσκω : it is only the obsoleteness of the simplex which allows it ever to borrow a durative action.   Εἶμι in Attic is a notable example of a punctiliar root used for a future in the present indicative.   But though it is generally asserted that this use of present tense for future originates in the words with momentary action, this limitation does not appear in the NT examples, any more than in English.   We can say, " I am going to London to-morrow " just as well as " I go " : and διέρχομαι in 1 Co 16⁵, γίνεται in Mt 26², and other futural presents that may be paralleled from the vernacular of the papyri, have no lack of durativity about them.   In this stage of Greek, as in our own language, we may define the futural present as differing from the future tense mainly in the tone of assurance which is imparted.   That the Present is not primarily a *tense*, in the usual acceptation of the term, is

denoting future time;

and past time;   shown not only by the fact that it can stand for future time, but by its equally well-known use as a past.   The " Historic " present is divided by Brugmann (*Gr. Gram.*³ 484 f.) into the " dramatic " and the " registering " present.   The latter occurs in historical documents with words like γίγνεται, τελευτᾷ, etc., registering a date.   Γεννᾶται in Mt 2⁴ is the nearest NT example I can think of, and it is not really parallel.   The former, common in all vernaculars—we have

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[1] Compare the close connexion between *aorist* (not present) subjunctive and the future, which is indeed in its history mainly a specialising of the former.

only to overhear a servant girl's "so she says to me," if we
desiderate proof that the usage is at home among us—is
abundantly represented in the NT. From that mine of
statistical wealth, Hawkins's *Horæ Synopticæ*, we find that
Mk uses the historic present 151 times, Mt 93 times, Lk 8
times, with 13 in Ac ; also that it is rare in the LXX, except
in Job, and in the rest of the NT, except in Jn. It does
not, however, follow from this that it was "by no means
common in Hellenistic Greek." Sir John Hawkins himself
observes that it is common in Josephus, and of course it was
abundant in Attic. The fact that Luke invariably (except in
S[49]) altered Mark's favourite usage means probably that it
was too *familiar* for his liking. I have not catalogued the
evidence of the papyri for this phenomenon, but it is common.
OP 717 may be cited as a document contemporary with the
NT, in which a whole string of presents does duty in nar-
rative. It may be seen alternating with past tenses, as in
the NT : cf the curious document Par P 51 (ii/B.C.), recording
some extremely trivial dreams. Thus ἀνύγω . . . ὁρῶ . . .
κλαίγω . . . ἐπορευόμην . . . καὶ ἔρχομαι . . . ἔλεγον, etc.
It was indeed a permanent element in prose narrative,
whether colloquial or literary ;[1] but it seems to have run
much the same course as in English, where the historic
present is not normally used in educated conversation or in
literature as a narrative form. It carries a special effect of
its own, which may be a favourite mannerism of a particular
author, but entirely avoided by others. Applying this prin-
ciple, we conceive that Josephus would use the tense as an
imitator of the classics, Mark as a man of the people who
heard it in daily use around him ; while Luke would have
Greek education enough to know that it was not common in
cultured speech of his time, but not enough to recall the
encouragement of classical writers whom he probably never
read, and would not have imitated if he had read them.
The limits of the historic present are well seen in the fact
that it is absent from Homer, not because it was foreign to

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[1] A peculiar use of the historic present is noticeable in MGr, where it fre-
quently takes up a past tense : thus, ὁ Τσόλκας ἐξεσπάθωσε, κράζει τὰ παλληκάρια,
"drew his sword and calls" (Abbott 44—see also 22, 26, etc.). See p. 139 n.

the old Achaian dialect, but because of its felt incongruity in epic style : it is absent from the *Nibelungenlied* in the same way.

The Moods of the present stem will be treated under their separate heads later.   But there are two uses which should come in here, as bearing on the kind of action belonging to

Present and Aorist in Prohibitions : the tense-stem.   The first concerns the two normal methods of expressing Prohibition in classical Greek, which survive in NT Greek, though less predominant than before.   There

is a familiar rule that μή is used with present imperative or aorist subjunctive ; but the distinction between these, expounded by Gottfried Hermann long ago, seems to have been mostly unnoticed till it was rediscovered by Dr Walter Headlam in *CR* xvii. 295, who credits Dr Henry Jackson with supplying the hint.   Dr Jackson himself contributes a brief but suggestive note in xviii. 262 f. (June 1904), and Dr Headlam then writes in full upon the subject in xix. 30–36, citing the dicta of Hermann from which the doctrine started, and rebutting some objections raised by Mr H. D. Naylor.[a]   Dr Jackson's words may be cited as linking the beginning and end of the language-history, and proving incidentally that the alleged distinction must hold for the NT language, which lies midway.   " Davidson told me that, when

in Modern Greek ; he was learning modern Greek, he had been puzzled about the distinction, until he heard a Greek friend use the present imperative to

a dog which was barking.   This gave him the clue.   He turned to Plato's *Apology*, and immediately stumbled upon the excellent instances 20E μὴ θορυβήσητε, before clamour begins, and 21A μὴ θορυβεῖτε, when it has begun."   The latter means in fact " desist from interrupting," the former " do not interrupt (in future)."   Headlam shows how the present imperative often calls out the retort, " But I am not doing so," which the aorist locution never does : it would require " No, I will not."   This is certainly the case in MGr, where μὴ γράφῃς is addressed to a person who is already writing, μὴ γράψῃς to one who has not begun.   The

in Papyri ; facts for classical and for present-day Greek may be supplemented from the four volumes

of OP : we need not labour the proof of a canon which could hardly be invalid for a period lying between periods

[a] See p. 247.

in which it is known to have been in force. I have
noted in OP six cases of μή c. aor. subj. referring to
requests made in a letter, which of course cannot be
attended to till the letter arrives. Thus μὴ ἀμελήσῃς,
μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσῃς, ὅρα μηδενὶ . . . προσκρούσῃς, etc. (all
ii/A.D.). One other (OP 744, i/B.C.) is worth quoting as a
sample of such requests followed by a reply : εἴρηκας . . .
ὅτι Μή με ἐπιλάθῃς. Πῶς δύναμαί σε ἐπιλαθεῖν ; On the
other hand, we have four cases of μή c. pres. imper., all clearly
referable to the rule. Τοῦτο μὴ λέγε (what he *had* said)—μὴ
ἀγωνία (*bis*) " don't go on worrying "—μὴ σκλύλλε ἑατὴν
ἐνπῆναι (*sic !*) " don't bother to give information (??) " : in the
last case (295—i/A.D.) the writer had apparently left school
young, and we can only guess her meaning, but it may
well be " stop troubling." As we shall see, the crux is the
differentia of the present imperative, which is not easy to
illustrate decisively from the papyri. Only one case seems
to occur in FP (no. 112, from i/A.D.), and a gap there makes
the meaning very obscure ; nor are we more fortunate in Tb P,
the prevalence of reports and accounts in this volume giving
little opportunity for the construction. In the royal edict,
Tb P 6 (ii/B.C.), we find καὶ μηθενὶ ἐπιτρέπετε καθ' ὁντινοῦν
τρόπον πράσσειν τι τῶν προδεδηλωμένων, the conformity of
which with the rule is suggested by the words " as we have
before commanded," with which the sentence apparently opens :
a hiatus again causes difficulty. The frequency of these prohi-

and in NT. bitions in NT presents a very marked contrast
to the papyri, but the hortatory character of
the writing accounts for this. The following table gives the
statistics for μή with the 2nd person :—

				c. pres. imp.	c. aor. subj.
Mt .	.	.	.	12	29
Mk	.	.	.	8	9
Lk .	.	.	.	27	19
Ac .	.	.	.	5	4
Jn and Epp	.	.	19	1
Rev	.	.	.	3	5
Paul	.	.	.	47	8
Heb	.	.	.	5	5
Jas .	.	.	.	7	2
1 Pet	.	.	.	1	2
				134	84

We have included the cases where μή is preceded by ὅρα or
the like. But sometimes this is not (as in the Gospels) a
mere compound prohibition, like our " take care not to . . ."
In Gal 5¹⁵ " take heed lest " can hardly be classed as a
prohibition at all ; while in Mk 1⁴⁴, ὅρα μηδενὶ εἴπῃς, there
is virtual parataxis, ὅρα being only a sort of particle adding
emphasis. The analysis of the list raises several suggestive
points. In Mt we note that except 1²⁰ and 3⁹ all the
examples are from sayings of Christ, 39 in all, while in
Lk 32 are thus described (36 if we include a citation of
four precepts from the Decalogue). Since Mt has 12 pres.
to 27 aor., but Lk 21 to 11, we see that there was no sort of
uniformity in translating from the Aramaic. There is no
case where Mt and Lk have varied the tense while using
the same word in reporting the same logion ;¹ but we find
Mt altering Mk in 24²³, manifestly for the better, if the
canon is true. In Mk the balance is heavily inclined to
the pres., for 5 out of 9 aor. examples are in the recitation
of the commandments. In Jn there is only one aor., 3⁷,
an exception the more curious in that *desine mirari* seems
clearly the meaning ; but see below. Paul uses the aor.
even less than he appears to do, for Rom 10⁶ is a quotation,
and Col 2²¹ *ter* virtually such : this leaves only 2 Th 3¹³,
1 Tim 5¹, 2 Tim 1⁸, with Gal 5¹⁵, on which see above. Heb
has only two aorists (10³⁵ 12²⁵—the latter with βλέπετε),
apart from a triple quotation 3⁸· ¹⁵ 4⁷. The very marked
predominance of the μὴ ποίει type is accordingly unbroken
except in Mt, and in Rev and 1 Pet so far as they go. In
the NT as a whole the proportion is 61 p.c. to 39, which
does not greatly differ from the 56 to 44 noted in the
Attic Orators by Miller (*AJP* xiii. 423).

Passages
agreeing.
Before we proceed to draw our deduc-
tions from the canon thus applied to the NT,
it will be well to present a few of the
passages in which it obviously holds. In the following
places the reply to the μὴ ποίει must clearly be either
" I am not doing so " or " I will stop doing it ":—Mk 5³⁶

¹ D uses κωλύσητε in Lk 18¹⁶, where Mt and Mk, as well as the other MSS
in Lk, have the much more appropriate present.

9³⁹ and parallels, Lk 7¹³ 8⁴⁹ 8⁵² (cf Mk τί κλαίετε:) 10²⁰
11⁷ 14¹² 23²⁸, Jn 2¹⁶ 5¹⁴ 19²¹ 20¹⁷· ²⁷, Ac 10¹⁵ 18⁹ 20¹⁰,
Rom 11¹⁸· ²⁰ 14²⁰, 1 Co 7²⁷, 1 Tim 5²³, Jas 2¹, 1 Pet 4¹²,
Rev 5⁵. In the following, the μὴ ποιήσῃς would be answered
with "I will avoid doing so":—Mt 6¹³ 10⁹ 17⁹, Mk 8²⁶
9²⁵, Lk 6²⁹ 10⁴ (contrast the two prohibitions) 14⁸ 21⁸,
Ac 7⁶⁰ 9³⁸ 16²⁸ 23²¹, 1 Tim 5¹, 2 Tim 1⁸, Rev 6⁶ 7³ 10⁴
(following ἤμελλον γράφειν—he had not begun).

Difficulties. It must however be admitted that rather
strong external pressure is needed to force
the rule upon Paul. It is not merely that his usage is very
one-sided. So is that of Jn, and yet (with the doubtful
exception of 10³⁷) every present he uses fits the canon
completely. But does μὴ ἀμέλει in 1 Tim 4¹⁴ require us to
believe that Timothy *was* "neglecting" his "charism"—
μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει and μηδὲ κοινώνει in 5²²—that he was warned
to stop what he was hitherto guilty of? May we not rather
say that μὴ ἀμέλει is equivalent to πάντοτε μελέτα or the
like, a marked *durative*, with a similar account of μηδὲ
κοινώνει? If we paraphrase the first clause in 5²² "always
be deliberate in choosing your office-bearers," we see the
iterative[1] force of the present coming in; and this we
recognise again in typical passages like Lk 10⁷, Rom 6¹³,
Eph 4²⁶, Heb 13⁹, 2 Jn¹⁰, 1 Jn 4¹. Then in 1 Co 14³⁹ how
are we to imagine Paul bidding the Corinthians "desist from
forbidding" the exercise of their darling charism? His
μὴ κωλύετε means "do not discourage glossolaly, as after
my previous words you might be inclined to do." In other
words, we have the *conative*,[1] which is clearly needed also in
such passages as Gal 5¹. Μὴ ποίει accordingly needs
various mental supplements, and not one only. It is "Stop
doing," or "Do not (from time to time)," or "Do not
(as you are in danger of doing)," or "Do not attempt to do."
We are not justified in excluding, for the purposes of the
present imperative in prohibitions, the various kinds of
action which we find attached to the present stem elsewhere.

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[1] See below, p. 128. In 1 Co *l.c.* we might also trace the iterative, if the
meaning is "Do not repress glossolaly, whenever it breaks out." So Dr
Findlay.

But since the simple linear action is by far the commonest in the present stem, it naturally follows that μὴ ποίει usually means "stop doing," though (as Headlam admits, *CR* xix. 31) it does not always mean this. To account for such difficulties on the other side as Jn 3⁷, we may well pursue the quotation from the scholar who started us on this discussion. " *Μὴ δράσῃς* always, I believe, means *I warn you against doing this, I beseech you will not*; though this is sometimes used when the thing is being done ; notably in certain cases which may be called colloquial or idiomatic, with an effect of impatience, μὴ φροντίσῃς *Oh, never mind !* μὴ δείσῃς *Never fear !* μὴ θαυμάσῃς *You mustn't be surprised.*"

<div style="float:left">Why Paul
prefers
μὴ ποίει.</div>

Perhaps my main motive in pursuing this long discussion has been to solve a question that has consequences for our Church History. What are we to infer when we find Paul bidding his converts μὴ μεθύσκεσθε (Eph 5¹⁸), μὴ ψεύδεσθε (Col 3⁹), or James changing the logion of Mt 5³⁴· ³⁶ into the suggestive present (5¹²)? What has been said will make it clear that such commands were very practical indeed,—that the apostles were not tilting at windmills, but uttering urgent warnings against sins which were sure to reappear in the Christian community, or were as yet only imperfectly expelled. The critics who make so much of lapses among Christian converts of the first generation in modern missions might have damned Paul's results with equal reason. Time has shown—time will show.[1]

<div style="float:left">Present
Participle.</div>

The second point in which we shall anticipate later discussion concerns the uses of the Participle. Like the rest of the verb, outside the indicative, it has properly no sense of time attaching to it : the linear action in a participle, connected with a finite verb in past or present time, partakes in the time of its principal. But when the participle is isolated by the addition of the article, its proper timelessness is free to come out. This can hardly happen with the aorist, where point action in such a connexion cannot well exist without the suggestion of past time : ἡ τεκοῦσα must be rendered " she who *bore* a child," not because τεκοῦσα is past in

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[1] See p. 238.

time like ἔτεκε, but because the action is not in progress
and therefore must be past. But ἡ τίκτουσα is common
in tragedy (cf Gal 4²⁷) as a practical synonym of ἡ μήτηρ,
the title of a continuous relationship.   Winer (p. 444) gives
a good selection of classical exx.: add from the papyri such
as CPR 24 etc. (ii/A.D.) τοῖς γαμοῦσι, "the contracting
parties," who are called οἱ γεγαμηκότες in a similar docu-
ment, CPR 28 (ii/A.D.).   So ὁ κλέπτων, Eph 4²⁸, is not " he who
stole " or " he who steals," but simply " the stealer," differing
from ὁ κλέπτης "the thief" only in being more closely
associated with the verb κλεπτέτω which is coming.   If the
Baptist is called ὁ βαπτίζων (Mk 6¹⁴· ²⁴), " the baptiser," the
phrase is less of a technical term than the noun, but is other-
wise synonymous therewith.   An agent-noun almost neces-
sarily connotes linear action : there are only a few exceptions,
like " murderer," " bankrupt," where the title is generally
given in respect of an act committed in the past.   Hence
it coincides closely with the action of the present participle,
which with the article (rarely without—see Kühner-Gerth
i. 266) becomes virtually a noun.   We return to the aorist
participle later, and need not say more on the minute part
of its field which might be connected with the subject of
this paragraph.   But it must be remarked that the principle
of a timeless *present* participle needs very careful application,
since alternative explanations are often possible, and grammar
speaks to exegesis here with no decisive voice.   In my
Introduction ² (p. 199) Mt 27⁴⁰, ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναόν, " the
destroyer of the temple," was given as an ex. of a participle
turned noun.   But the *conative* force is not to be missed here :
" you would-be destroyer " gives the meaning more exactly.
Another ambiguous case may be quoted from Heb 10¹⁴: is
τοὺς ἁγιαζομένους timeless, " the objects of sanctification," or
iterative, " those who from time to time receive sanctification,"
or purely durative, " those who are in process of sanctifica-
tion " ?   The last, involving a suggestive contrast with the
perfect τετελείωκεν—telling (like the unique ἐστὲ σεσωσμένοι
of Eph 2⁵· ⁸) of a work which is finished on its Author's
side, but progressively realised by its objects,—brings the
tense into relation with the recurrent οἱ σῳζόμενοι and
οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι, in which durative action is conspicuous.

The examples will suffice to teach the importance of caution.

The Imperfect. We turn to the Imperfect, with which we enter the sphere of Tense proper, the idea of past time being definitely brought in by the presence of the augment. This particle—perhaps a demonstrative base in its origin, meaning " then "—is the only decisive mark of past or present time that the Indo-Germanic verb possesses, unless the final -*i* in primary tenses is rightly conjectured to have denoted present action in its prehistoric origin. Applied to the present stem, the augment throws linear action into the past ; applied to the aorist, it does the same for punctiliar action. The resultant meaning is naturally various. We may have pictorial narrative, as contrasted with the summary given by the aorist. Thus the sculptor will sometimes sign his work ὁ δεῖνα ἐποίει, sometimes ἐποίησε : the former lays the stress on the labour of production, the latter on the artist's name. When the difference is a matter of emphasis, we naturally find it sometimes evanescent. Ἔφη, imperfect in form, is aorist in meaning, because φᾱ is a punctiliar root. But ἔλεγεν often differs very little from εἶπεν—its pictorial character is largely rubbed off by time, and in MGr the two forms are mere equivalents. In words less worn the distinction can hardly ever be ignored. The categories to which we were alluding just now, in discussing the participle, are everywhere conspicuous in the imperfect indicative. Thus we have frequently the *iterative*, its graph (......) instead of (——), describing past action that was repeated. Especially important, because more liable to be missed, is the *conative* imperfect, for which we might give the graph (——   ). Action going on implies the contingency of its failure to reach an end : our linear graph may either be produced beyond our vision, or reach a definite terminus in view (κατήσθιον, perfective, see above, p. 111), or stop abruptly *in vacuo*. How important this is for the NT may be seen from some of the passages, in which the Revisers have earned our gratitude by their careful treatment of the Tenses, a specially strong point of their work. Ac 26[11] is a notable example : the AV commits Paul to the statement that he had actually forced weak Christians to renounce their Master.

Now in itself ἠνάγκαζον[a] might of course be "I repeatedly forced," the iterative imperfect just referred to. But the sudden abandonment of the aorist, used up to this point, gives a strong grammatical argument for the alternative "I tried to force," which is made certain by the whole tone of the Apostle in his retrospect: we cannot imagine him telling of such a success so calmly! Other typical exx. are Mt 3[14], Lk 1[59], Ac 7[26], the RV being right in all: in Ac *l.c.* the AV curiously blundered into the right meaning by mistranslating a wrong text. (Their συνήλασεν would naturally mean that he "drove" them to shake hands! Did the translators (Tyndale and his successors) mistake this for συνήλλασσεν, or did they consciously emend? The Vulgate *reconciliabat* may have encouraged them.) In Mk 9[38] the Revisers unfortunately corrected the text without altering the translation: it seems clear that the imperfect is conative, the man refusing to be stopped in his good work. So also in Heb 11[17] προσέφερεν appears to be a conative imperfect, as the RV takes it: the contrast between the ideally accomplished sacrifice, as permanently recorded in Scripture (προσενήνοχεν), and the historic fact that the deed was not finished, makes an extremely strong case for this treatment of the word. I cannot therefore here agree with Thumb, who says that we expect an aorist, and suggests that ἔφερον had already begun to be felt as an aorist as in MGr ἔφερα, the aorist of φέρνω (*ThLZ* xxviii. 423). He cites no ancient parallel; and of all NT writers the author of Heb is the least likely to start an innovation of this kind.[b] (See p. 238.)

The Aorist:— In the Aorist indicative, as in the Imperfect, we have past time brought in by the use of the augment. To appreciate the essential character of aorist action, therefore, we must start with the other moods. The contrast of its point action with the linear of the present stem is well seen in δὸς σήμερον in Mt 6[11], against δίδου τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν in Lk 11[3]: cf also Mt 5[42] τῷ αἰτοῦντι δός, but παντὶ αἰτοῦντι δίδου in Lk 6[30]; and (with respective parts reversed) Mt 5[12] χαίρετε, without note of time, but Lk 6[23] χάρητε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. The Imperative shows the contrast so well that we may add another example:[c] Rom 6[13] gives us present παριστάνετε (see pp. 122 ff.) and παραστήσατε to-

9   [a b c] See p. 247.

gether in marked antithesis—the daily struggle, always ending
in surrender, and the once-for-all surrender to God which
brings deliverance.   Note further the delicate *nuance* in Ac
15³⁷ᶠ·: Barnabas, with easy forgetfulness of risk, wishes συν-
παραλαβεῖν Mark—Paul refuses συνπαραλαμβάνειν, to have
with them day by day one who had shown himself unreliable.
Examples are very numerous, and there are few of the finer
shades of meaning which are more important to grasp, just
because they usually defy translation.   The three kinds of
point action, Ingressive, Effective, and Constative,[1] are not

Classified.   always easy to distinguish.   Two or even
three of them may be combined in one verb,
as we saw above with βαλεῖν (p. 109); for of course this may
be the summary of βάλλειν " throw," as well as " let fly " and
" hit ".   In usage however nearly all verbs keep to one end
or other of the action ; though the marked growth of the
constative enlarges the number of cases in which the whole
action is comprised in one view.   Thus from βασιλεύειν we
have the ingressive aorist in βασιλεύσας ἀναπαήσεται, " having
come to his throne he shall rest " (Agraphon, OP 654 and
Clem. Al.), and the constative in Rev 20⁴ " they *reigned*
a thousand years."   The ingressive especially belongs to
verbs of state or condition (Goodwin *MT* 16).   For the
effective aorist, we may compare durative τελεῖν " fulfil,
bring to perfection " (2 Co 12⁹ " my power *is being per-
fected* in weakness ") with the aorist τελέσαι " finish " (Lk
2³⁹ etc.).   The constative is used apparently in Gal 5¹⁶
(above, p. 118).

The aorist participle raises various ques-
Aorist Participle tions of its own, which must be considered
of Coincident
Action.   here in so far as they concern the nature of
aorist action.   The connotation of past time
has largely fastened on this participle, through the idiomatic
use in which it stands before an aorist indicative to qualify
its action.   As point action is always completed action, except
in the ingressive, the participle naturally came to involve

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[1] We may express them by the graph A ——→ ——B, denoting motion from
A to B. A will be Ingressive, B Effective, and the Constative would be the
line reduced to a point by perspective.

past time relative to that of the main verb. Presumably this would happen less completely when the participle stood second. The assumption of past time must not however be regarded as a necessary or an accomplished process. In many cases, especially in the NT, the participle and the main verb denote *coincident* or *identical* action. So ἀπο-κριθεὶς εἶπεν Mt 22¹ etc.,¹ καλῶς ἐποίησας παραγενόμενος Ac 10³³. The latter puts into the past a formula constantly recurring in the papyri: thus FP 121 (i/ii A.D.) εὖ ποιήσεις δούς " you will oblige me by giving "—*si dederis* in Latin. In Jn 11²⁸ we have εἰποῦσα first for past action and then εἴπασα (BC*) for coincident: the changed form is suggestive, but is perhaps without conscious significance. One probable example of coincident action may be brought in here because of its inherent difficulty, though it belongs rather to lexicon than to grammar. The participle ἐπιβαλών (Mk 14⁷²)— which may well have been obscure even to Mt and Lk, who both dropped it—has now presented itself in the Ptolemaic papyrus Tb P 50, ἐπιβαλὼν συνέχωσεν τὰ ἐν τῆι ἑαυτοῦ γῆι μέρη τοῦ σημαινομένου ὑδραγωγοῦ, which I translate, " he set to and dammed up." It is true that in Tb P 13 ἐπιβολή means " embankment," as Dr Swete has pointed out to me.² But Dr F. G. Kenyon has since observed that if ἐπιβάλλω were here used of casting up earth, it would add nothing to συνέχωσεν alone. Moreover, since Mark's phrase has to be explained in any case, there is good reason for taking the word in the same sense in both places. Many versions either take this view of ἐπιβαλών (cf Euthymius' gloss ἀρξάμενος), or translate the paraphrase ἤρξατο found in D. Mt and Lk substitute the ingressive aorist ἔκλαυσεν. If this account is right, ἐπιβαλών is the aorist coincident with the first point of the linear ἔκλαιεν, and the compound phrase expresses with peculiar vividness both the initial paroxysm

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¹ This phrase, except for Ac 19¹⁵ 25⁹, occurs in the Semitic atmosphere alone ; so that we should look at the Hebrew וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר, which suggested it through the medium of the LXX. (It is not Aramaic, Dalman thinks, *Words* 24 f.) The form of the Hebrew prompts Dr Findlay to suggest that ἀποκριθείς is *ingressive*, εἶπεν *consecutive* upon it. That ἀποκριθῆναι is generally constative, does not make this account any less possible.

² See notes in *Expos.* VI. vii. 113 and viii. 430.

and its long continuance, which the easier but tamer word of the other evangelists fails to do.

There are even cases where the participle
No Evidence for seems to involve *subsequent* action. Thus in
that of Subse- Pindar *Pyth.* iv. 189 we have, " when the
quent Action. flower of his sailor-folk came down to Iolcos,
Jason *mustered and thanked* them all (λέξατο ἐπαινήσαις).
This is really *coincident* action, as Gildersleeve notes ; but
of course, had the poet felt bound to chronicle the exact
order of proceedings, he would have put the muster first.
I am strongly disposed to have recourse to this for the
much - discussed ἀσπασάμενοι in Ac 25¹³, though Hort's
suspicions of " prior corruption " induce timidity.   It might
seem more serious still that Blass (p. 197) pronounces
" the reading of the majority of the MSS . . . not Greek," [1]
for Blass comes as near to an Athenian *revenant* as any
modern could hope to be.   But when he says that the
" accompanying circumstance . . . cannot yet be regarded
as concluded," may we not reply that in that case Pindar's
ἐπαινήσαις equally needs emending ?   The effective aorist
κατήντησαν is very different from a durative like ἐπορεύοντο,
which could only have been followed by a word describing
the purpose before them on their journey.   But in " they
arrived on a complimentary visit " I submit that the case is
really one of *identical* action.   The RV *text* gives the meaning
adequately.[2]   There are a good many NT passages in which
exegesis has to decide between antecedent and coincident
action, in places where the participle stands second : Heb 9¹²
will serve as an example.   It would take too much space

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[1] Blass here slurs over the fact that *not one uncial* reads the future.   The
paraphrastic rendering of the Vulgate cannot count, and a reading supported
by nothing better than the cursive 61 had better be called a conjecture outright.
(Blass's misquotation κατῆλθον, by the way, is not corrected in his second
edition.)   As little can I share his confidence that Jn 11² "is certainly an
interpolation " (p. 198 n.).   What difficulty is there in the explanation he
quotes, " who *as is well known* did (or, has done) this " ?   (See p. 238.)

[2] We may quote an example from the vernacular : OP 530 (ii/A.D.) ἐξ ὧν
δώσεις Σαραπίωνι τῷ φίλῳ . . . λυτρώσασά μου τὰ ἱμάτια ὅρ. ἑκατόν, "of which
you will give 'my uncle' Sarapion 100 drachmæ *and redeem* my clothes."   We
should add that Dr Findlay would regard ἀσπ. in Ac *l.c.* as denoting the
initial act of κατήντησαν.   See further p. 238.

to discuss adequately the alleged examples of *subsequent*
action participles for which Ramsay pleads (*Paul*, p. 212),
but a few comments must be ventured. In Ac 16⁶ (WH)
—the first of a series of passages which Rackham (*Acts*,
p. 184) regards as "decisive"—we really have nothing to
show *when* the Divine monition was given. Assuming
Ramsay's itinerary correct, and supposing that the travellers
realised the prohibition as far on as Pisidian Antioch, the aorist
remains *coincident*, or even antecedent, for they had not yet
crossed the Asian frontier. In 23³⁵ (and 22²⁴) it is entirely
arbitrary to make assumptions as to the order of the items.
The former is "he said . . ., meanwhile ordering him . . .,"
which may perfectly well mean that Felix first told his
soldiers where they were to take Paul, and then assured
the prisoner of an early hearing, just before the guards led
him away. In 22²⁴ Lysias presumably said in one sentence,
"Bring him in and examine him." In 17²⁶ the ὁρίσας is not
"later" than the ἐποίησεν in time: the determination of
man's home *preceded* his creation, in the Divine plan.
Rackham's other "decisive" exx. are 24²², in which εἴπας
and διαταξάμενος are items in the action described by ἀνε-
βάλετο; and 7³⁶, where the constative ἐξήγαγεν describes
the Exodus as a whole. Rackham's object is to justify
the reading of אBHLP *al* in 12²⁵, by translating "they
returned to J. and fulfilled their ministry and took with
them John." Now "returned . . . in fulfilment . . ." is a
good coincident aorist and quite admissible. But to take
συνπαραλαβόντες in this way involves an unblushing aorist
of *subsequent* action, and this I must maintain has not yet
been paralleled either in the NT or outside. Hort's conjecture
—τὴν εἰς ᾽Ι. πληρώσαντες διακονίαν—mends this passage
best. The alternative is so flatly out of agreement with the
normal use of the aorist participle that the possibility of it
could only introduce serious confusion into the language.
Prof. Ramsay's appeal to Blass will not lie, I think, for any
"subsequent action" use: we have already referred to the
great grammarian's *non possumus* for Ac 25¹³, which entirely
bars his assent to any interpretation involving more than
coincident action. All that he says on 23³⁵ is that κελεύσας
= ἐκέλευσέν τε, which is not warrant for Ramsay's inference.

On the whole case, we may safely accept the vigorous state-
ment of Schmiedel on Ac 16⁶ (*EB* ii. 1599): "It has to
be maintained that the participle must contain, if not
something antecedent to 'they went' (διῆλθον), at least
something synchronous with it, in no case a thing subsequent
to it, if all the rules of grammar and all sure understanding
of language are not to be given up." ¹

Timeless Aorists.   The careful study of the aorist participle
will show surviving uses of its original time-
less character, besides those we have noted
already. Lk 10¹⁸ ἐθεώρουν (durative) τὸν Σατανᾶν . . . ἐκ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα,—which is exactly like Aesch. *PV* 956 f.,

οὐκ ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐγὼ [sc. περγάμων]

δισσοὺς τυράννους ἐκπεσόντας ᾐσθόμην,²

or Homer *Il.* vi. 284,

εἰ κεῖνόν γε Ϝίδοιμι κατελθόντ' Ἄϊδος εἴσω—

belongs to a category of which many exx. are given by
Goodwin *MT* § 148, in which the sense of past time does
not appear: cf Monro *HG* 212, 401. " I watched him fall "
will be the meaning, the aorist being constative: πίπτοντα
" falling " (cf Vulg. *cadentem*) would have been much weaker,
suggesting the possibility of recovery. The triumphant
ἔπεσεν ἔπεσεν of Rev 18² (cf next page) is the same action.
We need not stay to show the timelessness of the aorist in
the imperative, subjunctive and infinitive : there never was
any time connotation except when in reported speech an
optative or infinitive aorist took the place of an indicative.
Cases where an aorist indicative denotes present time, or even
future, demand some attention.   'Εβλήθη in Jn 15⁶ is
paralleled by the well-known classical idiom seen in Euripides
Alc. 386, ἀπωλόμην εἴ με λείψεις, " *I am undone* if you leave
me." ³ᵃ Similarly in ἐξέστη, Mk 3²¹, English again demands the
perfect, "he has gone out of his mind." Jannaris *HG* § 1855
notes that this idiom survives in MGr.   In Rom 14²³ an
analogous use of the perfect may be seen.   The difficult
aorist of Mk 1¹¹ and parallels, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα, is probably "on
thee I have set the seal of my approval": literally " I set,"

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¹ Ac 21¹⁴ may be rendered " we ceased, with the words . . ."

² Suggested by my friend Mr H. Bisseker.

³ See Giles, *Manual*² 499.   [ᵃ See p. 247.

at a time which is not defined.   None of these exx. are
really in present time, for they only seem to be so through
a difference in idiom between Greek and English.   We have
probably to do here with one of the most ancient uses of
the aorist—the ordinary use in Sanskrit—expressing what has
just happened:[a] cf Mk 16[6], Lk 7[16] 14[20] 15[32] 24[34], Jn 11[42]
12[19] 13[1] (ἦλθεν) 13[31] 21[10], Rev 14[8] 18[2], etc., and see p. 140.[1]
In two other uses we employ the present, the " epistolary "
(as Eph 6[22]), and the so-called " gnomic " aorist.   Goodwin
(*MT* § 155) observes that the gnomic aorist and perfect
" give a more vivid statement of general truths, by employ-
ing a distinct case or several distinct cases in the past to
represent (as it were) all possible cases, and implying that
what has occurred is likely to occur again under similar
circumstances."   The present is much commoner than the
aorist, which generally (Goodwin § 157) refers to " a
single or a sudden occurrence, while the present (as usual)
implies duration."   The gnomic aorist survives in MGr
(Jannaris *HG* § 1852), and need not have been denied by
Winer for Jas 1[11] and 1 Pet 1[24] : see Hort's note on the
latter.   Jas 1[24] combines aor. and perf. in a simile, reminding
us of the closely allied Homeric aorist in similes.

**English
Rendering
of Aorist
Indicative.**
We have seen that the aorist descriptive
of what has just happened has to be rendered
in English by what we call our Perfect Tense.
It must be admitted that this is not the only
usage in which the English and the Greek past tenses do not
coincide.   Our English Past—historically a syncretic tense,
mostly built on the Perfect—is essentially a *definite* tense,
connoting always some point or period of time at which the
action occurred.   But in Greek this is not necessarily involved
at all.   Idiomatically we use the past in pure narrative, where
the framework of the story implies the continuous dating of
the events ; and though the Greek aorist has not this implica-
tion, we may regard the tenses as equivalent in practice.
But outside narrative we use the periphrastic *have* tense as an

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[1] In classical Greek we may find an aorist of this kind used with a sequence
which would naturally suggest a foregoing perfect, as Euripides, *Medea* 213 f.:
ἐξῆλθον δόμων μή μοί τι μέμφησθ'.   See Verrall's note.   [a See p. 247.

indefinite past ; and it thus becomes the inevitable representa
tive of the Greek aorist when no time is clearly designed : *e.g*
1 Co 15⁶ τινὲς ἐκοιμήθησαν, " fell asleep (at various times),"
and so " have fallen asleep."   This has two unfortunate
results.   We have to decide for ourselves whether a Greek
aorist refers to definite or indefinite time—often no easy
task.   And we have to recognise that our own perfect is
ambiguous : it is not only the genuine Perfect, describing action
in the past with continuance into present time, but also the
simple indefinite Past.   As Dr J. A. Robinson says (*Gospels*,
p. 107), on ἔκρυψας and ἀπεκάλυψας in Mt 11²⁵ : " If we
render, ' Thou didst hide . . . Thou didst reveal,' . . . our
minds are set to search for some specially appropriate
moment to which reference may be made.   The familiar
rendering, ' Thou hast hid . . . Thou hast revealed,' expresses
the sense of the Greek far more closely, though we are using
what we call a ' perfect.'   The fact needs to be recognised
that our simple past and our perfect tense do not exactly
coincide in meaning with the Greek aorist and perfect
respectively.   The translation of the aorist into English
must be determined partly by the context and partly by
considerations of euphony."¹   The use of the English perfect
to render the aorist evidently needs careful guarding, lest the
impression of a true perfect be produced.   Take for example
Rom 1⁵.   The AV " we have received " decidedly rings as a
perfect : it means " I received originally and still possess."
This lays the emphasis on the wrong element, for Paul
clearly means that when he did receive a gift of grace and a
commission from God, it was *through Christ* he received it.
This is not an indefinite aorist at all.   If a man says to his
friend, " Through you I got a chance in life," we should
never question the idiom : " have got " would convey a
distinct meaning.   Among the paraphrasers of Rom, Moffatt

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¹ This thesis was elaborately worked out by Dr R. F. Weymouth in a
pamphlet, *On the Rendering into English of the Greek Aorist and Perfect* (1890 :
since in 2nd ed.).   His posthumous *NT in Modern Speech* was intended to give
effect to the thesis of the pamphlet.   Weymouth's argument is damaged by
some not very wise language about the RV ; but in this one point it may
fairly be admitted that the Revisers' principles were sometimes applied in
rather too rigid a manner.   See however pp. 137 ff.

and the *Twentieth Century NT* rightly give the past tense
here with the RV: Rutherford, Way and Weymouth less
accurately give the perfect. The limitations of our idiom
are evident in the contrasted tenses of Mk 16^6 and 1 Co
15^4. ʼΗγέρθη states simply the past complete fact, the
astounding news of what had just happened—see above on
this use of the aorist. ʼΕγήγερται sets forth with the utmost
possible emphasis the abiding results of the event, which supply
the main thought of the whole passage. But " He is risen "
is the only possible translation for the former ; while in the
latter, since a definite time is named, our usage rather rebels
against the perfect which the sense so strongly demands.
We must either sacrifice this central thought with the AV
and the free translators, who had a chance that was denied
to the literal versions, or we must frankly venture on
" translation English " with the RV : to fit our idiom we might
detach the note of time and say " that he hath been raised
—raised on the third day, according to the scriptures."

AV and RV in Mt. The subject of the rendering of the
Greek aorist is so important that no apology
is needed for an extended enquiry. We will
examine the usage of AV and RV in Mt, which will serve
as a typical book. If my count is right, there are 65
indicative aorists in Mt which are rendered by both AV and
RV alike with the English perfect,[1] or in a few cases the
present ; while in 41 the AV is deserted by the RV for the
simple past.[2] These figures alone are enough to dispose
of any wholesale criticism. In 11 of the 41 Weymouth
himself uses the past in his free translation. His criticism
therefore touches between a quarter and a third of the

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[1] Including 6^{12}, where the AV would certainly have translated ἀφήκαμεν as
the RV has done. In a private memorial which was sent to the Revisers by an
unnamed colleague, before their final revision, it is stated that out of nearly
200 places in the Gospels where the aorist was rendered by the English perfect,
the Revisers had only followed the AV in 66. The figures above for Mt show
that the appeal took effect ; but in Jn 17, which is specially named, the 21 exx.
remain in the published text. That the majority were right there, I cannot
doubt : the English perfect in that chapter obscures a special feature of the
great prayer, the tone of detachment with which the Lord contemplates His
earthly life as a period lying in the past.

[2] One passage, 18^{11}, is only in RVmg.

passages which come under our notice in Mt. From which we may fairly infer that the Revisers' English was, after all, not quite as black as it was painted. In examining the material, we will assume in the first instance that the aorist is rightly rendered by our perfect (or present) in all the places where AV and RV agree. (This is only assumed for the sake of argument, as will be seen below.) Our first task then is with the 41 passages in which there is a difference. Of these Weymouth's own translation justifies 2^{15} (a very *definite* aor.—see Hos 11^1) $5^{31.\ 33.\ 33.\ 43}$ (here AV was misled by its wrong translation of τοῖς ἀρχαίοις—it is right in vv.$^{21.\ 27}$) $10^{34f.}$ (AV *came* in one of the three) 17^{12} 21^{42} $25^{40\ bis}$. We may further deduct 21^{16} as justified by the AV in v.^{42}, and $25^{24.\ 26}$ as on all fours with the past "I sowed." It remains to discuss the legitimacy of the English past in the rest of the exx. Our test shall be sought in idiomatic sentences, constructed so as to carry the same grammatical conditions : they are purposely assimilated to the colloquial idiom, and are therefore generally made parallel in grammar only to the passages they illustrate. In each case the pre- terite tacitly implies a definite occasion ; and the parallel will show that this implication is at least a natural under- standing of the Greek. Where the perfect is equally idiomatic, we may infer that the Greek is indeterminate. Taking them as they come, 2^2 εἴδομεν seems to me clearly *definite*: " I saw the news in the paper and came off at once." 3^7 ὑπέδειξεν : " has warned " may be justified, but " Who told you that ? " is presumably English. We may put together 5^{17} $10^{34f.}$ (ἦλθον) 15^{24} (ἀπεστάλην). As we have seen, the AV and Weymouth use the past in one of these passages, and they are all on the same footing. " I came for business, not for pleasure " is good enough English, even if " have come " is likewise correct and not very different. Or compare Shakspere's

"Why came I hither but for that intent ?"

In 7^{22} (ἐπροφητεύσαμεν, ἐξεβάλομεν, ἐποιήσαμεν) the perfect would be unobjectionable, but the past is quite idiomatic : cf such a sentence as " Now then—didn't I make speeches all over the country ? Didn't I subscribe liberally to the

party funds ? " 10^8 ($\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{a}\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$): cf " What do you expect ?
You paid nothing : you get nothing." 11^{17} ($\eta\dot{v}\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma a\mu\epsilon\nu$,
etc.): cf " There's no pleasing you. I made small talk, and
you were bored : I gave you a lecture, and you went to
sleep." 11^{25} ($\dot{a}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\upsilon\psi a\varsigma$, $\dot{a}\pi\epsilon\kappa\acute{a}\lambda\upsilon\psi a\varsigma$—see above) : cf
" I am very glad you kept me in the dark, and told my
friend." 13^{17} ($\dot{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta\sigma a\nu$, $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\delta o\nu$, $\mathring{\eta}\kappa o\upsilon\sigma a\nu$): here no better
justification is needed than Watts's

> " How blessed are our ears
>   That hear this joyful sound,
> Which kings and prophets waited for,
>   And sought, but never found."

13^{44} ($\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\upsilon\psi\epsilon$): the aorist is almost gnomic, like Jas 1^{24}, but
it would be wrong to obliterate the difference between the
aorist and the present (historic) which follows.[1] 15^{13} $\dot{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\upsilon}$-
$\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$): cf " Every movement which you didn't start is
wrong." 16^7 ($\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{a}\beta o\mu\epsilon\nu$): cf " I brought no money away
with me." 19^{12} ($\epsilon\dot{\upsilon}\nu o\acute{\upsilon}\chi\iota\sigma a\nu$) is to my mind the only decided
exception.   Unless Origen's exegesis was right, the third
verb does not refer to a single event like the other two,
except so far as concerns the moment of renunciation in the
past : the perfect therefore would perhaps be less misleading,
despite apparent inconsistency. 21^{20} ($\dot{\epsilon}\xi\eta\rho\acute{a}\nu\theta\eta$): cf " How
on earth did that happen ? "   (AV wrongly joins $\pi\hat{\omega}\varsigma$ and
$\pi a\rho a\chi\rho\hat{\eta}\mu a$.) 21^{42} ($\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\theta\eta$ — for $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau o$ see above) is
ambiguous : if it is the aorist of an event just completed,
the AV is right, but this may well be pure narrative. 28^{15}
($\delta\iota\epsilon\phi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta$) : here the added words " [and continueth] "
leave the verb to be a narrative aorist.   Finally 28^{20} ($\dot{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$-
$\lambda\acute{a}\mu\eta\nu$) is obviously idiomatic : cf " Mind you attend to
everything I told you."   In all these passages then, with one
possible exception, the simple past is proved to be entirely
idiomatic ; and if this is allowed, we may freely concede the
perfect as permissible in several cases, and occasionally
perhaps preferable.

Let us go back for a moment to our lists for Mt, to

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[1] For this idiom see p. 121 n. above. Wellhausen, on Mk 7^{28} (*Einl.* 16),
makes it an Aramaism. In view of the MGr usage, we can only accept this
with the proviso that it be counted good vernacular Greek as well.

draw some inferences as to the meaning of the aorist where simple narrative, and the reference to a specific time, are mostly excluded. Parenthetically, we might strike out a few of the passages in which AV and RV agree on the English perfect. 13^{28} is not indefinite : " *You* did that " is quite as correct as " You have done it," and seems to me more suitable where the emphasis is to lie on the subject. In 19^6 συνέζευξεν carries the thought immediately and obviously to the wedding day : " those whom God *joined* together " is on this view preferable. Similarly ἀφήκαμεν (-κεν) in $19^{27.\ 29}$ calls up unmistakably the day of the sacrifice. In 20^7 we cannot object to rendering " has hired"; but it may be observed that " nobody asked you " is not exactly a Græcism. And surely ἥμαρτον παραδούς (27^4) is definite enough—" I sinned when I betrayed " ? We may end this section by putting together the exx. of two important categories. Under the head of " things just happened " come 9^{18} ἐτελεύτησεν (with ἄρτι) ; 5^{28} ἐμοίχευσεν and 14^{15} παρῆλθεν and 17^{12} ἦλθε (with ἤδη); 6^{12} ἀφήκαμεν, 12^{28} ἔφθασεν, $14^{2\ etc.}$ ἠγέρθη, 16^{17} ἀπεκάλυψε, 18^{15} ἐκέρδησας, 20^{12} ἐποίησαν -ας, 26^{10} ἠργάσατο 26^{13} ἐποίησε, 26^{65} ἐβλασφήμησεν, ἠκούσατε, $26^{25.\ 64}$ εἶπας, 27^{19} ἔπαθον, 27^{46} ἐγκατέλιπες, 28^7 εἶπον, 28^{18} ἐδόθη (unless 11^{27} forbids), and perhaps 21^{42} ἐγενήθη. Some of these may of course be otherwise explained. If they rightly belong to this heading, the English perfect is the correct rendering. Equally tied to the *have* tense are the aorists of indefinite time-reference; but we must be ready to substitute our preterite as soon as we see reason to believe that the time of occurrence is at all prominently before the writer's mind. Clear examples of this are $5^{21\ etc.}$ ἠκούσατε, 8^{10} εὗρον, 10^{25} ἐπεκάλεσαν, 12^3 etc ἀνέγνωτε (οὐδέποτε in 21^{16} brings in the note of time : cf Shakspere, " Why dost thou wrong her that *did ne'er* wrong thee ?), 13^{15} ἐπαχύνθη etc., 15^6 ἠκυρώσατε, 13^{24} 18^{23} 22^2 ὡμοιώθη (probably because the working out of the comparison included action partially past : Zahn compares Jn 3^{19}), 21^{16} κατηρτίσω, 23^{23} ἀφήκατε, 24^{45} κατέστησεν, $25^{20.\ 22}$ ἐκέρδησα, 27^{23} ἐποίησε.

The Perfect :— Our study of the English periphrastic perfect prepares us for taking up the most important, exegetically, of all the Greek Tenses. In Greek, as in

English, the line between aorist and perfect is not always easy to draw. The aorist of the event just passed has inherently that note of close connexion between past and present which is the differentia of the Greek perfect ; while the perfect was increasingly used, as the language grew older, as a substitute for what would formerly have been a narrative aorist. A cursory reading of the papyri soon shows us how much more the vernacular tends to use this tense ; and the inference might be drawn that the old distinction of aorist and perfect was already obsolete. This would however be entirely unwarrantable. There are extremely few passages in the papyri of the earlier centuries A.D. in which an aoristic perfect is demanded, or even suggested, by the context. It is simply that a preference grows in popular speech for the expression which links the past act with present consequences.[a] A casual example from the prince of Attic writers will show that this is not only a feature of late Greek. Near the beginning of Plato's *Crito*, Socrates explains his reason for believing that he would not die till the third day. " This I infer," he says in Jowett's English, " from a vision which I *had* last night, or rather only just now." The Greek, however, is τεκμαίρομαι ἔκ τινος ἐνυπνίου, ὃ ἑώρακα ὀλίγον πρότερον ταύτης τῆς νυκτός, where point of time in the past would have made εἶδον as inevitable as the aorist is in English, had not Socrates meant to emphasise the present vividness of the vision. It is for exactly the same reason that ἐγήγερται is used with the point of time in 1 Co 15⁴ (see above). So long as the close connexion of the past and the present is maintained, there is no difficulty whatever in adding the note of time. So in Rom 16⁷ we have to say either " who were in Christ before me," or (much better) " who have been in Christ longer than I." A typical parallel from the papyri may be seen in OP 477 (ii/A.D.) τῶν τὸ πέμπτον ἔτος . . . ἐφηβευκότων—a fusion of " who came of age *in*" and " who have been of age *since* the fifth year." Now, if the tendency just described grew beyond a certain limit, the fusion of aorist and perfect would be complete. But it must be observed that it was not the perfect which survived in the struggle for existence. In MGr the old perfect forms only survive in the passive participle (with reduplication syllable

Used in place of Aorist.

[a] See pp. 247 f.

lost), and in the -κα which was tacked on to the aorist
passive (ἐδέθηκα for ἐδέθην) : there is also the isolated εὕρηκα
or βρῆκα (Thumb, *Handb.* 94), aoristic in meaning. It does
not appear that the perfect had at all superseded the aorist
—though in a fair way to do so—at the epoch when it was
itself attacked by the weakening of reduplication which
destroyed all chance of its survival as a distinct form, in
competition with the simpler formation of
the aorist. But these processes do not fairly
set in for at least two centuries after the
NT was complete. It is true that the LXX and inscrip-
tions show a few examples of a semi-aoristic perfect in
the pre-Roman age, which, as Thumb remarks (*Hellenismus*,
p. 153), disposes of the idea that Latin influence was work-
ing ; cf Jannaris, § 1872. But it is easy to overstate their
number.[a] Thus in Ex 32¹ κεχρόνικε is not really aoristic
(as Thumb and Jannaris), for it would be wholly irregular
to put an aorist in *oratio obliqua* to represent the original
present or perfect " Moses is tarrying " or " has tarried ":
its analogue is rather the χρονίζει of Mt 24⁴⁸. Nor will it
do to cite the perfects in Heb 11¹⁷ *al* (see pp. 129, 143 ff.),
where the use of this tense to describe what " stands written "
in Scripture is a marked feature of the author's style:[b] cf
Plato, *Apol.* 28c, ὅσοι ἐν Τροίᾳ τετελευτήκασιν, as written in
the Athenians' " Bible." In fact Mt 13⁴⁶ πέπρακεν καὶ ἠγόρα-
σεν is the only NT example cited by Jannaris which makes any
impression. (I may quote in illustration of this OP 482 (ii/A.D.)
χωρὶς ὧν ἀπεγραψάμην καὶ πέπρακα.) The distinction is very
clearly seen in papyri for some centuries. Thus τῆς γενομένης
καὶ ἀποπεπεμμένης γυναικός NP 19 (ii/A.D.), " who *was* my
wife and *is now* divorced " ; ὅλον τὸν χαλκὸν [δεδα]πάνηκα εἰς
αὐτώ BU 814 (iii/A.D.), where an erased ἐ- shows that the scribe
meant to write the aorist and then substituted the more appro-
priate perfect. As may be expected, illiterate documents show
confusion most: *e.g.* OP 528 (ii/A.D.) οὐκ ἐλου-
σάμην οὐκ ἤλιμε (= ἤλειμμαι) μέχρει ιβ 'Αθύρ.
It is in the combinations of aorist and perfect
that we naturally look first for the weaken-
ing of the distinction, but even there it often appears clearly
drawn. At the same time, we may find a writer like Justin

Ultimate decay of the Perfect.

Perfect and Aorist used together.

[a] [b] See p. 248.

Martyr guilty of confusion, as in *Apol.* i. 22 πεποιηκέναι . . .
ἀνεγεῖραι, 32 ἐκάθισε καὶ εἰσελήλυθεν, 44 νοῆσαι δεδύνηνται καὶ
ἐξηγήσαντο. Other aoristic perfects may be seen in 60 ἐξῆλθον
. . . καὶ γεγόνασι, 62 ἀκήκοε . . . καὶ . . . ἔλαβε, ii. 2 πεποίηκε . . .
καὶ . . . ἐκολάσατο, etc. We may compare from the LXX such
a mixture as Is 53⁵ ἐτραυματίσθη . . . μεμαλάκισται (aor. in A).
The NT is not entirely free from such cases: cf Mt 13⁴⁶ (above).
In Jn 3³² ἑώρακεν and ἤκουσεν—contrast 1 Jn 1³—is explained
by Blass as due to the greater stress laid on the *seeing*.
Mk 5¹⁹ ὅσα . . . σοι πεποίηκεν καὶ ἠλέησέν σε shows the
proper force of both tenses. In Lk 4¹⁸ it seems best, with
Nestle and Wellhausen, to put a stop after ἔχρισέ με, so that
ἀπέσταλκε is the governing verb of all the infinitives, and is
not parallel with ἔχρισε. Ac 21²⁸, εἰσήγαγεν καὶ κεκοίνωκεν,
needs no explaining. To Rev 3³ 5⁷ and 8⁵ we must return
later. There are other places where aorist and perfect are
used in the same context, but they do not belong to this
category of aorist and perfect joined with καί and with
identical subject. When the nexus is so close, we might
fairly suppose it possible for the tenses to be contaminated by
the association, even where a perfect would not have been
used aoristically by itself. But there are evidently no NT
exx. to place by the side of those from Justin, except Mt 13⁴⁶
and the passages from Rev. (See further p. 238.)

**Aoristic
Perfects in NT ?** We come then to the general question of
the existence of aoristic perfects in the NT.
It is a question which must be settled on its
merits, without any appeal to the *a priori*, for aoristic
perfects may certainly be found in and even before the epoch
of the NT writings. We are entirely at liberty to recognise
such perfects in one writer and deny them to another, or to
allow them for certain verbs and negative the class as a
whole. Among the authorities we find Blass (p. 200)
admitting them for Rev and most sparingly in other places.
Even less concession is made by W. F. Moulton (WM 340 n.).
Burton (*MT* 44) allows rather more, but says, "The idiom is
confined to narrow limits in the NT." The extremely small
proportion of even possible exx. will naturally prevent us
from accepting any except under very clear necessity. We
begin by ruling out the alleged exx. from Heb (7¹³ 9¹⁸ 11¹⁷

11²⁸), since they are obviously covered by the author's *usus
loquendi* described above (p. 142). Some isolated cases may
also be cleared out of the way. Lk 9³⁶ ἑώρακαν seems to
be virtually reported speech : ἃ ἑωράκαμεν takes this form
regularly in *orat. obl.*, which the form of this sentence suggests.
In Jas 1²⁴, κατενόησεν καὶ ἀπελήλυθεν καὶ εὐθέως ἐπελάθετο,
the aorist expresses two momentary acts, which are thrown
into narrative form, and the perfect accurately describes the
one action with continuance. In Ac 7³⁵, ἀπέσταλκεν, with
the forest of aorists all round, is more plausibly conformed
to them, and it happens that this word is alleged to have
aoristic force elsewhere. But, after all, the abiding results of
Moses' mission formed a thought never absent from a Jew's
mind. Then there is an important category in which we are
liable to be misled by an unreal parallelism in English.
Burton rightly objects to our deciding the case of νυχθήμερον
ἐν τῷ βυθῷ πεποίηκα (2 Co 11²⁵) by the easy comment that
it "goes quite naturally into English" (Simcox). But it does
not follow that we have here a mere equivalent for ἐποίησα.
That would only place the experience on a level with the
others : this recalls it as a memory specially vivid now.
There is in fact a perfect of broken as well as of unbroken
continuity : in the graph "ᴬ...ᐳ...ᴮ," which leads from a
past moment to the moment of speech, the perfect will
tolerate the company of adjuncts that fasten attention on the
initial point (as in Rom 16⁷, above) or on some indeterminate
point in its course (as here), or on several points in its course.
Cf Lucian *Pisc.* 6 ποῦ γὰρ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ὕβρικα;—Plato *Theæt.*
144ᴮ ἀκήκοα μὲν τοὔνομα, μνημονεύω δ' οὔ (see Goodwin
MT § 46)—BU 163 (ii/ᴀ.ᴅ.) φασὶ οἱ παρόντες ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον
(? "often") τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλοι ὡς πληγέντες
ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἀναφόριον δεδώκασι. To this category belong
perfects with πώποτε, as Jn 1¹⁸ 5³⁷ 8³³, and such cases as
2 Co 12¹⁷, ὧν ἀπέσταλκα, "of those whom (from time to
time) I have sent." That the aorist is very much com-
moner in this delineation of repeated action is obvious ;
but that does not prevent the use of the perfect when the
additional thought is presented of a close nexus with the
present time.

We turn finally to the residuum of genuinely aoristic

perfects, or those which have a fair claim to be thus regarded.
First, we may frankly yield those alleged for Rev, viz. 5^7
In Rev. and 8^5 εἴληφεν (and by consequence probably
3^3 11^{17} and 2^{27}), 7^{14} and 19^3 εἴρηκα (-αν).
Since these are without apparent reduplication, they may
well have been actual aorists in the writer's view: Bousset
remarks how little Rev uses ἔλαβον. Secondly, we have
Ἔσχηκα. ἔσχηκα in 2 Co 2^{13} 1^9 7^5, Rom 5^{2a}—outside
Paul only in Mk 5^{15}. We must, I think,
treat all the Pauline passages alike, though Blass believes the
perfect justifiable except in 2 Co 2^{13}. It seems clear that an
aorist would suit all four passages, and in the first of them it
seems hopeless to squeeze a natural perfect force into the
Greek :[1] an aorist would suit Mk *l.c.* perfectly, but that
matters less. Now, if we may take them altogether, we can
see an excellent reason why ἔσχηκα should have been used
as an aorist. There is no Greek for *possessed*, the constative
aorist, since ἔσχον is almost (if not quite) exclusively used
for the ingressive *got, received.* Ἔσχον occurs only 20
times in the NT, which is about 3 per cent. of the whole
record of ἔχω. There is not one place where ἔσχον *must* be
constative : Jn 4^{18} may be rendered " thou hast espoused "—
as in Mk 12^{23}, the forming of the tie is the point. The NT
does not contravene Dr Adam's dictum (p. 49 of his notes on
Plato's *Apology*) that " the aorist means *got, acquired,* not
had." The similarity of ἔσχηκα to the aorists ἔθηκα and
ἀφῆκα gave a clear opening for its appropriation to this
purpose, and the translation " possessed " will suit the case
throughout. We thus get in the required aoristic perfects
in Rev and in Paul without sacrificing a principle. Passing
over πέπρακα (Mt 13^{46}), where the absence of an aorist from
the same root may have something to do with the usage, we
Πέπρακα. come to the perplexing case of γέγονα. Its
Γέγονα. affinities would naturally be with the present,
and there seems small reason for letting it
do the work of the common ἐγενόμην. Yet even Josephus

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[1] Plummer (*CGT in loc.*) says, " As in 1^9, the perfect shows how vividly he
recalls the feelings of that trying time " : so Findlay. This means applying
what is said above on πεποίηκα in 2 Co 11^{25}. But is this natural, when the
coming of Titus with good news had produced ἄνεσις so complete ? (See p. 238.)
[a] See p. 248.

(*c. Apion.* 4. 21) has ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς Πεισιστράτου
τυραννίδος ἀνθρώπου γεγονότος, " who flourished a little
before P." From the papyri we may cite two exx. (both from
ii/A.D.). OP 478, " I declare that my son . . . has reached
(προσβεβηκέναι) the age of 13 in the past 16th year of
Hadrian . . . and that his father *was* (γεγονέναι) an in-
habitant . . . and is now dead (τετελευτηκέναι)." BU 136
διαβεβαιουμένου τοῦ Π.　μὴ γεγονέναι τὸν πατέρα τῆς
ἐκδικουμένης ὀνηλάτην. Now there are not a few NT passages
in which it is far from easy to trace the distinct perfect force
of γέγονα, and exx. like those above make it seem useless to
try. But aoristic sense is not really *proved* for any of the
45 NT passages in which γέγονα (indic.) occurs, and in the
great majority it has obviously present time. Lk 10^{36} and
Jn 6^{25} are unpromising for our thesis. But the first has the
vivid present of story-telling—"seems to have shown himself
neighbour." The second — inevitably translated "when
camest thou hither ? "—is only another instance of the perfect
with point of time, dealt with already : it is the combination
of " when *did* you come ? " and " how long *have* you been
here ? " The aoristic use of γέγονα is said by Burton to be
general in Mt : Blass only admits it in 25^6. Even this last
is more like a historic present. The remaining passages
mostly belong to the formula which tells us that the abiding
significance of an event lies in its having been anticipated in
prophecy. In general, it would appear that we can only
admit a case of the kind with the utmost caution. K.
Buresch, in his valuable article "Γέγοναν" (*RhM* 1891,
pp. 193 ff.), noting an example of aoristic γεγόνασι in Plato (?)
Alcib. 124A,[1] observes that this is never found in Greek that
is at all respectable. In later Greek, he proceeds, the use of
γέγονα greatly increases. " It has present force always where
it denotes a state of rest, preterite force where it denotes
becoming. Hence in innumerable cases it is quite an
equivalent of εἰμί, as with *exstiti, factus* or *natus sum,
veni*, etc." (p. 231 n.). It may be doubted however
whether this canon will adequately account for the exx.
from Josephus and the papyri with which we began.

　　Since the earliest period of Greek, certain perfects pos-

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[1] But see below, p. 238.

sessed a present meaning, depending upon the mode of
action belonging to the root, and on that exhibited in the

Perfects with Present Force.
present. Thus the markedly conative present
πείθω, "apply persuasion," with its new per-
fect πέπεικα and aorist ἔπεισα to match, kept
its ancient perfect πέποιθα, which is intransitive (like most
early perfects—see below, p. 154), with meaning *I trust.*
Monro's account of the Perfect in its Homeric stage of
development may be quoted : " If we compare the meaning
of any Perfect with that of the corresponding Aorist or
Present, we shall usually find that the Perfect denotes a
permanent *state,* the Aor. or Pres. an *action* which brings
about or constitutes that state. Thus, . . . ὤλετο *was lost,*
ὄλωλε *is undone.* . . . Thus the so-called *Perfecta præsentia,*
. . . ἕστηκα, . . . μέμνημαι, πέποιθα, οἶδα, ἔοικα, κέκτημαι,
etc., are merely the commonest instances of the rule. . . .
Verbs expressing sustained sounds . . . are usually in the
Perfect " (*HG* 31). This last remark explains κέκραγα, which
has survived in Hellenistic, as the LXX seems to show
decisively. W. F. Moulton (WM 342 n.) says, " In Jn 1¹⁵
hath cried seems the more probable meaning," observing that
the pres. κράζω is rare in classical writers. It is common
in NT, a fact which probably weighed with him in making
κέκραγεν a normal perfect. But the LXX, when exx. are
so numerous and well distributed, must certainly count as
evidence for the vernacular here ; and when we find κέκραγα
14 times, sometimes indisputably present, and never I think
even probably perfect—cf esp. Ps 141(140)¹ πρὸς σὲ ἐκέκραξα
. . . πρόσχες τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου ἐν τῷ κεκραγέναι με
πρὸς σέ (Heb. בְּקָרְאִי) ; and Job 30²⁰, where κέκραγα translates
the impf. אֲשַׁוַּע ——, it is difficult to suppose the word used
as a true perfect in NT. It has not however been " borrowed
from the literary language in place of the Hellenistic κράζει "
(Blass 198). Κράζω has its own distinction as a durative
—cf Ps 32(31)³ ἀπὸ τοῦ κράζειν με ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ; and
κέκραγα, with κεκράξομαι and ἐκέκραξα, may well have been
differentiated as expressing a single cry. In any case we
cannot treat the LXX as evidence for the literary character
of the survival. One may doubt the necessity of putting
ἤλπικα and πέπεισμαι into this category ; but τέθνηκα

naturally belongs to it ; and *ἤγημαι* in Ac 26² (contr. Phil 3⁷)
is one of the literary touches characteristic of the speech
before Agrippa : see Blass *in loc.*   (See further p. 238.)

The Pluperfect.   The Pluperfect, which throws the Perfect
into past time, was never very robust in
Greek.   It must not be regarded as a mere convenience
for expressing relative time, like the corresponding tense in
English.   The conception of relative time never troubled
the Greeks ; and the aorist, which simply states that the
event happened, is generally quite enough to describe what
we like to define more exactly as preceding the time of the
main verb.   A typical case of a pluperfect easily misunder-
stood is Lk 8²⁹, which we referred to on p. 75 in connexion
with the concurrent ambiguity of *πολλοῖς χρόνοις*, and again
(p. 113) in connexion with the perfectivising force of *σύν*.
Since vernacular usage so clearly warrants our rendering the
former " for a long time," we are free to observe that to
render " oftentimes it had seized him " (RV text) involves a
decided abnormality.   It would have to be classed as the
past of the " perfect of broken continuity " which we discussed
above (p. 144) on 2 Co 11²⁵.   But it must be admitted that
the extension of this to the pluperfect is complex, and if there
is a simple alternative we should take it ; RVmg is essen-
tially right, though " held fast " would be better than " seized."
We need not examine further the use of this tense, which
may be interpreted easily from what has been said of Perfect
action.   It should be noted that it appears sometimes in
conditional sentences where an aorist would have been pos-
sible : *e.g.* 1 Jn 2¹⁹ *μεμενήκεισαν ἄν*.   The pluperfect expresses
the continuance of the contingent result to the time of speak-
ing.   In Mt 12⁷ *ἐγνώκειτε* is virtually an imperfect to a
present *ἔγνωκα*, in which the perfect form has the same
rationale as in *οἶδα* ; and in Jn 19¹¹ *ἐδόθη* ¹ would have only
pictured the original gift and not the presence of it with
Pilate at the moment.

The Future :—   Last comes the Future.   The nature of
Its Action.   its action may be looked at first.   This may
be examined in the history of its form.   Its

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¹ On the periphrastic pluperfect, *ἦν δεδομένον*, see pp. 225 ff.

close connexion with the sigmatic aorist act. and mid., and the two aorists pass., is obvious. Except in the passive, in fact, the future was mainly a specialised form of the aorist subjunctive.[1] As such it will naturally share the point action of the aorist. We cannot however decisively rule out the possibility that another formation may have contributed to the Greek future, a formation which would be originally linear in action. The Aryan (Indo-Iranian) and Letto-Slavonic branches of the Indo-Germanic family have a future in *-syō*, which however was very moderately developed in these con- tiguous groups before they separated. Greek, geographically contiguous with Aryan on the other side in prehistoric times, may have possessed this future ; but the existing Greek future can be very well explained without it, though it might be safest to allow its probable presence. In any case there is no question that the action of the Future is in usage mixed. $"A\xi\omega$ is either " I shall lead " or " I shall bring "—the former durative, the latter effective. Thus in Mk 14^{28} $\pi\rho o\acute{a}\xi\omega$ $\acute{v}\mu\hat{a}s$ is probably " I shall go before you," while $\check{a}\xi\omega\nu$ (Ac 22^5) " to bring," and $\check{a}\xi\epsilon\iota$ (1 Th 4^{14}) " he will bring," refer to the end of the action and not its progress. An ingressive future may probably be seen in $\acute{v}\pi o\tau a\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau a\iota$, 1 Co 15^{28} : the $\tau \acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ seems to show that the Parousia is thought of as initiating a new kind of subordination of the Son to the Father, and not the per- petuation of that which had been conspicuous in the whole of the mediatorial æon. The exposition of this mystery must be taken up by the theologians. We pass on to note another example of the ingressive future, to be found in Jn 8^{32}. $\mathrm{'E}\lambda\epsilon v\theta\epsilon\rho o\hat{v}\nu$ appears to be always punctiliar in NT, but it is not necessarily so : cf Sophocles OT 706 $\tau \acute{o}$ γ' $\epsilon\grave{\iota}s$ $\acute{\epsilon}av\tau\grave{o}v$ $\pi\hat{a}v$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon v\theta\epsilon\rho o\hat{\iota}$ $\sigma\tau\acute{o}\mu a$, " as for himself, he *keeps* his lips wholly pure " (Jebb). (It is true Sir R. Jebb uses " *set free* " in his note, but the durative force of his translation seems more suitable.) It is therefore noteworthy that in v.[33] we have the paraphrase $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon v\theta\epsilon\rho o\iota$ $\gamma\epsilon v\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$, to bring out the (ingressive) point action of the future that precedes. Some- times the possession of two future forms enabled the language to differentiate these meanings. Thus $\check{\epsilon}\xi\omega$ was associated

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[1] See Giles, *Manual*[2] 446–8.

with ἔχω, and meant " I shall possess " ; σχήσω with ἔσχον, and so meant " I shall get." [1]   There is one possible ex. in NT : in 1 Pet 4[18] φανεῖται may well be durative as in Attic—note the durative σώζεται preceding it in the same clause ; while φανήσεται (Mt 24[30]) has obviously point action. See the classical evidence marshalled in Kühner-Gerth i. 114 ff., 170 ff. : add the note in Giles, *Manual*[2] 483 n.   Since Hellenistic generally got rid of alternative forms—even σχήσω is entirely obsolete,—this distinction will not be expected to play any real part in NT Greek.   Indeed even those futures which by their formation were most intimately connected with the aorist, such as φοβηθήσομαι (for which Attic could use a durative φοβήσομαι), exercised the double mode of action which was attached to the tense as a whole : cf Heb 13[6], where " be afraid " (durative) seems to be the meaning, rather than " become afraid."   This question settled, we next have

Shall and *Will*. to decide between *shall* and *will* as the appropriate translation.   The volitive future involves action depending on the will of the speaker or of the subject of the verb : in *I will go, you shall go*, it is the former ; in *will you go ?* it is the latter.   Side by side with this there is the purely futuristic *we shall go, they will go.* It is impossible to lay down rules for the rendering of the Greek future—the case is almost as complicated as are the rules for the use of *shall* and *will* in standard English. Not only are the volitive and the futuristic often hard to distinguish, but we have to reckon with an archaic use of the auxiliaries which is traditional in Bible translation.   For instance, in such a passage as Mk 13[24-27] we have *shall* seven times where in modern English we should undeniably use *will*.   But in v.[13] (" the same *shall* be saved ") the substitution of *will* is not at all certain, for the words may be read as a promise (a volitive use), in which *shall* is correct.[2]   Speaking generally, it may fairly be claimed that

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[1] See Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Gramm.* 568, for this as seen in καλῶς σχήσει and καλῶς ἕξει : also his *Gr. Gram.*[3] 480.

[2] The use of *shall* when prophecy is dealing with future time is often particularly unfortunate.   I have heard of an intelligent child who struggled under perplexity for years because of the words " Thou *shalt* deny me thrice : " it could not therefore be Peter's fault, if Jesus commanded him !   The child's

unless volitive force is distinctly traceable from the context, it would be better to translate by the futuristic form. The modernising of our English NT in this respect would involve the sacrifice of a very large number of *shalls* in the 3rd person, for our idiom has changed in many dependent clauses, in which neither *shall* nor *will* is any longer correct. In Mk 14[14], for example, we should certainly say, " Follow him, and wherever he *goes* in. . . ." It is one of the points in which modernising is possible without sacrificing dignity —a sacrifice only too palpable in the various attempts to render the NT into twentieth century English. We are still waiting for our English Lasserre.

Moods of the Future. What remains to be said about the Future will most appropriately come in when we discuss categories such as Commands and Prohibitions, Conditional Sentences, etc. It will suffice to remark here that the moods of the Future have in Hellenistic Greek receded mostly into their original non-existence, as experiments that proved failures. The imperative and subjunctive never existed: a few *lapsus calami* like καυθήσωμαι, or analogically formed aorist subjunctives like ὄψησθε, δώσῃ (WH *App* 172), will not be counted as efforts to supply the gap. The optative, which only performed the function of *orat. obl.* substitute for fut. indic., has disappeared entirely. The infinitive, originally limited in the same way, except for the construction with μέλλω,[1] has shrunk very considerably, though not obsolete. With μέλλω it is only found in the word ἔσεσθαι. The innumerable confusions in the papyri, where a future form often is a mere blunder for an aorist, show that the tense was already moribund for most practical purposes: see Hatzidakis 190 ff. Finally the participle, the only modal form which may claim prehistoric antiquity, retains a limited though genuine function of its own. The volitive force (here final or quasi-final) is the commonest, as Brugmann remarks,[2] and the papyri keep up the classical use; but futuristic forms are not wanting—cf 1 Co 15[37], Heb 3[5], Ac 20[22].

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determinism is probably more widely shared than we think ; and a modernised version of many passages like Mk 14[30]—*e.g.* " you will be renouncing me three times "—would relieve not a few half-conscious difficulties.

[1] Goodwin *MT* § 75.   [2] *Gr. Gram.*[3] 496.

CHAPTER VII.

THE VERB: VOICE.

Voice :— THE phenomena of Voice in Greek present us with conditions which are not very easy for the modern mind to grasp. Active we know, and Passive we know, nor can we easily conceive a language in which either is absent. But nothing is more certain than that the parent language of our family possessed no Passive, but only Active and Middle, the latter originally equal with the former in prominence, though unrepresented now in any language save by forms which have lost all distinction of meaning. What the prehistoric distinction

History of the Middle. was, we can only guess. It is suggestive that in the primitive type which is seen in the Greek τίθημι—τίθεμαι, the principle of vowel-grada-tion (*Ablaut*) will account for -θε- as a weakening of -θη-, and -μι as a weakening of -μαι, if we posit an accent on the root in one form and on the person-ending in the other. Such an assumption obviously does not help with τίθεμεν— τιθέμεθα, nor with λύω—λύομαι; but if it accounts for part of the variation, we have enough to suggest a tentative inter-pretation of the facts. If such be the origin of the two forms, we might assume a difference of emphasis as the starting-point: in the active the action was stressed, in the middle the agent. We may illustrate this by the different emphasis we hear in the reading of the sentence in the Anglican liturgy which reminds the penitent of the Divine forgiveness. One reader says " *He* pardoneth," wishing to lay all stress on the one Source of pardon, another " He *pardoneth*," the pardon itself being the uppermost thought with him. We could easily suppose the former represented by ἀφίεται and the latter by ἀφίησι in a language in which stress accent is free to alter the weight of syllables as it shifts from one to another.[1]

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[1] See below, p. 238.

The Middle in Sanskrit, Out of these postulated conditions, which are of course the merest conjecture, we could readily derive the *nuance* which meets us in the earliest accessible developments of Indo-Germanic speech. The Indian grammarians acutely named the active *parasmai-pada* and the middle *ātmane-pada*, " a word for another " and " for oneself " respectively. Thus *yájate* would be " he sacrifices for himself," while *yájati*, unless the dat. *ātmane* is present in the context, is " he sacrifices for another." The essence of the middle therefore lies in its calling attention to the agent as in some way closely concerned with the action. The same

and in Latin. characteristic is ultimately found in other languages. In Latin the middle has been somewhat obscured formally by the entrance of the *r* suffix, which it shares with its most intimate relative, the Keltic branch. But this has not caused any confusion with the active ; so that the Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit middle voice may be put together, the differentia of Latin being that it has made no reserve like the Greek aorist and future middle, in lending its middle forms to the invading passive. In our inquiry into the

" Deponents." meaning conveyed by the middle, we naturally start with the verbs which are found in active only or middle only, to both of which classes the unsatisfactory name " deponent " should be given, if retained for either. Typical words not used in the middle, in the parent language, are the originals of our verbs *eat, come, am,* and the Greek δίδωμι (simplex) and ῥέω ; while no active can be traced for νέομαι, ἕπομαι (= *sequor*), μαίνομαι, μητίομαι (= *mētior*), κάθημαι, κεῖμαι.[1] The former class will be seen to denote " an action, an occurrence, or a state " ; as likewise do the latter, but " prevailingly such as take place in the sphere of their subject, the whole subject being concerned in the action." Where the distinction is so fine, it is easily seen that many cases must arise in which we can no longer detect it, and are in danger of over-refining if we try. Our investigation must take account of the rather extensive categories in which one part of the verb affects the middle and another the active form. We

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[1] I quote from Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Gramm.* § 799, and mainly follow his account throughout this paragraph.

have a number of cases in which the "strong" perfect active
attaches itself in meaning to the middle, either figuring

**Intransitive
Strong
Perfects.**
among the parts of a verb which has no other
active forms, or siding with the intransitive
middle where the rest of the active is transi-
tive. So conspicuous is this, that the grammars
in which we learnt Greek thirty years ago actually gave
" τέτυπα "—the product, by the way, of an inventive imagina-
tion—as the perfect middle of that highly irregular and defec-
tive verb which in those days was our model regular.[1]   As
exx. of this attachment we may cite γέγονα from γίνομαι and
ἐλήλυθα from ἔρχομαι,[2] with ἀνέῳγα, ἑστάναι, ἀπόλωλα,
σέσηπα, and πέποιθα as intransitive perfects from transitive
verbs. Among the few remaining strong perfects occurring
in the NT, we note ἀκήκοα, κέκραγα,[3] πέπονθα, τέτ(ε)υχα, and
εἴληφα, as from verbs with a future middle. We have the
defectives οἶδα, ἔοικα, and εἴωθα ; and the two isolated actives
ἐνήνοχα and γέγραφα remain the only real exceptions to the
rule which finds some link with the middle in each of the
relatively few survivors of the primitive perfect active. The
list might perhaps be slightly extended from other vernacular
Greek : thus ἀγήοχα (ἀγείοχα, ἀγέωχα) is found freely in
papyri, and belongs to a purely active verb. The conjecture
that the perfect originally had no distinction of active and
middle, its person-endings being peculiar throughout, affords
the most probable explanation of the facts : when the much
later -κα perfect arose, the distinction had become universal.

**Future Middle
in Active sense.**
Parallel with this peculiarity, but much more
extensive, is the category of middle futures
attached to active verbs. As an abnormality
for which no reason could be detected, it naturally began to
suffer from levelling in Hellenistic, but is still prominent. We
have in NT ἀκούσω as well as ἀκούσομαι, κράξω beside κεκρά-
ξομαι, γελάσω, ἐμπτύσω, ἀπαντήσω, διώξω, ῥεύσω, σπουδάσω,

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[1] In this the grammars followed ancient authority : thus Dionysius Thrax
says, " μεσότης δὲ ἡ ποτὲ μὲν ἐνέργειαν ποτὲ δὲ πάθος παριστῶσα, οἷον πέποιθα,
διέφθορα, ἐποιησάμην, ἐγραψάμην."

[2] The aorist ἦλθον is really due to the influence of a third constituent root in
this defective verb.

[3] Κεκράξομαι is only formally passive.

χωρήσω, ἐμπαίξω, ἁρπάσω, κλέψω, ἁμαρτήσω—all these from the selected list of such verbs in Rutherford's small grammar of Attic Greek, which supplies only about as many exx. of the preservation of the old future middle. (Some of these active futures, indeed, have warrant in classical Greek of other dialects than Attic, even from the Homeric period ; but the list will sufficiently illustrate the weakening of this anomaly.) In spite of this, we still find in NT ὄψομαι, -βήσομαι, γνώσομαι, φάγομαι, ἀποθανοῦμαι, κομίσομαι and κομιοῦμαι, λήμψομαι, πίομαι, πεσοῦμαι, τέξομαι, φεύξομαι, which are enough to show that the phenomenon was anything but obsolete. Rutherford classes most of them as " verbs which denote the exercise of the bodily functions " or " intellectual or emotional activity " ; and he would suggest that " the notion of *willing* implied in the future tense " may be the reason of the peculiarity. Brugmann connects it with the tendency of the strong aorist to be intransitive. This would naturally prompt the transitive use of the sigmatic aorist and consequently the future, so that the middle future attaches itself to the active intransitive forms. The explanation is only invoked for cases like βήσομαι, and does not exclude Rutherford's suggestion. We may fairly take the existence of this large class of futures as additional evidence of a close connexion between the middle flexion and the stressing of the agent's interest in the action of the verb.

Use of the Middle : how far is it reflexive ? What has been said of the history of the Middle prepares us for the statement that this voice is quite inaccurately described by empiric grammarians as essentially reflexive. As a matter of fact, the proportion of strictly reflexive middles is exceedingly small. In NT we may cite ἀπήγξατο (Mt 27⁵) as the clearest example, and a survival from classical Greek. But even here one may question whether the English intransitive *choke* is not a truer parallel than the reflexive *hang oneself*. It is curious that in Winer's scanty list of exx. (WM 316), presumably selected as the most plausible, we have to discount all the rest. Λούομαι accompanies its correlate νίπτομαι ; and its one decisively middle form (ὗς λουσαμένη, 2 Pet 2²²) would raise difficulties if it occurred in a better Hellenist. Certainly, if the

pig's ablutions are really reflexive rather than passive, sundry
current notions need revising.   To our author at any rate
λουσαμένη did not suggest willing co-operation.[1]   In citing
κρύπτομαι (Jn 8⁵⁹), *bonus dormitat Homerus* : ἐκρύβη is not
middle in form, nor does the verb show any distinct middle
in NT.   In παρασκευάσεται (1 Co 14⁸) the intransitive
prepare, make preparations, gives a better sense than the
reflexive.   We might bring in such an example as μὴ
σκύλλου Lk 7⁶, compared with the illiterate contemporary
papyrus OP 295, μὴ σκύλλε ἑατήν.   But though no doubt
a reflexive meaning ultimately accrued to the Middle, and
in MGr almost drives other uses off the field, it would
be wrong to suppose that it was originally there.   If the
active is transitive, the middle indicates that the action
goes no further than the agent himself, a sense which
naturally comes out of the concentration on the agent
characteristic of the middle.   Thus νίπτομαι is " I wash,"
with or without object, but implying that the action stops
with myself.   If then there is no object, νίπτομαι = " I wash
myself " : if there is, νίπτομαι τὰς χεῖρας = " I wash *my*

Bearing of the   hands." This characteristic produced a passive
Passive upon   use of the middle, in Brugmann's opinion,
Theory of   before the dialectic differentiation of Indo-
Middle.   Germanic speech.   Intransitive use is a
natural development from the fundamental idea of the
middle ; and from intransitive to passive is but a step.
The well-known classical use of ἀποθνῄσκει ὑπό τινος, as
correlative to ἀποκτείνει τις, illustrates the development.
It may seem to us strange that the same form should be
used indifferently as active or passive in meaning—that,
for example, ἐνεργουμένη in Jas 5¹⁶ should be translated
" working " (RV) or " inwrought," [2] with only the context
to decide.   Our own coincident transitive and intransitive,

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[1] The rhythmical conclusion of the proverb suggests that it originated in
an iambic line from comedy.   Was 2 Pet citing from memory a verse the
metrical nature of which he did not realise ?   If so, the original would of course
not admit λουσαμένη—it would run λελουμένη δ'ὗς εἰς κυλισμὸν βορβόρου, or λουθεῖσ
ἅπαξ ὗς, or the like.   But see below, p. 238.

[2] See Mayor *in loc.*, and J. A. Robinson, *Eph.* 247.   W. F. Moulton strongly
favoured the second rendering.   Why the Revisers did not give it even a
marginal place, is hard to divine : it was there in their first revision.

however, is almost equally capable of producing ambiguity, or would be if it were not for the studied avoidance of ambiguity which is necessarily characteristic of an analytic language. " He who hides can find," " He who hides is safe," exhibit the same form both as transitive and intransitive; and it would be easy to devise a context in which the second would become really ambiguous.

The Middle paraphrased by Reflexive in Dative case. From what has been said, it is clear that the most practical equivalent of the Middle will generally be the active with the *dative* of the reflexive pronoun. This is in fact the nearest approach to a general statement which we can formulate, premising of course that it is rough in itself, and an exaggeration of the differentia. In προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς (Lk 12¹), " pay attention for yourselves," we have a phrase differing little from φυλάσσεσθε (v.¹⁵), " be on your guard," being only rather more emphatic. Mk 14⁴⁷ σπασά-μενος τὴν μάχαιραν is paraphrased by Mt (26⁵¹) ἀπέσπασεν τ. μ. αὐτοῦ: here, as in Ac 14¹⁴, where διαρρήξαντες τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτῶν replaces the more idiomatic διαρρηξάμενοι τὰ ἱ., we see the possessive gen. expressing the same shade of meaning. Sometimes we find redundance, as when in Jn 19²⁴ διεμερίσαντο . . . ἑαυτοῖς stands against the unaccompanied verb in the same quotation Mt 27³⁵. A few

Typical Middles :— typical illustrations of the general principle may be added. Προσκαλοῦμαι, " I call to myself," is clear: its opposite ἀπωθοῦμαι, " I thrust away from myself," is not really different, since ἀπωθῶ ἐμαυτῷ would show a legitimate *dativus commodi*. We have in fact to vary the exact relation of the reflexive perpetually if we are to represent the middle in the form appropriate to the particular example. Συνεβουλεύσαντο Mt 26⁴ answers

Reciprocal, to συνεβούλευσαν ἑαυτοῖς, " they counselled one another": here we have the *reciprocal* middle, as in μάχεσθαι.¹ Ἐξελέγοντο Lk 14⁷ " they picked out for themselves," and so " chose ": cf the distinction

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¹ Cf the closeness of ἀλλήλους and ἑαυτούς. Brugmann has some notes on this middle in *Indog. Forsch.* v. 114. Cf MGr νὰ παρηγορηθοῦμε, " that we may comfort one another" (Abbott 228, distich 56).

of αἱρῶ and αἱροῦμαι.   Πείθειν is " to exercise suasion " :
in the middle it keeps the action within the sphere of the
agent, and consequently means " to admit suasion to oneself."
Χρῶμαι, from the old noun χρή " necessity," is " I make
for myself what is necessary with something "—hence the
instrumental, as with the similar middle *utor* in Latin.   Less

Dynamic,   easy to define are the cases of "*dynamic*"
middle, where the middle endings only
emphasised the part taken by the subject in the action of
the verb, thus νήχω and νήχομαι (not NT) " to swim."
The category will include a number of verbs in which it is
useless to exercise our ingenuity on interpreting the middle,
for the development never progressed beyond the rudimentary
stage.   We need not stay to detail here the cases where the
middle introduces a wholly new meaning.   On the point of
principle, it should however be noted that mental as opposed

Mental Action.   to physical applications of the idea of the
verb will often be introduced in this way,
since mental action is especially confined within the sphere of
the agent.   Thus καταλαμβάνω " seize, overtake " (Jn 1⁵ 12³⁵),
in the middle denotes mental " comprehending," as Ac 4¹³.

Hellenistic   " On the whole the conclusion arrived at
Use of the   must be that the NT writers were perfectly
Middle.   capable of preserving the distinction between
the active and middle."   Such is the authori-
tative summary of Blass (p. 186), which makes it superfluous
for us to labour any proof.   Differences between Attic and
Hellenistic use in details are naturally found, and the un-
classical substitutions of active for middle or middle for
active are so numerous as to serve the Abbé Viteau for proof
of Hebraism on a large scale.   As Thumb remarks (*Hellen-
ismus* 127), a mere glance into Hatzidakis's *Einleitung*—an
indispensable classic, the absence of which from Viteau's list
of works consulted accounts for a great deal—would have
shown him that in the Hellenistic period Greeks by birth
were guilty of many innovations in the use of the voices
which could never have owed anything to Hebrew.   The NT
exx. which Hatzidakis gives (pp. 195 ff.) are not at all in-
consistent with the dictum of Blass quoted above.   The
sphere of the middle was, as we have seen, not at all sharply

delimited, and usage inevitably varied in different localities
and authors. There are plenty of middles in Attic, and
even in Homer, in which the rationale of the voice is very
hard to define. Naturally such words may have dropped
a no longer intelligible distinction, just as popular Latin
did in such words as *sequor* and *utor*, while in other
words the distinction may have been applied in a dif-
ferent manner. We can see why γαμεῖσθαι = *nubere* fell
out of use in Hellenistic:[1] even if a need was still felt
for a separate word to suit the bride's part in a wedding,
the appropriateness of the middle voice was not clear, and
the distinction was liable to lapse. The accuracy with which
the middle was used would naturally vary with the writers'
Greek culture. Note for example how Mt and Lk correct
the ἐφυλαξάμην (*legem observare*) of their source in Mk 10²⁰.
In Mk 2²³ they have removed another incorrect use, unless
ὁδοποιεῖν is to be read there with B etc. (WHmg); for
ὁδὸν ποιεῖν means "construct a road" (Gildersleeve *Synt.*
69), and the middle should have been used instead. In the
less educated papyrographers we find blunders of this kind
considerably earlier than the time when the more subtle
meanings of the middle disappeared.[a] As early as 95 B.C.
we find ἐὰν αἱρῆτε and ἐὰν αἱρῆσθε used side by side for "if
you like" (GH 36), and in the preceding century διαλύωμεν
appears in the sense of διαλυώμεθα in LPe. These are of
course sporadic, but some violations of classical usage have
almost become fixed. This especially applies to the idiom-
atic use of ποιεῖσθαι with a noun as substitute for a verb.
Here the middle sense was not clearly discernible to the
plain man, and ποιεῖν invades the province of the middle
very largely. We still have μνείαν ποιεῖσθαι (as in Eph 1¹⁶)
BU 632 (ii/A.D.), καταφυγὴν ποιεῖσθαι TP 5 (ii/i B.C.),
BU 970 (ii/A.D.), etc. But the recurrent phrase τὸ προσκύ-
νημά (σου) ποιῶ only once (Letronne 117) shows the middle;
and Mt 6² π. ἐλεημοσύνην, Mk 15¹ συμβούλιον π.,[2] Lk 18⁷
π. ἐκδίκησιν, etc., will serve as specimens of a fairly large

[1] Speaking generally: it survives in the legal language of marriage contracts
as OP 496 (early ii/A.D.).   [a See p. 248.

[2] Cf the modern phrase συμβούλιο γιὰ νὰ κάμουν "to consult," of physicians
(Abbott 200). (On ποιεῖν in such phrases, cf Robinson, *Eph.* 172.)

class of usages, in which we cannot accuse the writers of
ignorance, since the middle could only defend itself by pre-
scription. So when a new phrase was developed, there might
be hesitation between the voices : συνᾶραι λόγον appears in
Mt 18²³ 25¹⁹, BU 775 (ii/A.D.), but the middle, as in FP 109
(i/A.D.), OP 113 (ii/A.D.), is more classical in spirit.   In places
however where an educated Hellenist like Paul markedly
diverges from the normal, we need not hesitate on occasion
to regard his variation as purposed: thus ἡρμοσάμην 2 Co 11²
fairly justifies itself by the profound *personal* interest the
apostle took in this spiritual προμνηστική.

Αἰτῶ and
Αἰτοῦμαι.

This is not the place for discussing, or
even cataloguing, all the verbs which vary
from classical norm in respect of the middle
voice ; but there is one special case on which we must tarry
a little longer.   The distinction between αἰτῶ and αἰτοῦμαι
claims attention because of the juxtaposition of the two in
Jas 4²ᶠ·, 1 Jn 5¹⁵, Mk 6²²⁻²⁵ 10³⁵· ³⁸ (= Mt 20²⁰· ²²).   The
grammarian Ammonius (iv/A.D.) declares that αἰτῶ means to
ask *simpliciter*, with no thought of returning, while αἰτοῦμαι
involves only request for a loan.   This remark serves as an
example of the indifferent success of late writers in their
efforts to trace an extinct subtlety.   Blass (p. 186) says that
αἰτοῦμαι was used in business transactions, αἰτῶ in requests of
a son from a father, a man from God, and others on the
same lines.   He calls the interchange in Jas and 1 Jn *ll.cc.*
" arbitrary " ; but it is not easy to understand how a writer like
James could commit so purposeless a freak as this would be.
Mayor in his note cites grammarians who made αἰτοῦμαι =
ask μεθ᾿ ἱκεσίας, or μετὰ παρακλήσεως, which certainly suits
the idea of the middle better than Ammonius' unlucky guess.
" When αἰτεῖτε is thus opposed to αἰτεῖσθε," Mayor proceeds,
" it implies using the words, without the spirit, of prayer."
If the middle is really the stronger word, we can understand
its being brought in just where an effect of contrast can be
secured, while in ordinary passages the active would carry as
much weight as was needed.   For the alternation of active
and middle in the Herodias story, Blass's ingenious remark
may be recalled, that " the daughter of Herodias, after the
king's declaration, stands in a kind of business relation to

him " (p. 186 n.), so that the differentia of the middle cited above will hold.

Middle and Passive Aorists. The line of demarcation between Middle and Passive is generally drawn by the help of the passive aorist, which is supposed to be a sound criterion in verbs the voice of which is doubtful. It should however be pointed out that historically this criterion has little or no value. The " strong " aorist passive in -ην is nothing but a special active formation, as its endings show, which became passive by virtue of its preference for intransitive force. The -θην aorist was originally developed, according to Wackernagel's practically certain conjecture, out of the old aorist middle, which in nonthematic formations ran like ἐδόμην—ἐδόθης—ἔδοτο : when the thematic -σο displaced the older -θης (Skt. -thās), the form ἐδόθης was set free to form a new tense on the analogy of the -ην aorist, which was no more necessarily passive than the identic formation seen in Latin habēs, habet. Compare ἐχάρην from χαίρω (also χαίρομαι in MGr, by formal levelling),[1] where the passive idea remained imperceptible even in NT times : the formally passive ἐκρύβη, from κρύπτω, in Jn 8⁵⁹ (cf Gen 3¹⁰) will serve as an ex. of a pure intransitive aorist from a transitive verb.[2] In Homer (cf Monro *HG* 45) the -θην aorist is very often indistinguishable in use from the aorist middle ; and it is unsafe to suppose that in later periods of the language the presence of an aorist in -θην or -ην is proof of a passive meaning in a " deponent " verb. Of course the -θην forms, with their derivative future, were in the very large majority of cases passive ; but it may be questioned whether there was markedly more passivity in the " feel " of them than there was in the present or perfect formations. For example, from ἀποκρίνομαι, " answer," we have ἀπεκρινάμην in Attic Greek and predominantly in the papyri, while ἀπεκρίθην greatly outnumbers it in the NT ; but the evidence noted above (p. 39) shows that the two forms were used concurrently in the Κοινή, and without

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[1] So Ac 3⁸ D : cf Trygaeus in Arist. *Pax* 291 (Blass).

[2] To match these specimens of formal passives with middle meaning, we may cite middles in passive sense. Thus BU 1053, 1055 (i/B.c.) τὸ ἐν ὀφιλῇ θησόμενον, " the amount that shall be charged as due."

the slightest difference of sense. W. F. Moulton was inclined
to see "a faint passive force . . . in most of the instances"
of ἐστάθην in NT, though observing that it "is in regular
use as an intransitive aorist" in MGr [1] (WM 315 n.). He
also suggested the possibility that ἐκοιμήθην in 1 Th 4[14]
might be a true passive, "was put to sleep," which gives a
strikingly beautiful sense. A purely middle use of κοιμηθῆναι,
"fell asleep," is patent in such phrases as Ch P 3 ἡνίκα
ἤμελλον κοιμηθῆναι ἔγραψα ἐπιστόλια β (iii/B.C.). The active
κοιμᾶν however, though apparently dormant in classical prose,[2]
revives in the LXX, as Gen 24[11]. We may also compare the
clear passive in FP 110 (i/A.D.) ἵνα τὰ πρόβατα ἐκεῖ κοιμηθῆι,
"may be folded," as the edd. translate. It seems possible
therefore to conceive the passive force existing side by side
with the simple intransitive, as apparently happened in ἐστά-
θην (see note [1] below); but we cannot speak with confidence.

Common Ground. Perhaps the matter is best summed up
with the remark that the two voices were not
differentiated with anything like the same
sharpness as is inevitable in analytic formations such as we
use in English. We have seen how the bulk of the forms
were indifferently middle or passive, and how even those
which were appropriated to one voice or the other are
perpetually crossing the frontier. Common ground between
them is to be observed in the category for which we use the
translation "submit to," "let oneself be," etc. Thus in Tb P
35 (ii/B.C.) ἑαυτὸν αἰτιάσεται, "will get himself accused," is
a middle; but in 1 Co 6[7] ἀδικεῖσθε and ἀποστερεῖσθε are
described as passives by Blass, who says that "'to let' in the
sense of occasioning some result is expressed by the middle"
(p. 185). The dividing line is a fine one at best. 'Απο-
γράψασθαι in Lk 2[5] might seem to determine the voice of
the present in vv.[1,3], but Blass finds a passive in v.[1] Is

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[1] Ἐστάθηκα is used as aor. to στέκω "stand," and ἐστήθηκα to στήνω "place" (Thumb *Handb.* 92).

[2] Cf πορεύειν and φοβεῖν, which have entirely given up their active: we should hardly care to call πορευθῆναι and φοβηθῆναι passive. In MGr we have some exx. of the opposite tendency, as δαιμονίζω "drive mad" (Abbott 224, no. 47): in older Greek this verb is purely middle. See other exx. in Hatzidakis 198 f.

there adequate evidence for separating them? Formally
ἀποκόψονται, Gal 5¹² (Dt 23¹), is middle,¹ and so are βάπτισα;
and ἀπόλουσαι, Ac 22¹⁶ (cf 1 Co 6¹¹ 10²); but if the tense
were present or perfect, could we decide? The verb ὑποτάσσω
furnishes us with a rather important application of this
question. What is the voice of ὑποταγήσεται in 1 Co 15²⁸?
Is it passive—" be subjected " by as well as " to him that did
subject all things to him "? Or is it middle—" be subject "?
Findlay (*EGT in loc.*) calls it " middle in force, like the 2nd aor.
pass. in Rom 10³, in consistency with the initiative ascribed to
Christ throughout." I incline to this, but without accepting
the reflexive " subject himself," which accentuates the differ-
ence between the identical ὑποταγῇ and ὑποταγήσεται; the
neutral " be subject " explains both, and the context must
decide the interpretation. In Rom 10³ the RV renders " did
not subject themselves," despite the passive; and the reflexive
is an accurate interpretation, as in ὑποτάσσεσθε Col 3¹⁸.
The question next presents itself whether we are at liberty
to press the passive force of the aorist and future and perfect
of ἐγείρω, when applied to the Resurrection of Christ. A
glance at the concordance will show how often ἠγέρθην etc.
are merely intransitive; and we can hardly doubt that ἠγέρθη,
in Mk 16⁶ and the like, translated קם (cf Delitzsch). But if
the context (as in 1 Co 15) strongly emphasises the action of
God, the passive becomes the right translation. It is in fact
more for the exegete than for the grammarian to decide
between *rose* and *was raised*, even if the tense is apparently
unambiguous: one may confess to a grave doubt whether the
speaker of Greek really felt the distinction.²

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¹ The verb must be similarly treated with reference to its *voice*, whether we
translate with text or margin of RV. The various arguments in favour of
the margin, to which the citation of Dt *l.c.* commits us above, are now reinforced
by Ramsay's advocacy, *Expos.* for Nov. 1905, pp. 358 ff. He takes the wish
rather more seriously than I have done (*infr.* 201); but I should be quite ready
to go with Mr G. Jackson, in the same Expos., p. 373. See also Findlay *in loc.*
(*Exp. B* 328 f.).

² On the Passive, reference should be made to Wellh. 25 f., for exx. showing
how this voice was largely replaced by other locutions in Aramaic (especially
the impersonal plural, p. 58 f. above), and consequently in Synoptic translations.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE VERB: THE MOODS.

The Moods in general. THE Moods which we have to discuss will be the Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative, and those uses of the Indicative which make it a "*modus irrealis*." In this preliminary chapter we shall aim at evaluating the primary meanings of the Moods, leaving to the systematic grammar the exhaustive classification of their uses, especially in dependent clauses. The moods in question are characterised by a common subjective element, representing an attitude of mind on the part of the speaker. It is not possible for us to determine with any certainty the primitive root-idea of each mood. The Imperative is tolerably clear: it represented command—prohibition was not originally associated with it, and in Greek only partially elbowed its way in, to be elbowed out again in the latest developments of the language. The Subjunctive cannot be thus simply summarised, for the only certain predication we can make of its uses is that they all concern future time. We shall see that its force can mostly be represented by *shall* or *will*, in one of their various senses. Whether the Subjunctive can be morphologically traced to a single origin is very problematic. A possible unification, on the basis of a common mood-sign -$\bar{a}$-, was conjectured by the writer some years ago (*AJP* x. 285 f.: see the summary in Giles, *Manual*[2] 460 n.). It is at least a curious coincidence that the mood-sign thus obtained for the Subjunctive should functionally resemble the -$y\bar{e}$- under which the Optative can confessedly be unified. We are dealing with prehistoric developments, and it is therefore futile to speculate whether it would be more than a coincidence, should these two closely allied moods prove to have been formed by suffixes which

make nouns of nearly identical function. However clearly
the Optative may be reduced to a single formation, it gives
us nevertheless no hope of assigning its meanings to a single
root-idea : Optative and Potential, *may* and *might* in their
various uses, defy all efforts to reduce them to a unity. In
this book the discussion of the Potential might almost be
drawn on the lines of the famous chapter on snakes in Iceland,
but for literary survivals in the Lucan writings. (See pp. 197 ff.)
No language but Greek has preserved both Subjunctive and
Optative as separate and living elements in speech, and
Hellenistic Greek took care to abolish this singularity in a
fairly drastic way. It ought to be added, before we pass
from this general introduction, that in a historical account
of the Moods a fourth, the *Injunctive*, has to be interpolated,
to explain certain phenomena which disturb the development
of the others, and perhaps of the Indicative as well. The
Injunctive was simply an imperfect or aorist indicative
without the augment. *Δύου, λύεσθε, λύσασθε, λύθητε, λύετε,*
λύσατε and *σχές* will suffice as specimens, enough to illustrate
how largely it contributed to the formation of the Imperative.
Syntactically it represented the bare combination of verbal
idea with the ending which supplies the subject ; and its
prevailing use was for prohibitions, if we may judge from
Sanskrit, where it still remains to some extent alive. The
fact that this primitive mood thus occupies ground appropriate
to the Subjunctive, while it supplies the Imperative ulti-
mately with nearly all its forms, illustrates the syntactical
nearness of the moods. Since the Optative also can express
prohibition, even in the NT (Mk 11[14]), we see how much
common ground is shared by all the subjective moods.

Particles affect-
ing Moods :—
"Aν.

Before taking the Moods in detail, we
must tarry a little over the consideration
of two important particles which vitally
affect their constructions, *ἄν* and *μή*. The
former of these is a very marked peculiarity of Greek. It is
a kind of leaven in a Greek sentence : itself untranslatable,
it may transform the meaning of a clause in which it is
inserted. In Homer we find it side by side with another
particle, *κέν* or *κέ* (probably Aeolic), which appears to
be somewhat weaker in force : the later dialects generally

select one or the other for exclusive use. The general
definition of its meaning is not very easily laid down.
" Under the circumstances," " in that case," " anyhow," may
express it pretty well.[1]   The idiomatic use of " just," common
in Scotland, approximates to ἄν (κὲν) very fairly when used
in apodosis : ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕλωμαι, " I'll jist tak her mysel'."
(See p. 239.)   It had become stereotyped by the time we
reach Hellenistic Greek, and we need not therefore trace its
earlier development.   Two originally connected usages are
now sharply distinguished.   In one, ἄν stands with optative
or indicative, and imparts to the verb a contingent meaning,
depending on an *if* clause, expressed or understood, in the
context.   In the other, the ἄν (in the NT period more often
written ἐάν—see pp. 42 f., 56) has formed a close contact with
a conjunction or a relative, to which it generally imparts the
meaning *-soever* : of course this exaggerates the differentia in
most cases.   Here the subjunctive, invariable in Attic, does
not always appear in the less cultured Hellenistic writers.
How greatly this use preponderates in the NT will best be
shown by a table [2] :—

| | | | ῎Αν (ἐάν) with subj. (or indic.) joined with relative or conjunction. | ῎Αν conditional, with verb. | | | | |
| | | | | With indic. | | | With opt. | |
				Impf.	Aor.	Pluperf.	Pres.	Aor.
Mt	.	.	55	1	7	0	0	0
Mk	.	.	30	0	1	0	0	0
Lk	.	.	28	2	4	0	3	1
Ac	.	.	10	0	1	0	3	2
Jn, 1 Jn, 3 Jn	.		15	7	7	1	0	0
			(incl. ᾔδειτε *bis*)					
Rev	.	.	5	0	0	0	0	0
Paul	.	.	27	3	3	0	0	0
Heb	.	.	1	4	1	0	0	0
Jas	.	.	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	.	172	17	24	1	6	3

[1] Brugmann *Gram.*[3] 499 gives "allenfalls, eventuell, unter Umständen."

[2] The corresponding figures for the LXX will be instructive.   A rough count
in HR gives 739 as the total occurrences of ἄν (including κἄν), apart from
ἐάν = ἄν.   Out of these 26 are with aor. opt. ; εἴη comes 3 times and ἔχοιμι once
(in 4 Mac, an artificial work which supplies by itself 11 out of the exx. just
noted) ; 22 can be classified as iterative ; 41 are with aor. indic., 6 with imperf.
and 1 with pluperf. ; and 8 are abnormal (6 with relative and fut. indic., and
1 each with pres. indic. and fut. indic.).   I have included all cases in which ἄν
was read by any of the authorities cited in Swete's manual edition.

The disproportion between these totals—172 and 51—would be immensely increased if ἐάν (*if*) and ὅταν were added. We shall see later (pp. 198 and 200) that the conditional ἄν is rapidly decaying. The other use, though extremely abundant in our period, falls away rapidly long before the papyri fail us; and even within the NT we notice some writers who never show it, or only very seldom. This prepares us for the ultimate disappearance of the particle except in composition (MGr ἄν *if*, from the old ἤἄν ; [1] σάν *as* or *when*, from ὡς ἄν—see below ; and κἄν *even*, used like the NT κἄν = καί, not affecting construction).

We proceed to mention a few miscellaneous points in the NT use of ἄν. There are three places in which the old *iterative* force seems to survive : Ac 2⁴⁵ and 4³⁵ καθότι ἄν τις χρείαν εἶχεν, and 1 Co 12² ὡς ἂν ἤγεσθε.[2] "As you *would* be led (from day to day)" translates the last by an English iterative construction which coincides with the conditional, as in Greek : Goodwin *MT* § 249 pleads for a historical connexion of these two uses of ἄν. The aorist no longer appears in this construction as in classical Greek. Then we should note the appearance of ὡς ἄν in constructions which foreshadow the MGr idiom just mentioned.[3] Rom 15²⁴ is an interesting case, because of the *present* subjunctive that follows : "when I am on my way" (durative) transfers into the subjunctive the familiar use of present for future. In 1 Co 11³⁴ it has the easier aorist, "whenever I shall have arrived," and so in Phil 2²³. In 2 Co 10⁹, however, it means "as it were." [4] MGr σάν has gone further, and takes the indicative as an ordinary word for *when*. The weakening of the connexion between compounds of ἄν and the subjunctive is seen in the appearance of the indicative with

Iterative ἄν.

ὡς ἄν.

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[1] On ἤἄν and ἐάν (*if*) in NT see above, p. 43 n.

[2] Winer (p. 384) would make all these parallel with the use of ὅπου ἄν c. indic. in Mk 6⁵⁶ and the like. I deal with the question below.

[3] For vernacular evidence see Par P 26 (ii/B.C.—with gen. abs.), 46 (ii/B.C.—with aor. subj.); BM 20 (ii/B.C.) συνέταξας ὡς ἂν εἰς Μέμφιν ; *OGIS* 90²³ (ii/B.C.—the Rosetta Stone) ὡς ἂν . . . συνεστηκυίας, etc.

[4] Both the exx. of ἄν c. partic. quoted by Winer (p. 378) are ὡς ἄν : add 2 Mac 12⁴. I have noted *one* ex. of genuine ἄν c. ptc. in a Κοινή inscr., *IMA* iii. 174 (A.D. 5) δικαιότερον ἂν σωθέντα.

ὅταν and ἐάν (*if*), and other words of the kind.   So not
infrequently in Mk, as 3¹¹ ὅταν ἐθεώρουν, 11²⁵ ὅταν στήκετε,
11¹⁹ ὅταν ἐγένετο : add Rev 4⁹ ὅταν δώσουσιν,
8¹ ὅταν ἤνοιξεν.   Parallel with these are
Mk 6⁵⁶ ὅπου ἄν εἰσεπορεύετο and ὅσοι ἄν
ἥψαντο, Rev 14⁴ ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγει (where however we are
entirely free to spell ὑπάγῃ if we like).   Since these are
in the least cultured of NT writers, and include presents and
futures as well as past tenses, we should hardly class them
with the cases of iterative ἄν just given from well-educated
writers such as Luke and Paul, though there is an obvious
kinship.   If ἄν added -*ever* to the force of a relative or con-
junction, there seemed no reason to forbid its use with a past
tense where that meaning was wanted.   The papyri yield
only a small number of parallels, showing that in general
the grammatical tradition held.   Thus BU 607 (ii/A.D.)
ὁπόταν ἀναιροῦνται, FP 126 (iv/A.D.) ὅσ᾽ ἂν πάσχετε,
Par P 26 (ii/B.C.) ὅταν ἔβημεν κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν
(= merely *when*), BU 424 (ii/iii A.D.) ἐπὰν ἐπυθόμην (also
= *when*), BM 331 (ii/A.D.) ὅσα ἐὰν παρελαβόμην.   The
tendency to drop the distinction of *when* and *whenever*[a] may
be connected with the fact that ὁπότε is freely used for *when*
in papyri—so the later uncials in Lk 6³.   'Εάν with indica-
tive is found in 1 Th 3⁸ στήκετε, 1 Jn 5¹⁵ οἴδαμεν, to mention
only two cases in which indic. and subj. are not formally
identical in sound.   Winer quotes even ἐὰν ἦσθα, from Job
22³ (ἦςA), and similar atrocities (as the Atticist would count
them) from the Byzantine writers.   We may add a selection
from papyri :—Par P 18 ἐὰν μαχοῦσιν μετ᾽ ἐσοῦ.   62 (ii/B.C.)
ἐάνπερ ἐκπληρώσουσιν.   Tb P 58 (ii/B.C.) ἐὰν δεῖ.   BU 546
(Byz.) ἐὰν οἶδεν.   OP 237 (ii/A.D.) ἐὰν δ᾽ εἰσίν.   AP 93
(ii/A.D.) ἐὰν φαίνεται.   There are several exx. of ἐὰν ἦν, but in
some cases it certainly stands for ᾖ—for this curious recurrent
phenomenon see notes in *CR* xv. 38, 436, and above, p. 49 :
I cannot therefore quote with certainty.   (See further p. 239.)

The same lesson is taught by conjunctions
which still take the subjunctive, though ἄν has
been allowed to fall out.   It does not seem to
make any difference whether ἕως or ἕως ἄν is written, and
so with many other compounds.   Thus PP 13 (Ptol.) ὅσα

*Ὅταν, etc.
c. indic.*

*Ἄν dropped from
its compounds.*

[a] See p. 248.

ὀφείλωσίν τινες, CPR 24, 25 (ii/A.D.) ἐφ' ὃν ᾖ χρόνον, 237
ὅσα αὐτῷ προστέκηται, Tb P 6 (ii/B.C.) ἕως μένωσι, GH 38
(i/B.C.) ἕως καταβῇς, OP 34 (ii/A.D.) μήτε διδότω . . . πρὶν αὐτῷ
ἐπιστέλληται, etc., etc.   The prevalence of this omission in
the papyri with conjunctions meaning *until* (ἄχρι, μέχρι,
μέχρι οὗ, ἕως, πρίν, πρὸ τοῦ, etc.), is paralleled in the NT:
cf Mk 14³², 2 Pet 1¹⁹, Lk 13⁸, etc.—see the list in WM 371.
With πρὶν (ἤ), however, the ἄν occurs in the only place (Lk
2²⁶) where it is used with subjunctive.[1]

Εἰ μήτι ἄν.
In 1 Co 7⁵ μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους,
εἰ μήτι ἂν [om. B, probably to ease a diffi-
culty] ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρόν, we have a curious combina-
tion which seems to be matched in the papyri.[2]   So BU 326
(ii/A.D.) εἴ τι ἐὰν ἀνθρώπινον πά[θῃ], and εἴ τι ἐὰν μετὰ ταῦτα
γεγραμμένα καταλίπω, "if I should leave a codicil": the
latter phrase is repeated subsequently without ἐάν in this
rather illiterate will.   OP 105 (ii/A.D.) εἴ τι ἄλλο αἰὰν ⟨ἔ⟩χω,
FP 130 (iii/A.D.) εἴ τινος ἦὰν χρία σοί ἐστιν.   BM 233
(iv/A.D.) εἴ τι ἄν ἁπαξαπλῶς ἀναλώσῃς.   These documents
are too illiterate for illustrating Paul: some early scribe is
more likely to be responsible than the apostle.   Note that
Origen quotes ἐὰν μήτι.   This explanation (Deissmann's) seems
on the whole preferable to the alternative cited from Buttmann
in WM 380 n.   Winer's editor himself compared the ἄν to
that in κἄν and ὡς ἄν which does not affect construction:
cf Tb P 28 (ii/B.C.) εἰ κἄν δύναται.

Μή.
More important still in its influence on
the moods is the subjective negative μή, the
distinction between which and the objective *nĕ* (replaced in
Greek by οὐ) goes back to the period of Indo-Germanic unity,
and survives into the Greek of the present day.   The history
of μή has been one of continuous aggression.   It started in
principal clauses, to express prohibition.   As early as Homer

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[1] Luke once uses it with subj. and once with opt., both times correctly with
a negative clause preceding (Lk *l.c.*, Ac 25¹⁶).   The papyrus writers are not so
particular.   Elsewhere in NT the infin. construction is found.

[2] See Deissmann *BS* 201 n.   He quotes BU 326, but will not allow that εἰ
μήτι ἄν is a kind of analysis of ἐὰν μήτι, though this gives the meaning correctly.
Blass², p. 321, has not summarised him quite adequately, if I understand Deiss-
mann correctly.   The point is that ἄν is added to εἰ μήτι as it might be to ὅπου
or ὅτε, meaning *unless in a given case, unless perhaps*.   See further p. 239.

μή had established itself in a large and complex variety of uses, to which we have to appeal when we seek to know the true nature of the modal constructions as we come to them.   Since every Greek grammar gives the ordinary rules distinguishing the uses of οὐ and μή, we need not examine them here in their historical relationship: what must be said will come up best as we deal with the moods *seriatim*.   But the broad differences between Hellenistic and earlier Greek in this respect raise questions affecting the moods as a whole, and especially the verb infinite.   We must therefore sketch the subject briefly here.

Blass's Canon.   The difference between οὐ and μή in the *Κοινή* of the NT becomes a very simple matter if we accept the rule which Blass lays down (p. 253). " All instances," he says, " may practically be brought under the single rule, that οὐ negatives the indicative, μή the other moods, including the infinitive and participle."   In reviewing Blass, Thumb makes the important addition that in MGr δέν (from οὐδέν, which stepped into the place of οὐ, as we can easily understand from many of its adverbial uses in NT) belongs to the indicative and μή(ν) to the subjunctive.   The classical paper of Gildersleeve in the first number of his *AJP* (1880), on encroachments of μή upon οὐ in the later Greek, especially in Lucian, makes it very clear that the Attic standard was irrecoverable in Lucian's day even by the most scrupulous of Atticists : cf the parallel case of the optative (below, p. 197).   It is of course obvious that the ultimate goal has not been completely reached in NT times.   *Μή* has not been driven away from the indicative. Its use in questions is very distinct from that of οὐ,[1] and is

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[1] Blass (p. 254 n.) thinks that μήτι in Jn 21[5] " hardly lends itself to the meaning ' certainly not I suppose.' "   But the tone of this word, introducing a *hesitant* question (as Jn 4[29]), is not really inappropriate.   We often hear " I suppose you haven't got . . . on you, have you ? "   Moreover, the papyri show us that προσφάγιον is not so broad a word as " something to eat."   See my note, *Expos.* VI. viii. 437, to which I can now add OP 736 and 738 (cir. A.D. 1).   The apostles had left even ἄρτοι behind them once (Mk 8[14]) : they might well have left the " relish " on this occasion.   It would normally be fish ; cf Mk 6[38]. (While speaking of Jn *l.c.*, I should like to add that the address Παιδία, " Lads ! ", may be paralleled in MGr, *e.g.* in the Klepht ballad, Abbott 42— παιδία μου and παιδία, to soldiers.)   See further p. 239.

maintained in NT Greek without real weakening. $M\acute{\eta}$ remains after $\epsilon\grave{\iota}$ c. indic. in unfulfilled conditions, except in Mk 14²¹ (and Mt). But in simple conditions $\epsilon\grave{\iota}$ $o\grave{\upsilon}$ is common. Luke has 6, Jn 3, Paul 16, Jas 2, and Mt, Heb, 2 Pet, and Rev one each. Against this total of 31, we have 4 exx. of $\epsilon\grave{\iota}$ $\mu\acute{\eta}$ in simple conditions with verb expressed, and three of these (1 Co 15², 2 Co 13⁵, Gal 1⁷) are anything but normal:[1] 1 Tim 6³ is more ordinary, according to classical standards. Blass adds $\epsilon\grave{\iota}$ $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$ $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $o\grave{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ from the agraphon in D at Lk 6⁴. $E\grave{\iota}$ $\mu\acute{\eta}$ is three times as common in NT as $\epsilon\grave{\iota}$ $o\grave{\upsilon}$, but we soon see that it is restricted to three uses: (1) in protasis of unreal conditions; (2) meaning *except*, much like $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$; (3) with $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, meaning *otherwise*, without verb expressed. Lk 9¹³, with a deliberative subjunctive following, is exceptional. Such being the facts, it is difficult to combat the assertion that $\epsilon\grave{\iota}$ $o\grave{\upsilon}$ came to be the norm;[2] though doubtless several of its exx. were correct according to classical standards, as in Rom 8⁹, where a single word is negatived rather than a sentence. A few survivals of $\mu\acute{\eta}$ in relative sentences preserve literary construction; so Ac 15²⁹ D, 1 Jn 4³ (unless we desert the extant MSS for patristic evidence and read $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota$, with WHmg and Blass) Tit 1¹¹, 2 Pet 1⁹. A genuine example of the old distinction is traceable in the otherwise identic phrases of Jn 3¹⁸ and 1 Jn 5¹⁰: the former states the *charge, quod non crediderit*, the latter the simple *fact, quod non credidit*. But it must be allowed that this is an isolated case.[1] We will leave to the next chapter the only other exception to Blass's canon, the limited use of $o\grave{\upsilon}$ with the participle.

The Imperative :— First among the Moods we take up the Imperative. It is the simplest possible form of the verb. $\H{A}\gamma\epsilon$ the imperative of $\H{a}\gamma\omega$, and $\dot{a}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}$ the vocative of $\dot{a}\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$, are both of them interjections formed by isolating the root and adding no suffix—the thematic vowel ϵ is now generally regarded as a part of the root rather than a suffix. In our own language, where nouns and verbs have in hosts of cases reunited through the disappearance of suffixes, we can represent this identity easily. " Murder ! ", in Russia or Armenia, might be either verb or noun—a general order to

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[1] See below, p. 239.   [2] See p. 240.

soldiers charging a crowd, or the scream of one of the victims
The interjection, as we might expect, was indifferently used
for 2nd and 3rd person, as is still shown by the Latin *agito*,
Skt. *ajatāt*, (= *age + tōd*, the ablative of a demonstrative pro-
noun, " from this (moment)," added to make the command more
peremptory). How close is the kinship of the interjection
and the imperative, is well shown by the demonstrative
adverb δεῦρο, " hither," which only needs the exclamation
mark to make it mean " come here ": it even forms a plural
δεῦτε in this sense. We shall recall this principle when we
describe the use of the infinitive in commands.

Tone of Imperative. There being in Greek a considerable
variety of forms in which one man may
express to another a wish that is to control
his action, it will be necessary to examine the tone of that
mood which is appropriated to this purpose. As we might
expect from our own language, the imperative has a very
decided tone about it. The context will determine how much
stress it is carrying : this may vary from mere permission, as
in Mt 8³² (cf ἐπέτρεψεν in the presumed source Mk 5¹³) or
1 Co 7¹⁵, to the strongest command. A careful study of the
imperative in the Attic Orators, by Prof. C. W. E. Miller
(*AJP* xiii. 399 ff.), brings out the essential qualities of the
mood as used in hortatory literature. The grammarian Her-
mogenes asserted harshness to be a feature of the imperative;[1]
and the sophist Protagoras even blamed Homer for addressing
the Muse at the beginning of the *Iliad* with an imperative.[2]
By a discriminating analysis of the conditions under which
the orators use the imperative, Miller shows that it was
most avoided in the proem, the part of the speech where con-
ciliation of the audience's favour was most carefully studied ;
and the criticism of Protagoras, which the ancients took
more seriously than many moderns have done, is seen to
be simply due to the rhetorician's applying to poetry a rule
that was unchallenged in rhetoric. If a cursory and limited
observation may be trusted, the *ethos* of the imperative
had not changed in the age of the papyri. Imperatives

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[1] Σχήματα δὲ τραχέα μάλιστα μὲν τὰ προστακτικά.
[2] *Ap.* Aristotle *Poetics* ch. 19.

are normal in royal edicts, in letters to inferiors, and among
equals when the tone is urgent, or the writer indisposed to
multiply words: they are conspicuously few in petitions.
When we come to the NT, we find a very different state
of things. The prophet is not accustomed to conciliate
his hearers with carefully softened commands; and in the
imperial edicts of Him who "taught with authority," and
the ethical exhortations of men who spoke in His name,
we find naturally a large proportion of imperatives. More-
over, even in the language of prayer the imperative is at
home, and that in its more urgent form, the aorist. Gilder-
sleeve observes (on Justin Martyr, p. 137), "As in the Lord's
Prayer, so in the ancient Greek liturgies the aor. imper.
is almost exclusively used. It is the true tense for 'instant'
prayer." The language of petition to human superiors is
full of δέομαι, καλῶς ποιήσεις, and various other periphrases
whereby the request may be made palatable. To God we
are bidden by our Lord's precept and example to present
the claim of faith in the simplest, directest, most urgent
form with which language supplies us.

Tenses of Imperative. The distinction between present and
aorist imperative has been drawn already,
to some extent, in the discussion of pro-
hibitions; for though the subjunctive has to be used in the
aorist, it is difficult to question that for this purpose the
two moods hardly differ—the reason for the ban on μὴ
ποίησον lies buried in the prehistoric stage of the language.
And whatever the distinction may be, we must apply the
same essential principles to commands and prohibitions,
which were felt by the Greeks to be logically identical
categories: see Miller *op. cit.* 416. The only difference
will be that the meaning of μὴ ποιήσῃς (above, pp. 122 ff.)
comes from the future sense inherent in the subjunctive,
while in estimating the force of ποίησον we have nothing
but the aorist idea to consider. This, as we have often
repeated, lies in the " point action " involved. In the
imperative therefore the conciseness of the aorist makes it a
decidedly more sharp and urgent form than the present. The
latter may of course show any of the characteristics of linear
action. There is the iterative, as in Lk 11[3], the conative,

as in Mk 9³⁹ (" do not try to stop him, as you are doing ")
Phil 2¹² (" set to working out "); and of course the simple
durative *passim*. Writers differ in their preferences between
the tenses. Thus 1 Pet shows a marked liking for the aorist,
which he has 22 times in commands (2nd pers.), against
6 presents; on the other hand Paul has 9 presents to 1
aorist (apart from LXX citations) in Gal, and 20 to 2 in
Phil. In Mt 5–7 the presents (still 2nd pers.) are 19 to
24, and in corresponding parts of Lk 21 to 16. In seven
passages only do the two evangelists use different tenses, and
in all of them the accompanying variation of phraseology
accounts for the difference in a way which shows how delicately
the distinction of tenses was observed. Mt 5⁴² = Lk 6³⁰, and
Mt 6¹¹ = Lk 11³, we have dealt with. Mt 5¹² has continuous
presents, following ὅταν c. aor. subj.: in Lk 6²³ a little more
stress on the ingressive element in these aorists makes the
addition ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ suitable, and this carries with it
the aor. imper. In Lk 12⁵⁸ δός is natural with ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ:
Mt 5²⁵ has ἴσθι εὐνοῶν, which is curious in view of ταχύ.
But since εἰμί has no aorist, it is not surprising that its
imperative is sometimes quasi-ingressive: cf Mk 5³⁴, Lk
19¹⁷, and the phrase γνωστὸν ἔστω (Ac *ter*). The punctiliar
στρέψον, *turn*, in Mt 5³⁹ answers well to the linear πάρεχε,
hold out, offer, in Lk 6²⁹. The vivid phrase ἀγωνίζεσθε
εἰσελθεῖν of Lk 13²⁴ may well preserve more of the original
than the constative εἰσέλθατε of Mt 7¹³. In all these cases
we may reasonably see the effects of varying translation
from Aramaic original, itself perhaps not wholly fixed in
detail; but we see no trace of indifference to the force of
the tenses. The remaining example is in a quotation from
Ps 6⁹, in which Mt 7²³ preserves the LXX except in the verb
ἀποχωρεῖτε, while Lk 13²⁷ modifies the address to ἐργάται
ἀδικίας: here it is enough to say that the meaning of ἀπο-
χωρεῖτε imposes a quasi-ingressive sense even on the present.

Third Person Imperative. We have so far discussed only commands
and prohibitions in the 2nd person. Not
much need be added as to the use of the
3rd. Here the veto on the aorist in prohibition is with-
drawn: we need not stay to ask why. Thus in Mt 6³ μὴ
γνώτω, 24¹⁷·¹⁸ μὴ καταβάτω . . . μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω, which

all come under ordinary aorist categories. As in classical Greek, the 3rd person is naturally much less common than the 2nd. Though the 1st person is not formally brought in under the Imperative, it will be well to treat it here: a passage like Mk 14⁴² ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν shows that logically it is fair to speak of three persons in the imperative mood, since ἄγωμεν only differs from ἐγείρεσθε in that the speaker is included with the objects of the command. That this should affect the tone of the command is of course inevitable; but indeed all three persons necessarily differ considerably in the *éthos* they severally show. The closeness of connexion between this volitive subjunctive 1st person and the regular imperative is well seen in Sanskrit, where the Vedic subjunctive is obsolete in the epic period except for the 1st person, which stands in the grammars as an ordinary part of the imperative—*bharāma, bharata, bharantu,* like φέρωμεν, φέρετε, φερόντων (Att.). In Hellenistic Greek the imperative 1st person is beginning to be differentiated from other subjunctives by the addition of ἄφες, ἄφετε, a use which has recently appeared in a papyrus of the Roman period (OP 413, ἄφες ἐγὼ αὐτὴν θρηνήσω), and has become normal in MGr (ἄς with 1st and 3rd subj. making imperative). This is always recognised in Mt 7⁴ = Lk 6⁴²: why not in 27⁴⁹ = Mk 15³⁶ one has never been able to see. To force on Mt a gratuitous deviation from Mk seems a rather purposeless proceeding. Translating both passages simply " Let us see," the only difference we have left is in the speakers, which is paralleled by several similar variations (Hawkins *HS* 56 ff.). It is possible that Jn 12⁷, ἄφες αὐτὴν ἵνα τηρήσῃ,[1] has the same construction in the 3rd person, to be literally rendered like the rest by our auxiliary, " Let her keep it." (So practically RV text.) The alternative is " Let her alone: let her keep it," which is favoured by Mk 14⁶. The acc. αὐτήν, compared with the ἐγώ seen in OP 413, discourages our treating ἄφες as a mere auxiliary.[2] We shall

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[1] Τετήρηκεν (α-text) is a self-evident correction.

[2] If we suppose the τί κόπους παρέχετε ; (durative) to indicate that Judas and the rest were trying to stop Mary, the "let her keep it" (τηρήσῃ constative)

be seeing shortly that ἵνα c. subj. is an imperative (ἵνα
εἴπῃς = MGr νὰ 'πῇς,[1] say !). The word had not yet by any
means developed as far as our *let*, or its own MGr derivative
ἄς. Note that it much more frequently takes the infin.
(8 times in NT): other parts of the verb take infin. 7 times
and ἵνα c. subj. once (Mk 11¹⁶). Our own word helps us
in estimating the coexistence of auxiliary and independent
verb in the same word: in our rendering of Mt 7⁴ " allow
me " is the meaning, but to substitute " allow " for " let "
in a phrase like " let us go " would be impossible. Ἄφες
is " let " as in " do let me go," while MGr ἄς is the simple
auxiliary.

Perfect Imperative. The scanty relics of the Perfect Impera-
tive need detain us very briefly. In the
active it never existed, except in verbs whose
perfect had the force of a present :[2] we find κεκραγέτωσαν
in LXX (Is 14³¹), but no ex. in NT. In the passive it was
fairly common in 3rd person (periphrastic form in plural),
expressing " a command that something just done or about
to be done shall be *decisive* and *final* " (Goodwin). We have
this in Lk 12³⁵. The rare 2nd person is, Goodwin adds, " a
little more emphatic than the present or aorist ": it shares,
in fact, the characteristic just noted for the 3rd person.
Cf πεφίμωσο Mk 4³⁹ with φιμώθητι 1²⁵. The epistolary
ἔρρωσο in Ac 23³⁰ (a-text), 15²⁹ (*passim* in papyri), does not
come in here, as the perfect has present meaning.

Substitutes for Imperative :— We are ready now to look at the other
forms of Command—we use the word as
including Prohibition—which supplement the
mood appropriated to this purpose. We shall find that
forms of command can be supplied by all six moods of the
verb—acquiescing for the moment in a convenient misuse
of the term " mood," to cover all the subjects
(1) Future Indicative ; of this chapter and the next. The Future
Indicative is exceedingly common in this sense.

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may be taken as forbidding interference with an act already begun. That the
ἡμέρα τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ was already come, is stated as much by the προέλαβεν of
Mk 14⁸ as by the phrase in Jn. The action of v.³ is narrated completely (as it
is by Mk), before the interruption is described.

[1] Thumb *Handb.* 100.   [2] Goodwin *MT* § 108.

It seems to come to it by two roads, as may be seen by
the study of its negatives. A command like οὐ φονεύσεις,
which can be seen in earlier Greek and becomes abundant in
the Hellenistic vernacular, is proved by its οὐ to be a purely
futuristic form. Such a future may have the tone of absolute
· indifference, as in the colloquial σὺ ὄψῃ, " you will see to
that," Mt 27⁴. Or it may show that the speaker takes the
tone of one who does not contemplate the bare possibility of
disobedience. Thus in Euripides *Med.* 1320 χειρὶ δ᾽ οὐ
ψαύσεις ποτέ, " you *will* never be able to touch me," shades
into " you *shall* never touch me." Against Winer's remark
(p. 397) that this form " was considered milder· than the
imperative," we may set Gildersleeve's emphatic denial. " A
prediction may imply resistless power or cold indifference,
compulsion or concession " (*Synt.* 116). We have also a
rare form in which the negative μή proclaims a *volitive* future,
in its origin identical with the μὴ ποιήσῃς type already dis-
cussed. Demosthenes has μὴ βουλήσεσθε εἰδέναι, and μὴ
ἔξεσται BU 197 (i/A.D.), μὴ ἀφήσις BU 814 (iii/A.D.), show
· its sporadic existence in the vernacular Κοινή. Blass adds
μηδένα μισήσετε from Clem. Hom. iii. 69.ᵃ These passages
help to demonstrate the reality of this rare form against
Gildersleeve's suspicions (*Synt.* 117).[1] Yet another volitive
future is seen in the imperatival use of the future with οὐ in
a question : Ac 13¹⁰ οὐ παύσῃ διαστρέφων ; Prediction and
Command approximate in the NT use of οὐ μή (see below,
pp. 187 ff.), which in Mt 15⁵, Lk 1¹⁵, Jn 13⁸, Gal 4³⁰, and
possibly elsewhere, is most naturally classed as imperatival.

(2) Subjunctive ; Next among these forms of command comes
the subjunctive, already largely dealt with.
So we have had the 1st person, as Jn 14³¹ ἄγωμεν, Gal 5²⁶
μὴ γινώμεθα. The future and the imperative between
them carried off the old jussive use of the subjunctive in
positive commands of 2nd and 3rd person. The old rule
which in (" Anglicistic ") Latin made *sileas !* an entirely
grammatical retort discourteous to the Public Orator's *sileam ?*

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[1] To this class I should assign the use of ὅπως c. fut. = imper., as in Plato
337ʙ ὅπως μοι μὴ ἐρεῖς, *don't tell me:* ὅπως is merely a conjunction, "in
which case." Though common in colloquial Attic, it is ousted in Hellenistic
by ἵνα : note however BU 625 (ii/iii A.D.) διὸ ὅπως ἐνταλῇς. (See p. 240.)

12 ᵃ See p. 248.

—which in the dialect of Elis produced such phrases as
ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήᾱται Νικόδρομορ, " let Nicodromus attend to
it " [1]—has no place in classical or later Greek, unless we admit
as an ex. one line of Sophocles, much beloved of examiners.[2]
We have dealt already with μὴ ποιήσῃς, the historical equi-
valent of the Latin ne feceris. In the 3rd person the sub-
junctive is little used : 1 Co 16[11], 2 Co 11[16], 2 Th 2[3] are
exx. The tone of these clauses is less peremptory than that
of the imperative, as may be seen from their closeness to the
clauses of warning. Such μή clauses, with subj.—rarely
future (as in Col 2[8], Heb 3[12]), which presumably makes the
warning somewhat more instant—are often reinforced by ὅρα,
βλέπε, or the like. It must not be supposed that the μή
clause historically " depends on " this introductory word, so
that there is an ellipsis when it stands alone. Even where
the apparent governing verb is a real independent word and
not a mere auxiliary—e.g. in Mk 14[38], προσεύχεσθε ἵνα μὴ
ἔλθητε εἰς πειρασμόν—the parataxis was probably once as
real as it is in a phrase like Lk 12[15] ὁρᾶτε καὶ φυλάσσεσθε.
In Rev 19[10] 22[9] we find μή standing alone after ὅρα : cf our
colloquial " Don't ! " One important difference between pro-
hibition and warning is that in the latter we may have either
present or aorist subjunctive : Heb 12[15] is an ex. of the
present. But we must return to these sentences later. An
innovation in Hellenistic is ἵνα c. subj. in commands, which
takes the place of the classical ὅπως c. fut. indic. Whether
it was independently developed, or merely came in as an
obvious equivalent, we need not stop to enquire. In any case
it fell into line with other tendencies which weakened the
telic force of ἵνα ; and from a very restricted activity in the
vernacular of the NT period it advanced to a prominent
position in MGr syntax (see above, p. 176). In the papyri we
have a moderate number of exx., the earliest of which is
FP 112 (i/A.D.) ἐπέχον (= -ων) Ζωίλωι καὶ εἵνα αὐτὸν μὴ
δυσωπήσῃς, "attend to Z. and don't look askance at him."
An earlier ex. appears in a letter of Cicero (Att. vi. 5[2]) ταῦτα

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[1] Cauer 264 (iv/iii B.C.). It must however be noted that Brugmann (Gram.[3]
500) calls the connexion of this with the prehistoric jussive 3rd sing. ''sehr
zweifelhaft " : he does not give his reasons.

[2] Philoct. 300 : see Jebb.

οὖν, πρῶτον μέν, ἵνα πάντα σῴζηται· δεύτερον δέ, ἵνα μηδὲ τῶν τόκων ὀλιγωρήσῃς. Winer (WM 396) would find it "in the Greek poets," citing however only Soph. *OC* 155. W. F. Moulton, in setting this aside as solitary and dubious, observes that the scholiast took the passage this way—in his day of course the usage was common.[a] An ex. for the 1st person may be added : BU 48 (ii/iii A.D.) ἐὰν ἀναβῇς τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα ὁμόσε γενώμεθα. In the NT the best ex. is Eph 5³³ ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα, which is correlated with ἀγαπάτω in the first clause. So 2 Co 8⁷, Mk 5²³ : Gal 2¹⁰ may be regarded as the same construction put indirectly. Mk 10⁵¹ and parallels have really the same : θέλω ἵνα more nearly coalesce in Mk 6²⁵ 10³⁵, Jn 17²⁴. The combination θέλω ἵνα,[b] which of course is not confined to quasi-imperative use, gave birth ultimately to the MGr auxiliary θά (θενά, etc.),

(3) Optative ; forming the future tense. The Optative can express commands through either of its main constructions, but its evanescence in the **Κοινή** naturally limits NT illustrations. The Optative proper (neg. μή), however, does occur in Mk 11¹⁴ : note that Mt (21¹⁹) substitutes the familiar construction οὐ μή c. subj. The Potential with ἄν (neg. οὐ), as λέγοις ἄν, "pray speak," is not found in NT at all.[1] The imperatival

(4) Infinitive ; Infinitive has been needlessly objected to. It is unquestionable in Phil 3¹⁶, Rom 12¹⁵, and highly probable in Tit 2²⁻¹⁰ : we must not add Lk 9³, which is merely a case of mixed direct and indirect speech. The epistolary χαίρειν, Ac 15²³ 23²⁶, Jas 1¹, is the same in origin. We no longer need Winer's reminder (p. 397) that the verbs in 1 Th 3¹¹, 2 Th 2¹⁷ 3⁵ are optatives ; but it is well to note that our assurance rests on something better than the accentuation, which any one of us may emend, if he sees fit, without any MS that counts saying him nay. The infin. for imper. was familiar in Greek, especially in laws and in maxims. It survives in the **Κοινή**, as the papyri show : on AP 86 (i/A.D.), ἐξεῖναι and μισθῶσαι, cf Radermacher in *RhM* lvii. 147, who notes it as a popular use.[c] Hatzidakis

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[1] An ex. perhaps occurs in Par P 42 (ii/B.C.), χαρίζου (?=-οιο) δ' ἂν καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμελόμενος ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃς. [a b c See p. 248.

shows (p. 192) that in the Pontic dialect, the only form
of MGr in which the infinitive form survives, the infin. is
still used as an imperative for all numbers and persons.   We
have therefore every reason to expect it in the NT, and its
rarity there is the only matter for surprise.[1]   Last among

(5) **Participle.**   these substitutes for the imperative comes the
                    Participle, the admission of which, despite
Winer's objections (p. 441), is established beyond question by
the papyri.   The proof of this will be given when we deal with
the Participle in its place.   Here it is sufficient to point out
that a passage like 1 Pet 3⁸ᶠ·, where adjectives and participles
alike obviously demand the unexpressed ἐστέ, gives us the
rationale of the usage clearly enough.   It is a curious fact
that while ἴσθι occurs 5 times in NT, ἔστω (ἤτω) 14, and
ἔστωσαν twice, ἐστέ, which we should have expected to be
common, does not appear at all.   Γίνεσθε occurs and ἔσεσθε,
but it seems more idiomatic to drop the copula : compare
the normal absence of the verb with predicates like
μακάριος, κατάρατος, εὐλογητός, οὐαί, which sometimes raises
doubts whether an indicative or an imperative (optative) is
understood.   We are accordingly absolved from inventing an
anacoluthon, or some other grammatical device when we come
to such a passage as Rom 12⁹⁻¹⁹, where adjectives and parti-
ciples, positive and negative, in imperative sense are inter-
rupted by imperatives in vv.¹⁴· ¹⁶· ¹⁹ and infinitives in v.¹⁵.
The participles are obviously durative in their action : this is
well seen in v.¹⁹, where ἐκδικοῦντες, meaning either " do not
avenge yourselves (whenever wronged) "—iterative sense—
or " do not (as your tendency is) " (*supr.* p. 125), is strongly
contrasted with the decisive aorist δότε, " once and for all
make room for the Wrath [2] (which alone can do justice on
wrong)."   The infinitives are appropriate in the concise
maxim of v.¹⁵.   Assuming the cogency of the vernacular

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[1] See Deissmann *BS* 344. I do not however think there is any real ellipsis
of a verb of command : see below, p. 203. Historically there is probably no
ellipsis even in the epistolary χαίρειν. It should be stated that Viteau i. 146
claims this also as a Hebraism ! See Thumb, *Hellen.* 130 f. ; also Meisterhans³
244–6, for its use in decrees.

[2] So the RV in the First Revision, and the American Revisers, beyond all
question rightly. It is one more example of the baneful effects of the two-
thirds rule upon the RV.

evidence given on p. 223 below, we may select the following
as probable exx. of imperatival participle from the list of
passages in which the absence of such evidence compelled
Winer *l.c.* to adopt other interpretations[1] :—1 Pet 3¹· ⁷ 2¹⁸
4⁸ᶠᶠ·: in this last passage ἔχοντες might of course be con-
structed with νήψατε, and at first sight it seems possible in
this way to avoid an asyndeton. But πρὸ πάντων only intro-
duces a series of asyndetic precepts, in which φιλόξενοι and
διακονοῦντες must have the same construction. To supply
the imperative idea (as in 4¹¹) seems simplest, though of
course vv.⁸⁻¹¹ are all still dependent on the imperatives of
v.⁷. Since Peter is evidently given to this construction, we
may take 2¹² in the same way, though it would pass as an
easy *constr. ad sensum* with v.¹¹: one would be inclined to add
1¹⁴, but Hort's alternative must be noted.[2] These are all the
passages we can accept from Winer's list of exx. proposed ; a
glance at the unrecorded remainder will vividly show what
astounding fatuities, current in his day, the great grammarian
had to waste his space in refuting. But we may extend the
list somewhat. Paul was not so fond of this construction as
his brother apostle : note how in 1 Pet 3¹, echoing Eph 5²²,
the ὑποτασσόμεναι is slipped into the place where Paul
(according to B and Jerome) left an ellipsis, having used the
verb just before in a regular sequence. But the exx. we have
already had are conclusive for Paul's usage. Add Col 3¹⁶
(note the imperative to be supplied after πάντα in v.¹⁷),
2 Co 9¹¹· ¹³ and Eph 4²· ³ (cf 1 Pet 2¹²). In 2 Co 8²⁴ ἐνδει-
κνύμενοι is read by B (and the δ-text uncials,—presumably
the reason why WH relegate it to the margin): it is how-
ever obvious that the ἐνδείξασθε of אC and the later uncials
is not likely to be original as against the participle, which
would challenge correction. The imper. in Versions counts
for little, if we are right in our account of the idiom ; but
the participle *ustaiknyandans* in Wulfila is a noteworthy piece

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[1] We follow Winer's order, tacitly agreeing with his explanation when we
pass over a passage cited. The exx. in which the ptc. would be indicatival will
be dealt with below. (An important ex. is added on p. 240.)

[2] I must withdraw 5⁷, cited in *Expos.* VI. x. 450: the participle there goes
closely with ταπεινώθητε. Probably 3⁷ was meant—"sed μνημονικὸν ἁμάρτημα,"
as Cicero says.

of evidence on the other side.   2 Co 9¹¹ is more simply ex-
plained this way than by the assumption of a long parenthesis.
Rom 13¹¹ means "and this (do) with knowledge," the parti-
ciple being rather the complement of an understood imperative
than imperative itself.   Heb 13⁵ gives us an ex. outside
Peter and Paul.   With great hesitation, I incline to add
Lk 24⁴⁷, punctuating with WHmg : "Begin ye from Jeru-
salem as witnesses of these things."   The emphatic ὑμεῖς,
repeated in v.⁴⁹, thus marks the contrast between the Twelve,
for whom Jerusalem would always be the centre, and one to
be raised up soon who would make the world his parish :
the hint is a preparation for Luke's Book II.   There are
difficulties, but they seem less than the astonishing breach of
concord which the other punctuation forces on so correct a
writer.   (See p. 240.)   On this usage in general W. F. Moulton
(WM 732 n.) sided with Winer, especially against T. S. Green's
suggestion that it was an Aramaism ; but he ends with
saying "In Heb 13⁵, Rom 12⁹ᶠᶠ·, it must not be forgotten
that by the side of the participles stand *adjectives*, with
which the imperative of εἶναι is confessedly to be supplied."
This is, as we have seen, the most probable reason of a use
which new evidence allows us to accept without the mis-
givings that held back both Winer and his editor.   It is not
however really inconsistent with Lightfoot's suggestive note
on Col 3¹⁶, in which he says, " The absolute participle, being
(so far as regards mood) neutral in itself, takes its colour
from the general complexion of the sentence.   Thus it is
sometimes indicative (*e.g.* 2 Co 7⁵, and frequently), some-
times imperative (as in the passages quoted [Rom 12⁹ᶠ· ¹⁶ᶠ·,
Eph 4²ᶠ·, Heb 13⁵, 1 Pet 2¹²⁽ᵞ⁾ 3¹· ⁷· ⁹· ¹⁵· ¹⁶]), sometimes opta-
tive (as [Col] 2², 2 Co 9¹¹, cf Eph 3¹⁷)."   The fact is, when
we speak of a part of εἶναι being "understood," we are
really using inexact language, as even English will show.
I take the index to my hymn-book and note the first line of
three of Charles Wesley's hymns :—" Happy the souls that
first believed," " Happy soul that free from harms," " Happy
soul, thy days are ended."   In the first, on this grammatical
principle, we should supply *were*, in the second *is* (*the*), while
we call the third a vocative, that is, an interjection.   But
the very " ! "-mark which concludes the stanza in each case

shows that all three are on the same footing: "the general complexion of the sentence," as Lightfoot says, determines in what sense we are to take a grammatical form which is indeterminate in itself.

Some Elliptical Imperative Clauses. A few more words are called for upon the subject of defective clauses made into commands, prayers, imprecations, etc., by the exclamatory form in which they are cast, or by the nature of their context. In Rom 13¹¹ and Col 3¹⁷ we have already met with imperatives needing to be supplied from the context: Mt 27¹⁹·²⁵, Col 4⁶, Gal 1⁵ (see Lightfoot) and Jn 20¹⁹ are interjectional clauses, and there is nothing conclusive to show whether imperative or optative, or in some like clauses (*e.g.* Lk 1²³) indicative, of εἶναι would be inserted if the sentence were expressed in full logical form. Other exx. may be seen in WM 732 ff. But there is one case of heaped-up ellipses on which we must tarry a little, that of Rom 12⁶⁻⁸. There is much to attract, despite all the weight of contrary authority, in the punctuation which places only a comma at end of v.⁵, or—what comes to nearly the same thing—the treatment of ἔχοντες as virtually equivalent to ἔχομεν: "But we have grace-gifts which differ according to the grace that was given us, whether that of prophecy (differing) according to the measure of our faith, or that of service (differing) in the sphere of the service, or he that teaches (exercising—ἔχων—his gift) in his teaching, or he that exhorts in his exhorting, he who gives (exercising this charism) in singleness of purpose, he who holds office in a deep sense of responsibility, he who shows compassion in cheerfulness." In this way we have διάφορον supplied with προφητείαν and διακονίαν, and then the ἔχοντες χαρίσματα is taken up in each successive clause, in nearly the same sense throughout: the durative sense of ἔχω, *hold* and so *exercise*, must be once more remembered. But as by advancing this view we shall certainly fall under the condemnation for "hardihood," pronounced by such paramount authorities as SH, we had better state the alternative, which is the justification for dealing with this well-known crux here. The imperatival idea, which on the usual view is understood in the several clauses, must be derived from the fact that the

prepositional phrases are successively thrown out as inter-
jections. If we put into words the sense thus created,
perhaps ἔστω will express as much as we have the right to
express : we may have to change it to ὦμεν with ἐν τῇ
διακονίᾳ ("let us be wrapped up in," like ἐν τούτοις ἴσθι
1 Ti 4¹⁵). In this way we arrive at the meaning given in
paraphrase by the RV.

**The
Subjunctive.** We take next the most live of the
Moods, the only one which has actually
increased its activities during the thirty-two
centuries of the history of the Greek language.[1] According to
the classification adopted by Brugmann,[2] there are three main
divisions of the subjunctive, the *volitive*, the *deliberative*, and
the *futuristic*. Brugmann separates the last two, against W.
G. Hale, because the former has μή as its negative, while the
latter originally had οὐ. But the question may well be
asked whether the first two are radically separable. Prof.
Sonnenschein well points out (*CR* xvi. 166) that the "deli-
berative" is only "a question as to what is or was to be done."
A command may easily be put in to the interrogative tone :
witness οἶσθ᾽ οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον; *quin redeamus ?* (= *why should
we not ?* answering to *redeamus = let us*), and our own "*Have
some ?*" The objection to the term "deliberative," and to the
separation of the first two classes, appears to be well grounded.
It should further be observed that the future indicative has
carried off not only the futuristic but also the volitive and deli-
berative subjunctives ; cf such a sentence as εἴπωμεν ἢ σιγῶμεν;
ἢ τί δράσομεν ;[3] With the *caveat* already suggested, we may
(1) Volitive ; outline the triple division. The Volitive has
been treated largely under the substitutes for
the imperative. We must add the use with μή in *warning*,
which lies near that in prohibition; cf Mt 25⁹. Intro-
ductory words like φοβοῦμαι, σκόπει, etc., did not historically

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[1] So if we start from the mention of the Achaians on an Egyptian monu-
ment of 1275 B.C.—'*Aḳaiwaša*=᾽Αχαιϝῶς, the prehistoric form of ᾽Αχαιοί. See
Hess and Streitberg in *Indog. Forsch.* vi. 123 ff.

[2] *Gram.*³ 490 ff.

[3] Eurip. *Ion* 771. On the subjunctive element in the Greek future see
above, p. 149. Lat. *ero, faxo*, Greek πίομαι, φάγομαι (Hellenistic mixture of
ἔδομαι and ἔφαγον), χέω, are clear subjunctive forms, to name only a few.

determine the construction: thus Heb 4¹ was really " Let us
fear ! haply one of you may . . . !"ᵃ Out of the Volitive
arose the great class of dependent clauses of Purpose, also
paratactic in origin. The closeness of relation between
future and subjunctive is seen in the fact that final clauses
with ὅπως c. fut. were negatived with μή: the future did not
by any means restrict itself to the futuristic use of the mood
which it pillaged. On the so-called Deliberative we have
already said nearly enough for our purpose.

(2) **Deliberative**; It is seen in questions, as Mk 12¹⁴ δῶμεν ἢ
μὴ δῶμεν; Mt 23³³ πῶς φύγητε; Rom 10¹⁴ πῶς ἐπικαλέσωνται;
The question may be dependent, as Lk 9⁵⁴ θέλεις εἴπωμεν;
(MGr θὰ εἰποῦμε; is simple future, *shall we say?*) We
see it both with and without ἵνα in Lk 18⁴¹. In the
form of the future we meet it in sentences like Lk 22⁴⁹ εἰ
πατάξομεν ἐν μαχαίρῃ; The present subjunctive is probably
to be recognised in Mt 11³ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν; Finally, the

(3) **Futuristic**. Futuristic is seen still separate from the
future tense in the Homeric καί ποτέ τις
Γείπῃσι, and in isolated relics in Attic Greek, like τί πάθω ;
Its primitive use reappears in the Κοινή, where in the later
papyri the subjunctive may be seen for the simple future.
Blass (p. 208) quotes it occurring as early as the LXX, Is
33²⁴ ἀφεθῇ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ ἁμαρτία.¹ It is from the futuristic
subjunctive that the dependent clauses with ἐάν and ὅταν
sprang: the negative μή, originally excluded from this
division of the subjunctive, has trespassed here from the
earliest times. There is one passage where the old use of
the subjunctive in comparisons seems to outcrop, Mk 4²⁶ ὡς
ἄνθρωπος βάλῃ τὸν σπόρον . . . καὶ καθεύδῃ (etc., all *pres.*
subj.).²ᵇ It is hard to say to which of the three divisions
this belongs—Brugmann remarks on the impossibility of
determining the classification of dependent clauses in general,
—but perhaps the futuristic is best, like our " as a man *will*
sow," etc. The survival of this out-of-the-way subjunctive
in the artless Greek of Mk is not very easy to explain;

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¹ See some exx. below, p. 240.   [ᵃ See p. 248.   ᵇ See p. 249.
² It must be noted that Blass² (p. 321) calls this impossible, and inserts ἐάν.
But אBDLΔ and the best cursives agree on this reading : why should they agree
on the *lectio ardua* ? Ὡς ἐάν (AC) has all the signs of an obvious correction.

it is indeed hardly likely, in the absence of evidence from the
intermediate period, that there is any real continuity of
usage.   But the root-ideas of the subjunctive changed
remarkably little in the millennium or so separating Homer
from the Gospels; and the mood which was more and more
winning back its old domain from the future tense may well
have come to be used again as a " gnomic future" without
any knowledge of the antiquity of such a usage.   Other
examples of this encroachment will occur as we go on.

Tenses.   The kind of action found in the present,
                aorist, and perfect subjunctive hardly needs
further comment, the less as we shall have to return to
them when we deal with the dependent clauses.   One result
of the aorist action has important exegetical consequences,
which have been very insufficiently observed.   It affects rela-
tive, temporal or conditional clauses introduced by pronoun or
conjunction with ἄν (often ἐάν in NT, see pp. 42f).   The verbs
are all futuristic, and the ἄν ties them up to particular occur-
rences.   The present accordingly is conative or continuous or
iterative: Mt 6² ὅταν ποιῇς ἐλεημοσύνην " whenever thou *art
for doing* alms," 6¹⁶ ὅταν νηστεύητε " whenever ye *are fasting*,"
Jn 2⁵ ὅτι ἂν λέγῃ " whatever he *says* (from time to time)."
The aorist, being future by virtue of its mood, punctiliar by
its tense, and consequently describing complete action, gets a
future-perfect sense in this class of sentence; and it will be
found most important to note this before we admit the less
rigid translation.   Thus Mt 5²¹ ὃς ἂν φονεύσῃ " the man who
has committed murder," 5⁴⁷ ἐὰν ἀσπάσησθε " if you *have* only
saluted," Mk 9¹⁸ ὅπου ἐὰν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃ " wherever it *has*
seized him : " the cast of the sentence allows us to abbreviate
the future-perfect in these cases.   Mt 5³¹ at first sight raises
some difficulty, but ἀπολύσῃ denotes not so much the carrying
into effect as the determination.   We may quote a passage
from the *Meidias* of Demosthenes (p. 525) which exhibits
the difference of present and aorist in this connexion very
neatly : χρὴ δὲ ὅταν μὲν τιθῆσθε τοὺς νόμους ὁποῖοί τινές εἰσιν
σκοπεῖν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ θῆσθε, φυλάττειν καὶ χρῆσθαι—τιθῆσθε
applies to *bills*, θῆσθε to *acts*.

The part which the Subjunctive plays in the scheme of
the Conditional Sentences demands a few lines here, though

any systematic treatment of this large subject must be left for our second volume. The difference between εἰ and

Conditional Sentences, Simple, General and Future.

εάν has been considerably lessened in Hellenistic as compared with earlier Greek. We have seen that ἐάν can even take the indicative; while (as rarely in classical Greek) εἰ can be found with the subjunctive. The latter occurs only in 1 Co 14⁵, where the peculiar phrase accounts for it: cf the inscription cited by Deissmann (*BS* 118), ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ ἐάν¹ . . . θελήσῃ. We should hardly care to build much on Rev 11⁵. In Lk 9¹³ and Phil 3¹¹ᶠ· we probably have deliberative subjunctive, "unless we are to go and buy," "if after all I am to attain . . . to apprehend." The subjunctive with εἰ is rare in early papyri: cf OP 496 (ii/A.D.) εἰ δὲ ἦν (= ᾖ) ὁ γαμῶν πρότερος τετελευτηκώς, ἐχέτω κτλ. The differentiation of construction remains at present stereotyped: εἰ goes with indicative, is used exclusively when past tenses come in (*e.g.* Mk 3²⁶), and uses οὐ as its negative; while ἐάν, retaining μή exclusively, takes the subjunctive almost invariably, unless the practically synonymous future indicative is used. Ἐάν and εἰ are both used, however, to express future conditions. This is not only the case with εἰ c. fut.—in which the NT does not preserve the "minatory or monitory" connotation which Gildersleeve discovered for classical Greek—but even with εἰ c. pres. in such documents as BU 326, quoted above, p. 59. The immense majority of conditional sentences in the NT belong to these heads. We deal with the unfulfilled condition below, pp. 200 f., and with the relics of εἰ c. opt., p. 196.

Some Uses of the Negatives :— Οὐ μή.

Leaving the Dependent Clauses for subsequent treatment, let us turn now to some aspects of the negative μή, mainly though not exclusively concerning the Subjunctive. Into the vexed question of the origin of the οὐ μή construction we must not enter with any detail. The classical discussion of it in Goodwin *MT* 389 ff. leaves some very serious difficulties, though it has advanced our knowledge. Goodwin's insistence that denial and prohibition must be

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¹ Cf what is said above (p. 169) about εἰ μήτι ἄν.

dealt with together touches a weak spot in Prof. Sonnen-
schein's otherwise very attractive account of the prohibitory
use, in a paper already quoted (*CR* xvi 165 ff.).   Sonnen-
schein would make οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃς the interrogative of the
prohibition μὴ ποιήσῃς, " won't you abstain from doing ? "
Similarly in Latin *quin noli facere* ? is " why not refuse to
do ? "   The theory is greatly weakened by its having no
obvious application to denial.   Gildersleeve (*AJP* iii. 202 ff.)
suggests that the οὐ may be separate : οὔ· μὴ σκώψῃς = *no !
don't jeer*, οὔ· μὴ γένηται = *no ! let it never be !*[a] Brugmann
(*Gram.*[3] 502) practically follows Goodwin, whom he does not
name.   We start from μή in cautious assertion, to which we
must return presently : μὴ γένηται = *it may perchance happen*,
μὴ σκώψῃς = *you will perhaps jeer*, μὴ ἐρεῖς τοῦτο = *you will
perhaps say this*.   Then the οὐ negatives the whole, so that
οὐ μή becomes, as Brugmann says, " certainly not."   *Non
nostrum est tantas componere lites :* these questions go back
upon origins, and we are dealing with the language in a late
development, in which it is antecedently possible enough that
the rationale of the usage may have been totally obscured.

The use of οὐ μή in the Greek Bible calls for special com-
ment, and we may take for our text some remarks of Gilder-
sleeve's from the brief article just cited.   " This emphatic
form of negative (οὐ μή) is far more common in the LXX and
the NT than it is in the classic Greek.   This tendency to
exaggeration in the use of an adopted language is natural."
And again, " The combination has evidently worked its way
up from familiar language.   So it occurs in the mouth of
the Scythian archer, Ar. *Thesmoph.* 1108 οὐκὶ μὴ λαλῆσι
σύ ; " Our previous inquiries have prepared us for some
modifications of this statement.   " *The* NT " is not a phrase
we can allow ; nor will " adopted language " pass muster
without qualification.   In *Exp T* xiv. 429 n. the writer
ventured on a preliminary note suggested by NP 51, a
Christian letter about coeval with ℵ and B, in which Mt 10[42]
or Mk 9[41] is loosely cited from memory and οὐκ ἀπολλῖ
(*sic*) substituted for οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ.   There are, if memory
serves, scarcely more than half-a-dozen cases of οὐ μή in
the non-literary papyri.   On the other hand, we find it
13 times in OT citations in NT, and abundantly in the

[a] See p. 249.

Gospels, almost exclusively in *Logia*. In all of these we have certain or probable Semitic originals. Apart from these, and the special case of Rev, it occurs only four times in Paul and once in 2 Pet. It will be seen therefore that if " translation Greek " is put aside, we have no difference between papyri and NT. Paul's few exx. are eminently capable of bearing emphasis in the classical manner. The frequency of οὐ μή in Rev may partly be accounted for by recalling the extent to which Semitic material probably underlies the Book; but the unlettered character of most of the papyrus quotations, coupled with Gildersleeve's remark on Aristophanes' Scythian, suggests that elementary Greek culture may be partially responsible here, as in the rough translations on which Mt and Lk had to work for their reproduction of the words of Jesus. The question then arises whether in places outside the free Greek of Paul we are to regard οὐ μή as bearing any special emphasis. The analysis of W. G. Ballantine (*AJP* xviii. 453 ff.), seems to show that it is impossible to assert this. In the LXX, לֹא is translated οὐ or οὐ μή indifferently within a single verse, as in Is 5²⁷. The Revisers have made it emphatic in a good many passages in which the AV had an ordinary negative; but they have left over fifty places unaltered, and do not seem to have discovered any general principle to guide their decision. Prof. Ballantine seems to be justified in claiming (1) that it is not natural for a form of special emphasis to be used in the majority of places where a negative prediction occurs, and (2) that in relative clauses, and questions which amount to positive assertions, an emphatic negative is wholly out of place: he instances Mk 13² and Jn 18¹¹—Mt 25⁹ is decidedly more striking. In commenting on this article, Gildersleeve cites other examples of the " blunting . . . of pointed idioms in the transfer from classic Greek ": he mentions the disproportionate use of " the more pungent aorist " as against the " quieter present imperative "—the tendency of Josephus to " overdo the participle "—the conspicuous appearance in narrative of the " articular infinitive, which belongs to argument." So here, he says, " the stress " of οὐ μή " has been lost by over-familiarity." One is inclined to call in the survival among uneducated people of the older English double negatives—" He didn't say nothing to nobody,"

and the like—which resemble οὐ μή in so far as they are old
forms preserved by the unlearned, mainly perhaps because
they give the emphasis that is beloved, in season and out of
season, by people whose style lacks restraint. But this parallel
does not take us very far, and in particular does not illustrate
the fact that οὐ μή was capable of being used by a cultured
writer like Paul with its full classical emphasis.[1]

Let us now tabulate NT statistics. In WH *text*, οὐ μή
occurs in all 96 times. Of these 71 exx. are with aor. subj.;
in 2, the verb is ambiguous, ending in -ω; and 15 more, ending
in -εις (-ει) or -ης (-η), might be regarded as equally indetermin-
ate, as far as the evidence of the MSS readings is concerned.
There remain 8 futures. Four of these—Mt 16²² ἔσται, with
Lk 21³³ and Rev 9⁶ 18¹⁴ (see below)—are unambiguous: the
rest only involve the change of *o* to *ω*, or at worst that of *ου*
to *ω*, to make them aor. subj.   The passages are :—Mt 26³⁵
(-σομαι אBCD) = Mk 14³¹ (-σομαι ABCD, against א and the
mob). (The attestation in Mt is a strong confirmation of the
future for the Petrine tradition in its earliest Greek form.)
Lk 21³³ (-σονται אBDL) answers to the Marcan οὐ παρελεύ-
σονται (13³¹ BD : the insertion of μή by אACL etc. means
a mere assimilation to Lk), while Mt has οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν
(24³⁵): it is at least possible that our Lucan text is only
a fusion of Mk and Mt.   In Jn 10⁵ ABD *al.* support
ἀκολουθήσουσιν.   In Heb 10¹⁷ (from LXX) we have the
μνησθήσομαι of אACD 17 and the Oxyrhynchus papyrus
emended to μνησθῶ (following the LXX) in correctors of א
and D and all the later MSS.   There remains εὑρήσουσιν
in Rev 9⁶ (AP εὕρωσιν, against אB₂) 18¹⁴.   We need
not hesitate to accept the future as a possible, though
moribund, construction : the later MSS in trying to get rid
of it bear witness to the levelling tendency.   There is no
apparent difference in meaning.   We may pass on to note

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the distribution of οὐ μή in NT. It occurs 13 times in
LXX citations. Apart from these, there are no exx. in Ac,
Heb, or the "General Epp", except 2 Pet 1^{10}. Rev has it
16 times. Paul's use is limited to 1 Th 4^{15} (*v. infr.*) 5^3, 1 Co
8^{13}, Gal 5^{16}. Only 21 exx. in all come from these sources,
leaving 64 for the Gospels. Of the latter 57 are from actual
words of Christ (Mt 17, Mk 8 [Mk] 1, Lk 17, Jn 14) : of
the remaining 7, Mt 16^{22} and 26^{35} (= Mk 14^{31}), Jn 13^8
20^{25} have most obvious emphasis, and so may Lk 1^{15} (from the
special nativity-source[1]) and Jn 11^{56}. That the locution was
very much at home in translations, and unfamiliar in original
Greek, is by this time abundantly clear. But we may attempt
a further analysis, by way of contribution to the minutiæ of
the Synoptic problem. If we go through the exx. of οὐ μή in
Mk, we find that Mt has faithfully taken over every one, 8 in
all. Lk has 5 of these logia, once (Mk 13^2 = Lk 21^6) dropping
the μή. Mt introduces οὐ μή into Mk 7^{12}, and Lk into Mk 4^{22}
and 10^{29}, both Mt and Lk into Mk 13^{31} (see above).[2] Turning
to "Q", so far as we can deduce it from logia common to
Mt and Lk, we find only two places (Mt 5^{26} = Lk 12^{59}, Mt
23^{39} = Lk 13^{35}) in which the evangelists agree in using οὐ μή.
Mt uses it in 5^{18} (Lk 21^{33} has a certain resemblance, but
16^{17} is the parallel), and Lk in 6^{37} *bis* (contrast Mt 7^1).
Finally, in the logia peculiar to Mt or Lk, the presence of
which in "Q" is therefore a matter of speculation, we find οὐ
μή 4 times in Mt and 7 in Lk. When the testimony of Jn
is added, we see that this negative is impartially distributed
over all our sources for the words of Christ, without special
prominence in any one evangelist or any one of the documents
which they seem to have used. Going outside the Gospels,
we find οὐ μή in the fragment of Aristion (?)[3] ([Mk] 16^{18}) ; in
1 Th 4^{15} (regarded by Ropes, *DB* v. 345, as an Agraphon) ; and
in the Oxyrhynchus "Sayings"—no. 2 of the first series, and

[1] It comes from the LXX of 1 Sam 1^{11}, if A is right there, with πίεται
changed to the aor. subj. But A of course may show a reading conformed to
the NT.
[2] As to Mk 4^{22}, note that in the doublet from "Q" neither Mt (10^{26}) nor Lk
(12^2) has οὐ μή : the new Oxyrhynchus "Saying," no. 4, has also simple οὐ.
[3] The criticisms of B. W. Bacon, in *Expos.* for Dec. 1905, may dispose us to
double the query.

the preface of the second. The coincidence of all these separate witnesses certainly is suggestive. Moreover in Rev, the only NT Book outside the Gospels which has οὐ μή with any frequency, 4 exx. are from the Epp. to the Churches, where Christ is speaker; and all of the rest, except 18¹⁴ (which is very emphatic), are strongly reminiscent of the OT, though not according to the LXX except in 18²² (= Ezek 26¹³). It follows that οὐ μή is quite as rare in the NT as it is in the papyri, when we have put aside (a) passages coming from the OT, and (b) sayings of Christ, these two classes accounting for nearly 90 per cent. of the whole. Since these are just the two elements which made up " Scripture " in the first age of Christianity, one is tempted to put it down to the same cause in both—a feeling that inspired language was fitly rendered by words of a decisive tone not needed generally elsewhere.

Μή in Cautious Assertions.

In connexion with this use of negatives, we may well pursue here the later developments of that construction of μή from which the use of οὐ μή originally sprang, according to the theory that for the present holds the field. It is obvious, whatever be its antecedent history, that μή is often equivalent to our " perhaps." A well-known sentence from Plato's *Apology* will illustrate it as well as anything : Socrates says (p. 39A) ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐ τοῦτ' ᾖ χαλεπόν, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν, " perhaps it is not this which is hard, to escape death." This is exactly like Mt 25⁹ as it stands in אALZ : the οὐ μή which replaces οὐ in BCD does not affect the principle. The subjunctive has its futuristic sense, it would seem, and starts most naturally in Greek from the use of μή in questions : how this developed from the original use of μή in prohibition (whence comes the final sentence), and how far we are to call in the sentences of fearing, which are certainly not widely separable, it would not be relevant for us to discuss in this treatise. Μὴ τοῦτ' ᾖ χαλεπόν, if originally a question, meant " will this possibly be difficult ? " So in the indicative, as Plato *Protag.* 312A ἀλλ' ἆρα μὴ οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνεις, " but perhaps then you do not suppose " (Riddell 140). We have both these forms abundantly before us in the NT :—thus Lk 11³⁵ σκόπει μὴ τὸ φῶς . . . σκότος ἐστίν, " Look ! perhaps

the light . . . is darkness "; Col 2⁸ βλέπετε μή τις ἔσται ὁ
συλαγωγῶν, " Take heed ! perhaps there will be someone who
. . . " (cf Heb 3¹²); Gal 4¹¹ φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μή πως εἰκῇ
κεκοπίακα, " I am afraid about you : perhaps I have toiled in
vain." So in the papyri, as Par P 49 (ii/B.C.) ἀγωνιῶ μήποτε
ἀρρωστεῖ τὸ παιδάριον, NP 17 (iii/A.D.) ὑφωροῦμε . . . μὴ
ἄρα ἐνθρώσκων ἔλαθεν ὕδατι. In all these cases the prohibi-
tive force of μή is more or less latent, producing a strong
deprecatory tone, just as in a direct question μή either
demands the answer No (as Mt 7⁹ etc.), or puts a suggestion
in the most tentative and hesitating way (Jn 4²⁹). The
fineness of the distinction between this category and the
purpose clause may be illustrated by 2 Co 2⁷, where the
paratactic original might equally well be " Perhaps he will
be overwhelmed " or " Let him not be overwhelmed." In
Gal 2² the purpose clause (if such it be), goes back to the
former type—" Can it be that I am running, or ran, in
vain ? "[1] Cf 1 Th 3⁵. The warning of Ac 5³⁹ might similarly
start from either " Perhaps you will be found," or " Do not
be found ": the former suits the ποτέ better. It will be
seen that the uses in question have mostly become hypotactic,
but that no real change in the tone of the sentence is
introduced by the governing word. The case is the same
as with prohibitions introduced by ὅρα, βλέπετε, προσέχετε,
etc. : see above, p. 124. One very difficult case under this
head should be mentioned here, that of 2 Tim 2²⁵. We have
already (p. 55) expressed the conviction that δωη is really
δώῃ, subjunctive. Not only would the optative clash with
ἀνανήψωσιν, but it cannot be justified in itself by any clear
syntactic rule. The difficulty felt by WH (App 168), that
" its use for two different moods in the same Epistle would
be strange," really comes to very little ; and the survival of
the epic δώῃ is better supported than they suggest. There
is an apparent case of γνώῃ subj. in Clement Paed. iii. 1,
ἑαυτὸν γάρ τις ἐὰν γνώῃ, θεὸν εἴσεται. A respectable number
of quotations for δώῃ is given from early Christian litera-

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[1] Τρέχω is best perhaps subjunctive, since the sentence as it stands is felt as
final. This interpretation as a whole has to reckon with the alternative render-
ing, "Am I running (said I), or have I run, in vain ?" There is much to be
said for this : see Findlay in Exp B p. 104.

ture in Reinhold 90 f. Phrynichus (Rutherford *NP* 429,
456) may fairly be called as evidence not only for the
Hellenistic δῴη and διδῴη (which he and his editor regard
as "utterly ridiculous") but for the feeling that there is
a subjunctive δώῃ, though he only quotes Homer. But
we must not press this, only citing from Rutherford the
statement that some MSS read "δῴη" for δῷ in Plato
Gorg. 481a, where the optative would be most obviously
out of place. If we read the opt. in 2 Tim *l.c.*, we can
only assume that the writer misused an obsolete idiom,
correctly used in Lk 3¹⁵ in past sequence. Against this
stands the absence of evidence that Paul (or the *auctor ad
Timotheum*, if the critics demur) concerned himself with
literary archaisms, like his friends the authors of Lk, Ac,
and Heb. Taking δῴη and ἀνανήψωσιν together, we make
the μήποτε introduce a hesitating question, " to try whether
haply God may give ": cf the well-known idiom with εἰ,
" to see if," as in Ac 27¹², Rom 1¹⁰, Lk 14²⁸, Phil 3¹¹ᶠ. See in
favour of the subj. δῴη the careful note in WS 120. Blass
(p. 50) agrees.[1]

The Optative :—
Optative
Proper ;

We take next the Optative, which makes
so poor a figure in the NT that we are tempted
to hurry on. In MGr its only relic [2] is the
phrase μὴ γένοιτο, which appears in Lk 20¹⁶
and 14 times in Rom (10), 1 Co (1) and Gal (3). This is
of course the Optative proper, distinguished by the absence
of ἄν and the presence (if negative) of μή. Burton (*MT* 79)
cites 35 proper optatives from the NT, which come down to

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[1] Unfortunately we cannot call the LXX in aid : there are a good many
exx. of δῴη, but they all seem optative. Τίς δῴη . . . ; in Num 11²⁹, Judg 9²⁹,
2 Sam 18³³, Job 31³⁵, Ca 8¹, Jer 9², might well seem deliberative subj., but
Ps 120(119)³ τί δοθείη σοι καὶ τί προστεθείη σοι ; is unfortunately quite free from
ambiguity. We may regard these as real wishes thrown into the interrogative
form.   The LXX use of the optative looks a promising subject for Mr
Thackeray's much-needed Grammar. We will only observe here that in Num
l.c. the Hebrew has the simple imperf.—also that A has a tendency to change
opt. into subj. (as Ruth 1⁹ δῷ . . . εὕρητε), which accords with the faint
distinction between them. In Dt 28²⁴ᶠᶠ· we have opt. and fut. indic. alternating,
with no variation in the Hebrew. A more surprising fusion still—worse
than 2 Tim *l.c.* with δῴη—is seen in 2 Mac 9²⁴ ἐάν τι παράδοξον ἀποβαίη καὶ
προσαπέλθῃ.

[2] But see p. 240.

20 when we drop μὴ γένοιτο. Of these Paul claims 14
(Rom 15⁵. ¹³, Philem ²⁰, 2 Tim 1¹⁶. ¹⁸, and the rest in
1 and 2 Th), while Mk, Lk, Ac, Heb, 1 Pet and 2 Pet have
one apiece. 'Οναίμην in Philem²⁰ is the only proper optative
in the NT which is not 3rd person.[1] It will be noticed that
though the use is rare it is well distributed : even Mk has
it, and Lk 1³⁸ and Ac 8²⁰ come from the Palestinian stratum
of Luke's writing. We may bring in here a comparison from
our own language, which will help us for the Hellenistic
optative as a whole.[2] The optative *be* still keeps a real
though diminishing place in our educated colloquial : " be it
so " or " so be it," is preserved as a formula, like μὴ γένοιτο,
but " Be it my only wisdom here " is felt as a poetical archaism.
So in the application of the optative to hypothesis, we should
not generally copy " Be it never so humble," or " If she
be not fair to me " : on the other hand, " If I *were* you "
is the only correct form. " God bless you ! " " Come what
may," " I wish I were at home," are further examples of
optatives still surviving. But a somewhat archaic style is
recognisable in

> " Were the whole realm of nature mine,
> That were a present far too small."

We shall see later that a Hellenist would equally avoid in
colloquial speech a construction like

> εἰ καὶ τὰ πάντ' ἔμ' εἴη,
> τὰ πάντα μοι γένοιτ' ἂν
> ἔλασσον ἢ ὥστε δοῦναι.

The Hellenist used the optative in wishes and prayers very
much as we use our subjunctive. It is at home in formulæ,
as in oaths *passim* : εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ τὰ
ἐναντία (OP 240—i/A.D.), ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν τῶι ὅρκωι (OP 715
—ii/A.D.), . . . παραδώσω . . . ἢ ἐνσχεθείην τῷ ὅρκῳ (BM
301—ii/A.D.), etc. But it is also in free use, as OP 526
(ii/A.D.) χαίροις, Καλόκαιρε, LP*b* (ii/B.C.) ὃς διδοίη σοι, LP*w*
(ii/iii A.D.), μηδείς με καταβιάσαιτο and εἰσέλθοις καὶ ποιήσαις,

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[1] Some support for the persistence of this optative in the Κοινή may be found
in its appearance in a curse of iii/B.C., coming from the Tauric Chersonese, and
showing two Ionic forms (Audollent 144, no. 92).

[2] Cf Sweet, *New English Grammar : Syntax* 107 ff.

BU 741 (ii/A.D.) ὃ μὴ γείνοιτο, BM 21 (ii/B.C.) σοὶ δὲ γένοιτο
εὐημερεῖν, *BCH* 1902, p. 217, κεχολωμένον ἔχοιτο Μῆνα
καταχθόνιον, Hl P 6 (iii/iv A.D.) ἐρρωμένον σε ἡ θία πρόνοια
φυλάξαι.   In hypotaxis the optative of wish appears in

in Hypothesis,   clauses with εἰ, as is shown by the negative's
being μή, as well as by the fact that we can
add εἰ, *si*, *if*, to a wish, or express a hypothesis without a
conjunction, by a clause of jussive or optative character.   *Ei*
with the optative in the NT occurs in 11 passages, of which
4 must be put aside as indirect questions and accordingly
falling under the next head.   The three exx. in Ac are all in
or. obl.: 20[16] (" I want if I can to . . . "), and 27[39] (" We
will beach her if we can "), are future conditions ; and 24[19]
puts into the past (unfulfilled) form the assertion " They
ought to bring their accusation, if they have any " (ἔχουσι).
The remainder include εἰ τύχοι in 1 Co 14[10] 15[37], the only
exx. in Paul, and two in 1 Pet, εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε 3[14] and εἰ
θέλοι 3[17].   The examination of these we may defer till
we take up Conditional Sentences together.   We only note
here that HR give no more than 12 exx. from LXX of εἰ
c. opt. (apart from 4 Mac and two passages I cannot trace):
about 2 of these are wishes, and 4 are cases of ὥσ(περ)
εἴ τις, while 2 seem to be direct or indirect questions.
Neither in LXX nor in NT is there an ex. of εἰ c. opt.
answered with opt. c. ἄν, nor has one been quoted from the
papyri.[1]   To the optative proper belongs also that after final
particles, as we infer from the negative μή and from its being
an alternative for the (jussive) subjunctive.   It does not how-

in Final clauses.   ever call for any treatment in a NT grammar.
We have seen already (p. 55) that ἵνα δοῖ
and ἵνα γνοῖ are unmistakably subjunctives : if ἵνα δῴη be read
(*ib.* and pp. 193 f.) in Eph 1[17] it will have to be a virtual *wish*
clause, ἵνα serving merely to link it to the previous verb ; but
δῴη is preferable.   This banishment of the final optative only
means that the NT writers were averse to bringing in a

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[1] Meanwhile we may observe that Blass's dictum (p. 213) that the εἰ c. opt.
form is used "if I wish to represent anything as generally possible, without
regard to the general or actual situation at the moment," suits the NT exx.
well ; and it seems to fit the general facts better than Goodwin's doctrine of a
"less vivid future" condition (Goodwin, *Greek Gram.* 301).

construction which was artificial, though not quite obsolete.
The obsolescence of the optative had progressed since the
time of the LXX, and we will only compare the writers
and papyri of i/A.D. and ii/A.D.   Diel in his program *De
enuntiatis finalibus*, pp. 20 f., gives Josephus (i/A.D.) 32
per cent. of optatives after *ἵνα*, *ὅπως* and *ὡς*, Plutarch
Lives (i/A.D.) 49, Arrian (ii/A.D.) 82, and Appian (ii/A.D.) 87,
while Herodian (iii/A.D.) has 75.   It is very clear that the
final optative was the hall-mark of a pretty Attic style.   The
Atticisers were not particular however to restrict the optative
to past sequence, as any random dip into Lucian himself will
show.   We may contrast the more natural Polybius (ii/B.C.),
whose percentage of optatives is only 7,[1] or Diodorus (i/B.C.),
who falls to 5.   The writer of 4 Mac (i/A.D.) outdoes all
his predecessors with 71, so that we can see the *cacoethes
Atticissandi* affecting Jew as well as Gentile.   The papyri
of our period only give a single optative, so far as I have
observed : OP 237 (late ii/A.D.) *ἵνα . . . δυνηθείην.*   A
little later we have LP*w* (ii/iii A.D.) *ἵν' εὔοδον ἄρτι μοι
εἴην*, in *primary* sequence ; and before long, in the Byzantine
age, there is a riot of optatives, after *ἐάν* or anything else.
The deadness of the construction even in the Ptolemaic
period may be well shown from TP 1 (ii/B.C.) *ἠξίωσα ἵνα
χρηματισθήσοιτο* — future optative !   Perhaps. these facts
and citations will suffice to show why the NT does not
attempt to rival the *littérateurs* in the use of this resuscitated
elegance.

Potential Optative.   We turn to the other main division of
the Optative, that of which *οὐ* and *ἄν* are
frequent attendants.   With *ἄν* the Potential
answers to our own *I should, you* or *he would*, generally
following a condition.   It was used to express a future in
a milder form, and to express a request in deferential style.
But it is unnecessary to dwell upon this here, for the table
given above (p. 166) shows that it was no longer a really
living form in NT times.   It was literary, but not artificial,
as Luke's use proves.   It figures 30 times in LXX, or
19 times when 4 Mac is excluded, and its occurrences are

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[1] See Kälker's observations, *Quæst.* 288 f.

tolerably well distributed and not abnormal in form. We
should note however the omission of ἄν, which was previously
cited in one phrase (p. 194 n.).[1] We shall see that ἄν tends
to be dropped with the indicative; the general weakening of
the particle is probably responsible for its omission with the
optative as well. Τίς ἂν δώῃ, Job 31³¹ al, does not differ
from τίς δώῃ elsewhere; and no distinction of meaning is
conveyed by such an omission as appears in 4 Mac 5¹³
συγγνωμονήσειεν, " even if there is (ἐστί) [a God], he would
forgive." In other ways we become aware how little differ-
ence ἄν makes in this age of its senescence. Thus in Par
P 35 (ii/b.c.) ἐξήνεγκεν ὁπόσ' ἂν ἐρευν[ῷ]το,[2] the dropping
of ἄν would affect the meaning hardly at all, the contingent
force being practically nil. So when Luke says in 1⁶²
ἐνένευον . . . τὸ τί ἂν θέλοι " how he would like,"—cf
Ac 10¹⁷, Lk 15²⁶ 18³⁶ (D) 9⁴⁶,—there is a minimum of
difference as compared with Ac 21³³ ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη " who
he might be," or Lk 18³⁶ אAB τί εἴη τοῦτο. Not that ἄν
c. opt. in an indirect question is always as near as in this case
to the unaccompanied optative which we treat next. Thus in
the inscr. *Magn.* 215 (i/a.d.) ἐπερωτᾷ . . . τί αὐτῷ σημαίνει ἢ
τί ἂν ποιήσας ἀδεῶς διατελοίη represents the conditional sen-
tence, " If I were to do what, should I be secure ? " *i.e.* " what
must I do that I may . . . ? " So in Lk 6¹¹ τί ἂν ποιήσαιεν
is the hesitating substitute for the direct τί ποιήσομεν; Ac 5²⁴
τί ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο answers to " What *will* this come to ? "
Cf Esth 13³ πυθομένου . . . πῶς ἂν ἀχθείη . . . " how this
might be brought to pass " (RV). In direct question we
have Ac 17¹⁸ τί ἂν θέλοι . . . λέγειν; The idiomatic opt. c.
ἄν in a softened assertion meets us in Ac 26²⁹ א^cAB, εὐξαίμην
ἄν " I could pray." Among all the exx. of ἄν c. opt. in Luke
there is only one which has a protasis, Ac 8³¹ πῶς γὰρ ἂν
δυναίμην, ἐὰν μή τις ὁδηγήσει με;—a familiar case of future

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[1] Par P 63 (ii/b.c.) has a dropped ἄν in a place where it is needed
badly : ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐθένα ἐπείπαιμι πλὴν ὅτι ἔλκεσθαι βεβούλευται. But I
should prefer to read οὐθὲν ἄ<ν>—if one may conjecture without seeing the
papyrus.

[2] It is unfortunate that this crucial ῷ is missing, for ἐρευνᾶτο (an unaug-
mented form) is quite possible, though less likely. The papyrus has another
optative, in indirect question, εἴησαν εἰσπορευσάμενοι.

condition with the less vivid form in the apodosis.[1] No
more need be said of this use ; nor need we add much about
the other use of the Potential, that seen in indirect questions.
The tendency of Greek has been exactly opposite to that of
Latin, which by the classical period had made the optative
("subjunctive") *de rigueur* in indirect questions, whatever
the tense of the main verb. Greek never admitted τίς εἴην
= *quis sim* into primary sequence, and even after past tenses
the optative was a refinement which Hellenistic vernacular
made no effort to preserve. On Luke's occasional use of it
we need not tarry, unless it be to repeat Winer's remark
(p. 375) on Ac 21[33], where the opt. is appropriate in asking
about the unknown, while the accompanying indicative, " what
he has done," suits the conviction that the prisoner had com-
mitted *some* crime. The tone of remoteness and uncertainty
given by the optative is well seen in such a reported question
as Lk 3[15] μήποτε αὐτὸς εἴη ὁ Χριστός, or 22[23] τὸ τίς ἄρα εἴη
. . . ὁ ταῦτα μέλλων πράσσειν. It will be noted that Luke
observes the rule of sequence, as he does in the use of πρίν
(p. 169).[2]

"Unreal"
Indicative.
The Indicative—apart from its Future,
which we have seen was originally a sub-
junctive in the main—is suited by its whole
character only to positive and negative statements, and not
to the expression of contingencies, wishes, commands, or other
subjective conceptions. We are not concerned here with the
forces which produced what is called the " unreal " use of the
indicative, since Hellenistic Greek received it from the earlier
age as a fully grown and normal usage, which it proceeded to
limit in sundry directions. Its most prominent use is in the
two parts of the unfulfilled conditional statement. We must

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[1] It is sentences of this kind to which Goodwin's "less vivid form " does
apply : his extension of this to be the rule for the whole class I should ven-
ture to dissent from—see above, p. 196 n.

[2] On the general question of the obsolescence of the optative, reference may
be made to F. G. Allinson's paper in *Gildersleeve Studies* 353 ff., where itacism
is alleged to be a contributory cause. Cf OP 60 (iv/A.D.) ἵν' οὖν ἔχοιτε . . . καὶ
καταστήσηται (=-ε), where ἔχητε is meant ; OP 71 (*ib*) where εἰ σοὶ δοκοῖ is
similarly a misspelt subj. (or indic.). When οι had become the complete
equivalent of η, ῃ, ει, and αι of ε, the optative forms could no longer preserve
phonetic distinctness. Prof. Thumb dissents : see p. 240.

take this up among the other Conditional Sentences, in
vol. ii., only dealing here with that which affects the study of
the indicative as a *modus irrealis*.   This includes the cases of
omitted ἄν, and those of οὐ instead of μή.   It happens that
the only NT example of the latter has the former character-
istic as well: Mk 14²¹ (= Mt 26²⁴) καλὸν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ
ἐγεννήθη—Mt improves the Greek by adding ἦν.   It is only
the ultimate sense which makes this " unreal " at all : as far
as form goes, the protasis is like Heb 12²⁵ εἰ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ
ἐξέφυγον, " if they failed to escape " (as they did).   There, " it
was a warning to us " might have formed the apodosis, and so
that sentence and this would have been grammatically similar.
We might speak thus of some villain of tragedy, *e.g.* " A good
thing if (nearly = that) there never was such a man."   Trans-
ferred as it is to a man who is actually present, the saying
gains in poignancy by the absence of the contingent form.
Eἰ οὐ occurs fairly often with the indicative, but elsewhere
always in simple conditions : see above, p. 171.   The dropping
of ἄν in the apodosis of unfulfilled conditions was classical with
phrases like ἔδει, ἐχρῆν, καλὸν ἦν.   Such sentences as " If he
did it, it was the right thing," may be regarded as the
starting-point of the use of the indicative in unfulfilled
condition, since usage can easily supply the connotation " but
he did not do it."   The addition of ἄν to an indicative
apodosis produced much the same effect as we can express in
writing by italicising " if ": " *if* he had anything, he gave
it," or " if he had anything, in that case (ἄν) he gave it,"
alike suggest by their emphasis that the condition was not
realised.[1]   We need not enlarge further on this form of
sentence, except to note the familiar fact that the imper-
fect in all " unreal " indicatives generally denotes present
time : cf the use with ὄφελον in Rev 3¹⁵ and 2 Co 11¹.
(These are the sole NT examples of this kind of unreal
indicative.   The sentences of unrealised wish resemble
those of unfulfilled condition further in using the aorist
(1 Co 4⁸) in reference to past time; but this could

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[1] Two papyrus exx. may be cited to illustrate this tendency of ἄν to drop.
OP 526 (ii/A.D.) εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀνέβενε, ἐγὼ τὸν λογον μου οὐ παρέβενον.   OP 530
(ii/A. D.) εἰ πλεῖον δέ μοι παρέκειτο, πάλιν σοι ἀπεστάλκειν.

hardly have been otherwise.[1])   The difference of time in
the real and unreal imperfect will be seen when we drop
the ἄν in the stock sentence εἴ τι εἶχον, ἐδίδουν ἄν, "if 1
had anything (now), I should give it," which by eliminating
the ἄν becomes "if (i.e. whenever) I had anything, I used to
give it."   Goodwin (MT § 399, 410 ff.) shows that this use
of the imperf. for present time is post-Homeric, and that it is
not invariable in Attic—see his exx.   For the NT we may
cite Mt 23³⁰ 24⁴³ (ᾔδει) = Lk 12³⁹, Jn 4¹⁰ 11²¹. ³², 1 Jn 2¹⁹
as places where εἰ with imperf. decidedly denotes a past
condition; but since all these exx. contain either ἤμην or ᾔδειν,
which have no aorist, they prove nothing as to the survival
of the classical ambiguity—we have to decide by the context
here, as in all cases in the older literature, as to whether
present or past time is meant.   The distribution of tenses in
the apodosis (when ἄν is present) may be seen in the table on
p. 166.   The solitary pluperf. is in 1 Jn 2¹⁹.   It need only
be added that these sentences of unfulfilled condition state
nothing necessarily unreal in their apodosis: it is of course
usually the case that the statement is untrue, but the sen-
tence itself only makes it untrue "under the circumstances"
(ἄν), since the condition is unsatisfied.   The time of the
apodosis generally determines itself, the imperfect regularly
denoting present action, except in Mt 23³⁰ (ἤμεθα).

Unrealised purpose makes a minute addition to the tale of
unreal indicatives in the NT.   The afterthought ἔδραμον in
Gal 2², with which stands 1 Th 3⁵, has plenty of classical
parallels (see Goodwin MT § 333), but no further exx. are
found in NT writers, and (as we saw above, p. 193 n.) the
former ex. is far from certain.   Such sentences often depend
on unfulfilled conditions with ἄν, and the decadence of these
carries with it that of a still more subtle and less practical
form of language.

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[1] There is one ex. of ὄφελον c. fut., Gal 5¹², and there also the associations of
the particle (as it now is) help to mark an expression never meant to be taken
seriously.   The dropping of augment in ὄφελον may be Ionic, as it is found
in Herodotus; its application to 2nd or 3rd pers. is probably due to its being
felt to mean "I would" instead of "thou shouldst," etc.   Note among the
late exx. in LS (p. 1099) that with με . . . ὀλέσθαι, a first step in this develop-
ment.   Grimm-Thayer gives LXX parallels.   See also Schwyzer Perg. 173.

CHAPTER IX.

Nominal Verbs and Verbal Nouns.

THE mention of " The Verb " has been omitted in the heading of this chapter, in deference to the susceptibilities of grammarians who wax warm when λύειν or λύσας is attached to the Verb instead of the Noun. But having thus done homage to orthodoxy, we proceed to treat these two categories almost exclusively as if they were mere verbal moods, as for most practical purposes they are. Every schoolboy knows that in origin and in part of their use they belong to the noun ; but on this side they have been sufficiently treated in chapters iv. and v., and nearly all that is distinctive is verbal.

The Infinitive:— Its Origin.

The Greek Infinitive is historically either a locative (as λύειν) or a dative (as λῦσαι, εἶναι, etc.) from a noun base closely connected with a verb.[1] We can see this fact best from a glance at Latin, where *regere* is obviously the locative of a noun like *genus*, *rĕgī* the dative of a noun much like *rēx* except in quantity, and *rectum*, *-tuī*, *-tū* the accusative, dative, and locative, respectively, of an action-noun of the 4th declension. In Plautus we even find the abstract noun *tactio* in the nominative governing its case just as if it were *tangere*. Classical Greek has a few well-known exx. of a noun or adjective governing the case appropriate to the verb with which it is closely connected. Thus Plato *Apol.* 18B τὰ μετέωρα φροντιστής, Sophocles *Ant.* 789 σὲ φύξιμος : see Jebb's note. Vedic

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[1] On the morphology of the Infinitive see Giles *Manual*[2] 468 ff. It should be noted that no syntactical difference survives in Greek between forms originally dative and those which started in the locative.

Sanskrit would show us yet more clearly that the so-called infinitive is nothing but a case—any case—of a noun which had enough verbal consciousness in it to " govern " an object. The isolation and stereotyping of a few of these forms produces the infinitive of Greek, Latin, or English.   It will be easily seen in our own language that what we call the infinitive is only the dative of a noun : Middle English had a locative with *at*.   In such a sentence as " He went out to toil again," how shall we parse *toil* ?   Make it " hard toil," and the Noun claims it : substitute " toil hard," and the Verb comes to its own. One clear inference from all this is that there was originally

No voice distinction. no *voice* for the infinitive.   Δυνατὸς θαυμά- σαι, " capable for wondering," and ἄξιος θαυμάσαι, " worthy for wondering," use the verbal noun in the same way ; but one means " able to wonder," and the other " deserving to be wondered at."   The middle and passive infinitives in Greek and Latin are merely adaptations of certain forms, out of a mass of units which had lost their individuality, to express a relation made prominent by the closer connexion of such nouns with the verb.

Survivals of Case force. There are comparatively few uses of the Greek Infinitive in which we cannot still trace the construction by restoring the dative or locative case from whence it started.   Indeed the very fact that when the form had become petrified the genius of the language took it up afresh and declined it by prefixing the article, shows us how persistent was the noun idea.   The imperative use, the survival of which we have noticed above (pp. 179 f.), is instructive if we are right in interpreting it in close connexion with the origins of the infinitive.   A dative of purpose used as an exclamation conveys at once the imperatival idea.   The frequent identity of noun and verb forms in English enables us to cite in illustration two lines of a popular hymn :—

> " So now to watch, to work, to war,
>   And then to rest for ever ! "

A schoolmaster entering his classroom might say either " Now then, to work ! " or " at work ! "—dative or locative, express-

ing imperative 2nd person, as the hymn lines express 1st
person.   Among the NT exx., Phil 3[16] has the 1st,[1] and the
rest the 2nd person.   The noun-case is equally traceable in
many other uses of the infinitive.   Thus the infinitive of
purpose, as in Jn 21[3] ἀλιεύειν *a-fishing*, or Mt 2[2] προσκυνῆσαι
for worshipping, —of consequence, as Heb 6[10] ἐπιλαθέσθαι *to
the extent of forgetting*,—and other " complementary " infini-
tives, as Heb 11[15] καιρὸν ἀνακάμψαι *opportunity for returning*,
2 Tim 1[12] δυνατὸς φυλάξαι *competent for guarding*.   The force
of such infinitives is always best reached by thus going back
to the original dative or locative noun.

Tenses.   From the account just given of the
             genesis of the infinitive it follows that it
was originally destitute of *tense* as much as of voice.   In
classical Sanskrit the infinitive is formed without reference
to the conjugation or conjugations in which a verb forms its
present stem : thus √ çru (κλύω), inf. çrotum, pres. çṛṇomi—
√ yuj (iungo), yoktum, yunajmi—√ bhū (φύω, fui, be), bhavi-
tum, bhavāmi.   We can see this almost as clearly in Latin,
where action-nouns like *sonitum, positum, tactum* and *tactio*,
etc., have no formal connexion with the present stem seen
in *sonat, pōnit, tangit.*   The σ in λῦσαι has only accidental
similarity to link it with that in ἔλυσα.   But when once
these noun forms had established their close contact with the
verb, accidental resemblances and other more or less capricious
causes encouraged an association that rapidly grew, till all
the tenses, as well as the three voices, were equipped with
infinitives appropriated to their exclusive service.   Greek had
been supplied with the complete system from early times,
and we need say nothing further on the subject here, since
the infinitive presents no features which are not shared with
other moods belonging to the several tenses.[2]

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[1] Brugmann, *Gram.*[3] 517 n., regards ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν as being for εἴπωμεν, and
coming therefore under this head.   It is a literary phrase, found only in Heb
7[9] : cf the would-be literary papyrus, OP 67 (iv/A.D.).   On this and other exx.
of the " limitative infin." see Grünenwald in Schanz *Beiträge* II. iii. 22 ff.,
where it is shown to be generally used to qualify πᾶς or οὐδείς, and not as here.

[2] The Hellenistic weakening of the Future infinitive, which in the papyri
is very frequently used for aorist or even present, would claim attention here
if we were dealing with the Κοινή as a whole.   See Kälker 281, Hatzidakis
190 f., 142 f.   The NT does not show this form—whether any MS variants

Infinitive of Purpose, etc. Some important questions arise from the free use in NT of the infinitive which is equivalent to *ἵva* c. subj. In *ThLZ*, 1903, p. 421, Prof. Thumb has some suggestive remarks on this subject. He shows that this infinitive is decidedly more prominent in the *Κοινή* than in Attic, and is perhaps an Ionic element, as also may be the infin. with *τοῦ*, of which the same is true. In the Pontic dialect of MGr—as mentioned above, pp. 40 f.—the old infin. survives, while it vanished in favour of *νά* c. subj. in European MGr, where the infin. was less prominent in ancient times.[a] Now the use of the infin. in Pontic is restricted to certain syntactical sequences. To these belong verbs of movement, like *come, go up* (cf Lk 18¹⁰, Par P 49 (ii/B.C.) *ἐὰν ἀναβῶ κἀγὼ προσκυνῆσαι*), *turn, go over, run, rise up, incline*, etc. It is found that, speaking generally, the NT use agrees with this; and we find a similar correspondence with Pontic in the NT use of the infinitive after such verbs as *βούλομαι, ἐπιθυμῶ, σπουδάζω, πειράζω, ἐπιχειρῶ, αἰσχύνομαι, φοβοῦμαι, ἀξιῶ, παραινῶ, κελεύω, τάσσω, ἐῶ, ἐπιτρέπω, δύναμαι, ἔχω, ἄρχομαι*. With other verbs, as *παρακαλῶ*, the *ἵva* construction prevails. This correspondence between ancient and modern vernacular in Asia Minor, Thumb suggests, is best explained by assuming two tendencies within the *Κοινή*, one towards the universalising of *ἵva*, the other towards the establishment of the old infinitive in a definite province : the former prevailed throughout the larger, western portion of Hellenism, and issued in the language of modern Hellas, where the infinitive is obsolete ; while the latter held sway in the eastern territory, exemplifying itself as we should expect in the NT, and showing its characteristic in the dialect spoken to-day in the same country. Prof. Thumb does not pretend to urge more than the provisional acceptance of this theory, which indeed can only be decisively accepted or rejected when we have ransacked all the available inscriptions of Asia Minor for their evidence on the use of the infinitive. But it

do so I cannot say. Jn 21²⁵ has *χωρήσειν* (אBC), replaced by *χωρῆσαι* in the later MSS ; but the future is wanted here. The aorist may be due to the loss of future meaning in *χωρήσειν* by the time when the late scribes wrote. The obsoleteness of fut. infin. with *μέλλω* in NT and papyri has been remarked already (p. 114 n.).   [a See p. 249.

is certainly very plausible, and opens out hints of exceedingly
fruitful research on lines as yet unworked.

"Ecbatic" ἵνα.   The long debated question of " ἵνα ἐκ-
βατικόν " may be regarded as settled by the
new light which has come in since H. A. W. Meyer waged heroic
warfare against the idea that ἵνα could ever denote anything
but purpose.   All motive for straining the obvious meaning
of words is taken away when we see that in the latest stage
of Greek language-history the infinitive has yielded all its
functions to the locution thus jealously kept apart from it.
That ἵνα normally meant " in order that " is beyond ques-
tion.   It is perpetually used in the full final sense in the
papyri, having gained greatly on the Attic ὅπως.   But it
has come to be the ordinary construction in many phrases
where a simple infinitive was used in earlier Greek, just as
in Latin *ut* clauses, or in English those with *that*, usurp the
prerogative of the verbal noun.   " And this is life eternal,
that they should know thee " (Jn 17³), in English as in
the Greek, exhibits a form which under other circum-
stances would make a final clause.   Are we to insist on
recognising the ghost of a purpose clause here ?ᵃ   Westcott
says that ἵνα here " expresses an aim, an end, and not only
a fact."   The ἵνα clause then, as compared with (τὸ) γινώ-
σκειν, adds the idea of *effort* or *aim* at acquiring knowledge of
God.   I will not deny it, having indeed committed myself
to the assumption as sufficiently established to be set down
in an elementary grammar.[1]   But I have to confess myself
troubled with unsettling doubts ; and I should be sorry now
to commend that ἵνα as strong enough to carry one of the
heads of an expository sermon !

Let us examine the grounds of this scepticism a little
more closely.   In Kälker's often quoted monograph on the
language of Polybius, pp. 290 ff., we have a careful presenta-
tion of ἵνα as it appears in the earliest of the Κοινή writers,
who came much nearer to the dialect of common life than
the Atticists who followed him.   We see at once that ἵνα
has made great strides since the Attic golden age.   It has
invaded the territory of ὅπως, as with φροντίζειν and σπου-

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[1] *Introd.*² 217.   [ᵃ See p. 219.

δάζειν, to mention only two verbs found in the NT. The former occurs only in Tit 3⁸; the latter eleven times. And instead of Attic ὅπως, or Polybian ἵνα, behold the infinitive in every occurrence of the two! Under Kälker's next head Polybius is brought into an equally significant agreement with the NT. He shows how the historian favours ἵνα after words of commanding, etc., such as διασαφεῖν, αἰτεῖσθαι, γράφειν, παραγγέλλειν, and the like. One ex. should be quoted : συνετάξατο πρός τε Ταυρίωνα παρασκευάζειν ἱππεῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ πεζοὺς πεντακοσίους, καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους, ἵνα τοὺς ἴσους τούτοις ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ἐξαποστείλωσι. The equivalence of infin. and ἵνα c. subj. here is very plain. In the later Κοινή of the NT, which is less affected by literary standards than Polybius is, we are not surprised to find ἵνα used more freely still ; and the resultant idiom in MGr takes away the last excuse for doubting our natural conclusions. There is an eminently sensible note in SH on Rom 11¹¹, in which the laxer use of ἵνα is defended by the demands of exegesis, without reference to the linguistic evidence. The editors also (p. 143) cite Chrysostom on 5²⁰ : τὸ δὲ ἵνα ἐνταῦθα οὐκ αἰτιολογίας πάλιν ἀλλ' ἐκβάσεώς ἐστιν. It will be seen that what is said of the weakening of final force in ἵνα applies also to other final constructions, such as τοῦ c. infin. And on the other side we note that ὥστε in passages like Mt 27¹ has lost its consecutive force and expresses a purpose.[a] It is indeed a repetition after many centuries of a development which took place in the simple infinitive before our contemporary records begin. In the time when the dative δόμεναι and the locative δόμεν were still distinct living cases of a verbal noun, we may assume that the former was much in use to express designed result : the disappearance of distinction between the two cases, and the extension of the new " infinitive mood " over many various uses, involved a process essentially like the vanishing of the *exclusively* final force in the normally final constructions of Greek, Latin, and English. The burden of making purpose clear is in all these cases thrown on the context ; and it cannot be said that any difficulty results, except in a minimum of places. And even in these the difficulty is probably due only to the fact that we necessarily

[a] See p. 249.

read an ancient language as foreigners: no difficulty ever
arises in analogous phrases in our own tongue.

Latinism?   The suggestion of Latin influence in this
development has not unnaturally been made
by some very good authorities;[1] but the usage was deeply
rooted in the vernacular, in fields which Latin cannot have
touched to the extent which so far-reaching a change
involves.   A few exx. from papyri may be cited:—OP 744
(i/B.C.) ἐρωτῶ σε ἵνα μὴ ἀγωνιάσῃς.   NP 7 (i/A.D.) ἔγραψα
ἵνα σοι φυλαχθῶσι (cf BU 19 (ii/A.D.)).   BU 531 (ii/A.D.)
παρακαλῶ σε ἵνα κατάσχῃς.   625 (ii/iii A.D.) ἐδήλωσα Λογ-
γίνῳ εἵνα ἐτυμάσῃ.   OP 121 (iii/A.D.) εἶπά σοι εἵνα δώσωσιν.
BM 21 (ii/B.C.) ἠξίωσά σε ὅπως ἀποδοθῇ: ἀξιῶ c. infin.
occurs in the same papyrus.   Par P 51 (ii/B.C.) λέγω . . .
ἵνα προσκυνήσῃς αὐτόν.   In such clauses, which remind us
immediately of Mt 4³ 16²⁰, Mk 5¹⁰ 3⁹ etc., the naturalness
of the development is obvious from the simple fact that the
purpose clause with ἵνα is merely a use of the jussive sub-
junctive (above, pp. 177 f.), which makes its appearance after
a verb of commanding or wishing entirely reasonable.   The
infinitive construction was not superseded: cf AP 135 (ii/A.D.)
ἐρωτῶ σε μὴ ἀμελεῖν μου.   We need add nothing to Winer's
remarks (WM 422 f.) on θέλω and ποιῶ c. ἵνα.   1 Co 14⁵
is a particularly good ex. under this head, in that θέλω
has both constructions: we may trace a greater urgency
in that with ἵνα, as the meaning demands.   From such
sentences, in which the object clause, from the nature of
the governing verb, had a jussive sense in it which made
the subjunctive natural, there was an easy transition to
object clauses in which the jussive idea was absent.   The
careful study of typical sentences like Mt 10²⁵ 8⁸ (contrast
3¹¹) 18⁶, Jn 1²⁷ (contr. Lk 15¹⁹) 4³⁴ 15⁸· ¹³, Lk 1⁴³ (for which
Winer quotes a close parallel from Epictetus), will show
anyone who is free from predisposition that ἵνα can lose the
last shred of purposive meaning.[2]   If the recognition of a
purpose conception will suit the context better than the denial

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[1] So Götzeler *De Polybi elocutione* 17 ff. for προσέχειν ἵνα and παρακαλεῖν ἵνα
μή: also Kälker *op. cit.*, and Viereck *SG* 67.   Against these see Radermacher
RhM lvi. 203 and Thumb *Hellen.* 159.   [2] See further pp. 240 f.

of it, we remain entirely free to assume it; but the day is past for such strictness as great commentators like Meyer and Westcott were driven to by the supposed demands of grammar. The grammarian is left to investigate the extent to which the ἵνα construction ousted the infinitive after particular expressions, to observe the relative frequency of these usages in different authors, and to test the reality of Thumb's proposed test (above, p. 205) for the geographical distribution of what may be to some extent a dialectic difference.

Consequence. The consecutive infin. with ὥστε has been already alluded to as admitting something very much like a purely final meaning. The total occurrences of ὥστε in the NT amount to 83, in 51 of which it takes the infin. A considerable number of the rest, however, are not by any means exx. of what we should call ὥστε consecutive with the indicative : the conjunction becomes (as in classical Greek) little more than " and so " or " therefore," and is accordingly found with subj. or imper. several times. Of the strict consecutive ὥστε c. indic. there are very few exx. Gal 2^{13} and Jn 3^{16} are about the clearest, but the line is not easy to draw. The indicative puts the result merely as a new fact, co-ordinate with that of the main verb ; the infinitive subordinates the result clause so much as to lay all the stress on the dependence of the result upon its cause. Blass's summary treatment of this construction (p. 224) is characteristic of a method of textual criticism which too often robs us of any confidence in our documents and any certain basis for our grammar. " In Gal 2^{13} there is at any rate a v.l. with the infin."—we find in Ti " a^{scr} συνυπαχθῆναι "—, " while in Jn 3^{16} the correct reading in place of ὥστε is ὅτι, which is doubly attested by Chrys. (in many passages) and Nonnus."[a] Those of us who are not impressed by such evidence might plead that the text as it stands in both places entirely fits the classical usage. It is just " the importance attaching to the result "—to quote one of Blass's criteria which he says would have demanded the indic. in Ac 15^{39} in a classical writer—which accounts for the use of the indicative: in Jn 3^{16}, " had the other construction—ὥστε δοῦναι, *so much as to give*—been used, some stress would have been

14   [a] See p. 249.

taken off the *fact* of the gift and laid on the *connexion* between the love and the gift."[1]   Even if the indicative construction was obsolete in the vernacular—which the evidence hardly suffices to prove—, it was easy to bring in the indicative for a special purpose, as it differed so little from the independent ὥστε = *and so*.   The infinitives without ὥστε in consecutive sense were explained above (p. 204), upon Heb 6[10].   So in OP 526 (ii/A.D.), οὐκ ἤμην ἀπαθὴς ἀλόγως σε ἀπολείπιν, "so unfeeling as to leave you," etc. Sometimes we meet with rather strained examples, as those in the Lucan hymns, 1[54, 72] especially.   The substitution of ἵνα c. subj. for the infin. occasionally makes ἵνα consecutive, just as we saw that ὥστε could be final: so 1 Jn 1[9], Rev 9[20], Jn 9[2]—where Blass's "better reading" ὅτι has no authority earlier than his own, unless Ti needs to be supplemented. Blass quotes a good ex. from Arrian, οὕτω μωρὸς ἦν ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ.   We should not however follow him in making ἵνα consecutive in Lk 9[45], for the thought of a purpose of Providence seems demanded by παρακεκαλυμμένον.   1 Th 5[4] we can concede, but 2 Co 1[17] is better treated as final : Paul is disclaiming the mundane virtue of unsettled convictions, which *aims* at saying yes and no in one breath.   See p. 249.

Infinitive as subject or object.   The infinitive when used as subject or object of a verb has travelled somewhat further away from its original syntax.   We may see the original idea if we resolve *humanum est errare* into "there is something human in erring."   But the locative had ceased to be felt when the construction acquired its commanding prevalence, and the indeclinable verbal noun could become nom. or acc. without difficulty.   The ἵνα alternative appears here as it does in the purpose and consequence clauses, and (though this perhaps was mere coincidence) in the imperative use (pp. 176 and 178 f.).   Thus we have Mt 5[29] *al* συμφέρει, Mt 10[25] ἀρκετόν, Jn 18[39] συνήθειά ἐστιν, 1 Co 4[3] εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν, Jn 4[34] ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν, all with ἵνα in a subject clause.   See Blass's full list, p. 228, and note his citation from "Barnabas" 5[13], ἔδει ἵνα πάθῃ : still more marked are such exx. (p. 229) as

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[1] I quote from my *Introduction* 218, written before Blass's book.

Lk 1⁴³, 1 Jn 5³, Jn 15¹³, etc. The prevalence of the ἵνα in Jn has its bearing on Prof. Thumb's criteria described above (pp. 40 f. and 205); for if the fondness of Jn for ἐμός is a characteristic of Asia Minor, that for ἵνα goes the other way. It would be worth while for some patient scholar to take up this point exhaustively, examining the vernacular documents among the papyri and inscriptions and in the NT, with careful discrimination of date and locality where ascertainable. Even the Atticists will yield unwilling testimony here; for a " wrong " use of ἵνα, if normal in the writer's daily speech, could hardly be kept out of his literary style—there was a very manifest dearth of trained composition lecturers to correct the prose of these painful *littérateurs* of the olden time! Schmid, *Atticismus* iv. 81, shows how this " Infinitivsurrogat " made its way from Aristotle onwards. Only by such an inquiry could we make sure that the dialectic distribution of these alternative constructions was a real fact in the age of the NT. Tentatively I should suggest—for time for such an investigation lies wholly below my own horizon—that the preference was not yet decisively fixed on geographical lines, so that individuals had still their choice open. The strong volitive flavour which clung to ἵνα would perhaps commend it as a mannerism to a writer of John's temperament; but one would be sorry to indulge in exegetical subtleties when he substitutes it for the infinitive which other writers prefer.

The Accusative and Infinitive, and substitutes. We might dwell on the relation of the accus. c. infin. (after verbs of saying, believing, and the like) to the periphrasis with ὅτι which has superseded it in nearly all the NT writers. But no real question as to difference of meaning arises here ; and it will suffice to cite Blass's summary (pp. 230 ff.) and refer to him for details. He shows that " the use of the infinitive with words of believing is, with some doubtful exceptions, limited to Luke and Paul (Hebrews), being a 'remnant of the literary language' (Viteau [i.] 52)." So with other verbs akin to these : Luke is indeed " the only writer who uses [the acc. and infinitive] at any length, and even he very quickly passes over into the direct form." The use of ὡς instead of ὅτι is limited, and tends to be encroached upon by πῶς : cf Hatzidakis 19, who

ought not however to have cited Ac 4²¹ in this connexion.
The combination ὡς ὅτι in 2 Co 5¹⁹ 11²¹, 2 Th 2², is taken
by Blass (*Gr.*² 321 f.) as equivalent to Attic ὡς c. gen. abs.,
the Vulgate *quasi* representing it correctly. It must be
noted that in the vernacular at a rather later stage it meant
merely "that": thus CPR 19 (iv/A.D.) πρώην βίβλια ἐπι-
δέδωκα τῇ σῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ ὡς ὅτι ἐβουλήθην τινὰ ὑπάρχοντά
μου ἀποδόσθαι. Wessely notes there, "ὡς ὅτι seem to be
combined where the single word would be adequate." He
quotes another papyrus, ὡς ὅτι χρεοστεῖται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ κύρις
ʼΙανός. Two Attic inscriptions of i/B.C. show ὡς ὅτι c. superl.
in the sense of ὡς or ὅτι alone : see Roberts-Gardner 179.
Winer (p. 771) cites Xenophon, *Hellen.* III. ii. 14, εἰπὼν
ὡς ὅτι ὀκνοίη, and Lightfoot (on 2 Th 2²) and Plummer
repeat the reference ; but the editors have agreed to eject
ὅτι from the text at that place. Its isolation in earlier
Greek seems adequate reason for flouting the MSS here.
Winer's citation from the Argument to the *Busiris* of Isocrates,
κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ ὡς ὅτι καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρει, will hardly
dispose of Blass's " unclassical " (as Plummer supposes), since
the argument is obviously late.[1] We may follow Lightfoot
and Blass without much hesitation.

Nominative for Accusative. In classical Greek, as any fifth-form boy
forgets at his peril, the nominative is used
regularly instead of the accusative as subject
to the infinitive when the subject of the main verb is the
same : ἔφη οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ Κλέωνα στρατηγεῖν. This rule
is by no means obsolete in NT Greek, as passages like 2 Co
10², Rom 9³, Jn 7⁴ (WH *text*), serve to show ; but the ten-
dency towards uniformity has produced a number of violations
of it. Heb 7²⁴ has a superfluous αὐτόν, and so has Lk 2⁴ :
Mt 26³² inserts με, Phil 3¹³ ἐμαυτόν, and so on. Blass,
p. 238 f., gives instances, and remarks that translations
from Latin (Viereck, *SG* 68) exhibit this feature.[a] Kälker
(p. 280) anticipates Viereck in regarding this as a case of
propter hoc as well as *post hoc*. But the development of

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[1] Dr J. E. Sandys (*Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*, p. xxviii) makes the
author of the ὑπόθεσις to the *Areopagiticus* "a Christian writer of perhaps the
sixth century." He kindly informs me that we may assume the same age for
that to the *Busiris*. [a See p. 249.

Greek in regions untouched by Latin shows that no outside influence was needed to account for this levelling, which was perfectly natural.

Mixed Construction. The accus. c. inf. and the ὅτι construction have been mixed in Ac 27¹⁰, by an inadvertence to which the best Attic writers were liable. See the parallels quoted by Winer (p. 426), and add from humbler Greek OP 237 (ii/A.D.) δηλῶν ὅτι εἰ τὰ ἀληθῆ φανείη μηδὲ κρίσεως δεῖσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα. Also see Wellh. 23.

The Articular Infinitive. We will proceed to speak of the most characteristic feature of the Greek infinitive in post-Homeric language. " By the substantial loss of its dative force," says Gildersleeve (*AJP* iii. 195), " the infinitive became verbalised ; by the assumption of the article it was substantivised again with a decided increment of its power." Goodwin, who cites this dictum (*MT* 315), develops the description of the articular infinitive, with "its wonderful capacity for carrying dependent clauses and adjuncts of every kind," as " a new power in the language, of which the older simple infinitive gave hardly an intimation." The steady growth of the articular infinitive throughout the period of classical prose was not much reduced in the Hellenistic vernacular. This is well seen by comparing the NT statistics with those for classical authors cited from Gildersleeve on the same page of Goodwin's *MT*. The highest frequency is found in Demosthenes, who shows an average of 1·25 per Teubner page, while he and his fellow orators developed the powers of the construction for taking dependent clauses to an extent unknown in the earlier period. In the NT, if my calculation is right, there is an average of ·68 per Teubner page—not much less than that which Birklein gives for Plato. The fragmentary and miscellaneous character of the papyri make it impossible to apply this kind of test, but no reader can fail to observe how perpetual the construction is. I have noted 41 exx. in vol. i of BU (361 papyri), which will serve to illustrate the statement. An interesting line of inquiry, which we may not at present pursue very far, concerns the appearance of the articular infinitive in the dialects. Since it is manifestly developed to a high degree in the Attic orators, we should naturally attribute its fre-

quency in the Hellenistic vernacular to Attic elements in
the Κοινή; and this will be rather a strong point to make
against Kretschmer's view (p. 33), that Attic contributed
no more than other dialects to the resultant language.   To
test this adequately, we ought to go through the whole
Sammlung of Greek dialect-inscriptions.   I have had to
content myself with a search through Cauer's representative
Delectus, which contains 557 inscriptions of all dialects except
Attic.   It will be worth while to set down the scanty
results.   First comes a Laconian inscr. of ii/B.C., 32 (= Michel
182) ἐπὶ τὸ καλῶς . . . διεξαγγηκέναι.   Then the Messenian
47 (= M. 694), dated 91 B.C., which has πρὸ τοῦ c. inf. twice,
the second time with a subject in accusative.   Four Cretan exx.
follow, all from ii/B.C., and all in the same formula, περὶ τῶ
(once τοῦ) γενέσθαι with accus. subject (Nos. 122–5 = M. 55,
56, 54, 60).   The Gortyn Code (Michel 1333, v/B.C.) has no
ex., for all its length.   Then 148 (= M. 1001, the Will of
Epikteta), dated cir. 200 B.C., in which we find πρὸ τοῦ τὰν
σύνοδον ἦμεν.   No. 157 (M. 417), from Calymnus, dated
end of iv/B.C., is with one exception the oldest ex. we have : οἱ
παραγενόμενοι πᾶσαν σπουδὰν ἐποιήσαντο τοῦ {του} διαλυθέν-
τας τοὺς πολίτας τὰ ποτ' αὐτοὺς πολιτεύεσθαι μετ' ὁμονοίας.
No. 171, from Carpathus, Michel (436) assigns to ii/B.C. : it
has πρὸ τοῦ μισθωθήμειν.   No. 179 (not in M.), from Priene,
apparently iii/B.C., has [περὶ τ]οῦ παρορίζεσθαι τὰγ χώραν.
The Delphian inscr. no. 220 has πρὸ τοῦ παραμεῖναι.   Elis
contributes one ex., no. 264 (= M. 197), dated by Michel in
the middle of iv/B.C., and so the oldest quoted : περὶ δὲ τῶ
ἀποσταλᾶμεν . . . τὸ . . . ψάφισμα.   Finally Lesbos gives
us (no. 431 = M. 357), from ii/B.C., ἐπὶ τῶι πραγματευθῆναι.
I have looked through Larfeld's special collection of Bœotian
inscriptions, and find not a single example.   Unless the
selections examined are curiously unrepresentative in this
one point, it would seem clear that the articular infinitive
only invaded the Greek dialects when the Κοινή was already
arising, and that its invasion was extremely limited in extent.
To judge from the silence of Meisterhans, the Attic popular
speech was little affected by it.   It would seem to have been
mainly a literary use, starting in Pindar, Herodotus, and the
tragedians, and matured by Attic rhetoric.   The statistics of

Birklein (in Schanz *Beitr.*, Heft 7) show how it extends during the lives of the great writers, though evidently a matter of personal taste. Thus Sophocles has ·94 examples per 100 lines, Aeschylus ·63, and Euripides only ·37. Aristophanes has ·42 ; but if we left out his lyrics, the frequency would be about the same as in Euripides. This is eloquent testimony for the narrowness of its use in colloquial speech of the Attic golden age ; and the fact is significant that it does not appear in the early *Acharnians* at all, but as many as 17 times in the *Plutus*, the last product of the poet's genius. Turning to prose, we find Herodotus showing only ·07 examples per Teubner page, and only one-fifth of his occurrences have a preposition. Thucydides extends the use greatly, his total amounting to 298, or more than ·5 a page : in the speeches he has twice as many as this. The figures for the orators have already been alluded to. The conclusion of the whole matter—subject to correction from the more thorough investigation which is needed for safety—seems to be that the articular infinitive is almost entirely a development of Attic literature, especially oratory, from which it passed into the daily speech of the least cultured people in the later Hellenist world. If this is true, it is enough by itself to show how commanding was the part taken by Attic, and that the literary Attic, in the evolution of the *Κοινή*.

The application of the articular infin. in NT Greek does not in principle go beyond what is found in Attic writers. We have already dealt with the imputation of Hebraism which the frequency of *ἐν τῷ* c. inf. has raised. It is used 6 times in Thucydides, 26 times in Plato, and 16 in Xenophon ; and the fact that it exactly translates the Hebrew infin. with ב does not make it any worse Greek, though this naturally increases its frequency. Only one classical development failed to maintain itself, viz. the rare employment of the infin. as a full noun, capable of a dependent genitive : thus in Demosthenes, *τό γ᾽ εὖ φρονεῖν αὐτῶν*, " their good sense " ; or in Plato, *διὰ παντὸς τοῦ εἶναι.* Heb 2[15] *διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν* is an exact parallel to this last, but it stands alone in NT Greek, though Ignatius, as Gildersleeve notes, has *τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν.* The fact that *ζῆν* was by this time an entirely isolated infinitive form may account for its peculiar treatment. A

similar cause may possibly contribute to the common verna-
cular (not NT) phrase εἰς πεῖν,[1] which we compared above
(p. 81) to the Herodotean ἀντί c. anarthrous infin.   The
prepositions which Birklein (p. 104) notes as never used
with the infin. retain this disqualification in the NT: they
are, as he notes, either purely poetical or used in personal
constructions.   It may be worth while to give a table of
relative frequency for the occurrences of the articular infini-
tive in NT books.   Jas has (7 =) 1·08 per WH page;
Heb (23 =) 1·09; Lk (71 =) nearly ·99; Paul (106 =)
·89 (in Pastorals not at all); Ac (49 =) ·7 (·73 in cc. 1–12,
·68 in cc. 13–28); 1 Pet (4 =) ·59; Mt (24 =) ·35; Mk
(13 =) ·32; Jn (4 =) ·076; Rev (1 =) ·027.   [Mk] 16⁹⁻²⁰
has one ex., which makes this writer's figure stand at
1·43: the other NT books have none.   It will be found
that Mt and Mk are about level with the Rosetta Stone.[2]

Τοῦ c. inf.

The general blurring of the expressions
which were once appropriated for purpose,
has infected two varieties of the articular infinitive.   That
with τοῦ started as a pure adnominal genitive, and still
remains such in many places, as 1 Co 16⁴, ἄξιον τοῦ
πορεύεσθαι.   But though the τοῦ may be forced into one
of the ordinary genitive categories in a fair proportion of
its occurrences, the correspondence seems generally to be
accidental: the extension which began in the classical period
makes in later Greek a locution retaining its genitive force
almost as little as the genitive absolute.   The normal use of
τοῦ c. inf. is telic.   With this force it was specially developed
by Thucydides, and in the NT this remains its principal
use.   We will analyse the exx. given in the concordance,
omitting those in which τοῦ is governed by a preposition,
and those which are due to the LXX.   Mt has 6 exx.:
in one of them, 21³², τοῦ πιστεῦσαι gives rather the content
than the purpose of μετεμελήθητε.   Luke supplies two-thirds
of the total for the NT.   In Lk we have 23 exx., of which
5 may be due to dependence on a noun, and about one-half

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[1] But not to εἰς βάψαι, OP 736 (cir. A.D. 1).   Winer (413) cites two exx.
from Theodoret. See Kühner³ § 479. 2.   Add an ex. with ἄχρι from Plutarch
p. 256 D.   An inscription of iii/B.C. (OGIS 41, Michel 370) has ἀποσταλεὶς . . .
ἐπὶ τὰς παραβολὰς τῶν δικῶν λαμβάνειν: Dittenberger emends.   [2] See p. 241.

seem clearly final; in Ac there are 21, with 2 adnominal, and less than half final. Paul shows 13 (only in Rom, Gal, 1 and 2 Co, Phil), but there is not one in which purpose is unmistakable. In Heb there is one adnominal, one (11^5) final or quasi-final. Jas 5^{17} (object clause), 1 Pet 4^{17} (adnominal), and the peculiar [1] Rev 12^7 supply the remainder. Before turning to grammatical detail, let us parenthetically commend the statistics just given to the ingenious analysts who reject the unity of the Lucan books. The uniformity of use is very marked throughout Lk and Ac: cf Ac 27^1 ("We"-document) with 15^{20} 20^3, Lk 21^{22} with Ac 9^{15}, Ac 20^{27} ("We"-document) with 14^{18}. Note also the uniform pro-portion of final τοῦ, and the equality of total occurrences. When we observe that only Paul makes any marked use of τοῦ c. inf., outside Lk and Ac (the two writers together accounting for five-sixths of the NT total), and that his use differs notably in the absence of the telic force, we can hardly deny force to the facts as a contribution to the evidence on the Lucan question. In classifying the uses of this τοῦ, we note how closely it runs parallel with ἵνα. Thus Lk 17^1 ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ . . . μὴ ἐλθεῖν, and Ac 10^{25} ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν (cf 3^{12}), where the τοῦ clause represents a pure noun sentence, in which τό would have been more correct, may be paralleled at once by πόθεν μοι τοῦτο ἵνα ἔλθῃ; in Lk 1^{43}. After verbs of commanding we may have τοῦ or ἵνα. We find the simple infin. used side by side with it in Lk $1^{76f.}$ (purpose) and 1^{79}. It is not worth while to labour any proof that purpose is not to be pressed into any example of τοῦ where the context does not demand it; but we must justify our assertion about Paul. It is not meant that there are no possible or even plausible cases of final τοῦ, but only that when Paul wishes to express purpose he uses other means. In the majority of cases τοῦ c. inf. is epexegetic (Rom 1^{24} 7^3 8^{12}, 1 Co 10^{13}), adnominal (Rom 15^{23}, 1 Co 9^{10} 16^4, 2 Co 8^{11}, Phil 3^{21}), or in a regular ablative construction (Rom 15^{22}, 2 Co 1^8). The rendering

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[1] WH make this a quotation from Dan $10^{13, 20}$: the former verse names Michael, who in the latter says ἐπιστρέψω τοῦ πολεμῆσαι μετὰ κτλ (Theodotion). See below.

" so as to " will generally express it. The nearest to pure final force are Rom 6[6] and Phil 3[10]; but in both it would be quite as natural to recognise result as purpose—the main purpose is expressed by a clause with ἵνα in each case, and the τοῦ c. infin. comes in to expound what is involved in the purpose stated. An extreme case of explanatory infin. is that in Rev 12[7], where πόλεμος is explained by τοῦ πολεμῆσαι with subject in the nominative. The construction is loose even for the author of Rev, but the meaning is clear : we might illustrate the apposition by Vergil's " et certamen erat, *Corydon cum Thyrside*, magnum ; " or more closely still—if we may pursue our former plan of selecting English sentences of similar grammar and widely different sense— by such a construction as " There will be a cricket match, the champions *to play* the rest."

Πρὸς τό and εἰς τό c. infin.

Two other modes of expressing purpose have been, to a more limited extent, infected by the same general tendency. Πρὸς τό c. infin. occurs 5 times in Mt and once in Mk, with clearly final force, except perhaps in Mt 5[28], where it might rather seem to explain βλέπων than to state purpose. Lk 18[1] and Ac 3[19] stand alone in Luke, and the former is hardly final : we go back to a more neutral force of πρός—" with reference to the duty " (Winer). Paul has it 4 times, and always to express the " subjective purpose " in the agent's mind, as W. F. Moulton observes (WM 414 n., after Meyer and Alford). This then is a locution in which the final sense has been very little invaded. Εἰς τό c. infin. is almost exclusively Pauline. It occurs thrice in Mt, in very similar phrases, all final ; Mk, Lk and Ac have it once each, with final force fairly certain. Jas and 1 Pet have two exx. each, also final ; and the same may probably be said of the 8 exx. in Heb. The remaining 44 exx. are evenly distributed in Paul, esp. Rom, Th, and Co—none in Col, Philem and the Pastorals. Westcott on Heb 5[1] distinguishes between ἵνα and εἰς τό, which he notes as occurring in close connexion in a considerable number of passages : " ἵνα appears to mark in each case the direct and immediate end, while εἰς τό indicates the more remote result aimed at or reached." This seems to be true of both τοῦ and

εἰς τό. Since we have seen that ἵνα itself has largely lost
its appropriation to telic force, it would naturally follow
that εἰς τό would lose it more easily : on the whole,
however, this is hardly the case. On Heb 11[3], Moulton
and Westcott, independently, insist on the perseverance of
the final meaning, in view of the writer's usage elsewhere.
The εἰς τὸ γεγονέναι (mark the perfect) will in this case
depend on κατηρτίσθαι, and describe a contemplated effect
of the *fiat* in Gen 1. Paul's usage is not so uniform. It is
difficult to dispute Burton's assertion (*MT* § 411) that in
Rom 12[3], 2 Co 8[6], Gal 3[17] (not, I think,[1] in 1 Th 2[16]) εἰς τό
"expresses tendency, measure of effect, or result, conceived
or actual." Add (with WM 414 n.) exx. of εἰς τό expressing
the content of a command or entreaty (as 1 Th 2[12]), or
acting for the epexegetic inf. (1 Th 4[9]). Purpose is so
remote here as to be practically evanescent. We must
however agree with SH in rejecting Burton's reasoning as
to Rom 1[20] ; for this belongs to the category of passages
dealing with Divine action, in which contemplated and actual
results, final and consecutive clauses, necessarily lose their
differentia. It has been often asserted—cf especially a
paper by Mr A. Carr on " The Exclusion of Chance from the
Bible," in *Expos.* v. viii. 181 ff.—that Hebrew teleology is
responsible for the blurring of the distinction between pur-
pose and consequence : it is a " subtle influence of Hebrew
thought on the grammar of Hellenistic Greek." This might
be allowed—as a Hebraism of thought, not language—in
passages like that last mentioned, where the action of God
is described. But the idea that " Hebrew teleology " can
have much to do with these phenomena as a whole is put
out of court by the appearance of the same things in lan-
guage which Semitic influences could not have touched. We

Evidence of the Papyri, etc. have already shown this for ἵνα. A few exx.
may be cited for τοῦ from vernacular
witnesses :—BU 665 (i/A.D.) ἀμελεῖν τοῦ
γράφειν. BU 830 (i/A.D.) χρὴ οὖν ἐτοιμάσειν καὶ προαιρεῖν,
ἵν᾽ ἔχι τοῦ πωλεῖν : cf Mt 18[25], Jn 5[7], for parallel construc-

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[1] See Findlay *CGT in loc.*, where strong reasons are given for accepting
Ellicott's interpretation, seeing here the *purpose* of God.

tions with ἔχω. BU 1031 (ii/A.D.) φρόνησον τοῦ ποιῆσαι.
JHS, 1902, 369 (Lycaonian inscr., iii/A.D. or earlier) τῷ
διχοτομήσαντί με τοῦ τὸ λοεπὸν ζῆν εἶς (cause).   NP 16
(iii/A.D.) κωλύοντες τοῦ μὴ σπείρειν: cf Lk 4⁴², Ac 14¹⁸, etc.
BU 36 (ii/iii A.D.) τοῦ ζῆν μεταστῆσαι: cf 2 Co 1⁸.   BU
164 (ii/iii A.D.) παρακαλῶ σε . . . πεῖσαι αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν.
BM 23 (ii/B.C.) προσδεομένου μου τοῦ περιποιῆσαι. BU 595
(i/A.D.) τοῦ σὲ μὴι εὑρεθῆναι, apparently meaning " because
of your not being found," as if τῷ : [1] the document is illiterate
and naturally ejects the dative. OP 86 (iv/A.D.) ἔθος ἐστὶν
τοῦ παρασχεθῆναι.   OP 275 (i/A.D.) τοῦ ἀποσπαθῆναι
ἐπίτειμον.   CPR 156 ἐξουσίαν . . . τοῦ . . . θέσθαι: cf
1 Co 9⁶. BU 46 (ii/A.D.) εὐκαιρίας . . . τοῦ εὑρεῖν: cf
Lk 22⁶. BU 625 (ii/iii A.D.) πᾶν ποίησον τοῦ σὲ ἀπενέγκε :
so 845 (ii/A.D.). The usage is not common in the papyri.
Winer's plentiful testimony from LXX, Apocrypha, and
Byzantine writers (WM 411) illustrates what the NT
statistics suggest, that it belongs to the higher stratum of
education in the main. For εἰς τό we may quote the re-
current formula εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι, which is decidedly
telic : as PFi 2 (iii/A.D.) *quater*, OP 82 (iii/A.D.).   Miscel-
laneous exx. may be seen in OP 69 (ii/A.D.), BU 18 (ii/A.D.),
195 (ii/A.D.), 243 (ii/A.D.), 321 (iii/A.D.), 457 (ii/A.D.), 651
(ii/A.D.), 731 (ii/A.D.), and 747 (ii/A.D.).   Like the rather
commoner πρὸς τό, it seems to carry the thought of a remoter
purpose, the tendency towards an end. This is well shown by
the cases in which the main purpose is represented by ἵνα or
ὅπως, and an ultimate object is tacked on with the articular
infinitive.   Thus BU 226 (i/A.D.) ὅπως εἰδῇ παρέσεσται
(= -θαι) αὐτὸν . . . ὅταν κτλ . . . πρὸς τὸ τυχῖν με τῆς ἀπὸ
σοῦ βοηθείας. OP 237 (ii/A.D.) ὅπως φροντίσῃς ἀκόλουθα
πρᾶξαι . . . πρὸς τὸ μὴ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν αὐτὸν
ἐντυγχάνειν. *ib.* [ἵνα] δ' οὖν . . . διαμένῃ . . . ἡ χρῆσεις
πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἀπογραφῆς δεηθῆναι. This kind of final
force is just what we have seen in nearly all the NT exx. ;
nor do those in which the purpose is least evident go beyond
what we see in these other illustrations.

Before dealing with the Participle proper, we may

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[1] Cf 2 Co 2¹³ ; LPb (ii/B.C.) ἄλλως δὲ τῷ μηθέν' ἔχειν πλὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου.

briefly touch on another category closely connected with it. Brugmann has shown (*Idg. Forsch.* v. 89 ff.) that the

The Participle and the Verbal Adjectives. Greek participle, formed with the suffixes -*nt*-, -*meno*-, and -*wos*- (-*us*-), represents the proëthnic participle, which was intimately connected with the tense system; while there are primitive verbal adjectives, notably that in -*to*-, which in other languages—Latin and English are obvious examples—have become associated more intimately with the verb. The -τός form in Greek has never come into the verb system; and its freedom from tense connexions may be seen from the single fact that "ama*tus* est" and "he is love*d*" represent different tenses, while "scrip*tum* est" and "it is writt*en*" agree.[1] Even in Latin, a word like *tacitus* illustrates the absence of both tense and voice from the adjective in its primary use. Brugmann's paper mainly concerns Latin and the Italic dialects, and we shall only pursue the subject just as far as the interpretation of the Greek -τός calls us. The absence of *voice* has just been remarked on. This is well shown by the ambiguity of ἀδύνα-τον in Rom 8³: is it "incapable," as in Ac 14⁸, Rom 15¹, or "impossible," as in the other NT occurrences? Grammar cannot tell us: it is a purely lexical problem. As to absence of *tense*, we may note that both in Greek and English this adjective is wholly independent of time and of "Aktionsart." Both ἀγαπητός and *beloved* may answer indifferently to ἀγαπώμενος, ἠγαπημένος, and ἀγαπηθείς. This fact has some exegetical importance. Thus in Mt 25⁴¹ the timeless adjective "cursed" would answer to the Greek κατάρατοι. The perfect κατηραμένοι has the full perfect force, "having become the subjects of a curse"; and this makes the predicate translation (RVmg "under a curse") decidedly more probable. That our -*d* (-*n*) participle has no tense force in itself, and that consequently we have no exact representative of either present, aorist or perfect participle passive in Greek, is a point that will often need to be borne in mind. The very word just used, *borne*, translates the

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[1] The verbal adjective in -*no*- stands parallel with that in -*to*- from primitive times.

present *αἰρόμενον* in Mk 2³, while its punctiliar equivalent *brought* represents (RVmg) the aorist *ἐνεχθεῖσαν* in 2 Pet 1¹⁸, and the similar *taken away* stands for *ἠρμένον* in Jn 20¹; and yet all these are called "past participle" in English grammars.   Having cleared the way for a lexical treatment of the verbals in -*τός*, by leaving usage in each case to decide whether an intransitive, an active, or a passive meaning is to be assigned to each word, we may give two or three examples which will lead to a new point.   *Συνετός* is a good example of an ambiguous word : it is always active, "intelligent," in NT, but in earlier writers it is also passive.   LS cite Euripides *IT* 1092 *εὐξύνετος ξυνετοῖσι βοά* as combining the two.   *Ἀσύνετος* in Rom 1³¹ is also active, but the next word *ἀσύνθετος*, combined with it by paronomasia, gets its meaning from the middle *συνθέσθαι*, "not covenanting."   An example of the passive, and at the same time of the free use of these adjectives in composition, is *θεοδίδακτος* "God-taught."   Intransitive verbs naturally cannot show passive meaning.   Thus *ζεστός fervidus*, from *ζέ(σ)ω* "to boil."   But when we examine *θνητός*, we see it does not mean "dying" but "mortal"; *παθητός* is probably not "suffering" but "capable of suffering," *patibilis*.   So often with transitive verbs.   "The 'invincible' Armada" would be rendered *ὁ ἀήττητος δὴ στόλος*: *invictus* would be similarly used in Latin, and "unconquered" can be read in that sense in English.   A considerable number of these adjectives answer thus to Latin words in -*bilis*, as will be seen from the lexicon: we need cite no more here.   It will be enough merely to mention the gerundive in -*τέος*, as it is only found in Lk 5³⁸, *βλητέον* "one must put."   It is not unknown in the papyri, but can hardly have belonged to the genuine popular speech.

Participle for Indicative.   A considerable proportion of what we have to say about the Participle has been anticipated.   One Hellenistic use, already adumbrated in the discussion of the Imperative (pp. 180 ff.), may be finished off at this point, before we go on to describe subordinate participial clauses.   That the participle can be used for indicative or imperative seems to be fairly established now by the papyri.   Let us present our evidence before applying it to the NT exx., which we have already

given so far as the imperative is concerned. For indicative
the following may be cited:—Tb P 14 (ii/B.C.) τῶι οὖν
σημαινομένωι Ἡρᾶτι παρηγγελκότες ἐνώπιον, " I gave notice
in person" (no verb follows). Tb P 42 (*ib.*) ἠδικημένος (no
verb follows). AP 78 (ii/A.D.) βίαν πάσχων ἑκάστοτε, etc.
(no verb). Tb P 58 (ii/B.C.) γράψας ὅπως εἰδῇς, καὶ σὺ
ἀναγωνίατος ἴσθει. NP 49 (iii/A.D.) ὅτι ". . . ἐξαγρήσαντες
. . . καὶ . . . σφετερίσαντες, καὶ ἀπάντηκα αὐτοῖς. . . ." On
GH 26 (ii/B.C.), ὃ συνεπικελευούσης τῆς τούτων μητρὸς Θρῆρις
τῆς Παῶτος συνευδοκοῦντες τῶν προγεγρα(μμένων), the edd.
remark : " The construction is hopeless ; one of the participles
συνεπικ. or συνευδ. must be emended to the indicative, and
the cases altered accordingly." The writer of the papyrus
uses his cases in a way which would have convicted him of
Semitic birth before any jury of NT grammarians not very
long ago ; but if συνευδοκοῦμεν is meant by the συνευ-
δοκοῦντες, we may perhaps translate without emendation,
taking τῶν π. as partitive gen. like Ac 21[16] (*supr.*, p. 73).
In Par P 63 (ii/B.C.) ἔντευξιν ἡμῖν προφερόμενοι comes in so
long a sentence that the absence of finite verb may be mere
anacoluthon. OP 725 (ii/A.D.) ὁ δὲ Ἡ. εὐδοκῶν τούτοις πᾶσι
καὶ ἐκδειδάξειν, " H. agrees to all this, and to teach," etc. In
CPR 4 (i/A.D.), καὶ μηδένα κωλύοντα, for κωλύειν, seems to be
the same thing in *orat. obl.*, but more clearly due to anaco-
luthon. For the imperative there is the formula seen in
G 35 (i/B.C.) ἑαυτῶν δὲ ἐπιμελόμενοι ἵν᾽ ὑγιαίνητε (1st person
plural precedes): so Par P 63, G 30, Path P 1, Tb P 12
(all Ptolemaic), etc. FP 112 (i/A.D., translated above,
p. 178) ἐπέχον (= -ων) Ζωίλωι καὶ εἶνα αὐτὸν μὴ δυσωπήσῃς.
Tb P 59 (i/B.C.) ἐν οἷς ἐὰν προσδέῃσθέ μου ἐπιτάσσοντές μοι
προθυμότερον—following a gen. abs. (This is a letter from
" an official of some importance " (G. & H.), who bears the
Greek name Posidonius. We may observe that the parti-
cipial use we are discussing is in the papyri not at all a
mark of inferior education.) It will be seen that the use,
though fairly certain, was not in the vernacular very common.
It may be recalled that in a prehistoric stage Latin used the
participle for an indicative, where the 2nd plur. middle for
some reason became unpopular ; and *sequiminī* = ἑπόμενοι not
only established itself in the present, but even produced

analogy-formations in future and imperfect, and in the subjunctive.[1] Cf the constant ellipsis of *est* in perfect indic. passive. If further analogies may be permitted, we might refer to the plausible connexion claimed between the 3rd plural indicative and the participle in all languages of our family: *bheronti* (*ferunt*, φέρουσι, Gothic *bairand*, etc.), and *bheront-* (*ferens*, φέρων, *bairands*). These analogies are only adduced to show that the use of the participle always lay ready to hand, with or without the auxiliary verb, and was a natural resource whenever the ordinary indicative (or, less often, imperative) was for any cause set aside. In D we find this use apparently arising from the literal translation of Aramaic: see Wellh. 21. We may proceed to give some NT passages in which the participle appears to stand for an indicative: those where the imperative is needed were given on pp. 180 ff. As before, we shall begin with those from Winer's list (p. 441 f.) in which we may now reject his alternative construction. Rom 5[11] καυχώμενοι is most naturally taken this way: Winer's explanation seems forced. L and the rest correctly glossed the true reading with their καυχώμεθα. In Heb 7[2] we might have to take refuge in explaining ἑρμηνευόμενος as an indicative, if we felt ourselves tied to ὃς συναντήσας in v.[1], which is read by אABC²DEK 17. But it seems clear that we may here accept the conjecture of C*LP and the later MSS, the doubled sigma being a primitive error parallel with those in 11[35] γυναῖκας (אAD and the new Oxyrhynchus papyrus) and 11[4] αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεῷ (where Hort's αὐτῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ is now found in the papyrus, as well as in Clement): this is an excellent witness to the scrupulous accuracy of the β-text in preserving even errors in its ancient source. In Heb 8[10] 10[16] διδούς is parallel to ἐπιγράψω, if the order of thought is to be maintained: the LXX had διδοὺς δώσω, but AQ and Heb omit δώσω (because there was only the simple Qal in the Hebrew ?), leaving διδούς to do the work of an indicative. Winer (p. 717) would make ἐπιγράψω a substitute for participle, as in Col 1[26], 1 Co 7[37], etc. In Ac 24[5] εὑρόντες arrives at the goal by the way of anacoluthon—Luke cruelly reports

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[1] *Sequimini* imperative has a different history: cf the old infinitive ἐπέμεναι, Skt. *sacamane*. See p. 241.

the orator *verbatim*. In 2 Co 7⁵ θλιβόμενοι is most simply
taken in this way: perhaps παρεκλήθημεν was in mind for
the main verb. Ἀπαγγέλλων in the *a*-text (HLP and cur-
sives) of Ac 26²⁰ would be explained thus, though the influence
of ἐγενόμην is still consciously present : were this a marked
irregularity, the Syrian revisers would hardly have admitted
it. In Rom 12⁶ ἔχοντες is I think for ἔχομεν : see above,
p. 183. In Rev 10² ἔχων is for εἶχεν : Winer allows that
" ἐστί [rather ἦν] may be supplied." So 21¹²·¹⁴. A different
class of participle altogether is that coming under the head
of " hanging nominative," which our own nominative absolute
translates so exactly that we forget the genitive presumed in
the Greek. Heb 10¹ will be a case in point if the text is
sound—Westcott and Peake accept δύναται, which is strongly
supported by the combination DH boh vg : the RV (so W. F.
Moulton, *Comm. in loc.*) follows the construction expressly
vouched for by Theophylact, reading ἔχων as an " absolute
clause." In Phil 1³⁰ ἔχοντες similarly takes the place of a gen.
abs. (or dat. agreeing with ὑμῖν)—the construction is taken up
as if ἐλάβετε had preceded.[1] The idiom in fact is due merely
to anacoluthon : see other exx. in WM 716 and Jannaris
HG 500. Answering Viteau, who as usual sees Hebraism
here, Thumb observes (*Hellenismus* 131) that the usage is
found in classical Greek, and in Hellenistic both in and
outside Biblical Greek, " and is the precursor of the process
which ends in MGr with the disappearance of the old
participial constructions, only an absolute form in -οντας
being left." This construction is identical, to be sure, with
the *nom. pendens* unaccompanied by the participle : it is as
common in English as in Greek, and just as " Hebraistic " in
the one as in the other.

**Participles
with εἶναι.**
We saw when we first introduced the
participial substitute for indicative or impera-
tive (p. 182), that its rationale was practically
the suppression of the substantive verb. Our next subject
will therefore naturally be the use of the participle in peri-

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[1] Lightfoot rejects the alternative punctuation (WH) which would treat
ἥτις . . . πάσχειν as a parenthesis. So Kennedy (*EGT in loc.*)—rightly, it
seems to me.

phrastic tenses. Since the question of Semitism is rather
acute here, we will deal with it first. Blass (pp. 202 ff.)
discovers the influence of Aramaic especially in the peri-
phrastic imperfect : in the case of Mt, Mk, Lk and Ac 1–12
" this is no doubt due to their being direct translations from
Aramaic originals "—" *based on* direct translations," would be
a better way to put it. Schmid (*Attic.* iii. 113 f.) has a
valuable note, in which, after sketching the extent of this
periphrasis in classical Greek and literary Κοινή, he remarks
that in Par P he can only find it in future-perfects, and
twice in optative with aor. participle. Comparing this scanty
result with " the extraordinary abundance of the participial
periphrasis in NT . . ., one cannot avoid separating the NT
use from that of the Κοινή, and deriving it from the Heb. and
Syr. application of the participle." We can of course have no
objection to this, within limits. In translated Greek, as we
have seen again and again, we expect to find over-literal
renderings, — still more to find an overdoing of correct
idioms which answer exactly to locutions characteristic of the
language rendered. The latter is the case here. No one
denies that periphrasis is thoroughly Greek : see the page
and a half of classical exx. in Kühner-Gerth i. 38 ff. It is
only that where Aramaic sources underlie the Greek, there
is inordinate frequency of a use which Hellenistic has not
conspicuously developed. Cf Wellh. 25. The exx. in
Jn (see Blass 203 n.) and Paul we may treat on purely
Greek lines. By way of further limiting the usage, we
observe that the imperfect is the only tense in which corre-
spondence with Aramaic is close enough to justify much of a
case for dependence. No less an authority than Wellhausen
warns us not to carry the thesis into the imperative : "Ἴσθι
in imperative before participle or adjective often occurs
(Mk 5³⁴, Lk 19¹⁷), and in consideration of Prov 3⁵ LXX is
not to be treated as an Aramaism " (*Comm.* on Mt 5²⁵). Then
we note the papyrus usage. Ἔχων ἐστί and δέον ἐστί (with
other impersonal verbs) are both classical and vernacular.
The future ἔσομαι c. perf. part. is well kept up in the papyri,
and so is the periphrastic pluperfect : thus, OP 285 (i/A.D.)
ὃν ἤμην ἐνδεδυμένος χιτῶνα, Par P 8 (ii/B.C.) ὧν ἤμην δι᾽ αὐτῶν
παραμεμετρηκυῖα. There can be no thought of Aramaisms

here. But BU 183 (i/A.D.), ἐφ᾽ ὃν χρόνον ζῶσα ᾖ, is rather limited illustration for the present participle in this usage. Winer however cites Lucian, observing that its common appearance in the LXX " was but seldom suggested by the Hebrew." As to classical Greek, note Dr W. G. Rutherford's suggestive little paper, *CR* xvii. 249, in which he shows that the idiom imparts a special emphasis. So in Thuc. iv. 54 ἦσαν δέ τινες καὶ γενόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ λόγοι, "some proposals were even *actually* made to N." Antiphon (Fr. M. 3. 67) ἦν ὁ γρῖφος ἐνταῦθα ῥέπων, "the puzzle *did indeed* mean as much." Aristoph. *Ach.* 484 ἕστηκας; οὐκ εἶ καταπιὼν Εὐριπίδην; " afraid to go ! not *effectually* saturated with Euripides !" May we not apply this in the originally Greek parts of NT—*e.g.* Gal 1²²ᶠ·, " I was *entirely* unknown . . . only they had been *hearing* . . ." ? Paul has only one other ex. in imperfect, Phil 2²⁶, where ἐπιποθῶν and ἀδημονῶν seem decidedly adjectival, and not at all improved by reading them as imperfect. (No one would cite 2 Co 5¹⁹.) Blass well remarks that in Jn " in most passages ἦν has a certain independence of its own "; and he further notes that in Ac 13–28, where Aramaic sources are almost entirely absent, the Semitisms fail, except in 22¹⁹, in a speech delivered in Aramaic. The total number of exx. of pres. partic. with imperf. of εἶναι is for Mt 3 (only 7²⁹ possibly Aramaising), Mk 16, Lk 30, Ac (1–12) 17, (13–28) 7, Jn 10, Paul 3, 1 Pet 1.¹ Large deductions would have to be made from these figures, on any theory, to get the maximum of exx. for the supposed literal translation of an Aramaic periphrastic imperfect. Even in Mk and Luke the ἦν is generally very distinct from the participle ; and whatever was the Aramaic original, we may be quite sure that such expressions as we find in Mk 10³² or Lk 4³³ owe nothing to it in this way. See p. 249.

The participle as a whole has diverged so little from earlier usage that we have not very much more to say. The *tenses* need no further discussion in this volume ; and for our present purpose little need be added to what was said about the articular participle on pp. 126 f. An

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¹ I count ἑστώς as a present, but omit ἐξὸν ἦν. Jn 1⁹ is included, but not Lk 3²³.

idiomatic use of ὁ ὤν may be noted in Ac 13¹ κατὰ τὴν
οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν, "the local church," 14¹³ D τοῦ ὄντος Διὸς

**Articular
Participle.**

Προπόλεως (or πρὸ πόλεως).¹   Cf Ramsay's
remark (*Ch. in Rom. Emp.* 52, quoting J. A.
Robinson), that in Ac ὁ ὤν "introduces some
technical phrase, or some term which it marks out as having
a technical sense (cf 5¹⁷ 13¹ 28¹⁷), and is almost equivalent
to τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου." Dean Robinson has not mentioned
this in his note on Eph 1¹, though an ingenious person
might apply it there to the text with ἐν Ἐφέσῳ absent ; but
the usual view needs no defence against such an alternative.
With αἱ οὖσαι in Rom 13¹ we may compare Par P 5 (ii/B.C.)
ἐφ᾽ ἱερέων καὶ ἱερειῶν τῶν ὄντων καὶ οὐσῶν. On the crucial
passage Rom 9⁵ see SH p. 235 f., with whom I agree, though
the argument that "He who is God over all," would have
to be ὁ ἐπὶ π. θ. might perhaps be met by applying the
idiom noted above for Ac, with a different *nuance*.   Θεός
may still be subject, not predicate, without making ὤν
otiose : the consciousness of Ex 3¹⁴ might fairly account
for its insertion.   It is exegesis rather than grammar which
makes the reference to Christ probable.   One other Pauline
passage claims a brief note, Col 2⁸, where the natural ὃς
συλαγωγήσει is replaced by ὁ συλαγωγῶν, to give " direct-
ness and individuality to the reference " (Lightfoot).   Rela-
tive clauses are frequently ousted by the articular participle,
which (as Blass observes) had become synonymous therewith.

There is a marked diminution in the use of the parti-
ciple with verbs like τυγχάνω, ἄρχομαι, λανθάνω, φαίνομαι,

**Participle as
Complement.**

etc.   But this was, partly at any rate, mere
accident, for τυγχάνω c. part. is exceedingly
common in the papyri : " I happen to be "
is a phrase NT writers would instinctively avoid.   Καλῶς
ποιήσεις c. aor. part. (once or twice infin., but the participle
is overwhelmingly predominant) is the normal way of saying
" please " in the papyri, and is classical.   So 3 Jn⁶, and
in the past Ac 10³³, Phil 4¹⁴ : cf 2 Pet 1¹⁹.   I cannot agree
with Blass's " incorrectly εὖ πράσσειν in Ac 15²⁹ " (p. 245)—

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¹ Cf such phrases as τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς χοιάκ, NP 49 (iii/A.D.), "the *current*
month."

except in the query he attaches to the remark. Surely this is an ordinary conditional sentence, " If you keep yourselves free from these things, you will prosper " ? Εὖ ποιήσετε, from vernacular usage, would suggest " you will oblige us "; but Blass can hardly mean this. With verbs like οἶδα, ὁμολογῶ, μανθάνω, the participle is being encroached upon : it appears regularly in 2 Co 12², 1 Jn 4² (not B), 2 Jn⁷, Lk 8⁴⁶, Ac 24¹⁰, but is generally replaced by acc. and inf. or a ὅτι clause. So Par P 44 (ii/B.C.) γίνωσκέ με πεπορεῦσθαι, and the recurrent γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι : for the participle we can quote BU 151 (Christian period—ἴσθι), TP 1 (ii/B.C. —ὁμόλογος), NP 1 (ii/A.D.—εἰ μάθοιμι, the optative of which suggests culture). Of course Phil 4¹¹, ἔμαθον . . . εἶναι " I have learned how to be," is classically correct : 1 Tim 5¹³ is in any case no ex. of μανθάνω c. part., for this could only mean " learn that they are going about." (The RV rendering is supported by Winer with Plato *Euthyd.* 276ʙ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς ἄρα σοφοὶ μανθάνουσι, and the parallel phrase διδάσκειν τινὰ σοφόν : Field adds from Chrysostom εἰ ἰατρὸς μέλλεις μανθάνειν, with other parallels. The construction—μανθάνω as passive of διδάσκω—is not unnatural in itself. Despite Weiss, the absolute μανθ. seems intolerable, and there is no real alternative, unless with Blass we boldly insert εἶναι.)

Participial Clauses. We come then to the manifold uses of the participle as forming an additional clause in the sentence. This is one of the great resources of Greek, in which the poverty of Latin shows markedly by contrast. Our own language comes much nearer, but even with the help of auxiliaries we cannot match the wealth of Greek : thus, we cannot by our participle distinguish λελυκώς and λύσας. The elasticity of Greek however has its disadvantages, such as the possibility of supplying in translation particles as widely apart as *because* and *although*. But it seldom happens that serious ambiguity arises from this absence of strict logical differentiation.

We need spend little space in classifying participial usages. We have already seen (pp. 170 f.) that one important criterion has disappeared in Hellenistic, by the encroachments of μή over the whole field, when in classical **In Conditional,** Greek it was essentially conditional. We

return to this point presently. The participle in *conditional*
clauses is still found very freely. It stands for ἐάν c.
aor. subj. in Lk 9²⁵ compared with Mt 16²⁶; for εἰ c. pres.
indic. in 1 Co 11²⁹. There seem to be no exx. of its sub-
stitution for εἰ c. opt., or εἰ c. *indic. irreal.*; but this is an
accident, due to the relatively small number of sentences of
the kind. Another class is called by Blass
"**Conjunctive**," "*conjunctive*": 1 Tim 1¹³ ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα
(cf Ac 3¹⁷) is his ex. In Mt 6²⁷ we have a choice—"Who
can by worrying," or "even *if* he does worry, add a span to his
life?" *Concessive* clauses are often expressed
Concessive, with the participle alone: Rom 1³² "though
they know," Jas 3⁴ "big though they are," 1 Co 9¹⁹ "free
though I am," Jude⁵ (not causal, as Winer), etc. Where
ambiguity is possible, we sometimes find the meaning fixed by
καίπερ, as Phil 3⁴, 2 Pet 1¹², and Heb *ter*; once by καίτοι,
Heb 4³, καὶ ταῦτα Heb 11¹², or καί γε Ac 17²⁷—note
the οὐ there surviving, with characteristic
Causal, emphasis. The opposite *causal* sense is ex-
ceedingly common : so Ac 4²¹, Heb 6⁶ (unless temporal), Jas
2²⁵, Mt 1¹⁹, etc. *Purpose* is less often expressed by the parti-
ciple, as the future was decaying :[1] we have
Final, however Mt 27⁴⁹, and two or three in Luke.
The present sometimes fulfils this function, as in Ac 15²⁷.
Finally come the *temporal* clauses, or those which describe
Temporal and the *attendant circumstances* of an action : *e.g.*
Attendant Mt 13² ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα καθ-
Circumstances ῆσθαι, "when he had entered, he sat down."[2]
Clauses. We should not usually put a temporal
clause to represent these, as it would overdo the emphasis :
in comparatively few cases, like Ac 17¹ and similar narra-
tive passages, we might replace with ἐπεί or ὅτε. Our
English participle is generally the best representative, unless
we change it to the indicative with *and* : Latin, unless the
ablative absolute can be used, necessarily has recourse to
cum c. subj., its normal method of expressing attendant
circumstances. The pleonastic participles λαβών, ἀναστάς,

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[1] It was not however by any means dead : cf the string of final fut. parti-
ciples in OP 727 (ii/A.D.); BU 98 (iii/A.D.) etc.   [2] See p. 241.

πορευθείς, ἀπελθών, largely occurring in translated passages,
have been already referred to (p. 14). One interesting
Aramaism may be noted here from Wellhausen (p. 22). He
asserts that in Mk 2⁷ λαλεῖ βλασφημεῖ (without stop) liter-
ally translates two Aramaic participles, the second of which
should in Greek appear as a participle. In Lk 22⁶⁵ we find
βλασφημοῦντες ἔλεγον correctly. But it must be noted that
with the RV punctuation Mk *l.c.* is perfectly good Greek, so
that we have no breach of principle if we do allow this
account of the passage.

The large use of participles in narrative, both in gramma-
tical connexion with the sentence and in the gen. abs. con-
struction (p. 74), is more a matter of style than of grammar,
and calls for no special examination here.

**Oὐ with
participle.** We may close our discussion with some
notes on the places in which the ordinary
rule, that μή goes with the participle, is set
aside. The number of passages is not large, and they may
well be brought together.[1]   Mt (22¹¹) and Jn (10¹²) have one
each; Luke (Lk 6⁴², Ac 7⁵ 26²² 28¹⁷· ¹⁹) five; and there are
two each in Heb (11¹· ³⁵) and 1 Pet (1⁸ 2¹⁰—a quotation).
Paul has eight passages (Rom 9²⁵ and Gal 4²⁷ *bis*—quoted;
1 Co 9²⁶, 2 Co 4⁸· ⁹ *quater*, Gal 4⁸, Phil 3³, Col 2¹⁹, 1 Th 2⁴).
Before discussing them, let us put down some papyrus exx.
for οὐ. OP 471 (ii/A.D.) τὸν οὐκ ἐν λευκαῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἐν
θεατρῷ καθίσαντα: cf Mt *l.c.* OP 491 (ii/A.D.) ἐὰν τελευτήσω
οὐδέπω πεπληρωκότων (when they are not yet 25). AP 78
(ii/A.D.) οὐ δυνάμενος ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἐπιδίδωμι: contrast 1 Th 3¹.
OP 726 (ii/A.D.) οὐ δυνάμενος δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν πλεῦσαι since he
cannot): so 727 (ii/A.D.). Tb P 41 (ii/B.C.) οὐ στοχασά-
μενος (= -ου) ὧν ἔχομεν . . . πίστεων (in a long gen. abs.
succession): so Par P 40 οὔτε τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοχασάμενοι οὔτε
τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος. Par P 13 (ii/B.C.) κρατοῦσιν οὐκ ἀναπέμ-
ψαντες τὴν φέρνην. Tb P 34 (ii/B.C.) μὴ παρανοχλείθω (*sic*)
ὑπ᾽ οὐδενός. BU 361 (ii/A.D.) χώραν οὐκ ἔχει, οὐκ ἐπιστά-
μενος τί ἐκεῖνος ἀπεκρείνατο. See also Par P 14, OP 286
(i/A.D.), TP 1 (ii/B.C.), 3 and 8 (ii/B.C.). In many of these

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[1] I omit οὐκ ἐξόν, used for indic., and the common vernacular phrase οὐχ ὁ
τυχών.

exx. we can distinctly recognise, it seems, the lingering con-
sciousness that the proper negative for a statement of a
downright fact is οὐ. The same feeling may have made οὐ
rise to the lips when an emphatic phrase was wanted, as in
the illiterate Tb P 34 above. The closeness of the participle
to the indicative in the kinds of sentence found in this list
makes the survival of οὐ natural. Much the same principles
may be applied to the NT, though in Luke, Paul and Heb
we have also to reckon with the literary consciousness of an
educated man, which left some of the old idioms even where
μή had generally swept them away. In two passages we
have οὐ and μή in close contact. Mt 22¹¹ (see parallel
above) is followed in the king's question by πῶς εἰσῆλθες
ὧδε μὴ ἔχων . . .; The distinction is very natural : the
first is a plain fact, the second an application of it. The
emphasis would have been lost by substituting μή. In
Pallis's MGr version of the Gospels the two phrases are alike
translated with δέν and indic. (The completeness of MGr
levelling is well illustrated by his version of Lk and Jn *ll.cc.*
The former becomes καὶ . . . δὲν c. indic.; the latter is
καὶ βοσκὸς μὴν ὄντας, followed by ποὺ δὲν εἶναι τὰ πρόβατα
δικά του, " whose own the sheep are not." Outside the
indicative δέν is not found.) 1 Pet 1⁸ is best left to Hort :
" The change of negative participles . . . is not capricious.
The first is a direct statement of historical fact ; the second
is introduced as it were hypothetically, merely to bring out
the full force of πιστεύοντες." Though Blass thinks it arti-
ficial to distinguish, it is hard to believe that any but a slovenly
writer would have brought in so rapid a change without any
reason. The principles already sketched may be applied to
the remaining passages without difficulty, in so far as they
are original Greek. In the quotations from the LXX we
have, as Blass notes, merely the fact that לֹא c. partic. was
regularly translated with οὐ. The passages in question
would also come very obviously under the rule which admits
οὐ when negativing a single word and not a sentence.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P. 2.—Thumb points out (*Hellen.* 125) that Josephus has only been convicted of *one* Hebraism, the use of προστίθεσθαι c. inf. = " to go on to do " (הֹסִיף, *i.e.* " to do again "). (For this, cf Wellh. 28.) He refers to Schmidt *Jos.* 514-7, and Deissmann *BS* 67 n. That the solitary Hebraism in the Palestinian writer should be a lexical one, not a grammatical, is suggestive.

P. 7.—In the *Expositor* for September 1905, Prof. Ramsay says that the earlier tombs at Lystra show *Latin* inscriptions, while at Iconium Greek is normal. This may involve our substituting Latin as the language of Paul's preaching at Lystra : such a conclusion would not in itself be at all surprising.

P. 8.—" Even a Palestinian like Justin knew no Hebrew," says Dalman (*Words* 44) in arguing against Resch's theory of a primitive Hebrew Gospel.

P. 10.—Lightfoot (on Gal 4⁶) prefers to regard Ἀββά ὁ πατήρ in Mk 14³⁶ as spoken by our Lord in this form. He cites from Schöttgen the address מרי כירי, in which the second element (κύριε) emphasises the first by repetition ; and he compares Rev 9¹¹ 12⁹ 20². Thus understood, the phrase would be a most emphatic " testimony to that fusion of Jew and Greek which prepared the way for the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen." But Lightfoot's first alternative (practically that of the text) seems on the whole more probable.

P. 16.—In Ac 2¹ D, Blass puts a full stop at the end of the verse. But we might translate without the stop :—" It came to pass during those days of fulfilment of the day of Pentecost, while they were all gathered together, that lo ! there was . . ." This is the (*b*) form, with καὶ ἰδού, so that it comes near (*a*). This punctuation helps us to give adequate force to the durative infin. συμπληροῦσθαι. On this view D gives us one ex. of the (*a*) form, and one of the (*b*), to reinforce the more or less doubtful ex. of (*b*) in the ordinary text of Ac 5⁷. Those who accept Blass's theory of Luke's two editions might say that the author had not quite given up the (*a*) and (*b*) constructions when he wrote his first draft of Ac : before sending the revised edition to Theophilus, he corrected what remained of these (like a modern writer going over his proofs to expunge "split infinitives"), but overlooked 5⁷. I am not commending that view here ; but I may suggest a systematic study of the *grammar* of the D text in Luke as a probably fruitful field for those who would contribute to the greatest of all textual problems in the NT.

P. 23.—We might have expected to find a specimen of Cretan in Tit 1¹² ; but if Epimenides the Cretan was really the author of this unflattering description of his countrymen, he waited till he came to Athens, where (among other advantages for this composition) he could write ἀεί and disyllabic ἀργαί. Plato makes him reach Athens just before the Persian War.

P. 30.—It may be worth while to add a note illustrating the early date at which some characteristic MGr elements began to appear in the vernacular.

On a Galatian tombstone of vi/A.D.(*BCH* 1903, 335) the word ἀνάπαυσις is written ἀν<άπ>αψις, showing the fully developed result of the pronunciation of αυ as αv : cf MGr ἔπαψα from παύω. Ramsay (*C. and B.* ii. 537) notes κατεσσκέβασα (*BCH* 1888, 202), which is an ex. of the same phenomenon. He also gives a Christian inscription of iii/A.D. from Phrygia, containing the 3 pl. ἐπιτηδεύσουν, and "an anticipation of the modern periphrastic future" in βουλνηθῇ ἀνοίξι, noted by Mordtmann. We may add the gen. ἐσοῦ from ii/A.D., as OP 528. But Thumb (in *BZ* ix. 234) cites a yet earlier ex., ἔχουσες for nom. or acc. pl. fem., from an inscription of i/A.D.

P. 43.—S. Langdon (*AJP* xxiv. 447 ff.) examines the history of ἐάν for ἄν, and agrees with Winer, who thinks it a peculiarity of the popular language (WM 390). Mr Langdon attributes it to "the effort to emphasise the abstract conditional aspect of the relative clause. This would of course occur much more frequently with relatives without antecedent than when they were defined by an antecedent. . . . This popular idiom met the necessity which the LXX translators felt in their effort to distinguish between the complete and incomplete relative clauses when translating from Hebrew. . . . In the NT the rule of using ἐάν in sentences without antecedent is invariably followed, almost invariably in the OT and in Christian Greek writers." Mr Langdon's trust in his one or two exx. from classical MSS can hardly be shared ; and before we can feel sure that the LXX translators themselves used this ἐάν, and meant anything by the distinction, we should at least have examined the early papyri very carefully. The earliest exx. quotable, so far as I know, are BM 220 *bis* (133 B.C.) and G 18 (132 B.C.): Tb P 12 *bis*, 105, 107, are also from ii/B.C. A suggestive ex. is Tb P 59 (99 B.C.), where the sentence is translatable with either interpretation of ἐάν. It may be noted that the rarity of antecedent in these relative sentences makes it easy to misinterpret statistics.

P. 44.—Ἐφιορκεῖν, banned by WH as "Western," occurs frequently in inscriptions and papyri. See Schwyzer *Perg.* 118 for exx. and an explanation (Thumb's).

P. 55.—A more peculiar product is [ἐπικα]λέομε (=-αι) in Audollent no. 189 (Rome), to which Prof. Thumb calls my attention. So καλέω *ib.* no. 15 (Syria, iii/A.D.). That these are genuine survivals of uncontracted forms (*e.g.* from Epic dialect) is very improbable.

P. 58.—"Pindaric Construction," when the verb *follows*, is hardly anacoluthic : it is due to a mental grouping of the compound subject into one entity —"flesh and blood"="humanity," "heaven and earth"="the universe." A papyrus ex. may be cited : BU 225 (ii/A.D.) ὑπάρχι δὲ αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ οἰκίαι δύο καὶ κτλ. So also 537.

P. 60.—Meisterhans³ 203 (§ 84) cites a number of exx. from Attic inscriptions of v/ and iv/B.C., where in a continued enumeration there is a relapse into the nominative. Gildersleeve adds *CIA* I. 170-173 (v/B.C.=Roberts-Gardner no. 97) τάδε παρέδοσαν . . . στέφανος . . . φιάλαι etc.

P. 63.—To discuss this large question for individual exx. would take us too long. Blass in § 39. 3 states the case fairly : he notes that the misuse of εἰς was still a provincialism, which in respect of the *local* signification of εἰς and ἐν is not present in the Epistles nor (strangely enough) in Rev, though found in all the narrative writers of the NT. Hatzidakis 210 f. illustrates both the use of εἰς for ἐν and that of ἐν for εἰς : for the latter, add the early Par P 10 ἀνακεχώρηκεν ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ. (He should not have cited 2 Tim 1¹¹, where εἰς is perfectly normal.) We need not accept all Blass's exx. : thus Jn 17²³ is surely "perfected *into* one." But it must be confessed that our evidence now

makes it impossible to see in Jn 1¹⁸ (ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον) "the combination . . . of rest and motion, of a continuous relation with a realisation of it" (Westcott). Without further remark we will reserve discussion till the time comes for treating the prepositions systematically, only noting that in D there are suggestive substitutions of ἐν for εἰς in Ac 7¹² 8²³ (the latter however probably involving an entirely different sense—see p. 71), and εἰς for ἐν in Ac 11²⁵ (ἐστὶν εἰς Τάρσον). On this cf Wellh. 12.

P. 65.—D often, as Wellhausen notes (p. 13), shows acc. with ἀκούειν, κατηγορεῖν, and κρατεῖν, where the other texts have gen.

P. 67.—Both in Ac 16³⁴ and in 18⁸, D alters the dat. to ἐπί (εἰς) c. acc. ; but in the latter a clause is added containing πιστεύειν τῷ θεῷ.

P. 69.—It should have been noted on p. 49 that Blass's objection to recognising the noun Ἐλαιών, in Ac 1¹² and Josephus, rests upon the fact that assimilation of case is generally practised, and that in τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν the genitive is unmistakable. But the nom., though rare, has parallels : see Deissmann *BS* 210. Blass rightly, I think, regards Jn 13¹³ as a vocative, and not as equivalent to φωνεῖτέ με τὸν διδάσκαλον ; but Winer's 1 Sam 9⁹ is a clear ex. to put by Rev 9¹¹ and Blass's own Mk 3¹⁶ (as found in Δ and the Latt.). It is noteworthy that both Luke and Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8. 6 πρὸς ὄρος τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἐλαιων, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 13. 5 εἰς τὸ Ἐλαιων καλούμενον ὄρος) not only use the unambiguous genitive -ῶνος (*Ant.* vii. 9. 2 διὰ τοῦ Ἐλαιῶνος ὄρους) but also put the anarthrous ἐλαιων in combination with the word *called*. This seems to show that the name was not yet fixed in the Greek speech of Jerusalem residents, and that the halfway-house to the full proper name wanted some apology. Τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν will thus be a translation of the native name. The new name for the hill would spring from two sources, the vernacular word for *oliveyard*, and the impulse to decline the stereotyped ἐλαιῶν. An exact parallel for the latter was quoted in *Expos.* vi. vii. 111. In the Ptolemaic papyri Tb P 62, 64, 82, 98 the noun ἰβίων is found, which the editors connect closely with ἰβίων (τροφῆς) " for the feeding of ibises," the word being treated as nom. sing. instead of gen. pl. : they observe that "the declension of the village called Ἰβίων probably contributed to the use of this curious form." In both words then we see a gen. pl. made into a new nominative which coincides with a noun of slightly different meaning already existing.

P. 70.—Prof. Thumb tells me that the construction (parenthetic nominative) survives in MGr : thus (ἀπ') ἐδὼ καὶ πέντε μέρες [nom.]="heute vor 5 Tagen." E. W. Hopkins (*AJP* xxiv. 1) cites a rare use from Skt. : "a year (nom.) almost, I have not gone out from the hermitage." *Contra,* Wellh. 29.

Ib.—Εἰκόνες perhaps should be translated : it is the name given in one of the latest issued papyri in BU iv. to the personal descriptions which accompany an IOU, receipt, bill of sale, census paper, etc.

Ib.—The vocative ἡ παῖς, as Dr Rendel Harris reminds me, literally translates the Aramaic absolute טַלְיְתָא (as Dalman gives it, *Gramm.* 118 n). I should have remarked that the usage is commonest where there is translation from Semitic. The author of Heb does not use it except in OT citations, nor does Luke in Ac 13–28 (though we may note that in the three citations involved there is no article in the Hebrew). It is only another instance of over-use of an idiom through its coincidence with a native usage.

P. 74.—See Kühner-Gerth 401 n.⁵·⁶, for these genitives after a negative adjective. Typical exx. are Tb P 105 (ii/B.C.) *al,* ἀκίνδυνος παντὸς κινδύνου, ἀνυπόλογον πάσης φθορᾶς, and ἀνυπεύθυνοι παντὸς ἐπιτίμου. Tb P 124 (ii/B.C.) ἀδιστάστους ὄντας πάσης αἰτίας. BU 970 (ii/A.D.) τῆς εἰς ἅπαντας εὐεργεσίας . . .

ἀβοήθητος. They illustrate ἄνομος θεοῦ in 1 Co 9²¹ = ἄνευ νόμου θεοῦ, which differs only in that the genitive is subjective, while the rest are either objective genitives or pure ablatives.

Ib.—One or two parallels may be added for the free use of the gen. abs. For the substitution of gen. for the case in construction, cf Tb P 41 (ii/B.C.), ἱκανῶν ἡμῶν ὑπόπτως ἐχόντων ἀνακεχωρήκαμεν ; BU 1040 (ii/A.D.) χαίρω ὅτι μοι ταῦτα ἐποίησας, ἐμοῦ μεταμελομένου περὶ μηδενός. Other exx. will be seen in *CR* xv. 437. For gen. abs. without expressed subjects, cf BU 925 (iii/A.D. ?) ἀναγνωσθέντων, 970 (ii/A.D.) δηλωθέντος δι᾽ ἧς προείθη μοι ἀσφαλείας, etc.

P. 78.--Elative comparatives may be seen in D in Ac 4¹⁶, φανερότερόν (*sic*) ἐστιν, and 10²⁸ βέλτιον ἐφίστασθε (= ἐπ.—cf p. 44, and WH *App.* 144). It substitutes πλεῖστοι for πλείους in 19³², and adds an elative ἥδιστα in 13⁸. On 10²⁸ Blass compares 24²² 25¹⁰ in the ordinary text, and 2 Tim 1¹⁸, Jn 13²⁷. As to χείρων, we should add that χειρίστην is found in Tb P 72 (ii/B.C.).

P. 79.—Before leaving the subject of comparison, we ought to remark on curious forms which have been brought into existence by the weakening of the old formations, or their detachment from the categories of comparative and superlative. Beside the regular form ἐλάχιστος, which is predominantly superlative in Mt, but elative in Lk (*ter*, and 12²⁶ doubtful) and Jas, Paul uses ἐλαχιστότερος in Eph 3⁸, whether as comparative or true superlative the sentence leaves uncertain. He uses ἐλάχιστος as superl. in 1 Co 15⁹, and as elative in 4³ 6². The double comparative μειζότερος occurs in 3 Jn ⁴ : cf our *lesser*, which is equally due to the absence of clear comparative form in a word whose meaning is clear. See Jannaris *HG* 147 for a list of these forms : add μειζότερος, *Archiv* iii. 173 (iv/A.D.) *al*, μεγιστότατος BM 130 (i/ii A.D.), πρεσβυτερωτέρα BM 177 (i/A.D.), πρώτιστα BU 665 (i/A.D.). Exx. are found even in older Greek.

On the Aramaising use of positive c. ἤ or παρά for compar., see Wellh. 28.

P. 81.—Wellhausen (p. 26) finds in the Synoptists some traces of *insertion* of the article through literal translation of Semitic idiom : here again D is conspicuous. Thus Mt 10²⁹ τοῦ ἀσσαρίου. Note also his exx. of Semitism arising from the rule which drops the article with a noun in construct state preceding a *definite* noun : so Mt 12⁴² "*the* Queen of the South."

P. 82.—Westcott translates ἐν συναγωγῇ (Jn 6⁵⁹ 18²⁰) " in time of solemn assembly." Our own use of "in church," "in or out of school," etc., is enough to illustrate this phrase, which must be explained on the lines described in the text above : Westcott seems to be somewhat overpressing it.

P. 84.—On the presence or absence of the article when a prepositional clause has to be added as an epithet, cf J. A. Robinson, *Ephes.* 149. For its presence may be cited such passages as Eph 1¹⁵, for its omission, Eph 2¹¹ 4¹, Phil 1⁵, Col. 1⁴· ⁸.

It is only very seldom that we find in Greek of the NT types the complex arrangement by which the classical language will wrap up a whole series of adjuncts between the article and its noun. 1 Pet 3³ will serve as an exceptionally good example. The simplicity of NT style naturally causes less involved forms to be generally preferred.

One more *paralipomenon* under the Article may be brought in. In G. A. Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions*, no. 110 (ii/A.D.), there is a bilingual inscription, Palmyrene-Aramaic and Greek, containing within its compass a good parallel to the genealogy in Lk 3²³⁻³³ : Ἀαιλάμειν Αἰράνου τοῦ Μοκίμου τοῦ Αἰράνου τοῦ Μαθθᾶ (Wadd. 2586). There are one or two other specimens : in 113 the article is dropped for the last two steps, as in the first step in 110.

P. 85.--In Mt 6¹⁷ note that D reads ἄλειψον, rejecting the middle in view of

the presence of σου. In Ac 5² ἔθετο and ²¹ συγκαλεσάμενοι, D makes the opposite change, which in the former case, at any rate, is no improvement.

P. 88.—Cf Wellh. 30: "ἴδιος in Mt and Lk is sometimes 3rd pers. possessive."

P. 89.—Prof. Thumb notes how *accent* may differentiate words capable of full or attenuated meaning: "God *is*," but "God is *Almighty*."

P. 94.—To the exx. cited from Blass (top of p. 95) add from Hawkins Jn 1²⁷ (taken like Lk 3¹⁶ from the original source in Mk 1⁷), Ac 15¹⁷ (LXX), Rev 3⁸ 7²·⁹ 13⁸· ¹² 20⁸, and 1 Pet 2²⁴ (Ti with א* LP, against ABCK). The idiom is in one place translation Greek, and in the rest a sign of inferior Greek culture, which makes it the more striking that Lk and Jn (not Mt) faithfully copy their source. Since the Greek of 1 Pet is remarkably good, it does not seem likely that οὗ τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ is due to the autograph: the LXX αὐτοῦ may well have been added by a glossator who did not notice that the οὗ made it needless. This consideration may fairly be set against the *a priori* argument of Ti in favour of the reading of א. See p. 249.

P. 96.—Cf Josephus *Ant.* i. 1. 1, αὕτη μὲν ἂν εἴη πρώτη ἡμέρα, Μωυσῆς δ' αὐτὴν μίαν εἶπε (quoted by Schmidt). Note in Gen 8¹³ the variation μηνὸς τοῦ πρώτου, μιᾷ τοῦ μηνός, which had adequate motive in the different words of the Hebrew. Prof. Thumb has traced the history of the Greek names for the days of the week in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung* i. 163–173 (1901).

P. 102.—The importance of Heb 13²⁴ in critical questions justifies our adding one more note on ἀπό. In *Theol. Rundschau* v. 64 Deissmann writes two "marginalia" upon Harnack's famous article in *ZNTW* i. 16 ff. He notes the *masculine* διηγούμενον in 11³²—not, I presume, as a difficulty likely to give Harnack much trouble; and observes that οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας "can, according to the late Greek use of ἀπό, describe very easily the greetings of the brethren to be found *in* Italy." He refers to the article by E. Bröse in *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 1898, pp. 351–360, on ἀπό in 1 Co 11²³. Bröse examines ἀπό, παρά, ὑπό, and ἐκ, showing that in daily speech these prepositions were used without exactness of distinction. The argument is designed to show that ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου in 1 Co *l.c.* does not mean by *tradition*, but by *revelation* from the Lord. Deissmann observes that Bröse could have made his treatment of ἀπό still more illuminating, if he had gone outside the NT: he refers to a "stop-gap" of his own in *Hermes* xxxiii. 344, which touches on the passage from Heb.

P. 105.—On ὑπέρ we may cite a good parallel for Rom 12³, TP 8 (ii/B.C.) ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν φρονῶν.

P. 112.—A very good ex. in Greek is 2 Co 4⁸, where perfective ἐξ shows the ἀπορία in its final result of despair.

P. 116.—In the Dream of Nectonebus, the last Egyptian king of the old dynasties (LP*u*, ii/B.C.), there occurs the phrase διατετήρηκα τὴν χώραν ἀμέμπτως, which gives a striking parallel to 2 Tim 4⁷. The perfective in the king's words emphasises the fact that the country is safe, the watchful care has been successful; the simplex in Paul lays the stress on the speaker's own action, "I have *guarded* my trust."

P. 118.—Hawkins, *HS* 142, gives the number of compound verbs for the several parts of the NT. His figures work out thus:—Heb has 7·8 per WH page, Ac 6·4, Lk 6·0, Mk 5·7, Paul 3·8, Mt 3·6, Cath. Epp. and Rev 3·1, and Jn 2·1. The high figure of Mk in this table is rather surprising. That Heb and Luke (whose unity comes out by this, as by so many other tests) should be at the top, is what we might expect.

P. 126.—Since writing this, I have noticed Prof. Ramsay's suggestive

language on the early Christians of the average type in *C. and B.* ii. 485 : see also his *Paul* 208 f.

Pp. 126 and 129.—On the biblical use of present and aorist imperative, cf F. W. Mozley in *JTS* iv. 279 ff.   Prof. Thumb notes that Mozley independently confirms his judgement on the aoristic πρσέφερεν in Heb 11¹⁷, by the observation that φέρε and ἄγε are aoristic in meaning.   Were the author Mark or the John of Rev, and the context less clamant for an imperfect, I should readily yield.

P. 132.—See now D. Smith, *In the Days of His Flesh*, p. 208.

Ib.—In *OGIS* 219 (iii/B.C.) there is an ex. of *coincident* ἀσπασάμενοι which may be worth quoting :—ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὰς . . . [οἵτινες] ἀσπασάμενοι αὐτὸν παρὰ τ[οῦ δήμου πρῶτον μὲν κελεύσουσιν ὑ]γιαίνειν . . . [ἔπειτα δ᾽ ἀπαγγε-λοῦσιν αὐτῶι τὴν τι]μήν.   The ‘‘salutation’’ seems to *consist in* the double message : it is difficult anyhow to make it *precede* the wish for good health.

P. 143.—In Mt 25²⁴ we find ὁ εἰληφώς in a phrase otherwise parallel with v.²⁰, ὁ λαβών.   The intervening space supplies an excuse for the change which takes it out of the category described in the paragraph above.   Both tenses were entirely justifiable, and the rather more emphatic perfect suits the situation of v.²⁵ better.

P. 145.—I must make it clear that in this tentative account of ἔσχηκα—which is propounded with great hesitation, and with a full appreciation of its difficulties—there is no suggestion that the aoristic meaning proposed was more than an idiosyncrasy of individual writers, or (better) of certain localities.   The pure perfect force is found long after Paul’s day : thus in the formula of an IOU, ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου χρῆσιν ἔντοκον (BU 1015—early iii/A.D.), ‘‘to have received and still possess.’’   But in AP 30 (ii/B.C.), προσεμαρτύρουν τὸν Μ. κατεσχηκέναι τὸν οἰκίαν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, the aoristic *possessed* seems to be recognisable, in an early illiterate document.

P. 146.—Οἶμαι δὲ κἂν Λαμπιδώ, τὴν Λεωτυχίδου μὲν θυγατέρα, Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ γυναῖκα, Ἅγιδος δὲ μητέρα, οἳ πάντες βασιλεῖς γεγόνασι, θαυμάσαι ἂν κτλ.   It is hard to see why this should be cited as aoristic : Agis was on the throne at the supposed time of the dialogue.

P. 148.—In connexion with this paragraph should be mentioned the birth of the new present στήκω (MGr στέκω) from the perfect ἔστηκα, with the same meaning.

P. 152.—On this view of the prehistoric relations of act. and mid., cf Hirt, *Indog. Forsch.* xvii. 70.   The theory had been restated in terms of the new school of philology, in Osthoff and Brugmann’s pioneer *Morphologische Untersuchungen* iv. 282 n. (1881).   There H. Osthoff conjectures that ‘‘Skt. *dvéṣ-ti* and *dviṣ-té* depend on one and the same proethnic basis-form [*dueistai*], which was differentiated by the accent, according as one wished to say ‘*hátes* for himself’ or ‘hates for *himsélf.*’’’   I had overlooked this passage, and am all the more confirmed by it in the theory which I had independently developed as to the relationship of the voices in the element they severally emphasise.

On the late Greek developments of the voices the student should carefully observe the rich material in Hatzidakis 193 ff.

P. 156.—The proverb in 2 Pet 2²² is acutely treated by Dr Rendel Harris, as I ought to have remembered, in *The Story of Aḥiḳar*, p. lxvii.   He cites as the probable original words appearing in some texts of Aḥiḳar : ‘‘My son, thou hast behaved like the swine which *went to the bath* with people of quality, and when he came out, saw a stinking drain, and went and rolled himself in it.’’

If, as seems extremely likely, this is the source of the παροιμία to which 2 Pet refers, of course λουσαμένη is used in its correct sense, and the possibility of a Greek iambic verse being the medium of its transmission is all that remains of my note on the passage. I leave it unaltered in view of the measure of uncertainty attaching in Dr Harris's judgement to the account he proposes.

P. 166.—Mr P. Giles, in a letter endorsing and improving my Scotch translation of Homer *Il.* i. 137, says, "I agree that ἄν is very like *jist*, and if you had added *like* at the end you would have got your subjunctive also. This *like* does for many dialects what the subjunctive did for Greek, putting a statement in a polite, inoffensive way asserting only verisimilitude." It is found elsewhere.

P. 168.—Add to this list the curious anti-Christian inscription in Ramsay, *C. and B.* ii. 477 (no. 343) οὗτος ὁ βίος μοι γέγονεν (aoristic!) ὅταν ἔζων ἐγώ.

P. 169.—Since writing the paragraph on εἰ μήτι ἄν, I have observed several other exx. of εἰ . . . ἄν in illiterate Greek of a century or two later than the NT. An inscription from Cyzicus, lately published by Mr F. W. Hasluck in *JHS* xxv. 63, has ἴ τις δ' ἄν τολμήσι, μετέλθη αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός. (The second subjunctive here is the itacistic equivalent of the optative which would have been used in earlier Greek : cf p. 199 n.). In Ramsay's *C. and B.* vol. ii. I note the following :—No. 210 (p. 380) εἰ δέ τις ἄν φανείη . . . ἔσται . . ., where the optative shows the writer a bit of an Atticist, but not very successful. No. 377 (p. 530) κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρῷον ἑαυτῇ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς Εὐτύχῃ καὶ εἴ τινι ἄν ζῶσα συνχωρήσει· εἰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν μου ἐάν τις ἐπιχιρήσει κτλ. No. 273 (p. 394) εἰ δὲ [ἕτερος] ἄν ἐπιχειρή[σει, θή]σει κτλ. I have not had time to search throughout, but I suspect there are many other exx.

P. 170.—On μή in questions see J. E. Harry, *Gildersleeve Studies*, 430. He shows it was absent from orators and historians, and from the later writers Aristotle, Polybius, and Diodorus. Plato uses it 24 times ; but the 69 occurrences in NT outnumber those in all the prose and poetry of ten previous centuries. The inference is that it was a feature of everyday language. In nearly half the exx. the verb is *be, can,* or *have* ; three-fourths of the total comes from Jn and Paul (only Rom and Co).

P. 171.—For ἐκτὸς εἰ μή see Deissmann, *BS* 118. Cf also Ramsay, *C. and B.* ii. 391 (no. 254) χωρὶς εἰ μή τι πάθῃ.

Ib.—On the encroachments of μή, especially as to ὅτι μή and μή e. inf. after *verba dicendi et cogitandi*, see E. L. Green in *Gildersleeve Studies*, 471 ff. Green shows how μή intrudes increasingly in the Κοινή literature. Considering the extent of this intrusion in the time of the NT, there are fewer exx. of μή wrongly used than would be expected, except that μή holds almost undisputed sway over the participle. There are 6 exx. of μή e. inf. after a verb of saying or denying [Lk 22³⁴ must however be struck off (WH, following אBLT)] ; 2 with verbs of thinking (2 Co 11⁵, Ac 25²⁵) ; one case of causal ὅτι μή, Jn 3¹⁸ : 3 of μή after relatives. (In excluding Col 2¹⁸ because an imper. precedes, Green ignores a yet more decisive reason—that μή is indisputably spurious.) The participle with μή in *orat. obl.* occurs only in Ac 23²⁹ 28⁶ ; in causal, concessive, and temporal clauses it abounds. The comparison of Plutarch with the NT shows a great advance in the use of ὅτι μή. The whole paper deserves study.

A few papyrus passages may be cited in illustration of the subjects of Green's paper. For μή in relative clauses :—BU 114 (ii/A.D.) προοῖκα ἣν ἀποδέδωκεν αὐτῷ μήτε δύναται λαβεῖν, CPR 19 (iv/A.D.) ἐντάξας . . . ἃ μὴ συνεφώνησα. For *verba dic. et cog.* :—MP 25 (iii/B.C.) μὴ ὀφείλειν ὁμόσας μοι, BM 401 (ii/B.C.) κατεγνωκὼς μὴ δύνασθαι, OP 266 (i/A.D.) ὁμολογεῖ μὴ ἐνκαλεῖν (classical, as ὁμ. =

undertakes), OP 237 (ii/A.D.) ἀπεκρείνατο μή c. inf., and several cases with δηλοῦν (BU 5, 11, etc.). For ἐπεὶ μή cf BU 530 (i/A.D.) μέμφεταί σε ἐπὶ μὴ ἀντέγραψας αὐτῇ (the *charge*, like the ex. in Jn *l.c.*).

On εἰ οὐ Blass notes (*Hermes* xxiv. 312) its identity with ἄμ μή in the illiterate OP 119 (see p. 28).

A note may be added on μὴ ὅτι; for though the NT only uses οὐχ ὅτι, the syntax is identical with that in μήτιγε, 1 Co 6³ ("not to speak of mere affairs of daily life"). It occurs in BM 42 (ii/B.C.) μὴ ὅτι γε τοσούτου χρόνου ἐπιγεγονότος, "not to speak of so much time having gone by."

P. 177.—In Mt 6¹⁹ D reads μὴ θησαυρίσεται (= - ε), which may just possibly be added to the list. But it is more likely to be a mere mistake. An earlier ex. of μή c. fut. than those cited in the text is Par P 15 (ii/B.C.) μὴ γοῦν καὶ κρατήσεις—but this may be aor. subj.

P. 181.—Essentially the same principle must be traced in ἴλεώς σοι (Mt 16²²), "[God be] merciful to thee." The interjectional adjective and participle are on the same footing, and must be explained in the same way. In *CR* xv. 436 are quoted inscriptional parallels for this phrase (Gen 43²³, 2 Sam 20²⁰, 1 Chr 11¹⁹): —Letronne 221 (iv/A.D.) ἴλεως ἡμῖν Πλάτων καὶ ἐνταῦθα, and without subject 557 ἴλεώς σοι, Ἑρμείας . . . καὶ Ἡράκλειος ἀδελφός. Letronne also quotes another inscription (ii. 286) ἴλεώς σοι ἀλυπί (*leg.* Ἀλύπι), "[Sarapis] help thee, Alypius," as I read it. With the development of a deprecatory force in such phrases we may compare that in our vernacular expression, " Mercy on us ! "

P. 182.—Dr Rendel Harris thinks the ὑμεῖς may be only translation Greek. The suggested allusion to Paul is in any case only propounded tentatively. It is curious that ἀρξάμενος gives us trouble elsewhere in Luke. Ac 10³⁷ is fairly hopeless as it stands, and Blass thinks ἀρξ. ἀπὸ τ. Γ. interpolated from Lk 23⁵. It is conceivable that ἀρξάμενος γάρ in AD vg may preserve the relics of a better text, in which a new sentence beginning there was continued with Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ N., ὃν (D) ἔχρισεν . . ., οὗτος (D). The change needed to make the D reading grammatical is but small. (See now Wellh. 12.)

P. 185.—The practically complete equivalence of subjunctive and future is quite as evident in Phrygian inscriptions as in the Alexandrian Greek Bible or late Egyptian papyri. Thus we have in *JHS* xxiii. 85 εἰ δέ τις ἀνύξας ἕτερον βάλῃ; and in Ramsay *C. and B.* ii. 392 (no. 260) εἴ τινα ἄλλον βουληθῇ, 559 (no. 445, iii/A.D.) εἴ τις δὲ ἕτερος ἐπισενένκει (so nos. 448, 449). In nos. 317, 391, 395, 399 *al* (pp. 472, 535-8) we have οὐ τεθῇ for the οὐ τεθήσεται found elsewhere. The progressive disappearance of the Future prepares us for MGr, where the tense is a periphrastic one. For the papyri, cf BU 303 (vi/A.D.) παράσχω "I will furnish," AP 144 (v/A.D.) ἔλθω "I will come." Innumerable exx. of verbs in -σει and the like, after ὅς ἄν and other forms requiring subjunctives, could be cited from various sources; but these being itacistic prove less—see p. 35.

P. 194.—Prof. Thumb tells me that MGr μὴ γένοιτο seems to him a phrase of learned origin. (I notice that Pallis retains it in Lk 20¹⁶.) See p. 249.

P. 199 n. 2.—Prof. Thumb observes that he does not believe in itacism as contributory to the obsolescence of the optative, "since the coincidence of οι and η took place very late." It has been made clear in the text that the optative was doomed from the very birth of the Κοινή, while οι (and υ) did not become simple i for several centuries.

P. 208.—By way of adding to our illustrations from the Bezan text of Ac, we may note that in 12¹⁷ D substitutes ἵνα σιγ[. . .]σιν for σιγᾶν, and in 16¹⁸ ἵνα ἐξέλθῃς for ἐξελθεῖν, both after words of commanding. In 17³¹ however the

omission of ἐν ᾗ μέλλει adds to the tale of quasi-final infinitives. Were this tendency to use ἵνα more marked, it might help us to fix the *provenance* of D, by the use of Thumb's canon (p. 205).

P. 216.—Some further exx. are noted by Votaw (p. 18) from the LXX. He gives on p. 19 the totals for the articular infin. in OT, Apocrypha, and NT : there are 1161 occurrences with a preposition, and 1614 without. The anarthrous infin. occurs 6190 times in all. In the statistics of the articular infin. I have checked my count (based on MG) by Votaw's : they differ slightly where I have omitted passages which WH enclose in double brackets, and also through my not counting twice the places where two infinitives stand under the government of a single article. Votaw's total for Heb has a slight error.

P. 224.—To the footnote it should be added that Hirt and Sommer make *sequimini* imperative the original form, supposing it simply transferred to the indicative at a later stage (*Indog. Forsch.* xvii. 64).

P. 230.—The phrase in Mt 13² is quoted here purely as it stands in Greek ; exx. of this participle could be cited from almost any page of narrative in the NT or other Greek writing. It happens however, as Dr Rendel Harris tells me, that my example is a translation of a phrase meaning simply "he went on board a boat." He observes, "'To go up and sit in a ship' is a pure Syriac expression. Sometimes you get 'sit in the sea' for 'embark'" (Mk 4¹, the original here). This superfluous καθῆσθαι is rather like the pleonasms quoted from Dalman on pp. 14 ff. Of course the recognition of this as translation Greek does not affect the grammatical category in which we place ἐμβάντα.

Since I have not given a chapter to Conjunctions, I may put at the end of these addenda a note upon a use of ἀλλά which has excited much discussion. In Mt 20²³ some have translated ἀλλά "except," as if = εἰ μή or πλήν. Against this both Winer and his editor (p. 566) speak very decisively : thus, the latter says, "Even in Mk 4²² ἀλλά is simply *but* (but rather), not *save, except.*" I have a draft letter of his to a fellow-Reviser (dated 1871), in which he argues at length against the lax use of ἀλλά, which in Mt *l.c.* "would be equivalent to supplying ἐμόν ἐστι δοῦναι in the second clause." Blass does not allude to the latter passage, but on Mk *l.c.* (p. 269) he says ἀλλ'=εἰ μή "save that." It is certainly difficult here to separate the ἀλλά from the ἐὰν μή which stands in the parallel clause. I am very unwilling to challenge an opinion held so strongly after careful study ; but the discovery of Tb P 104 (i/B.C.) makes me ready to believe that the note in WM might have been altered under stress of new evidence. Καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω Φιλίσκωι γυναῖκα ἄλλην ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἀλλὰ Ἀπολλωνίαν must call for a sense of ἀλλά very near to εἰ μή. That supplements may be contrived we may allow, though they are often far from simple ; but is there adequate motive for straining the natural meaning of the phrase ? In Gen 21²⁶ οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἤκουσα ἀλλὰ σήμερον, the ἀλλά actually translates בִּלְתִּי, *except.* In Mt *l.c.*, it may well be that the AV or RV supplement is correct. But I cannot feel at all sure of this ; and it seems moreover that the meaning need not be affected by reading ἀλλά as = εἰ μή. In Jn 15⁴, Lk 4²⁶ᶠ·, Ac 27²², Rev 21²⁷, etc., we are familiar with the brachylogy which makes εἰ μή and the like = *but only* : why not apply this to ἀλλά ? This would mean that only the thought of δοῦναι was carried on, and not that of ἐμόν as well. (Cf now Wellh. 24 in support of my position.)

The study of Wellhausen's illuminating forty pages increases my regret that I can only refer to them generally in notes inserted at the last revision. My argument in chapter i. is not affected by Wellhausen's exposition ; but had his

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book come into my hands earlier, I should have taken care to emphasise more clearly what is said above concerning "translation Greek," and the tendency to over-use a correct vernacular idiom where it exactly or nearly translates an Aramaic original.   Wellhausen rightly warns us against denying Aramaism because we can scrape together one or two parallels from holes and corners of Greek writing.   That was the error of the old Purists, and we must be on our guard.   But if we neo-Hellenists need to be careful, Wellhausen's criticisms of Dalman show that the neo-Semitists want watching as well.   It is necessary in studying Wellhausen to remember that he only professes to speak from the Semitist's side : his φραγγελοῦν (bis) on p. 10 and ἑαυτός and ἀλλήλοι on p. 30 illustrate his limitation—*non omnia possumus omnes!*   Space forbids our mentioning more than one further feature of his work, the great importance of his treatment of the Bezan text. `He shows that D in a large number of places stands distinctly nearer the Aramaic which underlies the Synoptic records.   If this is proved, we have manifestly taken a large step towards the solution of our great textual question.   Let me finally quote his dictum that Mk is tolerably free from Hebraisms, *i.e.* pieces of translation Greek due to the LXX : Mk is however richest in Aramaisms, which Mt and Lk have largely pruned away Of course Wellhausen's argument has no bearing on free Greek in the NT.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE SECOND EDITION.

P. 3.—To anticipate a possible objection, I may say that the evidence for large Jewish settlements in Egypt from an early date is indisputable : see for example Mahaffy's and Th. Reinach's contributions to *Mélanges Nicole* (pp. 619 ff., 451 ff.). Mahaffy speaks of Aramaic trade documents in Upper Egypt from the time of Xerxes down. So far, however, no "Hebraist" has tried to use this fact to discount the deductions of Deissmann from the papyri ; and I need not meet the argument before it arises.

Ib.—The Rev. J. Pulliblank sends me an interesting extract from his notes of Bishop Lightfoot's lectures in 1863. Speaking of some NT word which had its only classical authority in Herodotus, he said, "You are not to suppose that the word had fallen out of use in the interval, only that it had not been used in the books which remain to us : probably it had been part of the common speech all along. I will go further, and say that if we could only recover letters that ordinary people wrote to each other without any thought of being literary, we should have the greatest possible help for the understanding of the language of the NT generally."

P. 5.—A very striking testimony may be cited from Cicero, *Pro Archia*, 23 :—Nam si quis minorem gloriae fructum putat ex Graecis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur.

P. 14.—To the exx. of εἰς ἀπάντησιν c. gen. may be added two (one of them εἰς συναντ.) from the Pelagia stories (*Legenden der hl. Pelagia*, ed. Usener), pp. 19, 22. The documents are written in excellent vernacular, which does not seem open to the charge of being merely modelled on the biblical Greek.

P. 19.—Dr Marcus Dods finds a weak spot in my parallel, in that Greek was generally "not the vernacular, but a second language acquired for commercial or social purposes. The real parallel would therefore be the English-speaking Hindu, or semi-Americanised German or Pole, or the pidgin-English-speaking Chinaman, or bilingual Highlander or Welshman." But I think my statement in the text will stand. The Hindu and the Welshman, "*granted a tolerable primary education*" in English, will not show much difference in their written dialect.

P. 22.—A reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, to whom I am greatly indebted, criticises my attitude towards the translation of Pallis. (So far from "strongly objecting," Mr Pallis prefers to be so styled, and not as Palli.) I cannot go into detail, but I would make two or three notes. (1) The Reviewer expresses the "shock" which even a foreigner experiences in finding Christ's speeches "abounding in Turkish words." Mr Pallis gives me a list of all the foreign words in his version of Mt, some two dozen in all, and not a quarter of them Turkish. This accusation of bringing in foreign words has been freely made by many on mere hearsay. (2) A lover of Hellenism can feel nothing but sympathy for the modern Greeks' national pride in their language. But whether Greek artisans can repeat the NT Greek by heart or no, it is abundantly proved that they cannot *understand* it; and that is sufficient justification for a popular version. (3) The general question of the Purist movement tempts discussion; but it has only one side which is relevant for this book. If the movement only concerned the abolition of *foreign words*, the NT grammarian could quote Purist as readily as popular Greek. But the καθαρεύουσα is an artificial language in its *grammar*, and it is therefore obviously useless when we are seeking scientific evidence bearing on ancient Hellenistic. The strongest sympathiser with Purism as a national movement would have to admit that for such purposes as ours the faintest suspicion of artificiality makes MGr valueless: nothing but the unschooled speech of the people can help us here.

P. 23.—On the use of the term Κοινή Prof. Thumb observes that the grammarians were far from consistent with themselves. A definition like κοινὴ διάλεκτος ᾗ πάντες χρώμεθα is not far from our present use; and even if the term be historically incorrect it is a pity to banish from science so well-established and pregnant a word (*Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum*, 1906, p. 262).

P. 32.—Dr W. H. D. Rouse, who has an exceptionally intimate first-hand knowledge of modern Greece, especially in the more out-of-the-way parts, tells me he thinks it too sweeping an assertion to say that the old dialects died out completely, except for what they contributed to the Κοινή. He has heard the broad $\bar{a}$ in Calymnos, and καὶ πόκα in Cos. In the lecture just quoted (*Neue Jahrb*. 1906, p. 256), Prof. Thumb gives some interesting survivals of old dialectic forms in Cyprus, which he has noticed in the curse-tablets of Audollent. We have in fact to remember that the dialects existing within the Κοινή were partly or even mainly characterised by the survivals from the old local dialect which the levelling process failed to destroy.

P. 34.—A good illustration of my point that dialectic differences very largely lay in pronunciation is found in Dr Rouse's remark that "a [modern] Athenian, a Lesbian and an Astypaliote all will write καί, while they pronounce it respectively *kyé, čé, tsé.*"

P. 36.—The case of τέσσαρες acc. ought not to be left without remarking that this is isolated, as the only early cardinal which ever had a separate acc. form. In the first 900 of Wilcken's ostraka I find 42 exx. of the indeclinable, and 29 of τέσσαρας, which shows how this form predominated in business

language before 200 A.D. I might add here (with reference to p. 46) that in the same documents I find τέσσερας and τεσσεράκοντα only once each (both ii/A.D.).

Ib.—A "probably Ptolemaic" ostrakon in *Mélanges Nicole*, p. 185 (E. J. Goodspeed), has φιλανθροπίᾳ and δόσις to illustrate further the early confusion of o and ω : κατὰ μῆναν (see p. 49) and μηδενὶ δοῖς (p. 55 n.[3]) evidence the writer's scanty culture. Earlier still is λογευώντων HbP (249 B.C.).

P. 38.—The point about κόρη needs perhaps to be stated less concisely. Brugmann makes it probable that in early Attic, as in its sister dialect Ionic, ā̄ became η universally, but that in Attic εη and ρη (ὑγιῆ, πρήττω) broadened into εᾱ, ρᾱ, whenever the η did not arise from a pre-Greek ē̄. But this specially Attic power of ρ became obsolete while κόρϜη was still pronounced with digamma.

P. 41.—Thumb (*op. cit.* 260) holds out hopes that we may get some not inconsiderable help in dating and localising textual types from such peculiarities as the confusion of tenuis, aspirata and media in Egypt and Further Asia, and that of e and i sounds in Asia Minor and Syria.

P. 44.—Among the irregular aspirations might have been given οὐχ 'Ιουδαϊκῶς (Gal 2[14] א*ACP 17 37). Here the οὐχί of BD* *al* probably helps us ; a repetition of the ι after οὐκ would lead to the correction οὐχί and this to οὐχ by the dropping of the same letter. This seems simpler than Lightfoot's explanation from the Hebrew initial י.

P. 48.—Usener, *Pelagia*, p. 50, quotes ἡ 'Ιεροσόλυμα from two MSS of xi/A.D. In the same book we find the vocative κύρι twice (p. 14—see Usener's note, p. 34). An additional early ex. of this shortening of-ιο-nouns may be found in a Ptolemaic ostrakon in *Mélanges Nicole*, p. 184, συνψέλειν (*i.e.* -ιον). (The document has the word κράβατος, so spelt.)

P. 49.—The NT forms συγγενίς and συγγενεῦσι (WH *App* 158) are both cited by Thumb from Asia Minor (*JHS* xxii. 358 and *BCH* xxiv. 339). Συγγενέσι occurs Tb P 61 (ii/B.C.) *al*. So we have double forms, ἐσθῆσιν OP 466 and ἐσθήσεσι (as NT) BU 16, both ii/A.D.

P. 50.—Mr R. R. Ottley notes a probable ex. of πλήρης indecl. in Is 63[2] B.

P. 59.—An apparent false concord in B, περὶ πάντων ὧν εἶδεν δυνάμεων (Lk 19[37]), is corrected by Prof. Burkitt from the Old Syriac, which shows that δυνάμεων is a mere gloss. B accordingly shows the first stage of corruption, while D (γεινομένων) shows an independent gloss, and the other MSS present a completely regularised text. (The textual phenomena here are most instructive : cf what is quoted from Wellhausen about B and D, p. 242.) Note that in MGr πᾶσα survived πᾶς, as πᾶσα ἕνας "every one."

Ib.—For indeclinable τι Dr Rouse reminds me of the MGr κάτι, as κάτι ἡσυχία, "a little rest."

P. 60.—Mr Ottley calls my attention to Is 37[38], where it is very hard to resist the impression that an *accusative* stands for a genitive in apposition to an indeclinable.

Ib.—A better account of ἡ θεός in Ac 19[37] is given by G. Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander und das NT* (Göttingen, 1905), pp. 10 f. He notes that the classical ἡ θεός often appears in Magnesian inscriptions to describe the great goddess of the city, while other people's goddesses were θεαί, the usual Κοινή term. The town clerk is accordingly using the technical term, as we might expect. Plentiful quotations are given by Nachmanson, p. 126. We may therefore keep Blass's comment on Luke's accuracy, but apply it in a different way.

P. 63.—It might be added that before ἐν disappeared it was often used for εἰς, just as εἰς was for ἐν. Thus in the two Pelagia stories we find ἀνήλθομεν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ (i. 4), ἀπήλθαμεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ (i. 5), ἔφυγον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι (ii. 1). Some further quotations for late uses of ἐν will be found in Kuhring's useful *Program* on the prepositions in the papyri (Bonn, 1906), pp. 43 f.

Ib.—On ὥραν (Jn 4⁵², Ac 10³⁰ *al*) see E. A. Abbott, *Johannine Grammar* 75, who suggests that the change from vernacular acc. to dat., Jn 4⁵² ᶠ, is brought in to denote *exact* time.

P. 64.—For χρᾶσθαι c. acc. add Wis 7¹⁴ (B—so the Revisers). The Purist Kontos (Γλωσσικαὶ Παρατηρήσεις, Athens, 1882, p. 420) complains of writers who used καταχρᾶσθαι (and even ἔπεσθαι !) with gen. As early as ii/A.D. we find a chiliarch of a Thracian cohort writing Ὡρίωνος (*i.e. -ι*) χαίρειν (Wilcken, *Ostr.* ii. 927) : so σὺν Μηνοφίλου *ib.* 240 (same date).

P. 66.—On the construction of ἀκούω, γεύομαι, and προσκυνῶ, see Abbott, *Joh. Gram.* 76–78.

P. 67.—With Deissmann's translation of Mk 1¹⁵ we may compare ἐν νόμῳ, Gal 3²¹ B, "righteousness would lie in the sphere of law."

P. 70.—Dr Rouse compares with this nominative in time-expressions Aeschines' νὺξ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ἦλθεν.

P. 71.—On the threefold πατήρ in Jn 17, see Abbott, *op. cit.* 96 f.

P. 72.—A full study of prepositions replacing the simple gen. may be found in Kuhring, *Praepos.* 11 ff., 20. Dr Rouse notes that ἀπό is regularly used in partitive sense now : δῶσέ μου ἀπὸ τοῦτο, "give me some of that."

P. 75.—For ἔρχομαί σοι I should have quoted the well-known line of Aeschylus (*PV* 358), ἀλλ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος.

P. 76.—Reference should have been made to Eph 5⁵, ἴστε γινώσκοντες, where Dean Robinson assumes Hebraism, comparing 1 Sam 20³, γινώσκων οἶδεν, Jer 42 (49)²², ἴστε (imper.) γινώσκοντες ὅτι (Symmachus). So RV. If this be so, we can only suppose Paul definitely citing OT language, just as a preacher using the archaic phrase "Know of a surety" would be immediately recognised as quoting. (It may be noted that if ἴστε is indic. it is a purely *literary* word, such as Paul is not very likely to have used : it would be less improbable in Heb 12¹⁷. But in these places and Jas 1¹⁹ the imper. seems better, somewhat in the sense of the common classical εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι, "you may be sure": see LS *s.v.* οἶδα 7.) It is, however, at least as probable that we are to separate the verbs and read "For you must be assured of this (the following), recognising for yourselves that . . . " So E. Haupt, Salmond, and T. K. Abbott.

P. 79.—Dr E. A. Abbott (*Joh. Gram.* 510) makes it seem probable that the Leyden papyrus is *quoting* from Jn 1¹⁵. He would translate πρῶτός μου "my Chief." See pp. 11–14 for his exposition, which brings in several harmonics beside the main note. I am not yet disposed to give up the view defended in the text. If Dr Abbott takes away one parallel, he gives me two new ones instead, in the quotations from scholiasts on Euripides ; and his exegesis seems open to the charge of over-subtlety. Moreover, the Aelian passage, οἱ πρῶτοί μου ταῦτα ἀνιχνεύσαντες (*N.A.* viii. 12), is closely parallel for Jn 15¹⁸ ; and the doubts as to the reading expressed by the Thesaurus editor here and in Plutarch, *Cato Minor* § 18 (οὔτε πρῶτός τις ἀνέβη . . . Κατῶνος οὔτε ὕστερος ἀπῆλθε), only mean that a modern scholar thought πρῶτος incorrect, which is undeniable. I am tempted to claim that Dr Abbott has proved my point for me.

P. 80.—I must confess for a rather serious oversight in omitting to discuss the "Hebraistic" use of πᾶς with negative in the sense of οὐδείς. In *CR* xv. 442, xviii. 155, I quote a number of exx. of πᾶς with prepositions and

adjectives of negative meaning : thus ἄνευ or χωρὶς πάσης ὑπερθέσεως, a recurrent formula, ἀνυπεύθυνοι παντὸς ἐπιτίμου Tb P 105 (ii/b.c.), δίχα πάσης ἐξουσίας Plutarch *Cons. ad Uxor.* 1 (cf Heb 7⁷). Closely allied to this is the Κοινή use of τις with negative, as μηδεμιᾶς κρατήσεως μηδὲ κυριείας τινὸς ἐγγαίου περιγινομένης αὐτῶι TP 1 (ii/b.c.), which has analogues in MGr (Jannaris *HG* § 1449 *c*). This was accordingly claimed as "a very slight extension of a vernacular usage under the encouragement of a similar idiom in Hebrew." It is found not only in presumed translation, as Mk 13²⁰, but in Paul, as Eph 5⁵.

Ib.—Mr J. B. Shipley sends me an ingenious suggestion that ἑπτά arose from a gloss, Σκευᾶ = צׂ˙ט = ἑπτά.

Ib. — In Gal 1⁶ᶠ· Ramsay maintains against Lightfoot that ἕτερος when definitely contrasted with ἄλλος denotes specific difference against generic, "another of the same kind," against "another of a different kind." Space precludes examination of his classical exx. ; but it must not be too hastily assumed that Lightfoot is wrong.

P. 86.—Karl Dick's " particularly good ex." of the plural for sing. appears less convincing on re-reading : the plural seems to refer distinctly to the writer and his comrades. Hibeh P. 44 ὁρῶντες. . . ὤιμην is an early ex.

P. 87.—The reciprocal εἰς τὸν ἕνα (1 Th 5¹¹) may be noted, with the MGr ὁ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον. (Dr Rouse tells me the Purists say ἔσφαξε ὁ μὲν τὸν δέ ! !)

Ib.—On "exhausted ἴδιος" see now Kuhring, *Praep.* 13.

P. 89.—Dr Marcus Dods criticises my treatment of ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ νοΐ, remarking that the danger was of a man's being "assured by some other person's convictions." That is, of course, quite true, but I think my statement holds that the phrase simply lays stress on the personal pronoun—"let each man be fully assured *for himself.*"

P. 96.—Note that δώδεκα greatly predominates over δέκα δύο in ostraka.

P. 99.—For ἐνώπιον now add Hibeh P. 30 (before 271 b.c.).

P. 102.—In Kuhring's account of ἀπό (*Praep.* 35 ff., 52 ff.) there is striking evidence of the encroachments of this preposition. The regular commercial ἔσχον ἀπό (not παρά) σοῦ may save us from over-refining in 1 Co 11²³. The note as to the perplexing rarity in the papyri of ἀπό with the agent after passive verbs will prevent us from assuming it too readily in the NT, though its occasional presence is undoubted. For οὐαί . . . ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων (Mt 18⁷) I may quote excellent parallels from *Pelagia*, ὢ βία ἀπὸ τοῦ . . . λήρου τούτου (Usener, pp. 11 *bis*, 27), and ὢ ἀπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν (p. 28) : the difference in the interjection shows that this was not imitation. Usener (p. 44) notes ὢ βία " Murder ! " as a vernacular phrase. Ἐκ of material (as Mt 27²⁹) Kuhring only finds once, AP 99 (ii/a.d.) : add *Mél. Nicole*, p. 281, περιτραχηλίδιον ἐκ καθορμίων λιθινῶν, "a necklace made of strings of stones" (iii/b.c.). As to the survival of ἐκ to-day authorities differ : the *Athenaeum* reviewer cites among others Psichari, who says of ἐκ τόν, " C'est bel et bien une forme vivante."

P. 103.—There seem to be places where εἰς actually supplies for the possessive genitive, as Deissmann *BS* 117 f. shows it does for the dative : ThP 16 οὐ λήγοντες τῆι (for τῆς !) [εἰς] αὐτοὺς αὐθαδίᾳ, "not desisting from *their* violent behaviour" (ii/b.c.) ; χωρὶς τοῦ εἰς αὐτὴν οἴκου (=ου) Par P 5, "*her* house" (*ib.*). It is tempting to seek help here for 1 Pet 1¹¹, but the illiteracy of the documents must be remembered.

P. 106.—One more quotation should be made from Kuhring, whose pamphlet must be constantly in our hands as we study the NT prepositions. He seems to demolish even the solitary Hebraism I had left to μετά, that in Lk 1⁵⁸. AP 135 (ii/a.d.) has τί δὲ ἡμεῖν συνέβη μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ; " What befell us

in connexion with the magistrates?" (G. and H.). So also BU 798 (Byz.). Kontos (Παρατηρήσεις 409 ff.) fiercely attacks πολεμῶ μετά τινος, "fight *with*," *i.e.* "against"; but he is at least eighteen centuries late.

Ib.—One force of παρά in composition is noted by Thumb (*Neue Jahrb.* '06, p. 249), with reference to παρῆλθεν in Mt 14¹⁵. He parallels Wellhausen's "vorgerückt" (our "*advanced*") by citing MGr παραπάνω, "far over," παρακάτω, "far under," παραμέσα, "far in." Another force is exemplified in παραπίπτω, which Wilcken (*Ostraka*, i. 78 f.) illustrates as a commercial word, giving Mommsen's "ungültig werden, etwa wegen eines Formfehlers." He compares Xen. *Hell.* i. 6. 4, where it is co-ordinated with ἀγνοεῖν, and Polybius, xviii. 36. 6, παραπίπτειν τῆς ἀληθείας.

P. 110.—To the weighty authorities for ἔχομεν in Rom 5¹ is now added Prof. H. A. A. Kennedy: see *ExpT* for July 1906, p. 451.

P. 112.—Usener (*Pelagia*, 49) remarks on ἀπέρχομαι that in later Greek it is transferred to the thought of the goal. Thus ἀπήλθαμεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ = "we *arrived* at the great church." Ἀφικνοῦμαι was much earlier in showing this result of perfective ἀπό.

P. 115.—In *Neue Jahrb.* 1906, pp. 254 ff., Prof. Thumb justifies his view that Miss Purdie's general position is right, though pure Κοινή texts like the NT and the papyri would have served better than a writer like Polybius, belonging to a transition period of the language. He points out that by this development of the prepositions Hellenistic gains the means of expressing aoristic *Aktionsart* in present time. Thus "ἀπέχουσι (Mt 6². ⁵. ¹⁶) is in its *Aktionsart* identical with ἔλαβον or ἔσχον, that is, it is an aorist-present, which denotes the present answering to λαβεῖν or σχεῖν." The recognition of punctiliar force in this commercial word (see Deissmann *BS* 229) makes it very vivid in Mt *l.c.* : the hypocrites have as it were their money down, as soon as their trumpet has sounded.

P. 122.—Mr H. D. Naylor sends me some additional notes as to the μή ποίει canon. Some of his classical exx. against Dr Headlam are very good : note Aristoph. *Av.* 1534, where the *conative* present seems clear, and *Ran.* 618-622. Mr Naylor remarks, "I venture to hold the view that the distinction is a growth. It was beginning in classical times ; it was nearly crystallised in NT Greek ; and it is completely so in the modern language." In other words, usage progressively restricted the various possible forces of ποίει in this locution, till only one was left. Mullach treated the matter well (pp. 345 f.), as the *Athenaeum* reviewer notes.

P. 129.—The present of this conative ἠνάγκαζον is well seen in Gal 6¹². With reference to Thumb's argument on προσφέρω, I find it easier to deny him Heb 11¹⁷, as I can give him a good ex. in a less literary writer : πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρον in Mt 5²⁴ is very probably aorist in action.

Ib.—The differentia of the aorist may be effectively brought in to decide the famous difficulty in 1 Co 7²¹. If Paul meant "go on in your slavery," he must have said χρῶ : the aorist χρῆσαι can only be "seize the opportunity."

P. 134.—For Jn 15⁶ we might add a Hellenistic parallel : Epictetus iv. 1. 39, ἂν μὲν στρατεύσωμαι, ἀπηλλάγην πάντων τῶν κακῶν. 1 Co 7²⁸ and Gal 5⁴ may be noted.

P. 135.—An idiomatic old aorist belonging to this category still survives : a traveller in Cos "had a pleasant shock, on calling for a cup of coffee, to hear the waiter cry "Ἔφθασα."

P. 141.—In a discussion of aorist and perfect (*Am. Journ. Theol.* x. 102 f.), in which Latinism is regarded as contributory to the fusion, E. J. Goodspeed

Ib.—In Gal 6¹⁰ WH read ὡς καιρὸν ἔχωμεν (אB*17). As we have seen on Rom 5¹, the MSS can hardly perhaps be regarded as decisive between o and ω ; but the subj. is justifiable with the sense "as long as we have opportunity, let us continue to work." (Ὡs in MGr takes the meaning of ἕως as well as its own.) In classical Greek this futuristic subj. would demand ἄν, but words meaning *until* constantly drop it in Hellenistic.

P. 188.—Dr Giles tells me that Gildersleeve's suggestion of an independent οὐ in οὐ μή was anticipated in the Middle Ages : in one if not both of the best MSS of Aristophanes it is regularly punctuated οὐ· μή. . . .

P. 205.—Dr Rouse has noticed the old infin. in Cos, as ἔχω ᾿δεῖν, "I have seen." Prof. Thumb (*Neue Jahrb.* '06, p. 259) observes that the infin. of purpose is commoner in Homer than in Attic : the preference accordingly has lingered in Asiatic and island Greek for three thousand years.

P. 206.—Dr E. A. Abbott reinforces the depleted ranks of scholars who would press the telic force of ἵνα in Jn. We might cite such passages as 15¹³ as affording scope for exegetical ingenuity on these lines. If we had no evidence from Hellenistic and MGr as to the loss of this force in ἵνα, we might accept such subtleties of interpretation as at least not out of character with so allusive a writer. But with our present knowledge we should need much stronger evidence than is offered to prove that Jn differed so greatly from his contemporaries.

P. 207.—Prof. Burkitt notes (*Ev. da-Meph.* ii. 183) that Tatian took ὥστε as consecutive in Lk 4²⁹, "so that they cast him down."

P. 209.—The consecutive ὅτι which Blass would read in Jn 3¹⁶ does appear in later Greek, *e.g. Pelagia,* 20, τί διδοῖς τοῖς ἀμνοῖς σου, ὅτι ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχουσιν; See E. A. Abbott, *Joh. Gr.* p. 534.

P. 210.—The consecutive use of ἵνα was recognised by Lightfoot in Gal 5¹⁷, 1 Th 5⁴ : see his notes, and cf what he says on εἰς τὸ c. inf. in 1 Th 2¹⁶.

P. 212.—For classical exx. of acc. and infin. where nom. would have been regular, cf Aeschylus *PV* 268 f. and the note of Sikes and Wynne-Willson ; also Adam's note on Plato *Apol.* 36 B.

P. 227.—The periphrastic imperf. occurs several times in *Pelagia,* as p. 14, ἤμην ἀπερχόμενος ; 18, ἦν ἀκούσασα : note also p. 26, ἔσο γινώσκων, like ἴσθι εἰνοῶν in Mt 5²⁵. Cf Usener's note p. 50. That this is pure vernacular, untainted by Hebraism, is beyond question. Dr Rouse observes that it is used now in Zaconian, as φοροῦντερ ἔμε = ἐφοροῦμεν, ὁρούμενερ ἔμι = ὁρῶμαι.

P. 237.—A further addition to the list on p. 95 is given by Prof. Burkitt in Mt 10¹¹ D and 28, ἡ πόλις εἰς ἣν ἂν εἰσέλθητε εἰς αὐτήν (*Ev. da-Meph.* ii. 75). This goes naturally with the passages supporting Wellhausen's thesis (above, p. 242).

P. 240.—If μὴ γένοιτο is "a phrase of learned origin," it is presumably parallel with some other survivals in idiomatic phrases, for which Dr Rouse instances μετὰ χαρᾶς, ἀπὸ βροχῆς, τέλος πάντων, τῷ ὄντι, παντάπασι. Dr Rouse himself has never heard μὴ γένοιτο, for which the people say ὁ θεὸς νὰ φυλάξῃ.

I. INDEX TO QUOTATIONS.

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(b) OLD TESTAMENT.

N.B.—The numbering of the chapters is according to the English Bible; where the LXX differs, the numbers are added in brackets. So with titles of Books.

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(c) Inscriptions.

MP

Papyri from Magdola, in *BCH* 1902 ff., ed. Lefebvre.

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Mithras Liturgy

Eine Mithrasliturgie, by A. Dieterich (Leipzig, 1903).

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NP

Geneva Papyri, ed. J. Nicole, 2 vols. (1896, 1900).

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RL

Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Oxford, 1896).

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G

An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment, and other Greek Papyri, chiefly Ptolemaic (1896).

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