

CHRYS C. CARAGOUNIS

New Testament Investigations

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament
487*

Mohr Siebeck

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Chrys C. Caragounis

New Testament Investigations

A Diachronic Perspective

Mohr Siebeck

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For
Johanna Cornelia

Prologue

In the present volume I lay before the reader some of the results of my more recent research, pursuing the line of the diachronic approach to the Hellenic language, initiated with the publication of my first book with this approach, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament. Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission* (WUNT 167) 2004. Actually, this approach characterized my research work from the very beginning of my scholarly career, figuring already in my first scientific article written about 50 years ago: “ΩΨΩΝΙΟΝ. A Reconsideration of Its Meaning,” *NovT* XVI [1973], 35–57), although it had not been worked out until the writing of the above volume. The conception of this volume was occasioned by my research in the Historical Pronunciation of Hellenic published as “The Error of Erasmus and Un-Greek Pronunciations of Greek,” in *Filologia Neotestamentaria* VIII (1995), pp. 151–184.

Following that study, I came to realize that the un-Hellenic Erasmusian pronunciation had begotten a greater calamity than itself: it had divided the language into ancient and modern, with the result that these were investigated separately as if they had no relation to each other. Thus, important material was lost sight of in the exegesis of the New Testament. And so the *Development of Greek and the New Testament* was born. This book was seminal. It gave the reasons for the new way of approaching the New Testament and by an enormous number of examples, taken from all 28 centuries of Hellenic literature (from Homēros till our time), it exemplified the impossibility of separating hermetically the language into different periods and studying each one without reference to the other periods. The benefits of the new approach for New Testament exegesis became soon obvious.

There was a lot of discussion of this book on the internet and a number of scholars were inspired by it to proceed to a more holistic approach of the New Testament texts. For this, χάριτι ἔχω τῷ καθηγητῆϊ Jörg Frey, who accepted the book for publication in the WUNT series. Professor Frey continued to show confidence, when he accepted also its sequel volume, *New Testament Language and Exegesis. A Diachronic Approach*, for WUNT no. 323, published in 2014. This book extended the research into new areas and became complementary to the first volume. It also investigated the question of literary criticism, as this was developed by the greatest literary critic of antiq-

uity, the unknown author of Περὶ Ὑψους (= “On the Sublime”). And he has yet again given me the opportunity to continue my ‘kērygma’ by letting even the present volume appear in the renowned series, of which he is the editor.

The present volume contains a number of investigations into exegetical problems in the synoptics, in John, and especially in Paul. There figure investigations of historical nature as, for example, the chapter on the *Weltanschauung* of the New Testament authors, delineating the kind of world-view that was rife in the Roman empire during the first century, and how we ought to interpret certain New Testament statements. There are several linguistic-grammatical studies on particular topics and there are studies of exegetico-theological nature as, for example, the chapter on “Expiation – Propitiation – Reconciliation,” which involves detailed consideration of the evidence in the ancient sources – something that has been missing from discussions on the subject and is responsible for the uninformed outcome in existing treatments. Moreover, an *Auseinandersetzung* with scholars of the Social Science approach about early Corinthian Christianity, who, captive to sociological models created on the basis of observations of modern backward societies of very different nature from the ancient world, have exhibited an insufficient acquaintance with the historical facts within the Roman empire, and a critique of the “New Perspective on Paul,” which shows that fatal shortcomings in the linguistic and grammatical treatment of the New Testament evidence has brought about positions that are hardly congruent with Paul’s statements. All these and other investigations have been carried out by the application of the holistic approach to the linguistic and grammatical problems discussed.

I now proceed to a brief presentation of the concerns of the various chapters.

The first, introductory, chapter, “The Oneness of Hellenic. Its Importance for New Testament Exegesis”, presents the thesis that the Hellenic language is one from the beginning to the present. Thus, post-New Testament evidence may be applicable to the linguistic problems of the New Testament. This is exemplified concretely by the exegesis of Jn 15:1–6, which shows that the terms ἄμπελος and κλήματα have in Neohellenic taken on the meanings of ‘vineyard’ and ‘vines’ respectively and that this meaning suits the description in Jn 15:1–6 perfectly. Such knowledge leads back in time to an investigation of when the new meanings came into play and we discover that the changes were made already several centuries before Christ.

This chapter is important also for another reason. It indicates the linguistic parameters that have been used in this book, that is, wherever the holistic approach was feasible.

Part One, “Linguistic Studies”, contains four chapters that deal with linguistic details. Chapter two, “Μενοῦν and μενοῦνγε in the New Testament” discusses the development of these particles from μέν and οὖν to μενοῦν and finally to μενοῦνγε (occurring first in the New Testament) thus intensifying

the classical μέν (or rather μήν) οὖν and being strongly affirmative. The third chapter, “Εἷς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὁ πατήρ ὁ οὐράνιος. What Does It Mean?” actually involves a text-critical problem. The present text in *Novum Testamentum* gives an awkward sense: “One is your Father in heaven”, as if there could have been more than one. The problem is alleviated if we add a comma between ὁ πατήρ and ὁ οὐράνιος, giving the sense: “One is your father, he who is in heaven”. Chapter four, “Μήποτε οὐ μὴ ἀρκέσῃ ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν. What Are They Saying?” is both a grammatical and a textual problem. Μήποτε is often taken as a conjunction, which goes badly with οὐ, while οὐ goes badly with μὴ (i.e. an objective with a subjective negation). Οὐ μὴ is taken as a strong negation. Μή, it is here argued, represents the classical μήν and together with οὐ it stresses a negative assertion. If we take μήποτε as an adverb, ‘never’, we get the meaning: “Never! It will not be enough for us and for you”. Chapter five, “Ἐταῖρε, ἐφ’ ᾧ ἔπαρει. What Did Jesus Intend by It?” has given rise to many fanciful interpretations. The word ἑταῖρε in this context does not mean ‘Friend’, that is, in its normal sense; it is a form of address and has the same meaning as in Mt 22:12: “You, there”. If, in spite of everything, we translate it as ‘Friend’, we must not imply any friendly overtones. With the expression ἐφ’ ᾧ ἔπαρει ‘on what you have come’, we get the very terse remark: “‘Friend’, to the point!”

Part two, “Background Studies”, contains two chapters, the first of which, “The *Weltanschauung* of the New Testament Authors”, treats the important question of the world view of the New Testament. New Testament scholars interpret relevant sayings on the basis of a world view that was current in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia 2000 years before Christ. The fact is that the New Testament authors shared the world view of the Hellēnes. The current world view is then described with full documentation from ancient sources in such areas as the universe, the earth, atomic theory and various areas of medicine. New Testament texts are interpreted in the light of this world view. The following chapter, Chapter seven, “‘Greco-Roman’. A Term of Convenience or of Uncertainty?”, offers a critique of the ubiquitous use of this hybrid term about anything that may be dated one or two centuries before or after the New Testament – setting at risk scientific standards – instead of clearly distinguishing between what is Hellenic and what is Latin or Roman.

Part three, “Johannine Writings”, comprises three chapters, devoted to Johannine problems. The first of these, Chapter eight, “The Concept of Logos in John 1:1” addresses the question of background. The Hebrew-Jewish backgrounds are treated in detail but are found wanting. None of the characteristics of John’s Logos is found in them. A fresh examination of the Logos in Hērakleitos and the Stoics shows such deep-going affinities with John’s Logos, as to leave no doubt where the latter’s sources lie. Chapter nine, “Jesus and the Journey to the Feast (John 7:8–10)” revolves around the contradiction found in the text of the *Novum Testamentum* between what Jesus says

in vs. 8 and what he does in vs. 10. Commentators generally accept the problematic reading and then try to explain the contradiction away by arguments that do not convince. The problem is purely text-critical. The earliest text attainable, which could hardly have been a correction, involves no contradiction. Chapter ten, “Confession Formulae in 1 John” takes up for discussion the two formulae in 1 Jn 2:18–27 and 1 Jn 4:1–6. In the first case, the problem was Christological: the heretics rejected the Church’s belief that Jesus was the Christ. In the second case, the problem was the veracity of the incarnation; hence the confession that Jesus was the Christ come in the flesh. The first confession involved the $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, the witness of the Spirit, whereas the second necessitated the objective criterion of the written word or the confessional tradition from the Apostles.

The Fourth Part, on “Pauline Writings”, contains five chapters. Chapter eleven, “The Jerusalem Decrees. How Did Paul React?” discusses the Jerusalem conference of Acts 15 and Gal 2, in which James, giving in to the judaisers, proposed a compromise. Paul acquiesced to it in order to preserve the unity of the Church, but this proved futile. The judaisers went their way, degenerating into various sects that died out within two hundred years or so, while Paul after a time disregarded the decrees, proclaiming the freedom of the Church from Jewish sensitivities. Chapter twelve, “Early Christianity at Corinth. A Critique of the Social Science Approach” is concerned with the picture of Corinthian Christianity painted by sociological scholars. A scrutiny of such statements follows, showing that the claims put forward – based on very dissimilar models – are hopelessly at variance with the ancient sources. Any reconstruction of Corinthian Christianity must satisfy thirty-four important facts mentioned in the Corinthian correspondence, none of which is satisfied in sociological reconstructions. Chapter thirteen, “The ‘New Perspective on Paul’. What Would Paul Have Thought of It?” is a critical discussion of the thesis of E.P. Sanders that Judaism has been misrepresented in the New Testament, and of J.D.G. Dunn’s thesis that Paul has been interpreted through the eyes of Martin Luther. It is shown that the Old Testament and rabbinic evidence has been pressed by Sanders while Dunn has given a false translation of Gal 2:15–16 and an exegesis that cannot stand closer scrutiny. Paul would not have recognised what is attributed to him. Chapter fourteen, “Immortality (Platōn) and Resurrection (Paul) – Any *Rapprochement*?” takes up the related questions of the so-called “*the Jewish view of man*” (anthropology) and also the Jewish view of the resurrection of the body (eschatology). The examination finds that inexactitudes have been stated about both of these. Neither have the Hellenic doctrines of the mortality of the body and the immortality of the soul been treated fairly. The investigation finds that there never was a Jewish view of man or of resurrection – as it is claimed – since the Jews actually held to five or rather six views regarding resurrection! Moreover, Paul never speaks of the resurrection of body! In the final analysis,

both Platōn and Paul hold to the mortality of the body and to the immortality of the soul. The final chapter, Chapter fifteen, “Expiation – Propitiation – Reconciliation. What Are the Facts?”, presents C.H. Dodd’s arguments that the concept of propitiation should be banished from the Bible, because the words that carried that meaning – ἰλάσκομαι, ἰλασμός, ect. – in the Bible have lost their previous, pagan, meaning, where they were used of buying arbitrary and malicious gods’ favor by gifts and sacrifices. The God of the Bible is different, says Dodd. There is no doubt whatsoever about the last point. But that does not predicate that the concept of propitiation is non-existent. Dodd made no diachronic search of Hellenic literature. If ἰλάσκομαι and ἰλασμός had acquired a “new meaning” in the LXX and the New Testament, then that meaning ought to have been preserved ever since, at least in Christian contexts. What we find, however, is that throughout the history of the Hellenic language, these terms have retained their original, classical meaning and that they never took on the meaning of expiation! Dodd’s theory collapses already at this point. Moreover, a careful investigation of the Hebrew terms shows that the concept of propitiation obtains in the Hebrew Bible, too. This chapter illustrates only too clearly the need to study the Hellenic language in its entirety in order to save ourselves the embarrassment of stating things that the diachronic approach exposes as mistaken.

It is hoped that the discussions in this volume will be found enriching and elucidating and that they shall act as an incentive to many scholars to proceed examining the New Testament holistically, taking advantage of the entire linguistic treasure in the depository of the Hellenic language.

Lund, 10th March 2022

Chrys C. Caragounis

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Transliteration of Hellenic Names

The aspiration, although used very erratically in classical Athens, and altogether missing in the other dialects, is here retained, not because it is correct but in order not to render the Hellenic names or words completely unintelligible.

$\eta = \bar{e}$

$\omega = \bar{o}$

$\upsilon = y$

$\alpha\upsilon$ 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 $\beta, \gamma, \delta, \zeta, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \rho = \bar{e}v$; before other consonants = $\bar{e}u$

$ou = ou$

$\gamma\gamma = {}^n g$

$\gamma\kappa = g$

$\gamma\chi = {}^n ch$

$\gamma\xi = {}^n x$

Abbreviations

A	Classical Hellenic Period (mainly Attic)
AB	Anchor Bible, ed. Freedman, D.N., 6 Vols., New York – London etc.: Doubleday, 1992.
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary, ed. D.N. Freedman, 6 Vols., New York – London, etc. Doubleday 1992.
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
Ampl B	Amplified Bible
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, ed. J.B. Pritchard, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
AS	Ancient Society
B	Byzantine
BB	Βιβλική Βιβλιοθήκη
BDAG	Bauer W. – Danker, F.W. – Arndt, W.F. – Gingrich, F.W., Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, Chicago: UCP, 2000.
ΒΕΠΠΣ	Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων, Ἀθήναι: Ἀποστολική Διακονία 1955–.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentary
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca
CB	Coniectanea Biblica
CD	The Damascus Document (Qumran)
CGT	Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges
CPHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CR	Classical Review
CUP	Cambridge University Press
D	Demotic
ΔΒΜ	Δελτίον Βιβλικῶν Μελετῶν
DOTT	Documents from the Old Testament Times, ed. D.W. Thomas, New York: Harper & Row, 1961.
E	Epic
EAGLL	Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics ed. G. K. Giannakis, Leiden: Brill, 2014.
EDNT	Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament, eds. H. Balz – G. Schneider, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 3 Vols., 1990–1993.
EH	Early Hellenistic
EQ	Evangelical Quarterly

Hesperia	The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
ET	English Translation
EthRel	Études Théologiques et Religieuses
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
FN	Filologia Neotestamentaria
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
GNT	The Greek New Testament
H	Hellenistic
HAW	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
HKAW	Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft
HTKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUP	Harvard University Press
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
JB or Jer B	Jerusalem Bible
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
K	Katharevousa
KEKNT	Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neuen Testament
KJV	King James Version
LB	Late Byzantine
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LH	Late Hellenistic
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.
LXX	Septuagint
MEE	Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, Διευθυντής συντάξεως Π. Δρανδάκης, 24 Vols., + Supplement, 4 Vols., Ἀθήνα: Πυρσός 1926–1934, ἠ. Φοῖνιξ 1956, 2 nd ed. 1965.
MGr	Modern Greek
MM	Moulton-Milligan, <i>Vocabulary of the Greek Testament. Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources</i> , London: Hodder & Stoughton, rp. 1972.
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
MPG	J.P. Migne: Patrologia Graeca
MS[S]	Manuscript[s]
N	Neohellenic
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NEB	New English Bible
NERT	Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the Old Testament, W. Beyerlin (ed.), Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978.
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version

NK	Neohellenic Koine
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
PB	Proto-Byzantine
NTS	New Testament Studies
OCD ¹	Oxford Classical Dictionary, 1 st ed. 1949, rp. 1957, eds. M. Carry – A.D. Nock – J.D. Denniston – W.D. Ross – J. Wright Duff – H.H. Scullard, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
OCD ³	Oxford Classical Dictionary, 3 rd eds., S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
OT	Old Testament
OUP	Oxford University Press
P	Post-classical
PHI	Packard Humanities Institute
RÉG	Revue des Études Grecques
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
SD	Studies and Documents
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SEÅ	Svensk exegetisk årsbok
SGLG	Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker
Sib Or	Sibylline Oracles
SNTS:MS	Society for New Testament Studies: Monograph Series
Str.-B., Kommentar	Strack, H. – Billerbeck, P., Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, 6 Vols., München 1926–1956 rp. 1986.
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
NIDOTTE	New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis, VanGemeren, W.A. (ed.), 5 Vols., Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
TynB	Tyndale Bulletin
Tyndale New Testament	Tyndale New Testament, tr. by William Tyndale, n.p., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
UBS	United Bible Societies
UCP	The University of Chicago Press
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YUP	Yale University Press
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
1QH	1 Qumran Hodayoth
1QM	1 Qumran Milḥamah
1QS	1 Qumran Serek hay-yaḥadh

Introduction

Chapter One

The Oneness of Hellenic Its Importance for New Testament Exegesis

1. The Dichotomy of the Hellenic Language

When in 1528 Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote his book on how Hellenic and Latin were supposedly pronounced in antiquity¹, little did he realize that the line he struck out would determine not only the pronunciation but also the approach to the study of the Hellenic language and its literature for almost five centuries. For, not only did Hellenic since then come to be pronounced by European students in a novel way, but also its long literary history was divided into two broad periods: ancient and modern. The fall of the Byzantine Empire on the 29th May 1453 was understood to imply the end of Hellenic history and existence. The various nations of Western Europe, having preached their funeral sermon over Hellas, considered themselves – not implausibly – to be the legitimate heirs to her legacy, since they had already been the beneficiaries of her cultural heritage twice: first through Latin during Roman times and then during the Renaissance, through the revival of Hellenic letters by Hellenic scholars who, on the onslaught of the Mohamedans, had fled with their libraries to the West².

From this time on European scholars focused their research interests on the literature of classical times, but since they also had religious interests in the Christian Scriptures (especially in the New Testament, though also in the LXX), they widened the scope of their research to include the early Christian times. As for the rest of the history of the language and its literature, these were deemed of little importance, and hence they were relegated to the dustbin³.

¹ Erasmus, *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus*.

² For a list of such scholars, see CARAGOUNIS, “The Error of Erasmus” or the more extended version of this study as chapter six in CARAGOUNIS, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, pp. 339–398, here p. 344.

³ G. HORROCKS, too, emphasizes the neglect of all post-classical Hellenic in his *Greek. A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, Preface, p. xvi. R. BROWNING, has the following to say: “The study of Greek in England, as in most other countries, has traditionally been concentrated upon the classical language. The New Testament was left to theologians, and a nineteenth-century schoolboy who attempted to imitate it in his prose composition

One example of this attitude was Friedrich Blaß, whose *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* has nurtured New Testament scholars for more than a century. Blaß regarded the Modern Hellēnes along with the Byzantines as μιξοβάρβαροι⁴ (“half-barbarians”) and condemned *Neohellenic* as “barbarous”, “corrupt” and “worthless”⁵, despite the fact that all three editions of his book on the Hellenic pronunciation, leave no doubt that he had no idea of the phonological laws operating in Neohellenic⁶. Nor does he appear to have been more successful with regards to the morphological processes at work. The remarks of Hatzidakis, the founder of Linguistics in Hellas, are apposite here:

On account of their great ignorance of the linguistic development from post-classical times to the present as well as of the laws according to which this was accomplished, philologists are usually content to treat Neohellenic as a sickly offshoot of ancient Hellenic or as corrupt and barbarous Hellenic, whose careful investigation and knowledge, it is claimed, is not worth the trouble⁷.

would have got short shrift from his teacher. The mediaeval and modern stages of the language were largely ignored. Today the situation has changed. There is widespread interest in Modern Greek. Classical scholars no longer regard it beneath their dignity to concern themselves with the Greek of the middle ages and modern times” (*Medieval and Modern Greek*, Preface, p. vii).

The importance of Neohellenic is underlined even more strongly by ADRADOS, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache. Von den Anfängen bis heute*. Adrados not only devotes roughly equal space to the various stages of the language, but he also underscores the influence that Hellenic in its entire history has exerted on the European languages. Despite certain inexactitudes about Neohellenic, his book shows clear awareness of the unity of the Hellenic language from the beginning to the present day.

⁴ BLAß, *Über die Aussprache des Griechischen* (1st ed. 1870, 2nd ed. 1882, 3rd ed. 1888), 1st ed. p. 8: “Wohl sind die Neugriechen und waren die Byzantiner μιξοβάρβαροι”. ADRADOS, *Geschichte der griechische Sprache*, p. 286, mentions the rejection by Friedrich II of Prussia of Voltaire’s suggestion to help the struggling people of Hellas to free themselves from the Turks on this very ground, that the Hellēnes were “unwürdig und erniedrigt” and their language was “vollkommen verdorben”.

⁵ BLAß, *Über die Aussprache des Griechischen*, 1st ed. pp. 7–8: “Die Sprache eines Homer oder Platon nach derjenigen der ... verkommenen Byzantiner umzuwandeln, wäre die reine Barbarei ... Folglich ist die historische Grundlage [i.e. the Neohellenic pronunciation] eine gänzlich nichtige und wertlose [Blaß’s italics]”.

⁶ See CARAGOUNIS, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, pp. 339–396, p. 340, n. 4, “Such inexactitudes about Modern Hellenic abound in BLAß, *Über die Aussprache des Griechischen* ... 2nd ed., p. 83 (= 3rd ed. p. 97), 3rd ed. p. 103, while his unacquaintance with Neohellenic phonology is seen throughout his book (cf. e.g. the 3rd ed. pp. 132 ff.)”.

⁷ ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Έλληνικά*, Vol. I, p. 360 (my tr.).

Blaß's unfounded statements⁸ have played an important role in withholding from New Testament scholars the truth about *Neohellenic*. Thus, the Hellenic language was atomized, and – what is of special importance for us – New Testament scholars, in so far as they advanced beyond the essentials of the New Testament, concerned themselves with classical Hellenic, though during the past hundred years or so that interest was directed to the Egyptian papyri and some Hellenistic writings.

To be sure, toward the end of the XIXth century the German scholar Karl Krumbacher did much to establish Byzantine studies as an independent discipline, and a few other scholars, like Albert Thumb and Paul Kretschmer, showed interest even in the Neohellenic dialects. However, for most New Testament scholars these areas of the language have remained exotic. Accordingly, when I once asked a New Testament professor what he thought the relation of Neohellenic to the Hellenic of the New Testament was, he replied: “I suppose, something like the relation of Swedish or Norwegian to the Runic”!

Thus, although I am not oblivious of the great contributions to the study of the Hellenic language, for example, by German and British scholars, Erasmus' error in propagating his novel pronunciation of Hellenic and Blaß's unfounded disparagement of Neohellenic have damaged New Testament studies by using a pronunciation that veils important facts, shrouding many fascinating insights into its text, its communicative aspects and textual problems. Furthermore, because it causes us to forfeit important light on the morphology and the syntax by post-Hellenistic writings⁹. In a word, it deprives us of the proper parameters for our research.

This last point can be exemplified by the industrious work of Stanley Porter. Porter wrote an impressive book of 492 packed pages to teach us something that is simply not true. Porter applied certain insights from modern linguistics to his analysis of the Hellenic verb, and came to the strange conclusion that the Hellenic verb does not express Time – only Aspect! He is of the opinion that not only the “Grammarians” but also that “the Greeks them-

⁸ It is hardly necessary here to refer to BLAß's contemporary, Falmereyer's myth, according to which the entire Hellenic nation was wiped out, and Hellas was reinhabited by Slavs and Albanians, which was refuted long ago by ΠΑΠΑΡΗΓΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Περὶ ἐποικήσεως σλαυικῶν τινῶν φύλων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον*, and by ΗΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙΣ. Cf. also ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Ἡ γλῶσσα τῆς Μακεδονίας. Ἡ ἀρχαία Μακεδονικὴ καὶ ἡ ψευδώνυμη γλῶσσα τῶν Σκοπίων*.

⁹ With regards to the Hellenic pronunciation in ancient times and Erasmus's error and its consequences, see CARAGOUNIS, “The Error of Erasmus”, *FN* 8 (1995), pp. 151–185, or the more extended discussion as the sixth chapter of CARAGOUNIS, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, pp. 339–396.

selves were fooled”!¹⁰ Porter’s denial of one half of the meaning of the Hellenic verb is the result of separating the ancient phase from the modern phase of the language, treating Hellenic as a dead language, misconstruing and mistranslating ancient authors who are unable to protest, and claiming that “there are no native speakers to give opinions about the use of their language”! Porter’s claim is, however, flatly contradicted by *i.a.* Neohellenic, which has the same verb system as the ancient phase of the language, and shows that from the time of Homēros to the present there has not been a day when Hellēnes have not used their verbs to express Time as well as Aspect, and that both of these elements are equally important¹¹. Porter’s work, therefore, is an excellent example of how far a scholar may stray who does not take seriously the unity of the Hellenic language and how its later stages can elucidate its earlier stages.

2. The Phases of the Hellenic Language¹²

The Hellenic language is the oldest continuously spoken and written language in Europe. Its written documentation takes us back to about 1500 B.C., while its spoken form is much older. Unlike Latin, which today lives only through its daughter languages¹³, Hellenic is still the same language, having sustained the changes brought about by time, culture, religion, science, and world view.

In general, we may say that the Hellenic language at present is going through its fifth phase. The first phase was when Hellenic was differentiated from proto-Arian, the progenitor of Sanskrit. At this time Hellenic was a common language for all the Hellenic or proto-Hellenic tribes that entered Hellas toward the end of the third millennium B.C. The second phase was introduced with the establishment of the Hellenic tribes in Hellas, at which time Hellenic was divided into various dialects (Ionic, Attic, Aeolic, Doric, Thessalic, Arcadian, Cypriot, etc.) which continued to be used down to post-classical times. The third phase is represented by the post-classical form

¹⁰ PORTER, *Verbal Aspect*, p. 81. One may rightly wonder – if Porter’s position were correct, namely, that the Hellēnes, too, mistakenly thought that they expressed time through their verbs – do not their texts, therefore, express the time they intended whether they were right or wrong according to PORTER’s opinion? Moreover, what other final court of appeal is there to settle an issue such as this than the natural speakers of a language? Can a modern theory by a non-native student of a language falsify the witness of the natural users of that language?

¹¹ I have given a detailed critique of this viewpoint in *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, pp. 316–336.

¹² This topic has received a detailed treatment in CARAGOUNIS, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, pp. 21–60.

¹³ E.g. French, Italian, Romanian, Spanish, Portuguese, etc.

or the so-called *Koinē*,¹⁴ when Hellenic once again became unified and a common language for all *Hellēnes*. During Byzantine times the language was divided again, this time into the modern dialects, in order to unite for a third time during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into what is called Neohellenic [*Koinē*]. This is the fifth phase.¹⁵

The various phases of the Hellenic language might be specified as follows¹⁶:

I. Ancient Hellenic (1500 B.C. – A.D. 600)

Linear B = Mycenaean (XV–XII B.C. Linear B tablets)

E = Epic (800–500 B.C.: Homēros, Hēsiodos, etc.)

A = Classical (mainly Attic) 500–300 B.C.)

P = Post-classical (300 B.C. – A.D. 600)

H = Hellenistic (300 B.C. – A.D. 300)

EH = Early Hellenistic (300 B.C.–1 B.C.)¹⁷

LH = Late Hellenistic (A.D. 1–300)

PB = Proto-Byzantine (A.D. 300–600)

II. Modern Hellenic (A.D. 600–Present)

B = Byzantine (A.D. 600–1000) (Early Neohellenic)

LB = Late Byzantine (A.D. 1000–1500) (Middle Neohellenic)

N = Neohellenic (A.D. 1500–2000) (Late Neohellenic)

K = *Katharevousa* (official till 1976: puristic, Atticistic or literary Neohellenic)

D = *Demotike* (following the popular oral tradition)

NK = Neohellenic [*Koinē*] (official since 1976: blending *K* and *D*)

To exemplify the lexical continuity, I might perhaps point out that such New Testament words as ἄγγελος (‘angel’), ἀγρός (‘field’), ἄρτος (bread), αἰγιαλός (‘shore’), ἀλείφω (‘smear’), ἄνθρωπος (‘human being’), ἀρετή (‘virtue’), δεσπότης (‘master’), δῆμος (‘people’), διδάσκω (‘teach’), δοῦλος (‘slave’), Θεός (‘God’), θρόνος (‘throne’), ἱερός (‘sacred’), ἵππος (‘horse’), καπνός (‘smoke’), καρπός (‘fruit’), λευκός (‘white’), μήτηρ (‘mother’), πατήρ (‘father’), σῖτος (‘wheat’), σπέρμα (‘seed’), τέκτων (‘carpenter’), τόσος (‘so much’), ὕδωρ (‘water’), φάρμακον (‘medicine’, ‘poison’), φέρω (‘bring’), χάρις (‘beauty’, ‘grace’), χρυσός (‘gold’), and ὤμος (‘shoulder’) are found in the oldest written form of Hellenic, the so-called Linear B tablets or Myce-

¹⁴ The term ‘*Koinē*’ is essentially a misnomer, as JANNARIS showed in “The True Meaning of the *Koinē*” (*CR* 17.2 [1908], pp. 93–96). See chapter seven, “‘Greco-Roman’ A Term of Convenience or of Uncertainty?” in the present volume.

¹⁵ See ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Συνοπτική ιστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, pp. 35 and 107.

¹⁶ This table is identical with the one presented in CARAGOUNIS, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, p. 22.

¹⁷ The division of Hellenistic into *early* and *late* is made in order to facilitate the registration of changes in regard to the NT. On the divisions of the Hellenic language, see further my *Development of Greek*, pp. 21–60.

naean Hellenic (XV–XII B.C.), in classical Hellenic and continue to be used today in Hellas, after 3,500 years!¹⁸

3. The Synchronic Approach

Until the XIXth century, the New Testament was studied and exegeted with the help of classical and post-classical literature, the latter being for the most part classicistic. It was recognized that the language of the New Testament was not classical Hellenic, but the existing literature was the only literature with which it could be compared.

With the discovery of the Egyptian papyri from the second part of the XIXth century onward, and in particular with Adolf Deissmann's work, great emphasis was placed both on the value of the vernacular form of the Hellenic language and, especially, on the investigation of materials contemporary with the New Testament. Such emphases, which came to dominate the study of the New Testament during the XXth century, received their classic expression in Deissmann's own works, *Bibelstudien*, *Neue Bibelstudien*¹⁹ and *Licht von Osten*²⁰, as well as – in the English-speaking world – in J. H. Moulton's *Grammar of New Testament Greek: Prolegomena*²¹ and Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*²². Henceforth, not only New Testament Grammarians, but also, and especially, commentators and interpreters of the New Testament adopted the papyrologists' position both with regard to where to look for illustrations in determining the meaning of New Testament words as well as the standpoint that the New Testament should be interpreted by means of contemporary texts. This came to be called the *Synchronic Approach*²³.

Deissmann was, of course, not the first scholar to discover the relevance of the papyri for the interpretation of the NT. In this, he had been preceded by

¹⁸ See e.g. CHADWICK – BAUMBACH, *The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary*.

¹⁹ The *Bibelstudien* was published in 1895. The *Neue Bibelstudien* was published in 1897. The Eng. edition, containing both works, was published in 1901 under the title *Bible Studies*. This was reprinted in 1979 by Alpha Publications.

²⁰ Published in 1908. 4th Eng. ed. 1923, rp. 1965.

²¹ Published in 1908.

²² Published as one volume in 1930, rp. 1972.

²³ See esp. the notable Australian attempt to create a “new Moulton-Milligan” by their great admirer, HORSLEY (and others), entitled *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (published under the auspices of The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre Macquarie University, 1981–), and in particular Volume V (*Linguistic Essays*, 1989), containing several important essays by HORSLEY.

the linguist George Hatzidakis²⁴. But while Hatzidakis recognized the importance of the new discoveries, his linguistic competence in the entire history of the Hellenic language from Homēros to Neohellenic (the Mycenaean Linear B tablets had not yet been deciphered), prevented him from giving unqualified precedence to the papyri. He rightly saw that the papyri projected a form of Hellenic that differed considerably from the ordinary language, and that the linguistic expression of the Hellēnes was different from the uncouth expression of the Egyptians and the Nubians. Hatzidakis was interested in the historical development of the language and its state at different periods, especially as it was spoken and written by Hellēnes. A similar perspective characterizes A. Jannaris' *Historical Greek Grammar*²⁵.

Indeed, while the light that the Egyptian papyri throw on the vocabulary and even on the syntax of the New Testament is to be welcomed, and the knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic is a necessary presupposition for many New Testament passages, a proper grasp of the development of the Hellenic language is a *sine qua non* for a more correct interpretation of the New Testament. After all, the New Testament *is* written in the Hellenic language and for Hellenic readers, and though its writers are Semites, its literary level far surpasses that of the barbarous documents of Egypt and Nubia²⁶.

The above state of affairs produced the exigencies for the *Synchronic Approach*²⁷. The New Testament scholar usually contented himself with the linguistic evidence of one or two centuries before and one or two centuries after the time of the New Testament. Thus, the unity of the language was lost sight of. This lack of orientation in the study of New Testament Hellenic has had the effect of producing New Testament scholars who were less than sufficiently acquainted with earlier as well as later Hellenic. To allude John 3:8, we hear the wind blow, but do not know wherefrom it comes or whither it goes! On the negative side, this has meant – as pointed out above – that the pronunciation applied has obscured many facts and hindered us from interesting insights into the New Testament text, its wordplays, and its text-critical problems, and, more significantly, it has deprived us from important light that is shed on the morphology and especially the syntax of the New Testament by later literature; and finally, by depriving scholarship of the proper parameters for its linguistic research.²⁸

²⁴ See DEISSMANN, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 22 and CARAGOUNIS, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, p. 124.

²⁵ JANNARIS, *An Historical Greek Grammar Chiefly of the Attic Dialect*, etc.

²⁶ I have discussed the character of the Hellenic of the New Testament in *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, *passim*. See e.g. pp. 120–140.

²⁷ I recall that in my doctorand days in the early 1970's the synchronic approach was very much in vogue in the discussions of our research seminar at Uppsala University.

²⁸ The unity of the Hellenic language and its historical pronunciation as well as the innumerable insights that these give into the text of the New Testament have been discussed

4. Why Is the Diachronic Approach Important?

As was pointed out, above, the written tradition of the Hellenic language stretches over a period of 3,500 years. During this period the language has been constantly subjected to slow change, though, at the same time, it has been able to retain its basic structure intact. The New Testament makes its appearance somewhere in the middle of this long period. Beginning with Alexander's Empire, which brought almost all the Hellēnes under its umbrella, the Attic dialect, which had previously become the official language of Makedonia, began to receive elements from the other dialects. It entered a course of simplification: austere Attic elements began to fall away and to be replaced by equivalents from the other dialects; irregular Attic forms gave way to more regular ones; complex Attic constructions were substituted for by simpler compositional patterns; the vocabulary was expanded and neologisms were created.²⁹ In other words, this was a time of momentous changes in vocabulary, morphology and syntax. This process went on for 900 years, from Alexander (335 B.C.) to Justinian (A.D. 565), which may thus be called the period of transition from ancient Hellenic to Neohellenic. During this period Hellenic laid aside its ancient, classical garb and assumed a modern one. It was during this period that the foundations of *Neohellenic* were laid, and it was during this period that the New Testament was composed. This implies that the new formations, the neologisms and the new constructions of

in detail and with evidence drawn from each one of the twenty-eight centuries of Hellenic literature from Homēros to the present day in my books, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament* and its sequel volume, *New Testament Language and Exegesis* as well as in various articles. There, the interested reader will find massive evidence for the above statement, which will dispel any suspicions of anachronism with regard to the *diachronic approach*.

²⁹ At this point I content myself with presenting a few examples of neologisms: for example, Attic (= *A*) γλῶττα, θάλαττα, λεώς, νεώς, τήμερον gave way to γλῶσσα, θάλασσα, λαός, ναός, σήμεραν respectively (all in the New Testament and in *Neohellenic* [= *N*]). Irregular forms such as μαθητρίς gave place to the more regular form μαθήτρια (Acts 9:36, so *N*). A certain regularization took place with regards to personal endings. Thus, the first Aorist endings -α, -ας, -ε, -αμεν, -ατε, -αν and the second Aorist endings -ον, -ες, -ε, -ομεν, -ετε, -ον were combined to give the endings -α, -ες, -ε, -αμεν, -ετε, -αν (e.g. εἶπα, εἶπες, εἶπε, εἶπαμεν, εἶπατε, εἶπαν; ἦλθα, ἦλθες, ἦλθε, ἦλθαμεν, ἦλθατε, ἦλθαν [later Hell. and *N*]). Circumlocutionary expressions, such as *A* φύλαξ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου becomes δεσμοφύλαξ (NT: 3 x, also *N*), *A* καλὸς κάγαθός becomes καλοκάγαθος (*N*), *A* νοῦν ἔχων becomes νουνεχῆς (*N*), *A* νοῦν ἐχόντως becomes νουνεχῶς (Mk 12:34, also *N*), *A* αἰχμάλωτον λαμβάνω/ἄγω becomes αἰχμαλωτεύω (Eph 4:8) and αἰχμαλωτίζω (NT 4 x; so *N*), *A* αἰχμάλωτον γίνεσθαι becomes αἰχμαλωτίζομαι (Lk 21:24; so *N*), *A* οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς becomes (οἱ) Στωϊκοί (Act 17:18, so *N*). New formations include: προκοπή (NT 3 x, so *N*) (< προκόπτω), not in *A* ; ζυμῶ (NT 4 x [*N*: ζυμώνω]) for *A* φύρω/φυρῶ; ἔστακα/ἔστησα (intrans., NT) (< ἵστημι) instead of *A* στήσας ἔχω.

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