

PRISCILLE MARSCHALL

Colometric Analysis of Paul's Letters

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

Mohr Siebeck

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603



Priscille Marschall

Colometric Analysis of Paul's Letters

Methodological Foundations and Application
to 2 Corinthians 10–13

Mohr Siebeck

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Ὅτι αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ μὲν, φησὶν, βαρεῖαι καὶ ἰσχυραὶ
ἢ δὲ παρουσία τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενῆς καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐξουθενημένος.

(2 Cor 10:10)

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It is often said that writing a doctoral thesis is comparable to an intellectual marathon. I would not disagree. However, my own race, the result of which can be read in the following pages, was relatively serene – certainly because I had the chance not only to choose its goal but also to define its course very freely. On this last point, my gratitude goes to Professor Simon Buttica, my supervisor. From the outset of the project, he followed me with the utmost benevolence, letting me considerable and appreciable liberty in my research and writing process, while providing me with judicious advice each time I was asking for support. He also punctuated the pages of the manuscript with his thoughtful comments.

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writing these few lines today – so in a way, this “period” (περίοδος) has been completed.

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Priscille Marschall
Quebec, 30 November 2023

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	VII
List of Abbreviations	XVII
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Ancient Colometry and the New Testament: Status Quaestionis and Aims of this Study	7
1. <i>Recent Interest in Colometry in NT Scholarship</i>	7
1.1 A Visually-Based Method of Aural Analysis: Lee and Scott’s Method of “Sound Mapping”	7
1.2 Sound Mapping Within Orality Studies	9
1.2.1 The Turn of Biblical Studies Towards Orality	9
<i>Excursus: Orality, Elocutio, and Rhetorical Criticism of the NT</i>	11
1.2.2 Sound Mapping and Biblical Performance Criticism	14
2. <i>Ancient Colometry and the NT: History and State of Research</i>	16
2.1 Colometric Translations of Biblical Texts in the 1920s	18
2.2 Subsequent Translations of NT Texts in “Cola” or “Sense-Lines”	20
<i>Excursus: Colometry Within “Rhetorical Criticism” of the NT</i>	22
2.3 Sound Mapping the NT.....	22
2.3.1 The Beginnings and the Handbook by Lee and Scott	22
(SMNT, 2009)	
2.3.2 Lee and Scott’s Guidelines for Delineating Còla and Periods	24
2.3.3 First Reception (J. Brickle, K. de Waal, T. Boomershine, D. Nässelqvist).....	26
2.4 Critical Reception of SMNT	29
2.4.1 The Issue of Koine Greek Pronunciation	29
2.4.2 Nässelqvist’s Refined Criteriology	30

3. <i>The Object of this Study: Colometric Analysis of Paul’s Letters</i>	31
3.1 Strength and Limits of the Sound Mapping Approach	31
3.1.1 A Promising Approach	31
3.1.2 Limitations of the Current Criteria for Delineating Cōla and Periods.....	33
<i>Excursus: Ancient Colometry as an Object of Study by Classicists</i>	35
3.1.3 The Theoretical Justification for the Application of the Categories of Cōlon and Period to the NT Writings.....	39
3.2 The Implications of Colometry for Punctuating Paul’s Letters.....	41
3.3 Recapitulation: Aims, Methods, and Structure of the Present Study	42
Chapter 2: Cōla, Commata, and Periods: The Data from the Rhetorical Treatises.....	45
1. <i>Introduction and Method</i>	45
2. <i>Aristotle, Art of Rhetoric (Τέχνη ῥητορική / Ars rhetorica – Second Half of the 4th Century BCE)</i>	48
2.1 Two Kinds of Style: “Sewn” (εἰρομένη λέξις) and “Interwoven” (κατεστραμμένη λέξις)	49
2.2 Characteristics of Periods.....	53
2.2.1 Periods as Complete Thoughts	53
2.2.2 Division of Periods Into Cōla	54
2.2.3 Gorgianic Figures	55
2.2.4 Placement of the Verb at the End	57
2.2.5 Rhythm	57
2.2.6 Length of Cōla	59
2.3 Results	59
3. <i>Pseudo-Demetrius of Phalerum, On Style (Περὶ ἐρμηνείας / De Elocutione – Late 2nd or Early 1st Century BCE [?])</i>	60
3.1 Cōla and Commata	61
3.1.1 Structuring Role in Prose	61
3.1.2 Length of Cōla and Commata	62
3.1.3 Semantics and Syntax	64
3.1.4 Two Kinds of Style: “Disjointed” (διηρημένη) and “Interwoven” (κατεστραμμένη)	66
3.2 Periods	68
3.2.1 Length of Periods.....	68

3.2.2	Definition of the Period	69
3.2.3	The Issue of the Ending of Periods	74
3.2.4	The Circle Metaphor and the Role of Synthesis	76
3.2.5	“Degrees of Circularity”: A Typology of Periods	79
3.2.6	Gorgianic Figures of Speech	83
3.2.7	Rhythm	84
3.2.8	Periodic Cōla as Syntactic Units	84
3.3	Results	85
4.	<i>Rhetoric for Herennius (Rhetorica ad Herennium – 80s BCE)</i>	86
4.1	<i>Membrum</i> (= Cōlon)	88
4.1.1	Definition	88
4.1.2	Length of <i>Membra</i>	90
4.2	<i>Articulus</i> (= Comma)	90
4.3	<i>Continuatio</i> (= Period)	91
4.3.1	Definition and Examples	91
4.3.2	Length of Periods	93
4.4	Results	93
5.	<i>Cicero, On the Orator (De oratore – 55 BCE) and Orator (Orator ad Brutum – 46 BCE)</i>	94
5.1	Periodic vs Non-periodic Style	95
5.2	Periods	96
5.2.1	The Circle Metaphor	96
5.2.2	Rhythm	97
5.2.3	Length of Periods	98
5.3	<i>Membrum</i> and <i>Incisum</i>	99
5.3.1	Length of <i>Membra</i>	99
5.3.2	Syntactic Nature	100
5.4	Results	101
6.	<i>Dionysius of Halicarnassus, On Literary Composition (Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων / De compositione verborum – Late 1st Century BCE)</i>	101
6.1	Cōla and Commata	103
6.1.1	Length of Cōla	103
6.1.2	Cōla as Semantico-Syntactic Units	103
6.2	Periods	104
6.2.1	Length of Periods	104
6.2.2	Characteristics of Periods: Circularity, Figures, Rhythm	105
6.3	Non-periodic Style	107
6.4	Results	108

7. <i>Quintilian, The Orator's Education (Institutio oratoria – ca. 95 CE)</i>	108
7.1 <i>Membra and Incisa</i>	109
7.1.1 <i>Incisum (= Comma)</i>	109
7.1.2 <i>Membrum</i>	110
7.1.3 <i>Length of Membra</i>	111
7.2 <i>Periods</i>	111
7.2.1 <i>Length of Periods</i>	112
7.2.2 <i>Periodic vs Non-periodic Style</i>	113
7.2.3 <i>Characteristic Features of Periods</i>	114
7.2.4 <i>Periods and Breathing</i>	115
7.3 <i>Results</i>	115
8. <i>Alexander Numenius, On Figures (Περὶ τῶν τῆς διανοίας καὶ τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων / De figuris sententiarum et verborum – mid-2nd c. CE)</i>	116
8.1 <i>Periods</i>	117
8.1.1 <i>Definition</i>	117
8.1.2 <i>Length of Periods</i>	118
8.1.3 <i>Periods and Figures</i>	118
8.2 <i>Côla and Commata</i>	119
8.2.1 <i>Côlon</i>	119
8.2.2 <i>Comma</i>	119
8.3 <i>Results</i>	120
9. <i>Pseudo-Aelius Aristides, On Political Discourse (Περὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ λόγου – 2nd Century CE)</i>	120
9.1 <i>Three Kinds of Style: Continuous, Loose, and Periodic</i>	121
9.1.1 <i>The Loose Style</i>	122
9.1.2 <i>The Periodic Style</i>	122
9.1.3 <i>The Continuous Style</i>	123
9.2 <i>Côla and Commata</i>	125
9.3 <i>Results</i>	126
10. <i>Hermogenes, On Ideas (Περὶ ἰδεῶν / De ideai – late 2nd or Early 3rd Century CE)</i>	126
10.1 <i>Periodic and Non-periodic Style</i>	128
10.1.1 <i>The Value of Each Style</i>	128
10.1.2 <i>Periodic Côla vs Non-periodic Côla</i>	128
10.2 <i>Length of Côla and Periods</i>	129
10.2.1 <i>Côla and Commata</i>	129
10.2.2 <i>Maximum Length of Periods</i>	130
10.3 <i>Results</i>	132

<i>11. Synthesis and Conclusion</i>	132
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Chapter 3: Towards a Method of Colometric Analysis137

<i>1. Introduction: Purpose and Methodology</i>	137
Excursus: Some Reflections on the Conditions for the “Scientificity” of the Method	140
<i>2. Identifying Cōla and Commata</i>	144
2.1 The Criterion of Length	144
2.1.1 The Comma	144
2.1.2 Standard Length and Acceptable Length	146
2.2 The Description of Cōla in Terms of Syntax	148
2.2.1 Cōla, Clauses, and the Presence of a Verb	148
2.2.2 Cōla Within Periods (Periodic Style)	151
2.2.3 Cōla Outside Periods (Disjointed Style)	154
<i>3. Identifying Periods</i>	156
3.1 The Criterion of Length	156
3.2 What Makes a Set of Cōla a Period?	158
3.3 Syntactic Characteristics of Periods	160
3.3.1 Periods and Sentences	160
3.3.2 The Interweaving of Cōla	161
3.3.3 The Structuring Role of γάρ	165
3.4 Gorgianic Figures	167
3.4.1 Antithesis	167
3.4.2 Paromoiosis and Parisosis	167
3.4.3 Paromoiosis and the Issue of Vowel Pronunciation	168
3.4.4 Paromoiosis and the Issue of Greek Accents	170
3.5 Rhythmical Patterns	171
<i>4. Synthesis and Conclusion</i>	173

Chapter 4: Paul and Colometry: Attempt at a Colometric Analysis of 2 Cor 10–13177

<i>1. Introduction: Purposes and Method</i>	177
<i>2. A Colometric Disposition of 2 Cor 10–13</i>	180

2.1	Preliminary Remarks	180
2.1.1	Remarks on the Greek Text	181
2.1.2	Remarks on the Disposition and the Punctuation	181
2.2	A Colometric Disposition of 2 Cor 10–13 (Greek)	183
2.3	A Colometric Translation of 2 Cor 10–13	200
2.4	Comments on the Choices of Delineation	216
3.	<i>Discussion of the Results</i>	223
3.1	Paul and Colometry: Appropriateness of a Colometric Approach	223
3.1.1	Characteristics of Cōla and Periods in 2 Cor 10–13	224
3.1.2	Choice of Words, Word Order, and Sound Echoes	226
3.2	Operationality of the Proposed Set of Criteria	230
4.	<i>Conclusion</i>	232
Chapter 5: Re-Punctuating Paul’s Letters in Light of their Colometric Structure		235
1.	<i>Introduction</i>	235
2.	<i>Colometry and Punctuation</i>	237
2.1	Ancient Discourses on Punctuation	237
2.1.1	The Importance of an Appropriate Punctuation	237
2.1.2	Punctuation Marks	239
2.1.3	Colometric Structure as a “Decoding Code”	242
2.2	Uttering Cōla and Periods: Pauses, Breathing, and Intonation	244
2.2.1	The Importance of Breathing	244
2.2.2	Uttering a Periodic-Style Passage	245
2.2.3	Uttering a Disjointed-Style Passage	247
2.2.4	Internal Breaks within Cōla	249
2.2.5	Results and Limits	251
2.3	Intermediate Conclusion	252
3.	<i>Benefits of Colometry for Resolving Syntactic Ambiguities in Paul’s Letters: A Few Examples from 2 Cor 10–13</i>	253
3.1	The Series of Participles in 10:4c–6	254
3.2	The ἵνα Clause in 10:9	256
3.3	The Status of ἐν ὑμῖν in 10:15	261
3.4	The Status of 12:7a	262
3.5	The Status of ἐν πάσῃ ὑπομονῇ in 12:12	265

3.6	The Construction of 12:20–21	266
3.7	Benefits and Limits	268
4.	<i>Towards an Elocutionary Approach to the Punctuation of Paul's Letters</i>	269
4.1	Punctuation Marks, Between Grammar and Prosody	269
4.2	A System of Punctuation Based on Colometry	272
4.3	2 Cor 10–13 Repunctuated	273
4.4	Comment: Differences Between the Punctuation from the NA ²⁸ and the Punctuation Based on Colometry	283
5.	<i>Synthesis</i>	284
	 Conclusion	 287
1.	<i>Origins and Aims of this Study</i>	287
2.	<i>Development and Main Results</i>	288
3.	<i>Suggestions for the Future Development of Colometric Analysis</i>	292
	 Bibliography	 295
	 Index of References.....	 327
	 Index of Modern Authors	 337
	 Index of Subjects.....	 341

List of Abbreviations

ASV	American Standard Version
BDAG	Bauer, Walter (edited and revised by Frederick W. Dank <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Chicago / London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BDF	Blass, Friedrich W., Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago / London: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.
BJ	Bible de Jérusalem
ECM	Editio Critica Maior
ESV	English Standard Version
KJV	King James Version
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell, Henry G., and Robert Scott (eds.), <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (1843). Revised by Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie. 10 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1925–1940.
NA ²⁸	[= Nestle-Aland] Aland, Barbara, Kurt Aland, <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Based on the work of Eberhard and Erwin Nestle. 28th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTGM	Swanson, Reuben J. (ed.), <i>New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus. 2 Corinthians</i> . Pasadena: William Carey International University Press, 2006.
RSV	Revised Standard Version

SEG21	Segond 21
SMNT	Lee, Margaret E. and Bernard B. Scott, <i>Sound Mapping the New Testament</i> . Salem: Polebridge, 2009.
TCGNT	Metzger, Bruce M., <i>A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (Fourth Revised Edition)</i> . 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
UBS ⁵	Aland, Barbara, Kurt Aland, <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>The Greek New Testament</i> . 5th ed. London / New York: United Bible Societies, 2014.
WH	Westcott, B. F., and F. J. A. Hort (eds), <i>The Greek New Testament with Comparative Apparatus Showing Variations from the Nestle-Aland and Robinson-Pierpont Editions</i> . Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007.

New Testament manuscripts are referred to following the conventions of Nestle-Aland's *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th edition.

All other abbreviations can be found in the *SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd ed. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014.

Introduction

This book project, originally a doctoral dissertation, started after I read Margaret Ellen Lee and Bernard Brandon Scott's monograph, *Sound Mapping the New Testament* (abridged *SMNT*). In this work, published in 2009, Lee and Scott set forth a step-by-step method for producing and analysing "sound maps" of ancient Greek texts – a sound map being described as "a visual display that exhibits a literary composition's organisation by highlighting its acoustic features and in doing so depicts aspects of a composition's sounded character in preparation for analysis."¹ In other words, sound mapping is a visually-based method of aural analysis (or "sound analysis"): the objects of study are the aural characteristics of a given text, and the method of investigation consists of illuminating these characteristics by visually depicting them in the form of sound maps. Sound mapping is designed as an historico-rhetorical approach. The criteria of analysis are based on ancient sources, especially Greek and Latin rhetorical treatises. In the process of sound mapping, "colometry" plays a key role, as the two initial steps of the methodology are the identification of "côla" and their grouping into "periods."² Accordingly, a sound map consists of a colometric display of the text studied: one côlon to a line and one period to a paragraph. Later in the process of analysis, different aural features (e.g., anaphora, alliterations, repetitions of the same sequence of sounds, hiatus, consonant clashes) are observed and signalled by visual cues such as boldface, underscoring, and alignment of parallel elements.

In view of the target audience of the present study – primarily New Testament scholars – I shall say here a few words on the key terms that will repetitively occur throughout the following pages: "côlon," "comma," "period," as well as the noun-adjective-adverb triad "colometry," "colometric," and "colometrically." These terms are generally little-known in NT scholarship. Moreover, when they do appear in works by biblical scholars, it is often in ways that depart from the strict definitions that I will refer to in this study. To clarify: in the present study, all of these terms refer to the structuration conventions of

¹ M. E. Lee and B. B. Scott, *SMNT*, 168. A second edition of this book was released in 2022.

² For a description of the different steps of sound mapping, see M. E. Lee and B. B. Scott, *SMNT*, 167–195.

Greek and Latin prose as described in the ancient rhetorical treatises. Rhetoricians describe a system for structuring prose texts in *côla* (*côlon*, Greek: *κῶλον*, Latin: *membrum*), *commata* (comma, Greek: *κόμμα*, Latin: *incisum* or *caesum*), and periods (Greek: *περίοδος*, Latin: *ambitus*, *circuitus*, *comprehensio*, etc.³). These notions are not easy to define – defining them appropriately will constitute one critical aspect of our study. As a first approximation and to keep it in terms of syntax, we can say that a *côlon* generally corresponds to what would today be termed a “clause,” and sometimes (less often) to a “phrase.” Here are three different examples of *côla*: (1) *τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι* (“I write these things as they seem to me to be true”)⁴; (2) *ἔπου θεῶ* (“follow God”)⁵; (3) *μάλιστα μὲν εἵνεκα τοῦ νομίζειν συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει λελύσθαι τὸν νόμον* (“chiefly because I thought it was in the interest of the state for the law to be repealed”).⁶ A comma is a special sort of *côlon* that is very short (the second example above, *ἔπου θεῶ*, is a comma). A period consists of a combination of several *côla* and/or *commata* and thus corresponds broadly to a complex or a compound sentence.⁷ Here is a classical example of a period from Demosthenes (the slashes indicate the *côla*-boundaries): *μάλιστα μὲν εἵνεκα τοῦ νομίζειν συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει λελύσθαι τὸν νόμον / εἶτα καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς εἵνεκα τοῦ Χαβρίου / ὠμολόγησα τούτοις, ὡς ἂν οἴξ τε ᾧ, συνερεῖν*. (“Chiefly because I thought it was in the interest of the state for the law to be repealed / but also for the sake of Chabrias’ boy / I have agreed in their support, to the best of my ability, to speak.”)⁸ For their part, the terms “colometry,” “colometric” and “colometrically” are modern terminology that refer to this ancient system of structuration.

Classical rhetoric comprises five “canons” or “steps”: *inventio* (“invention”), *dispositio* (“arrangement”), *elocutio* (“style”), *memoria* (“memory”),

³ Multiple Latin terms are used as equivalents to the Greek *περίοδος* (see Cic. *Or.* 204 and 208; Quint. *Inst.* IX,4,124–125).

⁴ See Dem., *Eloc.* 12. The extract is from Hecat. of Miletus, *Gen.* I.

⁵ See Dem., *Eloc.* 9.

⁶ See Dem., *Eloc.* 10. The extract is from Demost., *Lept.* 1 (trans. D. C. Innes).

⁷ Note that the terms “*côlon*” and “*period*” are also commonly used in relation to ancient poetry. With respect to poetry, a *côlon* is a rhythmical unit that consists of a combination of two, three, four, or more rarely five or six feet, and of which the unity was probably given by its having one *ictus* (stress) being stronger than the rest. In contrast with the prose *côlon*, the metrical *côlon* of poetry does not always end with the end of a word, meaning that a word can be divided into two *côla* (see C. B. Heberden, “Rhythmica,” 2560–2562). The *period* of poetry is a combination of several *côla* that always ends with the end of a word, and after which a distinct pause is admissible. Depending on its length, a poetic *period* encompasses one or more verses (see C. B. Heberden, “Rhythmica,” 2562–2564; see also G. Schade, “Periode”). On the “colometry” of choral poetry, specifically of the different kinds of periods, see M. Dominicy, “Colométrie, période et rythme dans le lyrisme choral en Grèce ancienne.”

⁸ See Dem., *Eloc.* 10. The extract is from Demost., *Lept.* 1 (trans. D. C. Innes).

and *actio* (“delivery”).⁹ The art of arranging the discourse colometrically intervenes at the third step (*elocutio*), which is concerned with *how* something is said. More specifically, colometry operates in what Dionysius of Halicarnassus described as the second movement of style, the *synthesis* (σύνθεσις),¹⁰ i.e., when the previously chosen words are put together to “weave”¹¹ the discourse. However, colometry is not only a matter of style. Arranging the discourse into *côla*, *commata*, and periods begins with *elocutio* and builds towards *actio* (“delivery”) by taking into account a series of constraints linked to oral delivery. The conventions of dividing the discourse into *côla* and periods involve very pragmatic aspects, such as the limited respiratory capacity of speakers (allowing frequent places for breathing) or the cognitive process of listening (including sufficiently frequent pauses that allow the audience ample time to understand what has just been said).

Being deeply impressed by Lee and Scott’s work – which, following Arthur J. Dewey, I would qualify as “a fundamental breakthrough for biblical studies”¹² – I enthusiastically endeavoured to produce sound maps of various passages from Paul’s letters. Initially, my intention was to apply Lee and Scott’s methodology to an entire letter in the hope of uncovering a kind of sound logic that would illuminate its microstructure. One aspect I was especially interested in was the extent to which the identification of *côla* and periods might help to disambiguate syntax in those passages containing punctuation issues (i.e., passages where the choice of punctuation impacts the meaning). However, in my initial attempts at sound mapping practice, I felt incapable of making choices of delineation, or at least I was often unable to argue convincingly for these choices. It seemed as if the guidelines set forth by Lee and Scott were too vague

⁹ Ancient presentations of these five canons can be found in *Rhet. Her.* 1.2.3 and Quint., *Inst.* III.3. For a modern synthesis, see C. Walde and M. Weißenberger, “Rhetorik” (part V, “Das rhetorische System”); for more detailed presentations, see the *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period* edited by S.E. Porter (M. Heath, “Invention”; W. Wuellner, “Arrangement”; G. O. Rowe, “Style”; T. H. Olbricht, “Delivery and Memory”).

¹⁰ The first part is ἐκλογή τῶν ὀνομάτων, namely the “choice of words” (see Dion. Hal., *Comp.* 2).

¹¹ The metaphor of weaving is found notably in Dion. Hal., *Comp.* 23.3. Note that such a metaphor is also present in the origin of the word “text,” which comes from the Latin *textum*, which itself derives from the verb *texere*, “weave.” The first image associated with *textum* is that of fibres that are intertwined in the context of weaving or braiding (see, e.g., Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8,641, where *textum* refers to a fabric). By extension, *textum* can also designate the way elements of language are arranged to form a discourse (see, e.g., Cicero, *Ad Familiares* IX,21, epist. DCLVIII; Quint., *Inst.* IX.4.13, and *ibid.*, 4.129), or the result of such an arrangement, hence a “composition” or a “piece of discourse.”

¹² See A. Dewey’s comment on the back cover of *SMNT*: “A fundamental breakthrough for biblical studies ... It will revolutionize the way scholars analyze and interpret texts.”

to be used. This impression was soon confirmed by my reading of Dan Nässelqvist's then recently defended doctoral dissertation.¹³ In this essay, Nässelqvist elaborates on Lee and Scott's method while pointing out some of its limits, notably concerning the approach to ancient colometry. He proposes a more detailed discussion on the topic of colometry, which yields a refined set of criteria for delineating cōla and periods.¹⁴ Nevertheless, even with the help of this refined version of sound mapping, I found that Paul's letters resisted analysis in terms of colometry. This time, it seemed as if the model was too strict to adapt to Paul's style – or perhaps it was Paul who took considerable liberty with the model?

At this stage of my enquiry, the following questions briefly arose: may it be that Paul did not follow the stylistic conventions described by rhetoricians, or that he did so in a very loose manner? Was he either unaware of these conventions, unable to use them consistently, or reliant on other conventions? These questions were supplemented (though they would reappear later in a modified form)¹⁵ by the suspicion that Nässelqvist's refined criteria might also fail to reflect the ancient sources in a fully satisfactory manner – despite the fact that these criteria are in some ways more historically-informed than those that Lee and Scott previously proposed. This suspicion proved true when I started to engage seriously with ancient rhetorical treatises.¹⁶ Working with these treatises also made me aware of how challenging it is to study ancient colometry, not only because of the difficulties related to the interpretation of the rhetoricians' theories, but also because the corresponding “field of research” in classical scholarship resembles a vast and varied jungle. Studies mainly consist of micro-studies dealing with specific aspects of the theory of individual rhetoricians, to which we can add rhythmical analyses and some syntactical approaches. As such, I have doubts as to whether it makes sense to speak of a “field of research” on ancient colometry. At the very least, there are no detailed descriptions that fully encompass the different aspects of colometry (including the issues of the length of cōla and periods, their semantic and syntactic nature, and the role of figures of speech) and upon which it would be possible to build a criteriology for delineating cōla and periods. The following statement that Thomas Habinek made almost 40 years ago still appears valid today:

Let it only be noted that there is need for a full-scale study of the ancient occurrences of these terms [cōlon, comma, period] – one that would take into account their etymologies and

¹³ D. Nässelqvist, *Public Reading in Early Christianity: Lectors, Manuscripts, and Sound in the Oral Delivery of John 1-4*.

¹⁴ D. Nässelqvist, *Public Reading in Early Christianity*, 119–180 (Chapter 4, “A Method of Sound Analysis”).

¹⁵ See below, Chapter 3, section 3.1.3.

¹⁶ For a list of the treatises considered, see below, Chapter 2, section 1.

connotations, as well as their transference, adaptation, and redefinition as parts of rhetorical systems.¹⁷

The present study does not aim to fulfil Habineck's call. Nevertheless, being convinced that a correct delineation of *côla* and periods is a crucial point for the future development of sound mapping, I decided to dedicate a significant portion of my research to the study of the primary sources at our disposal, in the hope of achieving a more comprehensive understanding of ancient colometry. This signifies a fundamental change in perspective compared to my initial intention. Rather than exploring an application of sound mapping to one of Paul's letters, I decided to take a step back and work on the methodology itself. My research on the rhetorical treatises progressively led me to a more comprehensive understanding of the notions of *côlon*, comma, and period, as well as a better understanding of the ways these can combine to form the discourse. Based on this refined understanding, it is possible to formulate a set of delineation criteria that better reflects the ancient conventions of analysis and enables us to reinforce the status of sound mapping as an historico-rhetorical approach. I will refer to this set of criteria as the "method of colometric analysis," while the simple expression "colometric analysis" will more broadly refer to the process of delineating *côla* and periods, whether using this particular method or another set of criteria.

While our study focuses on the development of a historically informed method of colometric analysis, it will also deal with two supplementary issues. The first has to do with the very idea of looking for *côla*, *commata*, and periods in Paul's letters. This is essentially the issue of the adequation between the method and the object of study. Second, we will explore the relationship between colometry and punctuation; more specifically, the potential benefits that a colometric approach offers in terms of determining how Paul's letters should be segmented and how we could render the colometric logic of structuration through modern punctuation marks.

¹⁷ T. Habineck, *The Colometry of Latin Prose*, 21.

Chapter 1

Ancient Colometry and the New Testament: *Status Quaestionis* and Aims of this Study

This chapter presents the state of research on New Testament scholarship's engagement with ancient colometry. It will also detail the different aims that our study is pursuing. The presentation comes in three parts. The first part (section 1) situates the recent interest in colometry as manifested in the movement of "sound mapping" among other approaches and methodologies that deal with NT orality. The second part (section 2) focuses the attention more strictly on colometry, beginning with a concise overview of NT scholars' interest in this topic prior to Lee and Scott's *Sound Mapping the New Testament*. It will then present in more detail the role of colometry within sound mapping as well as the guidelines for delineating *côla* and periods that are typically used by scholars involved in this approach. Then, in the third part of this chapter (section 3), I will formulate a few critiques of how sound mapping refers to and uses ancient colometry to apply it to early Christian texts. This will finally bring us to clarify the aims that the present study is pursuing and detail how the survey will be conducted throughout the next four chapters.

1. Recent Interest in Colometry in NT Scholarship

1.1 A Visually-Based Method of Aural Analysis: Lee and Scott's Method of "Sound Mapping"

In recent NT scholarship, the study of ancient colometry is closely associated with the names Margaret E. Lee and Bernard B. Scott – more specifically with their 2009 book *Sound Mapping the New Testament*¹ (commonly abridged

¹ Virtually all recent works dealing with the colometry of the New Testament refer to M. E. Lee and B. B. Scott, *SMNT*. An exception worth mentioning is a 2017 article by S. M. Baugh, "Hyperbaton and Greek Literary Style in Hebrews." Building on an essay by the classicist D. Markovic ("Hyperbaton in the Greek Literary Sentence"), Baugh shows how hyperbata mark, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the boundaries of "basic informational units" (i.e., *côla*) as well as, sometimes, of larger discourse units (periods). See also S. M. Baugh, "Greek Periods in the Book of Hebrews." Further, some exegetes display NT

“*SMNT*”). In this book, Lee and Scott propose identifying *côla*² and periods as the first and second steps, respectively, of a visually-based method of sound analysis (or “aural analysis”). The core idea is to depict the aural properties of a text in the form of what they call a “sound map.”³ After the initial steps of delineating *côla* and grouping those *côla* into periods, the analysis progresses through “identify[ing] sound patterns,” “identify[ing] compositional units,” “describ[ing] sound quality,” and finally “analys[ing] the relation between style and subject.”⁴ A sound map of a given text essentially consists of a colometric layout of the text that has one colon to a line and one period to a paragraph. In addition to making the colometric structure explicit, sound maps also highlight various acoustic features (anaphora, alliterations, repetitions of the same sequence of sounds, hiatus, consonant clashes) with visual cues such as boldface and italic type, underscoring, alignment of parallel elements, colours, and hash signs. This process of sound analysis is designed as a preparatory phase for exegesis.⁵ Lee and Scott posit that the making of sound maps is a new tool that helps to integrate a text’s aural characteristics into exegesis.⁶ They insist on the exegetical benefits of sound mapping:

Rediscovering the New Testament as it is organized by sound opens new doors for exegesis and sheds light on stubborn interpretative problems. To compensate for a modern, silent reader’s inability to process sounds in real time, sound mapping graphically represents sound features thereby presenting new data for analysis and creating new possibilities for interpretation.⁷

Simply put, this turn towards sound analysis is warranted, as “exegesis that ignores sounds, ignores clues to interpretation.”⁸

In the decade following the publication of *SMNT*, several scholars began to employ sound maps as a tool either to address specific exegetical issues or more broadly to depict the soundscape of a text (see below, section 2.3.3).

texts “colometrically” (i.e., in sense-lines) without reference to the technical aspects discussed by Lee and Scott (on this, see below, sections 2.1 and 2.2).

² Lee and Scott spell “colon, cola” without an accent. I favour the spelling “côlon, côla” because it prevents any confusion with the “colon” as it refers to the punctuation mark.

³ Lee and Scott define a sound map as follows: “a visual display that exhibits a literary composition’s organization by highlighting its acoustic features and in doing so depicts aspects of a composition’s sounded character in preparation for analysis” (M. E. Lee and B. B. Scott, *SMNT*, 168). Their method for creating and analysing sound maps is described in *SMNT*, 167–195.

⁴ M. E. Lee and B. B. Scott, *SMNT*, 167–195 (“Developing Sound Maps”). See also M. E. Lee, “Sound Mapping.”

⁵ M. E. Lee and B. B. Scott, *SMNT*, 168: “Becoming reoriented by sound requires first the mapping and then the analysis of a composition’s sounds as a prelude to exegesis.”

⁶ M. E. Lee and B. B. Scott, *SMNT*, 168.

⁷ M. E. Lee and B. B. Scott, *SMNT*, 168.

⁸ M. E. Lee and B. B. Scott, *SMNT*, 268.

Although not all of these scholars strictly follow the step-by-step method of analysis developed by Lee and Scott, they all refer to *SMNT* as a background and inspiration for their research. In this sense, it can fairly be said that Lee and Scott's work – specifically their 2009 book – laid the foundation for a new discipline within NT studies. The resulting discipline can be labelled “sound mapping,” as despite some variations in the methodology and the aims pursued, the scholars involved in it share the core idea of producing sound maps as a means to visually depict the aural properties of the texts studied.⁹

1.2 Sound Mapping within Orality Studies

1.2.1 The Turn of Biblical Studies Towards Orality

In situating Lee and Scott's project among current approaches in New Testament studies, we can say that it is the expression of a “turn towards orality” that informed biblical studies for nearly four decades now – if we take Werner H. Kelber's 1983 *The Oral and the Written Gospel* as the starting point.¹⁰ In the aftermath of Kelber, biblical scholars engaged in various studies dealing with orality or the interplay between orality and literacy – most of which mirror the studies undertaken by classicists.¹¹ Among the topics discussed, we can

⁹ See the article devoted to sound mapping in the *Dictionary of the Bible and Ancient Media* (M. E. Lee, “Sound Mapping”), where “sound mapping” no longer designates the specific method developed by Lee and Scott, but more broadly refers to an emerging movement within NT studies. See a similar use of the term in the collective work edited in 2018 by M. E. Lee, *Sound Matters: New Testament Studies in Sound Mapping*, for example in the introduction to the volume, page 6.

¹⁰ W. H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q*. For an overview of biblical scholars' engagement with orality in the last third of the 20th century and early 21st century, see H. E. Hearon, “The Implications of Orality for Studies of the Biblical Text”; see also K. R. Iverson, “Orality and the Gospels: A Survey of Recent Research.” Also noteworthy is *The Dictionary of the Bible and Ancient Media* (ed. by C. Keith, T. Thatcher, R. F. Person and E. R. Stern), published in 2017, which offers many entries on orality and covers a variety of approaches and studies that together give a good idea of the state of research.

¹¹ Within classical studies, the interest in orality can be traced back to the late 1920s when Milman Parry first observed the presence of “formulas” (i.e., fixed expressions that are regularly used and under the same metrical conditions) in the Homeric epics (M. Parry, *L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère. Essai sur un problème de style homérique*). Parry's research on the Serbian oral epic poetry in 1933–1935 – conducted in association with his assistant Albert Lord in the Balkans – yielded the so-called “oral-formulaic theory” (also known as the “Parry-Lord theory”). This theory posits that formulaic structures such as that found in Homer are evidence of oral composition (see M. Parry [ed. by A. Parry], *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*; A. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*). Parry and Lord's research on living oral tradition was later extended by John Foley (J. Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology*; Id., *The Singer of Tales in Performance*). The oral-formulaic theory was the starting point for countless studies on orality

mention the ancient reading and writing education, including the question of the literacy rate (which was very low, perhaps somewhere around 5–10%, depending on the estimations);¹² compositional practices (usually involving dictation to a scribe);¹³ the materiality of texts and the status of written word;¹⁴ the production and circulation of books;¹⁵ the importance of memorisation;¹⁶ reading practices (mostly aloud and often before an audience);¹⁷ or the role of *recitatio* (public reading) in a work's publication process.¹⁸

and the interplay between orality and literacy, commonly labelled “orality studies” or sometimes “media studies.”

¹² See the reference work by W. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*. On the process of learning to write and to read, including insightful reflections on what it concretely means to be able to “write” and to “read,” see R. Crihiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*. On literacy and illiteracy in Roman Palestine, see C. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*; see also M. Bar-Ilan, “Illiteracy in the Land of Israel in the First Centuries C.E.”

¹³ See notably T. Dorandi, *Le stylet et la tablette. Dans le secret des auteurs antiques*. The composition process of Paul's letters has been the object of a detailed study by E. R. Richards, *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing: Secretaries, Composition and Collection*; see also the 1974 article by R. N. Longenecker, “Ancient Amanuenses and the Pauline Epistles.”

¹⁴ See, among others, A. Petrovic, I. Petrovic, and E. Thomas (eds), *The Materiality of Text: Placement, Perception, and Presence of Inscribed Texts in Classical Antiquity*; J. P. Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*; L. Alexander, “The Living Voice: Skepticism Towards the Written Word in Early Christian and in Graeco-Roman Texts.”

¹⁵ See, among others, R. Starr, “The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World”; L. W. Hurtado and C. Keith, “Writing and Book Production in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods”; H. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church*, esp. 82–143; L. Alexander, “Ancient Book Production and the Circulation of the Gospels”; K. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* and Ead., “The Social History of Early Christian Scribes.”

¹⁶ See notably J. P. Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*. See also the recent edition of a selection of Marcel Jousse's texts in the series “Biblical Performance Criticism” under the title *Memory, Memorization, and Memorizers*. On the role of memory in scribal practices, see J. Ready, *Orality, Textuality, and Homeric Epic: A Study of Oral Texts, Dictated Texts, and Wild Texts*.

¹⁷ See, among others, the collective work edited by W. A. Johnson and H. N. Parker, *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, which contains articles dealing with the different reading practices in antiquity; see also A. Vatri, *Orality and Performance in Classical Attic Prose*. On the reading practices among early Christian communities specifically, see D. Nässelqvist, *Public Reading in Early Christianity*, 63–118; see also S. Buttica, “‘Que cette lettre soit lue à tous les frères’ (1 Th. 5,27). Les lettres de Paul et le rôle du *lector* dans l'Antiquité.”

¹⁸ On *recitatio*, see the detailed discussion in E. Valette-Cagnac, *La lecture à Rome*, 111–170; see also R. Starr, “The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World,” esp. 215. On Christian texts specifically, see H. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church*, 82–143; see also P. J. Botha, “Authorship in Historical Perspective.”

Index of References

Old Testament

<i>Exodus LXX</i>		<i>Joel LXX</i>	
20:19	213, 267	2:13	223
<i>Deuteronomy LXX</i>		<i>Amos LXX</i>	
19:15	214	7:3	223
<i>1 Kings LXX</i>		7:6	223
12:22	200	<i>Jonah LXX</i>	
<i>Psalms LXX</i>		3:10	223
85:5	200	4:2	223
<i>Daniel LXX</i>		<i>2 Maccabees LXX</i>	
3:42	200	10:4	200
4:27	200		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		<i>John</i>	
5–7	23–24	1–4	27
6:25–35	24	1:1–2	243
18:16	210	1:3–4	28
<i>Mark</i>		10:4	160
1–8	11	20	24, 146
15:11–41	24, 146	20:28	24
15:40–41	24	<i>Acts</i>	
16:8	29	5:32	210
<i>Luke</i>		8:22	223
1:37	210	13:42	210
2:1–20	24, 158–159	<i>Romans</i>	
2:15	210	1:1–7	28
2:19	210	4:12	28
12:22–32	24	7:25	227

9:3	227	11:7–9	180
9:4–5	253–254	11:7	204
15:14	227	11:8	229
<i>1 Corinthians</i>		11:9	217, 225, 284
1–4	27	11:10	204–205
1:18–21	27	11:12–19	188
16:11	267	11:12	205, 226
		11:13	179, 218, 269
		11:15–16	225
<i>2 Corinthians</i>		11:15	284
4:4	242–243	11:16–30	40, 219
10–13	177–180, 183–215	11:16–17	180
	224–231, 274–286	11:16	218, 226, 229, 231
10:1–11	179	11:17	206
10:1–6	183	11:18	188
10:1	200, 226–227, 284	11:19	284
10:2	179, 201, 224, 227	11:20–23	189–190
10:3–5	284	11:20	206, 225
10:3	284	11:21	180, 189, 206–207
10:4–6	254–256, 269	11:22–23	249
10:4–5	216, 230	11:23	190, 207, 219, 230–
10:4	183, 201, 226		231
10:6	227	11:23–27	284
10:7–10	184	11:24–27	190–191
10:7	184	11:24	225
10:8–11	28, 256–261	11:26	219, 208, 230
10:8–9	216	11:27	190, 208, 220, 230
10:8	184, 225	11:28–32	191
10:9–10	179	11:28	191, 209, 226, 284
10:10	184, 202, 216–217,	11:32	191, 220, 284
	251	11:33–12:4	192–193
10:11–17	185	11:33	284
10:11	226, 248	12:1	180, 192, 209, 220
10:12–13	185	12:2	225
10:12	225, 284	12:3–4	225
10:13	202	12:4	210, 284
10:14	217, 230	12:5–7	193–194
10:15–16	203, 226, 228, 261–	12:5–6	180
	265	12:5	193, 226, 228
10:18–11:4	186	12:6–7a	226
11:1	186	12:6	193, 221, 230
11:3	186, 203–204	12:7	193–194, 210–211,
11:4	179, 186–187, 217,		226, 269
	226, 228	12:8–10	194–195
11:1–12:13	180, 224	12:9	221, 229, 231
11:2	284	12:10	194–195, 225, 284
11:5–11	187	12:11–14	195–196
11:5	179	12:11	179, 180, 195, 284
11:6	187	12:12	195, 265–266, 269

12:13–16	180	<i>Galatians</i>	
12:13	227	5:2	227
12:15–18	196–197	<i>Philippians</i>	
12:15	196	1:27–2:18	27
12:16	221	<i>1 Thessalonians</i>	
12:17	212, 226	2:14–16	254
12:19–13:1	197–198	5:27	142
12:19	197, 213, 225	<i>2 Thessalonians</i>	
12:20–21	266–268	2:8	243
12:20	222, 225	<i>Philemon</i>	
12:21	197, 213, 222, 225, 284	1–25	24, 158–159
13:1	210, 214, 225	19	227
13:2–5	198–199	<i>Hebrews</i>	
13:2	198, 226	6:1	223
13:3	225, 229, 284	<i>1 John</i>	
13:3b	223, 226	1:1–4	26, 29
13:4	198, 213	<i>Revelation</i>	
13:5	199, 213	2:21–22	223
13:6–10	199	8:1–11:19	28
13:7	213, 226	8:7–12	28
13:8	284	9:20–21	223
13:9	284	16:11	22
13:10	215, 226, 284		
13:11–13	200		
13:11	215, 225, 230		
13:13	200		

Patristic Literature

Augustine		Irenaeus	
<i>De doctrina christiana</i>		<i>Adversus haereses</i>	
III,2,2–5	238, 243	III,7,1	239, 243
III,2,2	238	III,7,2	243
III,2,3	243	Jerome	
IV,3,4–5	292	<i>Prologue to Isaiah</i>	
IV,7,11	156, 236, 246, 249	1 (= PL 28,771)	20, 40
IV,7,12–13	40, 219	<i>Prologue to Ezechiel</i>	
IV,7,13	219–220	2 (= PL 28,938–939)	20, 40
IV,20,41	171		

Photius

Amphilochion

1 239

Graeco-Roman Literature

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Aelius Aristides (Pseudo-) | 28,14–18 | 69, 134 |
| <i>Political Discourse</i> | 31,4–9 | 156 |
| 167–173 | 120–126 | |
| 167 | 117, 121–122, 128, | Aristophanes |
| | 154, 159–160 | <i>Fragments</i> |
| 168 | 110, 125, 144 | 649 |
| 169 | 55, 123, 156, 166 | 166 |
| 170 | 125 | <i>Nubes</i> |
| | | 969 |
| | | 74 |
| Aelius Donatus | | |
| <i>Ars Maior</i> | | Aristotle |
| I,6 | 152, 240 | <i>De audibilibus</i> |
| | | 803a 28 |
| | | 51 |
| Aeschines | | <i>Politica</i> |
| <i>In Ctesiphonem</i> | | 5, 1313a |
| 3,233 | 117, 166 | 72 |
| | | <i>Rhetorica</i> |
| Alexander Numenius | | III,5,6–7 |
| <i>De figuris</i> | | 241, 269 |
| 27,17–28,17 | 116–120, 124 | III,8 |
| 27,17–22 | 117–118, 160, 166 | 53, 75, 84, 97, 115, |
| 27,19–20 | 152 | 172, 292 |
| 27,22 | 119 | 57, 97, 171 |
| 27,26 | 149 | 57 |
| 28 | 134 | III,8,5 |
| 28,1–5 | 119, 125, 144 | 57, 84 |
| 28,1–2 | 119 | III,8,6 |
| 28,3–4 | 119, 145 | 57–58, 171, 239 |
| 28,4–5 | 120 | III,9 |
| 28,9–12 | 117–118 | 52–53, 133 |
| 28,9–10 | 116 | III,9,1–3 |
| 28,13–17 | 117, 156, 166 | 49–53, 67–68, 124 |
| | | III,9,1 |
| | | 32, 161 |
| | | III,9,2 |
| | | 52, 67, 76, 134, 246 |
| | | III,9,3 |
| | | 52, 59, 76, 91, 117, |
| | | 134–135, 159 |
| | | III,9,4–5 |
| | | 113 |
| | | III,9,4 |
| | | 53–54, 60, 160 |
| | | III,9,5 |
| | | 52–54, 59–60, 65, |
| | | 68, 86, 112 |
| | | III,9,6 |
| | | 52, 59, 156, 245 |
| | | III,9,7–10 |
| | | 83, 89, 106, 167 |
| | | III,9,7 |
| | | 55–57, 59, 147, |
| | | 164–165–166 |
| Aquila Romanus | | |
| <i>De figuris</i> | | |
| 27,32–28,5 | 133, 144 | |
| 27,32–28,1 | 110 | |

III,9,9	56, 166–168, 171	227	171, 292
III,9,10	56, 89	228	97
Cicero		<i>Orationes philippicae</i>	
		2,63	246
<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>		<i>Pro Cluentio</i>	
IX,21	3	1	111, 250
<i>De oratore</i>		<i>Pro Scauro</i>	
III,31	292	XXII	147
III, 173–198	35	XXII,45	100, 109, 145, 168
III,182–183	97		
III,182	115, 247	Demetrius of Phalerum (Pseudo-)	
III,186	96	<i>De elocutione</i>	
III,190	97	1	59, 236
III,191–192	95	2–3	55, 65, 88, 290
III,191	97–98, 113, 133, 156, 245–246	2	64–65, 111, 129, 151, 174
<i>Orator ad Brutum</i>		4–9	140
164–167	97, 106	4	59, 62–63, 111, 130, 147
165	56, 167	5–9	63
174–236	35	5	63
187	97, 171, 222	6–8	145, 225
204	2, 87, 95–96, 111, 133	6	63, 146
207–226	97, 114	7	64, 99
207–211	95	8	64
207	96, 172, 246	9	2, 63, 119, 144–145
208	2, 87, 95, 111, 133	10	2, 70, 74–75, 77–78, 80, 82, 88, 113, 117, 159–160, 162, 166
211	87, 95, 98	11	74, 77–78, 86, 96, 129, 134, 246
212	95, 98, 113	12–15	66
215	97, 115	12–13	122
216	97	12	2, 32, 50, 65–67, 71, 73, 154, 161
219–220	53, 97	13	66–67
221–222	132, 140, 156–157	15	56, 66, 167
221	98	16	68, 112, 156, 245
222–225	144–145	17	32, 50, 63, 68, 75, 112, 134, 154, 156– 157, 161, 166, 169
222–223	99–101, 168	19–21	75–76, 79–83, 124– 125, 134, 140, 159
222	59, 95, 97–99, 112– 113, 130, 147, 249	18	166
223–224	100	19	65, 155
223	87–88, 95, 100–101, 109, 147, 151	20	74–74, 80, 106, 114, 159, 252
224	90, 97, 99, 125, 225		
225–226	111		
225	99–100, 109–110, 134, 154		
226	101		

21–25	83	<i>Philippica</i>	
21	75, 86, 114, 124, 140, 159, 252	3,17	105, 166
22–29	56, 79, 83–84	4,1	121
22–26	69, 89	Dionysius of Halicarnassus	
24	83, 89	<i>De compositione verborum</i>	
25–26	170	2,4–5	103
25	69, 165, 167–168	7	150
26	167–168	7,4–5	103
27	83	7,4	32, 151
28	166	7,6	131
29	83	9,2–8	103
31	77, 166	9,2–3	105
34	68, 85	9,2	166
38–43	84, 97, 172	9,4–5	105
38–39	84	9,4	32, 103–104, 152, 248
38	115	9,9	103
39–41	75	9,10–11	107–108
39	58, 171, 282	14–16	81
41	58, 84–85, 172	17–18	172
42	84	18,3–21	106
43	84	18,3	105, 150, 163
45	32, 63, 69, 78, 146, 157, 166	18,9	104, 163
46	78–79	18,16–19	104–105, 150
182	85, 151	19,10	108
205	32	22–26	102–108, 248
Demosthenes		22	106, 163
<i>In Aristocratem</i>		22,5	106–107, 159
99	166	22,27	103
<i>In Aphobum</i>		22,40–41	104–105
2,20	125	22,41	103
<i>De corona</i>		22,42–43	106, 124
1	104–105, 150	22,45	148
<i>De falsia legatione</i>		23	105, 292
259	121, 124	23,3	3, 51, 106, 161
<i>Olynthiaca</i>		23,5	51, 105–106, 148, 156
I,10	130–131, 146, 166	23,6	117, 171
<i>Adversus Leptinem</i>		23,7	106
1	2, 66, 74, 80, 162	23,19	105, 157
56	166	23,22	105
<i>De Chersoneso</i>		23,23	106
10	121, 154	25–26	106
		25,4	105, 157
		26,1	144
		26,2	103
		26,11–12	103–104, 145

- De Thucydide*
22 103
- Dionysius Thrax
- Ars grammatica*
2 238
4 240
- Hecataeus of Miletus
- Genealogia*
1 2, 67, 154, 249
- Hermogenes
- On Ideas of Style*
I,3–4 129
I,3,12 32, 128, 155
I,3,14–17 128
I,3,17 128–130, 144–145
I,4,17 129
I,6,30 129
I,7,19 130, 144
I,8,10 125, 130, 145, 225
I,9,8 130
I,9,18–19 130
I,12,11–20 129
I,12,15 130–131, 146, 157,
166
I,12,19 130–131
I,12,35 129
I,12,41 129, 131, 157
I,12,42 131, 157
I,12,45 129
I,12,46 129
- Hermogenes (Pseudo-)
- De inventione*
4,4 145
- Herodian (Pseudo-)
- De figuris*
24 116, 146, 156–157
93 116
- Herodotus
- Historiae*
I,1,1 49, 68
I,6,1 128, 155
- Hippocrates
- Aphorismata*
I,1 62, 147
- Homer
- Iliad*
IX,526 69, 165
- Isocrates
- Areopagiticus*
1–5 105
- Panegyricus*
1 55
48 55
72 57, 59
105 55
149 164, 166
185 117, 146, 166
186 59, 147
- Longinus
- Ars rhetorica*
fr. 48 110, 133
fr. 48, 329–339 144
- Ovid
- Metamorphoses*
8,641 3
- Petronius
- Satyricon*
75 244
- Plato
- Menexenus*
236d 104, 152, 163, 166
236e 104–105

<i>Politicus</i>		XI,3,39	238, 246
269c	63	XI,3,52–60	115
282e	74	XI,3,53	115, 245–246
<i>Respublica</i>		XI,3,65–136	244
I,1	81	XI,3,110	236
		XI,4,36–37	251
Quintilian		<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>	
<i>Institutio oratoria</i>		I,2,3	3
I preface	109	III,13,23	87
III,3	3	IV,8,11–11,16	102
IX,3,54	115	IV,12,18	87, 92, 98, 133, 156, 245–246
IX,3,75–80	114, 167	IV,17	92–93
IX,3,77	167	IV,18	92–93
IV,3,78	114, 167	IV,18,26	89
IX,3,81–86	114	IV,19	93, 99
IX,3,84	114	IV,19,26–27	87
IX,3,98	87	IV,19,27	55, 88–92, 96, 125, 133, 145, 160, 225
IX,4	292	IV,20	89, 167
IX,4,13	3	IV,20,27	87
IX,4,22	111, 133	IV,20,28	89–90
IX,4,26	114	IV,22,31	90
IX,4,60–111	114–115, 172	IV,30,41	92–93
IX,4,61–66	115	IV,32,42	87
IX,4,61–63	171		
IX,4,68–69	250	Rutilius Lupus	
IX,4,68	111	<i>De figuris</i>	
IX,4,72–78	114, 171	19,17	114
IX,4,111	97, 115	<i>Souda</i>	
IX,4,122–125	109–113	508	46
IX,4,122	109–110, 125, 133, 144, 147, 168	Tacitus	
IX,4,123	110–111	<i>Annales</i>	
IX,4,124–125	2, 112, 130, 133, 140, 147, 156	I,25,3	142
IX,4,124	87, 133	Theophrastus	
IX,4,125	112–113, 132, 156, 160, 245	<i>On style (Peri lexeōs)</i>	
IX,4,126–130	113	fr. VI	84
IX,4,126	62, 111	Thucydides	
IX,4,127	113, 124, 252	<i>The Peloponnesian War</i>	
IX,4,129	3	I,1	163
IX,9,123	55	I,1,1	104–105
X,2	292		
XI,3	242		
XI,3,33–65	245		
XI,3,33–39	109, 248		
XI,3,37	247		
XI,3,38	247		

I,5,3	83, 165	Xenophon	
II,35,1	105, 150, 163	<i>Anabasis</i>	
II,102,2	63, 69, 78, 146, 166	I,1	65, 82, 155
III,57,4	150–151	IV,4,3	63, 146–147
Virgil			
<i>Aeneid</i>			
I,1	247, 251		

Index of Modern Authors

- Achtemeier, Paul J. 11
Aland, Barbara 183–200, 272, 274–284
Aland, Kurt 183–200, 272, 274–284
Alexander, Loveday 10
Anderson, R. Dean (Jr.) 45, 117, 144,
149, 225
Aujac, Germaine 102, 107
- Bar-Ilan, Meir 10
Barrett, Charles K. 180, 194, 202–204,
207–211, 213, 215, 222, 227, 258,
264, 267
Baugh, S. M. 7, 161
Benedetto, Vincenzo di 238
Bernhardt, Emanuel 35
Betz, Hans-Dieter 11–13, 16, 22, 177–
178, 289
Blass, Friedrich W. 35
Bonifazi, Anna 165, 270–272
Boomershine, Thomas E. 26, 28–30, 169
Bornecque, Henri 89, 91
Bornkamm, Günther 177, 200
Botha, Peter J. J. 10, 15, 260
Brickle, Jeffrey E. 26–27, 29, 169–170
Broadhead, Henry D. 36
Brookins, Timothy 13
Brown, Raymond E. 21, 47, 289
Buber, Martin 17–18
Bultmann, Rudolf 202, 204, 210–211,
213, 215, 255, 263, 267
Butticaz, Simon 10, 142
- Caplan, Harry 86–87, 89, 93
Caragounis, Chrys C. 11, 29, 169
Carrez, Maurice 202, 206, 211, 215, 258,
263
Casson, Sarah 166
Catach, Nina 239
Chafe, Wallace L. 37, 248, 270–271, 285
- Chevigny, Jacqueline de 17, 289
Chiron, Pierre 50–51, 53–54, 60–63, 65,
69, 73–75, 80, 117, 135, 292
Classen, Joachim C. 12, 22
Clivaz, Claire 180, 260
Cribiore, Raffaella 10
Crisp, Simon 17, 272
- Danker, Frederick W. 178, 206
Davis, Casey W. 11, 13
Dean, Margaret Ellen *see* Lee, M. E.
Debrunner, Albert 19–20, 23
Devine, Andrew M. 161, 171, 248
Dewey, Arthur J. 3, 28
Dik, Helma J. M. 226
Dillery, John 50–51
Dilts, Mervin R. 47
Dorandi, Tiziano 10
Dover, Kenneth 58
Dräger, Paul 38, 149
- Elice, Martina 47, 116
- Feeney, Denis 244
Foley, John M. 9–10
Ford, David F. 177–178, 194, 210, 257
Formarier, Marie 36, 97, 114
Fowler, Francis G. 270
Fowler, Henry W. 270
Fowler, R. L. 31, 38, 49–51, 53, 57
Fraenkel, Eduard 36–38, 165–166
Freese, John H. 48–49, 58
Furnish, Victor P. 194, 202, 210, 255,
263
- Gamble, Harry Y. 10, 17
Garland, David E. 210–211, 258, 263
Gilliard, Frank D. 272
Goldstein, David 37, 166, 248–250

- Goodell, Thomas D. 164
 Gotoff, H. C. 93
 Grässer, Erich 180, 194, 204–205, 210, 213, 215, 220, 257–258, 263–264
 Groot, Albert W. de 36
 Grube, George M. A. 65
 Guthrie, George H. 194, 201, 204–205, 209, 211, 213, 218, 220–221, 223, 257, 260, 269
- Habinek, Thomas 4–5, 85, 144, 150–153
 Haines-Eitzen, Kim 10
 Hajdú, Kerstin 46, 117
 Halliday, M. A. K. 248
 Harris, Murray J. 177–178, 181, 185–189, 193–194, 196–197, 200–204, 206–210, 213, 215, 220–223, 227, 229, 255–258, 260, 262, 264
 Harris, William V. 10
 Harvey, A. E. 257–258
 Harvey, John D. 11, 178
 Heckenkamp, Marcus 91, 95, 134
 Heinrici, Karl F. G. 18, 178
 Héring, Jean 256, 258, 265
 Hezser, Catherine 10
 Hoogewoud, F. J. 18–19, 21
 Horrocks, Geoffrey G. 169–172, 197
 Hubbell, H. L. 94, 100, 145
 Hurtado, Larry W. 10, 237, 243–244
- Innes, Doreen C. 2, 60–62, 71–72, 74, 78, 80–82, 154
- Jaewon, Ahn 116
 Jespersen, Otto 154
 Jobs, Karen H. 21, 289
 Johnson, William A. 10, 242–244
- Kassel, Rudolf 48, 50
 Keeline, Tom 36
 Keith, Chrys 9, 10
 Kelber, Werner H. 9, 26
 Kennedy, George A. 11–13, 16, 22, 32, 47, 50, 53, 58, 94, 116, 121, 127, 145, 150, 289
 Kirby, Tyler 36
 Kleist, James 19–20, 34
 Ladd, D. Robert 139
 Lallot, Jean 238, 240
- Lambrecht, Jan 202–205, 207, 209, 213, 215, 220, 222, 255, 258
 Lampe, Peter 180, 224
 Laurens, Pierre 94
 Lausberg, Heinrich 38–39, 45, 148–149, 162
 Lebel, Maurice 107
 Lee, Margaret Ellen 1, 3–4, 7–9, 16, 22–25, 27–28, 33–34, 143–144, 146, 149–151, 158–159, 168–169, 175, 181, 287–288
 Levinsohn, Stephen H. 184, 226, 228
 Livesey, Nina E. 28
 Long, Fredrick J. 184, 193–194, 200–204, 206–207, 209, 212–213, 215, 218, 221–222, 226–229, 245, 257, 267, 269
 Lord, Albert 9
 Louw, Johannes 17
- Markovic, Daniel 7, 161
 Martin, Ralph P. 180, 193–194, 201, 204–205, 209–211, 213, 215, 220
 Martin, Troy W. 13
 Mesnil, Adolf du 35, 81–82, 104, 120, 145, 150, 162
 Metzger, Bruce M. 17, 185–186, 192–194, 196, 198, 202, 211, 254
 Mitchell, Margaret M. 178
 Muchnová, Dagmar 164
- Nässelqvist, Dan 4, 16, 26–28, 30–31, 72, 143–144, 146–147, 149–152, 155, 159–160, 168–169, 175, 181, 242–244, 287–288
 Nespor, Marina 139
 Nisard, M. 89
 Noël, Marie-Pierre 36, 56, 226
 Norden, Eduard 18–19, 46
 Nünlist, René 241
- Oefele, Christine 11
 Oestreich, Bernhard 12, 14–16, 27, 29–30
 Olsson, Birger 21, 289
- Parker, Holt N. 10
 Parkes, Malcolm 239, 270
 Parry, Milman 9

- Partridge, Eric 271
 Patillon, Michel 47, 55, 110, 120–123,
 125–127, 130, 132
 Pfeiffer, Rudolf 239–240
 Pierrehumbert, Janet B. 139, 248
 Plummer, Alfred 193, 204–206, 209, 213,
 221–223, 227, 255, 258, 262, 267
 Podbielski, Henryk 121
 Popper, Karl R. 140–143
 Porter, Stanley E. 3, 13, 18, 32, 39, 226,
 228
 Primmer, Adolf 36, 53–54, 56, 58, 97

 Rackham H. 94
 Ready, Jonathan L. 10
 Reid, Robert S. 102
 Rhoads, David 14
 Richards 10
 Roberts, W. Rhys 73, 107
 Robertson, Archibald T. 163, 202, 221
 Rosenzweig, Franz 17–18
 Rowe, Galen O. 3, 38, 144
 Russell, D. A. 52, 108

 Sansone, David 236, 286
 Schellenberg, Ryan 41, 170, 178, 225,
 257–258, 292
 Schenkeveld, Dirk M. 50, 74, 76, 122
 Schenkl, Heinrich 71, 124
 Scheppers, Frank 28, 37–38
 Scherbenske, Eric W. 40
 Schmeller, Thomas 179–181, 210, 221–
 222, 255–256, 258, 263–264
 Schmid, Walter 36
 Schmithals, Walter 177
 Schütz, Roland 19–20, 289
 Scott, Bernard Brandon 1, 3–4, 7–9, 22–
 25, 143–144, 146, 149–151, 158–159,
 168–169, 175, 181, 287–288
 Selkirk, Elisabeth 139
 Spengel, Leonhard von 117
 Starr, Raymond J. 10
 Stephens, Laurence D. 161, 171, 248
 Sträterhoff, Barbara 36, 97
 Streicher, Friedrich 17, 21, 289
 Striker, Gisela 48–49, 51–52

 Swanson, Reuben J. 181, 183–200, 237
 Swiggers, Pierre 148

 Teodorsson, Sven Tage 169–172
 Theobald, Michael 21
 Thompson, Edward M. 17, 20
 Thrall, Margaret E. 165, 177–178, 185,
 196, 201, 206, 209, 211, 220–222,
 256–258, 265–267
 Truss, Lynne 270

 Ueding, Gert 38, 148
 Usher, Stephen 101, 107

 Vaahtera, Jaana 102–103
 Valette-Cagnac, Emmanuelle 10, 243
 Veerkamp, Ton 21, 289
 Vernhes, Jean-Victor 171
 Villeneuve Merda, Rachel de 11, 13, 230
 Viti, Carlotta 228
 Vogel, Irene 139
 Volkmann, Richard E. 35

 Waal, Kayle B. de 26, 28
 Walker, Jeffrey 101, 121
 Watson, Duane F. 12
 Weiss, Johannes 18, 177–178, 225
 Welborn, Larry L. 177
 White, Adam G. 27
 White, Henri 19–20
 Wilkinson, L. P. 36
 Windisch, Hans 177, 180, 257
 Winterbottom, M. 52
 Witherington III, Ben 12, 22, 178, 242
 Woerner, Roman 19–20, 289
 Woerther, Frédérique 48
 Wojciechowski, Michael 178
 Wong, K. H. 185
 Wooten, Cecil W. 127
 Wordsworth, John 19–20
 Wouters, Alfons 148

 Young, Frances M. 177–178, 194, 210,
 257

 Zieliński Tadeusz 36, 96

Index of Subjects

- accent (Greek) 170–171
actio *see* delivery
Aelius Aristides (Pseudo-) 46, 120–126
Aelius Donatus 140
Alexander Numenius 46, 116–120
ambitus 94–95, 96, 246 *see also* period
antithesis 55–56, 83, 89, 114, 123, 138, 167, 174, 182 *see also* Gorgianic figure
Aquila Romanus 47, 69, 116
Aristophanes of Byzance 239–240
Aristotle 46, 48–60
articulus 87, 90–91, 93, 133 *see also* comma
Aspines of Gadara 47
Augustine 36, 40, 156, 171, 219–220, 236, 238, 243, 246, 248–249, 253
aural analysis *see* sound analysis
authority, apostolic 179–180, 201–202, 215, 254, 261, 268
- breath, units of 18, 24, 30, 62, 133, 138, 245, 289 *see also* breathing
breathing 30, 49, 52–54, 62, 92, 98, 109–115, 133, 237, 244–252, 272, 291 *see also* breath, units of
- caesum 40, 90, 98, 100, 113, 133, 219 *see also* comma
Cassius Longinus 47, 144
Cicero 46, 94–101
circle
– hermeneutical ~ 142–143
– (metaphor) 76–83, 95–96, 105–107, 118, 134, 148, 159, 246 *see also* circularity
circularity 76–83, 118, 159 *see also* circle (metaphor)
- clausula 35–36, 57–58, 79–82, 84, 97–98, 106, 108, 171–172, 250 *see also* rhythm
codex
– Alexandrinus 17
– Amiatinus 17–20
– Bezae 17
– Claromontanus 17, 185
– Coislinianus 17, 40
– Florentinus Laurentianus LIX 15 107
– Marcianus Gr. 508 69
– Parisinus Gr. 1741 60–61, 69, 71, 117, 122
– Parisinus Gr. 2918. 107
– Sinaiticus 17
colometric analysis 5, 177–233
– aims 143
– criteria 138–139, 144–175
– method of ~ 5, 42–43, 45, 137–139, 288, 293
colometric disposition
– manuscripts 17–20, 40
– modern ~ 17–22
– ~ of 2 Corinthians 10–13 180–215
côlon (colon) 54–55, 59, 61–65, 88–90, 98–101, 103–104, 110–111, 119–120, 125–126, 129–130
– ancient definitions of ~ 54–55, 61–65, 88–90, 98–101, 103–104, 110–111, 119, 125–126, 144–155
– autonomous (disjointed) ~ 65, 85, 99–100, 128–129, 148, 154–155, 173–174
– codicology 17 *see also* codex
– delineation of ~ (criteria) 144–155, 173–174
– discourse analysis 17–18
– etymology 46, 88
– Fraenkel’s notion of ~ 36–37

- length of ~ 59, 62–64, 90, 99, 103, 111, 129–130, 146–148
- periodic ~ 64–66, 84–85, 88, 100–101, 103–107, 119, 128–129, 148, 151–154, 161–165, 173–174
- semantics 55, 64–66, 85, 88, 128–129, 148
- syntax 2, 25, 64–65, 92, 99–101, 103–104, 148–155, 161–165
- comma 2, 61–64, 85, 90–91, 99–100, 103, 109–110, 118–120, 125–126, 129–130, 132–133, 138, 144–146, 173–174
- ancient definitions of ~ 61–64, 109–110, 119–120, 125–126, 129–130
- delineation of ~ (criteria) 144–155, 173–174
- effect of ~ 64, 90–91, 99, 130, 145 *see also* vehemence
- etymology 64, 85, 98, 144
- length of ~ 63–64, 85, 103, 119–120, 125–126, 130, 144–146
- compactness 74, 80–81 *see also* period, ending of ~
- composition *see* style (composition)
- conjunction (grammar) 77, 81, 162–165, 168, 225
- consonant clash 8, 81, 102, 114
- continuatio 91–93 *see also* period
- contour (of periods) 31, 73, 96, 117–118

- delivery 3, 14–16, 27, 33, 41, 48–49, 62, 68, 79, 109, 115, 137, 236–238, 241–242, 244–252
- Demetrius (Pseudo-) 46, 60–86
- Demosthenes 2, 53, 66, 74–75, 80, 102, 124, 129, 131, 162, 178
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus 46, 101–108
- Dionysius Thrax *see* Thrax, Dionysius
- discourse analysis 13, 17–19
- discourse marker 164–165

- education 9–10, 108–109, 292
- elocutio *see* style (elocutio)
- Euthalius 40
- exegesis 8, 20, 23–24, 27–28, 32, 143, 253–268

- feet, metrical 35–36, 57–58, 96–98, 172, 292 *see also* clausula *and* rhythm
- figure *see* Gorgianic figure
- fluidity 77, 79, 81, 106, 134

- gestures 15, 33, 79–80, 243–244
- Gorgianic figure 36, 53–56, 58, 68, 79, 83–84, 97, 106, 114, 118–119, 123, 167–171, 174, 182–183, 226, 230–231
- Gorgias 56, 66

- harmony 102, 105–108
- Hermogenes 46, 126–132
- Hermogenes (Pseudo-) 47
- Herodian (Pseudo-) 46, 116–117
- hiatus 78, 9, 81, 114, 129
- homoeoteleuton 167 *see also* pariosis
- hyperbaton 31, 57, 77–78, 82, 91, 96, 118–119, 123, 129, 138, 161–162, 165, 174, 290

- incisa 95, 99–101, 109–111, 145, 168, 250 *see also* comma
- interweaving 71, 106, 114, 131, 161–165 *see also* weaving (metaphor)
- intonation contour 248–249, 251–252
- intonation unit (IU) *see* Intonational phrase
- intonational phrase (I-phrase) 139, 248–250, 252
- isocôlon *see* pariosis
- Isocrates 53, 55, 66, 105

- Jerome of Stridon 19–20, 40

- lexis 49 *see also* style (composition)
- listener, ancient 157, 161, 241–242, 245, 272
- Longinus (Pseudo-) 48

- maxim 63–64, 91–93, 119, 145
- membrum *see* còlon
- methodology 32–33, 39–41, 140–143
- monocôlon (simple period) 55, 68–69, 75, 104–105, 111–112, 123, 133–134, 156–161, 173–174

- Nestle-Aland 235–237, 272

- Nicanor of Alexandria 240–241
- opponents (in Corinth) 179–180, 205, 224
- pariosis 56–60, 83, 89–90, 114, 129, 147, 167–168, 174, 182 *see also* Gorgianic figure
- paromoiosis 56, 83, 90, 123, 164, 167–171, 174, 183 *see also* Gorgianic figure
- participle 30–31, 78, 81, 85, 148–150, 152, 163–164
- particle 37, 49–50, 85, 138, 161, 164–166, 174 *see also* conjunction
- Paul of Tarsus
- education 292
 - rhetorical skills 292
 - style 225, 283–286
- “per cola and commata” 19–20, 40
- performance criticism 14–16, 26, 29
- period 53–58, 66–69, 79–83, 91–93, 104–108, 111–113, 117–119, 130–132
- ancient definitions of ~ 53–58, 69–74, 91–92, 104–107, 111–112, 117–118
 - delineation of ~ (criteria) 156–174
 - ending of ~ 31, 58, 70–78, 82, 106, 158–159 *see also* clausula, compactness, and rounding-off
 - length of ~ 68–69, 92–93, 98, 112–113, 118, 130–132, 156–158
 - semantics 53–54, 71–74, 88, 91–92, 111–112, 122–123
 - syntax 76–82, 105–106, 158–165
 - terminology 46, 94–95, 111–112, 133
 - types of ~ 54–55, 74–76, 79–83, 105–107, 111–114, 159
- phonological
- ~ hierarchy 248–252
 - ~ phrase (I-phrase) 250, 252
- phonology 139, 252
- Plato 32, 37–38, 48–49, 81
- poetry 2, 9, 56, 58–59, 61–62, 66, 97, 102–103, 105–106, 248, 250–251
- pronunciatio (rhetoric) *see* delivery
- pronunciation (Greek) 29–30, 168–170
- prosodic
- ~ break 244–252, 273, 284
 - ~ hierarchy 139, 250
- prosody 139, 252–253, 269–273
- punctuation
- ancient systems of ~ 109, 237–244
 - colometry-based ~ 237–253, 273–286
 - critical editions 237, 271–272, 274–284
 - elocutionary ~ 237–253, 269–273
 - function of ~ 237–253, 269–272
 - grammatical ~ 269–272
 - issues of ~ 235, 238–239, 253–269
 - ~ marks 182, 253, 256, 269–272, 283–286
- Quintilian 46, 108–116
- race (metaphor) 52, 76–77, 86, 96, 134, 246
- reader, ancient 3, 10, 49, 62, 92, 98, 109, 112, 115, 137, 243–244, 253, 272 *see also* breathing
- recitatio 10 *see also* reader, ancient
- relative pronoun 81, 163–164
- respiration *see* breathing
- rhetoric, ancient
- canons of ~ 2–3, 12–13, 32
 - treatises of ~ 45–136
- Rhetoric ad Herennium* 46, 86–94
- Rhetoric for Alexander* 47–48
- rhetorical criticism 11–13, 22, 32, 289
- rhyme 168, 198 *see also* paromoiosis
- rhythm 2, 35–36, 57–58, 63, 80–82, 84, 96–98, 102, 105–107, 114, 129, 170–172 *see also* clausula
- rounding off 79–80, 157, 25, 68–69, 74
- rumour 189–180, 260–261
- Souda 46, 127
- sound analysis 1, 4, 7–9, 22–24, 27
- sound echoes *see* paromoiosis
- sound mapping
- history of ~ 7–9, 14–16, 22–23
 - method of ~ 1, 23–25, 30–31
 - sound map 1, 8–9
- speaker *see* reader, ancient
- stichometry 17, 39
- style (composition)
- continuous *see* style, disjointed

- disjointed ~ 49–51, 81, 85, 107–108, 122, 128–129, 154–155
- interwoven ~ *see* style, periodic
- kinds of ~ 49–53, 66–68, 85, 95, 113–114, 121–125, 128
- periodic ~ 52–53, 85, 105–107, 122–123, 128–129, 151–144, 161–165
- sewn ~ 51–52 *see also* style, disjointed
- style (*elocutio*) 3, 32
 - categories of (*ideas*) 121, 126–127
 - levels of ~ 61, 87, 102, 292
 - types of ~ 61
 - virtues of ~ 121, 292
- subordination (grammar) 25, 135, 138, 149, 163–165, 174 *see also* conjunction *and* interweaving
- symmetry 31, 53, 58, 97, 105, 120, 159
see also Gorgianic figures
- synthesis (*elocutio*) 3, 76–79, 102, 129
- Thrax, Dionysius 238–240
- utterance 92, 139, 248–249, 252
- vehemence 63–64, 83, 90–91, 93, 99, 125, 130, 138, 145, 284
- verse 56, 62, 106 *see also* poetry
- Wackernagel (law) 37, 166
- weaving (metaphor) 3, 51–52, 70–71, 114, 161 *see also* interweaving