

CHRYS C. CARAGOUNIS

New Testament Language and Exegesis

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

323

Mohr Siebeck

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323



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New Testament Language and Exegesis

A Diachronic Approach

Mohr Siebeck

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Φιλτάτοιιν ἐμοὶ ἀγλαοῖν ἐγγόνοιιν

Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τ' ἠδὲ Νώῳ

τόδε πόνημα κεχάρισται

Preface

Nine years after the original publication of my book, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament. Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission* (WUNT 167), I offer the results of further research into the language of the New Testament. This is a new book, concerned with new areas of the New Testament language. The language of the New Testament is here studied in the light of the historical development of the Hellenic language. The New Testament vocabulary and syntactical structures are studied in the light of classical (Attic) grammar and compared with the later developments in post-classical, Byzantine, and Neohellenic.

This approach leads to quite significant results. For one, it shows up the areas in which the New Testament skews from normative Greek grammar. Moreover, it shows that the ‘eccentricities’ or particularities of the New Testament are not to be loosely understood – as has been the case, so far – as occasional slips or as matters of the free, non-strict, and imprecise applications of grammar, but are here shown to be a part of a very wide-ranging restructuring or ‘modernization’ of the Hellenic language – naturally, with due allowance for the Semitic factor, which in the case of main-line Greek, was not a part of its program. Furthermore, particularly the vocabulary and semantics of the New Testament *Wortschatz* frequently bear a closer relation to the usage of post-New Testament literature than to that of the earlier period, while even its syntax not infrequently is better understood by comparison with analogous structures in the latter phase of the language.

At the same time, it is shown clearly how much the exegesis of the New Testament suffers and what sort of interpretations are forthcoming, when the simplistic view, that looking at a few examples around the time of the New Testament as comparative material, is sufficient to determine the meaning of the New Testament text. Many instances taken up in this study, exemplify the fallacy of this view-point, including some texts that have been long and strenuously debated.

Thus, the concerns of this book cover both grammar and exegesis. It is hoped that the reader will find in this book information and view-

points that he has not encountered before in ordinary grammars or commentators, simply because such grammars and commentators have approached the New Testament with preconceived ideas as to what constitutes relevant illustrative materials, or simply, because they were unaware of the existence of such materials.

Inspired by my my previous book, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, a number of researchers took up the diachronic or holistic approach to the language of the New Testament and made substantial contributions. My hope at this juncture is that many more younger researchers will have their interest aroused and their appetite whetted to approach the study of the New Testament in this new way. There is still a lot of work to be done and I hope that there will be those who dare take up the challenge.

Lund, 25th March 2013

Chrys C. Caragounis

Contents

Preface	VII
Contents	IX
Introduction	1

PART ONE: THE SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE OF DIACHRONY

Chapter 1: Morphology: Between Attic and Neohellenic

1. Changes in Vocabulary	26
2. Exchanging Irregular for Regular Forms	32
3. Regularity & Expressiveness over Irregularity & Inexpressiveness	34
4. Phraseology	36
5. Shifts in Meaning	47
6. New Formations	57

Chapter 2: Case System in Development: The Triumph of the Genitive and Accusative over the Dative

1. <i>Εἰς cum</i> Accusative instead of <i>ἐν cum</i> Dative	76
2. <i>Εἰς cum</i> Accusative instead of the Dative of the Indirect Object	80
3. <i>Πρός cum</i> Accusative instead of the Dative with Verbs of Saying	81
4. Accusative instead of Dative	83
5. Accusative instead of the Personal Pronoun in Dative	88
6. Accusative instead of Genitive	89
7. Genitive Competes with the Accusative in Replacing the Dative	91
8. Conclusions	93

Chapter 3: Pronouns: The Redundant Use of Personal and Possessive Pronouns

1. Clear Cases of Redundancy	99
a. Matthew	100
b. Mark	103
c. Luke	104
d. John	105
e. Paul	106
f. The First Epistle of John	106
g. Revelation	107

2. Border Cases of Redundancy	107
3. Special Reasons for the Apparent Redundancy	109
4. Anakoloutha	111
5. Conclusions	111
 Chapter 4: Voice in Disorder: The Confusion of Active and Middle and the Use of Pleonastic Reflexive Pronouns	
1. The Confusion Between Active and Middle and Their Misuse	113
2. The Misuse of Active for Middle and Middle for Active	124
3. The Pleonastic Use of the Reflexive Pronoun	129
4. Conclusions	132
 Chapter 5: Tense System is Disarray: The Interchange of Aorist and Perfect	
1. Translations	136
2. Commentators	137
3. Grammarians	138
4. The Meaning of the Perfect and its Relation to the Aorist	140
a. Aoristic and Present Meanings	141
b. The Relation of the Perfect to the Aorist	141
c. The Relation of the Perfect to the Present	142
d. The Difference Between the Perfect and the Present	143
e. The Perfect often Expresses the Near Past	144
f. The Perfect of State	144
g. The Effective Perfect	145
h. The Perfect Sometimes Merely Denotes Accomplishment	145
i. The Perfect Expresses Repeated or Continuing Action	146
j. The Perfect used of Future Action	146
5. The Process that Led to the Equation of Perfect and Aorist	147
a. Dimorphia	147
b. The Spread of Attic	149
c. Inroads into Attic	149
d. The Role of the Papyri	149
e. The Confusion of Transitive and Intransitive Verbs	150
f. Passive Perfect Participle Used Adjectivally	151
g. Construction of Passive Perfect Participle with εἶμι and ἔχω	151
6. The Perfect Coincides with the Aorist	153
a. Active	160
b. Middle-Passive	160

7. The Use of the Perfect in the New Testament	161
8. Concluding Remarks	167

PART TWO: APPLYING DIACHRONY TO NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS

Chapter 6: The Nominative Used as Vocative

1. The Vocative and the Nominative as Vocative in Ancient Greek	171
2. Θεός in Ancient Greek	174
3. The Nominative as Vocative in the Septuagint	177
4. The Nominative as Vocative in the New Testament	181
5. The Nominative as Vocative in Post-New Testament Times	184

Chapter 7: Interrogative, Confirmatory, and Asseverative Particles

1. εἰ -ῆ, ῆ -ῆ (ῆ), ῆ μὴν – εἰ μὴν, and ῆ μὴν) in Epic and Classical Literature	190
2. The Use of εἰ - ῆ, ῆ μὴν (ῆ μὴν), εἰ μὴν in the Septuagint	194
a. ῆ μὴν	194
b. Εἰ μὴν	198
c. ῆ	200
d. Εἰ	201
3. The Septuagintal Divergence: Semantic or Phonological Shift?	205
a. <i>The Interrogative Adverb ῆ- εἰ</i>	205
b. <i>The asseverative adverb ῆ μὴν – εἰ μὴν</i>	207

Chapter 8: A New Testament Crux: Did Paul Behave as an Infant or Imbecil, or a Gentle Nurse?

1. The Text-Critical Problem	210
2. In Vindication of the Reading νήπιοι	213
3. A Philological Examination of νήπιοι ῆπιοι	215
a. ῆπιος	217
b. Νήπιος	220
4. What Could Paul Have Written?	223
5. What is the Meaning of ἐν βάρει εἶναι?	226
6. Can only Children or also Parents be Orphaned?	230
7. Conclusions	234

PART THREE: LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Chapter 9: Sublimity and the New Testament

1. The Beginnings of Literary Criticism	240
2. Early Literary Criticism	241
3. Sublimity according to 'Longinos's' <i>Περὶ Ὑψους</i>	244
4. The Prerequisites for Achieving Sublimity	246
a. Grand Conceptions	247
b. Strong and Forceful Emotion	252
c. Appropriateness in the Construction of Figures	253
d. Nobility of Expression	258
e. Dignified and Elevated Composition	265
5. Sublimity and Grandeur in the New Testament	271
a. Is 'Longinos' Relevant for the New Testament	271
b. Grand Conceptions	273
c. Strong and Forceful Emotion	277
d. Appropriateness in the Construction of Figures	280
e. Nobility of Expression	285
f. Dignified and Elevated Composition	291
6. Conclusions	296
Epilogue	299
Bibliography	313
1. Abbreviations	313
2. Texts and Translations of the Bible	317
3. Greek Sources from All Periods of the Language	320
A. Greek Authors	320
B. Inscriptions	345
C. Papyri	345
4. Commentaries	347
5. Secondary Literature	349
Indices	357
A. Index of Authors	357
B. Index of Biblical Passages	360
i. Old Testament	360
ii. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha	364
iii. Rabbinic	364
iv. New Testament Passages	365
C. Index of Texts and Translations of the Bible	375
D. Index of Greek Sources from All Periods of the Language ..	376
i. Greek Authors	376
ii. Latin Author	397
iii. Inscriptions and Papyri	397
E. Index of Names and Subjects	399

Transliteration of Greek Names

$\eta = \bar{e}$

$\omega = \bar{o}$

$\upsilon = y$

$\alpha\upsilon$ before $\beta, \gamma, \delta, \zeta, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \rho = av$; before other consonants = *au*

$\epsilon\upsilon$ before $\beta, \gamma, \delta, \zeta, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \rho = ev$; before other consonants = *eu*

$\eta\upsilon$ before $\beta, \gamma, \delta, \zeta, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \rho = \bar{e}v$

$ou = ou$

$\gamma\gamma = ng$

$\gamma\kappa = g$

$\gamma\chi = nch$

$\gamma\xi = nx$

Introduction

The present volume is, in a sense, a continuation and development of certain theses, that were presented only in a nutshell in my book, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission*¹, and in another, very real sense, a new book, taking up for discussion matters and material of considerable importance for the exegesis of the New Testament that were not treated in the earlier book.

Eight years after the original publication of that book, I still receive letters of appreciation from many countries and from scholars of various theological traditions and standpoints. They are grateful that I opened up new ways of looking at the New Testament text, which afford a more sure handling of the grammatical problems and the consequent exegetical decisions that must be made. It has also come to my attention that a number of students have been inspired by that book to write their Master theses; other, younger scholars, have written their doctoral dissertations by following some of its leads,² while other more mature scholars have written their books in conscious agreement with its positions.³

¹ C.C. CARAGOUNIS, *The Development of Greek and The New Testament. Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission* (WUNT 167), Tübingen: Mohr, 2004, corrected pb. rp. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007.

² E.g. D. HASSELBROOK, *Studies in New Testament Lexicography* (WUNT II, 303), Tübingen: Mohr, 2011 and J. E. BRICKLE, *Aural Design and Coherence in the Prologue of First John*, Edinburgh: Continuum, 2011.

³ See, for example, the first New Testament grammar ever to be published, that utilizes the Historical Greek Pronunciation: B. H. MCLEAN, *New Testament Greek: An Introduction*, including an Internet code for a course applying the Historical Greek Pronunciation to New Testament texts, Cambridge, New York, etc.: CUP, 2011 and Ph. ZACHARIOU's online books: *Reading and Pronouncing Biblical Greek: Vol.I: Historical Evidence of Authentic Sounds* and Vol. II: *Orthography and Phonetics Workbook*, also this with a pedagogically structured Internet course on the pronunciation of New Testament Greek.

Thus, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament* has started the ball rolling; increasingly, more and more scholars begin to realize that the pronunciation of Greek is a much more serious matter for the meaning and exegesis of the New Testament than was formerly thought, when the careless and erroneous Erasmian pronunciation had brought about the degeneration of the whole issue of how the message of the New Testament sounded – missing important dimensions, such as wordplays, – and how that sounding could affect the communication. Today, there are many scholars who have given up the traditional pronunciation and returned to the genuine, historical Greek pronunciation, and their number is growing.⁴ Moreover, it has been increasingly felt that the demands that sober New Testament exegesis lays upon us, require another linguistic competence than the traditional one, of what, inaccurately, is called “New Testament Greek” – as if there were such a language – with the haphazard addition of a century or so either side of the B.C./A.D transition line, in order to include some Egyptian papyri, to ‘boost’ one’s linguistic equipment. The pages of that book have shown amply that there is no such thing as a language of the New Testament, that is, a clear-cut, Hermetically isolated language from all other Greek used only for the New Testament. What there is, is the Hellenic language. This is one language from the beginning to the present. In as much as this comprises a history of more than 4000 years in Hellas (2100 B.C.–A.D. 2000), it may be divided either with reference to its periods or to its phases. The periods ascertainable through actual sources are: Mycenaean, Epic, Classical, Hellenistic, Proto-Byzantine, Byzantine Proper, Late Byzantine (= Mediaeval), and Neohellenic.⁵ The phases refer to the succeeding stages in the evolutionary process of the language, and are five: (1) Proto-Greek (differentiated from the Proto-Aryan progenitor, i.e. the language of

⁴ In the following URL, created and maintained by my friend, Dr SANTI CARBONNEL, of Alicante University, Spain, the interested reader will find a Google world map with some of the scholars who in their teaching apply the Historical Greek Pronunciation: <http://goo.gl/maps/vSc3B>. For more material on pronouncing Greek, including the reading of NT texts in the Historical Greek Pronunciation, see the URL: <http://historicalgreekpronunciation.wikispaces.com/APXH>. My own CD course on the Historical Greek Pronunciation can be freely downloaded from my web site: www.chrys-caragounis.com, under “Greek Pronunciation”.

⁵ See *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, p. 22.

the Hellēnes before and at their entry into Hellas from 2100 B.C. on), (2) the age of the dialects following the entrance of the Hellēnes into Hellas (Aiolic, Ionic, Attic, Doric, Arcadian, Thessalian, Ipeirotic, etc.), (3) Hellenistic Greek (which reunited the various dialects into one), (4) the modern dialects of Byzantine times, and finally, (5) the new reunification in the garb of Neohellenic, esp. during the XXth century.⁶

The New Testament falls within the Hellenistic period (esp. Late Hellenistic A.D. 1–A.D. 300) and hence during the third phase of the language, when under Alexandros, the various dialects were reunited to form one Hellenic language for all Hellēnes.⁷ This is the period with which we are especially concerned in the New Testament. Hellenistic Greek was a developed and rich language, and though changing toward Neohellenic, its main legacy were the treasures of the Attic dialect, both in vocabulary and structure. Its lexicon run into many hundreds of thousands of words, whereas the New Testament vocabulary contains only a fraction of the words current at that time, a mere 4.900 words.

However, because of the continuity of the language, and in particular, its phases, which alternated between dialectal plurality and reunited oneness, it is scientifically impossible to separate one period of Hellenic from another, and to study it on its own. The various periods are interconnected; with the advance of time there is linguistic change and development but also unity and continuity between past and future. It is thus impossible to isolate the New Testament from the Hellenic linguistic stream and to treat it on its own, as is often the case today. The Egyptian papyri are, indeed, a welcome linguistic evidence for some of the vocabulary of the New Testament, but are far from the only evidence or sufficient evidence for the study of the New Testament.⁸ The major part of the New Testament vocabulary had been used earlier (since Homeric times), and though some words acquire a

⁶ See *The Development of Greek*, p. 21.

⁷ See *The Development of Greek*, p. 39-44.

⁸ This could easily be the impression one might gain from G.A. DEISSMANN's exaggerated emphasis on the papyri (and inscriptions).

new meaning – occasionally exemplified by the papyri⁹ – it must not be forgotten that the New Testament also creates new vocables (neologisms), new forms, and new structures, that can only be elucidated by later literature, all the way up to Neohellenic. This basic position as well as innumerable other particular positions, have been demonstrated cogently and with solid evidence in *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*. Therefore, for any questions relating to such issues, the interested reader is referred to that work.

In view of the enthusiastic reception of the above-mentioned book, I decided to return to the field and address a number of problems that only the diachronic or holistic approach can elucidate, but which either had not received a satisfactory treatment in the previous volume or none at all.

With this new material, partly complementing my previously published results and partly presenting new areas of New Testament research, the conscientious and exacting interpreter of the New Testament is seriously encouraged to embark on a fresh and exciting adventure to understand and interpret the New Testament more cogently, more truthfully, and more authentically than ever before. Thus, what previously was an insecure and uncertain handling of certain grammatical and literary problems, now with the help received from these books, the door is opened to a more secure commerce with the Biblical texts. At the same time, the serious reader will discover that there are still more details that call for investigation – details that exceed the scope of my own works – that the reader, following the leads given in these books, can treat successfully and profitably.¹⁰

And now, to the concerns of the present book. The concerns of this book are quite different from the concerns of *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*. Unlike the previous book, this book is concerned in the first, main part with a number of grammatical categories. These categories, which were barely touched upon in *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, are here treated historically

⁹ On this see J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Prolegomena* and especially J.H. Moulton – G. MILLIGAN [= MM], *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*.

¹⁰ One such example is D. HASSELBROOK's dissertation, which concentrated on a diachronic approach to New Testament lexicography, see his *Studies in New Testament Lexicography*.

in order to show the developments that emerged in the Hellenic language at the time of the New Testament. Some of these changes may be noticed by the New Testament student, although he may not be in a position to explain them, while others may be understood as reflecting normal ancient Greek – that is, if the student is unacquainted with classical Greek. This unacquaintance with classical Greek is also responsible for the failure among many New Testament scholars to perceive that ‘New Testament Greek’ lies somewhere between the Attic of classical times and Neohellenic. These discussions are thus necessary in order to show what stage of language development the New Testament occupies, and why the diachronic approach to the exegesis of the New Testament is not only reasonable but, more than that, imperative. However, this book is not a mere exercise to prove the correctness of the diachronic approach. If there was a need for such a proof, it has already been supplied in the previous book. Rather, this book can be described more accurately as an attempt to reach a more genuine, more correct understanding of the text of the New Testament by approaching its text holistically and studying its problems in the light of the entire history of the language. This will be the most persuasive argument for the application of the diachronic approach to the exegesis of the New Testament. How this is accomplished in the present volume will be explained hereafter.

1. The first chapter, entitled “Morphology: Between Attic and Neohellenic”, addresses a sufficient – but not exhaustive – number of morphological issues. Here it is shown that the language of the New Testament is well on its way away from Attic, running with inexorable precision its course toward Neohellenic. Many of its morphological variations to Attic obtain also in Neohellenic, while other variations belong to a sub-standard form of the language, having never asserted themselves in main-line Greek; hence they differ not only from Attic but also from Neohellenic, which continues in the Attic tradition. Moreover, it is seen here that the New Testament is part of the current tendency to achieve greater regularity in forms, ejecting those Attic forms that bedded for difficulties in the declension system. Another tendency at this time is to substitute words of greater expressiveness for words that were deficient in that respect. A further area of change was the shift of meaning that had come over many words. In the process of time and with changed circumstances, new experiences as a result of confrontation with other, more exotic peoples, and their

thought-patterns, not least the Semitic thought-patterns of the LXX and generally of Jewish thinking, could not but leave their imprint on the idiom and expression of the New Testament. After all, those who wrote it were almost invariably Semites. In spite of this, as the polyvalence of the word *χάρις* makes clear, Greek semantics did not cease to assert itself. Finally, the New Testament exhibits new formations, words that were created for the first time, like *σύσσωμος* (Eph 3:6) and *ἐπιούσιος* (Mt 6:11 = Lk 11:3), for which earlier Hellenic literature does not offer any occurrences that might throw light on their meaning or usage. In such cases, when etymology is not unequivocal, we have no other option than to investigate the uses of such words in later Hellenic literature, in order to determine how authors used the particular word. But whether we investigate the classics or Byzantine and Neohellenic literature to interpret New Testament words, we are, in fact, engaging in the diachronic approach, we are treating the New Testament diachronically or holistically.

The problems taken up for discussion in this chapter are only a small fraction of what might engage our attention. However, the purpose here is not to be exhaustive, presenting the reader with all the possible dishes for his relish, but merely a foretaste of what this approach has in store. The topics discussed here are different from those taken up in *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, but they are presented as examples of the rich table that is there awaiting the conscientious, devoted scholar, who has not made up his mind beforehand about the nature of the language of the New Testament and what is relevant or irrelevant for its interpretation. This approach was applied by Dr Hasselbrook to a number of New Testament terms, in which he demonstrated the great advantage of the diachronic approach to the lexicon of the New Testament, and the misinterpretations in current New Testament lexica, because the scope of research has been narrowed down.

2. The second chapter, “Case System in Development: The Triumph of the Genitive and Accusative over the Dative” discusses the steps by which the dative form disappeared, being replaced by other case forms. The dative form is still very much alive in the New Testament, though the meticulous student of Greek will have been surprised to read in e.g. Lk 4:1: Ἰησοῦς δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ... ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (cf. Mt 3:1: ἀνήχθη εἰς ἔρημον). Since the verb ἦγετο (< ἄγω) is a verb denoting motion, the correct

prepositional expression would have been εἰς τὴν ἔρημον – εἰς + accusative – precisely as Matthew construes it. There are countless such constructions in the New Testament, most of which are probably overlooked, while those that are noticed may be taken as an occasional lapse on the part of the author. This chapter goes much deeper. It explains and illustrates that this phenomenon was not merely an occasional lapse; it was an underlying change in conception, a new way of thinking and expressing oneself, that gradually affected both terminology and phraseology. The dative was being attacked by the other cases and stood on shaky ground. The fine distinction between *verbs of motion* and *verbs of rest* along with their respective prepositions was beginning to be obliterated. The first onslaught led to the substitution of the preposition ἐν by εἰς, when εἰς came to cover both functions (with *verbs of motion* and *verbs of rest*). Once this was in place, there followed other substitutions, such as the use of the accusative in lieu of the dative with verbs of saying, and the simple substitution of the accusative in place of the dative, etc.

What is important here is to realize that these were not haphazard variations introduced by the New Testament authors. These syntactical changes had made their first appearance already in classical times. The New Testament contains such constructions, because they were part of the current language. They were developments that were saturating the entire language and were moving forward inexorably toward their final stage of development in Neohellenic. The New Testament is thus part of this mighty process, whereby the language changes from Attic to Neohellenic. Naturally, Atticistic works contemporary or near-contemporary with the New Testament, such as the works of Dionysios Hal., Ploutarchos, Diōn Chrysostomos, and Ailios Aristeidēs, would seek to avoid these syntactical novelties, and would only occasionally lapse into these more popular constructions – just as Thoukydidēs and Platōn had done in their time. But the New Testament, representing a simpler Greek rather than the artistry of classical literature, is fully immersed in the current language, acquiescing in the general tendencies of the time – even though it cannot be placed on the same level as the barbarous papyri of Egypt.

Inasmuch as this development affects all three oblique cases, it becomes at once obvious that this problem area is quite large, impacting on a not inconsiderable part of the New Testament text. This chapter discusses seven substitutions: (1) εἰς + accusative instead of ἐν + da-

tive, (2) εἰς + accusative instead of the dative in the indirect object, (3) πρὸς/εἰς + accusative instead of the dative in *verbs of saying*, (4) accusative instead of dative, (5) accusative instead of the dative of the personal pronoun, (6) accusative instead of the genitive, and (7) genitive competing with the accusative to replace the dative. Again, the number of examples discussed or cited is not exhaustive. The purpose of this chapter is, once again, to illustrate the phenomenon, to exemplify it, to show how widespread it is, to place it in the general development of the Hellenic language (hence the quotes from post-New Testament times), challenging the New Testament student to understand and interpret other cases in the light of the above paradigms. These developments make clear that the *Gefühl* for the earlier distinctions and nuances was to a certain extent lost and the accusative was coming to assume the role of the all-purpose preposition. Such an insight will, undoubtedly, have its impingement on how other similar constructions should be treated in the New Testament.

3. The third chapter, “Pronouns: The redundant Use of Personal and Possessive Pronouns”, deals with a more elusive subject, because, if we are guided by English syntax, we would be likely in certain cases to fail to see the redundancies and hence fail to observe that the New Testament skews from what is Greek style. For example, Mt 22:24: ἐάν τις ἀποθάνῃ μὴ ἔχων τέκνα, ἐπιγαμβρεύσει ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναστήσει σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ is rendered in English by “If a man dies, having no children, his brother as next of kin shall marry his wife, and raise up an offspring to his brother” (NASB). This sentence is perfectly acceptable in English, but the Greek original is far from Greek! It has too many possessive pronouns. A Greek would have reformulated the sentence. Another example is Rev 2:7: τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ (cf. 2:26: ὁ νικῶν ... δώσω αὐτῷ). English translations (inevitably) pass over the syntactical difficulty by rendering, e.g.: “To him who overcomes, I will grant” (NASB); “To him who overcomes, I will give” (NIV); “To the victor I will give” (NAB); “To everyone who conquers, I will give” (NRSV). All of these are smooth English renditions of the Greek text. Thus, while the English translations offer a grammatically correct sentence, the Greek original is far from correct grammatically.

This chapter takes up a large number of redundancies, especially in the gospels. The redundancies are of various degrees: most of them are obvious cases of redundancy, where the pronouns are clearly su-

perfluous; then, there are border cases, where the redundancy might be allowed because of the exigencies of the case, and finally, there are also cases of apparent redundancy. In the last category, the redundancy is the result of special reasons; for example, rhetorical emphasis or other fine nuances, which justify its existence.

The New Testament, thus, shows an inordinate number of sentences, where the personal or possessive pronouns are clearly used superfluously. The reason for it is the popular character of our texts. They were not written to achieve literary excellence, but to communicate the Christian message to ordinary people. It was natural, therefore, that our texts would exhibit the popular style, characterized by inflation in the meaning of words, and hence the accumulation of words to say what was intended. An example of such accumulation of words, reflecting the popular style, is Mt 26:44: καὶ ἀφεὶς αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀπελθὼν προσηύξατο ἐκ τρίτου τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπὼν πάλιν. In this sentence of thirteen words the idea of repetition – ‘again’ – occurs four times: πάλιν – ἐκ τρίτου – τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπὼν – πάλιν, that is, eight of the thirteen words of the sentence are employed in order to express the idea of repetition, that is, that Jesus prayed again the same prayer! If we exempt the first πάλιν as referring to Jesus’ moving away from his disciples, there are still three markers of repetition, employing seven of the thirteen words of the sentence to say nothing more than that Jesus repeated his prayer. To appreciate the problem here, one must have the whole history of the language in his grip, in order to be in a position to judge the level of style and expression. The New Testament thus is given to simplification with the inevitable profusion and reiteration to ensure communication as well as to parataxis rather than hypotaxis – all signs of the vernacular of the times.

Besides showing how various texts, where redundancy occurs, are to be understood, this chapter also contributes to the more general question of the linguistic level of the New Testament, by treating one – not unimportant – area of Greek grammar.

4. Another area of important change – one that impinges on the accidence and syntax of the New Testament – is the area that concerns the interchangeability of active and middle with the consequent use of the superfluous reflexive pronoun. This is discussed in Chapter four, “Voice in Disorder: The Confusion of Active and Middle and the Pleonastic Use of Reflexive Pronouns”.

Attic Greek drew a clear distinction between active and middle in its various functions. However, already in classical times, particularly the indirect middle, that represents the subject as acting for itself, in its own interests, or in a dynamic way, began causing semantic problems. The fine nuances represented by the indirect middle became increasingly more difficult to uphold, and a development was initiated that brought about important changes in the later history of the language. With the gradual loss of feeling, and the consequent inability to distinguish the indirect middle from the passive, the tendency evolved of substituting the middle by the active together with a reflexive pronoun. This development was facilitated by the fact that the middle had most of its forms common with the passive. This, in turn, led to the confusion of the middle with the active, since the properly middle function was now expressed by the active and the reflexive pronoun. Thus, Matthew (in 6:2) comes to write: ὅταν οὖν ποιεῖς ἐλεημοσύνην instead of ὅταν οὖν ποιῇ ἐλεημοσύνην, Mark (15:1) says συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες instead of συμβούλιον ποιησάμενοι and in 2 Tim 1:18 we read: δώῃ αὐτῷ Κύριος εὐρεῖν ἔλεος instead of εὐρέσθαι ἔλεος.

What led to the relaxation of the strict observance of the semantic difference between the active and the middle was, evidently, the fact that in post-classical times the active of most verbs could be used transitively or causatively as well as intransitively. Again, this process was begun in classical times, but received great momentum in Hellenistic times. Thus Matthew (in 28:19) comes to write: μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, with the transitive sense of “make all nations disciples” (with the accusative), whereas earlier the verb had had intransitive sense: “to be a disciple of sb” and was construed with the dative: μαθητεύω τινί “to become a disciple of sb”.¹¹ Thus, unintentionally Matthew comes very close to saying: “Be disciples to all nations”!¹²

The inability to distinguish between the active and the middle on the one hand led to the increased but often erroneous use of the middle – since it was regarded as a sign of good Attic diction – and on the other, to appending the reflexive pronoun to the active form of the verb in order to express the desired meaning, i.e. the meaning that

¹¹ Neohellenic has preserved the Attic intransitive use of the verb, but on occasion may use the verb transitively as well.

¹² Properly, this would, of course, require the dative τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

Indices

A. Index of Authors

- Abbott, G.F. 233
Adler, A. 67
Alford 37, 64, 67, 68
Aland, K. 212
Allen, W.C., 38,
Allison, D.C., 38, 48, 61, 125, 126,
137, 161
Andriotis (Ἀνδριώτης), N. 175, 187
Aune, D. 138
- Babiniōtēs (Μπαμπινιώτης) 29, 63, 68
Bachmann, L. 67, 119, 124
Bagster, S. 197
Barrett, 48, 126, 128, 137, 281
BDAG 67, 205, 281
BDF (Blaß–Debrunner–Funk) 137
BDR (Blaß–Debrunner–Rehkopf)
139, 140, 147, 161, 163, 164, 165
Beasley–Murray, G. 137
Bekker, I. 124, 141
Bernardakis Γ. (Βερναρδάκης) 59,
154, 190, 258
Best, E. 227
Beutler, J. 209
Blaß, F. 289
Blomqvist, J. 114
Brugmann, K. 171
Burgoin, H. 67
Brickle 1, 291
Brown, R. 137
Bruce, F.F. 227
Buresh, K. 140
Burton, E. de W. 139, 140
- Campbell 38
Caragounis 1, 2, 3, 4, 18, 25, 29, 31,
35, 54, 64, 95, 103, 110, 114, 122,
146, 148, 149, 152, 153, 183, 201,
202, 206, 207, 209, 211, 212, 214,
229, 239, 241, 247, 258, 268, 269,
272, 274, 279, 281, 285, 286, 287,
291, 295, 296, 297, 299, 306
Carbonell 2
Chantraine, 140
Charles, R.H. 137
Conybeare, F.C. 190
Cowley, A.E. 195
Cramer, J.A. 210
Cusa, S. 92
- Dalman, G. 137
Davies W.D., 38, 48, 61, 125, 126,
137, 161
Deissmann, G.A. 3, 62, 112, 297
de Jonge, C.C. 243
Debrunner, A. 62
Delebecque E. 66
Delobel, J. 214
Delitzsch 62, 182
Δημητράκου Λεξικόν 34, 38, 39,
52, 58, 68, 96, 124, 128, 191, 201,
222, 227
Donfried, K.P. 209, 230, 234
- Evans, C.A. 241
Foerster, W. 69
Freedman, D.N. 177

- Fowl, S. 214
 Frazer, P.M. 241, 242
 Freund, G. 230
 Frisk, HJ. 65
 Fyfe, Ham. W. 262

 Γαλάνης, Ι. 234, 235
 Gedden, A.S. 131
 Gebhardt, E. 67,
 Gesenius 195, 196, 199, 202, 203,
 204
 Γρηγορόπουλος 140, 144, 145
 Gundry, R. 128

 Hasselbrook 1, 4, 31
 Hennecke E. 63
 Holtz, T. 234
 Horst, F. 197
 Hort 15,
 Howard W.F. 62, 68

Ιστορικὸν Λεξικόν 230, 233

 Jannaris, A.N. 91, 103, 114, 119,
 120, 131, 140, 143, 150, 152, 153,
 158, 159
 Jeremias, J. 65

 Καραβιδόπουλος, Ι. 234
 Kautsch, E. 195
 Καψωμένος, Σ. Γ. 149
 Κόντος, Κ. 141, 151, 159
 Koole, J.L. 198
 Kotter, B. 68
 Kretschmer, P. 148
 Κριαρᾶ, Ε., *Λεξικό* 35, 36, 61, 230,
 233
 K-B (Kohler-Baumgartner) 51, 69,
 199
 Kühner, R. 75, 76, 114, 117, 140,
 141, 144, 150, 171, 172

 Lampe, G.W.H. *Lexicon* 61
 Lewis, C.T. 231
 Lindars, B. 137
 Lloyd, G.E.R. 241
 Lohmeyer E. 65
 Lowe, R. 175
LSJ 38, 39, 176, 201, 227

 Malherbe, A. 227, 234
 Mandilaras V. (Μανδηλαράς), 149,
 150, 154, 155, 156, 166,
 Marshall, I.H. 65, 129, 214
 Μαυροφρύδης, Δ. 148
 Mayser, E. 150, 156
 McKay, K. 138, 140
 McLean 1
 Μέγας, Α. 148
 Meillet, A. 148
 Merk, O. 212, 226, 227
 Metzger 62, 234, 280
 Milligan, 4, 61, 68
MM (Moulton-Milligan) 233
MME (Μεγάλη Ἑλλην. Ἐγκυκλ.)
 242
 Morris, L. 137, 227
 Moulton, J.H., 4, 61, 62, 68, 114,
 135, 139, 140, 147, 162, 163, 164,
 297
 Moulton, W.F. 131

 Neil, W. 227, 234
 Niehoff-Panagiotidēs, J. 152
 Nolland, J. 128
 Norlin, G. 155

 O'Connor, M.P. 177
 Papademetre, L. 167
 Παπύρου, Λεξικό 26, 29, 34, 36,
 52, 68
 Paul, H. 148

- Petrie, Fl. 62
 Porter, S.E. 241
 Preisegke 62
 Preisendanz, K. 174

 Quinn, A. 148

 Reuss, J. 67
 Rieu, E.V. 146
 Rigaux, B. 227, 234
 Robertson, A.T. 12, 137, 138, 140, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165
 Royce, J.R. 211
 Russell, D. 262

 Stegemann, W. 230
 Sailors, T. 214
 Sandys, J.E. 241
 Schneemelcher W. 63
 Schwyzer, E. 114, 171
 Short, C. 231
 Sophocles, E.A., *Lexicon*, 59, 61, 67, 68
 Spick, C. 66, 67, 69
 Σταθάκης, E. 76
 Stegemann, E. 230
 Steintal, H. 148
 Stock, St. G. 190
 TDNT 69
 TDOT 177

 Τζαρτζάνος, A. 140, 160
 Thrall, M. 126, 164
 Thumb 25, 167
 Trench, A.C. 62
 Triandapfyliδēs 30
 Tsangalidēs 33
 Τσοπανακης, A. 140, 160
 Turner, N. 140, 147, 163

 Vielhauer 62

 Waitz 63,
 Wanamaker, C. 227
 Watt, v.d. J. 64, 274
 Webster's Dict. 253
 Weima, J. 209, 212, 213, 214, 215, 224, 226, 230
 Weiß, J. 286, 288
 Westcott 15
 Wevers, J.W. 200
 Χατζιδάκις (Hatzidakis) 25, 26, 34, 43, 74, 75, 84, 90, 92, 103, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 140, 141, 141, 144, 146, 148, 150, 151, 152, 158, 165, 167

 Zachariou 1
 Ζερόβος 222
 Ziegler, J. 200

B. Index of Biblical Passages

i. Old Testament

(Follows the LXX Order)

Genesis		6:29	81
1:3	273	7:1	81
15:5	156	8:20	43
17:17	202, 204	9:18	156
21:2	77	9:27	157
22:17	194, 195, 200	14:5	156
23:4	81	14:21	196
23:8	81	14:23b	196
24:12	179	14:28	196
24:23	202	14:35	196
24:30	156	17:7	202, 204
24:42	178, 179	20:17	89, 196
24:13	204	22:7	194, 200
29:34	156	22:10	194, 196, 200
31:1	156	23:16	122
31:42	195		
34:20	81	Leviticus	
38:23	156	4:1	81
39:19	81	10:8	81
40:3	77	11:1	81
42:16	194, 195, 200	23:1	81
42:30	156		
43:7	202, 204	Numbers	
43:10	195	1:1	81
49:14	89	12:13	8118:181
50:15	156	14:23	194, 200
		14:28	194, 196, 200
Exodus		14:35	194, 196, 197,
1:12	43		200
2:14	202, 204	18:25	81
3:14	45	22:29	195
6:10	81	35:33	77

Deuteronomy		7:27	178
1:9	81	15:31	178
2:17	81	27:2	178
9:11	81		
9:13	81	3 Kgds (LXX)	
11:25	198	1:13	81
11:28	198	3:7	178
15:16	81	8:15	178, 179
21:2	81	8:23	178, 179
		8:25	178, 179
Judges		8:26	178, 179
2:18	43	13:14	202, 204
9:1	81	17:21	178
10:10	81	18:13	200
13:11	202, 204	18:36	178, 179
14:15	200	19:19	179
15:7	194, 198, 200		
16:28	177	4 Kgds (LXX)	
21:3	177	1:3	202, 204
		10:9	81
Ruth		14:13	201
1:5	43	19:15	178
		19:19	178
1 Kgds (LXX)		24:14	60
1:10	81		
9:11	202, 204	1 Chronicles	
10:11–12	200	6:41	179
21:16	200	6:42	179
22:15	200	17:24	178, 179
23:10	178	21:17	178, 179
24:17	200	29:10	178
		29:16	178
1 Samuel		29:18	178
14:30	195		
		2 Chronicles	
2 Kgds (LXX)		1:9	178
2:1	202, 204	6:14	178
2:26	200	6:16	178
3:25	200, 205	6:19	178
7:25	177, 178	6:41	178
7:26	178	6:42	178

10:16	81	22:11	52
13:9	200	30:8	69
14:10	178, 179	31:30	51
18:5	202, 204		
20:6	178, 179	Job	
20:12	178, 179	1:11	194, 198, 200
2 Esdras (Ezra-Nehemiah)		2:5	194, 197, 199, 200
1:5	178	5:8	197
9:15	178, 179	6:11	203
11:5	179	6:12	204
12:19	200	6:13	200
Esther		8:6	195
4:17	178	8:10	200
Psalms		9:14	201
2:7	49	9:26	200, 205
18:8	224	10:3	200
22:1	306	10:4	200
22:19	129	10:5	200
29:6	77	10:10	200
39:8–9	183	10:20	200
44:7	178, 180, 183	11:7	201
44:8	186	12:2	201
45:3	51	12:6	197
63:2 (LXX)	42	13:8	201
68:19 (LXX)	60	13:15	194, 197, 200
77:10	51	13:25	200
90:5 (LXX)	42	15:8	201
100:8 (LXX)	77	17:15	201, 205
105:47	178, 180	17:16	201, 205
108:26	178, 180	21:4	203, 204
114:6	224	22:4	201
118:130	224	22:13	201
Proverbs		23:12	69
1:9	51	27:3	194, 197
3:22	51	27:9	201
4:9	52	31:26	201, 205
11:16	52	33:20	89
22:1	52	38:12	201
		38:14	201, 205
		38:32	201

39:19	201	38:18–19	199
40:9	201, 205	38:19	194, 200
Hosea			
2:25	178	Daniel	
		2:8	157
Habacuc		2:31	157
1:12	178	2:34	157
		2:41	157
Zechariah		2:45	157
7:5	81	3	180
		3:26	178
Isaiah		3:36	81
1:9	84	3:52	178, 180
7:1	84	9:4	178, 180
20:3	157	9:15	178, 180
24:15	178, 180	9:17	178
25:1	178, 180	9:19	178
26:12	178, 180	Lamentations	
29:16	203, 204	2:15	201
37:15	81	2:20	202, 203, 204
37:16	178, 179		
37:20	178, 179	Ezekiel	
45:23	194, 197, 200	4:14	177
53:5	157	34:8	199
66:8	201	35:6	199
Jeremiah		Daniel	
7:17	201	1:18	43
25:3	81	12:1	162
30:16	81		
		Esther	
Ezekiel		5:1b	43
33:27	194, 199, 200		
34:8	194, 199, 200	Nahum	
35:6	194, 199, 200	3:4	51
36:5	194, 199, 200		

ii. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

1 Esdras		4 Mac	
1:46	43	6:27	177
3:23	43		
		Odae	
Judith		14:11-14	178
1:12	194, 200	14:12	177
6:19	178		
9:2	178	Sapientia (Wisdom)	
		9:1	177
Tobit		10:21	224
3:11	177, 178		
		Sirach	
1 Mac		9:8	52
1:10	58	21:16	51
3:6	43	23:1	178
4:28	84	23:4	177
8:32	84		
9:30	84	Baruch	
9:64	84	2:11	178
11:20	84	2:12	178
16:2	84	2:19	178
		2:27	178
2 Mac		2:29	194, 198, 200
6:2	178	3:1	178
		3:4	178
3 Mac			
6:2	177	Bel & Draco	
		2	201

iii. Rabbinic

Babylonian Talmud

<i>Sabbath</i>	
119a	137

iv. New Testament Passages

Matthew		9:37	100
1:16	47	9:38	101
1:1–16	47	10:1	108
1:16	47	10:17	80
1:20	47, 47, 181,	10:24–25	101
306		10:35	102
1:22	11, 161	10:37	292
2:1	47, 48,	11:2	109
2:4	47, 48	11:25	224
2:21	100	11:26	181
1:22	135	12:4	109
2:23	72, 77, 301	12:14	102
3:1	6	12:19	32
3:4	100	12:21	90
3:6	100	12:25	131
3:15	81	12:29	102
4:6	100	12:28	33
4:13	77	12:36	108
5:1	100	12:45	131
5:25	100	12:46	101
5:31	100	12:49	101
5:34	281	13:19	100
5:34–35	77	13:24	102
6:2	10, 122, 126,	13:32	123
133, 303		13:36	100
6:9–13	61	13:41	100
6:11	6, 69	13:46	135, 136, 137,
6:19	11, 130	138, 139, 161	
6:27	100	13:54	109
8:1	101	13:55	102
8:5	101	14:3	90
8:13	101	14:5	37, 40
8:20–21	101	14:6 ff.	60
8:23	100	14:12	102
8:23–27	292	14:13	122
8:29	33	14:26	42
9:6–7	101	14:27	46
9:22	181, 306	14:26–26	40
9:27	181	14:31	90, 108

15:2	11, 130, 133	26:55	90, 124
15:14	44	26:56	161
15:22	181	26:57	90
15:26–27	36	26:62–63	276
15:30	131	26:65	102
16:9	89	27:29	103
16:21	43	27:35	129
16:27	102	27:47	182
16:28	89	27:57	123
17:12	43	28:4	42
18:3	225	28:19	10, 123, 151
18:28	90		
19:12	47	Mark	
21:16	224	1:1	182
21:25	131	1:9	77
21:26	40	1:19	103
21:34	102	1:39	77
21:46	90	2:1	77
22:6	90	3:3	78
22:13	109	2:8	131
22:14	8	3:5	103
22:17–22	276	3:6	103
22:24	96, 108	3:21	90
23:16–22	281	3:23	131
24:5	45	3:25	131
24:17	103	4:26	226
24:27	226	4:35–41	292
24:30	109	5:15	139, 162
24:31	109	5:19	135
25:1–13	161	5:22	103
25:6	135, 136, 137,	5:30	103
138, 139, 140,	304	5:34	78, 181, 306
26:4	90	6:1	103, 301
26:7	109	6:4	109
26:18	126	6:8	78
26:24	47, 48	6:17	90
26:29	59	6:20	103
26:44	9	6:21	60
26:48	90	6:28	103
26:50	90	6:29	104
26:51	36, 102	6:34	64

6:50	46	15:34	182
7:3	90		
7:8	90	Luke	
8:23	90	1:13	47, 81
8:27	104	1:18	81
9:1	89	1:19	81
10:12	126	1:23	105
10:15	225	1:26	43
10:50	104	1:34	81
11:28	96	1:35	47
11:32	40	1:55	81
12:12	90	1:57	47, 48
12:14–17	276	1:61	81
12:34	59	1:72	128
13:6	81	2:15	81
13:9	80	2:20	82
13:10	80	2:34	82, 83
13:15–16	104	2:40	53
13:16	78	2:46	125, 303
13:19	162	2:48	105
13:27	104	2:52	53
14:1	47, 90	3:16–17	105
14:9	78	4:1	6
14:13	104	4:4	83
14:18	40	4:18	135
14:19	40	4:22	54
14:21	48	4:23	78
14:25	59	4:44	78
14:36	184	6:18	43
14:44	90	6:20	46
14:46	90	6:32	32
14:47	36	6:33	32
14:49	90	6:34	32
14:51	90	7:12	105
14:60	78	7:50	78
14:60–61	276	8:15	58, 301
14:65	104	8:19	105
14:72	73, 301	8:48	78, 181
15:1	10, 122, 127	8:22–25	292
15:2	303	9:12	80
15:18	181	9:22	43

9:27	89	22:18	59
9:36	135, 162	23:19	162
9:41	184	24:7	80
9:47	89	24:47	80
9:61	78	22:51	36
10:2	105	23:26	89
10:21	224	23:29	47
11:3	6, 61, 69	23:34	129
11:7	78		
11:17	131	John	
11:18	131	1:1	274
11:20	33	1:1-4	273
11:22	105	1:1-5	291
12:15-21	104	1:13	47, 48
12:17	131	1:15	11, 135, 162
12:20	43	1:18	78
12:32	181	1:27	105
12:48	108	1:32	12, 138, 163
13:6	105	1:41	138
13:9	78	2:3	82
13:15	105	2:5	83
13:21	78	2:9	89
13:32	292	2:23	105
14:8	78	3:3	47
14:10	78	3:4	47, 47, 81
14:24	89	3:5	47
14:31	115	3:6	47, 49
15:12	105	3:7	47
15:22	72, 80, 301	3:8	47
16:25	199	3:32	136, 137, 163
17:2	135	4:6	125
17:9	32	4:15	82
18:7-8	128	4:33	82
18:10	184	4:48	82, 83
19:40	33	4:49	82
20:20	90, 130	5:25	32
20:22-26	276	5:28	32
20:41	83	5:33	135, 138
21:12	78	6:3	125
21:26	42	6:11	135
21:37	78	6:28	82

7:6	83	Acts	
7:13	41	1:7	82
7:35	135	2:5	78
8:7	276	2:8	47
8:41	47	2:12	82
8:52	89	2:22	80
8:58	45, 274	2:27	78
9:2	47	2:29	82
9:7	78	2:31	78
9:20	47	2:39	82
9:32	47	3:11	90
9:34	47	3:12	82
10:1	35	3:22	82
11:38	131	3:25	82
12:29–30	163	4:1	82
13:30	249, 277	4:3	78
15:24	135	4:5	78
16:1	163	4:8	82
16:21	47, 49	4:13	273
16:25	163	4:17	80
17:1	163	5:18	78
17:21	181	5:38	44
18:5	45, 46	7:4	78
18:5–6	274	7:8	47
18:10	36	7:12	78
18:26	36	7:20	47
18:31	49	7:21	105, 130, 131
18:37	47	7:24	125
19:3	181	7:29	47
19:13	78	7:35	164
19:36	161	7:42	181
19:38	41	7:53	78
20:23	90	7:58	130
20:19	41, 78	8:23	78
20:26	78	9:5	45
20:28	184	9:10	83
20:29	143	9:27	89
21:4	78	10:17	43
21:5	35	10:21	46
21:46	40	12:13–16	295
		13:33	47, 49

13:42	78	4:23	47
14:14	131	4:29	47
14:21	123	5:12–13	286
14:25	78	6:3–4	78
15:4	43	6:11	131
16:3	41	6:17	80
16:19	89	7:7–25	285
18:17	90	8:10	41
16:24	78	8:18	80
17:19	89	8:31–39	289
18:21	78	9:11	47
19:3	78	10:21	82, 83
19:22	78	11:16–24	282
21:13	78	12:9	286
21:28	135, 164	12:12	286
22:3	46, 47	14:7–8	286
22:5	46, 78	15:33	286
22:28	47, 295	15:42–43	287
23:3	292	16:7	135
23:11	78		
24:6	90	1 Corinthians	
24:17	80	1:3	286
25:2	83	1:9	135
25:4	78	1:27	225, 289
26:15	46	1:30	43
26:24	289	2:13	139
27:3	72	4:7	89
27:13–43	292	4:15	47, 50, 283
27:14–20	292	7:21	72
27:40–41	292	7:31	72, 83, 301
27:17	72	7:34	127
28:3	128, 303	9:4–18	229
Romans		9:10	205
1:7	286	9:15	205
1:24	80	9:12	72
1:26	80	9:15	72
1:28	80	9:19–22	288
2:14	285	10:23	287
2:21–23	287	11:2	280
3:25	286	13	288
		13:2	131

14:20	223, 225	11:23–27	164
15:4	136	11:23–33	281
15:10	80	11:25	136, 139
15:17	282	11:28	272
15:30	281	12:8 f.	135
15:30–31	281	13:10	72
15:30–32	280	13:13	286
15:32	281, 282		
15:57	32, 50	Galatians	
16:24	286	1:7–10	278
2 Corinthians		2:3–4	286
1:2	286	2:19b–21	289
1:7	286	3:1–3	278
1:9	138, 139	3:2	43
1:10	143	3:4	278
1:2	78	3:20	285
1:17	72	4:12	279, 285
2:11	126	4:12–16	279
2:12 f.	136	4:13	279
2:13	139	4:14	279
2:12–13	11, 164	4:19	223, 279, 283
2:14	32, 123, 151	4:29	47
3:12	72	5:2	290
4:11	80	6:14	278
7:5	135, 139	6:17	278
7:8–15	286	6:18	286
7:14	226	Ephesians	
7:15	89	1:6	53
8:6	80	3:6	6
8:9	274	3:11	123
8:16	32	3:16	7 8
8:24	80	4:8	60, 301
9:8	80	4:29	54
9:10	59	4:32	131
9:13	80	5:14	181
9:15	32	5:24	226
10:7	131	5:25	174
10:16	80	5:30	106
11:2	133	6:1	174
11:6	80	6:4	174

6:5	174	2:6	228
		2:7	50, 209, 225, 226
Philippians		2:7a	215, 226
1:2	286	2:7b	226
1:5	78	2:7a–b	226
1:12	57	2:7b–8	228
1:13–14	286	2:7c	215, 226
1:25	57	2:7–8	228
2:5–11	275, 291	2:8	106, 215, 226, 228
2:22	78		
2:29	40		
3:10	110	2:9	80, 89, 213
3:18–19	290	2:9–12	228
4:23	286	2:10	213
		2:13	213
Colossians		2:13–14	212, 213
1:7	43	2:17	230
1:15–20	291	2:19	213
1:20	106	2:20	213
1:24–29	286	2:28	230
2:4	124	3:2	213
2:10	151	3:3	213
2:19	90	3:9	213
3:13	132	3:6	213
3:16	56	4:1	213
4:6	55	4:2	213
		4:3–7	285
1 Thessalonians		4:4	213
1:1	213	4:10	80, 213
1:3	89	4:14	213
1:4	213	5:1	213
1:5	213	5:3	213
1:7	213	5:13	213
1:8	213	5:8	213
2	233	5:10	213
2:1–7a	228	5:13	213
2:2	82	5:15	213
2:3–12	228, 229	5:21	213
2:5	228	5:25	213
2:5–6	215, 226	5:27	213
2:5–8	234		

2 Thessalonians		6:4	89
2:7-7	285	6:5	89
2:4	79	7:4	284
2:15	90	7:21	82
3	233	8:10	80
3:6-10	228, 229	9:20	82
		10:7	183
		10:15	82
1 Timothy		10:32	89
1:8	72	11:9	79
3:13	132	11:12	47
3:16	291	11:18	82
4:15	57	11:23	47
5:23	72	11:28	165
6:12	90		
6:17	143	James	
		1:5	224
2 Timothy		1:11	110
1:6	89	1:22	131
1:18	123, 129	1:24	135, 138
2:8	89	3:12	285
2:23	47		
4:1	106	1 Peter	
4:3	34	1:25	80
		3:20	79
Titus			
2:7	131	2 Peter	
1:18	10	1:17	79
		2:12	47
Philemon		2:19	166
6	79	2:21	166
10	47, 50	3:7	166
17	40	2:22	35
		1 John	
Hebrews		2:29	47, 49
1:5	47	3:9	47, 48, 49
1:8	82, 180	3:9b	48
1:13	82	3:17	106
2:3	80	4:7	47, 49
2:9	89	4:9	106
5:5	47, 49, 82	5:1	47, 49

5:4	47, 49	5:6	304
5:18	47, 49	5:6 f.	136
Jude		5:7	11, 12, 136, 137, 138, 139, 139, 140, 165
6	143	6:10	184
Revelation		7:1	90
1:4	180	7:14	139
1:8	45	8:5	136, 139, 165
1:11	79	10:1–2	107
1:15–16	107	10:10	165
2:1	90	11:17	165
2:7	8	13:2–3	107
2:13	90	15:3	184
2:14	90	16:7	184
2:15	90	17:17	80, 139
2:25	90	18:5	89
2:26	8	18:10	41
2:27	139	18:15	41
3:3	139	19:3	139
3:5	107	19:10	107
3:11	90	20:2	90
3:21	111		

C. Texts and Translations of the Bible

- Amplified New Testament 37,
163, 165
- Bibeln 1917 37, 54, 56, 62
- Bibeln 2000 37, 48, 53, 54, 55, 56,
63, 227
- Bible (Français) courant 1997 37,
48, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62, 226
- Biblia Hebraica: תורה נביאים וכתובים
(Kittel)
- תורה נביאים וכתובים (N.Snaith)
- Bijbel 1951 37, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62
- Bijbel 2004 37, 53, 54, 55, 56
- Einheitsübersetzung 37, 48, 49, 53,
54, 55, 56, 63, 226
- Elberfelder 37, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62
- Folkbibeln 1998 37, 53, 54, 55, 56
- GNT
- Hebrew (Delitzsch) 37, 62
- JB 37, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56, 69,
136, 137, 226
- Ἡ Ἀγία Γραφή 1997 37, 69
- Καὶνὴ Δ. (Μαξιμου 1638)
- Καὶνὴ Διαθήκη 1967 163
- Καὶνὴ Διαθήκη 1989 (= 1997) 37,
63, 163
- KJV 37, 48, 49, 53, 54, 56, 69,
163, 165
- Kolitsaras 163
- Luther (Revised) 37, 48, 49, 53,
54, 55, 56, 62, 226
- N-A
- NAB 37, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55,
56, 136, 163, 165, 226, 285
- Naardense 37, 53, 54, 55, 56
- NASB 37, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55,
56, 96, 136, 163, 165, 226, 285
- NEB 37, 53, 54, 55, 56, 136
- NIV 37, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55,
56, 69, 96, 136, 163, 165, 285
- Normalupplaga 37
- NRSV 37, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55,
56, 96, 136, 163, 165, 285
- NT (Westcott-Hort)
- NTG (Editio Maior)
- Aramaic-Hebrew 1986 37, 62
- Rheims NT 37, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55,
56, 163, 165
- RSV 37
- RV 37
- Sacra Bibbia 1982 37, 48, 49, 53,
54, 55, 62
- Santa Biblia 37, 48, 53, 54, 55, 56,
63, 226, 226
- Septuaginta
- Segond 1979 37, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62,
226
- Syriac Curetonianus 62
- Syriac Harklean 62
- Syriac Peshitta 62
- Syriac Sinaiticus 62
- TEV 136
- TBS (Hebrew) 37, 62
- Tyndale's NT 37
- Vamvas (1851) 37, 63, 163

D. Greek Sources from All Periods of the Language

i. Greek Authors

<i>Abbott</i>		Frg. 6:34	185
<i>Songs</i>		<i>Acts of Paul and Thekla</i>	
p. 226	233	20:7	127
<i>Acts of the Alexandrians</i>	205	28:6	184
<i>Acts of the Apostles apocryphal</i>		29:6	185
114.13	73, 91,	31:6	185
92		<i>Acts of Peter</i>	205
<i>Acts of Barnabas</i>	205	36:1	82
<i>Acta Eupli</i>	206	<i>Acts of Petrer and Paul</i>	
<i>Acts of John</i>		18:43	85
6:16	77	<i>Acta Phileae</i>	206
7:10	81	<i>Acta Philippi</i>	206
10	79	14:8	82
13:8	185	84:3	185
17:8	79	119	132
17:35	79	<i>Acta Scillitanorum Martyrum</i>	205
17:36	79	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>	205
17:548	79	5:17	132
22:3	82	10:2	185
24:12	82	17:14	72, 82
30:4	88	19:10	157
41:1	185	28:35	88
42:9	185	83:26	88
43:4	82	30:15	85
47:1	88	123:4	185
82:3	185	123:5	185
142	89	123:6	185
<i>Acta Iustini et septen Sodalium</i>	205	123:8	185
<i>Acts - Martyrd of Apollōnios</i>	205	123:9	185
<i>Acts of Paul</i>	205	167:6	185
I. 10:3	82	290:20	72, 88
II. 3:3	82	<i>Actorum Thomae consummatio</i>	
Frg. 3:10	185	<i>Acts of Xanthippē and Polyxenē</i>	205
Frg. 5:12	185	1:15	82

3:18	185	145.1	41
3:19	82	235	174
4:13	185	239	127
5:9	82	Alkaios	
9:15	82	<i>Fragments</i>	
10:15	185	45	176
15:14	82	69	176
<i>Adam and Eve, Life of</i>	174	306	176
Adamantios Theologos	206	307 (a)	176
Ailianos, Claudius		325	176
<i>Fragments</i>		Ammōnios, Gramm.	
72.9	222	<i>Περὶ ὁμοίων κ. διαφ. λέξεων</i>	
Ailios Aristeidēs	206	70.1	158
<i>Orationes</i>		116	60
Aischinēs		Amphilochios	
<i>Against Ktēsiphon</i>		<i>Against the Heretics</i>	
202	110	497	185
Aischylos		<i>De adfinium vocab. differ.</i>	
<i>Agamemnōn</i>		Anakreōn	
22	172	<i>Fragments</i>	
625	34	1	176
<i>Choiphoroi</i>		27	176
731	235	84	176
<i>Iktides (Supplices)</i>		85	176
47	47	90	176
<i>Persai</i>		101	127
156	173	154	176
<i>Promētheus Bound</i>		Andokidēs	44
73	193	<i>Peace with Spartē</i>	
88	177	1	126
88–90	172	<i>Peri Mystēriōn</i>	
307–8	173	126	44
443	222	<i>Anekdotā (Bekker)</i>	
482	219	60.5	124
<i>Promētheus pyrphoros</i>		106.16	122
frg. 455	177	891	141
<i>Seven against Thebai</i>		<i>Anekdotā Graeca (Bachmann)</i>	
16	235	II. 300.8	119
Aisōpos	41	<i>Antatticist in Anekdotā</i>	
<i>Fables</i>		Anna Komnēnē	41
23 (27)	184	<i>Alexias</i>	

I.2.6	222	<i>Apotelesmata</i>	
VIII.2.3.16	219	1383.7	185
<i>Anonymous Comment. on Aristotelēs'</i>		<i>Apophthegmata Pateron</i>	
<i>Art of Rhetoric</i>		38 B	89
230:19	185	281 A	89
<i>Anonymoi on Hermogenēs, Peri Ideon,</i>		<i>Appianos</i>	
<i>Anthologia Graeca = Gr. Anthology</i>		<i>Bellum civile</i>	
VII.466	232	II.3.20	219
VII.540	232	XI,20,145,1	207
IX.433	231	<i>Syriaka</i>	
X.17.1	219	317,2	207
XVI.186	231	<i>Archilochos</i>	259
<i>Anthologia Palatina = Anthologia Graeca</i>		<i>Aristophanēs</i>	
<i>Antiphōn</i>		<i>Birds</i>	
<i>Prosecution for poisoning</i>		274	177
14	58	<i>Clouds</i>	
<i>Apocryphal Acts of Apostles</i>		<i>Ekklesiazousai</i>	
<i>Acts of Andrew and Matthias</i>		105	63
<i>Apocryphal Acts of John,</i>		<i>Frogs</i>	
<i>Apocryphal evangelia</i>		652	173
162	92	721	151
251	77	<i>Hippeis</i>	
273	77	643	90
<i>Apollinaris</i>		<i>Lysistrat</i>	
<i>Fragments on Matthew</i>		1097	172
134.6	67	<i>Peace</i>	
<i>Apollodōros of Athens</i>		294	235
<i>Bibliothēke</i>		<i>Ploutos</i>	
<i>Apollōnios Dyskolos</i>		1099	177
<i>On Conjunctions</i>		<i>Aristophanēs Gramm. (of Byzantion)</i>	
<i>On Constructions</i>		<i>Historiae animalium epitome</i>	
<i>The Pronouns</i>		II.514	219
<i>Apollōnios Rhodios</i>	259	<i>Fragments</i>	
<i>Argonautica</i>	259	8,3	217
IV.875		13	172
<i>Apollōnios Sophistes</i>		26	172
<i>Lexikon Homerikon</i>		<i>Aristotelēs</i>	41
104	202	<i>Generation of Animals</i>	
<i>Apollōnios Tyaneus</i>		755b 25	47
		716b 14, 25	47
		<i>Magna Moralia</i>	

<i>Περὶ ποιητικῆς (Poetics)</i> 17, 239, 241		Caecilius (Archagathos) 18	
<i>Problēmata</i>		Cassius Diōn	
<i>Various fragments</i>		<i>Roman History</i>	61
Arrianos, Flavius		<i>Catenae (Novum Testamentum)</i>	
<i>Anabasis Alexandrou</i>		<i>Catenae on Acta (Cat. Andreae)</i>	
V.15.6	41	408:18	185
<i>Indica</i>		<i>Catenae on First Corinthians</i>	
Arsenius Paroimiographos		Vol.5, 84	210
<i>Apophthegmata</i>		<i>Catenae on Ephesians</i>	
XI.50a	217	<i>Catenae on Hebrews</i>	
XII.8a	222	131.32	186
Asterios		<i>Catenae on In Thessalonians</i>	
<i>Commentary on the Psalms</i>		Vol. 6,350	210
15.20	225	Choiroboskos, Geōrgios	
16.14	225	<i>Scholia on Hephaistiōn</i>	
Astrampsychos Magos	174	Chortatzēs, Geōrgios	
<i>Chrēsmoi (Oracula)</i>		<i>Ἐρωφίλη</i>	
decad. 79.4	32	33	92
<i>Oneirokritika</i>		B 86	92
decad 3.10	46	E 34	92
decad 9.6	46	E 555	92
decad 12.6	46	Chronikon Moreōs	
Athenagoras		45.16	128
<i>Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν</i>		193	87
XXII.2.5	219	1201	87
Athēnaios		3899	39
<i>Deipnosophista</i>		4225	87
IV.44,25	207	5514	83
IX.2,9	207	5882	121
X.32	217	Esc. 2807	87
Bacchylidēs	259	<i>Chronikon Paschale</i>	
<i>Fragments</i>		192	85
13	176	217	92
Basilios	67	624	77
<i>Epistlles</i>		669	43
257.1.7	218	Chrysippos	
<i>Homilia in principium</i>		<i>Fragments</i>	
<i>proverbiorum</i>		132.14	221
<i>Leitourgia</i>		278.13	44
XXXI:1633.3	185	622.11	219
		Chrysostomos, Iōannēs	41

<i>Commentary on Galatians</i>		<i>Peri Halonnēsou (De halonneso)</i>	
61: 657.10	221	29	153
<i>Commentary on Matthew</i>		45	265
LVII: 429.54	226	<i>Olynthiakos I</i>	
<i>De petientia</i>		I.9	155
60: 733.73	128	<i>Peri Stephanou (On the Crown)</i>	
<i>De penitentia</i>		11	173
<i>Exposition on Psalms</i>		18	257
LV:261.49	187	23	150
XV:20	226	120	173
Ἐπιστολὴ π. Ἐφεσίου		121	173
1:1-10	53	169	249
<i>Fragments on Jeremiah</i>		188	266,
64: 929.43	128	291	
<i>In Illud: Exeuntes pharisaei</i>		208	253,
61: 705.73	127	279	
61: 707.13.69	127	216	119
<i>In ramos palmarum</i>		257 [92]	32
59. 708.36	128	296	264,
<i>The Progress of the Gospel</i>		290	
51: 316	57	321	130
<i>In sanctum Romanum (homilia I)</i>		<i>Kata Philippou I (Philippics I)</i>	
<i>Clementines Pseudo-</i>		I.4.44	255
<i>Concilia Oecumenica Synodus</i>		<i>Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας</i>	
<i>Constantinopolitana et</i>		I.43 (Gr. Fer.)	158
<i>Hierosolymitana anno 536</i>		I.71 (Gr. Fer.)	158
III.97.31	218	I.286 (Gr. Fer.)	158
Cusa, Salv.		II.217 (Gr. Fer.)	158
806	92	II.282 (Gr. Fer.)	158
417	92	III.28 (Gr. Fer.)	158
444	92	313	88
Dēmokritos	41	476	87
<i>Fragment</i>		505	87
41	41	763	87
‘Dēmētrios’		805	158
<i>Περὶ ἐρμηνείας / On Style</i>	239	807	158
Dēmosthenēs		2255	158
<i>Kata Meidiou (Against Meidias)</i>		2327	87
104 (548)	142	3099	87
<i>Kata Timokratou (Ag. Timokr.)</i>		4081	87
53	191		

Didymos		XX.72.2	224
<i>Commentary on Job</i>		Diogenēs Laertios	
272.4	184	<i>Lives of Philosophers</i>	
<i>Commentary on the Psalms</i>		<i>Prooimion</i>	
22–26.10, 93:9	184	I.2	32
29–34, 141:8	184	<i>Solon</i>	
29–34, 144:11	184	57	240
29–34, 207:11	184	Diogenēs Oenandensis	
40–44, 297:7	184	<i>Fragments</i>	176,
40–44, 302:8	184	187	
<i>Commentary on Zachariah</i>		22 col. 1	172
I.59.3	232	153 col. 2	172
<i>Fragments on the Psalms</i>		Diogenianos	
48.25	225	<i>Paroimiai</i>	
176:2	186	<i>The Epistle to Diognētos</i>	
195:3	184	501	227
218:11	184	Diōn Chrysostomos	206
348:5	184	(Prousaēus/Cocceianos)	
<i>On Genesis</i>		<i>Oration XI. Troikos</i>	
131:18	184	124	156
132.7	184	<i>Oration XVI. Peri Lypes</i>	
Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου		<i>Oration XX. Peri Anachoreseos</i>	
24:2	185		
39:5	185	<i>Oration XXXVI. Borysthenikos</i>	
23.65	46	4	156
Διήγησις ὠραιोटάτη		56.6	219
429	92	Dionysios Halikarnasseus	206
Diodōros Sikeliotēs	127	<i>Lysias</i>	
<i>Bibliothēke</i>		26.69	45
I.27.4.5	45	Περὶ Συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων	
I.27.4.6	45	(<i>The Art of Composition</i>)	18, 239
I.27.4.7	45	4	269
I.27.4.8	45	9	110
III.36.5	152	17	268
III.44	76	18	269
V.84	76	22	183
XI.15.3	156	<i>Roman Antiquities</i>	
XII.12	76	XX.9	222
XIV.37	60	Dionysios Thrax	
XVI.1.6	156	<i>Techne Grammatike</i>	/Ars
XXVIII.15.3	151	<i>Grammatical</i>	

31–32	172	V.2.1	184
<i>Fragments</i>		<i>Ekklesiastikē Historia</i>	
57.2	221	V.20.7.8	184
Doukas		VII.11.23	232
<i>Byzantine History</i>		<i>Evangelikē Proparaskēvē</i>	
22.5.22	222	V.33.4	184
332.12	87	X.2.11	219
Empedoklēs		X.3. 22	217
<i>Fragments</i>		<i>Fragments</i>	
137.6	221	I.47	219
<i>1 Enoch (1 Henoch)</i>	46	Eustathios (IV A.D.)	128
VI.2	132	Eustathios of Thess.	41,
Ephraim Syros		<i>Commentary on Homēros' Ilias</i>	
<i>Interrogationes</i>		648, 53	217
92. 9	232	I.260.11	222
Epiphanius		I. 419.19	217
<i>Panarion</i>		I. 630.1	217
190.2	132	II.303. 7	217
Eratosthenēs	259	II.521	219
<i>Erigone</i>	259	II. 753	212
<i>Etymologicum Gudeanum</i>		III.338.23	219
N: 408.48	221	<i>Commentary on Homēros'</i>	
N: 408.52	218	<i>Odysseia</i>	
<i>Etymologicum Magnum</i>	see <i>Mega</i>	I.77.40	217
<i>Etymologikon</i>		I.81.4	219
Eusebios	42	I. 81. 29	217
<i>Commentar on Isaiah</i>		I.81.45	217
I.82.29	218	I. 81.46	217
<i>Commentary on the Psalms</i>		I.100.20	219
XXIII: 401	186	I.94.1	217
XXIII:580.54	184,	I. 94.19	217
	186	I.188.17	217
XXIII:684.4	184	I. 354	212
<i>Constantini imperatoris oratio</i>		II.95.2	217
XI: 16.8	219	<i>The Capture of Thessalonikē</i>	
<i>Demonstration of Gospel</i>		12:9	185
IV.15	186	52:34	217
IV.15.58	184	Evdokia Augusta	
IV.15.59	184	<i>Homerocentones</i>	
IV.15.60	184	VIII.262	222
IV.15.61	184	Evdoxos Astron.	

<i>Fragments</i>		<i>Fragmenta Alchemica</i>	
290.47	41	75.5	219
Evnapios		Galēnos	
<i>History</i>		<i>Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas</i>	
I.221.20	152	VIII.22	222
<i>Life of Sophists</i>		Geōrgios Aitōlos (Γεώργ. Αἰτωλός)	
4	243	<i>Μύθοι</i>	
Evripidēs		125	87
<i>Ēlektra</i>		Geōrgios Monachos	
686f	146	<i>Chronikon</i>	
<i>Fragments</i>		18:19	82
292.7	190	110:924.18	158
950.1	217	110:1032.7	220
<i>Hekabē</i>		Geōrgios Syncellos	
148	231	<i>Eclogē Chronographikē</i>	
148f.	231	2.28	158
358	151	170.29	158
<i>Hērakles</i>		328.13	219
1245	267	Glykas	42
<i>Hippolytos</i>		<i>Chronographia</i>	
1910	190	115	86, 88
<i>Iketides</i>		118	86
163-166	39	133	86
164	38	167	86
<i>Iōn</i>		190	86
437-51	127	290	86
<i>Iphigeneia in Avlis</i>		294	86
1139	59	298	86
<i>Iphigeneia in Tavros</i>		303	86
847	31	331	86
<i>Mēdeia</i>		523	86
61	173,	551	121
	187	Gorgias	244
606	127	<i>Helene's Enkomion</i>	
<i>Orestēs</i>		11.46	232
255-57	251	Gosp Nazarenes(=Gosp. Hebr.)	63
1136	231	<i>Greek Anthology</i> = <i>Anthologia</i>	
<i>Phaēthōn</i>		<i>Graeca</i>	
frg. 779	251	Grēgorios Nazianzēnos	
<i>Rhesos</i>		<i>In sanctum baptisma</i>	
476	193	36:380.44	226

<i>Funebris in laudem Caesarii</i>		V.18	244
<i>fratris oratio</i>		VI.11	256
XXIV.3:2	184	VI.101-128	
Grēgorios Nysseus		VII.120	31
<i>Πρὸς Εὐάγγριον περὶ Θεότητος</i>		VII.188	269,
335.23	67	292	
<i>Oratio catechetica</i>		VII.191	270
25.2	222	VIII.13	270
Hēgesias of Magnēsia		VIII.142	59
<i>Fragments</i>		Hēsiodos	
Hekataios		<i>Theogonia</i>	
<i>Fragments</i>		407	218
30	258	907-09	50
Hērakleitos		<i>Works and Days</i>	
<i>Homeric Problems</i>		24	250
5.10	262	65	50
Hermas		218	221
<i>Shepherd: Vision</i>		787	219
I.1	157	Hēsychios	
Hērōdianos, Ailios, Gram.		<i>Lexicon</i>	
<i>Katholikē prosōdia</i>		Γ: 337	60
III. 1	194	O: 1355	231
III.1. 508	194	O: 2093	35
<i>Peri Iliakēs prosōdias</i>		Hippokratēs	
III. 2	194	<i>Epistles</i>	
III. 2.23	194	17.25	224
<i>Peri Pathōn</i>		Homeric Hymns	
II.2	194	<i>X. To Aphroditē</i>	
III.2. 359	195	line 4	176
<i>Philetairos</i>		<i>Hymn to Dēmētra</i>	
294	57, 61	75	176
Hērodotos	44	248	177
<i>Histories</i>		360	176
I.75	191	<i>Hymn to Hermes</i>	
I.85.7	221	368	176
I.105	258	<i>XIV. To the Mother of the Gods</i>	
II.5.14	31	line 6	176
III.3.14	32	Homēros	16
III.85	63	<i>Ilias</i>	
IV.154	193	I.56	116
V.11	44	I.78	193

I.203	192	XXIV.726	222
I.231	173	<i>Odysseia</i>	
I.367	59	II.12	50
I.564	190	II. 47	217
II.38	221,	II. 234	217
222		II.313	222
II.291	193	II.361	235
II.350	193	II.873	222
II.873	222	III.146	222
III.215	192	IV.31	222
III.365	176	IV.742	235
IV.189	173	IV.818	222
IV.331	116	V. 12	217
IV.343	116	VI.301	222
V.183	191	IX.442	222
V.406	222	IX.449	222
V.455	176	X.65	193
V. 787	172	X.330	191
V.800	192	X.425	35
VI.215	193	XI.553	172
VI.55	173	XI.563–4	247,
VII.234	172		276
VII.393	193	XIII. 212	193
VIII.11	192	XIII.415	192
IX. 262	190	XIII.446	109
X. 322	195	XV.152	217
XII.113	222	XVI.199	193
XIII.229	221	XVII.229	222
XIV.235	31	XVII.322	247
XV.90	244	XVIII.73	193
XV.128	146	XIX.19	222
XVI. 422	173	XIX.530	222
XVI.833	222	XX.310	222
XVII.645–47	248	XX.327	219
XVIII.295	222	XX.379	227
XX.211	221	XXI.95	222
XXI.99	222	XXIV.193	192
XXI.583	193	XXIV. 750	217
XXII.11	193	<i>Hyperidēs</i>	
XXII.333	222	<i>Against Athenogenous</i>	
XXIV.74	190	<i>Iōannēs Antiocheus</i>	

<i>Fragments</i>		I.60	157
115.8	218	I.60	157
Iōannēs Damaskēnos	41	II.2	157
1:16	82	<i>Tryphon</i>	
1:18	82	49	61
21:7	82	Irenaios	
11:13	82	<i>Fragments of lost Works</i>	
<i>Commentary on Paul's Epistles</i>		13: 2.30	184
95: 402, 90	210	Isokratēs	
<i>Expositio fidei</i>		<i>Antidosis</i>	
<i>Sacra paralela</i>		30	155
Iōannēs Kinnamos		<i>Panathenaïkos</i>	
<i>Epitome</i>		30	39
267.15	222	<i>Panēgyrikos</i>	244
Iōannēs, Rhetōr		85	119,
<i>Commentary on Hermogenes</i>			133
VI.381.19	222	<i>Peri Eirēnēs</i>	
Iōannēs Stobaios, see Stobaios, Ioan-		63	155
nes		<i>To Dēmonikos</i>	
Iōannēs, Theologos		2	143
<i>Against the Iconoclasts</i>		Kallinikos	
Iōsēppos	41	<i>Life of St Hypatios</i>	
<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>		24.25	123
VI.133	224	27.7	123
VI.260	224	28.33	123
VII.9.7	152	28.34	123
XIV.24	184	41.3	123
XIV.480	224	Kantakouzēnos	
<i>War</i>		<i>Histories</i>	
I,352	224	1.410.10	185
II.7	224	II.469.5	222
II.496	224	Kekaumenos, Iōannēs	
IV.82	224	<i>Strategikon</i>	
Ioulianos		4	77
<i>Commentary on Job</i>		21	77
59.2	232	22	85
Ioustinos Martys		26	77
<i>Apologia</i>		42	77
I,22	157	47	77
I,32	157	Kelsos	
I,44	157	<i>True Word</i>	
		III.44.6	222

Klēmēs Alex.		<i>Lexica Segueriana</i>	
<i>Paidagōgos</i>		Γ: 86	60
I,5	210	Γ: 231 60	
I.5.17	225	E: 231 68	
I,5.19	217,	H: 251.30	218
225		O: 324 35	
I.6.32	225	<i>Lexicon Vindobonense</i>	
I.7.58	225	O: 30	231
<i>Strōmateis</i>		Libanios	
I	210	<i>Progymnasmata</i>	
Klēmēs of Rome (pseudo-)		11.11.6:1	185
<i>Homiliai</i>		11.11.6:2	185
11.9	184		
<i>Pseudo-Clementines</i>		‘Longinos’	
11:17	184	<i>Peri Hypsous</i>	239,
Κορνάρος, B.			240,
Ἐρωτόκριτος			241
A 1948	92	1.3–4	19, 244
Krantör		2.1	244
<i>Fragments</i>		5.1–6.6	245
X.22	221	6–7	245
Ktēsias		7.2–4	245
<i>Fragments</i>		9.1–2	247
2.3c,688, 23	151	9.3	248
Kyrrillos Alex.		9.10	248
<i>Adoration</i>		9.14	249
LXVIII: 332.41	185	9.15	249
LXVIII:976.43	185	10.7	249
LXVIII:1053.53	226	12.3–4	250
<i>De existu animi</i>		12.4–5	250
77: 1072.65	184	13.2	250
<i>Easter Epistles or Easter Homilies</i>		13.3	251
LXXVII:417.17	185	13.4	250
<i>Exposition on Psalms</i>		15.1	251
69: 813.53	184	15.10	252
69: 996.28	128	15.10–11	252
Leōntios of Neapolis		16.2–3	254
<i>Life of John</i>		16.3–4	254
<i>Lexica in Opera Gregorii Nazianz.</i>		16–17	253
H: 77.1	218	18.1	255
		22.1	256

22.2	256	<i>Nigrinos</i>	
23.3–4	257	11	130
24.1	257	<i>On Sacrifices</i>	
25.1	257	6	47
27.2	258	<i>Podagra</i>	
28.2	258	179	219
30	262	<i>Solekistēs</i>	
30–38	262	<i>The Ass</i>	
30.1	258	1	77
31	262	<i>Toxaris</i>	
31.1	263	14	121
32.1	263	Lykourgos	
32.2	264	<i>Kata Leokratous</i>	
32.3	264	42	119
32.5–6	264	70	119
33–35	262	Lysias	
33.1	259	<i>Kata Diogeitonos</i>	
33.3	259	13.6	44
33.4	259	XXIV (Ὑπὲρ Ἀδυνάτου)	
33.4–5	259	1	31
34.1–2	260	<i>Lyvistros and Rhodamnē</i>	
34.2–3	260	100	87
35.1	260	834	92
35.2–4	19, 261	Makarios, Ps-	128
36.1–2	261	<i>Preces</i>	
37	262	XXXIV:445.32	185
38.1	265	Malalas, Iōannēs	16
38.5	265	<i>Chronographia</i>	
39.4	266	35.15	121
40.1–2	267	75	227
40.3	267	83.5	157
41.1–2	168	195.9	157
41.3	268	307	77
42.1	268	Μανασῆς, Κωνσταντῖνος	
43	262	Σύνοψις χρονικῇ	
43.1	270	6475	222
43.2–5	270	Markos Diakonos	
43.3	270	<i>Vita Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis</i>	
43.5–6	270	8.16	218
44.4–5	247	88.6	219
Loukianos	206		

<i>Martyrion Mattheou</i>		XCIII: 624.6	185
174	132	Olympiodōros	
<i>Mega Etymologikon</i>	67	<i>In Platonis Alcibiadem Commen-</i>	
O.446.35	35	<i>tarii</i>	
416.50	195	139.14	222
434.20	218	Oppianos	
604.19	221	<i>Halieutica</i>	
Melanippidēs		III.519	218
<i>Fragments</i>		III.568	222
6	176	Origenēs	42
Menandros		<i>Commentary on Luke</i>	
<i>Fragments</i>		163.9	225
<i>Thaïs</i>		<i>Commentary on Matthew</i>	
Menandros Protector, Hist.		11:13	44
<i>De Legationibus</i>		<i>On Jeremiah</i>	
24.107	121	XVIII: 6.76	184
Michaēl Apostolios		<i>Fragments from Luke</i>	
<i>Collection of Proverbs</i>		178.1	66
XV.22	222	<i>Fragments from the Psalms</i>	
Moiris		LXXVII. 38.24	184
<i>Lexicon Atticum</i>	34	<i>De Oratione</i>	
Morezinos,		<i>Περὶ Εὐχῆς</i>	
<i>Κλίνη Σολομώντος</i>		27.7	66
397	92	<i>Philokalia</i>	
Μπεργαδής		18.15.7	225
<i>Ἀπόκοπος</i>		Ōriōn Grammatikos	
126	92	<i>Etymologikon</i>	
555	92	145.1	217
Nikēphoros Grēgoras		N: 108.11	221
<i>Byzantine History</i>		180.26	221
1.90	185	N: 615.32	221
III.556.9	231	Ōros Grammatikos	
Nikolaos Mystikos		<i>Συλλογὴ ἀττικῶν λέξεων</i>	
<i>Various Works</i>		24	60
203:130	184	Orpheus	16
Nonnos		Palladios	
<i>Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel</i>		Philēs, Manuēl	
Oinomaos		<i>Songs</i>	
<i>Fragments</i>		Pamphilos	
11:28	184	<i>Περὶ Γλωσσῶν</i>	159
Olympiodōros		Parmenidēs	
<i>Commentary on Ecclesiastes</i>			

<i>Fragments</i>		75	60
VIII.57	219	411	59
Paulus Silentarius		<i>Sophistikē Proparaskevē</i>	
<i>Description of Santa Sophia</i>		103.12	124
1002	219	Pindaros	259
Pausanias		<i>Olympionikai</i>	
<i>Achaika</i>		IX.61	231
26	240	IX.92b	231
<i>Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας</i> See		<i>Pythionikai</i>	
under Demetrios	17	IV.283	231
<i>Περὶ Ὑψους</i> See under Longinos	17	V.17	235
Phalieros		Platōn	41
<i>Ἑρωτικὸν Ἐνύπνιον</i>		<i>Alkibiadēs I</i>	
78	87	113c	44
<i>Θρηῆνος</i>		121c	61
92	233	124a	140,
Philēs, Manuēl		155	
<i>Songs</i>		131d	44
III.58.148	233	<i>Apologia</i>	
Philochoros		20a	31
<i>Fragments</i>		21a	191
3b 328 F 168	60	22a–c	240
Philōn Ioudaios	41	28c	99
<i>De Decalogo</i>			
<i>Flaccus</i>		<i>Charmidēs</i>	
68	224	154e	58
Philostratos, Flavios		<i>Epinomis</i>	
<i>Hērōikos</i>		980b	192,
664.3	231	192	
Philostratos (Junior)		<i>Epistolai</i>	
<i>Eikones i</i>		<i>Euthydēmos</i>	
1,5	202	297b	44
Philoxenos		<i>Euthyphrōn</i>	
<i>Fragments</i>		11c	44
552.3	221	<i>Gorgias</i>	
Phōtios		469c	191
<i>Lexikon</i>		<i>Hipparchos</i>	
Γ: 63	60	228b	240
O: 367.11	35	228c	58
Phrynichos		<i>Iōn</i>	
<i>Eklogē</i>		533–534d	240

<i>Kleitophōn</i>		597e	240
406	99	<i>Prōtagoras</i>	
<i>Kratylos</i>	240	310d	190
<i>Kritias</i>		328b	142,
113	99	150	
<i>Kritōn</i>		<i>Symposion</i>	
43c	191	172a	172
44a	139,	194a	44
154		206c–d	247
46a	63	209b–c	247
<i>Lachēs</i>		218	173
201c	173	222b	221
<i>Laws</i>		<i>Theaitētos</i>	
741c	244	144b	144
719c	240	148e	247
761	191	149a	44
784d	61	210c	99
789a	191	<i>Timaios</i>	
866d	202	65c–85e	264
<i>Lysis</i>		Plōtinos	
207	99	<i>Enneades</i>	
<i>Menexenos</i>		V.5.12.33	218
234a	172	Ploutarchos	
234c	172	<i>Lives</i>	
236d	258	<i>Alexandros</i>	
<i>Parmenidēs</i>		21	245
129d	44	<i>Camillus</i>	
<i>Phaidōn</i>		XXXIV.5	152
115c	44	<i>Marius</i>	
115d	193	20.1	218
227	173	<i>T. Flamininus</i>	
<i>Phaidros</i>		XX.4	152
227c	177,	<i>Moralia</i>	
187		1095d–e	241
245a	240	<i>Consolation of Apollōnios</i>	
264d	262	<i>On Affection for Offspring</i>	
<i>Philēbos</i>		496A	219
11a	173	<i>On the Cleverness of Animals</i>	
<i>Politeia (Respublica)</i>		985A	219
394b	240	<i>Precepts on Health</i>	
468c	120	132E	218

<i>How to profit by one's enemies</i>		<i>Byzantinae</i>	
86	177	398	85
<i>Περὶ φιλαδελφίας</i>		<i>De legationibus</i>	
491	218	226.17	219
<i>How to tell a Flatterer from a Friend</i>		<i>De virtutibus et vitiis</i>	
63D	219	I.185.17	218
<i>On the Ten Orators</i>		II.83.14	222
845c	219	Poseidōnios	
Polybios		<i>Fragments</i>	
I.7.8.	151	201.46	218
II.43.4	123	Priscianos	
III.1.2	156	<i>Institutiones grammaticae</i>	
III.10.1–2	155	Priskos	
III.58.4	121,	<i>Fragments</i>	
133		8.479	121
III.101.6	121	Prodromos, Theodōros	
IV.1.1	156	I.35	86
IV.28.3	156	I.38	86
Polydeukēs		I.46	86
<i>Onomastikon</i>		I.58	86
IV.10	58	I.62	86
Porphyrrios		I.91	86
<i>Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων</i>		I.101	86
<i>Quaestionum Homericarum ad Iliadem</i>		I.102	86
II.8 ff.	222	I.105	35
VIII. 39–40. 9	217	I.140	86, 88
Porphyrogegnētos Kōnstantinos		I.160	86
41		I.166	86
<i>Administration</i>		I.235	86
74.5	85, 88	I.244	39
117.17	85	II.28	86
118.20	89	II.66	86
153.5	85	II.68	86
176.21	89	II.73	86
208.20	85, 88	II.108	86
209.9	85, 88	II.139	39
211.1	85	III.42	87
212.15	85	III.44	87
<i>De ceremoniis aulae</i>		III.47	87
		III.49	87

Proklos		<i>Scholia on Hēsiodos</i>	
Prokopios	41, 42	<i>Scholia on the Theogonia</i>	
<i>Secret History</i>		86.5	217
V.10,3	207	<i>Scholia on Homēros, Ilias</i>	
XXI.16,2	207	<i>Scholia on the Ilias</i>	
<i>Wars</i>		1.77–78a1	195
I.5, 15, 3	207	<i>Scholia on Homēros, Odysseia</i>	
III.20, 23,1	207	<i>Scholia on the Odysseia</i>	
IV.1,11, 4	207	II.47	218
V.21, 20,6	207	IV.371.1	221
VI. 1, 14, 4	207	<i>Scholia on Oppianos</i>	
VIII.27,21,4	207	<i>Halieutika</i>	
Psellos, Michaēl		III.58	218
<i>Chronographia</i>		<i>Scholia on Pindaros</i>	
<i>Poiēmata</i>		18.14a.2	232
<i>Pseudo-Sphrantzēs, see Sphrantzēs,</i>		<i>Olympionikai</i>	
<i>Pseudo-</i>		IX.90c 2	232
<i>Pseudo-Zōnaras, Iōannēs, see</i>		<i>Scholia on Platōn</i>	
<i>Zōnaras, Pseudo-</i>		<i>Scholia on Alkibiades I</i>	
<i>Πτωχολέων</i>		1,121	60
B 92	87	<i>Scholia on Sophokles</i>	
Sapphō		<i>Scholia on Aias</i>	
<i>Fragments</i>		512a.5	231
1	176	<i>Scholia on Trachiniai</i>	
2	176	<i>Septuaginta (LXX) (see under Texts</i>	
31	193	<i>and Translations of the Bible)</i>	
49	176	Sextos Empeirikos	
96.4	38	<i>Against Mathematicians</i>	
112	176	IX.10.5	219
116	176	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>	174
131	176	II.2710	231
<i>Scholia on Ailios Aristeidēs</i>	187	Simonidēs	
Epigrams		<i>Fragments</i>	
205,4	172	111	176
<i>Scholia on Aischylos</i>		Sōpatros	
106–107:2	185	<i>Διαιρέσεις ζητημάτων</i>	
<i>Scholia on Aristophanēs</i>		VIII.59.23	219
<i>Scholia on Ploutos</i>		VIII.162	156
1022	218	Sophoklēs	16, 259
<i>Scholia on The Clouds</i>		<i>Aias</i>	
868c	221	89	172, 177

102	192	E: 2501	68
382	192	H: 292	194
485	172	O: 1087	35
849	235	<i>Spaneas</i>	
981	173	Στίχοι	
1154	173	9	121
1330	192	24	86
<i>Antigonē</i>		104	86
32	142	141	86
<i>Ēlektra</i>		145	86
1241	227	45	85
<i>Oidipous in Kolōnos</i>		62	88
81	190	104	86
817	150	120	88
822	192	127	88
1627	177	154	86
<i>Oidipous Tyrannos</i>		157	86
429	193	160	86
622	192	167	86
701	142	168	86
943	192	171	86
1021	117	204	88
1092	235	206	88
1143	119,	209	88
	133	213	88
1403–1408	257	214	89
<i>Philoktētēs</i>		227	88
75	146	235	88
254	173	241	92
799	173	242	88
1362	150	Sphrantzēs, Pseudo-	41, 44
<i>Trachiniai</i>		Στάθης (Κρητικὸν Θέατρον)	
414	192	Ιντ. β´82	87
553	59	Stobaios, Iōannēs	
977	191	<i>Anthologion</i>	
1130	155	II.8.39	218
<i>Fragments</i>		III.1.103	219
<i>Souda Lexikon</i>		III.18.13	222
A: 1218	222	IV.25.28	217
E: 2307–08	57	Strabōn	
		<i>Geographia</i>	

Strabōn		Theokritos	
<i>Geographia</i>		<i>Epigrammata</i>	
II.5.35	156	IX.433	231
XVII.7–8	241	16.4	221
Symeon Logothetēs		<i>Idylls</i>	259
<i>Chronikon</i>		Theophanēs Confessor	
131, § 52	85	<i>Chronographia</i>	
Symeon, Pseudo-		4.13	121
685	85	7.13	157
Themistios		32.26	157
<i>Περὶ φιλανθρωπίας</i>		39.5	157
17.a. 6	217	56.10	157
<i>Testament of Abraham</i>	206	56.34	157
<i>Testament of Job</i>	206	93.6	157
<i>Testament of XII Patriarchs</i>	206	116.8	157
Testament of Solomon	206	121.23	157
<i>Testament of the XL Martyrs</i>	206	134.7	157
Theodōrētōs	41	140.14	157
<i>Interpretation on the XIV Epistles</i>		142.14	158
<i>of Saint Paul</i>		164.14	158
82:636	210	200	85
<i>De providentia orationes decem</i>		213.12	158
83: 689.48	219	202.27	85
Theodōros of Gadara		209.3	85
Theodōros of Mopsuestia		296	77
<i>I Kor frg</i>		321.2	85
Theodōros Prodromos, see Prodromos		330.3	85
Theodoros		407.11	85
Theodōros Studitēs		409.24	85
<i>Epistles</i>		428	77
265.8	233	485.9	158
476	222	495.10	158
Theodōros (of Kyzikos)		Theophanēs Continuatus	
<i>Epistles</i>		<i>Chronographia</i>	
4:17	184	65	79
Theognis Elegiakos		72	79
<i>Elegies</i>		211.17	92
A.1	176	387.21	132
A.5	176	410	43
A.11	176	428	79
B.1231 177		433.4	132
B.1235 176		444	79

451	79	Tyrtaios	
471	79	Fragments	
479	79	2.13–14	145,
Theophilos		155	
<i>Ad Autolyicum</i>		Tzetzēs, Iōannēs	41
2.31.19	127	<i>Prolegom. on Aristophanēs</i>	240
Theophylaktos		<i>Vita Epiphaniī</i>	
<i>Discours</i>		53 A	121
Theopompos Hist.		Xenophōn	41
<i>Fragments</i>		<i>Anabasis</i>	
262	263,	I.3.14	150
290		I.3.21	120
Thōmas Magistros		I.5.16	174
<i>Eklogē</i>		II.5	31
Γ: 75.3/4	61	III.1.39	143
Thougenidēs		III.4.13	71
<i>Fragments</i>		IV.7.24	173
Thoukydidēs		V.6.17	119
I.16	120	V.6.33	120
I.21	153	V.8.14	119
I.28	126	<i>Apomnēmoneumata</i>	
I.131.1	117	(<i>Memorabilia</i>)	
II.29	126	I.4.5	264
IV.38	117	I.6.14	58
IV.42	71	III.14.4	174
VI.91	190	IV.2.35	243
VIII.44.4	120	IV.4.19	117
VIII.66	191	<i>Hellēnikōn</i>	
VIII.74	146	II.3.45	44
Timaios (Sophistēs)	244	V.4.7	118
Ἐκ τῶν τ. Πλάτωνος λέξεων		VII.1.41	150
Γ: 981α	61	<i>Hierōn</i>	
Timotheos		1.38	41
<i>Fragments</i>		<i>Kyrou Paideia</i>	
7	176	I.4.26	96
23	176	I.4.27	97
<i>Transl. of Anna Komnēnē</i>		II.1.23	63
310	87	II.2.7	173
Tryphōn		II.4.31	97
Περὶ τρόπων		II.1.37	59
Περὶ πνευμάτων		IV.1.22	97

IV.4.1	59	Ζερβός	
IV.5.17	174	Τραγούδια τοῦ καλοῦ καιροῦ	
IV.6.2	44	19	222
VI.2.36	174	Zōnaras, Iōannēs	
VI.2.41	174	Ἐπιτομὴ Ἱστοριῶν (<i>Epitomē</i>)	
VI.3.33	174	1:345	184
VIII.4.16	191	Zōnaras, Iōannēs, Pseudo-	
VIII.7.28	172	Συναγωγὴ λέξεων (<i>Lexikon</i>)	
<i>Oikonomikos</i>		E, 794	68
V.17	235	N: 1397.11	222, 225

ii. Latin Author

Cicero		<i>Orator</i>	
<i>De oratore</i>		226	269
3.137	240		

iii. Inscriptions

<i>Asia Minor: MAMA.</i>		<i>Teos</i>	
I.IV-VII,VIII.		144.4	233
IX-X.121.1	231	<i>OGIS</i> I-II	
<i>Ditt. Sylloge</i> = <i>Dittenberger, W.,</i>		I-II.194	227
<i>CIA</i>		<i>Ross. Inscriptions</i>	
I.32, A, 22.25	71	II. p. 35, no. 134	43
I.32, A, 30	71	<i>SEG</i>	
II.17, A	71	XXX. 252	232
II.113, 5	71	<i>SIG</i>	
II.115, 21	71	<i>Syllabus Graec. membranarum</i>	
IV.27. a 60	71	95	92
<i>Ionia</i>		111	92
<i>Smyrna</i> 246.4	232	189	92

Papyri

<i>BGU</i>		<i>ϕ Oxy</i> 1451	227
<i>ϕ Cair Zen</i>		1481	227
<i>ϕ Leemans II</i> , 97	77	292.6	38, 39

E. Index of Names and Subjects

- Abraham, 45, 179, 195, 204, 206,
 274, 283, 284, 285, 342, 395
 Accusative, 5, 6, 7, 10, 41, 43, 71,
 72, 73, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84,
 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 109, 148, 160,
 172, 216, 301, 302
 accusative alone, 73, 75
 Achaioi, 34, 248
 Achaioi [= Achaeans], 34
 active, 9, 10, 32, 63, 76, 114, 115,
 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122,
 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129,
 130, 132, 142, 150, 152, 160, 248,
 299, 303
 Adrastos, 39
 adverbs, 14, 91, 189, 195
 Aglaia, 50
agonistic verbs, 118
 Aĩlios Aristeidēs, 7, 98, 112, 206
 Aiolic, 3, 190, 297
 Aischinēs, 110, 173, 178, 207, 254
 Aischylos, 34, 46, 47, 172, 173, 177,
 178, 185, 191, 193, 207, 219, 222,
 235, 240
 Aisōpos, 35, 41, 127, 174, 184
 “Alexander”, 21
 Alexandrian, 194, 241, 242
 Alexandrian grammarian, 194
 Alexandros, 3, 25, 149, 185, 244,
 264, 304
 alternative ways of expression, 112
 anachronistic, 64
 Anakreon, 262
 anarthrous nominative, 187
 ἀναφώνησις, 172
 ancient Greek, 5, 25, 38, 53, 184
 ancient world, 17
 Andriotis, 175, 178
 Anna Komnēnē, 41, 87, 207, 219,
 222
 ‘Anonymous’, 18
 Aorist, 6, 11, 135, 140, 141, 147,
 153, 304
 aoristic meaning of the perfect, 150
 Aphroditē, 13, 50, 176, 258
 Ἀφροδίτη, 176
 apocrypha, 178, 320
 Apollōn, 13, 127, 176
 Ἀπόλλων, 176, 305
 Apollōnios Rhodios, 221, 259
 appropriateness in the construction
 of figures, 19
 a puristic form of Greek, 148
 a simplified form of Greek, 148
 Aramaic *GN*, 63
 Arcadian, 3
 Archagathos, 18
 Archidamos, 155
 Archilochos, 250, 259
 Aristophanēs, 46, 63, 90, 151, 172,
 173, 177, 191, 207, 217, 218, 219,
 221, 235, 240, 242
 Aristotelēs, 17, 41, 171, 185, 220,
 239, 241, 264
 Armenian MSS, 62
 Artemis, 13, 176
 Ἄρτεμις, 176, 305
 Artemission, 279
 Asiatic, 91
 asseveration, 196, 280
 Asseverative, 6, 14, 189, 306
 asseverative utterance, 198
 asseverative ἦ (μήν), 208
 Assyrian menace, 179
 Astrampsychos, 32, 46, 174
 Athēna, 50, 176
 Athenian Commonwealth, 149, 304
 Athenians, 60, 126, 147, 265
 Athens, 17, 39, 60, 88, 117, 126,
 158, 172, 176, 207, 233, 240, 241,
 243, 249, 277, 304

- Athous Lavrensis, 210
 Attic, 5, 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 16, 20, 25,
 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 42,
 44, 47, 61, 65, 71, 72, 73, 76, 89,
 90, 97, 99, 103, 111, 112, 113,
 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124, 142,
 147, 149, 154, 155, 161, 167, 190,
 207, 213, 260, 297, 300, 301, 302,
 303, 304, 310
 Attic authors, 124
 Attic form, 31
 Attic forms, 5, 31, 148, 300
 Attic Greek, 114
 Attic norm, 113
 Attic times, 32, 76, 112
 Attic tradition, 5
 Attic usage, 113
 Attic vocabulary, 29, 30, 112
 Atticist, 34, 127, 207
 Atticistic, 7, 29, 98, 111, 112, 113,
 148, 206
 authors of the Canon, 113, 133
Avlis, 21, 59

 Babylon, 41
 Babylonian Talmud, 137
 Bacchylidēs, 259
 bearers of divine oracles, 273
 beauty, 19, 22, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57,
 58, 254, 258, 266, 272, 284, 287,
 289, 291, 296, 302
 Biblical, 1, 4, 62, 129, 223, 224
 Biblical authors, 129
 bodily beauty, 50
 Boēdromiōn, 60
 Boiōtia, 256
 Byzantine, 2, 6, 20, 25, 34, 36, 41,
 58, 61, 68, 73, 87, 88, 91, 123,
 130, 148, 153, 185, 194, 195, 211,
 212, 222, 231, 305
 Byzantine authors, 41
 Byzantine empire, 91
 Byzantine times, 3
 Byzantion, 91, 172, 242

 Caecilius, 18, 243, 260, 263
 Caesar's campaign, 242
 Case System, 5, 6, 71, 301
 cases, 6, 7, 8, 31, 32, 45, 48, 49, 71,
 72, 76, 79, 83, 84, 96, 97, 99, 105,
 108, 128, 139, 145, 147, 152, 159,
 171, 172, 179, 202, 206, 216, 224,
 226, 252, 254, 256, 292, 299, 303
 Chairōneia, 251
 charm, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57,
 241, 260, 272, 295, 296
 Cherronēsiāns, 32
 Cherubim, 73
 Christ, 30, 56, 88, 106, 123, 157,
 177, 178, 220, 223, 226, 228, 234,
 275, 278, 279, 283, 290, 308
 Christian, 9, 11, 13, 31, 35, 41, 43,
 44, 45, 46, 56, 61, 64, 82, 95, 97,
 111, 120, 127, 149, 158, 174, 185,
 187, 194, 205, 207, 210, 224, 233,
 247, 280, 281, 283, 301, 302, 306,
 307
 Christian authors, 45, 46, 206, 210,
 225, 307
 Christian Faith, 280
 Christian literature, 174
 Christianity, 271
 Christians, 232, 275, 284
 Chrysostomos, 31, 41, 53, 57, 67,
 127, 156, 187, 206, 220, 221, 226,
 307
 Church Fathers, 41, 194, 206, 307
 Cicero, 240, 243, 249, 250, 269, 273
 circumlocution, 55, 60
 circumstantial participial structures,
 137
 Claromontanus, 210
 Classical, 6, 2, 20, 57, 58, 114, 138,
 190, 241
 classical age, 148, 241
 classical antiquity, 16, 191
 classical authors, 47, 140, 191, 301,
 302, 307
 classical Greek, 5, 37, 44, 47, 50, 59,
 61, 76, 102, 113, 137, 167, 201,
 205, 215, 230, 307

- classical masterpieces, 19
 classical times, 5, 7, 10, 34, 35, 41,
 57, 58, 59, 75, 80, 84, 89, 120,
 123, 128, 131, 132, 133, 143, 150,
 153, 159, 201, 204, 207, 281, 300,
 304
 classicistic authors, 95, 159
 classicizing, 98
Claudius, 21, 321, 377
 commentators, 11, 37, 125, 136, 137,
 138, 164, 227, 300
 communication, 2, 9, 17, 62, 75, 110,
 147, 272
 composition, 12, 17, 18, 19, 239,
 246, 265, 267, 272, 285, 286, 287,
 288, 289, 291, 292, 295, 296, 309,
 310
 concurrence of perfect and aorist,
 153
 Confirmatory, 6, 14, 189, 306
 confusion of the cases, 76
 congenitality, 67
 conjunctions, 14, 189
 consonant, 21, 159
 Constantinople, 91
 Constantinopolitan, 88
 Corinthians, 50, 126, 164, 210, 223,
 281, 282, 283
 correct syntax, 90
 corrector, 211
 criteria, 17, 18, 19, 20, 271, 273,
 285, 309, 310
 criticism, 17, 18, 163, 167, 239, 240,
 241, 270, 271, 272, 295, 309

Daily bread, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68
 Damaskēnos, 41, 68, 82, 210, 220
 Danaans, 116, 257
 Dative, 5, 6, 71, 76, 80, 81, 83, 88,
 91, 216, 301
 David, 82, 109, 179
 definition, 11, 76, 140, 194
 delight, 38, 50, 55
 Demetrios, 17, 239
 Dēmētrios Phalēreus, 17, 241
 demise of the dative, 79
 Dēmokritos, 41, 224, 326
 Dēmostenēs, 32, 98, 112, 119, 130,
 145, 147, 150, 153, 154, 155, 173,
 178, 191, 207, 249, 250, 252, 253,
 255, 257, 260, 261, 263, 264, 265,
 266, 273, 277, 279, 281, 290, 291
Demotic, 25, 29, 32, 35, 36, 39, 43,
 46, 47, 57, 61, 63, 69, 83, 87, 91,
 96, 99, 112, 148, 163, 187, 215,
 300, 302, 305
 Demotic Neohellenic, 29
 denotation, 16
 Dhimotikē, 25
 diachronic, 4, 5, 6, 12, 15, 64, 68,
 168, 299, 308
 diachronic approach, 5
 dialects, 3, 26, 187
 dichotomy, 167
 diction, 10, 13, 16, 26, 112, 124, 161,
 180, 246, 258, 288, 290, 306, 310
 dignity, 251, 258, 269, 306
 diminutive, 36, 58, 221
 Dimorphia, 147
 Diodōros Sikeliotēs, 60, 127, 151,
 156, 178, 214, 220, 224, 327, 381
 Diogenianos, 158
 Diōn Chrysostomos, 7, 206, 219
 Diōn of Prousa, 112
 Dionysios Hal, 7, 18, 45, 46, 110,
 183, 206, 222, 239, 243, 258, 268,
 269, 272, 286, 291, 297, 307
 'Dionysios or Longinos', 18
 direct question, 15, 201, 203, 204,
 208, 308
 direct questions, 14, 191, 201, 202,
 204, 205, 206, 208, 307, 308
dittography, 211, 212, 213
 Doric, 3, 142, 190
 drama, 240, 241, 276
 Dutch, 37, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62
 dynamic, 10, 117, 120

 Economy, 90, 111, 112, 302
 effective composition, 239

- effective perfect, 145
 effectiveness, 90, 272, 296
 Egypt, 7, 17, 32, 61, 149, 157, 227, 270, 297
 Egyptian papyri, 2, 3, 111
 Egyptians, 43, 257
 εἰς + accusative, 8, 71, 79, 301
 Elateia, 249, 277
 elegance, 22, 50, 52, 57, 59, 74, 258, 260, 272, 302, 310
 ellenistic, 91
 emotional power, 249
 emphatic possessive, 109
 ἐν + dative, 8, 71, 72, 76, 77, 79, 301
 English, 8, 21, 33, 37, 47, 48, 54, 95, 96, 137, 139, 163, 165, 195, 197, 253
 English translations, 8
 Epaphos, 47
 Ephraemi, 210, 211
 Epic, 6, 2, 14, 190, 191, 193, 195, 297
 Epilogue, 22, 299
 Epistles, 97, 129, 184, 185, 210, 218, 222, 224
 Erasmus pronunciation, 2, 209
 Eratosthenēs, 242, 259
 Erigonē, 259
 Erinyes, 251
 eschatological events, 42
 etymology, 6, 64, 221, 225, 240
 Euphrosynē, 50
 Eustathios, 41, 128, 185, 212, 217, 219, 220, 222
 Euthēmios, 21
Euthydēmos, 21, 44
 evangelists, 57, 66
 Evdoxos Astronomos, 41
Evnapios, 21, 152, 243, 329
Evripidēs, 16, 21, 31, 38, 39, 46, 59, 127, 143, 146, 151, 173, 178, 187, 190, 191, 193, 207, 217, 220, 231, 240, 251, 267
 excellencies of style, 243
 Feminine, 63, 65
 fool, 192, 216, 221, 222, 223, 225
 forgiveness, 53, 54, 55, 64, 183
 Fourth Gospel, 273
 French, 37, 48, 53, 54, 56, 62, 314
 future, 3, 32, 63, 65, 68, 116, 146, 166, 201, 243
 future form, 33
 Galatia, 290
 Galatian, 278
Gefühl, 8, 74, 90, 120
 Genesis account of creation, 248
 Genitive, 5, 6, 71, 73, 88, 89, 91, 216, 301
 genitive in lieu of the dative, 75
 Gentle Nurse, 6, 15, 209, 308
 gnostic, 136, 143
 good taste, 243
 Gospels, 99, 276
 grace, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 241, 274, 291
 grammar, 1, 9, 113, 115, 131, 147, 172, 180, 241, 299, 309, 310
 grammarians, 11, 124, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 158, 164, 172, 304
 grammatical, 1, 4, 11, 17, 20, 37, 99, 111, 125, 130, 138, 153, 163, 165, 171, 300, 304, 310
 grand conceptions, 19, 20, 273, 310
 grandeur, 17, 20, 239, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 258, 259, 260, 262, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, 272, 286, 287, 290, 291, 299, 309, 310
 gratitude, 22, 31, 51, 56
 Greek, 6, 8, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 73, 76, 81, 83, 91, 95, 96, 97, 99, 103, 104, 105, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 119, 120, 122, 125, 131, 132, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 146, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153,

- 154, 156, 157, 159, 161, 166, 167,
 168, 171, 172, 174, 175, 177, 178,
 180, 184, 189, 190, 195, 196, 197,
 198, 199, 201, 202, 206, 207, 210,
 211, 212, 214, 215, 216, 220, 225,
 226, 231, 232, 239, 241, 242, 247,
 248, 258, 268, 269, 271, 272, 274,
 279, 280, 281, 286, 287, 291, 294,
 296, 297, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304,
 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310
 Greek grammar, 113, 115
 Greek literature, 57, 174, 241
 Greek original, 8
 Greek particles, 189
 Greek point of view, 22
 Greek semantics, 6
 Greek tradition, 68
Greeks, 57, 61, 75, 84, 90, 112, 129,
 154, 247, 264, 309

 Haplography, 211, 213
 harmoniousness, 50
 Hatzidakis, 34, 36, 43, 71, 74, 75, 83,
 84, 90, 103, 119, 120, 122, 123,
 124, 131, 140, 142, 143, 148, 150,
 151, 158, 165, 167
 Hatzidalkis, 25
 Hebrew, 14, 37, 51, 52, 62, 69, 81,
 177, 182, 183, 186, 189, 195, 196,
 198, 199, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206,
 300, 306, 307, 310,
 Hebrew text, 14, 189, 306
 Hēgesias, 268
 Hektor, 217
 Helen, 217
 Helenē, 232
 Hēlios, 251
 Hellas, 2, 88, 91, 92, 148, 253
 Hellēnes, 3, 34, 174, 257, 295
 Hellenic, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15,
 19, 21, 25, 26, 29, 31, 37, 38, 52,
 61, 64, 68, 71, 73, 127, 129, 167,
 248, 271, 295, 296, 299
 Hellenic language, 68
 Hellenic literature, 6, 272
 Hellenic Nation, 167
 Hellenistic, 2, 3, 10, 29, 31, 32, 57,
 60, 114, 118, 120, 123, 124, 130,
 132, 133, 150, 153, 155, 163, 164,
 167, 297, 300, 302, 305
 Hellenistic authors, 120, 123
 Hellenistic Greek, 3
 Hēphaistos, 47
 Hērakleidai, 145, 155
 Hērodotos, 31, 44, 59, 63, 178, 191,
 193, 221, 244, 247, 250, 255, 256,
 258, 269, 270, 284, 292, 294
 Hesiodic, 240
 Hēsiodos, 35, 50, 217, 218, 219, 221,
 250, 274, 330, 340, 384, 394
 Hēsychios, 35, 60, 158, 221, 231
 HGP, 15
 high-minded conception, 258
 high-mindedness, 19, 239, 246, 247,
 261, 286, 289
 historical developments, 12
 Historical Greek Pronunciation, 1, 2,
 207, 308
 historical perspective, 129
 history of Greek, 25, 113, 215
 history of the Greek, 113
 holistic approach, 4, 12, 15, 167, 215
 Homeric epics, 240
 Homeric times, 3
 Homēros, 16, 20, 21, 31, 35, 38, 50,
 57, 60, 143, 144, 146, 172, 173,
 176, 178, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194,
 195, 212, 215, 216, 217, 219, 220,
 221, 222, 225, 227, 235, 247, 248,
 249, 250, 259, 261, 262, 276, 305,
 309
 Hort, 15, 212, 318, 356, 375
 hyperbaton, 256
 Hyperidēs, 251, 260
 hypothetical conjunction, 15, 190,
 201, 208
 hypothetical conjunction *ei*, 15, 201,
 208
 Identification, 45, 109

- Ilias*, 31, 60, 116, 143, 144, 146, 172, 173, 176, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 212, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 248, 249
 illiterate papyri, 112
 imbecil, 221, 223, 263, 309
 imperfect, 115, 124, 143, 150, 180, 195
 indirect middle, 10, 117, 118, 133
 indirect questions, 14, 191, 192, 201, 208, 307
 indiscriminate use, 75, 98, 124, 149, 305
 Indo-European languages, 175
 inelegance, 96
 Infant, 6, 15, 209, 308, 348
 inflation of meaning, 96
 inflectional language, 95
 inscriptions, 3, 20, 43, 61, 206, 230, 308
 insensitivity, 74
 interdependence, 167
 interjection ὦ, 173, 184, 185, 187, 305
 interpretation, 6, 12, 15, 16, 17, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 168, 209, 215
 Interrogative, 6, 14, 189, 205, 306
 interrogative ἦ, 200, 205, 208, 307
 intransitive, 10, 76, 116, 123, 145, 150, 304
 Introduction, 5, 1, 17, 22, 262, 350
 Iokaste, 256, 257
 Iōn, 127, 240, 259
 Ionic, 3, 297
 Iōsēpos, 41
 Ipeiotic, 3
 Isaiah, 84, 198, 218, 282
 isokolon, 287, 292
 Israel, 43, 51, 62, 179, 198, 282
 Italian, 37, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 62, 148, 226
 itinerant rhetors, 228
 Jannaris, 88, 91, 103, 114, 115, 118, 119, 120, 131, 140, 143, 148, 150, 152, 153, 156, 159, 208
 Jerome, 62, 63, 67, 210
 Jewish leaders, 273
 Johannine perspective, 182
 Johannine writings, 41
 Judas, 277
 Justinian I, 25
 Kadmoi, 257
 Kalē Aktē, Sikelia, 18
 Kassandros, 17, 241
Katharevousa, 25, 27, 29, 32, 36, 43, 47, 57, 61, 63, 83, 87, 112, 114, 125, 148, 187, 215, 286, 305
 kind disposition, 51
 King Priamos, 217
 King Theseus, 39
 Kingdom of God, 64, 65
 Koinē, 213, 241
 Kōnstantinos Porphyrogenētos, 41
 Kontos, 141, 148, 151, 159
 Korinth, 256
 Kritōn, 64, 139, 140, 154, 191, 194
 Kronos, 145, 155
 Laios, 256
 Lampido, 155
 language, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 36, 37, 38, 40, 50, 61, 64, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 83, 90, 91, 95, 105, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 128, 129, 133, 136, 139, 147, 148, 149, 153, 159, 167, 184, 185, 196, 199, 214, 215, 220, 240, 242, 259, 265, 284, 297, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304, 310
 Last Supper, 59, 277
 Late Byzantine, 2
 Latin, 21, 62, 152, 202, 231
 Latin form, 21
 Latinate form, 21
 lectio impossibilis, 214
 Leōtychidas, 155
 lexica, 6, 29, 38
 lexicon, 3, 6, 38, 39, 242

- librarians, 242
 Library of Alexandria, 242
 Libya, 232
 linguistic, 2, 3, 9, 15, 16, 18, 25, 33,
 64, 68, 73, 74, 83, 111, 113, 114,
 125, 126, 129, 147, 155, 167, 214,
 215, 233, 244, 294, 302, 304, 309
 linguistic elites, 147
 literary, 4, 9, 11, 17, 18, 29, 44, 110,
 113, 114, 148, 149, 150, 154, 156,
 165, 166, 206, 239, 240, 241, 242,
 243, 250, 270, 271, 272, 294, 295,
 296, 299, 309
 literary contests, 240
 literary criticism, 240, 241, 272, 295
 literary genres, 296
 literature, 4, 6, 7, 13, 14, 17, 31, 40,
 42, 45, 51, 52, 53, 57, 69, 113,
 114, 127, 147, 174, 175, 178, 180,
 184, 189, 190, 195, 207, 215, 230,
 240, 241, 245, 248, 257, 259, 271,
 295, 297, 300, 301, 302, 306, 307,
 308, 310
 'Longinos', 18, 19, 243, 244, 245,
 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252,
 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259,
 260, 261, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267,
 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274,
 276, 277, 279, 281, 284, 285, 289,
 290, 291, 292, 297, 309
 loss of feeling, 10, 79, 114, 124, 147,
 163
 Loukianos, 47, 77, 112, 121, 122,
 130, 206, 219, 307
 loveliness, 50, 52, 53, 54, 57
 Lukan writings, 57
 lyric, 240, 262
 Lysias, 31, 44, 112, 260, 295

 Magnēsia, 268
 mainland Greece, 91
 Makedonia, 149, 155
 Malalas, 16, 77, 98, 121, 157, 207,
 227
 Malchos, 36

 manna, 69
 Marathōn, 279, 281
 Mary, 47, 49, 161
 mathematics, 241
 Matthew, 7, 10, 37, 38, 40, 44, 48,
 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 96,
 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106,
 109, 123, 124, 125, 126, 129, 130,
 137, 161, 182, 225, 226, 293, 294,
 296, 301, 303, 310
 Mediaeval, 2, 20, 36, 305
 Medialformen, 120, 122
 medicine, 219, 242, 253
 Medium des Intrresses, 120
 Medium διάμεσον, 120
 Melchisedek, 284
 Menandros, 46, 60, 121, 282
 mercy, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 121, 123,
 129
 metaphorical, 30, 59, 202, 216, 221,
 282
 metaphors, 253, 263, 264, 284
 methodology, 271, 272
 metoikoi, 251
 middle, 9, 10, 25, 32, 114, 115, 116,
 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123,
 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130,
 131, 132, 160, 161, 162, 299, 303,
 304
 Middle Ages, 13, 353
 minuscules, 211
 Mistriotis, 148
 modern Greek, 112
 Moiris, 34
 momentous changes, 25
 monolectic forms, 139, 151, 159, 160
 morphological changes, 25
 Morphology, 5, 1, 5, 25, 34, 83, 113,
 148, 215, 299, 300
 MS tradition, 14, 189, 200, 202, 307
 Museum and Library, 241, 295
 Mycenaean, 2, 221

 Natural sciences, 241
 Nehemiah, 201, 361

- Neohellenic, 5, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12,
 13, 16, 20, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31,
 32, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44,
 46, 47, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 68, 69,
 73, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 91, 95, 99,
 112, 113, 123, 125, 127, 130, 139,
 140, 142, 148, 159, 163, 187, 202,
 206, 208, 215, 219, 222, 225, 227,
 235, 243, 286, 300, 305, 306, 308,
 309
 Neohellenic literature, 6
 neologisms, 4
 new formations, 6, 26, 300
 New Testament authors, 7, 11, 20,
 52, 89, 125, 129, 271, 273, 296,
 297, 310
 New Testament Greek, 1, 2, 5, 114
 New Testament idiom, 25, 37, 127
 New Testament vocabulary, 3, 68
 Nikodēmos, 49, 77
 nobility of expression, 19, 310
 Nominative, 6, 12, 171, 177, 181,
 184, 216, 305
 nominative is used as vocative, 305
 non-periodic, 148
 Northern form, 88

 Oath-like utterance, 195
Odysseia, 35, 50, 172, 191, 192, 193,
 194, 212, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222,
 227, 235, 247, 249, 276
 Oidipous, 21, 119, 133, 142, 150,
 177, 191, 192, 193, 235, 256, 257
 Old Testament, 12, 68, 198, 248, 297
 Onesimos, 50
 Orestēs, 231, 251, 329, 383
 Ōrigenēs, 31, 42, 66, 67, 184, 210,
 225
 original, 1, 8, 12, 14, 18, 20, 51, 53,
 54, 56, 57, 58, 63, 64, 69, 96, 137,
 146, 152, 165, 186, 189, 195, 196,
 202, 203, 205, 211, 223, 233, 243,
 256, 285, 306, 307
 Orpheus, 16, 227
 orthographic form, 14, 189
 orthographical errors, 212
 orthography, 26, 306
 overemphasizing, 96

 Pagan Greek contexts, 174
 Pandōra, 50
 panis quotidianus, 62
 papyri, 3, 4, 7, 61, 68, 149, 150, 174,
 206, 215, 230, 308, 344, 345
 parallelism, 233, 286, 287, 292
 particles, 12, 14, 189, 192, 206, 299,
 306, 307
 passionate style, 251
 passive, 10, 48, 114, 115, 116, 118,
 121, 123, 124, 126, 127, 139, 142,
 151, 152, 160, 304, 305
 Paul, 6, 15, 16, 19, 20, 30, 50, 57, 72,
 82, 83, 85, 98, 106, 110, 126, 127,
 128, 131, 133, 148, 164, 183, 184,
 185, 205, 209, 210, 214, 216, 223,
 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 234, 248,
 272, 273, 274, 275, 277, 278, 279,
 280, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287,
 288, 290, 292, 295, 296, 303, 308,
 309, 310
 Payri, 20
 Pelopes, 257
 Peloponnesian Greek, 91
 Peloponnesos, 91
 Perfect, 6, 11, 47, 58, 115, 125, 135,
 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142,
 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150,
 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157,
 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164,
 165, 166, 167, 168, 183, 198, 267,
 287, 292, 299, 304, 305
 perfect-aorist exchange, 153
 Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 17
 periods, 2, 3, 20, 29, 57, 167, 220,
 267
 periphrasis, 258, 294
Περὶ Ὑψους, 18, 19, 241, 309
 Persian magos, 32
 personal address, 174
 personal pronoun, 95

- perspicacity, 90, 243
 Petros, 232
 Phaëthōn, 251
 Phalēron, 154
 Pharaoh, 195
 phases, 2, 3, 26
 phenomena, 11, 12, 111, 113, 114,
 120, 167, 299
 phenomenon, 7, 8, 42, 79, 81, 95, 98,
 100, 103, 114, 115, 126, 147, 149,
 153, 157, 160, 164, 166, 171, 175,
 180, 187, 303, 305
 Philippos, 82, 98, 132, 149, 154, 185,
 249, 253, 255, 263, 264, 277, 290
 philological, 15, 16, 21, 25, 209, 215,
 233, 308, 309
 philological evidence, 15, 16, 21,
 209, 308
 philological examination, 25, 233
 Philōn, 41, 207, 214, 220, 224
 philosophic speculation, 20
 philosophy, 225
 phraseology, 7, 46
 Phrunichos, 21
Phrynichos, 21, 29, 30, 60, 90, 124
 Pilate, 276
 Pindaros, 231, 232, 235, 259, 338
 Plataia, 253, 279
 Platōn, 7, 20, 31, 41, 44, 46, 58, 60,
 61, 64, 98, 99, 112, 120, 139, 140,
 142, 144, 145, 147, 150, 154, 155,
 172, 173, 177, 178, 187, 190, 191,
 192, 193, 202, 207, 221, 240, 244,
 247, 250, 258, 260, 261, 262, 264,
 274, 281, 304
 pleasant appearance, 50
 pleasantness, 53, 55, 260
 Ploutarchos, 7, 112, 127, 152, 177,
 178, 218, 219, 220, 241, 245
 poetry, 241, 259
 poets, 13, 18, 142, 153, 157, 235,
 244, 249, 250, 267
 Polybios, 57, 121, 123, 133, 151,
 155, 156, 339, 392
 polytheistic outlook, 175
 polyvalence, 6
 possessive pronoun, 95, 97, 99, 100,
 106, 110
 Possessive Pronouns, 5, 8, 95, 302
 post-classical, 10, 11, 31, 76, 80, 84,
 89, 98, 102, 103, 113, 123, 124,
 137, 184, 297
 post-classical era, 99
 post-New Testament times, 8, 111,
 132
 pragmatics, 16
 pre-Alexandros, 25
 pre-Matthean, 62
 preposition, 7, 8, 41, 42, 48, 71, 72,
 80, 81, 87, 88, 180, 301
 prepositional accusative, 79
 prepositional dative, 79
 prepositions, 7, 79, 83
 present tense, 65, 141, 257
 present time, 84, 141, 142, 293
 presupposition, 64, 75
 Prokopios, 41, 42, 207, 339, 393
 Prometheus, 21
 pronoun, 8, 10, 11, 72, 73, 75, 95,
 96, 97, 99, 100, 103, 105, 106,
 107, 108, 109, 110, 119, 129, 130,
 131, 132, 133, 301, 302, 303
 Pronouns, 5, 6, 8, 9, 95, 302
 pronunciation, 1, 2, 14, 21, 182, 187,
 208
 pronunciation of Greek, 2
προσαγόρευσις, 172
προσφώνησις, 172
 Proto-Aryan, 2
 Proto-Byzantine, 2
 Proto-Greek, 2
 proverbial, 16, 35, 217, 227
 Ptolemaic papyri, 59, 150, 156
 Ptolemaios I, Soter, 17
 Ptolemaios I, Sōter, 241
 punctuation, 177, 215, 226, 234
 Reciprocal activity, 118
 redundancies, 8, 96, 102, 105, 107,
 111, 112

- redundancy, 8, 9, 96, 99, 100, 101,
 102, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112,
 303
 reduplication, 141, 159
 reflexive pronoun, 9, 10, 102, 114,
 115, 118, 119, 124, 129, 130, 131,
 132, 133, 303
 regularity, 5, 34
 rhapsody, 240
 rhetor, 19, 244, 247, 251, 254, 258,
 264, 291
 rhetorical, 9, 17, 19, 102, 273, 279,
 280, 281, 282, 285, 287, 291, 296,
 299, 309
 Rhode, 157
 Roman period, 241

 Salamis, 79, 176, 253, 279
 Sanballat, 201
 Sapphō, 38, 39, 176, 193, 340, 393
 scribe, 181, 210, 212, 213
 scribes, 14, 15, 101, 162, 213
 second aorist, 124
 semantic, 10, 14, 15, 16, 51, 52, 57,
 110, 123, 167, 171, 200, 202, 208,
 216, 230, 234, 253, 300, 307
 semantics, 16, 51, 224
 semasiological, 230, 302
 Semites, 6, 31
 Semitic, 6, 97, 99, 182
 sentence, 8, 9, 75, 76, 99, 101, 108,
 110, 111, 135, 161, 180, 181, 182,
 195, 215, 226, 228, 239, 243, 256,
 275, 284, 287, 291, 295
 Septuagint, 6, 12, 13, 14, 41, 42, 45,
 46, 77, 91, 129, 171, 177, 189,
 190, 194, 197, 202, 305, 306, 307
 simpler form of Attic, 147
 Simplicios, 90
 Sinaiticus, 62, 210
 Sōkratēs, 99, 154, 193, 281
 Solecista [Soloikistēs, 122
 solemn oath, 121, 281
 solemnity, 13, 175, 178, 180, 186,
 195, 199, 305, 306

 sophists, 228
 Sophoklēs, 16, 59, 119, 133, 142,
 146, 150, 155, 172, 173, 177, 178,
 191, 192, 193, 207, 227, 231, 235,
 240, 257, 259
 Southern form, 88
 Southern Greek, 91
 Southern parts of Hellas, 91
 Spanish, 37, 48, 53, 55, 56, 62, 226
 Sphrantzēs, 41, 44, 220
 stereotypical phrase, 41
 Stesichoros, 250
 strong and forceful emotion, 19, 20,
 252, 277
 subject, 8, 10, 18, 69, 75, 76, 95,
 109, 115, 116, 117, 118, 126, 135,
 157, 162, 198, 240, 252, 262, 265,
 268
 sublime, 17, 19, 20, 239, 245, 246,
 248, 255, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271,
 275, 296, 297, 309, 310
 sublimity, 17, 18, 19, 20, 239, 243,
 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250,
 251, 252, 253, 256, 257, 260, 261,
 262, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270,
 271, 272, 273, 274, 277, 283, 286,
 287, 290, 291, 299, 309, 310
 superfluous, 9, 11, 99, 100, 102, 103,
 104, 105, 107, 109, 111, 129, 131,
 132, 159, 233, 249, 302, 303
 supersubstantialem, 62, 67
 Swedish, 37, 48, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62,
 63, 65, 226,
 symmetry, 287
 synchronic approach, 25, 299, 308
 synoptic, 59
 syntactical, 7, 8, 17, 107, 114, 148,
 171, 180
 syntax, 8, 9, 83, 113, 147, 215, 226,
 241, 299

 Tense System, 6, 11, 135
 tenses, 11, 33, 135, 136, 137, 139,
 142, 146, 149, 151, 152, 158, 159,
 162, 163, 165, 167, 256

- Teos, 233, 262, 398
 terminology, 7
 Thalia, 50
 the Jewish background, 125
 the *lectio difficilior*, 214
 Theodōrētos, 41, 210, 219, 342, 395
 Theokritos, 220, 221, 231, 259
 Theophrastos, 264
 Theopompos, 263, 270
 Thessalian, 3
 Thessalonian Church, 16
 Thoukydides, 7, 71, 98, 112, 117,
 120, 126, 146, 147, 153, 154, 155,
 178, 190, 191, 207, 301, 304
 Three Graces (αἱ τρεῖς Χάριτες), 50
 Thugenides, 35
 time of transition, 17, 25
 tragedy, 240
 transition period, 25
 transitive, 10, 76, 80, 145, 304
 translations, 8, 21, 37, 49, 50, 52, 53,
 54, 55, 56, 67, 136, 165, 209, 243,
 271
 translators, 37, 56, 64, 66, 96, 129,
 136, 137, 204, 300, 306
 true force of the middle, 129
 Typhōn, 41
 Tyrtaios, 145, 155
 Tzetzes, 41
- Uncials, 210, 280
 universe, 251, 261, 274, 286
 unnecessary repetitions, 111
- Vaticanus, 177, 210, 211
 vehement emotion, 256
- verb, 6, 10, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 47,
 48, 50, 51, 56, 57, 60, 65, 72, 73,
 76, 78, 84, 95, 99, 108, 114, 115,
 120, 123, 125, 126, 127, 132, 138,
 141, 142, 150, 152, 155, 165, 182,
 195, 197, 198, 199, 202, 212, 221,
 223, 226, 230, 232, 277, 290, 294,
 308
 verbal system, 32
 verbs denoting *rest*, 71, 75, 76
 verbs of motion, 7, 79
 verbs of rest, 7
 verbs of saying, 7, 8, 72, 75, 88, 301
 vernacular speech, 111, 304
 Versions, 48
 virtuoso voice, 57
 Vocative, 6, 12, 13, 171, 172, 173,
 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181,
 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 216,
 222, 299, 305, 306
 vocative form, 13, 172, 176, 181,
 185, 187
 Voulgaris, 148
 Vulgate translation, 62
- Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, 262
 wordplays, 2
- Xenophōn, 31, 41, 44, 46, 58, 59, 60,
 63, 71, 96, 97, 98, 117, 118, 119,
 120, 143, 150, 172, 173, 174, 178,
 191, 207, 235, 264, 301
- Yahweh, 45, 177
- Zeus, 13, 145, 155, 157, 172, 174,
 176, 219, 231, 244, 248, 249, 281